Leeds Studies in English

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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'.

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.

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. 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, 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. 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'. As the ME Mirrur, the translation of Robert of Gretham's Miroir des évangiles, put it:

God ordeyneð þreo ordres in Holy Chyrche of wynnoures and defendowres and of assailyours. God haþ set þy wynners ferto feden al wyþ her trauayle, and þat ben þe comynne þepul; þe defendours, þat ben þe knyȝtes 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.

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'. The estates are imaginatively settled in the minds of the congregation by being compared to the conditions of the lark, the nightingale and the turtle dove respectively. 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. 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. 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. Not surprisingly, the exemplum seems not to have proved hugely popular. 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.

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. 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 Communalee 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]. 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.
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, 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. 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. This sermon, for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity on a theme conducive to a musical treatment ('Loquentes vobis metipsis in psalmis et ymnpis et canticis spiritualibus'), is at present known in three manuscript copies, and each is in the hand of the same scribe. 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. 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. He seems to have been trained to write in the south Bedfordshire area, somewhere towards the Buckinghamshire border.

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. 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\textsuperscript{26} - he also seems to know about rules of discant and the singing of \textit{cantus gemellus}.\textsuperscript{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 'pe ordur of wedlok'.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{29} Since each of the three classical estates could be referred to as an 'order' (the 'order of knighthood' is also commonly found),\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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. In the fourteenth century, John Bromyard, in his massive preachers' encyclopaedia, 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.

[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*. 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. The harp was a favourite for treatment in this respect. 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.

[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. His musical figure finds a much nearer parallel in a little-known fifteenth-century sermon manuscript preserved in Hereford Cathedral Library. 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]. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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, 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: 1-58, 67 (fols 41-47; wants one after 5), 7-128, 132, 144, 15-198, 206, 21-288, 295 (fols 213-17; wants three after 5), 30-378, 387 (fols 282-88; wants one after 6), || missing folios, probably one quire of 8 ||, 399 (fols 289-97; wants one after 2); 407 (fols 298-304; wants ? after 7), 416 (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. 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. 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. These manuscripts were conceivably written to be preached from directly.

L. Lincoln Cathedral Library MSS 50 and 51.

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: 17 (fols 1-7; wants one before 1), 2-48, || loss of one quire of 8 ||, 5-168, 176 (fols 127 [the second of the duplicated folios] -132; wants one before 1, one before 4), || loss of ? folios ||, 18-288, || 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. However, quire 16 (pp. 293-308) may be lacking a bifolium before the inner two pages thus:

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   299  300
      |   |
     301  302

   297  298
      |   |
     303  304

   295  296
      |   |
     305  306

   293  294
      |   |
     307  308
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(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. 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. 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'. 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. 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 Huntingdon 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. 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.
Editorial Method.

The Trinity 20 sermon is edited from O, with variants from LG recorded in the apparatus. 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: 1. 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'.

115
Dux et justus sed truncatus...

1. Sequentes rebus sunt i salutis
   et hymnis et cantibus corporalibus
   cantantur et psalmonium in consilio vestri
dominum. Hic episcopus comtur et ministrii
dominus apostolici officia. Speo quod ea
   remaneant in psalmonium et hymnis. Causa
   diversa sonum et sonum psalmonium
   motas sequuntur. Quod lucre. 7. Sed virum
   ponebioque et famulae potestatem
   restituisse potest ad se: Sed virum
   dedicat se. 8. Sed virum...
A Sermon on the Three Estates

O Text: Trinity 20

DOMINICA XXᵃ POST FESTUM SANCTE TRINITATIS

'Loquentes vobismetipso in psalmis et ymynis et canticus [spiritualibus], cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino.' Ad Ephesios, quinto. Et instantis dominice epistolari officio. Speke 30w to 30wreselfe in psalmys and ymynys and spirituall songys, syngyng and seyng psalme in 3owre herttis to the Lorde.

3e schal understonde that there bithe iij maner of songys. The first song is Canticum amoris visceralis. The secunde is Canticum dulcoris socialis. The therde song is Canticum honoris triumphalis. Firste I say thar is a song of gostly [contemplacion]. Now syne it is so that every song hathe iij partys, a trebil, a mene and a tenor, therefore I purpose with the gostly comforthe of almy3ti God to apply these iij partys of song unto he iij ordurs of the Chirche, the tenor unto presthode, the mene unto wedloke, 149v and the trebyll unto kny3thode. And þis is the mater with the Goddys grace and 30ur paciens that I purpose to stonde upon as at this tyme.

As for the first, dicitur attenendo. The tenor is grownde-settor and governore of every song. So is þe reverent ordur of presthode grownde-setter and governore of all Cristis law and faythe, as it is wretyn, Malachie secundo, 'Labia sacerdotis custodiunt scienciam et legem requirunt ex ore eius'. The lippis of a preste kepythe connyng and cristew pepil sechythe the law of God of his mowþe. And therefore this worshipfull ordur of presthode schall syng the tenor, and þe ordur of wedloke schall syng the mene. For he that syngethe after the ruel of discant schall not passe x notis frome the tenor. So in like
wise þu man or woman that art in þe sacrament of wedloke or els lyke to be,  
kepe þu þen 1150r the x commawndementis of God, for þat is inowȝe unto  
þi salvacion. For unto the it is seye, 'Cantate ei canticum novum, [in  
psalterio] decim cordarum psallite illi'. Syng unto owre Lorde a new song, in  
þe sawtur of x stryngis syng unto hym. The ordur of knyȝthod schall syng the  
trebill. For he that syngethe the trebyll may syng as hyȝe as his voyce will  
ȝefe him leve. So unto knyȝtis is ȝeven leve for to fyȝte for the feythe of  
Criste and for þe commen prosperite, for to defende prelatis and prestis of the  
Chyrche of God, and to defende wedowys in there ryȝte. And everychone of  
these iij ordurs syngethe unto other, as witnessithe the prophet David in the  
Sawtur. The ordur of presthode and the ordur of wedloke syngethe unto  
knyȝthode and seythe, 'Cantate Domino canticum novum'. Syng ȝe unto our  
Lorde a new song. Then presthode [and knyȝthode] syngethe unto 1150v  
wedloke and seythe, 'Cantate Domino omnis terra'. All pepill beyng in þe  
world syng unto owre Lorde a new song. Knyȝthod and wedloke syngethe  
unto presthode [and seythe], 'Cantate Domino et benedicite nomini eius'.  
Syng ȝow to the Lorde and blisse þe name of hym. But how they syng echone  
to oþer, I report me to the maner of there disposicôn and every ordur in his  
degre. For þei leve the syngyng of thre partis and they take upon hem to syng  
cownter and gemel, that is to sey, as for prestis of the Chyrche that scholde  
take hem unto prayer and contemplacion, many of hem taken hem unto  
temporal occupacion and to many other disposicions of contrarius lyvyng  
where it perteynethe to hem to be holy and ever graciously disposed, as Criste  
hymselfe seythe unto all prestis, 'Estote sancti sicut ego sanctus sum'. Be ȝe
holy as I am holy. And the philosophir hathe a maner of seyng, and it is this, 'Non est dignus alios gubernare qui se ipsum nescit vel necligit corrigere.' He is not worthi to governe other that cannot governe hymselfe.

50 Therfore I cowncell 30w be the maner of this text that I spake of at the begynnyng to syng more better. Dat is to sey, 30w that hathe offendyd and not kept the tenor of owre song in duw forme, amende it hereafter. 'Loquentes vobismetipsis, et cetera.'

Goo we now to the ordur of wedloke and lett us see whether they syng the myddill parte of owre song well or no, and hathei [syng] on the sawtre of x stryngis ary3te in tuwe or no. That is to sey, they kepe not the x commawndementw as they scholde do. Many of these ley pepyll dispise presthode, ne they take none hede to be worde of God. They 3efe no credens to be Scripture of almy3ti God. They take more hede to these wanton proficijs, as Thomas of Arsildowne [and Robyn Hoode], and soche symyll maters, but thei 3efe not so fast credens [to] the l 151v prophetitis of God, as Isaye, Jeremye, David, Daniel and to al the twelve prophetis of God. So then I sey thes maner of pepyll syng not there parte as hei scholde do. And therfore the apostill Paule in the Pistill of his day seythe his, 'Videte quomodo caute [ambuletis]'. Se 3e how warly 3e 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 30w to be perfyter in his parte of the song. And therfore I sey unto 30w [as I seyde at the begynnyng], 'Loquentes', et cetera.

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The ordur of kny3thode syngethe also fer owte of tuwne. For as Valens rehersithe ad omne genus hominum, he seythe þat kny3tis scholde in the prosperite of a lande as be þe handis in a naturall body. For the hondys of a man offer themselfe in all maner of perrels that longethe to þe naturall body. So in like wyse kny3tis in þere 1152r Republica scholde fy3te for the feythe of Criste and ever defende the comen prosperite and prestis, and to protect, fortifye and preserve wedows in there ry3t. But and they scholde do for a preste or a wedow and for soche actis as perteynethe to there duty and to there ordur, they wyll not open there mowbes ne take non attendaunce ne no direccion to þere supportacion but if case be that they may have a good palfrey of plesaunce, or x pownde in a bag. So they syng not [þe trebyll of] our song as they scholde do. Therfore the apostill Paule in the Pistil of þis day seythe, 'Propterea nolite fieri inprudentes, sed intelligentes que sit voluntas Dei'. Therfore nyll 3e [be] made unwyse but understondyng whiche is the wyll of God. As who seythe, remember 3owreselsef in tho thyngis that perteynethe unto 3our degre that almy3ti God hafe calde 30w 1152v to and execuse that, ffor therein is gret wysdome, and so schall 3e plese God.

The maner of the disposicion 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 cuntrê into the wretchednes and thraldome of the Egipcians. When they satt upon þe bankes of the floddis of Babilon, þei wept and made grete mone and sorow, seyng thus, 'Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus dum recordaremur tui, Syon'. We sitt and wepe uppon the floddis of Babilone while we have thow3te of thi Holy Chirche. And the Egipcians seyde unto hem a3ene, 'Cantate nobis canticum de Syon'. Syng 3e þe songis of clennes þat 3e sang when 3e were in Syon. And these
pepyll of Israel answerd a3ene thus, 'Quomodo [cantabimus] 1 153r canticum Domini in terra aliena?' How schal we syng the swete songis [of owre Lorde] in a strange cuntre beyng in thraldome? We may syng not ells but 'lamentaciones, carmen et ve', the songis of sorow and woo and þe [dety] of wretchednesse. Be these pepyl of Israel is understande every cristen man and woman beyng in soche ordur or degre as God hathe calde hym to. As firste he hathe calde prestis unto prayer, chanons, monnis, ffrreres, and all men and women of holy religion, God hathe calde hem to contemplacion, to wakyng and to prayng, and kny3tis and other statis of the temporalte, he callythe hem to defendyng the commen prosperite, marchauntis in truw mesure in biying and sellyng, craftismen in þer ocupacion, and pore men to labor. But it may be sayd that many of these hathe ben or els bythe now in þe thraldome of the Egipcians, þat is to seye, the fend and all his felischipe, where as þei may l 153v sey unto hemselfe, 'Super flumina', et cetera. And the fend hathe seyde unto hem a3ene, Cantate nobis', et cetera. That is to seye, þe pepil of this londe but fewe 3eris ago, þei were mo in comparisone vertuusly disposed þen there bythe nowadayes. And therfore the devyll skornethe us and seythe, 'Why syng not þe the songis of vertuus lyvyng as þe were wont to do?' And therfore we may answere a3ene al hevely, 'Quomodo cantabimus', et cetera. Therfore at þe reverence of God let us have a good consideracion of the grete kyndnes of Criste and all these importuable and contrarius lyvyng. And lete us have evermore in owre remembranunce whether owre lyvyng be good in every degre to the pleasure 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

agents semper pro omnibus in nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, Deo et Patri'. Evermore doyng thankyngis for all [thyngis] in thame name of owre Lorde Criste Ihesu, to God and to thame Fadur. 'Subiecti invicem in timore Cristi.' Be 3e soget togeder in the drede of Criste, as who seythe, be 3e soget all pepil to Criste. And all pepill in there degre be soget to there soverens in kepyng thame commawndementis of God, and so schall we ples God in this present lyfe, and after naturall dethe com to thame lyfe that is most speciall. And there schall we syng with Ihesu, his aungels and all his seyntis, 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Domine Deus Sabaoth.' To the whiche, et cetera.
A Sermon on the Three Estates

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 jow:* 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 *Ground*, 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
tnotes 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 dis canters 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 rathyrr than the gospell; remaunce of Robyn Hode leuer than Powles pystyles'. 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 humanae 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 militares. Manus enim respublice sunt homines militares. Qui conueniuntur 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 30w and me that dyed for us on be 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 kyngrdom blissed ihesu bryng 3ow and me ye quilk

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dyed for us on ye rode tre'. And again, in a slightly different form in the Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 750 (s. xv²), fol. 86v, 'to þat ioyʒe brynge ʒow he þat with his blod bowt vus on þe rode tre'. Or again, 'to þe wyche Ihesu bryng bothe yow and me ðat dyyd for us on þe Rode tree', in BL MS Harley 2383 (s. xv²), fol. 81v.
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**Church Dedication:** * fols 308/09-311v

**Sermon(s) unidentified:** * fols 305-07v

* = imperfect

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NOTES

1 The reportatio of this sermon is given in Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Placite in Parlimento 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.)


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.


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.


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.


16 *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 522.


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
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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"', Medieval 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.


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

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 ordibus, 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 uinulum incomplitatis, 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 Publica, 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,
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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 Augustiini 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. xv1. 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 nisi ventus. Per istum ventum possunt intelligi tria genera yd[ì]omatum q[ui]bus utuntur in Anglia, scilicet, Anglicum, Latinum et Gallicum. Anglicum locuntur simplices et paperes, Latinum clericen 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 capellantis, to equip priests against the perverse curiosities of 'lewde men be whiche bupe 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.

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

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

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
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

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.
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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.


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.