A Macaronic Sermon Collection from Late Medieval England

Edited and Translated by

PATRICK J. HORNER

The reforming decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had a profound impact on many aspects of parochial life in late medieval Europe, none more so than the decree that bishops (or their designates) preach regularly to their Christian flock. So successful was the result of this effort that in England, for example, the period from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century is regarded as the golden age of medieval preaching there.

This volume provides editions (and modern translations) of twenty-three sermons from Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 649, one of the most important and unusual sermon manuscripts from that period. The sermons are all written in a highly unique macaronic blend of Latin and Middle English, a phenomenon recently examined by Siegfried Wenzel in *Macaronic Sermons* (1994). Wenzel's study, however, contained an edition of only one sermon from this manuscript. In offering a complete collection of sermons, this volume provides readers with an opportunity to explore in greater detail the entire oeuvre of the Bodley 649 preacher, in all likelihood a Benedictine monk trained at Oxford in the early fifteenth century. In addition to their linguistic interest, these texts reveal a highly skilled practitioner of the scholastic sermon, a staunch defender of traditional religious belief and practice (especially in the roles of clergy and laity), one who is capable of rhetorical flourishes aimed at spiritual conversion but who also bluntly and repeatedly attacks the Lollards as the cause of evil in England and jingoistically celebrates King Henry V as the heaven-sent deliverer of the Church and the realm.

The introduction contains a paleographical description of the manuscript, its date and provenance, and surveys the structure and form of the sermons, their sources, content, and style. The twenty-three edited sermons are presented with facing-page translation and apparatus. A bibliography and indexes of scriptural references and of classical and medieval authorities cited in the sermons complete the volume.

This collection is intended not only for students and scholars of medieval sermons, but also those interested in bilingualism, the history of pastoral and devotional theology, and the ecclesiastical and political history of late medieval England.

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For
SIEGFRIED WENZEL

and in honor of the late
ROSS ROBBINS and BERYL SMALLEY

A trinity of generous scholars

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The publication of the collection of macaronic sermons found in MS Bodley 649 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, brings to completion a project that has occupied my scholarly interest for many years. Over that period, I have received, from individuals and institutions, many forms of assistance for which I express deepest thanks. My greatest debt – one which goes far beyond the confines of scholarship – is to Rossell Hope Robbins (and his wife Helen Ann) who introduced me to the study of medieval manuscripts. I first became aware of MS Bodley 649 through the kindness of Beryl Smalley, a revered scholar, who graciously befriended many younger medievalists working in Oxford. My early study of the manuscript's provenance and contents was greatly assisted by Roy M. Haines and John W. McKenna. Several years later, when I was considering editing the sermons, I was encouraged by Siegfried Wenzel who offered to help as the work went on. True to his word, he has been the presiding patron of this effort, devoting hours to checking transcriptions and discussing details of every kind. Without his many labours this work would have never been completed, and whatever merit it has is largely a result of his generosity and expertise.

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Abbreviations

Books of the Bible are cited using the standard abbreviations. Citations to primary sources adopt conventional divisions of the work, supplemented, where necessary, by parenthetical reference to the modern edition used. Full details of all primary and secondary sources are provided in the Bibliography.

CCL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
EETS os	Early English Text Society, original series
IMEV	*The Index of Middle English Verse*
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
New *IMEV*	*A New Index of Middle English Verse*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PG	Patrologiae Graeca
PL	Patrologiae Latina
Tubach	F.C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*
Walther	Hans Walther, *Proverbia, sententiaeque latinitatis Medii Aevi*
Wenzel O	followed by numeral: "O: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 649," inventory of sermons in Siegfried Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, pp. 160-5
Whiting	Bede Jere Whiting and Helen Wescott Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500*

Introduction

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 649, a manuscript of Benedictine provenance from the first half of the fifteenth century, contains two sets of sermons. The first set, the subject of this edition and translation, is a homogeneous collection notable for its twenty-three macaronic, that is, linguistically mixed sermons (in this case, a mixture of Latin and English).

These sermons have attracted considerable scholarly interest during the last century. G.R. Owst cited extensively from the collection in his pioneering studies of sermon literature in medieval England, *Preaching in Medieval England* (1926) and *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (1933). Subsequently, Roy M. Haines used the collection as the basis for a series of essays that discuss aspects of social, ecclesiastical, and political history in early fifteenth-century England, notably the preacher's strong condemnation of the heretical Lollards and his patriotic fervor for King Henry V. In earlier articles, I have extended these lines of inquiry by showing that the preacher's attitudes on these two issues were part of an evolving ecclesiastical strategy for defending the privileges of the Church. Most recently, Siegfried Wenzel, turning to an entirely different subject, has studied this collection as a prime example of macaronic sermons. But, despite this scholarly attention, and the evident importance of the sermons, no one has yet edited the full collection of macaronic texts.[1]

This edition of these sermons offers the opportunity for scholarly investigation in a number of fields. First, the collection presents a fairly large corpus of "modern" or "university" sermons, that is, sermons following the structural and rhetorical principles laid out in the *artes praedicandi*, the handbooks of homiletics developed in the later Middle Ages. While individual sermons from this genre have been edited, there are few, if any, collections of such sermons from

1. The information presented here summarizes the analysis provided in Falconer Madan, H.H.E. Craster, et al., *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols. in 8 (Oxford, 1895-1953), 5: no. 2293 and in several critical studies. See, in particular, Roy M. Haines: "'Wilde Wittes and Wilfulness': John Swetstock's Attack on those 'Poyswunmongeres,' the Lollards," *Studies in Church History* 8 (1971), 143-53; "Church, Society and Politics in the Early Fifteenth Century as Viewed from an English Pulpit," *Studies in Church History* 12 (1975), 143-57; "'Our Master Mariner, Our Sovereign Lord': A Contemporary Preacher's View of King Henry V," *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976), 85-96; *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages* (1979; Toronto, 1989), pp. 201-21. Patrick J. Horner: "Benedictines and Preaching in Fifteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Two Bodleian Library Manuscripts," *Revue Bénédictine* 99 (1989), 313-32 (NOTE: since the publication of this essay, I have adopted the foliation used by Wenzel in *Macaronic Sermons*, cited below, which more clearly represents the facts of the manuscript); "'The King Taught Us the Lesson': Benedictine Support for Henry V's Suppression of the Lollards," *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990), 190-220. Siegfried Wenzel: *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, 1994); *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2005).

late medieval England in print. A study of the sermon collection as a whole enables more intensive examination of a preacher's application of such principles over an extensive body of work and an analysis of the ways in which he adapts well-known motifs and commonplaces (such as the ship of state and the pillar of the temple) or uses familiar anecdotes and examples. Such study can serve as the basis for comparison with the types of preaching espoused by the Lollards or John Mirk.

The collection also affords important theological perspectives, in as much as it shows the efforts of one orthodox Catholic preacher in explaining and defending Church doctrine on the sacraments, especially the Eucharist and Penance; on matters of belief, especially the Creed; and on various devotional practices, especially prayers for the dead. The preacher is also at pains to emphasize the divinely ordained role of the clergy in theological investigation and liturgical activities and to warn against the unwise intrusion of laypeople, especially lay women, into such roles. These views place him, as he himself repeatedly remarks, in vehement opposition to the Lollards whom he regards as the single greatest threat to the proper functioning of the Church and, indeed, to the stability of the kingdom of England. In recent years, the work of Anne Hudson and other scholars has made Lollard thought more widely available. This collection, at least to some degree, offers a contrasting, orthodox view.

The sermons provide insights into other important theological and devotional matters. For example, the preacher devotes considerable attention to practical pastoral theology in his discussions of how confessors should treat penitents. And his vivid exhortations to his listeners to unite themselves with Christ's suffering on the cross may reflect the impact of the mysticism current at the time. The corpus of sermons, then, gives scholars a valuable conspectus of orthodox Catholic belief and practice in fifteenth-century England, one that supplements the wide-ranging data supplied by Eamon Duffy in *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992; 2nd ed. 2005).

As both Haines and I have argued, the preacher's opposition to Lollardy extends well beyond the realm of theology into politics. In a series of laments, he argues that recent military setbacks to England are the result of its failure to extirpate the heresy that undermines the moral fabric of society. Among other evils, he pays great attention to the Lollard efforts to take away the Church's "possessions," a reference to the long-standing controversy about clerical disendowment. And he particularly singles out John Oldcastle, the putative leader of an uprising against the crown in 1414. These threats have been thwarted by King Henry V, whom the preacher celebrates as an exemplary moral, political, and military leader. This extensive commentary on contemporary affairs offers the kind of primary evidence that Paul Strohm has recently used to analyze the cross-currents of Lancastrian politics in *England's Empty Throne* (1998).

As noted above, these sermons are preserved in a highly unique macaronic mixture of Latin and English, a linguistic feature that Siegfried Wenzel has

thoroughly studied in his recent *Macaronic Sermons*. While Wenzel relies heavily on MS Bodley 649, which he acknowledges as "the most notable" of the manuscripts he analyzes, he prints the text of only one sermon from the collection. This edition of all twenty-three macaronic sermons offers extensive evidence of this unusual bilingual phenomenon.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Bodleian Library MS Bodley 649 (*Summary Catalogue* no. 2293) is a parchment volume of 216 folios (and three additional leaves). The manuscript is written by a single hand, in a cursive blend of Anglicana and Secretary forms that was developed by university scribes early in the fifteenth century. The orange tint of the hair sides of the parchment and the metallic, dark-brown ink are characteristic of Oxford manuscripts as are the flourishes used in decorated initial letters.[2]

The codex measures 230 x 145/150 millimeters, the writing space 140/146 x 100, each leaf having ruled margins. The collation is as follows: I^{12} (medieval ff. 1—12), II^{12} (13–24), III^{12} (25–37, no 33), IV^{12} (38–49), V^{12} (50–61), VI^{12} (62–73), VII^{12} (74–85), $VIII^{12}$ (86–97), IX^{12} (98–110, no 99), X^{12} (111–122), XI^{12} (123–134), XII^{12} (145–156), $XIII^{12}$ (157–168, 164 twice, no 165), XIV^{12} (169–180), XV^{12} (181–192), XVI^{12} (193–204), $XVII^{12}$ (205–216), XVIII (217–228). Some medieval foliation remains (as indicated above) as well as occasional evidence of quire signatures (quires a-t); quire m (ff. 135–144) is wanting.[3] The missing quire, which may have been lost or never included in the codex, divides the contents of the manuscript, sermons, into two distinct sets (set 1: nos. 1–25, ff. 1–133; set 2: nos. 26–45, ff. 145–227).[4] Set 1, the subject of this edition, consists of twenty-five sermons, 2 in Latin, the remaining twenty-three in a highly unique macaronic mixture of Latin and English (using the criteria established by Wenzel).[5] For the most part, they are devotional Lenten sermons intended for an audience containing both clerics and laypeople. They are noteworthy for their Benedictine provenance, their strong anti-Lollard attitude, and their fervent endorsement of King Henry V as the

2. These conclusions, based on the work of Malcolm Parkes and Jean Destrez, are cited in Horner, "Benedictines and Preaching."

3. The analysis of the physical description of the manuscript agrees with that of Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, p. 160, but has been independently confirmed. For Wenzel's discussion of the manuscript's contents, provenance, etc. see *Macaronic Sermons*, pp. 49-53 and, more recently, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 84-7.

4. Besides the sermons, the manuscript contains two hymns in Latin (ff. 111v-12v): one for the Trinity ("Salue festa dies toto venerabilis euo/Qua laudant trinum cuncta creata Deum"), the other for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin ("Salue festa dies toto venerabilis euo/Qua genitrix Deica sumitur ad superna"). These hymns are printed in Clemens Blume, *Die Hymnen des Thesaurus Hymnologicus H.A. Daniels* II: *Die Hymnen des 12-16. Jahrhunderts*, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 52 (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 32-3 (Trinity), 59-61 (Assumption).

5. On the criteria for such macaronic sermons, see Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, p. 22; for his judgment on the number of such sermons in MS Bodley 649, see p. 51.

defender of the Church and the savior of the realm. (All of these characteristics will be discussed below.) Set 2 contains twenty sermons, all but three entirely in Latin, the remaining three with limited use of English (usually as translations of a sermon theme, a biblical quotation, or the organizational structure of the sermon). The sermons are intended for a variety of occasions throughout the church year, Sundays as well as saints days, but without any discernible order. In contrast to the set 1 sermons, they are, for the most part, addressed to general audiences, loosely organized, popular in style and generic in content; above all, they lack the macaronic characteristics of the sermons of set 1. Wenzel has also noted that, stylistically, the sermons of set 2 are reminiscent of the work of the "classicizing friars" and that several of them have other suggestions of Franciscan authorshipy.[6] In addition, he notes that five of the sermons in this set also appear in other sermon manuscripts of the period.[7] Wenzel concludes that MS Bodley 649 is a "mixed collection," that is, one containing a homogeneous group of sermons (set 1) as well as a miscellaneous group (set 2).[8]

DATE, PROVENANCE, AND AUTHORSHIP

Besides the paleographical features noted above, internal evidence indicates that the sermons (at least those of set 1) were composed in the first half of the fifteenth century. In addition to pervasive anti-Lollard remarks, including punning references to Sir John Oldcastle (Sermons 22 and 24), there are specific references to King Henry V as the current monarch in at least five sermons, one of which (Sermon 25) may have been a farewell for the king before his departure for France in June 1421.[9]

In an addition to the 1602 catalogue of the Bodleian Library (Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Q. e. 31, f. 117v), the sermons are attributed to John Swetstock, whose name, according to the *Summary Catalogue*, could once be read on folio 8 and still appears, in abbreviated fashion, on folio 48.[10] Nothing further is known of Swetstock, and it appears likely that he may have been the scribe, not the author. Several references identify the anonymous author as a Benedictine: he laments the Lollards' efforts to seize "our possessions" (Sermons 6 and 24) and praises the Benedictines (Sermon 25). In Sermon 8, he associates himself with Oxford University, presumably as a student, and perhaps also as a faculty member.[11] These Benedictine and university connections are strengthened by the fact that four sermons in MS Bodley 649 also appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 706:

6. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 86; for the "classicizing friars," see Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960).

7. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 86-7.

8. Ibid., p. 84.

9. Sermons 6, 15, 22, 24, 25; see Haines, "'Our Master Mariner," 86 n9 and 87.

10. See Haines, "'Wilde Wittes,'" 144 and nn3-4 and "Church, Society and Politics," 144 n2.

11. Haines, "Church, Society and Politics," 144 n5, and Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, pp. 50-1.

MS Bodley 649	*Sermon Theme*	*MS Laud misc. 706*
Sermon 5 ff. 27–34	"Iesus" (Matt 15:21)	f. 71ar-v (incomplete)
Sermon 12 ff. 74–79v	"Pontifex introiuit in sancta" (Heb. 9:11)	ff. 5v–12v, 63
Sermon 15 ff. 91–96v	"Exiuit de templo" (John 8:59)	ff. 63–70v (incomplete)
Sermon 19 ff. 106–107v	"Vestiuit pontificem" (Leviticus 8:7)	ff. 140v, 137–138v (incomplete)

As with MS Bodley 649, the physical features of this Laudian manuscript (script, parchment, ink, and decoration) indicate that it was written in the first half of the fifteenth century, probably at Oxford.[12] It is made up of several booklets written by a number of scribal hands, was bound at the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter's, Gloucester, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and, according to an *ex libris* (f. 181v), belonged to John Paunteley, a monk of that abbey, "sacre pagine professor" at Oxford around 1410, and the author of a funeral sermon in 1412 for Abbot Walter Froucester of St. Peter's.[13] The contents of the manuscript are almost exclusively sermons,[14] thirty-three of them, most in Latin (with some occasional English words), three in English (with occasional Latin, especially biblical quotations), and the four macaronic sermons noted above. The sermons are for a wide variety of occasions: liturgical – Sundays, feasts, and especially Lent (but not a fully organized set for the season); monastic – for a visitation of a house and for a general chapter; and two commemorating prominent deceased persons – the funeral sermon for Abbot Froucester and a "sermo obiti" for Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.[15] The Benedictine provenance suggested above is strengthened by internal references within the sermons, especially to St. Benedict, but also to St. Alban.[16] Several sermons use forms of address appropriate for university audiences (for example, "Reuerendi domini et magistri") and two refer to a university.[17] Finally, the three sermons in English contain strong attacks on the Lollards[18]

12. For Wenzel's discussion of the Laud manuscript, see *Macaronic Sermons*, pp. 53-5 and *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 88-90.

13. For an edition of the sermon, see Horner, "A Funeral Sermon for Abbot Walter Froucester of Gloucester (1412)," *The American Benedictine Review* 28 (1977), 147-66.

14. The last quire of the manuscript contains two scientific treatises, one of which is ascribed to John Chilmark, an Oxford scientist of the late fourteenth century. The treatises, the first entitled "De actione elementorum " ("Ponatur quod b. aqua incipiat agere in A. ignem ...") and the second which begins "Ponatur iste casus quod A. sit unus ignis summus ... ," are listed in Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (1937; rev. aug. ed. Cambridge, MA, 1963), 1058.

15. For an edition of the sermon, see Horner, "A Sermon on the Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick," *Traditio* 34 (1978), 381-401.

16. St. Benedict: ff. 29v, 88, and 143v; St. Alban: f. 149v. For further discussion, see Horner, "Benedictines and Preaching," 319 and Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, p. 54.

17. University audiences: ff. 80v, 129. See also Horner, "Benedictines and Preaching," 319 and Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, p. 54.

18. Lollards: ff. 102r-v, ff. 144-5v, ff. 159, 160v. For further discussion, see Horner, "Benedictines and Preaching," 319-20, esp. n33.

and one other sermon refers to a recent English triumph in Normandy, probably under Henry V.[19] All these factors taken together – the paleographical similarities, the evidence of Benedictine and university provenance, the anti-Lollard sentiments and the patriotic support for Henry V, and the unusual macaronic character of sermons in both manuscripts (and especially the four sermons common to both) – suggest that the two manuscripts are closely connected. Furthermore, John Paunteley's ownership of the Laud manuscript, his connections to Oxford University, and his authorship of the funeral sermon for Abbot Froucester make it at least possible that he may have been the author of other sermons in the Laud manuscript and, perhaps then, also the author of the macaronic sermons in set 1 of MS Bodley 649.

THE PREACHER'S AUDIENCES

In his work on these sermons, Haines noted, in summary fashion, that they were intended for a clerical audience.[20] Wenzel has modified that view, suggesting that they seem to be aimed at "clergy and laity at once." In support of that position, he has noted a number of sermons that contain direct address to each group (for example, Sermons 2, 10, 13).[21] Similar addresses to a multiple audience can be found, for example, in Sermon 3: "Sed vos curati (But you curates) ... Et tu, terrea bestia illiterate (And you, unlettered earthly creature) ..." and in Sermon 12: "Clama ad curatum (Cry out to the curate). ... Sed quando veniunt ad confessionem, tacent, nesciunt (But when they [sinners] come to confession, they are silent, they are ignorant). ... Quando ita est, oportet vt tu ludas Ezechielis parcellum et aperias ostium ipsemet (When this is the case, you [confessor] must play the role of Ezekiel and open the door yourself)." There is even in one instance a suggestion of a newly emerging group, the literate layperson, for in Sermon 16 the preacher speaks to "tu qui es laicus et licet bene litteratus (you who are a layman and even so quite literate)."

However, this complexity of audience goes beyond forms of address to appear in content and expression as well. In Sermon 6, for instance, the preacher at one point offers a brief explication of the Arian and Sabellian heresies against the unity of the Trinity, but then a little later in a discussion of a credal issue he urges his listeners to "cape substanciam tui credo and linque subtilitatem clericis (Take the substance of your creed and leave the subtlety to the clergy)." Again, in Sermon 24, for the feast of the Assumption, the preacher can refer to the theological debate about Mary's assumption, warn "qui es excellens clericus (you who are an excellent cleric)" that "non sufficit ... residere in studio (it is not sufficient for you to residere in a study)," but then, a few lines later, repeat his injunction to the laity, "Serua te infra limites, et scias qui sunt (Keep yourself within the boundaries, and know what they are)." The

19. See f. 94v.
20. Haines, "'Wilde Wittes,'" 145 and "Church, Society and Politics," 144.
21. Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons,* pp. 51-2.

level of discourse is shifting between nuances appropriate for a learned group and those appropriate to a less educated audience. As Wenzel notes, where might such a complex audience be more likely to appear than in a university setting, a setting that may also be suggested by the preacher's use of scholastic terminology – for example, "moue tales questiones (discuss the kinds of questions)" and "congruenti racione (in accord with reason)" – and his references to the study of the liberal arts (Sermons 3, 6, etc.)

THE MACARONIC CHARACTER OF THE TEXT

Siegfried Wenzel has argued extensively and convincingly that the sermons of Bodley 649 possess the distinctive characteristics he has identified for all genuinely macaronic sermons Here I will simply attempt to summarize his conclusions. The presence of English goes well beyond the traditional and limited use: the glossing of technical or idiosyncratic words; the translation of scriptural theme and/or other authorities, the translation of structural elements such as the division. Instead it extends from words (including all parts of speech) to phrases, clauses, and sentence-length units. These units are not always self-contained, at times moving from Latin to English (or vice versa) across syntactic boundaries with no apparent reason, what in linguistic terms is called "code-switching."[22] Indeed, the number and range of fundamental syntactic and stylistic features demonstrate,[23] according to Wenzel, that the "purely mental conception of the sermon was expressed bilingually," that the sermon writer is "functionally and fluently bilingual."[24] He also suggests that "one can make a fairly good case that these macaronic sermons were written for audiences that would have been capable of understanding their linguistic mixture in oral delivery,"[25] audiences to be found especially in university or monastic settings (and very much the milieu associated with Bodley 649).

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE SERMONS

The sermons of set 1 follow the structural principles laid out for a "modern" or "university" sermon in the *artes praedicandi*.[26] The table below shows the major structural elements in all but the two Latin sermons.

22. Ibid., p. 113.

23. For an analysis of a variety of syntactic and stylistic expressions, see Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, pp. 81-104.

24. Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, p. 112.

25. Ibid., p. 125.

26. For standard discussions of the form, see Etienne Gilson, "Michel Menot et la technique du sermon médiéval," in *Les idées et les lettres* (Paris, 1932), pp. 93-154 and Thomas M. Charland, *Artes praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhetorique au moyen âge* (Paris, 1936). Recent discussions include James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 310-55, Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 61-100, H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 228-68, and Nicole Bériou, "Les sermons latins après 1200," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 363-447, esp. 370-82.

Sermon	Theme	Occasion	Blessing	Translation	Protheme	Prayer	Division	Conclusion
1	1 S L++ Epistle	No	No	Verse	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	1 S L Gospel	No	Yes	Pr/Ver	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
3	2 S L Gospel	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
4	2 S L Gospel	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
5*	2 S L Gospel	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
6	3 S L Gospel	No	No	Verse[1]	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
7	3 S L Gospel	Yes	Yes	Prose	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	4 S L Gospel	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
9	4 S L Gospel	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
10	4 S L Gospel	No	No	Verse[2]	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
11	4 S L Gospel	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
12*	Passion Epistle	No	No	Verse[1]	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
13	Passion Epistle	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
14	Palm S Gospel[3]	No	No	Verse	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
15*	Passion Gospel	No	Yes	Verse[4]	Yes[5]	Yes[6]	Yes	Yes
16	Gospel	Yes[7]	No	No	No	No	Yes	No[8]

Sermon	Theme	Occasion	Blessing	Translation	Protheme	Prayer	Division	Conclusion
17	Prov.	No	No	Verse	No	No	Yes	No[8]
18	17 Trinity Gospel	Yes	No	Prose[9]	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
19*	Levit.	Yes[10]	No	Verse[11]	No	No	Yes	No[8]
22+	1 S L Gospel	No	Yes	Verse[12]	Yes[5]	Yes[6]	Yes	Yes
23	Job	Yes[13]	Yes	Verse[12]	Yes[5]	Yes[6]	Yes	Yes
24	Gospel	Yes[14]	Yes	Verse	Yes[5]	Yes[6]	Yes	Yes
25	Eccl.	No	Yes	Pr/Ver	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes

* These sermons also appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 706.

\+ Sermons 20 and 21, are not macaronic and are omitted from this analysis.

++ 1 S L= First Sunday of Lent, etc.

1 The English verse translation appears at the beginning of the sermon and, along with the theme, is repeated after the protheme.

2 There is no protheme, but after the call for prayer the theme is repeated and followed by a translation in English verse.

3 The theme – "Ece rex venit" (Matt. 21:5) – may well be taken from the reading for the Palm Sunday procession.

4 The theme is restated and then translated in English verse after an abbreviated call for prayer.

5 In this sermon, the protheme follows the (abbreviated) call for prayer.

6 The (abbreviated) call for prayer precedes the protheme.

7 The preacher notes that he has chosen his theme for the feast of St. Mark but could have chosen it for "missam principalem de ieiunio (main Mass of the Fast [Day]" (Rogation Day).

8 The sermon is incomplete, stopping abruptly.

9 After the protheme, the theme is restated and translated into English.

10 The preacher applies his theme to St. Birinus.

11 An English verse translation of the theme follows the division of parts.

12 After the call for prayer the theme is restated and translated into English verse.

13 The preacher notes that the occasion is the funeral of "insignis miles dominus John D (the noteworthy soldier, Lord John D)."

14 The occasion is the feast of the Assumption and the sermon is preached at a "venerabile collegium et capitulus Sancti Francisci (venerable college and chapter of St. Francis)."

The majority of the sermons, particularly Sermons 1–14, seem to form a devotional course for Lent with multiple sermons (on different or the same themes) from the first Sunday of the season through Palm Sunday. The remaining sermons are more miscellaneous in occasion – three feast days, two Sundays, a funeral, a valedictory for Henry V. This difference is also reflected in the structure of the sermons. While all of them show the influence of "modern" sermon form discussed in the *artes praedicandi*, those for the Lenten course display a highly organized structure and reveal a considerable degree of rhetorical knowledge and skill. As the chart indicates, each of them starts with a theme chosen from scripture (typically from one of the readings for the particular liturgical occasion.) A few also have an opening blessing (Sermons 2, 4, 7, 15). In all but one case (Sermon 10), the theme (or blessing) is followed by an elaborate protheme, for example, in Sermon 1, the Israelites' battle against Amalek with Moses praying on the mountain (Exodus 17), or in Sermon 6, the angel descending from heaven (2 Maccabees 11). These scriptural scenes are usually related to one of the words of the theme, as, for instance, the warrior angel in Sermon 6 is prompted by the "Fortis armatus" of the theme. On two occasions, however, the protheme is taken from natural science or lore: Sermons 9 (the enmity between eagle and serpent) and 14 (the properties of a magnet).

The protheme is, then, applied or moralized to a current situation or the needs of the audience, leading, in turn, in some of the sermons to an explicit or implicit call for prayer. While these calls to prayer are usually generic in nature, and sometimes abbreviated in form ("in ista oratione, etc"), a few are more specific: Sermon 8, in which the protheme compares the woman clothed with the sun (Revelation 12) to the university of Oxford and then prays for the spiritual rebirth of that beloved institution; Sermon 22, in which the preacher asks his audience to pray for "in speciali, fortem et potentem columpnam huius templi, florem tocius milicie, militem Dei, ligium dominum nostrum qui nunc est (especially, the strong and powerful pillar of this temple, the flower of all chivalry, the warrior of God, our liege lord who now is)"; and two occasional sermons – for a funeral (Sermon 23), and for the feast of the Assumption (Sermon 24), where the preacher prays for "in speciali venerabile collegium et capitulum Sancti Francisci sacre professionis (especially the venerable college and chapter of St. Francis)."

After the protheme and prayer, the theme is restated and then formally divided, almost invariably,[27] into three parts. So, for example, a key word "dies" in the theme of sermon 1 – "Nunc est dies salutis (Now is the day of salvation)" – produces a division into three "days": the day of the sun, the day of the moon, and the day of Mars. Or, as in Sermon 6, the idea of the theme, "Fortis armatus custodit atrium (The strong man, fully armed, guards his court-

27. Sermons 18 and 25 are divided into two parts, and Sermon 22 has a three-fold division, but that structure does not seem clearly delineated as the sermon is developed.

yard)," leads to a division of the three means by which a strong defender can protect his house: the shield of faith, the helmet of hope, and the breastplate of love.[28] One of the hallmarks of the set 1 sermons, especially those in the Lenten course, is the elaborate nature of these divisions, usually written in a mixture of Latin and English that emphasizes syntactic parallelism and end-rhyme. The best illustration is a quotation, from Sermon 2, whose theme is "Assumpsit eum in civitatem (He took him into the city)":

> Precipua fortitudo et defensio huius ciuitatis stat in tribus turribus: prima turris est misericordia tui et *ista turris est tibi nedful*; secunda turris est misericordia pauperis et *ista turris est tibi spedeful*; tercia turris est misericordia tui hostis et *hec tibi est mydful*. Bonum est *tibi tui misereri* et saluare te in prima turri a morte [eterne] dampnacionis. Expedit *tibi misereri egen[i]* et iuuare eum in secunda turri in mundi miseria et tribulacione. Meritorium est *tibi tui misereri inimici* et remittere sibi in tercia turri omnem veterem iram et indignacionem. In qualibet turri est vna porta ad intrandum ciuitatem: *porta* in prima turri est pura et aperta *confessio*; *porta* in secunda turri est ruth and *compassio*; *porta* in tercia turri est caritatiua *perfeccio*. þe grounde huius sermonis fundatur in scriptura sacra, 2o Paralipomenon XIIII, vbi sic, "Edificemus ciuitatem et roboremus eam turribus et portis." Edificemus ciuitatem misericordie super riuum Christi passionis alto muro et profunda fossa, et roboremus eam fortibus turribus et portis. Pro combinacione partium et processu sermonis, dico primo: |f. 9v| fuge in ciuitatem, tu homicida, per portam pure confessionis et salua te in prima turri a morte eterne dampnacionis; intra ciuitatem, tu auare, per portam of ruth and compassioun et iuua pauperem in secunda turri in mundi miseria et tribulacione; et adhuc intra ciuitatem, tu vindex homo, per portam caritatiue perfeccionis et remitte inimico in tercia turri omnem veterem iram et indignacionem. Si *misereris tui* isto modo peccata *deserendo*, *misereris egeni* elemosinam *conferendo*, *misereris tui hostis* iniurias *remittendo*, Christus te *assumet in ciuitatem* misericordie sue, quia vt dixi primitus,
>
> "Ho so mercy doth for Goddis sake,
> In to [the] cite of mercy he schal be take." [emphasis added]

> The special strength and defense of this city stands in three towers: the first tower is mercy towards yourself, and this tower is necessary to you; the second tower is mercy towards the poor, and this tower is advantageous to you; the third tower is mercy towards your enemy, and this is meritorious for you. It is good for you to show mercy towards yourself and to save yourself from the death of eternal damnation in the first tower. It is useful for you to show mercy to the needy one and to assist

28. These methods of division, that is dividing the thematic words themselves and dividing an idea generated from the words, are called, respectively, *intra* and *extra*. See Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, p. 77.

> him in the misery and tribulation of the world in the second tower. It is meritorious for you to show mercy to your enemy and to forgive all the old anger and indignation against him in the third tower. In each tower is one gate for entering the city: in the first tower the gate is pure and open confession; in the second tower the gate is care and compassion; in the third tower the gate is perfect charity. The ground of this sermon is established in sacred scripture, 2 Chronicles 14, where thus, "Let us build a city and strengthen it with towers and gates." Let us build the city of mercy upon the stream of Christ's passion with high wall and deep moat, and let us strengthen it with strong towers and gates. For the combination of parts and the development of the sermon, I say first: flee into the city, you murderer, through the gate of pure confession and save yourself from the death of eternal damnation in the first tower; enter the city, you greedy one, through the gate of care and compassion, and help the poor in the misery and tribulation of the world in the second tower; and further, enter the city, you vengeful man, through the gate of perfect charity and forgive your enemy all the old anger and indignation in the third tower. If you show mercy to yourself in this way by deserting sin, if you show mercy to the needy by giving alms, if you show mercy to your enemy by forgiving injuries, Christ *will take you into the city* of his mercy, for as I said earlier,
>
> "Who so mercy does for God's sake,
> Into the city of mercy he shall be take[n]."

The complex expansion of the division (a city's three towers, with three entrances, to be used by three kinds of people, for three spiritual reasons)[29] combined with the macaronic rhyme, and the reference to technical terms ("combinacione partium et processu sermonis") give a highly formal, almost ornate, appearance to the sermon's structure.[30] The "principal" parts set out in the division are then developed by a variety of means, each section being set off by a clear structural marker.[31] Often within each section, further "subdivision" is used. So, for example, in sermon 1, the sinner who desires to resist the devil's temptation on the sun-filled day of grace must be armed with the sword of confession, the lance of contrition, and the shield of satisfaction.

29. This development of sets of triads as part of the division is known as *correspondentia*. See Charland, pp. 299-306 and Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons,* p. 78.

30. It should be noted that while the norm is a division into three parts, in Sermons 1, 2, 8, 10, 14, and 24 the preacher develops only the first part of the division, sometimes signalling the curtailment with a phrase such as, "Dixi primo et principaliter et pro nunc finaliter (I said first and principally, and for now, finally)." This phenomenon of abbreviating a sermon is noted by Wenzel, *Preachers*, p. 83 and also by Mary O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511* (Toronto, 1997), who refers to such practice as the "English method" (pp. 26-7).

31. In some cases (Sermons 1, 2, 8, 10, 14, and 24) not all three divisions are developed. In each case, the preacher notes the curtailment of the development.

The structural formality described so far is also evident in conclusions, especially in the use of the so-called *unitio partium,* in which a new scriptural text with verbal connections to the theme is introduced as a way of tying together the principal parts of the sermon.[32] Once again, quotation is the best illustration. (Sermon 5, on the theme "Jesus"):

> Sed ex quo sicut predixi þoru my3t and vertu angeli celestes pascuntur so daynteliche, terrestres homines sanati ita graciuslich, et demones inferni victi ita potenter, "in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur celestium terrestrium et infernorum," Ad Philippenses [2], "Fal eueri creature on kne in nomine Iesu celi, terre, et inferni." Et infernorum falle euery fende on kne and drede þe almy3ti prince Iesu, quia sue armatura lucis erant victi, sicut dixi primo principali; terrestrium fal eueri mon on kne and lowe þe al witti leche Iesu, quia sui surrippo sanguinis nos sanauit, sicut dixi in secundo; celestium falle euery angel on kne and worschip þe algodli lord Iesu, quia sue dulcedine Deitatis pascuntur, sicut dixi in tercio. þus to loue and drede þis worthi Lorde and in his loue sic ducere nostram vitam mortalem quod post hanc pasci possimus with his daynte Deitate in gloria, Iesus vobis concedat et michi qui pro nostra salute suum sanguinem effudit in cruce. Qui cum patre, etc.
>
> But since as I said before through might and virtue the heavenly angels are fed so deliciously, earthly men are healed so graciously, and demons of hell conquered so powerfully, "at the name of Jesus every knee should bend in heaven, on earth, and under the earth," Philippians 3, "Let every creature in heaven, earth, and hell fall on knee at the name of Jesus." And fall every fiend of hell on knee and dread the almighty prince Jesus, for by his armor of light they were conquered, as I said in the first principal; fall every man on earth on knee and love the all-wise leech Jesus, for by the syrup of his blood he healed us, as I said in the second; fall every angel in heaven on knee and worship the all-good lord Jesus, for by his sweetness of godhead they are fed, as I said in the third. So, may Jesus grant to you and to me to love and dread this worthy Lord and in his love thus to lead our mortal life so that after this we can be fed with his delicious godhead in glory, he who for our salvation poured out his blood on the cross. Who with the Father, etc.

The remaining sermons – that is, those that are not apparently part of the Lenten course – (Sermons 15–25) – show elements of the same structural devices but in a much less systematic way. For example, four of these sermons (Sermons 15, 22, 23, and 24) place the call for prayer before the protheme.

32. Wenzel discusses this device in *Preachers*, pp. 73-4 and also in *Macaronic Sermons*, pp. 74-5.

Sermons 17 and 19 have no protheme or call for prayer, instead moving directly from theme to division of parts. Sermon 16, before beginning its thematic discussion, offers a paraphrase of the scriptural text from which the theme is taken.[33] So, while these sermons are still clearly part of the overall unified set 1 (esp. because of their macaronic style, as well as the persistent animosity towards the Lollards, the repetition of stories and set-pieces, and other aspects to be discussed below), these structural differences, the variety of occasions, and the incomplete nature of three texts (Sermons 16, 17, and 19) give this part of the set a more miscellaneous quality.

SOURCES: SCRIPTURAL, CLASSICAL, SCHOLASTIC

Scripture The sermons, as one would expect, make frequent use of scripture, with more than 150 references to the Old Testament and more than 100 to the New. These include, of course, the scriptural phrases used as sermon themes, as well as brief passages cited as prooftexts or exhortations. Also of note are the use of longer excerpts usually as moralized prothemes. For example, from Revelation, the woman clothed with the sun (representing Oxford in Sermon 8, the human soul in Sermon 11); the heavenly warrior (representing Christ in Sermon 5, Henry V in Sermon 6); the book of seven seals (representing the 7 deadly sins in Sermon 4) and from Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the fruitful tree (representing human society in Sermons 3 and 14). Finally, prominent issues discussed in the sermons are associated with certain biblical scenes, images, and figures. For example, Moses' ascent of Mt. Sinai while the Israelites gathered down below (Exodus 19) is used in Sermons 13, 16, and 24 as the image for the proper roles of clergy and laity in matters of theology. The effort at spiritual and moral renewal that every Christian must undertake is represented, in Sermons 12, 13, 15, and 19, by symbolic descriptions of the temple and the high priest drawn from the book of Leviticus and the Letter to the Hebrews. Finally, the deadly effect of sinfulness on the soul is compared, in Sermons 1 and 7, with the mortal illness of king Hezekiah (2 Kings), in Sermon 6, the spiritual enemies fighting against the Christian soul are epitomized by king Antiochus (2 Maccabees), and in Sermon 2, Joshua's capture of Jericho (Joshua 6) is a symbolic blueprint for genuine repentance. These examples of the preacher's practice – evident also in his choice of other sources – suggest that for him the Bible was as much a source of visual images as of text, a repository of scenes and images that could be "read" (interpreted) figuratively to advance his moral or catechetical aims.

Classical and Patristic When we turn to classical sources, we find many of the standard authorities used in familiar ways as sources of wisdom, informa-

33. The protheme of Sermon 18, the story of the thievery of Achan (Joshua 7), concludes with a similar reference to a literal recitation of the biblical passage: "Ista est historia et veritas secundum sonitum littere (This is the story and truth according to the sound of the letters)."

tion, and anecdote. On matters of physical science, especially the functioning of the atmosphere, Aristotle is cited. For other matters of natural science and marvelous phenomena, the preacher relies on Pliny and Solinus. Military and political affairs come principally from Frontinus and Valerius Maximus, philosophical wisdom from Seneca and Secundus, and myth from Ovid.

Patristic sources, used primarily for their influential interpretations of scripture and authoritative formulations of Christian doctrine, are dominated by Augustine (and pseudo-Augustine), but there are also references to Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, John Chrysostom and Bede. Boethius is also referred to several times, especially, as one would expect, the wheel of Fortune. Early church history comes from the *Tripartite History* attributed to Cassiodorus.

Scholastic and Contemporary Once again, when it comes to scholastic authorities, the preacher relies primarily on a small group of well-known figures. On biblical, spiritual, and theological matters: Peter Comestor, Bernard, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas; from the encyclopedists: Isidore, Vincent of Beauvais, Rabanus Maurus, and, especially, Bartholomaeus Anglicus. He makes occasional reference to John of Salisbury, Hugh of St. Victor, and Helinand de Froidmont. More recent, and particularly English, sources include Robert Grosseteste and Thomas Bradwardine. More numerous, and of greater significance for the preacher's visual imagination and methodology, are materials drawn from the fourteenth-century "classicizing friars" Robert Holcot and Thomas Ringstead. The former's *Moralitates* and commentary on *Wisdom*, and the latter's *Postillations on Proverbs* are the sources for many of the emblematic "pictures" that the preacher incorporates into the sermons and for which he provides a moralized interpretation.[34] Finally, in all but a handful of sermons, the preacher also employs the traditional anecdotal exempla taken directly or indirectly from well-known compilations such as the *Gesta Romanorum,* the *Vitae Patrum*, and from the tales attributed to Jacques de Vitry, Caesarius of Heisterbach and others. Since his sermons are already rich in detail from his use of biblical scenes and moralized "pictures," he seems to limit himself to one (on a few occasions two) such exempla, usually placed climactically near the end of the sermon or of one of its divisions.

MOTIFS, TOPOI, EXEMPLA

As one would expect of a set of sermons intended largely for Lent, one of the preacher's dominant themes is personal repentance and spiritual renewal. Such transformation must begin with a recognition of sinfulness, sparked by reflection on the sinful tendencies of human beings that are classified as the seven deadly sins. So, for example, in Sermon 2, the Israelites marching seven times

34. For discussion of Holcot and Ringstead, see Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 133-202 and 211-20 respectively.

around the city of Jericho (Joshua 6) becomes symbolically an examination of such sins. Similarly, in Sermon 4 they are the seven seals of the scroll (Revelation 5), in Sermon 5, the devil's weapons, and in Sermon 9, the wild beasts encountered by any pilgrim traveling through the desert of this world. While for the most part the preacher inveighs against familiar examples of pride, avarice, lust, and sloth, he seems to have a particular concern with sins of the tongue – flattery, detraction, and backbiting are singled out for denunciation in more than six texts (Sermons 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13 and 15).

Once a person has recognized his sinfulness, he must seek forgiveness by receiving the sacrament of penance through oral confession of sin to a priest. In light of the Lollard challenges to priestly functions, the phrase "Go to your curate" (or on occasion a metaphoric equivalent, as in Sermon 1: "Go to our clockmaker, your curate") becomes the preacher's constant refrain. Of course, the preacher readily acknowledges that confession alone is insufficient; it must be accompanied by an attitude of devout contrition, and a firm intention to amend one's behavior. As he says, metaphorically, in Sermon 1, for success in this spiritual warfare, the Christian must have a sword (confession), a lance (contrition), and a shield (satisfaction). And those who fail to admit their fault and genuinely repent of it are like the players in Blind Man's Buff who blame others but never themselves (Sermon 13) or the sinner who naively believes that confessing by itself, without sorrow and amendment of life, is sufficient to save him from damnation (Sermon 22). Instead, the sinner must find the means for true contrition by melting a heart hardened by sin, through mystical participation in Christ's passion. For example, in Sermon 8, the nails from the cross are used to strike the spark of spiritual devotion, and in Sermon 13, the sinner washes himself in the blood flowing from Christ's wounded side. These efforts at stirring contrition are encouraged by Christ himself whom the preacher portrays as pleading lyrically from the cross for the sinner's repentance (Sermons 1, 8, 10, 23).

But the preacher wisely understands that a truly repentant confession also demands proper attention from the confessor and so in several sermons (some of which contain the injunction, "Go to your curate") he offers specific suggestions to curates about how best to carry out their pastoral duties. In Sermon 12, for example, he discusses how a confessor must probe the consciences of penitents who all too often become reluctant to acknowledge their sins. But coupled with that, the confessor must use discretion in these examinations and even more so in assigning an appropriate penance (Sermons 10 and 12). Beyond the confessional, priests must show similar discretion in the choice of preaching topics – not choosing esoteric matters of theology, but those that lead their listeners to true devotion (Sermon 10).

Of course, the preacher is keenly aware that the spiritual journey of an individual Christian is part of the larger story of salvation history. And so, in many Sermons (3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 23, for example), he invokes the crucial role of

"our forefather Adam" who squandered his heavenly inheritance and became the slave of sin. In the perennial struggle with sin that followed, man found himself helpless until Christ, armed as the heavenly warrior (Sermons 5 and 6) came to fight on man's behalf and free him from sin by submitting willingly to the fatal wounds of the crucifixion (Sermon 14). The decisive victory having been achieved, man must still gird on his own spiritual armor (Sermons 1, 4, 6) or don his pilgrim's garb (Sermon 9) or prudently sail the turbulent sea (Sermons 4, 6, 10, 23, 25) on his way to salvation.

Despite the dangers or difficulties man faces, the preacher assures his audience again and again through exhortation, authority, and anecdote that they can rely on God's mercy as long as they also remain mindful of God's justice (Sermons 4, 7, 8, 10, 14). This dual awareness will guarantee that they will never fall prey to the last and most dangerous snare of the devil, despair (Sermon 18).

Clearly the spiritual themes and doctrinal positions articulated by the preacher are entirely orthodox. So, too, are his positions on broader theological and devotional matters. In several texts (especially Sermons 6, 14, and 16), he defends the integrity and power of the Eucharist, the efficacy of oral confession, the legitimacy of papal power, and the value of devotional practices, such as veneration of the saints and their images, almsgiving, indulgences, and pilgrimage, positions which, needless to say, put him at odds with the Lollards.

These issues, important though they are, take a secondary position to the preacher's overriding preoccupation about those, Lollards and others, who, in his view, willfully and heedlessly go beyond the limits of their own knowledge and ability – even beyond the capacity of natural reason itself – to meddle in matters of faith. His constant warning, a refrain that echoes in more than half the sermons, is "Fly not too high (Sermon 14)," "Wade no further (10)," "Stay within your limits (6)." He counsels his audience to be like the Israelites, who remained at the foot of Mt. Sinai while Moses alone ascended the mountain to partake of the mysteries of divinity (13 and 16). Like the Israelites, his listeners should hold fast to the essentials of faith, which are summarized in the Creed. In fact, it is the Creed which becomes the principal doctrinal consideration of the sermons, being explicated fully in one (19) and briefly in others (12 and17), and compared elsewhere to the twelve signs of the zodiac (7), the precious stones in the breastplate of the high priest (12), and the stars in the crown of the woman clothed with the sun (8 and 11). This emphasis on the rudimentary tenets of the Creed and these admonitions against straying beyond one's proper limits may seem like blatant, and oft-repeated, anti-intellectualism, attitudes particularly incongruous in sermons intended, as noted above, for a university or monastic audience. However, it may be argued that the preacher is trying to delineate the proper relationship between faith and reason. For instance, in explicating Ezekiel's vision of the four flying beasts (Ezekiel 1), he notes that human reason can use the seven sciences to investigate natural phenomena but warns that matters of faith exceed even such capacities, and so,

humans must be wise enough to remain within their proper sphere of competence (6). A variation of that theme is his oft-repeated admonition that salvation depends on belief and behavior not just expertise in the liberal arts (for example, Sermon 3). Such a reminder about the fundamental relationship between faith and any intellectual achievements may be uniquely appropriate in a university setting, especially in the Oxford of the early fifteenth century, where the long-time categories of cleric and secular, literate and lay were facing challenge and change.

When we turn from specific Lenten themes and other religious issues to the sermons' description of broader social and political life at the time, we find that the preacher sees the England of his day in dangerous straits.[35] Using the perennial topos of the ship of state on several occasions, he laments that the once powerful and beautiful English craft, which frightened the fleets of France and Spain, is now itself in danger of being overrun by "the little fishing boat of Wales."[36] These political misfortunes – these turnings of Fortune's wheel – the preacher attributes to the moral decay in all segments of the realm. Each of the traditional classes of society bears its share of the blame: the clergy who, metaphorically, should be the helmsmen of the ship, the stars in heaven guiding the Christian people, have forsaken their pastoral duties and turned to lives of immorality, especially in pursuit of wealth; the nobles who, metaphorically, should be the strong hindcastle of the vessel supporting Church and kingdom, no longer defend the Church and fail to provide her material support given in the past, pursuing instead their own glory and self-interest at the expense of others; and the commons, that is the artisans and merchants, tradesmen and farmers – metaphorically, the body of the ship – have abandoned their social and religious obligations, surrendering to lust and laziness.

However, this moral view of the universe, a philosophical outlook espoused by preachers throughout the ages, is quickly overshadowed by this preacher's outrage at the Lollards, the "foundation of perversity" (Sermon 2), "the venomous serpent of hell" (9), "the devil's chief messenger" (3), and, extending his earlier ship metaphor, the "cursed storm" (11) that has imperiled the once-invincible ship of England. One reason for the Lollards' success is the manner in which they present themselves (3): "wrappet in sanctitate, inuidia colorata innocencia, et falsitas slipit in verbis pictatoris (wrapped in holiness, envy colored in innocence, and falsehood polished in painted words)." Unfortunately this hypocrisy has given greater credence to their attacks on the clergy, especially the "poor friars" and the "possessioners," making it more difficult for the clergy themselves to extirpate the heretics. Of particular concern to this

35. Once again these issues have been discussed at length by Haines and myself and here I will summarize the arguments for those unfamiliar with them.

36. For a more extended discussion of the preacher's adaptations of this topos and similar treatments of the "pillar of the temple" and the "miles Dei" topoi, see Horner, "'The King Taught Us the Lesson,'" 206-16.

Benedictine preacher are the theoretical arguments, deriving from Wyclif himself, and the practical maneuvers that the Lollards and some of their noble sympathizers have employed in an effort to strip the Church of its temporal riches.[37] To prevent such a calamity, the preacher leaves little doubt that extreme measures are needed. Using the story of Achan, the thief who desecrated Joshua's victory at Jericho (Joshua 6), he demands that any who would despoil the temple of God of its rightful treasures should be burned – clearly an allusion to the 1401 decree, *De heretico comburendo* – or stoned (Sermons 2 and 18). Accomplishing this holy objective has proven extraordinarily difficult because, as the preacher punningly notes, the "vetus castrum diaboli (the old castle of the devil)" has grown seemingly invincible (Sermons 6, 22, 24). Fortunately, God has sent a "fortis armatus (warrior fully armed)," a "celestis miles (heavenly soldier)" (6), Henry V, to fight Oldcastle and his sect (22) and to drive them out of the temple of God (15).[38] In the preacher's eyes, Henry's actions in defense of the Church and the true faith have re-established England's proper relationship to God, and so by the power of God – "Sicut he hath qwyt Deo, Deus sibi retribuit (Just as he treated God, so God has responded to him.)" – England's armies, led by Henry, have been restored to their earlier earthly glory "ad acerbum bellum de Achyncourt (at the bitter battle of Agincourt)."

COMPOSITIONAL TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

Finally, let us turn to what one might call compositional technique or stylistic manner. We have already noted that the preacher's imagination is very much taken with the use of topoi, set-pieces drawn from scripture and elsewhere as well as with moralized "pictures," which he then applies morally or allegorically to the issue at hand. This methodical preference appears also in his frequent use of analogy. We have already noted his use, in several sermons, of the celestial warrior and the fortified castle with its towers, but he also draws on other aspects of warfare and military affairs to present his moral discussion and exhortation. For example, in Sermon 1 the weapons of war – sword, lance, and shield – figuratively represent the three necessary elements in the sacrament of penance; in Sermon 6, following Pauline imagery, shield, helmet and breastplate stand for the primary virtues of faith, hope and love. And such images offer opportunities for more detailed explication. In one case the angles of the shield represent a penitent's virtuous acts, in the other they stand for different aspects of faith One of the most compelling examples of moral allegory based on martial imagery is the preacher's frightening vision, based on Revelation 6, of how Death has seized command of our nature, turning man from a prized steed into a pale beast of deathly misery:

37. For a discussion of the issue and additional references, see "'The King Taught Us the Lesson,'" 195-201.

38. For a recent, and quite different, assessment of Oldcastle and the events of 1414, see Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation 1399-1422* (New Haven, 1998), pp. 65-86.

> Iste est de quo lego in sacra scriptura, Apocalipsis VI.[39]Ibi lego quod sanctus euangelista Iohannes vidit in visione a pale huyd hors, nomen sedentis super istum fuit Mors. Iste habuit potestatem interficere gladio omnes homines habitantes quattour partes terre, et infernus sequebatur eum. Per istum pale huyt hors intelligo nostram mortalem naturam que non est nisi cineres et terra. Iste equus fuit frik sine maledy et bene huyt is color – nec fuit pomely gray duplicitatis et adulacionis, nec colblack odii, uel viciose vite, sed þe pris hu omnium, þe noble bay originalis iusticie. Iste fuit pulcher equus et aliking. Omnes cosors Anglie non habent vnum talem. It passid any stede bastard uel iened of Spayne. Fuit adeo pulcher quod þe noble prince, Vita, lipt vp and sete aboue et semper sedisset super ipsum. Vita nunquam saltasset a nobis, nunquam mortui fuissemus, si iste equus seruasset stil, þe pris bay originalis iusticie. Sed quid? Tandem infirmitate peccati þis noble prise bay originalis iusticie vertebatur in to þe pale hu mortalis miserie. Incepit iste so feynt et debilis quod non potuit portare Vitam diucius. Statim Vita descendit et Mors lipt vp in his stede and set him aboue super istum equum. Mors sedebat ab illo tempore usque nunc adeo sore quod optimus hastiludiator qui vmquam fuit ne myȝt ber him doun. Super te continue sedet Mors.
>
> He is the one of whom I read in sacred scripture, Revelation 6. There I read that the holy evangelist John saw in a vision a pale-hued horse, the name of the one sitting on him was Death. He had power to kill with the sword all men inhabiting the four corners of the earth, and hell followed him. By this pale-hued horse is understood our mortal nature which is nothing except ashes and dirt. This horse was vigorous without malady and well hued his color – it was not the spotted gray of duplicity and flattery, nor the coalblack of hatred or of vicious life, but the prize hue of all, the noble bay of original justice. This was a beautiful and healthy horse. All the consorts of England did not have such a one. It surpassed any cross-bred steed or gennet of Spain. It was so handsome that the noble prince, Life, leaped up and sat above and would have always sat on him. Life would never have leapt from us, we would never have died if this horse had stayed steady, the prize bay of original justice. But then what? Finally this noble prize bay of original justice was turned into the pale hue of mortal misery by the sickness of sin. He became so faint and weak that he could not carry Life any longer. As soon as Life descended, Death leapt up in his stead and set himself above on this horse. From that time until now, Death sat so strongly that the best jouster who ever was might not unseat him. Death sits continually above you.

Such a vivid development of the analogy suggests the preacher's ability to go beyond mechanical application of familiar material.

39. Rev. 6:8.

In addition to using the imagery of warfare, the preacher employs a wide range of analogies to explain or drive home his spiritual message. Some are drawn from scientific fields. I have already noted astronomy and astrology, but in addition he presents details of the working procedures of the magnet, the compass, and the clock as comparisons for spiritual and moral issues. He also draws on music, both vocal and instrumental, as another source of analogy. And he shows a knowledge of legal matters, those related to chancery, in his use of the images of charters, patents, and seals, and those concerned with manors and estates, in his references to court rolls and liveries. Besides specialized fields, he also draws on everyday life, whether it be analogies involving swans and hunting dogs or the games of the tavern. Another instance of this arises in his frequent use of proverbs and idiomatic expressions in Latin, English, and macaronic form. While many of these may in fact be commonplaces themselves drawn from literary sources, they still indicate the range of the preacher's choices in selecting suitable materials and indirectly the breadth of the audience for which his sermons were intended.

Having emphasized earlier the complex structural framework of the "modern" sermon as it appears in this collection and the preacher's reliance on a wide range of , in general, familiar sources, it is important to address briefly a frequent criticism of these types of sermons, namely, that they were merely mechanical compilations of quotations and commonplaces, all of which were readily available to preachers in a series of handbooks, florilegia, and other sermon aids. While preachers no doubt relied on these tools, it is also true that "compositio," that is, the ways in which commonplaces were selected and used is one of the tests of the preacher's originality and skill. Indeed one might make the analogy with jazz, in which the riffs of individual players or instruments is their particular, and original, variation on the well-known melodic theme. Certainly, this preacher – and his use of material again and again in various ways seems to be a hallmark of single authorship – shows a great facility for such adaptation. His use of commonplace materials ranges from specific points of information, to famous quotations from scriptural, classical or patristic authorities, to scriptural excerpts and other longer topoi. In using them, he almost always provides some subtle changes in the nuances of the material. For example, in two texts (Sermons 9 and 11) he refers to the bestiary commonplace of the eagle's unparalleled ability to look directly at the sun. In Sermon 9 this fact becomes the basis for an important analogy: the eagle determines its genuine offspring by examining which of the young in its nest can look at the sun without blinking; so, too, the eagle of God, Christ, tests us by seeing which of us looks on the sun of faith without blinking. In Sermon 11, however, even the sharp-eyed eagle is, analogously, inferior to Christ, who can look unflinchingly into the radiance of the Deity. Similarly, the preacher twice cites Seneca's famous aphorism – that on the day of man's birth he begins to die – as a proof text for the shortness of human life. In Sermon 11 it functions as confirmation

that man is indeed not in control of his life – he is, metaphorically the horse being ridden by the pale horsemen Death; in Sermon 23 the Senecan dictum underscores a different analogy, Job's realization that the days of one's life pass as quickly as a wind-driven ship.

A longer and more complicated example of the preacher's compositional methods is his integrated use of four sources: Hugh of St. Victor's discussion of the three modes of human sight, Ezekiel's wheel (Ezekiel 1), Boethius's wheel of Fortune, and Thomas Bradwardine's signs for the fall of Jerusalem. All four of these sources appear in the prothemes of Sermons 8 and 11, two sermons based on the same theme. Ostensibly, these prothemes are identical, yet the preacher's handling of them demonstrates the fluid nature of his verbal construction. In Sermon 8, Hugh's distinction between modes of sight – bodily, rational, and contemplative – leads to a discussion of what can be seen with bodily eye, that is the turbulent world imaged by Ezekiel's turning wheel. That wheel leads naturally enough to Boethius and a lament on the vicissitudes of human success including a specific reference to the recent reverses suffered by England. The cause of all this is, as one would expect, a failure to honor God. Signs of such a change are evident, but nowhere more clearly than in the signs predicting the fall of Jerusalem – and here the preacher turns to Bradwardine's symbolic analysis of the dying out of the sacrificial fire in the Jewish temple, the loss of that fire standing for the extinguishing of the love of God in the hearts of the people. The loss of this fire of charity is summed up in a series of brief idiomatic and proverbial expressions: "perfectus amor is laid o watur (perfect love is laid a-water)," "poteris blowe super vngues tuos for any hete of love (you can blow on your two fingers for any warmth of love)," and "caritas is adeo frigida as dumbletonis fire (charity is as cold as Dumbleton's fire)."

In Sermon 11, however, the same basic materials are handled quite differently. The discussion of the bodily eye (Hugh's first mode of sight) is introduced not by Ezekiel but by Boethius's image of Fortune's wheel. The lament on the fluctuating fortunes of earthly success – including the recent defeats of England – follows and is climaxed by a proverbial song, "Oure mirth vertitur in mournynge, oure welth into wo (Our mirth is turned into mourning, our wealth into woe) ." The cause of such a reversal – a turning away from the love of God – introduces Ezekiel's wheel and as confirmation of that Bradwardine's account of the three symbolic signs of Jerusalem's fall – the extinguishing of the sacrificial fire (as before), but also the wavering of the pillar of the temple and the stench from the larder – each of which becomes a sub-division of the first part of the sermon. The preacher's use of familiar sources and motifs far from being mechanical is often a complex, almost improvisational use of commonplaces. A similar analysis can be undertaken of the preacher's varied uses of topoi such as the ship, the temple, the castle (some of which I have discussed elsewherey).[40]

40. See Horner, "'The King Taught Us the Lesson,'" 206-16.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

This edition consists of twenty-three sermons; Sermons 20 and 21 are not macaronic, and are omitted. All but four have been preserved in unique copies: Sermons 5, 12, 15, 19 also appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud misc. 706. I have compared the texts and used readings from the Laud manuscript to clarify any difficulties in Bodley text, noting any emendations I have made.

Each sermon is numbered according to Siegfried Wenzel's inventory of MS Bodley 649 (assigned the siglum O); a cross-reference to this list is added in square brackets at the head of each sermon.[41] In transcribing the texts, abbreviations have been expanded silently. Numbers have been expanded as words where appropriate. Abbreviations of Jesus (*Ihc*) and Christ (*Xp*) have been rendered as *Iesus* and *Christus* respectively; common abbreviations and contractions have been silently resolved. Scribal *ff* is written as a capital *F* where appropriate. Scribal practice in the use of *u* and *v* has been retained, but Latin *ij* has been modernized as *ii*. For words usually written in an abbreviated or contracted form, and for which the occasional fully-spelled form is not consistent (for instance, *sed / set* and *sicud / sicut)*, I have adopted a uniform spelling (*set, sicut*) but followed the variant spellings whenever they are used.

Modern word-division, capitalization, and punctuation have been adopted. The manuscript shows some of the kinds of corruption typical of late-medieval copying – incomplete words, missing or mistaken abbreviations, inflectional discrepancies, eyeslips; these have been corrected where appropriate and noted. There are also some cases of scribal corrections: cross-outs, expuncting, and erasures have been silently accepted; letters written over have been noted; marginal and interlinear additions are set off by slashes. I have emended the text slightly when grammar or sense require; these emendations are enclosed in angle brackets and the manuscript reading given in the notes. Marginalia, largely notations of sermon structure, have been noted in the apparatus. Throughout the manuscript there are blank spaces within the texts; it is not always clear if, or how much, material has been omitted. These spaces have been indicated by <...>.

CONCLUSION

The collection of sermons discussed and edited here represent, undeniably, a minor religious and literary work of the late middle ages in England. But minor works can be important and instructive, perhaps for the very reason that they do not reflect the aura of genius. This minor work has the added advantage of being composed in the early fifteenth century, a period that might fairly be seen as a crossroads, a time of ecclesiastical, social, and political adjustment in England. This collection of sermons offers much of value about those intriguing

41. See "O: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 649," the inventory of sermons provided by Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, pp. 160-5; cf. also Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 550-5.

times. First, it offers to scholars of sermons a considerable body of texts produced by a skillful practitioner of homiletics who is conversant with the ideals and techniques of the *artes praedicandi* developed in the medieval universities. (Surprisingly, the provenance of the manuscript suggests that this preacher is not the mendicant one might more readily have expected but rather a product of Benedictine monasticism.) Beyond that, the preacher is functioning, as he himself acknowledges, in a milieu greatly influenced by Lollardy's strong criticism of theological formulations, devotional practices, and, above all, ecclesiastical privilege. On a substantive level, the preacher's response to these Lollard attacks seems entirely orthodox, and for that reason, perhaps not so noteworthy. However, his strategy of portraying Lollardy as political subversion and his enthusiastic endorsement of Henry V for his defense of orthodoxy suggest that church and crown have reached a crossroads in their relationship, one that would emerge again, in ironic fashion, in Tudor times. And finally, his linguistic idiosyncrasy suggests another crossroads between the clerical world of Latin and the lay world of the vernacular. While the preacher is vigorously defending orthodox belief and the traditional roles of clergy and laity, the macaronic form itself may symbolize the ways in which religious thought, social roles, and linguistic expression have already begun an inexorable transformation.