



HAL
open science

Were Middle English Sermons preached in the form in which they are preserved in the Manuscripts?

Stephen Morrison

► **To cite this version:**

Stephen Morrison. Were Middle English Sermons preached in the form in which they are preserved in the Manuscripts?. *L'articulation langue-littérature dans les textes médiévaux anglais. IV, Groupe de recherches et d'études nancéien sur la diachronie et sur l'émergence de la littérature anglaise (GRENDEL)*, Jun 2005, Nancy, France. pp.145-163. hal-04674698

HAL Id: hal-04674698

<https://hal.science/hal-04674698v1>

Submitted on 21 Aug 2024

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Were Middle English Sermons preached in the form in which they are preserved in the Manuscripts?

Stephen Morrison
Université de Poitiers

Notre connaissance du contenu de ce qui était prêché aux fidèles dans les églises anglaises (ou à l'extérieur de celles-ci) à la fin du Moyen Age dépend des recueils de sermons conservés dans nos manuscrits. Or, bon nombre de chercheurs pensent que le témoignage de ces manuscrits ne reflète pas la réalité. A partir d'un examen d'un cycle très important de sermons anglais datant de la fin du XV^{ème} siècle, je tenterai de montrer que ces réserves ne doivent pas s'appliquer de manière arbitraire, car nous disposons d'indices qui laissent penser que le discours dominical a été conservé dans son état d'origine, et que les manuscrits concernés faisaient partis de l'équipement quotidien du curé séculier de cette époque.

Although quite numerous, late Middle English sermons, especially those preserved in collections or cycles, remain little-known to all but a handful of scholars currently engaged in editorial work on them. Most of those few that are in print are in need of new editions (this is especially true of, say, EETS editions of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries),¹ while those that have never benefited from editorial treatment are not only quantitatively superior but (inevitably) unavailable to the general reader. Not only is it difficult for this general reader to form an accurate impression of the structure and content of these texts, it is, of course, impossible for him to form an opinion on a question which has come to the fore from time to time in the past few years: were such

¹ Witness John Mirk's popular and influential *Festial (Liber festivalis)*, edited from virtually one manuscript (although many copies have survived) in 1905 by Theodore Erbe. A new edition, with full critical apparatus, is currently being prepared by Sue Powell of the University of Salford for the EETS. On this question in general see George Kane, "Outstanding Problems of Middle English Scholarship," in Kane, George, ed., *Chaucer and Langland: historical and textual approaches* (London, 1989), pp. 228-41.

sermons actually preached in the form in which they are preserved in the manuscripts?¹

In what follows (in an attempt to answer this question), my observations are based on an orthodox sermon cycle, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, preserved today in its final form, in four manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Musæo 180 [O]; Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library 50 & 51 [L],² Gloucester, Cathedral Chapter 22 [G] and Durham, University Library, Cosin V.iv.3. Taken together, these manuscripts preserve a major *De Tempore* cycle of orthodox sermons for Sundays and major non-dominical feasts of the liturgical calendar. The texts are inedited.³

Although it is impossible to reply with absolute certainty to the question posed, a review of the available evidence in the OLG manuscripts suggests that these sermons were indeed pronounced in churches before assembled congregations. A number of observations may be said to point in that direction. My remarks address five different aspects of the material construction and transmission of the texts, as follows: first, an examination of a facsimile page of the Oxford manuscript, with a view to assessing the degree of abbreviation used by the scribe; second, certain pronouncements which draw attention to the liturgical occasions on which the sermons were (presumably) preached; third, the quite numerous utterances of the preacher which would appear to establish a rapport between him and his congregation; fourth, an intriguing reference to floral decoration in a medieval church; and last, a review of the evidence which points to a scribe (or scribes) actively

¹ Wenzel (1986) asserts that “a sermon preserved for us in manuscript is not necessarily what was actually spoken from the pulpit or heard in the pews” (p. 63). The same writer (2005) doubts whether Mirk’s *Festial* was preached in the form in which it is preserved in the manuscripts (p. 64), although he offers no reason for his scepticism. The interesting evidence assembled by Erb (1971) may also be consulted. In view of the informed assessment of Helen Spencer – “Whether [sermons] ever were preached cannot in many cases be ascertained” – (Spencer, 1993, p. 4), the evidence assembled here may not be typical.

² One manuscript preserved today in two bindings.

³ It is hoped that the edition recently completed by the present writer will appear in 2009 or 2010. The manuscripts are the work of one scribe, an unusual circumstance. The language of the Oxford manuscript is that of Leicestershire, or of some area at which the boundaries of the counties of Leicestershire, Staffordshire and Warwicksire converge.

editing their texts in order to shorten them (that sermons should be brief is a commonplace dating back to the eighth century, at least).¹

To take the first point, it has been plausibly suggested that the relatively low incidence of abbreviations used by the scribe (see the facsimile of f. 32r of the Oxford manuscript) would facilitate oral delivery, raising the possibility that these sermon manuscripts constituted part of the priest's dominical equipment.² This folio contains 162 whole words, of which only sixteen carry abbreviations, that is, roughly 10%. However, this figure may be thought somewhat misleading since certain words are repeated in the very same abbreviated form: *condicion(s)*, six times; *pat*, *perfitte* and *herttis* twice each. It may thus be argued that the real percentage of abbreviation is not, in fact, 10, but 5, a noticeably low score.

Other aspects of the *mise-en-page* may be said to reinforce the supposition that the manuscripts accompanied the priests into churches. It is noticeable, for instance, that lists of items habitually referred to in the sermons – the four conditions necessary for the maintenance of peace (MS L50, f. 151v); the various points relating to Christ's Resurrection (MS O, f. 298); the reasons why Christ ascended into heaven (MS G, p. 336); the frequent evocation of the Seven Deadly Sins and their remedies, for example – are clearly enumerated in the margins.³ While it

¹ On the desirability of brevity in the preaching of sermons see Spencer (1993), p. 92. Cf. the remark made by the preacher of the first of the anonymous sermons edited by W. O. Ross: *I leue of for sparynge of tyme*, Ross (1940) p. 8/4. Similarly, Mirk is conscious of its virtues: Erbe (1905) pp. 93/24-25, 97/28-29, 114/25-26. Earlier writers expressing the same concern include Alcuin, *Commentaria in S. Ioannis ev.*, Hom. 33, PL 118, repeated by Abbot Aelfric in his homily for *Feria VI in Prima Ebdomada Quadragesimæ*, in *Homilies of Aelfric: a supplementary collection*, I, 232/62, ed. Pope (1967). The same writer reiterates the idea in his *Sermones Catholicici*, II. 5 (ed. Godden, p. 42, following his source, Gregory, *Hom. in Evang.* 19, PL 76: 1154B), and his *Lives of Saints* (ed. Skeat), II. 139-40. The anonymous author of the *Fasciculus Morum* begins his work (Wenzel, 1989, p. 33/2-3) by acknowledging his duty to *predicare [...] cum breuitate sermonis*.

² Fletcher, *Edition*, p. xxv, who also observes that the scribe's system of pointing "seems to be determined by rhetorical rather than grammatical considerations."

³ The practice is exemplified in the facsimile, with the enumeration of the four conditions necessary for the acquisition of peace.

is true that such visible cues would benefit a private reader, they would be of even more help to a preacher, mindful of the need to keep his eye from wandering too far from the matter in hand.

Furthermore, and here I take up the second category mentioned above, utterances of a formulaic character point strongly to the pulpit as the place of dissemination. These include not only the habitual forms of address – *Good men and women, Frendys* – but also the statements, invariably found at the beginning of the sermon, assigning the lection to the liturgical feast in question, thus: *Iohannis tercio, et in euangelio hodierno* (Trinity Sunday, all manuscripts) *Ad Romanos fratres, sexto, et instantis dominice epistolari officio* (7 Trinity, all manuscripts); *Iohannis sexto, et pro huius sermonis fundamentali introductorio* (25 Trinity, all manuscripts).

If these texts were destined for private readers, they are hardly likely to have been restricted to the liturgical occasion of the year; the presence of such details points rather to an official ecclesiastical function, that related to the dominical duties of the secular clergy who, since the well-known injunction of the fourth Lateran Council (1215), were enjoined to preach the fundamentals of the Christian faith to the unlearned.¹

Occasionally, a more personal note is established in the relationship between preacher and congregation, as in this standard interpretation of part of the parable of the sower (Matt. 13: 3-8): *The secunde thyng* (that is to be understood in the lection) *is, tho sowers tat schall sow this sede is vnderstonde prestis and prelatys, and specyally soche as hathe cure and charge of cristen sowlys, as I, thowye I be vnworthi a servaunt and mynyster betwene God and yowre sowlys* (5 Octave of Epiphany). Again, an Easter Day sermon records this admonition from the priest on the necessity of receiving communion worthily: *And terfore I requere yow, by te vertu of myne office tat I haue bytwene God and yowre sowlys, tat none of yow presume to take vpon hym for to resceyve tis precius Lorde in forme of brede but if he be in perfitt love and charite* (Easter Sunday, MS G). In both remarks, it is the role of priestly

¹ An English translation of this and many other key texts is available on the Internet at the Centre for Medieval Studies of Fordham University: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html>. The 1215 injunctions were often repeated and reformulated throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

intermediary between God and his faithful which is stressed. Again, it is difficult to explain the function of such utterances outside a formal preaching occasion.

Another instance is afforded by this comment which immediately precedes an exposition of the seven deadly sins: *Of whiche figurs and ensampyls* (sins likened to beasts) *I thynke to towche a litill at þis tyme of eche of hem, and then I bequethe yow to almyzti God* (7 Trinity, all manuscripts), and by this plea for the congregation's indulgence: *þis is the mater withe Goddys grace and your paciens that I purpose to stonde vpon as at this tyme* (20 Trinity, all manuscripts).

Such intimacy (if the term be allowed) may be thought to be reflected in preacher's habit of firing off questions to his congregation.¹ A particularly intensive passage is found in the first of the two sermons for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, a shorter passage from which was quoted above. Consider the following:

*How þinkiste þu for to do, þu þat synnyst from day to day and ledist al þi lyfe in luste and lykyng of þi fowle flessche, in gloteny and lechery? And paraventure þu lackist no þing þat þi fowle flessche wyll desyre. Wenyst þu þat soche gamys wil bring þe to heven? Nay forsothe, for or þu come thedyr, þu muste suffyr many a bitter peyne before. For wenyste þu for to haue heven withe herpyng, pypyng and dawnsyng here, and withe syngyng of thre men songis, or ells for to haue heven withe grete ease of þe body and withe grete welfare of bodily sustinaunce, or withe riches and gay aray and ledyng þi lyffe all in iolite? Where fyndiste þu þat ever eny man come to heven withe nowyte? Loke what Criste seyte in þe gospel: *Oportet pati Christum, et ita intrare in regnum celorum; Luce vicesimo quarto*. 'It behovythe Criste for to suffyr grete vexacion and dyverse peynes and passions, and so for to entyr into þe kyngdome of hevens.' Sen it is so þat Crist made heven and erthe and all þing of nowzte, and never dyd amyse, yit muste he suffyr peyne or þat he come to þe ioyes of heven, *what schalt þu do þen*, whose lyfe is all in synne and wrechednesse?*

So insistent is the preacher that it may be thought that he allowed himself to get rather carried away. Whatever the explanation, it is noticeable also that he has adopted the singular pronoun *þu*, despite being (presumably) in the presence of more than one individual.

A different, more intriguing piece of evidence is provided by the compiler of the sermon for the third Sunday after Trinity who addresses his congregation at one point, thus: *For ye se be experiens, þere is no*

¹ This point has recently been argued by Johnson (2003).

þing for to luf hertily but if it be for some vertu þat is fownde therein: as flowrs, they be beloved for þei comferte the syzt of man, where the *flowrs* of the base text is recast as *these feyre flowris* in L and G, thus creating the picture of a preacher physically gesturing in the course of his delivery.¹ Precisely the same phrase re-occurs in the first of two sermons for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity where, again, the use of the demonstrative strongly suggests the presence of an object visible to the whole assembly: *for we schal passe and voyde away as doþe þese feyre flowrys and oþer frutis full lyztly*.

To these various utterances may be added the evidence showing that scribes deliberately altered the structure of a good number of sermons by removing often large stretches of text. This preoccupation with sermon length would seem to be best explained by considerations concerning their delivery, further reinforcing the conviction that they were actually preached. A private reader is hardly likely to have taken the trouble to effect such changes.

The most elaborate example of this editing (for that is what it is) is found in the very first sermon in the cycle, that for the first Sunday in Advent.² Three of the four manuscripts examined here preserve a long exemplum concerning the *Castrum Sapience*, the Castle of Prudence, the various parts of which are dispersed throughout the text in such a way as to rule out the possibility that they represent additions to an original sermon in which they were lacking. D is the manuscript from which all traces of this exemplum have been excised. In order to show the care and efficiency with which this was done, it is necessary to quote the sermon fully. In what follows, text which is lacking in D is printed in bold; text immediately following these extracts, given in italics and in square

¹ Though one would hardly doubt the presence of floral decoration in medieval churches, it is as well to cite contemporary testimony. See, for example, Henry Littlehales (1904-05), pp. 130, 162, 185; also, Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs and Beat A. Kūmin (1997), p. 165. Alternatively, the reference may indicate the practice of open-air preaching, evidence for which has been gathered by Owst (1926), esp. ch. 5. More recent work is cited by Jonathan Alexander in Rogers (1994), p. 202, fn. 15. A remark in the sermon for the third Sunday in Lent suggests an urban setting for the delivery of the sermons (*bote in þis towne and in oþer*), but this would presumably not rule out an outdoor location.

² A recent edition, with full discussion, is Fletcher (2004).

brackets, indicates what the scribe of D at one point wrote so as to join up the disturbed text in his aim for coherence.

dominica prima in aduentu domini

Good men and women, ye schal vnderstonde that the gospel of þis day makethe mencion what tyme that owre soveren sauiovre Criste Ihesu went withe his discipyls here one erthe in þis present lyfe, and came nyze to the cite of Ierusalem in the cuntre of Bethfage, at the Mownt of Olivete. Then Ihesus sent his tweyne discipyls and seyde to hem these wordis: *Ite in castellum, quod contra vos est, et statim inuenietis asinam alligatam et pullum cum ea.* “Go ye into the castel þat is ayenste yow, and anon ye schal fynde an asse tyed and a colt withe hyr. Vnbynde ye them and bryng hem to me. And if eny man seythe to yow eny þing, sey ye that the Lord hathe nede to hem; and anon he schal leve hem.” Truly al this was done that was seyde be the prophete, seyng þus: *Dicite filie Syon: Ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus, [[178r]]sedens super asinam, et pullum filium subiugalis.* “Sey ye to the dowyter of Syon: Loo, thi kyng commethe to the homly or mekely, sittynge on an asse, and a foole the sonne of a beest vnder yoke.”

Forsothe the discipyls went and dyd as Ihesus commawnded to hem; and they browyt an asse and the foole and leyde there cloþis on hem, and made owre sauiovre Ihesu to sitt above on hem. And so þer was moche other pepil that leyde ther clotis in þe wey, [and some pepill dyd cutt braunchys of trees and strewyd in the wey]. But the company that went before and tho that sued behynde cryed and seyde: *Osanna filio Dauid, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.* Þat is to sey: “[We] pray the saue vs, þu þat art þe sonne of Dauid. Blissed is he that commethe in þe name of the Lorde, Osanna in hygeste thyngis.”

Moraliter. The moralle vnderstondyng of this gossell after ye seyng of docturs, where as Crist commawnded [[178v]]tweyne of his discipyls to go to þe seyde castell, is to vnderstonde that þis precius Lorde almyȝti God cam firste to make man, and after that gafe to hym a law to govern hym by. Another tyme he cam to by man, what tyme he cam and toke flessche and bloode of þe glorius virgyn our Lady, and after that bowȝte man with his precius pascion to bryng al mankynde to þe castel of heven.

Ensampil of this castel we haue in *Gestis Romanorum*, that þer was in the olde tyme a castell þat was calde *Castrum Sapientie*, the castell of wisdom; and in the entryng of this castell there was deput iij scheldis.¹ The firste schelde was of siluer withe iij rosys, as it had ben gooldis; and in þe firste rose was wreton ‘litol’, in the secunde rose was wreton “ivyll”, and in the therd rose was wreton “fekyll.” The secunde schelde was of sabyll withe iij swordis of siluer; and[[179r]]vpon the firste sworde was wreton “partyng”, and in þe secunde,

¹ The context requires that the word *deput* convey the meaning “depicted”, or something closely similar. Neither *MED* nor *OED* records such a form. Its later repetition would seem to rule out the possibility of scribal error here.

“ending”, and in þe terde, “turnyng.” The therde schelde was of asure withe thre trompis of golde; and vpon [þe firste] trompe was wreton “spedfull”, on þe secunde, “dredfull”, and vpon þe therde, “medefull.”

So the law was ordend at þat tyme that ther scholde no man enter into this castell but if case were that he kowde discerne and construw the cawse and the intent whi they were so sett and so portrude.¹ And at the firste there cam to tis castel a rial and a notabyll clerke, and he sadly and discretely vnderstode þe his discrecion and notabil connyng þat þere was direct in these scheldis aforeseyde grete lurnyng of sowle hele. And þen he wrote over the yatis þese ij versis:

Splendet in hijs scutis tibi gens doctrina salutis;

Hec tria scuta sciet quisquis celicola fiet.

“In these scuchyns tat schynythe[[179v]]so bryyt

There is doctrine to the pepyll of gostly well.

These thre muste he con aryyt

That in heven desyrethe for to dwell.”

And after þis he wrote versis over [e]very schelde conteynyng the mater in þe schelde, as ye schall here more pleynlyer in the explanacion.

Moraliter. Gostly to owre purpose. Be this castell is vnderstonde þe kyngdome of heven, the whiche is a suer castell and a perfite plesaunt abidyng, for ther is all maner of welthe and ioie, ever lyzte and never nyte, more gretter murþe and ioie then hert can þinke or mowte can speke, ever duryng worlde witheowten ende.

Now frendys, I can þinke that ye wolde feyne enter into this castell, þat is to sey, the passyng ioies of heven. But as Galfridus Anglicus in *Noua Poetria* seythe: *Sunt alij qui scire volunt, sed non operari*; “There bythe moche pepyll that wolde feyne haue heven, but they[[180r]]kepe not ne they wyll not labor therfore.” So we rede in holy scripture of þe pepil of Israell, when they herd of the plentowse contre of the londe of promyscion, feyne they wolde haue ben þere. But when þei herde of the grete bateyle þat þei scholde haue or they cam theder, þen þei were passyng wery of there iurney and repentid them sore of there grete labor. So in like wise, moche pepill of the worlde wil not remember themselfe how þei haue grete labor and disese in this worlde, and how they schall procede and passe owte of this worlde, ne they wot never how sone, whether to peyne or to ioie. And therfore seythe the apostil Paule in þe pistill of this day: *Scientes [tempus], quia hora est iam nos de sompno surgere*; “We know this tyme that the owre now is come that we owyte to rise fro slepe.” Þat is to sey, now þe tyme is com þat we scholde[[180v]]ryse owte of synne and slepe no lengar þerin, but as fast as we may, wake into vertues lyvyng because of the commyng of Criste; as who seythe, þe tyme of his natiuite. *Nunc enim propior est nostra salus [quam cum credidimus]*; “For now owre helthe is

¹ As with *deput* of the previous note, the form *portrude* is absent from the dictionaries.

nerē.” That is to sey, the tyme is commyng tat Criste wolde be borne for mans redempcion. Therefore and ye purpose to enter into this castell afore-seyde, þat is to sey, to the perpetuall ioye, þe kyngdome of heven, then muste ye haue ever in yowre remembraunce **these iij scheldys afore-seyde.**

The firste is the schelde of mans lyfe, the whiche was deput withe roses; the secunde is the schelde of dethe þat was peynted withe iij swordes; and þe therde is the schelde of the dredeful day of dome, þe whiche was figurde be þe tromppis.

[The] first I sey is [þe schelde of] mans lyfe; and over þat scheld withe roses þis clerke afore-seyde wrote these versis:

Vita qua[[181r]]viuis lex mortis iudicij vis,

Vita notata rosis brevis est, mala, plena dolosis.

“Thy lyfe it is a law of dethe,

A strengte of dome the to begyle,

Fy gurde be these rosis redd

It is full ivill and lastythe but a whyle.”

That mans lyfe is a law of dethe it may well be prevyd, and lital tyme indurythe [*the departyng owte of þis worlde*]. For like as ye see þat law desisite and termynethe debatis and stryvis, and yeldythe every man his owne, so dethe in like wyse endythe all thyngis betwene the body and þe sowle. Berfore whyle þu haste space to amende þi lyfe, it is grete wisdome for þe to cast away the derke and mystye spottis of synne, and grownde the in grace of good lyvyng. For as ye see that a rose florisschythe more and is more fresscher when the lyzt of the day is comen and þe nyzt before `is´ past, so on the same maner wyse when þe derkenes of synne is past, þen almyzti God 3evithe lyzte into thi sowle, and þat cawsithe[[181v]]a vertues man or woman to increce more and more in vertu and grace of good lyvyng. And so berithe witnessse þe apostill Paule in the pistill of this day: *Nox precessit, dies autem appropinquavit*; “The nyzte went before, but the day hathe nyzhede.” *Abiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum*; “Therefore”, seythe the apostill, “caste we away þe werkis of derkenesse”, *et induamur arma lucis*, “and be [we] clothed withe the armor of lyzte.” For [mans] lyfe may well be likened be roses in iij degreis. Firste, there is a bud, in þe whiche the rose is closed in; and after, [owte of] this bud spryngethe a feyre rose, a swete and a delicius. And sone after, withe wyndes and weders the levis fadythe and fallythe to þe grownde, and so turnethe to erthe.

So gostly in every man and woman of the worlde there by the iij ages. The firste age is childhode, in þe whiche the flowr[is] of manhod and womanhode [ben] closed in. For ther is no man can[[182r]]tell what schall falle of a childe in tyme commyng, whethere he schall be riche or pore, good or bad, wyse or vnwyse, riche or recheles. For his flowris schall spryng, increce and growe after governaunce. And after þis commethe yowthe; then hathe he or sche lyztnes, swiftnes, wantonnes and many other ornamentis of kynde. But þen at the laste commethe age; then schrynkethe his flessche, then fadythe his

colowre. His bonys be very sore, his lymmys wexythe febyll, his yee-sy3te felythe and wexithe very dyme; his bake begynnythe to bow [and] croke downward to the erthe þat he cam of. Then his flowris declynethe and fallythe away to þe grownde. And so man hathe none abidyng. Therfore seythe the apostill Paule in þe pistill of this day: *Sicut in die honeste ambulemus*; “As in a day walke we honestly.” As who seythe, the tyme of owre[[182v]]beyng here, dispose vs honestly in þe moste vertues wyse to the plesure of God. For þe dayes of owre beyng here ben full ivyll: *Dies mali sunt*. And when þu schalt passe owte of this worlde, þu schalt not take all [þi] wordly gooddys withe the: *Homo cum inter i' erit non sumet omnia*. And [þe] prophete seythe he schall haue somewhat withe hym, and þat is but smalle. Firste, he schall haue vij foote of erthe to ley his body therein, and a wyndyng schete. Thus þis maner of remembraunce of owre synfull lyvyng, and also of owre litil abidyng here, and also the ivill `s`pendyng of [owre] tyme in þis present lyfe; and then we so fekill and so feynt in feythe, and so freyle and so fals in owre lyvyng, all thys scholde cawse vs to vnbynde owre sowlis from synne. And so scholde it be vntyed frome the devyll, and then brow3te into the castell of heven. But in concludion, of oure lyvyng here Iob seythe: *Homo, natus[[183r]]de muliere, breui viuens tempore, pro primo; repletur multis miserijs, pro secundo; qui quasi flos egreditur et conteritur, pro tercio*. “A man is borne of a woman, lyvyng but a schorte tyme, for þe firste; [he] is fulfilled withe moche miseri and wrechidnes, for þe secunde; and [h]e schall passe as a flowre and not long tyme indure here, for the therde.”

The secunde schelde þat I spake of I seyde was þe schelde of dethe, the whiche was figurde be the swordes. And over that schelde þis for-seyde clerke wrote this verse: *Mors habet excerto tria: diuido, termino, verto*. “I parte”, seythe dethe, “I ende, I turne all new.” What trowiste þu that dethe departite when he commethe? Firste, he departite every man and woman frome there frendys in þis worlde, and he bryngethe mans lyfe to an ende and turnethe þe sowle from þe body. And þen departythe the body to þe erthe þat he cam of, [[183v]]and the gooddys to the worlde, and þe soule to the wey of everlastyng dampnacion or els into the wey of everlastyng saluacion. As Dauid seythe: *Relinquent alienis diuicias suas, et sepulcra eorum domus illorum in eternum*; “They schall leue þer riches behynde them, and there grave schall be þer howse witheowten ende.” Therfore resist all maner of synne that commethe of þe flessche whyle þu art alyve, and not to haue a delyte in [metis and drynkis and] long liyng in beddis. For so commawndythe þe apostill Paule in the pistill and seythe: *Non in comessacionibus [et] ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et in pudicijs, non in contencione et emulacione*. þat is to sey: “Not in superflue of festis and dronkennessis, not in beddis and vnchastiteis, not in strife and in envy;” *Sed indu[i]mini Dominum Ihesum Christum*; “But be ye clothed in the Lorde Ihesu Criste”, as who seythe, be ye indued withe mekenes and perfit lufe and charite, withe the remembraunce of dethe at the departyng owte of þis worlde. [[184r]]And so schalt þu fynde occasions and cawse to ryse owte of

synne into þe state `of` vertu and grace, be þe whiche þu schalt haue þe more grace and help of God at thi departing to passe and to procede into the castell of heven, of þe whiche spekythe Criste in þe gospell of Iohn, seying thus: *Hec est vita eterna: vt cognoscant te, verum Deum, et quem misisti Ihesum Christum*. That is to sey: “This is þe lyfe that ever schall last: that they know te, very God in Trinite, and whome þu sendist Ihesu Criste.”

The therde schelde that ye schall haue in mynde is the schelde of the dredfull day of dome, as I seyde was figurde be þe trompis. And over this schelde þis for-seyde clerk wrote this verse: *Monstrant tube qualis iudex veniet generalis*; “The trompis schewe the how and what wise þu schalt come to þe dome.” It schall be passyng spedefull, for all schall come to the dome þe whiche toke cristendome, as the holy apostill Paule rehersite and seythe: *Can[e]t enim tuba et mortui[[184v]]resurgent [incorrupti]*. All tho that toke þe sacrament of baptyng schall ryse ayene in þe likenes as they were in þe firste begynnynng. But it schall be passyng dredfull, for to all soche as at that tyme stondythe in þe wey of dampnacion, almyȝti God schal sey þese wordys: *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem eternum, qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius*. That is to sey: “Go hens away fro me, ye cursed pepyll, into the endlesse fyre of hell, the whiche is ordend to the devyll and to all his aungels.” Þen if case be þat þu myȝtiste sey vnto almyȝti God thus: “Now good Lorde, syn it is so þat þu commawndiste vs to go fro the, suffer vs nyȝe the”, þen seythe þe good Lorde as I seyde: *Discedite a me*, “Go ye away fro me.” “Now good Lorde, syn þu wilt not suffer vs ny the, [yit] grawnt vs þi blissyng.” He seythe ayene: *[Maledicti]*, “Ye schall departe fro [me], acursid.” “Now good Lorde, graunte vs a comfortabyll place to abyde in.” He schal[[185r]]sey ayene: *In ignem eternum*, “Into everlastyng fyre of hell.” “Now good Lord, grawnte vs þat owre peynes may haue a schorte tyme.” He schall sey ayene vnto hem: *In eternum*, “Everlastyng.” “Now good Lorde, grawnt vs good compeny and good felischip.” He schall sey ayene: “Ye schall haue non oþer but all the devyls in hell.”

Now frendys, for the grete mercy of owre Lorde, remember þiselfe, þu þat art a synner. For now þu mayste vnbynde þi sowle frome synne and haue the mercy of God. But when þe naturall lyfe is past frome the body, þen schall the ryȝtwisnes of God procede, and no mercy. And therefore seythe Criste in þe gospell of this day: *Soluite, et adducite michi*. “Breke atwo the haltur of synne; aske mercy and þu schalt come to me.”

The therde I seyde it schall be passyng medefull. þat is, to hem þat schall stonde in þe wey of saluacion almyȝti God schall sey: *Venite benedicti Patris mei*; “Come ye blissed[[185v]]childern of my Fader” to everlastyng blisse. And then may I sey as it is in þe gospell: *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*; “Blissed be he that commethe in þe name of God.” As who seythe, blissed be he þat governethe hym so that he may come to þat ioye and blisse þat almyȝti God bowȝt vs to. To the whiche, *et cetera*.

Most of the cuts here concern blocks of text. The first two, however, are made in mid-sentence, and new text has in one instance been supplied to re-establish the sense of the passage. Taken together, such “surgery” seems deliberate.

That this is not an isolated phenomenon is demonstrated by the fate of the first sermon for Quinquagesima Sunday in the hands of the scribe of G who deftly removes some forty lines of what is the longest sermon in the cycle. As with the Advent sermon, bold type indicates excisions, with compensatory additions given in italicized text in square brackets:

dominica quinquagesime

Frendys, I fynde wreton in þe gopell of this day, *Luce octauo*, what tyme þat owre Lorde Ihesu Criste went toward þe cite of Ierico, þere sat a blynde man besyde þe wey and askyd almus of þe pepil. And when he herde grete multytude of pepil comyng, he inquired what al þat was þat com þat wey by hym. And þei seyde þat Ihesus of Nazarethe scholde come þat wey. And when he herde þat, þen he cryed withe a lowde voyce and seyde þus: *Ihesu, fili Daid, miserere mei*; “Ihesu, the sonne of Daid, haue mercy on me.” And they þat cam by blamyd hym and bad hym to be still. But he wolde not cesse never þe rather but ever he cryed: “Ihesu, the sonne of Daid, haue merci on me.” And when þis blynde man was browzte before þe good Lorde, he[[74v]]stode styll and seyde to þe blynde man tus: *Quid vis vt faciam tibi?* “What wylt þu þat I do to þe?” Then þe blynde man seyde ayene: *Domine, vt videam*; “Good Lorde, þat I myzte see.” And then seyde þe good Lorde to him þus: *Respice, quia fides tua þe saluum fecit*; “Beholde”, seyde owre Lorde “for þi feythe hath made þe saffe.” And forthewithe þe blynde man had his syzte, and so folowyd Criste and magnyfied his good grace. þen þe pepyll þat folowyd, seyng þis grete myrakyll, gaffe lawde and preysyng to God.

So gostly to owre purpose. By þis blynde man is vnderstonde al mankynde þat was caste owte of paradise for þe synne of owre forme fader Adam. For mankynde was made so blynde withe synne for þe brekyng of the precepte of God þat he myyte[[75r]] not see þe clerenes of hevenly lyyte, but worþi for to suffyr þe blyndnes of everlasting dampnacion. But zit now almyzti God by his good grace and mercy hath made mankynde þat was bothe pore and blynde for to see clerely by his precius passion, when he schedde his precius herte bloode for to make mankynde to see and to be riche thorowye þe merytory of þe blys of heven. And he þat wyll not aryse from synne for to beholde and see everlastyng lyyte, he may wel be callyd a blynde man when our Lorde sey[th]e to hym þus: *Respice*; “Beholde”, firste, and see wysely witheyn þine owne consciens thyne vnclennes of lyyng; the secunde, see w[ar]jely benethe þe hell synfull sowlys resceyving; the þerde, see diligently above þe God hymselffe, chefe iustice, [[75v]]all þis worlde demyng; and þe fourþe, see þu discretely abowte the þe mercy of God mankynde resceyving.

Firste I sey þu muste see wysely witheyn þine owne consciens þine vnclennes of lyving. Ensampyll hereof we fynde þus: if it were so þat a man had a fowle toode or a fowle addyr witheyn hym, or eny oter soche fowle venome, dowteles every good man and woman þat is wyce wolde do theyre parte full besyly for to be avoyded thereof for poysenyng of þe body. But what man or woman þat is infecte wythe dedely synne, it is more venome and more fowler poysen to þe sowle then is eny oþer fowle venome to þe body.

And also synne is so fowle and so hevy to bere þat it will suffyr no man þat is therein to goo one foote vp to hevenwarde, but raþer to go to hell donwarde. For when Lucyfere, þat was þe feyrest[[76r]]aungell in heven, when he fel downe, his synne was so fowle and so hevy þat heven myzt not bere hym ne holde hym; but sodenly he fell downe into þe deppyst pytt of hell, as þe holy prophet seythe, *Ysaie nono*. And so synne may well be callyd a fowle venome and a fowle poysen and a dedly. And also he seyþe þat synne may be callyd a dedly dragone, where it is seyde þus: *Repleta est domus eius draconibus*, *Ysaie tercio*; “Þe howse of synfull mans sowle is replete and fulfyllid withe dragons”, þat is to sey, withe the vij fowle, dedely synnys.

The firste dragon is þe fowle synne of pride. And þerein loke how þu haste synnyd in beyng prowde of goodis, of burþe, of kynred, of feyrenes, of bewtye, welfaryng of persone, of strengthe, of wytt or of wysdome, or of goodis temporall as of cloþing in þine aray, in how[[76v]]syng, of golde or of syluer or of catel, havyng in posescions riches and iewells, or eny oþer goodis þat God hathe sent vnto þe. Also if þu be prowde of zyftis of grace, of fortune, of [good name and] fame, of vertuesnes, of worchype, of preysyng, or of eny other soche þingis þat perteyneth to þe fowle synne of pride þat God hathe sent vnto þe, and þankid not hym þereof, as dew det is, that þu scholdiste do withe all þe hole circumstaunce of þe fowle synne of pride.

But it is to wytt þat if a man or a woman scholde be prowde, one of þese iiij þingis scholde cawse it. The firste is þat if one man be hyzer in blod þen another; the secunde is if one man be richer of good þen anoper; the therde is if one man be bigger in nobulnes þen anoper; the iiij is if one man be feyrer in bewte þen anoper. But he þat will remember hymselffe well and vndurstonde þe trowthe, he schal ha[[77r]]ve no cawse resonabyll for to be prowde, but raþer for to be meke and ryzte low.

But and þu be prowde of hygnes of bloode, remember wel what þe holy man Iobe seythe: *Putredini dixi, pater meus es, mater mea et soror mea vermibus*; “My fader”, seythe Iobe, “is erthe and vnclennes, and my moder [and my syster] is stynke and wrechednes”, and every worme þat lyvithe now is commyn of as good kynde as ever was þese pepill þat ben dysposyd in þe fowle synne of pride. [For þe synne of pride the grete Kyng Antiochus, for his hyze presumpcion of his bloode, God smote hym so withe his hondis of vengeaunce þat he stonke so horribly þat no man myzte come nyze hym ne towche hym. And so lyke a wreche he [was] consumyd and wastid away vnto dethe, as scripture makyþe mencion, *secundo Machabeorum, primo capitulo*].

And if þu be prowde of riches of golde or of siluer, remember well what þu browyte withe the when þu came into þis worlde, and what þu schalte bere away withe þe when þu schalte departe owte of þis worlde. And if þu remember þe well abowte, þu schalt fynde no cawse resonabyll to be prowde þereof, but raper to be meke. For þu browzte withe þe no þing els[[77v]] but “welawey” and wepyng song in grete aventure of thy lyffe; and hathe contenyd in grete hunger, colde and thruste in þis present lyfe, and withe grete mornynge and hevynes. And so schalte þu passe owte of thys worlde aþene. And also for þe fowle synne of pride, Kyng Nabugodonosor was chaungyd into another kynde. Whe[n] he beldyd the cite of Babilon, þat hyze towre, he went that þer had ben no kyng so grete ne so worthy as he was. And anone God chastysed hym so þat he was dischargyd of his kyngdome and cast owte sodenly fro mans felyschip. And so had he his habitacion and his dwellyng withe wylde beestis, and ete hey and grasse as oþer beestis dyd vnto þe tyme þat he knewe almyzty God for his moste myztifull kyng, as it is wreton, *Danielis quarto*.

And[[78r]]if þu be prowde of nobylnes or of [f]ewtye, it is grete foly. For a mans lyffe is but as wynde þat blowythe for dethe, and þen all owre ryaltye schal overblowe. For when dethe commyte and is redy to þe, he will not spare þe for all þi myzte, for þis cawse: for when Kyng Dauid rayned in his kyngdome as a man moste of myzte, for his pride God sent hym a grete pestylence in his kyngdome þat in iij dayes and iij nyztis there dyed of his pepil seventene thowsande vij tymes tolde, as it is wreton, *Secundo Regum vicesimo capitulo*.

And if þu be prowde of feyrenes or of bewtye, þen þere is no gostly wisdom in the. For thowye þu be never so feyre of skynne in thy yowthe or in þine age, þat is but foly, for it is but fowle wormys mete, and þi body schal lye [[78v]]in þe erthe for it is þine erytage. Loo, Lucifere, þat was the feyrest aungell in heven, [fell downe into hell]. For Lucyfere is as moche to sey as þe aungel ‘beryng lyzte’, and he presumptuously seyde þus: *Ascendam, et similis ero altissimo*; “I schal ascende vp and sett me in þe hyze troone of heven, and be lyke and egall in powere and mageste and worchipe vnto the Trinite”, *Ysaie quarto decimo*. And for his grete pride, sodenly he fell downe frome þe hyzest troone in heven, downe into þe deppist pytt of hell. And þerfore, þu man or woman þat arte blynde in þis fowle synne of pride, see þu now þine owne vnclennes of lyving and forsake þat fowle synne, and vse þe feyre vertu of mekenes. And so schalte þu overcom þe firste dragon, the whiche is þe fowle synne of pride þer defowlyng mans sowle.

The[[79r]]secunde dragon þat mans sowle is comberde withe is þe fowle synne of enuy þe whiche is þe devylls worti dowytter, for sche folowythe þe condicions of hyr fader. For comenly þe fader lovithe þat childe beste þat is moste lyke vnto hym in body or in condicions; so in lyke wyse, þe devyll, þat is fader of enuy, lovithe þat man or woman [best] þat is enuyusly disposid. *Vnde Iohannis octauo: Vos ex patre diabol[o] estis, et desideria eius*

perficietis. This same text seyde owre Lorde Ihesu Criste to þe lewis, full of envy, and also to al pepyll þat ben envyusly disposyd and comyn of þe devyll, theyre fader, and if þei performe his wyll and his desyris.

Envye is in wyll, worde and dede. In will as þus: it is a grete hertily sorowye to an envyus[[79v]] man for to here of anoter mans welfare, and ioie to here of his evyll fare. Enuius in worde is thorowye disslawndering and bacbityng of his evencristen, sayng oþer wordis behynde a man þen he will sey before him. And so inwarde he slethe hym gostly. Enuius in dede is þorow ex[tor]cion, oppress[ing of] þe pore pepyll, iniuries and wrongis done withe other enuius werkis þat an enuius man or an enuius woman purposithe to do in hynderyng of his evencristen.

The therde dragon þat mans sowle is comberyd witheall is þe fowle synne of wraþe, and þat is when a man is owte of charite. And of þis dragon commyþe moche fowle venome, as chidyng, slawnderfull wordis, lesyngis, detractions, vengeaunce, bannyng, cursyng, stryving, [feytyng] and often tymes manslawytter.

The[[80r]] fowrþe dragon that mans sowle is comberde witheall is þe fowle synne of covetyse: þat withe false gyle or disceytis, or wrongfully take away another mans good, in worde or in werke, in witnes, or by false mesurs, or wrongfully witheholde withe vsury or symony, or ellys withe grete strengthe or withe sotell wisdome, or by eny oter vntrewe menys of byyng or of sellyng. The v dragon þat mans sowle is comberd witheall is þe fowle synne of slowthe: slow to do good werkys and slow to þe service of God, and slow to fulfyll þe st[er]ynglys of þe Holy Goste, slow for to kepe þe commawndementis of God.

The vj dragon þat mans sowle is comberde witheal is the fowle synne of gloteny, as in takyng [metis] and drynkis more [[80v]]then he may well susteyne, or to do eny surfytt erly or late, hastely or gredely, wherthorowy a man is þe wors distempered for to serue God or to do eny other goode dedys þe whiche scholde be to þe plesure of God.

The vij dragon þat mans sowle is comberyd witheall is þe fowle synne of lechery, whereof commyte moche fowle venome, as fornycacion, avowtre, handelyng, kyssyng, speking fowle wordis, redy consentyng and þe dede doyng, and many oþer thyngis þat longyte to þe sensualyte and vnlefull lustis of þe fowle flessche. And þefore he þat wyll [be] delyver[ed] of the fowle synne of lechery and of oþer fowle synnys before reheryd, he muste go to his confescion withe contriscion of herte and satisfaccion in dede, and[[81r]] þen see well tine owne vnclennes of lvyng.

I seyde also þat þu muste see warely bynethe the hell synfull sowlys resceyvyng into þe fyre of hell, þe whiche in vnpossybyll for to be quenched owte. For seint Iohn seythe, if it were possybyl þat all þe watyr in þe see myte overflowe hell, it myzte not quenche þe leste sparke of þe fyre of hell. And moreover seynt Iohn seythe, if it were possibil þat one tree myzt be as grete as all trees on þe erthe and were vpon a brennyng fyre, and it were caste into þat

colde þat is there, it scholde be turnyd into a fresyng froste and into an vntollerabyll tormente of devylls, and grete multitude of serpentis and dragons, wormys þat turment þe sowlys þat ben þerin. Þer is also grete syzhyng, [[81v]]sorowyng, waylyng and wepyng and gryndyng of teeþe.

And þer is also everlastyng dethe, and þereof spekye seint Gregory, [*seint Gregorye seythe*] *nono Moralium*. He seythe þei that lyen in hell ben ever dyyng and never schall dye, for þer is ever [in]duryng and none endyng, and all wey lyving and all wey begynnyng, quia *desiderabunt homin[e]s mori, et mors fugit ab eis. Apocalipcis quinto*; “Þei þat ben in hell desyre for to dye, and dethe flethe frome þem.” For it farythe by þem þat ben in hell as it dothe by bestis when they go vpon a gre[n]e pasture, for thowze they ete the grasse never so bare downe to the grownde, allwey the rootis abydythe styll for to growe ayene. And so it farythe by þem that ben in hell, for þey be alwey dyyng, but þey never dye, quia *Sicut oves in inferno po[[82r]]sit[i] sunt, et mors depas[c]et e[o]s*; ‘As schepe þat pasturyte vpon a feyre greene grasse – þe roote growithe ayene – ryzte so in lyke wyse dethe pasturythe and fedyte þem’ þat ben in hell þat never schall haue ende.

Wherfore þe Wyse Man zeuibe his cowncell and seyþe þus: *Memorare nouissima, et in eternum non peccabis*; “Man, haue þu mynde on þi laste ende and þu schalt never synne.” **Seynt Barnarde seyþe:** “Thowze I had as moche wytt and wysdome as ever had Salamon, and as grete bewtye as ever had Absolon, and as moche strengthe as ever had Sampson, what scholde all þis proveyle my body, þe whiche muste be zeven to wormys mete.” And þen þe sowlys of dampnabyll creaturs to be tormentyd withe devylls in hell witheowte ende, [[82v]]for the whiche we schall pray to God for amendement of our synfull lyvyng, and sey þus [*wherfore we schal sey*] withe holy chyrche: *A penis inferni, libera nos, Domine*; “O good Lorde, of þi grete mercy delyver vs frome þe peynes of hell.” And so lette vs see warely benethe vs hell synfull sowlis resceyving.

Also I seyde þat above vs is God as chefe iustice, sitting in his mageste, all þis worlde demyng. For at þe day of dome he schall deme and iustyfye all þe worlde. [And all þe holy company of heven, aungells and archangells, patriarkis and prophettis, postillis and marters, confessors and virgyns schall stonde before his mageste. And all pepill of þe world schall stonde before him gretly abasschid], where God schall schewe his ryztwises witheowte eny mercy. And þat schall be a day of grete trobyll and dysese.

Seint Gregory seythe þat at þis dredeful day of dome, heven and erþe, eyer and all planetis schal stonde styll and cesse of þer worchyng, in token þat þey were all made[[83r]]for man and bycawse that man schall haue no more soche a worlde as now. Therefore pray we to owre Lorde Ihesu Criste þus: *In die iudicij, libera nos, Domine*; “O þu mercifull Lorde, helpe vs and delyver vs in þe dredful day of þi dome” þat ben þine owne hondywerke, and bryng vs to þat precius purchasse of blys þat þu purcheste vnto man withe þi peynefull passion.

þen þu þat arte blynde in syȝte (and may not see for synne) and may haue gostly syȝte by grace, þen see þu discretely abowte þe þe endles mercy of God synfull sowlis ever redy resceyvyng. For þat good Lorde is so mercyfull þat he never denyethe his mercy to hym þat will aske it withe a contryte herte. For above þe is þe mercy of God: *Domine, in celo misericordia tua et veritas tua usque ad nubes*; and benethe þe is Goddis merci: **[[83v]]***Misericordia Domini, plena est terra, et alibi. Misericord[ia] Domini magna est super me, et eripuit animam meam ex inferno inferiori.* “Godis endles mercy”, quod Dauid “is farr above me and hate delyveryd m[y] sowle from þe dredefull peyne of hell þat is benethe me. And also Goddis mercy is byhynde me and before me: *Misericordia eius preveniet me, et misericordia Domini subsequetur me*; ‘The mercy of God schall go before me and it schall folowe me.’ *Misericordia Domini circumdedit me*; **And Godis mercy schall close me rownde abowte.”** **Seynt Barnarde seythe: *Facilius est numerare stellas celi et pisces maris, folia nemorum quam misericordiam Dei cert[e] estimare***; “It is more esy and more possibill for to numbyr þe sterris of þe skye and þe fyssches in þe see and þe levys on þe tree þen truly for to declare by estymacion þat**[[84r]]**grete mercy of almyȝti God.” *Quia secundum psalmum: [Sus \$e grete mercy of God is evermore redy to vs] Miseraciones eius super omnia opera eius.* Dauid seyþe, “þe mercy of God is above all hys werkys;” and to every contryte hert he is redy to graunte his good grace and mercy.

þefore we schall pray to almyȝti God by his everlastyng mercy þat we may see gostly withe in our owne consciens owre vncleennes of lyving þat we haue done sen þis tyme xii monthe in wil, worde and dede concentyng; and that he wyll kepe vs frome þe bytter peynes of hell synfull sowlys resceyvyng; and beholde owre chefe iustice, Criste Ihesu, þis worlde demyng; and þat he graunte vs þe ioye and blys of heven at owre last endyng. To þe whiche, *et cetera. Amen.*

Although many of these cuts were made in mid-sentence, good sense is always maintained, witnessing not only to the intentions of the scribes, but also to the diligence they employed in realising them.¹

Taken individually, none of these five categories discussed above may be said to clinch the argument. Cumulatively, however, they provide a range of evidence which is impressive and which points in the same direction. Furthermore, the observation that all four manuscripts were written out by the same man has prompted Alan Fletcher to surmise that

¹ Other sermons displaying the same internal disturbance include 3 Octave Epiphany (G), though the excision here may have been unintentional; 4 Octave Epiphany (L) and (G) in different places; 5 Octave Epiphany (L) and (G) in different places; thereafter, in a later passage, L and G agree; Septuagesima, L and G concur; Ash Wednesday (L); Palm Sunday (D), Easter Sunday (D) and 16 Trinity (G).

they were destined for retail. This would in turn suggest that there was a market for such material among the ranks of the secular clergy whose anonymous voices can still be heard in the sermons, addressing, even haranguing the laity, commenting on interior decoration, and generally (though more silently) adapting their discourses to suit more than one preaching situation.

Bibliography

- Erb, Peter C., "Vernacular Material for Preaching in MS Cambridge University Library li. III. 8", *Mediaeval Studies*, 33 (1971), 63-84.
- Erbe, Theodor, ed., *Mirk's Festial*, EETS ES 96 (London, 1905).
- Fletcher, Alan J. "A Critical Edition of Selected Sermons from an Unpublished Fifteenth-Century *de Tempore* Sermon Cycle". Unpublished B. Litt. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978.
- Fletcher, Alan J. "Variations on a Theme Attributed to Robert Holcot: Lessons for Late-Medieval English Preaching from *The Castle of Prudence*", *Mediaeval Studies*, 66 (2004), 27-98.
- French, Katherine L., Gary G. Gibbs and Beat A. Kümin, eds., *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997).
- Godden, Malcolm, ed. *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies: second series*, EETS SS 5 (London, 1977).
- Johnson, Holly. "Preaching the Passion: Good Friday Sermons in Late Medieval England". Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001.
- Kane, George, ed., *Chaucer and Langland: Historical and Textual Approaches* (London, 1989).
- Littlehales, Henry, ed., *The Medieval Records of a London City Church*, EETS OS 125, 128 (London, 1904-05).
- Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed., *Patrologia Latina: cursus completus* (Paris, 1844-64).
- Owst, Gerald, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926).
- Pope, John, ed., *Homilies of Aelfric: a supplementary collection*, vol. 1, EETS 259 (London, 1967).
- Rogers, Nicholas, ed., *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1994).
- Ross, Woodburn O. ed., *Middle English Sermons*, EETS 209 (London, 1940).

- Skeat, Walter W. *Aelfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS OS 76, 82, 94 & 114, rpt. in two volumes (London, 1966).
- Spencer, Helen L. *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993).
- Wenzel, Siegfried, ed. & trans. *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park & London, 1989).
- Wenzel, Siegfried, *Preachers, Poets and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, 1986).