

A MIDDLE ENGLISH SERMON BASED ON
GREGORY THE GREAT'S HOMILY FOR THE
SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT*

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THIS is a study and edition of a Middle English sermon for the second Sunday in Advent from Trinity College Dublin MS 241. The sermon, on Luke 21:25–33, is part of a cycle of sermons on the Sunday gospels that was compiled in the early fifteenth century, parts of which are also preserved in Cambridge, St John's College G. 22, and Cambridge University Library Additional 5388. The compiler of this sermon cycle borrowed extensively from the *English Wycliffite Sermons*, and made use of other lollard writings, too, although he apparently took care not to incorporate controversial or polemical material from these sources. For his Advent sermon, however, the compiler drew on a much older source: the *Forty Gospel Homilies* of Gregory the Great. This Middle English sermon offers a near-complete vernacular rendering of Gregory's homily on Luke 21:25–33, freely amplified and abbreviated at different points, and elaborated with material from other sources: two short passages of exegesis drawn from Bede's commentary on Luke, and two *exempla* found in other sermons and pastoral texts from this period, one about the mole, and the other about Saint Jerome. Gregory's homilies were often invoked as confirmatory authorities in late medieval preaching, and other sermons in Trinity Dublin 241 cite them in this way. The Advent sermon, however, takes a different approach, presenting almost all of Gregory's homily, without attribution, as the text for the preacher to deliver.

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The compiler's use of Gregory can be understood in relation to the "revival . . . of preaching in imitation of the ancient homilies" that Helen Leith Spencer has described in the fifteenth century.¹ Since at least the thirteenth century, preachers had adopted the "modern" method of preaching, as codified and theorized in the *artes praedicandi*. The preacher who followed this method would select a short, scriptural quotation as his *thema*, and elaborate a series of exegetical *distinctiones* from it, through the concatenation of interrelated texts and authorities.² By the turn of the fifteenth century, however, this kind of preaching attracted criticism, not only from Wyclif and his followers but also from orthodox figures like the theologian and Oxford chancellor Thomas Gascoigne: the *sermo modernus* did little to stir devotion in its listeners, they argued; it encouraged some listeners in the intellectual vice of *curiositas*; and it prioritized the logic of the preacher's exegesis over the internal logic of scripture. Some preachers preferred to compose sermons using the "ancient" form that was associated with the church fathers. Here, the preacher would explain the whole gospel pericope for a given occasion, and the structure of his sermon was dictated by the content and sequence of the scriptural text.³ Over time, as Siegfried Wenzel has recently shown, a new sermon form emerged, where the preacher would discuss the entire pericope on the "ancient" model, before confronting points of difficulty in the text (*dubia*), and finally drawing out *conclusiones*.⁴ Both the *English Wycliffite Sermons* and the Trinity Dublin 241 collection employ versions of the "ancient" form,⁵ explicating the whole pericope

¹ H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), 230.

² For an extended account of the "modern" form as it was codified in late medieval *artes praedicandi*, see Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval "Artes Praedicandi": A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (Toronto, 2015).

³ On the distinction between the "ancient" and "modern" forms of preaching, see Spencer, *English Preaching*, 228–68; and Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 2005), 11–14.

⁴ Siegfried Wenzel, *Beyond the "Sermo modernus": Sermon Form in Early Fifteenth-Century England*, *Studies and Texts* 222 (Toronto, 2021).

⁵ On the form of the *English Wycliffite Cycle* and other Wycliffite collections, see *ibid.*, 101–14.

rather than subdividing a short *thema*. Some sermons in the Trinity Dublin collection do also include numbered sections, structured like the *distinctiones* of a “modern” sermon, that allegorize a word or image in the pericope in various ways, but even in these cases, the sermon overall follows the logic of the gospel narrative, rather than an expository logic established by the preacher.

In this early fifteenth-century context, patristic sermons served as a model to emulate as well as a source to cite. Gascoigne commends Gregory specifically as a practitioner of the earlier form:

The saints and doctors of old used to preach to the people in a declarative way, rather than choosing a *thema* or taking a text and dividing it. For they explained holy scripture to the people by presenting the text and setting forth its matter. Thus did holy Pope Gregory preach in his homilies, that is, his sermons to the people. . . .⁶

Fifteenth-century compilers translated sermon cycles from earlier periods that adopted the “ancient” form in order to meet a demand for preaching texts of this kind. The late twelfth-century Latin cycle known as *Filius matris* was translated into Middle English in the fifteenth century, for example, as was an early fourteenth-century cycle by Nicholas de Aquavilla, in a version interpolated with lollard material.⁷ The compiler of the Trinity Dublin 241 collection went one step further in trans-

⁶ “Antiqui sancti et doctores solebant predicare populo declarative potius quam thema assumere uel textum sumendo illum dividere. Explanabant enim populo scripturam sacram exponendo textum et materiam textus explanando et resolvendo. Et sic predicavit sanctus papa Gregorius omelias suas, idest sermones suos ad populum . . .” (Thomas Gascoigne, *Dictionarium theologicum*, part 2, transcribed and translated from Oxford, Lincoln College 118, in Wenzel, *Beyond the “Sermo modernus,”* 8).

⁷ On the *Filius matris* translation, see Helen Spencer, “A Fifteenth-Century Translation of a Late Twelfth-Century Sermon Collection,” *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 28.111 (1977): 257–67. For a partial edition, see Christine Thérèse Carpenter, “An Edition of the Lent and Palm Sunday Sermons Contained in the Fifteenth Century Translation of the Late Twelfth Century Latin Filius Matris Cycle” (Ph.D. diss., Bedford College, University of London, 1984). For the Middle English translation of Aquavilla, see Ruth Evans, ed., “An Edition of a Fifteenth-Century Middle English Temporale Sermon Cycle in MSS Lambeth Palace 392 and Cambridge University Library Additional 5338,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds, 1986).

lating and adapting a surviving patristic sermon as part of a new, fifteenth-century cycle. By using Gregory's sermon in this way, integrated into his larger collection alongside material from the *English Wycliffite Sermons* and other sources, the Trinity Dublin 241 compiler demonstrates the continuities between the "ancient" form as practiced by the patristic fathers and as revived in the early fifteenth-century. He also gave new life to Gregory's ancient homily, recasting it as a sermon for delivery in the late medieval pulpit.

Trinity College Dublin MS 241 is a parchment manuscript of 128 folios, made in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁸ The English text is copied in two columns in an even textura hand and divided up with red paraph marks; Latin quotations are presented in a slightly larger script, underlined in red, and in most cases the first word of each Latin *thema* begins with a two-line capital in red. We do not know who owned the manuscript before it entered the library of Archbishop James Ussher (†1656), whose books came to Trinity College Dublin in 1661, but the late medieval annotations and pointing hands in the margins, and the evidence of damage and repair to the pages, testify to a history of intensive use. As John Scattergood, Niamh Pattwell, and Emma Williams write, "the extensive evidence of mending suggests that the manuscript was cared for and valued."⁹ Trinity Dublin 241 originally contained a complete cycle of sermons on the Sunday gospels, running from the first Sunday after Trinity to Trinity Sunday, and followed by five sermons for other occasions: the feast of All Saints, the Ascension, the Nativity, the Circumcision, and the Epiphany. The first quires of the manuscript, which once contained the sermons for the first Sunday after Trinity to the tenth, are now imperfect, however, and have been misbound so that

⁸ For a recent description of this manuscript, see John Scattergood, with the assistance of Niamh Pattwell and Emma Williams, *Trinity College Library Dublin: A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English and Some Old English* (Dublin, 2021), 131–46.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 146.

the surviving text is out of order.¹⁰ Two other manuscripts, Cambridge, St John's College G. 22, and Cambridge University Library Additional 5338, preserve the sermons for the first to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity from this cycle, including those that are now missing from Trinity Dublin 241. This means that only the sermons for the eleventh to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity are found complete in all three manuscripts, and the sermon for the second Sunday in Advent survives in Trinity Dublin 241 alone.¹¹

Anne Hudson identifies this sermon cycle among the various "dependent collections" that borrowed material from the *English Wycliffite Sermons*. The Trinity Dublin 241 cycle may be the most derivative of all of these, she argues: almost all the sermons in the cycle have some connection to the equivalent sermons on the Sunday gospels in the *English Wycliffite Sermons*.¹² In many cases, the Trinity Dublin 241 compiler borrows his translations of the Gospel pericopes from the *English Wycliffite Sermon Cycle* (these were different in turn from both versions of the Wycliffite bible). Where the Wycliffite sermons present the text of the gospel in small increments as the preacher explicates each part, the Trinity Dublin 241 compiler reassembles these fragments into a complete pericope at the start of his own sermons. This procedure is not always very accurate: on some occasions, he includes exegetical comments from the Wycliffite cycle as though they were part of the pericope itself.¹³ The Trinity Dublin 241 compiler also appropriates passages of exegesis from the Wycliffite cycle, which vary in length from

¹⁰ For a detailed summary of the contents, see Veronica O'Mara and Suzanne Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, 4 vols. (Turnhout, 2007), 1:198–279. The Sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent is summarized in the *Repertorium* at 1:225–7, as Dub/Trinity/241/017. See also Thomas J. Heffernan and Patrick J. Horner, "Sermons and Homilies," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, 11 vols., ed. Peter G. Beidler [vol. 11] (New Haven, 1967–2005), 11:3969–4167, 4227–4310 (at 4085–91, 4282–83); and Scattergood, Pattwell, and Williams, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 131–45.

¹¹ On the relationships between these manuscripts, see O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* 1:4–10, 1:100–117, and 1:198–99; and Spencer, *English Preaching*, 280–84.

¹² *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Anne Hudson and Pamela Gradon, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1983–96), 1:103–5.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1:99–106.

one or two sentences to almost a complete sermon, and combines them with material from other sources. Some of the sermons in this cycle borrow from lollard pastoral texts, as Spencer has noted: the sermons for the thirteenth to the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity, which form a sequence on the Ten Commandments, draw on the lollard Decalogue commentary now known as the “Standard Orthodox Commentary,” while the discussion of the Creed in the sermon for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity is indebted to the lollard treatise “Hyt ys soþ þat beleve is ground of alle vertues.”¹⁴ Other sources await identification: the Trinity Dublin 241 sermons cite a wide range of patristic authorities, and it is possible that the compiler found these materials, along with passages of exegesis and commentary, in other, intermediary sources.

The compiler’s own sympathies with lollardy are difficult to establish with certainty, despite this enthusiastic use of Wycliffite source texts. As Hudson notes, the compiler is careful to remove any controversial discussion of the Eucharist from his borrowed materials, and the Trinity Dublin 241 cycle contains passages promoting oral confession, which the *English Wycliffite Sermons* repeatedly disparage.¹⁵ One way to understand the use of lollard materials in the Trinity Dublin 241 collection, then, might be as part of the third phase in the diffusion of lollard writings, as defined by Fiona Somerset, where controversial and heterodox materials were repurposed for use in mainstream pastoral instruction.¹⁶

¹⁴ Spencer, *English Preaching*, 224–27. For an edition of the “Standard Orthodox Commentary” and its several related versions, see Judith Jefferson, “An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary in BL Harley 2398, and the Related Version in Trinity College Dublin 245, York Minster XVI.L.12 and Harvard English 738 Together with Discussion of Related Commentaries,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Bristol, 1995). Spencer compares the text in the Trinity and Cambridge sermons to the version of the “Standard Orthodox Commentary” found in London, British Library Harley 2398, but Jefferson, 1:cxliii, establishes that the sermons draw on another version of the commentary, which she calls the “First Discursive Version (DI).” The treatise on the Creed, “Hyt ys soþ þat beleve is ground of alle vertues,” appears in *Select English Works of Wyclif*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–71), 3:114–16.

¹⁵ *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, 1:105–6.

¹⁶ Fiona Somerset, “Their Writings,” in *A Companion to Lollardy*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck, Mishtooni Bose, and Fiona Somerset (Leiden, 2016), 76–104, esp. 78, 101–4.

The sermons in this cycle were certainly copied and read alongside avowedly heterodox texts, however. The sermon cycle is the only text in Trinity Dublin 241, but in the two Cambridge manuscripts it appears with other sermons that include explicitly controversial Wycliffite material: Cambridge, St John's College G. 22 also contains a set of the *English Wycliffite Sermons*, while Cambridge University Library Additional 5448 also contains the lollard-interpolated English translation of Nicholas of Aquavilla's *Sermones dominicales*.¹⁷

The sermons for Advent 1, 3, and 4 in Trinity Dublin 241 demonstrate some of the different ways that the compiler used the *English Wycliffite Sermons*. The sermon for Advent 1, on Matthew 21:1–9, presents a translation of the gospel pericope with no obvious debts to the equivalent Wycliffite sermon, followed by an account of Christ's second advent that does derive from this Wycliffite sermon.¹⁸ The sermon then offers allegorical readings of successive parts of the pericope that have no relation to the Wycliffite text. The sermon for Advent 3, on Matthew 11:2–10, begins with a gospel pericope that has been reconstructed from the translation in the equivalent Wycliffite sermon, including some sentences of commentary which the compiler presents as though they were part of the gospel text. The compiler then presents the opening section of the equivalent Wycliffite sermon, which puts the gospel story in context, departs from the Wycliffite text for a section on the steadfast faith of John the Baptist, and then returns to it for a section on the seven miracles that John's disciples witnessed when he sent them to Christ.¹⁹ The rest of the Trinity Dublin 241 sermon takes Christ's observation that John the Bap-

¹⁷ On the links between the sermons in this cycle and the sermons derived from Aquavilla, see further Spencer, *English Preaching*, 280–84.

¹⁸ Trinity College Dublin 241, fol. 40r, beginning "þis Gospel telliþ of þe seconde aduent of Crist" and concluding "we shulden make vs redy to suffre in oure body for þe name of Crist," is an abbreviated version of the first twenty-one lines of the equivalent Wycliffite sermon; *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, 1:326–27.1–21.

¹⁹ Trinity College Dublin 241, fols. 47v–48r, beginning "Sires, þis storie of Ion Baptist" and concluding "trewen men coueiten more þe honour of God þen þeir owne honour" is taken from the beginning of the equivalent Wycliffite Sermon (ibid. 1:335–36.1–18). Trinity College Dublin 241, fol. 48r, beginning "Alle þe seuene miracles" and concluding "goode lyueres of him þat may not erre," is taken from a later part of the same sermon (1:336.32–40).

tist “was not lik to a reed þat wawip wiþ eche wynd” as the starting point for an account of the four “winds” that assail the Christian and the best way to withstand them; this material has no relationship to the equivalent Wycliffite text. The sermon for Advent 4, on John 1:19–28, presents a translation of the pericope reconstructed from the short quotations that are dispersed across the equivalent Wycliffite sermon. The first two parts of the sermon, which describe the five things that are necessary to understand the gospel and the four ways to come to Christ, have no links to the Wycliffite text; after this, however, the compiler includes two substantial quotations from the equivalent Wycliffite sermon, comprising about a third of the whole text. These list the different ways that Christ can be said to be “on myddes” (John 1:26), explain why John the Baptist declared himself unworthy to untie Christ’s shoe, and distinguish the two places called Bethany in the gospels.²⁰ In the final section, the Trinity compiler departs from the Wycliffite text again, urging his listeners to follow the example of Christ.

The sermon for Advent 2, edited here, makes very limited use of the *English Wycliffite Sermons* by comparison with the other sermons in this cycle. Only the first sentence, which introduces the pericope, comes from the equivalent Wycliffite sermon. The Trinity Dublin 241 compiler takes his translation of the pericope itself from another source (in the Wycliffite sermon for Advent 2, the gospel text is broken up and interspersed with a complex discussion of the planetary influences, which would have made it particularly difficult to reconstruct).²¹ The rest of the sermon is based on Gregory’s homily for Advent 2. The compiler presents almost all of Gregory’s exegesis of Luke 21:25–33, variously amplified and abbreviated, omitting only one substantial section of around a hundred lines

²⁰ Trinity College Dublin 241, fols. 50v–51r, beginning “Þenne seiþ þe Gospel þat þe messageres” and concluding “a þong to bynde mennes wille togidere,” is equivalent to *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, 1:342–43.50–74; Trinity College Dublin 241, fol. 51r, beginning “þis was doon in Bethame” and concluding “alle þese names acorden to Ion,” is equivalent to *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, 1:343–44.87–95.

²¹ Hudson notes that “the existence of some independent translation in the compiler’s work suggests that he had to hand a copy of the Vulgate, or another bible translation” (*ibid.* 1:105).

where Gregory describes the signs of the apocalypse in the recent history of his own time.²²

The compiler expands on Gregory using material from three other sources. Early in the sermon, in place of Gregory's account of recent apocalyptic signs, the Middle English sermon presents a short passage from Bede's commentary on Luke, linking the "pressura gentium" that Christ predicts in Luke 21:25 to the "tribulatio magna" that heralds the coming of Antichrist in Matthew 24:21.²³ He returns to the same part of Bede's commentary a few lines later, supplementing Gregory's reference to Luke 21:26 with a comment from Bede on men who seem to flourish in the world, but who fear the impending judgement.²⁴

Bede's commentary on this part of Luke's Gospel incorporates two substantial quotations from Gregory's homily, so these two texts had a pre-existing intertextual relationship, as the compiler was almost certainly aware.²⁵ Later, when Gregory criticizes worldly people who mourn the destruction of the world, the compiler adds an exemplum about the mole, which spends its life working blindly in the earth, and only sees the light in the moment before it dies. This exemplum, which draws on the account of the mole in Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum*, appears in preachers' resources like the *Tabula Exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti*, and in a wide range of late medieval pastoral texts, including Thomas of Chobham's treatise on the

²² For the text of Gregory's sermon, see Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. Raymond Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, 1999), 5–11. For a modern English translation, see Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, 1990), 15–20. This sermon is homily 1 in the edition of Étaix, who follows the sequence of the edition printed in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–55), 76:1071–1312, where the homilies of book 1 appear in random order; it is homily 3 in the translation of Hurst, who rearranges the homilies to follow the sequence of the liturgical year.

²³ Bede, *In Lucae evangelium expositio* 21.25, ed. David Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 369.243–45.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 369.260–63.

²⁵ Bede's *In Lucam* 21.27–31, ed. Hurst, 369–70.271–99, is made up of two extended passages from Gregory: *Homiliae in euangelia* 1.1.2–3 and 1.1.3–4, ed. Étaix, 7.40–55 and 8.78–89.

virtues and vices.²⁶ Finally, at the end of the sermon, where Gregory urges his listeners to think about the coming apocalypse, the compiler adds a commonplace about Saint Jerome, who heard the trumpet calling him to judgement wherever he was and whatever he was doing. The story conflates a passage from Jerome's epistles, where Jerome urges Pammachius to listen for the sounding horn of Christ's love at all times, with a passage from the twelfth-century *Regula monachorum*, widely misattributed to Jerome in the Middle Ages, which enjoins its readers to imagine the trumpet summoning them to judgement as they perform the Divine Office.²⁷ It appears in sermon collections, including the Latin sermons of William Peraldus, and Middle English sermons from Lincoln Cathedral Library 133 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 96, and it was anthologized in a range of resources for preachers, including Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus Florum*, Simon of Boraston's *Distinctiones*, and the anonymous *Speculum laicorum*.²⁸

While the Trinity Dublin 241 sermon takes its overall structure and argument from Gregory, the compiler nevertheless renders Gregory's text in different ways, combining passages of close translation with freer, more creatively elaborated passages. The exegesis of Luke 21:28, for example, offers a relatively faithful rendering of Gregory's Latin:

²⁶ This exemplum is no. 3315 in Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki, 1969). It is no. 7 in *La Tabula Exemplorum secundum Ordinem Alphabeti. Recueil d'exempla compilé en France à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, ed. J. H. Welter (Paris and Toulouse, 1926; rpt. Geneva, 2012). For the exemplum in Thomas of Chobham's treatise, see Thomas de Chobham, *Summa de commendatione virtutum et extirpatione vitiorum* 5.4, ed. Franco Morenzoni, CCCM 82B (Turnhout, 1997), 224. See also Ricardo Quinto, "The *Conflictus vitiorum et uirtutum* Attributed to Stephen Langton," in *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Richard G. Newhauser (Leiden, 2005), 197–269, at 251.

²⁷ Cf. Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, Ep. 66.10, ed. Isidorus Hilberg and Johannes Divjak, rev. Margit Kamptner, CSEL 54 (Vienna, 1996), 660.3–4; and *Regula monachorum* 30, PL (Paris, 1844–55) 30:391–426, at 417.

²⁸ For the story in Peraldus, see Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sermons of William Peraldus: An Appraisal* (Turnhout, 2017), text at 94, translation at 105. For the story in these Middle English sermons, see Alan J. Fletcher, *Late Medieval Popular Preaching in Britain and Ireland: Texts, Studies, and Interpretations* (Turnhout, 2009), 220.128–31 and 229.125–28. Fletcher identifies the other sources in his note at 225.

Nam subditur: *His autem fieri incipientibus, respicite et leuate capita uestra, quoniam appropinquat redemptio uestra. Ac si aperte Veritas electos suos admoneat dicens: Cum plagae mundi crebrescunt, cum terror iudicii uirtutibus commotis ostenditur, leuate uos capita, id est exhilarate corda, quia dum finitur mundus cui amici non estis, prope fit redemptio quam quaesistis.*

In scriptura etenim sacra saepe caput pro mente ponitur, quia sicut capite reguntur membra, ita cogitationes mente disponuntur. Leuare itaque est capita mentes nostras ad gaudia patriae caelestis erigere.²⁹

þe Gospel seiþ, “þis bygynnyng to be, seeþ and heueþ vp 3oure heedes, for 3oure redempcioun neighiþ.” Þat is to mene þat oure lord God shal speke to his chosen and warnen hem and seiþ, “Whenne 3e see þe meschiefis of þis world encrese, hefe 3e vp 3oure hedes.” Þat is to mene, be 3e glad in 3oure hertes for, while þe world endiþ to þe whiche 3e weren no frendes, 3oure redemptour—þe whiche 3e soughten and loueden in 3oure hertes—is neigh. For ofte in holi writ þe hed is set for þe herte, for riȝt as þe membres of man ben gouernid bi þe hed, so ben þe werkes of man rewlid bi þe þoughtes of his herte. Þenne heueþ vp 3oure hertes in heuenli þingis and þenkiþ on þe gret blisse of heuene.

Elsewhere, however, the Trinity Dublin 241 compiler amplifies and alters Gregory’s text. For example, Gregory’s first sentence after the pericope, “Dominus ac Redemptor noster paratos nos inuenire desiderans, senescentem mundum quae mala sequantur denuntiat, ut nos ab eius amore compescat,” becomes in the Middle English “oure lord and oure God, desiring euermore to fynde vs redi in his seruise and out of dedili synne, he warneþ vs what eueles and meschiefes shulen be in þe ende of þe world, for to wiþdrawen vs and oure willes fro þe loue of þe world.”³⁰ Here, the Trinity Dublin 241 compiler specifies the conditions of readiness, and generates forms of rhetorical hendiadys, rendering “mala” as “eueles and meschiefes,” and “nos” as “vs and oure willes.” Other, similar elaborations add moral and pastoral specificity to the Middle English text. Where Gregory urges his listeners to remain vigilant and avoid spiritual torpor, for example, the Middle English sermon enjoins more specific action: “kepe þe commaundementes of God and louen his lawes and fle al maner of synne.” In his exegesis of Luke 21:27, Gregory writes that those who reject Christ’s mercy in the present life will be treated

²⁹ Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 7.46–55.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 1.1.1, ed. Étaix, 5.1–3.

more harshly at the apocalypse when Christ comes in judgement. In the Trinity Dublin 241 text, however, this stern discipline is reserved for those who privilege the “lawes of man” over “Cristis lawes,” language that echoes the familiar tropes of lollard polemic where, as Hudson notes, “any law that is not *grounded* in God’s law . . . is to be condemned.”³¹ The Trinity Dublin 241 compiler also introduces new scriptural quotations that are suggested by the exegesis in Gregory’s homily: when Gregory refers to Christ’s humility, the compiler cites Matthew 8:20; when Gregory writes that Christians should seek the life to come and not mourn the end of the world, the compiler cites Philippians 1:23; and when Gregory refers to Christ’s burning anger at the last judgement (“ira eius exarserit”), the compiler cites Psalm 49:3. (Gregory will cite this psalm himself a few sentences later, with the result that the same quotation appears twice in close succession in the Middle English sermon.)

Gregory’s homily includes a discussion of the apocalyptic signs that had emerged in his own historical moment. Near the beginning of the text, he supplements the pericope with material from Luke 21:10–11, where Christ predicts conflict between nations, earthquakes, pestilence and famine, and notes that all of these have been seen in his own time. Gregory also recalls portents in the sky before the sack of Rome in 546, and associates them with the “signa in sole, et luna, et stellis” of Luke 21:25. This material is heavily abbreviated in the Trinity Dublin 241 sermon and the reference to the sack of Rome is removed altogether; here, the compiler turns instead to Bede’s commentary, linking Luke 21:25 to Matthew 24:21. Gregory returns to contemporary events much later in the sermon. Here, he likens the world to the human body, vigorous in youth but frail and unwell in old age, a metaphor that recurs elsewhere in his homilies.³² He then describes a recent hurricane that ripped up orchards and tore down houses and churches, killing many people overnight: “Quanti ad uesperum sani atque incolumes acturos se in crastinum aliquid putabant, et tamen nocte eadem repentina morte defuncti sunt, in laqueo ruinae deprehensi? [How many persons who were safe and unharmed in the evening, thinking of what they would do the next day,

³¹ *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, 4:84–88.

³² See Jane Baun, “Gregory’s Eschatology,” in *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, ed. Bronwen Neil and Matthew J. Dal Santo (Leiden, 2013), 157–76, at 168.

suddenly died that night, caught in a trap of destruction?].”³³ The Trinity Dublin 241 compiler recasts this material to produce a list of the “diuerse tribulacions” that his listeners have seen and experienced “bute litil while siben.” These include “erþe donyng, grete wyndes and wedres, þe whiche han turned vpsodoun houses and trees, and also rising of puple.” He uses a different example to make Gregory’s point that death can come unexpectedly, referring not to victims of a hurricane, but rather to victims of plague: “Also 3e han seyen stronge men go to þer beddes hool and sound and amorewe ded bi pestilence, and al þis is in vengeance of synne.” This section then concludes with the supplementary material from the gospels that Gregory cites earlier, although the compiler cites the version in Matthew 24:7–8, rather than Luke 21:10–11.

The compiler’s account of recent “tribulacions” lacks much specific detail; Veronica O’Mara and Suzanne Paul argue that these references are insufficiently precise to help with dating the sermon collection.³⁴ The upturned trees, perhaps suggested by Gregory’s uprooted orchards, were themselves a conventional sign of the coming apocalypse, one of the “fifteen signs before doomsday” in popular tradition, and were often invoked in fourteenth-century writing to suggest the chaos and confusion of the world in its last age.³⁵ Even so, the “tribulacions” in the Trinity

³³ Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia* 1.1.5, ed. Étaix, pp. 9–10.121–23; trans. Hurst.

³⁴ O’Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* 1:lviii.

³⁵ For the tradition of the fifteen signs, see William Heist, *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday* (East Lansing, 1952); and Shannon Gayk, “Apocalyptic Ecologies: Eschatology, the Ethics of Care, and the Fifteen Signs of Doom in Early England,” *Speculum* 96.1 (2021): 1–37. The signs were often discussed in sermons for the second Sunday in Advent; see Veronica O’Mara, ““Go 3e curselynges into euerlasting fier’: Doomsday in Middle English Sermons,” in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Conference*, ed. Nigel Morgan, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 12 (Donington, 2004), 277–91, at 282–83, and “The Last Judgement in Medieval English Prose Sermons: An Overview,” in *The Last Judgement in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Thom Mertens, Maria Sherwood-Smith, Michael Mecklenburg, and Hans-Jochen Schiewer, *Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching* 3 (Turnhout, 2013), 19–41, at 29–31. Wyclif regarded the fifteen signs as fictitious, however: “De quindecim signis que quidam fabulantur apparere ante diem iudicii et aliis signis supernaturalibus . . . non sit nobis hic sermo, cum ipsa tanquam apocrypha et

Dublin 241 sermon do correlate with historical events from the later fourteenth century: the storm of 1362, which coincided with an outbreak of plague; the popular rising of 1381 and the earthquake of 1382. The sermon describes these events to its listeners as things that “ze han seyen,” appealing to the lived experience of its congregation, rather than to textual authority, to corroborate its arguments. Here, it seems, translating Gregory’s sermon for a fifteenth-century audience involves repositioning it in time, to comment on the apocalyptic *signa* of a different historical moment.

Gregory’s *Forty Gospel Homilies* were widely available in England in the Middle Ages, as a major work of patristic exegesis.³⁶ They had a long history as a model and resource for preachers: Carolingian ecclesiastical legislation recommended them to parish priests as a template for their own preaching, and Paul the Deacon anthologized thirty-two of them in his *Homiliary*.³⁷ In the tenth century, English preachers including Ælfric of Eynesham and the Blickling homilist appropriated extensive passages from Gregory’s *Forty Gospel Homilies* and incorporated them into their own sermons, adapting them for new circumstances and occasions.³⁸

fidei christiane religionis inutilia sunt tacenda”; Wyclif, *Sermones*, ed. John Loserth, 4 vols. (London, 1887–90), 1:11.10–15, cited in *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, 5:263–64.

³⁶ In a survey of surviving manuscripts held in modern libraries, Raymond Étaix identifies twenty-two copies with a certain or likely English provenance that were made between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries; auction catalogues attest to a further two such manuscripts, their location now unknown; Raymond Étaix, “Répertoire des manuscrits des homélies sur l’Évangile de saint Grégoire le Grand,” *Sacris erudiri* 36 (1996): 107–48.

³⁷ See Patricia Allwin DeLeeuw, “Gregory the Great’s *Homilies on the Gospels* in the Early Middle Ages,” *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 26 (1985): 855–69. On Paul the Deacon’s *Homiliary*, see Cyril L. Smetana, “Paul the Deacon’s Patristic Anthology,” in *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, N.Y., 1978), 75–97; on the evolution of the contents, see Réginald Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: Analyse des manuscrits* (Spoleto, 1980), 423–79; and on the influence of this text in England, see Joyce Hill, “Ælfric’s Manuscript of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliary: A Provisional Analysis,” in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 17 (Turnhout, 2007), 67–96.

³⁸ On the dissemination of Gregory’s homilies in England before ca. 1125, see Thomas N. Hall, “The Early English Manuscripts of Gregory the Great’s ‘Homilies

Robert of Gretham incorporated long passages from the *Forty Gospel Homilies* into the *Miroir des évangiles*, the sermon cycle he composed in Anglo-Norman verse ca. 1250–1260 for Lady Elena of Quency.³⁹ Gretham's *Miroir* was translated into Middle English prose in the fifteenth century, to produce a new set of sermons in the "ancient" form.⁴⁰ The Middle English *Mirror* offers an analogue to the Trinity Dublin 241 sermon for Advent 2 in that here, too, long passages based on Gregory are presented in English without attribution. The sermon for Advent 2 in the *Mirror* could not have served as the Trinity compiler's direct source, however. The opening section reiterates some of Gregory's arguments in a highly abbreviated form, but the rest of the sermon has no relationship to Gregory's homily: the second part presents an exemplum from the *Vitae patrum* about a workman who withholds charity from the poor in order to save money for his old age, and the third urges readers to be charitable, in anticipation of the last judgement.⁴¹

Many other fifteenth-century preachers cited passages from Gregory's homilies in their own sermons. The priest and recluse John Dygon, for example, includes several "lengthy excerpts" from Gregory in his ser-

on the Gospel' and 'Homilies on Ezechiel': A Preliminary Survey," in *Rome and the North. The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., Kees Dekker, and David F. Johnson (Paris, 2001), 115–36. On Gregory's homilies as a source for Ælfric and the Blickling homilist among others, see Charles D. Wright, "Old English Homilies and Latin Sources," in *The Old English Homily*, ed. Kleist, 17, nn. 8–9.

³⁹ Marion Aitken discusses Robert of Gretham's borrowings from Gregory's homilies, and presents several long passages from Robert's Anglo-Norman with Gregory's text alongside, in *Étude sur Miroir ou les Évangiles des Domnées de Robert de Gretham suivie d'extraits inédits* (Paris, 1922), 27–53.

⁴⁰ A selection of sermons from the Middle English *Mirror* have been edited alongside the Anglo-Norman original in *The Middle English Mirror: Sermons from Advent to Sexagesima*, ed. Thomas G. Duncan and Margaret Connolly (Heidelberg, 2003). The whole Middle English text has been edited as *The Middle English "Mirror,"* ed. Kathleen Marie Blumreich (Tempe, 2002). On the "ancient form" of the Middle English *Mirror*, see Anne Hudson and H. L. Spencer, "Old Author, New Work: The Sermons of MS Longleat 4," *Medium Ævum* 53.2 (1984): 221–38, at 227.

⁴¹ For the Advent 2 sermon, see *Middle English "Mirror,"* ed. Blumreich, 25–31, and on the source of the exemplum, see xviii.

mon cycle, as Wenzel has noted.⁴² Most of Dygon's sermons offer a simple, three-part exegesis of the *thema*, sometimes preceded by a *prothema* or prayer, and his longest quotations from Gregory take up the whole of one of these parts.⁴³ Unlike Robert of Gretham, however, Dygon does not use material from Gregory without attribution; instead, he names "beatus Gregorius" as the source for these extracts, and gives precise references to the *Forty Gospel Homilies*. In this respect, Dygon's practice was typical of his time: other preachers, who quote much shorter extracts from Gregory, also cite him as a named authority. Robert of Rypon adduces "beatus Gregorius" on several occasions in his sermons, often consulting Gregory's homily on the Gospel that supplied his own *thema*.⁴⁴ The compiler of the Middle English collection in London, British Library Sloane 3160, stages a comparison between Gregory's treatment of the apocalyptic signs in his homily on Luke 21 and Jerome's account in his "In annalibus Ebreorum"; here, too, Gregory is named as an authoritative source: "The holy doctor Seynt Gregory seith in the same gospel that our lord Ihesu, desiryng to fynde us alwey redye in clennes, sheweth us be scriptur tokenes of the ende of the worlde."⁴⁵ This is also the compiler's practice in other sermons from Trinity Dublin 241. Many sermons from this cycle present *sententiae* attributed to Gregory,

⁴² Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 100–115, esp. 104. Ralph Hanna has shown that Dygon read and annotated a copy of Gregory's *Forty Gospel Homilies* in Oxford, Magdalen College Lat. 61; see "John Dygon, Fifth Recluse of Sheen: His Career, Books, and Acquaintance," in *Imagining the Book*, ed. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout, 2005), 127–41, at 131.

⁴³ On the structure of Dygon's sermons, see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 103–4, and *Beyond the "Sermo Modernus,"* 93–97. Dygon's two sermons on Luke 10:3, DY 56 and DY 57 in Wenzel's inventory, both contain long quotations from Gregory's homilies that constitute one whole division of the sermon in each case. See Oxford, Madgalen College 79, fols. 242r–246r, and fols. 246r–261v.

⁴⁴ Rypon cites Gregory's homily on Luke 21:25–33 in a sermon for the feast of Saint Oswald, quoting Gregory's description of the ageing body, though without its metaphorical application to the world as the apocalypse nears. See Robert Rypon, *Selected Sermons, 1: Feast Days and Saints' Days*, ed. and trans. Holly Johnson, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 24:1 (Paris, 2019), 330, 331.

⁴⁵ London, British Library Sloane 3160, fol. 30r–30v. This sermon is summarized by O'Mara and Paul in the *Repertorium* as BL/Sloane 3160/002. For further discussion of this sermon, see O'Mara, "'Go 3e curselynges into euerlasting fier,'" 283–84, and "Last Judgement in Medieval English Prose Sermons," 31–32.

alongside other patristic authorities including Ambrose, Augustine, John Chrysostom, and Isidore of Seville. In the sermon for Advent 3, for example, the compiler cites “Seynt Gregori” on vainglory, which destroys the work of charity, and then cites him twice more to begin a new section on the virtues that withstand the “winds” of sin.⁴⁶ The compiler’s use of Gregory as the unacknowledged basis for a complete sermon on Luke 21 stands out as unusual then, both in the context of fifteenth-century preaching practice, and in the context of the rest of this cycle of sermons.

Many of the sources that the Trinity Dublin 241 compiler used in his sermon for Advent 2 are also found together in the Wycliffite *Glossed Gospels*. These were compilations of patristic and medieval exegesis, translated into Middle English and presented as a commentary on the gospel texts from the Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible.⁴⁷ The *Glossed Gospel on Luke* survives in two versions: a long version, incompletely preserved in Cambridge University Library MS Kk.2.9, and a short version that derives from it, preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 234 and Bodley 143.⁴⁸ One other manuscript, York Minster Library MS XVI.D.2, preserves material from all four *Glossed Gospels*, reorganized as a resource for preachers: here, the commentary material follows the gospel lection for each Sunday in the church year.⁴⁹ The commentary on Luke 21:25–33 in Cambridge University Library Kk.2.9 contains around two thirds of the text of Gregory’s homily: sections 1–4, but not sections 5–6. It also includes the passages from Bede that appear in the Trinity 241 sermon, linking the “pressura gentium” of Luke 21:25 to the “tribulatio magna” of Matthew 24:21 and commenting on men who seem to flourish in the world, and supplies cross references to those passages from Gregory’s homily that are cited in Bede (“Gregorius þere and Bede here”).⁵⁰ The material on Luke 21:25–33 in Cambridge University Library Kk.2.9 is also presented in York Minster XVI.D.2,

⁴⁶ Trinity College Dublin 241, fol. 49r–v.

⁴⁷ For a recent study of the *Glossed Gospels* with editions of selected passages, see Hudson, *Doctors in English: A Study of the Wycliffite Gospel Commentaries* (Liverpool, 2015).

⁴⁸ On these commentaries, see Hudson, *Doctors in English*, lxxi–lxxvi.

⁴⁹ On the contents of York Minster XVI.D.2, see Hudson, *Doctors in English*, xli–xliii. On the material from the *Glossed Gospel* from Luke in this manuscript, see Hudson, *Doctors in English*, lxxvi–lxxvii.

⁵⁰ Cambridge University Library Kk.2.9, twice on fol. 261r.

where it forms the entry for Advent 2. The York text also includes additional material on the Last Judgement that does not appear in the Cambridge manuscript, however: where in Cambridge, two passages from Gregory's homily follow in succession, in York, long excerpts from the pseudo-Chrysostom's commentary on Matthew, the sermons of Augustine, Odo of Asti's Psalm commentary, and works by Bernard of Clairvaux and Anselm, appear between them.⁵¹ This additional material also includes the exemplum about Jerome, who heard the trumpet calling him to judgement at all times, here attributed to "Ierom in his Pistle."⁵²

The English translation of Gregory in the *Glossed Gospels* does not appear to be the immediate source for the translation that appears in the Trinity Dublin 241 sermon. The *Glossed Gospel* translation is distinct from the sermon text in part because it avoids the kinds of amplification and elaboration that the Trinity Dublin 241 compiler employs, but where the texts coincide closely, it is also possible to see them rendering the same Latin in different ways. The Trinity Dublin 241 sermon, for example, translates the opening sentence of Gregory's homily as follows: "Sires, oure lord and oure God, desiring euermore to fynde vs redi . . . , he warneþ vs what eueles and meschiefes shulen be in þe ende of þe world, for to wiþdrawen vs . . . fro þe loue of þe world" (ll. 18–21 below) while the *Glossed Gospel on Luke* has, "þe lord and oure aʒenbier, desiryng to fynde vs redy, telliþ what yuelis suen þe world wexyng oold, to make vs to cesse fro loue þerof."⁵³ Later, translating Gregory's exegesis of the fig tree (Luke 21:29–30), the Trinity Dublin 241 sermon has "Wel is þe kyndom of God liknid to somer, for þenne al þe dirkenesse of oure sorewe shulen passe and þe daies of euerlasting lif shulen euer shyne as bryʒt as þe sonne" (ll. 105–7 below); and the *Glossed Gospel on Luke* has "Wel þe rewme of God is lickened to somer, for þanne þe cloudis of oure mornyng passen, and þe daies of lif shynen bi clerenesse of euerelastyng sunne."⁵⁴ The Trinity Dublin 241 compiler would also

⁵¹ Compare Cambridge University Library Kk.2.9, fol. 260r–260v, with York Minster Library XVI.D.2, fols. 7v–11r.

⁵² York Minster Library XVI.D.2, fol. 10r.

⁵³ Cambridge University Library Kk.2.9, fol. 259r, and cf. York Minster Library XVI.D.2, fol. 6v.

⁵⁴ Cambridge University Library Kk.2.9, fol. 261r, and cf. York Minster Library XVI.D.2, fol. 11v.

have needed access to another text of Gregory's homily for the material from sections 5–6, which is not included in the *Glossed Gospel*. Hudson, comparing a passage from Gregory's fifteenth homily that recurs in the *Glossed Gospels* on Mark and Matthew, argues that a pre-existing English translation formed the basis for both, raising the possibility that an independent vernacular translation of the *Forty Gospel Homilies* was available to Wycliffite preachers in this period; perhaps the Trinity Dublin 241 compiler had access to a source like this.⁵⁵

It is difficult to assess whether the Trinity compiler used the translation of Bede from the *Glossed Gospels*. The first passage from Bede in the sermon is short, and mostly comprised of two juxtaposed scriptural quotations, while the second, which has some correspondences to the *Glossed Gospel* text, is nevertheless very freely amplified and elaborated in the sermon version. The story about Jerome could plausibly be based on the expanded *Glossed Gospel* text in the York Minster manuscript, however; although the Trinity 241 compiler puts the story in the third person, and elaborates slightly on the detail, there are no places where the two texts clearly employ a different English translation of the same Latin source word. Given the Trinity 241 compiler's familiarity with Wycliffite sermons and pastoralia, it seems plausible to suggest that he might have found the materials for his sermon combined in the expanded text of the *Glossed Gospel* on Luke 21:25–33, presented as the entry for Advent 2, even if he turned to another source for a full text of Gregory's homily.

The exemplum about the mole, which does not appear in the *Glossed Gospel* entry, was also popular in Wycliffite writing, where it was often applied to worldly clerics, as Laurie Ringer has shown.⁵⁶ The treatise "Of Prelates," for example, condemns the priesthood as "worldly moldwarpis, ful of synmony and heresie," and complains that they "resten as moldwarpis in wrotynge of worldly worschipe and erpely goodis, as þouȝ

⁵⁵ Hudson, *Doctors in English*, lxxxiii–lxxxiv.

⁵⁶ Laurie Ringer, "A Select Concordance of Some 400 Middle English Texts: A Study of Wycliffite Discourse with Particular Discussion of the Issues of Contemporary Poverty, Pious Practice, Substantive Law, and Anticlerical Style" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hull, 2007), s.v. "moldewarpis," 1674–75, and see also the discussion at 121–24.

þere were no lif but only in þis wrecchid world.”⁵⁷ The same trope can be found in the *English Wycliffite Sermons*, which say that priests “han moldywerpus eyzen þat þenkon euere on worldly goodis,” and that Christ ascended a hill to preach in a sign that “moldy-werpis þat wroton þe erþe ben vnable to þis lore.”⁵⁸ The compiler’s use of this exemplum could certainly have been inspired by his reading in Wycliffite sources. The Trinity Dublin 241 compiler returns to the analogy in at least one other sermon, for the first Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany, where he argues that covetous men hide in the earth like moles: “And sume gon into þe erþe in maner of a moldewarp, and huden hem in þe erþe. Such ben couetous and auerows men þat aren holden in þe loue of wordeli þingis. Of hem seiþ þe prophete, ‘Þei shulen into þe depnesse of þe erþe,’ þat is into helle.”⁵⁹ This analogy appealed to at least one reader of the manuscript, who attached a piece of parchment to this page, bearing the text “nota moldwarpes.”⁶⁰

In the following edition of the text, abbreviations have been silently expanded, word division modernized, and modern punctuation supplied. Editorial emendations and are recorded in the textual notes; emendations found in the manuscript are also shown in angled brackets in the edition. I have included numbered section divisions in square brackets to aid comparison with the Corpus Christianorum edition of Gregory’s sermon, and the source texts from Gregory are supplied along with other source materials in the *apparatus fontium*.

⁵⁷ “Of Prelates,” in *The English Works of Wyclif*, ed. F. D. Matthew, EETS, OS, 74 (London, 1880), 52–107, at 89 and 147.

⁵⁸ *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, 2:314, 2:320.

⁵⁹ Trinity College Dublin 241, fol. 53r.

⁶⁰ See Scattergood, Pattwell, and Williams, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 146.

Erunt signa in sole et stellis, etc. Luce xxi. Þis gospel telliþ dirkli a prophecie of Crist, how it shal be in þis chirche before þe day of doom. In þe tyme þat Crist was here bodili wiþ his disciples, he spak ofte tyme of þe ende of þe world and of þe day of doom, and þei askiden him when it shulde be. And as at þis tyme Crist seide to hem in þes wordes: “Þer shulen be signes in þe sunne and mone and þe sterres, and in erþe pressure of folc for confusioun of þe sound of þe see and flodes, þat men shulen be drie for drede of abiding of þingis þat shal come to al þe world. For whi, þe vertues of heuene shulen be mouyd, and þenne shulden þei see mannes sone comyng in a clowde wiþ gret power and maieste. Þis bygynnyng to be, seeþ and heueþ vp 3oure heedes, for 3oure redempcion neigheþ.” And vpon þis Crist seide to his disciplis a similitude: “Lo, seeþ þe fige tree and oþer trees, how þei bringen out of hem þer fruit, and þer 3e may wite þat it is neigh somer; and so 3ee whenne 3e see þis be, witiþ wel þat þe rewme of God is neigh. Forsoþe, I seie to 3ow þat þis kynrede of men ne shal not passe til al þis be don. Heuene and erþe shulen passe, bute my wordes shulen not passe.”

[1.i.1] Sires, oure lord and oure God, desiring euermore to fynde vs redi in his seruise and out of dedili synne, he warneþ vs what eueles and meschiefes shulen be in þe ende of þe world, for to wiþdrawen vs and oure willes fro þe loue of þe world. And þerfore, neiþing þe terme of þe ende of þe world, he warneþ vs what sorewes and meschiefes shulen come before, þat 3if it be so þat we wolen dreden him, we mosten be defoulid in diuerse tribulaciouns and sorewes and dreding euermore þe neigh tyme of þe day of doom. And herfore he seiþ in his Gospel, “þer

1 *Erunt . . . etc.*: Lc 21:25.

1–2 Þis . . . doom: *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, 1:330.1–2, “This gospel telluþ derkli a prophesie of Crist, how hit schal be in þis chirche byfore þe day of doom.”

3–5 In þe tyme . . . shulde be: cf. Lc 21:7.

5–17 Þer shulen . . . not passe: Lc 21:25–33.

18–25 oure lord . . . doom: a free, amplified rendering of Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia* [Greg., *Hom.*] 1.1.1, ed. Étaix, 5–6.1–6, “Dominus ac Redemptor noster paratos nos inuenire desiderans, senescentem mundum quae mala sequantur denuntiat, ut nos ab eius amore compescat. Appropinquantem eius terminum quantae percussiones praeueniant innotescit, ut si Deum metuere in tranquillitate non uolumus, uicinum eius iudicium uel percussioneibus attriti timeamus.”

shulen be signes in þe sunne and mone and sterres and in erþe pressure of folc,” of whiche signes, for as muche as summe of hem ben passid and fulfillid, it is no doute þat þe fewe þat leuen ne shulen come, for þe proue of þingis þat ben to come is þe certeynte of þe þingis þat ben passid.

30 Þe “pressure of folc” I vnderstonde be þe comyng of Antecrist, of whiche seiþ Seynt Mathew in þe Gospel þat “þer shal be | þenne so gret tribulacioun in þe world þat þer was neuer suche fro þe bygynnyng of þe world vnto þat tyme ne neuer after shal be.” And þenne shal al mankynde make gret sorewe and lawmentacioun. Þei shulen þenne make hidows
35 sorewe þat now, whiles þei han tyme to do penaunse for here synnes, ne wolen not, for lustes of here flesh and loue of wordeli riches and worships. For þenne þei shulen opynli see and knowe þat þei shulen perpetueli <be> in helle in peynes wiþ þe fendes of helle.

[1.i.2.] Þese þingis to þis entente ben seid: þat 3e shulen wiþ al þe
40 bisinesse of 3oure wittis be war þat 3e ne tristen not to þe falsnesse of þis world ny to þe veyn ioye þer of, bute euer wiþ drede þat 3our bisinesse

29 þingis] signes, marked for deletion (subpuncted); þingis supplied in the margin.

25–27 And herfore . . . folc: cf. Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.1, ed. Étaix, 6.10–12, citing Lc 21:25.

27–29 of whiche signes . . . ben passid: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.1, ed. Étaix, 6.25–27: “Sed cum multa iam praenuntiata completa sunt, dubium non est quod sequantur etiam pauca quae restant, quia sequentium rerum certitudo est praeteritarum exhibitio.”

30–33 Þe “pressure . . . shal be”: Bede, *In Lucam*, 21.25, ed. Hurst, 369.243–45, citing Lc 21:25 and Mt 24:21, “Item quod Lucas ait, ‘Et in terris pressura gentium,’ ipsum esse reor quod antichristi tempora describens Matheus dicit, ‘Erit enim tunc tribulatio magna qualis non fuit ab initio mundi usque modo neque fiet.’” See also the *Wycliffite Glossed Gospel on Luke (LV)*, Cambridge, University Library Kk.2.9, fol. 259r (and cf. York Minster Library XVI.D.2, fol. 6v), “Also, I deme þat þis þat Luk seiþ, ‘And ouerleiynge of folkis schal be in erþe,’ is þe same þing which Seynt Matheu, discryuynge þe tymes of Antichrist, seiþ: ‘Forsoþe greet tribulacioun shal be þanne, which maner was not fro bigynnyng of þe world til now, neþer schal be.’”

39–45 Þese þingis . . . world: a free, amplified rendering of Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.2, ed. Étaix, 6.28–33, citing Lc 21:26, “Haec nos, fratres carissimi, idcirco dicimus ut ad cautelaue studium uestrae mentes euigilent, ne securitate torpeant, ne ignorantia

be to kepe þe commaundementes of God and louen his lawes and fle al
 maner of synne. Þenking þat, as is seid after in þis Gospel, “þat men
 shulen drye for drede and abyding of þingis þat shulen come to al þe
 45 world comyng þenne to al þe world”: drede and abyding of þe streite and
 þe dredful dom of (þe) riȝtwis domesman. Many þat in þis world þat han
 haboundaunce of wordeli goodes, and han al here lustes and lykingis of
 hem, whenne þei seen hemsilf how litil good þei han don for goddes sake
 þei shulen þenne be drye for sorewe and drede. For be þe iust dom of þe
 50 riȝtwis domesman þei shulen be sent into þe fuir of helle, þere to be
 wiþouten ende.

Þenne seiþ þe Gospel þat “þe vertues of heuene shulen be mouyd.” Þe
 vertues of heuene, Crist clepiþ hem angeles, archangeles and oþer astates
 of angeles, þe whiche shulen apere in þe comyng of þe streite iuge—and
 55 þat shulen we see wiþ oure eynen—and shulen streiteli axen of vs þat we
 don now, boþe of good and of euyl. And þenne we shulen “see mannes
 sone comyng in a briȝt clowde wiþ gret power and mageste,” as it were
 openli seid. In gret power and maieste þei shulen see hym þat made him

43 as] at MS

languescant, sed semper eas et timor sollicitet et in bono opere sollicitudo confir-
 met, pensantes hoc quod Redemptoris nostri uoce subiungitur: ‘Arescentibus homi-
 nibus prae timore et exspectatione quae superuenient in uniuerso mundo.’”

45–50 drede . . . fuir: a free, amplified rendering of Bede, *In Lucam*, 21.25, ed.
 Hurst, 369.260–63: “Tunc itaque superueniente uniuerso orbi timore et expecta-
 tione districti examinis multi qui in hoc mundo florere uidebantur cum se sine
 fructu conspexerint arescent, tunc fides quae sine operibus uiruerat probante se iusti
 iudicis igne marcescet.” See also the *Wycliffite Glossed Gospel on Luke (LV)*,
 Cambridge University Library MS Kk.2.9, fol. 259r (and cf. York Minster Library
 MS XVI.D.2, fol. 6v), “Þanne, for the drede and abidyng of þe streit dom shal com
 on al þe world, mony men þat semyden to florische in þis world shulen be drie
 whanne þei shulen se hemsilf wiþoute fruyte, þanne seiþ þat was greene wiþoute
 werkis shal be welewide, for þe fier of þe iust iuge shal proue it.”

52–56 Þenne seiþ . . . euyl: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.2, ed. Étaix, 6–7.33–39, citing Lc
 21:26, “‘Nam uirtutes caelorum commouebuntur.’ Quid enim Dominus uirtutes
 caelorum nisi angelos, archangelos, thronos, dominationes, principatus et potes-
 tates appellat, quae in aduentu districti iudicis nostris tunc oculis uisibiliter ap-
 parent, ut districte tunc a nobis exigant hoc quod nos modo inuisibilis conditor
 aequanimiter portat?”

so meke and so pore in þis world, as þe Gospel seiþ þat he made him so
 60 pore þat he hadde noon hows wherynne he myȝte leie his hed. And þenne
 þei shulen more hard fele his vertu þat wolen not here in þis world meken
 here hertes to kepen h(is) lawes bute folewe þe tradicions and lawes of
 man and outreli dampne Cristis lawes.

[1.i.3.] Bute, for þis shal be seid to hem þat shulen be dampnyd, þer-
 65 fore I wol seiþ what confort þei shulen haue þat shulen be Cristes chosen
 to þe blis of heuene. Þe Gospel seiþ, “þis bygynnyng to be, seeþ and
 heueþ vp ȝoure heedes, for ȝoure redempcioun neighiþ.” Þat is to mene
 þat oure lord God shal | speke to his chosen and warnen hem and seiþ,
 70 “Whenne ȝe see þe meschiefis of þis world encrese, hefe ȝe vp ȝoure
 hedes.” Þat is to mene, be ȝe glad in ȝoure hertes for, while þe world
 endiþ to þe whiche ȝe weren no frendes, ȝoure redemptour—þe whiche
 ȝe soughten and loueden in ȝoure hertes—is neigh. For ofte in holi writ
 þe hed is set for þe herte, for riȝt as þe membres of man ben gouernid bi
 þe hed, so ben þe werkes of man rewlid bi þe þoughtes of his herte. Þenne

46r

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62 h(is)] here, *marked for deletion (subpuncted and lined through in red); his supplied in the margin.*

56–62 And þenne . . . hertes: a free, amplified rendering of Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.2, ed. Étaix, 7.40–44, “Vbi et subditur: ‘Et tunc uidebunt Filium hominis uenientem in nubibus in potestate magna et maiestate.’ Ac si aperte diceretur: In potestate et maiestate uisuri sunt quem in humilitate positum audire noluerunt, ut uirtutem eius tanto tunc districtius sentiant, quanto nunc ceruicem cordis ad eius patientiam non inclinant.”

59–60 þe Gospel . . . his hed: where Gregory refers to Christ in a state of humility, the sermon compiler interpolates a reference to Mt 8:20.

64–65 Bute . . . chosen: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 7.45–46, “Sed quia haec contra reprobos dicta sunt, mox ad electorum consolationem uerba uertuntur.”

66–72 Þe Gospel . . . is neigh: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 7.46–52, citing Lc 21:28, “Nam subditur: ‘His autem fieri incipientibus, respicite et leuate capita uestra, quoniam appropinquat redemptio uestra.’ Ac si aperte Veritas electos suos admoneat dicens: Cum plagae mundi crebrescunt, . . . leuate uos capita, id est exhilarate corda, quia dum finitur mundus cui amici non estis, prope fit redemptio quam quaesistis.”

72–76 For ofte . . . heuene: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 7.52–75, “In scriptura etenim sacra saepe caput pro mente ponitur, quia sicut capite reguntur membra, ita cogitationes mente disponuntur. Leuare itaque est capita mentes nostras ad gaudia patriae caelestis erigere.”

75 heueþ vp 3oure hertes in heuenli þingis and þenkiþ on þe gret blisse of
 heuene. For certes, alle þilke þat louen God in here hertes shulen be glad
 of þe ende of þe world, for Crist biddeþ hem be glad and make ioie in
 her hertes, and seiþ to hem þat “3e þat han louyd me, now 3e shulen fynde
 80 me,” for Seynt Iames seiþ in his Epistel þat “whoever be frend to þis
 world, in þat he is enemy to God.” Þenne what man is not glad of þe ende
 of þe world, he proueþ himsilf frend to it, and in þat he grauntiþ himsilf
 enemy to God.

Lo, heui it is to be sori of þe ende of þe world, þat han felt enterli alle
 þe rootes of here hertes in þe loue of þis world and of wordeli þingis, and
 85 desiren not þe lif þat euer shal laste, ny supposen not in here hertes þat
 þer ne shal be noon oþer lif. Bute suche men ben lik to þe moldewarp þat
 is euer more blind and euermore trauailiþ in þe erþe in dirkenesse, bute
 riȝt when he shal deye, þen he brestiþ þe skyn of his browes and þenne
 he haþ siȝt and anoon he is ded. Riȝt so faren þe wordeli couetous men:

76–79 For certes . . . fynde me: a free, amplified rendering of Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 7.55–58, “Qui ergo Deum diligunt, ex mundi fine gaudere atque hilarescere iubentur, quia uidelicet eum quem amant mox inueniunt, dum transit is quem non amauerunt.”

79–82 Seynt Iames . . . God: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 7–8.60–64, citing Jac 4:4, “Scriptum namque est: ‘Quicumque uoluerit amicus esse saeculi huius, inimicus Dei constituitur.’ Qui ergo appropinquante mundi fine non gaudet, amicum se illius esse testatur atque per hoc inimicus Dei conuincitur.”

83–86 Lo . . . oþer lif: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 8.66–68, “Ex mundi enim destructione lugere eorum est qui radices cordis in eius amore plantauerunt, qui sequentem uitam non quaerunt, qui illam neque esse suspicantur.”

86–93 Bute . . . spirit: No. 3315 in Tubach, *Index Exemplorum* (n. 26 above). See also *La Tabula Exemplorum*, ed. Welter, no. 7, “Item amatores mundi sunt similes talpe que terram inhabitat et eam dividit, fodit et discernit, sed extra terram sapienciam non habet. . . .” The account of the mole derives from *De proprietatibus rerum*, which draws in turn on Aristotle’s *Historia Animalium* 1.9 and 4.8. See *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa’s Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum*, ed. M. C. Seymour et al., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975–88), 2:1253, “Aristotil spekiþ of þe wonte in þis wise: euerich beste that gendreþ a beste liche to himselue haþ yhen outake þe wonte þat haþ none yhen yseye withoute; and who þat slitteþ þe skynne of him sotilliche and slyliche schal fynde wiþinne þe fore of yen yhidde. And some men trowen þat þat skynne brekeþ for anguyssh and for sorwe whan he bigynneþ to dye and bigynneþ þanne to opene þe yhen in þe deyinge þat he hadde yclosed in lyuyngē.”

90 þei labouren euermore in dirkenesse of þe erþe, þat is in wordeli goodes,
 til þe ende of here deþ, bute þenne þeir eynen ben openyd whenne þei
 seen whider þei shulen go—to peyne wiþouten ende in þe last poynt,
 when þer <herte> is tobroke wiþ passing of þeir spirit. And þerfore, we
 þat hopen to come to þe blis of heuene, it is to vs to desire þe ende of þe
 95 wretchid world. We shulen by resoun desire to go þider bi þe shortist
 wey þat we myȝte, and þat is bi deþ. As þe apostel Poul seide, “I desire
 to be vnbounden and to be wiþ Crist.” Lord God, what may þis be þat
 we ben weri of þis world and ȝette wolde we not gladly leuen hit?

100 Þat we shulden despise þe world our God shewiþ vs in þis Gospel
 whenne he seiþ, “seeþ þes fige trees and oþer trees” for, riȝt as somer is
 knowen bi þe fruit of trees, riȝt so is þe rewme of God knowen bi þe
 falling of þe world. For þe fruit of þe world is ruwyne, and to þat was þe
 world mad þat he shulde haue an | ende, and to þat he bringiþ forþ his
 fruit, þat it shulde be consumed wiþ diuerse meschiefs, þat þat he haþ
 105 brouȝt forþ. Wel is þe kyndom of God liknid to somer, for þenne al þe
 dirkenesse of oure sorewe shulen passe and þe daies of euerlasting lif
 shulen euer shyne as bryȝt as þe sonne.

[1.i.4.] Þenne seiþ þe Gospel, “I seie to ȝow: forsoþe, þis kynrede of
 folc ne shal not passe til al þis be don. Heuene and erþe shulen passe,

93 herte] skyn, *marked for deletion (subpuncted)*; herte *supplied in the margin*.

95–96 We ... myȝte: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 8.68–71, “Nos autem qui caelestis patriae gaudia aeterna cognouimus, festinare ad eam quantocius debemus. Optandum nobis est citius pergere atque ad illam uia breuiore peruenire.”

96–97 I ... Crist: Phil 1:23.

97–98 Lord ... hit: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 8.73–75, “Et quale sit, fratres mei, perpendite, in labore uiae lassescere et tamen eamdem uiam nolle finire.”

99–107 Þat ... sonne: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.3, ed. Étaix, 8.76–87, citing Lc 21:29, “Quod autem calcari mundus ac despici debeat, Redemptor noster prouida comparatione manifestat cum protinus adiungit: ‘Videte ficulneam et omnes arbores ...,’ aperte dicens quia sicut ex fructu arborum uicina aestas agnoscitur, ita ex ruina mundi prope esse cognoscitur regnum Dei. Quibus profecto uerbis ostenditur quia fructus mundi ruina est. Ad hoc enim crescit ut cadat, ad hoc germinat ut quaeque germinauerit cladibus consummat. Bene autem regnum Dei aestati comparatur, quia tunc maeroris nostri nubila transeunt et uitae dies aeterni solis claritate fulgescunt.”

110 bute my wordes shulen not passe.” Þer is in no bodili þingis more durable
þen heuene and erþe, and in kyndeli þingis so liȝteli passen as words.
Alle maner of wordes þat profiten not, þei ben no wordes ne perfit, and
when þei ben perfit þei mowen not be bute þei ben spoke. Þenne seiþ þe
115 Gospel, “heuene and erþe shulen passe,” as he seide, “alle þing þat is to
ȝow durable and wiþoute chaungyng, hit is not lik to heuenli þingis þe
whiche ben euer wiþouten ende, and al þat is seen passing, as by me it is
halden ferm wiþouten passing; for, wiþouten any chaungyng, my word
þat passiþ settiþ alle þingis wiþouten chaungyng.”

[1.i.5.] Lo sires, now we han herd what þat haþ be spoken of oure lord
120 þat is almyȝti God, now speke we a litil of þe world. Ȝe seen wel þat al
day þe world is troublid wiþ newe sorewes. Newe and sodeyne þingis
fallen and gretli disesen vs. Riȝt as mannes bodi in his ȝouþe wexiþ
strong and hool, his brest and his armes grete and stronge; in his elde
anoon his bac crokiþ and in his breste haþ gret sikyngis and mony

123 his brest and his] brest his MS

108–13 I seie . . . spoke: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.4, ed. Étaix, 8–9.89–95, citing Lc 21:32–33, “‘Amen dico uobis, quia non praeteribit generatio haec donec omnia fiant. Caelum et terra transibunt, uerba autem mea non transibunt.’ Nihil enim in rerum corporalium natura caelo et terra durabilius et nihil in rerum natura tam uelociter quam sermo transit. Verba enim quousque imperfecta sunt, uerba non sunt; cum uero perfecta fuerint, omnino iam non sunt, quia nec perfici nisi transeundo possunt.”

113–18 Þenne . . . chaungyng: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.4, ed. Étaix, 8.95–100, citing Lc 21:33, “Ait ergo: ‘Caelum et terra transibunt, uerba autem mea non transient.’ Ac si aperte dicat: Omne quod apud uos durable est, sine immutatione durable ad aeternitatem non est, et omne quod apud me transire cernitur, fixum et sine transitu tenetur, quia sine mutabilitate manentes sententias exprimit meus sermo qui transit.”

120–22 Ȝe seen . . . disesen vs: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.5, ed. Étaix, 9.101–4, “Nouis cotidie et crebrescentibus malis mundus urgetur. . . . Et tamen adhuc cotidie flagella urgent. . . .”

122–34 Riȝt . . . in him: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.5, ed. Étaix, 9.105–18, citing 1 Jn 2:15, “Sicut enim in iuuentute uiget corpus, forte et incolume manet pectus, torosa ceruix, plena sunt brachia; in annis autem senilibus statura curuatur, ceruix exsiccata deponitur, frequentibus suspiriis pectus urgetur, uirtus deficit, loquentis uerba anhelitus intercidit, nam esti languor desit, plerumque senibus ipsa sua salus aegritudo est; ita mundus in annis prioribus uelut in iuuentute uiguit, ad propagandam humani

- 125 diseases, his strengþe failiþ in his lymes, his breþing shertiþ, and, þeiȝ he
 haue no sekeneȝ, ȝit his hele in his elde is to him as sekeneȝe; riȝt so þe
 world in his firste bygynnyng was fresh and likyng to bringe forþ to
 mankynde alle maner of fruites haboundantli, bute what now? Ȝe seen
 weel he is waxen old and riȝt as he were neigh at is ende, for he bringiþ
 130 not forþ his fruit as he was wonyd to do. And þerfore sires, ne leueþ not
 þat þat ȝe seen may not longe stonde, bute settiþ in ȝoure hertes þe con-
 seiles and þe preceptes of þe aposteles, by whiche þei warnen vs and
 seyen, “Ne wole ȝe louen þe world, ny þat þat is in þe world, for whoso
 loueþ þe world, þe charite of þe fader is not in him.”
- 135 Sires, bute litil while siþen ȝe han seyen diuerse tribulacions, as erþe
 donyng, grete wyndes and wedres, þe whiche han turned vpsodoun
 houses and trees, and also rising of puple, and alle þese ben signes of þe
 ende of þis world, and al is synne þe cause. Also ȝe han seyen stronge
 men go to þer beddes hool and sound, and amorewe ded bi pestilence,
 140 and al þis is in vengeance of synne. And þis is þat Crist seide to his
 disciplis, and seide hem of wondres | and tokenes þat shulden come to-
 fore þe gret and dredful day of dom. Crist seide to hem as witenessiþ þe
 Gospel þat “þer shulde arise puple aȝeines puple and rewme aȝeines
 rewme, and þer shal be among þe puple pestilences and hongeres, and al
 145 þis shal <be> bute þe bygynnyng of al euyl.”

generis prolem robustus fuit, salute corporum uiridis, opulentia rerum pinguis; at nunc ipsa sua senectute deprimitur et quasi ad uicinam mortem molestiis crescentibus urgetur. Nolite ergo, fratres mei, diligere quem uidetis diu stare non posse. Praecepta apostolica in animum ponite, quibus nos admonet dicens: ‘Nolite diligere mundum, neque ea quae in mundo sunt, quia si quis diligit mundum non est caritas Patris in eo.’”

135–37 Sires . . . puple: a free, amplified rendering of Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.5, ed. Étaix, 9.119–21, “Nudius tertius, fratres, agnouistis quod subito turbine annosa arbusta eruta, destructae domus atque ecclesiae a fundamentis euersae sunt.”

138–39 Also . . . pestilance: adapted from Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.5, ed. Étaix, 9–10.121–23, “Quanti ad uesperum sani atque incolumes acturos se in crastinum aliquid putabant, et tamen nocte eadem repentina morte defuncti sunt. . . .”

143–45 þer . . . euyl: Mt 24:7–8 and cf. Lc 21:10–11. Gregory includes a version of this material near the beginning of his sermon, as a supplement to his recapitulation of the pericope. Cf. Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.1, ed. Étaix, 6.6–10, citing Lc 21:10–11, “Huic etenim lectioni sancti euangelii quam modo uestra fraternitas au-

[1.i.6.] Certes, we shulen vndurstande þat þe softe wynd of þe mouþ of almyȝti God haþ stirid al þis, and haþ stirid þe spiritis of tempestis to do þus þes þingis seid bifore. What trowe ȝe þenne þat oure almyȝti God shal do whenne he comeþ himsilf to take vengeaunce for synne of man-
 150 kynde? Certes, as þe prophete seiþ, “þat fuir shal brenne in his sizt,” þat noþing may suffre hit. What trowe ȝee whenne wiþ a þynne clowde alle þingis shulen melte or waste? What man shal stonde when he stiriþ þe wynd and turniþ þe erþe vpso down and kesteb̄ down al þat stondiþ in erþe?

155 Þis dredeful þing of þis grete iuge seynt Poul consideriþ when he seiþ, “hit is to hating to falle in þe hondes of euerlyuing God.” Also, þe prophete seiþ þat “God shal come aperteli and he shal not be stille. Þe fuir shal brenne in his sizt and al aboute him strong tempest.” Certes, þe streitnesse of his riȝtwisnesse shal be turnid into fuir and tempest, for

156 to hating] *sic* MS. A rendering of Latin *horrendum* 159 fuir] *fir* MS

diuit, paulo superius Dominus praemisit dicens: ‘Exsurget gens contra gentem et regnum aduersus regnum, et erunt terraemotus magni per loca, pestilentiae et fames.’”

146–48 Certes . . . bifore: an abbreviated rendering of Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.6, ed. Étaix, 10.124–27, “Sed considerandum nobis est quod ad haec agenda inuisibilis iudex uenti tenuissimi spiritum mouit, unius procellam nubis excitauit et terram subruit, casura tot aedificiorum fundamenta concussit.”

151–54 What . . . erþe: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.6, ed. Étaix, 10.127–31, “Quid ergo iudex iste facturus est cum per semetipsum uenerit et in ultionem peccatorum ira eius exarserit, si portari non potest cum nos pertenuissimam nubem ferit? In irae eius praesentia quae caro subsistit, si uentum mouit et terram subruit, concitauit aera et tot aedificia strauit?” The sermon compiler replaces Gregory’s reference to God’s burning anger with a quotation from Ps 49:3 (“Ignis in conspectu ejus exardescet”), which Gregory will cite a few sentences later in this passage.

155–58 Þis dreadful . . . tempest”: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.6, ed. Étaix, 10.131–35, citing Heb 10:31 and Ps 49:3, “Hanc districtiōnem uenturi iudicis Paulus considerans ait: ‘Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei uiuentis.’ Hanc psalmista exprimit dicens: ‘Deus manifestus ueniet, Deus noster et non silebit. Ignis in conspectu eius ardebit et in circuitu eius tempestas ualida.’”

158–65 Certes . . . ful softe: a free, amplified rendering of Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.6, ed. Étaix, 10.135–39, “Districtiōnem quippe tantae iustitiae tempestas ignisque comitantur, quia tempestas examinat quos ignis exurat. Illum ergo diem, fratres ca-

160 whom þe tempest examineþ and fyndeþ him foul in dedeli synne, him
 shal þe fuir brenne. And þerfore sires, þat dredful day setteþ in 3oure
 hertes and þat 3e þenken now hard and greuou to leeu þat is 3oure lustes
 and likinges of þe world and of 3oure flesh, 3if it be so þat 3e leeuem hem
 now, þenne in þat hard stour at þe dredful day of doom it shal be to 3ow
 165 ful softe. Of þat dredful day it is seid bi þe prophete on þis wise, he seiþ:
 “Þe gret day of God is neigh and hasteli comeþ. Þe vois of þe day of God
 is ful bitter, for þere shulen þe strong be troublid. Þat day is þe day of
 wratthe, þe day of tribulacioun and of angwis, þe day of meschif and of
 sorewe, þe day of dirkenesse and of hete, þe day of clowdes and of tem-
 170 pestes, þe day of trompe and of sown.” Of þat day Crist seiþ bi his pro-
 phete, “3it I shal moue not oonli þe erþe bute also heuene.”

Lo, as I haue seid, he shal stire þe eir and þe erþe shal not stonde. What
 elles ben þes dredful þingis þat we seen bute þe budeles of þe suwing
 wrappe of almy3ti God? And þerfore it is nedeful to considere þat as
 175 vnlik ben þese tribulacions þat we seen here to þe leste tribulacion of þe
 day of dom, as is bitwixe þe power of þe grete iuge to þe powere of his
 budele. Þat day sires, prentiþ hit in 3oure soules and lett iþ it not passe out
 of 3oure mynde, for þe holi doctour Seynt Ierom dredde þat day as it is
 writen when he seide wheþer he eete or dronk or slepte, | or what oþer

rissimi, illum ante oculos ponite et quidquid modo graue creditur in eius compa-
 ratione leuigatur.”

165–71 Of þat . . . heuene: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.6, ed. Étaix, 10.139–45, citing Soph
 1:14–16 and Heb 12:26, “De illo etenim die per prophetam dicitur: ‘Iuxta est dies
 Domini magnus, iuxta et uelox nimis. Vox diei Domini amara, tribulabitur ibi for-
 tis. Dies irae, dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies calamitatis et miseriae,
 dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis, dies tubae et clangoris.’ De
 hac die Dominus iterum per prophetam dicit: ‘Adhuc semel et ego mouebo non
 solum terram sed etiam caelum.’”

172–77 Lo . . . budele: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.6, ed. Étaix, 10–11.145–51, “Ecce, ut
 praediximus, aerem mouit et terra non subsistit. Quis ergo ferat cum caelum moue-
 rit? Quid autem terrores quos cernimus nisi sequentis irae praecones dixerim? Vnde
 et considerare necesse est quia ab illa tribulatione ultima tantum sunt tribulationes
 istae dissimiles, quantum a potentia iudicis persona praeconis distat.”

177–78 Þat day . . . mynde: a rendering of Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.6, ed. Étaix, 11.151–
 52, “Illum ergo diem, fratres carissimi, tota intentione cogitate.”

178–82 þe holi doctour . . . iugement”: a commonplace derived from *Regula
 monachorum* 30, PL 30:417, “Semper tuba illa terribilis vestris perstrepat auribus:

180 þing þat he dide, euer him þouʒte þat he herde þe dredeful sown of þe
 laste trompe in his ere, seying “Rys vp, wretche, and come to þe dredeful
 iugement.” Certes, þis ouʒte to stire eche cristene mannes soule for to
 leue his synnes and amende his lif whiles he is in þis land of grace, for
 þis grete and courteis lord haþ ordeyned þat world to be þe lond of grace
 185 þe whiles we ben here in lif, þat what maner of synne þat man haþ don
 here in þis world, ʒif he wol crie merci in leuyng of his synne wiþ
 contricioun and shrift and doynge dewe penauns and euer when his synne
 comen to mynde euer to haue newe sorowe þat he haþ be so vnkynde to
 his courteis lord, certes þenne he shal haue forʒifnesse of hem and so
 190 come to þe euerlasting blisse in heuene. To whiche blisse &c.

‘Surgite, mortui, venite ad iudicium,’” and Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, Ep. 66.10, ed. Hilberg and Divjak, rev. Kamptner, 1:660.3–4, “Siue leges siue scribes siue uigilabis siue dormies, Iesu amor tibi semper buccina in auribus sonet.” Among the many instances in medieval sermons and pastoralia, see, for example, William Peraldus, First Epistle Sermon for the First Sunday in Advent, in Wenzel, *Sermons of William Peraldus*, 94, “Hieronymus: ‘Sive comedo, sive bibo, sive aliquid aliud facio, semper insonare videtur auribus meis illa terribilis tuba: “Surgite mortui, venite ad iudicium.’” See also York Minster Library XVI.D.2, fol. 10r, “‘Also as ofte as þou schalt inwardli biholde þis dai of doom, þou schalt tremble in al þyn herte, for wheþer I ete, wheþer I drynke, eiþer do ony oþere þing, euere it semeþ to me þat þis trumpe sowneþ in myn eeris, “rise ʒe wrecchis, come ʒe to þe doom.’” Ierom in his Pistle.”

182–90 Certes . . . heuene: Gregory’s homily concludes with a brief injunction to reform, and to anticipate judgement day with fear: Greg., *Hom.* 1.1.6, ed. Étaix, 11.152–55, “uitam corrigite, mores mutate, mala tentantia resistendo uincite, perpetrata autem fletibus punite Aduentum namque aeterni iudicis tanto securiores quandoque uidebitis, quanto nunc districtiorem illius timendo praeuenitis.”

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