

A NOTE ON THE *SPECULUM SACERDOTALE* AND ITS SOURCES

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IN later medieval England two clerical authors produced independently works in English that would help parish priests in their preaching duties. The first author is well known: John Mirk, an Austin canon who lived and wrote in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century at the Austin canons' house in Shropshire. One of his works, the *Festial*, became very popular and survives in many copies including revisions of the original text and expansions.¹ In contrast, the other author has remained anonymous. His work, written in English, is entitled *Speculum sacerdotale* and has been edited by Edward H. Weatherly in 1936.² It is the latter with which this note is primarily concerned.

Its structure, content, and purpose closely parallel Mirk's *Festial*: furnishing relatively short sermon-like chapters that explain the meaning of saints' feasts (such as Andrew, Stephen, the Blessed Virgin, etc.) and of dominical feasts (such as Christmas, Good Friday, Corpus Christi, etc.) including major ones celebrated on Sundays (such as Septuagesima,

¹ See *John Mirk's Festial. Edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.11*, ed. Susan Powell, 2 vols., EETS, OS, 334–35 (Oxford, 2009). For its probable date of composition Powell suggests “the later 1380s” (“Mirk, John” in the electronic *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/18818>). The *Festial* is more briefly discussed in Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 2005), 58–65.

² *Speculum sacerdotale. Edited from British Museum MS. Additional 36791*, ed. Edward H. Weatherly, EETS, OS, 200 (London, 1936). An imperfect copy of the Latin version of this work exists in Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson A.362 (SC 11247), evidently not known to Weatherly. In referring to the English *Speculum sacerdotale*, I use the form “2/13,” i.e., *Speculum sacerdotale*, ed. Weatherly, page 2, line 13.

Easter, Pentecost, etc.). They provide, next to doctrinal instruction, material on the respective saint or event celebrated. The *Speculum sacerdotale* begins with two introductory sections. The first—henceforth referred to as *Festiuitates*—is “a translation of the introduction to the *Martyrologium* of Usuardus,” a ninth-century French Benedictine.³ It explains why “the old fathers of former times” established “the festivities of holy apostles and martyrs,” their purpose, and the correct use of celebrating them. Weatherly identified this source correctly. The second introductory section is a genuine prologue to the *Speculum sacerdotale*.⁴ It addresses parish priests, who “after the reading of the Gospel and of the offertory at Mass should turn to the people and show them openly all the solemnities and feasts that will occur in the following week.” The writer then explains that he has “ordered and written . . . about all the solemnities of the saints . . . that should each Sunday be worshipfully shown” to their people. He calls this “the pronunsyng of solempnitees and festyuall tymes” and adds that they (i.e., his readers) “haue hadde and saide sermons in the same tymes here afore endytid to youre hond in Latyn or Romayne tonge” (on which more below). For these sermons Weatherly identified the (Latin) sources, among which Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* and the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (*Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*) by John Beleth are the most important.⁵ He could, however, not identify a possible source of the second introductory section.

The Latin text of this section—henceforth *Inter alias sacratissimas*—can be found in at least four manuscripts in British libraries, often together with *Festiuitates*:

(H) London, British Library Harley 2345, fol. 57ra, imperfect, after *Festiuitates*.

(R) London, British Library Royal 8.C.vi, fols. 160vb–161rb, after *Festiuitates*.

(B1) Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 440, fol. 1r–v, after *Festiuitates*.

(B2) Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 654, part 3, fol. 140r–v, alone.

³ *Speculum sacerdotale*, 255 on 1/2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2/13–3/34.

⁵ See especially *ibid.*, xxxiii–xxxiv.

The text of the *Speculum sacerdotale* itself also exists in a Latin version, in Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson.A.362, where it is identified as “[Explicit] liber qui vocatur Speculum sacerdotale” (fol. 69v). Unfortunately the Rawlinson codex lacks the text of the initial thirteen chapters (in Weatherly’s account), which would have included the two introductory sections.⁶

Of the four manuscripts just mentioned, (H) Harley 2345⁷ is the oldest, written in a Gothic miniscule of the thirteenth century. The early date of its composition is confirmed by the absence of a section on the feast of Corpus Christi, which was not officially celebrated until the early fourteenth century.⁸ The manuscript comprises two entities: Part 1, folios 1–79 (evidently seven quires), and Part 2, folios 80–87 (one quire). The two differ in handwriting and layout, though their hands are of the same type and belong to the same period. We are here concerned only with Part 1.

This part of the manuscript is written in two columns by a single hand. Its individual sections begin with a rubric in line (in red ink), then an enlarged initial in either red or blue, usually two lines high but occasionally more, and flourished alternatingly in blue and red. There is no medieval general title for the work or its components. It begins, on fol. 1ra, with the rubric “Dominica prima in aduentu,” and the text then starts below top line. An ugly, more recent hand has added titles for some sections and occasional marginalia throughout the manuscript in brown ink, which are here not considered further. The contents of the volume are listed in detail and numbered in the Harley catalogue. One can distinguish the following sections:

1. (H1) Fols. 1ra–23rb: A regular cycle of 58 *sermones de tempore*, from 1 Advent to 25 after Trinity, items [1] to [52] in the Harley catalogue. The first sermon begins “*Cum appropinquasset Iesus Ierusalem*

⁶ Helen Leith Spencer has shown that the Rawlinson text cannot be the version from which *Speculum sacerdotale* was translated; see *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), 365 n. 8.

⁷ *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ed. Humphrey Wanley et al., 2 vols. (London, 1808), at 2:660–62. Modern foliation in pencil, which I follow here. An earlier hand had paginated the volume in ink, in various ways. I thank Prof. Robert Babcock (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) for dating the manuscript to the second half of the thirteenth century.

⁸ See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), esp. 181–85.

... Hoc euangelium bis legitur in anno.” According to Schneyer’s *Repertorium* the cycle has been preserved in nine copies,⁹ to which can be added Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 52 (fols. 63va–82v, bottom margins), and London, Lambeth Palace 352 (fols. 57r–83r). Number, sequence, and textual details of the sermons vary somewhat in these copies.¹⁰ In general, the sermons have their occasions marked; they begin with a biblical thema from the day’s lection, are not built as scholastic sermons (or *sermo modernus*, with division and development), and end with a closing formula (“Quod nobis prestare dignetur . . .” or the like).

2. (H2) Fols. 23rb–56vb: A run of 71 *sermones de festis et de sanctis* (including two for Sundays: 1 Lent and Palm Sunday), items [53] to [123] in the Harley catalogue. The rubrics usually state the occasion of the sermon (saint’s or feast day). The saints celebrated include a number of English saints, such as Cuthbert, Dunstan, Augustine of Canterbury, and others. Only two pieces begin with a biblical thema, the others start with a reference to the saint celebrated (e.g., “Andreas apostolus frater Symonis . . .”) or else with “Hodie celebramus” or more often with “Illa die habebitis” or a similar formula. Many sermons end with the exhortation “Venite ad ecclesiam et orabitur. . . .”

3. (H3) Fols. 56vb–69ra: Without a break the rubric follows: “Hic incipiunt institutiones sanctorum quomodo uenerandi sunt sancti” and then the text: “Festiuitates sanctorum. . . .” This text ends imperfect after a few lines with “qui in hoc eciam ydolis,” fol. 56vb. The next folio has been excised. The text then continues, on fol. 57ra, with the final lines of *Inter alias sacratissimas*: “percurrentes ea que pro nunciandis festiuitatibus. . . . Quia scriptura testante, qui bene ministrauerit, bonum igitur gradum adquiret,” which are then followed by a sermon for 1 Advent. This means that fols. 56vb–57ra and the excised leaf contained both *Festiuitates* (imperfect at end) and *Inter alias sacratissimas* (acephalous) in Latin. They are then followed by 25 sermons for some Sundays and feasts and saints’ feasts (items [124] to [148] in the Harley catalogue). Most of them begin with “Illa die habebitis” and end with an invitation (“Venite” or “uenietis”) to come to church on the respective day.

⁹ Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols. (Münster, 1969–90), at 8:449–52.

¹⁰ Especially Caius 52 adds narratives to the sermons.

4. Fols. 69rb–79vb: Excerpts from the *Vitas Patrum* [149], followed by several short pieces on moral topics (items [150] to [154] in the Harley Catalogue, the last incomplete, fol. 79vb).

(R) MS Royal 8.C.vi,¹¹ of the fourteenth century, contains material from *Vitas Patrum* and similar stories. These are followed by *Festiuitates* (fols. 160ra–161rb) and *Inter alias sacratissimas* (fols. 160vb–161rb), and then by ten short sermons (fols. 161rb–163vb, ending imperfect), of which five are also found in MS Harley 2345.

(B1) MS Bodley 440 (SC 2382),¹² written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. As it stands now, the volume begins with a liturgical calendar (fols. ii–vi, verso) followed by *Festiuitates*, here titled *De solemnitatibus sanctorum feriandis* (fols. 1r), and *Inter alias sacratissimas* with the rubric *Ad sacerdotes quomodo populum instruerent* (fols. 1r–v). This is followed by over 120 articles or short sermons on dominical and saints' feasts and on other liturgical and pastoral matters (fols. 1v–65r).¹³ These articles correspond largely with material in sections 2 and 3 of manuscript H (see above); for example:

Occasion:	H2, no. ¹⁴	H3, no.	B1, fol.
Advent		124	1v
Nativity	78		2v
Stephen	79		2v+3r
John Ev.	53, 67		3r–v
Innocents	80		3v
Thomas Cant		125	3v
Silvester		126	4r

At fol. 65r follows an imperfect copy of the *Elucidarius*, and then sections of narratives (fol. 82v), sermons (fol. 91r), a *Liber de confessione* (fol. 101r), and the beginning of Grosseteste's *Templum Domini* (fol. 104v).

¹¹ G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), at 1:233–34.

¹² Falconer Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1895–1953), at vol. 2, part 1, pp. 339–40 = SC 2381.

¹³ The number is deceptive because it includes many cases where a feast is treated in two articles, the second usually beginning with “Item de.”

¹⁴ The numbers given here are those found in the Harley catalogue.

(B2) MS Bodley 654 (SC 27669) is made up of three booklets.¹⁵ The third, dated by the catalogue to the second half of the thirteenth century, contains Latin sermons and commonplaces and the French *Compelison de Purgatorie* (fols. 24r–139v). This is followed by the rubric *Ad sacerdotes quomodo laicum populum debent instruere* and the text of *Inter alias sacratissimas* in Latin (fol. 140r–v), and thirteen short sermons in liturgical order from Advent to All Souls (fols. 140v–151v, ending incomplete), of which eleven occur also in H.

Inter alias sacratissimas is of particular interest here because it sets out the practice observed at the Sunday Mass of announcing the saints' and dominical feasts that were to come in the following week—the so-called “prone”¹⁶—and includes several personal statements. The author of the *Speculum sacerdotale* rendered it in English, which follows the Latin text closely:¹⁷

Speculum sacerdotale, 2/13–3/34:

Among alle other holy customes of holy churche the whiche oweth to be worschipid with a souerayn deuotion, this semeth right comendable and to be kepud with a good diligence and desire. That is to say that in alle the chirches of the worlde, the prestes of hem whiche are sette to the gouernaunce of the parishenus aftur the redyng of the gospel *and* of the offertorie at masse turne hem unto the peple and schewe openliche vnto hem alle the solempnitees and festes whiche shall falle and be hadde in the weke folowyng, and afturward that they make hem to pray for pees to be

[B2] MS Bodley 654, fol. 140r:
Ad sacerdotes quomodo laicum populum debent instruere.

Inter alias sacratissimas sancte uniuersalis Ecclesie consuetudines summa ueneracione semper colendas ualde uidetur commendabile omnique diligencia uotoque seruandum: quod per ecclesias ubique terrarum effusas sacerdotes Dei qui singulis parochiis suis presunt lecto euangelio offertorioque cantato ad populum sibi commissum couersi sollempnitates septimana sequenti futuras illi sancte ac religiose seruandas esse publica uoce pronunciant, et deinde pro pace celitus nobis concedenda, pro clero et pro populo pro benefactoribus suis, et

¹⁵ Madan, *Summary Catalogue* 5:330–31.

¹⁶ For the “prone,” see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 62–63.

¹⁷ The Latin *Inter alias sacratissimas* is here edited from B2 (see above), with its errors corrected from the other manuscripts. As stated earlier, *Inter alias sacratissimas* is incomplete in H.

grauntyd and for the clergie, for the peple, and alle the good doers of the parishe church, also for the seke of the parishe zif ther be eny therinne, for goers on pilgrymage, and hem that passeth and ben ouer the see, for frutis of the erthe that God kepe hem mercifully vnto his trewe peple, and so at the laste for the lyuyng and dede, the whiche prestes owe for to do aftur the grace that God hath yeuen hem resonably, semyngly, and devoutly.

For the honestelier and holier that they make here proclamacion vnto the peple, the more they stere and shuld stere the peple to that that they bydde hem. They schulden comende and prayse the solemnitees of God and of his seyntes excellentely with all here myghtes, and the cause wherfore they ben ordeyned openly to schewe, and for to declare schortly some myraclis that perteyneth vnto the festes, that the peple of God may be lyghtenyd with unto the knowlge of sothfastnes, and to the loue therof be inflamyd and styred.

Therefore, ye sertyne prestes which ben dere and famyliare vnto me before alle other, vnto you I redresse my speche, and seep that for the instance and prayers whiche that ye haue makyd vnto me for this present werke I haue here disposyd and writen aftur my sympilnes of the solemnytees of alle seyntes the whiche schulden worshipfully eche Sonneday be schewid vnto youre peple that God may be glorified in

pro infirmis parochianis suis si in ea fuerint, pro peregrinantibus, pro his qui ultra mare consistunt, pro fructibus terre, ut omnipotens Deus fidelibus suis misericorditer conseruet, pro uiuis denique ac mortuis preces facere precipiunt [precipiunt B2] et predicant, quod secundum sibi gratiam collatam rationabiliter et decenter ac deuote sacerdotes uniuersi perficere debent.

In quanto cunctis que dicenda sunt honestius et sanctius proclamant, tanto mentes audiencium ad id quod amonent perficiendum efficacius accendant. Debent nimirum sollempnitates Domini sanctorumque eius excellenter ac totis uiribus [uisibus B2] coram populo commendare, causamque quare sint institute luculenter propalare, et aliqua miracula de ipsis festiuitatibus breuiter declarare, ut per hec omnia Dei populus ad cognitionem ueritatis illuminetur et ad amorem ueritatis uel bonitatis inflammetur.

Inde est, karissimi fratres sociique sacerdotes inter alios michi mediocriter familiares, quod crebris uestris precibus pulsatus immo importuna exactione compulsus: de sollempnitatibus Domini sanctorumque eius dominicis diebus uenerabiliter populo pronunciandis pro uiribus aliqua scribere curauit et proposuit ut ex illis uel his que scribimus per uos in uestris parochiis Deus glorificetur et uestrum [?] ministerium glorificetur

youre chirches be the maters iwriten aftur, and deuocion and wytt of the peple may be the more informyd to worschepyng and gloryfyng of him that is almyghty, here God.

And forthy we schall begynne at the Aduent of oure lord and so renne be alle cerle of the yere as it shall falle. And alle tho the whiche semeth vnto me necessarie and spedfull, of what festyuytees soeuer they be in, or zit zif they be of the fowre tymes of astyngis or of eny other vigili[s], here we shall expressely descryve hem and opene. And this werke we shall the rather parforme and make to be spedde aftur youre desires and askyngis, for we wyllen and covete to be parteable of all your good prayers and merites.

Wherefore, sires myn, taketh here youre werke, occupacion, and besynes that ye mowe haue therby a more profitable forme and better matere; that is to say, of the pronunsyng of solempnitees and festyuall tymes, right as ye haue hadde and saide sermones in the same tymes here afore endytid to youre honde in Latyn or Romayne tonge.

But ye schuld nozt vnknowe of howe myche meryt it is anentis God for to glorifie hym and plesse hym be techyngis and prechyngis, as the prophete Isaie commaundeth, sythen in the book of Daniel it is thus wryten: *Fulgebunt iusti sicut firmamenti splendor*. The vnderstondyng of that is that the trewe peple schall schyne thorou3 doctryne of here fadres and

et exaltetur et honorificetur uel honoretur, deuocioque populi uobis commissi ad cultum diuinum magis ac magis informetur.

Incipientes itaque a natiuitate Domini et totum anni circulum [fol. 140v] percurrentes, ea que pronunciandis festiuitatibus siue uigiliis aut quatuor temporibus uel quibuslibet ieiuniis uidebuntur utilia uel necessaria describemus,

vt in hoc nostro desiderio et [om. B2] postulacioni satisfaciens oracionum uestrarum participes existamus.

Accipite ergo hoc opusculum et munusculum nostrum, ut sicut per manum nostram sermones singulis diebus dominicis et quibuslibet festiuitatibus dicendos latina et romana lingua dictos habetis: itaque [ita quoque B2] ex hoc opere ad pronunciandas solempnitates formam commodiorem memoriamque meliorem habeatis.

Nec ignorare debetis quanti sit apud Deum meriti secundum Ysaie preceptum in doctrinis glorificare Deum, cum in Daniele scriptum sit: *Qui docti fuerint fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti, et qui ad iusticiam erudiunt: quasi stelle in perpetuas eternitates*.

curetis as the firmament. Moreouer and they that techeth the peple the way of ríztwisnes, they schall passe and glyde into euerlastyng blisse as the sterres doth.

And therefore with all youre myztes beþ besy for to bryng dewe and nedefull techyng and doctrine into the peple. For Holy Writ therof bereth wittnesse and saith thus: *He þat wele hath deseruyd purchaseþ to hym a good degree.* Amen.

[*Speculum sacerdotale* 2, 3/36]

In the Sonneday folowyng ye schull haue the Aduent of oure lord. . . .

4/10: And in þat Sunday afore rehersid alle bokes of holy and dyuyne seruyse are begonne ayene all newe.

. . .

The closeness of the English *Speculum sacerdotale* to material in the thirteenth-century MS H and similar collections goes beyond *Inter alias sacratissimas* and can be found in many sermons as well. A good example is the sermon for Advent, which follows at once upon *Inter alias sacratissimas*. For its first paragraph, after the initial words (see above), I have not found any Latin source (3/37–4/10). But from 4/10 on to the end, the Advent sermon in the *Speculum sacerdotale* corresponds exactly with the Latin text found in H and elsewhere. To demonstrate this, a short passage will suffice, the section on the three advents of Christ. Beleth's *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, which is noted by Weatherly as a "(slight)" source, states:

Est enim aduentus Christi triplex: In carnem, in mentem, qui singulis diebus fit in cordibus fidelium per Spiritum Sanctum. Est iterum aduentus in maiestate, qui aduentus erit in die iudicii. Propter hoc quidam reticent in antiphona *Et omnes sancti eius cum eo*, similiter et in collecta *Cum omnibus sanctis*. Alii sunt, qui dicunt *Et omnes angeli eius cum eo*, et *Cum sanctis eius* referunt ad tertium aduentum, qui erit in die iudicii. De secundo aduentu, qui fit in mente, dicit Salomon: *Domine, mitte sapientiam tuam, ut me cum sit et me cum labore.* Est iterum alia oratio, que

Totis ergo uiribus insistite doctrinam populo debitam fideliter ministrare, quia scriptura testante: *Qui bene ministrauerit, bonum igitur gradum acquirit.*

De aduentu Domini sermo.

In dominica sequenti habebitis aduentum Domini.

In qua omnes libri in Ecclesia reincipiuntur. . . .

duos notat aduentus, scilicet *Excita, Domine, potentiam tuam et ueni, ut ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis*. Ad primum aduentum pertinet, cum dicitur *Te mereamur protegente eripi*, ad secundum, cum dicitur *Te liberante saluari*.¹⁸

In *Speculum sacerdotale* and H the three advents appear as follows:

Speculum sacerdotale, 4/19–32:

Knowe that the aduent of oure Lord is in þre maners.

The first is in his flesche; the secound in hertes of his trewe peple, the whiche aduent is iche day by the Holy Gost; and the thridde aduent is when he schall come at the day of dome in his maieste.

So what-so-euer is redde or songe in holy chirche of the aduent in this tyme, it is of the first aduent or ellis the secounde or ellis of the thridde.

Of the first aduent it is redde what tyme it is sayde thus: “*Ecce rex, et cetera*,” that is to say: “*Lo, the kyng is comyn; go we mete oure save-oure*.”

Of the secound aduent it is sayd þus at this tyme: “*Veni, Domine, et noli tardare*,” that is to say: “*Come, Lord, with-oute tarying to louse the bondis and the gyltis of thy folke*.”

And for the thridde, it is sayde thus: “*Ostende nobis, Domine, et cetera*,” that is to say: “*Lord, schewe vnto vs thy mercy and yeve vs thyne hele*.”

[H] MS Harley 2345 [124], fol. 57ra–rb:

Triplex est aduentus Christi:

primus in carne; secundus in cordibus fidelium, qui singulis diebus fit per Spiritum Sanctum; tercius in maiestate in die iudicii.

Quicquid in hoc [fol. 57rb] tempore in Ecclesia legitur aut cantatur de aduentu Christi est primo uel secundo uel tercio.

De primo est cum dicitur:

Ecce uenit rex, occurramus obuiam Saluatori nostro.

De secundo:

Veni, Domine, et noli tardare; relaxa facinora plebi tue Israel.

De tercio:

Ostende nobis, Domine, faciem [faciam M] tuam et salui erimus.

¹⁸ John Belet, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 64e–f (ed. H. Douteil, CCCM 41A [Turnhout, 1976], 120–21; cf. PL 202:72B–C, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* 64).

Clearly, the Latin proof texts adduced in the *Speculum sacerdotale* are completely different from those given by Beleth whereas they are the same as in H.

The close relation of the *Speculum sacerdotale* to material in the Harley manuscript thus found in sermons supposedly indebted to Beleth exists in others also that are said to be derived from the *Legenda aurea*. A good case is the relatively short sermon on St. Barnabas:¹⁹

Speculum sacerdotale 39, 154/30–155/15:

In siche a day ye schall haue the feste of Seynt Barnabe, þe apostle.

And he brougt firste Seynt Poule to the apostles after his conuersion, as telleþ Seynt Luke.

And he tolde hem howe he sawe here lorde in the way and howe he prechid in Damaske the feiþ of Crist and confusid the Jewys of infidelite and mysbeleue. And this seynt was by reuelacion of þe Holy Gost zeuen fro the apostles into felaschip of Poule and ordeynede apostle with hym. The whiche prechid to the peple in dyuerse contres þe worde of God and for the peple of the Jewis forsok the predicacion of the holy apostle. He was takyn by suggestion of a sorcioure that stode azeyn rízt bileeue and in the cite of Salmany was gretely bete and turmentyd with dyuerse turmentis, and after he was bounden and ipresoned.

And for the wricches dredde that this Seynt Barnabe schuld be withdrawyn by some Cristen man, they

[H] MS Harley 2345 [72], fol. 38rb:

Illa die habebitis festum sancti Barnabe apostoli.

Hic beatum Paulum apostolum ad fidem Christi conuersum ad apostolos primus perduxit, sicut Lucas refert.

Et narrauit ille quomodo in uia uidisset Dominum et quomodo in Damasco predicauerat uerbum Christi et Iudeos confundebat de infidelitate. Iste sanctus per reuelacionem Spiritus Sancti ab apostolis traditus est Paulo apostolo in societatem et ordinatus cum eo apostolus gentium. Qui uerbum Dei in diuersis regionibus fideliter predicans tandem per suggestionem cuiusdam malefeci [*sic*] Iudei comprehenditur in ciuitate Salamina, ceditur, et uinctus incarceratus est.

Timentes autem miseri ne sanctus Barnabas auferetur ab eis per aliquem Christianorum, miserunt

¹⁹ Weatherly, p. xxviii suggests as source for Chapter 39 (on St. Barnabas) *Legenda aurea* with a question mark.

fastened hym with a corde abowte his necke, and on the nyzt they drowz hym oute of the prison withoute the cite and sette hym in a playn and sette fire to hym and brennyd hym. But zit he semyd more like swelyd then brenned. And so in grete labours of marterdom this noble man Seynt Barnabe endid his lyff. And therefore worschipeþ his feste, et cetera.

funem in collo eius nocte trahentes de carcere, in quodam planicie posuerunt, et igne circumposito cremauerunt, ita tamen ut magis adustus quam combustus pro cineratus appareret.

Et sic per multos labores martirium gloriose consummauit. Eius festum solito more celebrabit. Venite ad ecclesiam Dei et orabite ut meriti uestris et suis oracionibus ad uitam possitis peruenire eternam. Amen

In contrast, in the *Legenda aurea* the section on St. Barnabas is much longer, full of distinctions and dialogue, and his martyrdom is narrated in different terms.

Finally, the Harley manuscript also furnishes Latin texts for *Speculum sacerdotale* sermons for which Weatherly found no sources. A good and short example is the sermon on St. Austin (Augustine of Canterbury):²⁰

Speculum sacerdotale 38, 154/10–28:

In siche a day ye schull haue the feste of Seynt Austyn, þe apostle of Englonde and erchebischop of Canturburie, þe whome Seynt Gregorie sent vnto Englonde for to preche hem the word of God and the true feiþe and beleue.

And that tyme regnyd in Englonde a kyng namyd Ethelbertus, þe whiche had his lordschip vnto the watre of Humbre. And this kyng receyued in his howse reuerently the good man Seynt Austyn and zaf to hym and alle his felawes and mynystres plente of vitayle and good leue for to preche and to gete

[H] MS Harley 2345 [97], fol. 49rb:

Illa die habebitis festum sancti Augustini confessoris et archiepiscopi et Anglorum apostoli.

Hunc sanctum beatus Gregorius misit in Angliam ad predicandum uerbum Christi gentibus Anglorum.

Eo tempore rex Ethelbertus [fol. 49va] regnabat in Angliam [sic] et dominium habebat usque ad Humbere flumen. Qui cum honore magno in hospicio suscepit sanctum Augustinum sibi et sociis suis uictualium ministrans sufficienciam. Licenciam dedit predicandi et ad Christianam fidem reuocandi quoscumque pos-

²⁰ Cf. Weatherly, *Speculum sacerdotale*, xxviii: “uncertain. Original source Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*.”

alle that he myzt to Cristen feiþ and beleue. And in his prechyng he began to folowe the apostles, and he toke his vetaile of hem that he tauzt, and redy he was to dye for þat that he tauzt.

And the kyng hadde grete delectacion in his wordes and myracles þat he schewyd that he ledde clene lyf, and fayre promyssiones made and zafe to hym for his inhabitacion the cite of Canturburye. And then when the Englisshe peple were thus set and confirmyd to the feiþ of Crist and eke many bisshoppes ordeyned and prestes with other mynistres of holy chirche, þen þis worþi man Seynt Austyn full in the feyþ and in alle good werkis passid to God. Venietis, et cetera.

set. Ipse uero cum suis predicando apostolorum uitam cepit imitari, sola uictualia ab hiis quos docebant accipiendo, faciendo quod docebant, ad moriendum pro ea quam predicabant ueritate parati. Vnde et breuius crederunt.

Rex quoque delectatus sanctorum uita mundissima et promissione dulcissima quam ueram esse miraculis ostensis firmauerunt credens baptizatus est. Et dedit beato Augustino ciuitatem Cantuarie ad inhabitandum. Firmatis igitur Anglis et in fide Christi constitutis quam plurimis per Angliam episcopis, sacerdotibus, et aliis sancte Ecclesie ministris, sanctus Augustinus migravit ad Dominum plenus fide et operibus bonis. Illum diem seruabitis sicut Anglorum apostoli. Venite, etc.

Hence, the combination of Latin material including its two introductory sections into a Latin *Speculum sacerdotale* and its translation into English points back to the thirteenth century—a period, in other words, before the preaching of the friars made its full impact in England. The Latin *Inter alias sacratissimas* also contains a personal remark of interest for the history of preaching in medieval England. It states:

Therefore, accept this our little work and gift, so that as *through our hand* you have sermons that are to be said on single dominical days and some feasts, said [i.e., written?] in the Latin and Roman tongue, so also from this work you may have a more convenient form and better material to pronounce [i.e., pre-announce] the solemnities.²¹

²¹ “Accipite ergo hoc opusculum et munusculum [munisculum? *H*] nostrum, ut sicut per manum nostram sermones singulis diebus dominicis et quibuslibet festiuitatibus dicendos latina et romana lingua dictos habetis, ita quoque ex hoc opere

In other words, the thirteenth-century author had presented material like that found in the *Speculum sacerdotale* “Latina et Romana lingua,” in *Latin and French*.²² This, of course, presented the author of the *Speculum sacerdotale* with some difficulty, so that he translated (in Weatherly’s edition):

Wherfore, sires myn, taketh here youre [*sic*] werke, occupacion, and besynes that ye mowe haue therby a more profitable forme and better matere; that is to say, of the pronunsyng of solemnitees and festyuall tymes, right as ye haue hadde and saide sermones in the same tymes here afore endytid *to youre honde* in Latyn or Romayne tonge.²³

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ad pronunciandas solemnitates formam commodiorem materiemque [mamriem-que *H*] meliorem habeatis” (H, fol. 57ra). The same passage appears in B1, B2, and R with only minor scribal variations.

²² For the possible reference of “romana lingua” to French, see DuCange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s.v. “Romanus”; and *Middle English Dictionary*, at “Romain” 1.f.

²³ *Speculum sacerdotale*, 3/17–22.