# Leeds Studies in English
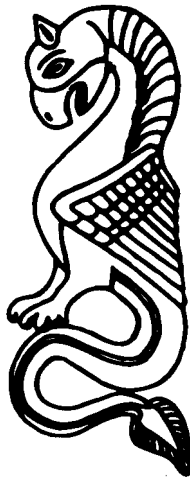
# 'The Unity of the State exists in the Agreement of its Minds': A Fifteenth-Century Sermon on the Three Estates

## Alan J. Fletcher

On 8 July 1433, King Henry VI presided over a parliament summoned at Westminster. He was on his throne in the palace's painted chamber, and in his presence were some of the most powerful men in England: Cardinal Henry Beaufort was there, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, and several other lords spiritual and temporal. The commons were also represented. To this assembly of notables John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells and Chancellor of England, addressed his sermon on the theme 'Suscipiant montes pacem populo, et colles iusticiam'.[1]

Several miles away in the small Oxfordshire village of Sandford St Martin, between 1485 and 1491, the local incumbent, one John Jeffys, would have found himself in front of a much humbler audience. Among whatever other pastoral aids he owned, one was a collection of Middle English sermons, comprising for the most part a dominical cycle that would have equipped him with the means for discharging his preaching responsibilities to Sandford's villagers.[2]

The intellectual circumstances of John Stafford and John Jeffys could scarcely have been more unlike, the bishop a University man, the incumbent not, nor could the circumstances in which they preached, in parliament and in parish.[3] Yet though inhabiting different ends of the social spectrum, they shared a similar way of conceiving the structure of their society, or at least, they offered their congregations ways of conceiving that structure that were not very dissimilar: society was divisible into three principal parts or estates. This kind of threefold formulation is, of course, well known and of ancient pedigree,[4] and needs no extensive rehearsal here. What I hope to illustrate, by way of a preface to an edition of a Middle English sermon that develops the subject in a highly unusual way, is that by the fifteenth century, the theory of the three estates not only has the pulpit to thank for much of its

propagation and popular dissemination, but that some preachers, in the main a breed ever likely to honour old custom, were nevertheless finding the theory in its classical form to be not entirely adequate.[5] While it had the weight of tradition behind it, classical estates theory no longer expressed society as actually perceived by fifteenth-century men and women. Sometimes tradition won the day. At other times, however, compromises and adjustments might be made.

In its classical form, estates theory held that society comprised those who prayed, those who fought and those who worked – essentially, the clergy, the nobility, and those labouring classes whose occupation stood 'in grobbyng aboute þe erþe'.[6] As the ME *Mirrur*, the translation of Robert of Gretham's *Miroir des évangiles*, put it:

> God ordeynd þreo ordres in Holy Chyrche of wynnoures and
> defendowres and of assailyours. God haþ set þy wynners forto
> feden al wyþ her trauayle, and þat ben þe comynne þepul; þe
> defendours, þat ben þe knyʒtes þat scholde fende hem and alle þe
> lond from yuel; þe assaylours, þat ben men of Holy Chyrche þat
> scholde techen boþe þe ton and þe toþer.[7]

This was the kind of classification advanced in two of the sermons in the collection owned by John Jeffys in which the estates are developed at length: 'For in erthe byn iij degrees of folke and all schuld loue God aboue all thynge. Telynge and laborers is on of tho. Lordes and ladies is anoþer. And men and wemmen of the Churche is the thridde'.[8] The estates are imaginatively fettled in the minds of the congregation by being compared to the conditions of the lark, the nightingale and the turtle dove respectively.[9] But if we return to John Stafford's sermon, we see that he has not entirely subscribed to the classical formulation, though he has retained the threefold structure. For him, the *montes* of his theme signify the *prelati, proceres et magnates*, the *colles* the *milites, armigeri et mercatores*, and the *in populo* the *cultores, artifices et vulgares*.[10] He thus combines in one estate the clergy and nobility, splits off knights from nobility and combines them with merchants, and leaves the third estate of labourers intact. His admission of the merchant bourgeoisie reveals how for him classical estates theory no longer reflected a society that had seen the rise of a substantial middle class since the time of the theory's original formulation, for it was of great age; it had appeared in the vernacular as early as the reign of King Alfred.[11] Adjustments of the kind made by Bishop Stafford had

entered estates theory well before the fifteenth century, even if sometimes by the back door: one fourteenth-century exemplum, for example, explains that God made the clergy, the knights and the labourers, but the bourgeoisie was wholly the devil's work.[12] Not surprisingly, the exemplum seems not to have proved hugely popular.[13] By the fifteenth century, then, preachers had the choice of simply relating classical estates theory, in which case they risked appearing to rehearse a hoary, indeed irrelevant, pulpit *topos*, or avoiding the risk they might update the theory by adjustments to its content which, generally speaking, nevertheless left its threefold structure intact.[14]

Occasionally, however, even this might be dispensed with. The preacher, escaping the gravitational pull of classical, or even adjusted, estates tradition, then appealed to some other traditionally respected figure or analogy to authorize his departure. One way of transcending the limitation of a threefold division was to compare society's parts to the members of the human body, for here several members were conveniently available for a preacher to choose between. Moreover, this figure too had a long history behind it.[15] It is true that the human body might equally be used by the more traditionally minded; in another parliamentary sermon of 1404 on the theme 'Multitudo sapientum', the assembly was reminded that the body politic was like the body of a man, 'la partie dextre il resemble a seinte Esglise, et la partie sinistre a la Temporaltee, et les autres membres a la Communaltee du Roialme' [He (i.e. the bishop preaching) likened the right-hand side to Holy Church, the left-hand side to the temporality, and the other members to the realm's commonalty].[16] However, the prospect of arms, legs, eyes, noses and ears, and whatever else was serviceable, offered the preacher for whom three categories alone were too exiguous as much anatomical hardware to work with as he pleased. Bishop Thomas Brinton, in a sermon preached to the bishops of the province of Canterbury in 1373 on the theme 'Sollicite servare unitatem', declared that:

> Huius mistice corporis multa sunt membra, quia capita sunt
> reges, principes, et prelati; oculi sunt iudices sapientes et veraces
> consiliarii; aures sunt religiosi; lingua doctores boni; manus
> dextra sunt milites ad defendendum parati; manus sinistra sunt
> mercatores et fideles mechanici; cor sunt ciues et burgenses
> quasi in medio positi; pedes sunt agricole et laborantes quasi
> totum corpus firmiter supportantes.[17]
> [In a mystical sense, there are many members of this body,

because heads are kings, princes and prelates; eyes are wise
judges and true counsellors; ears are the religious; the tongue,
good doctors; knights are the right hand, ready to defend;
merchants and faithful workmen are the left; citizens and
townsfolk are the heart, placed as it were in the middle; the feet
are farmers and labourers, as it were supporting the whole body
firmly.]

In saying this he has exceeded both classical and adjusted forms of estates theory,
and harnessed a more accommodating figure, though still a thoroughly traditional
one, by which to express his perception of society's parts.

Nevertheless, many late-medieval sermons, given the passion for threefold
divisions that had long been a feature of sermon form,[18] might be expected to be
well disposed towards threefold articulations of estates theory, preferring to meet
any perceived artificiality in their classical content by making adjustments of the kind
earlier illustrated. One area in which preachers allowed themselves considerable
flexibility, however, was in their choice of figure or analogy with which to connect
the theory and thus render it memorable.[19] The larks, nightingales and turtle doves
in the Jeffys collection are exchanged for the three parts of a ship in another early-
fifteenth-century sermon, or in the sermon with which I am principally concerned
here, for the three voice parts of medieval improvised song.[20] This sermon, for the
twentieth Sunday after Trinity on a theme conducive to a musical treatment
('Loquentes vobismetipsis in psalmis et ympnis et canticis spiritualibus'), is at
present known in three manuscript copies, and each is in the hand of the same
scribe.[21] A fourth manuscript by the same scribe of what is essentially the same
sermon cycle is also extant, but it lacks the Trinity 20 sermon.[22] Such multiple
copying by one scribe of what is basically the same sermon cycle suggests he was
producing his manuscripts for the book market, and indeed, on stemmatic grounds it
looks likely that a fifth manuscript of the cycle, also copied by him but which has
either not survived or yet come to light, was once in existence.[23] He seems to have
been trained to write in the south Bedfordshire area, somewhere towards the
Buckinghamshire border.[24]

Where his Trinity 20 sermon originated, or who its actual author was, is
impossible to say, but on balance an urban congregation, rather than a rural one,
seems to have been in the author's mind.[25] He talks familiarly about varieties of
medieval music, and while technicalities such as treble, mean and tenor were

arguably well known – a famous airing of them before a medieval audience was intended in the Wakefield Second Shepherds' Play[26] – he also seems to know about rules of discant and the singing of *cantus gemellus*.[27] It is less likely that a rural congregation, or even many of the members of an urban one, would have followed him into these waters. Furthermore his estates theory is of the adjusted, rather than the classical, sort: labouring folk have been replaced by 'þe ordur of wedlok'.[28] If the sermon were intended for preaching before farmers and the like, it is hard to see how an adjusted form like this could have improved upon the pertinence of the estates theory in its classical form.

The use of 'the order of wedlock' raises questions that can be pursued a little further, for it may be an adjustment of some significance. By the late-fifteenth century, the time when the manuscripts of this sermon cycle were copied, this expression was an established collocation, one capable of associating with other 'orders', as for example with the order of priesthood.[29] Since each of the three classical estates could be referred to as an 'order' (the 'order of knighthood' is also commonly found),[30] it is perhaps the less surprising that an established collocation like the 'order of wedlock' should have been attracted into the company of the other 'orders' of the estates. But this still begs the question somewhat. Why should the order of wedlock displace the more traditional one of the labouring classes? The suggestion made earlier that the sermon author may not have intended a rural audience may only explain it in part. Yet if it be granted that for some reason he wished to endorse the place of the married state in society generally, another explanation suggests itself. By the fifteenth century in England, there is evidence of clerical concern to acknowledge and affirm the institution of marriage – a sacrament of the Church yet effectively at the same time the brand of lay status[31] – before a laity which was increasingly seeking to identify itself with Church institutions and appropriate the advantages of the Church's spiritual suffrage. Margery Kempe's voluble career illustrates this lay disposition well, though in her case with an unusual degree of desperation that betrays itself not least in her fear of being spiritually second class because she is married.[32] While to define one of the estates in terms of an order of wedlock is implicitly to define it more strictly in relation to the ideal of the celibate priestly caste, this is not necessarily to downgrade wedlock, but rather to endorse publicly its place within the hallowed precincts of a society conceived very much from a theological point of view. Given the contemporary clerical trend to affirm the married state, the order of wedlock in the Trinity 20 sermon could therefore be read as a telling choice in metaphor.

The author's choice of a musical figure for orchestrating his estates theory is not unusual in itself, even if the degree in which his figure is elaborated apparently is.[33]  In the fourteenth century, John Bromyard, in his massive preachers' encyclopædia, the *Summa predicantium*, had come close to it when he says that:

> ciues vnius ciuitatis vel comunitatis debent se habere in factis et dictis et voluntatibus, scilicet sicut cantores in notis, scilicet, dum enim bene concordant bonas voces habentes, cantus placet. Its dum ipsi in bona voluntate et locucione et operacione concordant, ciuitas illa placet Deo et hominibus, et prosperabitur in temporalibus et spiritualibus.[34]
>
> [Citizens of a state or community must conduct themselves in their deeds, words and wills as do singers in their notes, that is, while they have good voices and are in harmony, the song is pleasing.  Thus while citizens agree in good will, word and deed, that city pleases God and men, and will prosper in things temporal and spiritual.]

He is paraphrasing an idea he has found in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*.[35]  But Bromyard has none of the detail of the Trinity 20 sermon edited here.  Well performed music had long been regarded as a figure of divine order and proportion, and as such it was a ready analogy for correctly regulated society.[36]  The harp was a favourite for treatment in this respect.[37]  Again in the same part of the *Summa predicantium*, Bromyard relates that:

> ordo vero istorum [that is, of the three parts of society] debet esse sicut situs cordarum in cythara, vbi requiritur quod quelibet corda locum suum teneat ad hoc quod melodia sit bona: breuiores corde in loco s[uo], medie in medio, et longiores in loco suo. Ita in ciuitate quacumque debet quilibet tenere locum suum.[38]
>
> [But the order of these must be like the placing of strings in a harp, where it is necessary that each string keeps its place so that the melody may be good: the shorter strings in their place, the middle-sized ones in the middle, and the longer ones in their place.  Thus must everyone in whatever city keep to their place.]

The sermon author briefly connects with a related harp, or in his case psaltery, tradition when he interprets the psaltery's ten strings as the Decalogue that the order of wedlock in particular must understand, but his comparison is not developed.[39] His musical figure finds a much nearer parallel in a little-known fifteenth-century sermon manuscript preserved in Hereford Cathedral Library.[40] In a sermon for Easter day on the theme 'Alleluia', the preacher associates the mysterious sound that St John hears in Revelations 19:6 with the three voice parts of 'burdoun', 'meyn' and 'trebyll'. He then goes on to interpret further: 'Iste autem tres voces significant tria genera hominum cantancium "Alleluia", scilicet, clerici et presules, diuites et principes, simplices et pauperes' [These three voices, however, signify the three types of men singing 'Alleluia', and that is, clerics and bishops, rich men and princes, and untutored and poor men].[41] Striking though its parallel with the Trinity 20 sermon is, the musical figure in the Hereford manuscript extends no further than this, nor is it comparably elaborated.

What the Trinity 20 sermon author has done, then, is to construct, out of largely traditional parts, an unusual example of estates theory, and one whose adjustments may perhaps be understood as a public recognition and implicit curtailment of particular fifteenth-century lay aspirations.[42] Viewed in these terms, the sermon becomes an interesting essay in social control, and evidence of the possible tension involved in any attempt to reconcile and yet maintain social differences. It is also worth noting in this regard the sermon author's stigmatization of the tales of Robin Hood along with the 'wanton proficijs' of Thomas of Erceldoune.[43] Robin Hood might at first seem little more than a favourite whipping-boy, one regularly brought out whenever the medieval preacher was intent on castigating profitless lay pastimes.[44] But in a sermon concerned to present a picture of an harmonious society, Robin Hood is a particularly apt exemplar of precisely what was to be avoided; in the fifteenth century he generally appears to have connoted a yeoman marauder, someone with whom the anti-social and even criminally disposed might be inclined to identify.[45] Class strife and rebellion are a notable energy source in tales attached to him.

Through a satisfyingly worked out musical analogy, the Trinity 20 sermon urges on its congregation a way of conceiving their social relations, however ill defined in point of practical detail. If, as another sermon author of the early-fifteenth century, Robert Rypon, put it, the unity of the state exists in the agreement of its minds,[46] then the Trinity 20 author offered those minds the common means of imaging unity's moral and social lineaments.

*The Manuscripts*

O: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Museo 180.[47]

Paper, vii + 310 + vii. A modern foliation in ink is sporadically added at the top right-hand corner of the page. This is accurate apart from a jump to fol. 309 after fol. 307. The binding of leather-backed cardboard is mid-seventeenth-century work. (A payment for binding made in 1655 is recorded on the recto of flyleaf i.) There is no indication of the nature of the medieval binding. Flyleaves and endleaves are contemporary with the current binding.

The scribe of O is also responsible for Lincoln Cathedral Library MSS 50 and 51 (described below), Durham Cathedral Library MS Cosin V.IV.3 (not described here), and for the central portion of Gloucester Cathedral Library MS 22 (also described below). He writes an idiosyncratic script, composed basically of Anglicana letter forms, and with a consistent use of three graphs for the letter *r*, the particular choice of graph depending upon whether it occurs in word initial, medial or final position. Thick, tapering descenders are a particularly prominent feature of his hand, especially in the Lincoln, Durham and Gloucester manuscripts. A slightly more formal display variety of roughly Textura proportions is employed on the Temporale headings and on the first line of text (see plate). He was writing in the late-fifteenth century.[48]

A *de tempore* sermon cycle occupies the whole manuscript (its contents are set out in the appendix below). The collation is as follows: $1\text{-}5^8$, $6^7$ (fols 41-47; wants one after 5), $7\text{-}12^8$, $13^2$, $14^4$, $15\text{-}19^8$, $20^6$, $21\text{-}28^8$, $29^5$ (fols 213-17; wants three after 5), $30\text{-}37^8$, $38^7$ (fols 282-88; wants one after 6), || missing folios, probably one quire of 8 ||, $39^9$ (fols 289-97; wants one after 2); $40^7$ (fols 298-304; wants ? after 7), $41^6$ (fols 305-11; wants ? after 3, ? elsewhere; fol. 307 doubly foliated as '307-08'). Catchwords normally appear at the end of each quire, and the scribe frequently makes use of an additional device to mark the opening of a new quire, by extending some top-line ascender of its first page and adding decoration (occasionally, and only in O, he may also extend some top-line ascender on the last page of the completed quire prefacing the next one). No quire signatures are visible.

O measures 210mm x 138mm (147mm x 85mm). The pages have been trimmed on all sides. The text, varying between twenty-one and twenty-seven lines per page, is contained within a feintly drawn ink writing frame. There are no transverse guide lines. Decoration is sparse, and is limited practically to the

rubricated initial opening each sermon. (This is usually two lines of text deep.) Rubrication is normally used on the Temporale heading of each sermon, to underline all Latin quotations, and to supply a system of pointing to the text.

The provenance of the manuscript is undeterminable. It had been given to the Bodleian in 1656, possibly by George Langbaine, though this is uncertain.[49] The names 'Clement Chetsam' and 'Clement Kent', both in a sixteenth-century hand, appear on fol. 311v, but remain unidentified. Other marginalia, of which there are few, are similarly unhelpful. At the bottom of fol. 230 has been written, in Textura proportions, the name 'Ion Iohn longman'. (In the same hand appear the apparently meaningless groups 'scherhupalmar' and 'palmas' on fols 79v and 109v respectively. These may simply be pen-trials.)

The four manuscripts written by this scribe are no doubt productions for retail, and represent a somewhat unusual stockpiling of the same basic text. It is worth noting that though abbreviation by suspension and other common means is consistently employed, words are frequently written out in full, with the result that the reader is provided with a particularly readable text. The marginal apparatus which is supplied to these manuscripts (and indeed to many contemporary sermon texts) would act as an efficient visual mnemonic during the course of the sermon, recalling the preacher's eye to the point he had reached in the delivery. The system of pointing (which varies from manuscript to manuscript and which must to some extent be the scribe's own work, not merely inherited from the exemplar) would also aid a spoken delivery. Sense groups are basically distinguished one from another by an ink dot. Such a form of punctuation is to be seen in other contemporary manuscripts, where its appearance, as here, seems to be determined by rhetorical rather than grammatical considerations.[50] The dot in O and its congeners is normally rubricated over with a slanting red bar, and is thus made visually more conspicuous. It is best interpreted as marking a pause wherever it occurs. The *punctus elevatus*, however, might also imply the intonation pattern of the preceding sense group. If used at all, it only accompanies interrogative constructions.[51] These manuscripts were conceivably written to be preached from directly.

L. Lincoln Cathedral Library MSS 50 and 51.[52]

These were originally the same manuscript, but are now in two separate bindings.

MS 50: Paper, i + 221 i. A consecutive modern foliation is added in pencil in the top-right hand corner of each page. This is regular except for a duplication of fol. 127.

The hand employed is described above for O. The use of rubrication and decoration is sparse and functional, and follows the practices noted above in the O description. So similarly does the use of pointing. The collation is as follows: $1^7$ (fols 1-7; wants one before 1), $2\text{-}4^8$, ‖ loss of one quire of 8 ‖, $5\text{-}16^8$, $17^6$ (fols 127 [the second of the duplicated folios] -132; wants one before 1, one before 4), ‖ loss of ? folios ‖, $18\text{-}28^8$, ‖ loss of ? folios ‖. This collation can be partly determined from an early-sixteenth-century foliation system, added in ink at the bottom right-hand corner of each folio. The system is not, however, applied with strict regularity. It normally marks each folio with a letter of the alphabet, working through from a-z, plus an arabic numeral denoting that particular sequence, thus producing a system a-z1, a-z2, a-z3 and so forth. The loss of folios before quire 18 occurred at an early date before the system was added. The loss of folios after quire 28, and before the first quire of MS 51, is shown to have taken place after the system was added, at a more recent stage of binding. Quires are normally indicated by catchwords and the elaborated top-line ascender. No signatures are visible.

The manuscript measures 206mm x 145mm (140mm x 84mm), and the text, varying between approximately twenty-four and thirty-two lines per page, is written within a feint pen-drawn writing frame. There are no transverse guide lines. The manuscript has been cropped on all sides.

There are occasional marginalia in the sixteenth-century hand of a Protestant annotator (for example, on fol. 38), but none is of use for an early localization.

MS 51: Paper, i + 88 + i. A consecutive modern foliation is added in pencil in the top right-hand corner of each page. (In this manuscript, the sixteenth-century alphabetical 'foliation' continues simply as letters without any numbers.) The modern binding is of leather, and the fly- and endleaf are contemporary with it.

The collation is regular, being eleven quires of 8. (The contents of MSS 50 and 51 are given in the appendix). In other respects the manuscript is as MS 50.

G. Gloucester Cathedral Library MS 22.[53]

Paper, i + 395 + i. A modern pencil pagination added at the top right and left of each respective page is applied consecutively, apart from the following

irregularities: leaf '79' is paginated as '79A', its verso as '79B', the next page '79C', and its verso as '80'; leaf '439' is paginated as '439*' on its verso, the next page as '439**', and its verso as '440'; the pagination skips from '277' on the recto of a leaf to '288' on its verso. The current binding, fly- and endleaves are modern.

Two medieval hands are at work in the manuscript. That appearing on pp. 45-722 is the work of the O scribe, as described above. The hand responsible for pp. 1-44 and 723-87 writes a contemporary late-fifteenth-century script of a basic Secretary type, with an admixture of Anglicana graphs. The rest of the manuscript from pp. 787-96 is filled with notes on the earlier material in various sixteenth-century hands. (Some of these were made in or after 1553, according to the note on p. 786, 'The fyrst yere of the moste noble reigne of our soverand ladi quyne mary'. The note is possibly in the hand of the man who records his name on p. 308, as 'Rorolandum Willat'.)

Pages 1-44 are occupied by the following sermons: pp. 1-7, Advent 1; pp. 8-13, Advent 1; pp. 13-18, Advent 1; pp. 18-23, a sermon on the Judgement; pp. 24-33, a sermon for the soul; pp. 33-43, Septuagesima; pp. 43-44, Septuagesima. Pages 723-87 contain an excerpt from an English *Gesta Romanorum*. The contents of pp. 45-722 are given in the appendix.

The collation of pp. 45-722 is a regular forty-two quires of 8.[54] However, quire 16 (pp. 293-308) may be lacking a bifolium before the inner two pages thus:
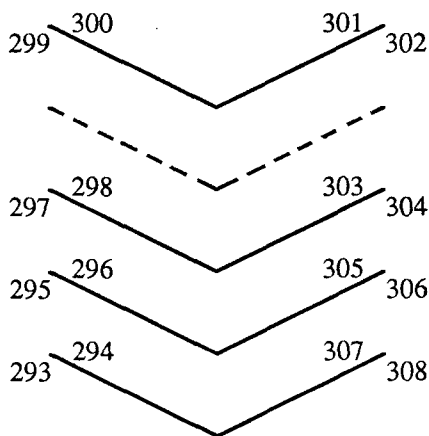


(This collation is deduced from content. Pages 296-98 are from John Mirk's *Festial* sermon for Good Friday, pp. 299-302 from a later stage of that sermon, and pp. 303-08 from the *Formacio necessaria capellanis* which follows the Good Friday

sermon in certain *Festial* manuscripts, and which seems to have followed the Good Friday sermon here.[55]) Catchwords regularly appear at the end of each quire, and the additional device of extending top-line ascenders is used again. No quire signatures are visible.

Rubrication is sparse and functional, and follows the style of the other O group manuscripts. (It is even less extensively employed in those parts of the text written by the second medieval scribe.) G measures 217mm x 150mm (143mm x 84mm). The scribe of pp. 45-722 writes within a feintly drawn ink writing frame. His text varies approximately between 24 and 29 lines per page. A pronounced deckle is visible on certain pages, although occasionally trimming can be seen to have taken place on all sides.

The ultimate provenance of G is undeterminable. It was donated by one Henry Fowler, an alderman of Gloucester, to the Cathedral library in the seventeenth century. There is no record of where he obtained it.[56] At the top of p. 796 appears the note 'master pendilton doctor of diuinite'. This is a Henry Pendleton who received the degree in 1552. He may have owned the book, but this is not clear. Other marginalia of possible significance are the names 'Rorolandum Willat' and 'Radulphus willetus' on p. 308. The name of the latter appears again on p. 626, apparently as 'Rodulphus wylletat'.[57] A certain 'John Cox of haddon' is written at the bottom of p. 785 in a sixteenth-century hand. This has been taken to be possibly Whaddon in Buckinghamshire or Haddon in Derbyshire.[58] However, the name Haddon, although it occurs throughout the country, only does so in combinations, and appears alone as it appears here only in the county of Huntingdon. If the note is of local significance, it indicates that the manuscript was in or near Huntingdonshire in the sixteenth century, and if so, it was close to the south-east Midland region suggested by its medieval scribal dialect noted above.

This is the only manuscript containing this scribe's work to be bound with other material in a contemporary hand. The work of both scribes was bound together at an early date, as is demonstrated by certain sixteenth-century marginalia which occur throughout the entire manuscript and which are probably in the same hand. Nevertheless there is no positive evidence that the scribes were working closely together. The water marks, which have been carefully studied by Sandred, show at least that the scribes were not drawing upon the same supply of paper.[59] Further, there is none of the signs of scribal co-operation, as are found, for example, in certain other contemporary sermon collections which are jointly produced.[60]

## Editorial Method

The Trinity 20 sermon is edited from O, with variants from LG recorded in the apparatus.[61] All expansions in the text are italicized, and word division regularized without notice. Punctuation has been supplied and capitalization modernized; the scribal convention of writing ff to signal a capital F is rendered by a capital F, whenever appropriate. As far as possible, the sense groups distinguished by the O scribe's generally careful system of pointing have been retained. The letters u and v are distinguished according to modern usage, and are similarly distinguished in the variant readings of the lemmata; in any other respect the lemmata are free from editorial alteration.

The lemmata record all substantive variation, and also the writing errors of the scribe. Errors which he has deleted are recorded in half-brackets: ⌐ ¬. Occasionally where the citation of variants would occupy disproportionate space if cited consecutively, variants have been 'telescoped' to make the apparatus more manageable. (See, for example, the apparatus at line 61. Here an LG variant is recorded after the lemma, but the G text varies still further from the L reading. These further variants are recorded within round brackets.) Editorial alteration of O is enclosed within square brackets. The abbreviation *om.* in the apparatus denotes 'omitted in'.

Dn̄ca · xi · post fm̄ sc̄e trinitatis : 149

Loquentes vobismet ip̄is ī psalmis
et ympnis et canticis spiritualibus
cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris
domino · Ad ephesios quinte · Et in psancta
dominice epistolam officio · Speke ȝow to
ȝoure selfe in psalmys and ympnys ⁊ sp̄u
all songes synȝyng and seyng psalmys in
ȝoure hertis to the lorde ⁊ ȝe shal vn
derstonde that there be iij maner of songes
the first song is Canticum amoris vniuer
salis ⁊ the seconde is Canticum dulcoris
localis ⁊ the thirde song is Cantic̄ ho
noris temphalis · first I sey that is a song
of gostly contemplacion ⁊ also syne it is
so that eny song hathe iij party trebil
⁊ mene ⁊ a tenor ⁊ therefore I trost
wit̄ the gostly comforthe of almyȝti god ⁊
to apply these iij party of song vn to þe
iij ordris of the chirche ⁊ the tenor vn
to presthode ⁊ the mene vn to wedloke ;

·1·
·2·
·3·

MS e Museo 180, fol. 149r.  By kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

# O Text:  Trinity 20

## *DOMINICA* XXª POST *FESTUM SANCTE* TRINITATIS

f.149r        'Loquentes vobismetipsis *in* psalmis et ympnis et canticis [spiritualibus], cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino.' Ad Ephesios, quinto. Et instantis dominice epistolari officio. Speke ʒow to ʒowreselfe in psalmys and ympnys *and* spiri*tu*all song*is*, syngyng and seyng psalme in ʒowre herttis to

5      the Lorde.

       ʒe schal understonde that there bithe iij man*er* of song*is*. The first song is Canticum amoris visceralis. The secunde is Canticum dulcoris socialis. The therde song is Cantic*um* honoris triu*m*phalis. Firste I sey ther is a song of gostly [contemplacion]. Now syne it is so that ev*ery* song hathe iij *partis*, a

10     trebil, a mene and a tenor, therefore I *purpose* withe the gostly comforthe of almyʒti God to apply these iij *partis* of song unto þe iij ordurs of the Chirche, the tenor unto presthode, the mene unto wedloke, | 149v  and the trebyll unto knyʒthode. And þis is the mater withe Goddys grace and ʒo*ur* paciens that I purpose to stonde upon as at this tyme.

15        As for the first, dicit*ur* attenendo.   The tenor is grownde-settor and governore of every song. So is þe rev*er*ent ordur of presthode grownde-sett*er* and gov*er*nore of all Crist*is* law *and* feythe, as it is wreton, Malachie secundo, 'Labia sacerdotis custodiunt scienciam et legem requirunt ex ore eius'. The lippis of a preste kepythe co*n*nyng and criste*n* pepil sechythe the law of God of

20     his mowþe. And therfore this worschipfull ordur of presthode schall syng the tenor, and þe ordur of wedloke schall syng the mene. For he that syngethe after the ruels of discant schall not passe x not*is* frome the tenor. So in like

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1 vobismetip*sis*] vobismet ip*sos* L.    1 spiritualibus] spiritalibus O.    3 ʒow ] ʒe L; *om.* G.    4 psalme] psalmys LG.    6 ʒe] And ʒe LG.    6 song] *om.* LG.    7-8 The therde] *And* the therde LG.    8 song²] *om.* LG.    9 contemplacion] comtemplac*io*n O.    9 syne] *om.* LG.    10 mene and a tenor] Tenor *and* a Mene LG.    10 therefore] and þerfore LG.    11 almyʒti] *om.* LG.    11 to] for to LG.    12 tenor unto] tenor to L.    12 the mene] and þe Meyn L.    12 unto²] to L.    12 unto³] to L.    13 withe . . . paciens] *om.* G.    13 and ʒo*ur* paciens] *om.* L.    14 purpose] purpose wi*the* þe grace of god þat I purpose G.    14 to stonde upon] for to schewe to ʒow L; to schew to ʒow G.    14 as] *om.* G.    15 dicit*ur* attenendo] *om.* L.    15 The] *om.* LG.    15 is] is the L.    16 song] song And LG.    16 þe] þis LG.    17 Crist*is* law *and* feythe] crist*is* feythe *and* his law L; cristen feythe *and* of þe law*is* of god G.    19 criste*n*] the commen LG.    21 and] *om.* LG.    21 For . . . syngethe] *om.* LG.    22 discant] dyscant *and* þat L; discant þat G.    22-23 So in like wise] ffor LG.

wise þu man or woman that art *in* þe sacrament of wedloke or els lyke to be,
kepe þu þen | 150r the x com*mawndementis* of God, for þat is inowʒe unto
25 thi salvac*ion*. For unto the it is seyde, 'Cantate ei canticum novu*m*, [in
psalterio] decim cordarum psallite illi'. Syng unto owre Lorde a new song, in
þe sawt*ur* of x strryng*is* syng unto hym. The ord*ur* of knyʒthod schall syng the
trebill. For he that syngethe the trebyll may syng as hyʒe as his voyce will
ʒefe hi*m* leve. So unto knyʒt*is* is ʒeven leve for to fyʒte for the feythe of
30 Criste and for þe com*men* prosp*er*ite, for to defende prelat*is and* prest*is* of the
Chyrche of God, and to defende wedowys in there ryʒte. And ev*er*ychone of
these iij ordurs syngethe unto other, as witnessithe the prophet David in the
Sawt*ur*. The ordur of presthode and the ordur of wedloke syngethe unto
knyʒthode and seythe, 'Cantate D*om*ino canticum novu*m*'. Syng ʒe unto ou*r*
35 Lorde a new song. Then presthode [and knyʒthode] syngethe unto | 150v
wedloke and seythe, 'Cantate Domino omnis terra'. All pepill beyng in þe
world syng unto owre Lorde a new song. Knyʒthod and wedloke syngethe
unto presthode [and seythe], 'Cantate Domino et benedicite nomini eius'.
Syng ʒow to the Lorde and blisse þe name of hym. But how they syng echone
40 to oþer, I report me to the maner of there disposic*ion* and every ordur in his
degre. For þei leve the syngyng of thre part*is* and they take upon hem to syng
cownt*er* and gemel, that is to sey, as for prest*is* of the Chyrche that scholde
take hem unto prayer and contemplac*ion*, many of hem take*n* hem unto
temp*or*all ocupac*ion and* to many other disposic*ion*s of c*on*trarius lyvyng
45 where it p*er*teynethe to hem to be holy and ev*er* graciusly disposed, as Criste
hymselfe seythe unto all prest*is*, 'Estote s*anct*i sicut ego sanctus sum'. Be ʒe

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23 to] for to LG.    24 þen] well LG.    24 for . . . inowʒe] *and* þat schall be G.    24-
25 unto thi] to thi LG.    25-26 in psalterio] *om.* OLG.    26 Syng] Syng ʒe LG.
26 in] on G.    27 syng[1]] syng ʒe LG.    27 hym] hym and G.    27-28 the trebyll]
a trebyll he L; the trebyll he G.    30 prosp*er*ite] profytt And LG.    31 to] for to LG.
32 witnessithe] witnessiþe well G.    32 proph*et*] holy p*ro*phet LG.    35 Then] And
þe; and þe*n* G.    35 and knyʒthode] *om.* O.    37 Knyʒthod] and knyʒthode LG.
38 and seythe] *om.* O.    38 seythe] seythe þus LG.    39 ʒow] ʒe L.    39 the] owre
G.    39 blisse] blys ʒe LG.    39 how] how þat LG.    40 to[1]] wit*he* L.    40 the]
theyre LG.    40 there] *om.* LG.    40 and] *om.* LG.    41 they take] taki þe L.
41 to] for to LG.    42 cownt*er* and] a cownter and L; a cownt*ur* G.    42 as for] *om.*
LG.    43 unto prayer] to prayers L.    43 and] and to L; and to other holy G.
43 many] And many L; But many G.    43 of hem] prest*is* G.    43 unto[2]] to LG.
44 ocupac*ion*] ocupac*ion*s LG.    44 of c*on*trarius lyvyng] *om.* G.    45 where it] þe
whiche p*er*teynethe nott (nott] *om.* G) to þe ordur of presthode Where as (as] *om.* G) it LG.
45 p*er*teynethe to] fallythe for G.    45 to[2]] for to L.    45 disposed] disposid *and* L;
disposid ffor G.    46 unto] to LG.    46 all] all his G.

holy as I am\holy. And the philosophir hathe a maner of seyng, and it is this,
'Non est· I 151r  dignus alios gubernare qui seip*sum* nescit vel necligit
corrigere.' He is not worthi to governe other that cannot governe hymselfe.
50    Therfore I cowncell ʒow be þe man*er* of this text that I spake of at þe
begynnyng to syng more better. Þat is to sey, ʒow that hathe offendyd and not
kept þe tenor of owre song in duw forme, amende it hereafter. 'Loquentes
vobismetip*sis*', *et cetera.*

Goo we now to the ordur of wedloke and lett us see whether they syng
55    the myddill p*ar*te of owre song well or no, and þat þei [syng] on the sawtre of x
stryng*is*  aryʒte *in* tuwne or no.  That is to sey, they kepe not the x
co*m*mawndement*is* as they scholde do.  Many of these ley pepyll dispise
p*re*sthode, ne they take none hede to þe worde of God.  They ʒefe no credens
to þe Scripture of almyʒti God.  Thei take more hede to these wanton proficijs,
60    as Thom*as* of Arsildowne [and Robyn Hoode], and soche sympyll maters, but
þei ʒefe not so fast credens [to] the  I 151v  prophett*is* of God, as Isaye,
Ieremye, David, Daniel and to al the twelve prophet*is* of God.  So then I sey
þese maner of pepyll syng not there p*ar*te as þei scholde do.  And therfore the
apostill Paule in þe Pistill of þis day seythe þus, 'Videte q*u*omodo caute
65    [ambuletis]'.  Se ʒe how warly ʒe schall go.  'Non quasi incipientes sed ut
sapientes.'  Not as unwise men but as wise men.  'Quoniam dies mali sunt.'
For thyne dayes ben ivell.  This scholde cawse ʒow to be p*er*fyter in þis p*ar*te
of the song.  And therfore I sey unto ʒow [as I seyde at þe begynnyng],
'Loquentes', *et cetera.*

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47 And] *om.* LG.    48 qui] q*ue* G.    48 vel necligit] vel necligi L; *om.* G.
49 other] oþer men LG.    49 governe] well amende L; governe *and* rewle G.
49 hymselfe] hym selffe *and* G.    50 þe¹] þis LG.    50 this] *om.* LG.    51
ʒow ... and] ʒe þat hathe G.    51 ʒow] all ʒe L.    52 forme] forme þen L.    54
whether] wheder þat LG.    55 well] well *and* truly LG.    55 no] none G.    55 syng]
*om.* O.    56 aryʒte] all ryʒte LG.    56 *in* tuwne] *and* tru LG.    56 or no] *om.* L.
56-57 they ... co*m*mawndement*is*] the x co*m*mawndement*is* (co*m*mawndement*is*]
co*m*mawndement*is* of god G) þei kep hem not LG.    57 Many] ffor many LG.
58 p*re*sthode] presthode gretly G.    58 none] no L.    58 God] god ne L.
59 almyʒti] *om.* LG.    59 God] god but LG.    60 Arsildowne] Arsyldowne L;
hersyldowne G.    60 and Robyn Hoode] *om.* O.    60 and¹] or L.    60 soche] soche
oþer LG.    61 fast] gret LG.    61 to] 'ad' as dothe O.    62 then] *om.* G.    62 sey]
may well sey þat LG.    63 p*ar*te] p*ar*te of song L; p*ar*te truly G.    63 the] the holy G.
64 Paule] paule seyþe LG.    64 seythe] *om.* LG.    65 ambuletis] ambulemus OL.
65 warly] warely þat LG.    65 go] walke G.    67 thyne] þe G.    67 ivell] evyll loo
G.    67 to] for to L.    67 be] be more LG.    68 the] *om.* LG.    68 I] I may LG.
68 as ... begynnyng] *om.* O; as I seyde ryʒte now L.    69 Loquentes] loque*n*tes
vobismetip*s*is G.

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70      The ordur of kny3thode syngethe also fer owte of tuwne. For as Valens rehersithe ad omne genus hominu*m*, he seythe þat kny3t*is* scholde in the prosp*er*ite of a lande as be þe handis in a naturall body. For the hondys of a man offer themselfe in all maner of p*er*rels that longethe to þe naturall body. So in like wyse kny3t*is* in þere | 152r  Repuplica scholde fy3te for the feythe

75      of Criste and ever defende the come*n* prosperite and prest*is*, and to protect, fortifye and pres*er*ve wedows in there ry3t.  But and they scholde do for a preste or a wedow and for soche act*is* as p*er*teynethe to there duty and to there ordur, they wyll not open there mowþes ne take non attendaunce ne no direcc*i*on to þere supportac*i*on but if case be that they may have a good palfrey

80      of plesaunce, or x pownde in a bag.  So they syng not [þe trebyll of] o*ur* song as they scholde do.  Therfore the apostill Paule in the Pistil of þis day seythe, 'Propterea nolite fieri inpruden*t*es, sed intelligentes que sit voluntas Dei'. Therfore nyll 3e [be] made unwyse but understondyng whiche is the wyll of God.  As who seythe, remember 3owreselfe in tho thyng*is* that p*er*teynethe

85      unto 3o*ur* degre that almy3ti God haþe calde 3ow | 152v  to and exsecute that, ffor therein is gret wysdome, and so schall 3e plese God.

        The maner of the disposic*i*on of these iij ordurs afore spoken of may well be exemplifyed be fygure of Scripture, what tyme that Moyses had brow3t the childern of Israell owte of þer owne plentowse cu*n*tre into the wrechednes and

90      thraldome of the Egipcians.  When they satt upon þe bankes of the floddes of Babilon, þei wept and made grete mone and sorow, seyng thus, 'Sup*er* flumina Babilonis illic sedimus et flevimus dum recordarem*ur* tui, Syon'.  We sitt and wepe upon the floddis of Babilone while we have thow3te of thi Holy Chirche. And the Egipcians seyde unto hem a3ene, 'Cantate nobis canticum de Syon'.

95      Syng 3e þe song*is* of clennes þat 3e sang whe*n* 3e were in Syon.  And these

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71 in] fy3te for LG.    72 as be] for þei scholde be as LG.    72 in] of LG.    74 So in lyke] on the same L; On þe same maner G.    75 defende] for to defende LG. 75 prest*is* and to protect] protecte prest*is* and LG.    77 or] or for G.    78 not] nott onys LG.    78 mowþes] mowthe LG.    79 they] he LG.    80 or] or ells LG. 80 So] and so L; But so G.    80 þe trebyll of] *om*. O.    81 do] do *and* LG. 81 seythe] seythe þus L; sey þus G.    83 nyll] nyl not G.    83 be] *om*. O. 84 3owreselfe] 3owre f selfe O; 3owre selfe well L.    85 unto] to LG.    85 almy3ti] *om*. LG.    85-87 exsecute . . . maner of] *om*. G.    86 gret] grete lernyng of L. 86 3e] 3ow L.    86 God] god and L.    87 iij] ij G.    89 and] and grete G. 90 When] whe*n* þat LG.    91 mone and] *om*. LG.    91 thus] unto hem selffe on thys wyse G.    92 tui] *om*. LG.    93 while] whyle þat LG.    93 of thi] on þi LG. 93 holy] holy 'day' L.    94 unto] to G.    95 whe*n*] whe*n* þat L.    95 these] þe G.

pepyll of Israel answerd aȝene thus, 'Quomodo [cantabimus]   | 153r
canticum Domini in terra aliena?' How schal we syng the swete song*is* [of
owre Lorde] in a strawnge cuntre beyng in thraldome? We may syng not ells
but 'lamentaciones, carmen *et* ve', the song*is* of sorow and woo and þe [dety]

100  of wrechednesse. Be these pepyl of Israell is understonde every cristen man
and woman beyng in soche ordur or degre as God hathe calde hym to. As
firste he hathe calde prest*is* unto prayer, chanons, monk*is*, ffreris, and all men
and wome*n* of holy religion, God hathe calde hem to co*n*templacion, to
wakyng and to prayng, *and* knyȝt*is* and other stat*is* of the temp*o*ralte, he

105  callythe hem to defendyng the co*m*men prosperite, marchaunt*is* in truw mesure
in biyng and sellyng, craft*is*men in þer ocupacion, and pore men to labor. But
it may be seyd that many of these hathe ben or els bythe now in þe thraldom of
the Egipcians, þat is to sey, the fende and all his felischipe, where as þei may
| 153v    sey unto hemselfe, 'Sup*er* flumina', *et* c*etera*. And the fende hathe

110  seyde unto he*m* aȝene, Cantate nobis', *et* c*etera*. That is to sey, þe pepil of this
londe but fewe ȝeris ago, þei were mo in comp*a*risone vertuesly disposed þen
there bythe nowadayes. And therfore the devyll skornethe us and seythe,
'Why syng not ȝe the song*is* of v*er*tues lyvyng as ȝe were wont to do?' And
therfore we may answere aȝene al hevely, 'Quomodo cantabimus', *et* c*etera*.

115      Therfore at þe rev*er*ence of God let us have a good consideracion of the
grete kyndnes of Criste and all these importuable and co*n*trarius lyvyng. And
lete us have ev*er*more in owre reme*m*braunce whether owre lyvyng be good in
every degre to the plesure of God or no, and doyng owre duty to God as the
blissed apostill informethe us in þe Pistil of this day and seythe, 'Gracias

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96 aȝene] and seyde L; aȝene *and* seid G.   96 cantabimus] cantabi O.   97-98 of owre
Lorde] *om.* O.   98 Lorde] londe L.   98 cuntre] cuntre *and* LG.   98 syng] syng syng
G.   98 not] no þing LG.   99 lamentaciones] lame*n*tacionis L; 'lam*en*t' lamentacionis
G.   99 and woo] *om.* LG.   99 dety] dett O.   100 Be] Now be LG.   100 cristen]
*om.* LG.   101 or] *and* G.   101 hym] hem L.   102 unto prayer] for to pray L; for to
pray *and* G.   103 hem] all þese G.   103 co*n*templacion] contemplacion *and* LG.
104 to prayng] *and* prayyng LG.   104 other] oþer grete LG.   104 stat*is*] astatys L.
104 he] god LG.   105 callythe] haþe callyd L.   105 defendyng] þe defendyng of LG.
105 prosperite] prosperite *and* LG.   105-06 mesure in] *om.* LG.   106 craft*is*men] *and*
crafty men L; crafty men G.   106 to] for to L.   107 may] may wel LG.
107 these] þese pepill LG.   108 the[1]] *om.* L.   108 sey] sey *in* þe thraldome of G.
108 fende] devyll L.   108 and] *and* of G.   108 his] *om.* L.   110 unto] to L.
110-11 this londe] the worlde L.   111 þei] *om.* L.   113 to] for to L.
114 answere] answere *and* sey G.   114 hevely] hevenly *and* sey L; hevenly G.
115 Therfore] *and* þerfore LG.   116 Criste] almyȝtti god G.   116-17 And lete us]
*om.* LG.   117 have] have we G.   117 whether] wheder þat LG.   117 be good] *om.*
LG.   118 degre] degre be LG.   118 no] none G.   118 and] *and* þen G.   118
owre] owre tru G.   119 blissed] holy L.   119 seythe] seyþe on þis wise G.

120      age*n*tes semp*er* pro omnibus in nomine Domini *nostri* Ihesu Cri*s*ti, Deo et
Pa*t*ri'. ·Eve*r*more doyng þankyng*is* for all [thyngis] in þe name of   | 154r
owre Lorde Criste Ih*e*su, to God and to þe Fad*ur*. 'Subiecti invicem in timore
Cri*s*ti.' Be ʒe soget togeder in the drede of C*ri*ste, as who seythe, be ʒe soget
all pepil to C*ri*ste. And all pepyll in there degre be soget to there soverens in
125      kepyng þe co*m*mawndement*is* of God, and so schall we plese God in this
present lyfe, and after naturall dethe com to that lyfe þat is most speciall. And
there schall we syng w*ithe* Ih*e*su, his aungels and all his seynt*is*, 'S*a*nctus,
S*a*nctus, S*a*nctus, Do*min*e De*us* Sabaoth.' To the whiche, *et cetera*.

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120 omnibus] omnibus nobis LG.     120 no*s*tri] *om*. G.     121 thyngis] thankyng*is*
OLG.     122 Criste Ih*e*su] ih*e*su criste LG.     124 all . . . Criste] to c*ri*st and all maner of
pepyll G.     124 pepyll] maner of pepyll L.     124 to[2]] un to G.     124 soverens]
sovereyne LG.     124 in[2]] in þe G.     125 we] ʒe G.     125 God[2]] *om*. L.     126
present] *om*. L.     126 and] þat L.     126 after] aftyr o*ur* L; aftyr ʒowre G.     126
naturall dethe] deþe naturall we may L; dethe naturall to G.     126-28 And . . . Sabaoth]
þat is to sey to þe kyngdome of heven L; in þe Ioye and blys of heven G.     128 c*etera*]
c*etera* Amen L.

## Commentary

1-2   *'Loquentes . . .'*: Ephesians 5.19, part of the day's epistle (Ephesians 5.15-21). The passage reappears at lines 52-53 and 69.

2-3   *Et . . . officio*: This formula is identical with that used, for example, at the beginning of the Trinity 7 sermon of this collection (O, fol. 80v). It is evidently related to the formula 'et instantis dominice evangelio', which is also commonly found (for example, at the beginning of the Trinity 4 sermon, fol. 64), and both are familiar, established homiletic turns of phrase; compare Hugh of St Cher's use of expressions such as 'et in evangelio currentis dominice', 'et in evangelio hodierno', or 'et in hoc officio pro themate' (see J. B. Schneyer, *Wegweiser zu Lateinischen Predigtreihen des Mittelalters* [Munich, 1965], p. 237). It is highly likely that these formulas were introduced either by the scribe, by some earlier compiler, or cumulatively by both, perhaps in an attempt to lend the collection unity. The appearance of the formula in the Trinity 7 sermon, a text which is for the most part an unnoticed re-working of sections of Richard Lavynham's *Litil Tretys* (see *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, edited by J. P. W. M. van Zutphen [Rome, 1956]), strongly suggests this conclusion.

3   *Speke ʒow*: Note that the oblique form of the personal pronoun has been used here. This is unusual at this date (see C. Barber, *Early Modern English* [London, 1976], pp. 204-05).

6-8   The three types of song are mentioned simply by way of information, and are not developed in any way. If the 'song of gostly contemplacion' (lines 8-9) refers back to the 'Canticum amoris visceralis' (line 7), as it would appear to do, then either there is a deep-seated corruption here in the text, or the author is being extremely free with his Latin. Perhaps the second possibility is the more likely. I have not been able to discover from where this threefold classification of song has been derived, but the nature of its expression is reminiscent of a late rather than an early medieval source. It may have originated in some *distinctio* collection or similar work, but I have not detected it in the following: Peter the Chanter, Simon of Boraston, Nicholas de Biart, Nicholas Gorham, John Bromyard, Mauricius, Jacobus de Voragine, the *Speculum laicorum*, the *Rosarium theologie*, the *Floretum*, and the *Pera peregrini* (the following Oxford manuscripts were searched

respectively: MSS Bodley 820, Bodley 216, Bodley 563, Bodley 427, Oriel College 10, Rawlinson C 711, Bodley 98, University College 29, Bodley 31, Bodley 55 and St John's College 109). The late Professor F. L. Harrison, in a private letter of 13 April 1987, informed me that he had not come across this particular classification in any medieval musical treatises.

9-14  These lines function as might a *processus sermonis*, an introductory summary of the subsequent matter to be treated. The tenor is the holding-part of a song, often a plainsong melody, against which the other two parts are improvised. Appropriately, the tenor is the line sung by priesthood. Wedlock and knighthood sing respectively mean and treble, the middle and top parts.

14  The expression 'stonde upon' in this line means 'expound'. This sense antedates the earliest *OED* example which is from the sixteenth century (see *OED*, *stand*, v., sub-sense 78k).

15  *dicitur attenendo*: The Latin may derive from the same unlocated source as the three divisions of song. The meaning of 'attenendo' (apparently a conflate of preposition *a + tenendo*, with ablative *-o* inflection) is unclear. The approximate sense would seem to be that the part of tenor is so called because it is the holding part of a song.

15  *grownde-settor*: The 'grownde' is the plainsong or melody on which a discant is raised, and the word is first recorded in this sense by the *OED* in 1592 (see *ground* sb., sub-sense 6c). This example is antedated by H. H. Carter, *A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms* (Indiana, 1961); see *Grounde*, sb., which he cites as *c*. 1500. The *MED* records no musical sense for *grownde*. Neither *OED*, *MED* nor Carter, *Dictionary*, record this compound.

18  '*Labia sacerdotis . . .*': Malachi 2.7; the words 'custodiunt' and 'requirunt' are possible variants in the Vulgate tradition.

21-22  Here is more evidence of the sermon author's acquaintance with technical, if elementary, musical theory. The rules of discant are the rules governing the singing of improvised part-music over a given tune; there are rules for deciding what intervals are allowable for the treble and mean to sing over a note in the tenor, hence

the reference in lines 30-31 that wedlock, singing the mean, shall not exceed ten notes from the tenor. (The fifteenth-century composer and theoretician Leonel Power, for example, allowed an interval of up to a fifteenth above the tenor, depending on the discanter's range. On the rules of discant, see also the treatises edited by S. B. Meech, 'Three Musical Treatises in English from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript', *Speculum*, 10 (1935), 235-69, and for a discussion of the history and use of discant in England, see S. W. Kenney, ' "English Discant" and Discant in England', *Musical Quarterly*, 45 (1959), 26-48.) I am obliged to Dr Richard Rastall and the late Professor F. L. Harrison for their musicological guidance with this sermon.

25-26 *'Cantate . . .'*: A conflation of excerpts of verses 2-3 of Psalm 32. Although OLG omit [in psalterio], its original presence is signalled by the fact that the subsequent translation (lines 26-27) assumes it.

28-29 Here the sermon author is either stretching the rule (Leonel Power gave an interval of a twelfth as the limit for the treble), or he is thinking of practice outside the church choir.

34 *'Cantate . . .'*: From one of four possible sources: Psalms 95.1, 97.1, 149.1 and Isaiah 42.10, though it is more likely to be one of the Psalms that the author has in mind.

36 *'Cantate . . .'*: I Chronicles 16.23.

38 *'Cantate . . .'*: Psalm 95.2.

42 *cownter and gemel*: These were popular singing styles, somewhat disapproved of by the Church until about the mid-fifteenth century. The *cantus gemellus* was a song in which two of the parts followed each other very closely, almost entirely in imperfect consonances. To sing in this style against the pre-existent tenor melody was to sing 'cownter'.

46 *'Estote sancti . . .'*: Either from Leviticus 11.44 or 19.2.

48-49 *'Non est dignus . . .'*: B. J. Whiting and H. W. Whiting, *Proverbs,*

*Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), item G407, first cite this proverb from the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, c.* 1450.

60   The line witnesses to the continuing popularity of Thomas of Erceldoune and Robin Hood. Tales of Robin Hood are singled out in one of the sermons of Jeffys's collection (MS Bodley 95, fol. 19), for example, as being one of the unprofitable pastimes of the people: 'Mony men wol leue fablesse rathyr than the gospell; remaunce of Robyn Hode leue*r* than Powles pystylles'. Robin Hood was to come in for criticism since his early appearance in passus V of *Piers Plowman* (*Piers Plowman*, edited by G. Kane and E. T. Donaldson [London, 1975], p. 331, line 395). But in spite of the censure, tales flourished. Pieces concerning Thomas and Robin appear side by side in Cambridge University Library MS Ff. V. 48, fols 119-35v (see J. A. Downing, 'A Critical Edition of Cambridge University MS Ff. V. 48 [unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1969], pp. 305-44). Presumably, the 'wanton proficiis' of lines 81-82, alluding to the stream of popular prophetic literature, are illustrated more particularly in the Thomas tales, not those of Robin Hood.  (See also *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, edited by J. A. H. Murray, EETS, os 61 [London, 1875].)

64-65   '*Videte* . . .': Ephesians 5.15.  The Vulgate adds 'itaque fratres' after 'Videte'.

65-66   '*Non quasi* . . .': Ephesians 5.15-16.

66   '*Quoniam dies* . . .': Ephesians 5.16.

70-71   *Valens . . . ad omne genus hominum*: The substance of these and the following lines is taken from the *De regimine vite humane* of John of Wales. Compare for example lines 71-76 with their ultimate source: 'Consequenter prosequendum est de illis qui se habent ad modum manuum in republica. Quales sunt milites. Manus enim respublice sunt homines militares. Qui conuenienter per manus significantur. Manus enim parate sunt ad adiuvandum de nature imperio.' [One should proceed in a suitable way concerning those who are situated in the state in the manner of hands. These are the knights. For the hands of the state are the military. These are fittingly represented by hands. For hands are ready to assist at

nature's command.] (*Summa Joannis Valensis de regimine vite humane* [Venice, 1496], fol. 58 col. b - 58v col. a.)

71   There is an apparent ellipsis in this line; presumably infinitive *be* is implied after the auxiliary 'scholde'.

79-80   *palfrey of plesaunce*: The sense of the collocation is presumably a palfrey kept for pleasure, on which to ride out for enjoyment.

82   *'Propterea . . .'*: Ephesians 5.17.

91-92   *'Super flumina . . .'*: Psalm 136.1. It reappears at line 109.

93   *thi*: This is probably a mistaken translation by the author of 'tui'. He seems to have rendered it as a possessive, which it most commonly is, and not to have appreciated that the verb *recordor* often takes an object in the genitive case.

94   *'Cantate . . .'*: Psalm 136.3. The Vulgate reads 'Hymnum' before 'Cantate'.

96-97   *'Quomodo cantabimus . . .'*: Psalm 136.4. It reappears at line 114.

99   *'lamentaciones . . .'*: Ezechiel 2.9. The Vulgate has a second 'et'.

119-21   *'Gracias agentes . . .'*: Ephesians 5.20.

122-23   *'Subiecti . . .'*: Ephesians 5.21.

127-28   *'Sanctus . . .'*: The first line of the *Sanctus*, deriving ultimately from Isaiah 6.3.

128   *To the whiche, et cetera*: A cue to the preacher to add the appropriate finishing prayer, as for example that written at the bottom of O, fol. 139v: 'To the whiche Ioye god bryng bothe ȝow and me that dyed for us on þe Rode tre Amen'. Sermon endings were frequently rhymed, and some, as the one cited from fol. 139v here, were widely current. Compare, for example, Oxford, MS University College 28 (s. xv med.), fol. 90 col. a, 'To yis kyngdom blissed ihesu bryng ȝow and me ye quilk

dyed for us on\ye rode tre'. And again, in a slightly different form in the Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 750 (s. xv$^2$), fol. 86v, 'to þat ioyȝe brynge ȝow he þat with his blod bowt vus on þe rode tre'. Or again, 'to þe wyche Ihesu bryng bothe yow and me þat dyyd for us on þe Rode tree', in BL MS Harley 2383 (s. xv$^2$), fol. 81v.

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**L (MS 51)**

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* = imperfect

## NOTES

[1] The *reportatio* of this sermon is given in *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Placite in Parliamento* 6 vols (no date) IV, 419. (S. B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* [Cambridge, 1936], p. 97, is mistaken in calling Cardinal Henry Beaufort the preacher of this sermon.)

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 95. See H. L. Spencer, 'The Fortunes of a Lollard Sermon Cycle in the later Fifteenth Century', *Mediæval Studies*, 48 (1986), 352-96; esp. pp. 356-59.

[3] On Stafford, see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-59), III, 1750-52. There is no evidence that Jeffys was University trained. In the case of Jeffys, we also have no absolute proof that he ever preached, but his sermon ownership, plus the obligation upon anyone with cure of souls to preach to his parishioners at least four times a year in accordance with the Lambeth Constitutions (endorsed and re-issued by Thomas Arundel in the Oxford Constitutions of 1409), constitute strong circumstantial evidence.

[4] R. Mohl, *The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (New York, 1933), pp. 97-139; also, G. Duby, *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire de féodalisme* (Paris, 1978).

[5] For useful discussion of the three estates in ME sermons, see G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* second revised edition (Oxford, 1961), pp. 548-59. V. J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971), pp. 264-70, has further examples and commentary.

[6] As a sermon on the theme 'Simile est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias', preserved in British Library MS Additional 41321 and Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 751, puts it (see *Lollard Sermons*, edited by G. Cigman, EETS, os 294 [Oxford, 1989], p. 86, lines 207-08).

[7] Bodleian Library, MS Holkham misc. 40, fol. 2v; capitalization and punctuation are added. There are many other examples in medieval sermon manuscripts, not least in the unorthodox preaching of the Wycliffite sect, whose followers also assented to classical estates theory (for example, see *English Wycliffite Sermons*, edited by A. Hudson [Oxford, 1983], p. 682, lines 29-32).

[8] Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 95, fol. 97v; capitalization and punctuation are added. The first sermon, from which this quotation is taken, one for the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity and on the epistle theme 'Confortamini in Domino et induite vos armatura Dei', deals with the first two estates, labourers and nobility. For lack of time, however, the preacher says he will leave discussion of the clergy till the following Sunday (see fol. 99r-v).

[9] It seems that the original sermon compiler made use of a treatise on the three estates witnessed in British Library MS Harley 2339 (see A. J. Fletcher, 'The Design of the N-Town Play

of Mary's Conception', *Modern Philology*, 79 (1981), 168-73; see p. 170, note 24). Alternatively, the treatise was derived from a sermon (or sermons), though I think this less likely. (A. Hudson, ed. *English Wycliffite Sermons* [Oxford, 1983], p. 122, has also noticed the appearance of similar material in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74, a manuscript to whose content that of Bodley 95 is intimately related; this relation is thoroughly discussed in Spencer, 'Fortunes of a Lollard Sermon Cycle'.)

[10] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, IV, 419.

[11] *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius*, edited by W. J. Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899), p. 40, lines 17-18: a kingdom must comprise 'gebedmen 7 fyrdmen 7 weorcmen'. The lines are not in Boethius's original.

[12] Noted by Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, pp. 551-52. It is found in BL MS Harley 268, fol. 29. Usurers are also included with them. (This manuscript, of the second half of the fourteenth century, contains an *Alphabetum narrationum*, plus other exempla; see J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London, 1910], III, 423-39 and 559-73).

[13] If its limited appearance is anything to judge by; I am as yet unaware of further cases of it. Of course, censure of middle-class vices follows in a literary tradition enjoying some currency, and to which *sermones ad status* made a small contribution (see D. L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* [Oxford, 1985], pp. 127-28). *Ad status* sermons addressed the failings of specific social groups, merchants sometimes included.

[14] R. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London, 1973), pp. 53-55, also notes that the theory was occasionally modified to take stock of the rise of new social classes, though he does not develop this point.

[15] A famous Renaissance case is Menenius's parable of the belly in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (see *Corialanus*, edited by P. Brockbank [London and New York, 1976], pp. 102-06, lines 95-154, and the notes thereon).

[16] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 522.

[17] *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-1389)* 2 vols, edited by Mary Aquinas Devlin, O.P., Camden Third Series, Vol. 85 (London, 1954), I, 111.

[18] In particular, of 'modern' sermon form; this form has been discussed in many places, but see notably R. H. and M. A. Rouse, *Preaching, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 65-90; the Rouses base their account on actual sermon practice. A survey of the form as given in the *artes predicandi* is given in J. J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 269-342.

[19] Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 549, calls the three groups of labourers in the Vineyard, inspired by the parable of that name, a 'favourite figure' of the preachers in this respect. This

overstates the case, however. While it is true that the widely circulated sermon of Thomas Wimbledon, preached originally at Paul's Cross, London, on the theme 'Redde racionem villicacionis tue' (either in 1387, 1388, or 1389), uses it, and that this sermon continues in popularity, to judge by the quantity of surviving manuscripts, well into the fifteenth century (an unnoticed, though partial, ME recension of it also exists in Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 180, fols 242-47v), the use of the analogy with vineyard labourers is not otherwise especially common (I note it also in *Lollard Sermons*, ed. Cigman, pp. 80-92). For the Wimbledon sermon, see N. H. Owen, 'Thomas Wimbledon's Sermon: "Redde Racionem villicacionis tue" ', *Mediæval Studies*, 28 (1966), 176-97.

[20] Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 649, fols 128v-33, has a sermon on the theme 'Qui navigant mare enarrent pericula eius' in which the clergy are the forecastle, the commonalty the middle of the ship, and the nobility the hindcastle.

[21] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Museo 180, fols 149-54; Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 51, fols 57v-63; and Gloucester Cathedral Library MS 22, pp. 668-77.

[22] Durham Cathedral Library MS Cosin V.IV.3. This manuscript contains only Advent, Lent and Passiontide sermons, plus a fragment of a sermon for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity which is more fully extant in the Oxford, Lincoln and Gloucester manuscripts. For a description, see A. J. Fletcher, 'A Critical Edition of Selected Sermons from an Unpublished Fifteenth-Century de tempore Sermon Cycle' (unpublished B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1978), pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

[23] See Fletcher, *Critical Edition*, pp. xlix-l.

[24] I am obliged to Professor M. L. Samuels for his comments on the language of the Lincoln and Gloucester manuscripts.

[25] That is, if it is fair to infer authorial intention from literary content.

[26] *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle*, edited by A. C. Cawley (Manchester, 1958), p. 48, ll. 186-89. Even here, however, it seems arguable how truly popular the terms might have appeared.

[27] See the notes on lines 57-58 of the text below. Since music was a higher art of the *quadrivium*, training in which might be less readily available in rural England, the musical knowledge of the sermon author may possibly suggest some urban training, and hence the further possibility arises that in composing such a sermon he might think first in terms of addressing an urban congregation.

[28] He does, however, broaden the picture of the estates towards the end of his sermon (see lines 146-49 of the edited text below), where he mentions by name merchants, craftsmen and labourers, but he does so only briefly.

[29] The first instance of the collocation of 'the order of wedlock' of which I am aware, which may antedate by a few years the first example in the *OED* and *MED* (Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*), is

in John Mirk's *Festial*, much of which was probably composed *c.* 1382-90 (see A. J. Fletcher, 'John Mirk and the Lollards', *MÆ*, 55 (1987), 59-66). See *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies*, edited by T. Erbe, EETS, es 96 (London, 1905), p. 216. Hoccleve, for example, sets 'þe ordres of prestehode and of wedlok' side by side in his *Regiment of Princes* (see *Hoccleve's Works*, edited by F. J. Furnivall, EETS, es 72 [London, 1897], p. 54, line 1478).

30 On the order of knighthood, see *MED*, *ordre*, subsense 8(a).

31 Only those in the lowest of ecclesiastical orders could marry.

32 *The Book of Margery Kempe*, edited by S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen, EETS, os 212 (Oxford, 1940), pp. 84-85. I am indebted to Professor Kathleen Ashley for reminding me of the growth in importance in the fifteenth century of the cult of St Anne. Anne was evidently valued amongst other things as a patroness of the married state. Compare the way she expresses herself in St Bridget's *Liber Celestis*: 'I ame Anne, ladi of all weddid folke þat were byfor þe lawe', and a little later where she teaches Bridget a prayer in which Christ is beseeched 'for þe praiers of Anne' to 'haue merci of all þame þat are in wedeloke or þinkes to be wedded'; see *The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden*, edited by S. Ellis, EETS, os 291 (Oxford, 1987), p. 467, lines 22-23 and 25-27 respectively.

33 I am not aware of other uses of this figure with such comparable elaboration.

34 Oxford, Oriel College MS 10, fol. 24, col. a; capitalization and punctuation are added. The passage is found in Bromyard's section on *civitas*.

35 *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De Civitate Dei Libri I-X*, edited by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 47 (Turnhout, 1955), p. 53, lines 18-24: 'Sic ex summis et infimis et mediis interiectis ordinibus, ut sonis, moderata ratione ciuitatem consensu dissimillimorum concinere, et quae harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu, eam esse in ciuitate concordiam, artissimum atque optimum omni in re publica uinculum incolumitatis, eamque sine iustitia nullo pacto esse posse' [Thus from its high, low and middle-ranking the city, when reason moderates, makes a concerted melody, like that coming from the sound of music. And that harmony which musicians say is present in song is, in the city, concord. Concord is the most perfect and best bond of security in every state, and without justice, as all agree, it is unable to exist]. Augustine is himself drawing on Cicero's *De re publica* at this point (see *De Re Pvblica*, edited by K. Ziegler [Leipzig, 1964], p. 79, lines 10-16).

36 See John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1986).

37 A simile like that in one of the ME sermons in Worcester Cathedral Library MS F.10 is introduced so casually as to suggest its currency: a tuneful harp is pleasing, a tuneless one distressing; so those who preach according to orthodox Church teaching make a merry melody, while those who do not, like Lollards, turn mirth and melody to mischief and mourning (see *Three Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter Manuscript F.10*, edited by D. M. Grisdale,

Leeds Texts and Monographs, 5 [Leeds, 1939], p. 41).

[38] Oxford, Oriel College MS 10, col. 23v, col. b; capitalization and punctuation are added.

[39] Nor is the psaltery advanced as a figure of the three estates. Rather, its use follows a tradition of interpreting the ten strings as the ten commandments. Augustine's ninth sermon on the Old Testament, which circulated also a treatise known as the *De Decem Cordis*, was an important carrier of this tradition. See *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento*, edited by C. Lambot, O. S. B., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 41 (Turnhout, 1961), pp. 132-34. This work is alluded to, for example, in *Dives and Pauper*, a vernacular treatise whose author also composed sermons (see *Dives and Pauper, Volume I, Part 2*, edited by P. H. Barnum, EETS, os 280 [Oxford, 1980], pp. 28-29, lines 55-64; on the *Dives* author as composer of sermons, see A. Hudson and H. L. Spencer, 'Old Author, New Work: The Sermons of MS Longleat 4', *MÆ*, 53 [1985], 220-38).

[40] Hereford Cathedral Library MS O.3.V, fols 90, col. b - 93, col. b. This manuscript, which contains a substantial sermon miscellany plus a portion of a Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, is written for the most part in one hand that dates to s. xv[1]. I am preparing a longer study of its sermon texts.

[41] Hereford Cathedral Library MS O.3.V, fol. 90v, col. a; I have expanded the Latin without notice. This sermon (fol. 92v, col. a) also makes an interesting philological observation in connection with the three estates: 'Dicitur vulgariter quod verbum non est nisi ventus. Per istum ventum possunt intelligi tria genera yd[i]omatum q[uibus] vtuntur in Anglia, scilicet, Anglicum, Latinum et Gallicum. Anglicum locuntur simplices et pauperes, Latinum clerici et scolares, Gallicum isti generosi [et] nobiles' [It is commonly said that a word is no more than wind. By this wind can be understood the three kinds of language which men use in England, and that is, English, Latin and French. Untutored and poor men speak English, clerics and scholars Latin and these gentlemen and nobles French]. I have expanded the Latin without notice.

[42] There existed in late-medieval England a general lay interest in and curiosity about church matters which various historical circumstances had combined to encourage. To give one example of a preacher's awareness of it: John Mirk includes in his *Festial* a 'sermo' (in fact it is less a sermon than a tract), a *Formacio necessaria capellanis*, to equip priests against the perverse curiosities of 'lewde men þe whiche buþe of mony wordys and proude in hor wit' (see *Mirk's Festial*, ed. Erbe, pp. 124-29). Such men, he says, will gladly question untutored priests about the liturgy, especially Passiontide liturgy, to embarrass them. The diminution of the orthodox view of priesthood by the Lollards would also have tended to blur some of the traditional distinctions between clergy and laity; one imagines the Trinity 20 sermon author would have found such blurring abhorrent.

[43] See edited text, lines 58-60.

[44] See the commentary on line 60 of the edited text.

[45] J. C. Holt, *Robin Hood* (London, 1982), pp. 152-58.

[46] See BL MS Harley 4894, fol. 182: 'nam vnitas ciuitatis nedum est in domibus aut in uicis sed vt omnes philosophi testantur, est in consensu animorum' [for the unity of the state exists not in its houses or its streets, but in the agreement of its minds, as all philosophers witness]. This occurs in Rypon's third sermon for the feast of St Mary Magdalene.

[47] Briefly described in F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster and N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1937), II, part II, 713, index no. 3635.

[48] I am obliged to Dr M. B. Parkes for his opinion on the hand of the O scribe.

[49] R. W. Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1953), I, 114.

[50] Compare on this E. Zeeman, 'Punctuation in an Early Manuscript of Love's Mirror', *RES*, ns 7 (1956), 11-18.

[51] Compare the common use of it thus in many early printed books (for example, early versions of Tyndale's Bible).

[52] Briefly described in R. M. Wooley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (London, 1927), pp. 25-26. (The collation given for MS 50 is incorrect.) More recently, see also R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 34-36.

[53] The fullest description to date is by K. I. Sandred, *A Middle English Version of the Gesta Romanorum* (Uppsala, 1971), pp. 11-24; see also N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1977), vol. II, 955-56, and *The Advent and Nativity Sermons from a Fifteenth-Century Revision of John Mirk's Festial*, edited by S. Powell, Middle English Texts, 13 (Heidelberg, 1981), pp. 11-13. D. S. Brewer, 'Observations on a Fifteenth Century Manuscript', *Anglia*, 72 (1954), 390-99, has several points of descriptive detail.

[54] An accurate collation, with page references, is given in Sandred, *Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 17-20.

[55] On the *Festial* connections of G, see A. J. Fletcher, 'Unnoticed Sermons from John Mirk's Festial', *Speculum*, 54 (1980), 514-22.

[56] It may have been inherited from his father, a clergyman and a manuscript collector; see Sandred, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 23.

[57] This is a curious form, but not the 'Rodulphus Wyllstart' that Brewer reads, 'Observations on a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript', p. 397. (Sandred, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 22, corrects Brewer, but reads himself 'Rodulphus Wyllstat'.) Neither is the equally curious 'Rorolandum' on p. 308 'Rowlandum' (Brewer, 'Observations', p. 397; Sandred, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 22, also reads this). Attempts to identify the Willets mentioned here have been inconclusive. Brewer, 'Observations', p.

398, has noticed the frequent occurrence of the name in sixteenth-century Gloucestershire. Sandred, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 23, n. 2, mentions additionally the appearance of the name in counties of the south-central and south-east Midlands.

[58] Brewer, p. 398, 'Observations', takes this to be Whaddon, Bucks. Sandred, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 22, mentions Haddon in Derbyshire as a possibility, but without advancing it as a localization.

[59] Sandred, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 13.

[60] As, for example, is John Jeffys's MS Bodley 95.

[61] The textual superiority of O over LG is argued in Fletcher, *Critical Edition*, pp. xl-lii.