

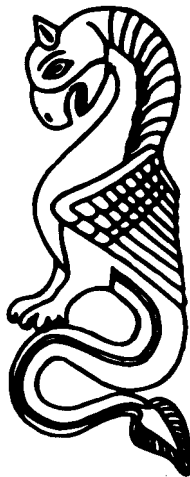
# Leeds Studies in English

## Article:

Alan J. Fletcher and Susan Powell, 'The Origins of a Fifteenth-Century Sermon Collection MSS Harley 2247 and Royal 18 B XXV', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 10 (1978), 74-96

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THE ORIGINS OF A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SERMON COLLECTION:  
MSS HARLEY 2247 AND ROYAL 18 B XXV

By ALAN J. FLETCHER and SUSAN POWELL

In the related MSS Harley 2247 (H) and Royal 18 B xxv (R) there is to be found a substantial collection of Middle English sermon prose which, although unpublished,<sup>1</sup> has during the past years attracted the attention of scholars concerned with the sermon literature of medieval England.<sup>2</sup> The collection has been combed for its lyric material<sup>3</sup> and has been copiously excerpted in the work of Owst.<sup>4</sup> It has been discussed by Derek Brewer in the course of an article on MS Gloucester Cathedral Library 22, which contains an imperfect version of six of the sermons.<sup>5</sup>

The especial interest of the collection lies, however, outside these earlier discussions, in the fact that it is a compilation based on several important Latin and vernacular sources, in particular the *Festial* of John Mirk. This article has therefore been written with the aim of establishing facts about the origins of the HR collection which may contribute to our further understanding, not only of this collection and its compiler, but also of fifteenth-century homiletic activity in general.

The HR Collection and its Relationship to the *Festial*

H and R have above been described as related manuscripts. Our use of this term may be precisely qualified. Though very close, the manuscripts are not exactly parallel in either contents or the phrasing of the text. H contains fifty-six *Temporale* sermons (sermons for important Sundays and the feast days of Christ, excluding Christmas) and thirty-six *Sanctorale* sermons (sermons for days dedicated to saints); R contains fifty-three *Temporale* and thirty-nine *Sanctorale* sermons. Of the *Temporale*, the thirty-eighth sermon in R corresponds to the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth in H; R has one Easter Day sermon and two sermons on the Dedication of a Church which are not in H; R omits one each of H's sermons for the Rogation Days, Whit Sunday and Trinity Sunday. Of the *Sanctorale*, in R the sermons on the Conception of Mary, St Mark and SS Philip and James are each divided into two; R has sermons for the Annunciation and the Nativity of Mary which are not in H; R omits H's three sermons on the Annunciation and the final, memorial sermon (although this may originally have been found in R, since that manuscript ends imperfectly with the loss of three folios). Textually, the manuscripts begin to differ substantially in phrasing at the same point that the contents diverge, that is, from the beginning of the thirty-eighth sermon in each manuscript (H, f.90r; R, f.56v).

It was Horstmann who first recognised the dependence of H on the *Festial*.<sup>6</sup> Its relationship to R was noticed by Sir George Warner and Julius Gilson, who pointed out in their description of R that it "differs but slightly from another collection in MS Harley 2247" and that "about 55 [sermons] are more or less closely parallel in contents to the corresponding sermons (nearly all illustrated by tales) in the *Festial* of John Myrcus or Mirk".<sup>7</sup> In fact, of the ninety-two sermons in H, sixty-two have close connections with the *Festial* and represent a considerably revised version of that collection.

The *Festial*, which comprises in all seventy-four sermons for feast days and saints' days,<sup>8</sup> was written some time before 1415.<sup>9</sup> We are informed by an *explicit* in MS Cotton Claudius A.II., the oldest and best of the manuscripts, that its author was John Mirk, an Austin canon at Lilleshall in Shropshire. In fact, from his Latin treatise, the *Manuale Sacerdotis*, we know that he later became prior of Lilleshall.

About twenty manuscripts containing a fairly full version of the *Festial* are known to survive, seven of which can be shown to form a group independent of the rest. Evidence for this was first put forward by Martyn Wakelin,<sup>10</sup> who based his arguments principally on the arrangement of the sermons within the manuscripts. Those manuscripts which preserve the chronological arrangement of sermons he distinguished as Group A, and those which separate *Temporale* from *Sanctorale* (like HR) as Group B.<sup>11</sup>

However, these groups may also be distinguished on the evidence of textual variants. Group A has its own distinctive readings, as has Group B. On the strength of readings characteristic of Group B, as well as on the Group B separation of *Temporale* from *Sanctorale*, it is clear that it was a text related to Group B which provided the exemplar for the wholesale revision of the *Festial* which we find in HR. This may be illustrated by quotation from the introductory paragraph to the sermon for the third Sunday in Lent. As edited by Theodor Erbe in the only modern edition of the *Festial* (based entirely on Group A MSS),<sup>12</sup> this reads:

Then schull 3e vndyrstond by pys dombe man all þat haue no pouste yn hor tong to schryue hom of ydull opes, of ydull wordys, and of ydull boghtys þat a man wyth delyte occupyeth his hert yn. And when he comyth to schryft, þen ys he dombe, and spekye not of hom, wenyng hyt be no synne to þenke on an ydull boght, ne forto speke ydull wordys to make men to lagh, ne forto swer an oth doþe no harme.

(Erbe p.96, 11.12-18)

The version of this in Group B is expanded as follows:

By this domme man ye shall vndirstonde all tho that haue no might in her tongis to shriue theym but lyen therin as long as thay may and wolde neuer be shryue, ne were the shame of men that they wolde speke therof if thay were not shryuen in Lentyn. For ther be ful many bothe of men and women that wolde not com to chirche in all the yere if they myght,

ne were for the shame of the worlde. And that makith the deuyl. For he lieth in that man or woman that tarieth so longe and comyth not to shryue hem, like as he did the synne and that he cast hym out fro him. And þerfor haue in mynde of this deuyl and comet and make youe clene fro hym. But ye will say ye cunn not rehers hem, ye haue do so moche. And I answeare agayne to youe that vnkunynngnesse shall not excuse youe at the Day of Dome. For when ye haue saide so many cursid wordis by youre owne soule and by youre neybores, anone ye sholde make youe clene therof and be sory and repente youe of youre wrecchidnesse. But ye wil not but go fro daye to daye, fro yere to yere, and that makith youe domme what tyme ye comm to shrifte. And all the while that the domme deuyl is within youe, ye wene that it be but a litil synne or no synne to speke an idle worde for to make folke to lawgh, or for to swere an othe, for ye wil saye it dothe non harme.<sup>13</sup>

(MS Durham Cathedral Library Cosin V.III.5, f.17r-v)

It is clearly the expanded version of Group B, rather than the Group A version, that HR follow:

Bi this dombe man is vndirstonde all such men and women þat haue no powere nor myght in theire tunge to schryve þem þis holy tyme of Lent [bot be styll in þe wrechednes of þer synne as long as thei may] but for shame of þe world more þan for drede of God. I dare say for trouth, and Lente were not this vij yere, sum be of þoo condicions thei wolde not ones declare þeire life into þat tyme. And þat causeth þe devell. For he inhabitith hym in such men and women and suffreth them not to be shreve. For he woll dwell still with þem as he did in þat man þat God voyded a devell and kest hym oute as this day. Summe men woll say þei wote not whereof to be schreve. But I say playnely, also be it þat þou be so perfite þat þou do no auctuall synne, þou must remembre þe of many an ydill worde and thought, quia "de omni verbo ocioso reddenda est ratio in die iudicij" - for euery ydyl worde a man shall answeare at þe Day of Dome. Sum wyl say, "All ydyll wordes I cannot reherse þem". But I say playnely, vnkunynng shal not excuse þe at þe Day of Dome. Wherefore, when þou haste saide so many cursed wordes bi þi neighboure and harmyng thyne owne soule, þou shuldest confesse the and make þe clene. But many men wyl not, and perefere thei may be called dombe. For þe dombe devell is within þem and causeth þe may not speke. Thow wenyst peraventure it is no synne to speke an ydell worde þat makes [men to law3e and] to swere grete othes. Þou woll say it dothe no harme, it is but litill syn.

(H, ff.66v-67r)<sup>14</sup>

It is not our aim in this article to discuss in detail the ways in which the Group B version of the *Festial* was revised in HR,<sup>15</sup> but it is of interest to note the sorts of changes that were made in the process of revision. In the first place, the contents of the *Festial* exemplar were reordered to include within their *Temporale* the festivals of Christmas and of the saints commemorated during that

period. While following the Group B division into *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, HR include, after the sermons for Advent, sermons for the Nativity of Christ, St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, the Holy Innocents, St Thomas of Canterbury, the Circumcision of Christ and Epiphany. This corresponds to Missal usage, where the three fixed feasts of the Nativity of Christ, Circumcision and Epiphany, together with the feasts of the Christmas saints, are grouped together.<sup>16</sup>

Again, one *Festial* sermon may be divided into two or three in HR. For example, the *Festial* sermons for Advent and Corpus Christi are in H divided into two sermons each;<sup>17</sup> those for the Conception of Mary and for St Mark are in R divided into two sermons each; the sermon on the Annunciation, found only in H, divides into three; the passages on Church ritual on Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday are in HR divided into two sermons, one for each of these days.<sup>18</sup>

In the revision the text was altered, sometimes significantly, as in the course of the *Festial* Advent sermon, where references to the poor judging the rich at the Day of Doom are omitted in HR, or in the example noted by Steckman, where, in a *narratio* attached to the sermon for the third Sunday in Lent, the fact that a sick man was visited by monks is altered so that his visitor becomes "a devotee and an holy preest".<sup>19</sup>

*Narrationes* have been omitted in the revision, particularly in the *Sanctorale* section, where Mirk's often sensational illustrative stories have been reduced by nearly a half.

Finally, and this is of primary interest in this article, entirely new material has been added to the *Festial* text. This, together with the other revisions noted, has served to produce a more scholarly cycle of sermons than that which Mirk had originally compiled, one intended, we may suggest, for the studious academic rather than for the illiterate layman.<sup>20</sup>

#### The Sources of the Additions to the *Festial* Sermons

It was pointed out by Steckman many years ago that much of the material added to the *Festial* sermons in the revision is taken from the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, a work which by the fifteenth century had reached a peak of popularity.<sup>21</sup> However, the *Legenda* is not the only work by Jacobus to have been used by our reviser. For example, a part of an interpolation into one of HR's *Festial*-based Advent sermons derives from Jacobus' collection of Sunday, or Dominical, sermons. In HR the original *Festial* sermon for Advent is divided into two, the first of which is augmented by adding material which in places closely parallels a section of Jacobus' first sermon for Advent Sunday. Jacobus divides this section into four divisions. The first three are not paralleled exactly in HR (although they have comparable elements). However, the textual parallel of the fourth is unmistakable:

#### *Jacobus*

Quarto cum laude diuina, quod notatur per hoc, quod Christum laudabant. Dicunt, "Osanna filio Dauid", et cetera. Ista

enim laudacio debet fieri corde, ore et opere. De laude cordis dicitur, Ephesios 5<sup>o</sup>, "Cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino". Laudacio enim oris non valet sine laudacione cordis, Ysaie 29, "Appropinquat populus iste labiis suis, cor autem eorum longe est a me". Nec vtrique valent sine tercia, id est, sine laude operis, Mathei 6<sup>o</sup>, "Non omnis, qui dicit michi, 'Domine, Domine', (quo ad laudem cordis et oris) intrabit in regnum celorum; sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in celis est (quo ad laudem cordis et oris et operis) intrabit in regnum celorum".

(MS Bodley 320, f.5r, col.b)

HR

Also we must yeve þis myghtifull Kinge Criste Ihesu a precious present þat is plesing. In tokenyng whereof, a[s] it is saide in þe Gospell of þis day, þat þe peple þat went befor in procession to mete with Criste comyng to þe citee of Ierusalem they present þeire good hertis with good wyll, saying and crying, "Osanna filio Daud; benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini" - we beseche þe, son of Daut, save vs and kepe vs; blessid be he þat commyth in þe name of God. So must þou synge to þi Saviour Criste Ihesu and gife hym a precious present of praysing in þe comyng of þe Kinge of blisse, þat is to sey, with hert and movth and dede. Of the present of þe hert it ys written, ad Ephesios 5<sup>o</sup>, "Cantantes et psallentes Domino in cordibus vestris" - synging and praysing your souereyn Lorde God with all your hertis. For þe laude and praysyng of þe movth avayleth nought withoute þe enterely prayer of þe hert, Isaie 2<sup>o</sup>, "Populus hic labijs me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me" - this peple honowrep me and prayseth me with her tongis, but her hertis be ferre fro me. And such be thei þat synge, say and pray withoute devocion. When þe body is in þe chirch, þe hert and þe mynde is in þe market or on other frelenes. And it is to witte þat noþer the lawde nor praysing of þe hert and of þe movth avayleth not withoute gode dedis, Mathei 7<sup>o</sup>, "Non omnis, qui dicit michi, 'Domine, Domine', intrabit" et cetera, "sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei". For when þou presentys þi Lorde God with gode þoughtis of þyne hert with devocion, with devoute wordis and praysyngis of þi movth, and meritory dedis effectually perfourmed in dede withoute veyn glori or similacion, this precious present þen plesith God moste.

(H, f.5r-v)

Jacobus, however, is not the only source for this interpolation. A second source is the *Fasciculus Morum*, a compilation on the vices and virtues which dates from some time before 1340.<sup>22</sup> It started life as a Franciscan work, but the omission in later manuscripts of the introductory reference to St Francis testifies to a use outside the Franciscan order. After its compilation the *Fasciculus* underwent a number of changes, and Frances Foster, who has undertaken considerable research into the *Fasciculus*, has suggested that three different revisions were current in the fifteenth century.<sup>23</sup> In

Part 1, Chapter 7 of the *Fasciculus* there is a discussion of the seven ways in which the Jews honoured Christ on Palm Sunday. The third, fourth and fifth ways bear significant resemblances to the divisions in HR. Quotation from the third will illustrate the dependence:

*Fasciculus*

3<sup>o</sup> honorabant eum Iudei vestimenta sua in via struendo, vt patet Matthei 21<sup>o</sup>. Per que intelligo bona temporalia. Iuxta illud Gregorius, "Que", inquit, "sunt ista temporalia nisi quedam corporis indumenta?". Quando sternuntur huiusmodi bona in via? Certe, quando pauperibus in via Dei incedentibus distribuuntur, et tunc honoratur Deus. Nam Deus dicit in Matthei, "Quod minimis meis fecistis, michi fecistis".

(MS Lincoln College 52.C., f.8r, col.a)

HR

First I say oure Souereyn Lorde God must be receyuid in [hys] holy com[nyng] with honest aray in clothing. In tokenyng whereof moch peple spred hir clothes in þe wayes and stretes bifore Criste when he come toward þe citee of Ierusalem, as þe Gospell makith mencion this day. By þe clopes spred in þe wey of þe commyng of Criste Ihesu gostely may be vndirstond good werkis of mercy and of pitee vnto þe pore and nedey. Vnde Augustinus, "Quid horum, enim, sunt terrena omnia nisi quedam corporis indumenta?" et cetera. For he þat yevith of his erthly goodis to þe pore peple and nedey for þe loue of God, sewrely he spredith his clene clothes in Goddis way. And so he receyueth his mercifull Kynge Criste Ihesu which woll rewarde hym in þe kingdome of hevyn. Quia "quid vni ex minimis meis fecistis, michi fecistis", Matthei xxv - for þat mercifull Lorde seith, "Þat ye do to oon of my pore þat commyth in my name, ye do to me". And so þe Kinge commyth to þe whan þow receyvest any pore creature in his name.

(H, f.4v)

Apart from this interpolation into the Advent sermon, there is further evidence that our reviser used the *Fasciculus* as a source for expanding the *Festial*. For example, in HR the sermon on the Nativity of Christ is augmented by the insertion of a *narratio* about two quarrelsome neighbours who carry on fighting even in hell, which is introduced by the words, "I fynde in *Fasciculus Morum*, Parte 2<sup>a</sup>, Capitulo 7<sup>o</sup>".<sup>24</sup> Or again, the sermon on Trinity Sunday includes an interpolation about the shield of arms of England which is taken straight from a discussion on faith in the *Fasciculus*:

*Fasciculus*

Tercio fides reddit hominem tutum inter pericula. Et ideo non incongrue assimilatur scuto, dicente apostolo, ad Ephesios 6, "In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi (scilicet, hostis) ignea extinguere". In quo scuto non incongrue depingi possunt arma illustrissimi regis Anglie. Ipse vt videtur gestat de minio, anglice goules, cum tribus leopardis quasi transeuntibus de auro puro, et hoc

bene. Nam per illum colorem de goules in scuto, intelligo ardentem amorem et caritatem, per quam accendimur ad intensam fidem et credulitatem in Deum. Per tres vero leopardos de auro, intelligi potest beata et benedicta Trinitas, in qua firmiter et fideliter credendum est. Per aurum vero diuinitas non incongrue signari potest. Nam eque purum aurum in omnibus tribus leopardis est et eque precium. Sic ita purus et verus Deus est vna persona in Trinitate sicut alia. Vnde in simbolo Attanasij dicitur, "Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus" et cetera. Sed isti leopardi depingu[n]tur quasi transeuntes vel currentes, in signum quod non nimis debemus immorari studiose discutere nec disputare de ista benedicta Trinitate quomodo, scilicet, tres persone esse possunt vnus Deus, sed firmiter credere sicut Ecclesia Dei credit et docet, ne forte deducamur in heresim. Sed debemus leuiter et deuote transire subtilitates questionum quousque perueniamus ad soliditatem fidei, et in illa tanquam in stabili fundamento debemus semper fundare donum intelligencie nostre quasi supra firmam petram, scilicet, Christum.

(MS Lincoln College 52.C., ff.116v, col.b-117r, col.a)

HR

And all þis must be grounded in oure feith as a schilde for oure defence. For Seint Poule, þe holi apostil, calleth feith a schilde, ad Corinthios, "Accipite scutum fidei" - take vnto you the schilde of feith. In þe which to an example may be purtrayed þe armes of Ingelond. It is seid he bereth of gowles iij leopardis of goulde passaunt. Bi þe felde of gowles, þat is, rede, I vndirstond þe brennyng love and feruent charitee þat we must haue vnto þe grete and intent feith and beleve in God and in þe articles of þe feith. Be þe iij leopardis I vndirstond þe blesfull Trynyte þat we must beleve vpon beforn all oþer thinges. Bi þe goulde vpon þe leopardis I vndirstond þe Godhede of þe Trinyte. For, wote it wele, there is as gode goulde in leste leoparde as in þe moste, and in þe moste as in þe leste. So as pure and verrey God is in oon persone in þe blesfull Trynyte as in anopir. Thes leopardes be purtrayed passaunt and goyng, yeving to vndirstonding þat a man owe not to stody ouere mych, to discusse, argu nor dispute, lest it might bring hymself to heresy. Therefore passe forth and beleve feithfully as Holi Chirch belevith and techith.

(H, f.123r-v)

#### The Sources of the Sermons not Based on the *Festial*

We have noted above that sixty-two of H's ninety-two sermons are based on the *Festial*. We may now turn to the thirty sermons added to the revised *Festial*. Several of these sermons are not unique to HR. Ten are also found in an imperfect collection in Cambridge University Library MS Gg.vi.16; eight of these are in a Dominical collection which survives, to greater or lesser extent, in four manuscripts, Bodleian Library e Musaeo 180, Durham Cathedral Library Cosin V.IV.3, Gloucester Cathedral Library 22 and Lincoln Cathedral Library 50 and 51.<sup>25</sup> Our total of seven manuscripts falls into two



distinct groups, the Cambridge manuscript being textually close to HR, and the manuscripts of the Dominical collection forming another textual group. The eight sermons common to both groups are those for the Nativity and Circumcision of Christ, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, two for Ash Wednesday (which appear as one in the Cambridge manuscript), and one each for the second and third Sundays in Lent. In addition, the Cambridge manuscript contains sermons for Advent, Septuagesima and the first Sunday in Lent which correspond to the same sermons in HR.

When we come to consider the sources of these sermons, an interesting parallel emerges between them and the sources of the interpolations in the *Festial*-based sermons. Once again, in these new sermons, *Jacobus* and the *Fasciculus* can be traced.<sup>26</sup>

Of the new sermons which the reviser added to his *Festial* revision, those for the Circumcision, Ascension Day, the H sermon for the Annunciation and the R sermon for the Nativity of Mary are entirely based on the *Legenda Aurea*, and it is the source for parts of many other sermons. As an example, we shall compare parts of one of the sermons which are entirely dependent on the *Legenda Aurea* with the *Legenda* itself.

The *Legenda* sermon for the Ascension deals with seven things to be considered concerning Christ's Ascension, the last of which is "quare ascendit", 'why he ascended'. Within this division are nine sub-divisions, from which the reviser makes a selection of five. These are then used for the sermon in HR, although four of them are differently numbered:

*Legenda*

Prima utilitas est humiliatio amoris divini. Johann. XVI:  
nisi ego abiero, paracletus non veniet.

(*Legenda*, p.325)<sup>27</sup>

HR

The first cause and prophete was the humylite and mekenes of the love of God. This witnesseth þe holy euangelist Seint Iohn, "Nisi ego abiero, Paraclitus non veniet ad vos; si enim abiero, mittam vobis" et cetera, Iohannis 16.

(H, f.114r)

*Legenda*

Quarta est nostra securitas. Ideo enim adscendit, ut noster advocatus sit apud patrem. Valde autem securi esse possumus, quando talem advocatum apud patrem habere consideramus.

Joh. II: advocatum habemus apud patrem Jesum Christum justum, et ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. De hac securitate dicit Bernardus: securum accessum . . .

(*Legenda*, p.326)

HR

The 2 cause whi Criste ascendid it was for þe trust and sekirnes of oure welfare whan þat merciful Lorde Criste Ihesu wolde shewe hym vnto vs to be a speciall advocate and a mercifull mediatour. Ioh[ann]is 2<sup>o</sup>, "Aduocatum

habemus [apud] Patrem, Ihesum Christum: et ipse est propiciacio pro peccatis nostris". The holy euangelist Seint Iohn seith we haue a speciall aduocate and mercifull mediatour, Crist Ihesu, þat is [meane] vnto þe Fadir of heven, þat is myghtfull to pray for us þat be synfull. Of þis trusti sekirnes spekith þe famous doctoure Seint Austen in þis wise, "Securum accessum . . ."

(H, f.114r)

*Legenda*

Quinta est nostra dignitas. Maxima quidem nostra dignitas est, quando natura nostra usque ad dexteram Dei exaltata est, unde et angeli hanc dignitatem in hominibus considerantes deinceps prohibuerunt se adorari ab hominibus, sicut dicitur Apocal. XIX: cecidi, inquit, ante pedes ejus, ut adorarem eum, et dixit mihi: vide ne feceris; conservus tuus sum et fratrum tuorum, ubi dicit Glossa: in veteri lege non prohibuit se adorari, sed post adscensionem domini videns super se exaltari hominem timuit adorari.

(*Legenda*, p. 326)

*HR*

The third cause whi God ascendid it was for oure grete dignyte and worship. For þe grettest worship þat myght [come] to mankinde was þat þe nature of man was so promoted to grete dignyte þat it ioyned, knytte and vned to þe Godhede, sitting on þe Fadir right hand in þe kyngdom of blisse, whom all aungellis worship and obey. What worship and dignyte myght more cum to man then þis? Wherefore aungellis considred þis dignite of mankinde. Ðei bad þat mankinde shulde not worship þem, because þe nature of man was above all aungellis. Seynt Iohn Euangelist, Cristis hevenly secretary, wryteth in þe Apocalips, "Cecidi ante pedes eius ut adorem eum" et cetera. The Glose vpon þis seith aungellis in þe Olde Lawe neuer forbad man to worship þem, but in þe Newe Testament aungellis perceyved þe nature of man even ioined and annexed to þe Godhede. Thei dred to be worshipt of man because þe nature of man was above and transcendid þe [hy3t] and altitude of all aungellis.

(H, f.114r-v)

*Legenda*

Septima est viae ostensio, Mich. III: adscendit pandens iter ante eos. Augustinus: via tibi factus est ipse salvator: surge et ambula, habes quo [pergas], noli pigrescere.

(*Legenda*, p. 326)

*HR*

The 4 cause why Criste ascendid was to shewe vs þe verrey way to euerelasting blisse. Michee 2<sup>o</sup>, "Ascendit pandens iter ante nos". "Oure Souereyn Lorde God", quod þe holy prophete, "by his blessid Ascencion gothe beforn vs to shewe þe right way to perpetuall blisse and saluacion". Hereto acordeth Seint Austeyn, "Via tibi facta est per tuum Salvatorem Ihesum: surge, ambula, habes quo pergas, noli pigrescere".

(H, f.114v)

*Legenda*

Octava januae coelestis aperitio: sicut enim primus Adam aperuit januas inferni, sic secundus paradisi.

(*Legenda*, pp.326-27)

*HR*

The 5 cause whi Criste ascendid was to sette vp þe gracious gatis of perpetuall blisse vnto vs. For as oure f[or]m fadir Adam for his synne sette vp þe gatis and entre of hell and dampnacion, so Criste by his holy Ascencion had openyd þe gatis of precious paradise.

(H, ff.114v-115r)

Once again, Jacobus' Dominical sermons can be traced as a source, as they were in the interpolations to the *Festial* sermons. Of the two new Advent sermons added by our reviser, one is partly dependent on material in Jacobus' Advent sermons. We may compare the following examples:

*Jacobus*

Secundo apostolus annunciat quod debemus vestes sordidas abicere. Tria sunt genera vestium sordidarum, scilicet, vestem nigram, cum dicit, "Abiciamus opera tenebrarum"; vestem immundam, cum subdit, "Non in commessacionibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubi[libus] et inpudi[cicijs]"; et vestem laceratam, cum subdit, "Non in contencione".

(MS Bodley 320, f.4v, col.a)

*HR*

Ianuece seyth in his sermons, acording to reson lat not a man cast away his cloþis but if þei be foule or rent and all to-torn. Thi soule is clad in fowl clothis whan it is wrappid in wrecchednes of synfull surfettis of gullyng, of gloteny in etyng and drinking, in sluggy slouth of ydilnes and to vanytese yeving, or in lothly lust of lechory, vnlefull desyryng. This vnclene, combrous garment we must cast away bi good lyving after þe counsell of Seint Paule in þe Pistill of þis day, "Non in commessacionibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et in impudic[ic]ijs" - we shall not aray oure soules with gloteny excessyvely taking nor in soft cowches of syn and vanyte, but contrary with abstinence, besynes and chastitee. We must also cast away oure clothes whan þei be rent. Oure cloþes of þe soule be rent bi fighting, chiding, disclaundring, rebadrye speking, with grete oþes swering, ayenst þe vertu of charyte. Wherefore we must cast away these rent garmentis of pride, hate and enmytee, and do vpon þe hole cloþes of mekenes, pees and vnyte, as Seint Poule seyth, "Non in contencione et emulacione, sed induimini Dominum Ihesum Christum". "Oure lyving", quod Seint Poule, "shall not be in strife, murmur and enmyte, but we must be glad in oure Lorde Ihesu Criste, in whom is all loue, lowlynes and charite." So þan ayen þe commyng of þat gode Lorde we must cast away þe werkis of derknes.

(H, f.2v)

*Jacobus*

Monet apostolus vt induamur vestes virtutum et bonorum operum. Quas videm virtutes notat indumenta, arma et lucem, dicens, "Induamur arma lucis" . . . vnde dicitur de anima virtutibus exornata in Psalmo, "Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato" et cetera.

(MS Bodley 320, f.4v, col.a)

*HR*

I finde þe second, we must take vpon vs the werkis of brightnes. The clene armour of þi soule must be clennes in thought, worde and dede . . . Of þis clene aray spekiþ þe profet Dauid, "Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate", Psalmo. Here þe profet Dauid likenyth mannis soule to a quene clad in clennes and seith, "Lorde, þe quene stode by þe on þi right hande [in cloþis] of gold arayed in many wise".

(H, ff.2v-3r)

Although in both cases the version in HR tends to be rather garbled, the dependence on Jacobus is clear, as it is in the rest of this Advent sermon, where a discussion of the four reasons why Christ must be well received is based on part of the second of the three sermons that Jacobus provides for the first Sunday in Advent. This second sermon gives five reasons why Christ should be received "libenter et reuerenter", the first, third and fourth of which are clearly the foundation for the second part of HR's Advent Sermon:

*Jacobus*

Primo propter statum, quia est rex valde excellens et sublimis, quod notatur cum dicitur, "Ecce rex". Apocalypsis 19, "Habens in vestimento, in femore scriptum, 'Rex regum, et Dominus dominancium' . . . Tercio debemus ipsum libenter suscipere propter beneficium, quod notatur cum dicitur "venit tibi", id est, ad vtilitatem tuam. Non enim venit vt auferet nostra sed vt daret sua. Omnia enim habuit nobis dedit, scilicet, regnum suum in possessionem, Mathei 30, "Possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi"; corpus suum in refeccionem, Iohannis 6, "Caro mea, vere est cibus"; sanguinem suam in ablucionem, Apocalypsis 2<sup>o</sup>, "Lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo"; animam suam in redempcionem, Iohannis 10, "Animam meam pono pro ouibus meis"; et deitatem suam in fruicionem, Iohannis 17, "Hec est via eterna ut cognoscit te solum verum Deum esse", et cetera. Quarto debemus ipsum libenter suscipere propter officium, quia non habet officium seuere iusticie sed pie misericordie, quod notatur cum dicitur "mansuetus" . . . .

(MS Bodley 320, ff.5v, col.a-6r, col.a)

*HR*

Wherefore we must receyve hym with honesty and clenness for ii[i]j skilles and causes. On is for he is a grete lorde, for he is Kyng of all kingis. "Ecce, rex tuus venit", Mathei xxj 21, "Rex regum et Dominus dominancium", Apocalypsis xviiij<sup>o</sup> 19 . . . . Also we must receyve þis gode Lorde pleasauntly

and honestly, for he cummyth not take away þat we haue but for to gife vs þat he hath, þat is to say, his blessid body for oure raunson and redempcion. "Corpus suum dedit in precium et sanguinem suum in lauacrum" - he gafe his blessid bodi in raunson and his precious blode in wassing for our soules. Also he commyth for yefe vs his flessch and his blode in forme of brede. "Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum", prima Corinthiorum xj - take ye and ete, þis is my body bothe flessch and blode. Also þis gode Lorde commyth to offir himself for vs into sacrifice and yevith his life for man. "Animam meam pono pro ouibus meis", Iohannis 10. "I gife my life and my soule", quod Criste, "for my shepe", þat is to say, for mankinde. Also he commyth to geve vs þe kingdom of hevyn. "Possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi", Mathei 25 - take to you þe kingdome made redi for you fro þe begynnnyng of þe worlde. For þe [s] grete benefettis and yeftis we must receyve hym honestly. Also we must receyve hym with clenens of lyving for his goodly office, for whi his office is not exercise cruelly [hys] rightwisnes, [but] mekely to graunte vs mercy, grace and forgifenes. "Misericordia Domini plena est terra" - now is þe worlde replessed with Goddis mercy.

(H, f.3r-v)

We may cite other HR sermons which show dependence on Jacobus' Dominical sermons. The sermons for the first, third and fourth Sundays in Lent and for Trinity Sunday all show dependence on corresponding sermons in Jacobus, twice with specific acknowledgement, in the sermon for the third Sunday in Lent ("Ianuensis, that famous doctor, vpon þe same gospell seith . . ." <sup>28</sup>) and in that for the fourth Sunday in Lent ("Ianuensis, þat famous doctoure, writeth . . ." <sup>29</sup>).

So far the use of Jacobus is considerable, but yet another borrowing is identifiable from a work of his which is much less well known, the unedited collection of *distinctiones* which one manuscript calls the "tabula fratris Iacobi Ianuensis sacre theologie doctoris ordinis fratrum predicatorum super historias Biblum". <sup>30</sup> The collection contains sixty alphabetically-arranged *distinctiones* in three hundred and nine chapters, each chapter consisting of a key-word, a statement of the theme, a Biblical text, an *exemplum* drawn from life which is explained "spiritualiter", a *figura* from the Old Testament which is explained "moraliter", and a final patristic quotation. Several of the new HR sermons draw on this material. The Passion Sunday and second Good Friday sermons derive from different chapters on "Passio", the second sermon for the first Sunday in Lent is based on "Christus" and "Diabolus", the first sermon for the same day is based on "Paciencia", and the sermon for Septuagesima Sunday comes in part from "Penitencia". The second Nativity sermon is almost entirely based on four different sections of the chapter "Incarnacio", as the following quotations show:

*Jacobus*

Incarnacio Christi fuit causa nostre salutis et fructificacionis bonorum operum. Primo Regum 11<sup>o</sup> scribitur, "Cum incaluerit sol erit vobis salus". Nota quod propter magnam influenciam solis ad omnia inferiora, philosophi appellauerunt ipsum patrem omnium methematice. Videmus enim quod sicut sol per suam presenciam est causa generacionis et produccionis fructuum a terra secundum philosophum, sic per sui carenciam siue absenciam terra solis radijs priuata sterilis est. Spiritualiter Dei Filius est sapiencia et ars Dei Patris per magnam influenciam ad creaturas, eo quod "per ipsum omnia facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nichil", Iohannis primo . . .

(MS Bodley 332, f.53v, col.a)

*HR*

First I sey in Cristis blessid birth goode werkis be shewed plenteuously. Philosophers say þat for þe grete influence of hete þe sun is callid "pater omnium methematice", fadir of all planetis. We se by experience, like as þe sun bi his presens with hete of his bright beames [schynnyng is cause of generacion and produccion of frutys and erbys vpon erþe, and by absens of þe schynnyng of sonne causis oft to be longer or] herbis and flouris sprynge and florissch, right so oure Souereyn Savyour Criste Ihesu is called þe wisdom of þe Fadir of heven be þe grete shynnyng influence vnto creaturis, inasmoche as all þingis be made by hym and withoute hym is right nought made. "Per ipsum omnia facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nichil", Iohannis primo.

(H, f.13v)

*Jacobus*

Incarnacio. Misericordia Dei per incarnationem Filij sui ostenditur. Ysaie 9 scribitur, "Paruulus natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis". Nota quod natura paruuli siue proprietates est innocencia. Nescit enim nocere quantumcumque ledas ipsum vel percucas. Si postmodum sibi arrideas vel pomum aut florem sibi dederis, statim amplexis brachijs extensis te amplexabitur, omnis oblitus iniurie. Spiritualiter omnipotens Pater in diuinis sua maxima misericordia voluit nobis mittere paruulum puerum, ne timeremus post illatam sibi iniuriam accedere . . .

(MS Bodley 332, f.54r, col.a.)

*HR*

I sayed secondly, in Cristis holy Natiuite wrath is declared with mercy. The nature and propertye of a childe is þat he [can] not noye nor bere ran[cor] within hym, [also be it þat þou bete hym or chastys hym]. But also son as ye shewe hym a fayre floure or ellis a rede appyll, he hath foryette all þat was done to hym befor and he woll cum rennyng with his halsyng armys to plesse the and kysse the. Right so gostely in like wise allmyghty Fadir in hevyn of his plenteuous mercy sent down to mankinde God þe second Persone in Trynyte to take

oure nature vpon hym, for in hym is no rankoure but all  
mercy and godenes . . .

(H, f.14r)

*Jacobus*

Incarnacio. Christus per suam incarnationem liberavit a morte  
genus humanum. Luce 7 scribitur, "Adolescens tibi dico surge".  
Nota quod secundum omnem artem medicine nullatinus possumus  
inuenire quod de graui infirmitate quis subito resurgens sine  
interuallo tempore ad conualescenciam restituatur et pristinae  
fortitudini. Optimus igitur et mirabilis esset medicus qui  
per suas medicinas sic sciret egrotos suos curare et de  
egritudine ad pristinam sanitatem sine medicamento posset reducere.  
Sed Christus Domini Filius optimus medicus fuit . . .

(MS Bodley 332, f.54v, col.b)

*HR*

Thirdly I seyde þat from endeles dethe we be made free. It  
is to witte þat vpon all craftis of medycyns is none founde  
þat sodenly a sike man shall recouere to helth withoute sum  
tyme of abiding or he be restored to his first helth. Then  
if þer myght be founde such a kunnyng leche or crafty man þat  
cowde and wolde bi his science and helefull medycyns recure  
sike men sodenly withoute intervall of tyme and restore hym  
ageyn to his first myght and strenght, wele myght he be callid  
a maister and a kunnyng leche. And withoute faille such one is  
oure Sovereyn Lorde Criste Ihesu bi his blessid birth þe best  
and þe moste kunnyng leche þat euere was . . . .

(H, f.14r-v)

*Jacobus*

Incarnacio. Per Christi incarnationem aque nostre penalitatis  
dulcorantur. Iudith 5 scribitur, "Fontes amari dulcorati  
sunt". Nota dicitur enim quod bonum vas conseruat bonum  
vinum. Immo et dat bonum saporem vino. Vnde ad hoc quod  
vas sit bonum et odoriferum, ponuntur aliqua aromata in vase  
illo, et tunc vas trahens ad se odorem semper retinet ipsum.  
Spiritualiter ante Christi aduentum non erat vas retinens  
graciam quia totum genus humanum corruptum erat et imperfectum  
et ideo in ipso statu gracia corrumpabatur . . . .

(MS Bodley 332, f.55v, cols.a-b)

*HR*

I saide also þat from gostely corrupcion clene purged be we.  
Exper[i]ence sheweth þat a gode vessell and wele fyned  
conseruyth and kepith good wyne and yevith therto redolent  
relese and swete savour. For if a man wolde make a vessell  
wele relested and tasted, hym behoueth to putte þerein sum  
swete smelling spicis þat shuld make such odur and savoure.  
Right so gostely [before] Cristes blessid birth þere was no  
vessell in þe persone of mankinde þat myght holde and kepe  
grace, for all mankinde was corrupte and infect with syn for  
þe offence of oure forn fadir Adam, and so his first grace  
was corrupt and broke . . . .

(H, f.14v)

Something of the academic stature of the reviser may be learnt from his use of material from three different works by Jacobus. The *Legenda*, we know, was extremely popular in the later Middle Ages, but the sermons and *distinctiones* are much less common and more esoteric. Their manuscripts too, like those of the *Fasciculus Morum* and unlike those of the *Festial*, for example, are in the main quality productions of a kind one would not expect to find available at a humble, parochial level.

The use of the *Fasciculus Morum* in these new sermons is also extensive. The second sermon for Ash Wednesday is based in part on the chapters on penance in Part 5 of the *Fasciculus*, which deals with "accidia"; in the sermon for the second Sunday in Lent, the discussion on the rewards of meekness is taken from Part 1 on "superbia"; part of the sermon for the third Sunday in Lent, the discussion on the three functions of the tongue, and a *narratio* in the same sermon, stems from Part 3 on "invidia".

Thirteen of the extant *Fasciculus* manuscripts have appended to them a collection of forty-two sermon outlines for the Sundays and feast days from Advent to Trinity.<sup>31</sup> These frameworks, consisting of a theme, *exemplum*, repetition of the theme, and division into several parts, are to be filled out by cross-reference to the main body of the *Fasciculus*. The new opening sermon of the HR collection, one for the first Sunday in Advent, is entirely dependent on the first of these sermon outlines. Quotation from parts of the three divisions of the sermon will illustrate the method of cross-reference used in these sermon outlines as well as the HR sermon's dependence on the first outline:

*Fasciculus*

Primo dico quod errabat genus humanum instigante diabolo in via superbie, de qua nota particula 1<sup>a</sup>, capitulo 2<sup>o</sup> vsque ad C, vt placet. Sed certe, vt nos ab illa insolencia reduceret, iam venit rex noster in via humilitatis, pro qua nota particula 1<sup>a</sup>, capitulo v<sup>o</sup> vsque in finem, vt placet . . .

(MS Lincoln College 52.C., f.177r, cols.a-b)

Ad quem aspiciemus nisi ad humilem, scilicet, Christum, vt eum imitemur, scilicet quomodo se Patri humiliavit, cui erat equalis in diuinitate, in humane nature assumptione. Ad Philippenses 2<sup>o</sup>, "Qui cum in forma Dei esset", et cetera. Quomodo eciam se humiliavit parentibus in voluntaria subiectione. Luce 2<sup>o</sup>, "Erat subditus illis". Et 3<sup>o</sup> se humiliavit peccatoribusque vsque ad mortem. Vt sic sibi humiliemus animas nostras pro peccatis, 1<sup>o</sup> corde conterendo, 2<sup>o</sup> ore confitendo, et 3<sup>o</sup> opere satisfaciendo . . . In cuius figura quando filius prodigus bona sua dissipasset viuendo luxuriose, statim vt dixit, "Pater, peccaui in celum et coram te", pater osculatus est eum. Et ideo attende hoc quod dicit Petrus Rauennensis . . . .

(MS Lincoln College 52.C., f.6r, col.b-6v,col.b)



HR

First I say oure Souereyn Lorde Criste Ihesu comnyth shewe mankinde þe wey of obedience, mercy and mekenes ageyn þe deuellis pride, malice and wikkednes. For bifore his precious Passion he was obedient vnto his Fadir in heven, mekely saying, "Non mea voluntas sed tua fiat", Mathei. "Fadir in heven, I conf[o]rme me to thi wille, not as I woll but as þou wolt haue it". Also þat myghtifull Kynge of blisse was obedyent to Ioseph þat lyved bi craft of carpentrye and to his pore modir he was sogette. "Erat enim subditus illis", Luce 2<sup>o</sup>. This mercifull and myghtfull Kynge Criste Ihesu pat is commyng as a mercyfull Lorde he ioieth and is glad of good men þat be meke and lowe in spirite. And when he perceyvith and seeth a synner having a contrite hert, redely he grauntith hym his gode grace and mercy to amending of his life and gifeth full remyssion of syn. Figure whereof I fynde de filio prodigo, Luce, that when þat vicious synner had consumed and wastid his fadris goodes with comon women by lecherous lyving, anon he axed mercy and saide, "Pater, peccavi". "Fadir, I haue synned afore þe; now I am not worthi to be called thi son." Than his fadir was mevid with mercy and kissed hym and toke hym vp to his grace. Petrus de Ravenna, þat famus clerk, seyeth vpon þe same Gospell of Luke in þis wis: . . . .

(H, f.lv)

Fasciculus

2<sup>o</sup> dico ante Christi aduentum instigante mundo errabat [genus humanum] in via cupiditatis et auaricie, de qua nota particula 4<sup>a</sup>, capitulo 1<sup>o</sup> vsque ad C, vt placet. Sed contra istam cupiditatem venit Christus in via paupertatis, pro qua nota particula 4<sup>a</sup>, capitulo 10, vt placet . . .

(MS Lincoln College 52.C., f.177r, col.b)

Videmus autem quod filius militis reputatur vecors si renuit patris sui portare arma. Sic quilibet Christianus, qui filius Dei appellatur, merito potest dici vecors et infidelis qui vexillum timet portare Patris Regis eterni, quod quidem vexillum signum est paupertatis quam ipse specialiter elegit . . . .

(MS Lincoln College 52.C., f.67v, col.a)

HR

I seyð þat þe secund way þat oure Souerane Lorde comyþ by it is þe way of pacynce and pouerte . . . Bot behold, yf a lordys sone or hys ayre disdeyn or forsake hys faderys armys or hys banere and fle þerfroo withowte any occasion or cause, wele may he be callyd a coward and an vntrew sone, worthy to haue a rebuke of hys fadire. Riȝt so in lyke wyse, euery Cristyn man and woman, þe whiche is callyd þe sone or doȝtire of God, is worthy to be callyd an vnkynde cowerd and vntrew þat is aferde to bere þe banere of þe Kyng of blysse þat is hys Fadir, þe whiche banere is þe sygne of penaunce and pacient pouerte þe whyche þat oure goode Lord willfully toke vpon hym fore oure sake . . . .

(R, f.14r-v)<sup>32</sup>

*Fasciculus*

3<sup>o</sup> dico quod ante Christi aduentum errabat genus humanum in via voluptatis et luxurie, pro qua nota particula 7<sup>a</sup>, capitulo 1 vsque ad capitulum 5<sup>m</sup>.

(MS Lincoln College 52.C., f.177r, col.b)

Comparatur vero bene hec virtus cuidam herbe que dicitur Agnus Castus, de qua dicit Albertus, "De Vegetabilibus", libro 6<sup>o</sup>, capitulo 5<sup>o</sup>, quod ipsa in estate floret, floresque et folia atque fructus producit atque gaudet radice et succo. Vnde secundum eum tale nomen sortitur eo quod eius folia et fructus efficacissima sunt ad conseruandam castitatem et continenciam. Que si aspersa fuerint in domibus vel lectis eundem effectum habent et retinent. Vnde si moraliter de hac herba loqui velimus, signum crucis dominice bene dici potest, cuius fructus est agnus castus et immaculatus, Ihesus Christus . . . .

(MS Lincoln College 52.C., f.166r,col.a)

## HR

The thrid way of commyng of Crist is þe way of con[tynence] and ciennes, whych may wele be lykened to an herbe þat is callyd Agnus Castus, [whereof spekyth Albertus, "De Vegetabilibus", sexto libro, 5<sup>o</sup>. He seyth þis herbe, Agnus Castus], in somere it bryngyþ forþe fayre freshe floweres and frute, and of hys nature and kynde hit desyryþ to stand drye. Þe leues, flowres and frute be vertuose to [kepe] and causyþe contynens [and] chastyte [yf þei be caste] in howsys or [born] vpon a man or woman. Yf we speke of þis erbe gostely, Agnus Castus, [it may be wele sayde þe holy crosse of Criste whose frute is Agnus Castus, scilicet], agnus immaculatus, þat chast and immaculate lambe, Criste Ihesu . . . .

(R, f.14v)<sup>33</sup>

## The Source of a Memorial Sermon in H

So far it has been demonstrated that interpolations made into the *Festial* text by its reviser draw heavily upon the works of Jacobus and upon the *Fasciculus*, and also that the same sources are used for parts of several of the new sermons added to the *Festial* revision. On the strength of this, it appears likely that one and the same reviser was responsible for putting together the original HR sermon collection. The evidence we have put forward points to a scholar showing considerable academic interest in his material, upgrading an essentially simple and popular sermon collection. This evidence is reinforced when we examine the source of the final sermon in H, one for use at either a funeral or a month's mind.<sup>34</sup>

There is little reason for doubting that this sermon was compiled by the same reviser. It is linked to the rest of the collection by its Signs of Death lyric which is textually very close to the one in the *Fasciculus*.<sup>35</sup> It is linked too by the cross-reference it contains to material in the preceding sermon, one based on the *Festial*.<sup>36</sup>

The source of the sermon appears to be the *Destructorium Viciorum* of Alexander Carpenter, a lengthy compendium of the seven deadly sins in the tradition of the *Fasciculus* itself.<sup>37</sup> An

illustration of the dependence may be seen in the following examples:

*Destructorium*

Vnde est de auaris sicut est de pueris gardenum alterius intrantibus, poma inde volentibus auferre, qui adinuicem decertant quis eorum posset maiorem congeriem coadunare et in sinum abscondere, quorum alii socii scilicet minus potentes exterius stant et clamant, partem pomorum rogantes. Sed ipsi interius hoc audire dissimulant, quia omnia soli vellent auferre. Sed quid accidit? Reuera, cum in capicio, sinu et gremio vndique fuerint onerati, et ianuam exire proponunt, astat ibi ianitor siue ortulanus, et eos de omnibus pomis spoliat et grauiter verberat et sic eos nudos tam pomis quam pannis priuatos et vlulantes et flentes abire permittit.

(MS Balliol College 81, f.38v, cols.a-b)

H

It is of them þat trusten in worldis worship and rycches as it is of wanton childe þat breke into a mannis gardeyn to gadder applis, peris, nuttis or oþer frute. Sum gone in and sum stand withoute and dare not entir þe gardeyn for betyng or rebuking. And þei þat be within cast applis and such frute as þey haue to þem þat be withoute. But atte last commyth þe owner and keper of þe gardeyn and fyndith þem þat be within breking his gardeyn. He takyth from þem all þe frute þat þei haue gaderid and leue þem not oon.

(H, f.210v)

It is clear that the exemplum of boys breaking into an orchard is the same, although details have been a little altered by the reviser. The second illustration is the simile of Death the archer:

*Destructorium*

Et ideo mors sagittario potest racionabiliter assimilari. Nam sicut sagittarius quando archum suum trahit ad signum sagittans, sagitta aliquando cadit vltra metam, aliquando citra, aliquando a latere. Sed tandem accidit quod signum percutit. Sic spiritualiter mors que archum suum tetendit, cum sagitta sua aliquando percutit superiores et magnates qui sunt super te, aliquando seruos tuos, filios vel ancillas qui sunt sub te, aliquando amicos tuos a dextris et aliquando inimicos a sinistris, sed tandem infallibiliter in corde te percuciet.

(MS Balliol College 81, f.196r, cols.a-b)

H

Wherefore Deth may be assembled and likenyd vnto a yonge archere or a schoter. Sumtyme he shotyth ouere þe butt, sumtyme undir, sumtyme on þe side, and sumtyme he hittith þe prik with þe garlond. By þis but is vndirstond euery man lyving. Þe archere is Deth. And þan shotith he above þe prik whan he sleeth one þat is oldere þan þou, sumtyme lower whan he sleeth yonger þan þou, sumtyme on bothe sydes of þe

butte whan he sleeth þi broþer, þi suster, wife or childe or eny of þi kyn. And so longe he shoteth þe atte last he hittith þe prik whan he sleeth þe.

(H, f.211v)

Once again the reviser is seen to have altered details slightly, modifying, for example, the original distinction between right and left sides of the target, but the text of the Latin and that of the sermon are basically the same. The third illustration perhaps most convincingly demonstrates use of the *Destructorium* by the reviser, since the previous examples, being *exempla*, might perhaps have been found independently in other sources:

*Destructorium*

Vnde si queritur de aliqua civitate vel manerio quod quondam erat alicuius domini qui nunc est mortuus, cuius est, statim dicitur quod fuit talis domini, sed non dicitur quod eius est, sic nec de aliqua re temporali quam quondam occupavit. Sed si queratur de timulo [*sic*] in quo nunc stricte iacet, cuius est, dicitur quod est talis hominis vel mulieris, in signum quod nichil sibi remanet de omnibus bonis temporalibus excepto sepulcro. Quod considerans sanctus Iob, "Spiritus", inquit, "meus attenuabitur, dies mei breuiabuntur, et solum michi superest sepulcrum", Iob 17.

(MS Balliol College 81, f.158v, col.b)

H

For oure ffrende N., of all þat he was wont to haue is left hym oonly but his grave. For if it be axed whose be þe londis or þese houses, þis grounde, þis wife, þis childe, I shall answeere, it were his, but not his now. But goo to his grave and axe, who is this? It shall be answerd and seyð, þis is his grave

(H, f.213r)

In the example cited last, the quotation from Job in the Latin text in fact forms the *thema* around which the H sermon has been organised, "Solum michi superest sepulcrum".<sup>38</sup>

Although Carpenter may have envisaged his work being used as a repertory of material for the preacher, the choice of the *Destructorium* as one of the sources for our revision is a little unusual. It is related to a tradition of preaching aids - John Bromyard's *Summa Predicantium* of the previous century is similar both for some of the topics which it discusses and for its sheer size. Indeed, when at the bottom of f.104r in the Balliol manuscript a late fifteenth-century hand notes that "Istud capitulum potest esse materia sermonis passionis domini", its writer offers a piece of clear evidence for a prime function of Carpenter's compilation. But the *Destructorium* is as yet known in only three manuscripts (one of which is an early sixteenth-century continental copy),<sup>39</sup> and when it did become more widely known in printed editions, none of these was produced in England. It appears, therefore, that the reviser had access to a manuscript which does not seem to have circulated much outside academic circles.<sup>40</sup>

It seems likely, then, that the compilation of the HR sermon collection was the work of one man using a number of Latin and vernacular sources, ranging from the popular and widely-known *Festial* to the scholarly and rare *Destructorium*. His use of the latter would lead us to suggest that he produced the cycle, probably at either Oxford or Cambridge, some time after 1429, the year in which Carpenter's work was officially completed.<sup>41</sup> The fact that he had access to such an esoteric work serves to emphasise the academic stature of our reviser which we have assumed from his use of other sources.

That his work is entirely derivative need in no way negate its value. Originality was not to be praised in the Middle Ages, even in the field of literature proper. Appreciation was directed at a man's skill in the re-working of established material rather than his ability to invent new material. In the sermon field, moreover, originality and heresy were too closely linked for comfort. The danger in the original *Festial* may well have been that much of Mirk's material was, despite his claimed dependence on the *Legenda Aurea*, fanciful, personal and undocumented. In his careful and scholarly revision of the *Festial*, our reviser in numerous ways, not least by the addition of well-documented Latin sources, conferred academic and religious respectability on a work still popular and useful but perhaps somewhat suspect in learned circles. And in this revision his aim was still essentially that of Mirk, to eliminate doubt and to inculcate that belief in the teachings of Holy Church which is as intrinsic to the last copy of the *Festial* as it is to the first.<sup>42</sup>

NOTES

- 1 A critical edition of the *Temporale* section of H is to be shortly submitted by Susan Powell to the University of London for the degree of Ph.D. An edition of the Advent and Christmas sermons is in preparation for publication in the *Middle English Texts* series edited by Manfred Görlach.
- 2 Notably, Lillian L. Steckman, "A Late Fifteenth-Century Revision of Mirk's *Festial*", *Studies in Philology* 34 (1937), 36-48.
- 3 S. Wenzel, "Unrecorded Middle English Verses", *Anglia* 92 (1974), p.65, no. 34 and p.68, no.47.
- 4 G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), pp.100, 148, 202, 350; *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961), pp.132-33, etc.
- 5 D.S. Brewer, "Observations on a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript", *Anglia* 72 (1954), 390-99. The first section of the manuscript (pp.1-44) contains four Advent and two Septuagesima sermons copied from an exemplar which seems to correspond more closely to R than to H.
- 6 C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881), p.cxx.
- 7 G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (Oxford, 1921), II, 298.
- 8 Hence the title - "and for this treti speketh alle of festis, I wolle and pray that it be called a *Festial*" (Prologue to MS Cotton Claudius A.II, f.lv).
- 9 This date is based on the fact that the oldest MS, Cotton Claudius A.II, notes that St Winifred's Day is "not ordeynyd by Holy Churche to be halowed", which it was in 1415. See J.E. Wells, *A Manual of Middle English Writings* (New Haven, 1916), p.103.
- 10 M.F. Wakelin, "The Manuscripts of John Mirk's *Festial*", *LSE*, N.S. 1 (1967), 93-118. See especially 93-94 and 113.
- 11 There is, however, one *Festial* text which divides into *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* but belongs textually to Group A. It is found in MS Harley 2420, which contains the *Temporale* and was not known to Wakelin, and in MS Harley 2417, which contains the *Sanctorale*.
- 12 T. Erbe, *Mirk's Festial*, EETS, ES 96 (London, 1905). Only Part I, containing the text and glossary, was ever published.
- 13 The quotation is taken from MS Durham Cathedral Library Cosin V.III.5, the closest to HR of all the Group B manuscripts known to us.
- 14 Quotations from the HR collection will throughout this article be from H, emended where necessary from R, unless otherwise stated. The punctuation and capitalization are editorial.
- 15 There has already been some discussion of this in Steckman, especially 40-44.

- 16 Steckman's suggestion that, because the *Temporale* section contains four saint's day sermons, "the plan for the arrangement of the homilies was evidently altered during the progress of the work (44)", is erroneous.
- 17 A similar division of the Advent sermon into two is found in the Group A MSS Douce 60 and 108.
- 18 But the normal division in Group B manuscripts of the sermon for SS Philip and James into two is not found in H, although it is in R.
- 19 Steckman, 41.
- 20 Evidence that the *Festial* was written in order that the poor priest might help the illiterate layman is clearly afforded by the Prologue attached to eight of the MSS: "By myne owne febul lettrure Y fele how yt faruth by othur that bene in the same degre that hauen charge of soulus and bene holdyn to teche hore pareschonus of alle the principale festus that cometh in the 3ere . . . but, for mony excuson ham by defaute of bokus and symplunys of letture, therfore, in helpe of suche mene clerkus as I am myselff, I haue drawe this treti sewyng owt of *Legend Aurea* with more addyng to, so he that hathe lust to study therein, he schal fynde redy of alle the principale festis of the 3ere a schort sermon nedful for hym to techym and othur for to lerne" (MS Cotton Claudius A.II, f.lv).
- 21 Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican, later Archbishop of Genoa, compiled the *Legenda Aurea* between 1225 and 1270. M. Görlach, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary*, Leeds Texts and Monographs N.S. 6 (1974), p. 227, note 65, considers the *Legenda* to have been most popular during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, judging from the number of copies produced at this time. See also R.F. Seyboldt, "Fifteenth-Century Editions of the *Legenda Aurea*", *Speculum* 21 (1946), 327-38, and "The *Legenda Aurea*, Bible and *Historia Ecclesia*", *ibid.*, 339-42.
- 22 See A.G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917), p.143.
- 23 See F.A. Foster, "A Note on the *Fasciculus Morum*", *Franciscan Studies* 8 (1948), 202-04.
- 24 H, f.8r. Our choice of Bodleian Library MS Lincoln College 52.C., a later version of the *Fasciculus*, is dictated by references such as this which show that a later version of the *Fasciculus* was being used by the reviser. Part and Chapter references agree with this manuscript but not with earlier versions, as represented, for example, by MS Bodley 332.
- 25 Steckman, 36, note 1, had noticed the close connection between these last two manuscripts and HR, but she did not pursue the connection when "informed by Dr Owst that the direct resemblance does not hold throughout the entire collection".
- 26 These are not the only sources for the new sermons. For example, those for Septuagesima Sunday and for the second and fourth Sundays in Lent, which are based on the Gospel readings for those days, are translations of parts of the corresponding sermons in an anonymous Latin Dominical collection, British Library MS Additional 21253.
- 27 Quotations from the *Legenda* are throughout from the edition of T. Graesse, *Legenda Aurea by Jacobus a Voragine*, 3rd ed. (Breslau, 1890).

28 H, f.68r.

29 H, f.75v.

30 Thus the *incipit* (f.1r) to the *distinctiones*, which cover ff.1r-207r of MS Bodley 332. It is of interest that the manuscript also contains the *Fasciculus Morum* (ff.207v-93r).

31 Little, *Franciscan History*, pp.139-40, cites twenty-two manuscripts of the *Fasciculus*, to which F.A. Foster adds eight ("Some English Words from the *Fasciculus Morum*", *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown* (New York, 1940), 149-57). We are grateful to Professor Siegfried Wenzel for the information that thirteen of these manuscripts contain the sermon outlines.

32 Quotation is from R, since H is here defective.

33 Emendations are from MS Gloucester Cathedral Library 22 (see note 5).

34 As already noted, R ends imperfectly and does not contain this sermon. A detailed study of the sermon, including the edited text, will appear in a forthcoming issue of *LSE*.

35 The *Fasciculus* lyric is printed in full by C. Brown, *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1932), p.222. The lyric of this sermon has never been printed, but for other pieces of verse from the sermon, see note 3 above.

36 H, f.213r, "Nota narracio de milite in prelio interfecto supra in alia exortacione". These cross-references are common in HR.

37 See G.R. Owst, *The Destructorium Viciorum of Alexander Carpenter* (London, 1952).

38 H, f.210r and f.210v.

39 Brussels, Royal Library MS 2247. It is briefly described in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1903), III, pp.378-79. The two known English manuscripts are Oxford MS Balliol College 81 and Cambridge MS Peterhouse 41.

40 Carpenter was himself an Oxford man. See Owst, *Destructorium*, p.6.

41 *Ibid.*, p.6.

42 If not more so. The original *Festial* stresses the importance of orthodoxy; cf. the *narratio* which ends the sermon for Quinquagesima Sunday (Erbe, p.78, ll.19-28) and the Trinity Sunday sermon (Erbe, pp.163-68). This is reinforced in the revision by interpolations in the latter (H, f.123v and f.124r) which doggedly urge, "Beleve feithfully as Holi Chirch belevith and techith" (H, f.123v).