AN EDITION OF A

FIFTEENTH CENTURY MIDDLE ENGLISH TEMPORALE SERMON CYCLE

IN MSS LAMBETH PALACE 392

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VOL II

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VOL II

NOTES

General Remarks

The Latin sermons of Nicholas de Aquevilla are quoted from copiously

throughout these Notes, as they are the main source of the AdLb

collection. Schneyer's Repertorium lists over fifty manuscripts of

Nicholas' Sunday gospel series, many of which are on the continent;

I have therefore chosen to look at one of the earlier British manu-

scripts, MS Lambeth 329 (not to be confused with Lb, which is Lambeth

392), which is dated 1417 by the scribe. I give it the siglum Nic.

It should be made clear that Nic was not the copytext used by the

AdLb compiler; this is demonstrated in the course of the Notes. The

main problem with this otherwise reliable and clearly written manu-

script is that it was incorrectly bound in the medieval period and

thus the pages are rather seriously out of order, though easily

identified by means of contemporary marginal notations which direct

the reader backwards or forwards where necessary to the correct place

in the manuscript. Unless otherwise mentioned, portions of text

quoted from Nic follow on consecutively, even where folio numbers

suggest some rather alarming leaps.

The English Wycliffite Sermons edited by Anne Hudson (Oxford, 1983)

are referred to individually as Hudson, plus the number of the

relevant sermon. Reference to the Wycliffite Bible is to Forshall

and Madden's edition throughout, and here I follow traditional sigla

in referring to that edition as WB, and to its different versions as

EV and LV respectively. Abbreviations of books of the Vulgate are

those used in the recent Stuttgart edition and its concordance,

edited by Bonifatius Fischer (Fischer 1975 and 1977). For the

overlapping portions of text (III to XII), headwords in the Notes refer to Ad unless otherwise stated.

Sermon I

The sermon is based on Nicholas de Aquevilla's sermon for the first Sunday in Advent, but opens with a gospel translation which derives largely from the corresponding sermon in the English Wycliffite series (Hudson 26). Nicholas takes as his text Dicite filie Sion, Mt 21, 5, and his three divisions are as follows: "Primum est quid per filiam Syon signatur. Secundum, quis est ille rex et quomodo appellatur. Tertium, cum dicitur 'venit'" (Nic f.11). Although the sermon as it appears in Ad is not prefaced by a text, the compiler has chosen to base his development of the theme on the words Ecce rex tuus venit, Mt 21, 5 (1.22), which differs from the text of Hudson 26, Cum appropinquasset Iesus Ierosolimis, Mt 21, 1, although all three texts are from the gospel pericope, according to the Sarum use (Sarum Missal, p.15). The Ad sermon is closely based on Nicholas' second principal division, "ho is þis kyng, and what is hys name" (1.25), and it deals with Christ's qualities as a king – that he has given us the "new law" of the gospel which takes precedence over all other laws, and that he has five conditions which every good king, and Christian, should have, namely, righteousness, wisdom, might, mildness and meekness, each of which are discussed in turn. The sermon concludes with a brief prayer which reminds the congregation of its Advent occasion by referring to the coming of Christ on the Day of Judgment.

The Ad sermon abandons Nicholas' 'modern' form, with its primary

division into three principals and multiple sub-divisions, simplifying

the structure to produce what is virtually the only 'ancient' sermon

of the AdLb collection, although division is still used for local

effect, as at ll.24-25, "Ferst is to wete . . ." and 1.71, "þys kyng

had fyue condicions . . .". The text is amplified in several places

with tendentious material from an unknown source or sources, though

it could have easily been cobbled together by the compiler him/herself

from a variety of Lollard writings. The Christocentric emphasis in

the text of Ad, together with the insistence on the value of the "new

law", is entirely consistent with Lollard aims. Nicholas' first and

third principals, which are not used by Ad's compiler, concern the

meaning of the daughter of Syon, interpreted as the faithful soul,

and the three comings of Christ - his advent in the flesh, his

spiritual advent ("in mentem") and his coming at the Day of Judgment.

2-21

The close dependence of Ad's gospel translation on that found in the

Wycliffite sermon for the same day is proved by the presence of words

or phrases which have no basis in the Vulgate or WB but are peculiar

to the Wycliffite sermon. These include the reference to Jerusalem

as "a wallyd town, þat was aȝens Holy Cherche" (1.6) (cf. Hudson

26/28-29 "Ierusalem, þat was wallyd, and þerefore Crist clepuþ hit a

castel, þat was aȝen hooly chyrche"), the explanation that the people

who spread their clothes in the way were rich (1.17) (cf. Hudson

26/47 "Myche puple þat was ryche") and those who spread branches were

poor (1.18) (cf. Hudson 26/47-48 "poorer schreddon braunchis of trees"),

the use of "schraddyn" (1.18) (cf. Hudson 26/48 "schreddon") rather

than WB "kittiden", the expansion of "other" as "bothe ȝong and oulde"

(1.19) (cf. Hudson 26/48-49 "oþre, boþe ȝong[e] and oolde"), and the

addition "þis song in worschepe of Iesu, Dauyd sone" (11.19-20) (cf.

Hudson 26/49-50 "songon ˹þis songe˺ in worschipe of Iesu"). These

additions do not contain heretical or tendentious material and it is

therefore unlikely that the scribe included them to impart a specific-

ally Lollard flavour to the translation; most of the surviving

Wycliffite sermon manuscripts are carefully rubricated so that only

the actual words of the gospel are underlined, and so presumably

the Ad compiler was working from an unrubricated manuscript in which

the different portions of text were not clearly distinguished in this

way. The extent of the borrowing in this sermon is due to the fact

that the translation in the Wycliffite sermon appears as a large

chunk, rather than being broken up by commentary as is the case in

some of the other sermons, as Anne Hudson points out in the intro-

duction to her edition. What is really interesting about the Biblical

translation here, as elsewhere in the AdLb collection, is that the

compiler also made use of a version of the Wycliffite Bible, not just

to supplement incomplete gospel translations in the Hudson sermons

but occasionally to provide alternative readings even where this

does not seem necessary. Thus the influence of WB is felt even here,

in the preference for direct over indirect speech (Christ's words,

11.5-10) (cf. Hudson 26/29-33, which is reported speech, where WB

has direct speech), in the choice of "vnbynde" (1.8) (cf. EV

"vnbynde", LV "vntien", Hudson 26/30-31 "þat þei schulden loosen

hem") and in the doublet "mylde or oo[m]ly" (1.13) (cf. EV "homly,

or meke", Hudson 26/34 "hoomly", although as Hudson points out, Ad

has derived its corrupt "oonly" from the Wycliffite "hoomly").

Of the Hudson witnesses to this sermon, Ad shares some readings with

δ (Wisbech Town Museum Library MS 8) ("fulfellyd" 1.11, Hudson 26/33

"fyllyd", "fulfillid" δ ; "pore men" 1.18, Hudson 26/47 "poorer",

"pore men" δ ; Hudson 26/51 "þus", omitted in 1.21 and δ) but a

direct relationship cannot be proved. Some of Ad's variants look

like scribal or dialectal preference, e.g. "also smartly" (1.7)

(cf. WB "anon", no reading in Hudson).

3-4 hadde [comyn]]

It is possible that the verb of motion has been deliberately omitted.

Although both Hudson and WB have the simplex verb "cam", the con-

struction here parallels that in 1.2 ("was comyn"), and the omission

is probably therefore due to eyeskip.

9 need]

Ad's reading "do (do canc.) don" is not easily explained, and has no

basis in any of the WB or Hudson versions of this translation, all

of which read "need". Ad's "don" does not make sense, and is

probably due to eyeskip, since "doon" appears in the following line,

but it is still odd that the scribe (or later corrector) saw fit to

cancel only part of the wrong reading. However, there is a fair

amount of error and corruption in this, the opening of the first

sermon, although the scribe has recovered his errors of dittography

in 11.2 and 5.

10 also]

WB and Hudson 26 all read "anoon" at this point; perhaps the scribe

intended to write "also smartly" as s/he does in 1.7, where it possibly

represents the "anon" of WB (cf. EV "anon 3e shal fynde a she asse

tyed"). I have not emended here since the sense is adequate and

there is no compelling justification for producing a reading which

has no basis in any of the other ME versions.

11-13 that thyng . . . asse]

The reference here is to Za 9, 9 which has the text "Exulta satis filia Sion, iubila filia Hierusalem: Ecce rex tuus veniet tibi iustus et salvator; ipse pauper, et ascendens super asinum, et super pullum filium asinæ." Nicholas de Aquevilla refers to this traditional coupling of the prophetic text about Christ's coming into Jerusalem with the gospel story at the very beginning of his sermon; speaking of the gospel text, he says "Verba ista assumpta sunt a 3acharia propheta, quia 3acharie .ix. dicitur similiter . . ." (Nic f.11).

13 oomly]

Ad's original "oonly" is a simple case of omitting a minim, and confusing less familiar "oomly" ("homely, unremarkable") with a more familiar word. Such confusion is easily explained, particularly if, as seems likely, Ad's exemplar had the word without initial h.

14 comawnd]

The 3sg.pa. form of the verb with a contracted inflection would appear to be typical of East Anglian dialect. Examples are found in the N-Town plays which have an E. Anglian provenance. See also Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, ed. Norman Davis, EETS S.S. 1 (London, 1970), p.xxxix, for examples of 3sg.pr. uninflected forms in the Norwich Pageants. There are also examples of these 3sg.pr. forms in Ad, which are indicated in the notes; the case of the 3sg.pa. forms may be different, insofar as the inflection may have been assimilated to the final d of the stem. Davis' examples of pr. forms do not all have dental stems.

22 Ecce . . . supra]

Mt 21, 5.

22-24 These wordys . . . tales]

Here the compiler makes plain his or her intention, which is

strict exegesis of the gospel text without any of the orthodox

attention-getting devices of _exempla_ or _narraciones_. As such, it is

hardly a _captatio benevolentiae_, but nonetheless calculated to win

Lollard sympathy in its support for the sufficiency of the gospel

text, for an unadorned and austere style, and in its dislike for

the friars. Taken individually, these declarations can be paralleled

in quite orthodox texts and contexts (Chaucer's Parson, for instance,

warns the pilgrims "ye will get no fables from me"), but together

they suggest a Lollard interest. On the mendicant liking for "fals

fablis" see Owst, _PME_, Ch. VI, and also _Jack Upland_, p.64, "fals

fablis of freris", which occurs in a Lollard context. Nicholas de

Aquevilla was himself a friar and yet austere enough to attack those

who "glosyn þe peple wyþ trifles and fablis and lesyngis" (Sermon

XVII/128, based on Nicholas' "predicatores trufas et fabulas

predicantes", Nic f.60v). On Lollard condemnation of the use of

exempla see Hudson, _Selections_, 15/15-17, and the entry "Fabulacion"

in the _Rosarium_ (von Nolcken 1979: 73-74).

24-32 Ferst . . . hym]

Despite the use of "Ferst" this division is based on Nicholas'

second principal, as set out at the beginning of his sermon:

"Secundum, quis est ille rex et quomodo appellatur" (Nic f.11). The

correspondence is very close: "Iste rex Christus est, et appellatur

Ihesus, ⌐id est¬, saluator mundi, vnde Luce primo, Dixit angelus

beate Marie, Ecce, concipies in vtero et paries filium, et vocatur

nomen eius Iesum, id est, saluatorem mundi. Rex iste Ihesus Christus

est; ipse est rex qui habet in vestitu et in femore eius scriptum,

Rex regum et Dominus dominancium, Apocalipsis 19. Ecce omnes [+

filij _canc._] alij reges huius seculi non sunt nisi reguli respectum

illius" (Nic f.11v). It is notable that Ad does not give the sources

of Biblical quotations as in Nic.

26 his]

The presence of inorganic h̲ might be compared with the lack of h̲ in

"oomly", 1.13, suggesting instability of h̲ in either Ad or its

exemplar.

[to] sey]

A mechanical omission, due to eyeskip ("to" on the following line).

27-29 þu schat . . . Iesus]

Lc 1, 31.

31 Kyng . . . lordis]

Apc 19, 16.

33-38 Of . . . gospel]

"De isto rege dicitur in Ysaie .33°., Dominus Christus, iudex noster,

Dominus rex noster, ipse veniet et saluabit nos. Christus iudex

noster dicitur quia nos omnes iudicabit, quia omne iudicum dedit

pater filio, vt habetur Io. v^{o}. Legifer dicitur noster quia quando

venit in mundum nouam legem, scilicet, euangelicam legem, nobis

dedit" (Nic f.11v). Again, Ad omits the reference to the Biblical

source.

33-35 Þe Lord . . . vs]

Is 33, 22.

38-52 þe wyche . . . lawys]

This section has no counterpart in Nicholas. The compiler has

amplified the discussion of the "new law" in a characteristically

Lollard way; although I cannot find a specific source for this inter-

polation, there are parallels in Wycliffite writings, cf. Lanterne

of Liȝt 17/23, "Anticrist vseþ fals lucratif or wynnyng lawis"

(11.39-43). For the contrast between God's law and man's law, new

laws or antichrist's law, see Matthew 12/9ff., 145/18ff., etc.

41 thei . . . cherche]

The syntax is awkward here, but "holdyȝt" is probably best taken as

a plural inflection rather than divided "hold yȝt" to give an

uninflected plural plus a pronoun. The sense is anyway clear: "they

consider their law better to rule Christ's church with."

43 lawe]

This refers back to "anothir lawe" (l. 40).

44 many man]

See MED many 2a (a) for examples of many preceding a singular noun

without the indefinite article.

practise]

The context suggests that this word has a derogatory sense but the

MED (q.v. practise n) does not record it. The main meanings given

there are a) practical aspects and b) practice of medicine, neither

of which fits the context well. It is probably best to take it

as referring to that same "other law" (l. 40) that men "use"

now.

44-48 Hit . . . pilled]

The image of the bramble-bush as a symbol of evil entanglement is

commonplace.   In Dives and Pauper, Commandment IX, Cap. vii, the

reference to "brymbelys & þornys" is expounded as "fals rychesse",

and in the Wycliffite gospel sermon for the eighth Sunday after

Trinity, on the text Attendite a falsis prophetis, Mt 7, the

preacher upbraids false friars and priests who "han more busynesse

to spuyle men fro þer worldly goodys, as boþe þornes and brerus

reuen fro schep þer wolle" (Hudson 8/47-49).   See also Memoriàle

Credencium, p.103, "þornus and . . . brerus".

48 pilled]

Both "stripped of hair" and "robbed".   See MED pilen v. (1).   And

cf. The Plowman's Tale, ed. W.W. Skeat in Chaucerian and Other

Pieces (Oxford, 1897), 1.355 "The pore to pill is all hir pray."

51-52 But Godys lawe . . . lawys]

The sense here is that God's law takes precedence over all man-made

laws, which are themselves subject to its jurisdiction.   Emphasis

on the supremacy of the Bible ("God's law") is a central feature of

Wycliffite thought; see the entry "Lex" in the Rosarium (von Nolcken

1979:74-77) which includes the statement that "Godez lawe and holy

chirche lawe is heier þan lawe ciuile".   Although the phrase "Godys

lawe" is associated with Wycliffite contexts, the wording of this

sentence in Ad is generalised, lacking the specificity of more

overtly Lollard writings, cf. Jack Upland, p.58 "þerfor frere if
þin 'ordre' and þi rulis ben groundid in Goddis lawe...".

52 ffor . . . by]

Cf. Nicholas, "et istam nobis reliquit" (Nic f.11v).

53-55 For . . . sowlys]

"Haec est lex preciosa, gloriosa et immaculata, vnde in Psalmo, Lex
Domini immaculata, conuertens animas" (Nic f.11v). The quotation is
from PsG 18, 8.

55-58 a trewe . . . heuene]

Neither Lambeth 329 nor Lincoln College 80 provides the source for
these lines.

55-56 a trewe . . . litil]

The sense is not clear, and something may have been omitted acciden-
tally by the scribe. A possible meaning is that the law of God is
a true witness which grants the wisdom of Christ to the meek whom he
calls 'little'. This depends on a zero relative pronoun ("which
grants"). The phrase "trewe wytnesse" might be semantically loaded
in this context, since "trewe" is a favourite Lollard word; see
Hudson 1981:16-17.

56-58 For . . . heuene]

Mc 10, 15 and Lc 18, 17.

58-68 Ful . . . kepit it]

This follows Nicholas closely: "Vere ista lex, id est, doctrina
euangelica, est gloriosa et immaculata, quia docet inimicos
diligere et per ipsis orare, vnde Mathei .5., Diligite inimicos
vestros et orate pro [foll. by se canc.] persequentibus vos. Item
ipsa docet vos nos non iurare, Mathei .5., Dixit Christus, Ego
autem dico vobis non iurare omnino, neque per celum, quia thronus
Dei est, neque per terram, quia scabellum pedum ‚eius˺ est, etc.
Item ipsa docet nos mulierem non respicere, scilicet, per modum
concupiscere, vnde Mathei .5., Quicumque viderit mulierem ad

concupiscendum eam, iam mechatus est eam in corde suo. Non licet

intueri, quod non licet concupisci, sicut dicit beatus Gregorius.

Item docet nos nullum malum alijs facere, vt Mathei .v., Quicumque /

vultis vt faciant vobis homines, eadem facite illis. Istam legem

docuit qui venit in mundum istum. Beatus qui in ista lege

meditatur, et qui illam tenet" (Nic ff.11v-12). In Ad the references

to Mt 5 become the less precise "as þe gospel schewyt itself", and

the quotation from Gregory is omitted altogether. The addition "day

and ny3th" in 1.67 emphasises the need for assiduous study of the

Bible.

62-63 He . . . herte]

Mt 5, 28.

64-65 Whateuyr . . . hem]

Mt 7, 12 and Lc VI, 31.

67-68 hath mynde and stodyit . . . kepit it]

It is hard to know whether this is in the present tense, or if there

are three past participles, dependent on "hath". Although Nicholas

has the present tense here, the compiler does not always follow the

source slavishly. However, since Ad often has 3sg.pr. inflections

in "-it", it seems preferable to follow the source and interpret

the line as "he who pays attention and studies in this law day and

night, and keeps it", taking "hath mynde and stodyit" as a doublet

for "meditatur"; cf. Speculum Christiani, p.20/19, where the trans-

lation of "Memento" is "Haue mynde".

69-74 Also . . . Crist]

"Rex noster dicitur, quia nos regit, vnde dicitur in Psalmo, Dominus

regit me et ideo nichil michi deerit. Iste rex Christus quinque
condiciones habuit, quas debet habere quilibet rex bonus et quilibet
homo cristianus qui est rex sui ipsius, scilicet, iusticiam,
sapienciam, potenciam, mansuetudinem et humilitatem habuit, quia
iustus et sapiens et potens et mansuetus fuit, et humilis" (Nic
f.12). The compiler has in fact chosen to omit one line from
Nicholas which immediately precedes this quotation: "Iohannis
dicitur Legifer noster, quia legem nouam nobis docuit." The com-
piler shows a sound sense in omitting what is unnecessary, both
here (since the importance of Christ as law-giver has already been
dealt with) and also in avoiding the repetition of the five con-
ditions. Nicholas of course achieves an impressive rhetorical
cadence with the repetition but this is just the sort of thing
which the avowedly austere compiler of Ad wishes to avoid.

70-71 The Lord . . . me]
PsG 22, 1. The reference to David as a prophet is common in
medieval writers, following the practice of Jerome and Augustine,
cf. Grisdale 1939:24.

75-97 Sothly . . . seith]
"Vere iustus fuit et est, et ideo flecti non potest, nec poterit,
vnde in Psalmo, Deus iudex,iustus, fortis et paciens. Item quia
iustus est sine personarum accepcione. Pauperem ita bene et ita
libenter et ita dulciter sicut et diuitem recipit, et debilem sicut
fortem, et ita bene diuites sicut et pauperes in iudicio iudicabit,
et ideo dicit Ps., Iustus Dominus et iusticias dilecit; equitatem
vidit vultus eius; equitatem, dicit, contra personarum acceptores.
Et beatus Petrus, Act. 10, dicit, In veritate comperi quod non est

personarum acceptor Deus. Et Ysaie .11., Iudicabit pauperes in

iusticia et arguet in equitate pro mansuetis terre. Et ideo

dicitur in Leuitico .33., Susci[ta]bo Dauid germen iustum, et faciet

iudicium et iusticias in terra. Item quia iustus est, nichil

impunitum remittet, vnde Ecclesiastes vltimo, Cuncta quae fiunt

adducet Deus in iudicium pro omni errato, siue bonum siue malum sit,

quia aut homo punit aut Deus punit. Vnde Sapientie .12., Cum iustus

sit, iuste omnia disponit, etc. Ita fuit et est iustus, et nos

debemus finaliter iusti esse, quia flecti non debemus propter aliud

qui dicamus omnibus veritatem, et non debemus facere personarum

accepcionem, sed debemus nos hic punire, ne ipse Christus puniat nos

in eterna dampnacione, et sicut dicitur Sapientie .5., Iusti sic in

perpetuum viuent" (Nic f.12). The close similarity of Ad to Nicholas

is borne out by, for example, the fact that both wrongly ascribe a

quotation to Leviticus. It is striking that Ad does not identify

Biblical references as precisely as Nic.

77 The . . . personys]
Sir 35,15.

80-81 The . . . pacient]
Ps 7, 12.

81-83 The . . . persones]
The emendation to "chere saw equite" is on the basis of the Latin

("equitatem vidit vultus eius"); doubtless the scribe was confused

by the odd phrase (although the Latin makes all clear), and has

tried to produce an easier reading, possibly "his saw is equite"

i.e. his watchword is fairness.

83-84 And . . . personys]

Act 10, 34.

85-86 He schal . . . blame]

Is 11, 4.

86 he^2]

A simple case of omission due to eyeskip ("he" in previous sentence).

86-88 in Leuitico . . . erthe]

Not Leviticus, but Jr 23, 5. The error is of course due to
Nicholas, and possibly derives from a mistaken apprehension of an
abbreviation for "Lamentationes". Nic's ".33." is an easily
explained error for "23".

90-91 Alle . . . euil]

Ecl 12, 14.

91 owther pownschid God or man]

The Latin makes clear the sense: "pownschid" is 3sg.pr. "punishes",
and thus the phrase means "either God metes out punishment or man
does".

92 Sethe . . . ry3twysely]

Sap 12, 15. The scribe's omission of "ry3twysely" is explained by
eyeskip, as there are a number of instances of "ry3twyse" at this
point in the text.

94 þat ne we . . . withowte]

A double negative: "so that we speak the truth to everyone without
showing undue favour."

96-97 so schul . . . seith]

Sap 5, 16.

98-115

"Item ipse sapiens fuit, vnde in Psalmo, Sapientie eius non est

numerus, et Colos .2^O. dicitur quod in ipso fuerunt omnes thesauri

sapientie et sciencie Dei absconditi. Ipse fuit verus Salamon,

quia nos patri reconsiliauit et pacificauit, qui tantum fuit sapiens

et intelligens quod nullus fuit ante illum similis, nec post eum

surrecturus est, vt habetur Regum .3°. Hic est vere pauper, qui

per sapienciam suam liberauit ciuitatem paruam, id est, mundum istum,

quem rex magnus, id est, diabolus, vallauerat, Ecclesiastes .9.

Et quia sapiens est, falli non poterit, vnde Bernardus, Veniet,

inquam, illa dies in qua plus valebunt pura corda quam astuta verba,

consciencia bona quam marsupia plena, quam quidem videbitur ille qui

non falletur verbis, nec flectetur donis. Vere sapiens fuit, qui

semper sciuit reprobare malum et eligere bonum, secundum quod

dicitur Ysaie .7., Butirum et mel commedet / vt sciat reprobare

malum et eligere bonum. Et sicut dicitur Prouerbiorum .3°., Beatus

homo qui inuenit [sapientiam] [MS reads i^{am} which might =

intelliganciam] et affluit prudentiam" (Nic ff.12-12v).

98 Of . . . numbre]
PsG 146, 5.

98-99 in hym . . . cunnyng]
Col 2, 3.

100-102 so wyse . . . Kyngys]
3 Rg 3, 12.

102-105 This . . . lordschepe]

Ecl 9, 15.

106 Barnardus]

It is difficult to say why the scribe had trouble with Bernard's name, which s/he appears to have interpreted as "Barnabe (i.e. St Barnabas) þus (i.e. spoke thus)". If this is what the scribe intended then the y graph ("yus") must be taken as representing þ; but Ad always distinguishes between y and þ, so there is some difficulty here. Possibly the corrupt reading was in the exemplar used by Ad, and that exemplar used a script in which þ and y were not distinguished. The scribe of Ad might then have been confused by the odd appearance of the text at this point and reproduced exactly what was written. Since Barnabas is frequently mentioned in the Pauline epistles, which have been quoted from previously in this sermon, the confusion of names is perhaps understandable.

106-109 That day . . . ȝyftis]
St Bernard, Epistolae, PL 182, col. 74.

111-112 He schal ete . . . goode]
Is 7, 15.

114-115 Blessyd . . . prudence]
Prv 3, 13.

114 flouyt]
This has been emended on the basis of the Latin; the scribe's "foluyt" shows a mechanical transposition of letters, and confusion with the verb "to follow".

116-134

"Item potens fuit et est, vnde Exo. .15., Omnipotens nomen eius. Et

Iob .9., Si fortitudo queratur, ipse est robustissimus. Et Ysaie

.9., Et vocabitur nomen eius admirabilis, consiliarus, Deus fortis.

Et quia potens est et fortis, non poterit aliud resistere potestati

eius et sue voluntati, vnde Hester .13°., Dicit Mardochius, Domine

rex omnipotens, in dicione tua cuncta sunt posita, et non est qui

possit resistere voluntati. Iob .9., Sapiens corde et fortis robore.

Quis resistet ei? Vere ipse potens est in corpore et in anima nos

punire, et ideo debemus super omnia istum timere et propter timorem

eius ab omni peccato nos custodire. Et ideo ipse dicit, Mathei

.x°., Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, sed magis timete eum

qui corpus et animam potest perdere in Iehennam. Propterea fuit

ipse potens in sermone et opere, vt habetur Luce .24. Et nos

debemus similiter esse fortes et potentes ad faciendum bona, vnde

Maccabeorum .3., Accingimini et estote filij potentes in mane, etc.

Iob .36., Potentes ad bonorum operandum non abiecit Deus" (Nic f.12v).

It is noticeable that Ad does not specify chapters of books of the

Bible as in Nic; Ad is clearly aimed at a lay audience, and one which

is not particularly learned or in need of such details.

117 Almy3th . . . name]

Ex 15, 3.

118-119 Þe name . . . God]

Is 9, 6.

119-120 so he is my3ti and streng]

The emendation is on the basis of the Latin. As it stands the

sentence is corrupt; the reason for the corruption would appear to

be that the scribe (or the exemplar) took "my3ti" and "strength" as
the objects of "mow withstonde", with "power" and "wille" as post-
poned nouns in apposition. This would make sense, although there
would still be a problem about the form of "my3ti" which is certainly
an adjective and not a noun. The Latin clearly shows that the
structure is two clauses, with the second dependent on the first,
rather than a single declarative statement as the Ad scribe seems
to have understood it.

122-123 Lord . . . wylle]
Est 13, 9.

123-125 Iob seythe . . . hym]
Jb 9, 4.

129-130 Wyl 3e . . . sowle]
Mt 10, 28.

131 Þerfor . . . witnessith]
Ad gives only a vague reference to "þe goospel", but Nicholas
directs us to Lc 24. The phrase "potens in opere et sermone" is
Lc 24, 19.

132-133 Be 3e . . . erly]
1 Mcc 3, 58.

133-134 Þe my3thi . . . away]
Jb 36, 5. Emendation has been made here on the basis of the Latin.
Omission of the final minim of "my3thi" is a common enough sort of
error.

135-154

"Item mansuetus fuit et est, vnde hic habetur, Ecce rex tuus venit

tibi mansuetus. Mansuetudo eius ostenditur in tribus ad prius

fuisse. Primum est in benignitate peccatorum ad penitenciam

vocacione et in eorum dulci recepcione, vt patet in beato Matheo,

Mathei .9., et in Magdalena, de qua eiecit demoniam, Luce .7.

Adhuc in hoc est mansuetus et benignus in peccatorum dulci recepcione,

et ideo dicitur Ioel .2°., Conuertimini ad Dominum Deum vestrum, quia

benignus et misericors est. Item Daniel .3°., Fac nobiscum iuxta

mansuetudine tua, et [Romanos .2°. canc.], Ego quasi agnus mansuetus

qui portatur ad victimam. Secundum, in ascultacione et audacione

oracionum penitencium et clamoris pauperum exaudiuit Dominus. Tertio

fuit in dulci responsione, vnde Mathei .27., Dixit Iude proditori et

Iudeis querentibus eum, Quem queritis? qui dixerunt, Ihesum Na3arenum.

Qui dixit eis, Ego sum, etc. Istam mansuetudinem debemus habere,

quia sicut dicitur Prouerbiorum .15°., Responsio mollis frangit iram;

sermo durus suscitat furorem. Ecce mansueti sic hereditabunt terram

viuencium, vnde psalmista, Mansueti autem hereditabunt terram, et

Mathei .5." (Nic f.12v).

136 Lo . . . mylde]

From the gospel pericope, Mt 21, 5. The sense of Nic's "hic" is "in

today's gospel". The omission of "to" is due to eyeskip: "comyt"

ends with t and "the" begins with t.

138 swete]

Nic's "dulci" confirms this as the right reading; the error would

seem to be due to confusion between medial t and c, which is common

enough, although it is not clear why the s has been lost.

138-140 in þe swete . . . deuillis]

Nic directs us to Mt 9 for the story of Jesus calling to Matthew the

publican to follow him, and to Lc 7 for the story of Mary Magdalene

being received by Jesus; the reference to Jesus casting seven devils

out of her is Lc 8, 2.

141 Be . . . merciful]

Jl 2, 13.

142 Lord . . . myldenesse]

Dn 3, 42.

143-144 Powl seith . . . hows]

Not in fact from Paul's Epistle to the Romans, but loosely based on

Act 8, 32, "tamquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est . . . non aperuit

os suum." It is interesting to note that an earlier manuscript of

Nicholas must have had the ascription of this quotation to Ro, and

that the scribe of Nic has cancelled the error. The fact that it

still appears in Ad is one indication that Nic was not the manuscript

used by the compiler of the Ad series. MS Lincoln College 80 ascribes

the quotation to Is 11: a similar quotation appears in Is 53, 7.

146-148 For ful . . . pore]

These lines, including the Biblical quotation which is from PsG 68,

34, are not found in Nic. There is of course the possibility that

they did occur in another manuscript of Nicholas, but it is tempting

to see their inclusion as a Lollard amplification, since the Lollards

set great store by clerical poverty. See, for example, the passage

in the tract known as Epistola Sathanae ad Cleros, printed in Hudson

1978:89: "Iesu Crist . . . lyved in great pouerte and penance wiþowt

wordly lordschipe and wordly covrtlynes, and also chese to his

apostles and disciples ryght poor men, and if any were riche he made

them poor bothe in sperett and in wordly good. So he tawȝt þem to

lyve in mekenes and pouerte . . .". But generally approbatory
attitudes towards poverty are found in a variety of texts, including
the proto-Lollard Dives and Pauper and the orthodox Piers Plowman.

148-151 as þe gospel . . . myldely]
Nic gives Mt 27 as the reference for this episode, but it is in Mc
14, 62 that Jesus replies to the Jews "I it am". The conversation
between Jesus and Judas and the Jews which is in Nic and translated
in Ad is a paraphrase and does not correspond exactly to the wording
of any of the gospels, though all four evangelists give much the
same version of events. "3yft" in 149 is a 3sg.pr. contracted form.

152-153 A tendir . . . woodnesse]
Prv 15, 1. Ad's original reading "hert hey" for (presumably)
"durus" is problematic. As explained in the section above on the
language of AdLb, either their common exemplar or a prior recension
was written in East Anglia, probably in Norfolk. In this dialect
there is often confusion between d and t or th; thus "hard" or
"herd", which might be reasonable translations of "durus", might
appear as "harth(e)" or "herth(e)". Since in l.161 "forthe" is
written "forthey" one probable hypothesis is that the scribe of
Ad's exemplar wrote "herthey" intending it as a form, albeit an odd
one, of "hard", with y perhaps as merely orthographic. The Ad scribe's
difficulty with this unfamiliar form would then account for the
division of the word into two. I have given the form without y
in the edited text (as I have done at l.161 with "forthey") so as
not to unduly confuse the reader, but I am not altogether sure that
I am not getting rid of a genuine form. The other possibility
which suggests itself is that "hert hey" or "hert-hey" is not a

straight translation of "durus" but a different lexical item

altogether, perhaps "heart-high" or "stern-hearted". However, the

MED gives no such compound or any approximation to it, whereas it

does list "hert" as a spelling of "hard". Yet another possibility

is that the scribe intended "hardy" but this has been rejected as

not giving the right meaning in context. A further possibility is

"hearty" but this has positive connotations which do not fit the

sense required.

153-154 þe mylde . . . sayde]

The quotation is from PsH 36, 11. The phrase "terram viuencium",

which has been incorporated into Ad as if it were part of the text

of this psalm, is from Ps 141, 6; Nic has come across this in the

Glossa Ordinaria,PL 114, col. 89, in the commentary on Mt 5, 4,

"beati hmiles quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram", which similarly

refers to Ps 141, 6.

155-159

"Item humilis fuit in tota sua conuersacione, vnde ipse dicit,

Mathei .2., Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde. Certe

bonus est magister et verax, quia istam leccionem docet, et bona

[MS Lincoln Coll. 80 has "beata"] est leccio, ideo debemus eam

libenter addiscere et retinere. Iste sunt quinque condiciones quas

habuit rex iste Christus" (Nic f.12v). The compiler of Ad was

working from a manuscript of Nicholas in the tradition of Lincoln

College 80 with its "beata" ("blessyd" 1.157), rather than Nic with

its "bona".

155-156 Lernyt . . . herte]

Mt 11, 29.

160-170 And of þis kyng . . . and deede]

"De ipso rege dicitur Cant. .3°., Egredimini, filie Syon, id est,
anime fideles de peccatis / vestris, et videte Salomem, id est,
Christum pacificum, etc. Et in Psalmorum, Letentur filie Syon in
rege suo, id est, in aduentu regis sui Christi. Et hic, Dicite
filie Syon, Ecce rex tuus Christus, iustus et sapiens, potens,
mansuetus et humilis. O, filia Syon, 'tuus' dicitur rex iste, quia
per te natus, per te pauper effectus, per te famem et sitim passus,
per te flagellatus cesus, per te vulneratus, per te crucifixus et
mortuus" (Nic ff.12v-13).

160-162 Wende . . . Salamon]
Ct 3, 11.

163-164 Joy . . . kyng]
Za 9, 9. Ad follows Nic in ascribing this quotation to the Psalms.
Perhaps the error is due to the fact that the abbreviation for
Psalms can look like that for "propheta". "Douȝtir" is sg. not pl.;
the verb is sg.

165-167 And in this goospel . . . comyth to þe]
Nic's "hic" is clarified by Ad: "in this goospel of thys day", and
the reference is to Mt 21, 5.

167-168 is ryȝtwyse . . . Crist]
The Latin makes it clear that a line is missing, due to eyeskip
(repetition of "þi kyng Crist"). I have emended on the basis of the
Latin.

170-172

As noted above, the sermon ends with a closing prayer which is

original to the compiler, and the sermon in Nic continues with the
third principal, and ends on f.14.

Sermon II

After the gospel translation, the sermon is based on the first part of Nicholas' sermon for the second Sunday in Advent. Ad, like Nicholas, begins by adducing further Biblical quotations which relate to the gospel text, and then announces the division into three principals. But Ad in fact deals only with the first principal, "what we owyn to beholde", and the theme of the sermon is beholding, or taking note of, our lives and behaviour, the better to prepare ourselves for meeting Christ. The sermon contains several obviously tendentious interpolations. It ends with a brief prayer which picks up the reaping image suggested by the final quotation from Gal 6 and relates it to the promise of eternal life through God's grace. Nicholas' sermon goes on to consider the second principal, "ad qui faciendum debemus capita nostra leuare", which is subdivided into three reasons why men are afraid to lift their heads, and six things that we should lift up on high ("manus, corda, capita, aures, oculos et animam"). Nicholas does not in fact deal with his third principal, "causam quare duo prima debemus facere". This Ad sermon is more structurally complex than the previous one, and despite following only part of Nicholas' elaborate sermon it is still clearly an example of 'modern' form.

Unlike Sermon I, the gospel translation which prefaces the body of the sermon is not derived from the corresponding Wycliffite sermon (Hudson 27), for the reason that in that version the gospel pericope is much interlarded with commentary, making it difficult for the Ad compiler easily to abstract the necessary material. This probably points to the compiler's having to hand only an unrubricated text of the Wycliffite sermons, for the Wycliffite manuscripts known to us are carefully

rubricated to facilitate the identification of the ipsissima verba

of the Biblical text, as is pointed out in Hudson 1983: 134-136.

As with Sermon I the compiler has had recourse to the Wycliffite

Bible, which this time provides the main source for the translation.

1-2

The ambiguous reference to "Dominica Secunda" shows that the scribe

of Ad clearly thought of the sermon as part of a sequence, and

would expect the user to recognise its Advent occasion. The

superscript gives the gospel text, but the source is not identified;

however, this is an advance on Sermon I, the text of which was not

identified at the beginning of the sermon. The text is Lc 21,28.

3-17

The source of the translation of the gospel pericope is WB, with a

leaning towards EV. The text is Lc 21, 25-33 (Sarum Missal, p.17).

The closeness to EV is shown in the following: "for the confusion of

the sounde of þe see and of the floodys" (11.5-6) (cf. EV MS O "for

confusioun of sown of the see and floodis", and cf. Hudson 27/9 "and

to be confusyd and to make noyse"); "men waxyng drye for drede" (1.6)

(cf. EV "men waxinge drye for drede", and cf. Hudson 27/15-16 "And

so men schullen waxen drye boþe by such eurthly eyr and by drede");

"Forwhye þe vertuys of euynesse schal be mewfed" (11.7-8) (cf. EV

"forwhi vertues of heuene [LV heuenes] schulen be mouyd", and cf.

Hudson 27/27 "for þe vertewys of heuene þat ben liȝtes schullen

be chaunged"); "these thyngys begynnyng to be doon" (11.9-10) (cf.

EV "thes thingis bigynnynge to be don", and cf. Hudson 27/31-32

"for comyng of syche signes"); "a lyknesse" (1.11) (cf. EV "a

licnesse", and cf. Hudson 27/37 "þis symylitude in kynde"); "For

þat this generacion schal nat passe" (11.15-16) (cf. EV "for this

generacioun schal not passe", and cf. Hudson 27/42-43 "þat þe

kynrede of his children schal not passen owht of þis world"). The

translation in Ad, as indeed in EV, is fairly literal. Anne Hudson

has suggested that the AdLb compiler was drawn to the Wycliffite

gospel translations because of their idiomatic quality, but s/he

seems to have been less interested in the idiomatic quality of the

translations than in the ease with which s/he could locate and make

use of any translation at all. However, it is interesting to note

the influence of the Hudson version in Ad: "pressure" Hudson 27/3 and Ad 5,

"ouerleying" EV/LV); "Ther schal be synes or tokenes" (11.3-4) (cf.

"þer schulle be signes" Hudson 27/2, but "tokenes schulen be" WB).

It is not that Ad represents an amalgam of two sources, since WB

is without doubt the source, but rather that the compiler has almost

unconsciously allowed one or two phrases from what s/he has read to

surface in the translation. Coincidence may of course play a part,

where some readings in Ad may have arisen independently but happen

to coincide with Hudson; "pressure" is not likely to be coincidence.

7 euynnesse]

The meaning "heavens" is clear from the context and the Vulgate,

but the spelling is problematic. The question is whether or not

"-esse" is an acceptable plural inflection, or if the scribe in fact

confused the word with some other, perhaps "evenness" (i.e. "fairness").

This latter suggestion does not seem very likely, as there is no

reason in context for why such confusion might have arisen. At 1.105

the scribe gives the form of "sons" (i.e. "filii") as "so₃thnesse",

which is orthographically very peculiar for other reasons too, but

at least raises the possibility that "-esse" represents a plural

inflection. Perhaps the plural in "-esse" is an East Anglian

relict which the more southerly scribe of Ad has elsewhere

successfully eliminated; its occurrence twice in one sermon has

made me wary of emending, and so the form stands. And cf. Ad

X/24 "heuyness", and I/114 "thusse".

18 Respicite ... etc.]

Insofar as the opening of the sermon is framed by the gospel text,

in the superscript and repeated here, it would seem that the gospel

translation functions as a protheme, which is part of the usual

structure of the 'modern' sermon. See Ross, Middle English Sermons,

pp.xliii-lv). But there is no conventional prayer before the

iteracio thematis. This is a pattern which is repeated in most of

the rest of the sermons in the series. This is true of 15th century

sermons generally,as Ross points out (lii, fn2); in two 15th century

artes predicandi the protheme is no longer thought of as leading

to prayer - the distinction between protheme and introduction of

theme is lost.

18-30 This goospel ... of it]

The compiler now turns to the opening of Nicholas' corresponding

sermon, which after announcing its occasion and the gospel text

continues "In hoc euangelio agitur de aduentu Christi ad iudicium

et predicuntur signa et angustie temporis illius, vnde dicitur

Ioel .2°., Sol conuertetur/in tenebras et luna in sanguine,

antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et terribilis. Similiter

beatus Iohannes in Apocalypsis .6. dicit, Terremotus factus est

                 sicut saccus cilicinus [MS x2] et luna tota facta est

magnus et sol factus est/sicut sanguis et stelle celi ceciderunt

super terram. Et certe solummodo non erunt signa in sole et luna et

in stellis, sed erunt in terra et in mari, vnde dicit hic quod

in terra erit pressura gentium per confusione sonitus maris, et

fluctuum eius" (Nic ff.14-14v). Nicholas provides a convenient

cluster of Biblical references to apocalyptic phenomena which

were a medieval commonplace.

20-21 Þer schal ... sterrys]

Lc 21,25.

22-23 Þe sunne ... comyng]

Loosely based on Jl 2,10. The phrase "dies Domini" ("day of the

Lord") was a common medieval epithet for the Day of Judgement,

itself a commonplace of medieval religion (cf. Hudson 27/89-90

"prophetis of Godis lawe clepen þe day of doom 'day of þe Lord'").

Ad translates "day of Godis comyng".

24-26 Gret ... erthe]

Apc 6, 12 and 13.

30 flodys of it]

A literal translation of "fluctuum eius". The difference between

the translation of the gospel text given here and that at the

beginning of the sermon shows that the compiler's technique was

probably to translate the Latin Biblical quotations in the body

of the sermon <u>ad hoc</u>, rather than turning to <u>WB</u>, or some other

source. The closeness of the translation in 11.29-30 to the

Latin of Nicholas bears this out.

31-46

This passage is an interpolation, having no basis in Nicholas. It

is Lollard in tone, particularly towards the end. For the

allegorisation of the sun, moon and stars as the three estates,

overturned by the apocalyptic phenomena, cf. the anti-Lollard

poem <u>Friar Daw's Reply</u> (<u>Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's</u>

<u>Rejoinder</u>, ed. P.L.Heyworth (London, 1968) p.73, 11.5-13:

> "Now 'apperiþ' þe 'prophecie' þat Seint Ioon seide
>
> To joyne þerto Iohel in his soth sawis:
>
> Þe moone is al blodi & dymme on to lokyn,
>
> Þat signefieþ lordship forslokend in synne;
>
> Þe sterres ben 'from heuen' throwun & fallen to þe erþe
>
> & so is þe comounte treuli oppressid;
>
> Þe sunne is eclipsid wiþ al his twelue pointes
>
> By erroure & heresie þat rengniþ in þe chirche.
>
> Now is oure bileue laft & Lollardi growiþ ..."

Heyworth does not cite any other examples of such an allegorisation

in his Notes. Clearly neither passage can be proved to be

dependent on the other. The writers have opposite aims: the author

of <u>FDR</u> wishes to demonstrate the social upheaval caused by Lollardy,

while the compiler of Ad points out the chaos caused by the "senful

presthod" and the lords who do not defend "Goddys lawe" in terms

reminiscent of Lollard polemic. The tendentious comments in 11.31-35

suggest persecution of the Lollards, which would have been acute

during the first decade of the fifteenth century, round about the

time of the statute De heretico comburendo in 1401 and Arundel's

Constitutions in 1407 (reenacted in 1409), up to the time of the

Oldcastle rising in 1413-14. But the victims of persecution are

not defined in specific terms in Ad, and attacks on the sinful

priesthood and the failure of the three estates to fulfil their

roles can be found in neutral or orthodox contexts. The most

specific pointer to the Lollard interests of the compiler is in

11.44-46, the terminology of which is markedly Lollard and can be

paralleled in many Lollard tracts: "antecrist", "trewe man",

"Goddys lawys". For discussion of the phrase "trewe man" as a

loaded term meaning "Lollard", see Hudson 1981: 16-17.

31 The noyse of þe see, etc.]

A marginal note by the scribe draws the preacher or reader's

attention to the content of the passage: "Nota de stata prelacorum

et communium".

39 ordre it]

Omission of "it" would certainly produce a smoother reading, but

since Middle English syntax is often irregular I have chosen to

take this as a case of repetition of the subject, which is commonly

found, and therefore I have not emended. The sense is still

reasonably clear: "and if their light in their order, if it (i.e.

their light) shall be turned to sin ...".

Ll.31-46 also bear comparison with a similar moralisation of
the sun, moon and stars in MS Additional 41321, also in a sermon
for the second Sunday in Advent. There the moon represents
the clergy, whose decline is manifested in sins of pride, avarice
and simony; and the stars are the commons "who should shine
steadily in faith and obedience to God, but are prevented from
so doing by negligent and sinful priests" (Cigman 1968:306-7).

47-57

"Et dicitur ibi quod virtutes celi et angeli mouebuntur et videbunt

tunc filium hominis venientem in nubibus cum potestate magna et

maiestate. Ista dixit ad confusionem et terrorem reproborum et

malorum, sed ad consolacionem bonorum dicit et subiungit: Hijs

incipientibus fieri, respicite et leuate ex hillaritate capita

vestra, id est, corda vestra, quoniam appropinquabit redempcio

vestra, quasi dicit cum mundus vobis finitur [MS f.v. marked for

transposition], quia amici eius non estis; prope est redempcio

vestra quam quesistis. Dicit ergo penitentes et electi Dei,

Respicite, etc." (Nic f.14v).

50-55

Nic's source here is almost word for word that of the Glossa Ordinaria

commentary on Lc 21,28: PL 114, col.335.

50 to reproue and drede of wykyd men and reproued]

The meaning is clear when compared with the Latin; "reproued" should

be taken as a noun, i.e. "reproved men" (cf. Nic's "reproborum"). It

is possible that eyeskip has produced Ad's reading "to reproue",

which should more accurately be "confusion" (cf. Nic's "confusionem").

However, it makes sense and I have chosen not to emend.

52 lefte ₃e vp]

Ad does not translate Nic's "ex hillaritate". Perhaps the compiler

deemed it inappropriate for the generally sober tone of the collection?

The Glossa Ordinaria has the verb "exhilerate".

56-57 þat they been schosyn to God]

The syntax is awkward here. Nic's "penitentes et electi Dei"

might be two separate groups of people, but Ad's version suggests

a causative effect: those who do penance are chosen to God. The

sentence might be rendered: "Therefore he says, as he does to those

who do penance in order that they may be chosen to God, 'Behold ye'."

The form "schosyn" is not recorded in the MED but the OED gives

both inf. and p.p. forms with sch-; see OED choose v.

58-61

"In verbis istis tria sunt consideranda. Primum est quid debemus

respicere. Secundum est, ad quid faciendum debemus capita nostra

leuare. Tertio, subiungit causam quare duo prima debemus facere,

scilicet, propter appropinquacionem redempcionis nostre, quam Dominus

dicit appropinquare" (Nic f.14v).

59 þe secunde]

Ad presumably has omitted this, which is required by the context

and confirmed by the Latin, because of the presence of various other

numerical expressions in this paragraph which have perhaps confused

the scribe.

61 two, aȝenbygging]

Omission of "two" is again probably due to scribal confusion caused

by several numerical feferences in this paragraph; the emendation is

on the basis of the Latin. The Latin again confirms the reading

"aȝenbygging" ("redempcionis") which is easily confused with

"-beginning", particularly if the scribe's dialect used a form

of "bien" rather than "biggen" for "to buy". Both "bien" and

"biggen" are common in the North and Midlands.

62-75

The Ad compiler now bypasses a brief linking section in the source

which demonstrates Nicholas' usual method of confirmatin <u>secundum</u>

<u>ordinem textus</u>: "Primum notatur cum dicit, Repicite. Secundum cum

dicit, Leuate capita vestra. Tertium, cum dicit, quoniam

appropinquabit redempcio vestra. Primum est quid debemus respicere

quod notatur cum dicit, Respicite." Ad presumably omits this to avoid

long-winded repetition, and then proceeds to pick up Nicholas: "Non

dicit, Quid, sed sciendum est quod sex debemus in vita ista respicere.

Primo debemus respicere fragilitatem nostram, et hoc vt omnem

superbiam a cordibus nostris remoueamus, et vt inde nos humiliemus, et

hoc quod dicit beatus Bernardus cuilibet homini super illud, Genesis

.16., Agar, vnde venis et quo vadis, etc.? Agar, dicit beatus

Bernardus, considera vnde venis, et erubesce, et vbi es, et ingemesce,

et quo itura es, et contremesce. Circa fragilitatem nostram, tria

debemus respicere, scilicet, nostre [<u>foll. by</u> fragilitatis <u>subpunctd</u>

<u>for canc.</u>] natiuitas vilitatem, vita nostre breuitatem et

instabilitatem, et mortis amaritudinem. Item tria bene respiciebat

bonus Iob .13., dicens, Comparatus sum luto et assimilatus sum

fauille et cineri. Dicit, Comparatus sum luto, respiciendo eius

natiuitatem, quia formatus est homo quantum ad corpus de limo terre

vilissimo, vnde Genesis .2°., Formauit Deus hominem de limo terre"

(Nic f.14v).

64 remuwe]

Ad's corrupt reading "rewume" (or "rewinne"?) is accounted for

by confusion over minims; emendation is on the basis of the Latin

"remoueamus".

65-67 Seynt Bernard ... trambyl]

cf. the commentary on Gn 16,8 in the Glossa Ordinaria, PL 113 col.122.

I cannot find the reference in the works of Bernard, but cf. Pseudo-
Bernard, Meditationes, "Attende, homo, quid fuisti ante ortum, et
quid es ab ortus ad occasum, atque quid eris post hanc vitam" (quoted
in Cigman 1968:146)

76 seke]

The meaning is "sigh" cf. OED sike v. The OED does not record any

forms with medial e; but this is probably an instance of East Anglian

variation between i and e (see the section on Language above).

70 þere these three]

There does not seem to be any basis for Ad's "þere these" in Nic,

unless Nic's "Item" is an error for "Iste", which perhaps appears

in another manuscript of Nicholas. "Þere" probably has the force of

"In the following place" i.e. the Book of Job.

71-72 I am ... aSkes]

Jb 30,19.

73 velþinesse]

Ad's reading "frelinesse" does not fit the context as well as this

emendation, which I have made by reference to l.69. The error is

due to the similarity between the appearance of the two words.

75 God ... erþe]

Gn 2,7. Allusions to the "ashes to ashes" topos abound in medieval

literature, cf. Dives and Pauper, Commandment IX, Cap.X "alle we

comyn of þe erde and schul turnyn aȝeyn into þe erde". Cf. Gn 3,19
and "Memento homo quia cinis es et in cinerem reuerteris" from the
service for Ash Wednesday (Sarum Missal, p.51fn.5).
76-83

"Dicit, Assimilatus sum fauille, respiciendo vite sue breuitatem et

instabilitatem, quia sicut dicit Iacobi .4., Qui ignoratis quid/sit

vobis in crastino. Que est vita vestra? Vapor est ad modicum parens,

et postea exterminabitur. Et Bernardus, Sicut enim stella in celo

coruscans velociter currit et repente desidet, et sicut sintilla

ignis extinguitur, et sicut cinis, sic cito vita ista finitur"

(Nic ff. 14v-15).

78-80 Ʒe knowe not ... termys]

Jac 4,14. The expression "put owt of hys termys" translates

"exterminabitur", and is recorded by the OED, see term sb. III.

10 pl.

80-83 seyt Sent Bernard ... endid]

From Pseudo-Bernard, Meditationes Piissimae de Cognitione Humanae,

PL 184, col.488. I have emended ll.82-83 on the basis of the Latin;

their omission must be the result of eyeskip, since the following

line contains a similar group of words.

84-99

"Dicit, Assimilatus sum cineri, respiciendo mortem et mortis

amaritudinem, quia sicut dicit Ecclesiastici .41., O, mors! quam amara

est memor tua maxime homini [i]usto [MS iniusto] et habenti pacem in

substancijs suis. Illud bene respiciebat beatus Bernardus,
qui dicit, In sepulcro mortuorum respicio et non inuenio in eis
nisi cineram vermem, fetorem et horrorem; quod ego sum, illi
fuerunt, et quod illi sunt, ego ero. Certe suam fragilitatem bene
debet quilibet homo respicere, et illud optime signatum est,
Iohannis .9., vbi legitur quod quam Dominus illuninauit cecum natum.
Apposuit super oculos eius lutum et ad designandum quod semper
deberet respicere suam fragilitatem, et suam mortalitatem, et quod
ex consideracione sue fragilitatis et sue mortalitatis illuminatur
homo interius. Illud debemus respicere semper vt inde nos humiliemus,
et tales humiles scilicet respicit Deus occulo misericordie, vnde
beata virgo dicit, Luce primo, Respexit Dominus humilitatem ancille
sue, etc. Et in Ysaye .66., Ad quem respiciam nisi ad humilem
spiritu et contrementem?" (Nic f.15). Consideration of the frailty
and transience of human life is of course a commonplace of medieval
writing, and often includes, as here, the ubi sunt? topos.

85-86 A, dethe! ... stawnces]
Sir 41,1. Ad's error "an vnry3twyse man" is clearly traceable to
Nic's "iniusto", which has presumably arisen because of minim
confusion. Fischer's edition of the Vulgate lists only one manuscript
which qualifies "homini" with an adjective, and there it is "iusto",
which anyway makes better sense. Ad's form "stawnces" obviously
derives from Nic's "substancijs", and should be regarded as an
aphetic form of "substawnces". The OED does not record any likely
meanings for "stance", but OED substance gives the required meaning,
"possessions, riches, goods".

87-89 I beholde ... schal be]

From Pseudo-Bernard, Meditationes Piissimae de Cognitione Humanae Conditionis, ca.3, PL 184, col.487. In Dives and Pauper, a similar quotation is ascribed to the Meditations of St. Bernard: "wher ben now þese lordys & lederys ...? Wher ben he now becomyn? Þer is, seith he, noþing left of hem but aschyn & poudyr and wormys. Tac hede, seith he, what þey wern and what þey ben. They wern men as þu art ...", Dives and Pauper, Vol. I, Part 2, p.277. Yet another version occurs in a Ross sermon, p.98.

87 beriellis]

The Latin confirms that this is the singular form; see MED biriel(s) n.

90-93

The story of the man blind from birth, cured by Jesus "the light of the world" through the application of mud, is told in Jo 9,1-7.

93 þatt ow3t of beholdyng]

The Latin confirms that what is needed here is a translation of "ex consideracione". The Ad scribe has misdivided the words and omitted "of" to read "þat tow3t beholdyng" i.e. "that taught consideration", which makes sense, but that makes the phrase "man is ly3tid withyn" in 1.94 syntactically and semantically peculiar. It seems best to emend following the source. Corruption is due to a false join and to scribal confusion between the forms of "ow3t" and frequent 3sg.pr. verb forms with "-w3t" inflections.

97 God ... hondemaydyn]

Lc 1,47-48.

98-99 To qwom ... wordys?]

Is 66,2. Nic's reading "humilem" is found in only one of the

Vulgate manuscripts used by Fischer; the usual word is "pauperculum".

Ad's "myn wordys" are from the Vulgate "sermones meos" but are not

in Nic, which is therefore unlikely to have been the version used by

the compiler of AdLb.

98 qwom]

The Northern form with "qw" is clearly relict from Ad's copy-text,

since the scribe's preference is for forms with w or wh. There is

only one other example of Northern "qw"; "qwat" Ad IV/6. See the

Language section in the Introduction.

100-121

"Secundo, debemus respicere vitam preteritam, scilicet, peccata

nostra preterita, vt de illis doleamus et statum nostrum presentum,

vt in melius nos emendemus si in malo statu sumus. Illud bene

respiciebat Manasses qui dicebat in oratione sua, .2. Paral. vltimo,

Peccaui super numeram arene maris, muliplicites sunt iniquitates

mee, etc. Similiter et filij Israel qui dicèbant vt habetur Baruc.

.2°., Peccauimus, inique egimus, Domine Deus noster, in omnibus

iudicijs tuis, etc. Sequitur, Respice, Domine, de domo santa tua

in nos, et inclinam aurem tuam, etc. Ita nos debemus vitam nostram

preteritam, scilicet, peccata nostra, respicere, vt de illis doleamus.

Ita faciebat Dauid, vnde ipse dicit in Psalmorum, Dolor meus in

conspectu meo semper, quoniam iniquitatem meam anunciabo et cogitabo

pro peccato meo, id est, respiciam peccatum meum. Item debet

respicere statum suum presentem, et hoc est quod dicitur Ieremie

.3°., Leua oculos tuos in direccione et vide vbi [non] prostratus

[sis]. Illud debemus respicere vt nos ipsos emendemus in melius

et si in bono statu non sumus. Et hoc est quod cantat Ecclesia

Sancta, Emendemus nosmetipsos in melius que ignoranter peccauimus.

Ista precepit Deus respicere illi ceco qui clamauit post ipsum,

Luce .18., Fili Dauid, miserere mei. Stans autem /Ihesus iussit

illum adduci ad se, et cum appropinquasset, interrogauit eum, dicens,

Quid vis vt faciam tibi? At ille dixit, Domine, vt videam. Et

Ihesus dixit illi, Respice! scilicet, vitam tuam preteritam et

statum tuum presentem" (Nic ff. 15-15v).

102-103 þat wel beholde Manasse]

The Latin confirms that this is the right reading; Ad has made the

psychologically understandable mistake of taking "þat" as a

purposite conjunction ("in order that") and not as a pronoun, which

has then led to an adjustment of the followng phrase, taking "we"

(from "wel"; final 1 lost through eyeskip to 1 in next word) as the

subject and "beholde" as pl.pr.sbj. not as 3sg.pa. The change of

construction has also produced corruption in the rest of the line,

"þat is seyde be prayere". The line is very garbled and does not

make sense as it stands.

103-105 Manasse ... many]

OrMan 9. The Prayer of Manasses is a short penitential prayer put

in the mouth of Manasseh, King of Judah. Apart from the heading

the prayer contains no reference to Manasseh by name. Manasseh's situation is described in 2 Par 33 (hence the reference in Nic), and the Prayer may well have been appended to this Book in the Vulgate used by Nicholas. In modern printed editions of the Vulgate it usually forms an appendix.

105 sonesse]

Ad's form "so3thnesse" (Nic "filij") is odd; it certainly looks as if the scribe intended the word to mean "sothness" (i.e. "truth"). But there is nothing in the immediate vicinity of the word in the manuscript which might account for this peculiar orthography. Nor is it psychologically plausible that the scribe has made an error with the common collocation "sons of Israel". Comparison with "euynnesse" (1.7) suggests that the plural inflection may be a genuine form, and so I have allowed it to stand. I have however emended the first part of the word to produce a more regular spelling; "so3th-" cannot, I think, have any justification.

105-107 We ... domys]
Bar 2,12.

109-110 My sorwe ... synne]
PsG 37, 18-19. I have emended 1.110 to agree with Nic's version, but not all manuscripts of the Vulgate have "cogitabo pro peccato meo", and the repetition "for my synne" may not be strictly necessary. However, its loss is plausible as a result of eyeskip.

112-113 Lyfte ... down]
Jr 3,2. I have emended "now" to "nowt" because of the negative in the Vulgate; Ad's version without the negative clearly derives in some way from Nic which omits the negative.

115-117

From the processional chant "post nonam" for Feria 3 in week 1 of

Lent: "Emendemus in melius que ignoranter peccauimus" (Sarum Missal,

p.59).

117 commawnde]

Another example of the contracted 3sg.pa. See Note to I/14 above.

117-120 These thyn ... Behold!]

The story of the blind man begging by the roadside whose faith in

Jesus restores his sight is told in Lc 18,35-42. It is the gospel

lection for Quinquagesima according to the Sarum use, cf. Sermon

XV above.

121 present]

This reading is restored on the basis of the Latin. Without it, the

effect of the antithetical balance is lost, and its loss can be

explained by the fact of its similarity to "passyd" in the previous line.

122-145

"Tertio debemus respicere defectum nostrorum multitudinem et hoc vt

semper timeamus et vt custodiendo nos a peccatis magis solliciti

simus, et ne in aliquod peccatum ruamus, et maxime quattuor defectus

[MS + defectus] debemus respicere in nobis. Primus est cadendi

pronitas, Genesis .8., Sensus et cogitaciones humani cordis in malum

prona sunt ab adolescencia sua. Prouerbiorum .24., Sepcies enim cadit

iustus, etc. Secundus est resurgendi per se impossitas, vnde in Psalmo,

Spiritus vadens et non rediens. Homo est vadens, scilicet, per se

in peccatum et non rediens per se sine gratia Dei operante. Sicut

homo senex vel debilitas per se potest cadere in luto sed per se non

potest resurgere. Tertius est proficiendi modicitas quia sicut

dicit apostolus, Romanos .9., Non est volentis, non est currentis,

sed Dei miserantis, quia sicut sine gratia Dei cooperante non potest

homo bonum meritorium facere, ita nec in bono meritorio potest

proficere sine adiutorio Dei cooperante. Quartus est standi et

operandi debilitas, et ideo dicit apostolus, Romanos .7., Non enim

quod volo hoc ago, sed quod malum odi [MS odio], hoc facio.

Sequitur, Video aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis

mee. Istos defectus bene respiciebat apostolus qui sic dicebat.

Ista debemus respicere vt soliciti simus ne per aliquod peccatum

cadamus, hoc est quod dicit apostolus, prima Corinthios .10., Qui

se existimat stare, videat ne cadat" (Nic f.15v).

126-127 The wyttys ... ʒowtehode]
Gn 8,21.

127-128 Salamon ... ryʒtwyseman]
Prv 24,16: "Septies enim cadet iustus".

129-133 For a man ... helpe of God]
This passage appears to be original to Ad, although its source may

of course be in another manuscript of Nicholas. The complex problems

of free-will and grace were much debated in the Middle Ages, but

were the subject of high theological and philosophical discussion

rather than the stuff of ordinary parish sermons. Wyclif , of

course, was charged with holding notably heretical views on these

matters, but the viewpoint expressed here is no more than the

thoroughly traditional Augustinian view that man has freedom to

choose to do evil, and the traditional medieval concept of salvation

through God's grace. The homely image of the "depe draw-welle" may

derive from Nic's "in luto", but is more vivid and specific, and

indicates the compiler's interest in suiting his/her translation

to the potential congregation, a lay and possibly a rural one.

Nic has nothing to suggest the use of the term "fre wylle" (except

"per se"?) and indeed the phrase seems rather portentous in this

context (and unintentionally comic - do you <u>choose</u> to fall into a

well?).

133-134 Mannys ... a₃en]

PsG 77,39.

137-138

Rm 9:16; "igitur non volentis neque currentis sed miserentis Dei".

140

Nic's version of this quotation from Rm 7 is a conflation of two

verses: Rm 7,15, "non enim quod volo hoc ago sed quod odi illud

facio" and Rm 7,19, "non enim quod volo bonum hoc facio sed quod

nolo malum hoc ago". The line is obviously corrupt in Ad and is

problematic, since the minim strokes in "iuel" might well represent

"i nel" (i.e. "nolo"), so it is hard to determine what the scribe

intended. I have decided to emend on the basis of Nic's Latin,

rather than on that of the several Vulgate versions. Ad's "þat

at" represents Nic's "quod ... hoc" (i.e. "that which"), where

the second þ has been assimilated to the final t of the first

"þat". I have interpreted Ad's minim strokes as "iuel", representing

Nic's "malum", rather than the "nolo" ("i nel") of Rm 7,19, and have

added in "I hate" to represent Nic's "odi".

141-142 For I se ... mynde]

Rm 7,23.

144 postel]

The commonly-occurring aphetic form of "apostle".

144-145 He bat semy3t ... nat]

1 Cor 10,12.

146-163

"Quarto debemus respicere inimicorum nostrorum multiplicacionem, et

laqueorum eorum habundanciam et absconcionem, et hoc vt in vita ista

caute ambulemus. Vere debemus respicere inimicorum nostrorum,

scilicet, mundi, carnis et demonum, multiplicacionem; de hoc dicit

Psalmista, Respice inimicos meos quoniam multiplicati sunt, etc.

Item debemus respicere laquerorum eorum habundanciam et eorum in

terra absconcionem, quia vt dicit Psalmorum, Absconderunt superbi

laqueum mihi. Et Iob .18. dicit et loquitur de cupido, Tenebitur

planta eius laqueo et exardescet contra eum sitis. Abscondita

est in terra pedita eius et decipula eius super semitam. Certe

totus aer et fere totus mundus est quasi plenus laqueis diaboli,

[MS adds Nota bene in margin] vnde beatus Antonius vidit in spiritum

cum esset in oratione istos laqueos, et dixit, Domine, quis

transibit omnes laqueos istos? Videbatur et quod vix posset

aliquis illos euadere et rursum est ei humilitas sola. Ista debemus

respicere vt caute in vita ista ambulemus, vnde apostolus, Ephesios

.5°., Videte vt caute ambuletis/non quasi insipientes, sed quasi

sapientes, redimentes tempus, quoniam dies mali sunt" (Nic ff.15v-16).

II

146 ferþe]

Nic confirms that this is the right reading (and is required in terms of the structure of the whole sermon); Ad's error is due to the similar appearance of "ferþe" and "fyfthe".

149 of þe world, and of þe flesch, and of þe fynde]
The three-fold division of man's enemies into the world, the flesh and the devil is a common feature of medieval religion. A number of examples from fourteenth and fifteenth century sermons and lyrics are cited by Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (Michigan, 1952). An early fifteenth-century sermon from the HR collection (Harley 2247 and Royal 18 B XXV), for the first Sunday in Advent, following the Latin of the Fasciculus Morum, makes such a division, but there the enemies are defined as "iij fals leders and doctours" who are "þe deuell", "the worlde" and "the fykell flessh" (Powell 1981: 47-48).

150 Behold ... manye]
PsG 24,19; "Respice inimicos meos quoniam multiplicati sunt".

151 we owe to beholde þe plente]
Both the context and the Latin confirm that something is missing here, although I suspect that rather more is missing than I have here provided, possibly a whole line which the scribe has omitted due to eyeskip (repetition of "snarys"?). Even in its emended form ll.151-152 do not exactly correspond to Nic because they make no mention of the "in terra absconcionem"; it is thus tempting to see

Ad's "leyde" in 1.151 as an error for "heyde" or "hede", but then

the rest of the sentence would be awkward, and it does make good

sense as it stands. Ad is normally so very close to Nicholas that

any divergence is immediately suspicious and seems to point to

corruption, but there is in fact no reason to suppose that the

compiler always followed the source slavishly, and in fact there is

good evidence that s/he did make changes; it is just that here there

does not seem to be any good reason for omitting the "absconcionem".

152-153 The prowde ... to me]

PsG 139,6.

153-154 Hys caltrap ... pathe]

Jb 18,10.

154 eyre]

Emended following Nic ("aer"); the scribe's eye has strayed to

"erþe" in the previous line.

156 seyt]

3sg.pr. "sees"; seeing rather than saying is confirmed by the Latin.

This unusual form can be paralleled elsewhere, cf. "seyth" in a

sermon for the first Sunday in Advent in the HR collection (Powell,

1981: 51 and n. on 114). Powell suggests that the form shows the

raising of ME $\bar{e}$ to $\bar{i}$ (and thence to /ai/) and cites Dobson,

English Pronunciation 1500-1700, 2 Vols (Oxford, 1957), II, 136.

156-159

The incident of St. Antony's vision of the snares is recorded twice

in the Vitae Patrum, PL 73, cols.785 and 953. It was a popular

medieval _exemplum_, as noted by Ross, _Sermons_, p.343. To his list

of examples I can add _An Alphabet of Tales_, ed. M.M.Banks, pp.54-55.

It appears in a Ross sermon for the seventeenth Sunday after

Trinity, p.20.

157 how]

The meaning is "who" (Nic "quis"); the form is East Anglian.

160-162 See ȝe ... euyl]

Eph 5,15.

162-163 nowt ... days]

Apparently an addition by the AdLb compiler.

164-178

"Quinto debemus respicere circa creaturas, et maxime circa volatilia

celi nostri creatoris laǵitatem et solicitudinem, quia pascit ea

sine aliquo labore. Illud debemus respicere vt omnen solicitudinem

carnis nostre remoueamus, et ideo dicit Dominus, Mathei .6., Nolite

soliciti esse anime vestre quid manducetis, neque corpori vestro,

quid induamini. Nonne anima, id est, vita, plus est quam esca, et

corpus plus quam vestimentum? Respicitie volatilia celi, quoniam non

serunt, neque metunt, neque congregant in horrea, et pater vester

celestis pascit illa; quasi dicat vt dicit Glosa, multo magis vos,

qui filij eius estis et rationales, quibus eternitas promittitur;

pascet et dabit necessaria vobis, si tota fiducia vestra est in eo.

Sicut dicit Glosa, Laborem vel prouidenciam non prohibet hic Deus,

sed sollicitudinem" (Nic f.16).

164 beholthe]

Variation between th and d is a common feature of the East Anglian dialect; see the section on Language above.

165 owr Creator abowte]

The Latin confirms that a phrase is missing here, and I have therefore emended as far as possible on the basis of the Latin, assuming that Ad's omission is due to eyeskip (the similarity of the phrase "abowte þe creaturis" in the previous line). But there is still something odd about 11.164-166 which must be due to an extremely literal following of the Latin word order: the sense is "we ought to behold the generosity and solicitude of our Creator towards his creatures, and especially towards the birds of the air ...". I have let Ad stand, as an example of the translator's closeness to the source.

168-173

Mt 6,25-26. The explanation of "anima" as "vita" is from the Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, col.105.

172 forwhy]

The conjunction means "that"; it is a common translation of Vulgate "quoniam".

173-176 Moche ... in hym]

A paraphrase of Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, cols.105-6, except for the borrowing by Nic of the phrase which in GO appears as "ut tota fiducia vestra sit in Deo".

176-178 He forbedyt ... herte]

Not in fact the gospel, as Ad states, but Glossa Ordinaria, PL
114, col.106.

177 prouidence]

I have emended on the basis of Nic and the sense demanded by the
context; the whole paragraph is about the providing of the wherewithall
to live, and not about penance. Ad's error must be due to the
superficial similarity of the two words, or to wrong expansion of
a Latin abbreviation.

179-190

"Sexto, debemus respicere iudicij acerbitatem, vt bonum facere
numquam deficiamus. Acerbitatem iudicij bene respiciebat Sophonias
propheta qui dicebat, Dies illa, dies ire, dies tribulacionis et
angustie, Sophonias .2°. Et in isto euangelio dicit Dominus quod
virtutes celi, potestates tremunt aduentum iudicijs. Et Iob .26.
dicit quod columpne celi contremescunt. O, miseri peccatores, quid
facietis in die visitacionis, de longinquo venientes? Ita dicit
Ysaie .11. Illam acerbitatem debemus semper respicere, et ideo
Dominus, Marce .13., Videte et vigilate et orate; nescitis quod
tempus veniet. Illud debemus respicere semper, vt numquam bonum
facientes deficiamus. Sed quod dicit apostolus, Galatas .6., Bonum
autem facientes non deficiamus; suo tempore metemus; operemur
bonum ad omnes, etc." (Nic f.16).

180-181 That day ... angwyse]

Soph 1,15.

181-182 At þat day ... quake]

Jb 26,11.

183 þe virtuys ... mewued]

Lc 21,26.

183-184 as þe glose ... iuge]

Not in the <u>Glossa Ordinaria</u>.

185-186

Is 10,3; "quid facietis in die visitationis et calamitatis de longe

venientis".

186-188 þat betirnesse ... sowle]

Ad omits the quotation from Mc 13. The sermon in Nic continues, as

explained already, with the second principal, and ends on f.17.

189-190 Doo we good ... alle men]

Gal 6,9-10.

190-192 he þat lytel ... lyf]

2 Cor 9,6.

Sermon III

The first part of this sermon is witnessed only in Ad; then from

1.53 onwards the text also appears in Lb. The gospel text is Mt 11,

7, Qvid existis uidere in desertum? from the gospel lection for the

third Sunday in Advent. (Mt 11, 2-10, Sarum Missal, p.17). This differs

from the text which heads the sermon for the corresponding Sunday in

the Wycliffite cycle (Hudson 28), which has Cum audisset Iohannes in

vinculis, Mt 11,2, also from the gospel lection for the day. Ad,

following Nicholas, has chosen to select that particular text because

the theme of the sermon is going out, or departing, from the service of

God. The AdLb sermon is constructed around the seven ways in which

wrongdoers leave God's service - by pride, by disobedience, by envy,

by lechery, by idolatry, by simony and by avarice. These categories

are all taken from the corresponding sermon by Nicholas de Aquevilla.

After the initial gospel translation (ll. 3-17), the sermon follows

Nicholas closely, as indicated in the Notes, although the compiler has

inserted some tendentious passages. The corresponding sermon in MS

Bodley 806 also makes use of the same material in Nicholas. The sermons

of Bodley 806 are currently being edited by Dr. H. L. Spencer of Lincoln

College, Oxford: in her unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1982) she sets

out the structure of this particular Nicholas sermon and indicates its

use in both Bodley 806 and Lambeth 392 (Spencer 1982[1]:274-279). As I

have pointed out already, the Bodley 806 and AdLb versions are

independent translations, but both deal with only part of Nicholas' sermon.

1

As with the previous sermon, the church season is unspecified, showing

that the sermon was clearly meant to be read as part of an Advent

sequence, and that the scribe was not overly concerned to give the

series elaborately formal headings.

2

Mt 11,7.

3-17

The most striking evidence for the compiler's use of the corresponding

Wycliffite sermon for the gospel translation is the error "preysyd" for

"preched" in 1.8 (Vulgate: "pauperes evangelizatur"). But the versions

are not otherwise close, presumably because the translation in Hudson is

split up with passages of explanation and commentary. Further evidence

of the influence of Hudson is seen in the rather compressed reference

in 11.9-10 to not praising John in his presence, which has no basis in

the Vulgate but is analogous to Hudson 28/43-47: "he preysud Iohn Baptist,

techyng þat men schulde not preise a man in his presence, ne in presence

of hise, leste he were a faiour. Crist preysude Baptist, axyng of hym

þree þingus so þat þe puple were nedid to graunte þat Iohn was hooly".

But the main source for the gospel translation is WB; at times Ad

is close to EV, and at other times to LV. I will give a few examples

here to show Ad's dependence on WB and not on Hudson 28:

Ad 1.3	yn bowndys
WB	in boondis
Hudson 28/4-5	bownden in prisoun
Ad 11.11-12	A rede wawyd with þe wynd?
LV	a reed wawed with the wynd?
Hudson 28/48	sayen ȝe þanne a reed wawyng wiþ þe wynd?
Ad 1.14	been in kyngys howsys
WB	ben in housis of kyngis
Hudson 28/51-2	drawen hem to kyngus hows

Where the text is missing in Hudson, it is clear that WB has been the source

for Ad, for instance, 11.5-6 "And Iesus answeryng seyde to hem", which

has no counterpart in Hudson 28 but does appear in EV: "And Jhesus answerynge, seide to hem". It is as if the compiler had both the Wycliffite sermon and a version of WB in front of him/her as s/he worked and then proceeded to use what was suitable. The influence of Hudson is felt most strongly where the translation occurs in a chunk, as might be expected, for instance, at Hudson 28/20-23. Nevertheless, Ad still displays some idiosyncracies, for example, 1.6 "Wendyng" is not found in either Hudson or any manuscript of WB. The question must arise, why did not the compiler use WB all the time, since it would have been far easier to stick to one text, rather than chopping about between two? Was the reason ideological, insofar as the compiler may have wished to show some strong sympathy with the Wycliffite sermon series? After all, despite its name, the Wycliffite Bible translation contains nothing which announces it as a Lollard text (except the fact of its being a version of the Bible in English), whereas the Wycliffite sermons most certainly contain material repugnant to the orthodox church. But the bulk of borrowings in AdLb concern only the Bible translation, which is unobjectionable. Anne Hudson's hypothesis, that the compiler was drawn to the idiomatic quality of the translation, looks as if it is right. It must indeed have had some special quality for the compiler to have gone to such lengths to use it, when s/he also had access to a continuous translation.

4 workis]

Ad's error "wordis" is due to confusion between k and d, whose ascenders give an appearance of visual similarity to the two words. "Wordis" is also more likely as the object of the verb "herd", which is psychologically understandable.

7 mesels ben heled, defe heren]

I have emended following Hudson and the Vulgate; Ad is particularly

prone to this sort of eyeskip, presumably here because of the visual

similarity between "defe heren" and "dede rysyn".

8 preched]

See the discussion above, on 11.3-17.

12 ȝede]

The omission is due to eyeskip to the following "ȝe".

16-17 Loo! ... befor the]

Mal 3,1.

9-26

Nicholas' Advent 3 Sunday Gospel sermon is simply prefaced by the gospel

text, Mt 11,7, and then plunges straight into the processus which sets

out the threefold division of the thema, which Ad picks up from 1.20

onwards. Lines 9-20 are the bridge by which Ad joins the translation

to the subsequent unfolding of the exegesis and indicates what the

principal interest of the sermon will be. The sense of "þe ferst wordys"

is "the text which I announced at the beginning of the sermon", and not

"the first words of the gospel pericope". In the sermon in Bodley 806

the compiler effects a similar bridge between the protheme (which is more

formal than in Ad) and the body of the sermon, and similarly stresses

the sufficiency of the gospel text: "'What ȝeedoon/ȝee oute to see in

deserte?' And ȝif al þat þis Gospel be ful of fruyt, þese wordes

suffisen for þis tyme" (MS Bodley 806, f.6v, quoted by Spencer 1982[1]:

274). Bodley 806, like AdLb, is also dependent to some extent on

material from the Wycliffite sermon cycle (see Hudson 1983:110-115), and its

compiler clearly shared similar aims to that of the Lollard sympathiser

who put together AdLb. It is interesting that the preacher nowhere

indicates a possible audience; there is no address to "frendis" or "dere

frendis" such as is found in other collections, such as that of Mirk,

or the HR collection. This might indicate that AdLb provided a model

series, which the preacher was then free to adapt. The issue of whether

or not sermons were actually preached, or were preached in the form in

which they survive, is notoriously vexed; however, there does not seem

to be a need to go as far as Thomas J. Heffernan, who in an essay on

"Sermon Literature" in Edwards 1984 wonders whether "many of these

texts [i.e. sermons] are source materials and not the sermons as preached -

a written record meant to be read from and amplified during reading?"

(p.185). This is of course intended to raise a question which we are

not as yet in a position to answer, but I think that it is possible that

the AdLb sermons could have been preached in their existing form; they

are about the right length for delivery during a service, and have clearly

been compiled from Nicholas with a view to that end. Furthermore, marginal

jottings in Lb (which will be pointed out in the Notes) indicate that they

were used with a view to preaching, although of course it is impossible

to say what their delivery in actuality was like.

For the _processus_, cf. Nicholas: "Quid existis in desertum videre,

etc.? Mathei .11. In verbis istis tria sunt consideranda. Primus est

vnde debemus exire. Secundum est videre quid est illud desertum quo

debemus exire. Tertium est ad quid debemus in desertum exire. Primum

notatur cum dicit, Quid existis? Secundum cum dicit, In desertum.

Tertium notatur cum dicit, Videre. Primus est videre vnde debemus /

exire, et hoc notatur cum dicit, Quid existis? Et sciendum est in

primis quod duplex est exitus. Est enim quidam exitus malorum, et est

quidam exitus bonorum. Mali exeunt prima facie de consorcio et de

seruicio Dei, et intrant per peccata sua in seruicium diaboli et

[MS + de seruicio Dei canc.] boni exeunt de consorcio et de seruicio

diaboli et intrant in seruiciam Dei. Exitus igitur malorum est quando

homines exeunt de consorcio et seruicio [MS + diaboli subpuncted for

canc.] Dei [et] intrant per peccata in seruicium diaboli. Et sciendum

est quod .7. modis exeunt homines mali de consorcio et seruicio Dei

et intrant in seruicium diaboli" (Nic ff.17-17v). It will be noticed

that Ad has sensibly pared down much of the repetition in Nicholas.

20 Thre þyngys]

"MS. Bodley 806 does not translate the threefold division set out in the

processus, but proceeds directly to [the] subdivision, "3ee schulen

undurstonde þat þer ben two maners of weendynge oute..." (Spencer 1982[1]:

275).

21-22 the seconde wedir we owe to wende]

Ad's "wedir" is "whither" (with East Anglian e for i, and d for th), and

as such probably represents the "quo" of MS Corpus Christi College 156

(s.xv), which was used by Helen Spencer, or the "ubi" of MS Bodley 857

(s.xv), rather than the more lengthy version in Nic and MS Lincoln

College 80 "quid est illud desertum quo". Despite its confident

announcement of the three principal divisions, Ad (and by implication Lb)

only deals with the first, and then only a part of that.

23 too wendyng owte]

The promise of two subdivisions is not fulfilled, in either Nicholas,

or in the English versions found in AdLb and Bodley 806. All deal only

with the journey of "euyl men".

25 synnys into seruyse of]

The scribe of Ad is not as prone to faults of haplography as that of Lb;
here the missing words are supplied on the basis of Nic, and the error
must be due to eyeskip back to "seruyse" earlier in the line.

27-47

The first subdivision deals with pride: "Primo modo per superbiam quando
scilicet gloriantur de sua sapiencia vel [MS plc canc.] pulcritudine vel
suis diuicijs, vel quando superbiunt de aliquibus bonis a Deo sibi
collatis. Sic per peccatum superbie exiuit Lucifer de paradiso de
consorcio Domini, vnde Ysaie .14., dicit Dominus, Quomodo cecidisti,
Lucifer, de celo, qui mane oriebaris? Corruisti in terram, qui dicebas
in corde tuo, Ascendam in celum, supra astera celi exaltabo solium meum.
Ascendam super altissimem nimbum et ero similis altissimo. Verumptamen
ad infernam detraheris in profundum laci. Ecce exitus eius a paradiso
de consorcio Dei. Et E3echielis .28., O, Cherub, eleuatum cor tuum in
decore tuo, perdidisti sapientiam in decore, proieci te in terram. Item
similiter exeunt a consorcio Dei qui modo superbiunt et gloriantur de
bonis a Deo collatis, et ideo dicit filio suo, Tobie .4., Fili mi,
superbiam numquam in tuo sensu aut in tuo verbo dominari permittas; in
ipsa enim sumpsit inicium omnis perdicio" (Nic f.17v).

28-30 or of here strenghte ... here owyn lyfe]
Nothing corresponds to this short passage in Nic; possibly in another
manuscript of Nicholas, or added for emphasis by a preacher wishing to
stress the dangers of pride, traditionally regarded as the most important

sin (cf. Bloomfield 1952: 145; cf.Memoriale Credencium (ed. Kengen,
1979), p.52: "Pryde is þe furst and þe worst for he is hede and kyng
of alle oþer synnus.").

32-38 How ... deppest pet]
Is 14,12-15. Lucifer is of course one of the most frequently cited
traditional types of pride; cf. Memoriale Credencium, p.55 and
Speculum Christiani, "Quarta Tabula" (on the sin of pride), p.58.

38-39 Lo, weche falle he caw3te thorwe pride]
This is not an exact translation of the Latin "Ecce exitus eius a
paradiso" but there is no reason to suppose corruption (such as an
abbreviation for "paradise" being interpreted as "pride"); the phrase
makes good sense as it stands. See Glossary, caw3te.

40-42 O cherub ... erþe]
Ez 28,16-17. Ad's error "þu hast" for "I haue" is probably traceable
to a faulty translation of the Latin "proieci", perhaps because of its
visual similarity to the nearby verb "perdidisti" which is 2sg.

45-47 My sone ... alle los]
Tob 4,14.

48-72
The second subdivision deals with disobedience. In the Memoriale
Credencium, which derives its material on the sins from the influential
Oculus Sacerdotis of William of Pagula (fl.1350), disobedience is regarded
as a subset of pride, being the first of the five branches of pride.
(Kengen 1979: 53-54).

Nicholas: "Item alij duo exeunt per inobedienciam. Sic exeunt

illi a consorcio Dei et de seruicio Dei et intrant in seruicium

diaboli, quia nolunt obedire Deo et Sancte Ecclesie. Sic per istud

peccatum exiuit Adam a paradiso voluptatis, vt habetur Genesis .3°.,

quoniam comedit de ligno ex quo preceperat ei Dominus ne comederet.

Similiter per istud peccatum exiuit Saul a seruicio Dei, .1°. Regum

.15., quoniam retinuit de melioribus ouibus et armentis de Amalech, vt

immolarentur Domino, sed hec fecit contra preceptum Domini, vnde dixit

Samuel, Melior est obediencia quam victima, et pro eo quod abiecisti

sermonem Domini, abiecit te Dominus ne sis rex. Similiter per istud

peccatum amisit Salomon amorem Domini. Exiuit de seruicio Dei, quoniam

accepit et amauit mulieres alienigenas multas, filiam Pharaonis,

Moabitidas et Amonitas et Ydumeas, contra preceptum Domini, vnde habetur

.3°. Regum .ij. Vnde Bernardus [MS adds Bernardus in marg.] dicit de

omnibus istis, Magnum vicium inobedience, vicium quo angelus amisit
    Adam paradisum, Saul regnum, Salomon amorem diuinum. Ideo bonum est
celum, obedire preceptis Domini, quia sicut dicutur, Prouerbiorum

.21., Vir obediens / loquetur victoriam" (Nic ff.17v-18).

51 and to þe laweful ... souereyns]

This is a striking difference from Nic's "et Sancte Ecclesie", and the

deliberate alteration points to the compiler's Lollard background.

Since the Lollards only recognised the Church as a "gedering-togidir of

feiþful soulis" (Hudson 1978:116, quoting from The Lanterne of Li3t),

they did not acknowledge the authority of the church hierarchy to enforce

obedience to its rules; but Lollards did recognise the authority of the

secular ruler because of "the claim by the clergy, and particularly

friars, to be subject to the pope alone and hence exempt from civil

jurisdiction" (Hudson 1978: 201). Hudson prints a tract "The
Function of the Secular Ruler", based upon Wyclif's discussion of
the same question in his De Officio Regis, which is a useful summation
of Lollard thought on this issue, and which points out the duty of
kings to demand of their subjects only what is "laweful and nedeful"
(Hudson 1978: 127-131 and Notes). On this see further William Farr,
John Wyclif as Legal Reformer (Leiden, 1974), especially pp.70-77.

52-54 So Adam ... nat ete]
Adam's eating of the fruit of the forbidden tree, and his subsequent
expulsion from paradise, is told in Genesis 3.

53 of þe tre]
This is where the version in Lb begins. See the Introduction for a
discussion of the acephalous state of the manuscript.

54 comawnde]
Another contracted 3sg.pa. form, peculiar to Ad. See Note to I/14
above.

54-61 And so ȝede Saul ... kyng]
Saul, instructed by Samuel to obey God's word and destroy Amalek and
all that belonged to him, kept back the best of the livestock to make
sacrifice to God, and was rebuked for disobedience by Samuel. The
story is told in 1 Sm 15, and the quotation in 11.58-61 is 1 Sm 22-23.

56 Amalech]
Ad has probably made a false division, and then read "leche" as "weche";
s/he has then had to add further words to make sense of the following
phrase.

58 seyt]

Ad's form is 3sg.pa. with E. Anglian <u>t</u> for <u>d</u>.

62-65 Salamon ... tellyth]

The account of Solomon's many wives and women, and God's displeasure

with him, is in 1 Rg 11.

66-70

I have not been able to trace this in the writings of St. Bernard. In

the <u>Speculum Christiani</u>, p.39, the same quotation is attributed to

Augustine. Although nothing I have found in Augustine precisely

corresponds to these words the idea is commonplace, cf. <u>Enarratio in</u>

<u>Psalmum XVIII</u>, <u>PL</u> 36, 163: "quaeritis quam magnum sit hoc delictum,

quod dejicit Angelum ... Magnum hoc delictum est ..."

72 Buxsum ... victories]

Prv 21,28.

Nicholas at this point adduces two more Biblical texts which deal with

obedience, Hebr 13 and Dt 17, which Ad neglects to mention.

73-83

The third subdivision of the journeys is envy, which is another of the

Seven Deadly Sins; in medieval lists of the sins it is often in

second place, cf. <u>Speculum Christiani</u>, <u>Memoriale Credencium</u>, Chaucer's

<u>Parson's Tale</u>. The usual Gregorian order is pride, wrath, envy, sloth,

avarice, gluttony, lechery (Bloomfield 1952).

Nicholas: "Item alij .3°. exeunt a consorcio et de seruicio Dei per

inuidiam, vt illi qui gaudent de malis aliorum et tristantur de

felicitate proximorum. Sic exiuit Caym de seruicio Dei per inuidiam,

quam habuit de fratre suo Abel, eo quod Dominus plus eum diligebat,

et quoniam Dominus respexit ad munera Abel, quia de melioribus Domino

offerebat. Ideo interfecit eum, vt habetur Genesis .4. Et dicitur

ibi, Egressus est Caym a facie Domini et habitauit profugus in terra

ad orientalem plagam. Et certe Caym, si deprecatus fuisset, veniam ad

misericordiam Dei bene prouenire[t]" (Nic f.18).

75 Caym]

"The spelling Caim or Caym for Cain is very frequent in late medieval

Latin and vernacular texts of all sorts and need by itself not

necessarily be taken as a satiric acrostic on the names of the four

orders of friars", Siegfried Wenzel, review of Anne Hudson's Selections

from English Wycliffite Writings, Notes and Queries 26 (1979) .p.63. The

"satiric acrostic" is that made up of the four orders of friars, the

Carmelites, Austin, Dominicans (or Jacobites) and Franciscans (or

Minorites); Lollard polemic makes great play with this, because of

Lollard dislike of the friars, but there is no reason to suppose this

is the case here. The spelling "Caym" appears in Nicholas and he was

probably a Franciscan; contextually, there is no authority for

attributing satiric significance to the spelling.

The story of Cain's murder of his brother Abel is told in Gn 4.

76 Ad deuyl / Lb euyl]

I have not emended Ad's "deuyl" although it does not quite provide

the antithesis to "goode" which Lb's "euyl man" does, but I think it

has an equal claim to stand. There is nothing in the source which would

lend authority to emendation; it makes good sense; Ad is fond of

abridging the text, and has reduced "good man" to "goode", so that

conceivably "euyl man" has been reduced to "deuyl".

80-81 Lo, ... envie]

I take this to be a deliberate interpolation by the compiler, adapting
Nicholas for use by a preacher, who is then free to add   extra
material (on Envy, perhaps taken from one of the popular listings of
the sins) if time, or patience, permits. There is no parallel in
Nicholas.

82 Ad sou3t]

Aphetic form of "besought".

84-100

The fourth subdivision concerns lechery, another of the Seven Deadly
Sins. Nicholas: "Item quarto alij exeunt a seruicio et consorcio Dei
per luxuriam siue per videndi curiositem quod non licet. Sic exiuit
Dina, et ideo corrupta fuit et propter hoc virginitatem amisit suam,
Genesis .34., Egressa Dina, filia Lye, vt videret mulieres regionis
illius, quam cum vidisset Sichem, filius Emor Euehi, princeps terre
illius, adamauit, rapuit et dormitauit cum ea. Dina 'iudicium'
interpretatur et signat animam fidelem que debet se iudicare et facta
sua, et non facta aliorum, aut alios. Quando curiosa est videndi quod
non licet concupisci, sepe accidit quod per curiositatem suam exit a
consorcio Domini, quia tunc vid[e]t [MS vidit; corr. from Lincoln Coll.
80, following Spencer] eam diabolus, scilicet Sichem, et tunc rapit eam,
quia tunc egressa est in seruicium diaboli" (Nic f.18).

This is the end of the fourth subdivision in Nic, but other manuscripts
of Nicholas contain extra material here, cf. Corpus Christi College

156 and Lincoln Coll. 80 (quoted by Spencer), "Caveant ergo impudici, la's'civiosi homines ac mulieres ... ne pereant cum Eva, matre nostra que cum vidisset [poma] [om. from the Corpus MS] incidit in delectationem et David in tripl[ex] [Corpus MS has "triplicem"; corr. from Lincoln MS] peccatum".

The version of this sermon in MS Bodley 806 only mentions Dina, and not Sichem, which is evidence that AdLb is an independent translation and did not derive its text, here at any rate, from that in Bodley 806. Bodley 806 does not mention either Eve or David.

88-92 Egressa ....by hyr]

Gn 34,1-2.

89 Dyna goo owt]

Both Ad and Lb have an unidiomatic rendering of the Latin ablative absolute; their translations of the Vulgate are generally literal, closer to Rolle than to, for example, the Middle English translation of Thomas of Hales' Vita Sancte Marie, The Lyf of Oure Lady (ed. Horrall 1985), in which all ablative absolutes are universally resolved into finite verbs.

89-90 Ad Dyna ... lond]

The scribe has produced a couple of errors due to eyeskip; s/he has retrieved the error of dittography in 1.89 by cancellation, but not noticed the repetition of "dowter" for "women", or "loue" for "lond" in 1.90. Emendation is by reference to the Vulgate and to Lb.

92 Dyna ... dome]

Dina's name is traditionally interpreted as 'judgement'; see Jerome, Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis PL, col.775 "Dina, judicium istud, vel ejus".

93 hereself, here]

Grammatical gender could be attributed to non-human subjects in the
medieval period; following the Latin, the compiler exploits the
ambiguity of the female determiner and pronoun ("anima" is f.) so that
here, and in the rest of the passage, the actions apply to both Dina
and the soul.

95-96 as they ... oþer]
Not in Nic.

101-151

The fifth subdivision concerns idolatry and witchcraft, which in the
preachers' manuals are usually considered not as branches of the sins
but in discussions of the First Commandment, cf. Dives and Pauper,
Memoriale Credencium.

101-136

"Item .5°. alij exeunt per ydolatriam. Ita exierunt filij Israel quando
fecerunt vitulum aureum et adorauerunt eum, vt habetur Exodi .32.
Similiter Ieroboam et filij eius in tempore suo exierunt [per] ydolatriam
a cultu Domini, vt habetur tertio libro Regum .12. Et Ieremie .10.,
dicit Dominus et conqueritur, dicens, Filij mei exierunt a me, scilicet,
per ydolatriam suam, et subsistunt. Non est qui extendat tentoria
mea et qui erigat pelles meas" (Nic f.18).

102-103 A goldyn calf, etc.]
The story of the worshipping of the golden calf is in Ex 32.

104-105 Ieroboam and hys sonys, etc.]

The story of Jeroboam is told in 1 Rg 12-1 . He made two golden

calves, thus incurring God's wrath. See especially 1 Rg 14, 9-16.

107-131 and so wendyn owt ... and woman]

This passage is an interpolation by the AdLb compiler which has no

counterpart in Nicholas. Compared to AdLb's treatment of images,

Bodley 806, whose compiler was sympathetic to Lollard views, shows

remarkable restraint: f.7v, "Also summe wenden out by mawmetrie, as

dyden þe sones of Israel whanne þei maden a golden calfe and

worschipeden it as men done ymages now3, as it telleþ in Exodo"

(quoted from Spencer 1982[1]:277). The sentiments and language of the

passage in AdLb are common in Lollard writings, although there is no

identifiable borrowing. As Anne Hudson points out (1978:179-181) the

refusal to do honour to images of saints, and the associated opprobrium

accorded to pilgrimages, came to be seen as the commonest Lollard

belief, and yet Lollard writers varied widely in the strength of their

attacks. See Hudson, "Images and Pilgrimages" in Selections 1978:

83-88.

107 stokkys and stonys]

A strongly pejorative term for idols, "gods of wood and stone".

Commonly used in Lollard writings, cf. Matthew 210/31, and also

"blynde stockys or ymagis", Matthew 7/25; but also found extensively

in the more ambiguously-oriented Dives and Pauper, eg. Vol 1: Part

1, 103/61.

108 mawmettys]

Possibly a term with Lollard implications: Hudson 1981:19 suggests that

the related words mawmetrer and mawmetrie might have a claim to

consideration as Lollard sect vocabulary. But of course "mawmet"

is also used in non-Lollard writings.

111-114

Dt 27,15. Lb's error "glowen" cannot possibly be the required p.p.,

although the scribe may have been thinking of it as a form of the pr.p.

i.e. "gloweng" or "glowend". But it seems more likely that there was

eyeskip to the g of "graue".

114-117

PsG 113,16.

117-120

Ex 20,4-5. Lb's "Genesis" is an error of a very common sort; wrong

attribution of Biblical texts is widespread. This is the stock Biblical

quotation used in discussions of the value of imagery, by both

supporters and detractors; it is of course the First Commandment, cf.

Dives and Pauper, Commandment 1, Cap.i, and the Rosarium entry under

"Ymage" (von Nolcken 1979:100).

122-124

The quotation does not appear to be Biblical.

126-130

Eph 5,5.

129 Ad ydelys]

Ad's original reading "ydelnesse" is clearly an error, but perhaps an

instructive one. Might Ad's exemplar, or the hyparchetype, have had

the plural "ydelesse", as in the plural forms in II/7 and II/105 above?

This is very much a conjecture, but it would lend support to the

theory that the other forms of this type (Ad II, 7 and 105) are in

fact genuine plural forms. There are problems, though. Why, for

example, do none of these curious spellings appear in Lb when both

manuscripts are close to each other? But none of Lb's East Anglian

x- spellings appear in Ad. Lb successfully eliminates that provincialism

from the text when s/he is about half-way through; Ad perhaps wrestled

with the odd forms in the early part of the text, and then managed to

impose his/her own dialect. Sermon II does not appear in Lb, so it is

not possible to compare that scribe's treatment of the words

"euynnesse" and "so₃thnesse" (II, 7, 105).

133-136

Jr 10,20.

137-151

"Ita filij exeunt quasi per ydolatriam a consorcio Dei et a seruicio

eius sortilegijs credentes et [?] facientes et ad magos et ariolos

declinantes, et certe multi peribunt de populo Dei quia non sunt de

populo eius. Vnde Leuitici .20., Anima que peccauerit, declinauerit

ad magos et ariolos, et fornicata fuerit cum eis, ponam faciem meam

contra eam et interficiam eam de populo meo" (Nic f.18).

137 And sum ₃edyn owte]

AdLb treat this almost as another subdivision within the main structure

of the sermon, but it is all part of Nicholas' discussion of idolatry,

and in Nic follows straight on from the Jr 10 quotation, picking up its

reference to "filij". Witchcraft and its associated practices are

treated by the preachers' manuals as material relating to the First

Commandment and the injunction not to worship false gods (cf. Memoriale

Credencium, p.41). On witchcraft and the church see Keith Thomas

Religion and the Decline of Magic (Harmondsworth 1973), ch. 2 "The

Magic of the Medieval Church".

138-143

The catalogue of misbeliefs has been considerably elaborated upon by the

AdLb compiler. Compare Memoriale Credencium, p.41, on the First

Commandment: "In þulke hest also is for boden al maner wicche craft and

enchauntementis with cernes and markes and al manere wikkedhede of

tellyngus experimentus coniurysons as men be wont to make for þyngus

y stole.in basyns and in swerdes. ...In þulke hest also is forbode ...

for to telle of thyngus þat is to come? bi sterres and planettes ...

oþer bi discrevyng of þe pawme in a mannes hond ..." and see also

Dives and Pauper, Cap.xxxiv of the First Commandment, "alle þat ... vsyn

nyse obseruauncys in þe newe mone or in þe newe ȝer, ...or taken hed to

... diuinacounys be chiteringe of bryddis or be fleyyng of foulys ...

or be songewarie, þe book of dremys ... and alle þat vsyn ony maner

wychecraft or ony mysbeleue, þat alle swyche forsakyn þe feyth of

holy chyrche ...".

138 coniurisonijs]

Ad's "comyth so nijs" is clearly nonsense in context, and looks like

an attempt to rationalise a difficult word, where the cluster of

minims has confused the scribe. The error is perhaps instructive,

indicating that Ad's copy-text might have had plural inflections in

"-ijs". I have emended following Lb, and bearing in mind the use of

the word in the context of witchcraft.

139 and tillyngys of chyldryn and of beestys]

Ad's omission of "and tillyngys" can be explained by its visual

similarity to the preceding word "mysbeleuyng"; that this is an omission

rather than an addition in Lb (since no source exists for this passage)

can be argued from the fact that "mysbeleuyng of chyldryn and of

beestys" does not make sense. The meaning of "tillyngys" is not clear;

on the evidence of the passage in Memoriale Credencium I take it that

the word is in fact "tellyngys", with E. Anglian i for more usual e.

Kengen's glossary suggests that it means "numberings" or "speakings"

(cf. OED telling). Divining by numbers is mentioned in Dives and Pauper

(which does not use the word). Children were employed in such

divinations because certain spirits would only manifest themselves

to the pure. It might also be that the word is an aphetic form of

"fore-tellings" (i.e. acts of looking into the future). The "beestys"

is less easy to explain, but the passage from Dives and Pauper quoted
(N. to 138-143)
above/at least mentions birds. The sense of this line is compressed,

but means something like "various acts of divination and looking into

the future which involve the use of children and animals".

140 and þat wendyn]

Both Ad and Lb at this point read "and to hem þat wendyn", which does

not make good sense (why "to"?), although I am reluctant to emend

when both texts have the same reading. Middle English syntax is not

regular, and anacolutha abound in ME writing, but this is a fairly

straightforward paratactic passage and thus I have assumed error in

the common archetype and emended to produce a clearer reading, so that

"þat wendyn, etc." is a further amplification of the "sum" of 1.137.

141 dreme-rederys]

Dream-interpretation or "songewarie" was clearly widely practised,

and had a respectable ancestry apart from its nefarious associations,

cf. Langland's more temperate misgivings in Piers Plowman, B VII, 148-151:

> "Ac I have no savour in songewarie, for I se it ofte faille;
> Caton and canonistres counseillen us to leve
> To sette sadnesse in songewarie - for sompnia ne cures."

145-151

Lv 20,6. I have supplied Lb's missing Latin on the basis of Nic

and the Vulgate; it was perhaps omitted because of the visual

similarity between "fornicata" and "fuerit".

149-150 þat is mysbeleue ... leccherye]

Cf. Jack Upland, p.71, "Frere ... whi bisien ȝe ... euer to lyue in

lustus of fleisch & of þe world, þat is goostli leccherie?"

152-173

The sixth subdivision deals with simony; in Dives and Pauper this is

considered as a form of stealing and dealt with in the discussion on

the Seventh Commandment (see Dives and Pauper, Commandment VII, Cap.xvi).Nic:

"Item .6°. alij exeunt per symoniam. Sicut exiuit Gieȝi, seruus

Helysei, qui currit post Naaman Syrum, quem Helyseus dominus suus

sanauerat a lepra sua / et accepit ab illo duo talenta argenti et

duplicia vestimenta, vt habetur .4°. Regum .5., et dicitur quod egressus

est ab eo, scilicet, ab Heliseo, qui interpretatur 'Deus meus', leprosus

quasi nix, quia lepra adherit ei et semini suo in sempiternum. Per

Gieȝi [MS adds Nota de Gieȝi in margin] signatur miseri sacerdotes

symonienci qui vendunt confessiones hominibus et benedicciones et

sacramenta ecclesie, quibus adquiritur sanitas anime et corporis.

Aliquam isti exeunt a vero Helyseo, id est, a consorcio Christi,

qui est verus pater, tamquam leprosi qui fetidi sunt coram Domino

et angelis. Similiter exiuit Symon Magus, qui voluit emere Spiritum

Sanctum ab apostolis vt venderet illum, vt habetur Actus .8."

(Nic ff.18-18v).

It is interesting that the proto-Lollard compiler of Bodley 806, drawing

on this same passage in Nicholas, does not take up the opportunities

offered by the Latin to launch into an attack on the corrupt church

hierarchy, as does the compiler of AdLb', but produces a brief sentence

referring to Gehazi and neglects to mention Simon Magus altogether

(Spencer 1982[1]:278).

152-158

The story of Gehazi, Elisha and Naaman is told in 2 Rg 5,20-27. Gehazi

accepted presents from Naaman against Elisha's wish and was therefore

struck with leprosy; in medieval religion he frequently appears as a

type of the covetous man (cf. Memoriale Credencium, p.102) or of the

simoniac, cf. Dives and Pauper, Commandment VII, which makes a nice

distinction between buying and selling Cap.xvi., "alle þat byyn

onyþing spiritual or onyþing knyt to þing spiritual ben propirly clepy[d]

symonyakis, and þei þat sellyn it ben clepyd [gyeʒitas,] gieʒite in

Latin, for Giesy þe seruant of Helyse [þe prophete] tooc mede & ʒifte

of þe gret lord Naaman for þat God hadde maad hym hol of his lepre be

þe prophete Helyse þat was his mayster, ... & þerfor he was a lepre &

al hys kyn aftir hym"; D and P goes on to point out that "comounly

boþin byer & seller of spiritual þing ben clepyd symonyakis."

Elsewhere in medieval literature Naaman himself figures as a type of

the sinner, because of his leprosy; for which see Sermon XVII/59 ff.

and Notes.

156 Elye/Helye]

These forms, together with "Eleyeys"/"Elies" in 1.153, must represent

the name Elisha ("Elisee", as in 1.154), but look as if the scribe

of the archetype, or hyparchetype, (for the error is there rather than

being due to the scribes of Ad and Lb), has confused Elisha's name

with that of the prophet Eli. I have decided not to emend. Moreover,

the forms "Eleyeys" and "Elies" may well be uninflected genitive, and

therefore in fact represent "Elise". Perhaps this is the source of

the odd form in 1.156 (i.e. an uninflected gen. has been taken as

inflected and a new uninflected form then created)? But see Ross, p.172

where Elisha appears as "Hely".

156-157 as whi3t]

Eyeskip in Ad to "as snowe".

158-171

AdLb shows an interesting development of Nic's "miseri sacerdotes

symonienci", which is itself a perfectly orthodox statement, and

anyway Nicholas is writing from the point of view of an austere

Franciscan upholding his own ideals of poverty and goodness in

contradistinction to that of the church within the community. The

passage in AdLb is a thoroughly Wycliffite attack on corruptions

within the church, which certainly goes beyond orthodox denunciation

of simonient practices in its vehement polemic. There is no specific

source for this addition, but the terminology and ideas are part of the

common Lollard stock, cf. "The Perversion of the Works of Mercy" (printed

in Matthew, but repr. more recently in Blake 1972:139-150): "Clerkis

seyn that lordis ben cursed yif thei chastisen hem, though thei ben

nevere so foule leccherous and nevere so cursed heretikis, for symonye

and coveitise and meyntenynge of synne and robbynge pore tenauntis

bi extorcions for Anticristis correccions and veyn halwynge of chirchis

and auteris", and the tract called "Of Prelates" (Matthew), the fifth

chapter of which contains a vivid denunciation of simony as practised

by prelates: "prelatis ben ful of symonye whanne þei mynystren here

sacramentis or ony gostly office for money or þank or preiynge of men

of þe world ... Also generaly prelatis regnen in symonye, as bischopis,

munkis, chanons, & freris, & lesse curatis; for bischopis, munkis &

chanons sillen þe perfeccion of cristis pouert & his apostlis, & also

trewe prechynge for a litil stynkyng muk or drit, & worldi lordschipe,

& wombe ioie and idelnesse ...". See also the tract printed in Matthew

as "Why Poor Priests Have No Benefice", pp.245ff.: "3if men schulde

come to benefices be 3ift of prelatis þer is drede of symonye; for

comynly þei taken the friste fruytis or oþere pensions ... woo is to

þo lordis þat ben leed wiþ suche cursèd heretikis & anticristis ...".

162 þe furst fruytys]
A payment, usually representing the amount of the first year's income,

paid by each new holder of an ecclesiastical benefice to the pope; the

Lollard view was that such payments to the pope were acts of simony.

165 halwyng of cherchys]
Both Lb and the passage from "The Perversion of the Works of Mercy"

confirm that this is the right reading; Ad's "ʳtoʹ han likyng" is a

rationalisation of a word with a number of potentially confusing minims.

171-173
Simon Magus, of course, gives his name to simony; he was the magician

who offered money to Peter in order to have the Holy Ghost, because he

wantæd the power it conferred to do miracles. The episode is recounted

in Act 8.

174-188

The seventh, and last, of the subdivisions concerns avarice and

covetousness, another of the Seven Deadly Sins.

"Item .7°. alij exeunt per auaritiam et cupiditatem. Sicut exiuit Iudas

de consorcio Domini, quia per cupiditatem eum vendebat Iudeis trenta

argenteis, vt habetur Mathei .27. Et ibidem dixit Ihesus ad Iudam et

ad turbas tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladijs et fustibus comprehendere

me. Certe multi sic exeunt de consorcio Domini, tam clerici quam

layci, vnde dolendum est ex istis. Clamat Ieremie .5., Nolite exire

ad agros auaricie, scilicet, et [in via] cupiditatis non ambuletis"

(Nic f.18v).

175-177 Iudas]

See Mt 27 for the account of Judas selling Christ to the Jews for

thirty pieces of silver. In medieval religion Judas is the type

par excellence of the covetous man, cf. Memoriale Credencium, p.102:

"For couetise: Judas sold criste and fell in to wanhope and an

hongud himself and is y dampned boþe bodi and soule".

177-183

A typically Lollard addition by the AdLb compiler; Nicholas mentions

that avarice is commonly practiced by "tam clerici quam layci" but the

AdLb compiler appears not to have needed any prompting to condemn the

clergy. I have not found an exact source for this passage but it

bears comparison with several passages in Lollard texts. See Matthew,

p.167, "certis alle þes [priests who sell the mass] sellen criste as

iudas dide, & worse, for he is nowe knowen for god & glorified in his

manhede"; and Matthew, p.183, "iurouris in questis ... sillen crist

þat is treuþe, as iudas dide, for a litel money". See also Jack Upland

p.66: "Frere, ... if þou woldiste not seie a masse but for a penye ...
if þou sillist Cristis bodi for a penye, þanne art þou worse þanne
Iudas þat soolde it for britti pens." See also the orthodox text
Dives and Pauper, Cap.v of Commandment VIII, "alle þo þat for mede
beryn fals witnesse þey sellyn Crist souereyn trewþe for mede ... But
swyche fals wytnessys ben warse þan was Iudas, for he seldè Crist for
þretty penys".

178 and frerys]

The AdLb compiler was no friend of the friars. Lollard hatred of
the friars needs no elaboration; see particularly Jack Upland in
Heyworth 1968:54-72 for a popular contemporary account of this dislike.
See also the Note to I/22-24 above.

179 tryntal]

A series of thirty requiem masses.

184 I am wey, trewthe and lyff]

Jo 14,6.

185-188

Jr 6,25.

188-193

The AdLb sermon concludes here with a final prayer. Nicholas here
recapitulates his first principal: "Certe omnes isti vadunt in desertum
confusionis eterne vbi iam habitant ..." (f.18v). MS Bodley 806 does
not conclude here, but does not translate Nicholas' recapitulation or
use any more material from Nicholas, though continues to use the idea

of the allegorical desert which is in Nicholas (see Spencer 1982[1]:279).

In view of the fact that both AdLb and MS Bodley 806 stop using Nicholas at the same point, it is not impossible that the Bodley manuscript was copied from either Ad or Lb, or more likely from an earlier version of AdLb, since Anne Hudson suggests that Bodley 806 was written before 1401 (Hudson 1983:114). If there is a connection, then the borrowing is certainly that way round, since Bodley 806 omits material from Nicholas which is in AdLb. In this context it is interesting to note that the prayer which comes immediately after the gospel translation in Bodley 806 is reminiscent of the prayer with which AdLb's sermon concludes: "Preye we to Criste þat is verry weye to lede vs to þe londe of lyfe, et cetera ..." (Bodley 806, f.6v, quoted by Spencer 1982[1]:274).

Nicholas spends considerably less time on his second and third principals than he does on his first. The second principal "quid est illud desertum" deals with the three parts of penance - contrition, confession and satisfaction. The third principal deals with six things which we should see in the desert - worldly vanity, Christ's incarnation, Christ's passion, various Biblical figures associated with wildernesses, God's sweetness and the greatness of glory. The sermon ends on f.19v.

Sermon IV

The text is <u>Dirigite viam Domini</u>, Jo 1,23. As usual the sermon is
prefaced with a translation of the entire gospel pericope, Jo 1,19-29
(<u>Sarum Missal</u>, p.24), and the body of the sermon derives its structure
and material from the corresponding sermon by Nicholas de Aquevilla.
Nicholas, unusually, begins with the entire gospel lection, and after
the <u>iteracio thematis</u>, <u>Ego vox clamantis, etc.</u> Jo 1,23, he announces
the division into two principals: "In istis verbis duo sunt consideranda.
Primum est quare voluit Iohannes se vocem clamantis in deserto apellare.
2^m est que sunt ille vie quas debemus Domino parare vel dirigere cum
beato Iohanne Baptista" (Nic f.20). The first principal is dealt with
only briefly in Nicholas, and neglected altogether in AdLb, which is
structured entirely around Nicholas' second principal, the seven ways
which we must make ready for the Lord. The structure of AdLb, which
owes a great deal to Nicholas, is clear, neat and to the point; it
also parallels the design of the previous sermon, though this time the
qualities discussed are virtues not vices.

1-2

Ad still does not define the church season, but now begins, like Lb,
to identify the gospel text more precisely. Lb is generally more
punctilious than Ad in the matter of sermon headings and identification
of Biblical sources. The text differs from Nicholas, because the AdLb
compiler has omitted the first part of the verse, <u>Ego vox clamantis,</u>
since this text is not germane to his/her purpose (the discussion of
the seven <u>ways</u>). This is evidence of the careful construction of AdLb;
the compiler has only chosen that part of the text which will suit the
subsequent exegesis.

3-20

The gospel translation is not dependent on the corresponding Wycliffite

sermon. Instead the compiler has turned to the Wycliffite Bible. The

version in Hudson 29 is interlarded with a substantial amount of

commentary, making it less easy to abstract the gospel lection; where

this has been the case with previous sermons, the compiler has

nevertheless also consulted the Wycliffite sermon. Although that might

be the case here too, the evidence is less clear. AdLb's version has

used WB, and is closest to EV, cf. "What þerfore?" AdLb 6-7 and EV

("What thanne?" LV); "I a vois" Lb 11 and EV (but "I am a voyse" Ad

and LV); "Therefore what?" AdLb 14 and "What therefore?" EV ("What

thanne" LV). There are also, as might be expected, similarities with

LV, cf. "werne doon" AdLb 19 and LV ("ben don" EV). To show AdLb's

dependence on WB and not the Wycliffite sermon, compare:

AdLb 13-17	And they þat weryn send weryn of þe fareseynes and þey axed hym and seyden, "Therefore what baptyses þu, ȝyf þu art nowt Crist no Hely no a prophete?" Ion answeryd to hym, sayng, "I baptyse in watyr, the myddys forsoþe of ȝow stode
EV	And thei that weren sente, weren of the Pharisees. And thei seiden to him, What therefore baptysist thou, if thou art not Crist, nethir Elye, nether prophete? John answeride to hem, seyinge, I baptise in watir, sothli the myddil man of ȝou stood
Hudson 29/ 50-52	And þese messagerus axeden Iohn warto he baptisede ... But Iohn answerede hem þat he baptisede in watyr, and on myddys of hem stood

It is possible that the last phrase in the above passage in AdLb has

been influenced by the version in Hudson, although the evidence is not

certain: AdLb evidence a number of idiosyncratic readings, and some

apparent similarities may be due to coincidence.

11-12

Is 40,3. The scribe of Ad notes "Ysaye" in the margin.

17 stode]

It is difficult to account for Lb's omission; perhaps eyeskip to the
"soþe" of "forsoþe" in the previous line?

21 Dirigite viam Domini]

Insofar as the thema and iteracio thematis frame the gospel translation,
the latter can be seen to function as a protheme. The AdLb sermon has
indeed a 'modern' structure, although it is a good deal less elaborate
than many Latin and English 'modern' sermons. Nowhere in the AdLb
series, for example, does the preacher request the audience for prayer
at the end of the protheme, as is usual with this form, cf. Grisdale
1939:xiv-xv; Ross 1960:xliii-lv. See also the note to II/18.

21-26

There is not in fact a principal division in AdLb, although there is
the appearance of one, insofar as "thre wordys" and "thre maner weyys"
are mentioned. The preacher has had to do a bit of juggling here in
order to effect the transition from protheme to division, and has made
a mistake in the process - the "thre" of 1.24 should in fact be "six"
since this is how the sermon develops, but Nic promises seven subdivisions
although he only deals with six. Since the error is in both Ad and Lb
I have decided not to emend; the "thre" ways are clearly meant to be
linked to the "thre wordys" of the gospel text, and thus it is possible
that the compiler intended to announce only three, perhaps for fear of
wearying his/her readers or potential congregation. In fact I suspect

that aesthetic considerations have won out here, and the preacher

was moved by the desire to produce a neat equation, "thre wordys" =

"thre weyys". The desire to produce something which at least

approximates to the formal processus of the modern form is also

responsible for the inconsequentiality of mentioning "thre wordys"

of the gospel, which are not then discussed in turn, and moving straight

on with no obvious link to the "thre weyys". There is no real opening

out into three principals, only the illusion that that is the case.

This transition passage is adapted from Nicholas' second principal:

"Secundum est videre que est ista via quam debemus Domino et contra

aduentum eius parare, et hoc notatur cum dicit, Parate viam Domini.

Et sciendum est quod septemplicem viam debemus ei parare et dirigere,

vt dignetur et valeat in cordibus nostris remanere" (Nic f.20v). Nic

has "septemplicem viam" where AdLb both have "thre", although both Nic

and AdLb only deal with six ways.

25 Ad entre and werche]

It is tempting to see Ad's "and werche" as a possible rationalisation

of earlier "werthe", i.e. "worth" (from Nic's "dignetur"). If this is

the case, and it is by no means clear, it would still be difficult to

emend as the structure of the clause would have to be changed. Lb omits

"and werche", which points either to the scribe omitting a problematic

phrase, or else to its being an addition on the part of the Ad scribe.

Both Ad and Lb make good sense; emendation seems superfluous.

27-77

The first subdivision concerns cleanness of heart: "Prima via quam

debemus ei parare et dirigere est mundicia cordis. Ista via est via

immaculata. De ista via dicitur, Psalmo, Ambulans in via immaculata

hic mihi monstrebat. Ista via est via sapiencie, de qua dicit Salomon,

Prouerbiorum .4., Viam sapiencie monstrabo tibi, etc. Vere ista est

via sapiencie, quia magna est sapiencia custodire cor suum ab immundicia

luxurie, vnde Gregorius [MS adds Nota bene Gregorius hic in margin],

Que maior est visa insania quam pro delectacione momentanea obligare se

ad eterna[m] supplicia[m] et amittere, suple, regna celestia. Et idem,

Breuis est delectacio fornicacionis, sed perpetua est pena fornicacionis.

Ideo viam luxurie debemus fugere, quia Dominus ignorat ambulantes per

eam, Prouerbiorum .30., dicitur quod Dominus ignorat viam adolescentis

in adolescencia sua, et dicitur ibidem, Talis est via mulieris adultere,

etc. Et in Psalmo dicitur, Quia vie illorum tenebre et lubricum. Certe

quia per istam viam vadunt ipsi, parant et faciunt de cordibus suis

habitaculum diaboli. Vere non est decens tuum regem qui est Rex regum

et Dominus dominancium, vt habetur Apocalypsis .19., habitare nec inueniri

in hospice tenebroso et pleno inmundicia et luto fetido, set talia sunt

corda luxuriosorum, et ideo ad hoc quod Christus veniat in cordibus

nostris, debemus omnem inmundiciam luxurie ab illis abicere et hoc est

quod dicit Iacobi .1., Abicientes omnem inmundiciam et habundanciam

malicie, suscitote, etc. Per inmundiciam potest designari ipsum peccatum

luxurie; per habundanciam malicie praua cordis desideria, male

cogitaciones, respectus illiciti et colloquia praua que corrumpunt bonos

mores. Omnia illa debemus a cordibus nostris abicere si volumus digne

suscipere verbum caro factum quod potest animas nostras saluas facere.

Et Ephesios .5., dicit apostolus, Fornicacio autem et omnis inmundicia

aut auaricia non nominetur in vobis, sed remoueatur a vobis sicut decet

sanctos; turpitudo aut stultiloquium aut scurilitas que ad rem non

pertinet. Ita paratur prima via que est mundicia cordis, et sic

dicitur Ecclesiastici .15., Qui timet Deum faciet bona. Prouerbiorum

.22., Qui diligit cordis mundiciam, amicum habebit regem, scilicet,

Christum" (Nic f.20v).

27-28 þe way of chastite or of madynhoot]

Nothing in Nic corresponds to this, but it may well be in another

manuscript of Nicholas. On the medieval ideal of "clene maydenhode"

see A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, ed. Venetia Nelson (Heidelberg

1981), pp.190-196, and Memoriale Credencium, p.151, "Maydenhod crowneþ

a lyff in þe blisse of heuen".

The AdLb compiler omits Nic's first quotation from Psalms.

30-31

Prv 4,1.

33-35 and gret woodnesse ... leccherye]

These words have no counterpart in Nic.

36-40

It have not been able to trace this quotation in the works of Gregory,

but in the fourth tabula of the Speculum Christiani it is attributed

to Jerome: "Nihil tam insanum quam pro momentanea delectacione eternis

se mancipare suppliciis", translated as "No-thynge es so vnholsume and

made as a man to bynde hym-selfe to euerlastynge turmente and peyne

for a lytel delectacion" (Holmstedt 1933, repr. 1971: 70 and 71).

37 <u>suple</u>]

This word is not in the dictionaries but is "frequently used in Latin

Wycliffite writings" (von Nolcken 1979:123) which is presumably the

source of the word in the <u>Rosarium</u> (von Nolcken 1979:94/14) and in the

Lollard text <u>Upland's Rejoinder</u> (Heyworth 1968:110 and Note on 168).

Heyworth also mentions its occurrence in the Paston Letters; it appears

in the <u>Speculum Christiani</u> , p.45 as "supple"; and in Ross, p.230, and

I have found several occurrences in Latin sermon incipits in Scheyner's

<u>Repertorium</u>, which together with the reference here in Nic suggests that

the word was not exclusively found in Wycliffite contexts. It occurs

again in Nic, f.32: see note to VIII/103.   Cf. also Brinton's sermons,
Devlin 1954: 11.

43-44

Prv 30,18-19.

45-48

Prv 30,20.

49-50

PsH 34,6. The full quotation from the Vulgate should read "Sit via eorum

<u>tenebrae et</u> lubricum"; Lb may have omitted it through error, or because

it was not in the exemplar, or because s/he did not want to copy out

the full quotation.

52-53 the kyng ... lordys]

The expression "Rex regum et Dominus dominancium" is Apc 19,16.

58-60

Jac 1,21.

62 schrewyd desyres of hertys]

Nic's "praua cordis desideria" confirms that Lb's reading is right, and I have emended Ad accordingly. The scribe of Ad has taken "schewyd" (l.62) as a p.p. and consequently transposed "þe" from its proper position to before "desyres".

64 Ad þo / Lb suche cursidnes]

Nic's "illa" suggests that Lb has made the text more vivid.

67-72

Eph 5,3.

74 <u>Qui timet Deum</u>]

Sir 15,1.

74-77

Prv 22,11.

78-116

The second subdivision concerns humility: "2^a via est humilitas. Per istam viam / ambulauit Christus quando de celo descendit in vterum virginis, et ibi formam serui accepit, sicut habetur Philippenses .3°., Exinaniuit semetipsam, formam serui accipiens, etc. Vere numquam facta fuit maior humilitas quam Deus vniuerse terre et celi fecit, quando formam serui accepit, et quod inter seruos suos qua seruus et minister eorum esse voluit. Istam viam parauit gloriosa virgo filio, et ideo filium Dei ipsa concipere meruit, vnde ipsa dicit, Luce .j^o., Respexit Dominus humilitatem ancille sue, etc. Istam viam, scilicet, humilitatis, debemus in cordibus nostris Deo parare, et hoc est quod dicit Ysaie .40., Parate viam Domini; rectas facite semitas Dei nostri

in solitudinem. Omnis vallis exaltabitur et omnis mons humiliabitur.

Per vallem humiles signantur, qui exaltabuntur in eterna gloria. Per

montes superbi et elati signantur, qui in fine humiliabuntur in

dampnacione eterna, quia sicut dicutur, Prouerbiorum .29., Humilem

spiritum suscipiet gloria, et superbum sequitur humilitas. Ideo viam

humilitatis Deo in cordibus nostris preparare debemus, sed ista via

preparatur per omnis superbie et elacionis et ambicionis in cordibus nostris

remocionem, quam debemus remouere, et hoc est quod dicitur, .3. Regum

.7º., Preparate corda vestra Domino et illis soli seruite, et auferte de

medio vestri Baalym et Astaroth. Baalym 'superior' interpretatur et

signat superbos quia per superbiam suam omnes alios volunt superare

et illos subiugare. Astaroth interpretatur 'presepio' in quo due sunt -

cibus et fimus. In cibo notatur gula et in fimo luxuria. Superbiam

igitur et gulam et luxuruiam debemus de medio nostri, id est, de cordibus

nostris, auferre" (Nic ff.20v-20).

80-81

Phil 2,7.

84 mynystyr]

Ad's "ma∧'y'styr" has good claims to stand, and might be taken as a

suitable antithesis to "seruawnt", underlining the paradox of the

incarnation expressed in this passage - Christ as both God and humble

servant. Nic is not unfortunately the ultimate arbiter here, since

the abbreviations for both "minister" and "magister" look remarkably

similar. Yet the passage is dealing with Christ's meekness, and

therefore "minister" is more likely to be correct, exphasising Christ's

subservience to men and women. Lb, though prone to faults of haplography,

is generally a correct copyist of individual words, and therefore I

have emended Ad. The Ad scribe's correction is odd though, since

"maystyr" is simply another spelling of "mastyr", so it is hard to

see what s/he was trying to do; but the fact of correction points to

the scribe realising that something was wrong.

87-88

Lc 1,48.

90-95

Is 40,3-4.

95 topet]

"Top, summit"; see OED toppet sb[1], although the sense "summit of a hill/

mountain" is not recorded. The first listed occurrence is 1439.

"Topetes" is found in the third Grisdale sermon, preached between 1389

and 1404 (Grisdale 1939:78).

95 lowyd]

Lb's "bowid" has good claims to stand, since it makes good sense; but

Ad's "lowyd" is closer to the Latin "humiliabitur". Lb's error is due

to eyeskip to the b of the preceding word.

99-102

Prv 29,23.

100-101 Glory or ioy]

Both Ad and Lb have a doublet here, although doublets are more a feature

of Lb's translation than Ad's, cf. 11.103-104 "remouyng or puttyng

away".

104 Ad and of couetyng]

Ad's omission of "and" looks fairly insignificant, and could be simply

accounted for (the Tironian nota is easily missed); but the reason for

its omission is rather more involved. The Latin confirms that Lb's

"pride and elasioun and coueitynge" is right, i.e. they are a set of

three in parallel, not two as in Ad ("pryde and elacion of couetyng").

But Ad's original syntax looks more literal than Lb's; "remeuyng of alle

pryde" is closer to the genitive construction of the Latin than Lb's

more idiomatic "remouyng or puttyng away al pride". Thus Ad's "of

couetyng" probably represents that same genitive construction, and is

the likely source of the error in the first place; the phrase is so

distanced from "remeuyng" that the scribe has not recognised it as part

of the same construction, and therefore has deliberately or unconsciously

edited out the "and".

105 Ad þe Kyngys Boke]

Ad's overall policy, in these first few sermons at least, is to minimise

the amount of Latin in the text, either because the scribe is copying

out the material for an uneducated audience, or because s/he was writing

within a Lollard context in which all Biblical references were deliberately

Englished. At times Ad has the air of a text which is written for

reading out, whereas Lb appears the more literary production.

105-109

1 Sm 7,3.

109-113 Baalam ... Astaroth ... donge]

The etymologies are traditional, or have developed from the traditional

interpretations, cf. Jerome "Baalim, ... superiores" <u>PL</u> 23, col.1270,

and "Astaroth, praesepia", <u>Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis</u>, <u>PL</u> 23,

col.842.

117-132

The third subdivision concerns peace. The passage about the three

estates between whom Christ made peace is found in two other sermons in

the AdLb series, again having their source in Nicholas de Aquevilla;

see IX/109-119, and XII/122-126.

"Tertia est pacis, et de ista via dicit 3acharias, pater Iohannis

Baptiste, Luce primo, Illuminare, Domine, hijs qui in tenebris sedent,

ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis. Et Prouerbiorum .3., Vie eius,

vie pulchre et omnes semite eius pacifice. Vere semite eius pulchre et

pacifice, quia ipse venit in   mundus vt pacem poneret inter nos

et Dominus patrem, et inter angelos et homines, inter hominem et hominem,

inter quos ᴧ 'erat' discordia propter peccatum primi parentis. Ideo viam

pacis debemus ei preparare in cordibus nostris, quia sicut psalmista

dicit, In pace factus est locus eius. Sed sciendum est quod triplicem

pacem debemus habere - primum, ad Deum, secundum,   ad proximum, et

inter carnem et spiritum" (Nic f.21).

118-121

Lc 1,79.

118 Ad Ion Baptyst fadyr]

The zero-morpheme genitive, cf. "frere fablis" Ad I/23.

122-123

Prv 3,17.

123 Ad Sothe]

Ad unmistakably reads "Sethe" here, and presumably the scribe understood

it as the conjunction "sith", i.e. "since". The Latin confirms that

Lb's "Soþ" is the right reading. In several fifteenth century hands

the e and o graphs can look very similar, so this must be the source

of the error.

124 Ad be₃th]

cf. "Beth" Ad 169. See the Language section in the Introduction.

124-127

The three estates between whom Christ made peace in his incarnation

are a commonplace of nativity sermons, cf. a sermon in the HR collection

based on a Festial sermon for the Nativity of Christ, "At mydnyght þat

mercyfull lorde was borne. For þan all þing be kynde taketh rest in

tokenyng þat he is prince of pece - ["Christus reformauit pacem inter

Deum et homines" - and was come to make pees] betwene 'God' and man,

aungelles and man, and bitwene man and man" (Powell 1981:79). See also

Grisdale 1939:49. Powell traces the ultimate source of this traditional

tripartite division to John Beleth's Rationale, PL 202, col.100 (Powell

1981:128). Another nativity sermon in the HR collection, on the theme

of peace, makes use of a different and expanded set of estates

(Powell 1981:94-97).

129-130

PsG 75,3.

133-146

"Prima paratur per veram contricionem et confessionem. 2[a] per veram

caritatem. 3^a per carnis. De ista triplici pace dicitur, Ecclesiastici
.25., vbi dicitur, In tribus placitum est spiritu meo, que probata
sunt coram Deo et hominibus - concordia fratrum, / scilicet, carnis
et spiritus, et hoc est in Iacob et Esau. Et amor proximorum, ecce
2^a pax que debet esse quantum ad proximum. Sequitur vir et mulier
sibi consencientes, ecce .3^a. pax que est quantum ad Dominum, quia
vir iste Christus est, mulier est anima fidelis sibi, scilicet,
Christo in omnibus obediens" (Nic ff.21-21v).

137-139

Sir 25,1.

147-180

The fourth subdivision concerns justice: "4^a via est iusticie et
equitatis, et de ista dicit Salomon, Prouerbiorum .4., Ducam te per
semitas equitatis, quas cum ingressus fueris, non arcabuntur gressus
tui. Et Prouerbiorum .15., Vie iustorum absque offendiculo. Istam
viam Domino paramus quando a malo declinamus et quando bona opera
facimus, secundum quod dicit Psalmus, Declina a malo et fac bonum.
Preterea viam iusticie dico in nobis paramus et dirigimus, quando
alijs non facimus que non vellemus dici vel fieri nobis ab ipsis sicut
quod dicitur, Colossenses .4., Quod tibi ab alio oderis fieri, vide
ne tu facias alteri. Similiter quando nos alijs facimus omnia que
vellemus vt ipsi nobis facerent, et hoc est quod dicit Dominus, Mathei
.7., Quecumque vultis vt faciant vobis homines, secundum Deum et
racionem, eadem facite illis. Item quando vnicuique quod suum est
reddimus, scilicet, Deo et proximo vel nobis. Hec vie recte, de
quibus dicit Dominus, Sapiencie .10., Iustus deduxit Dominus per vias

rectas. Et sicut dicitur E3echielis .18., Si autem auerterit se

iustus a via sua et fecerit iniquitates secundum abhominaciones suas,

quas operari solet impius, numquid viuet? qui dicit, non, et omnes

iusticie eius non recordabuntur amplius. Numquid via mea non est

equa? dicit Dominus" (Nic f.21v).

148-152

Prv 4,11-12.

152-153 þe ways of ry3twyse men ... snaperyng]

Prv 15,19: "Vie justorum absque offendiculo". Both Nic and the Vulgate

confirm that there is an error in the common archetype of AdLb; "ways

of" was presumably omitted due to eyeskip to "ways" in the previous

line. The word "snaperyng" is most unusual; it is not recorded in

the OED, although its sense, "blundering, stumbling" is clear enough

from both the Latin and the context. The word also occurs in a late

fourteenth or early fifteenth century translation of the Latin Scala

Paradisi or Scala Claustralium, which survives in at least three

fifteenth century manuscripts with the title "A ladder of foure ronges

by the whiche men mowe wele clyme to heven": God will help all those who

will climb this ladder wisely, "ne thar hym drede no snaperyng ther

suche a laddyr wolle trewly helpe hym" (MS Cambridge University Library

Ff.vi.33, f.16; see Hodgson 1949:466). On f.137v of the Cambridge

manuscript, where the Latin source has "dilabimur", A Ladder of Foure

Ronges has the doublet translation "falle or snapyr" (Hodgson 1949:473).

155-156

PsG 36,27.

158-161

Tb 4,16. The quotation is correctly ascribed to Tb in AdLb, but

appears as "Colos. .4." in Nic, thus confirming that Nic was not

the copy-text used by the compiler of AdLb.

164-167

Mt 7,12.

170-171

Sap 10,10.

172-179

Ez 18,24.

177 Ad wont]

Ad's reading "went" might conceivably represent a back spelling, since

in Northern dialects o appears for e (cf. "woke" for "week"), but is

more likely to be an error, and in this form does not obviously

represent the Latin "solet"; I have therefore emended Ad's spelling.

179

Ez 18,25.

181-206

The fifth subdivision concerns truth:"5^a via est veritatis, et de

ista via dicitur, Corinthios .12., Adhuc excellenciorem viam vobis

demonstro. Ista via est via regia et publica, que ducit omnes homines

ad terram promissionis. Vnde   et dixerunt filij Israel

ad Edom regem, Numerorum .20., Via publica gradiemur nec ad dextram,

id est, causa curiositatis declinantes. Ista via larga est, vnde, prima

Corinthios 13, dicit apostolus, Caritas paciens est, benigna est, id

est, larga egenis in elemosinam; larga caritas non emulatur, id est,

non habet inuidiam de aliorum [The MS is indecipherable in places]

qui uolunt istam viam bene Domino parare debent

inuidiam a se remouere et viam

quia ve illis qui per illas vias ambulant, vnde prima

Iude, Ve illis qui per viam Caym abierunt, et errore Balaam mercede

effusi sunt, et in contradiccione Chore perierunt. Per viam Caym via

inuidie signatur. / Caym per inuidiam fratrem suum interfecit. Per

viam Balaam via cupiditatis et auaricie. Per viam Chore via

contradiccionis et inuidie. Sed ve illis qui per istam ambula[n]t

[MS ambulauit]" (Nic ff.21v-22).

182 spekyth Ion in þe Apocalyps]
This reference is not found in Nic, and it is hard to know what the

translator had in mind. Perhaps the reference is to John's gospel,

Ego sum via et veritas et vita, Jo 14,6. St John the author of the

gospel was often identified in the Middle Ages with the John of

Revelation.

183-184
1 Cor 12,31.

187 þe kyng Syon]
Nic has "ad Edom regem", and in Nm 20 it is indeed to king Edom that

the children of Israel are speaking. But in the following chapter

they make a similar request to king Sihon, which is what the compiler

seems to have been thinking of here.

187-190
Nm 20,17.

192-195

1 Cor 13,4.

199-204

Jud 11. The compiler has woven Nic's commentary and interpretation
into the translation of the Vulgate. The interpretation is thoroughly
traditional; in Memoriale Credencium's discussion of the Seven Deadly
Sins Cain is a type of envious man, pp.73-74, "þurgh enuy: Caym slowe /
Abel his broþer", and Chore is mentioned in the discussion of
disobedience, p.53. In The Lanterne of Liȝt is a Lollard exegesis
of this verse: those who walk in the way of Caym are "fals possessioners",
in the way of Balaam are "nedles mendiners" and in the way of Chore
are "proude sturdi maynteners" (Swinburn 1917:16).

207-215

The sixth subdivision concerns penance: "6ᵃ via est penitencie et
austeritatis. De ista dicitur hic, Parate viam Domini. Et Mathei
.7., Arca est via que ducit ad vitam, etc. Hec est via .3. dierum
de qua dicit Moyses, Exodi, Viam trium dierum ibimus in solitudine,
et sacrificabimus Deo nostro. Primus dies est dolor de peccatis.
2ᵘˢ est rubor confessionis. 3ᵘˢ est continuacio bone operacionis"
(Nic f.22).

207 mekenesse]

This does not seem an appropriate translation of Nic's "austeritatis";
perhaps it derives from a variant in another manuscript of Nicholas.

109-210

Mt 7,14. Ad's policy of omitting the Latin quotations does not
work here, as the scribe has assumed that the Latin has been
translated in the text, which is not the case. I have supplied
the Latin to make sense of Ad's dangling line "For Crist seyth in
þe gospel".

211-213

Ex 3,18.

213-215

The allegorical interpretation of the three days is a variant of the
traditional three parts of penance - contrition, confession and
satisfaction. The treatment in **Memoriale Credencium** is typical: "To
perfit and verrey penaunce bihoueþ þre þyngus þat is to saye. Sorow
of hert. schryft of mouthe: and satisfaccioun of dede" (p.156).
Satisfaction of deed typically consisted of three kinds - prayers,
fasting and alms-giving. A similar penitential interpretation of
three days is found in a Ross sermon, p.275: "Be-knawe þan þi synne
and sorow by thre daies. First day is shryvynge of þi synnes; second
is detestacion oþur lothynge of þi synne; the iij day is levynge of þi
synnes".

Nicholas concludes his sermon with a few more Biblical authorities
which relate to penance, and ends with a brief enjoining of the
audience to penance and the wish that Christ may bring us all to heaven.
The sermon ends on f.22.

215-218

This concluding section has been added by the AdLb compiler. In

1.216 both Ad and Lb make the same error, which has arisen

independently because both scribes have anticipated the common

collocation "dedly synne", and therefore started to write the s, but

both have recovered the error by cancellation. See the section in the

Introduction on the relationship between the two manuscripts.

Sermon V

This sermon, for the Sunday within the octave of the Epiphany, is the first one in the collection which is not based on a sermon of Nicholas de Aquevilla. I have not been able to find a source for the body of the sermon, despite an exhaustive search through Schneyer's _Repertorium_. There is one small borrowing from the corresponding Wycliffite sermon, apart from the gospel translation which serves as a protheme, but otherwise I cannot identify any borrowings from other sources. Nicholas does not provide a sermon for this occasion, nor one on this text, although it is not inconceivable that the material in the body of the sermon is taken from some other sermon of Nicholas, the content of which is not indicated by the incipits in Schneyer. My search has not been exhaustive; there are many manuscripts of Nicholas, and a large proportion of these are in continental libraries.

The sermon has a 'modern' form, and is extremely elaborate; a diagram of its structure is appended to these Notes. The primary division into three principals is of course reminiscent of the other sermons in the AdLb collection, although it is typical of the structure of many Latin and English sermons, but it is not obvious that this sermon is not based on Nicholas of Aquevilla, and without external evidence (albeit of a negative kind) it would still appear that the series was homogeneous up to this point. The sermon is based on the text _Ecce Agnus Dei_, Jo 1, 29; following Nicholas' principle of exegesis of the gospel text, the sermon unfolds its three main divisions - what the sins of the world are, why Christ is called a lamb, and how Christ takes away the sins of the world.

This last principal is developed at great length, with several sets

of subdivisions, and with invitations to the preacher to amplify the

material if necessary. It deals with many basic catechetical points,

such as the meaning of baptism, the ten commandments and the different

parts of penance, although the structure of this third division is

not particularly logical - fasting, prayer and alms are treated as

subsections of penance, rather than as subsections of satisfaction

as in the traditional preachers' handbooks. There is some tenden-

tious, and some openly Lollard, material grafted onto the otherwise

thoroughly orthodox subject matter.

1 Dominica infra octavas Epiphanie]

AdLb's common error, which is to treat the sermon as if it were for

the fifth Sunday in Advent, has already been discussed in the

Introduction to this edition, but is certainly interesting as an

example of unthinking and mechanical copying on the part of at

least three scribes - Ad, Lb and the scribe of the common copy-text

from which AdLb derived and perpetuated the error. As I have

already suggested, the sermon is the fifth in the series, and it is

possible that some numbering of the items in a previous manuscript

has intruded in to the sermon heading and given rise to the mistake.

The original of this sermon is therefore at least two removes away

from the present version in AdLb. I have emended by reference to

the corresponding Wycliffite sermon, Hudson 30, which furnished the

gospel translation for this version.

2

Jo 1, 29. In Schneyer's Repertorium this text does occasionally

appear for the octave of the Epiphany, e.g. in Bonaventure's

V

<u>Temporale</u> collection, but in the Sarum use it is for the Sunday

within the octave of the Epiphany.   It is not, however, a common

text, and the occasion is rarely provided for in <u>Temporale</u> series,

Latin or English.   The pericope is Jo 1, 29-34 (<u>Sarum Missal</u>, p.39).

3-16

The gospel translation is taken from Hudson 30; proof of this is

the presence in AdLb of some of the interspersed commentary from the

Wycliffite sermon, for example, the insertion of the words "thus of

owre Lord" (AdLb 4, Hudson 30/3) and the reference to Jesus as "boþe

God and man" (AdLb 5-6, Hudson 30/15-16), which have no basis in the

Vulgate or in <u>WB</u>.   AdLb also follow the Wycliffite sermon in their

choice of the latinate "my prior" (AdLb 7, Hudson 30/25), where <u>EV</u>

has "the formere than I" and <u>LV</u> "Rather than Y"; and in their

reference to "bodyly eye" (AdLb 8, Hudson 30/29), which has no

counterpart in <u>WB</u> or the Vulgate.   There is insufficient evidence to

link AdLb's version definitely with any particular Wycliffite manu-

scripts, but the variants in Hudson confirm evidence elsewhere which

indicates a link with manuscripts N and δ of the Wycliffite cycle

(see the section in the Introduction on Sermon VI), but there are

possible links with other textual traditions, including one which is

in some sort of relation to Z, but of course some of the shared read-

ings might be coincidental.

But even in this sermon, where the borrowing from Hudson is very

close, there is some evidence of the influence of <u>WB</u>, most notably

in AdLb's addition "and I knew hym nowt" (AdLb 12; not in Hudson 30

but is in <u>WB</u>), and possibly in the omission of Hudson's "kyndely" in

the final phrase "þis is Godys kyndely Sone" (Hudson 30/35-36);

V

"kyndely" does not appear in AdLb or in WB.

6-7

Lb's omission is due to eyeskip back to "man" which immediately pre-
cedes the omitted phrase. The Lb scribe is rather prone to these

drastic errors of haplography.

8 not]

Ad's omission is due to eyeskip, back to earlier "now3t".

bodyly eye]

The physical organ of sight, as opposed to spiritual discrimination.

17-18 These wordys . . . suffycyn at þys tyme]
cf. I/22-23, and III/18-19.

20-23 In þese wordys . . . þe world]

Insofar as the sermon does in fact subsequently deal with all three

principal divisions, it fulfils its promise better than many of the

other sermons in the collection.

24-30 Nolite, etc.]
lJo 2, 15-16.

29 Ad eyen]

Ad's error "enuye" is due both to the visual similarity between the

two words and to the appropriateness of "enuye" in a quotation about

"coueytise".

31-34

Gal 5, 17.

32 Lb <u>carnem</u>]

Lb's reading "animam" must have arisen because the scribe was think-

ing of a synonym rather than an antonym.

33 Lb spirit^2]

Lb's omission is obviously due to eyeskip.

35 Ad cumburyt]

The "-yt" morpheme represents the 3pl.pr. inflection, as the context

shows.

36-38 <u>Ex ore draconis exiuit fumus, flamma et fetor</u>]

The text ascribes the source of this quotation to "Seynt Ion in

the Apocalyps"/but there is no exact correspondence to any verse in the

Vulgate. Rather it is a conflation and paraphrase of several

passages in Revelation. The dragon is mentioned in Apc 12, and in

Apc 16, 13 it says "vidi de ore draconis, et de ore bestiæ, et de

ore pseudoprophetæ, spiritus tres immundos in modum ranarum", but

the "smoke, flamme and stynche" of Revelation is straight from the

horses' mouth: "vidi equos . . . et de ore eorum procedit ignis, et

fumus, et sulphur", Apc 9, 17.

38-40 Smoke . . . leccherye]

The development of the allegory here is traditional, cf. the

Wycliffite sermon on the epistle for the third Sunday in Advent

which describes the devil as sending out smoke, which is why "popus

and prelatis" fail in their belief, "for smoke of pruyde and

coueytyse lettiþ syt of þer byleue" (Hudson 1983:490).

45 <u>Non alta sapientes, etc.</u>]

Rm 12, 16.

48 Ad kepyd / Lb clepid]

Since it is not possible to establish the correct reading through

appeal to a source, I have kept both since each makes sense, and

since I present the two texts en face and not strictly speaking in

a critical edition. On the principle of difficilior lectio Lb's

"clepid" is probably closer to the original reading, but there are

no grounds for emendation of either text.

48-51

PsG 118, 36.

54-57

Ecl 5, 9.

58-85

The passage is an elaboration of the common medieval concept of the

"stynkynge" sin of lechery, which is prevalent in, though certainly

not confined to, the puritanical writings of the Lollards. Typical

of the Lollard approach is this passage from the tract known as

"The Perversion of the Works of Mercy", printed in Matthew (but

also reprinted in Blake 1972): the devil "stirith men to see faire

wymmen and bryngith mynde of hem and greet likynge of lecherie into

mennus hertis" (p.147) and also "the fend disceyveth men and wymmen

bi touchynge of membris ordeyned for genderure of mankynde, and bi

kissyng and clippyng is the fier of lecherie kyndlid" (p.149). The

warning against over-elaborate clothing as an enticement to lechery

is commonplace, cf. Dives and Pauper, Cap. iv of Commandment X,

"Iche man and woman schulde ben war þat neyþer be nyce contynance

ne be foly speche ne be nyce aray of body þey steryn man or woman

to lecherye, and þou3 resounable aray & honest ben comendable boþin

in man & woman aftir her stat; 3it þey must ben wol war þat be

swyche aray þey fallyn nout in pryde ne in lecherye ne steryn /

oþere to lecherye".

Although Ad and Lb are both recognisably dependent on the same

source for this part of the sermon, the two versions are not

particularly close.

66 Ad vnsely / Lb sely]

It is impossible to establish the primacy of readings here as both

words are acceptable in context. Here "vnsely" means "unfortunate,

unlucky", and "sely" means "pitiable, wretched".

70 Ad sytty3th / Lb scissiþ]

Lb's reading is the <u>difficilior lectio</u>, and probably represents the

original reading. The word means "hisses" (see <u>OED</u> <u>siss</u> v), and

Ad's version seems to be the substitution of a familiar word for a

less familiar.

72-75

Sir 9, 8-10.

79 Ad feer / Lb gastnes]

Lb's "gastnes" ("terror, dread"; <u>MED</u> <u>gastnes(se</u> n.) is more unusual

than Ad's "feer"; this case may be different from that of "scissiþ"

above where unconscious substitution may have taken place, in that

the words are so dissimilar that it looks as if the Ad scribe has

deliberately substituted an easier word. But since neither version

is very close in this part of the sermon, the lexical differences

may simply represent scribal preference.

81-85

The fact of Lb's missing passage is discussed in the Introduction,

in the section on the differences between the manuscripts.

86-115

This section deals with the second principal division of the sermon,

"why Cryst is clepyd a lombe". The traditional symbol of Christ as

the lamb is supported here by reference to the Old Testament, and to

commonplaces from the fathers, cf. Jerome, PL 25, col.462; Alcuin, PL
100, col.1121.

87-98 ȝe schul . . . lawe]

This passage is taken from the corresponding Wycliffite sermon,

Hudson 30/5-14: "Crist is clepud Godis loomb for manye resownes of

þe lawe. In þe olde lawe weren þei wont to offren a loomb wiþowten

wem, þe whiche schulde ben of oo ȝer, for þe synne of þe peple; þus

Crist, þat was wiþowte wem and of oo ȝer in mannys elde, was offred

in þe cros for þe synne of al þis world. And wher suche lambren

þat weren offred fellen som tyme to þe prest, þis loomb þat maade

eende of oþur felde fully to Godes hond. And oþur lambren in a

maner fordiden þe synne of o cuntre, but þis loomb proprely fordyde

þe synne of al þis world. And þus he was ende and figure of lambren

of þe oolde lawe." This is in turn derived from a passage in the

corresponding Latin sermon by Wyclif; see Loserth 1887:49-50.

88 Lb skilis or resouns]

Lb's doublet is probably due to the compiler of this series rather

than representing a stylistic quirk of the scribe. Ad's single word

is the result of that scribe's overall policy of minor abridgement

of the text.

þe lawe]

Here, "the Bible".

88-89 þe old lawe]

The Old Testament.

89 Ad wenne / Lb weem]

Both readings make sense (see Glossary for both entries), although

Lb's is closer to Hudson 30/7, "wem".

90 þe weche schulde bene of oon ʒere]

Lb is very close to Hudson here, so the error in Ad originates with

the scribe of that manuscript. Eyeskip to "weche" has produced

the reading "ech ʒere", and the scribe has subsequently rationalised

"of oon" to "ofrid" under the influence of "offurd" which occurs

twice in the following two lines.

90-91 þe weche betokenyd . . . þat]

This phrase, found in both Ad and Lb, does not occur in the printed

text of Hudson 30, but is found in one of the manuscripts, namely N

(Sidney Sussex College Cambridge MS 74). Moreover, AdLb both omit

Hudson 30/7-9, "for þe synne . . . elde", most of which is also

omitted in N. This is not to say that the compiler of the AdLb

series made use of N itself, but that N has a closer relationship

to AdLb than any of the other Wycliffite manuscripts, at least for

this sermon. AdLb omit the phrase "in mannys elde" (Hudson 30/8-9),

which does in fact occur in N.

92-95

The language of this passage is repetitive and sometimes awkward;

some of the errors in AdLb are from their common exemplar, such as

the omission of "fellen" in 1.93 through eyeskip. AdLb's "manye
to prestis"/"to many prestis", which differs from Hudson's "to þe
prest", also derives from their common exemplar, and their versions
of "felde to" in 1.94 probably also derive from a garbled reading
in the exemplar. Ad's "manye to prestis" just about makes sense if
"manye" is taken as referring to the number of lambs rather than
priests, and so I have let it stand. AdLb's plural "prestis" is also
found in the Wycliffite MS T (Pembroke College Cambridge MS 237), but
AdLb do not share any other noticeable readings with T. "Felde" in
1.94 is a weak past form of a usually strong verb, and this has
evidently caused problems for the scribes of both Ad and Lb, or that
of the exemplar.

The justification for dealing with AdLb's treatment of the Hudson
passage in this detail is in order to establish the direction of
derivation; fairly clearly AdLb's text is corrupt and Hudson must
be the ultimate source. AdLb do not offer any superior readings,
nor do they help to determine Hudson's readings.

102-103 <u>quasi agnus</u> . . . <u>suum</u>]
A conflation of several Biblical passages, notably Jr 51, 40,
"deducam eos quasi agnos ad victimam" and Is 53, 7, "oblatus est
quia ipse voluit et non aperuit os suum". See also Act 8, 32,
"Tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est: et sicut agnus coram
tondente se, sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum".

104-105 A lomb . . . modyr]
The reference is to the traditional patristic derivation of "<u>agnus</u>"
("lamb") from "<u>agnoscit</u>": the lamb recognises its mother, cf. note
to 107-114 below, and Isidore, <u>Etymologiarvm</u> (Lindsay 1911) XII,1,12:
"agnum ...Latini autem ideo hoc nomen habere putant, eo quod prae
ceteris animantibus matrem agnoscat".

V

107-114

On the significance of the 3-fold chant of the Agnus Dei at the pax

or Communion, see Beleth, Rationale Divinorum Officiarum, cap.

xlviii, PL 202, col.55, esp. "Αγνος vero Graeca dicitur purus et

pius, quia sola pietate ut pura hostia nos redemit. Vel ab

agnoscendo, quod sicut agnus solo balatu matrem cognoscit, ita

christus in passione matrem suam cognoverit: . . . ter cantatur

Agnus Dei . . ." and Beleth then gives the 3 reasons,which relate

to Christ's passion.

114-115   And for þese . . . a lombe]

A clarificatory summing up and rounding off of the second principal.

This would have been useful both to the private reader burdened with

a welter of subsections,and to the straying attentions of the con-

gregation, perhaps awaiting some verbal indication of the point

reached in the complex structure presented by the preacher.

116-261

This long final section covers the material of the third principal,

how Christ the lamb does away the sins of the world, but it is

subdivided into smaller subsections,as indicated in the schematic

representaion of its structure at the end of the Notes to this

sermon.

116-118 to knowe how . . . passion]

The first three subdivisions of this third principal - baptism,

penance and passion - are intended to be linked to the explanation

of the three Agnus Dei which are said at Mass set out in 11.107-114

of the sermon, but the connections are not very strong. Thus,

"knowyng of þe Fadyr by buxumnesse" is related to baptism, Christ's

meek offering of himself is related to penance, and, more strongly,

his knowing of his mother on the cross is related to his passion.

The popular preachers' manual known as the Speculum Christiani

(Holmstedt 1933, repr. 1971) itemises seven ways in which sin may

be "releced or wyth-draw" (p.214). These include baptism and

penance, which of course are two of the seven sacraments. The

sacrament which comes closest to representing "hys blessyd passion"

is the sacrament of the altar. In view of the fact that this sub-

section is not developed at all, that the nature of the Eucharist

was the focus of Lollard heresy, and that in a discussion relating

to the meaning of the Agnus Dei said at Mass one might expect at

least some exploration of the meaning of Christ's body in form of

bread and wine, it would be possible to set up the hypothesis that

the compiler has deliberately avoided treating some of the sermon's

original material for fear of sounding too openly heretical, or of

sailing too close to the wind. There are, as it happens, no

references at all in the AdLb collection to the Eucharistic con-

troversy. Such a hypothesis could only be tested if the source for

this sermon were found; until then it must remain speculation.

There are of course other plausible explanations for the lack of

development of this third subsection; the sermon is after all one

of the longest in the collection and the redactor may have felt it

necessary to draw the line somewhere.

118-134

The discussion of the sacrament of baptism is along traditional

lines, cf. John Gaytryge's Sermon, ed. Simmons and Nolloth, repr.

Blake 1972:80. For the Sarum rite of baptism, see Maskell 1882,

Vol.I: 22-36. The compiler of AdLb elsewhere shows Lollard

sympathies, and it might seem surprising that baptism is here

endorsed in so orthodox a manner, given that Lollards were generally

anti-clerical and therefore largely anti-sacramental, for it was

priests who administered the sacraments. See the Introduction to

this edition for a discussion of the ideology of the preacher.

131-134

This alludes to the parable of the workers in the vineyard Mt 20,

1-16, and to its traditional exegesis. The "peny on þe day"

received by the labourers is commonly explained as salvation (see

Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114:876); hence AdLb's "þe endles ioy of

heuene". The labourers themselves are virtuous Christians, and the

different times of day that they enter the vineyard represent the

different times of life at which they were converted (see Augustine,

Sermon 87, PL 58:530-539). The exegesis is well-known, cf. its

development in Pearl. For further moralisation of this parable,

cf. XIII.

135-140

The Ten Commandments feature prominently in the preachers' handbooks

as they are one of the basic pieces of Christian instructio. The

author of Dives and Pauper, the long prose treatise on the Ten

Commandments, well expresses the gravity of their demands and the

punishments due if they are not kept, in Caps. vii and viii of the

Tenth Commandment.

139-140

Mt 11, 30.

140-151

The compiler resumes the discussion of baptism after the short

digression on the Commandments by amplifying the concepts of

baptism in spirit, water and blood first mentioned in 1.127.

141-144

A conflation of Jo 3, 5 and Jo 3, 3.

147-151

This passage certainly has the appearance of a Lollard addition, but

is impossible to be sure about this without a known source with which

to compare it. The phrase "Godys lawe" (148) is frequently found in

Lollard writings, meaning "the Scriptures", but carries a freight of

significant associations. Only Lollard "trewe" preachers were able

to convey "þe trowþe of Godys lawe". Henry IV passed the act "De

heretico comburendo" in 1401; there may be a topical reference to

Lollard martyrs in the passage, but burning of heretics was common

on the continent before this date, and they are also the subject of

narrationes, cf. Tubach 2540, Heretic burned II. See also the caveats

advanced in Wawn 1972:28-29. On balance though I think it is likely

that the reference to the burning of martyrs is a Wycliffite addition,

not simply because of the terminology which is used but because it

disrupts the neat triad of Lb 1.127, "þe spirit, water and blood".

Thus in this section water and the Holy Ghost are mentioned (1.143),

and so is blood (148), but the reference to baptism in fire is an

excrescence. Of course, medieval sermons (and AdLb are no exception)

are full of digressions, and lack order and symmetry, so this is not

an entirely convincing argument. Cf. the proto-Lollard compiler of

Bodley 806, f.18v: "and so þe cause makiþ martirs bot somme ben þe
fonder martirs and euere more þe cause is synne and summe ben þe
martirs of Crist þat suffren for hyme and for his lawe".

V

153 thorw penawnce, and þat hath sex partis]

Penance was usually regarded in the Middle Ages as having three

parts - contrition, confession and satisfaction. The division into

six is unusual; they are contrition, confession, satisfaction,

fasting, prayer and almsgiving. As mentioned at the beginning of

the Notes to this sermon, the last three items in this list are more

traditionally considered as subsections of satisfaction rather than

as separate categories. However the _Speculum Christiani_ lists seven

ways in which sin may be done away (cf. note to 11.116-118 above),

which include confession, tears (cf. AdLb 11.185-186, "satisfaccion

. . . with teeres"), almsgiving, forgiveness and works of charity

(Holmstedt 1933:214), none of which are subsumed under any of the

others. Almsgiving is often treated separately from penance in the

manuals (cf. Nelson 1981:156-161), and so is prayer (cf. Nelson 1981:

173-184).

158-161

PsG 50, 9.

161-166 But prestys . . . a pena et a culpa?]

The tone of this passage is stridently Lollard, but is not borrowed

from any known Lollard source, to the best of my knowledge. Since

orthodox literature abounds in criticism of the system of pardons

and indulgences which was abused by the clergy, it is difficult to

pinpoint why the passage is Lollard in tone. Both the sarcasm of

1.164 and the indignation of 11.165-166 are typical of Wycliffite

writing; the emphasis on "very contricion", and the phrase "ante-

cristis disciplis/clerkis" are also typical, cf. "How the Office of

Curates is Ordained of God", Matthew pp.159-160: "þei disceyuen

cristene men in doynge of verray penaunce; for þei doren not telle

þe soþe hou nedis þei mosten forsake alle falsnesse in craftis, in

oþis, & alle synne vp here kunnynge & power, & for no good in erþe

wityngly & wilfully do aȝenst goddis hestis, neiþer for lucre ne

drede no bodily deþ, & ellis it is not verrey contricion, & ellis god

wole not asoile hem for no confession of moueþ, ne for assoilynge of

prestis . . .& herby þe peple is brouȝt out of bileue, tristynge þat

here synne is forȝoue for here prestis assoylynge, þouȝ þei don not

verrey penaunce as god techeþ hym self. And herby þei magnyfien

more here owene assoilynge þan assoilynge of god for verrey con-

tricion ...". Cf. also Bodley 806, f.18: "and so ȝe schulen vndirstonde
þat no man may do aweye þe synne of mannis soule bot God alone, [ne]
pope with indulgence, ne cardynals with pleyne remissions, ne byschops
163-164   with pardouns and assoilynges ...bot ȝit þis lombe do
                 it aweye".

Lb's error of dittography is curious, and must be due to double

eyeskip; there may be more missing than appears in Ad, whose scribe

has also had difficulties with this passage but who has revised and

corrected it. Nevertheless, the version in Ad makes good sense, and

I have therefore emended Lb by reference to Ad.

166 a pena et a culpa]

Medieval scholasticism distinguished between the "poena" and "culpa"

of sinners, holding that "poena" was of two types, "poena damnationis"

and "poena temporalis". "Culpa" and "poena dampnationis" were held

to be removed by contrition and absolution, but "poena temporalis"

required penance in the form of satisfaction from the penitent.

Indulgences of course were held to remit this temporal penalty, but

only where the penitent had been forgiven and showed true contrition,

and thus the granting of an indulgence alone was not sufficient for

full absolution a pena et a culpa. See ODCC Penance.

V

167-168 <u>Nemo tollit</u> . . . <u>mundi</u>]

The attribution is to Gregory, but in fact it is from Augustine,

<u>Contra Secundam Juliani Responsionem</u>, <u>PL</u> 45, col. 1176.   The

quotation is found in the <u>Rosarium</u> under "Absolucio", where it is

translated: "No man takeþ or doþe away þe synnes of þe worlde but

God alone, wiche is þe Lombe, doyng away þe synnes of þe world"

(von Nolcken 1981:55).

168-169 <u>Ille solus</u> . . . <u>mortuus est</u>]

The attribution is to Augustine, but I have not found a source for

this quotation. Like the previous one, it also appears in the

<u>Rosarium</u> under "Absolucio", but only in some manuscripts and always

without the attribution. I owe this and the previous reference to

Christina von Nolcken.

173-184

The second subdivision of penance is confession. In view of the

outspoken views expressed above on the issue of absolution, it is

perhaps surprising to find here the approbation of oral shrift, which

is often condemned by the Lollards.

177-181

Prv 28, 13.

182-184

1Par 16, 34.

185-193

The third subdivision of penance is satisfaction. For the importance

of tears of penance, see the section entitled "De lacrimis

penitencium" in the <u>Speculum Christiani</u> (Holmstedt 1933:214-217),

which is composed of patristic quotations relating to tears, although
it does not include the one from this passage.

187-188

The attribution is wrong; the quotation is in fact from Ambrose's
Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam, Book X, PL 15, col. 1825 . This
quotation occurs in a similar context in a sermon for Ash Wednesday
in the HR collection, where the confessor is visualised as a physician
who heals the sickness of the soul with the "iij herbes" of penance:
"of þe first erbe, þat is contricion, þou must make a drynke to wepe
for þi synnes. Vnde Ambrosius, "Lacrime lauant delictum" - the teris
of contrite weping wasseth away þe trespas of synfull lyving" (Powell
1980:186-187). The material in this passage in HR derives from the
popular Gesta Romanorum.

194-226

The fourth subdivision of penance is fasting, which is dealt with
here at greater length than any of the other parts of penance. The
"twey maner" of fasting mentioned in 1.194 refer to the "goostly"
and "bodyly" fasting of 11.205 and 218 respectively.

196-197

Rm 12, 1.

197 Lb Racionable]

The word is very rare: see MED racionable. Only one example is given
(c.1475, in MS Welcome 564, f.170v). A related noun, racionabilite
(q.v. MED) occurs once, in the Speculum Sacerdotale, p.231. Ad, as
usual, has the more common reading.

V

199-200

Lc 18, 12. In the parable of the self-righteous pharisee and the
publican, told in Lc 18, Christ explains that God heard the prayers
of the latter but not of the former.

201-205

Cf. Speculum Christiani, pp.216-218: "How diuerse men hauen diuerse
entencions when thei fasten . . . The seeke man faste3 for he may not
ete or ellys for medycyn. The nedy man faste3 for he has not wher-of
to ete. The couetos man faste3 that he spende note. The gloton
faste3 to be hungry and aftyr to ete more gredyly. The ape, that is
the [ypocrite], faste3 to be praysede ther-of. Vertu, that is the
uertuose man, faste3 to haue euerlastynge lyfe". The distinction
between good and bad fasting is commonplace, cf. The Lanterne of
Li3t, ed. Swinburn 1917:48-50.

205 Goostly]

This word frequently occurs in sermons and religious writings to
distinguish the ensuing interpretation from its literal sense; the
meaning here is "allegorical, metaphorical", perhaps even "spiritual".

205-210

The moderation in fasting which is urged in these lines is also
suggested by the author of Dives and Pauper, Cap.xlii of the First
Commandment, "Fastynge is good 3if it be don in mesour and maner and
with good entencioun".

208-210

The exact sense of these lines is not clear, and is even less so in
the pruned text of Ad. The sense of "þe toþer"/"þat oþer" is "the

former", i.e. "to faste", so the whole means "above all fast from
sin, for sinful men do that first thing, i.e. fast (occasionally),
and yet they still carry on eating and drinking too much at other
times, and so they carry on sinning".

211-214

A conflation of Is 58, 5 and 58, 6.

214-216

There seems to be a change of syntax in this sentence, from the
imperative ("Late . . . for3yfe") to the infinitive ("to helpe . . .
to defende"), which is odd, and in fact the sentence sounds incomplete,
but probably represents the characteristic irregularity of ME syntax.
The sense is anyway clear - it is a series of injunctions to do good
deeds.

223

Is 58, 7.

227-245

The fifth subdivision concerns prayer, which is in turn subdivided
into three (1.237).

229-232

Jac 5, 16.

232-233

Jo 16, 24.

234-235 <u>Corde et voce simul, etc.</u>]
Part of the invitation to Matins on the Nativity of the Virgin
Mary (<u>Breviarum ad Usum....Sarum</u>, III, p.770). AdLb's "dede" has
been added to make up the common triad of heart, mouth and deed.

235-236 "What thyng . . . to ʒow"]

A conflation of Jo 14,13 and 16.

243-244

Ad's haplography is due to eyeskip back to "kyng" in 1.243.

244-245 kyng of alle kyngys]

Apc 17, 14 and 19, 16; 1Tm 6, 15: "Rex regum".

246-261

The sixth and final subdivision of penance is almsgiving.

247-250

Lc 11, 41.

251 thyse fowre condicionis]

The further subdivision into four at this point is scarcely elaborated.
The four conditions are all found in A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen,
but they are organised somewhat differently there. AdLb have not
borrowed from the Myrour; this material is traditional. AdLb's first
category corresponds to the Myrour's "of his owne trew gete good"
(Nelson 1981:157) which is the first of three things to consider when
giving alms. AdLb's second category corresponds to the Myrour's
second subsection of the third of the three things which must be con-
sidered, "þat it be doo sone wiþoute tarienge". It is not clear what
AdLb's further two categories are. Several of the requirements which
are lumped together in AdLb are separated out neatly in the Myrour.
There is a feeling that the compiler of AdLb was hurrying things along
a little too fast at the end, with some consequent elision and blurring
of categories. It should be made clear that the Myrour was not the
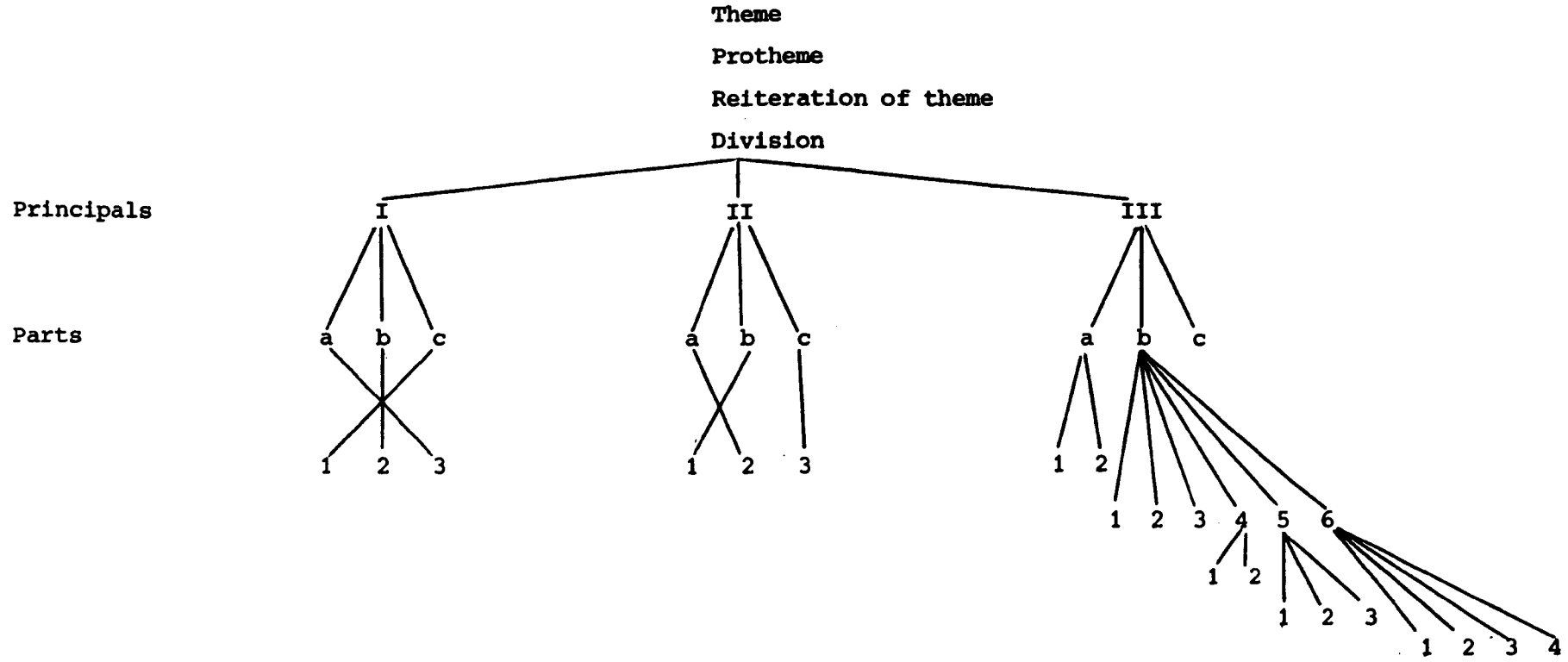immediate source of the material in AdLb.

V

259-261

Lc 6, 38.

261-262

The sermon concludes conventionally, if briefly, with a prayer.

Sermon V. Sunday within the Octave of the Epiphany

Theme

Protheme

Reiteration of theme

Division

Principals   I   II   III

Parts   a   b   c   a   b   c   a   b   c

1   2   3   1   2   3   1   2

1   2   3   4   5   6

1   2

1   2   3

1   2   3   4

Sermon VI

As has already been explained, this sermon takes over almost entirely the corresponding sermon from the English Wycliffite series (Hudson 31); the reason for this may have been that it provided material for an occasion (the octave of the Epiphany) which was not otherwise easy to come by. There is, for example, no equivalent sermon in Nicholas. I have already discussed in detail the relationship of this copy of the sermon to the copy in Hudson 1983 (see Introduction). It is clear that AdLb do not help to determine any readings, and that their version is at some remove from the original. The sermon as it stands in the Wycliffite Set I Sunday gospel series is an 'ancient' one (see Spencer 1982[1]:189-213 for detailed discussion of this term); in other words it follows the older, and soberer, method of loosely basing its argument upon the chosen text, but largely eschewing the divisions and subdivisions which characterise the more showy 'modern' form. The only sermon of the 'ancient' type in the AdLb series is I, for 1 Sunday in Advent; otherwise the AdLb series is definitely 'modern', and, as is the case with IX, appears to flaunt its structural complexity. However, the English compiler has brought this imported sermon into line with the rest of the collection by adding a passage (11.6-41) which contains the expected <u>divisio</u> . This passage almost forms a mini-sermon, since all three principals are swiftly developed before the compiler plunges back into the Wycliffite material at 1.42. Perhaps this odd arrangement was intended as a sop to a parish congregation eager for the novelties of the 'modern' form, but the AdLb compiler tends usually to be dry,

and therefore the most reasonable hypothasis is that this deli-
berate modification was a way of homogenising the series. I
have not found a source for the integrated passage; it may be
in some other sermon by Nicholas.

2

Unusually, the sermon is not headed with a gospel theme in either
MS. The gospel reading for the octave of the Epiphany is
Mt 3,13-17 (Sarum Missal, p.39).

6-9

For the processus, which deals with the subject of the three
degrees of humility, cf. Wyclif's Latin sermon for the same day:
"dicitur communiter quod tres sunt gradus humilitatis. Primus
et infimus, cum minor obedit maiori; secundus et medius quo par
obedit pari, sed tercius et summus quo maior obedit minori"
(Loserth I, 1887:56-57). The division is a commonplace.

10-11 Christus ...ad mortem]
Phil 2,8.

11 Lt exinaniuit ...accipiens]
Phil 2,7.

14-15 "And þat I come nowt ...sente me"]
Jo 6,38.

17-19
1 Pt 2,18.

27-28
    Not in fact from the writings of St Paul, but 1 Pt 5,6.

42-47

The compiler now resumes the straight translation of the gospel
text with which the sermon began (11.3-5), a fact which is
signalled in Lb ("þis is the text of þe gospel" 11.46-7) but
omitted in Ad, probably because the scribe of that manuscript
was given to pruning.

47-51

The threefold hierarchy of obedience is ultimately derived from
the passage quoted above from Wyclif's Latin sermon, but there
Christ's exemplary meekness is treated more controversially, as
a contrast to the behaviour of prelates: "Venit ...ubi erat
Iohannes baptizans propter habundanciam aque. Et in hoc
confundebat mundi superbiam qua superior appetit ut inferior
obedienter a distanciori loco eciam laboriosus sibi adveniat et
odit hoc facere in semet ipso, ut patet de papa et cardinalibus
et excusabilius in mundi potentibus" (Loserth 1887:I,58).
The tone of careful and exact debate in the English sermon is
completely alien to the tone of the other sermons ih the AdLb
series, which are not designed to make intellectual demands upon
a lay parish auditory, but are rather used as a vehicle for
generalised warnings about sin and for promulgating the basic
rudiments of Christian belief. They are also, and importantly,
instrumental in providing the congregation with at least a portion
of the Bible in the vernacular. One wonders, then, what they
wo uld have made of some of nice distinctions in this sermon,
for example, that made between service and obedience in 68-71.
This sermon calls for a high level of concentration.

52-68 And here ...obediense]
The hierarchical ordering of the three sentences and the three

kinds of intention held by the speaker are closely related to

Wycliffe's own ideas about freedom and necessity, about the

difference between eternal and contingent truth, about the will

of God and man's power to determine his own actions. Wycliffe's

precise philosphical position is too complex to go into here; it

is neatly summarised in Kenny 1985:31-41, who gives the following

quotation from Wyclif's De Universalibus, which is helpful in

this context:

> Every contingent truth is necessary according to the disposition
> of the divine knowledge, even though many things are contingent
> between alternatives with respect to their secondary causes.
> For the following argument is valid: God wills this to be, or
> knows it will be; therefore, at the appropriate time it is the
> case. The antecedent is eternally true with respect to any
> past or future effect. So in relation to the foreknowledge of
> God every effect is necessary to come about.
>
> (Kenny 1985:33)

The relevance of this to the sermon's teaching on obedience is

obvious.

88-92

The allusion is to the strongly-held Lollard opinions about binding

and loosing; a good summary of the Lollard position is found in

von Nolcken 1979:105-6. The main issue here is that it is not

necessary to have formal confession from a priest in order to be

released from any foolish vow; and this belief is based in turn

on the belief that only God had the power of loosing, thus

rendering the priestly function obsolete. With this compare the

orthodox sentiments of the author of Dives and Pauper:

> DIUES. Whan man or woman in anguys and dishese makit vouh
> to ben holpyn, be þey nout boundyn to fulfellyn þat vouh
> þouȝ anguys kech hem þerto? PAUPER. Ȝis, forsoþe, ȝif þey
> þouȝtyn on þe cause why þey madyn it ...
>
> (Barnum 1976:247)

Pauper then goes on to comment that if a wife makes a foolish

vow, her husband may unbind her, "and hir confessour also".

92-95

For Lollard views on the function of the secular ruler, cf.
Selections, pp.127-131. The issue of dominion was an important
one for Lollards, cf. Kenny 1985:42-55; Matthew, 230-231.

113-115

The difference between "Crystys owne ordre" and that of the
"newe fowndyn ordre of senful men"(i.e. the friars) is . commonly
observed in Lollard writings, cf. Hudson 1983:265 (from a Trinity
sermon on Lc 18): "I clepe sectis newe mannys ordres, þat on
seweþ anoþur as he schulde sewe Crist: and so eche secte smachchyþ
many synnys but ȝif hit be þat secte whiche Crist hymself made,
þat Godis lawe clepyþ þe secte of cristen men". See also Hudson
1983:481-2 and 529 ff. ; Fifty Heresies, Arnold 3, 367: "First,
freris seyn þat hor religioun, founden of synful men, is more
perfite þen þat religion or ordir þo whiche Crist hymself made".
Lollard writings, including this sermon, make it abundantly clear
that authority rests with Christ, cf. Wawn 1972:32-33; cf. 133-135.

136-7 and tellyȝt in hys pracketyke]
This phrase is an addition, found only in AdLb and not in any
of the other witnesses to this sermon. I take the phrase to be
an explanatory parenthesis for the benefit of an intellectually
taxed congregation; translate "in its practical application".
"Hys" is the genitive of the neuter determiner, still common at
this period.

146-150

That prelates have no authority is amply evidenced in Lollard
writings, cf. Selections, p.35 "euery man and euery woman beyng
in good lyf oute of synne is as good prest and hath [as] muche
poar of God in al thyng as ony prest ordred".

Sermon VII

This sermon, for the first Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany,

is closely based on Nicholas de Aquevilla's sermon for the sixth day

after Christmas, which in the MSS of Nicholas' Sunday gospel series

which I have seen immediately precedes the sermon for the first

Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany. There is in fact a double

provision for this occasion in the AdLb series (Sermons VII and VIII);

that both are for the same occasion is made clear in the headings for

both sermons, and in the fact that while the text for VII is for the

sixth day after Christmas (following Nicholas), the translation of

the gospel pericope is Lc 2, 42-52, which is for the first Sunday

after the octave of the Epiphany, according to the Sarum use (Sarum

Missal, p.41). It is not therefore repeated at the beginning of the

second sermon (VIII) for the same occasion. It may be asked why the

compiler did not follow Nicholas, and ascribe the sermon to the

occasion for which it was originally written, to which there is no

satisfactory answer. Liturgically speaking, the occasion of the

sixth day after Christmas belongs in the Proprium Sanctorum; AdLb is

basically a Sunday gospel series (except for XXII, which is an

epistle sermon); thus the renaming of this sermon would seem to

represent a desire to bring it into line liturgically with the rest

of the collection (although XXII in fact breaks the sequence). Why

include it at all? There are no other double provisions for a

single occasion in AdLb. Presumably it contained material which the

compiler was loth to lose; the discussion of a child's characteristics

is interesting and attractive, and however much it may have been a

literary topos it must also have had an appeal for a certain kind of

audience. Similar material is repeated in Nicholas and used again
in a later sermon in the collection (XIX).

The sermon deals with five properties of a child which the righteous
man should have, and the greater part of the exposition is given over
to the first of these, cleanness, which is further subdivided into
cleanness of word, heart and deed. The other properties, dealt with
more briefly, are truth, forgetting of wrong, lack of shame, and
love towards the mother and father. As is usual in these early
sermons, some tendentious material is grafted onto the text. The
structure of the AdLb sermon is taken wholesale from Nicholas' first
principal; as so often, Nicholas' sermon is not itself symmetrical,
and his second and third principals are dealt with more summarily,
and not at all in AdLb.

Ad and Lb are textually close. The appearance of the _en face_ versions
shows Ad's general tendency to prune the text, but by now the Latin
quotations regularly appear in Ad, albeit in truncated form.

2 _Puer autem_ . . . Luce .ij^{o}.]
Lc 2, 40. This text is from the Sarum lection for the sixth day
after Christmas, Lc 2, 33-40 (_Sarum Missal_, p.34). The gospel trans-
lation which follows (11.3-28) is in fact Lc 2, 42-52, as explained
above. The text of the corresponding Wycliffite sermon (Hudson 32),
from which the Biblical translation in AdLb has been largely drawn,
is _Cum factus esset Iesus_, Lc 2, 41. As with some other instances
in AdLb the fact of the divergent texts serves to obscure the relation-
ship between the Wycliffite sermon and its derivative.

3-28

The compiler has again made use of the gospel translation in the
Wycliffite sermon for the same occasion; this is clear from the
fact that some of the commentary on the pericope in that sermon is
included in AdLb's version. AdLb, for example, refer to men and
women travelling separately on pilgrimages to avoid lechery (ll.10-
12, cf. Hudson 32/11-17), although this is toned down considerably
in AdLb and scarcely controversial. But then the aim in AdLb is
not translation with continuous postillation, as in the Wycliffite
sermon, but translation followed by allegorical exegesis. As an
illustration of the reliance of AdLb on the Wycliffite sermon
version, rather than on WB, compare ll.3-8 with Hudson 32/3-7:

>whan Iesu was maad of twelue ȝer old, he wente wiþ
>
>Ioseph and Marie vnto Ierusaleem, as þei hadden custoom at Pasc for to
>
>make þis pilgrymage. And whanne þe dayȝes weren endyde of makyng of
>
>þis pilgrymage, his fadyr and his modur wenten hoom and Crift lefte
>
>alone in þe cyte

and with LV:

>And whanne Jhesus was twelue ȝeer oold, thei wenten vp to
>
>Jerusalem, aftir the custom of the feeste dai. And whanne the
>
>daies weren don, thei turneden aȝen; and the child abood in
>
>Jerusalem . . .

The AdLb translation has some affinities with the Wycliffite manuscripts
N and Ɜ , which confirms evidence of that relationship elsewhere
(see, for example, the section in the Introduction which deals with
Sermon VI).

This is seen in the following examples:

AdLb 3	made twelue
Hudson 32/3	maad of twelue
N δ	maad twelue
AdLb 5	to make
Hudson 32/4-5	for to make
N	to make
AdLb 24	Crist spak
Hudson 32/36	Crist spak here
N	Crist þenne spak
δ	Crist spak

There is not, though, any question of a direct stemmatic relationship

with N or δ , since AdLb contain readings not found in those manu-

scripts; rather it is a case of interesting parallels which point

to AdLb's derivation from a manuscript, or set of manuscripts, with

N δ somewhere in their lineage. Again, what is interesting about the

gospel translation in AdLb is that even when Hudson has provided the

primary source the compiler has still made use of WB, notably in the

use of "What han" in 1.22 (cf. WB "What is it that", Hudson 32/29

"Warto han", with no MS variants), and in the omission of hem,

Hudson 32/39, which does not appear in EV. The possibility of

coincidence here cannot, I suppose, be entirely ruled out.

3-4

Lb omits "whan", which is in Ad, Hudson, WB and the Vulgate.

Possibly the scribe's eye has strayed down to the "whan" of 1.5,

but the addition of "and" at the beginning of 1.4 makes the sentence

grammatical and implies that the scribe knew what s/he was doing.

It may be that s/he recognised the error in time to make good the

structure of the sentence by adding a strategically-placed "and",

but I allow that the scribe may have wished to open the sermon in

this way, perhaps to avoid the repetition of the same structure in

ll.5-8. Emendation in this case seems unnecessary.

10-12 for women and men . . . be doon]

An adaptation of Hudson 32/11-14: "And among Iewes was þis religiou[n]

kept þat men schulde doo by hemself and wymmen by hemself, for þei

kepten hem fro lecherye in sych pilgrimage; but now pilgrimage is

mene for to do lecherye." AdLb's version is less precise. Criticism

of the abuse of pilgrimage is one of the better-known Lollard beliefs,

cf. Hudson 1978:86, "siche pilgrimagis ben mayntenyng of lecherie,

of gloterie, of drunkenesse, of extorsiouns, of wrongis, and worldly

vanytes." The statement in Hudson derives from the entry "Pilgrimage"

in the Rosarium (von Nolcken 1979:80).

24-25

A rather serious case of haplography in Ad; the scribe's eye has

caught "to hem" in l.24, which is also at the end of the missing

sentence, and s/he has skipped forward in the text. This kind of

error is not typical of Ad; emendation seems superfluous, given the

en face nature of the edition.

26 beryng]

This seems to require an object, "hem", as in LV and Hudson, but EV

confirms that it is not needed. It is however unidiomatic, which

is odd in view of the fact that the Wycliffite gospel translation has

in all probability been selected for its idiomatic qualities, but

translations of the Latin Biblical quotations in the body of the

text are frequently unidiomatic, and therefore it cannot be assumed

that the compiler's overall policy was to aim for the most up-to-date

rendition of the Vulgate.

27 Ad proficied]

The form is unusual, but there are other instances in both MSS where

the scribes seem to have imitated the Latin form, cf. "consciencie", "malicie" in XV/135 and 162.

29-41

After the _iteracio thematis_ the preacher passes from the lection to the exegesis by reminding the congregation that they have just heard the words of the gospel and by translating the text, which was not of course part of the preceding gospel translation. S/he then picks up Nicholas at this point, whose sermon begins: "Puer autem Ihesus crescebat et confortabatur, plenus sapientia, et gratia Dei erat in illo, Luce .2°. [MS adds sexta die a nativitate Domini in margin] Verba ista dicta sunt de Ihesu Christo dulcissimo filio Dei, qui crescebat corpore, qui secundum quod erat homo fragilis; confortabatur spiritum non secundum quod erat verbum sed secundum quod fuit homo plenus sapientia. Sapientia plenus fuit quia in ipso habitauit plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter, vnde Colocsenses .2°., dicit apostolus, In ipso fuerunt omnes thesauri sapientie et scientie Dei. Similiter plenus fuit gratia, secundum quod homo, vnde Iohannis .1., De plenitudine eius accepimus omnes, etc. Dicit igitur euangelista, Puer autem Ihesus crescebat, etc. In istis verbis tria sunt consideranda et notanda que debet habere et facere quilibet iustus" (Nic f.28v).

The references in Nic to "homo _fragilis_" and to Christ being a man full of grace and not the Word are omitted in AdLb, whose compiler sensibly pares down the argument to its essentials, tries to avoid unnecessary repetition and aims for a plain style by eschewing Nic's orotund _epanados_ "secundum . . . non secundum . . . sed secundum". It should be said that Nicholas himself usually favours a plain style.

34-37

Col 2, 3.

38 Ion]

Both AdLb read "Iob", so this is an error in the common copytext,

probably due to the visual similarity of "Iob" and "Ioh.", the Latin

abbreviation for "Iohannes" ("John").

38-39

Jo 1, 16.

39 grace]

Ad's omission is eyeskip to the previous "grace", l.37.

40

Lc 2, 40.

43-51

The three principal divisions are now set out, based on three phrases

of the gospel text and following Nicholas: "Primum est quod debet

habere vite puritatem, et esse sicut puer propter multiplicem pueri

proprietatem. 2^m quod debet crescere et proficere de virtute in

virtutem. 3^m est quod debet habere gratie Dei et sapientie plenitudinem,

et hec qunatum ad sufficenciam. In primo potest 'n'otari [MS vocari

with v subpuncted] status in[c]ipientium [MS insipiencium]; in 2do,

status proficiencium; in 3°, status perfectorum. Primum notatur

cum dicit, Puer autem Ihesus. 2^m, quando dicit, Crescebat et

confortabatur. 3^m, cum dicit, Plenus sapientia" (Nic f.28v).

AdLb's version is as usual very close to Nic, although Nic was not

the manuscript used by the compiler of AdLb because the translation

"byginneris" in 1.47 must derive from a manuscript of Nicholas with

the reading "incipiencium". Nic's "insipiencium" ("fools") may not

be wrong; it still provides a contrast to "þe state of wyse men",

1.48. Despite the compiler's confident announcement of three prin-

cipal divisions, the version in AdLb only goes on to deal with the

first principal.

It is interesting to note that in Lb 11.47-51 are marked <u>vacat</u> (i.e.

leave out, disregard); this argues that the sermon was prepared for

use, or even delivered.

53-86

Here begins the first main division of the sermon, concerning clean-

ness, and its first subsection, cleanness of mouth: "Primum est

propter vite puritatem, quia puer dicitur a puritate vite. Et cum

triplex est peccatum, scilicet, oris, cordis et operis, sciendum est

quod contra illud triplex peccatum debet quilibet iustus habere -

triplicem puritatem oris, cordis et operis. De puritate oris

dicitur, Prouerbiorum .16., Sermo purus pulcherrimus est. Sermo

purus dicitur quia profitetur absque mendacio et absque proximi

nocento et absque iuramento; talis debet esse sermo cuiuslibet viri.

[<u>MS adds</u> p$^{\circ}$ debet esse absque mendacio et absque proximi nocento et

absque iuramento; talis debet esse sermo cuiuslibet viri] Primo debet

esse absque mendacio pernicioso, et non contra conscienciam, quia

dicit Psalmus, Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium. Et Sapientie

.1., Os quod mentitur occidit animam. Item debet esse absque

proximi nocento, scilicet, absque detraccione proximi, quia sicut

dicitur, Prouerbiorum .13., Qui detrahit alicui rei, obligat se in

futurum, scilicet, ad eternam dampnacionem. Detractores sunt sicut

sicofante que venenosis animalibus pascuntur. Sic detractores

aliena peccata que quasi venenum sunt in ore deferunt et sunt

cibus (?) eorum, vnde Psalmus, Venenum aspidum sub labijs eorum.

Et idem, Deuorant plebem meam sicut escam panis" (Nic f.28v).

52 Þe ferste . . . lyfe]

The ellipsis is also found in Nic. The meaning is "The first reason

why a righteous man is likened to a child is on acoount of the

purity of his life."

53-54 quia puer . . . lijf]

The etymology is traditional and derives from Isidore, Etymologiarvm (Lindsay,

1911), XI,2,10-11.The Ad scribe, having omitted the Latin, sensibly

omits the English translation too, since without the Latin the word-

play puer/puritate would be lost. The Ad scribe is, I think, making

deliberate concessions for an uneducated audience.

54 Ad seth]

Nic confirms that Lb's "siþ" ("since") is right. Ad's form has E.

Anglian e for i.

thre maner of senne]

Cf. the fifth Tabula of the Speculum Christiani, "thre thynges

[foule] a man; the whyche ben these: the synnes of herte, of mouth,

and of dede" (Holmstedt 1933:74-76). There is an obvious link here

with the three parts of penance - contrition, confession and satis-

faction - which are associated respectively with the same triad of

heart, mouth and deed.

56-64 Þre þyngys . . . grace]

This section does not derive from Nic, but may be in another manuscript

of Nicholas.

60-64

Prv 16, 20 and 23.

69-70

PsG 5, 7.

71-72

Sap 1, 11. This and the previous quotation are also found together in the discussion on lying in Dives and Pauper, Cap.ii of the eighth Commandment, where they are said to be taken from "Sent Gregory, libro xviii Moralium". It is of course possible that Nicholas drew them from that source too, especially as he often makes use of Gregory, but quotations tend to travel as groups anyway, and Nicholas could have found them in some other set of distinctiones. What is interesting is the chance to be able to compare two fifteenth-century translations of the same Biblical quotations. These are the versions from Dives and Pauper:

    Ps 5, 7   Lord, þu schal lesyn alle þat spekyn lesyngis
    Sap 1, 11 Þe mouth þat lyyth sleth þe soule
They are remarkably similar to the versions in AdLb.

73-76

Prv 13, 13.

77-79

PsG 100, 5. This quotation does not appear in Nic.

79-80

PsG 13, 3.

81-82

PsG 13, 4.

82-86 And it is . . . euyl spekers]

This passage has no equivalent in Nic. The treatment of backbiting

here is traditional, cf. the epistle sermon for the fourth Sunday

in Lent in MS Worcester F.10 compares backbiters to "akursid hell-

howndes" (Grisdale 1939:35), and the comparison of bacbiters to

murderers who kill three people is of course common, cf. A Myrour

to Lewde Men and Wymmen, "suche is a bakbiter, for he bit wiþ þe

tunge & enuenymeþ hem þat he [b]it, and comounliche sleeþ þree at oo

bitte, himself, hum þat hyreþ it, and him þat he bakbiteþ" (Nelson

1981:214); Dives and Pauper, "a schrewyd neddere is þe bacbyter þat

sleth þre with o breyth" (Barnum 1980:2); Lanterne, 98 "þis bakbiter

sleeþ þre at a strok . þat is to seie. his owene soule. his wilful

heerar. & him þat þei falsli sclaundren".

87-107

The preacher now moves on to consider swearing, one of the sins of

the mouth; this is therefore still part of the first subdivision of

the first principal.

Nicholas: "Item debet esse sine contumelia dicendi, id est, sine

iuramento, propter magnum periculum iuramenti. Prohibet Dominus

iuramentum in euangelium, dicendo, Mathei .5., Nolite iurare per

celum neque per terram, etc. O, quam malum est iurare per membra

Ihesu Christi, et blasphemare ipsum. Hoc / est vnum peccatum quod

Dominus non sinit esse inpunitum, quia multociens homines assueti

iuramentis et blasphemijs morte subitanea moruntur, vnde Prouerbiorum

.20., Qui maledicit patri suo, scilicet, Christo, et matri sue,

scilicet, ecclesie, extinguetur lumen eius in medijs tenebris, quia

in peccatis suis morietur" (Nic ff.28v-29).

89-93

Mt 5, 33-34. Since the Vulgate quotation is missing in Nic (probably

due to eyeskip, as similar negative phrases occur in both the Mt 5

and Jac 5 quotations), it is unlikely to have been the text used by

the AdLb redactor.

93-98

Jac 5, 12.

98-102

This passage is noticed by Owst in LPME, p.423. He quotes from British

Museum MS Additional 21253, f.18, which is the same manuscript of

Nicholas used by Powell in her discussion of the sources of the HR

non-Festial sermons (Powell 1980). It should be said that Owst

happened to light on one of the more dramatic bits of Nicholas, who

is not noted for his pungent use of exclamatio. Ad's "And" (l.98)

may be an error; it certainly lacks the force of the interjection.

However, my use of the modern exclamation mark may suggest greater

awareness of dynamics on the part of the scribe or author than was

in fact the case.

102-107

Prv 20, 20.

108-125

Nicholas: "Vnde beatus Gregorius narrat in Dialogo .li^o.4°.c^o.19°.,

quod quidam diues homo erat Rome qui habuit filium [MS adds .v. sub-

puncted] annorum quinque qui blasphemare et iurare per membra Christi

assuetus erat, quia sicut dicitur, Mathei .12., Spiritus blasphemie

non remittetur. Quadam diem cum pater tenebat eum cum brachijs suis,

et blasphemeret Deum, clamaret puer, Mali homines et nigri venerunt

qui me perdere volunt. Qui cum hoc dixisset, statim blasphemaret

nomen Deum et animam tamcito illis malis hominibus, scilicet

[diabolis] [MS deobus] reddidit. Si Deus in puero quinque annorum

peccatum illud sic vindicauit, numquid parcet adultis et discrimentis,

qui hoc peccatum conmittunt tota die. Constat quod non sermo igitur

purus et pulcher est, qui profertur sine mendacio, set purior est et

pulchrior qui profertur sine proximi nocento; sed purissimus et

pulcherrimus est qui profertur sine contumelia et iuramento" (Nic

f.29).

The quotation from Mt 12 ("Spiritus blasphemie, etc.") is moved in

AdLb to the end of the exemplum, whereas in Nic it appears in the

middle. The exemplum is listed in Tubach, no.684, and also in

Herbert, Catalogue, p.679, no.44, which notes its use by Jacques de

Vitry.

In view of the comments about "frere fablys" in Ad I/23, the

inclusion of an exemplum is surprising, but the compiler's outlook

is not consistent in several matters. It is interesting that in

both Ad and Lb appears the marginal note "Nota de iuramento" by this

passage; while this could be coincidental, it looks as if this

marginal addition was in the common archetype of the two manuscripts.

113 Ad began swere]

On the construction without "to" before the infinitive, see Curme,

who notes that in Middle English "the use of to before the infinitive

was still more or less variable and in some respects different from

modern practice" (Curme 1935:406). I owe this reference to Dr S.
Powell.

118-120

Mt 12, 31-32.

123-124

Lb's omission is due to eyeskip ("withoutyn" in both lines).

126-151

The preacher starts on the next subsection, cleanness of heart,
which is the second of the three parts of cleanness; hence "þe
secunde poynt" (ll.126-127). Nicholas: "Item puritatem cordis
debet habere; de hoc dicit beatus Iacobus .4., Emundate manus
vestras et purificate corda vestra, duplices animo. Et Sapientie
.1°., Sentite de Domino in bonitate et[in] simplicitate cordis
querite illum, id est, in puritate cordis. Dicit beatus
Augustinus, Vere quilibet iustus debet habere cor suum purum a
tribus - a luto luxurie, et a veneno et sanguine rancoris et
discordie, et a rubigine cupiditatis et auaricie. De luto luxurie
dicit Psalmus et orat Dominum, dicens, Eripe me de luto vt non
infigar. Quia quidam sunt in isto luto ita infixi quod infra decem
annos de isto luto exire non possunt, nec volunt. Ideo isti sunt
insani, quia insanus est qui in luto caderet et de illo exire non
vellet" (Nic f.29).

126

Lb notes the new subdivision in the margin:".ij[a]".

127-130

Jac 4, 8.

130-132

Sap 1, 1.

132-135 Forsothe . . . aueryse]

This threefold subdivision appears without attribution in AdLb, whereas

Nic ascribes it to Augustine; I have not been able to trace it in the

works of Augustine.

134-135 venyme and blood of ranore and discord]

I assume an error in the common archetype of AdLb, since neither

manuscript translates Nic's "et sanguine" and it is needed to parallel

the other material objects "cleye" and "rust", and to make sense of

ll.152-158 which are concerned with blood and not at all with "venyme".

136 Ad preyid]

Both Nic and Lb confirm that this is 3sg.pr., with E. Anglian d/t/th

variation: see the section on Language in the Introduction.

136-138

PsG 68, 15.

141-151

This is a Lollard amplification, but ll.146-147 are from Nicholas,

but used in such a way as to apply to lecherous priests and prelates,

and not simply Nic's unspecified "isti". I have not found a source

for this passage but there are many parallels in Wycliffite writings,

and in the proto-Lollard Dives and Pauper, cf. "Also prelatis . . .

lyuen in pompe & pride . . .& stenkynge lecherie" (Matthew, p.76);

"þe lawe byddith . . . þat þer schulde no man ne woman heryn messe

of þe preste whyche he wot sykyrly þat he halt a concubyne or is an

opyn lechour and notorie . . . whan it is þus notorye & opyn þer

schulde no man ne woman heryn her messe ne her offys wetyngly.

Swyche clerkys lechouris, be he buschop be he prest, be he dekene

or sodekene, he schulde lesyn hys degre & nout abydyn in þe chaunsel

amongis oþir clerkis in tyme of offys & he schulde han no part of

þe godys of holy chirche" (<u>Dives and Pauper</u>, Vol.I, Part 2, pp.107-

109). Elsewhere in this collection the connection between clay and

lechery is made, cf. XV. Lollards frequently pointed to the sinful-

ness of priests and their consequent unfitness to administer the

sacraments as a major argument against the necessity of all

ecclesiastical office. It is interesting to note that a later hand

in Lb has added the marginal note "Menours", presumably because s/he

supposed from this attack on the church hierarchy that the author

was a Franciscan. But it is clear from comments elsewhere in the

AdLb series that the compiler was no lover of the friars. Another

hand in Lb has added a marginal note with a quotation attributed to

Augustine. I have not found the exact quotation but cf. Augustine,

<u>PL</u> 43, cols.67, 73 and 156. The sense of the quotation is that the

sacrament is not the more valid when done by a good man, nor the less

when done by a bad, for its virtue derives from the word of God and

the power of the Holy Spirit. This is of course not heretical but

good theology.

152-158

Nicholas: "De sanguine rancoris et discordie, Prouerbiourm .6., vbi

dicitur quod Dominus odit manus effundentes sanguinem. Manus

effundentes sanguinem illi habunt qui seminant discordias inter

fratres. Et Genesis .9. prohibetur caro cum sanguine, id est,

carnalitas et mortificacio carnis sum sanguine rancoris et discordie.

Et Ysaie .1., Cum multiplicaueritis orationes non exaudiam, dicit

Dominus, quia manus vestre plene sunt sanguine" (Nic f.29).

152-153 God hatyth . . . blood]

Prv 6, 16-17.

154-158

Is 1, 15. The compiler has omitted the quotation from Genesis which
is in Nic.

159-172

Nicholas: "De rubigine cupiditatis et auaricie, Iacobi .5., dicitur,
Agite nunc, diuites, plorate nunc vlulantes in miserijs vestris, que
euenerunt vobis, etc. Sequitur, Aurum et argentum vestrum eruginant
/ et erugo erit vobis in testimonium. Et Prouerbiorum .25, dicitur,
Aufer rubiginem de argento, id est, de viro iusto, et egredietur vas
purissimum, id est, cor. Cor iusti est vas Domini, quod est purum
ab istis, et debet esse plenum gratia Domini. Et, Beati mundo corde,
quia ipsi Deum videbunt, Mathei .5." (Nic ff.29-29v).

160-163

Jac 5, 1.

163-164

Jac 5, 3.

164-167

Prv 25, 4.

168-169

Lb clarifies "þes" (Nic "istis") as "coueitise and auarise"; either
the compiler or scribe shows intelligent awareness of the problems
of following the elaborate subdivisions of this particular sermon,

and has tried to ease things for the reader or congregation.

170-172

Mt 5, 8.

173-194

The preacher now moves on to consider the third subdivision of cleanness, namely, cleanness of deed. Nicholas: "Item puritatem operis debet habere, et sicut dicit Psalmus, Secundum puritatem manuum mearum retribuet mihi. Et Thim. [MS adds Thym .].2°., dicit apostolus, Volo viros orare in omni loco, leuantes manus puras ad Deum, etc. Per puritatem manuum et puras manus signantur pura opera. Vero opera nostra debent esse pura a tribus, quia pura debemus illa facere propter Deum, vnde pura debent esse a triplici inmundicie, scilicet, a temporali remuneracione, et a glorie inanis puluere, et ab omni hominum fauore. Ab isto triplici munere debent esse pura [opera nostra], vnde Ysaie .33., Beatus qui excutit manus suas a puluere et ab omni munere. Manus, scilicet, cordis et operis, quia sicut dicit Glosa super illud, Ieremie .48., Maledictus qui facit opus Dei fraudulenter, vel necligenter. Et est munus triplex - a manu, corde et oro. Munus a manu est peccunia vel remuneracio temporalis aliqua. Munus a corde est inanis gloria. Munus [MS adds a corde subpuncted] ab oro est fauor hominis siue laus hominum. Ab isto triplici munere debent opera nostra esse pura, quia debemus illa facere absque temporali remuneracione et absque homino fauore et absque inanis glorie puluere. Et sicut dicit beatus Augustinus, Qui de bono opere gloriatur, de virtute vicium facit. Certe tales nullam aliam mercedem habebunt in paradiso de bonis operibus, Mathei .5., Amen, dico vobis, iam receperunt mercedem suam. Iste tres puritates

signantur per tres pueros quos Dominus liberant de igne Caldeorum,

Danielis .3°." (Nic f.29v).

174-175

PsG 17, 21.

175-177 And þe apostil . . . of handis]

These lines are missing from Ad, probably because of eyeskip ("And"

in 175 and 178, or the scribe was confused by the repetitions of

"clene handis", "clennes of handis", etc.).

176-177

1Tm 2, 8.

180 Ad for God]

Ad's reading "fro good" is a psychologically understandable error;

Nic confirms Lb's reading "for God" - "propter Deum".

180 powdere]

Nic's "puluere" reveals that there is an error in the common archetype

of AdLb, since both read "power(e)". I have emended following the

source.

181 men]

AdLb's reading "hem" is not satisfactory in context because it is

ambiguous; once again, this appears to be an error in the common

archetype, and I have emended following the Latin.

183-184

Is 33, 15.

188-190

I have not been able to trace this quotation in the works of Augustine.

189 Ad gloriþe]

This is a curious 3sg.pr. inflection; though possibly an error, due to simple mechanical transposition of the last two letters, there are parallel forms in other sermons, cf. "lythe" Ad X/13.

191-192

Mt 6, 2 and Mt 6, 5.

192-193

See Dn 3, 8-30 for the story of Shadrach, Meschach and Abed-nego who were cast into Nebuchandnezzar's burning fiery furnace for refusing to worship the golden image he had set up. The episode is a common deliverance story.

194-202

The preacher now moves on to the second property of a child which every righteous man should have. Nicholas: ".2^{a}. est propter veritatem, quia puer verax est, vnde vulgariter dicitur, A stulto, ab ebrio, et a puero extorquetur veritas. Et nos semper veraces debemus esse in promissionibus nostris et in omnibus dictis et in factis, et sicut dicit Ysaie .33., Qui loquitur veritatem habitabit in excelsis. Et Mathei .5., dicit Christus, Sit sermo vester, Est, est; non, non" (Nic f.29v).

195-197

A conflation of Whiting C 217 and C 229. Nic's Latin version differs from the Latin of AdLb, showing again that Nic was not the text used by the English compiler.

199-201

Is 33, 15-16.

201-202

Mt 5, 37.

203-234

The preacher now deals with the third property of a child, forgetting

of wrong and mildness. Nicholas: ".3ª. est propter iniurie obliuionem,

et propter eius benignitatem, quia non meminit iniurie sibi illate

et non repercutit nec se vindicat et cito placatur, nec tenet rancorem.

Talis puer fuit Christus, quia non repercussit percucientes se, nec

vindicauit se de malefactoribus suis, cum posset illos tamcito

confundere. Et cito placatur peccatoribus qui volunt penitere de

peccatis suis, vt patetur de Magdalena et de filio prodigo, Luce

.15. De Christo dicit, Ysaie .42. et Mathei .12., Ecce puer meus

electus quem elegi; posui super eum spiritum meum. Sequitur, Non

contendet, nec clamabit. Talis puer debet esse quilibet iustus, vnde

iustis dicit apostolus, Romanos .12., Non vosmetipsos defendentes,

karissimi, sed date locum /ire. Mathei 5, Dimittite et dimittetur

vobis. Talibus pueris dicit Dominus in Psalmo, Laudate pueri

Domini, etc." (Nic ff.29v-30).

AdLb follow Nic closely up to "But whan he is desesyd", 1.206; the

passage listing the different properties of a child may be in

another manuscript of Nicholas. AdLb pick up the material in Nic

again at 1.217, "Sweche ∧ᶠaᶦ child . . ." and follow Nic closely up

to the end of the section.

For 11.206-217, cf. "The nature and propertye of a childe is þat

he [can] not noye nor bere ran[cor] nor wrath within hym, [also be

it þat þou bete hym or chastise hym]. But als son as ye shewe hym

a fayre floure or elles a rede appyll, he hath foryette all þat was

done to hym beforn and he woll cum rennyng with his halsyng armys to

plese the and kysse the", from a nativity sermon in MS Harley 2247

(Powell 1981:103-104) which uses Jacobus de Voragine as the source.

See also Sermon XIX of this edition which has material on the pro-

perties of a child (XIX/30-60 and 90-195), also derived from

Nicholas. The same Latin sermon of Nicholas also furnishes material

for the corresponding non-Festial sermon in the HR collection,as

explained in the Introduction to this edition. The AdLb and Harley/

Royal sermons contain quite independent translations and there is no

possibility of any borrowing in either direction. That a child loves

an apple more than a castle is proverbial (Whiting C 204).

214 ȝeue yt]

The scribe of Ad has taken the infinitive plus neuter pronoun as one

word, the 3sg.pr. of the verb; this is because -yt is a common 3sg.pr.

in Ad.

216 idil]

Lb's error "idis" is probably eyeskip to "is", the next-but-one word.

217 settyt be no worschepys/sechiþ not worschipis]

In the absence of a source for this line it is not possible to

determine the original reading of the verb, especially as both make

good sense. In many fifteenth-century hands, the graphs for c and t

are indistinguishable, so this is the likely source of confusion.

"Settyt be no" is the harder reading.

218 þe swete lomb of God]

Not in Nic, but obviously suggested by the reference to Christ's meek-

ness; the preacher is also perhaps thinking of Act 8, 32.

· 220 my3th a kyllyd]

The "a" represents the reduced form of "have" in unstressed positions.

whan he . . . hys mowth]

AdLb's translation is considerably stronger and more dramatic than Nic's,

which is literally "when he might have instantly thrown them into

disorder".

221

The redactor has altered Nic's passive construction to an active one,

and from plural to singular; the "he" refers to Christ and not the

man.

222-223

Mary Magdalene and the prodigal son are often used in sermons and

devotional material as types of penitent sinners. The account of Mary

Magdalene washing Christ's feet with her tears and being forgiven for

her sins is in Lc 7; the story of the prodigal son is Lc 15, 11-32.

224-226

Mt 12, 18. (cf. Is 42, 1: Ecce servus meus, . . . electus meus . . .

dedi spiritum meum super eum).

226-228

Mt 12, 19. (cf. Is 42, 2: Non clamabit).

239 vnto whom]

Nic makes it clear that this refers to "eche ry3twyse man".

239-231

Rm 12, 19.

231 late þe tyme passe]

This is a very odd translation of the Vulgate. Since the Latin is

in the text, it does not seem likely that the redactor was working

from a different Vulgate version, and none of the Vulgate variants

or the Old Latin versions in Sabatier are any help here. The

answer seems to be that this is a mistranslation by the original com-

piler, who has taken "ire" as the infinitive of "eo" = "go, pass (of

time)" and interpreted "locum" as "time" which is not in fact one of

its range of meanings. The proper translation should be "give place

to anger, do not allow yourself to be angry". To emend would be to

tamper with an authorial reading.

231-233

Not in fact Matthew, as suggested in Nic and repeated in the margin

of Lb, but Lc 6, 37.

234

PsG 112, 1.

235-245

The preacher continues with the fourth property of a child, lack of

shame at his own nudity. Nicholas: ".4ᵃ. est quod non erubescat,

quamuis videat suam nuditate. Itaqu[e] [with que from quia] vere

iustus [MS adds est canc.] non erubescit si pauper vel si nudus sit

ab omnibus temporalibus pro amore Iheus Christi. Istam puericiam

habuerunt primi parentes ante peccatum, Genesis .2., Erat vterque

nudus et non erubescebant se videre nudos. Ita Ysaie .24. dicit

Dominus, Ambulat seruus meus Ysaias nudus et discalciatus. Tales

pueri fuerunt omnes apostoli, vnde Iohannis .21., dixit igitur eis

Ihesus, Pueri, numquam pulmentarum habetis?" (Nic f.30).

235

AdLb do not, as Nic, indicate that this is the fourth subdivision.

239-240

Gn 2, 25.

241-242

Is 20, 3.

244-245

Jo 21, 5.

246-264

The sermon concludes with the fifth and last property of a child. Nicholas: "5^a est propter patris et matris dileccionem, et quia diligit eos libenter iacet, dormit et requiescit cum illis in eodem lecto. Ita vere, qui iustus est ecclesiam sanctam, matrem suam spiritualem et Christum patrem suum, et libenter iacet, dormit et requiescit cum illis in lecto bone consciencie vel religionis vel contemplacionis, vnde Dominus dicit in Ysaie .8., Ego et pueri mei quos dedit mihi Dominus in signum et in portentum Israel; quod exponit Luce .11., Pueri mei mecum sunt in cubili. De isto lecto dicit Sponsa, Canticum .2., Lectulus noster floridus est cum lilijs castitatis, solsequijs pietatis, rosis caritatis. Sed nota bene quod iste puer debet appellari Ihesus, quia debet ardenter et diligenter salutem anime sue querere, sicut qui dicit, Canticum .3°., Surgam et circiibo ciuitatem per vicos et plateas, et queram quem diligit animam meam, scilicet, Ihesum, saluatorem meum" (Nic f.30).

246 fifte]

The shared error "ferst" in both manuscripts derives from the common

archetype, and is easily accounted for; it is visually similar to

"fifte" and there is a confusing welter of subdivisions, not all of

them signalled numerically in the text, so that it would not be

too hard for the scribe to lose track of the sermon's structure.

247-248 and for þat . . . þey lege]

AdLb's reverse Nic's subject and object, so that it is the parents

which love the child, and not the child who loves the parents as in

the Latin. In this case it does not make a great deal of difference

to the argument, and since the reading is shared by both manuscripts

there is always the possibility that it is authorial, or perhaps

derives from variants in another manuscript of Nicholas.

251-255

Is 8, 18. There is a rather serious instance of haplography in Lb,

ll.253-254, which is due to eyeskip (repetition of "my childryn").

The scribe of Lb is rather prone to this type of error.

254-255

Lc 11, 7.

256-257

Ct 1, 15.

257-258

The details of the flowers are not in the <u>Glossa Ordinaria.</u> For the

moralisation of the flowers here, cf. Pseudo-Bernard, <u>Sermo Panegyricus</u>

<u>ad BVM</u>, <u>PL</u> 184, col.1012: "O Maria, viola humilitatis, lilium castitatis,

rosa charitatis". The lily and rose are common symbols of the BVM

in patristic literature, although she is not the referent here. *Cf. also*
<u>The Harley Lyrics</u>, ed. G.L. Brook (Manchester, 4th ed. 1968)p.50:
>   heo is lilie of largesse,
260-264   heo is paruenke of prouesse,
>   heo is solsecle of suetnesse.
Ct 3, 2.

262 owt of synne]

This is not in Nic.

264 sauowr/sauour]

From French "sauveur"; the <u>OED</u> records the spelling without <u>i</u>.

264-267

The AdLb compiler rounds off the sermon with a brief and pertinent

prayer. This is where Nicholas' first principal ends. The sermon

in Nicholas, as so often, does not weight its principals evenly, and

numbers two and three are dealt with at rather less length. The

second principal covers the four ways in which a righteous man should

grow - from virtue into virtue, by the multiplying of good works, by

charity, and by the grace of God. Furthermore, there are three

things which make the righteous man grow in these four ways - love

of poverty, tribulation of heart and humility of heart, and wisdom

and fullness of grace. This last point leads on to the third principal,

which briefly discusses the need for wisdom and grace. The sermon in

Nic ends on f.31.

266 reward]

Lb's "rewarder" has been caught by the eye from "defendere" in the

line above. It is also less satisfactory to see Christ as the dis-

penser of rewards than as himself the reward, at the culmination of

a sermon which has been about seeking and finding.

Sermon VIII
_____

This sermon, like the previous one, is for the first Sunday after

the octave of the Epiphany and is based on the sermon by Nicholas de

Aquevilla for the same occasion. The text, Dolentes querebamus te,

Lc 2, 48, is from the gospel pericope for the day, Lc 2, 42-52.

Since a translation of this pericope has already been provided at

the beginning of the previous sermon there is no translation here,

nor any preface or protheme. Instead, the sermon launches straight

into the processus with its announcement of five principal divisions.

The AdLb version keeps close to Nicholas in terms of both structure

and content; the theme of the sermon, which derives from analysis of

the words of the text, is the seeking and finding of Jesus, con-

sidered under five headings with a multiplicity of subdivisions.

The first four principals together with some of the subdivisions are

indicated in Lb by marginal notes. The scribe of Lb has also marked

some passages in the text "vacat", presumably with a view to the

sermon being preached. There is one notable Lollard expansion,

11.181-190.

2

Lc 2, 48.

3-7

The cross-reference in 1.3 to the preceding sermon is evidence that

the collection was put together at the same time and conceived of

as a whole. For the processus, cf. Nicholas: "In hoc totali

euangelio quinque sunt consideranda a nobis. Primum est vbi Ihesus

saluator noster amittitur. 2^m est a quibus queritur. 3^m est quomodo

querendus est a [MS ad] homo vt inueniatur. 4^m est quomodo inuenitur.
5^m est vbi inuenitur" (Nic f.31).

8-25

Nicholas: "Primum est igitur videre vbi Ihesus saluator noster
amittitur. Et sciendum quod amittitur in multitudine et in
solempnitate et in sua cognacione. Vere amittitur in multitudine
viciorum et in tumultum eorum, vnde Luce .[1]9., dicitur quod 3acheus
non potuit eum videre per turba. Et Mathei .9., dicitur quod Ihesus
prius eiecit turba quando suscitauit puellam, filiam principis. De
ista multitudine dicitur, Trenorum primo, Propter multitudinem
iniquitatum eius paruuli eius ducti sunt in captiuitatem ante faciem
tribulantis. Similiter in multitudine diuiciarum suarum gloriantur.
Et certe sicut dicitur Osee .5., In gregibus suis et in armentis
vadent ad querendum Dominum et non inuenient eum, quidam ablatus
est ab eis" (Nic f.31).

9 knowlage]
"Friends, relations": see MED knoulech(e), 4(d). It is used again
in this sense at 1.57.

10-11
Zacchaeus climbed into a tree to get a better view of Jesus over
the crowds. See Lc 19, 1-9.

11 it]
There must be an error in the archetype, for both Ad and Lb read
"Crist" which is illogical in the context. It is difficult to under-
stand how the error arose; there are no other instances of the word
in its immediate environs which might have caught the scribe's eye.
It must be that the presence of several references to Jesus the

scribe of the archetype has inadvertently slipped in a reference to "Crist".

12-13

The story of Jesus raising the ruler's daughter is told in Mt 9, 18-26.

14-17

Lam 1, 5.

19-21

PsG 48, 7.

21-25

Os 5, 6.

26-56

This section is still part of the first principal, "vbi Ihesus . . . amittitur". Nicholas: "Item amittitur in solempnitate, id est, in gaudio mundi, quia sicut dicit beatus Augustinus, Leticia mundi est impunita nequicia, scilicet, luxuriari in spectaculo, nugari, ebrietati ingurgitari, turpitudinem facere, et nulli mali pati. Ecce gaudium seculi, quia omnia placent facere, non castigari / fa[m]e [MS fane] vel aliqua aduersitate, sed omnia in rerum abundancia, in pace carnis, in securitate, male mentis agere. Tales sunt solempnitates huius seculi, et ideo dicit Dominus in Ysaie .l., Neomenias alias kalendas et solempnitates vestras odiunt anima mea. Et Malachie .5., Dispergam stercus solempnitatis vestre, quia soluti homines in die festo a terrenorum labore; luxurie et ebrietati et spectaculo vacant. Vnde Dominus in Eʒechielis .22., A sabbatis meis verterunt oculos suos et inquinabar in medio eorum, scilicet, per operum inmundiciam in diebus festiuis. Vnde hodie iste indebite

solemnitates ab hominibus custodiuntur, quod a malignis spiritibus

deridentur. Vnde Trenorum .1., Viderunt eum hostes et sabbata eius

deriserunt. Tales amittunt Dominum, et numquam inuenient eum, vnde

talibus dicit Dominus, Queritis me et non inuenietis me, etc." (Nic

ff.31-31v).

27-29

Augustine, Sermo CLXXI, PL 38, col.935.

31 Lb noie]

Lb's reading "ioie" is a simple error arising from minim confusion.

Nic confirms Ad's reading "no noy" ("Nulli mali"). The scribe of Lb

has also added some further words to the line, to read "ioie to suffre

ony aduersite". This may be a conscious attempt to recover the

sense of the phrase, in which case it does little to improve the

reading; more probably the scribe's eye has caught "aduersite" from

1.34.

31-34 þe ioy . . . pees of fleesch]

On the evidence of Nic, there is something added and something missing

from this line. "Of plesyng desyres" and "penawnce" have no corres-

ponding phrases in the Latin, and Nic's "male mentis agere" is not

translated. But there is no need to emend if it is accepted that

the phrases in 11.33-34 ("alle in . . . fleesch") are all dependent

on "lykyþ it to doo" (1.32), that other manuscripts of Nic might have

contained variants, and that the compiler had reasons for wishing to

elaborate on worldly pleasures and to stress penance.

35-36 and so þei . . . peyne of helle]

There is no equivalent in Nic.

37-39

Is 1, 13-14.

40-41

Mal 2, 3.

44 so þat God . . . werkdays]

No equivalent in Nic.

45-48

Ez 22, 26.

49-50 wherfore . . . skornyd]

Nic confirms that Ad's reading "of vnclene spiritis they been skornyd" is right, and I have emended Lb accordingly. Lb's omissions are simple mechanical errors caused by the presence of other two and three letter words in the context, which makes it easy for other short words to get left out. The whole clause means: "for that reason the sabbath days are so badly kept that they are derided by evil spirits", i.e. evil spirits should fear holy days but nowadays have no reason to do so, because they are not properly observed. "Vnclene spirits" are demons or wicked spirits; see OED unclean a., where the phrase unclean spirit is listed under 2.

51 Godis lawe]

AdLb agree in this reading, which in Nic is "Trenorum .1.". The phrase is a typically Lollard reference to the scriptures (see Heyworth 1968:120), but in this non-polemical context is it possible to argue that it is being used here as a Lollard phrase? It is not the normal means of identification of a Biblical source in AdLb. There are several different hypotheses which could be set up to

account for its presence, and while it would be difficult to state

categorically that it is the mark of a Lollard compiler, it would be

easy to understand how a redactor with a Lollard background might

slip into using the phrase even where the context did not demand a

charged vocabulary.

51-52

Lam 1, 7.

54-56

Jo 7, 34 and Jo 7, 36.

57-84

This section is a further subdivision of the first principal.

Nicholas: "Item amittitur in sua cognacione, scilicet, inter

cognatos et notos, et ibi non potest inueniri. Certe istud verum

est multociens ad litteram quod inter cognatos amittitur Ihesus et

vix ibi inuenitur. Vnde dicit Bernardus, Quomodo te, bone Ihesu,

inter cognatos meos inueniam, quia inter tuos es minime inuentus?

[MS adds Nota in margin] Quomodo te inueniam in gaudio quem mater

illa dolens vix inuenit? vel per cognatos carnalitas et peccata

carnalia signantur, quia cognata nostra sunt vel gula et luxuria,

quia de carne nostra exeunt, et in illa cognacione tota die

amittitur Ihesus et nuncquam ibi inuenitur. Vnde Iob .19., Non

inuenitur terra suauiter viuencium. Et sponsa, Canticum .2., dicit,

In lectulo meo quesiui quem diligit anima mea; quesiui illum et non

inueni. Propter ista 3^a dicit Dominus Abrahem, per quem quilibet

iustus signatur, Genesis .12., Egredere de terra tua, id est, de

amore et multitudine terrenorum, et de domus patris tui, scilicet,

diaboli, vbi habitant qui inmunda ⌐opera⌐ in solempnibus festorum

sanctorum custodiunt, et de cognacione tua, id est, vicijs carnis,

et vade in terra quam mostrauero tibi, quod dicit, vbi poteris me
inuenire" (Nic f.31v).

57-58

Lc 2, 44.

57 knowlagys/knowleche]

See note to 1.9.

58 knowyng(e)]

"Acquaintances": <u>MED</u> <u>knouing(e</u> ger. 3(c).

59-63 þat we been . . . þe whyle]

A free adaptation of Nicholas which is unusual for this literal-
minded redactor.

63-68

I have not traced this quotation in the works of Bernard.

67 onneþys]

Another error in the common archetype of AdLb, revealed by Nic's
"vix", and easily accounted for. The scribe was confused by E.
Anglian <u>o</u> for more usual <u>u</u> in "unneþys" and the eye has passed over
the medial syllable to produce the more familiar word "onys".

72-73 and 74-75

Jb 28, 13.

74 and 76

Ct 3, 1.

77-78

Ct 3, 1-2.

78 for]

"On account of, about"; Nic "propter".

79-83

Gn 12, 1. For the moralisation, see <u>Glossa Ordinaria</u>, <u>PL</u> 113, col.

116, quoting from Isidore's commentary.

85-108

The preacher now comes on to the second principal, "of whom Iesus

is sow3t". Nicholas: "2^m est videre a quibus queritur, et sciendum

est quod a parentibus suis, scilicet, a Maria et a Ioseph. Per

Maria, que 'mare amaris' interpretatur, signatur penitentes que

cotidie debent esse in amaritudinibus [<u>MS adds</u> ne <u>above line</u>] de

peccatis suis, sicut esset Iob qui dicebat, .17. c^o., In amaritudinibus

moratur oculus meus. Per Ioseph, qui 'augmentum' interpretatur, signatur

caritas vel equitas, que augmentant omnia bona in hominibus. Isti

sunt parentes Ihesu Christi, penitentes in caritate existentes, et

isti qui vere querunt Ihesum, saluatorem suum, et isti in fine

inuenient eum, Prouerbiorum .8., Qui mane vigilauerint ad me

querendum inuenient me, id est, qui in iuuentute sua vigilauerint

in penitencia et caritate ad me querendum, isti / inuenient me. In

iuuentute debemus eum querere, non in morte, sicut illi faciebant de

quibus psalmista dicit, Cum occideret eos, querebant eum. Isti,

scilicet, penitentes et in caritate existentes sunt parentes Ihesu

Christi, quia isti sunt facientes eius voluntatem, et sicut ipse

dicit, Mathei .12., Qui facit voluntatem meam et non suam, suple: hic

meus frater, mater et soror est. Talibus dicit Dominus in psalmo,

Querite Dominum et viuet anima vestra vita gracie hic, et vita

glorie in futuro" (Nic ff.31v-32).

85-86 sowth he is/souȝt he is]

Lb's "soþ it is" does not give a good sense. Nic does not provide

a verb, but "queritur" is understood, and in the English, "of his

frendys" is parallel to "of whom" (1.85), which suggests that the

verb is repeated. Lb's error is a rationalisation of an E. Anglian

spelling of "sought", with th for t, as indicated by Ad's "sowth".

86 Lb and Ioseph. Be Marie]

A typical haplographical error in Lb, due to eyeskip.

87 þe byttyr see]

This etymology of Mary is traditional, cf. PL 23, col.1229: "Maria

. . . amarum mare".

89-90

Jb 17, 2.

89 amaritudine/amaritudinibus]

This is a very curious difference between the two manuscripts, since

Nic gives Lb's plural form, but the interlinear insertion "ne" has

been added by the scribe, perhaps to indicate an alternative, singular,

form. Yet Lb has Nic's plural and Ad has the singular, as if each

were derived from different manuscripts of Nicholas at this point.

In view of the number of shared errors which point to AdLb's

derivation from a common archetype, this cannot be the case; perhaps

the common archetype had both forms, written as in Nic, and it was

then up to the individual scribes to go for the form they preferred.

90-91 Ioseph . . . makynge more]

A traditional interpretation of Joseph's name: Jerome, PL 23, col.

1228: "Joseph, augmentum".

91 yn men]

Nic's "omnia bona in hominibus" confirms that there is an error in
the common archetype of AdLb.

94-96

Prv 8, 17.

99-100

PsG 77, 34.

103-105

Mt 12, 50.

103 Nic suple]

Neither Ad nor Lb reproduces Nic's "suple". On "suple" see note to
IV/37.

106-108

PsG 68, 33.

106 Lb spalm]

Cf. Lanterne, 133. See MED Psalm(e n. for further examples of this
spelling (>Medieval Latin spalmus).

109-151

This section deals with the third principal, "hou it is to seche
Iesu". Nicholas: "Tertium est videre quomodo querendus est Ihesus
ad hoc quod inueniatur [MS adds quomodo querendus est Ihesus Christus
in margin]. Et sciendum est quod 3^a, scilicet, diligenter, deuote
et ardenter, et perseueranter. Diligenter debemus eum querere,
sicut querit homo diligenter ouem suam perditam, quia Christus ouis
dicitur propter humilitatem et mansuetudine, Ysaie .53. Ita sicut

diligenter mulier querit dragmam suam perditam, quia querit illam

donec inueniat eam [MS adds illam ita diligenter subpuncted], Luce

.15., dicit Christus, Mulier habens dragmas decem, et si perdiderit

vnam dragmam, non accendit lucernam et euertit domum, et querit

diligenter donec inueniat illam? Ita diligenter querebat eum sponsa,

Canticum .3., dicens, Surgam et circuibo ciuitatem per vicos et

plateas, et queram quem diliget anima mea. Similiter, ita querit

eum qui ex toto corde suo querit eum, et ita querebat eum Dauid,

vnde in Psalmo, In toto corde meo exquesiui te. Item deuote et

ardenter debemus eum querere. Ita quesiuit eum beata Magdalena,

quia cum lacrimis rigauit pedes eius, vnde Iohannis .20., dicitur

quod Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans, et dum fleret dicunt

angeli, Mulier, quid ploras? Quem queris? Tulerunt Dominum meum et

nescio vbi posuerunt eum, etc. Item similiter querebant eum beata

virgo et Ioseph, vnde dixit ei beata virgo, vt habetur hic, Fili,

quid fecisti nobis sic? Ego et pater tuus dolentes querebamus te.

Et quid miraculum, quia thesaurum preciosum et rem preciosam

amiserant? Vere deuote et ardenter debemus eum querere, et hoc

sicut famelici querunt cibum suum siue panem, quia ipse est panis

vite, Iohannis .6., Ego sum panis vite, etc. Item sicut egrotus suam

sanitatem querit, Malachie .3., Sanitas in pennis eius. Et in Psalmo,

Misit verbum suum et sanauit eos. Item sicut cecus lumen, quia ipse

est lux mundi. 3° debemus eum querere perseueranter, vnde Psalmo,

Querite facitem eius semper. Vnde in euangelio, Luce .15., Querite

et inuenietis; pulsate et aperietur vobis" (Nic f.32).

110 Lb besily]

Lb's error "wisely" is the result of eyeskip to the previous word

"wyse".

111 Ad lastyngly]

Ad's error "lustyngly" is a psychologically understandable slip;

"brennyngly" in the same line has suggested a synonym. Nic's

"perseueranter" confirms that Lb's reading is correct.

111-112 Besyly . . . lost schepe]

The parable of the lost sheep is Lc 15, 3-7.

112 Lb for Crist is clepid a scheep]

Lb's omission is the result of eyeskip to the first instance of

"scheep" in the line.

112-113 ffor Cryst . . . (Lb) as Ysaie seiþ, .liij^{o}.]

The reference is to Is 53, 7: "Oblatus est quia ipse voluit, et non

aperuit os suum: sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur, et quasi agnus

coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperuit os suum." It is

repeated in Act 8, 32 with specific reference to Christ.

113-114 Ad Also as a woman]

There is no reason to suppose that anything is missing here: the

clause "we owyn to seche hym" can be understood from l.111. This is

another example of pruning of the text in Ad.

116-121

Lc 15, 8.

119 Ad ly3ht sche]

"Ly3ht" is a contracted 3sg.pr. form; see Note to I/14 for contracted

3sg.pa. forms. The form possibly shows assimilation of the dental

inflection to the final dental consonant of the stem; but it may be

an E. Anglian form. Ad's omission of "sche" is the result of eye-

skip to "sche" earlier in line.

122-124

Ct 3, 2.

125 hem þat sechyth hym of alle hys herte]

In Ad, as in Nic, the clause is sg., with "hem" having E. Anglian

e for i. The repetition of ll.124-125 is awkward but the sense is

clear enough: "And the man who seeks him [i.e. Christ] with all his

heart seeks him in this way . . .". Lb has taken "hem" as pl. and

adjusted the verb and determiner accordingly ("sechyn" and "her" pl.)

and tried to resolve the confusion of pronouns by substituting

"Crist" for "he" in l.124. But this is not in fact logical, as the

section deals with the ways in which we should seek Christ, and not

the other way round. I have accordingly emended Lb, following Ad

and Nic.

126-127

PsG 118, 10.

128-129

The reference in Nic is to Mary washing Jesus' feet with her tears,

Lc 7, 38. AdLb do not mention the washing of Christ's feet.

129-135

Jo 20, 11, and a conflation of vv.13 and 15.

136-137

Nic's brief "hic" is expanded for the sake of clarity to "as þe

goospel tellyth".

137-139

Lc 2, 48.

139-140 And what . . . þat]

"And what was so surprising/extraordinary about that . . .?".

140-141 Lb sauyoure of al þe word]

Ad's "þat presyows thyng" represents Nic's "rem preciosam". Lb's version must therefore be scribal, but does not have the appearance of an error. One can only speculate about why the scribe of Lb felt it necessary to alter the reading here; perhaps s/he did not trust Ad's reading, feeling it to be too much of a repetitious jingle? Perhaps the change was motivated by a desire for greater euphony or a better rhythm, but since such qualities are to some extent subjective it is impossible to say if this was so. But this is evidence that scribes were interested in what they wrote and did not merely act as automatons or incompetent dunces.

143-144
Jo 6, 35.

144-148
Lb's omission is discussed in the section on the difference between the manuscripts, in the Introduction.

145-146
Mal 4, 2.

146-147
PsG 106, 20.

148
Jo 8, 12.

150-151

Mt 7, 7; Lc 11, 9.

152-174

The fourth principal deals with how Jesus is found. Nicholas: "4^m est videre quomodo inuenitur. Et sciendum est quod post triduum inuenitur. Prima dies est ante legem; 2^a sub lege; 3^a sub gracia. Quesitus est aduentus Christi in carnem ante legem a patriarchis et non est inuentus. Quesitus est a prophetis et iustis sub lege et non est inuentus. Quesitus sub gracia / a gentibus; inuenitur. Vel per triduum signantur opera iusticie in se et opera misericordie quantum ad proximum et opera pietatis quantum ad Dominum. Vel per triduum signatur cordis contricio et oris confessio et boni operis execucio, et quantum ad religiosos per triduum possunt signari obediencia, paupertas et castitas. De isto triduo dixit Christus, Marce .8., Ecce iam triduo sustinent me nec habent quid manducent. Hic est via trium dierum, de qua dicit Moyses Pharaoni, Exodi .3°., Viam trium dierum ibimus in deserto vt immolemus Deo nostro. Vel per triduum adhuc potest signari dies passionis et dies pacis et dies sabbati, et ista fuit dies pacis et quietis et dies resurreccionis et exultacionis, vnde Osee .6., Viuificabit [MS adds nos subpuncted] vos post dies duos; in die 3^a suscitabit vos. Et Iohannis .2., dicit Iudeis, Soluite templum hoc, et in tribus diebus suscitabo illud" (Nic ff.32-32v).

158 contrycion . . . satisfaccion]

The traditional three parts of penance. See Note to V/153 and also IV/213-215 for a similar allegorisation.

150-151

Mt 7, 7; Lc 11, 9.

152-174

The fourth principal deals with how Jesus is found. Nicholas: "4^{m} est videre quomodo inuenitur. Et sciendum est quod post triduum inuenitur. Prima dies est ante legem; 2^{a} sub lege; 3^{a} sub gracia. Quesitus est aduentus Christi in carnem ante legem a patriarchis et non est inuentus. Quesitus est a prophetis et iustis sub lege et non est inuentus. Quesitus sub gracia / a gentibus; inuenitur. Vel per triduum signantur opera iusticie in se et opera misericordie quantum ad proximum et opera pietatis quantum ad Dominum. Vel per triduum signatur cordis contricio et oris confessio et boni operis execucio, et quantum ad religiosos per triduum possunt signari obediencia, paupertas et castitas. De isto triduo dixit Christus, Marce .8., Ecce iam triduo sustinent me nec habent quid manducent. Hic est via trium dierum, de qua dicit Moyses Pharaoni, Exodi .3°., Viam trium dierum ibimus in deserto vt immolemus Deo nostro. Vel per triduum adhuc potest signari dies passionis et dies pacis et dies sabbati, et ista fuit dies pacis et quietis et dies resurreccionis et exultacionis, vnde Osee .6., Viuificabit [MS adds nos subpuncted] vos post dies duos; in die 3^{a} suscitabit vos. Et Iohannis .2., dicit Iudeis, Soluite templum hoc, et in tribus diebus suscitabo illud" (Nic ff.32-32v).

158 contrycion . . . satisfaccion]

The traditional three parts of penance. See Note to V/153 and also IV/213-215 for a similar allegorisation.

159 and also . . . obedyence]

Significantly, Nic's "quantum ad religiosos" is omitted by the AdLb

compiler. The AdLb series was evidently not intended for use by any

of the religious orders. The Lollards were of course opposed to

the religious, whether monks or friars, but this omission need

signal no more than the redactor's adaptation of Nicholas for a non-

monastic audience. By itself it does not indicate that the preacher

was a Lollard, but it does at least show that s/he was not a religious.

160-162

Mc 8, 2.

164-166

Ex 3, 18.

170-172

Os 6, 3.

173-174

Jo 2, 19.

175-191

The fifth and last principal concerns where Christ is found, and this

is further subdivided into five parts. This section deals with the

first part. Nicholas: "5^m est videre vbi inuenitur et sciendum est

quod in .5. locis. Primo inuenitur in presepio a pascoribus, Luce

.2., Dicit angelus pascoribus, Et hoc vobis signum saluatoris.

Inuenietis infantem pannis inuolutum et positum in presepio. Vere

in presepio, id est, in loco paupertatis inuenitur Christus a

pascoribus, id est, a prelatis ecclesie, quando non sunt auari nec

cupidi; vel a pascoribus, id est, ab omnibus fidelibus fideliter oues

sibi conmissas ad custodiendum, id est, animas suas fideliter

custodientibus, et sicut dicit psalmista, Nos autem populus eius et

oues pascue eius" (Nic f.32v).

177-181

Lc 2, 13.

181-190

The redactor has considerably amplified the material in Nic in a

manner which is strongly suggestive of Lollard sympathies, not just

because the passage upholds the ideal of clerical poverty and is

critical of the worldliness of the gentry, the friars and the clergy

but because of its particular tone and terminology. The version in

Lb is more specific and more outspoken than that in Ad; the "gostly

hirdis" are defined in Lb as "curatis", the criticism of worldliness

is extended to "lordis and ladijs", and where priests are accused of

fulfilling their pastoral duties only "lityl" in Ad, in Lb it is

"ful litil or nou3t". It is almost impossible to say whether Ad

has toned down the material in Lb, or if Lb is responsible for the

expansions. This amplification has clearly got its roots in some of

Nicholas' statements; it is Nicholas who defines the shepherds, con-

ventionally enough, as church prelates and he admits that at least

some of the time they are avaricious and covetous, which has allowed

the AdLb compiler to launch into a thoroughly Wycliffite attack on

the contemporary abandonment of clerical duties. The way in which

Nicholas' comments about those who have the cura animarum are adapted

and integrated into the passage suggests that the compiler is him/

herself responsible for this amplification rather than its being

grafted on from some as yet unspecified source. Lollard criticism

of the over-elaborate decoration of friars' houses is widespread, as

when Jack Upland asks Friar Daw, "Whi make ȝe so costli housis to

dwelle ynne, siþ Crist dide not so" (Heyworth 1968:61); cf. "ȝe ben

so ryche þat ȝe peynten ȝoure wallis wiþ golde & fyne cloþis" (Heyworth

1968:62), and "in curious & costlew housis . . . freris passen lordis

& oþere riche worldli men" (Heyworth 1968:70); cf. also "ypocritis

of privat religion maken grete houses and costy and gaely peyntid"

("The Perversion of the Works of Mercy", Blake 1972:140-141). For

the expression "frerys castellys" (1.183), cf. the common Lollard

expression "Caim's castles" to suggest the extravagance of friars'

houses (on "Caim" as a satiric acrostic on the four orders of friars,

see Note to III/75   ). Lollard views on clerical poverty are

enshrined in the tract known as "The Clergy May Not Hold Property"

(Matthew 359-404); on the contrast between ecclesiastical pomp and

Christ's poverty, cf. "prelatis . . . leuen not as pore prestis aftir

crist & his apostlis, but as lordis, ȝee kyngis or emperours . . . in

fatte hors & precious pellure & ryche cloþis" (Matthew 92), and on

the consequent dereliction of pastoral duty, cf. "curatis . . .

techen here parischens . . . to loue & seke worldly glorye & to recken

nouȝt of heuenely þingis", and "curatis . . . ben more bisi aboute

worldly goodis þan vertues & goode kepynge of mennus soulis" (Matthew

143). In Lollard polemic worldly priests are often accused of hob-

nobbing with and emulating the aristocracy, hence the scornful

references to "gret manerys" and "lordis and ladijs"; but it is

interesting that this latter phrase is not in Ad. Popular Lollardy

relied for its support on sections of the gentry, and thus if Ad were

copied out at the behest of some lord or lady who was intimately

involved with the movement, then it is likely that any such references

would be omitted or would not appear. On the other hand the scribe

of Ad was wont to prune, and this may represent a simple cutting of

the text. Lines 184-188 are syntactically odd but not impossible:

"and our spiritual shepherds do not do so now, for they seek Jesus

not in poverty but all in worldly glory, as in the chancery court,

and clerks seek him in the receit and in king's houses; and other

prelates and lords and ladies seek him in worldly glory too."

190-191

PsG 99, 3.

192-202

Now follows the second subdivision of the fifth principal. Nicholas:

"2° inuenitur cum Maria matre eius a tribus regibus, aurum, thus et

mirram differentibus, Mathei .3°., Et intrantes domum inuenerunt puerum

cum Maria matre eius, etc. Per domum consciencia munda et pura, et

cor mundum et purum ab omni peccato signatur. In tali domo inuenitur

Christus a regibus, et ab illis qui sciunt bene regere sensus suos;

linguam ne loquatur turpia, aures ne audiant verba detractoria, oculos

ne respiciant illicita, sed ad hoc quod illi reges inueniant eum,

oportet quod portent secum 3^a munera - aurum, id est, caritatem; thus,

id est, deuocionem orationis; et mirram, id est, mortificacione carnis"

(Nic f.32v).

192 secunde]

Both Nic and the logical structure of the English sermon confirm that

AdLb's reading is wrong, and that the error is in the common archetype

of both manuscripts. It is presumably due to a misreading of the

number of minims where the division has been expressed numerically

and not verbally.

194-196

Mt 2, 11. The allegorical interpretations which follow do not appear to be traditional. The gifts are usually moralised as 3 aspects of Christ's incarnation, though it is common to find myrrh interpreted as "mortificacio carnis". Nic in fact refers to only three senses. AdLb's ".v. wyttys" is of course the normal number, but rather misses the neat parallelism of the Latin (three kings = three senses).

203-209

This section covers the third subdivision of the fifth principal. Nicholas: "3° inuenitur in templo in Ieroslymis a parentibus, vnde in isto euangelio dicitur quod parentes eius ingressi sunt in Ierusalem et inuenerunt eum in medio doctorum audientem et intero-gantem illos. Glosa: quasi fons in medio doctorum sedet, sed quasi exemplar humilitatis. Prius interrogat et audit quam instruat, ne paruuli a senioribus doceri erubescant, et ne infirmus doceri audeat. Vere a parentibus, id est, a penitentibus in caritate existentibus, inuenitur Christus in templo.in Ierusalem, id est, in corde humili et pacifico qui habitat ibi, vnde in psalmo, In pace factus est locus eius" (Nic f.32v).

204-205

Lc 2, 45-46.

205 Hys fryndys]

Some material in Nic which immediately precedes this sentence is omitted in AdLb.

208-209

PsG 75, 3.

210-216

The fourth subdivision of the fifth principal follows here. Nicholas:

"4° / inuenitur in domo Symonis, id est, in claustro a Maria

Magdalene, id est, a religiosibus peccata propria lacrimantibus. De

hoc habetur Luce .7., vbi dicitur, Rogabat quidam Ihesum ex phariseis

vt manducaret cum illo, et Ecce mulier que erat in ciuitate peccatrix,

vt cognouit quod Ihesus accubuisset in domo pharisei attulit

alabaustrum vnguenti, etc." (Nic ff.32v-33).

210 Symonde]

The form with excrescent t or d is common.

211-212 in a contemplatife . . . synne]

The specific references in Nic to convents and enclosed orders

("claustro", "a religiosibus") are avoided. Simon's house is inter-

preted more generally as "a contemplatife sowle", which need not

have exclusive application to the religious; and Mary Magdalene is

interpreted as "man or woman wepyng for here synne".

213-214

Lc 7, 36 and 37.

214-216

The gospels do not in fact identify the woman who came to Simon's

house "with oynement and terys of here eyen" in Lc 7 (and Mt 26 and

Mc 14), but she was popularly identified with Mary Magdalene.

217-224

The sermon draws to an end with the fifth and final subdivision of

the fifth principal. Nicholas: ".5°. inuenitur in deserto, scilicet,

penitencie a querentibus eum siue sequentibus. Istos reficit de .5.

panibus, de duobus piscibus, vt habetur Io. .6., et Marce .9. Per

duos pisces fides [et] spes; per .v. panes .5. vulnera Ihesu Christi

signantur. De fide trinitatis et de spe eterne iocunditatis et de

.5. vulneribus suis reficit Dominus suos amatores. Similiter, sicut

habetur Mathei .6., istos reficit Dominus de .7. panibus et .7.

donis Spiritus Sancti" (Nic f.33). For the allegorical development

in this section, cf. Sermon XIX.

221-223 With . . . wowndys he]

Lb's omission of this lengthy section is the result of eyeskip to

"fyue wondys" in 221.

219-221

The feeding of the five thousand with five loaves and two fishes is

in Jo 6. **For extended moralisation of this story, cf. XIX.**

224 þe .vij. ȝyftys of þe Holy Gost]

The words of Is 11,2-3 were seen as a prefiguration of the coming
of the Holy Ghost to the apostles on Whit Sunday, Act 2,1-4.

223-224 .vij. louys]

In Mt 15 and Mc 8 the number of loaves is seven.

224-227 They þat . . . blys]

The final prayer is the AdLb compiler's addition. Nic also ends here,

with a brief prayer: "Rogemus igitur ipsum vt det nobis ad eum in

fine venire. Amen" (Nic f.33). It is interesting that the compiler

has not simply translated Nic's conclusion, but has linked the words

of the prayer to the theme of the last section, as is the case with so many of the other sermons in this series.

<u>Sermon IX</u>

This sermon is for the second Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany,

on the text <u>Nvpcie facty sunt in Chana Galilee</u>, Jo 2,1. The

translation of the gospel pericope with which the sermon opens is

almost entirely derived from that found in the sermon for the

equivalent occasion in the English Wycliffite sermons (Hudson 33),

and the gospel exegesis which forms the body of the sermon is taken

from the corresponding sermon by Nicholas de Aquevilla. The same

sermon of Nicholas de Aquevilla is also used as the basis for a

sermon in MS Bodley 806, ff.23v-25v, for the same occasion; the

translation there is independent of the AdLb version. The AdLb sermon

is excerpted and commented upon in J. W. Blench, <u>Preaching in England</u>

<u>in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries</u> (Oxford, 1964) pp.3-4,

who quoted from the Lambeth manuscript only.

In the <u>processus</u>, the principal divisions are set out: the meaning

of the wedding at Cana, and the meaning of the six water pots. The

sermon has an elaborate structure, and is interesting because it does

not follow the usual tree model (or rather series of parallel trees)

but instead loops back on itself, dealing with each principal in turn

and then returning to the beginning to begin a new set of interpretations.

First the wedding at Cana is subdivided into two, and the first

subdivision further divided into three (the wedding between God and

man, Isaac and Rebecca, and Hosea and Gomor). Then the second principal

is dealt with: the six water pots are variously interpreted as the six

properties of Christ in his incarnation, and the six sorrows of the

apostles at Christ's passion. Then the preacher returns to the first

principal, this time dealing with the second subdivision which concerns

the wedding between God and each faithful soul, further subdivided into

three allegorisations (baptism, penance and our eventual joining

with Christ in the bliss of heaven). The preacher now returns to

the second principal, and the water pots are interpreted as the six

sorrows that come to a man for his sin; the sermon concludes with a

prayer for eternal bliss. The architectonics of this sermon, and

its linguistic and thematic complexities, are dealt with further

in the Introduction.

2 Nvpcie ... Galilee]

Jo 2,1. Ad's "facty" looks curious, but since in the dialect of Ad

there is considerable variation between e and i (e.g. kin/ken, siþ/seþ,

wite/wete), and the Ad scribe often prefers y to i (see "tellyth",

"myrakle" and "Cryst" in 1.3), this may be a back spelling, with y

(i.e. i) substituted for e. Cf. XVII/114 "stulty" (= "stulti").

3-23

Nicholas does not provide the gospel lection. This translation is

very close to the English version found in Hudson 33, as may be seen

by comparing the two openings (cf. Hudson 33/1-2: "This gospel tellub

of þe furste myracle þat Crist dide in presence of his disciples")

and by noting other shared readings which have no basis in the Vulgate

(e.g. AdLb 8 "strangely"/ Hudson 33/12 "straungely", and the explanation

"aftyr þe custum of þe Iewys" AdLb 12, cf. Hudson 33/23-25 "þe Iewys

hadden a custome ... gospel"). There is no positive evidence that any

particular Wycliffite manuscript, or group of manuscripts, was used

by the AdLb redactor; some negative evidence suggests that manuscripts

N and δ are highly unlikely to have been antecedent to the version in

AdLb. There is no influence whatsoever from either the Early or Late

Versions of the Wycliffite Bible, as has been the case in previous

gospel translations in the series which drew on the Hudson sermons.

18 spowse]

AdLb's reading "persone" derives from an error in the common

archetype which was the result of eyeskip to "persone" in 1.15 or 16.

24-45

The sermon in Nic begins at this point: "Dominica 2^a post octauam

Epiphanie. Nupcie facte sunt in Chana Galilee et erat ibi mater

Ihesu, etc. Io. 2°. Ad litteram nupcie iste dicuntur fuisse beati

Iohannis euangeliste et in hoc totali euangelio .2°. possunt

considerari. Primum est quid per istas nupcias signatur. 2^m, quid

signatur per sex ydrias aque que in vinum mutantur. Primum est

videre quid per istas nupcias signatur. Et sciendum quod per istas

nupcias duo genera nupciarum possunt conuenienter intelligi, quia due

sunt nupcie. Prime fuerunt inter filium Dei et humanam naturam, et

bene dicitur iste nupcie beati Iohannis, quia Iohannes 'gratia Dei'

interpretatur, et per solam gratiam Spiritus Sancti et per suam

caritatem nimiam fuit quod tam potens rex quantum ille qui erat rex

regum et dominus dominancium, vt habetur Apocalypsis .19., voluit

t[a]lem ancillam et tam pauperem cum nostra natura est, eam sibi

copulare. Istius matrimonij fuit Gabriel Archangelus nuncius, et

Spiritus Sanctus sacerdos, vnde Luce primo, dicitur, Missus est

Gabriel angelus Marie Virgini, Ne timeas Maria; Spritus Sanctus

superueniet in te, etc. Nupcie iste celebrate fuerunt in vtero

virginali" (Nic f.33).

25 weddyng]

Is this a sg. or pl. form? Many of the flourishes and brevigraphs

in Ad are the result of scribal exuberance and are not always

meaningful, as is often the case with early fifteenth century English hands. The copytext of Ad may have been written in a similar hand, so that the scribe of Ad may not always have been able to sort out which flourishes were otiose and which meaningful, and this may be one reason for the variation between "weddyng" and "weddyngys" in Ad. "Nupcie" is literally plural in Latin, but is translated as both sg. and pl. in English; therefore the scribe may have veered between the over-literal and the idiomatic translations. On the other hand, the sg. forms in Ad often have plural determiners, so it is probably best to treat these apparent sg. forms as plurals with zero morpheme inflections. But there is no doubt though that there is a difference between Ad's abbreviation for "-ys" and the otiose flourish which often appears on final g. I have therefore decided to abide by Ad's variation between the sg. and plural form of the word.

32 why]

Nic's "bene" has become "why" in AdLb. But there could be several explanations for the difference, besides the possibility that "why" is a corruption of original "wel", such as the presence of variants in other manuscripts of Nicholas, or a desire on the compiler's part to make the material more dramatic. However, this latter is unlikely, given the general closeness of the translation throughout the series. But emendation seems unnecessary when the reading makes sense, and it is not unequivocally an error.

35-37

Apc 19,16.

40-41

A paraphrase of Lc 1,26-27.

42-44

Lc 1,35.

44-45

Nic does not have the reference to "þe tempul of owre Lady", but it could easily have been in another manuscript. The epithet is common and derives from the prefiguration of Christ's coming in Mal 3,1: "veniet ad templum suum dominator", a verse which is used in the Lesson for Mass of the Purification (Sarum Missal, p.250), cf. Radulphus, Homiliae, PL 155, col.1340: "Ad templum sanctum suum [part of the Invitation at Matins of the Purification], id est, ad uterum beatae Virginis".

47-63

The sermon continues with the spiritual interpretation of the wedding of Isaac and Rebecca. Nicholas: "Hec nupcie signate sunt per nupcias Ysaac et Rebecce, vnde dicitur Genesis .23., quod introduxit Rebeccam in tabernaculum matris sue Sarre, et accepit eam in vxorem, etc. Per Rebeccam, que 'paciencia' interpretatur, humana natura Christi et sua caro gloriosa, quia in illa multas tribulaciones pacienter sustinuit, optime signatur. Per Ysaac, qui 'risus' interpretatur, Christus filius Dei signatur, quia omnes debent ridere et multum gaudere eo quod Rebeccam, id est, humanam / naturam, sibi in tabernaculum sue matris, scilicet, in vtero virginis gloriose, desponsauit. Vnde, sicut homines qui haberent sororem aliquam vel aliquam mulierem de parentela sua pauperimam, sive rex Francie vel filius eius eam desponsaret, multum gauderent; ideo omnes gaudere debemus multum eo quod rex celi et terre, filius Dei patris, vxorem de parentela nostra

pauperima et vilem desponsauit, scilicet, naturam nostram. Et ideo

dicit psalmista, Cantate Domino canticum nouum, quia mirabilia fecit"

(Nic ff.33-33v).

47-48

Gn 24,67. Abraham's servants found Rebecca as a wife for Isaac;

he led her into the tent which had belonged to his dead mother,

Sarah, and took her as his wife.

48-49

The interpretation of Rebecca's name is traditional: Jerome, Liber de

Nominibus Hebraicis, PL 23, col.827, "Rebecca, multa patientia".

51 Be]

The omission is in both Ad and Lb, and was therefore in the common

archetype. It is easy for a scribe to omit a two-letter word, especially

in the presence of other two-letter words.

Ysaac ... 'law₃ter']

The interpretation of Isaac's name is traditional: Jerome, Liber

nominum Hebraicorum, PL 23, col.1222, "Isaac, risus, vel gaudium".

56-58 ry₃th as men ... lord]

This exemplum is not in Tubach. Owst, LPME, p.178 and n. draws

attention to this passage in another Nicholas MS, Additional 21253,

and cites other variants.

58 anoþer gret lord]

Nic has "filius eius", which provides a better parallel with Christ

the king and son, 11.59-60.

62-63

PsG 97,1.

64-89

Nicholas: "Iste nupcie figurate sunt per nupcias Osee et Gomor.

Osee 'saluator' interpretatur. Gomor 'assumptio', et signat humanam

naturam quam Christus saluator noster assumpsit in vtero virginali,

et illa natura humana omnes defectus nostros, preter peccatum et

ignorancium, accepit. Ille nupcie sunt proprie nupcie facte in Chana

Galilee. Chana 'ʒelus' interpretatur. Galilee 'transmigracio', et

certe ʒelus, id est, amor proprie, fecit eum incarnari et nasci, et

ita transmigrari et descendere de celo in vterum virginis et de vtero

virginis in mundum. Vnde Ysaie .9. dicitur, ʒelus Domini exercituum

faciet hec. In hijs nupciis sunt vinum consolacionis quamdiu apostoli

gaudebant de presencia sponsi, vnde dicit sponsus, [MS adds Dominus,

Mathei .9. in margin] Non possunt filiij nupciarum lugere quamdiu cum

eis prius est sponsus. Sed defecit vinum cum Dominus transiturus

esset ad patrem et dixit eis, vnde Io. .16., Plorabitis et flebitis

vos, mundus autem gaudebit; vos autem contristabimini. Conuersa

est aqua in vinum cum dixit, Tristicia vestra vertetur in gaudium,

et hoc fuit in die resurreccionis sue, vnde Io. .20., Gauisi sunt

discipuli viso Domino" (Nic f.33v).

65 Oʒee ... 'sauyoure']

The interpretation is traditional: Jerome, Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis,

PL 23, col.897, "Osee, salvator". On Hosea and Gomer, Os 1,2-3.

65-66 Gomor ... 'takyn vp']

Gomer is traditionally interpreted as "consummatio, sive perfectio,

vel venundatio", Jerome, PL 23, col.881.

70 Cana ... 'loue']

Traditionally the name is interpreted as "possessio", Jerome, PL 23, col.1218.

71 Galilee ... 'a passyng oure']

See Jerome, PL 23, col.888, "Galilea ... transmigratio perpetrata". Ad's spelling oure ("over") is N or NWM (MED over adv).

74-76

Is 9,7. The omission of "exercituum" was in the common archetype of AdLb. There is no obvious reason for its omission, but since it is translated it must have been in the original.

77 Ad presenc]˙

On the spelling, cf. "absenc", Ad III/11.

78-80

Mt 9,15.

81-84

Jo 16,20.

85-86

Jo 16,20.

87-89

Jo 20,20. Both versions translate the Latin ablative absolute into unidiomatic English; the scribe of Ad has had trouble with the construction, and has interpreted the p.p. "seen" as 3sg.pa. "said". The scribe of Ad may not have understood Latin. S/he is also more prone than the scribe of Lb to sophisticate the text in an attempt to produce smoother readings.

90-132

The preacher now moves on to the second principal, the meaning of

the six water pots. Nicholas: "Sed notanda quod erant ibi sex ydrie

aque. Quantum ad nupcias incarnacionis .6. ydrie possunt dici

sex que fecerunt Christum incarnari [MS adds Nota in margin] et que

in incarnacione Christi fuerunt. Benignitas - hic potest dici prima

ydria. De ista dicit apostolus ad Tytum primo, Apparuit benignitas

et humanitas, id est, in humanitate saluatoris Christi nostri. 2^a

fuit misericordia et pietas, vnde ad Tytum .3°., Non ex operibus

iusticie que fecimus nos, sed secundum misericordiam suam saluos nos

fecit. 3^a fuit humilitas contra superbiam primorum parentum, vnde

Philippenses .2°., Exinaniuit semetipsum formam serui accipiens.

4^a fuit paupertas, vnde Corinthios .8., Cum diues esset, egenus factus

est pro nobis, etc. Vnde Bernardus, In celis omnium bonorum

abundancia subpetebat, sed paupertas non inueniebatur in eis. Porro

hec spes in terra habundancie nesciebat homo peccatum eius hanc querere

velut filius Dei vt eam sua estimacione faceret preciosam super hoc,

admiratur Ecclesia dicens est, admirabile commercium creator generis

humani, etc. 5^a fuit pax et tranquillitas; propter hoc incarnari

voluit, nasci et crucifigi, vt pacem poneret inter nos et Deum patrem,

et eciam inter nos et ipsos angelos, / inter quos erat discordia

propter peccatum primorum parentum. Et ideo in ortu eius cantauerunt

angeli, sicut habetur Luce primo, Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra

pax hominibus, tec. Et Ysaie .9., Appellatur princeps pacis, pater

futuri seculi, qui istam pacem venit reformare et facere. 6^a fuit amor

et caritas, vnde dicit Ieremie .3°., In caritate perpetua dilexi te,

et ideo attraxi te miserans. Prima Io..4°., In hoc apparuit caritas Dei

patris quod misit filium suum vnigenitum in mundum vt viuamus per

ipsum. Et certe omnia ista mutata fuerunt in vinum leticie et

exultacionis spiritualis, quando natus fuit, vnde Luce .2., dixit

angelus pascoribus, Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum quod erit vniuerso

populo, quia hodie natus est saluator mundi" (Nic ff.33v-34).

90 þere]

In view of Nic's "ibi", this has local, not existential, force. On
the use of existential "there" in the Middle English period, cf.
Mustanoja, p.337.
95-97

Tt 3,4.

98-102

Tt 3,5.

104-105

Phil 2,7.

107-109

2 Cor 8,9. The quotation from Bernard and further commentary within

this subdivision are omitted by the redactor.

110-119

Cf. IV/124-127 and Note.

114-116

Lc 2,14.

117-118

Is 9,6.

120 Ieremie]

Both Ad and Lb read "Ierom" at this point, a curious error which must

derive from a wrong expansion of the abbreviation for "Ieremie" in the

common archetype, and which is repeated several times in later

sermons. It is presumably a psychological error caused by confusion

between Jerome, a prolific Biblical commentator, and Jeremiah, a

Biblical book.

120-123

Jr 31,3.

123-126

1 Jc 4,9.

129-132

Lc 2,10-11.

133-153

The preacher continues with the material of the second principal, a

further interpretation of the six water pots. Nicholas:"Vel per sex

ydrias aque possunt signari sex tristicie quas habuerunt apostoli in

passione Christi. Prima fuit de hoc quod dixit eis, quod vnus eorum

deberet eum tradere, Mathei .26., Dico vobis quod vnus vestrum me

traditurus est, et contrista i valde et ceperunt singuli dicere,

Numquid ego sum, Domine. 2^a fuit quando Iudas eum Iudeis tradidit et

osculatus est a Iuda proditore, Mathei .26., Osculatus eum. 3^a fuit

de alaparum percussione. 4^a fuit de Iudeorum illusione, vnde Mathei

.26., dicitur, Alij autem palmas dederunt in faciem eius, [dicentes],

Propheti3a, propheti3a nobis, Christe, quis est qui te percussit?

5^a fuit de vestimentorum eius expoliacione, et eorum diuisione, vnde

Mathei .27., Diuiserunt sibi vestimenta sua, sortem mittentes. 6^a fuit

de crucifixione, vnde Luce .23., Crucifixerunt eum et duo latrones cum

eo, etc. Iste sex ydrie aque, id est, tristicie, mutate sunt in vinum

leticie et consolacionis in resurreccione Domini, vnde Iohannis .20.,

Gauisi sunt discipuli, viso Domino" (Nic f.34).

136-138

Mt 26,21.

138

Mt 26,22.

140

Mt 26,49.

142

Mt 27,30.

143-146

Mt 26,67-68.

148-149

Mt 27,35.

150-151

A paraphrase of Lc 23,33.

154-173

The preacher now returns to the first principal, and introduces a new

subdivision, the wedding of God to each faithful soul. Nicholas:

"Secunde nupcie sunt inter Deum et hominem, et quamlibet animam

fidelem. Sed sicut in matrimonio carnali .3ᵃ. sunt, scilicet, fides

prius tradita, et hec appellatur sponsalia; solemnitas in ecclesia;

et carnalis copula; ita in nupcijs et in matrimonio isto spirituali

.3^a. sunt, et ita quasi tres nupcie. Primum est in baptismali innocencia. 2^m est in penitencia a sacerdote iniuncta. 3^m erit in [MS adds eterna canc.] eterna gloria, [vbi] erit coniunccio sponsi per amorem cum sua sponsa. De istis tribus dicitur, Osee .2°., Sponsabo te in fide; sponsabo te in iusticia et iudicio et misericordie et miseracionibus, sponsabo te in sempiternum vt ostendat illud matrimonium iniciatum, ratum et confirmatum, et consummatum. Iniciatum est in baptismo, vbi datur Spiritus Sancti gratia. Ratum est in penitencia; confirmatum est et consummatum erit in gloria" (Nic f.34). Nicholas' interpretation of the marriage as between God and the soul derives from patristic authorities such as Bernard and Hugh of St Cher (Blench, p.4 fn.17) but his explanation that this is achieved through the sacraments appears to be original.

154 God ... sowle]
Nic's triad of God, man and the soul, becomes only two in AdLb.

160 very penawnce-doyng]
Nic's "a sacerdote" ("by a priest") is omitted in AdLb. The issue of the priestly function in binding and loosing was an important one in Wycliffite thought, and the Lollard emphasis on personal spirituality often led to a rejection of the role of the priest in the belief that true contrition before God was sufficient for the remission of sins. It should be said that by no means all Lollard tracts and sermons displayed such extreme anti-sacerdotalism, and it is interesting to note here that although the omission suggests the Lollard bias of the compiler, s/he has not chosen to take up the issue and without the Latin source and our knowledge of the redactor's usual fidelity to that source it would be impossible to guess that s/he was anything other than unimpeachably orthodox in this matter.

162 Lb þe howbonde Crist]

Patristic exegesis of the Song of Songs as Christian epithalamion was
responsible for the widespread notion of Christ as the husband and the
Church as bride, cf. "Sponsum, Christum intellige, sponsam Ecclesiam
sine macula et ruga", Glossa Ordinaria, PL 113, col.1128.

164-169

Os 2,20 and 19.

169 begonnen]   170-171 is begonnen]

Nic's "iniciatum" suggests that AdLb's reading "ȝouen/ȝouyn" (i.e.
"given") is wrong. Minim confusion, both here and at ll.170-171,
where a similar error appears, is responsible for the mistake, and
in the case of ll.170-171 eyeskip to "ȝouyn" (i.e. Nic's "datur") in
l.171 has also played a part. The readings in AdLb in both instances
do in fact make reasonable sense, but since the Latin is an arbiter,
and the possibilities for corruption are obvious, I have decided to
emend.

171 respite/þe spirit]

It looks here as if one reading is a corrupt version of the other, but
which is the right one? Nic does not really help, as both manuscripts
have the translation of "Spiritus Sancti gratia", and the phrase
"where respite is ȝouyn" is an addition. Both Ad and Lb's readings
have an equal claim to stand. Lb's is the easier one but since
baptism cleanses of original sin, it might indeed be said to give
"respite" from sin. Since this is not a "best-text" or an eclectic
edition, I have let both stand.

174-203

The preacher now considers the first subdivision - baptism - which

represents allegorically the marriage between God and man. Nicholas:

"Quantum ad primum quod fit in baptismo dicit, Sponsabo te / michi

in fide. Nam sicut in matrimonio carnali requiritur consensus parcium

et est ibi fides tradita, ita similiter in baptismo est quasi fides

tradita et consensus quando sacerdos querit, et dicit, Credis in Deum?

Dicit patruis, Respondeatis? Credo, quando puerum loqui non potest;

dicit, Abr[e][MS a]nuncias diabolo et pompis eius? et dicunt patrui,

Abrenuncio, quasi dicentes, nos sumus quasi fideiussores quod iste

puer credet in Deum et abrenunciabit diabolo et pompis eius quando

veniet ad etatem. In istis nupcijs aque mutantur in vinum, quia cecitas

in illuminacionem et seruitus in libitatem mutatur quia ante baptismum

sumus ceci et filij diaboli propter peccatum originale. Vnde apostolus,

Ephesios .2., Omnes nascimur filij ire sed per baptismum illuminati sumus

gratia Spiritus Sancti, et facti sumus filij Dei. Vnde Galatas .4.,

Itaque fratres, non sumus ancille filij, sed liber[e] [MS i], qua libertate

liberauit nos Christus sua passione gloriosa aqua baptismus

per quem sumus filij Dei, habet totam suam virtutem quia sicut dicit

apostolus, Ro. .6., Quicumque baptiȝati estis, in morte ipsius

baptiȝati estis" (Nic ff.34-34v).

176 þere]

Nic's "ibi" makes it clear that this is the adverb of place and not

the 3 pl.pronoun determiner.

177-181 so on þat same ... werkys]

The compiler's Lollard bias is detectable here in the changes which

have been made between the source and the translation. All reference

to the function of the priest in administering the sacrament of baptism, or of marriage, has been done away with, which accords with one strand of Lollard belief which denied the priest any role except perhaps a declarative one and claimed "þat oonly consent of love betuxe man and woman, withoute contract of wordis and withoute solennizacion in churche and withoute symbred askyng is sufficient for þe sacrament of matrymoyn" ("Confession of Hawisia Moone of Loddon, 1430", Selections, 35). Not all Lollards went as far as this, and many would not have agreed with Hawisia Moone's extreme views (at least, as they are reported by her opposers) about baptism: "þe sacrament of baptem doon in watir in forme customed in þe churche is but a trufle ... for alle Cristis puple is sufficiently baptized in þe blood of Crist" (Selections, 34). The question of priestly function does of course occur in wider, orthodox contexts, but in the early fifteenth century denials of the role of the priest in administering the sacraments would have been strongly associated with heresy. The AdLb compiler does not espouse such radical views as those of Hawisia Moone, since s/he at least supports the formal and ritualistic aspects of baptism and marriage, and to a limited extent recognises elsewhere the sacerdotal function, cf. 11.224-225.

178-181 and 183-186 þere he ply₃th ... werkys]
A paraphrase of Nic, which has the ipsissima verba of the baptism service.

178 ply₃th]
Another contracted 3sg.pr. form in Ad; see Note to I/14.

181 Ad concentyth]

Ad's error "conceyuyth" is psychologically understandable, given

the context of marriage. The possibility of minim confusion has

contributed to the misreading.

181-183 as a woman ... trouþe]

Nothing in Nic corresponds to this passage. If it is an addition

by the AdLb compiler, then it shows a desire to clarify and make

more explicit the argument by making a stronger link between marriage

and baptism.

183-186

On the role of the godparents, cf. Beleth, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum,

PL 202, col.114.

187-188 And þys ... þerabowte]

An apparent addition to Nic. The compiler's urge to comment on

falling religious standards among the laity is typical and may reflect

the pastoral bias of the collection. Lb has the more elegant and

sarcastic version.

191-195

Eph 2,3, and a paraphrase of 2 Cor 12.

195-199

Gal 4,31.

202-203

Rm 6,3.

204-234

This section deals with penance, the second of the three allegories of marriage between God and man. Nicholas: "Quantum ad 2^m, scilicet, quantum ad nupcias que sunt in penitencia, dicit, Sponsabo te mihi in iusticia et iudico. Quia sunt pauci qui custodiunt baptismalem [rep. MS] innocenciam. Ideo per penitenciam reconsiliatur anima fidelis suo creatori, et tunc sunt quasi quedam nupcias inter Deum et animam, quando animam desponsabit sibi Christus per penitenciam. Hec sunt nupcie que signantur per nupcias Iacob et Lye, Genesis .29. Similiter per nupcie Tobie et Sarre, Tobie .7. Tobias 'ductus ad luctum', vel 'conuertens ad omnia' interpretatur, et signat animam penitentem que debet peccata sua lugere et conuertere se ad omnia bona facienda. Sarra interpretatur 'angustia' et signat penitencia, que debet esse desponsata Tobie. Hec nupcie possunt dici nupcie Marie et Ioseph, Luce .2. Ioseph 'augmentum' interpretatur, et signat caritatem, que augmentat omnia bona in homine. Maria 'amare', et vere ille qui caritatem habet, debet desponsare sibi penitencie amaritudinem. In istis nupciis debet esse vinum compunccionis, de quo dicit psalmo, Potasti nos vino compunccionis. Vera confessio oris debet esse quasi sacerdos faciens et coniungens illud matrimonium. Confessio est Symeon, magnus sacerdos, de quo dicitur, Ecclesiastici primo, Ibi debet esse panis doloris, sudoris et laboris. De quo dicitur, Genesis .3., In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo. Anulus / debet esse perseuerancia in bonis operibus penitencie, propter rotunditatem, quia figura rotunda inter ceteras vitutes est magis perfecta et magis apta ad operandum. De isto anulo dicitur, Luce .15., Date anulum in manu eius" (Nic ff.34v-35).

205-206

Os 2,19.

210 Ad weddyth]

Nic's "desponsabit" confirms that Lb's "weddiþ" is right, even though

Ad's reading "wendyth" makes sense. The error is psychologically

understandable, since the two words are visually similar and both

make sense in context.

211-212 be fygurid ... weddyngys]

Lb's omission is the resūlt of eyeskip.

211 Iacob and Lye]

Gn 29 recounts how Jacob served Laban for seven years in order to

to marry his daughter Rachel; but he was given her sister Leah instead,

according to the custom that the firstborn should be given first, and

had to serve another seven years for Rachel.

212 þe weddyngys of Thoby and Sarra]

Tb 7.

212-216

None of the commentators on Tobit (Bede, Ambrose, Glossa Ordinaria,

which derives from Bede) explicate the names of Toby and Sara thus,

nor do the traditional Latin etymologies (Isidore, Jerome) offer any

such interpretations.

218-220 Ioseph ... 'bitternesse']

Jerome derives 'Mary' from 'amarum mare' ("bitter sea"), PL 23,

col.1229, and Joseph's name is traditionally interpreted 'augmentum',

cf. , PL 23, col.285.

223-224

PsG 59,5.

224 confescion]

Nic has "confessio oris". The compiler's Lollard leanings, revealed elsewhere in the collection by omissions, additions or changes of emphasis from the Latin to the English, suggest that this is another instance of an ideological stumbling block, and s/he is unwilling to endorse <u>oral</u> confession, although oddly enough in the following line the priest is still seen as having a role to play. See Notes to 11.160 and 177-181.

226-227

On Simeon, see Sir 50, 1. I cannot find the source of the Biblical quotation.

228-229

Gn 3,19.

231-232 for þe rowndenesse ... worche]

An inexplicable omission in Lb. It is not obviously due to eyeskip or to ideological unsuitability. Perhaps the scribe of Lb felt the sermon was long enough (s/he has after all marked other passages "vacat"), and that frivolous imagery was expendable. The interpretation of roundness as a symbol of perfection is commonplace, but the usual exegesis of Lc 15,22 is that the ring symbolises faith, cf. Bede <u>PL</u> 94, col.377, and the Wycliffite Glossed Gospel commentary, <u>Selections</u>, pp.49-50, "A ryng is a signet of uerry feiþ bi whiche alle biheestis ben prentid in þe hertis of men bileuynge eþer ernes of þe weddyngis bi whiche holy chirche is spousid to Crist".

233-234

Lc 15,22.

235-253

The preacher now returns to the second principal division of the

sermon, which concerns the various meanings of the six water pots.

Nicholas: "Sex ydrie aque sunt .6. tristitie exsurgentes ex peccatis

que conuertuntur in nupcijs penitencie in vinum leticie spiritualis.

Prima debet esse ex sui sponsi dulcissimi offensione, vnde Osee .xij.,

Ad iracundam prouocauit me Effraym in amaritudinibus suis. Ista

tristitia est secundum Deum, vnde [MS adds ?oris subpuncted] Osee ...

[The explanations of the six sorrows are longer in Nic than in AdLb;

dots indicate omitted material] 2^a est de eius deformitate et denigracione,

3^a est de temporis eius amissione ... 4^a est de bonorum suorum prius

factorum in caritate mortificacione ... 5^a, de penarum inferni

obligacione et mortificacione, quia qui peccat mortaliter obligat se

ad eternam mortem, ... Ista habet 3^{es} metretas et mensuras. Prima

est penarum acerbitas. 2^a est penarum multiplicitas. 3^a est penarum

perpetuitas. De hijs omnibus dicitur, Ysaie vltimo, et ibi dicitur,

Ignis eorum non extinguetur et vermis eorum non morietur, ... 6^a est

de gracie Dei amissione et de patrie celestis amissione et elongacione,

vnde in psalmo, Heu michi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, ...

Trenorum .3°., Hereditas vestra versa est in alienos" (Nic f.35).

244-245

The haplography in Lb is the result of eyeskip.

246-248

Is 66,24.

250-251

PsG 119,5.

252-253

Lam 5,2.

253-256

The redactor's concluding prayer, as usual, picks up ideas from the final paragraph. Nicholas does not end here, but goes on to explain the nupcie paradisi (the third of the three subdivisions mentioned in 11.161-163), and the further symbolism of the six water pots, which represent six hardships - hunger, thirst, work, mourning, grief and corruption or death, all of which are turned to wine of joy. Blessed are those who come to the marriage of the Lamb. The sermon in Nic ends on f.35v.

Sermon X

This sermon is for the third Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany,

on the text Cvm descendisset Ihesus de monte, Mt 8,1. The translation

of the gospel lection which functions as a protheme is a combination

of borrowings from the Wycliffite sermon for the same occasion (Hudson

34) and from the Wycliffite Bible. The body of the sermon is a

translation of most of the corresponding sermon by Nicholas de

Aquevilla.

The subject matter of the sermon is leprosy, given its traditional

medieval interpretation as a symbol of sin. After the gospel protheme

and iteracio thematis, there is a brief, tendentious, excursus and then

the announcement of the six main divisions. Only the first of these,

"what is þys leprose man", is developed in the body of the sermon,

through the elaboration of its six subsections which concern the

properties of a leper, viewed tropically as a sinner. There is much

less to remind the reader of Lollard concerns than in some of the

earlier sermons in the series, but two short passages digress in

Wycliffite terms about the detractors of Christ's teaching and the

power of God alone to loose from sin.

2

Mt 8,1. The gospel pericope, according to the Sarum use, is Mt 8,1-13

(Sarum Missal, p.43). The choice of text is evidently taken from

Nicholas. It has less relevance to the subsequent development of the

sermon than in some previous instances.

3-28

Nicholas, as is often the case, does not preface his sermon with the

complete gospel lection. The pericope contains two separate miracles

of healing; the AdLb translation follows Hudson 34 for the first

story, and then switches to the Wycliffite Bible, apparently <u>LV</u>, for

the second. AdLb 3-11 is the first story, the healing of the leper;

the closeness to Hudson 34 is shown, for example, by comparing AdLb

5 and 10-11 with Hudson 34/5 and 24, and then by comparing both with

<u>WB</u>. The explanation at Hudson 34/3 that Christ came down from the

hill "whanne he hadde ȝyuen his lawe to his disciples" appears in AdLB

3-4 but is not in <u>WB</u>. The AdLb version in this instance has more

discrepancies than affinities with the Hudson manuscripts N and δ,

with which a relationship had previously and tentatively been suspected,

e.g. Hudson 34/6 "maist", NTδ "myȝt", AdLb 6 "maist"; Hudson34/24

"helþe", NZ "hele", AdLb 11 "helþe". The evidence is much too slight

to ascribe AdLb to any particular Hudson manuscript or group of

manuscripts; the lack of particular affinities with Nδ merely affirms

Hudson's reporting of the absence of traditional stemmatic relationships

between the manuscripts of the English Wycliffite cycle. AdLb however

do contain some idiosyncratic readings which assert their closeness

to each other and their independence from the remarkably close (because

heavily corrected) readings of the Wycliffite MSS, e.g. AdLb 8-9

"was helyd þe lepyr of hym/he helyd þe lepre of hym", Hudson 34/15

"was clensud þe lepre of his man".

AdLb 11-28 is the second story about the healing of the centurion's

child sick of the palsy. Here the AdLb version draws on <u>WB</u>; compare,

for instance, AdLb 16 "chyld", <u>WB</u> "child", Hudson 34/48 "seruant";

AdLb 22 "Abraham, Ysaak and Iacob", <u>WB</u> "Abraham and Ysaac and Jacob",

Hudson 34/62 "patriarkes". The AdLb version appears to be closer to

LV than EV; compare, for example, AdLb 25 "grintynge", LV "gryntyng",
EV "beetynge togidere", Hudson 34/64 "gnastyng" (no variants).
Nevertheless, the influence of Hudson 34 is still felt; for example,
compare AdLb 21 "so meche feythe", WB "so grete feith", Hudson 34/57
"so myche feiþ".

8 I wyl, make þe hole]
Ad's erroneous transposition of "make þe" seems to be due to a
misapprehension of the grammar of the phrase; "make þe" is 2sg.imperative,
and not part of an accusative and infinitive construction, which is
presumably what the scribe had in mind. WB reads "I wole, be thou
maad clene".

13 Ad lythe]
Cf. "gloriþe" VII/189.

14-15 century/centurio]
Lb's "centurio" is more typical of EV than LV manuscripts, and may
therefore be less idiomatic. But the generally current translation in
Hudson 34 has "centurio".

24 Ad heuyness]
On the plural form, cf. II/7 and 105.

25 vttyreste/vtermer]
Many of the WB manuscripts have various forms of Lb's "vtermer" (OED
uttermore a. and adv.) which is less common than Ad's "vittyreste"
(OED utterest a.). As was the case with "gastness" and "scissiþ"
(V/79 and V/70), Ad has the easier reading.

28 Ad þys is ... day]

This might be an addition by the Ad scribe or an omission by the

scribe of Lb. If the latter, then it is hard to see how it could

have been lost through error, and hard to see why it should have been

deliberately cut out, since the scribe of Lb is not in the habit of

pruning the text. More likely it is an addition to Ad. Whatever

the status of the sermons in the AdLb collection, whether they were

for private devotion or whether they were 'model' sermons, such an

addition certainly suggests that in the eyes of the Ad scribe they

were intended for preaching before a congregation.

29-48 Thys goospel ... to hym]

After giving out the text, Nicholas begins thus: "Vere ad litteram,

cum Ihesus descendisset de monte in quo predicauerat discipulis suis,

et vbi eos docuerat, secute sunt eum turbe multe: alij propter

doctrina, alij propter administracionem, alij propter curacionem.

Vnde, Ecce leprosus venien[s] [MS venient]. Circa istum leprosum et

circa curacionem eius sex sunt consideranda. Primum est, quid signat

leprosus iste quem Dominus curauit, quod notatur cum dicit, Ecce

leprosus. 2^m, ad quid Dominus manum suam extendit ... quod notatur

cum dicit, Tetigit eum. 4^m est, quare Dominus ei cum curatus fuit vt

nemini diceret prohibuit, quod notatur cum dicit, Vide nemini dixeris.

5^m est quare ad sacerdotes eum misit, quod notatur cum dicit, Vade,

ostende te sacerdotibus. Sextum est, quid est illud munus / [?] quod

precepit Moyses" (Nic ff. 35v-36).

29-32 Thys goospel ... mesel]

The compiler notes ruefully, or perhaps impatiently, that complete

exegesis of the lection is not possible in the time (cf. "þe ferst

wordys þat I seyde of his goospel be sufficient for this day" Ad III/
18-19), and then proceeds to suggest his/her own principal divisions,
which do not correspond to anything in Nicholas. But this is more of
a gesture than an actual imposition of a different structure on the
sermon, for Nicholas' six divisions are in fact announced (11.41-48)
and the compiler follows Nicholas in elaborating on the properties
of a leper, while spending only a few lines on the first of the "twey
thyngys" which s/he promised to speak of.

32-39 Sothly whan ... been now]
This minor digression obviously arises out of Nicholas' literal ("ad
litteram") exposition of the gospel, but it has been used by the
compiler as a vehicle for Lollard comment on those who scorn Christ's
words ("and ∧ʳsum¹ folwyd hym among with enuy, for to take hym yn
hys wordys"), and is given pointed contemporary reference in 11.38-39.
Although pharisees are hardly seen in a positive light in the gospels,
the full significance of the propagandist enterprise here depends on
the fact that in Lollard writing "pharisee" is a charged term, and
symbolises the hated friars, cf. "þese religious beth pharisees, for
þei beþ deuyded fro comun maner of lyuyng by her roton rites as
pharises weren" (Hudson 1983:232-3). See also Dives and Pauper, I:1,
p.321: "phariseys ... wern men of religion þat tyme". On the specific
criticism of the passage that these "pharisens" snipe at Christ's
words and teaching, cf. "þese pharisees ... entren not to vndirstonding
[of hooli writt], ne þei suffren oþir men to vndirstonde it wel. Summe
prechen fablis and ... summe docken hooli writt ... and so loore of
Goddis lawe is al putt abac" (Selections, p.75). The passage is

therefore nicely ironic; "of course pharisees were the religious, just
as monks, friars and canons are now, but we all know what sort of
people pharisees were, just as we know what monks, etc. are like now".

39 Et ecce ... ueniens]
This is the second theme and the rest of the sermon develops from
this phrase, just as the _iteracio thematis_ in 1.29 preceded a discussion
which was directly related to its words.

40-48 And sex ... to hym]
Nic cannot have been the manuscript used by the AdLb compiler, as the
fifth principal division has been accidentally omitted, although it
appears in AdLb. Exigencies of space, together with a possible desire
not to be over-tedious, probably account for the compiler's not linking
the six points to successive clauses of the lection, as in Nic.

40 Ad helyd]
Ad's reading "helyng" is the result of eyeskip back to earlier "comyng".

49-82
The compiler takes up the first principal, following Nic: "Primum est
videre quid signat iste leprosus allegorice. Ist leprosus signat
genus humanus quod totum leprosum esset propter peccatum originale, sed
filius Dei descendit de monte eternitatis in incarnacionem, Quando se
exinaniuit, formam serui accipiens, et per sanguinem effudit in cruce
vbi habuit manus extensas et perforatas, curauit illud et sanauit, vnde
in psalmo, Misit Deus pater verbum et sanauit eos. Vere, nos omnes a
lepra peccati originalis mundati sumus in baptismo qui virtutem mundandi

nos ab illa lepra habet a passione Ihesu Christi; et ideo dicit apostolus,

Romanos .6., Quicumque bapti3ati estis, in morte Christi bapti3ati estis.

Et Apocalysis .5., Lauit nos a peccatis nostris, etc. Moraliter per

leprosum istum quilibet peccator existens in mortali peccato signat,

et lepra [MS adds ex corrupcione subpuncted] mortale peccatum signat,

propter duplicem rationem. Prima est quia lepra ex corrupcione humanorum

singulorum membrorum contrahitur, sic omne mortale peccatum ex legis

transgressione contrahitur. Vnde dicit quedam glosa super Leuitico,

Quod peccatum est transgressio legis. 2^a est quia sicut lepra est

infirmitas que non potest curari ab homine, sic peccatum a Deo nostra

creatore, vnde rex Israel dixit quando Naaman venit ad eum vt curaretur

a lepra sua, vt habetur .4. Regum .5., Numquid ego sum Deus, vt curem

hominem a lepra sua? et in Marce $.2^o.$, Quid potest dimittere peccati,

nisi solus Deus? Per lepram igitur mortale peccatum signatur et per

leprosum istum peccator quilibet signari potest, et hoc propter multiplicem

proprietatem leprosi" (Nic f.36).

49-50 þys mesul ... senne]

On the traditional medieval connection between leprosy and sin, cf.

Bloomfield 1952:111 and S. N. Brody, The Disease of the Soul (Ithaca

and London, 1974), passim. Leper chapels, such as the one in Ripon,

North Yorkshire, were often dedicated to Mary Magdalene, a common type

of the sinner, who was identified with Mary the sister of Martha,

both sisters of Lazarus of Bethany whom Jesus raised from the dead. This

Lazarus was identified with Lazarus the beggar, covered with sores, who

was apocryphally considered to have been a leper. Medieval leper

hospitals originally had "St Lazarus and his sisters Mary and Martha"

as their patron saints (e.g. Sherburn hospital near Durham), but

gradually both Lazarus and Martha's names disappeared from such
dedications, and the beatified Mary Magdalene survived as the patron
of lepers. For excellent documentation and discussion of North
European leprosy in the Middle Ages in actuality see Peter Richards,
The Medieval Leper and his Northern Heirs (Cambridge, England and
Totowa, 1977).

52-53

Phil 2,7.

53 Whan Iesu anentischid]

Ad's corrupt reading, "þe whech he haþ touchyd", is the result of a
complex process which seems to involve the scribe rationalising what
must have seemed to him/her a garbled line which was the result of
his/her own wrong expansion of the abbreviations in the copy text. It
is easy to see how if the phrase had been abbreviated "whāIhūenentischyd",
or some such version, a combination of misreading, wrong expansion and
false joins might produce a garbled version which the scribe then
attempted to tidy up with the addition of an extra word or two ("þe" looks
like a rationalising addition). Lb's reading is perfect, so the
corruption is entirely due to the scribe of Ad.

56-57

The allusion is clearly to PsG 106,20, but both Nic and the Vulgate
have "verbum" and not "seruum", although AdLb both give "sone" as the
translation. "Verbum" (Greek: "Logos") is of course a common name for
Christ, cf. Jo 1,14 "Verbum caro factum est". Sabatier does not give
"seruum" as an Old Latin alternative reading.

58

Memoriale Credencium, p.215, "The vertu of þe holy wordes of baptem ...

doþ a way al maner synnes original".

60-62

Rm 6,3

62-63

Apc 1,15.

63 goostly]

Frequently used in religious and devotional writings to indicate an
interpretation which is other than the literal. It does not always
precisely correspond to one particular figurative sense (on the four
senses of scriptural interpretation, see Caplan 1929). The sense is
"spiritually", cf. Nic's "moraliter" which is often used marginally
68-69   in vernacular texts to signal exegesis, cf. Lb f.174v.

A common patristic explication, cf. Augustine, De Consensu Evangelistarum,

PL 34, col.1077, "peccatum est Legis transgressio".

71 no man ... aboue]

An insertion by the compiler which betrays a Lollard bias. The power
                           and the concomitant denial of the priestly role
of God alone to loose from sin/is a common Wycliffite tenet, cf. the

entry "Absolucion" in the Rosarium (von Nolcken 1979:55-59), and Matthew,

p.337, "þus men of conscience wolen not telle here þus her synne to

prestis; for þei seyne þat no prest is able, but oonly crist, to here

þus shriftes". Cf. 11.77-80. Ad's "aboue" may be a misreading of

"alone", Lb's reading and one which is more forceful.

73-75

4 Reg 5,7. In medieval religious writing and iconography Naaman

frequently functions as a type of the sinner by virtue of his leprosy,

cf. XVII/60-64.

75-76

Mc 2,7; Lc 5,21.

77-80 Forsothe no preest ... (Lb) mortuus est]

See note to l.71. This addition is in the same vein as above, expressed in rather stronger terms, and having the authority of the quotation from Augustine, which has been used before in this series, V/168-9. I have not identified the source of the quotation, but it has every sign of being a popular one in texts with Lollard affinities which deal with the priestly function in absolution, as here and in some manuscripts of the Rosarium.

83-103

The first subsection of the first principal is dealt with here. Each of the seven subsections links a feature of leprosy to each of the seven deadly sins. Nicholas: "Prima est propter igitur turgitatem et inflacionem, quia leprosus turgidus est et inflatus, et per hoc signatur peccatum superbie, quia superbi turgidi sunt et inflati, vnde superbi sunt sicut vesice inflate turgentes, vnde dicit Augustinus, Superbus similis est vesice inflate, sed si purgatur acum quantumcumque inflatus sit in delicijs et diuitijs et honoribus, et de scienda ad modicum punctum mortis [MS adds deus canc.] deinflatur et deturgessit, quia sicut dicit Iob .27., Tollet eum ventus vrens et rapiet de loco suo. In ipsis superbis non est nisi ventus dilacionis et iactancie et vane laudis, vnde ipsi superbi sunt sicut bufones inflati et maxime quando tanguntur aliqua dura reprehensione, et portantur semper venenum detractionis in ore sicut bufones, vt interficiant illos qui tangunt eos, vnde sicut dicit psalmo, Venenum aspidum sub labijs eorum, etc. Vnde poeta, Pectora felle virent, lingua est suffusa veneno. Ista est lepra capitis, quia superbia est capud et inicium peccati, Ecclesiastici .x., Inicium omnis peccati est superbia. Vel dicitur lepra capitis, id est, diaboli,

quia diabolus est capud / et rex super omnes filios superbie, Iob
.40. De lepra capitis dicitur, Leuitico .13., Vir siue mulier in
cuius capite vel barba germinauerit lepra, videbit eos sacerdos. Ista
est lepra Osie regis, de quo dicitur, .2., Paralipomenon .26."
(Nic ff.36-36v).

The translation in AdLb makes two changes from the version in
Nic: the quotation from the "poeta" is omitted presumably because it
is secular and the redactor has a severely scriptural bias; and the
two quotations from Lev and 2 Par which relate to the "lepra capitis"
are omitted possibly for reasons of space.

83-87

Œdema is a medical symptom of leprosy (Brody, pp.28-31) and was
understood by medieval physicians to accompany leprosy. Bartholomaeus
Anglicus, De Proprietatibus Rerum Bk VII, ch.lxv, "Swellynge groweth
in the bodye". In the ecclesiastical tradition it was often used
figuratively to represent pride (Brody, p.130n and 138).

88-89

AdLb lack the attribution of these lines to Augustine, as in Nic.
Not identifiable in the works of Augustine.

90-91

Jb 27,21.

94-96

On the lethal nature of backbiting, cf. Note to VII/82-86.

97-98

PsG 13,3.

100-101

Sir 10,15. The text and related notions, figure predominantly in patristic and vernacular discussions of pride, cf. _Memoriale Credencium_, p.52, "Pryde ... is hede and kyng of alle oþer synnus".

104-113

The second subsection follows. Nicholas: "2[a] est propter putridinem interiorem, quia lepra semper putrescere facit hominem interius. Hoc signatur peccatum inuidie, quia inuidia que facit hominem dolere de bonis proximorum, et gaudere male eorum, putredam facit animam inuidi coram Deo; et consciencia eius et omnes virtutues que erant in anima putrescere facit, et ideo dicitur, Prouerbiorum .14., Putredo ossium inuidia" (Nic f.36v).

104-105

That leprosy rots the body was a medieval commonplace. On the connection between leprosy and avarice cf. Brody p.131. One of the medieval names for leprosy was "putrid fever" (Brody p.41).

109-110 bifore ... God]

Evidently the error in these lines was found in the common archetype of AdLb; Lb's reading may correspond exactly with the reading of this manuscript, whereas the scribe of Ad has tidied up the sentence by removing "bifore" (and perhaps also by adjusting the word order in the preceding phrase). It is hard to see why the scribe of the common archetype omitted these words. Perhaps the fact that the passage has a chiasmic structure (verb-predicate-predicate-verb), with the finite verbs a long way apart, confused him/her about the direction the sentence was going in, and his/her eye may have inadvertantly strayed up to "goodys" in 1.107.

112-113

Prv 14,30. Lb's awkward translation of the Vulgate is due to a literal following of the Latin word order and omission of articles. The scribe of Ad has had some trouble with this, and has changed the word order to try to produce a more idiomatically acceptable translation, but has rather worsened the siutation. It makes sense, just about.

114-133

The third subsection concerns the evil-smelling breath and hoarse speech of a leper, which symbolises the sin of backbiting. Nicholas: "3[a] est propter anelitus eius fetorem et aliorum membrorum corrupcionem, et submissam locucionem, quia leprosus submisse loquitur, quia habet vocem rancoram et habet anelitum fetidum, per hoc signatur peccatum detraccionis et murmuris, quia detractor sub silencio loquitur detrahit et mordet sic serpens, Ecclesiastes .10., Si mordeat serpens in silencio, nichil eo minus habet qui occulte detrahit. Preterea habet anelitum fetidum, vnde Psalmo, Sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum. Similiter per fetorem detraccionis sue primo corrumpit et illum cui detrahit quantum in se est, et illos qui detracciones eius libenter audiunt, quia sicut dicit beatus Gregorius, Nuncquam esset detractor si non esset auditor. Et Psalmo dicit, Corrupti sunt et abhominabiles facti sunt. Isti sunt similes bestie, que similes erat vrso et habet tres ordines dentium, Danielis .7., qui tres corrumpit. Hec est lepra Marie, sororis Moysi et Aaron, et hoc, Numerorum .12., habetur, vbi dicitur quod Dominus eam lepram percussit quando contra Moysen murmurauit propter Ethiopissam, et quando detraxit; hec lepra barbe dicitur, de qua lepra, Leuitici .13., vt supra" (Nic f.36v).

114-116

These symptoms were all reported by medieval physicians (Brody, pp.

38-39) and are corroborated by modern leprologists. The stinking

breath and hoarse voice characterised Henryson's leprous Cresseid,

Testament of Cresseid ed. Denton Fox (London, 1968) p.77.

115 othir/oþere men]

Lb's "men" looks like a corruption of "members" (Nic: "membrorum").

Ad's omission of "men" is most probably due to that scribe's policy

of shortening the text where possible, so that the error, if it is an

error, originates in the common archetype, or in manuscripts anterior

to it. The compiler may have used a text of Nicholas which had a

variant reading, or s/he may have deliberately chosen "men" for the

translation. It makes good sense.

115 he is likenyd to þe senne]

The compiler has omitted the brief expansion about "lowe speche"

which is in Nic, all of which is subsumed by "per hoc". In Nic it

is the "lowe speche" rather than the leper which symbolises the sin

of backbiting. AdLb's "he" sounds awkward but is not impossible.

116-117 Lb vndir þe colour of stilnesse]

Anne Hudson has suggested that colour n. be regarded as a possible term

of Lollard sect vocabulary, because of the frequency with which it

appears in texts connected with the movement. The problematic of

isolating such vocabulary is set out in Hudson 1981:15-30; one of

the difficulties with a word like colour is its occurrence in orthodox

texts as well as in known heretical tracts, such as The Lanterne of Liȝt,

to say nothing of its appearance in amphibious works like Dives and

Pauper. The scribe of Ad has omitted it (or did the scribe of Lb add

it? Nic's "sub silencio" is no help here), but this is not really

any evidence that it was felt to be a charged term, since that scribe

frequently prunes the text for no reason other than expediency.

118-120

Ecl 10,11.

119 Ad byt]

Another of Ad's occasional E.Anglian 3sg.pr. uninflected forms; see

Note to I/14.

121-124

PsG 5,11 and 13,3.

124-126

Cf. VII/82-86 and Note.

126-128

I have not identified this in the works of St Gregory, but the sentiment

is common, cf. Jerome, Epistolae, PL 22, col.538, "Discat detractor,

dum te videt non libenter audire, non facile detrahere".

129-130

Ps 13,1 and 52,2. AdLb omit the sentence in Nic which follows this

quotation. Nic likens backbiters to the second of the four beasts

of Daniel's dream, a bear with three rows of teeth, Dn 7,5.

131-133

N, 12,1-13 tells of Miriam and Aaron speaking against Moses because

he had married an Ethipian woman; God then struck Miriam with leprosy.

The story is a popular medieval exemplum illustrating the sin of envy,

as here, or disobedience, as in the Memoriale Credencium, p.54.
Cf. 11.174-175.

134-164

The fourth subsection concerns the insatiable thirst of lepers,
interpreted as a symptom of their avarice. Nicholas: "4[a] est propter
sitis habundanciam et quantitatem, quia semper sitit et multociens
accidit quod quanto plus bibit, tanto plus sitit, et per hoc signatur
peccatum auaricie et cupiditatis, quia cupidus semper sitis plus habere,
vnde Iob .18., Exardescit contra eam sitis, et mirabilem est quia
quanto plus bibit, id est, quanto plus habet, tanto plus sitit, id est,
plus cupit habere, vnde satiari non potest. Et hoc est quod dicitur,
Ecclesiastici .14., Oculus cupidi insaciabilis. Optime dicit, quia
oculus eius satiari non potest, quia quando vidit omnem pulcherrimum
equum, vel aliquam pulcram rem, tamcito cupit habere illam, quia sicut
dicitur, Prouerbiorum .13., Venter impiorum insaciabilis est. Vere
cupidi sunt impij, quia non habunt misericordiam nec pietatem de
animabus suis, neque de proximis, quia sicut dicitur
Iacobi .2[o]., Iudicium enim sine misericordia fiet illi qui non fecit
misericordiam. Ista lepra est lepra Giesi, qui per cupiditate cucurrit
post Naaman et accepit munera ab eo, .4. Regum .5. / Vnde dicit
Heliȝeus Geiȝi, Lepra Naaman adhereat tibi et semini tuo. Ita lepra
cupiditatis adheret istis cupidis et semini eorum, vnde filij eorum
nolunt reddere quod patres eorum male adquisierunt, sed si illi
scienter illud retinuerunt, ipsi sum patribus in infernum dampnabuntur,
et de patribus eorum conquerentur. Vnde Ecclesiastici .41., De patre
iniquo conquerentur filij iniqui, quia propter illum sunt in opprobrium"
(Nic ff.36v-37).

133-137

Although I have not come across medieval medical descriptions of leprosy

which include excessive thirst as a symptom, the humoral theory which

informed such descriptions would suggest that one type of leprosy,

as popularly perceived in the middle ages, would be associated with

black bile, which is cold and <u>dry</u>, producing thirst as a symptom.

See Brody, pp.35-37.

139-140

Jb 18,9.

143-144

Sir 14,9.

144-145 And why ... fellyd?]

The sentence is probably missing in Lb as the result of eyeskip to

"fillid" in 144. Ad's "why" does not correspond to anything in Nic,

but might be a corruption of "whel" which is one E.Anglian spelling

of "wel", representing Nic's "optime". Both Ad and Lb make good sense

as they stand.

147-148

Prv 13,25.

149 her owne]

Nic's "suis" confirms that Lb's reading is right; the corrupt reading

"ober" in Ad is due to eyeskip (the similarity of the initial elements

of "<u>owne</u>" and "<u>sowlys</u>") which has possibly caused the scribe to read

"of her" as "ober", and then to substitute that for "her owne". The

scribe has probably also responded to the dictates of common sense

by substituting the expected word for the context - covetous men

certainly do not show mercy towards <u>other</u> men.

150-152

Jac 2,13.

152-156

On the popularity of Gehazi as a type of the covetous man, see Notes

to III/152-158. The quotation from the Vulgate is 2 Rg 5,27; the

chapter narrates the full story.

155 falle]

Both Ad and Lb have "adherebit", 3sg.future indic., in their Vulgate

quotations, yet both manuscripts translate this as "falle", 3sg.pr.subj.,

which in fact corresponds to Nic's version of the Vulgate which has

"adhereat". There are several hypotheses which might account for this

peculiarity, although a rehearsal of them all is not possible here.

The Old Latin version (Sabatier) has "applicabit".

159 Ad for coueytise]

This is an addition by the scribe of Ad, since it does not correspond

to anything in Nic, and Lb does not have it.

161-163

Sir 41,10. What is curious about both Nic and Lb's version of this

Vulgate verse is the adjective "iniqui"/"impij" applied to the

"filij" as there is no basis in any of the surviving Vulgate or Old

Latin manuscripts for this reading. Both AdLb follow Nic in

translating it. It would be possible to argue that Nic's reading is

the result of an error in the copytext of that manuscript (due to

eyeskip), but in fact the adjective is not inappropriate in context,

since Nicholas has been talking about wicked sons who withhold their

father's ill-gotten goods. But cf. the commentary on Sir 41,8 in

Glossa Ordinaria, PL 113, col.1223: "Abominabiles sunt filii peccatorum, qui scilicet, impios patres imitati sunt".

165-175

The fifth subdivision deals with the heaviness associated with leprosy, which is the external manifestation of the sin of sloth. Nicholas: "5^a est propter ponderositatem, quia leprosus ponderosus est. Per hoc signatur accidia et pigricia, quia accidiosi et pigri ita ponderosi sunt, quod nolunt se mouere ad faciendum aliquod bonum opus, vnde Iob .7., Quare posuisti me contrarium tibi, etc.? De pondere pigricie [line missing in MS] et omne circumstans nos peccatum curramus ad propositum nobis certamen, etc. Isti sunt leprosi in pedibus et manibus, sicud fuit Moyses qui habuit manum leprosam, vnde habetur Exo. .4." (Nic f.37). The connection between leprosy and heaviness is not particularly common; it is presumably linked with the oedema mentioned in 83-87. The connection between leprosy and the seven deadly sins is pervasive in medieval religion.

169-171

Jb 7,20.

171-174

Hbr 12,1. AdLb supply all the Vulgate quotation, but since there is a lacuna in Nic at this point, Nic cannot have been the copytext used by the AdLb compiler.

174-175

The reference is to Ex 4,6; one of the signs granted by God to Moses, in order that the Israelites should believe that God had revealed himself to him, was the power to make his hand appear leprous and to restore it to normal. The scribe of Ad was evidently not familiar with

the story, and has considerably sophisticated the text. The scribe

was thinking of the story in Nm 12,1-13 referred to in ll.131-33 above;

hence the interlinear addition to read "Moyses suster". The corruption

in the passage is psychologically understandable. "Hand" (175) has

been interpreted as "heed", possibly under the influence of Lv 13,29

which talks of leprosy of the head; the initial reference to "hondys"

(174) has been taken as a further reference to description of sinful

men, i.e. "howndys" ("curs"), and since "fet" is not seen as having

any relevance to the story of Moses' sister, this has been rationalised

to "feyth", i.e such men are lepers with regard to faith. On the

association between the types of leprosy described in Leviticus and

particular sins, cf. Brody, p.133.

176-192

The sixth subdivision concerns the stench of leprosy, interpreted as

the sin of lechery. Nicholas: "6^a est propter vilitatem infirmitatis

et fetorem; per hoc signatur peccatum luxurie, quod est fetideum, et

vilissimum fetidum est coram Deo et angelis suis,vnde Gregorius dicit,

Fetor eius ascendit ad celum, nec mirum cum sit fimus carnis,

sterquilinium corporis, vilissimum est, vnde dicit Senica, Si scirem

homines ignoturos et Deos ignoscentes, cum propter peccati vilitatem

dedignarem vmere luxuriose, vnde anime luxuriose dicit Ieremie .2.,

Quam vilis facta es iterans vias tuas. Et de luxuriosis potest dici

illud quod dicitur, Trenorum .1., Dederunt preciosa queque pro cibo

vt refocillarent animas suas. Preciosa, id est, gaudia paradisi

preciosa pro vili peccato. Vere luxuriosi dederunt preciosa, id est,

animas suas
                                                                    pro

modica delectacione, et ideo dicit optime, vt refocillarent animas, quia

[MS adds il canc.] numquam illa delectacio saciat, vnde Augustinus,

Presens non saciat, preterita non delectat, et futura cruciat"

(Nic f.37).

176-178

There is a lacuna in Ad which might be the result of eyeskip (see Lb;
"synne" in 11.176 and 178) but which might also be the result of the
scribe's policy of minor abridgment. Since Ad makes sense, I have not
emended. Leprosy was frequently linked with sexual depravity (Brody,
p.129 and pp.143-146).

180-183

Cf. XV/117-118. The compiler has omitted the quotation from Seneca
which appears in Nic, possibly because it is secular and therefore
unsuitable for this sober collection. Seneca is often found as an
authority in orthodox devotional works, e.g. Speculum Christiani.

184-185

Jr 2,36.

186-190

The quotation is Lam 1,11, but the Vulgate reads "Dederunt preciosa
quaeque pro cibo ad refocilandam animam". Eyeskip by the scribe of
the common exemplar of AdLb may be responsible for the integration of
the interpretation "pro uili" into the Biblical text as it appears in
AdLb, and for the telescoping of the exegesis, so that the precious
things are only interpreted as the joys of paradise in AdLb, whereas
in Nic they also represent the souls of lecherous men. But the passage
makes good sense as it stands; the cutting out of some of the exegesis
may have been done deliberately by the compiler, in what is after all
a longer than average sermon.

190-192

The compiler omits the reference to Augustine which is in Nic, but

gives instead a commonplace enough statement (cf. "Temperalle lustes

leden here felowers to euerlastynge byternes" Speculum Christiani,

p.128, which is attributed to Bernard). There does not seem to be any

obvious reason for the substitution.

192 wrechidnesse and wondryng and wo]

Alliteration is commonly used as an ornament in orthodox sermons; for

examples see Powell and Fletcher 1981:215 and n. to 11.2-7, and Grisdale

1939:81-82. But it is certainly not typical of the AdLb collection, and

its use was generally frowned upon by the Lollards, who regarded it as

an extravagance of preaching associated with the techniques of the

despised friars along with rhyming divisions and exempla.

193-208

The sixth subdivision continues with its moralisation of leprosy as

lechery. Nicholas: "Item per leprosum peccatum luxurie designatur

propter duas rationes, quia consumet totum hominem, et quicqui boni

habet, vnde Iob .31., Ignis est vsque ad perdicionem deuorans, etc.

Item quia membra aufert, scilicet, oculos intelligencie, vnde Iudicum

.16., dicitur quod Sampson excecatum est propter meretricem. Item

aufert aures barbam fortitudinis, supercilia sancte indignacionis,

manus bone operacionis, pedes sancte affeccionis, linguam confessionis,

orationis et predicacionis, quia non est speciosa laus in ore

peccatoris, Ecclesiastici .15. Hec est lepra / carnis de qua habetur

Leuitici .13. Qui vult ab ista multiplici lepra mundari, debet venire

ad Christum fontem misericordie, et debet eum adorare et dicere, Domine,

si vis, potes me mundare, etc." (Nic ff.37-37v).

193

The AdLb compiler omits Nic's "propter duas rationes"; possibly s/he

did not want to overwhelm the congregation by mentioning the further

division of a subdivision.

Lb beyokenyd]

Not 3sg.pa. but pr., as in Nic and Ad. The d is the result of E.Anglian

variation between d and t/th; see the section on the language of the

manuscripts in the Introduction.

194-196

Jb 31,12.

198-199

Delilah was the "stromppet" who had Samson's hair cut off so that he

lost his strength; the Philistines then put out his eyes. The story

is in Judges 16.

199-203

The curious moralised schema of the face is mentioned in PME, p.326,

where Owst refers to the occurrence of this same passage in another

MS of Nicholas, British Library Additional 21253, f.27v. Owst is

dismissive of this kind of allegorisation but such allegories (e.g.

the Castrum Sapiencie) are common in medieval devotional prose and

particularly in sermons, and must have fulfilled a useful function,

perhaps as a kind of visual mnemonic for a lay congregation. The

moralisation here is a more elaborate version of the traditional

allegories of the five wits, cf. Grisdale 1939:44-45, and Blake, QS,

pp.60-61. On "þe feet of holy affeccionys", cf. a marginal gloss
to LV Prv 4,26: "To thi feet: that is, to thyn affecciouns. Lire
here". The moralisation had a widespread circulation, cf. the use
of a similar phrase in MS Additional 41321 (Cigman 1968:120).

X

The notion of leprosy consuming the body which informs this passage is at least partly based on the empirical observation of wasting of limbs and features which characterises the advanced stages of leprosy (Brody, p.30).

202-203 trewe confession; sothfast prechyng]

There is no basis for the epithets in Nic, but of course "trewe" and "sothfast" are common enough words, and the compiler does occasionally add words for local effect, emphasis or euphony. But it is hard not to see this as evidence of the preacher's Lollard bias, since both terms correspond roughly to Latin _fidelis_ which was a charged term in Wyclif's own usage (Hudson 1981:17) and which is similarly charged in its English forms. The topics of confession and preaching were of course central to the Lollards. Since confession was open to abuse, via the purchase of pardons and indulgences, and since the Lollards rejected the priestly function in confession because the corruption of the clergy rendered such confession invalid, there is an insistence on the need for "trewe" confession, which is personal and sincere. On the matter of preaching, cf. the _Rosarium_ entry "Prechour" which states that the first condition of a preacher is that "he preche trewly" (von Nolcken 1979:85).

203-204

Sir 15,9. The corruption of Vulgate "speciosa" to "preciosa" in Lb and "peciosa" in Ad most probably appeared in the common copytext, and is understandable as the result of the visual similarity of both words, and the apparent suitability of "preciosa" in the context. Since the Vulgate manuscripts do not offer any alternative readings, and the conditions for error are evident, I have therefore emended.

X

205 þis is]

The omission, which must have been in AdLb's copytext, is the result of homeoteleuton ("þis" and "is" are visually similar).

The reference in this line is to Lv 13, which sets out the Judaic codes and legislation relating to leprosy.

207-208

Lc 5,12.

209-223

This last section of the body of ther sermon is concerned wtih the material of the first principal (see 11.39-42). Nicholas continues secundum ordinem textus with an explanation of the significance of veniens: "In hoc quod dicit 'veniens' notatur peccati desertio [MS adds Nota in margin], quia certe homo ad Christum venit quando peccata deserit. In hoc quod dicit 'adorabat' flexo genu notatur cordis humiliacio et sicut dicit psalmo, Cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus non descpicies. Et idem, Venient et adorabunt coram te. Postea debet dicere, Domine, si vis, potes me mundare. In hoc quod dicit, 'si vis', notatur potestatis cognicio, vnde dicit, Si vis, potes me mundare, quasi dicit, Certus sum de potestate sed de voluntate dubito. Item cum dicit 'mundare' notatur infirmitatis offensio et cognicio, vnde Psalmo, Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, etc." (Nic f.37v).

209-210

Mt 8,2.

214-216

Ps 50,19.

216-217

PsG 85,9.

218

Lc 5,12.

219 Cryst was of powere]

The reading is in both manuscripts and therefore goes back at least to

the copytext of AdLb. It seems rather odd as a translation of Nic's

"potestatis cognicio", in view of the closeness of the translation

generally, but it would be difficult to tease out the process of

corruption, if indeed corruption has taken place. The phrase is

awkward because of its literal rendering of genitive "potestatis", but

otherwise the sense is clear enough.

222-223

PsG 31,5.

223-229

The compiler closes the sermon with an explicit of his/her own composing

which picks up the sermon's theme of leprosy. The same indications

and caveats would seem to apply to the phrase "trewe beleue" (224) as to

the phrases in 202-203 (see Notes above); this case is perhaps more

ambiguous than the previous two, but the absolute centrality of Christ

and his teachings was a dogma of Lollard belief (cf. Wawn 1972:32-33)

and we might expect to find such a view reinforced at the end of a

sermon which elsewhere displays Lollard sympathies.

Nicholas continues his sermon with the second of his six principals,

which is the reason why Christ extended his hands. The hand represents

justice and mercy. The hand of mercy is extended in five ways - to

receive and succour sinners; to cure sinners; to show the way to

paradise; to offer us largesse of temporal goods (i.e. to the poor);

and to restore us to eternal joy. Nicholas then moves on to this

third principal, why Christ touched the leper - out of humility. The

fourth principal deals with the meaning of "prohibuit" and signifies

the forbidding of vainglory. The fifth principal deals with why

Christ sent the leper to the priests, which signifies confession, which

is fourfold - it must be quick, it must be open, it must be proper

("propria"), it must be humble. Nicholas finishes with the sixth

principal (which the scribe mistakenly calls fifth), which is the

meaning of the gift, explained as "operis satisfaccio". The sermon ends

on f.38v.

<u>·Sermon XI</u>

The sermon is for the fourth Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany,

on the text <u>Ascendente Ihesu in nauiculam</u>, Mt 8, 23. The gospel

translation is remarkably close to that found in the corresponding

Wycliffite sermon (Hudson 35), due to the fact that the translation

there appears in a block, with only one short interpolation, rather

than being broken up with commentary. Nicholas de Aquevilla again

provides the source for the body of the sermon, from his sermon for

the same occasion.

The sermon is initially divided into four principals, based as

usual on four clauses of the gospel pericope, but the compiler devotes

most of his/her exposition to the first and second of these, the

meaning of the boat and the figurative significance of the disciples.

Central to the argument is the importance of Christ the master, and

of penance, which is symbolised by the boat. There is nothing in the

sermon which is not orthodox. The emphasis on "þe good lesson" of

Christ, while coinciding with Lollard evangelical concerns, is straight

from Nicholas, and though a favourable reference to mendicancy has

been excised, this argues no more than adaptation to a lay audience for

whom such references would have been supererogatory. Nicholas was

himself in all probability a Franciscan.

2

Mt 8,23. The gospel pericope for the day is Mt 8,23-27 (<u>Sarum Missal</u>,

p.43).

3-12

That Hudson 35 and not the Wycliffite Bible was the undisputed primary

source is proved by the fact that the interpolated comment "in þis tyme in þe boot, as he hadde ordeynut", Hudson 35/12, is included in AdLb 6-7. The AdLb version shares a variant reading with Hudson manuscripts ZV: AdLb 11 "þerof", Hudson 35/16 "herof", ZV "þerof"; and a variant reading with Hudson manuscripts YH: AdLb 12 "obeien", Hudson 35/17 "obesche", YH "obeien". It must be stressed that such readings can arise independently as the result of coincidence. Despite the closeness to Hudson 35, some of the AdLb variant readings suggest that the compiler has also looked at WB, although it is equally possible that at least some of the shared readings are coincidental: Hudson 35/9 "stey3ede" (no manuscript variants), AdLb 3 "stiede vp", EV "steyinge vp", LV "was goon vp"; Hudson 35/10 "boot" (no manuscript variants), AdLb 5 "schip", WB "schip"; Hudson 35/11 "watur", AdLb 10 "see", WB "see".

10 Ad comawnde]
Another 3sg.pa. contracted form, cf. I/14 and Note.

13-19
Nicholas begins his sermon with a brief account of the gospel story, with some comments on it from the Gloss ("interlinearis"), all of which occupies only six lines of the manuscript. Then comes the processus, which is where AdLb pick up the sermon in Nic: "In hoc euangelio ad prius .4. possunt considerari. Primum est quid per istam nauiculam, in qua Ihesus ascendit, signatur, et illud notatur cum dicit [Matheus] [MS Christus], Ascendete Ihesu in nauiculam. 2^m est, qui sunt illi discipuli qui ascendunt cum Ihesu in nauiculam et eum ibi secuuntur, et notatur cum dicit, Secuti sunt eum discipuli eius. 3^m est quid signat

illud mare et venti, quid significant, quibus tempestas in mari isto

excitatur, et hoc notatur cum dicit, Et ecce motus magnus est factus

[MS factus est magnus marked for transposition] in mari. 4^m est

quomodo Christus excitandus est, vt ne pereamus, nobis auxilietur,

et hoc notatur cum dicit, Et excitauerunt eum discipuli eius, dicentes,

Domine, salua nos, perimus!" (Nic f.38v).

20-34

The preacher continues to follow Nicholas with discussion of the first

principal. Nicholas: "Primum est igitur videre quid per nauiculam in

qua Christus Ihesus ascendit signatur. Per nauiculam in quam Ihesus

Christus ascendit crux Christi vel penitencia eius signatur quam

ascendit cum ascendit in palmam et apprehendit fructum, secundum quod

dicitur, Canticum .7., Ascendam in palmam et apprehendam / fructum

eius. Hec est nauis Symonis Petri, de qua dicitur, Luce .15., Ascendente

Ihesu vnam nauim que erat Symonis Petri. Vere crux est Christi nauis

Symonis Petri, quia Symon 'obediens' interpretatur, et ipse Christus

factus est obediens vsque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, Phi. .2°.

Ista nauicula facta est ex 4^{or} lingnis que fuerunt cedres, cypressus,

palma et oliua, de quibus dicitur, Ecclesiastici .24., Quasi cedrus

exaltata sum in Libano, et quasi cypressus in Monte Syon, et quasi

palma exaltata sum in Cades, et quasi oliua speciosa in campis"

(Nic ff.38v-39).

22-23

Ct 7,8.

24 þe boot of Symon Petyr]

The reference is to Lc 5 (not 15 as it appears in Nic) where the
episode of the miraculous draught of fishes is recounted. It was into
Simon Peter's boat that Christ stepped to escape from the crowds at
the lake of Gennesaret.

Symon ... 'buxsum']

The interlinear gloss gives Simon's name as "humilis".

25

The omission in both Ad and Lb reflects an error in the common
exemplar which is clearly the result of eyeskip (the two instances
of 'buxsum').

26-28

The explanation that Christ's cross is made of these four trees is
traditional, cf. "The Golden Legend" (the 1438 translation of Jacobus
de Voragine's Legenda Aurea):"the crosse was of iiii maner of trees,
that is to saye of palme, of cypres, of sidre and of olyve, whereof
a verce sayeth: 'The trees of the crosse ben palme, olyve, sidre and
cypres'" (Blake 1972:153).

29-34

Sir 24,17-19.

35-56 Þe seconde ... euyl."]

The preacher now moves on to the second principal, the interpretation
of Christ's disciples; here a threefold division takes place as the
preacher considers the qualities necessary for those who wish to follow

Christ. Nicholas: "2^m est videre qui sunt discipuli Christi, et

qui ascendunt cum eo [in] nauiculam [et] eum ibi sequuntur. Discipuli

Christi sunt penitentes eum timentes et diligentes et mandata eius

custodientes mites et humiles, quia 3^a sunt que facere debent boni

discipuli - debent magistrum suum timere et propter timorem ne eum

offendant et ne eos verberet [MS verberent with n subpuncted], debent

a malis operibus cessare. 2° debent eum diligere, et ex dileccione

mandata eius custodire. 3° debent bonam leccionem [MS dileccionem

with di- subpuncted] libenter a magistro suo addiscere et retinere.

Ista 3^a debent facere discipuli Christi. Primum est quod debent eum

timere [MS repeats from Primum to timere] ne eum offendant, et ne eos

verberet, immo ne corpus et animam simul in Gehennam perdat, et ideo

dicit Dominus discipulis suis, Mathei .10., Nolite timere eos qui

occidunt corpus, sed magis timete eum qui corpus et animam potest

mittere in Gehennam. Propter timorem istum [MS i.t. marked for

transposition] debent homines declinare a malo, Prouerbiorum .15.,

Per timorem Domini declinat omnis a malo" (Nic f.39).

41 Lb oo þing is to cese]
Lb's addition serves to clarify that it is in fact the ceasing from

evil works which is the first of the three subdivisions. There is no

equivalent to the phrase in either Nic or Ad, so this might well be an

addition by the scribe of Lb, concerned to bring out the structure.

49-53

Mt 10,28.

54-56

Prv 16,6.

56-62 Þe seconde ... decipulys."]

Nicholas: "2^m est quod debent Chistum magistrum suum diligere et ex

dileccione eius mandata seruare, vnde Io. .14., Si diligitis me,

mandata mea seruate, etc. Et Io. .13., In hoc cognoscent homines quia

discipuli mei estis, etc." (Nic f.39).

59-60

Jo 14,15.

61-62

Jo 13,35.

62-77

Nicholas: "3^m est quia debent a magistro suo bonam leccionem libenter

addiscere et retinere, et ista est leccio, qui sint [MS + m canc.] mites

et humiles corde. Discipuli igitur Christi sunt timentes eum et eum

diligentes et mandata eius custodientes, et mites et humiles corde.

Isti sunt discipuli de quibus dicitur, Io. .10., Stetit Ihesus in medio

discipulorum suorum, et dixit eis, Pax vobis." (Nic f.39).

67-71 But beholde ... helle]

There is nothing in Nic which corresponds to this passage. It is possible

that another manuscript of Nicholas has the source. It is not heretical

or even tendentious; the tone of protest against laxity in religious

practice is found in numerous late fourteenth century and early

fifteenth century works, although it would fit equally in a Lollard

context.

67

I have emended Ad's "we" to read "wel" as in Lb, because Ad does not

seem to be good sense as it stands, and because "wel" gives the required

emphasis to the remark which follows. Ad's "how" is E.Anglian "who"

(see section on Language in the Introduction), and here means "anyone

who, whosoever" (see OED who II.6).

72-73

Mt 11,29.

75-77

Jo 20,19.

78-102

Nicholas (and the AdLb compiler) now returns to the first principal,

the moralisation of the boat. In 1.78 a bridge is effected between

the two principals, so that they are seen to be interconnected; the

preacher then launches into a series of three subsections which explain

the parallels between a boat and its symbolic import, penance. Nicholas:

"Isti discipuli debent cum Christo ascendere in nauivulam / penitencie.

De ista nauicula dicitur, Sapientie .14., Transeuntes mare, id est,

mundum istum, per ratem penitencie liberati sunt. Et notandum est quod

per nauiculam penitencia optime signatur, et hoc propter 3^a. Primum

est quod sicut nauicula arta est in prino et in fine, et in medio lata,

ita penitencia in prino est [MS + lata subpuncted] arta, quia satis

artum est in prino, nudis pedibus ambulare, ostiatim aliquem panem

petere necessitate cogente, cilicum portare, in pane et aqua ieiunare,

carnem suam disciplinare, inimicum diligere, aduersa non timere, et ideo

dicit Christus, Mathei .7., Angusta est porta, (interlinearis) in ingressu, et arta est via que ducit ad vitam, et pauci sunt qui

inueniunt eam. Preterea arta est in fine ista via vel penitencia, quia

diabolus calcaneo penitentis insidiatur. Et hoc est quod Dominus

dicit, Serpenti insidiabiles calcaneo eius. Sed ipsa est lata in

medio, ista penitencia, vnde dicitur Prouerbiorum .3°., Penitencia

lata est in progressu anime penitenti. Ducam te per semitas equitatis,

quas cum ingressus fueris non artabuntur gressus tui. Vere penitencia

lata est in progressu propter magnas consolaciones quas Dominus dat

penitentibus, quia sicut dicit psalmista in persona penitentis cuiusque,

Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum consolaciones tue letificauerunt

animam meam. Et beatus Bernardus, Multi vident cruces [MS repeats

cruces] vestras, set pauci vident imitaciones vestras" (Nic ff.39-39v).

The elaborate comparison of a boat to penance is also found in a

sermon by William of Mailly, MS Paris B.N. lat 15956 f.30va (Schneyer,

Repertorium IV 484 no.19). The reference is in Bataillon 1980:35.

79-81

Sap 14,5.

80 Lb wold]

This curious spelling of "world" is not recorded in the OED. However

it appears several times in Lb, and is probably best regarded as an

unrecorded E.Anglian form (cf. "word"; see Language Section).

81-82

Ad's omissions are the result of eyeskip (the repetition of "penawnce").

84-89 so penawnce ... aduersyte]

AdLb omit Nic's "ostiatim aliquem panem petere necessitate cogente"

("to go from door to door begging a little bread when forced by

necessity"). Nicholas' inclusion of this as an approved hardship

presumably relates to his mendicant background; anti-fraternal feeling

ran high amongst orthodox and heretic alike, and such references were

extremely likely to be dropped by all translators in the late fourteenth

and early fifteenth centuries, particularly when addressing a lay

audience, as here. This omission does not necessarily constitute

evidence of the compiler's Lollard background. Some of the

penitential practices enjoined in the passage, such as extreme

fasting, would not have been generally approved of by the Lollards.

90-93

Mt 7,14. The commentary from the interlinear Gloss "in ingressu" has

been silently incorporated into both the Vulgate and its translation

in AdLb. See Biblia Sacra cum GO, 5, 149.

93-94 Lb but folwyn þe lustys of þe flesch]

A typically puritanical addition to Nic by the compiler, although it

may be original to the Lb scribe. It does not appear in Ad, but may

have been omitted there as part of the scribe's policy of shortening

the text where possible.

All Nic's references to "serpenti" have been omitted by the

compiler, as well as the quotation from Prv 3.

97-99

PsG 93,19.

100-102

I cannot find this in the works of Bernard.

103-115

The preacher moves on to the second reason why penance is likened to

a boat; in fact, although "thre thyngys" are promised (1.82) the

compiler does not seem to notice that s/he only mentions two, although

there are three in Nic. Nicholas: "2^m est quia nauis est inferius

clausa et superius aperta; ita existens in penitencia debet habere cor

suum clausum inferius contra amorem terrenorum et contra aquas carnalis

concupiscencie, et debet habere illud apertum superius, ad cogitandum

de celestibus. Vnde debet dicere sicut apostolus, Phi. .3., Que

quidam retro sunt obliuiscens; ad ea vero que priora sunt me extendo;

et ibidem dicitur, Conuersacio nostra in celis est. 3^m est quia sicut

nauis ducit homines ad portum ita penitencia homines penitentes ducit

ad portum salutis eterne, scilicet ad celestia regna. Et ideo dicit

Christus, Mathei .4., Agite penitenciam; appropinquabit vobis regnum

celorum" (Nic f.39v).

109-112

Phil 3,13.

112-113

Phil 3,20.

113 And þerfor]

Nic's third subsection is omitted save the quotation from Matthew.

Something may be missing in both manuscripts at this point, but they

both make sense, and the two final quotations are satisfyingly linked

through the verbal concord of "heuene", so perhaps the compiler was

not concerned about fulfilling his/her structural schemes.

113-115

Mt 3,2. Also Mt 4,17.

116-145

Nicholas (and the preacher) now elaborate on the four trees with which

the boat of penance of made (cf. 11.26-34). Nicholas: "Ista nauicula,

scilicet, penitencia, debet esse ex .4. lingnis spiritualiter, que

sunt cedrus, cipressus, palma et oliua. Per cedrum, qui nutritur

iuxta aquas, signatur luctus de peccatis, quia nutritur iuxta aquas

contricionis et compunccionis, vnde Numerij .24., Quam pulcra sunt

tabernacula tua, Iacob, quasi cedri iuxta aquas. Per cipressum que

est arbor altus et multum crescit in altum, signatur humilitas cordis

que facit animam exaltari vsque ad celi gloriam. Vnde Prouerbiorum

.24., Humiles / spiritus suscipiet gloria. Humiles sunt laquiaria

Sancte Ecclesie militantis, vnde Canticum, Laquiaria domorum vestrarum

cipressina. Per palmam signatur dilatacio caritatis, quia palma

multum dilatatur superius in ramis. Vnde sponsus dicit de sponsa sue

que bene habebat dilatacionem caritatis, Canticum .7., Quam pulcra es

et quam decora, karissimi, in delicijs; statura tua assimilata est

palme. Per oliua opus misericordie signatur, et opus pietatis; de hoc

dicit psalmo, Ego sicut oliua fructificaui in domo Domini. Hec sunt .4.

lingna de quibus debet fieri nauis penitencie. Spes de celestibus

gaudijs debet esse anchora, vnde apostolus, Hebreos .6., Fortissimum

solacium habemus qui conf[u]gimus [MS configimus] ad tenendam

propositam spem, quam sicut anchoram habemus firmam et tutam" (Nic

ff.39v-40).

117 þat ben seid befor]

Not in Nic, but a useful reminder of 11.26-34 to keep the congregation

aware of the structure. Ad's corrupt reading has arisen because "seid"

has been lost through eyeskip (to "saye" in the previous line) and the

scribe has subsequently rationalised the phrase to provide a likely

object for "befor".

120-122

Nm 24,5.

125-126

Prv 29,23. AdLb follow the Vulgate in making the object, "humilem

spiritum", sg., but Nic has the pl., presumably in anticipation of

the discussion which immediately follows, about "humiles".

127 laquyaryes]

The word is apparently a pl. substantive, and represents a straightforward

Englishing of Nic's Latin. It is not recorded in the MED. The OED

does record laqueary sb., but it appears only in the seventeenth-century

dictionaries of Blount and Phillips. Blount defines the word as "the

roof of a chamber". The OED gives as its etymology "app. ad. L.

laquearia (pl. of LAQUEAR), treated as sing."; the slightly less rare

lemma laquear is first recorded in 1706. It is an architectural term

signifying "the inward Roof of a House; the Roof of a Chamber, embowed,

channelled and done with fretwork". So the usage here is interesting,

not just because it antedates the OED entry by about two hundred years,

but also because it is a plural form, and the word's first recorded

occurrences suggest that the original Latin plural was treated as a

singular. Other translations of laquearia available in this period

include "couplis" (inclined rafters supporting a roof) in the WB,

as a translation of this verse in Ct; "beemes" in Lanterne of Li₃t,

p.37 and "bondes or balkez" in the Rosarium entry "Edifiyng" (von

Nolcken 1979:70 and 113 n.).

Meke men ... (Lb) Holi Chirche fi₃tynge]

The moralisation of "laquyaryes" is presumably adapted from the

patristic interpretations of the relevant verse in Ct; the Glossa

Ordinaria commentary explains: "Laquearia, quae ad decorem domus

solent fieri, simpliciores famuli Christi", PL 113, col.1135. This

follows Bede, In Cantica Canticorum Allegorica Expositio, PL 91,

col.1100. For Gregory, the laquearia are the congregation of the

church ("ipsos populos"), PL 79, col.494, and in Pseudo-Cassiodorus

they are "ipsae personae fidelium, ex quibus Ecclesia constat", PL

70, col.1061. Although meekness is not specifically mentioned, it

fits in well with the patristic emphasis on the faithful of the church.

The phrase "Holi Chirche fiȝtynge" reflects Nic's "Sancte Ecclesie

militantis". The word order is normal in Middle English; an attributive

adjective often has post-position when more than one adjunct qualifies

a noun. The MED records several examples of the fighting chirch

(see fighten, sense 5b), all from fifteenth-century (or possibly late

fourteenth-century) texts, and all of themLollard or specifically

anti-Lollard. Does it follow then that the phrase was part of Lollard

sect vocabulary? The difficulty here is with proving that some other

term had been rejected in favour of this terminology. What other

translations would have been possible here? "Militant" was certainly

available, and perhaps more obviously suggested by Nic's "militantis"

than "fiȝtynge": but it also appears in Lollard texts (see MED chirche

4(b)). Hudson's discussion of Lollard sect vocabulary, which has no

claims to exhaustiveness, does not list the phrase as a possible

candidate for such a vocabulary (see Hudson 1981:15-30). The scribe of

Ad omits "fiȝtynge", for no obvious reason, but this is inconclusive

since that scribe is hardly an expurgator. All that can be said at this

point, is that the phrase "Holi Chirche fiȝtynge" has some claims to

being considered as Lollard sect vocabulary, but that its use here, in a

text which is not, through internal or external evidence, openly

Lollard, is not conclusive further evidence of its status.

128-129

Ct 1,16.

130 Lb largynge]

Ad's "largenesse" (="generosity") is common (q.v. MED larging(e ger.))

but Lb's "largynge" (q.v. MED larging(e ger.)), which is fairly unusual,

perhaps comes closer in meaning (="extension, expansion, spreading")

to Nic's "dilatacio". Lb, as often, has the harder reading.

132-135

Ct 7,6-7.

137-139

PsG 51,10.

140-141

Lb's extensive dittography is clearly the result of eyeskip back to

"schip" in 139. The question raised here is whether Lb's reading

"and sikernesse" (Ad "siker") is in fact an error in view of the fact

that this reading is reproduced in the repeated material. Dittographical

errors do not necessarily reproduce the readings of the copytext, and

it must be that the scribe's eye has strayed back to his/her own text.

Ad's reading "siker" seems more satisfactory here; although Nic does

not have an equivalent at this point in the text, the compiler is

presumably thinking ahead to the phrase "stabyl and certeyne" (145)

(Nic: "firmam et tutam"). Thus "siker and stedefast" could be seen

as a variant of this phrase. Lb's reading is awkward ("hope and

sikernesse and stedefaste") and seems to have been influenced by the

convention of triadic subdivisions which is so common in sermons.

142-145

Hbr 6,18-19. The symbolising of hope by an anchor, which is common

in Christian iconography, was developed from this verse.

146-159

Nicholas: "In istam nauiculam penitencie ascendunt discipuli Christi

per 3^{es} gradus et secuntur eum. Primus est abnegacio proprie voluntatis.

2us est contemptus vel abrenunciacio vanitatis. 3us abstinencia

desideriorum carnis et fuga omnis carnalis amoris. De istis tribus

dicit Dominus, Mathei .16., Qui vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum,

etc. Cum dicit, abneget semetipsum, tria dicit contra .3^a. peccata -

'se', id est, proprium voluntatem, 'met', id est, mundi vanitatem,

'ipsum', id est, omnem carnalem amorem. Et Mathei .19. dicit beatus

Petrus, Ecce nos relinquimus omnia, scilicet, propriam voluntatem et

mundi vanitatem et omnem carnalem amorem, et secuti sumus te. Quid

ergo erit nobis? Iohannis autem dixit illis, Vos qui secuti estis

me, sedebitis super sedes .12., iudicantes .12. tribus Israel" (Nic

f.40).

Nicholas' division of the word "semetipsum" into three parts which

are then amplified by what Caplan calls "explication by hidden

terminology" (Caplan 1928:89) is a common technique of sermon

amplification; it is left untranslated by the AdLb compiler, for the

obvious reason that "hymself" does not easily divide into three parts.

Nicholas use of rhyme in the enumeration of the three divisions

("voluntatem ... vanitatem ... amorem") is typical of 'modern' sermon

form, although it is avoided altogether in the AdLb collection.

151-153; 155; 156-159

Mt 19,27-28.

160-185

The preacher now goes on to the third principal. Nicholas: "3^{m} est

videre quid per mare et per ventos signatur, quibus tempestas in

mari excitatur. Per mare illud mundus signatur, et hoc propter .4."

[The four divisions in Nicholas are omitted by the AdLb redactor. The

sea is a symbol of the world because (i) the sea smells; (ii) the big

fish eat the little fish; (iii) there are floods and storms; (iv) there

are perils and reptiles. The AdLb compiler rejoins Nicholas on f.40v

in the fourth subsection:] "Ita in mundo isto vbique sunt pericula,

vnde apostolus .2. Corinthios .xj., Nocte et die in profundum maris

fui periculis fluminum, periculis latronorum. Ecclesiastici .43., Qui

nauigant mare narrant pericula eius [MS adds Nota in margin]. Similiter

est mundus plenus retibus diaboli, vnde in psalmo, Hoc mare magnum et

spaciosum ?multis et reptilia in [MS has ea subpuncted] eo, quorum non

est numerus. Per mare ergo illud mundus bene signatur, et per ventos

demones, quia excitant tempestates in mare huius mundi. Isti sunt ventos

qui concusserunt .4. angulos domus que corruens oppressit liberos, vnde

habetur Iob .1. Vere demones sunt sicut venti, vnde diabolus dicit, Iob

.27., Nocte opprimit eum tempestas et tollet eum, scilicet, impium,

ventus vrens, scilicet, diabolus. Sed sciendum est quod demones dicuntur

venti propter duo. Vnum est propter inuisibilitatem, qui non videntur.

Sicut venti cum sensualitatem, vnde Iob .41., de diabolo, Quis reuelabit

faciem indumenti eius? Aliud est propter velocitatem, vnde Trenorum

.4., Velociores sunt persecutores nostri quilis celi" (Nic ff.40-40v).

162

Lb's reading "þerto doctours seyn" appears as "þerto Y answere" in Ad. There is no counterpart in Nic. The scribe of Ad may have deliberately altered the reference to "doctours" (i.e. patristic authorities, most probably represented by the <u>Glossa Ordinaria</u> or another gloss) because it seemed potentially off-putting for a relatively uneducated audience. Ad's version is more immediate and personal, and presupposes both a preacher and an audience with which a relationship is established, cf. "Y sey", l.173, which is peculiar to Ad.

162-163 þe see ... þys world]
Cf. Brinton, "Sermon 57": "Mundus iste comparatur mari," Devlin 1954:261.

163 þe see is bitter]
From the common etymology, "mare" < "amarus". Not in Nic. Cf. Isidore, <u>Etymologiarum</u>, "Proprie autem <u>mare</u> appellatum, eo quod aquae ejus <u>amarae</u> sint", <u>PL</u> 82, col.483.

165-167

The catalogue of sins amplifies Nic's "pericula" so that the passage is made vivid, concrete and specific for a lay audience.

167-170

2 Cor 11,25-26.

176-178 þe wyndys ... of Iob]

Jb 1,19.

171-173

Sir 43,26.

179-181

Jb 27,20. AdLb's translation of "ventus vrens" by "it" does not

seem satisfactory, and something may be missing here, or else there

was an error in the copytext. I have not emended because the

translation makes sense, and the "it" is satisfactorily interpreted

as "þe deuyl".

184-185

Lam 4,19.

186-192

The preacher continues with the third principal. Nicholas: "Item

per mare signari potest cor peccatoris, et hoc propter .4." [The first

of Nicholas' four comparisons "propter [pro]funditatem" is omitted

by AdLb, which picks up Nicholas' second comparison, "propter

amaritudinem":] "quia mare amarum est, / ita cor peccatoris debet

esse continue in amaritudinibus, eo quod creatorem [MS adds dn subpuncted]

suum dulcissimum dereliquit et offendit propter peccata sua. Vnde

Ierome .2., Scito et vide quia malum est et amarum te dereliquisse,

Dominum Deum tuum" (Nic ff.40v-41).

187 owyth]

Nic's "debet" confirms that this is the right reading; Ad's "sewyth"

has possibly arisen because the scribe's eye has strayed to the first

element of "senful" in the same line, but it can also be accounted for

psychologically, because the verb "sewyth" might be expected to follow

the adverb "besyliche".

189 God]

Nic's "creatorem suum dulcissimum" becomes simply "God".

Ieremie]

For similar confusion between St Jerome and Jeremiah, cf. IX/120.

189-192

Jr 2.

192-198

The preacher ends with a prayer which gathers together briefly all the strands of the sermon - Christ's passion as a symbol of penance, the perils of the world, and Christ as the safe haven. The phrase "hauen of heuyn" (1.196), popular in medieval religion, continues the dominant maritime imagery, and is a rare instance of alliteration in AdLb.

Nicholas' sermon continues with the comparisons between the sea and the heart of a sinner. He presents a fourfold interpretation of the winds which has numerous subsections and moves on to the fourth and last principal by means of a bridge (the devil often stirs up storms in the sea with these winds - so we must stir up Christ to oppose the devil). The fourth principal is dealt with only cursorily; Christ must be stirred up in four ways - by fasting, groaning, sighing and by all devotions. Let us ask Christ to defend us from the storms of sin. The sermon in Nic ends on f.41v.

Sermon XII

This sermon, for the fifth Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany,

is the last one witnessed in both manuscripts; the series continues

from Sermon XIII to XXIII in Lb alone. As suggested in the Introduction,

it looks as if the scribe of Ad intended to finish at the end of this

sermon. The text is Nonne bonum semen seminasti in agro tuo? Mt 13,27:

the gospel translation which opens the sermon is taken from the

Wycliffite Bible, and the main body of it from the corresponding sermon

by Nicholas de Aquevilla. The sermon offers an allegorical interpretation

of the parable of the wheat and tares. The processus follows Nicholas

in dividing the exegesis into four principals - what is the seed, which

is the field, how did the tares appear, and what is the fruit of the

good seed - but in AdLb only the first principal is dealt with in

detail. The seeds are of two kinds, good and bad, and there are four

types of bad seed. The first of these, "rancowr and discord" is

subdivided into seven (the vices which are hateful to God); the second,

"ventus maius glorie", is omitted in AdLb; the third seed is gluttony

and lechery, and the fourth is avarice. The meaning of the field is

briefly touched upon; it is the world, and also the heart of sinful

man. Then the good seeds are discussed. Although the preacher declares

there to be four types, only three are dealt with - righteousness,

prayers and tears (and here the four reasons why a man should weep are

elaborated), and mercy and pity. The sermon ends with the preacher

enjoining the congregation to give alms in order to reap a hundredfold reward

in heaven. As with the Nicholas sermon, the AdLb version lays great

emphasis on the first principal, with its complex fanning-out of parts

and divisions; the promise of symmetry is not fulfilled in either the

Latin or English texts, but Nic at least deals with the second, third

and fourth principals, albeit cursorily. The AdLb sermon is devoid

of any indication of Lollard interests on the part of its compiler.

2

Mt 13,27.

3-17

The gospel pericope is Mt 13,24-30 (Sarum Missal, p.44). The compiler

often borrows the Biblical translation from the corresponding Wycliffite

sermon, but the version in Hudson 36 is considerably broken up by

commentary, making it difficult to abstract the relevant portions, nor

is the lection complete. The compiler has therefore made use of the

Wycliffite Bible translation. Some indications of AdLb's dependence

on this source rather than on Hudson are: AdLb 3 "heuenys", sic WB,

Hudson 36/2 "heuene" (no MS variants); AdLb 17 "whete", sic WB, Hudson

36/48 "goode corn". AdLb share some readings which are peculiar to

them and not derived from either WB or Hudson 36, e.g. AdLb 15 "heruest"

and "heruest-tyme". There is no apparent influence from Hudson 36

whatsoever.

17

The corrupt reading in Lb is due to the visual similarity between "brent"

and "brout", particularly as minims are often confusing, and to the

scribe taking "geder" (the putative reading of the copytext) as an aphetic

form of "togedir", and thus as an adverb modifying "to be brent". The

scribe has then had to find another verb (hence "gadyr into my berne")

for the second sentence. That this was how the scribe apprehended the

meaning here is reflected in his/her punctuation: "to be brout togidir /

ȝe forsoþe þe whete gadyr in to my berne". I have emended following

WB and Ad.

18-25

The _processus_ sets out the four principals. Nicholas: "In isto

euangelio .4. ad presens possunt considerari. Primum est quid est

illud semen bonum quod debet quilibet iustus seminare. Secundum est,

quid est ille ager vbi deber illud seminare. Tertium, vnde debent

vel possunt ȝiȝania haberi. Quartum est videre quis est ille fructus

quem debet ex bono semine colligere" (Nic f.41v).

18-19 moche lernyng ... day of doome]

The apparently contemporary reference to "þe tyme þat is now" is too

slight to have specific meaning, although a preacher with Lollard

sympathies might well have viewed this gospel text as appropriate for

expounding the contemporary state of the church, as is the case with

the corresponding Wycliffite sermon: "Crist in þis parable telluþ þe

stat of his chirche" (Hudson 36/1). See also the sermon for Quinquaqesima,

Lc 8,5, in the Lollard series witnessed in B.L. Additional 41321 and

Bodley Rawlinson C.751: "In þis gospel oure lord Ihesu Christ bi an

ensample of seed þat was sowen of whiche þe .4. parte made frute

techeþ prelatis and prestis of þe chirche to be besy euere and not be

idel fro sowynge of gostli seed of þe word of God, þouȝ it profite not

                                                              and Rawlinson C.751 f.35r
alweie to þe auditorie after hire desire" (Add 41321, f.70v) (these sermons

have been edited for EETS by Gloria Cigman of Warwick

University; it should be said that in the passage just quoted from the

Additional MS there is nothing specifically Lollard or even unorthodox).

The AdLb compiler may have had the Wycliffite sermon particularly in

mind, since there are some verbal echoes, cf. Hudson 36/61-63: "And so

hit semuþ þat Crist spekiþ here of tyme byfore þe day of dom. And

þus he meueþ manye men for to trete þis mater now".

19 ynow]

Ad's reading "ynow" is preferred, in view of the compiler's strictures inprevious sermons about not having sufficient time to expound every point. Lb's "now", then, is the result of eyeskip to "now" in 1.18.

26-49

The dilation of the first principal involves a division into two parts, and a further subdivision into four. The preacher moves straight on to this section, omitting a short passage in Nic which relates the four principals to successive clauses in the gospel narrative. Nicholas: "Primum est igitur videre quid est illud bonum semen quod debet quilibet fidelis seminare. Et sciendum est in primis quod duplex est semen. Est enim quoddam semen / malum et est quoddam semen bonum. Et mali seminant semen malum, et boni autem seminant semen bonum. Semen malum est peccatum, et .4^{x}. semen malum seminant mali. Primum rancoris inter fratres et discordie, et hoc dicitur, Genesis .37., vbi dicitur quod Ioseph accusauit fratres suos crimine pessimo, etc. Postea dicitur, Accidit autem vt visum sompnium referret fratribus suis, quod causa maioris odij [MS hodij with h subpuncted] seminarium fuit. Talis homo apostata seminat iurgia et discordias, vnde Prouerbiorum .6., Homo apostata vir inutilis; graditur ore peruerso, annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur, praua corde machinatur [MS rep. machinatur] malum et in omni tempore iurgia seminat. Hinc ex[t]emplo sicut fur veniet perditio sua. Super omnia talem peccatum odit peccatum et detestatur tamquam grauissimum aliorum, vnde Prouerbiorum .6., dicit Salamon, Sex sunt que odit Deus et vij^{m} detestatur anima eius; oculos sublimes, linguam mendacem, manus effundentes sanguinem innoxium, cor machinans pessimas cogitaciones, pedes veloces ad currendum in malum, proferentem mendacia,

testem fallacem, et eum qui seminat inter fratres discordias Hoc est

septimum quod detestatur anima eius" (Nic ff.41v-42).

29 Fowr]

There is an error in the copytext of AdLb at this point, since both

MSS have the same reading "Þe fowrthe" which must have arisen under

the influence of "Þe ferst" in the following sentence. Nic's ".4^{x}."

and the subsequent development of the interpretation confirm that

"Fowr" is needed here.

31 Godys lawe]

See note to I/51-52.

31-34 Iosep ... hate]

See Gn 37.

35-41

Prv 6,12-14.

36 Lb _innuit_]

The Vulgate has "annuit oculis" (as in Nic), i.e. "he winks with his

eyes". But "innuit", i.e. "he gives a nod", makes good sense and is

reflected in AdLB's translation, so there is no need to assume that

"innuit" is an error and that "oculis" has been lost. Sabatier does

not offer any alternative readings.

43-49

Prv 6,16-18.

46 bold]

This is certainly the right reading, although Lb's error "glod" is hard

to account for; perhaps it is due to eyeskip to "blood" in the following

line. There are a number of instances of g in the passage which might

have confused the scribe into writing g rather than b.

50-66

"Hic loquitur Salomon secundum consuetudinem hominum quando dicit

⌐quod⌐ Deus odit. Ista .7. peccata nominantur ibi que Dominus odit.

Primum est superbia, scilicet, oculorum sublimitas. Istud primum

ponitur, quia omnis peccati inicium est superbia, Ecclesiastici .4.

Odibilis est Deo et hominibus superbia. In hoc maxime assimilatur homo

diabolo, quia sicut dicitur Iob .40., Omne sublime videt et ipse

est rex super omnes filios superbie. Vnde oculos sublimes dicuntur

superbi, quia quando sunt poniti in alto in aliqua dignitate alios

inferiores et pauperes nolunt nisi de longe et de cauda oculorum suorum

aspicere. Et ideo ipsi sunt maledicti, vnde Prouerbiorum .30., Maledicta

generacio cuius excelsi sunt oculi. Et ideo orabat Sapiens, Ecclesiastici

.23., Extollenciam oculorum meorum ne dederis mihi, etc." (Nic f.42).

51-54

Sir 10,15 and 7.

54-55

Jb 41,25.

60 dignacion / indignacioun]

Lb's "indignacioun" means "condescension, contempt". "Dignacion" is

the aphetic form, MED dignacioun n. The MED does not appear to
recognise this meaning, but cf. OED dignation.

60-62 and sweche men ... pore]

There is no counterpart to these lines in Nic (although there may be

in some other manuscript). Additions or embroideries on the source

are always potential signals of the compiler's ideology and interests; here there seems to be no more than the wagging of a moralistic finger at those who are so seduced by their new-found social status as to forget their poor origins.

63-64

Prv 30,13.

65-66

Sir 23,5.

67-81

The preacher now considers the second of the seven things which God hates, which had developed out of the discussion of "discord amongys bretheryn", which was in turn the first of the four kinds of evil seed. Nicholas: "2^m est mendacij libido et assiduitas, quod notatur cum dicit, Linguam mendacem. Hec lingua mendax est lingua detractoris que Deo odibilis est, Romanos .1., Detractores Deo sunt odibiles, quia quod Dei est dicunt [MS rep. dicunt] esse diaboli. Bono cui inuident dicunt mala intencione esse cum hec. Est tertia lingua que mulieres fortes deicet, vt habetur Ecclesiastici .28., et dicitur 'tertia lingua' quia vno verbo tres interfecit - se, videlicet, et illum [MS illud with d subpuncted] cui detrahit in quantum in se est, et eum qui libuntur audit / suam detraccionem. Ipse detractor est velut orificium priuate per quod omnis fetor egreditur, totam domum inficiens. Subito veniet destruccio eorum, vnde Prouerbiorum .24., Ne comiscearis cum detractoribus, quia repente veniet destruccio eorum" (Nic ff.42-42v).

67 custumabulnesse]

The scribe of Ad has had some trouble with this word, writing it out

as three - "custum yn abulnesse". The sense is "frequent recurrence,

continuance" (>"assiduitas"), but it is a rare word; see MED

custumablenesse n.

69-70

PsG 5,7.

70-72

Rm 1,30.

74-75

The reference is to Sir 28,17: "Lingua tertia mulieres uiratas ejecit".

Ecclesiasticus is one of the so-called sapiential books; hence Solomon,

"the wise man", was popularly considered in the medieval period to have

been its author.

76-77

See Note to VII/82-86. The compiler has omitted the material which

immediately follows the references to backbiting in Nic.

78-81

Prv 24,2-22.

82-86

"3^m peccatum est homicidium siue crudelitas, et hoc notatur cum dicit,

Dominus odit manus effundentes sanguinem innoxium, quia sicut dicitur

Genesis .9., Quicumque effuderit sanguinem humanum, effundetur sanguis

eius" (Nic f.42v).

84-86

Gn 9,6.

87-91

".4^m. est inuidie dolositas, et hoc notatur cum dicit quod Dominus

odit cor machinans pessimas cogitaciones, quia sicut dicit Sapiens

[MS adds j^o canc.] .j., Peruerse cogita tiones separant a Deo, Glosa,

scilicet, animam" (Nic f.42v).

87 senne]

Here Nic reads "dolositas", i.e. "craftiness, deceit, guile". But

both AdLb make good sense and may represent the reading of a different

manuscript of Nicholas.

89-91

Sap 1,3. Nicholas notes that the addition "animam" (i.e AdLb "sowle")

is from the "Glosa" but nothing corresponds to this in the Biblia Sacra

cum GO. In AdLb "sowle" is incorporated into the quotation as if it

were part of the ispsissima verba of the Vulgate.

92-102

The fifth thing which God hates is the will to do evil. Nicholas:

"5^m est prec[i]s [from preces] adiectium malefaciendi voluntas et

notatur cum dicit quod Dominus odit pedes veloces ad currendum in

malum. Isti sunt cursores diaboli, quia in hijs qui diaboli sunt

veloces sunt et parati, et in hijs qui Dei sunt, pigri et tardi,

vnde sicut dicitur, Prouerbiorum .2°., Pedes eorum currunt in malum,

qui relinqunt rectum, etc., Prouerbiorum .2°. Isti sunt similes vrso

et a3ino qui sunt debiles in anterioribus sed fortes sunt in

posterioribus, scilicet, in adquirendis temporalibus et in malis

operibus faciendis, sed sicut dicitur Ysa. .5., Ve qui potentes estis

ad bibendum vinum et viri fortes ad miscendum ebrietates" (Nic f.42v).

95-96 þe deuyl ... fallyn to]

The haplography in Lb is the result of eyeskip ("longyn to ... fallyn to").

97-98

Prv 1,16.

98 Alle sweche]

The similes of the bear and ass in Nicholas (vrso et aȝino") are omitted in AdLb, but the point of the comparison is neatly resumed in ll.98-99. Perhaps the compiler wished to avoid exemplum-type amplification, although this is not generally true of the series as a whole, and while it is the case that exempla are avoided by Lollard writers, such animal comparisons are found often enough in Lollard writings.

99 Lb þebel or febyl]

Lb's "þebel" is not in the dictionaries. It has, though, claims to be accepted as a rare word (meaning "weak, feeble") for several reasons. Lb has more doublets than Ad; thus it is plausible that the word is the first half of a doublet which is paired with a familiar word. It may represent an Englishing of the Latin "debiles", with þ as a phonetic variant of d, which would fit in with the assumed East Anglian character of the archetype, since variation between þ and d is a feature of E.Anglian. Thus the word is "debel" or "debil". The OED lists debile as an adj. meaning "weak", although the first recorded occurrence of its use is 1536. That in itself does not of course preclude the word's earlier appearance. Since the Ad scribe generally replaces or

avoids difficult or unfamiliar words, it is reasonable to suppose that

this is why the word does not appear in Ad.

99-102

Is 5,22.

103-110

The sixth subdivision concerns lying. Nicholas: "6^m est testimonij

falsitas, et hoc notatur cum dicit quod Dominus odit proferentem

mendacia et testem fallacem, et sicut dicitur, Prouerbiorum .19., Testis

falsus non est impunitas. Et Prouerbiorum .14., dicitur, Fidelis tesis

non mencietur; profert mendacium dolosus tesis" (Nic f.42v).

103

Ad's "testymony of falsnesse" is more latinate than Lb's "fals witnes",

although it does not strictly represent the Latin, which is "falseness

of testimony".

106 Testis ... etc.]

Prv 19,5.

107-108 Fidelis ... mencietur]

Prv 14,5.

111-127

The seventh subdivision deals with discord. Nicholas: ".7^m. est quod

detestatur anima eius, scilicet, eum qui seminat discordias, et ideo

illud vltimo ponitur [MS ponitur vltimo marked for transposition] ad

designandum quod est peccatum grauissimum, sicut pax ponitur vltimo

inter beatitudines, quasi maxima beatitudo, Mathei .5., Beati

pacifici qui filij Dei vocabuntur. Igitur per locum a contarijs maledicti

sunt; qui seminant discordias inter fratres quoniam filij [MS dei

subpuncted] diaboli vocabuntur, vnde Ecclesiastici .28., Susurro et

bilinguis maledictus; multos enim commouit pacem habentes. Isti

proprie aduersantur Christi filio Dei; quia ipsi destruunt quod

filius Dei venit facere, id est, pacem in mundum. Filius Dei venit in

mundum vt reformaret bonum caritatem et pacis vnitatem in nobis et vt

reformaret vnitatem inter nos et Deum patrem, et ipsum et angelum,

inter quod erat discordia primi parentis, vnde in ortu eius cantauerunt

angeli illud, Luce .2°., Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax

hominibus bone voluntate. / Et Ysa. .9., dicitur quod vocabitur

altissimus consiliarius, Deus fortis, princeps pacis" (Nic ff.42v-43).

113-115

Mt 5,9.

117-120

Sir 28,15.

121-126

Cf. IV/124-127 and IX/110-119.

127 Gloria ... Deo]

Lc 2,14. This quotation also appears in the context of the three

estates amongst whom Christ made peace in IX/110-119. Nic has

"altissimis Deo", which is the Vulgate reading for Lc 2,14. AdLb's

"Gloria in excelsis Deo" is probably from the antiphon at Lauds on

Christmas Day (Brevarium ad Usum ...Sarum, ed. Proctor and Wordsworth,

p.cxc); it is commonly found in Nativity sermons together with material

on peace, cf. Powell 1981:79 and 92-93.

128 Þe thirde sede]

Following on from the last section of the source, Nicholas now briefly

itemises seven qualities of Christ which he opposes to the preceding

seven things which God hates, and then continues dilating his first

principal by defining and elaborating on the "second seed", which is

"ventus maius glorie". The AdLb compiler has clearly (and possibly

not surprisingly) lost sight of the original structure, and the second

seed is missing altogether in the English (although it might have been

lost at some later stage in the transmission of the AdLb series);

instead s/he moves straight on to the third seed.

128-135

Nicholas: "3^{m} semen est carnalium viciorum, et gule et luxurie. De

hoc semine dicit apostolus, Galatas .6., Qui seminat in carne, de carne

metet corrupcionem. Glosa: id est, qui seminat carnalia et corrupcionem.

Illud semen est hominis, quia carnalia vicia ex homine sunt. Illud

semen est iumentorum, id est, hominum carnalium et irracionabilium"

(Nic f. 43).

130-132

Gal 6,8. The interpretation of this verse is a combination of the

commentaries of the Glossa Ordinaria "semen carnale ex homine est" and

the interlinear gloss, "carnalia vitia"; see Biblia Sacra cum GO, 6,

519-520.

133-134 and corrupcion ... vyces]

On the basis of the reading in the source, I assume haplography in the

common archetype of AdLb, since the passage is missing in both MSS.

The omission is fairly obviously due to eyeskip ("vyces ... vyces").

I have emended as well as possible according to Nic, although in

a long passage like this it is not certain that the right reading

has been restored. The language here is not idiomatic, and reference

is needed to the Latin to understand what is going on. The passage

does just about make sense as it stands, but a stage in the argument

has been lost (the distinction between "sede of man" and "sede of

beestys"). The compiler is usually a close translator; emendation

seems justified here.

134-135

The notion that beasts are "vnresonable", i.e. that they lack

"reson", the cognitive faculty by which mankind is distinguished

from the beasts, is of course a medieval commonplace. For further

examples of the comparison of unreasonable beasts to various types

of human sinners, see N.Fischer, "Handlist of Animal References"

LSE 4 (1970), p.60.

136-150

The preacher now comes to the fourth and final seed of evil men.

Nicholas: "4^m semen est auaritiam, id est, iniquitatis et nequicie;

de hoc semine, Prouerbiorum .22., Qui seminat iniquitatem metet mala,

scilicet, mortem eternam. Semen iniquitatis est semen cupiditatis et

auaritie, quia cupidi et auari sunt iniqui sibi et proximis, quia non

miserentur neque animabus suis, neque de proximis suis. / Vere multum

iniqui sunt auari et cupidi et infami, quia se et vxores suas, filios

et filias et totalem familiam per diuicias suas, quas adquirit male,

occidunt, vnde accidet quia filij maledicent patribus suis in inferno

et conquerentur de illis, Ecclesiastici .41., De patre iniquo

conquerentur filij iniqui, quoniam propter illum sunt in opprobrium.

Eterna pena est talem, et est diuinum iudicium, quia hereditas eorum

non transit vsque tercium heredem, quia filij eorum sunt pauperes.

Vnde Ecclesiastici .41., Filiorum peccatorum peribit [hereditas]

[MS iniquitas]. Item de malis quesitis vix gaudet tertius heres, et

sicut Psalmo dicit, Fructum eorum de terra perdes et semen eorum,

etc." (Nic ff.43-43v).

137-139

Prv 22,8. For commentary, see Nicholas de Lyra, "mala, scilicet, culpa

& poenae", Biblia Sacra cum GO, 3, 1708.

143-145 of sweche ... vnmy3hty]

These lines are a considerable compression of Nicholas' argument, and

also change its emphasis. Nicholas, centering his argument on

Sir 41,9, presents a picture of general family destruction through

ill-gotten gains; AdLb speaks more briefly, but specifically, of

"rentys" and "heritagys" which are not simply ill-gotten but obtained

from the "vnmy3ty". The evidence here both reinforces the construdion

of the compiler as one who speaks from or on behalf of the poor and

weak, as is suggested elsewhere in the series, and also confirms that

s/he did adapt the source in creative ways to make it particular and

contingent. Such complaints are of course typical of medieval satirical

and religious writing, and by itself the comment here does not necessarily

define the compiler as a Lollard "poor priest".

145-146

Sir 41,9.

147-150

PsG 20,11 and PsG 37,28.

151-160

The preacher now considers the second principal, the interpretation

of the field where the seed is sown. Nicholas: "Ager in quo istud

.4^x. semen seminatur est mundus, vnde dicit Dominus, Mathei .13. Ager

autem est mundus qui totus est plenus isto .4^{ci}. semine malo. Et

ager potest dici cor peccatoris, vnde Regum .14., quod Absolon agrum

Ioab habentem ordei succendit ignem messem. Ioab inimicus diabolus

est, cuius ager est [cor] peccatoris, habens messem ordei, quia

pungitiui sunt fructus peccatorum. Ager ister germinat spinas et

tribulos, sicut dicitur, Hebreos .6., Terra germinans et tribulos

malediccionis proxima est" (Nic f.43v).

151-153

Mt 13,38: "Ager autem est mundus".

155-157

See 2 Sm 14,28-33.

159-160 Ad ful nye ... Caym]

Ad's addition refers to Gn 4, where God orders Cain to wander the

earth in hardship. There does not seem to be any good reason for the

addition; certainly there is no basis for it in Nic, but the scribe

may have been prompted to introduce the reference to Cain because

Absolon, like Cain, killed his brother (2 Sm 13).

161-175

The preacher, following exactly Nicholas' structure, returns to the

first principal, this time in order to interpret the four kinds of

good seed. Nicholas: "Item semen bonum .4^x. Primum est iusticie,

de quo, Prouerbiorum .xj., Seminanti iusticiam merces [MS with s from d?] fidelis, scilicet, vita eterna. Vnde Osee .4., Seminate in veritate iusticiam et metite in ore misericordie, quod fiet quando Dominus dicit vobis illud, Mathei 25, Venite, benedicti patris mei, precipite regem. Seminate, dicit, in veritate, non in falsitate, et metite in ore misericordie insimulacione vt faciunt ypocrite qui faciunt iusticiam suam coram hominibus vt videantur ab illis, vt habetur Mathei .9. Istud semen iusticie seminat qui vnicuique quod suum est reddit, et qui non facit alij quod sibi nollet ab aliquo alio [MS alio aliquo marked for transposition] fieri, secundum quod dicitur, Tobie .3°., Quod oderis tibi ab alio fieri, vide ne feceris alteri. Illud semen in pace seminatur, quod cum hominibus debet habere pacem, qui vnicuique quod suum est reddit, et non facit alteri quod nollet ab alio sibi fieri, et ideo dicitur, Iacobi .3., Fructus iusticie in pace seminatur" (Nic f.43v).

163-164

Prv 11,18.

165-167

Os 10,12.

168-170

Mt 25,34.

173-175 he þat ... hym]

See Tb 4,16. Nic gives the Vulgate quotation, which the AdLb compiler has omitted, together with the last part of this section which in Nic includes a quotation from Jac 3.

176-203

The preacher continues, this time with the interpretation of the

second good seed. Nicholas: "2^m semen bonum est peccatorum siue

orationum lacrime, vnde in Psalmo, Euntes ibant et flebant, mittentes

semina sua. Et ibidem, Qui seminant in lacrimis, in exultacione

metent. Istud semen debet homo seminare per .4^{or}; .4^{or}. sunt per

quibus debet iustus lacrimari. Primo per peccatis propriis, vnde

Psalmo, Lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo. Et ibidem, Fuerunt mihi

lacrime mee, etc. Pro peccatis alienis, vnde Ieremie .9., Quis

dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum, et plora[bo]

super interfectos filios populi mei. 3° pro destruccione et offensione

Sancte Ecclesie matris nostre, vnde Ioel .2°., Inter vestibulum et

altare plorabant sacerdotes, dicentes, Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo,

et ne / des hereditatem tuam in opprobrium. Et Trenorum .1., Plorans

plorauit in nocte et lacrime eius in maxillis eius non est qui

consoletur eam ex omnibus caris eius. .4to. pro recordacione et

elongacione celestis patrie, vnde Trenorum .2., Defecerunt pre lacrimis

oculi mei; conturbata sunt viscera mea, etc. Et in Psalmo, Posuisti

lacrimas meas in conspectu tuo. Et alibi, Super fluminam Babilonis,

illic sedimus et fleuimus dum recordaremur, etc., id est, patrie

celestis" (Nic ff.43v-44).

176 secunde]

Nic's "2^m" confirms that this is the required reading. The error

"thyrde" is in the common archetype of both MSS, and probably arises

from a misreading of the number of minims in a numeral.

1771-79

PsG 125,6.

179-180

PsG 125,5.

183-184

PsG 6,7.

184-185

PsG 41,4.

185 Þe seconde]

Nic does not number the division.

186 Ieremie]

On confusion between "Ierome" and "Ieremie", cf. IX/120.

186-190

Jr 9,1.

192-196

Jl 2,17.

194-195 Spare ... to by pepul]

The preposition "to" renders the Latin dative case ("populo tuo") which

the verb "parce" governs. Such literalism is typical of the translation

of Vulgate quotations in the body of the text in AdLb, whereas the

gospel translations which preface each sermon are rather more idiomatic.

198-199

Lam 2,11.

200-201

PsG 55,9.

202-203

PsG 137,1.

203 on heuene blysse]

Not in GO, Interlinear Gloss or Nicholas de Lyra, Postillae.

204-210

The preacher now brings the sermon to a close with discussion of the

third good seed. Nicholas: "Vnde 2^a Corinthios .9., Qui parce seminat,

parce et metet retribucionem; Glosa, Non parce seminat qui paruum

habens, id est, paruum largitur si animus promptus est dare plus, si

plus haberet. Notatur quod non dicit 'dat' set 'seminat', quia dare

elemosinam non est amittere sed seminare est ad tempus carere vt plus

habeatur in futuro. Et istud semen debet seminari in proximis et

pauperibus, et hoc est semen quod affert facturum centuplum, vnde

Genesis .26., dicitur quod Ysaac seminauit in terra illa et inuenit

in illa centuplum" (Nic f.44).

204

Lb's error "wepyng" should be "seed", as confirmed by Nic. Perhaps

the scribe's eye strayed to "seid", the next but one word, and s/he

then substituted a plausible word for the context. On the evidence

of Ad, it may be that the common exemplar had only "thirde"; thus the

scribe of Lb may have been deliberately attempting to clarify the

bewildering number of subdivisions, and got it wrong.

205-206

2 Cor 9,6.

206-208

Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, col.564: "Non parce seminat qui parum habens

parum largitur, si animus promptus sit plus dare, si plus haberet".

209-210

The compiler omits the reference to Gn 26, which provides the link

via concordia verbum, which leads to the "hundridfold reward" in

heaven. The sermon ends with a very brief prayer to Christ.

The sermon in Nicholas now continues with the fourth seed, which

is "operum penitencie", and returns to the second principal, "quis

est iste ager", which is our flesh and body, which grows nettles, that

is, lechery and carnal temptation. The third principal deals with

where the tares come from (two places - the devil's wickedness and

earthly evil). The fourth principal explains the fruit of the seeds -

of the evil seeds, death, and of the good, eternal life. The sermon

ends on f.44v.

•

Sermon XIII

This Sunday gospel sermon for Septuagesima is based on the corres-
ponding sermon of Nicholas de Aquevilla. The text, Mt 20, 1, is
from the gospel lection for the day according to the Sarum use (Mt
20, 1-16, Sarum Missal, p.45); the gospel translation which prefaces
the body of the sermon, is largely dependent on the Wycliffite Bible,
although the compiler has also made use of the version in the English
Wycliffite sermon for the same occasion (Hudson 37). This is the
only rubricated sermon in the Lambeth manuscript, which is overall a
modest, functional production; perhaps the rubricator intended to
work on the rest of the manuscript but was unable to continue. The
manuscript is clearly unfinished, since the spaces for the large initial
capitals with which each sermon was designed to begin are not filled
in, and the guide-letters are still visible. The rubrication in this
sermon mostly takes the form of careful underlining of just the Latin
Vulgate quotations; this may show a concern to indicate to the preacher
or to a devout lay reader the importance of scriptural authority, or
it may be to facilitate easy identification of those parts of the
text likely to cause difficulty to the preacher ignorant of Latin.
Whatever the reason, it looks as if Lb was intended to be a rather
grander affair than now appears. Since Nicholas, and consequently
the English translation, favours the technique of amplification by
generating strings of Biblical authorities, often with little or no
commentary, there is a fair amount of rubrication. This is the last
sermon in Lb which contains E. Anglian x- spellings. Independent use
of some of the same material from Nicholas is found in a sermon for
the same occasion in a non-Festial sermon in the HR collection, as
discussed above in the Introduction.

The sermon develops from the exegesis of the parable of the
labourers in the vineyard. The processus sets out the three main
divisions (who is the good man; the meaning of the vineyard, workmen
and hours; the interpretation of the penny given to each man), and
these are all dealt with, although by no means equally. The greater
part of the sermon is given over to the discussion of the vineyard,
of which there are several kinds, both evil and holy; via the imagery
of grapes and wine the preacher sets up an opposition between the
tavern (the "synagogue of Satan"), and Holy Church. In the final
section the hours of the day are moralised as the ages of man, and
the penny is the bliss of heaven. As is usual with this collection,
the theology is of the most straightforward kind, and there is nothing
difficult in either the language or the ideas found here. It is
calculated to appeal to a lay parish congregation. In a few instances
the way in which the compiler has handled the source is tendentious;
11.70-75, and 140-1 may indicate a Lollard background. However,
other evidence is contradictory; some of his/her additions (such as
that which shows approbation of oral shrift, 1.102) suggest rather
a reinforcement of the orthodox nature of the text.

2

Mt 20, 1.

3-29

The translation in Hudson 37 is not continuous, nor is all the lection
present, and therefore the compiler has turned for ease of reference
to the Wycliffite Bible. Although Lb's readings are not especially
close to WB, it must have been the source, cf. 11.5-6, 21 and 22 are
from WB not Hudson. Occasionally though, or perhaps as the result
of coincidence, the compiler appears to derive some readings from

Hudson, e.g. "heuene" 4 and "wente firste" 4 (Hudson 37/4); yet

others seem to be a synthesis of WB and Hudson 37, e.g. "good

housbondman" 4; "good hosbonde" Hudson 37/3; "husbondman" WB. Lb's

interpolated comment, l.27, "þat is, þin entent" is not from either

Hudson 37 or WB; cf. Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, col.150, from the

commentary on this verse, "Vere Judaei pravam intentionem habuerunt".

30-56

After the iteracio thematis and processus, the preacher deals with

the first principal, the meaning of the "good housebondeman" of the

parable. Nicholas begins with just the text, not the whole lection:

"Simile est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias qui exijt primo mane

conducere operarios in vineam suam, Mathei .20. In isto euangelio

quod prius 3^a possunt considerari. Primum est, quis est iste

paterfamilas qui operarios in vineam suam conducere egreditur, et

quid est eius egressus. 2^m est, quid per istam vineam signatur, et

qui sunt operarij huius vinee, et quid signatur hore in quibus

operarij in vineam introducuntur. 3^m est, quid est denarius ille

diurnus qui singulis redditur. Iste paterfamilias est Deus qui

egreditur per internam inspiracionem ad vinee sue culturam. Sed tunc

egreditur ad nos cum suam nobis manifestauit voluntatem per internam

inspiracionem, set ad illos quibus non manifestauit suam voluntatem

non egreditur. Vnde Psalmo, Nonne tu, Deus, qui repulisti nos, non

egredieris Deus in virtutibus nostris? Et in Psalmo dicitur, Viderunt

ingressus tuos, Deus, etc. Sed frequenter egreditur ad bonos quando

sepe eis manifestat suam voluntatem, sicut dicitur Ecclesiastici .j.,

Fons sapientie verbum Dei in excelsis, et ingressus illius mandata

eterna. Et postea dicit, Et multiplicacionem ingressus illius, quis

intellexit? Et Ecclesiastici .43., dicitur quod [MS + e canc.?]

ipse est sol in aspectu annuncians in exitu, scilicet, voluntatem

suam. Iste ergo paterfamilias est Deus pater, qui mane exijt

conducere operarios in vineam suam" (Nic .f47).

32 ledyþ or hireþ werkmen]

The Latin accusative and infinitive construction ("operarios . . .

conducere") is rendered in the English by a phrase containing a

finite verb, parallel to "wendyþ forþ". "Conducere" is translated

by the doublet "ledyþ or hireþ", which is typical of the trans-

lational method in Lb.

38 telling]

Nic's "ad vinee sue culturam" confirms that "telling" (i.e. "tilling")

is required here. Lb's "and telliþ" is a rationalisation of the

unfamiliar form of "telling", with E. Anglian e for more usual i.

The error is instructive, suggesting the scribe's lack of familiarity

with this characteristically E. Anglian orthographical feature.

42-44

PsG 59, 12.

44 xalt]

This is the last E. Anglian x- spelling in Lb.

45-46

PsG 67, 25. The haplography in these lines is the result of eyeskip

("sawyn . . . wendyngys").

47-50

Sir 1, 5. Lb has "Factus" where Nic and the Vulgate have "Fons",

and it is translated accordingly, "þe deede". Sabatier has no

variants for "Fons".

50

Lb's corrupt "in þe doynge of hym euerlastynge maundement" may be a

rationalisation of "ingoynges" which the scribe, or an earlier

exemplar, has been confused by, although the word is not particularly

unusual, q.v. MED ingoing(e. Emendation is on the basis of the

Vulgate, and also on the translation of a similar phrase in 1.51.

51-52

Sir 1, 7.

52-53

Sir 43, 2.

53-54 þat is to seie, 'þe wil of God']
The various glosses do not help here, although the interlinear gloss

gives "sol" as "in praesentia incarnationis", and adds to "annuntians"

"Regnum Dei" (Biblia Sacra cum GO, 3, 2201-02).

57-79

The preacher now moves on to the division of the second principal,

the meaning of the vineyard, which has five significations - the

church of evil men, the church militant, each faithful soul, the

BVM, and Christ, "þat is euerlastyng ioie". This last category

represents a conflation of the final two categories of Nicholas'

original six, "ipse Christus et gloria eterna". Following the

exposition of the first of these five divisions in Nicholas, the

preacher interprets the vineyard of evil men as the "synagoge of

Sathanas".

"2^m est videre quid per istam vineam signatur, sed sciendum est

quod per hoc quod 'suam' dicit, innuitur et ostenditur quod alia est

vinea que non est sua, vnde sciendum est in primis quod multiplex

est vinea, quia ecclesia malignancium [MS maling- with n subpuncted]

est vinea, et militans ecclesia, quelibet anima fidelis, et gloriosa

virgo Maria et ipse Christus et gloria eterna. Prima vinea dicitur

malignancium ecclesia et ita non est Dei patris sed pocius est

diaboli. Ad istam vineam excolendum exijt diabolus et ⌐in⌐ eam

introducat suos operarios. De ista vinea dicitur, Deuteronomii

.32., / Vinea Sodomorum, vinea eorum, et vua eorum vua fellis.

Vinea ista malignancium est, et synagoga [MS + synagoga] Sathane

et operarij et cultores istius vinee sunt peccatores et omnes in

peccato mortali existentes. Propagines possunt dici peccata singula;

vinum quod portat ista vinea maledicta est, delectacio peccatorum,

vt delectacio luxurie, quam habunt luxuriosi in faciendo suam

luxuriam. De isto vino bibunt [MS bibibunt] mali, Sapientie .2.,

Venite, fruamur bonis que sunt; impleamus nos precioso vino et

vnguentis et coronemus nos rosis, et non sit pratum, quod non

pertranseat luxuria nostra. Et apostolus, Ephesios .5., Nolite

inebriari vino in quo est luxuria" (Nic ff.47-47v).

64 to make]

Not in Nic.

66 Goddis lawe]

Cf. I/51 and Note.

66-69

Dt 32, 32.

70 synagoge of Sathanas]

The phrase is straight from Nicholas, but the subsequent exposition

(11.70-75) is original to the compiler. For the Biblical origins of the

phrase, see Apc 2, 9 and Apc 3, 9.

þis is clepid nowondaijs here Holy Chirche]

Cf. Jack Upland, p.56, where Jack accuses "Anticrist and hise clerkis"

of turning "holy chirche to synagoge of Satanas". I offer the tenta-

tive hypothesis that the verbal reminiscence in Lb suggests that the

compiler was familiar with expressions found in a Lollard context

and sympathetic to the ideas contained in them.

71-75

On the comon topos of the tavern as the Devil's Church, see Owst,

LPME, pp.437-441. The passage has no counterpart in Nic, but is

clearly an amplification and particularisation of Nic's "peccatores

et omnes in peccato mortali existentes". The reference to the

"parisch chirche" strongly suggests a lay audience for these sermons.

Pulpit denunciations of drunkenness are common (Owst, LPME, pp.428-

430), as is the association between drunkenness and lechery mentioned

later in l.79.   There is perhaps evidence of the redactor's pastoral

and educational concerns in ll.74-75, which itemise the seven deadly

sins, presumably in order to keep these at the forefront of the con-

gregation's mind.   Cf. also <u>Dives and Pauper</u>, 1, p.199, condemning

those who make "more haste to þe tauerne þan to holy chirche".

The quotation from Sap 2 is omitted in the English version.

78-79

Eph 5, 18.

80-102

The preacher continues to elaborate on the first division of the

second principal, the vineyard of evil men, with more discussion of

sins - avarice, gluttony, pride.   Nicholas: "Similiter delectacio

quam habent auari et cupidi in possessione pecunie sue est vinum

istius vinee.   Istud vinum est vinum impietatis, vnde Prouerbiorum

.4., dicitur, Comedunt panem iniquitatis et bibunt vinum impietatis.

Similiter delectacio quam habent gulosi in potacione bonorum vinorum

est vinum quod portat ista vinea.   De isto vino dicitur, Ecclesiastici

.31., Vinum arguet corda superborum in ebrietate potatum.   Et ibidem,

Amaritudo anime multum vinum potatum.   Similiter delectaciones quas

habunt superbi in ducendo superbiam suam et alij peccatores in

faciendo peccata sua sunt vina que faciat vel portat ista vinea

maledicta.   Isto vino istius vinee que dicitur vinea Sodomorum [<u>MS</u>

+ inebrie <u>subpuncted</u>] inebriati fuerunt Sodomiti.   Vnde Eȝechielis

.16., Hec fuit iniquitas Sodome: superbia, saturitas panis.   Ecce

gula et ocium; ecce luxuria, et quod manum non porrigabant pauperi,

ecce auaricia et quia illi de Sodoma et Gomorra inebrietati fuerunt

de vino istius vinee, ideo Dominus eos igne et sulphuris combussit et

destruxit ciuitates eorum, Genesis .19., Igitur pluit Dominus super

Sodomam et Gomorram sulphur et ignem, et subuertit omnes ciuitates

has et omnem [MS + omnem] circa regionem et vniversos habitatores

vrbium. Ita similiter faciet Dominus omn[ibus] [MS omnes] sequentibus

[facta] eorum, nisi hic ante mortem penituerint" (Nic f.47v).

83-84

Prv 4, 17.

86-88

Sir 31, 31.

92-95

Ez 16, 49. The compiler omits the short passage in Nicholas which

immediately follows this quotation, perhaps from a desire to avoid

Nicholas' obviously rhetorical epanados ("Ecce . . . ecce . . .

ecce"), since s/he generally favours a plain style, for example, in

the avoidance of exempla and embellishments such as the device of

similiter cadens in structural divisions.

95-99

The details of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah are in Gn 19,

24-25.

101-102 but 3if . . . penaunce-doynge]

If the compiler was indeed a Lollard sympathiser, then it is curious

to find that Nic's "penituerint" is expanded with clarificatory

remarks which endorse oral shrift. Popular Lollardy frequently

derided the need for oral confession ("confession shuld be maad oonly

to God and to noon oþer prest", "Confession of Hawisia Moone",

Selections, p.34), yet it is also true that texts which occupy that

strange borderland between the orthodox and the heretical, like

Dives and Pauper, or the sermons of MS Longleat 4 (by the author of

Dives and Pauper), recommend or even urge the congregation to make

open confession to a priest. As already stated in the discussion on

the preacher's ideology in the Introduction, reconciling such

apparently orthodox sentiments with a generally proto-Lollard out-

look need not present a problem; it is clearly not necessary to

swallow every doctrine in order to be a card-carrying Lollard. Con-

fessions made by lay people at heresy trials are a very different

matter from statements made by parish priests with cura animarum,

accustomed to instructing their congregation in the traditional

threefold division of penance (with heart, mouth and deed).

103-133

The preacher continues to follow Nicholas in interpreting the

labourers: "Certe cultores istius vinee immo bibunt quicquid est

ibi de claro, sed feces postea bibent in inferno. Vnde psalmista,

Fes eius non est exinanita; bibent ex eo omnes peccatores terre. O

quam amarissima et quam amara erit tunc peccatoribus potio

delectacionium quam biberunt quando peccata sua fecerunt. Et ideo

dicitur, Deut. .32., Vua eorum vua fellis et botrus amarissimus,

propter consciencie remorsionem, et propter tenebrarum horrorem, et

propter ignis magnum ardorem. Vnde Ysaie vltimo, Vermis eorum non

morietur et ignis eorum non extinguetur. Ideo similiter dicit Ysaie

.24., Ideoque insanient cultores eius, luxit vindimia, infirmata

est vitis, ingemescent omnes qui / [letabantur] corde, cessauit

gaudium tympanorum, quieuit sonitus letancium, conticuit dulcedo

cythare; cum gaudio non vinum bibent. Amara erit potacio bibentibus

illam post mortem propter creatoris sui offensionem et separacionem,

et propter consciencie remorsionem, sed amarior erit in iudicio

quando videbunt contra se iratum Dominum suum creatorem; sed

amarissima erit post iudicium, quando similiter in anima et corpore

punientur in eterna dampnacionem. Ista vinea nichil valet nisi ad

comburendum in ignem eternam, quia sicut dicit Mathei .7., Omnis

arbor que non facit fructum bonum [MS b.f. marked for transposition]

excidetur et in ignem mittetur. Ideo operarij istius vinee maledicte

non debemus esse" (Nic ff.47v-48).

104-110

This passage represents material apparently original to Lb. It

shows a skilful continuation of the tavern reference of ll.71-75,

which is visually immediate to the congregation and advances the

idea of repentance (l.110) which is not in Nic.

111-113

PsG 74, 9.

116-122

Is 24, 6-9.

124 bitterer]

Nic's "amarior" confirms this reading rather than Lb's "bitter".

129-131

Mt 7, 19.

131-133

Nic's rather colourless and generalised statement which concludes

this section is made vivid and personal in Lb's version, which has

a clear set to an audience, insofar as it posits both a speaker and

congregation.

134-151

The preacher now goes on to consider the second of the subdivisions

of the second principal mentioned at 1.61. Nicholas: "Item alia

est vinea que est vinea Domini, scilicet, militans ecclesia. De ista,

Psalmo, Vineam de Egipto transtuli. Et Ysaie .5., Vinea enim Domini

exercituum domus Israel est, viri Iuda, etc. Vinea ista est Sancta

Mater Ecclesia, et dicitur 'Sancta Ecclesia' vinea propter tria.

Primum est propter eius radicacionem, quia sicut bona vinea radicata

est in petra et super petram, ita Sancta Ecclesia petra radicata est

in petra Christo et fundata est supra petram Christum, Mathei .7.,

Flauerunt venti et irruerunt in domum illam, id est, in Sanctam

Ecclesiam, et non cecidit. Fundata erat supra firmam petram, Mathei

.16, dicit Dominus, Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo

ecclesiam meam" (Nic f.48).

134 Lord]

Emendation is on the basis of Nic's reading "Domini", and on the

unlikelihood of "Iesu Crist" being preceded by a determiner ("oure").

135-6

Nic's "militans ecclesia" has been expanded by the compiler. On the

phrase "þe fiȝtynge chirche", cf. XI/127; on the traditional three

enemies of mankind (the world, the flesh and the devil), cf.Hudson 1983:386
"þre enemyes of a man, 'þe' whiche ben þe feend, þe world and þe flesch
The spelling of "wold" ("world") is curious; the OED amply records   wantohwne".

the form without l ("word") but not without r. Yet the form occurs

at Lb XI/80 as well; these isolated instances suggest that it may be

a rogue E. Anglian spelling, but I have not found examples elsewhere.

The preacher's attack on "false lyueris þat dispise God", an addition

to Nic, is typical of the compiler's reformist bias.

XIII

137-138

PsG 79, 9.

139-140

Is 5, 7.

141-2 Holy Chirche . . . lewyd]

The way in which the source has been expanded here very definitely

suggests a Lollard perspective. For Lollard views on the nature of

the church, see Selections, pp.115-119 and Notes; and for the wording

here, cf. the Rosarium entry "Ecclesia", p.67: "Holi chirche is þe

congregacion of trew men" (derived, as von Nolcken states, from

Augustine, PL 35, col.1614, but quoted here in a Lollard work

designed and used as a source). On the phrase "trew men", "trewe

cristen men", see Hudson 1981:16-17; given the context in which this

latter phrase occurs in Lb, it is fair to assume that it carries

strong Lollard associations. "Lernyd or lewyd" would seem to be no

mere alliterative formula, but rather expresses the Lollard ideology

of reaching out to all sectors of the population. The use of the

phrase here (and it is not a Lollard phrase) is an interesting

example of the way in which the Lollardy in this text acquires a

particular inflection as a result of the compiler's standpoint as a

preacher to a lay audience.

143 þat a vyne takiþ rote]

An unusually idiomatic translation of "propter eius radicacionem".

144-145

The haplography in Lb is due to eyeskip ("ston . . . ston"). The

scribe of Lb is prone to this kind of error, although it may be that

the haplography was in the copytext of Lb, since the Lb scribe's

addition "þat in Crist" may be an attempt to recover the error. I have emended following Nic.

146-150

Mt 7, 25. Cf. the commentary on Mt 7, 24 in Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, col.112: "Supra petram. A qua Petrus nomen accepit . . . id est super seipsum aedificauit Ecclesiam."

150-151

Mt 16, 18.

152-160

The second reason why Holy Church is called a vine follows. Nicholas: "2^m est propter sarmenti abscici a vite [MS + multitudinem subpuncted] inutilitatem. Similiter qui diuisus est ab ecclesia in spirituale edaficium, non valet nisi ad comburendum eternaliter. Vnde Eȝechielis .16., dicit Dominus, Quomodo lignum vitis inter ligna [MS ling- with n subpuncted] siluarum quod dedi igni ad comburendum, deuorandum, sic tradam habitatores Ierusalem de igne egredientur et ignis consumet eos" (Nic f.48).

154-155 in gostil biggynge]

Lb's reading "in gostli biggynge hymself into Cristis temple" suggests that the scribe was confused by "bigginge" (= "edificium", i.e. "building"), and perhaps interpreted it as "buying", although quite what the addition means is unclear. Possibly the scribe (or the scribe of an earlier copytext) was thinking of simony ("buying himself into Christ's temple" = "getting benefices, preferment, etc. through money"). "Gostli biggynge" = the church as a spiritual entity, as opposed to the material building.

156-160

Ez 15, 6-7. The Latin is not as full in Lb as in Nic, but since
the translation does not include extra material there is no reason
to suppose that anything is missing from Lb's Vulgate quotation.

161-177

Now follows the third reason why Holy Church is called a vine.
Nicholas: "3^m est propter vini dulcedinem, quia sicut sola vinea dat
vinum, ita [MS + sancta subpuncted] eclesia dat vinum salutaris doc-
trine. Ipsa dat vinum germinans virgines, id est, bonas et castas
generaciones [et] affecciones generat, 3acharie .X. Ipsa portat
vinum quod letificat cor hominis, vt dicit psalmista." Nicholas
now goes on to consider the meaning of the labourers. "Operarij et
cultores istuis vinee sunt domus Israel [MS + Israel], id est, viri
apostolici et contemplatiui, et videntes Dominum per veram fidem et
per veram contemplacionem, et viri Iuda, id est, actiui - seculares
Dominum Deum confitentes et eum glorificantes. Istam vineam plantauit
Dominus Ihesus virga predicacionis et rigauit eam sanguine sue
passionis et sepiuit eam custodia angelorum et eam paxillauit
consolacionibus diuinis et celestibus desiderijs et exemplis
sanctorum et stercorauit eam multitudine beneficorum et putauit eam
falce flag⌐ellorum¬ [MS flagicorum with additions above line to read
flagellorum]" (Nic f.48).

164 wyn þat burgeneþ virgynes]
Za 9, 17.

164-165 þat betokenyþ . . . 3acharie seiþ]
Za 10, 7.

165-167

PsG 103, 15.

168-169

The specific reference to monks in Nic becomes the more generalised "trewe feiþful men" in Lb. On the probable Lollard significance of this phrase, cf. Note to 141-2 above.

172 word of prechynge]

Lb's "word" may be corrupt, since Nic has "virga" = "rod". But "word" makes good sense, and there is no need to assume that the compiler has slavishly included all the agricultural imagery – Nic's "falce" is not translated either. On the image of the church as plant, cf. <u>Dives and Pauper</u>, 1, p.210.

178-205

The second principal continues with the moralisation of the hours of the day. Nicholas: "Ad istam vineam excolendam exiuit primo mane paterfamilias, id est, Deus pater, ad introducendum operarios in eam. Per 'mane' puericia signatur, in qua [MS + mane <u>in margin</u>] / debet homo Deo seruire sicut fecit beatus Nicholas et hoc est quod dicitur, Ecclesiastes .11., Mane semina semen tuum, etc. Et Mathei .19, Sinite paruulos venire ad me. Per terciam horam signatur adolescencia, in qua similiter seruiendum est Deo, vnde Trenorum .3., Bonum est viro cum portauerit iugum ab adolescencia sua. Et Luce .7., dicit Dominus, Adolescens tibi dico, Surge a morte peccati. Item per horam .vj^{am}. signatur iuuentus ibi feruor roboris in homine et plenitudo viget, vnde Ecclesiastici .12., Memento creatoris tui in diebus [MS + uul canc.] iuuentutis tue. Item per horam [MS + ix^a canc.] 9^{am} signatur senectus, scilicet, quando sol vertit ad occasum, vnde Prouerbiorum

.16., Corona dignitatis senectus que in vijs iusticie reperietur.

Item per horam .xj^{am}. senium signatur, in qua homo debet seruire

Deo, vnde in Psalmo, Vsque in senectam et senium, [Deus] ne

derelinquas me. Et Ecclesiastes [MS + x canc.] .xj., In vespere

non cesset manus tua ad bene operandum" (Nic ff.48-48v). On the

moralisation of the hours as the ages of man, cf. Augustine, Sermo

87, PL 38, col.533: "Tanquam enim prima hora vocantur, qui recentes

ab utero matris incipiunt esse Christiani; quasi tertia, pueri;

quasi sexta, juvenes; quasi nona, vergentes in senium; quasi undecima,

omnino decrepiti".

181-182

Ecl 11, 6.

183-184

Mc 10, 14; Mt 19, 14.

186-188

Lam 3, 27.

189-190

Lc 7, 14.

192-194

Ecl 12, 1.

196-198

Prv 16, 31.

201-202

PsG 70,18

203-204

Ecl 11, 6.

206-207

"In qualibet horarum istarum seruiendum est Deo, quia illo debemus
offerre pinicias et decima, id est, principium et finem vite nostre,
vnde Leuitico .3., Percipitur quod capud et cauda conferantur Domino.
Vere illi qui a puericia sua et a iuuentute sua et in adolescencia sua
incipiunt seruire Deo, isti conferunt Deo florem et vigorem vim
[MS + vim] vinee, id est, vite sue. Set illi qui incipiunt in
senectute vel senio Deo seruire illi offerunt Deo feces vini sui"
(Nic f.48v).

Lb compresses Nic here, and omits Nic's statement that those who only
come to God late offer him the dregs of their life.

Nicholas continues for another folio and a half with further
moralisation of the labourers and the hours; touches briefly on the
other significations of the vineyard (the faithful soul, Mary, Christ
and eternal joy); and ends with the barest mention of the third
principal "Istud gaudium est denarius diurnus qui erit premium quod
Dominus dabit in fine fideliter laborantibus in vinee Sancte Ecclesie"
(f.64v). This last point is picked up in Bl's conclusion, 211-212.
The interpretation of the penny as salvation or the bliss of heaven
is traditional, see Glossa Ordinarium, PL 114, col.876, and Augustine,
Sermo 87, PL 38, col.533.

Sermon XIV

The gospel lection for Sexagesima is Lc 8,4-15 (<u>Sarum Missal</u>, p.47)
the parable of the sower, upon which the sermon is based. After the
gospel translation, the material is drawn from the corresponding
sermon of Nicholas de Aquevilla. The division into three principals
is as usual derived from the theme – who is the sower, what is the
seed, what is the fruit. The subsequent exposition concentrates on
the second principal and offers a complex, multi-layered interpretation
of the seed, although the meaning of the sower (the first principal)
is also dealt with. The structure is not particularly ordered – the
preacher moves from second principal to first principal, then back to
the second. The structure is recognised to some extent in marginal
comments, which indicate, for example, "j^a distincio" (f.185v), "ij^a
distincio" (f.186v), etc., but no distinction is made between the
primary division and subdivisions, so that, for example, at 1.82 of
the marginal note "distincio" signals a primary division, but the use
of the same term at 11.120 and 190 indicates sub-divisions (see Spencer
1982[1]:250). The marginal notes, then, are somewhat confusing, which may
perhaps reflect the slightly lopsided development of the sermon, but
which may also represent an heroic attempt to clarify the at times
bewildering structure. There are a few minor changes of emphasis in
the translation, including some which bear the stamp of Lollard
concerns (e.g. 11.82-83).

2

Lc 8,5.

3-26

The translation of the gospel pericope is a synthesis of <u>WB</u> and that found in the corresponding English Wycliffite sermon, Hudson 38. The pattern is much the same as in previous sermons; where the translation in Hudson 38 is continuous, then the compiler follows that, but where it begins to be broken up by commentary, then s/he turns to <u>WB</u>. There is as usual, some interpenetration of both sources at points in the text where only one of the sources is ostensibly being followed. The clearest evidence for the use of Hudson 38 is in the presence of intruded commentary, e.g. 13-14 "wyþinne in her soule"; 14 "þe wordys of þis parable"; 15 "þe wit of hem"; 15-16 "Christ ... parable" (cf. Hudson 38/18-19, 19, 19-20, 20). Roughly speaking, up to 1.16 the translation owes most to Hudson, but thereafter <u>WB</u> is the primary source.

18 Forwhi]

A common Middle English translation of Vulgate "nam" or "quoniam".

27-28 is gospel ... exposicioun]

Nicholas: "Verba ista bene exponita sunt a Christo nostro saluatore, et ideo non indigent nobis exponere" (Nic f.64v). Cf. Jerome, <u>Commentarium in Evangelium Matthaei</u>, <u>PL</u> 26, col.89: "Et simul observa esse primam parabolam, quae cum interpretatione sua posita sit. Et cavendum est ubicumque Dominus exponit sermones suos, et rogatus a discipulis intrinsecus disserit, ne vel aliud, nec plus quid vel minus, velimus intelligere, quam ab eo expositum est."

29-32

Ignoring patristic caveats, Nicholas (and the Lb compiler) press on with the breakdown into three principals and the allegorical

interpretation. "Tamen ad nostram instruccionem bene .3^a. possimus in illis videre. Primum est quis est ille seminator et vnde, antequam seminat, debet exire. 2^m, quid est semen quod debet seminari. 3^m, quis est iste fructus quem debet de isto semine colligere." The redactor then omits a short passage in Nic which relates these principals to three phrases from the gospel pericope. This is on f.64v; the text continues on f.50 because of the incorrect ordering of the pages when the MS was bound.

32-48

The second principal is considered first. The seed is almsgiving, which has seven properties. "Notandum est / quod septem sunt attendenda in semine. Debet enim semen esse mundum, scilicet, elemosina debet esse iuste [MS + iuste] adquisita. Debet esse electum vt scilicet prius detur elemosina iusto quam iniusto, egroto quam sano, seni quam iuueni. Et debet esse multiplex, quia diuersa genera elemosinarum et diuersis sunt egrotanda. Est enim elemosina a vna manus, scilicet, pecunie siue cibariorum. Alia cordis, id est, remissio iniuriarum. 3^a, oris, id est, doctrina bonorum. Vnde Gregorius, Nolite proximis vestris obtrahere elemosinam verbi Dei. Debet esse tunc plena manu seminari, id est, largitate debet tunc semen perseminari, quia magis expedit elemosina data ante mortem quam post. Dicitur tunc conculcari quod pedibus conculcatur pro vili habetur, sic debet elemosina parua reputari quamvis magis videatur. Debet tunc semen in terra abscondi, ne ab auibus rapiatur, id est, elemosina non debet haberit in iactantia propter humanum fauorem, vnde dicitur, Nesciat sinistra quid faciat dextra" (Nic ff.64v-50).

Although Nic gives seven properties (and Lb promises seven),
only six appear in the English, since Nic's "Dicitur tunc conculcari ...
magis videatur" is omitted in Lb. possibly through eyeskip on the part
of the scribe or of an earlier copyist. But there is room for doubt;
the compiler does not always develop Nicholas' points logically or
fully, and therefore I have not emended.

The treatment of almsgiving here bears comparison with the
traditional explanations in the preachers' manuals, cf. A Myrour
(based ultimately on Peraldus' influential Summa de Vitiis et Vitutibus),
Nelson 1981:156-161. On the symbolic relationship to seeds and sowing,
see Nicholas de Lyra "Semen istud potest dici eleemosyna", Biblia
Sacra cum GO, V, 797.

35 chosyn]

The sense is "carefully selected".

39

The reader is alerted to the possibility of a missing line in Lb,
since only the second and third subdivisions ("of þe herte", "of mouþ")
are present. This is probably a typical instance of haplography in
Lb; it is extensive, and emendation would involve a fair amount of
conjecture, not of content but of wording. I have let the text stand.

The triple division of almsgiving (hand, heart, mouth) is
patristic, cf. Innocent III, Liber de Eleemosyna PL 217, col.755,
"Triplex enim eleemosyna est; cordis, videlicet, oris et operis".

47-48

Mt 6,3.

49-60

The preacher follows Nicholas in expounding the interpretation of the
seed as the word of God. "Quare autem dicitur semen verbum Dei dic,
quia quando granum iacitur in terra et operitur, nescitur vbi iaceat
antequam procedat in herba, sic nescitur in cuius cor verbum Dei
cecidit, antequam opus sequatur, vt dicit beatus Iacobus, Fides sine
operibus mortua est. Item alia ratio est quia sicud semen operitur
a terra, ita verbum Dei operitur a littera et spiritu" (Nic f.50).

54-55

Jac 2,26.

56 couerid and hilid; 57 couerid and helyd]
More examples of the translator's fondness for doublets.

58-60

This has no counterpart in Nic.

61-80

The preacher continues with another interpretation of the seed. "Et
nota quod alibi vocatur semen 'bonum opus' hac ratione, quia sicut
ex semine prouenit multiplex fructus, sic ex bono opere prouenit
multiplex merces, vnde, Centuplum accipiet. Notandum quod Deus
seminat in quo libet aliquod bonum semen, vnde dicitur in epistola,
vincuique vestrum data est gracia, etc. In diuite seminat donum
diuiciarum, in forti fortitudinem, in pulcro pulcritudinem, et in
fidelibus fidelia, vnde tenentur homines [?] seminis reddere fructum
in tempore messis, sed heu miseri multi donum inpungnant per bonum
quod [ac]ceperunt [MS receperunt with re- subpuncted], vt [MS + p canc.]

mulier pulcra per pulcritudine meretrix est, vir fortis per

fortitudine proximum infestat, vir facundus et sapiens pecunia

electus causam fauet iniquam; et sic talentum eis commissum a

Domino fodiunt in terram et abscondunt pecuniam Domini sui" (Nic

f.50).

61 In anoþer place ... 'worchyng']

Cf.Hrabanus Maurus, Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam, PL 112, col.1048,

who defines "semen" as, amongst other things, "opus bonum".

63-64

Mt 19,26.

65-68

Eph 4,7. Lb's reading "Ion" for "Paul" is odd; the scribe was perhaps

thinking of one of John's epistles.

73-78

The compiler's handling of the source here suggests a contemporary

reference ("nowondais" has no counterpart in Nic) and sensitivity

to a targeted audience - the reference to the prostitute has gone,

(the compiler shows evidence in other sermons of getting rid of

unfavourable references to women), and there is support, noted

elsewhere in this collection, for those who fare badly under the

hierarchical systems of the period. This last is of course a literary

motif, cf. the poems known as "The Song of the Husbandman" and "The

Consistory Courts" in MS Harley 2253 (Historical Poems of the 14th

and 15th Centuries, ed. R. H. Robbins (New York, 1959),

but the compiler departs from Nicholas' set of three balanced clauses

to give a freer and more vigorous translation. The additons

include "wastyn ... God", "aȝen þe lawe of charite", "grete wit".

In view of the source, it is not possible to say that 11.77-78 have any

contemporary reference (to heretics, for example).

78 besaunt]

The pun on Med. Lat. "talentum" ("coin" and "disposition, ability") is

lost in translation. The reference is to the parable of the talents,
Mt 25,14-30.

79-80 in erþeli wit ... goodis]

An addition by the English compiler.

81-119

The preacher continues to follow the (illogical) structure of Nicholas

by starting here the discussion of the first principal, the meaning

of the sower, and the place he ought to go out from. "Primum ergo

est videre quis est iste seminator et vnde debet primus exire.

Seminator iste potest dicit quilibet peccator [BM Additional MS 21253

reads "predicator"] vel quilibet iustus, quia debet exire in corde et

corpore de regione vel de macula cuiuslibet peccati mortalis, sicut

dixerunt angeli, quod Loth exiret de Sodoma et ne staret in omni loco

circa regionem, vt habetur Genesis .19. Vere debet primo exire de

omni peccato mortali qui vult seminare bona opera, et maxime de tribus

que significantur per illa .3^a. de quibus precepit Dominus Abraham

exire, Genesis 12, dixit Dominus ad Abraham, / Egredere de terra tua

et de cognacione tua et de domo patris tui et veni in terram quam

mon[strauero] tibi. Per Abraham, qui interpretatur 'pater multarum

gencium', signatur quilibet iustus qui debet esse pater et seminator

multarum bonarum operacionium, sed prius debet exire [MS + debet exire]

eum a terra sua, id est, de amore terrenorum et de cupiditate."

Nicholas now likens those who are "auari et cupidi" to moles living

in the earth who "vix possunt cogitare nisi de terrenis adquirendum

et custodiendum". This short exemplum is omitted in Lb. "Contra

tales dicit Psalmo, Diuicie si affluant, nolite cor apponere."

Nicholas continues to develop the symbolism of the mole, this time

with reference to its blindness; the simile is omitted in Lb. "Talibus

dicit Dominus in Psalmo, Vsquequo diligitis vanitatem et queritis

mendacium. Vanitatem appellat Dominus ista terrena quia cito deficiunt.

Mendacium appellat ea quia quando possessores eorum credunt aliquid in

manibus suis inuenire in fine, tunc nichil inueniunt; vnde Iob 27,

Diues cum dormerit nichil secum auferet; aperiet oculos suos et nichil

inueniet. Et in Psalmo, Dormierunt sompnum suum et nichil inuenerunt

omnes viri diuiciarum in manibus suis. Ideo de terra ista debet quilibet

iustus primo exire et istam terram, scilicet, amorem terrenorum, et

cupiditatem eorum debent omnes iusti fugere, quia hoc est terra

aquilonis [MS + quam quatuor ventis celi dispersi subpuncted] a quo

omne malum pandetur, vt habetur Ieremie .1., et ideo dicit Dominus et

clamat 3acharias, O,o, fugite de terra aquilonis quoniam [in] quatuor

ventis celi dispersi vos, dicit Dominus. Isti .4^{or}. venti possunt

dicit Auaricia, Cupiditas, Rapina et Symonia in quibus fere totus

mundus dispersus est. De terra ista primo [MS + est canc.] exeundum est"

(Nic f.50v).

82-83 iche prechour ... trewe man]

The fact that Lb reads "prechour" (cf. Additional MS 21253 "predicator")

is further evidence that Nic was not the MS used by the English compiler.

The compiler usually translates "iustus" by "righteous" or "righteous man" (cf. 1.91); in the context of "prechour" the expression "trewe man" is probably an element of Lollard sect vocabulary (Hudson 1981:16-17)

84-86 as þe aungelis ... regioun]
The incident is recorded in Gn 19.

86-89
Gn 12,1.

89-90 Abraham ... folk']
Gn 17,6. The interpretation is traditional, cf. Grisdale 1939:3/62-65.

95-98
PsG 61,11.

98-99
PsG 4,3.

100-104
Jb 27,19.

104-105 And þat schal be ... men]
This has no counterpart in Nic.

105-108
PsG 75,6.

110 erþely loue and þe coueitise of hem]
The phrase is clear when compared with the Latin, which is literally "love of earthly things and the coveting of them".

294

111-112

Jr 1,14.

114-116

Þa 2,6.

119 wiþ herte, wil, worde and dede]

Not in Nic.

120-151

The second place from where the sower should go out follows. "2°
debet exire de cognacione sua, scilicet, de vicijs carnis que sunt
gula, luxuria [et accidie], et ista vicia dicuntur esse de cognacione
nostra quia de carne nostra exeunt. De istis vicijs monet nos angelus
et omnes fideles exire et recedere, vnde in Ysa[ie] .52., Recedite,
recedite, exite inde, polutum nolite tangere, exite de medio eius,
scilicet, Babilonis. Optime dicit, Exite, pollutum nolite tangere,
quia super omnia peccata peccata carnis sunt peccata inmunda et
polluta et maxime peccatum luxurie, quia ita inmundum est quod polluit
simul corpus et / animam, vnde .j^a. Corinthios, Omne peccatum quodcumque
fecerit homo extra corpus est, sed qui fornicatur, in corpus suum
peccat; super idem dicit Glosa, Cetera peccata solum animam maculant;
fornicacio autem tam corpus quam animam contaminat. De isto luto
luxurie debet homo exire qui vult bonum semen seminare [MS bonum
seminare semen marked for transposition] quia qui in luto seminat
totum semen ibi amittit. Ista omnia bona opera que seminat homo dum est
in luto luxurie amittit quacumque hoc quia non valent ei ad vitam eternam.
Sed bone Ihesu ego multum miror quo modo miseri homines et mulieres
audent diu in isto luto luxurie morari, quia non est aliquis vir vel

mulier, si cecidisset in isto luto materiali quod quam citius posset

de illo exiret et in illa per vnam horam nullus libenter iaceret,

set certe in luto luxurie postquam ceciderunt bene audent aliquando

morari per 2^{os} annos vel per tres immo aliquando per x^{cem} decem, et

de illo nolunt exire propter aliquam predicacionem nec propter aliud.

De isto luto quod dicitur latrina diaboli dicit Psalmo, Eripe me,

Domine, de luto vt non infigar. De isto luto debet quilibet iustus

primo exire qui vult bona opera seminare. Et hoc est quod dicit,

Egredere de cognacione tua" (Nic ff.50v-51).

120 knowleche]

This is the second of the three categories mentioned in 11.86-88. The

primary sense here is "family, kinsfolk" (MED knoulech(e n. 4(d)),

following the usage in Gn 12,1.

124-126

Is 52,11.

128 nameli]

"Especially".

129-133

1 Cor 6,18.

133-135

Nicholas de Lyra, "Alia peccata communiter inficiunt solam animam, ...

sed fornicacio non solam animam, sed etiam corpus inquinat", Biblia

Sacra cum GO, 6, 241-242.

135 clei of lecherie]

Cf. VII/135-147.

145-146 or ellis ... lijf]

A vivid handling of Nic's "per x^{cem} decem".

146-147 loue ne for drede of God']

There is a change of emphasis in Lb's translation of Nic's "predicacionem ("preaching") nec aliud", but the question raised here is why a compiler with Lollard sympathies should wish to expunge a reference to preaching, given its importance to the Lollards. Several plausible reasons suggest themselves; the reference in Nic implies the ineffectiveness of preaching, hardly a point the compiler would wish to make; preaching in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was, as Chaucer's Pardoner demonstrates, an area rife with malpractice, and hence Lb's "loue ne ... drede of God" is an attempt to bring out what should be the true function of preaching. I offer these as suggestions, not as definite statements, about the reason for what is only a minor, but interesting alteration.

148-149

PsG 68,15.

151

Gn 12,1.

152-165

The third place from where the sower should go out is the final subdivision of the first principal. As with the previous two categories, the material is suggested by Gn 12,1. "3° debet exire de domo patris sui. Superbi et inuidi habitant cum diabolo in domo sua, et ipse diabolus habitat in cordibus eorum quia diabolus est pater superborum

et inuidorum. Vnde ipsis superbis et inuidis potest dici istud,

Io. 8, Vos ex patre diaboli estis et ideo opera patris vestri vultis

facere. Et in Iob 41, Ipset est rex super omnes filios superbie.

Vnde Psalmo, Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuum et obliuiscere

populum tuum et domum patris tui, id est, consorcium diaboli, dicit

Glosa. De istis tribus debet homo exire primo, et postea debet semen

suum seminare" (Nic f.51).

156-158

Jo 8,44. The Vulgate reads "desideria" where Nic and Lb have "ideo

opera", which Lb translates accordingly. Sabatier has no variants

but refers the reader to Jerome's commentary on Is 1, which has the

addition, "et opera patris vestri vultis facere".

158-160

Jb 41,25.

160-163

PsG 44,11.

163-164 þat is, ... þe glose seiþ]

The interlinear gloss has "conuersationem & consortium Diaboli", Biblia

Sacra cum GO, 3, 769-770.

166-189

The compiler, still following Nicholas, picks up the second principal

again, the meaning of the seed. "Et sciendum est quod triplex est

semen [MS + .3^x. semen in margin] bonum. Primum est semen verbum Dei,

vnde Mathei .13., dicit ipse Christus, semen est verbum Dei, quod

semen debet quilibet predicator in terram bonam, id est, in populo

Dei et in corde cuiuslibet viri. Set sciendum est quod quidam

predicatores qui non seminant nisi auenam que est cibus equorum que

sunt verba incitatiua ad luxuriam. Item quidam alij sunt qui seminant

ordeum, id est, verba inflata ampulosa et pungitiua. Item alij sunt

qui solummodo seminant paleam et ventum. Item sunt qui seminant

solummodo [foll. by ?] inanem gloriam. De istis dicitur, Osee .8...."

Nicholas talks about the meaning of the tares, and the wheat, "id est

verba bona, casta, sancta et edificatiua". The English preacher picks

up Nicholas again: "Vnde 3acharie .9., Quid est bonum eius et quid

pulcrum eius nisi frumentum electorum et vinum germinans virgines?

Frumentum istud dicitur verbum Dei quo electi in regnum Dei vestuntur.

Et vinum germinans virgines dicitur similiter verbum Dei, quia germinat

virginales et castas affecciones sepe in cordibus fidelium. Et in

Prouerbiorum .xj., de illo frumento dicitur, Qui abscondit frumenta

maledicitur in populis; benediccio adsit super capud vendencium"

(Nic ff.51-51v).

168

In fact Lc 8,11, although the preacher (who is following Nicholas here)

is thinking of the parable as it is told in Mt 13. There, however,

it is explained as "verbum regni", Mt 13,19.

170-176

Nicholas's list of various kinds of false preachers is condensed and

generalised in Lb (11.170-171), perhaps to avoid the rhetorical cadence

of the source. Although "glose" is often a Lollard word (Hudson 1981:20),

there is no reason to suppose that it has any meaning other than "flatterer"

here. Since the passage is a free paraphrase of Nicholas, it is hard to

know whether or not there is anything missing in ll.173-174 which
sounds awkward as it stands. I suspect that after "word" in 174 should
be added "for Goddys word" (lost, understandably, through eyeskip),
but the sentence just about makes sense: "(let us take care not to sow
any evil weeds amongst the wheat seeds), in other words, if we do
so, 'God's word' [the meaning of the seeds] may be the sooner destroyed
with these cursed weeds".

1771-80

Za 9,17.

183-185

Cf. XIII/161-165.

186-189

Prv 11,26.

190-200

"2^m semen est pacis cordis veri. De isto semine dicit Dominus,
3acharie .8., Semen pacis erit; vinea dabit fructum suum et terra
dabit germen suum, et celi dabunt rorem suum. Istud semen debet
facere iusticiam, vnde Iacobi .3°., dicitur quod fructus iusticie
in pace seminatur. Illud semen debent iusti seminare, et omnes qui
illud semen seminant sunt benedicti a Domino, et illos diligit Dominus.
Sed odit illos qui seminant discordias inter fratres, vt habetur
prouerbiorum .6." (Nic f.51v).

191-194

Za 8,12.

196-197

Jas 3,18.

199-200

Prv 6,19. Cf. XII,29-49.

201-207

"3^{m} semen est semen ɑiuslibet boni operis, vt bonorum ieiunorum et

bonarum oracionum et bonarum elemosinarum. Istud semen debet quilibet

iustus seminare in sua iuuentute, vnde Ecclesiastes .xj., Mane semina

semen tuum et in vespere non cesset manus tua. Illud semen debet

quilibet iustus seminare habundanter qui vult satis in eterna

claritate colligere." (Nic f.51v).

201-203

Lb expands Nicholas' list of the traditional three aspects of penitential

satisfaction (cf.Note to V/153) to seven. Lb's version may of course

represent another MS of Nicholas, but if the addition may be held to

represent the preacher's ideology it is curious to find the orthodox

viewpoint reinforced, in view of Lollard disdain for most forms of

penance (cf. "no man is bounde to do no penance whiche ony prest

enjoyneth [him] to do ... for sufficient penance for all maner of

synne is euery persone to abstyne hym fro lyyng, bakbytyng and

yuel doyng, and no man is bounde to do noon oþer penance", "Confessio

of Hawisia Moone", Selections, p.34). It should however be borne in

mind that Lollard beliefs were never a rigid set of dogmas, and that

there was a certain amount of variance amongst the beliefs of those

who would have considered themselves to be Lollards.

204-206

Ecl 11,6.

207-210

Nicholas goes on to speak of the soil in which the seed is sown, which

is true confession. It must be watered with the tears of compunction,

and hidden from the birds. This is subsumed in Lb's "Men my3tyn ...

tilyd" (cf. the common formula in this collection seen in, e.g.

XVI/21-23: "Þis gospel telliþ moche gostli mater, but to telle of

Cristis temptynge and of his fastynge sufficiþ at þis tyme"). Nicholas

then explains the significance of the fruit; the material of this third

principal covers a folio, and is summarised in 11.208-210 in Lb. For
the symbolism of the fruit, cf. Nicholas de Lyra's commentary on
Mt 13,8 (Biblia Sacra cum GO, V).-"In hoc tanguntur tres gradus qui
possunt signari in qualibet virtute (verbi gratia) in virtute
castitatis. Primus gradus est castitas coniugalis ...secundus
gradus est castitas vidualis ...Tertius est castitas virginalis".

210 wijfhod, widewhod and maydynhod]

Three of the traditional estates of chastity (cf. Nelson 1981:184-196);

the ranking is also of course traditional. On the connections between

these estates and their relative numerical worth, cf. Memoriale

Credencium, pp.151-152: "trew spousehod schal haf þretty crounus.

chast widowhod schal have sixti crownes in heuene. And clene maydenhod

schal have an hundred crounus in þe blisse of heuen."

Nicholas ends thus: "Omnis igitur qui fecerit cructum centesimum

aut sexagesimum aut trecesimum fructum in paradiso fruetor illo fructu

benedicto de quo dicitur, Luce .2°., Benedictus fructus ventris tui

Ihesus. De illo fructu ad fruendum concedat nobis Ihesus Christus,

Amen." (Nic f.52v).

Sermon XV
<u>Sermon XV</u>

The gospel narrative of the blind man's sight restored through faith

in Christ (Lc 18, 31-43, <u>Sarum Missal</u>, p.48) is the basis for this

Quinquagesima sermon, which expounds the meaning of the blind man as

a sinner and interprets allegorically six instances of literal blind-

ness (caused by old age, dazzling light, swallows' dung, smoke, dust

and blood). Nicholas is, as usual, followed closely. There is a

tendency in these later sermons (cf. XIII and XIV) to play down the

Lollard element of the earlier ones; there is very little here to

betray the preacher's ideology, and certainly nothing remotely Lollard

or tendentious.

2, 3

Lc 18, 35.

3-24

The Biblical translation is derived from the English Wycliffite

sermon for the same occasion (Hudson 39) and from <u>WB</u>. Lines 3-6

follow Hudson 39/1-6; lines 6-14 are from <u>WB</u>; lines 14-24 follow

Hudson 39/36-41 and 45-49. But 11.18-19 ("And^2 . . . hym^2") are from

the Early Version of <u>WB</u>, presumably because there is some inter-

polated commentary in Hudson 39 at that point. The pattern is the

same as with previous sermons; it appears that the English

Wycliffite version is the preferred translation, but where this

becomes difficult to follow the compiler has gone over to <u>WB</u>. It is

impossible to say which MS or group of MSS of Hudson the compiler

was using; the reading at 1.24, "preisynge", for example, could be

derived from the only Hudson MS with this variant, α , or it could

be due to the reading in EV MS O, or it could simply be the result

of scribal lexical preference.

17 þe blynde man]

Hudson 39/40 reads ambiguously "hym", and might be taken by a

listener (though not by a reader) to refer to Christ. The English

compiler clarifies the pronoun for a congregation. This is only a

minor change, but is nevertheless an example of the compiler's

awareness of the needs of his/her listeners.

25-30

The processus, after the iteracio thematis, announces two principal

divisions arising from the Biblical text whereas in Nicholas there

are three: "Circa miraculum istius ceci, 3^a possumus videre. Primum

est quid iste cecus signat, qui post Christum alta voce, Miserere,

filium Dauid! clamauit. 2^m est que est ista via iuxta quam sedebat

mendicans et quid signat hoc quod iuxta viam mendicans sedebat. 3^m

est videre quod postquam illuminatus est respicere debeat" (Nic f.52v).

Since in fact the Lb sermon only goes on to deal with the first

principal, it is odd that the compiler bothered at all to alter

Nicholas' original three principals to two, given that s/he rarely

fulfils the promise of the incipit. Possibly the compiler was using

a MS of Nicholas which had errors or omissions at this point, which

is perhaps indicated by the lack of any numbering of the "tokenys"

at l.26.

29 þat þat]

Lb's omission of the second "þat" is easily understandable as an

instance of eyeskip. The sense is "the fact that that (or "the")".

The compiler omits Nicholas' customary linking of the principals to individual phrases in the gospel story, and picks up Nicholas at the start of the first principal.

31-43

"Et notandum quod per istum cecum quilibet peccator existens in peccato mortali signatur. Quilibet homo habet duos oculos in capite suo. Ita similiter quilibet homo habet duos oculos in corde, dextrum et sinistrum. Ex dextro debet gaudia paradisi respicere vt illa possit adquirere et habere. Ex sinistro debet respicere miseriam huius vite presentis, vt libentius penitenciam faciat. Et ex oculo debet similiter penas inferni respicere, vt illas posset cognoscere et sciret euitare" (Nic f.52v).

37-38 For meritorie . . . ded]
This sentence has no counterpart in Nic.

39-43 and ʒif . . . peynys þere]
This has no counterpart in Nic. It may of course be traceable to another MS of Nicholas. There is a change here from 3rd person to 2nd person singular, although the "þou" is never defined as in some other collections (MS Longleat 4 is addressed to a singular audience identified as "leue frend"; Hudson and Spencer 1985:226-227). The deictic usage here is typical of contemporary sermons (Fletcher 1978[1]:113).

44-66

Exempla drawn from natural history (the crow) and the Bible further illustrate the link between blindness and sin. "Quia sicut coruus quando vult leporem in campo capere vel aliquod aliud animale inter- ficere, prius ei vtrum / oculum eruit, vt ne videat sese prius ab

illo defendere; ita diabolus, quando vult animam peccatori decipere

per aliquod mortale peccatum, primo eruit ei vtrumque oculum, dextrum

et sinistrum. Ita quod quando faciat peccatum num[quam gaudia] [MS +

gap, no erasure, where missing words should be] paradisi respicit,

qua per peccatum suum amittit, nec penas inferni, quas illa per

peccatum suum eternaliter habere meruit, quia si ista respiceret,

numquam peccaret, et ideo prius illi oculos eruit. Et istud optime

signatum est, Iudicum .16., vbi dicitur, Cum apprehendissent

Philistiim, id est, demones, Sampsonem - per quem signatur quilibet

iustus - statim eruerunt eius oculos. Et 4 Regum .25., dicitur, quod

Nabigodonosor, rex Babilonis ∧⌐diabolus¬, qui semper sedet in

angustia et qui est rex confusionis occidit filium Sedechie coram

eo, et oculos eius effodit, vinxitque eum cathenis et adduxit eum in

Babilonem. Sedechias 'iustificans' interpretatur, et signat quilibet

iustum. Hinc eruit diabolus primo vtrumque oculum cordis, vt non

videat defendere se ab illo, et vt possit eum trahere in quocumque

peccatum vt vult et placet sibi sicut seruus ceci ducit et trahit

eum vbicumque vult cecus. Ergo iste signat quemlibet peccatorem quem

diabolus ita excecauit quod non videret ante se mortem et iudicium

futurum, nec potest se respicere, nec peccata preterita, nec a

dextris Dei beneficia, nec a sinistris insidias diaboli, nec sursum

gaudia paradisi, nec deorsum penas inferni" (Nic ff.52v-53).

44

Nic's "coruus" is the raven, traditionally noted for first picking

out the eyes of a corpse (McCulloch, Bestiaries, p.161).

50

Lb appears to be corrupt at this point, and Nic confirms that some-

thing is missing, the sense of which is "if the sinner were able to

see the pains of hell which he has deserved to have for ever on

account of his sin . . .". Such careless omissions are all too

common in Lb.

52-54

See Ju 16.

55-59

2 Reg 25.

57 ouer]

"Ever", with Northern o͟ for e͟ (see The Language of Ad and Lb in the

Introduction).

59-60 Sedeche . . . 'iustifiynge']

The interpretation of Zedekiah's name is traditional, cf. Glossa

Ordinaria, PL 113, col.628.

67-80

The preacher announces the sevenfold division which structures the

material for the rest of the sermon. Yet in fact only six of

Nicholas' seven are dealt with in Lb. Six examples of literal

blindness are interpreted morally. The first is discussed here.

"Sed excecant hominem senectus, id est, nimia mora in peccatis; lux

magna; et habundantia bonorum proximorum; lutum, id est, luxuria;

fumus, id est, honor mundanus; puluis, id est, inanis gloria;

sanguis, id est, carnalis amor. Macula magna, id est, rerum

temporalium abundancia. Set sciendum est in primis quod septem

sunt   que excecant hominem ad litteram oculis capitis que

spiritualiter excecant eum oculis cordis. Primum est nimia senectus,

vnde Genesis .27., Senuit Ysaac et caligauerunt oculi eius et videre

non poterat, propter nimia senectutem. Per Ysaac, qui diu excecatus

est, signari potest longa mora in mortali peccato, qua multi impij

excecati sunt, ita quod nesciunt vbi corruunt. Et Io. .12., Qui

ambulat in tenebris, nescit quo vadit" (Nic f.53).

68 i3en of his]

Lb seems to be corrupt here (the scribe may have been confused by

the repetition of "i3en"), since it does not seem appropriate to

speak of blinding a body. I have emended on the basis of Nicholas,

who distinguishes between "oculis capitis" and "oculis cordis".

70-72

Gn 27, 1.

76-77

Prv 4, 19. This quotation does not appear in Nic, which is further

evidence that it was not the MS used by the AdLb compiler.

78-80

Jo 12, 35.

79 derknesses]

A literal translation of "tenebris" which is typical of the handling

of the Biblical quotations in the body of the text throughout the

whole collection.

81-100

"2^m est lux maxima, vnde Actus .9., dicitur quod Saulus adhuc spirans

minarum et sedis in discipulos Domini, cum iter faceret, contigit vt

appropinquaret Damasco et [MS + ci canc.] subito circumfulsit eum

lux de celo, et cadens in terram audiuit vocem dicentem sibi, Saule,

Saule, quid me persequeris? et excecatus est. Vnde dicitur ibidem,

Surrexit Saulus de terra, apertisque oculis nichil videbat. Lux

magna signat lucem ex abundantia bonorum operum proximorum, quam

videntes inuidi excecati sunt de luce bonorum operum proximorum.

Vnde Gregorius, Mens inuidi tantum de alieno bono est afflicta, /

quod de radio solis excecatur. Ipse sunt noctue, lucem bonorum

operum odientes et tenebras malorum operum [MS + odientes] diligentes.

Et ipsi sunt sicut dicitur Io[b] [MS Ioh.] .5., Qui per diem incurrunt

tenebras, et quasi in nocte palpabunt in meridie. Certe ipsi sunt

sicut Ely, qui ita excecatus erat, quod non poterat videre lucernam

Domini antequam extingueretur, vt hebetur primo Regum .3°." (Nic

ff.53-53v).

81-88

The incident is recorded in Act 9. L.83 is Act 9, 3 and 11.85-86

are Act 9, 4.

87-88 and his i3en openyd]

An unidiomatic translation of the Latin ablative absolute "apertisque

oculis". The "and" which follows is not grammatically necessary and

may have been inserted by the scribe for a smoother reading.

91-94

I cannot find this exact quotation in the works of Gregory, but cf.

Regulae Pastoralis Liber, PL 77, col.64.

94-96

The comparison is a commonplace, cf. The Owl and the Nightingale, ed.

E. Stanley (London, 1960), p.56 (where the bird metaphor is implicit

through the nature of the speakers); Dives and Pauper, Vol. I, Part 1,

pp.279-280: "Swyche arn lyke owlys and backys, whyche hatyn þe day &

louyn þe ny3t & lyk þe fendis of helle þat neuere han reste ne for

malyce wiln sekyn reste"; Speculum Christiani, p.210. See also the

references in Nancy Fischer, "Handlist", pp.89-90. For a similar idea,

cf. Powell 1981:60. The simile appears to derive from Boethius, De

Consolacione Philosophiae, PL 63, col.806.

96-99

Jb 5, 14.

99-100

See 1Sm 3, 2-3.

101-121

The third example of literal blindness is provided by the story of

the swallow's dung in Toby's eye. "3^m est lutum siue fimus

yrundinum, per quod signatur luxuria, vnde Thobie .2., dicitur,

Contigit autem vt quadam die Thobie fatigatus a sepultura veniens

domum iactasset se iuxta parietem et obdormisset. Et ex yrundinum

nido illi dormienti calida stercora inciderunt super oculos et fieret

quod cecus. Per yrundinem, que est auis instabilis et garrula viri

luxuriosi signantur et mulieres luxuriose, quia instabiles sunt, vnde

in pacem non possunt esse, immo modo sunt hic, modo illic, et

garrule. Vnde Prouerbiorum .7., dicitur de muliere fatua quod

garrula est et vaga quietis, impaciens, nec valens in domo consistere

pedibus suis, nunc foris, nunc in plateis. Per yrundinem igitur

luxuriosi signantur, propter instabilitatem et garrulitatem. Per

fimum earum ipsum peccatum luxurie signatur propter fetorem et

vilitatem, quia istud peccatum fetens est coram Deo et angelis eius,

vnde dicitur, Gregorius, Ardor luxurie descendit vsque ad infernum;

fetor ascendit vsque ad celum; nec mirum, cum sit fimus carnis,

sterculinium corporis, odium angelis, discordia proximis, cibus

diaboli." The English version omits two quotations in Nic, one from

Amos 4, 10 and the other from the Vitae Patrum. "Vere istud

peccatum fetens est et excecat homines" (Nic f.53v).

101-104

The incident is related in Tob 2. Lechery is frequently symbolised

by dung or clay in AdLb (cf. VII, 141-51). The moralisation of

swallows' dung here clearly derives from the story of Toby, yet

in the bestiary tradition the swallow is noted for its medical

skill in restoring vision to its young (Medieval Latin and French

Bestiaries, Florence McCulloch (Chapel Hill, 1960) p.175). The

plant celandine (from Latin chelidonia "swallow"), also known as

"swallow-wort", was popularly supposed to have been used by the

swallow for this purpose and was a herbal remedy for weak eyesight.

But the bestiary tradition informs the moralisation of the swallow's

behaviour in 11.104-114.

104-105

The swallow is traditionally noisy, flies in circles and eats on

the move (McCulloch, Bestiaries, p.175). It is not, however, noted

for lechery; the Physiologus, for example, states that it breeds

once and no more.

108-112

Prv 7, 10-12. The topos of the foolish woman is common in the

medieval anti-feminist tradition; material which helped to establish

the negative stereotype of womanly vice was often drawn from the

sapiential books of the Bible, especially Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus

and Proverbs, which also of course furnished material for the

opposite stereotype of womanly virtue.

111 wagerynge]

This represents the Latin "vaga" ("wavering, wandering"). See OED

wagger "to wander". The translator has paired it with an easier

vbl.sb.

117-119

Lb's "arbor", though attractive is probably wrong. I cannot find

this exact quotation in the works of Gregory, but cf. Moralium

in Job, PL 75, col.1051; "per sulphor fetor carnis accipitur". The

"stink" of lechery is a common moralisation in Gregory.

122-147

The discussion of lechery is further amplified with reference to

the exemplum of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the devil's possession of the

lecher. "Vnde Genesis .19. dicitur quod angeli quos hospitauerat

Loth clauserunt ostium [MS hostium with h subpuncted] et eos qui

erant foris percusserunt cecitate a minimo vsque ad maximo, ita vt

ostium inuernire non possent. Causa huius fuit quod luxuriosi et

pessimi sodomite erant er in eodem capitulo dicitur, Genesis .19.,

Ideo pluit Dominus super iustos et iniustos et super Sodomam et

Gomorram sulfur et ignem, et subuertit ciuitates has et omnen circa

regionem vniuersos habitatores vrbium cuncta quod virencia. Ita

faciet Dominus in fine illis qui excecati sunt propter [foll. by

gap in MS] luxurie oculis cordis peccatum. Ipsi luxuriosi excecati

sunt, et magis eorum cecitas quando per modico delectatione et

transitoria volunt amittere celestia gaudia. [MS + Nota 3es cameras

in consciencia in margin] Quia in consciencia hominis sunt 3es camere,

scilicet, intellectus, memoria et voluntas. Illam conscienciam

inuadit diabolus quando peccati delectacionem suggerat, quando

peccator suggestioni consentit, custodit quando peccator operum

peccati in consuetudinem ducit. Et tunc pacifice possidet

peccatorem, et ideo intellige moraliter illum, Cum fortis armatus

custodit atrium [53v] / [f.68] suum, etc., Luce 11. Tunc enim

arma sua amittit diabolus, cum ipse qui erat lubricus per forcorem,

scilicet, per gratiam Dei, sit castus, cum cupidus sit largus,

piger vigil[ans], gulosus sobrius, superbus humilis, et eius spolia

distribuit quando de peccatoribus, alias de penitentibus, doctores

ecclesie facit" (Nic ff.53v and 68).

122-131

See Gn 19.

135 consciencie]

The MED does not record the spelling with final -ie. The same word

appears in l.136 with the usual spelling, but in support of the

spelling with -ie, cf. "malicie" 162.

140 gostli]

Nic "moraliter"; commonly used in sermons and devotional writings to

announce exegesis of a literal text or exemplum.

141-142

Lc 11, 21. For the moralisation here, cf. Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114,

col.290.

147 and so forþ of oþer synnys]

The English text's resume of the last part of Nicholas' final

sentence here, with its reference to the doctores ecclesie, "the

learned men of the church", may represent a desire on the compiler's

part to angle the material to a relatively uneducated lay audience

for whom such references would mean little.

148-177

The fourth example of literal blindness is that caused by smoke,

interpreted as ambition and pride. "4^{m} est fumus, per quem signatur

honor mundanus, vnde sicut fumus excecat hominem oculis [MS + cordis

subpuncted] capitis, ita honor mundanus et omnis superbia excecat

hominem oculis cordis, vnde dicit Ieronimus, Honor mundanus spinna

est, fumus et [MS + et] sompnus; spinna quia inflat, fumus quia

excecat, sompnus quia veram requiem non dat. Vere superbia excecat

istos magnates et diuites ita quod ipsi nolunt respicere nisi de

cauda oculorum suorum leprosus et pauperes Christi, vnde Prouerbiorum

.6., dicitur quod oculos sublimes odit Deus. Et Sapientie .2.,

dicitur, Excecauit eos malicia eorum, id est, superbia. Et Romanos

.1., de prophetis superbis quia non cognouissent Deum, aut non sicut

Deum glorificauerunt, aut gratias egerunt, sed euanuerunt in

cogitacionibus suis et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum; dicentes

se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt. Et Romanos .11., Ceteri

excecati sunt tamen sicut scriptum est; dedit illis Deus spiritum

compunccionis, oculos vt non videant, aures vt non audiant. Certe

isti sunt [MS + sunt] superbi mundanos, sonores appetentes, et alios

contempnentes et pauperes Christi respicere, dolentes nisi de cauda

oculorum suorum, sicut ascenderunt ita cito cum superbia sua et cum

honoribus deficient, vnde Psalmo, Mox honorificati et exaltati,

sicut fumus deficient. Ista cecitas potest signari per cecitatem

ceci nati, de quo dicitur, Io. .9." (Nic f.68).

159-161

Rm 1, 21. Some of the Biblical quotations in Nic have been
rearranged in Lb, almost to suggest a narrative, reinforced by link
phrases ("And Salamon seiþ þe cause whi . . ."). This is a stronger
connection than the usual <u>concordia verbum</u>.

161 þe cause whi]

When used without a dependent verb, the phrase means "why?"; here
the required sense is "the reason why" (see <u>MED cause</u>). In some
fifteenth-century MSS it is a common idiom (e.g. Harley 2247; see
Powell and Fletcher 1981:224), but it is rare in AdLb.

162 malicie]

Cf. "consciencie", 1.135.

162-163

Sap 2, 21.

163-166

Rm 1, 21.

167-169

Rm 11, 8.

173-175

PsG 36, 20, and PsG 67, 3.

176-177

The reference is not to the gospel pericope for the day, but to Jo 9,
as indicated in Nic. The gospel records how Jesus restored the sight
to the man who was born blind by putting clay on his eyes.

178-188

The fifth example of blindness is caused by dust, here moralised as
self-praise. "5^m est puluis, per quem signatur inanis gloria. De
isto puluere dicit Dominus apostolis suis, Mathei .6., Excutite
puluere de pedibus vestris. Et Ysaie .5[2] [MS 53], Excutite de puluere,
scilicet, inanis glorie; Consurge, sede Ierusalem, id est, anima
pacifica ex toto corde. Surge in amore celestium, sede postea in te
per defectuum tuorum consideracionem. Vere per puluerem signatur
inanis gloria, quia excecat hominem oculis et leuiter volat in corde
ipsius. Vnde, Leuiter volat, leuiter penetrat, sed non leue vulnus
infligit inanis gloria" (Nic f.68).

180-181

Mt 10, 14.

182-184

Is 52, 2. Since Lb omits the first part of this quotation (Nic:
Excutite de puluere"), there does not appear to be any connection
between this and the previous quotation; the verbal concord is lost.

186-188

The quotation is without attribution in Nic, and I cannot find it in
the works of Bernard.

189-211

The sixth and final subdivision concerns the blindness caused by
blood in the eye, moralised as carnal desires. "6^m est sanguis in
oculo nimia abundancia. In sanguine notatur carnalitas vel nimius
amor sue carnis vel parentum suorum signatur. Isto sanguine
excecantur homines hodie in multis locis et maxime prelati ecclesie ...".

The preacher now omits a long passage in Nicholas which deals with the indiscriminate giving of benefices. "Cuilibet prelato tali potest illud idci quod Dominus dicit Loedicie ecclesie, Apocalypsis .3⁰., Scio opera tua quia nec calidus, nec frigidus, es; ideo incipiam te euomere de ore meo, quia dicit quod diues sum et nullius egeo, et nescis quia miser es et miserabilis, scilicet, in futuro eris miseria pene et pauper diuicijs gracie, cecus sanguine, scilicet, an ore parentum tuorum vel carnis tue proprie et nudus omni bona virtute. Ideo suadebo tibi emere aurum ignitum, id est, caritatis feruorem, et remouere a te omnem carnalitatem si tu vis ista facere sicut dicitur ibi Apocalysis .5., Vnge oculos tuos colirio et vide" (Nic f.68).

191-192

Mt 16, 17. The quotation is not found in Nic.

195-197 and insecutoris . . . blynd]

This represents a drastic shortening of Nicholas' long and precise attack on nepotism and corruption in the church hierarchy, a subject which might be expected to call forth some response in a compiler with Lollard sympathies. Instead it is treated with remarkable restraint, in the single, secular, reference to "insecutoris" (q.v. Glossary). The compiler may have judged the sermon to be of adequate length, and for the same reason that the seventh instance of blindness is omitted, may have decided to avoid the issue.

198-203

Apc 3, 15-16.

206-207

Apc 3, 18.

210-211

Apc 3, 18.

211-214

The sermon abandons Nicholas after the quotation from Apc 3,18,

and ends with a brief exhortation to see the right way to heaven,

and a prayer that Christ will bring us to heaven. The redactor has

used the 2nd person sg. pronoun in 11.211-212, but it is by no means

clear that s/he was addressing an audience of one. More plausibly,

the grammar of Apc 3, 18 has been followed through in the inter-

pretation; and cf. Note to 39-43 above.

Nicholas continues with the seventh thing which blinds a man, "rerum

temporalium habundancia", and then moves to the second principal,

which deals with the "via". There are three ways of going to heaven –

by the commandments, by penance, and by brotherly charity. Then the

third principal is considered, what the blind man should see; this

was not mentioned in the processus in Lb. There are four things to

look to – the hour of our death, the passion of Christ, the judgment

to come, and the pains of hell (i.e. the Four Last Things). The

sermon ends on f.55v.

Sermon XVI

The sermon is for the first Sunday in Lent, on the text
Mt 4,1, which is from the gospel pericope for the day, Mt
4,1-11 (Sarum Missal, p.57), Christ's temptation in the
wilderness. The gospel story provides the basis for the
sermon, which draws all of the material in the body of the
text from the corresponding sermon by Nicholas de Aquevilla.
The sermon is structured around Nicholas' second and third
principals, which deal with the various ways in which the
devil tempts us, and the things which a righteous man
should hunger and thirst for. As with the previous sermons
based on Nicholas, these initial divisions arise from analysis
of separate words or clauses within the gospel lection.
Nicholas is, as usual, followed closely, and there are no
remarkable alterations or additions, although ll. 37-47
and 70-73 may be tendentious, and there is a sprinkling of
Lollard jargon.

2

Mt 4,1.

4-20

The compiler has used WB for the gospel translation. The
version in the Wycliffite sermon for the same day (Hudson 40)
is very much broken up by commentary, making it difficult to
abstract the ipsissima verba of the Bible. Elsewhere in the
series, of course, the AdLb redactor has shown a preference
for the Wycliffite sermon translation over WB. Closeness to
WB is shown in the following examples:

Lb 8	þe whiche answerynge seide
EV	The whiche answerynge said
Hudson 40	No reading

Lb 12-13	and in hondis þei schul take þe
EV, LV	and thei schulden take thee in hoondis
Hudson 40/	to kepon hym in alle hise weyȝes
63-64	

Lb 15	into a ful hiȝ hil
EV, LV	in to a ful heeȝ hill
Hudson 40/	into an hul þat was ful hyȝ
106	

Examples could be multiplied. Of note is Lb's apparently idiosyncratic reading mynystredyn 20, where all WB MSS (and all Hudson MSS) have serueden. There is no influence from Hudson in the translation.

21-25

After the iteracio thematis, comes the principal division of the sermon into four - the four temptations. Yet in fact the sermon also deals with hungering and thirsting (ll.177 to end), which is there introduced as if it were the second principal ("þe secunde þing ..." l.177), but this is not anticipated in the processus at all. Nicholas begins his sermon with the gospel text, and launches immediately into the presentation of the principal divisions. "In isto euangelio. 3^a. dicuntur de Christo. Primum est quod in desertum a Spiritu Sancto ductus fuit. Secundum est quod diabolus eum temptauit. 3^m est quod post ieiunium .40. dierum esurijt." The first principal covers ff. 56-58 (the "moche gostli mater" of Lb 21-22) which is bypassed in the English version, which moves straight to the second principal. Nicholas' first principal is an elaboration of

the common "desert of religion" allegory, which lays some

emphasis on penance. There is some repetition of material

which is used elsewhere in Nicholas (and to a lesser extent

also in Lb), which may account for the compiler's detour.

On the formula of 11.22-23, cf. XIV/207-209.

23-47

Nicholas' second principal, f.58, becomes the first in Lb:

"2^m est videre quomodo temptatus a diabolo ... sed sciendum

est quod quadruplex est temptacio, quia temptatur homo a

Deo, ab homine et a carne et ab hoste. Temptat [with m

from np] Deus vt probet, vnde Genesis .22., Temptauit Deus

Abraham, et Psalmo, Proba me, Domine, et tempta me. Item

temptat homo vt sciat. Item caro vt inficiat, vnde Iacobi

primo, Temptatur vnusquisque a concupiscencia sua. Item

temptat diabolus, vt decipit, vnde Actus .9., dicit beatus

Petrus Ananie, Cur temptauit Sathanas cor tuum? Et de ista

temptacione habetur hic. Sed sciendum quod diabolus

multociens temptat hominem postquam intrauit desertum

penitencie et religionis" (Nic f. 58).

25-26 God ...proue]

A literal translation which is immediately clear when compared

with the Latin. The meaning is "God tempts man in order to

put him to the test". see MED prouen v.

27

Gn 22,1.

27-28

PsG 25,2.

29 Also man...wite]

The same construction as above, 25-26: "Also man tempts man in order that he may have knowledge". The reference is presumably to Eve's tempting of Adam.

29-30 þe fleisch ...enfectiþ]

"The flesh tempts man in order to kill or corrupt/deprave him".

30-32

Jac 1,14.

33-34

Act 5,3.

35 here it spekiþ]

Nic's "hic" means "in the gospel of the day"; Lb's literal translation does not quite bring this out.

37-47

Lb follows Nicholas as far as 1.37; this passage is apparently an interpolation suggested by Nicholas' reference to the "desertum penitencie et religionis". The author's point of view here is broadly approving of penance, since s/he distinguishes between those who "liggyn in her couchis in lustis and likyngis" and those who do penance, for whom the devil reserves his greatest enmity. The writer approves of this latter group, because they have forsaken "synne and this wordly lyuynge"; they are not specifically identified as those in enclosed orders. Yet the writer seems to disapprove of exaggerated acts of penance, since they can

lay penitents open to the temptation of self-pride, and
s/he may be thinking particularly of the religious in this
second half of the passage, as the phrase "perfiʒtnes of
lijf" and the term "reule" both suggest that this is
what the writer had in mind. The problem here is that the
passage is not specific enough; neither reference need
apply exclusively. to the enclosed religious. The writer
seems particularly to dislike what s/he perceives to be
the self-righteousness of such penitents. This is rather
different from saying that those who do penance must beware
lest the devil tempt them. The passage betrays dislike for
the religious, but this does not argue that the preacher was
therefore a Lollard. Many orthodox writers caution moderation
in penance, and frequently attack friars and monks.

48-73

The preacher picks up Nicholas again, l.51, "wiþ þes þre
synnis ...". Ll. 48-51 are not in Nic, which may be defective
at this point. "De istis tribus similiter temptauit et
decepit primos parentes, vt habetur Genesis .3., De gula
temptauit eos quando fecit eos comedere de pomo vetito.
De inani gloria, quando dixit eis, Eritis sicut Dij. De
auaricia, quando voluerunt esse scientes bonum et malum.
Et sicut dicit beatus Gregorius, Auaricia non solum est
peccunie set scientie. Similiter de gula temptauit Christum
quando dixit ei, Dic vt lapides isti panes fiant; de inani
gloria quando posuit eum super pinnaculum templi, vbi
solebant predicatores ascendere et vbi multi inanem gloriam
habuerunt; de auaricia quando omnia regna mundi illi

ostendit, et ea ei voluit dare si eum adoraret. Et de
istis tribus voluit temptari primos parentes, et vt
instrueret nos quomodo debemus vincere per sacram scripturam
sicut ipse fecit. De istis tribus sepe temptat quemlibet
iustum quando erat in desertum religionis vel penitencie"
(Nic f.58).

52-55 and for þe fend ...Eve]
There is no counterpart in Nic.

57
Gn 3,5.

61-62
Mt 4,3.

63-64 þat was a place ... veynglorie]
Nicholas' "predicatores" ("preacher") becomes "doctours
and techers" in Lb. The reason for the change is not
clear; the excision of an unflattering reference to preachers
is entirely appropriate in the context of a sermon which is
probably intended for delivery; the substitution of "doctours
and techers" is not particularly telling because the phrase
is vague and general. If we test the substitution against
the hypothesis of a preacher with Lollard sympathies, it
must be said that the change could equally have been made by
an orthodox writer properly concerned not to impair his/her
standing, as by a Lollard writer for whom preaching was of
central importance. It is possible also that Lb's version
is simply due to a variant reading in another MS of Nicholas.

70-73

Nicholas' "desertum religionis vel penitentie" ("desert
of religion and of penance") refers to the allegories
contained in the first principal, which Lb did not touch
on. For that reason perhaps the compiler has substituted
the "holy ordris of Crist", together with some expansion
of the terms. But what is the preacher saying here? Is
there approval for the life of the religious or is there
sarcasm - that of course you must expect temptation if you
go in for private religion? Does the "he" in l.71 refer to
the devil or to "iche riȝtwis man"? I am inclined to think
that the preacher is affirming, in Lollard jargon, the
value of true religion which is nevertheless able to withstand
the temptations of the devil, cf. the corresponding Wycliffite
sermon, Hudson 40/92-97:

> þus þenkon manye men that, whoeuere entreþ a new religioun
> þat was not furst ordeyned of Crist, he temptuþ God and
> synneþ greetly. For two weyes ben put to hym: þe ton is
> religioun of Crist, of whiche he schulde be sur by feiþ
> þat hit is þe beste þat may be; and þe toþer is newe
> fownden of synful seruauntis of Crist.

But even granted that the Lb compiler wished to suggest
some distinction between Christ's order and that of sinful
men (cf. Sermon VI), the passage is obscure, and the reasons
for the alteration are not clear. On Lollard attitudes
towards "cristyn mannys religioun", cf. the Rosarium
entry "Christianus". The phrase "cristen men", cf. "trew
cristen men" (Hudson 1981:17), is probably an element of
Lollard sect vocabulary.

74-86

The three divisions of the previous section (gluttony,
vainglory, avarice) are now further subdivided. Gluttony
is of six types, of which the first is presented here.
"Primo temptat de gula, et hoc sex modis. Primo, dicendo
ei, Dic vt lapides isti panes fiant, quasi dicens ei,
Numquid precepit Deus quod home se interfecerit? Vnde
dicit ei, Diu laborasti, multum ieiunasti, tam magnam
penitenciam fecisti; necesse est aliquod recreari, aliter
deficies. Sic incitur diabolus sub specie discrecionis et
necessitatis ingere venenum voluptatis et ergo, vt lapides
isti panes fiant, vt dicit Gregorius, id est, vt rigorem
discipline claustralis vel pentitencie conuerte in
mollitudine" (Nic f.58).

81 vndir colour]

The phrase appears to be Lollard jargon (Hudson 1981:20).
It is found, for example, in The Lanterne of Liȝt, 55/20,
one of the few texts known to be unequivocally Lollard,
and it is found passim in the borderline Dives and Pauper.
Gregory's reference to the hard life of the enclosed
religious ("rigorem discipline claustralis") is not endorsed,
which is entirely consistent with the compiler's anti-monastic
and anti-mendicant outlook. Lb's substitution, "trewe lore",
smacks of Lollard concerns (cf. Hudson 1981:17).

87-99

"/2° temptat eum de gula quando temptat homines vt ante horam
comeda[n]t vt in dia dominica antequam audierint missam et in

die ieiunij ante magnam missam. De ista specie temtauit
Ionathan qui comedit ante horam, vt habetur .j. Regum
.14., et mortuus ipse fuisset nisi populus esset. Certe
tales deberent multum timere illam malediccionem, de qua
dicitur, Ecclesiastes .4., Maledicta terra cuius rex puer
est, et cuius principes ⌐mane¬ commedunt. Homo terra est,
et qui [MS + in subpuncted] terra est, in terra ibit.
Rex est liberum arbitrium quod habet animam regere.
Principes sunt .5. sensus. Isti primo querunt regnum Dei
sui, scilicet, ventris qualibet Dei regnum" (Nic f. 58v).

87-89

Nicholas' precise strictures about fasting before mass and
before the main mass on fast-days are treated more generally
in Lb, perhaps because they would have been otiose in a
Lollard context? Cf. Selections, p.35: "no man is bounde to
fast in Lenton, ymbren days, Fridays ne vigiles of seyntes,
but all suche days and tymes it is leful to alle Cristis
puplu to ete flessh ... as ofte as þay have appetite".
However, the Lb compiler does approve of some fasting, cf.
V/217-218 "Neureþeles, bodyly fastynge is good donwiþ discrecioun."

90 of þis spice]
"Of this sort", "in this way". See OED spice sb. 3.

90-91
See 1Sm 14.

93-95
Ecl 10,16.

95-96

A commonplace of the <u>contemptus mundi topos</u>, cf. Powell and Fletcher 1981:220, "þi body is but stynking careyn þat from þe erthe it come and to erth it shall turne ageyn" (from a funeral sermon in Harley 2247).

100-108

"Item 3° temptat de gula quando aliquis vult habere nimis delicata cibaria, sicut Diues, ille qui epulabatur cotidie splendide [<u>MS</u> + cotidie <u>subpuncted</u>] et sepultus est in inferno, vt habetur Luce .16., et sicut filij Israel qui desiderabant carnes in deserto, vt habetur Numerij .x. Ideo dicit Bernardus vel Gregorius, De condimentis sufficiat vt commestibilia sint et fiant, non concupiscibilia. Sufficit enim concupiscere malicia sua. Et beatus Ieronimus dicit quod non est curandum de quibus cibarijs conficiantur stercora" (Nic f. 58v).

101-102

Lc 16, 19-31 has the story of Dives and Lazarus. The choice of "schynnyngly" as a translation of the adverb "spendide" may have been influenced by the version of this story in the Wycliffite sermon on this text, Hudson 1/8.

102-104

Num 11,4-5.

102-104

328

106-108

109-113

"Item temptat 4to quando facit aliquem assumere de cibo vel

potu ad superfluitatem, vnde E echielis .16., dicitur quod

fuit iniquitas Sodome, superbia, saturitas panis et ocium,

etc." (Nic f.58v).

110-113

Ez 16,49.

113-21

"5to temptat quando facit eos querere curiositatem in cibis

et salsamentis, et quando studiosi et solliciti sunt nimis

in preparacionem eorum, sicut temptauit filios Hely, vt

habetur .1. Regum .2., quando nolebant carnem coctam ab

illis qui offerebant sacrificium accipere, sicut quod

consuetudo erat, sed carnes crudas capiebant ab eis, vt

curiose et laute preparent illas, vnde Regum .4., dicitur

quod ambo mortui sunt similiter" (Nic f.58v). Gourmet tastes

and over-elaborate food are a frequent moral butt in preachers'

handbooks and sermons, cf. Memoriale Credencium, p.130, and

Owst, LPME,442-9. Lb's "and hemself to plese wormys mete;

and to exite men to ete and drynke more þan hem nedyþ"

(117-118) is not in Nicholas.

118-121

1Sm 4,11.

122-137

"Item temptat aliquando aliquis nimis auide et ardenter vt
cibum sumat. Ita temptatus fuit Esau, vt habetur Genesis
.29., qui vendidit Iacob primogenita sua pro edulio lentis
quem comedit auide et ardenter. Contra istam temptacione
debet quilibet iustus pugnare et ei resistere per sobrientatem,
vnde dicit Ieronimus, Sumenda sunt alimenta sicut medicamenta;
si vltra mensuram capiantur non sanitas sed mors adquiritur.
Item per scriptuam, sicut fecit Christus, vnde debet quilibet
dicere diabolo quando temptat de hoc, Non consencium tibi
quia scriptura, Ecclesiastici .31., dicit, Sobrius potus
sanitas est anime et corporis, et Romanos .14., Non enim
[MS + re canc.] est regnum Dei esca et potus, sed iusticia
et pax et gaudium in Spiritu Sancto" (Nic f. 58v).

122-124

Gn 27.

125-126

Nicholas' "per sobrietatem" becomes in the English the triple
"toknys and warnyngys and sobernes".

126-129

Lb's "sijknes or ellis" is not in the source.

132-134

Sir 31,37.

134-137

Rm 14,17.

138-146

Nicholas: "Item temptat 2° de inani gloria quando temptat

hominum vt glorietur de sua predicacione vel de dus

sapiencia vel de sua fortitudine vel de suis diuicijs.

Contra istam fortitudinem vel temptacionem debet quilibet

pugnare / et resistere ei per scripturam, que dicit,

Ieremie .9., Non glorietur sapiens in sapientia sua nec

diues in diuicijs suis nec fortis in fortitudine sua"

(Nic ff. 58v-59). The translation is as usual very close.

142-145

A paraphrase of Jr 9,23.

145-146

1 Cor 1,31.

147-162

Nicholas: "Item temptat de inani gloria quando suggerit

homini vt glorietur de alique bona operacione quam fecit,

et quando facit illam ostendere hominibus vt inde laudetur.

Set isti temptacione debet resistere per illud quod Dominus

dicit, Attendite ne faciatis iusticiam vestram coram

hominibus vt videamini ab eis. Alioquin mercedem non

habebitis apud patrem vestrum qui in celis est. Vere qui

propter hoc faceret bona opera vt inde laudaretur nuncquam

aliam mercedem haberet in futuro, sed qui faceret coram

hominibus vt Deus inde glorificaretur, bene faceret. Vnde

Dominus dicit, Mathei .5., Sic luceat lux vestra coram

hominibus vt videant opera vestra bona et glorificent

patrem vestrum qui in celis est" (Nic f.59).

148 sechynge]

The use of the present participle here effects a neater transition between the two halves of the sentence than Nicholas' rather clumsy and repetitious construction.

150-155

Mt 6,1.

156 schulde²]

The omission of "have" after auxiliary "Shall/should" is common in this period.

157 only]

An emphatic addition by the compiler

158 it were a good doynge]

An idiomatic translation of Nic's "bene faceret"; see MED doing(e ger.

158-162

Mt 5,16.

163-176

Nicholas: "Item temptat eum .3°. de auaricia facit eum dicit apostolus, Hebreos .1'1' 'MS 12', Sancti per fidem vicerunt regna, etc. Sed istam temptacionem debet quilibet iustus registere ad contemptum mundi, ad exemplum Christi. Quia sicut dicit Augustinus, Omnia bona terre contempsit Christus vt omnia contempnenda ostenderet. Et idem Augustinus, Diuicias homines appetebant vt Dominus esse

pauper voluit; honoribus inhabant et ipse rex noluit;

voluptates querebant et ipse esurijt et sitiuit" (Nic f.59)

165-166

Hbr 11,33.

168-171 and 171-176

I have not been able to locate these in the works of

Augustine. However the antithesis between Christ and men,

between worldly glory and the poverty of Christ, are

commonplace in patristic and vernacular literature, cf.

a passage in the <u>Fasciculus Morum</u> which provides the source

for part of a sermon in the HR collection, Lincoln College

f. 67v: "Si enim queris palacium istius Regis, si thalamum,

si solium, vide, quia iacet in presepio. Si queris comitinam

et familiam, ecce, bouem et asinam ... De quo et Augustinus,

De Sacramentis, ait quod ita pauper fuit in terris, quod

venians non habuit vbi nasceretur ..." (quoted in Powell

1980: 326-327).

177-183

Nicholas: "3^m est videre quid debet iustus esurire in isto

desert, quod notatur cum dicit 'esurijt'. Ad litteram

corporaliter Christus in deserto esurijt, sed spiritualiter

$.3^o.$ in [deserto] esurijt et sitit. Ipse primo esurijt et

sitit in pauperibus suis opera misericordie et pietatis,

vnde in iudicio dicet illud, Mathei .25., Sitiui, etc."

(Nic f.59).

177 þe secunde þing]

The compiler has adjusted Nic's "3^m" (i.e. the third

principal, cf. Note to 21-25) to take account of the fact that Nicholas's first principal was omitted. This is further evidence of the compiler's awareness of the sermon structure - the technique is not one of a random piling-up of source material but of careful construction or at least shaping (pace a few failures of execution along the way).

180 pore men and wymmen]

Does the addition of the determiner "his" (suggesting a close relation with Christ) and the extension of Nic's indeterminate "pauperibus" to embrace "men and wymmen" reveal a Lollard background? "Pore men" often occurs in a Lollard context (Hudson 1981:20-21) but does it have any semantic force here? This is hard to determine since the reference to poverty is already in the source; what is certain is the preacher's set to a mixed parish congregation and the emphasis on the special relation that Christ has with the poor.

þe dedis of mercy and of pitee]

The seven corporal works of mercy, which figure so largely in the preachers' handbooks of practical instruction and in Christian art (cf. the wall-paintings in the church in Pickering, North Yorkshire), are derived from Mt 25, 35-36 (with additions to make up the magic number seven). The first of these was to give food and drink to the poor, cf. A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, p.150: "þe first bodiliche werk of mercy is fede þe hungry and ʒeue drinke to þe thrusty".

181-183

Mt 25,35. The verse is in an account of the last judgement; hence "in þe dome".

184-190

Nicholas: "2° esurijt et sitit nostram confessionem et internam dulcedinem deuocionis in operibus nostris. Vnde Mathei .21., dicitur quod esurijt et videns fici arborem vnam secus viam, venit ad eam et nichil inuenit in ea nisi folia, tum maledixit illi, etc. Et Michee .7., dicit, Ficus precoquas desiderauit anima mea, id est, internam deuocionis dulcedinem" (Nic f.59)

185 oure knowliche]

This has no counterpart in Nic; perhaps the sense is "the acknowledgement of our own sins to ourselves", i.e. true penitence, as opposed to merely oral formulae? If so, this would support the preacher's Lollard bias; elsewhere in the series the preacher evinces a concern for true penance, although oral confession is not especially disapproved of, cf. XXIII/96-120.

188-189

Mt 21, 18-19.

188-189

Mi 7,1 The Vulgate reads "praecoquas", i.e. "early, first ripe", which is Nic's reading. The English compiler must have worked from a text of Nicholas with a corrupt reading here (hence "preciosas"), or else s/he was responsible for the corruption. It is translated accordingly in Lb.

191-201

Nicholas: "Item .3°. ipse esurijt et sitis salutem cuiuslibet

anime fidelis, vnde apostolus .1. Thimo. .2°., Omnes vult
saluos fieri. Et Iohannis .19., dixit in cruce, Sicio.
Ipse esuriebat et sitiebat salutem animarum nostrarum, et
propter hoc mortem crucis sutinuit. Istud modo esurijt et
sitit quod quilibet iustus rationabiliter debet sitire et
esurire. Principaliter debet quilibet iustus quatuor
esurire. Primo debet esurire et sitire fontem lacrimarum
ad ablucionem peccatorum nostrorum et aliorum. Vnde
Psalmorum, Sitiuit anima mea ad Deum fontem vi[uum], etc.
Et Ieremie .9., Quis dabit aquam capiti meo et oculis meis
fontem / lacrimarum? Vnde Psalmorum, Animam inanem et
sicientem saciauit bonis, id est, sic saciauit bonis gratie
hic et glorie in futuro" (Nic ff. 59-59v). The final
quotation from the Psalms is ommitted in Lb.

192-193
1 Tm 2,4.

193
Jo 19,28.

193-196
The interpretation of Christ's literal thirsting on the cross
as a thirsting for man's salvation is a commonplace. Cf.
the resonant handling of this symbolism in Langland, Piers
Plowman, B.XVII.362-370, and the suggestive discussion in
Elizabeth Salter, An Introduction to Piers Plowman (Oxford,
1962). pp. 49-52.

197 þus he tauȝte]
Not in Nic.

199-201

PsH 41,3.

202-214

Nicholas: "2° debet esurire et sitire peccatorum salutem,
et beatus est talis stomachus, et sic dicitur in Psalmo,
Dominus dabit escam esurientem. 3° debet esurire et sitire
iusticuam, id est, vite rectitudinem, vnde Mathei .5.,
Beati qui esuriunt et siciunt iusticiam qui desiderant
vite rectitudinem que est in reddendo vnicuique quod suum
est, Deo, proximo, et sibi ipsum. Isti satiebuntur pane
angelorum de quo., Luce .14., Beatus qui manducabit panem
in regno celorum. [4°] [MS 3°] debet esurire et sitire
gloriam sempiternam, et sic dicit beata virgo, Luce .1.,
Esurientes impleuit bonis, etc. Vere esurientes gloriam
sempiternam impleuit Domino bonis gratie hic in presenti et
bonis glorie in futuro. Ad illam gloriam producat vos
Ihesus Christus. Amen." (Nic f. 59v).

203-204

PsG 145,7

207-208

Lc 14,15.

210-212

Lc 1,53. From the Magnificat, spoken by Mary.

214-217

The Lb compiler has added on his/her own ending to the sermon,
rather than simply translating what is there already in
Nicholas. The formula here in Lb is one which is shared by
many of the other sermons in this collection.

Sermon XVII

The gospel story of the woman of Canaan whose daughter was possessed
by a devil (Mt 15, 21-28) is the basis for this sermon for the second
Sunday in Lent. After the literal account (3-19), the allegorical
exposition draws on the corresponding sermon by Nicholas de Aquevilla.
Despite the initial division into three principals, only the first
is dealt with in the Lb version. The sermon develops from the
moralisation of the woman of Canaan as the sinful soul, who must
depart from sin. Four reasons for this departure are presented, and
this is followed by lengthy development of the interpretations of the
names Tyre and Sidon, and an extended portrayal of the devil as a
hunter, whose five attributes are then moralised. The sermon ends
with a brief and appropriate closing prayer, although the compiler
has not exhausted all the material in Nicholas' first principal. As
is the case with the later sermons in the AdLb series, there is
virtually no overt evidence of Lollard preoccupations, and at one
point the preacher treats the source with remarkable restraint when
it offers the chance to attack corrupt clergy. However, one or two
other alterations and expansions of the Latin original appear tenden-
tious. One of the sermons for 2 Lent in the HR collection also makes
use of Nicholas as a source; both versions are independent, see above,
Introduction.

2
Mt 15, 22. This is also the text in the Nicholas sermon, but in the
corresponding Wycliffite sermon, Hudson 41, from which Lb derives
the greater part of its translation of the pericope, the text is

Mt 15, 21, so that the relationship between them is obscured.

3-19

The dependence of Lb's translation on that in Hudson 41 is evidenced

by the inclusion of commentary which is not strictly part of the

Biblical story:

Lb 3-4	to stire men to merci and hope, al ȝif þei ben synful
Hudson 41/1-2	to sture men to hope mercy [to mercy and hope N 𝛿], al ȝif þei ben synful
Lb 15-16	knowynge Cristis speche, and grantide þat it were good
Hudson 41/18-19	knowynge Cristes speche, and grauntide þat hit were good

It should be said that, as with the other sermons in the AdLb series

which share readings with the Wycliffite sermons, the direction of the

derivation is from the latter to the former; Lb is defective in l.13,

for example, and cannot therefore have been the source for the reading

in the Wycliffite MSS. The apparent closeness of Lb's version to MSS

N𝛿 is not supported by other readings; for example, "loo" (5) is

omitted from most of the 22 MSS of the Wycliffite cycle, including

N and 𝛿 . It does however appear in WB, to which the redactor must

have had recourse. Other readings from WB which are preferred to

those in Hudson 41 are "breed of sonys" Lb14 (EV "breed of sonys;

Hudson 41/16-17 "breed þat fallup to children"), and "gon out" Lb 6

(EV "gon out"; Hudson 41/5 "wente owt").

4 al ȝif]

"Even if, although"; it is identified as an element of Lollard sect

vocabulary by Anne Hudson (1981:19). Its occurrence here is

unremarkable since it is borrowed from a known Lollard source; more

interesting is its appearance at XIX/68 where it occurs in a short

passage which has no counterpart in Nicholas. See Note to XIX/68.

The occurrence of only two examples of this conjunction, which is

found in Wycliffite and Northern texts, suggests that the original

may have used it more extensively but that there has been some scribal

modification of the text in the course of its transmission because

of comparative rarity (Hudson 1981:19).

20-31

The theme is repeated before the preacher opens up the principal

divisions. This is where the sermon begins in Nicholas, who opens

with the gospel theme and not the entire pericope. "In isto

euangelio .3^a. possunt considerari. Primum est quid per istam

mulierem signatur que egressa est a finibus Tyri et Sidonis, que

Chananea appellatur. Sidon interpretatur 'venacio' vel 'commocio',

siue 'leuacio tristitie' aut 'commocio iniquitatis'. Tyrus inter-

pretatur 'angustia'. 2^m est que est eius filia que a demonio vexatur.

3^m est videre quomodo filia ista a demonio liberatur. Primum notatur

cum dicit "Mulier Chananea"; 2^m cum dicit "Ecce filia mea"; 3^m cum

dicit "Fiat tibi sicut vis". Per istam mulierem quelibet anima

peccatrix signatur, propter subieccionem. Anima peccatrix, dum est

sub peccato, subiecta est diabolo et ducit eam vbi vult, de peccato

in peccatum, quia sicut dicit Augustinus in quale glosa in Psalterio

super illum locum, Misit iram indignacionis: eandem potestatem quam

habet homo in pecore [MS pectore pecore] proprio, nisi prohibeatur

a maiore, scilicet, a Deo, eandem potestatem habet in pectore

diabolus" (Nic f.59v). Despite the confident announcement by the

preacher that s/he will speak "of þre þingys", as in Nicholas, only

the first is developed in the body of the sermon. There is no

attempt by the compiler to emulate the <u>similiter cadens</u> of Nicholas'

three princiapls ("signatur . . . appellatur . . . vexatur . . .

liberatur"), as is sometimes the case in orthodox, 'modern' sermons.

A good example of this technique is seen in a sermon in MS Worcester

F.10 (Grisdale 1939:5):

> 'The preui wil of mannus receyuing schit with innes forth in
>
> his thouth is clirlich i-knowyn' <u>in accepcione</u>, is clirlich
>
> i-knowin 'in taking.' 'The hiȝe discreciun of God, þe bihitht
>
> þat mannes merit for-ȝetith nouth, is fullich openid' <u>in</u>
>
> <u>repromissione</u>, is fullich openid 'in be-hithting,' 'but þe
>
> qualite at þe laste & te condiciun of hym þat is clepid, being
>
> þe werkis þat he hath wrouth, is hollich declarid' <u>in vocacione</u>,
>
> is hollich declarid 'in cleping'.

Nicholas' interpretations of Tyre and Sidon are omitted by the English

compiler, perhaps because they are not part of the principal

divisions, and his confirmation of the devisions by reference to

particular phrases in the gospel lection is as usual omitted in Lb.

24-27

More usually it is the daughter who represents the sinful soul, cf.

"Vel, filia est anima vel consciencia cujus libet intra Ecclesiam

diabolo mancipata . . ." <u>GO</u>, <u>PL</u> 114 col.138. The woman of Canaan

is more commonly identified with the penitent soul, cf. <u>Vener. Godefrid.</u>

<u>abb.</u>, <u>PL</u> 174, col.192; for whom the woman is "poenitentis animae

simulacrum". And cf. Sermon 12 of MS Additional 41321, f.111v:

"Bi þis womman of Chanane mai be vnderstonde eueri sinful man

repentaunt þat is in wille to leue his synne . . .".

27-31

Not in any of the gloss commentaries on Mt 15, 21-28.

29

I have restored the missing part of the Latin quotation so that it accounts for the subsequent English translation, but not so that it accords with the reading in Nic, which is fuller.

32-64

The first principal branches out into four divisions which are the reasons why the woman should go out from sin: because of its servitude, oppression, poverty and sickness. The scribe has signalled the middle two divisions in the margins, referring to them as "distinciones". Amplification is by scriptural quotation and exemplum (the story of Naaman).

32-37

The compiler indicates the division and deals here with the first. "Item mulier debet egredi de peccato, et hoc est propter quatuor. Primum est propter peccati seruitum, vnde Iohannis .8., Qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati. Et 2^a Petri .2°., A quo enim quis superatus, huius et seruus est" (Nic f.59v).

33 bondage or seruage]

Nic has "seruitum"; Lb's doublet is typical of the compiler's translational method. "Seruage" (q.v. OED servage "servitude") is not a common word, which may account for its being paired with the more familiar "bondage".

34-35

Jo 8, 34.

35-37

2Pt 2, 19. Lb's Latin text differs from the Vulgate version which
is in Nic. Has the scribe perhaps taken "huius" as "et eius" because
of their visual similarity? Lb's "efficitur" is not one of the MS
variants recorded in Fischer's Vulgage (but Sabatier lists "eius"
as a variant in the Old Latin versions); however it is translated,
which suggests that the variations in the Latin were there before the
redactor started to put together this compilation. Lb's "hoo" ("who")
is an E. Anglian spelling; see the section on Language in the Intro-
duction. The variation between wh, w and h is well illustrated here
by the combination "whom hoo" and "whomman", 1.65.

38-47

"2^m est propter diaboli oppressionem et affliccionem, vnde Exo[di]
primo, Dicit rex Egipti, per quem diabolus designatur, Ecce populus
Israel multus est; venite sapienter, opprimamus eum. Et proposuit
magistros operum vt affligeret eos oneribus. Vnde filij Israel
egressi sunt de Egipto propter oppressionem et affliccionem
Egiptorum. Et Trenorum .1°., dicitur, Migrauit Iudas propter
affliccionem et multitudinem" (Nic f.59v).

40

The Glossa Ordinaria cites Origen's commentary on Ex 1, "Hic est
diabolus", Biblia Sacra cum GO, 1, 483.

40-42

Ex 1, 9-10.

45-47

Lam 1, 3.

48-56

".3^m. est propter peccati paupertatem, quia peccatum est quidam

latro qui expoliat animum omnibus bonis gratie et vulnerat eam in

bonis que sunt bona gratuita et bona naturalia. Vnde Luce .10.,

Homo quidam descendebat de Ierusalem in Iericho et incidit in

latrones / qui expoliauerunt eum bonis gratuitis et vulnerauerunt

eum in naturalibus [MS maturalibus]. Et ideo dicit Ieremias,

Trenorum .3°., Ego ꞁvirꞁ videns paupertatem meam, etc." (Nic ff.59v-

60).

48-49

More conventionally in sermons it is Death which is personified as

a thief, cf. "a privee theef men clepeth Deeth" in Chaucer's

Pardoner's Tale, Robinson 1957:152/675, and a late medieval funeral

sermon in MS Harley 2247, "Deth takith away and privith a man of all

his goodis and revith hym of his life which is a thinge þat is moste

desyrous to euery man. Wherefore Deth may wele be called dredfull,

for he haþe spoyled hym. So shall he robbe bothe þe and me and euery

creature, yonge and olde", Powell and Fletcher 1981:216/84-89. Lb's

epithet "preue" has no basis in Nicholas.

49 wondid]

In view of Nic's present tense "vulnerat" and the parallel verb

"robbiþ", Lb's form represents the 3sg.pr. (not pa.), with typically

E. Anglian variation between d̲ and þ̲ or th̲ (see Language of AdLb in

the Introduction).

50-53

Lc 10, 30.

53-54

Nicholas de Lyra, "Moraliter tamen exponitur de peccatore descendente a statu iustitiae in peccatum mortale, qui spoliatur a daemonibus bonis gratiae, & vulneratur in bonis naturae", <u>Biblia Sacra cum GO</u>, 5, 834.

55-56

Lam 3, 1.

57-64

"In .4to. propter peccatum infirmitatem, vnde .4. Regum .5., dicitur quod Naaman leprosus est egressus de Syria et venit ad regem Israel, vt ibi curare de infirmitate sua magna. Naaman leprosus signatur peccatorem leprosum et fetidum coram Deo et angelis, qui debet egredi de terra peccati et debet venire ad regem Israel, id est, ad Christum, qui est rex verus Israel, vt curetur ab infirmitate peccati sui" (Nic f.60). The story of Naaman and the king of Israel is in 2Rg 5; it is a popular Biblical <u>exemplum</u>, and Naaman is commonly a type of the sinner because of his leprosy. Chrystostym is quoted in the <u>Glossa Ordinaria</u> for his comment that the king of Israel represents God, but in Lyra it is Elisha who is interpreted as Christ.

57

Lb's text is defective at this point because of misdivision of "forþe" as "for þe", and subsequent rationalisation of the sentence to read as if it ran on from the quotation from Lam 3 in the previous division (". . . seynge my poorness for þe greet siknes of my synns"). Nic confirms that in fact the fourth division begins here. The error in 1.55, ".iij^{o}. and .iijj^{o}.", where the reference is to Lam 3,

may well represent the incorporation of a marginal signalling of
the fourth division into the text by a scribe who did not fully
understand the structure or sense of the sermon at this point.

65-103

The preacher now discusses the significance of the places the woman
has come out from, Tyre and Sidon. This is the first part of a two-
fold division: "Propter ista 4^{or} debet mulier Chananea egredi de
peccato et non solum de peccato set de finibus peccati, et hoc est
quod dicitur hic, quod mulier ista egressa est de finibus Tyri et
Sidonis. Tyrus interpretatur 'angustia' et signat peccatum, quia in
quolibet peccato mortali plus habet homo de angustia et dolore quam
de delectacione. Istud manifestum est de luxuriosis et in auaris et
in cupidis et in latronibus, quia luxuriosos oportet per multas
noctes vigilare et multum expendere antequam possunt libidinem suam
adimplere. Similiter auaros et cupidos oportet mane surgere et
maria aliqua transire et multas tribulaciones sustinere antequam
possint diuicias magnas adquirire, vel quod desiderant habere.
Similiter latrones oportet multum vigilare antequam possint furari
et habere quod desiderant, et ita de alijs peccatis, Vnde in peccato
angustia est in operacione, angustia post peccati perpetracionem et
per remorsionem consciencie. Sed maxima erit angustia quando
cruciabuntur in inferno post iudicium in anima et corpore sine fine.
Maxime illi qui nolunt hic egredi de peccato neque hic aliquam
penitenciam facere. Vnde sicut dicitur Sapientie .5., Videntes
turbabuntur in subitacione insperate salutis, gementes per angustia
spiritus, et penitenciam agentes, dicens de bonis qui erunt cum
Domino. Hij sunt quos aliquando habuimus in derisum, etc. Et nos
errauimus a via veritatis, vias difficiles ambulauimus et viam Dei

ignorauimus, etc. Et certe beatus Bernardus, Quis putas esse tunc

memor? quis luctus? que tristitia? cum separabuntur impij a consorcio

iustorum et a visione Dei, et traditi in potestate demonum ibunt cum

impijs in ignem eternum, ibi erunt sine fine cum luctu et gemitu.

Ideo debet egredi quelibet anima peccatrix de angustia peccati dum

potest" (Nic f.60). The translation is as usual very close to the

source; but since part of the quotation from Sap 5 in l.83 is missing

in Nic, that MS was unlikely to have been the text used by the English

compiler.

65 whomman]

On the spelling with _wh_ see Note to 11.35-37 above.

66 costum]

The word means "custom, habitual practice" (with E. Anglian _o_ for

more usual _u_). This is not the sense of Nicholas' "finibus"

("territories, boundaries"), but it is an inspired translation since

it parallels the ambiguous usage in Nicholas (both the boundaries

of Tyre and Sidon and the boundaries of sin) by punning with "costis"

in l.67, a term which does not lend itself so readily as "finibus"

to metaphorical use. Thus the link between the literal sense and

its moralisation is preserved through paranomasia.

68 Tire is to saie 'anguisch']

The interpretation is traditional, cf. Jerome, Liber de Nominibus

Hebraicis, PL 23, col.887: "Tyro, angustiae".

69 for it stynkyþ]

No counterpart in Nic. It is probably intended as a reinforcement

of pastoral warnings about sin.

72 spende]

The primary sense is "wear o.s. out", "use up one's energy", but the

context suggests that the verb has a sexual connotation ("exhaust

o.s. with sex" or, colloquial "come"), although this sense is not

recorded in the OED (spende v^1). The meaning is certainly known in

the Renaissance (cf. Shakespeare's "Th' expense of spirit in a waste

of shame/ Is lust in action . . ."), and the connection between sex

and money is already established in the medieval period (cf. Chaucer's

Shipman's Tale, although the verb is not used there).

73 stynkynge]

An addition to Nicholas, cf. Note to 1.69 above.

80 conscyencie]

On the -ie ending, cf. XV/135 and 162, and Notes.

83-92

Sap 5, 2-3.

93-101

Pseudo-Bernard, Meditationes Piissimae de Cognitione Humanae

Conditionis, PL, 184, col.491, "Quis, putas, tunc moeror erit, quis

luctus, quae tristitia, cum separabuntur impii a consortio sanctorum".

102-103 sche]

Represents both the gender of the woman of Canaan and the grammatical

gender of Latin "anima" ("soul").

104-126

The second of the two-fold division concerning the interpretation of

the names of Tyre and Sidon is dealt with here. "Item Sydon

interpretatur 'venacio' [MS + scilicet subpuncted] et venacio

diaboli est peccator, quia diabolus venatur peccatores [aut] animas

peccatorum, vnde Trenorum .3°., Venacione ceperunt me quasi auem. /

Vnde diabolus venator animarum est, et habet plurima instrumenta

quibus venatur animas peccatorum. Item habet canes et cornua et

vestem pallidam et recia, decipulos et laqueos. Canes diaboli sunt

detractores, peccatores quorum .3ᵃ. sunt genera, vt dicit glosa

super illud, Psalmi, Detrahebant secreto proximo suo. Primum est

dicere malum de alio. 2ᵐ est audita mala referre. 3ᵐ est libenter

ea audire. Sed [MS + ?5 canc.] .6. genera possunt inueniri

detractoris vt dicitur in salmo de civijs. Primum est occulta mala

proximi partire. 2ᵐ maledita tacite referre. 3ᵐ falsem crimen

imponere. 4ᵐ bona opera negare. 5ᵐ bona ista minuere. 6ᵐ bonum

in malum conuertere. Vnde Mathei .15., Nolite sanctum dare canibus.

Et Ecclesiastici .19., Sagitta infixa femori canis, sic verbum ore

stulti, quia sicut canis non requiescit donec remouerit sagittam de

femore, nec stultus detractor quiescere potest donec verbum quod

audierit malum de proximo suo alijs retulerit. Ipsi similes canibus

qui morantur in macello qui insidiantur semper sanguini. Vere

detractores sunt canes diaboli et proditores, quia semper mordent

homines in occulto, sicut fecit Iudas, Mathei .26. Et non solum

canes immo serpentes sunt proditores, mordentes homines in occulto

et in silencio, vnde Ecclesiastes .X., Si mordat serpens in silencio,

nichil eo minus habet qui occulte detrahit" (Nic ff.60-60v). The

subdivisions in Nicholas which deal with first three types of back-

biters, and then with another six types, are omitted in the English

text. In Nicholas they amount to little more than a list and are

not amplified.

104 Sidon is to say 'huntynge']

Cf. Jerome, Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis, PL 23, col.887: "Sidona, venatio".

105 Whi so?]

A rhetorical addition by the Lb compiler.

106-108

Lam 3, 52. The book of Lamentations was ascribed in the medieval period to the prophet Jeremiah, hence "Ieremye seiþ".

108-111

The personification of the devil as hunter of men's souls is of course commonplace, cf. Chaucer's Friar's Tale.

112-113

Not in fact Mt 15, as suggested in Nic and as followed by Lb, but Mt 7, 6. However, Nicholas (or a later scribe) was probably thinking of the gospel lection for the day, particularly Mt 15, 26 "Non est bonum sumere panem filiorum, et mittere canibus".

113-115

Sir 19, 12. Nicholas' version of this verse, which is reproduced in Lb, differs from the Vulgate text by evidencing some minority readings; Nic's "canis" ("of a dog") is the reading in only three witnesses as given in Fischer's edition (MSS AZM), where all other MSS read "carnis" ("of the flesh"), and Nic's "ore" ("mouth") is found only in MS A of the Vulgate, where all other witnesses read "corde" ("heart"). Clearly the reading "canis" is important for it provides the link with the previous quotation, the concordia verbum, which advances the text metonymically.

119-122

The comparison of backbiters to dogs is common, cf. Note to VII/82-86, and Owst, LPME, pp.450-451.

122-123

Another traditional comparison, cf. Fischer, "Handlist", pp.94-95.

123-126

Ecl 10, 11.

125-126 he haþ . . . bacbityþ]

Translate: "The man who backbites in secret is no different." On the redundant "þat" in 1.126, see Blake 1973:43.

127-145

"Item cornua eius sunt adulatores, laudantes homines corma ipsis, vel cornua diaboli possunt dici predicatores trufas et fabulas predicantes et blandimentes [MS + et subpuncted] in predicationibus suis et querentes ab hominibus gloriam. Adulatores et tales predicatores ipsi lactant homines lacto adulacionis, vnde sicut dicitur, Prouerbiorum .1., Fili, si te lactauerunt peccatores, non adquiescas eis, quasi sicut dicitur, Ysaie .3°., Popule meus, qui dicunt te beatum, ipsi te decipiunt. Certe sicut dicit beatus Augustinus, Hec est magna ira Dei, vt desit correccio et desit adulacio. Et ideo dicitur, Ecclesiastes .7., Melius est a sapiente corripi quam ab adulatore decipi. Et dicit Psalterium de istis cornibus, Cornua peccatorum, id est, adulatores et malos predicatores, confringam, et cornua iusti exaltabuntur in gloria, scilicet, predicatores veritatis" (Nic f.60v).

127-130

Clearly there is much in both the content and tone of this passage

to remind us of Lollard concerns (cf. "prechours in þe fendis chirche

. . . prechen cronyclis . . . & manye oþir helples talis . . .

tariyng þe peple from trewe bileue: þat þei may not knowe it",

Lanterne of Li3t, p.55) yet nearly all of it is derived from the

orthodox Nicholas. Although "glosers"/"glosyn"/"glosynge" are

recognised as possible elements of Lollard sect vocabulary (Hudson

1981:20), their use is not confined to Lollard texts, and here in

Lb they may mean no more than "flatterers", etc., rather than necess-

arily bearing the more specifically Lollard meaning of "false inter-

preters of scripture". However the three occurrences of the word

and its related terms in 11.129 and 130 represent Nicholas'

"predicatores"/"predicantes"/"predicationibus", and are thus a

deliberate alternative, even though they are suggested by Nicholas'

"adulatores" and have not come out of the blue. Yet the failure of

the preacher here to define the "glosers" in contemporary terms, as

do the writers of Lollard tracts and sermons, makes it difficult to

state that the passage is unequivocally Lollard. The term "lesyngis"

has been isolated as a Lollard word (Cigman 1968:189), and Lb's "þe

whiche desceuyþ þe peple" has no counterpart in Nic but is consonant

with Lollard attitudes towards false preachers. Although the passage

is insufficiently outspoken or specific, nevertheless the changes

which the preacher has made from the source and the choice of vocab-

ulary warrant the conclusion that the compiler was at least proto-

Lollard, although it should be recognised that the issue is problem-

atic. On "trifles and fablis", 128, cf. Note to I/22-24.

131-133

Prv 1, 10.

133-135

Is 3, 12. Lb's corrupt "bene" in 134 is probably due to a scribal misreading of the abbreviated form of "beatus", since it is correctly translated ("blissid").

136-138

Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum IX, PL 36, col.126: "Nemo gratuletur homini qui prosperatur in via sua, cujus peccatis deest ultor, et adest laudator; major haec ira Domini est".

138-141

Ecl 7, 6.

142-143

PsG 74, 11.

143 glosers . . . flateris]

Nic's "malos predicatores" ("evil preachers"), upon which this is based, indicates what the translator may have had in mind, but without the Latin to hand it would be difficult to assume that anything other than "flatterers" is meant. Even with reference to the Latin it is by no means certain that the compiler intended the remark to be specifically critical of preachers.

146-156

"3^m instrumentum est vestis pallida qua induitur diabolus ne percipiatur ab animalibus siluestris. Vestis pallida in qua diabolus induitur in membris suis est ypocrisis in qua venatur ypocritas

tristes qui exterminant facies suas vt videantur ab hominibus

ieiunantes vt / Mathei .5. De istis dicit Dominus, Attendite a

falsis prophetis qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ouium; intrinsecus

autem sunt lupi rapaces. Isti ypocrite induti sunt veste peregrina,

et hoc dicit Dominus, Sophonie .2°., Visitabo super illos qui induti

sunt veste peregrina" (Nic ff.60v-61). Nicholas' initial reference

to the devil concealing himself from wild animals is missing in Lb,

perhaps through eyeskip (two references to "vestis pallida") or

perhaps because it was felt to be too fanciful?

148-149

Mt 6, 16.

149-153

Mt 7, 15.

154-156

So 1, 8.

157-68

"4^{m} instrumentum est rethe. Recia diaboli sunt mali prelati per

quorum malum auxilium diabolus venatur multos laycos cum illis.

Vnde Dominus dicit, Osee .9., de malis prelatis, [Laqueus] facti

estis speculacioni, et sicut rethe expansum ante montem Thabor"

(Nic f.61). The compiler ducks the opportunity to attack evil pre-

lates, preferring to include references to catechetical material

(the seven deadly sins and the three parts of penance). The reasons

for the changes and for the preacher's restraint are obscure.

160 space and grace]

Ornamental rhymes (and alliteration) are sometimes used for local

effect in late medieval sermons, but this is a rare instance in Lb.

161 scrifte and sorwe in herte and penaunce-doynge]

The traditional three parts of penance - confession, contrition and

satisfaction, cf. Note toIV/213-215.

164 as a fouler . . . foulis]

On this simile, cf. Bromyard: "For, as the fowler strives to gather

the birds together into one place to ensnare and catch them there,

so the Devil gathers many to the tavern . . .", quoted in Owst,

LPME, p.439.

165-168

Os 5, 1.

169-185

".5^m. est decipula et laquei diaboli, qui sunt male et fatue mulieres.

Vnde Ecclesiastici .7., Vidi mulierem amariorem morte. Laqueus

venatorum est et sagena cor eius et vincula sunt manus eius. Et

Prouerbiorum, dicitur de fatua muliere que irretunt eam multis

sermonibus, etc. Et Ieremie, Inuenti sunt in populo meo multi impij

insidiantes, scilicet, demones, quasi ponentes pedicas ad capiendum

viros, sicut decipula est plena auibus, sic domus eorum plena est

dolor. Isti insidiantes et aucupes et venatores sunt demones. Laquei

eorum decipule et pedice sunt male et fatue mulieres in apparatibus

suis et decepcionibus suis capiunt homines et decipiunt" (Nic f.61).

The most striking difference between the source and the English

version here is that the stock anti-feminist image of the mulier

fatua is passed over completely and becomes instead "euery man or

womman, of what degre þat þei ben", whose sin is defined more

specifically than in Nic as the wearing of fine clothes, a symbol of pride. The original material in Lb is still in line with the image of the net or snare, but its application is not confined to women but to all members of society. The compiler's motives are not clear, but may perhaps be partially explained by the exigencies of preaching to a mixed audience and of promulgating instructio to the laity (cf. 11.159-161 above and Note). While it would be difficult to argue that the compiler was a woman, there is nevertheless awareness of the audience and resistance to reproducing what was after all a common pulpit stereotype (see Owst, LPME, pp.386-389, who quotes from the above passage from another MS of Nicholas, BL MS Additional 21253). Denunciations of fine clothing (11.170-182) are a medieval commonplace (cf. Owst, LPME, pp. 390-411, and Memoriale Credencium, p.62 where the satire on extravagant dress appears in the section on Pride, and which is directed at both "men and wymmen"). On the temptation to lechery offered by in appropriate clothing, see LPME, pp.404-5.

175-181

Jr 5, 26-27.

185-198

"De omnibus istis peccatis debet quilibet [MS + homo subpuncted] anima peccatrix egredi, et hoc est quod dicit Dominus in Ysa[ie] .52., Exite, exite, pullutum nolite tangere. Non peccatum sed anima que egreditur de peccato, hec est mulier que egreditur de Tyro et Sydone, quia egredi de Tyro et Sydone est egredi de peccato. Sed de peccato solo non debet egredi set de finibus Tyri et Sydonis, id est, de circumstancijs peccati et de occasionibus peccati et de consorcio

malorum virorum et mulierum, et de superfluitate ciborum et potuum.

Et hoc est quod dixerunt angeli Loth, Genesis .19., quod egrederetur

de ciuitate Sodomorum et de consorcio sodomitarum et cum egressus

esset, dixerunt ei, Noli respicere post tergum tuum [nec stes] [MS

vestes] et omnem viam circa regionem, sed in montem saluum to fac"

(Nic f.61).

187-188

Is 52, 11.

192-198

Gn 19, 15-17.

198-200

Cf. GO, PL 113, col.131, on Gn 19, 17: "Moraliter mons altitudinem

virtutum significat".

200-201

The sermon ends with a brief prayer.

The sermon in Nicholas continues with the first principal. The woman

of Canaan represents a change from the state of sin to the state of

grace, from bad to good, from vices to virtues, and from virtue to

virtue. This woman of Canaan is a Syrophoenician. The woman going

out symbolises the state of beginners, that she comes from Canaan

symbolises the state of those who are progressing, and insofar as

she is a Syrophoenician she symbolises the state of those who are

perfect or who have completed the journey. The second principal

concerns the moralisation of the daughter troubled by a fiend as the

conscience which can never be at rest when it is in mortal sin. The

third principal deals with the means by which the conscience may be

free from the devil, which is threefold - by great faith, by calling
on God and by great humility. Such humility will win eternal glory.
The sermon ends on f.62.

Sermon XVIII

The gospel lection for the day, Lc 11,14-28 (Sarum Missal, p.73),

the account of Christ casting out a devil from a man, is the basis

for this sermon for the third Sunday in Lent. The literal story is

given first, and then allegorised in the body of the sermon, following

the equivalent sermon by Nicholas de Aquevilla. Before announcing

the three principal divisions (11.47-53), the preacher gives several

examples of God's and Christ's expelling of various devils, illustrated

with Biblical quotations. The three principals are as usual linked

thematically to the gospel pericope; however only the first is dealt

with (the significance of the man from whom Christ drove the devil,

and the meaning of the devil). Not unsurprisingly, the man represents

a sinner, and that for four reasons. There are also four kinds of

fiend (envy, sloth, simony, lechery). The sermon ends with a passage

on the seven deadly sins and the seven feignings of hypocrites, and

closes with a brief prayer. There is little sign of Lollard interests

on the part of the compiler, beyond one item of vocabulary, and one

or two tendentious phrases borrowed from the corresponding Wycliffite

sermon.

2

Lc 11,14.

3-29

The translation of the gospel lection follows that in the corresponding

Wycliffite sermon (Hudson 42) where its translation is continuous;

otherwise the compiler has used WB. Hudson 42 probably supplied the

opening of Lb, "Þis gospel telliþ, etc.", and some of the commentary

from the Wycliffite sermon has intruded into the Biblical translation,

e.g. Lb 7-9, "And þei þat þus defamydyn Crist, it semyþ þat þei

weryn prestis or pharisees", which corresponds to Hudson 42/11-12.

There is however some modification of the force of the statement in

Lb by the insertion "it semyþ", which suggests that the compiler

may have deliberately included the passage (in other words s/he did

not merely reproduce the borrowed material from the Wycliffite source

but was interested in it enough to want to alter it in order to use

it). On the use of the term "pharisees" in Lollard writings to mean

friars, see Note to X/38. The comment in Hudson 42 that

priests and friars defame Christ is a typically Lollard accusation

(on the authority of Christ as a central tenet of Lollard ideology,

see Wawn 1972:32-33) whose force was presumably appreciated by the Lb

compiler and therefore perhaps diluted for less sympathetic consumption.

Lb's "amerueylid" (5) is peculiar to that MS; Hudson and WB have

"wondrede" with no variants. The text continues to follow Hudson 42

except for ll.6-7, "And sum ... deuelis" (WB); ll.9-11, "And oþer ...

be" (WB, except for the insertion of the phrase "wiþ lasse malice"

which must derive from Hudson 42/12, "by lesse enuye". Since the

compiler is following WB for the surrounding passage, the phrase from

the Wycliffite sermon must have been deliberately included);

ll.13-14, "For 3e ...deuelis" (EV MSS SX]; ll.19-21, "and ouercome ...

departid" (WB). Ll.22-29, "Whanne ... firste" follow Hudson 42,

because the text is uninterrupted in Hudson at this point. Lb has

several idiosyncratic readings which are traceable to neither Hudson

42 nor WB, e.g. 1.17, "my3t" (Hudson 42/41 "special werk", WB "fyngir");

1.18, "3ate" (Hudson 42/47 "castel", WB "hows").

13-14 For ȝe seien deuelis]

The word order is not idiomatic. The construction is accusative and

infinitive ("me ... to caste out"). Translate: "Because you say that

I cast out devils through the power of Beelzebub."

17 comyn]

Lb's error "comynge" is due to eyeskip to the ng in the next word,

"amongys".

21 his robberies or his spoilyngis]
Another of Lb's doublet translations.

23 vnclene spirit]

"Evil spirit"; on this common collocation, see OED unclean a. 2.

28 entryn into þe man dwellyn]

On the infinitive without "to", cf. Kengen 1979:357.

29 þe laste]

I.e. the last state.

30-46

This section, dealing with Biblical instances of the expulsion of devils,

more nearly corresponds to the protheme or antetheme of the 'modern'

sermon than do the Biblical translation which preface most of the

sermons in Lb and which appear to serve as prothemes. Generally, the

protheme introduced a prayer (Ross, pp.xliv-xlv), although as has

been mentioned previously the original function of the protheme was

lost sight of in the latter fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

One of its functions, however, was to cover some aspect of the principal

theme which would not be discussed in the body of the sermon, which is

the case here. Ross (p.xlv) repeats Charland's comment that such

a practice was peculiarly English; since Lb is simply following

Nicholas in this matter, the intriguing possibility that Nicholas

was in fact English suggests itself. Unfortunately we know too

little about him to confirm or refute this, but cf. D'Avray 1985:

151, "One wonders whether the shadowy 'Nicolaus de Aquaevilla' may

have been English, for many manuscripts of his de tempore collection

... are in English libraries (but was he really Franciscan?)".

Nicholas opens his sermon with the gospel text, as in Lb 1.30,

and begins: "Legi [mus] multotiens Dominus eiecisse diabolum. Primus

eiecit eum de celo propter suam superbiam, vnde E$_3$echielis .28.,

Cherub, peccasti, et ideo eieci te de monte Dei, etc. 2°, eiecit

eum de mundo per suam passionem gloriosam, vnde Iohannes .12., dicit

ipse Christus, Nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras. 3°, eiecit

eum de corporibus obsessorum, vt habetur hic et in Mathei .8. per

miraculorum operacione. 4, eiecit eum Dominus de animabus peccatricibus,

tec., hoc per gratiam Spiritus Sancti et virtutem. Vnde hic dicit

In digito Dei eicio demonia, id est, per virtutem Spiritus Sancti,

vnde illud miraculum quod fecit Dominus in corporibus obsessorum cotidie

in animabus peccatorum. Dicit ergo, Erat Ihesus eiciens demonium"

(Nic f.62v).

32-35

Ez 28,16. Cf. III/39-44.

36-38

Jo 12,31.

38-39

The reference is to the episode of the Gadarene swine, Mt. 8, 28-33.

42-43

Lc 11,20.

47-53

The three principals are announced here. "In verbis istud ad presens
.3ª. possumus considerare. Primum, quid per demoniacum, quem Dominus
a demonio liberauit, signatur, et quid / est illud demoniacum quo homo
cecus et mutus efficitur. 2^m est videre quomodo illud demonium ab eo
eiecitur, et que verba ille debeat loqui postquam a demonio liberatur.
3^m est videre que sunt ille turbe que ex hoc admirrantur" (Nic ff.
62v-62bis^a).

48 what betokenyþ ... deuyl]
The word-order is unidiomatic; translate: "what is the meaning of the
man that Christ drove the devil out of".

49 what is ... domb]
The clause is awkward sounding because of the displacement of the
preposition "of"; translate: "what is the devil by which that man is
made blind and dumb". Lb's "of" seems to represent an attempt to
convey the Latin ablative in "quo", cf. "of hym" (50) as a translation
of "ab eo".

53 of þe myracle þat Crist dide]
A typical clarifying addition by the English compiler; Nicholas has
"ex hoc".

54-68

The redactor now bypasses a short section in Nicholas which confirms
the three principals by reference to three clauses in the gospel text,

but rejoins the Latin source with the declaration of four subdivisions

of the first principal, of which this is the first. "Et sciendum est

quod per istum demoniacum quilibet peccator signatur et hoc propter

.4^{or}. Primum est quia peccator non sentit propriam infirmitatem, ita

peccator existens in mortali peccato, cum sit informus maxima

infirmitate, que est ad mortem eternam, et maxime quia obstinatus est

in peccato suo, quia habet tunc quasi cor lapideum. Vnde Ysaie .48.,

Sciui quod durus es tu et neruus [MS looks like nermis] ferreus ceruix

tua, frons tua erea. Illud dicitur de populo Israel quoniam obstinatus

erat in peccato suo. Et E3echielis .3., Omnis domus Israel attrita

est fronte et duro corde. Ita peccatores postquam obstinati sunt in

peccatis suis, attriti sunt fronte et duro corde sunt. Vnde ipsi habent

quasi cor lapideum, et ideo isti non possunt infirmitatem suam sentire,

sicut et demoniaci. Et igitur dicit Dominus, E3echielis .28., Auferam a

vobis cor lapideum, et dabo vobis cor carneum, id est, molle et

sensibile" (Nic f.62bis^{a}). The main differences between the Latin and

English are Lb's omission of Nic's quotation from Is 48, and the fact

that Lb correctly ascribes the second quotation from Ezekiel to

Ch.11, whereas Nic has Ch.28, presumably because the scribe of Nic

was thinking back to the earlier quotation from Ezekiel (see 11,33-35).

This provides further evidence that Nic was unlikely to have been the

MS used by the English compiler.

54-55

Nichdas de Lyra, commentary on Lc 11, Biblia Sacra cum GO, "Hoc

literaliter exponitur de diabolo, moraliter potest exponi de peccatore

obstinato, qui defendit peccatum suum contra reprehendentem".

59-61

Ez 3,7.

64 infirmyte or freelnesse]

I have emended Lb's "of" to "or" on the assumption that this represents

one of the doublets which are a common feature of Lb's translation.

Nicholas has simply "infirmitatem".

as fendys]

Lb's "as þei han fendys" is odd, and does not represent Nicholas'

"sicut et demoniaci". The sense is "sinners cannot feel their own

infirmity, just as fiends cannot". Perhaps the scribe of Lb or of

a previous copy was thinking of sinners as being possessed by devils.

65-67

Ez 11,19.

67

Eyeskip (the two occurrences of "herte") is responsible for the

omission in Lb, which I have supplied by reference to both the Vulgate

and Nicholas.

69-83

The second reason why the man possessed by the devil is like a sinner

follows. "2^{m} est quia non curat verecundiam vel propri derisionem.

Similiter non peccator, et illud manifestum est in illis mulieribus

fatuis quia mulieres dum sint caste et virgines mirabiliter verecunde

sunt, sed postquam incipiunt peccare et esse fatue, nullam verecundiam

vel derisionem curent, quia sicut dicit Iob .15., Bibunt quasi aquam

iniquitatem. Et Ieremie, dicitur de anima peccatrice, In via sedebas

quasi latro expectans eos in solitudine, et polluisti terram in

fornicacionibus tuis et in malicijs tuis. Frons meretricis mulieris

facta est [tibi] noluisti erubescere" (Nic f.62bis[a]).

70 schorn]

The OED records several examples of the spelling with h.

71-72

Nic's "mulieribus fatuis" (the stock "foolish women" of medieval

anti-feminism) is given a more restricted meaning in Lb's "wymmen þat

ben comoun, þat sellyn hir bodijs for money". This is a firm

indication of the English compiler's desire not to alienate the women

in the congregation. The material is adjusted to avoid the global

anti-feminist stereotype by confining it to one subset of women who

were presumably distanced from the women in the auditory. See Notes

to XVII, 169-185, and D'Avray 1976:177ff.

75-76

Jb 15,16.

76-83

Jr 3,2-3.

79

Lb's omission is the result of eyeskip (two instances of "tuis").

80 þef]

Lb's error "þei" is an understandable mechanical error, in that i

with an exaggerated flourish above might be taken as f.

81 þe fornycacyouns and in þe wickidnes]

The two instances of "be" in Lb represent Nic's "tuis" (i.e. "þi").

On variation between e and i in AdLb see the section on Language in

the Introduction.

82

The awkwardness is due to a literal following of the Vulgate. The

sense is "you have a strumpet's forehead". Lb's "sche" is repetition

of the subject ("frount" > frons f.), a common feature of Middle

English syntax, and is probably inspired by the f. ending on "facta".

84-104

The preacher continues with the third of the four subdivisions. "3^m

est quia cum sit stultus reputat se esse sapientem. Vere demoniacus

stultissimus est, quia eos qui custodient eum et castigant mordet

dentibus. Preterea ipse gaudens gaudet de malis operibus suis, de

quibus deberet flere. Ita quilibet peccator, cum sit stultissimus,

reputat se esse sapientem, quia quicquid facit videtur sibi quod totum

bene facit. Et certe sicut dicit Ieremie .4., Sapientes vt mala

faciant; bonum autem facere nesciunt. Et de ipsis peccatoribus potest

dicit illud quod apostolus dicit de superbis [phariseis] [MS prophetis],

[R]o. [MS Io.] 1, Obscuratum est / insipiens cor eorum, dicentes enim

ipsos esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt. Ergo vere ipsi peccatores

dicunt et credunt se esse sapientes sed certe ipsi stulti facti sunt

sicut demoniaci, quia illos qui eos reprehendunt et castigant odio

habent et mordent dentibus detraccionis in occulto, sicut serpens.

Vnde Ecclesiastes .X., Si mordeat in silencio serpens, nichil eo

minus habet quam qui occulte detrahit. Preterea ipsi gaudent de ipso

quod deberent flere, scilicet, de malis operibus. Vnde Prouerbiorum

.2., dicitur, Letantur cum male fecerunt et exultant in rebus

pessimis" (Nic ff.62bis^a-62bis^b).

86 betiþ]

"Bites" with <u>e</u> for <u>i</u>, cf. Note to 81.

87 ouel]

"Evil" with Northern <u>o</u> for <u>e</u>; see section on Language in the Introduction.

88

Something may be missing in this line since there is no equivalent of

Nic's "reputat se esse sapientem", but it is not strictly needed for

the sense, and it would be difficult to prove an error according to

the usual principles of scribal mistakes.

89-92

Jr 4,22.

92-96

Rm 1,21-22. Nic was not the MS used by the English compiler since

the two errors in Nic ("prophetis" for "phariseis" and "Io." instead

of "Ro.") are not reproduced in Lb.

97-99 hem ... mysdedis]

The whole noun phrase is the object of "biten" in 99, where it is

repeated as "hem".

100 as þe adder doþ]

Nic's quotation from Ecc 10 is omitted in Lb.

102-104

Prv 2,14.

105-121

The last of the subdivisions of this part of the sermon follows.
"4^{tm} est propter garulitate et instabilitate, ita peccator garrulus

est et instabilis, quia modo vadit [in] tabernas; modo ad coreas; modo

est in [MS + spectabil canc.] spectaculis; modo huc, modo illuc.

Vnde Trenorum .1., Peccatum peccauit Ierusalem; propterea instabilis

facta est. Et Ieremie .17., Hec dicit Dominus populo hinc, qui

dilexit mouere pedes suos et non quieuit, et Domino non placuit; noli

orare pro populo hoc in bonum, quasi dicens, Quia non audiam te. Et

Prouerbiorum .7., dicitur se muliere, Fatua et garrula est, inquieta

et impaciens; non valens consistere in domo pedibus suis, non foris

nec in plateis. Per istum igitur demoniacum quilibet peccator signatur

et per illud demonium quodlibet peccatum mortale signatur" (Nic f.62bis^{b}).

106-108

Lb's "carolis of syngynge and daunsis" is more precise than Nicholas'

"coreas". Nicholas' "spectaculis" is amplified: "pleies, ...

beholdynge of vanytees". Such denunciations are common in sermon

literature, though sometimes qualified, cf. "Steraclis, pleyys &

dauncis þar arn don principaly for deuocioun & honest merthe ...

arn leful", Dives and Pauper, 1, p.293. Lb's handling of the Latin

here suggests some reinforcement of the traditional disapproval.

109-111

Lam 1,8.

111-115

Jr 14,10-11.

116-119

Prv 7,11.

119-120 bi þis man ... hym]

As the translation of Nic's "demoniacum", this represents a typical

clarification of the source.

122-134

The first principal continues with further subdivisions; this time

the preacher considers four types of fiend which can make a man

blind and dumb, of which the first is envy: "Et sciendum est quod

4^x est demonium quod facit peccatorem oculis suis cecum et mutum.

Primum est inuidie. In isto occupatus fuit Saul, vnde habetur .3.

Regum .15., vbi, Spiritus Domini recessit a Saule et exabitabat eum

spiritus nequam. Illud demonium erat inuidie et facit homines mutum,

quia inuidus non potest dicere bonum [MS + dicere] de alio. Similiter

facit eum cecum, quia inuidus non potest rectis oculis respicere illum

cui inuidet quando aliud bonum opus facit, et illud optime manifestum

est, primo Regum .18., vbi dicitur quod mulieres dicebant quod Dauid

percussit .X. milia et Saul percussit mille, quod rectis oculis Saul

non respiciebat Dauid a die illa et deinceps" (Nic f.62bis^b).

124-126

1 Sm 16,14.

127-128 may not]

Emended by reference to Nicholas and to the parallel construction in

1.129.

130-133

1 Sm 18,7.

133-134

1 Sm 18,9. A common exemplum of envy, cf. Memoriale Credencium, p.73.

135-149

The second kind of fiend is sloth. "2^m demonium est accidie, et

illud potest signari per demonium quo occupata fuit illa mulier que

habebat spiritum infirmitatis .18. annos, et erat inclinata nec

poterat sursum respicere, vt habetur Luce .13., et dicit Ihesus

Iudeis qui dicebant quod non debebat curare infirmitates in die

Sabbati, Ypocrite! vnusquisque vestrum Sabbato soluit bouem suum

aut asinum a presepio et [MS + dicit a canc.] ducit adaquare; hanc

filiam Habrahe, quam alligauit Sathanas .18. annos, non oportuit

solui a vinculo isto in die Sabbati? Istud demonium accidie, quod

facit hominem curuum nec permittet eum / ad aliquod bonum opus

[MS + opus] faciendum surgere" (Nic ff.62bis^b-63).

137-140
Lc 13,11.

140-145
Lc 13,15.

142 and Crist seide to hem]
Such recapitulation ("seide Iesus to þe Iewis", ll.140-141) within

the sentence is typical of ME sentence construction.

142-149 and suffryþ ... erþe]
The compiler has elaborated on Nicholas' "nec permittet eum ...

surgere", which suggests adjustment of the material for use in a

pastoral context, reminding the congregation of their obligation

to do penance and to refrain from "alle lustful þingis of erþe".

150-156

The third fiend is simony. "Tercium est symonie, siue cupiditatis

et auaricie. Iste occupatus fuit Ananias et vxor eius qui subito

fuerunt mortui quando vnam partem de precio agri sui quem vendiderant

retinuerunt, vt habetur Actuum .5. Similiter isto demonio repletus

fuit Simon Magus, qui voluit emere Spiritum Sanctum pecunia, vt

posset illum vendere pecunia cui vt vellet, vt habetur Actuum .8.

Et dixit ei beatus Petrus, Pecunia tua tecum sit in perdicionem"

(Nic f.63).

151-153

The Biblical exemplum of Ananias and Saphira (Act 5) was a common

illustration of covetousness, cf. Knight, Wimbledon's Sermon, p.93.

152 for þat þei]

On redundant "þat", cf. Kengen 1979:368-369.

153-156

Simon Magus gives his name to simony; see Act 8. The Vulgate quotation

in 156 is Act 8,20.

157-179

The fourth and last fiend is lechery. "4^m est inmundicie et luxurie,

vnde 3acharie .4., Auferam de terra prophetas et spiritum inmundum.

Et in isto euangelio dixit, Cum exierit spiritus inmundus ab homine,

scilicet, per penitenciam et Spiritus Sanctum et gratiam, ambulat per

loca inaquosa, querens requiem et non inuenit, etc. Loca inaquosa

sunt corda casta et sobria ab omni humore carnalis concupiscencie

siccata que querit requiem [MS + intrare canc.] si quomodo valeat

requiem intrare et quem non inuenit et requiem dicit, Reuertar in

domum meam, vnde exiui prius, ed est, anima a qua exiui [MS + prius

canc.] et eiectus sum per penitenciam, sicut dicit Ysa. .37., Per

viam qua venit Senacherib, per eam redijt et cum venerit inuenit

eam stopis mundatam, scilicet, penitencia, tunc vadit, assumit .7.

spiritus nequiores se, et ingressi ibi inhabitant" (Nic f.63).

158-160

Za 13,2.

160-166

Lc 11,24. Commentary from the Gloss is woven into the translation,

cf. Nicholas de Lira, Biblia Sacra cum GO: "Exierit, etc. Per

virtutem poenitentiae. Ambulat etc. Id est, per corda humanae milliciei

caventia, tu quibus fornicationis spiritus requiem non inuenit".

166-172

Nothing in Nic corresponds to this passage, which is typical of the

compiler's additions which seek to inculcate basic elements of the

catechism in the auditory. Here the congregation is urged to prayer

and penance by thinking on the Day of Judgement and Christ's passion;

this is linked to the main theme of the sermon by the explanation that

obeying such instructio will drive away the "vnklene spirit".

172-174

Lc 11,24.

174-176

Is 37, 29 and 24. There may be something missing in Lb after

"Sanacherib", probably the remainder of the Latin quotation and the

first part of the English translation. The loss would be easily

explained as due to eyeskip (the two occurrences of "Sanacherib"),

and is probably confirmed by Lb's corrupt reading "Sanacherib cam", which suggests that this is part of the English translation of the first part of the Vulgate text. Emendation would involve supplying a large portion of text; I have therefore removed "cam" for minimal editorial interference. The text makes good sense, if it is accepted that the verses from Is are given half in Latin, half in English.

176-177

Lc 11,25.

177-179

Lc 11,26.

178-179

The ablative absolute "ingressi" is rendered as a finite verb, "þei gon", followed by the conjunction "and" to link it to the next finite verb, "and dwellyn". This is a more idiomatic translation of the ablative absolute than in some other places in the series, cf. Ad III/7.

180-199

The preacher now turns to consider the interpretation of the seven spirits of Lc 11,26. As usual, the compiler follows Nicholas' material in the same order. "Isti .7. spiritus possunt dici fornicacio, adulterium, stuprum, incestus, peccatum non naturam, mollicies vestimentorum et curiositas bonorum ciborum, quia ista duo haberunt libenter luxuriosi. Istis .vij. demonijs occupati fuerunt .7. viri Sarre, filie Raguelis, quos demonium, ed est, libido luxurie, occidit,

vt habetur Thobie .4. Vel septem nequiores spiritus possunt dici

.7. similaciones ypocrisis que sunt nequiores apertis vicijs, quia

sicut dicit beatus Augustinus, Similata equitas non est equitas, sed

2^x iniquitas. Et iste .7. similiaciones quas Dominus dicit nequiores,

manifestis vicijs, et quibus diabolus sub mentita spirite bonitatis

laqueat imprudentes. Sicut similacio prudencie seu similacio sapientie

consilij seu pr[ouidentie] [MS prudentie], similacio fortitudinis,

seu paciencie, similacio sciencie, similacio pietatis, similacio timoris,

seu humilitatis. Iste .7. similaciones contra septem dona Spiritus

Sancti has omnes similaciones facit peccatum ypocrisis et ideo [MS +

spes canc.] sepcies Dominus malediccionem eternam promittit ypocritis,

dicentes, Ve vobis, ypocrite! etc. Mathei .23," (Nic f.63).

180 seuen dedly synnys]

This addition is peculiar to the English compiler, and anticipates the

alterations made to Nicholas' original list, 11.182-183.

181

Lb's "nowondais", which has no basis in Nicholas, lends a contemporary

air to the text but is not in fact very specific. Rather it signals

the introduction of catechetical material (as here) to which the

congregation are expected to pay attention. Lb's "siche" is an error

for "side" which has arisen through eyeskip to "iche" in the same line.

182-184

The list in Lb is a combination of some of the seven deadly sins

together with two of the more specific sexual sins mentioned by

Nicholas. Interestingly Lb has chosen a different vice to represent

the first of the two which "lecchours peple louyn"; Nicholas'

category of choice food is retained, but the vice of wearing soft

clothes is altered in Lb to incest. Perhaps part of the text is

missing at this point. On the form of "lecchours", cf. Powell 1980:

336 and 373, and Note to XX/162 below.

184-187

Tb 6.

189-191

Augustine, <u>Sententiae</u>, <u>PL</u> 45, col.1877: "simulata aequitas, non est

aequitas: sed duplicatur peccatum".

191 byndiþ]

Lb "blyndiþ"; Nicholas has "laqueat".

192 vndir colour]

Cf. Note to XVI/81.

192-193 and blyndiþ ... disceyuyd]

This passage has no counterpart in Nic. "Blyndiþ" is effective and

emphatic through alliteration and rhyme ("byndiþ", l.191), although

such ornamentation is rare in this austere series. The sentiments

here echo many in both orthodox and Lollard writings; the presence of

the Lollard lexical item "vndir colour" predisposes the reader to

infer Lollard concerns in the interpolation, but that is not necessarily

the case.

194 puruyaunce]

A word with claims to admission to Lollard sect vocabulary; see Hudson

1981:19.

Lb's phrase "puruyaunce bifore" is perhaps tautologous; "feynyd in

l.195 is the adjective qualifying this phrase in post-position.

197-199

Mt 23,15.

199-201

The sermon in Lb ends here with a closing prayer which is linked to

the theme of the final subsection.

Nicholas continues with the first principal - a man's dumbness

prevents him doing four things, of which only three are in fact

mentioned: confessing his sins, praying and speaking well of his close

friends. The second principal concerns the remedies for the sins

represented by the four demons mentioned in the sermon above. Envy

is driven out by charity, sloth by good works, covetousness by alms-

giving, and lust by penance and prayer. After he has been released

from the evil spirit the man must speak the words of confession, of

prayer, of grace, of good exhortation and edification, and of

consolation. The third principal concerns the significance of the

crowds who watched Christ perform the miracle. They are demons and

evil men, sinners and good penitents, and angels which guard us from

demons. Let us therefore do penance so that we can make demons sad

and convert sinners and make angels rejoice, and the kingdom of heaven

will come. The sermon ends on f.49v.

Sermon XIX

The occasion is the fourth Sunday in Lent, also known as Loaf Sunday

or Refreshment Sunday because of its associated gospel text, Jo 6,

1-14, the feeding of the five thousand, cf. the sermon on the same theme

by Robert Rypon of Durham in MS Harley 4894, f.114, which begins by

pointing out that the "refectio corporalis" of the gospel story is

allegorically the spiritual refreshment of the word of God (quoted in

Owst, LPME, p.58). Nicholas de Aquevilla again provides the material

for the body of the sermon, which develops from the spiritual meaning

of the gospel account. The child is Christ, for three reasons:

because a child is pure, truthful and meek. The five barley loaves

signify the five wounds of Christ, or the five stones with which David

killed Goliath. The two fishes represent Mary and the thief on Christ's

right side, and the twelve baskets of left-overs are the twelve articles

of faith or the twelve apostles. Spiritually, the child is every

righteous man, for seven reasons; a child is chaste, meek, charitable,

generous, obedient, trusting and cheerful. The preacher announces a

further interpretation of the loaves and fishes, but only deals with

the bread, which is bread of holy scripture and barley bread which is

bitter penance to sinners. Some of the same material in Nicholas is

used in a sermon for the same occasion in the HR collection (ed.

Powell 1980); both versions are compared in the Introduction above.

They are independent translations. The Nicholas sermon is noticed by

Owst, LPME, pp.62-63, who quotes from MS Additional 21253. The

English version uses only part of Nicholas' sermon.

2

Jo 6,9.

3-26

The gospel pericope for the day is Jo 6,1-14 (<u>Sarum Missal</u>, p.79).

The source for the translation here is found in the corresponding

English Wycliffite sermon (Hudson 43); the closeness of the two

versions is evidenced in the inclusion in Lb of non-Biblical commentary

from the Hudson text, e.g. Lb 3-4,"þis gospel ... peple" (cf. Hudson

43/1). That it is Lb which is the derivative and not <u>vice versa</u> has

been demonstrated in the case of other sermons which borrow material

from the Wycliffite sermons; it is proved here by the fact that Lb

does not contain the insertion which appears in Hudson 43/3-4, and

that there is a corrupt reading in l.13 ("þat þouȝ iche") which is

not reproduced in Hudson 43. Lb does not show close affinities to

any particular MS or MSS of the Wycliffite sermons, but there are some

interesting correspondences to <u>WB</u>, which suggests that it was also

used by the compiler, although it is difficult to say why, since

the translation in the Wycliffite sermon is conveniently set out in a

continuous block. Compare Lb 11 "temptynge" with Hudson 43/10 "to

tempte" and <u>WB</u> "temptinge", and Lb 21-22 "þe relefiies þat ben left"

with Hudson 43/19-20 "þat ben left, releues" and <u>WB</u> "the relyfs that

ben left". The gospel theme in the Wycliffite sermon is Jo 6,1,

<u>Abiit Iesus trans mare</u>; it does not agree with that in Lb because

the compiler, following Nicholas, has chosen later words from the

gospel lection which are more apt to the subsequent exposition of the

story.

7 Pask]

The Jewish <u>Pessach</u> (Passover), not the Christian festival of Easter

(see <u>ODCC</u> <u>pasch</u>).

13 þat]

Lb reads "þat þou3" here; Hudson 43 has "þat" ("þou3" is not a listed variant). Clearly "þou3" has arisen as a variant in the course of the textual transmission of Lb, and somehow it appears here together with the original reading.

27-31

After the _iteracio thematis_ the theme is divided into three principals, following the opening of Nicholas' sermon: "Est puer vnus hic qui habet .5. panes ordeacos et .2. pisces, Iohannis .6. In isto euangelio .3^a. possumus considerari. / Primum est quid per istum perum [signatur]. Secundum, quid signant .5. panes ordeacei et duo pisces quibus quinque milia hominum reficiuntur. 3^m est quid signant .12. cophini fragmentorum que ex .5. panibus et duobus piscibus colliguntur" (Nic ff.49v and 65). In the subsequent development of the sermon in Lb the second and third principals are dealt with only cursorily; the preacher concentrates on the first principal, the significance of the boy who brought the five loaves and two fishes.

32-42

This is the first of three divisions which compare the child of the gospel story to Christ. "Primum iste puer potest dici Christus, et bene dicitur Christus puer propter .3^a. Primum est propter vite puritatem, vnde ipse solus potest dicere illud, Prouerbiorum .20., Purus sum a peccato et mundum est cor meum. Quia sicut dicit Ysa .53., Peccatum non fecit nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius. De isto puero dicit Deus pater, Mathei .12., Ecce puer meus quem elegi, dilectus meaus, in quo bene complacuit anime mee. Et de isto puero

cantat Ecclesia in die natiuitatis Domini, Puer natus est nobis,

Ysa .9." (Nic f.65).

32

Cf. VII/52-54 and Note.

33-35

Prv 20,9.

35-37

Is 53,9.

38-39

Mt 12,18.

41-42

Is 9,6, which begins the reading for the last Mass of Christmas Day

(Sarum Missal, p.29).

43-52

The second point of comparison between a child and Christ is presented.

"2^m est propter eius veritatem, quia puer verax est et ipse Christus

semper verax fuit, vnde Mathei .23., dicunt pharisei, Magister, scimus

quia verax es, et viam Dei in veritate doces. Vere ipse verax fuit,

quia ipse est et fuit ipsa veritas, vnde Iohannis .14., dicit ipsemet

de seipso, Ego sum via, veritas et vita. Et Psalmo, Veritas de terra

orta est, scilicet, Christus de beata virgine" (Nic f.65).

43-44

Cf. VII/194-202.

45-48

Mt 22,16.

49-50

Jo 14,6.

50-51

PsG 84,12.

52

The image of Mary as the untilled earth derives from patristic

commentary on the verse from the Psalm quoted; cf. Alanus de Insulis,

Sermones, PL, 210, cols.216-217: "Terra est Virgo Maria, terra

inarabilis".

53-63

The third subdivision concerns the meekness of a child. "3^m est

propter benignitatem. Puer benignus est, quia cito iniurias sibi

illatas remittit. Ita Christus benignus fuit, quia cito iniurias

sibi illatas a Iudeis remisit pro ipsis orauit, Luce .23., Pater

ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt. Preterea ita benignus

est quod tamcito et pro minimo sicut puer placatur peccatoribus, et

eos tamcito ad misericordiam recipit, vt probet Maria Magdalena,

Luce .7., et in filio prodigo, Luce .15., et in latrone qui suspensus

est a dextris eius, Luce .23. Puer ergo iste Christus est, et habet

.5. panes ordeacei" (Nic f.65).

55-58

Lc 23,24.

57 for3eue to hem]

A literal translation of the Latin dative "illis".

58 sone]

I have emended Lb's "softly" on the basis of Nicholas' "tamcito", and

because "cito" is translated "sone" in 1.54. It is hard though to

account for Lb's reading, although it is visually fairly similar to

"sone" and semantically plausible in the context of meekness. But

"softly ... plesid" is an awkward reading.

60 hym]

Nicholas confirms that this is plural ("eos"), with E.Anglian y

(or i) for more usual e.

60-62

The Biblical figures are all common types of the penitent sinner,

especially Mary Magdalene and Peter. Mary Magdalene was popularly

identified with the woman who was a sinner who anointed Christ's feet

in Simon's house (Lc 7,37); on her repentance, see Lc 7,48. Peter,

Matthew and Zachaeus are additions by the English compiler: on Peter's

repentance for denying Christ, see Mt 26,69-75; on Matthew the tax-

gatherer, see Mt 9,9; on Zachaeus, see Lc 19,8. The prodigal son,

Lc 15, is omitted in Lb. On the thief who hung on Christ's right side,

see Lc 23,42. Christ's association with sinners is a commonplace,

cf. Lc 15,1-2.

64-77

The preacher moves on to consider the figurative significance of the

five barley loaves, still following the material in Nicholas closely.

This is the second principal (see 11.29-30), but it is not announced

as such in either the text or margin. "Isti quinque panes possunt

dici .5. vulnera eius quibus optime reficiuntur amatores sui, id est,

veros penitentes. Hij spiritualiter sunt .5. lapides [MS + lapides]

quos Dauid, id est, Ihesus, de torrente passionis accepit, et misit

in peram corporis sui, et sic deuicit Goliam, scilicet, diabolum.

Modo in ista media quadragesima hora est comedendi veris penitentibus,

et vere Christus diligentibus de istis quinque panibus, quia modo est

quasi meridies [with i from e] [MS + meridies]; iuxta illud,

Canticorum primo, Indica michi vbi pascas, vbi cubes in meridie"

(Nic f.65).

65 louears]

On the spelling, cf. Lanterne of Li3t, p.35/34.

ful nobely and richely] and 66-68 þat deepli ... wel]

Nic has "optime"; Lb's version, with its reinforcement of the role of

Christ, suggests a creatively aware approach to translation. The

additions in ll.66-68 have no basis in Nic; the reinforcement of the

value of penance suggests the preacher's pastoral aims and are entirely

orthodox. Yet the passage also contains an element of Lollard sect

vocabulary, "al3if", which might indicate the Lollard origins of the

addition. The combination of Lollard terminology and endorsement of

orthodox practices is part of the problematic of early fifteenth-century

popular Lollardy, but a similar combination is found in the amphibious

Dives and Pauper. On "al3if", see Note to XVII/4.

70 For Crist ... sone']

A commonplace identification in patristic literature, cf. Augustine,

Sermo L1, PL, 38, col.343 and Contra Faustum Manichaeum, PL 42, col.

468; Prosper Aquitaine, Psalmorum ... Expositio, PL 51, col.317.

70-73

Christ's final victory over the devil is commonly compared with David's

over Goliath, cf. a sermon for 1 Lent in the HR series, Powell 1980;

210 (which is ultimately derived from Jacobus de Voragine's distincio

'Diabolus'), and a sermon for 1 Advent in the Ross sermons, Ross 1940:

104-105, both of which are independent uses of the image. Cf. Glossa

Ordinaria, PL 113, col.556: "Goliath vero superbiam diaboli significat:

quam David, id est Christus, singulari certamine prostravit et

populum Dei eripuit". On Goliath as the devil, cf. Isidore, PL 83,

col.113; Raban Maur, PL 109, cols. 52,53 and 111, col.58.

69-70 þe rennynge ryuer]

Nic's "torrente passionis" does not have any basis in any of the

glosses I have seen, unless the interlinear Gloss comment on David

("rufus passione") has crept in here. It is not translated in Lb.

76-77

Ct 1,6.

78-80

The moralisation of the two fishes is part of the second principal.

"Duo pisces possunt dici beata virgo et latro qui a dextris eius

positus fuit; ex omnibus isti duo in fide presteterunt" (Nic f.65).

Mary is traditionally the one who stood firm when all the others

fled, cf. Augustine, Sermo L1, PL 38, col.343 "Maria virgo ... Symbolum

fidei". The thief is "holy" because he is a repentant sinner.

81-85

The signification of the twelve baskets is the third principal (cf.

11.30-31), but this is not indicated textually or marginally, nor is

it in Nicholas. ".2. cophini fragmentorum possunt dici .12. articuli

cristiane fidei vel .12. apostoli qui predicauerunt fidem Christi per

totum mundum" (Nic f.65). On the exegesis here, cf. Glossa Ordinaria

PL 114, col.136: "Reliquias. Secretiora quae a rudibus capi nequeunt,

non sunt negligenter habenda, sed a duodecim apostolis qui per

cophinos duodecim significantur, et ab eorum successoribus diligenter

inquirenda". The twelve articles of faith are so numbered because

of the belief that each of the apostles in Jerusalem on Whit Sunday

contributed one article (Ross 1960:342). Lb's qualification of

Nic's "predicauerunt" - "besiliche euerywhere" - may be significant,

given the Lollard emphasis on preaching the word of God, but of

course such concerns were orthodox too.

86-94

The preacher returns to consider the significance of the boy in the

gospel story (cf. 11.32-63, where the boy = Christ); this time he

is spiritually identified with every righteous man for the same three

reasons. "Moraliter per istum puerum signatur quilibet iustus qui

debet esse sic puer propter illa .3^a. predicta / scilicet, propter

vite puritatem, propter veritatem et propter benignitatem. De istis

quere in illo sermone, Puer autem crescebat, etc." (Nic ff.65-65v).

87-91

Mt 18,3. Not in Nic.

93-94

The reference is to VII, where the properties of a child are listed.

Since the cross-referencing occurs in Nic, it suggests that Nicholas'

sermons had the status of "models", which the preacher was invited to

adapt or amplify to suit the needs of the congregation. The appearance

of the direction in Lb is a further indication of the adaptability of

the collection for preaching requirements.

95-101

The preacher elaborates a further seven points of comparison between

a child and a righteous man, of which this is the first. "Vere puer

debet esse quilibet iustus et hoc propter alias .7. proprietates a

predictis. Primum est propter castitatem. Puer castus est et

non sentit motus carnis, quia quilibet iustus debet esse castus et

habere[ca]stitatem [MS caritatem], quia sicut dicit beatus Gregorius,

Castitas facit appropinquare Deo. Ergo luxuria facit elongare a Deo.

Et apostolus, Hebreos .12., Pacem sequimini cum omnibus, et sanctimoniam,

sine qua nemo videbit Deum" (Nic f.65v). The quotation from Hbr 12 is

omitted in Lb.

98-100

I have not traced this in the works of Gregory.

102-120

"2^m est propter humilitatem. Puer humilis et libenter sedet in

puluere et cinere. Ita quilibet iustus debet esse humilis et debet

humilitatem habere [et] debet sedere in puluere et cinere, quod bene

facit qui considerat suam fragilitatem et mortem. Et hoc bene

considerabat Abraham, qui dicebat, Genesis .18., Loquar ad Dominum

meum, cum sim puluis et cinis. In puluere notatur consideracio

fragilitatis; in cinere memoria mortis. Qui ergo veram humilitatem

habere dicitur, debet sedere in cinere, id est, memoriam mortis

habere vel maxime in puluere per consideracionem sue fragilitatis.

Et ideo dicit Ysa. 47., Descende, sede in puluere, filia Babilonis,

id est, anima superba, filia eterne confusionis per superbiam tuam,

descende, ed est, humilia te, et sede in puluere, id est, considera

fragilitatem tuam si vis humiliari" (Nic f.65v).

105

The exemplum of Eve has no counterpart in Nic.

107 þat doþ he wel þat hiboldeþ]

I have emended following Nic's "quod bene facit qui considerat";

Lb's corrupt reading, "he þat wol biholde", is the result of taking

"wel" (or perhaps "wol" with Northern o for e) as auxiliary "will",

with a subsequent rationalisation of "biholdeþ" to the infinitive form,

and a change of word-order.

108-111

Gn 18,27.

111-115

The associations are traditional, cf. II/84-90, and the oft-quoted

words from the Ash Wednesday ceremony of sprinkling penitents with

ashes, "Memento homo quia cinis es et in cinerem reuerteris" ("remember

man, that you are dust, and into dust you will return") (Sarum Missal,

p.51), based ultimately on Jb 34,15. On the salutary effect of

"memento mori" in preventing sin, cf. Augustine, "Memoria mortis est

defensorium sufficiens contra quecumque peccata", quoted in Horner

1978:387-8; and Powell and Fletcher 1981:200-201. By "þe mynde of

deþ" the scribe has added in the margin "nota bene".

115-120

Is 47,1. The exposition of this verse derives from Nicholas de Lyra's

commentary, Biblia Sacra cum GO, "Descende sede in puluere filia

Babylon, quae confusio interpretatur: ideo per filiam Babylonis

personal peccatrix ... <u>Descende</u>, de sublimitate superbia, <u>Sede</u>

<u>in puluere</u>, per iugem meditationem mortis tuae quia puluis es, et

in puluerem reuerteris".

121-136

Nicholas: ".3^m. est propter mutuam caritatem quia pueri mutue se

amant, et in hoc notatur mutua caritas, vnde Ecclesiastici .13.,

Omne animal sibi simile diligit, etc. Et quilibet iustus et omnes

boni viri debent habere inter se mutuam caritatem, et hoc est quod

dicit beatus Petrus, Corinthios .4., Estote prudentes et vigilate

in orationibus ante omnia, mutuam caritatem et continuam habentes.

Quia sicut dicit Bernardus vel Augustinus, Vita nostra dileccio est,

odium mors; hominem vincis humana felicitate, diabolum vincis

inimici [<u>MS</u> inimicis <u>with</u> s <u>subpuncted</u>] dileccione. Nichil Deo

[preciosior] [<u>MS</u> specis] est virtute dileccionis, et ideo dicit

apostolus, Colossenses .3., Super omnia caritatem habete [<u>MS</u> +

habete] que est vinculum perfeccionis" (Nic f.65v).

122-123

Sir 13,19.

123-125

On the commonplace idea that humans are distinguished from animals

by virtue of their reason and understanding, cf.

This idea is not in Nic.

126-130

1 Pt 4,7-8.

130-133

I have not been able to trace this in the works of Bernard or

Augustine (following Nicholas). Nic confirms that "of" is <u>missing</u>

from Lb 1.133; the possessive is required. It has possibly been

lost due to mispunctuation and lack of contextual understanding,

which has resulted in the common collocation "loue þin ennemy".

134-136

Col 3,14.

137-158

Nicholas: "4^m est propter largitatem. Puer largus est; puer dat

libenter de pane suo socijs suis et canibus et quilibet iustus,

secundum quod potest, debet esse largus in elemosinarum largicione,

Thobie .4., dicit Thobias pater filio suo, Si multum tibi fuerit,

abundantur tribue; si exiguum, libenter illud impartiri stude; et

subiungit postea rationem, dicens, Quod elemosina liberat a peccato

et non permitt[i]t [with i above a canc.] animas ire in tenebris.

Et Prouerbiorum .22., dicitur, Victoriam et honorem adquirit qui dat

munera. Certe si pueri dant libenter de pane suo canibus, quilibet

iustus christianus debet / de suo libenter dare alijs Christianis,

et maxime Christi pauperibus, secundum euangelium, vt claudis, cecis,

debilibus, etc., quia tales faciunt thesaurum in celo quem non possunt

amittere, Mathei .5., Thesauri3ate vobis thesauros in celo, vbique

neque tinea corodit, nec erugo demollitur" (Nic ff.65v-65bis^a).

137-138

Cf. Jacob's Well, ed. Brandeis, p.309: "a chyld 3evyth largely of

his breed to his felawys, and to houndys and to cattys", quoted in

LPME, p.34.

140-143 and 144-146

Tb 4,9 and 11. On the expression "þe cause whi" in ll.143-144

see Powell and Fletcher 1981:224. A common idiom in Harley 2247
but not so in Ad or Lb.

146-148

Prv 22,9.

148-154

Based on Lc 14,13. Cf. a Lollard tract known as "The Duties of

Knighthood" in John Rylands Library MS Eng.42, ff.39v-42: "And

lordes and kni3tes office is to do þe werkes of mercy to pore feble

men, pore blinde men, and pore lame men. For þis biddeþ Crist, Luce

xiiij [:13]: Voca pauperes debiles cecos et claudos" (f.39v). This

text is printed in full in "Unedited Middle English Prose in Rylands

Manuscripts", G.A.Lester, Bulletin of the John Rylands University

Library (1985) pp.155-159. What is distinctively Lollard about the

treatment of Lc 14,13 in both the Rylands MS and in Lb is the

redistribution of the original four categories of the gospel text

as three, through the linking of "pore" to the feeble, blind and

lame ("Unedited Middle English Prose", p.145). Cf. "Þo commaundement

of Crist, of gyvynge of almes to pore feble men, to pore croked men,

to pore blynde men" (Fifty Heresies, Arnold, iii.372). Cf. JU, p.59

"Cristis rule [biddiþ] þee 3eue to pore feble men and pore blynd

and pore lame". While it is true to say that this is the case with

the Rylands tract, the version in Lb has been influenced by

Nicholas, insofar as "Christi pauperibus" is separated from the

rest of the quotation and also because the expression "Christ's

poor men" is itself an element of Lollard sect vocabulary (Hudson

1981:20-21), independently of the Lc 14,13 reference; thus,

although there are three, not four, categories in Lb as well (if

"lame, halt and crokid" is taken as one category - the reference

to the "feeble" is not present) these are not the same three as in

the tract, but what does link Lb's translation here with that in the

Rylands MS is the repetition of "pore" with each category. This is

good evidence of the compiler's Lollard bias, and this is emphasised

by the further additions to Nic in these lines - the condemnation of

begging in 11.153-154 is typically Wycliffite, cf. the same Rylands

tract, f.39v: lords and knights must not do the works of mercy to

"strong and miȝti beggeres, ben þei monkes, preestes, chanouns,

freres, or any oþere faitoures, for beggyng of such men is aȝens

Goddes lawe". On the change from the third person to the second

person in 1.152 ("ȝoure pore neiȝbours"), cf. Note to XV/59-43.

154-155

On the commonplace pulpit injunction to lay up riches in heaven by

almsgiving (which is here given a Lollard inflection by the addition

of "vnto pore nedi men"), cf. "We must þerefore send before us almus

and dedis of merci and pyte into þe tresory of God", Powell and

Fletcher 1981:220.

156-158

Mt 6,20.

159-175

Nicholas: "5ᵐ est propter obedienciam [MS + Nota in margin] quia

puer libenter obedit parentibus suis. In hoc notatur vera obediencia,

et quilibet iustus debet libenter et statim obedire suis superioribus.

Et talis est vere obediens, vnde dicit Bernardus, Verus obediens

mandatum non procrastinat; parat aures auditui, pedes itineri et

manus operi, et se totum intra recolligit, vt mandatum adimpleat

parentis. Et apostolus, Hebreos .xiij., Obedite propositis vestris,

etc. Et prima Petri primo, Sperate in eam que vobis offertur gratiam,

etc., in reuelacione Ihesu Christi vt filij obediencie" (Nic f.65bis[a]).

The translation has some interesting Lollard expansions, especially

ll.161-165, which is very close to Wycliffite notions of the deference

due to the secular ruler, cf. III/51 and Note. The terminology of

ll.164-165 is an echo of a passage in the Lanterne of Li3t, which in

fact deals with a different issue: "Anticrist taki þ awey þe goodis

of hem. þat forþeren þe preching of a prest? 3he þou3 it were an aungel

of heuene", p.18. If Lollard texts were being circulated and read, then

it is understandable that some turns of phrase were caught from them

by writers, preachers and adapters of religious material. Having

said that, it is true to say that Lb's "ony man" is vague and that

those who are contrary to "Goddis lawe" are not defined in specific

terms as in the Wycliffite tracts and sermons.

165-171

Bernard, Sermo XLI, De obedientiae,   PL 183, col.657: "Fidelis

obediens nescit moras, fugit crastinum, ignorat tarditatem, praeripit

precipientem, parat oculos visui, aures auditui, linguam voci, manus

operi, itineri pedes; totem se colligit ut imperantis colligat

voluntatem". Lb's choice of "souerayns" (Nic "parentis") may be

influenced by the argument of the preceding passage.

172-173

Hbr 13,17.

173-175

1 Pt 1,13.

176-182

Nicholas: "6^m est [propter] patris sui confidenciam. Puer non

confidit in se sed in patre suo, et ad patrem suum reportate omnem

clamorem. Vnde quilibet iustus debet solum in Deo confidere, vnde

Psalmorum, In Domino confido, etc. Et Ieremie .12. vel .17.,

Maledictus qui confidit in homine; ibidem, benedictus qui confidit

in Deo" (Nic f.65bis^a).

177 clamor and cri]

A rare alliterative doublet in Lb.

179-180

PsG 10,2.

180-182

Jr 17,5.

183-198

Nicholas: "7^m est propter hillaritatem. Puer semper hillaris est,

et quilibet iustus debet esse hillaris in omnibus bonis suis [MS +

Nota bene propter spiritualem et similiter temporalem, etc. in margin]

et semper debet letanter facere quicquid boni facit. Vnde Ecclesiastici

.26., Diuitis et pauperis cor bonum, omni tempore uultus eorum

hillaris. Et Prouerbiorum .17., Animus gaudens facit etatem floridam.

Certe sicut dicit Dominus, Luce .9., Quicunque recipit pueram in

nomine meo me recipit. Et Ysaie .11., secundum aliam tribulacionem

dicitur, Ecce puer meus saluabitur, et exaltabitur, et eleuabitur,

et sublimus erit. Et Luce .18. dicit Christus, Sinite paruulos

venire ad me. Talum est enim regnum celorum; quicunque non acceperit

regnum celorum vt puer non intrabit in illud" (Nic f.65bis[a]).

186-188

Sir 26,4.

1881-89

Prv 17,22.

190-192

Lc 9,48. The striking substitution of "pauperem" (translated as

"þis pore meke man") for Vulgate "puerum" (no MS variants cited by

Fischer), could have been caught from the quotation in 186, but is

more likely to indicate the preacher's concern for the poor, if not

their Lollard bias.

193-195

Derived from is 42,1 "Ecce seruus meus", which is quoted in Mt 12,18

as "Ecce puer meus". I have emended Lb to read Is 12 because the

subsequent exegesis of this verse suggests that Nic had in mind

Is 12, 2 and 4-6.

195-198

Mt 18,3; Mc 10,14.

199-219

The preacher returns to the material of the second principal, the

meaning of the loaves. Nicholas: "2[m] est videre quid signant isti

quinque panes et duo pisces, quibus quinque milia hominum reficiuntur.

Primus panis potest dici panis sacre scripture, vnde Mathei .4., Non

in solo pane viuit homo, sed de omni verbo que procedit de ore Dei.

Vnde dicit, Non ex solo pane, etc. quia homo habet duas naturas,

scilicet, naturam corporis et naturam anime, quia sicut natura corporis

non posset diu stare nisi nutriatur pane materiali et alijs cibarijs,

ita nec ipsa anima posset stare in bono statu nisi sustentaretur

aliquando pane spirituali, qui est verbum Dei. Iste panis est

ordeacus, id est, durus et austerus maxime / peccatoribus **et** diuitibus.

Vnde Luce .6., Ve vobis diuitibus qui habetis hic consolacionem vestram.

Et Luce .13., Nisi penitenciam habueritis, peribitis. Set iste panis

sanus est, et dulcis, et confortans penitent[ibus] [MS penitentes]

vnde E3echiel .18., Si impius egerit penitenciam de omnibus peccctis

que operatus est vita, viuet et non morietur. Et Mathei .3°., Agite

penitenciam et appropinquabit vobis regnum celorum" (Nic ff.65bis^{a}-

65bis^{b}). As usual Lb is close to Nicholas. The quotations from Ez

and Mt are transposed in Lb, possibly to end the sermon deliberately

with a warning about death? This is certainly picked up in Lb's

closing prayer.

199-200 þees fyue louys and twei fischis]
As in Nic, but in fact the English translator only deals with the bread.

200 þis breed]
Nic has "primus panis" (i.e "the first loaf") because he goes on to

discuss the signification of all five loaves in turn. Since the Lb

compiler has no intention of proceeding beyond the first, the numbering

has been omitted.

201-203

Mt 4,4.

208-209

The significance of the loaves being made of barley is frequently

discussed, cf. Jacobus de Voragine's explanation of Loaf Sunday:

"Panes autem isti erant pauci quia tantum 5 erant, asperi et insipidi

quia erant ordeacij" (Bodley 320, f.57r, col.r); Fasciculus Morum:

"Primus est panis pauperum grossus et rudus, quia ordeacus vel de

pisis aut fabis, quo difficile vescuntur plures. Et ideo panis

contricionis, qui valde durus est multis" (Bodley 332, f.134v, col.b).

I owe these two references to Dr S. Powell. Cf. also a sermon by

Robert Rypon of Durham for 4 Sunday in Lent, quoted in LPME, p.58:

"By the five loaves, doctors understand the five Books of Moses

which are aptly compared to a barley loaf; for a barley loaf on the

outside is rough, in part, and harsh, yet within it is full of the

purest flour". Cf. also Rypon's interpretation of the loaves as the

Books of Moses with Lb's "breed of holy scripture" (1.200).

209-211

Lc 6,24.

211-213

Lc 13,3 and 5.

214-216

Mt 4,17.

216-219

Ez 18,21.

199-223

The sermon ends with a brief prayer.

The sermon in Nicholas continues with the interpretation of the other loaves. The second loaf is righteous deeds, the third loaf is work and penance, the fourth loaf is mercy, the fifth loaf is the eucharist. They also represent five things which every righteous man should have; horror of crime, sorrow of heart, acknowledgement of sin, the resolution to sin no more, and lastly the fear of the perplexed man ("timor districti"). The two fish are faith and hope. The third principal is then dealt with. The twelve baskets are the twelve fruits of the spirit, and also the twelve joys of paradise. The sermon ends on f.66.

Sermon XX

The gospel story of the stoning of Christ, Jo 8, 46-59, is the basis

for this Passion Sunday sermon, which draws on the equivalent sermon

of Nicholas de Aquevilla. The translation of the gospel pericope

with which it opens is derived from the version in the corresponding

English Wycliffite sermon. Despite the preacher's confident announce-

ment of three principal divisions, only the first of these is developed

in the body of the sermon, which is the figurative explanation of

what it means to stone Christ. Christ represents various virtues,

the first of which, truth, is elaborated in detail (11.32-103). The

Biblical exemplum of Ahab and Naboth is moralised at length as a

warning against a number of sins; the preacher then considers further

qualities of Christ (charity, chastity, meekness) and the vices which

attack them, and then, following the exemplum of David and Goliath,

presents a moralisation of David's five stones (11.187-201), and

concludes with a caution to those who stone virtues here that they

will be stoned in hell. There are some strikingly tendentious graft-

ings onto Nicholas which concern the importance of preaching the

truth, and which reaffirm in stronger language the text's pre-

occupation with Christ as an image of truth.

2

Jo 8, 59.

3-26

The pericope is Jo 8, 46-59 (Sarum Missal, p.86). The English com-

piler has made extensive use of the Biblical translation in Hudson 44,

the equivalent English Wycliffite sermon, although s/he casts the

passage in direct speech where Hudson 44 uses reported speech. In

this respect the redactor may have been influenced by the practice

in WB. What is surprising is that Hudson 44 should have been used

at all, since the Biblical lection is much broken up with commentary.

Hudson's authority as source is clearly seen in certain lexical pre-

ferences, e.g. Lb 9-10 "worschipe . . . ʒe han vnworschippid" (cf.

Hudson 44/35-36; WB "honour . . . unhonourid"). The version in WB

is also used to supply continuous passages where these are not easily

abstracted from the Wycliffite sermon, e.g. Lb 22-26.

19-20

The haplography in Lb is due to eyeskip (repetition of "knowyn hym").

27-31

Nicholas' sermon begins with the same text as appears in Lb, and

launches immediately into the processus: "In istis verbis tria sunt

consideranda. Primum est quid est Ihesum lapidare, id est, qui sunt

illi qui ipsum lapidant, id est, qui volunt eum lapidare. 2^m est

videre qui sunt illi a quibus abscondit se et quid est Ihesum

abscondere se. 3^m est videre, quid est illud templum a quo dicitur

Ihesus exire" (Nic f.67). Nicholas then confirms his divisions by

reference to separate clauses of the gospel lection, which is omitted

in Lb.

27 Frendis]

This is the first occasion in the AdLb series where the preacher

addresses the congregation directly. The register is familiar,

suggesting a relatively unprosperous lay audience. Cf. also "dere

frendys" used in XXII/119. Contrast this formula with that used in

a funeral sermon in Harley 2247, "Right worshipfull ffrendis" (Powell

and Fletcher 1981:215), addressed to a well-off lay congregation.

A variety of forms of address are found in the Ross sermons, including

"Wurshippull sirs" (p.85; prosperous male congregation) and "Good men

and wymmen" (p.1; aimed at a mixed, probably illiterate, parish con-

gregation). The sermons of MS Longleat 4 are addressed to "leue

frend" (Hudson and Spencer 1984:226-227), but the singular form of

address is most uncommon in contemporary vernacular sermons.

32-62

The preacher picks up Nicholas at the start of the first principal:

"Primum est videre quid Ihesum lapidare, et qui sunt illi qui eum

lapidant et volunt lapidare. Christus est veritas et misericordia,

largitas et caritas, et etiam in eo fuit summa humilitas, mundicia,

et castitas, et sobrietas; ei lapidant Ihesum qui lapidant veritatem,

quia Ihesus est veritas. Vnde Io. .14. dicit de seipso, Ego sum via,

veritas et vita. Interlinearis: Ego sum via sine errore querentibus,

veritas sine falsitate peruenientibus, vita sine morte permanentibus.

Ihesus ergo veritas est. / Ihesum veritatem lapidat quicquid est

contrarium et opponit se veritati vt mendacium ypocrisis [MS +

detractacio with -cta- subpuncted] detraccio, vnde [MS + Ro sub-

puncted] Io. .10. habetur, quod quando Ihesus dixit, Ego et pater

meus vnus sumus, sustulerunt lapides Iudei mendaces et ypocrite

tristes et detraccio vt lapidaret eum. Et hoc fuit causa, quoniam

dicebat eis veritatem. Et sicut dicitur hic, quod tulerunt lapides

vt iacerent in eum, etc. Causa fuit quia faciunt hodie multi et

maxime ypocrite mendaces et detractores quia eis veritas dicitur et

anunciatur scandaliȝant et lapidant eos lapidibus detraccionis ad

minus illos qui de vicijs illos redarguunt et quia dicunt eis

veritatem, eos odio habunt. Vnde Amos .5., Odio habuerunt,

corripientem in porta et perfecte loquentem abhominati sunt. Et

dicunt de tali sicut Iudei de Christo, Vere demonium habes, Io. .8."

(Nic ff.67-67v).

34-35 whoso stonyþ . . . sauyour]

Ad addition to Nicholas.

36-39

Jo 14, 6. The commentary is indeed from the interlinear gloss.

39-42

The figure of epanados in these lines (the recurrent repetition of

"trouþe") has no counterpart in Nicholas, and is not typical of the

English compiler's generally austere translational technique. The

impressive reinforcement of the importance of truth is consonant

with the Lollard stress on "trewe prechours", "trewe cristen men",

etc., a usage which can be traced back to Wyclif's self-styling as

"quidam fidelis" (Hudson 1981:16-17). This concern is evidently not

exclusively Lollard.

43-44

Jo 10, 30.

45 lesyngis]

This could be part of Lollard sect vocabulary; see Cigman 1968:189.

47-48

Jo 8, 59.

48 And whi?]

Lb's translation of Nicholas' "causa fuit" shows a greater set to the

audience than is the case with the Latin sermons. The dramatic

possibilities of Nicholas are here exploited to involve the congreg-

ation.

49 and so it fariþ nowondayis]

Despite the air of contemporaneity, this is from the source, "hodie".

But see 11.54-56 which do appear to have contemporary reference.

52-56

A vivid expansion of Nicholas, but the preacher is nonetheless

reticent about the precise nature of those who are responsible for

the "falshede" or those who "spekyn þe trouþe". With this passage

compare this from a sermon in MS Longleat 4, by the author of Dives

and Pauper, who is broadly reformist though not apparently heterodox:

"þese dayes þe fend ȝeuyth þe neddre of lesingis of errourys and

heresye to hese chyldryn þat settyn feyth in hym, and hath sowyn

þis lond ful of swych neddrys of falshed and of malyce" (f.59^{r}a;

quoted in Hudson and Spencer 1984:231). The concern for truth in

the Longleat MS is directed against heretics, the identity of which

is not however specified. On Wycliffite attitudes towards the per-

version of the truth of Christ's teaching, cf. Matthew, pp.268-269.

56-60

Am 5, 10.

61-62

Jo 8, 48.

63-83

Nicholas: "Sed sciendum est quod propter lapidaciones istas non est

dimittenda veritas ad predicandum per quod anime a morte resuscitantur.

Et illud optime signatum est per hoc quod dicitur, Io. .xi., vbi

dicitur quod Dominus quando voluit ire in Iudeam vbi Laʒarum

resuscitaret, dixerunt discipuli, Raby, nunc querebant te Iudei

lapidare, et tu vadis illuc? et tunc illo non dimisit ire illuc,

propter hoc. Per Laʒarum, qui mortuus erat et sepultus sub lapide

et fetidus quia quadriduanus erat, signatur quilibet peccator qui

mortuus est morte peccati mortalis, et sepultus sepe est sub lapide

obstinacionis, et fetidus coram Deo et angelis, et maxime quando

quadriduanus est, scilicet, per peccati delectacionem et per consensum,

per operacionem [MS + per operacionem] et consuetudinem. Ad

suscitandum peccatorem a morte peccati debemus ire et debemus annunciare

ei veritatem, per qua suscitatur ab illa morte, et non debemus

dimittere ad anunciandum veritatem ei et alijs propter lapidacionem

detraccionis. Mendacium. Ergo mendaces lapidant veritatem, quia

contrarij sunt veritati et dicitur, Psalmorum, Perdes omnes qui

locuntur mendacium" (Nic f.67v).

63-65

The attitude towards preaching expressed in Nicholas would seem to

confirm his otherwise shadowy Franciscan background; the sentiment

is an admirable launching-pad for Lollard concerns, which are

indicated by the changes made by the English compiler. The addition

"God forbede" indicates the preacher's strength of feeling on this

issue; the phrase "Goddis word", added by the compiler, is a Lollard

expression for the scriptures. Yet although the preacher comes

tantalisingly close to matters dear to the Lollards, by pushing

arguments about the need for making the message of the scriptures

available to all (there is a whiff of post-Arundel concern in the

tone here), the ideas are not really developed and are shrouded in

a certain amount of obscurity. The lack of specificity need not be

a puzzle, though, if it is accepted that the compiler of the AdLb

series was deliberately reticent, perhaps because of the intended

public consumption of these sermons. Compare a more outspoken passage

in MS Longleat 4, f.1^{r}b: "sitthe I haue wretin þe gospel to ȝou in

wol gret drede and persecucion, ȝe þat ben in swych sekyrnesse þat

non prelat may lettin ȝou ne dishesin ȝou for connynge ne for kepinge

of þe gospel, connyth it and kepith it wiþ good deuocion . . . And,

as ȝe moun [f.1^{v}a] herin, now prechinge and techinge of þe gospel

and of Goddys lawe is artid and lettid more þan it was wone to ben,

þerfore takyth goodly þe techinge þat comith to ȝou frely" (quoted

by Hudson and Spencer 1984:232).

68-70

Jo 11, 8.

73 enduracion]

MED induracioun n.; the form in Lb has E. Anglian e for i.

76-77

Nic's "veritatem" becomes the more forceful and tendentious "þorouȝ

þe vertue of Goddys word", cf. 1.64.

79-81 And we owyn not . . . ne for deþ, ȝyf it come]

The reference to death is not in Nicholas; there is a strong possibility

that this is a veiled allusion, of a sort common in Lollard writings,

to the teaching of Arundel's Constitutions which aimed to limit access

to vernacular versions of the Bible. Heretics in possession of

vernacular scriptures might be punished with death. This is yet

another case of an ambiguous reference in AdLb; it is not openly

Lollard, yet it shows considerable support, albeit warily expressed,

for the preaching of "Goddis word". For the debate on Bible translation,

cf. <u>Selections</u>, 107-110.

84-95

Nicholas: "Similiter ypocrisis et ypocrite lapidant veritatem, quia

contrarij sunt veritati, quia exterius ostendunt speciem sanctitatis

sed nichil habunt ipsi interius de / sanctitatis. Ipsi sunt similes

sterquilino tecto niue, quod superius et exterius est album, et

interius et inferius est nigrum et fetidum. Ita ypocrite exterius

ostendunt sanctitatem, sed interius secundum rei veritatem, nichil

habunt de sanctitate immo interius fe[ti]di sunt inmundicia diuersorum

peccatorum. Et dixit Christus, Mathei .23., Ve vobis, ypocrite, qui

mundatis quod deforis est calicis vel parapsidis, et interius est

plenum auaricia vel rapina, siue inuidia et inmundicia, id est,

sordibus peccatorum; pharisee cece, munda prius quod intus est, etc.,

dixit Christus" (Nic ff.67v and 54).

88-95

Mt 23, 25-26.

96-119

Nicholas: "Similiter detraccio et detractores lapidant veritatem".

Lb now omits from Nicholas the story from 2 Sm 16 about David's

stoning by Semei, and the condemnation of "auari" and "cupidi" for

stoning Christ. The preacher picks up Nicholas again: "et illud

optime signatum est, .3. Regum, vbi dicitur ad litteram quod Iesabel

accepit duos [<u>MS</u> + flos <u>canc.</u>] falsos testes qui dixerunt falsum

testimonium contra Naboth et lapidauerunt eum extra ciuitatem quando

dare / voluit Achab vineam suam; qui interpretatur 'apprehendus' et

signat diabolum qui apprehendit peccatores quando consentiunt

temptacionibus suis et suggestionibus suis. Vere tunc apprehendit

peccatorem quando consentit ad faciendum mortalem peccatum. Vnde Psalmorum, Persecutus est animam meam, apprehendat et conculcet in terra vitam meam, etc. Exodi .15., Pharao, id est, diabolus, dixit, Persequar et comprehandam et diuidam spolia et implebitur anima mea. Persequitur diabolus peccatorem per suggestionem; apprehendit eum per concupiscenciam et delectacionem quando peccator facit peccati operacionem, sed anima eius implebitur per peccati consuetudinem. Rex Achab [MS + Rex Achab in margin] diabolus est, Qui est rex super omnes filios superbie, Iob .40. Per Naboth, qui 'concludens' inter-pretatur, signatur quilibet iustus qui debet concludere diabolo, et tunc bene concludit ei quando temptacionibus [suis] non consentit sed de illis bene se defendit" (Nic ff.54-54v). By omitting the exemplum of David and Semei, and the category of the "auari" and "cupidi" who stone Christ, the translator has gained in clarity - the "detractores" are satisfactorily exemplified by the story of Jesabel and Naboth, 1 SM 21, a common exemplum of covetousness, cf. Commandment IX, cap.iv of Dives and Pauper; Knight, Wimbledon's Sermon, p.93.

100 Achab . . . 'takynge']
Relative "þat" has been displaced from its antecedent "Achab"; this is common in ME, cf. 11.105-6. Achab's name is usually interpreted "frater patris" (cf. Jerome, PL 23, col.1268).

104-105
PsG 7, 6.

105-108
Ex 15, 9.

111 whan þe fend departyþ þe robberies]

The image of the devil as thief is not in Nic; cf. Note to XVII/48-49.

113-114

Jb 41, 25.

115

The interpretation of Naboth's name is traditional, cf. Jerome, <u>Liber</u>

<u>de Nominibus Hebraicis</u>, <u>PL</u> 23, col.866; "Nabaoth . . . exclusio".

116 þorou3 wij̈sdam and Goddis lawe]

This has no counterpart in Nic; on the significance of the phrase

"Goddis lawe" (= "the scriptures", common in Lollard polemic), cf.

I/51-2 "But Godys lawe schal deme vs alle and alle other lawys,
ffor þat lawe Crist left to vs, it be sauyd by", and see Note.

118-119 þorou3 loue . . . God]

There is no counterpart to this in Nic; it reflects the preacher's

pastoral aims by offering at least some indication, however vague,

of how to avoid temptation.

120-150

Nicholas: "Per vineam Naboth signatur quelibet anima fedelis que

debet potare vinum compunccionis. De ista vinea dicit Dominus in

Ysaie .5., Vinea Domini exercituum domus Israel. Istam vineam

desiderat multum diabolus, vnde Genesis .14., dixit rex Sodomorum,

per quem signatur diabolus, Da mihi animas, cetera tolle tibi.

Istam vineam vult auferre Naboth, id est, cuilibet iusto et ei

promittit multos delectaciones et honores, diuicias, et multa alia.

Et quando non potest eam habere propter aliquam promissionem, tunc

Iesabel adducit 2os [<u>MS</u> + filios <u>canc.</u>] falsos testes qui spiritualiter

[<u>MS</u> + 2os falsos testes <u>in margin</u>] interficiunt et lapidant Naboth,

et facit Achab habere vineam suam. Iesabel interpretatur 'fluxus vanus' vel 'sterculinium', et signat cupiditatem temporalium rerum, que facit corda multorum fluere in vanas cogitaciones et in vana desideria et multa nociua que mergunt hominem in interit[um] et perdicionem. Vnde dicit apostolus, .1. Thimo .6°., Preterea ista temporalia bona fluunt et defluunt de vno in alium, sicut aqua fluuij et congregata in archa fetida sunt sicut sterculinium; sed dispersa pauperibus centuplum fructum faciunt, vnde Luce .8., dicitur quod semen quod cecidit in terram bonam centuplum fructum [MS + fructum centuplum] attulit. Per Iesabel ergo [MS + Per Iesabel in margin] rerum temporalium signatur; duo falsi testes possunt dici amor retinendi [et] ardor adquirendi. Ista Iesabel, id est, cupiditas, que regina est inferni. Per istos duos testes, scilicet, per amorem retinendi et per ardorem adquirendi, facit lapidare spiritualiter et interficere Naboth, id est, 'virum iustum', et ita Christum in membris / suis, et facit vineam suam, id est, animam fidelem habere Achan, id est, diabolum" (Nic ff.54v and 69).

121 bere and brynge forþ]
Nic has "potare" ("drink"); might Lb's reading represent a doublet translation of an error "portare" ("carry"), present in the MS of Nicholas used by the compiler?

122-124
Is 5, 7.

126-127
Gn 14, 21.

134

The interpretation of Jesabel's name is traditional, cf. Jerome,

Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis, PL 23, col.865: "Isabel . . . fluxus

vanus".

137-139

1 Tm 6, 17.

141-143

Lc 8, 8.

151-173

Nicholas: "Item Christus caritas est, vnde prima Io .4°., Deus caritas

est, etc. Sed inuidia et odium, id est, inuidi et odiosi, lapidant

Christum caritatem in membris suis, quia lapidant caritatem habentes

vnde Actuum .7. dicitur, quod Iudei per inuidiam lapidauerunt beatum

Stephanum plenum fide et gracia et Spiritu Sancto. Item in Christo

sobrietas et castitas, vnde ipse solus potest dicere illud,

Prouerbiourm .xxj^{o}., Purus sum a peccato; mundum est cor meum. Ipse

totus mundus est quia nunquam peccatum fecit, nec [n]vmquam est inuentus

dolus in ore eius, vt habetur Ysa. .53. Christi castitatem in mebris

suis lapidant luxuriosi et sobreitatem gulosi. Castitatem et

sobrietatem excedere est Christum in seipso lapidare spiritualiter.

Sed lapides quibus lapidantur castitas et sobrietas sunt lapides

grandinis, de quibus dicitur, Exodi .9., Linum ergo et ordeum lesum

est lapidibus grandinis. Ordeum lesum est eo quod ordeum virens esset

et linum eo quod iam folliculos germinaret. Per linum, quod per

multas tunsiones venit ad albedinem, signatur castitas, et ordeum

propter asperitatem signatur sobrietas. Et quia panis ordeaceus est

panis abstinencie, tunc ordeum leditur quando per superfluitatem

sobrietas leditur. Similiter linum leditur quando castitas per

violenciam et per inuidiam violatur" (Nic f.69).

151-153

1 Jo 4, 16.

154-156

For the stoning of Stephen, see Act 7, 59.

158-159

Prv 20, 9.

159-161

Is 53, 9.

162 lecchours]

Although the usual form of the adjective is "lecherous", e.g. XV/126,

"lecchours" is also found at XVIII/184. Conversely, although

"lecchours" is the normal pl.sb. form, "lecherous" is found at

XV/133. For a similar confusion in the spelling of the final morphemes,

cf. "vertuous"/"vertues" in the HR collection (Powell 1980:336). Dr

Powell suggests that this reflects the similar pronunciation of the

two words.

166-167

Ex 9, 31.

168-171

The etymology is not Isidore's. He gives this: "Linum ex terra

oritur deflexumque nomen eius a Graeco . . . quod sit molle et lene",

Etymologiarum, ed. Lindsay, XIX, 27, 1. On the figurative significance

411

of barley and barley bread, cf. Note to XIX, 208-209.

174-186

Nicholas: "Item Christus humilis est, vnde Mathei .11., dicit ipse
Christus, Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde. Christum
lapidat [MS + hominem canc.?] humilem intra se qui superbus est per
suam superbiam, quia superbia et ipsi superbi spiritualiter lapidant
humilitatem, sed non debet facere vir iustus, videlicet, lapidare
humilitatem per superbiam, sed pocius superbiam [?] et ipsum superbum
diabolum per veram humilitatem, sicut Dauid facit, vt habetur .1.
Regum .17., vbi dicitur quod Dauid elegit .5. lapides limpidissimus
id est, rotundissimos, de torrente in peram pastoralem quam habebat
secum, et misit manum suam in peram tulitque vnum lapidem et funda
iecit et circumducens percussit Philisteum in fronte et infixus est
lapis in fronte eius et cecidit in faciem suam" (Nic .f69).

174-176

Mt 11, 29.

181-186

1 Sm 17, 40 and 49. For a similar moralisation of this exemplum,
cf. XIX/70-73 and Note.

187-201

Nicholas: "Per istos .5. lapides quinque consideraciones signantur,
ex quibus prouenit humilitas qua lapidatur superbia. Prima consideracio
proprie fragilitatis. / 2^a est vite nostre breuitas et natiuitas.
3^a est consideracio mortis nostri. De istis tribus dicit Iob .30.,
Comparatus sum luto et assimilatus sum fauille et cineri. Comparatus
homo luto per consideracionem sue fragilitatis et natiuitatis; ffauille

per consideracionem vite breuitatis; cineri per consideracionem

mortis. 4^a est consideracio proprie iniquitatis, vnde Psalmorum,

Hij humiliati sunt in iniquitatibus suis. Et Prouerbiorum .12.,

Meror in corde viri humiliauit eum. 5^a est consideracio humilitatis

Christi saluatoris, vnde Ysaie .17., Inclinabitur homo ad factorem

suum, id est, ad consideracionem sui factoris inclinati et humilati"

(Nic ff.69-69v).

188-194

Cf. II/692-99.

192-194

Jb 30, 19.

195-196

PsG 105, 43.

196-198

Prv 12, 25.

199-200

Is 17, 7.

202-217

Nicholas: "Ex isto lapide proprie lapidatur Golias, diaboli superbia,

que vult hodie omnes filios Isarel superare et contempnare. Veritas

ergo a detractoribus lapidatur et ab ypocritis misericordia, et

largitas ab auaris et cupidis, sobrietas a gulosis, caritas ab

inuidis et odiosis, et humilitas a superbis. Sed certe in fine

detractores, ypocrite, auari, cupidi, inuidi, gulosi, luxuriosi, odiosi

et superbi lapidabuntur in inferno a demonibus lapidibus pene eterne,

vnde Eʒechielis .16., Adducent super to multitudinem, scilicet,

demonium, et lapidabunt te lapidibus pene eterne et cruciabunt te

gladiis suis. O, anima superba et auara, inuida, cupida, luxuriosa,

et gulosa! 2^m est videre a quibus abscondit se Christus. Et sciendum

est quod a detractoribus, ypocritis, auaris, cupidis, inuidis,

gulosis, luxuriosis et superbis, vnde Deuteronomii .32. dicitur,

Abscondam faciem meam ab eis et considerabo nouissima eorum. Vere

ab istis abscondit se Dominus in fine, quia isti post mortem eum

querent sed non inuenient, vnde Io. .7., dicitur, Queritis me et

non inuenietis" (Nic f.69v).

202 Goly þe deuyl]

Cf. XIX/70-73 and Note.

204-206

The preachers' handbooks frequently pair the sins with their remedies;

cf. Memoriale Credencium, where the remedy for avarice is mercy and

pity, for envy is charity, for pride is humility.

208-211

Ez 16, 40.

211-212

Although Nicholas signals that this is the second subdivision of

the second principal (cf. 11.29-30) by the use of "2^m", the compiler

of Lb does not signal it (because it is only going to be treated

cursorily?) but instead effects a bridge in these lines between the

material which is subdivided in Nicholas.

213-215

Dt 32, 20.

215-217

Jo 7, 34 and 36.

218-223

The English compiler adds a final prayer which links with the pre-
vious discussion. On the repetition of "trewe" in ll.219-220, cf.
ll.39-42, 52-56 and 63-65.

Nicholas continues (ff.69v-70v) with the second principal: Christ
hides himself from all sinners. Do not hide your sins, but confess
them. The third principal is "quid est illud templum", which is
interpreted as the heart of every just man, and every faithful soul;
Christ can only enter this temple if sinners confess and do penance.
The sermon ends on f.70v.

Sermon XXI

The occasion is Palm Sunday; the text is <u>Ite in castellum</u>, Mt
21,2, which is, as the preacher notices (11.3-4), the text for
the first Sunday in Advent. This is the text in Nicholas de
Aquevilla's sermon for the same day, which provides the material
for the body of the Lb sermon, and it was a popular theme for
Palm Sunday (cf. Owst, <u>LPME</u>, p.79; incipits in Schneyer). Yet
the gospel story which prefaces XXI is not the 1 Advent pericope
but, in the words of the compiler, "þe gospel of þe passioun of
Crist", Mt 27,62-66, one of the Palm Sunday gospel lections
(<u>Sarum Missal</u>, pp.97-98). The choice of this lection is presumably
due to its occurrence in the corresponding English Wycliffite
sermon, Hudson 45), which furnishes the translation in Lb. The
subsequent exegesis, though, is based on Nicholas' theme. The
sermon has four principals, although only the first two are dealt
with - the meaning of the castle, and the signification of the
ass and her bonds. The castle is the world. The ass is a sinner
(and three points of comparison are made here), and sinners are
bound with ten bonds - three which draw a man into sin, and seven
which keep him there. The greater part of the sermon (11.89-
194) consists of the elaboration of the bonds. There are some
indications of the preacher's Lollard background, but nothing in
the least outspoken.

2

Mt 21,2. As with the other sermons in Lb the space for the
initial letter has not been filled in; but this time no guide-
letter is visible either.

3-15
Mt 27,62-66. That Hudson 45, the English Wycliffite sermon, was

the source for the Biblical translation in Lb is evidenced by the

inclusion of a notable piece of commentary; speaking of the chief

priests and pharisees who came to Pilate with their fears that

Christ's body might be stolen from the tomb, the preacher adds

"þus don þei þat nowondaijs hydyn þe trouþe of Goddis lawe" (ll.

11-12), which is derived from the more colourful version in the

Wycliffite sermon "þis pagyn pleyen þei þat huyden .þe trewþe of

Godis lawe" (Hudson 45/26). Hudson (1983:108-9) finds this

modification worthy of comment; it is certainly not the usual

practice of the later compiler to include commentary from the

Hudson sermons, which are used for their vernacular gospel

lections, but here the sentiments agree with those expressed at

XX/63-65 and 76-81, which may account for its inclusion here.

Sobriety of tone in the Lb series may be responsible for the dry

modification, but its tendentious nature is not diminished. More

commentary, of an unremarkable kind, intrudes from the Wycliffite

text in ll.14-15 "þat was put at þe dore" (cf. Hudson 45/42-3);

this is more typical of the kind of almost unconscious inclusion

of non-Biblical material in the gospel pericopes which is

occasionally found in Lb (cf. Hudson 1983:108), and which proves

its derivative nature. One or two readings in Lb are shared

by MS N, e.g. Lb 12 "ferste"; Hudson 45/25 "formere"; N "firste".

16-25
Nicholas begins with the gospel text alone; the English compiler

follows him from the beginning: "Sicut dicit Glosa, isti duo

discipuli qui missi fuerunt dicuntur esse beatus Petrus et beatus

[MS + Iohannes canc.] Philippus, quia Petrus Cornelium, Philippus
Samarium, conuertit. Dicit ergo, Ite in castellum, etc. In
verbis istis quattuor possunt considerari. Primum est quid per
istud castellum signatur, vbi duo discipulos mittuntur, et quare
contrarium discipulis Christi dicitur. 2^m est quid per istam
asinam alligatam signatur et que sunt illa vincula quibus ligatur.
3^m est quomodo soluitur. 4^m est videre quomodo ad Christum
adducitur" (Nic f.75v). Nicholas goes on to link each of the
four principals to a phrase in the gospel text, a practice
habitually omitted by the Lb compiler. The exegesis of course
follows the 1 Advent pericope, and is not in any way connected
to the gospel lection which is found in Lb. This raises some
interesting questions about the function of the introductory
Biblical translations, since this instance would seem to suggest
that they are somehow divorced from the body of the sermon and
function almost as autonomous units. This is a very different
situation from that found in the English Wycliffite sermons
where the gospel is interspersed with commentary and assumes
a great deal of importance, even if the exegesis is not always
very obviously linked to the Bible reading. The compiler
clearly did not want to repeat material that had already been
given (see 11.3-4). One hypothesis is that the compiler wished
to provide a series of vernacular Biblical extracts which foll-
owed the Church year, in a readily accessible form; it may be
that the fact of having the translation available was more
important than its relevance to the ensuing sermon.

19-20

The account of Peter's conversion of Cornelius is in Act 10; that
of Philip's conversion of the Samarian eunuch is in Act 8.

418

21-22 ȝyf þat we hadde tyme]

For this formula, cf. XIV/207-8, and X/29-30 "þis gospel is ful

longe to declare at þis tyme". Despite this recognition of the

limits of the congregation's attention, the preacher nevertheless

continues to give out all four principals, even though s/he only

goes on to deal with the first two. The redundant "þat" is

common in ME, cf. Kengen 1979:369.

26-56

Nicholas: "Primum est videre quid per istud catellum signatur;

castellum istud est mundus munitus siue muratus diuersis uicijs

[MS diuicijs; di- subpuncted] vt tangit glosa. Istud castellum

signatur bene per castellum Ierico, quod expungnauerunt filij

Israel sicut habetur Iosue .1. / Duo discipuli qui mittuntur ad

expungnandum istud castellum sunt predicatores et prelati ecclesie,

et duo dicuntur vt dicit glosa, propter scientiam veritatis et

propter mundiciam operis que debunt habere et quia sacramentum

gemine dileccionis debent predicare. Isti deo discipuli

apostoli debent mitti a Domino non a carne ad castellum, scilicet,

mundum expungnandum, et asinam alligatam et pullum soluendum

et illos ad Christum adducendum. Ad expungnandum mundum debent

mitti predicatores, qui contra eos est, quia contrarius est eis

quia ipsi debent predicare veritatem, paupertatem, vilitatem et

asperitatem; sed mundus predicat falsitatem, quia in mundo non

est veritas. Vnde Osee .4⁰., Non est veritas, non est miseri-

cordia, non est scientia Dei in terra, sed furtum, homicidium,

et adulterium inundauerunt super terram. Similiter mundus pre-

dicat habere diuicias, delicias, et honores, quia in ipso non

est nisi appetitus et concupiscencia diuiciarum et deliciarum

carnis et honoris. Ideo dicitur Io..2⁰., Nolite diligere mundum

neque ea que in mundo sunt, sed omnem quod est in mundo, dicit,
est concupiscencia carnis, concupiscencia oculorum aut superbia
vite, que non est ex patre sed ex mundo; transibit mundus et
figura eius. Ideo dixit Ihesus, Ite in castellum, id est, in
mundum, quod contra vos est propter veritatem, vilitatem et
asperitatem quam predicatis" (Nic ff.75v-76).

26-27

Owst, LPME, p.77, notes the popularity of the symbolic castle in
sermons, where it is often developed into an elaborate set piece
(cf. Part Seven of the Ancrene Wisse); it may represent the BVM,
the soul, "the pure and clean Conscience of a man or woman" (LPME,
p.78), or commonly, as here, the world, cf. "Mundus est Castellum"
(St Bernard, quoted by Owst, LPME, p.79) and also MS Additional
41321, f.3 "This world mai wel be likenyd to a castel".

27-29
See Jos 2,1.

30-31 two maner ...prestis]
The "prechours" are subdivided into two - "prelatys and prestis" -
whereas Nicholas has preachers and prelates as two discrete cate-
gories. The reason for this change is unclear.

34 þe double charite ...neiȝebour]
The expansion of Nicholas' "sacramentum gemine dileccionis" shows
the preacher's concern to clarify matters for a parish congregation.
The reference is to Mt 22,37-40, where Christ replies to the Jews
who ask about the greatest commandment "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ...
Hoc est maximum, et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est
huic: Diliges proximum tuum, sicut teipsum. In his duobus mandatis

universa lex pendet, et prophetae."

37 þe word]

See OED world, sub ſ for ample documentation of the omission of l

in "world". And cf. 11.39, 40, 45, 50, 51, 53, 54.

40-44

Os 4,1-2. At some points the Latin differs from the Vulgate but

is found in the Old Latin version, cf. Sabatier "Maledictio, et

mendacium, et furtum, et adulterium effusam est super terram".

47-54

Jo 2,15-17.

55-56

The preacher does not really imitate Nicholas' rhymed division

here ("veritatem ...vilitatem ...asperitatem"), since only the last

two items in Lb rhyme, and that is largely inevitable. Rhyming

divisions are frequent in vernacular 'modern' sermons, cf.

Spencer 1982[1]:222-223; Powell and Fletcher 1981:223; but it is

not common in the AdLb collection, whose compiler generally

eschewed frivolity.

57-91

The second principal concerns the meaning of the ass, her foal,

and the bonds, of which this forms the first part: "2ᵐ est videre

quid per asinam et pullum signatur, et que sunt vincula quibus

ligantur. Per asinam et pullum signantur quilibet peccator, quia

vinculis peccatorum suorum ligatur. Vnde [Prouerbiorum] quinque,

Funibus peccatorum suorum vnisquisque constringetur. Et

Psalmorum, Funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me. Vere per asinam

et pullum quilibet peccator signatur, propter tria. Primum est

propter pigriciam. Asina vel asinus est animale valde pigrum.
Ita peccator piger est ad omnem opus bonum faciendum, vnde
Prouerbiorum .26., dicitur, quod sicut ostium vertitur in cardine,
ita piger in lectulo suo; abscondit manus suas sub ascella et
laborat si ad os suum eas conuertat. Et Prouerbiorum .20., dicitur,
Propter frigus piger arare noluit, mendicabit autem estate et non
dabitur ei et ideo dicitur, Prouerbiorum .6., Vsquequo piger
dormis, etc. 2^m est propter inmundiciam et luxuriam, quia asinus
est animale inmundum et luxuriosum nimis, et per hoc animale
signatur peccator, et maxime luxuriosus, in quo iam succensus est
ignis inferni. Vnde Deuteronomii .32., Ignis succensus est in
furore meo et ardebit vsque ad inferni nouissima. 3^m est quod
debile est in parte in qua habet crucem, vnde ille habet et portat
crucem in humeris, et ibi debile est; sed in posterioribus, vbi
crux deficit et vbi est inmundicia, fortis. Ita peccator in
cruce penitencie portanda debilis est, sed in operibus inmundis
et malis et in mundanis adquirenda peccunia et in ebrietatibus
sectandis, fortis est et potens. / Sed ve illis, sicut Dominus
dicit, Ysaie .5., Ve vobis qui potentes estis ad bibendum vinum
et viri fortes ad miscendum ebrietatem. Per istam ergo asinam
quilibet [with i^2 from e] peccator et quelibet anima peccatrix
signatur, quia sepe alligata est .x. vinculis, quorum prima tria
sunt eam in culpam trahencia; et alia .7. eam in culpa retinenda"
(Nic ff.76-76v).

58-60

A commonplace identification, cf. the more colourful passage in
MS Additional 41321 "þis female asse þat is þus bounden is an old
synful mannes fleisch, þorou consent of his soule, þat is bounden
wiþ longe contynuance in his olde rotid synne" (Cigman 1968:11-12)

60-62

Prv 5,22. Lb's "streynyd or boundyn" in l.62 is another doublet, possibly introduced for reasons of euphony.

62-64

PsG 118,61.

65-85

The three physical attributes of the ass listed here - its sloth, its lecherousness, and that it has a feeble head and a strong behind - are all commonplaces of medieval beast-lore, and are frequently moralised in sermons and devotional literature. For the characteristics of an ass, cf. Trevisa's Bartholomeus (Book XVIII, Ch.8, De Asino), and for their moralisation, cf. MS Additional 41321, ff.3v-4 "an asse is a dul beste and alwey gooþ oo pas and for no prikynge ne betynge he wole not change his olde gate. Riȝt so, an old rotid man in synne alwey holdeþ hym þerynne and, for no prikynge of scharpe sentences / of Hooli Writ, ...he chaungeþ neuere his olde life. Also, an asse is leþi and feble tofore in his ferþer partis, and strong and myti in his hyndere partis. Riȝt so, suche fleschli synful men ben febel to do any good to gete wiþ þe kyngdom of heuene, but þei ben miȝti and strong ynow to alle þynges bi whiche þei mai gete goodes of þis world" (Cigman 1968:12). Cf. Alexander Neckam, De Naturis Rerum, Ch. CLX, De Asino (Cigman 1968:118). MS Additional 41321 has Lb's categories one and three; category two, the ass's lecherousness, is probably derived ultimately from the bestiary tradition, cf. Trevisa's Bartholomeus "thoughe the asse be full cold and drye, yet he is ful lecherouse ...". On the ass as a symbol of sloth, cf. Gesta Romanorum, pp. 372-3 and MS Lincoln

Cathedral 50, f.207v; for the comparison of an ass to the devil

because of its weak shoulders and strong hindquarters, cf. The

Ancren Riwle, p.296. See further Fischer,"Handlist", pp.55-56.

67-69

Prv 26,14.

70-72

Prv 20,4.

75 Goddis law]

This Lollard phrase is used passim in the AdLb collection, cf.

XII/31 and XIII/66.

76-78

Dt 32,22.

79-81

The ass is popularly supposed to have body markings which resemble

a cross, in token of the fact that Christ rode in triumph into

Jerusalem on an ass (Mt 21). The compund "fore-lendis" in l.80

is not in the dictionaries; it appears to mean the upper part of

the loins (MED for(e and lend(e n.), cf. "tofore in his ferþer

partis", MS Additional 41321.

84 in idil pleijs and wakyngys, in vanytees]

This has no counterpart in Nic; cf. XVIII/107-8.

85-88

Is 5,22.

89-91

Cf. MS Additional 41321, f.4 " is asse is bounden, as y saide,

wiþ long continuaunce in olde rotid synnes" (Cigman 1968:12).

92-114

The second part of the second principal concerns the ten bonds,
of which the first three are dealt with here. Nicholas: "Primum
est carnalis copula, vnde Ecclesiastes .7., Inueni mulierem morte
amariorem, que laqueus venatorum est et sagena cor eius; vincula
enim sunt manus eius; qui placet Deo fugiet illam, qui autem
peccator est capietur ab illa. [A line may be missing in Nic]
Et Prouerbiorum [MS + .7. canc.] .7., Magna enim sunt iudicia
tua, Domine, et inenarrabilia verba tua; propter hoc indisciplinate
anime errauerunt, dum enim persuasum habunt iniqui posse dominari
nacioni sue vinculis tenebrarum, et longe noctis compediti, etc.
Vincula tenebrarum sunt vincula ambicionis, quibus ligat diabolus
et excecat ambiciosos oculis cordis et ducit eos quasi latrones
qui habent oculos venditos ad penas inferni. Et ideo sicut dicitur
Ysaie .5., Ve qui detrahit iniquitatem in vinculis vanitatis. 3^m
est cupiditatis, vnde apostolus, Thimo. .8., Qui volunt diuites
fieri incidunt in laqueum et in temptacionem diaboli, et desideria
multa et nociua que mergunt hominem in infernum et in perdicionem.
Ista tria vincula sunt trahencia animam ad culpam" (Nic f.76v).

92-98
Ecl 7,27.

99 þe secunde bond]
There is no mention of this in Nic, which is why I assume Nic
to be defective at this point, and clearly not the text used
by the Lb compiler.

100-103
Sap 17,1-2.

105 byndyþ and blyndyþ]

To a certain extent the alliteration and rhyme in Lb are in-
evitable, as far as these verbs correspond to Nic's "ligat ...
et excecat",and are the expected translations, but the compiler
has placed them together for maximum impact, whereas in Nicholas
"diabolus" intervenes. A rare use in Lb of what is otherwise
common in vernacular and Latin sermons of the period.

107-108

Is 5,18.   Lb's "Voo" is an inverted spelling; in the dialect of
E. Anglia v̲ frequently appears for w̲ (Jordan §163).

110-113

1 Tm 6,9.

115-191

The rest of the Lb sermon concerns the remaining seven bonds.
Nicholas: "Alia sunt retinancia eam in culpam peccati, quorum
primum est necgligencia. Simile dicitur, Prouerbiorum .19., Qui
necgligit vitam suam, mortificabitur. Vere qui necgligens est
vtrum bene viuat, vel male, mortificabitur, id est, dampnabitur.

   2^m est obliuio Dei creatoris sui; de hoc dicitur, Deuteronomii
.32., Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti, et oblitus est Domini
creatoris tui. Et in Psalmorum dicit Christus, Obliuioni [datus]
sum tanquam mortuus a corde.

   3^m est amor peccati et delectacio illius, qui faciunt hominem
esse inimicum Domino Deo creatori suo, vnde Iacobi, Adulteri,
nescitis quia amicicia huius mundi, id est, mundane voluptatis,
inimica Deo? Quicunque ergo vult esse inimicus [MS + Deo canc.]
mundi huius, id est, mundane voluptatis, amicus Dei constituitur.
Vere amore peccati et delectacio qius ligatur peccator et tenetur

a peccato et capitur a diabolo, et decipitur. Vnde Ecclesiastici
.9., Sicut pisces capiuntur hamo et aues laqueo, ita homines in
tempore malo. Ita cepit diabolus primo mulierem et decepit per
delectacione ligni vetiti, vnde Genesis .3°., dicitur quod vidit
mulier lignum quod esset bonum ad vescendum et pulcrum oculis
aspectuque, delectabile, et tulit de fructu illius et commedit
deditque viro suo, etc. O, quam mala est delectacio peccati!
quia ita ligat peccatores et tenet eos in peccatis suis. Vere
mala est quia breuis est et non saciat, sed in futurum, vt dicit
Augustinus, Delectacio presens non saciat, preterita non delectat,
/ futura cruciat.

4^m est pudor et confusio confitendi. Isto vinculo ligat
diabolus linguas peccatorum multorum, sed maledictus ille pudor
et maledicta illa confusio que confessionem peccati impedit, et
ideo dicitur, Ecclesiastici .4., Fili, serua tempus et declina
a malo, et non confundaris dicere verum pro anima tua.

5^m est timor satisfaciendi quando peccatores respiciunt quod
oportet eos ieiunare in pane et aqua, et ire nudi pedes, et
portare cilicium, et quia ista timent aliquando nolunt propter
hoc dimittere peccata sua. Vnde Prouerbiorum .18., dicitur quod
pigrum, scilicet, peccatorem, deicit timor, scilicet, penitencie.
vere timor penitencie deicecit aliquando peccatores in peccatum
et in fine deiecit eos in infernum, etc. Tales enim debent attend-
ere et cogitare quomodo poterunt sustinere penas inferni que in
centuplo sunt crudeliores quam aliqua pena que sit in hoc seculo,
et sicut dicitur Iob .6., Qui timent penitenciam, id est, agere
penitenciam, veniet super eos nix, id est, pena eterna.

6^m est fiducia diu viuendi, vnde dicit parentibus primis
diabolus, Genesis .3°., Nequaquam moremini, sed eritis sicut dij,

scientes bonum et malum.

.7. est nimia spes misericordie Dei, vnde dicit peccator,
Deus non fecit me vt dampner. et dicit Ecclesiastici .5°.,
Miseracio Dei misericordia multitudinis peccatorum meorum
miserebitur. Ista .7. vincula possunt signari per .7. vincula
uel funes quibus ligatus fuit Sampson, de quibus dicitur, Iudicum
.16., Attulerunt satrape philistiorum .7. funes ad Dalidam, quibus
ligauit Sampsonem. Ista possunt signari per vincula quibus
Nabugodonosor fecit ligari Sedechiam, sicut habetur .4. Regum .25.
Ista vincula possunt signari per illa vincula quibus ligatus fuit
La3arus, quando fuit mortuus et positus in sepulcro, Io..11."
(Nic ff.76v-77).

115
I have emended here following the Latin; a line seems to be
missing, probably due to eyeskip, since there are two close
occurrences of the phrase "in synne".

116-118
Prv 19,16.

121-123
Dt 32,18.

124-125
PsG 30,13.

127-129
Jac 4,4.

132-133 he is takyn ...disceyuyd]
The word-play in the Latin ("capitur...et decipitur") is not
reproduced in the English translation.

133-136

Ecl 9,12. On the image of the devil as a hunter which is suggested in this section, cf. XVII/108-111.

137-141

Gn 3,6.

147-149

The endorsement of oral shrift is perhaps surprising given the compiler's Lollard outlook elsewhere in the sermons. Yet s/he has not shown themselves to be openly hostile to oral confession. Presumably the reference in Nicholas has stayed partly because the redactor was preaching to a parish congregation?

150-153

Sir 4,23.

154-155 blyndyd lusty synners]

The phrase has no counterpart in Nic.

156-159

Nic has "nolunt propter hoc dimittere peccata"; this represents a vivid handling of the source, and yet it is incompatible with Lollard disapproval of extreme forms of penance, cf. Selections, p.34/27-31. The orthodoxy of these later sermons is something of a puzzle, in view of some of the preacher's previous outspoken comments.

160-161

Prv 18,8.

167-168

PsG 9,18.

170 a þousandfold more greuous]

An idiomatic hyperbolic translation; Nic has "centuplo".

171-173

Jb 6,16.

175-177

Gn 3,4-5.

179-183

A fine, lively handling of the source. The change from indirect
to direct speech which produces the dramatically ironic effect is
virtually unknown elsewhere in the collection. The irony is
typical of Wycliffite writings, cf. <u>Lanterne of Liȝt</u>, p.72 "No
wheþir schal I not visite vpon þise þingis? seiþ þe Lord God / or
schal not my wille be vengid? upon suche a folk? As if he wolde
seie! I schal be vengid /for as her wille is to go fro me. so my
wille is to be vengid vpon hem: whanne I se my tyme ‖ But happeli
here summe wole seie. God wole not take veniaunce? vpon hise
cristen peple / God wole not leese þat he deere bouȝt".

185-187

Jdc 16,8.

187-189

The reference is indeed to 2 Rg 25; v.7 tells of the binding.

190-191

Lazarus, whom Christ raised from the dead, was bound hand and foot
with burial garments, Jo 11,44.

191-199

This ending has been added by the Lb compiler; it does not correspond

to anything in Nicholas at this point, but represents a jump
ahead to Nic f.78 which has the quotation from PsG 2,3.

192-194

PsG 2,3.

195-197

Mt 11,29. This was presumably suggested by the "iugum" of the
previous quotation.

Nicholas goes on to explain that the ass signifies any sinful
soul, and the foal signifies the man who will not be restrained
but who wanders in the ways of lechery. Then Nicholas moves on
to his third principal, "quomodo anima peccatrix ab istis vinculis
soluitur" (f.77). The seven bonds are each released by seven
corresponding virtues. The fourth principal is "quomodo ista
asina ad Christum adducitur". Nicholas commends the priestly
function of consoling sinners by "bonas visticaiones, orationes,
consolaciones, et bonas / exhortaciones et increpaciones" (ff.
78-78v). Each prelate must lead the sinner to Christ. Like the
ass we must all bear Christ's cross if we are to follow him into
eternal glory. The sermon in Nic ends on f.78v.

<u>Sermon XXII</u>

In terms of the AdLb collection as a whole, there are some
anomalies about this Good Friday sermon. Its occasion is ferial
not dominical; it is the only sermon on an epistle text (1 Pt 2,
21, the reading for the second Sunday after Easter in the Sarum
use but a popular theme for Good Friday); and it transcends the
other sermons in the series in terms of its affective power and
feeling for language. It better conforms to modern notions of
"literariness" than its bedfellows (cf. ll.62-99); the compiler
appears to recognise its uniqueness, whether of occasion or style,
in ll.121-2 "as I seyde in þe secunde poynt of þis singyl sermoun".
The sermon is not based on Nicholas de Aquevilla; the MSS of
Nicholas' Sunday gospel series which provide material for most
of AdLb collection do not contain sermons on the epistles. I
have looked at a copy of Nicholas' sermon for this occasion, on
this text, in MS Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge 52/29,
but that is not the source of the sermon edited here, nor have
I found a source for it from the resources of Schneyer's <u>Repertorium</u>.
It draws however on popular motifs of the passion, and several
passages bear comparison with other passion accounts, notably
that found in Jacobus de Voragine's <u>Legenda Aurea</u>.

3

1 Pt 2,21. The compiler does not provide a translation of the
entire gospel pericope (1 Pt 2,21-25, <u>Sarum Missal</u>, p.147),
presumably because a translation was not available in the MS
of the English Wycliffite Sunday gospel sermons which furnish
the translations for other pericopes in the collection; but since
the compiler also had access to a copy of <u>WB</u> (perhaps only the

gospels?) the omission is not easy to account for.

6-8 In þes wordys ...for vs]

The opening divisio sets out three principals, each of which is
indeed discussed in the body of the sermon. Although the sermon
is recognisably 'modern' in form, nevertheless it has none of the
more elaborate trappings associated with that mode - there is no
formal protheme, framed on either side with the theme, and as
usual with this collection, there is no request for prayer.

9 þi mende]

The sg. pronoun suggests a congregation of one. It is true that
some sermons are apparently addressed to only one person (cf.
MS Longleat 4, whose author refers several times to " leue frend"
Hudson and Spencer 1984:226), a practice which points to the use
of sermons for private study. But it was also common in sermons
of this period for the preacher to change from the usual plural
form to sg. "þou", the so-called deictic usage, which was intended
to make the sermon more immediate to individual members of a
plural congregation (Fletcher 1978:113). This would seem to
be the case here, particularly as the auditory are addressed as
"dere frendys" at 1.119.

11 of þe clennest dropis of blood of hir]

An allusion to the belief that the BVM was herself from conception
kept free from original sin; this belief has a long history and
aroused considerable controversy in the fourteenth century. It
was vigorously espoused by the Franciscans. The belief was accepted
as dogma by the Catholic church in 1854, q.v. ODCC Immaculate Con-
ception of the BVM.

13-16

Phil 2,7. This text is frequently found as the theme for

passiontide sermons. On Christ's obedience at the passion, cf.
Powell 1980: I/241.

17-18 not compellid, but wiþ his fre wil]

Christ's willingness to die for our sakes is frequently the subject

of commentary, cf. "God Almighty Himself for thy redemption hung

naked between two thieves upon the Cross, and of His own free will

exposed his body to the Passion", Master Rymington, quoted by Owst,

LPME, p.509.

18-21

21-23

Jo 13,13.

29-30

The quotatien is not from the Vulgate; but a common epithet for

the devil was "serpens antiquus", cf. Bruno Astensis, PL 165, col.

670; Rupert. abb., PL 169, col.800. "Fiȝtyȝ" is 2pl.imp.

30-31 Oþer armure, etc.]

On the common imagery of the Crucifixion as a fight, cf. "in Good

Fryday he cam in so fel a fyȝt with þat tyraunt þe fend of helle

þat alþouȝ he hadde þe maystry ȝit he was so forwondyth þat ...he

muste deye", Dives and Pauper, Part 2, p.101.

35-36 þe olde lawe]

The Old Testament.

41-42

Mt 16,18.

50-61

Bernard, In Epiphania Domini, Sermo 1, PL 183, col.145.

62-78

There are a number of rhetorical devices in this passage, most

notably asyndeton and alliteration. Such devices for local effect

are of course common in orthodox sermons of the period, e.g. Mirk's

Festial. The passage bears comparison with many medieval accounts

of the passion, the dramatic realism of which Owst remarks upon

in LPME, pp.508-510, noting their debt to the sermons of St Bernard

(cf. PL 184, cols. 778-9, 960; PL 182, col.1133). Cf. also

Brinton, Sermon 86 (Devlin 1954:395):

    Quis tam cupidus et auarus, qui si aspiciat Dominum univers-
    orum in cruce pendentum nudum, quin statim moueatur ad opera
    pietatis? Quis tam tener et delicatus, quin statim impleat
    penoteaciam sibi iniunctam, si consideret Christum affixum
    in cruce et afflictum ab omni gente, quia a discipulo venditus,
    a Iudeis traditus, a gentibus crucifixus, ab omni elemento
    ...leuatus in aerem, consputus saliua, sepultus in terra?

Of the passages cited by Owst, Lb is close to Harley 2398 f.186v

and Laud Miscellany 23.   Ll.71-73 "þat no place ...feet" are

based on Is 1,6 and often appear in this context, cf. Dives and

Pauper, Part 2, p.101; Memoriale Credencium, p.224.

75 þrustynge ...blood-latynge]

I have not come across any examples of this ironic detail in

accounts of the passion. Blood-letting was performed by medieval

physicians in order to heal; the irony is that the blood Christ

shed on the cross brought him not life but death. The details

of the passion here are from Mt 27, 29-34.

80-82

Lam 1,12. The words are commonly put in the mouth of Christ in

descriptions of the passion.

83-86

A _Charta Christi_ moralisation of the English type. This is a fre-
quent allegory of the passion, cf. Douglas Gray, _Themes and Images
in the Middle English Lyric_, pp.129-30; Rosemary Woolf, _The
English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages_, p.253, n.2; Coleman
1981:183; Powell 1980:307. The image springs from the application
of legal terminology to the doctrine of the Redemption; often
it is written that Christ's commending of Mary to John was his
"will". The image is more frequent in poetry than prose. The
classic study of this stock religious image is M.C. Spalding,
The Middle English Charters of Christ, (Bryn Mawr, 1914). Some
versions of the Charter are very elaborate, but in all the details
are the same - Christ's body, or skin, is the parchment, stretched
on the cross like parchment upon the harrow or frame; the scourges
are the pens. The legal terminology which is typical of some
versions e.g. Powell 1980:307, is completely absent in this version.

87-89 wiþ scharpe ...panne]
The allusion is to an oft-quoted passage from Bernard (hence Lb's
"as doctours seyn"), cf. Ross 1960:311-2:

>   Pei toke a crone of thorne and þur's'te it on ys hede - as
>   vittenes Bernard, þe thornes met toþeþur in þe medell of
>   is breyn

And _LA_, 227:

>   Unde Bernardus: caput illud divinum multiplici spinarum
>   densitate usque ad cerebrum defixum est

91-99

I cannot find this in Bernard, but he is constantly cited in accounts
of the passion because cap. liii of the _Legenda Aurea_ on the passion
refers to him so frequently, cf. _LA_, p.226:

>   dicit Bernardus: caput angelicis tremendum spiritibus densitate
>   spinarum pungitur ...cruci clavo affiguntur ...latus lancea
>   perforatur, et quid plura? non remansit in eo nisi lingua,

ut pro peccatoribus exoraret.

100-108

Also attributed to Bernard in the Speculum Christiani, p.21.

Examples of Christ's complaint to man abound in the period, cf.

Dives and Pauper, Part 2, p.243; LA, p.227, attributed to Bernard.

109-111

Cf. PME, p.347: "ffor the herd stonys brake in the tyme of cristis

passion".

122 þis singyl sermoun]

Cf. comment on p.431.

125-126

Not Paul, but Apc 1,5.

127

Jo 15,13.

130-132

Jo 15,17 and Jo 15,12.

134-137

1 Pt 2,21.

140-143

Jo 12,26.

144-145

Jo 8,12.

150-153

Jo 6,54.

154-155

1 Cor 11,29.

160 now on Estyr Day]

Presumably the preacher is anticipating events, as the sermon is

clearly for Good Friday (indicated in the rubric).

Sermon XXIII

The source for this Easter Day sermon is again Nicholas de
Aquevilla. This is one of the shortest sermons in the collection;
therefore I present the Latin text in one continuous piece before
discussing points of interest in the sermon. The two principal
divisions concern the meaning of the three Marys (each soul doing
penance), and the spiritual significance of the ointments that
they carried (devotion and confession). The compiler does not
deal with the full meaning of the second ointment, as it appears
in Nicholas, and does not even touch upon the third, which is
prayer. The Lb sermon is perfectly orthodox; additions to the
text are mainly concerned with catechetical rudiments.

2

Mc 16,1.

3-18

The gospel pericope is Mc 16,1-7, the gospel reading for Easter
Sunday (Sarum Missal, p.136). The translation is taken over
almost entirely from the version in the corresponding English
Wycliffite sermon (Hudson 46). The clearest indication of Lb's
derivative nature is provided by the presence of intruded
commentary from the Wycliffite sermon: "for it was leueful to
worche ate euyn on þe sabotys", ll.5-6 (cf. Hudson 46/7-8 "for
hit was leueful to worchen at euon on þe sabaotis"). One or
two differences between the versions in Lb and Hudson 46 are
probably due to variants in the MSS of the Wycliffite cycle,
some of which confirm Lb's indirect relation to MS N, e.g.
Hudson 46/22 "algatis"; om. N; om. Lb 18. There is no apparent
influence from the Wycliffite Bible, as has been the case with

some of the previous sermons in the series. One difference
between Hudson 46 and Lb deserves comment. The Wycliffite sermon
debates the number of Marys and opts for two "þis secounde Marie
was boþe owre Ladyes sustur and Salomeus dowtur; but somme men
seyn þat þer weren þree. But hit is ynow to vs to trowen þat þer
weren two, and leue to knowyng of God ʒif þer weren moo" (Hudson
46/3-7); the Lb compiler however anticipates the subsequent
development of the exposition in the body of the sermon which is
dependent on a triad of Marys, and omits the number of Marys
altogether (l. 5 "þes Maries"; Hudson 46/7 "þese two Maries").
The confusion over the number of Marys present may account for
the omission of the conjunction in l.4. On the lineage of the
Marys, cf. Speculum Sacerdotale, pp.145-6.
19-158

The redactor has made close use of Nicholas, whose sermon begins
on f.78v: "Maria Magdalene et Maria Iacobi et Salomee emerunt
aromata vt venientes vngerent Ihesum, Marce vltimo. In verbis
istis due possunt considerari. Primum est videre quid signatur
per istas tres Marias que venerunt querere Ihesum, orto iam sole,
ad monumentum. 2^m est, quid signant illa aromata que attulerunt
secum vt vngerent ipsum Ihesum.

Primum est videre quid per istas Marias tres signatur. Per
istas tres Marias, quia Maria 'mare amarum' interpretatur, quelibet
anima penitens signatur, que debet habere triplicem amaritudinem
de tribus peccatis - cordis, videlicet, oris et operis - siue de
peccatis corporis, quia omne peccatum ʳautˀ prouenit ex corde, ex
malo consensu, aut ex mala cogitacione, aut ex ore ex mala
locucione, aut ex corpore ex aliqua mala operacione. Peccata
oris bene possunt dici et sunt hec - mendacia, falsa testimonia,
detracciones, blasphemie praue et praua colloquia et inutilia, etc.

[et] huiusmodi. Peccata corde possunt dici et sunt peccata
superbie, ire, inuidie, odij, rancoris, discordie, cupiditatis,
auaricie, etc. et huiusmodi. [A few lines may be missing from
Nic at this point, since there is no mention of the "peccato mali
operis"] De peccato cordis et peccato oris et peccato totius
mali operis debet quilibet anima peccatrix habere triplicem
amaritudinem, et de hoc quod per ista peccata offendit et de-
relinquit Christum sponsum suum / dulcissimum. Vnde dicitur,
Ieremie .2°., Anime peccatrice, scito et vide quia malum et
amarum est dereliquisse te, Dominum Deum tuum, et non est Dominum
Deum tuum apud te. De ista triplice amaritudine repletus fuit
Iob, qui 'dolens' interpretatur, et signat animam penitentem et
dolentem de peccatis suis, Iob .10., Loquar in amaritudine anime
mee; dicabo Deo, noli me condempnare, etc. Et item, .13°., In
amaritudinibus moratur oculus mesu, et ideo libera me et pone me
iuxta te. De ista amaritudine dicit Ezechias Rex, Ysaie .39.,
Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos in amaritudine anime mee. De
istis amaritudinibus dicitur similiter, Ieremie .29., Anime
peccatrici, statue tibi specula, pone tibi amaritudines, dirige
cor tuum in via in qua ambulasti, reuertere virgo Israel,
reuertere ad ciuitates tuas, vsquequo delicijs dissolueris, filia
vaga? Per istas tres Marias quelibet anima penitens signatur,
propter triplicem amaritudinem. Ista debet habere et hoc de
peccatis cordis, oris et mali operis, et debet venire ad querendum
Ihesum, orto iam sole, gracie in corde suo, et fugatis iam
tenebris in corde suo.

2^m est iam videre qué sunt illa aromata que iste sancte
mulieres, id est, quelibet anima penitens, debet offerre ad
vngendum Ihesum. Et sciendum quod triplex vnguentum debet offerre

ad vngendum Ihesum spiritualiter.

Primum est deuocionis siue compunccionis, et conficitur istud
ex recordacione propriorum peccatorum et debet esse proprie contra
vulnera cordis inungenda. Istud vnguentum potest dici vnguentum
Marie Magdalene, que plorans venit ad monumentum, Io. vltimo, vnde
dixerunt ei angeli, Mulier, quid ploras? Et ipsa respondit,
Tulerunt Dominum meum, et nescio vbi posuerunt eum. Ipsa est que
lacrimis suis et pedes Domini rigauit, vt habetur Luce .7., vbi
dicitur, Ecce mulier que erat in ciuitate peccatrix, vt cognouit
[MS con̄g-] quod Ihesus accubuisset in domo pharisei, attulit
alabaustrum vnguenti et stans retro secus pedes eius lacrimis
cepit rigare, etc. De istis aromatibus dicitur, Canticorum .4.,
Surge, aquilo, et veni, auster, et perfla ortum meum, et fluent
aromata illius, id est, cordis deuocio et compunccio de peccatis,
et vera contricio cordis. In ista vnccione mutatur vetus homo
in nouum hominem, secundum quod dicitur de Saule, Regum .10.,
Postquam vnctus est, mutatus est in virum alterum.

2^{m} vnguentum potest dici vnguentum vere confessionis et vere
pacis cordis. Et istud vnguentum potest dici spiritualiter
vnguentum quod attulit Marie Salome, quia Salome interpretatur
'pacifica' et per confessionem veram multotiens adquiritur pax
cordis et pax et reconsiliacio [MS + et reconsiliacio] anime
ad suum [MS + creatorem canc.] correctorem. Vera confessio oris
signum est et ostensio reconsiliacionis anime peccatricis ad suum
creatorem. Ista reconsiliacio siue istud signum reconsiliacionis
cum magno desiderio optat sponsa, dicens, Canticorum .1°., Oscu-
letur me osculo oris sui ?quantumlimare reconciliet me sibi.
Osculum oris eius signum / est resconsilia[cio] ad Deum, qua
signum reconsiliacionis. Deosculatus est pater filium prodigum,

qui bona sua dissipauerat viuendo luxuriose, quando venit ad

apsum et dixit ei, Pater, peccaui in celum et coram te; iam non

sum dignus vocari filius tuus, Luce .15. In hoc quod dicit, Pater,

peccaui, notatur confessio oris. In hoc quod [dicit] Pater oscu-

latus est, notatur signum reconciliacionis. Istud vnguentum est

vnguentum confessionis et pacis ad suauitatem et salutem anime.

De hoc potest dici istud, Ecclesiastici .38., Vnguentarius [f]aciet

[MS saciet] pigmenta suauitata et vncciones conficiet sanitatis.

Vnguentarius iste potest dici Christus, qui in corde hominis

penitentis facit pigmenta sanitatis et conficit in illo sanitatis

quando dat ei gratiam conuertendi de peccatis et gratiam vere

confitendi illa.

Illud unguentum potest dici spiritualiter vnguentum Marie

Iacobe, quia Iacobus 'supplantator' vel 'luctator' interpretatur,

et per mortificacionem carnis et per elemosinarum largicionem, et

per alia opera pietatis et deuocionem orationis debet quilibet

anima penitens supplantare vicia carnis et luctari contra ea.

Vere per vnguentem quod est mortificacio carnis, que est in

disciplinis et ieiuinijs et vigilijs honestis et huiusmodi debet

quelibet anima penitens luctari contra vicia carnis et supplantare

illa. Ideo dicit apostolus, Colocsenses .3°., Mortificate membra

vestra que sunt super terram fornicacionem, inmundiciam, libidinem,

concupiscenciam malam, Gal. .2°., Qui Christi sunt carnem suam

crucifixerunt cum vicijs et concupiscijs, id est, contra vicia et

concupiscencias malas.

Istud vnguentum est quedam mortificacio carnis, quod potest

dici vnguentum mirre, quo vngi debent corpora nostra, ne putre-

fiant putredine luxurie, quia de mirra ad litteram vnguenta sunt

corpora mortuorum ne putrescant. De isto vnguento vnxit se sancta

Iudith, secundum quod dicitur Iudith .10., vbi dicitur, Exiuit se

Iudith vestimento viduitatis sue, et [MS + co canc.] lauit corpus

suum et vnxit se mirra optima. Iudith, que 'confitens' vel

'glorificans' interpretatur, animam penitentem signat, que debet

Deum confiteri verbis et factis et ipsum glorificare in quantum

potest de bonis a Deo sibi collatis. Ista Iudith debet exuere de

indumentis viduitatis sue, id est de peccatis antiquis, per veram

contricionem et debet lauare corpus suum, id est, totum hominem

interiorem per veram confessionem, et postea debet se vngere mirra

optima, id est, bona mortificacio carnis et aspera. Hec est

mirra optima que custodit animam et corpus a putredine luxurie.

De hoc dicitur, Iohel primo, Computruerunt iumenta in stercore

suo. Et dicit beatus Gregorius, Iumenta in stercore computrescere

est carnalem vitam suam in fetore luxuriosa. De isto vnguento

dicitur similiter, Canticorum .4., Mirra et aloe cum omnibus

primis vnguentis, et dicit Glosa, Mirra inputribile corpus reddit,

et signat illos qui amaritudinem penitencie reddunt corpus suum

securum a motibus / carnalibus. Et ideo dicit sponsa, Canticorum

.5., Manus mee distillauerunt mirram et digiti mei pleni sunt

mirra probatissima, que inputribile corpus facit, dicit

interlinearis" (Nic ff.78v-80).

19-20 þes wordis þat I haue take to my teme]
"Theme", in the restricted sense of "the text of a sermon" (q.v.

OED theme sb.) is first recorded in the latter half of the four-

teenth century, in Piers Plowman; it was picked up from the

technical vocabulary of the artes praedicandi (Spencer 1982[1]:217),

and preachers of 'modern' sermons in particular often alluded to

"my teme" (cf. MS Rawlinson C.751 f.4). This is the only allusion

in the AdLb series. The word is not, I think, used in the Wycliffite

sermon-cycle, which uses 'ancient' form, perhaps because of Lollard strictures on the method of preaching by taking a theme and "diversely developing it" (Basevorn, Forma Praedicandi, ed. Charland, p.244; quoted in Spencer 1982[1]:212).

26 Marie ...'þe bitter see']
Cf. Note to VIII/87.

33-41
The list of sins is considerably fuller then in Nic, which suggests the preacher's concern to put over catechetical rudiments to the congregation. For a similar threefold division of the sins (and similar exhaustive itemisation), cf. Speculum Christiani, pp.74-101 (from the fifth Tabula).

45-47
Jr 2,19.

48-49 Iob is to seie 'sorwynge']
The interpretation is traditional.

50-52
Jb 10,1-2.

52-55
Jb 17,2.

55-57
Is 38,15.

58-64
Jr 31,21

67-68
Rm 13,12.

73-74

The English compiler has added the intensifying adjective "deep"
to "mende", which is consonant with the pastoral thrust of Lb,
aimed as it is at a lay parish congregation. The reason for the
parenthetical comment about not thinking of "oþer mannys synnys" ,
which is another of the translator's additions, is not however
clear, but the preacher has throughout the series evinced a
concern for personal spirituality.

75-76 Maries oynement Mawdeleyne]
This is the usual ME word-order for genitive phrases where the
noun consists of two or more elements; it is the so-called "split
genitive" construction, cf. Kengen 1979:341-342; Mustanoja pp.159ff.

76-77

Jo 20,15.

77-80

A conflation of Jo 20,2 and Jo 20,13.

80-86

Lc 7,37-38.

86-89

Ct 4,16.

90 west, souþ]
The west wind and the south wind, q.v. OED west C.5 and south B.sb.5.

94-95

See 1 Sm 10,1.

96-120

The most surprising thing about this passage is the strong en-
dorsement of oral shrift, given the preacher's otherwise heterodox

tendencies, but this can be paralleled in <u>Dives and Pauper</u>, where
open discussion of topics which excited the Lollards lies side by
side with more orthodox statements "al þe court of heuene hydyn
here face fro man and womman qhyl þey been in dedly synne, tyl
qhanne þey welyn amendyn hem be sorwe of herte and <u>shryfte of</u>
mouthe and amendys-makyngge", Cap.X of Commandment I.

98 Salome ...'pesible']
The interpretation is traditional.

103-104
Ct 1,1.

109-110
Lc 15,18. From the parable of the prodigal son.

110-111
For a Lollard moralisation of this verse, cf. Hudson 1978:54
(Sermon on Lc 15,11-32, Set 4 Ferial Gospel series), which
emphasises the sufficiency of confession "bifore God þat is his
fadir".

114-116
Sir 38,7.

122 Iacob ...a supplanter]
A traditional interpretation.

129-133
Lollards disapproved of extreme forms of penance; this then is
an orthodox passage, and its orthodox nature is perhaps reinforced
by the addition of "þat steryþ man to synne vpon erþe" 11.132-3.
129-131
Col 3,5.

133-135

Gal 5,24.

139-142

Jdt 10,2-3.

142-143 Iudith ...'glorifyynge']

A traditional interpretation.

151 And þe glose seiþ]

I have been unable to find this reference.

155-157

Ct 5,5.

158-166

The sermon <u>explicit</u> has been added by the Lb compiler. The
preacher's concern to remind the auditory of basic catechetical
rudiments is perhaps responsible for the rehearsal of the seven
deadly sins. The order is the usual Gregorian one, cf. Powell
1980:285-293, for an example of a sermon structured around the
sins in that same order. The reference in 160-161 to the devil's
"panters" can be compared with XVII/108-185.

Nicholas' sermon goes on to discuss the second ointment further:
it represents almsgiving. The six "pigmenta" of Est 2 are then
moralised as the six deeds of mercy. The third ointment is prayer.
The three Marys represent sinners in various stages of penance.
The sermon in Nicholas ends on f.80.

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APPENDIX

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Lincoln College, Oxford MS Lincoln College 80

Wisbech Town Museum Library MS 8 ($\mathcal{S}$)

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge MS 74 (N)

British Library MS Harley 2247 (H)

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