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Appendix A to Feeling Like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif

Fiona Somerset

University of Connecticut - Storrs, addax3@gmail.com

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Appendix A: Brief Descriptions of Frequently Cited Manuscripts

These descriptions provide a list of contents for selected manuscripts frequently cited in *Feeling Like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif*. I have worked extensively with each of these manuscripts, but I also rely on previous descriptions as cited below.

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex, MS 74

181 parchment folios, an estimated 16 folios now missing. Foliation is medieval, and inaccurate, but will be followed here.

1) fols. 3r–142v: Sermon cycle of fifty-four sermons, beginning at Whitsun and ending with the octave of the Ascension. Except in two cases (Trinity 5 and 6; the first inferred from other copies though the folios are missing) the protheme gospel sermons are taken from the *English Wycliffite Sermons*, set 1. The version here is not an autograph but a copy; but this is the earliest extant version of a cycle that appears in toned-down or excerpted form in other, later manuscripts. Anne Hudson and Helen Spencer have studied these relations in detail. Altogether, the evidence suggests that the cycle later circulated both as a whole, and in pieces. Even if the remaining copies and derivatives of the cycle are far fewer than those of the *EWS*, still, it is clear that the sermons in this manuscript survived and were read across the fifteenth century, though in a much more piecemeal and adventitious way than the *EWS*.

2) fols. 143r–166v: *Pe Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte*. Commentary on the Pater Noster addressed to “his dere sister in God.” Edited from Westminster School 3 by

Aarts, who reports Sidney Sussex 74's copy is very close to that in Westminster School 3 but with more errors. [IPMEP 150](#).

3) fols. 168r–79r: *Redde rationem villiacionis tue*. Thomas Wimbledon's sermon on the three estates. Appears in eighteen manuscripts, many with lollard affiliations. There are four editions, three published and one a thesis. After the Reformation the text gained a reputation as a lollard tract. [IPMEP 560](#).

4) fols. 181r–189v: Commentary on the Ten Commandments. A version of what Jefferson labels DI, a mainstream commentary from which the heterodox version she edits was derived. This copy of DI has an idiosyncratic prologue, is modified into two parts, and shares with three other DI copies additional material on the obligation of the preacher to preach and the congregation to listen. [IPMEP 48](#).

5) fols. 189v–191v: Commentary on the Ave Maria, Matthew, 204–8, from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296, with variants from this copy. Matti Peikola sees in the large number of idiosyncratic variants in this copy “a conscious attempt to remodel the text by paraphrase and ellipsis.” [IPMEP 276](#).

6) fols. 191v–207v: Eight sermons, the first added, perhaps later, to fill a gap after the preceding text. These sermons appear in a number of related manuscripts: the relations are discussed by Spencer. [IPMEP 276](#). Another copy of the Trinity 5 sermon from the first item above, begun but then recognized by the scribe as a duplicate, appears here.

Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.4.12

fol. 1r: Annotated in later hands by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century owners

fols. 1v–2v: Blank

fols. 3r–7v: Commentary on the Ten Commandments. A version of Jefferson's D1. *IPMEP* 48.

fols. 7v–12v: *Pride, Wrath, and Envy*. A version of a highly fluid short text whose relations are not yet well understood.⁹

fols. 12v–25v: Commentary on the Pater Noster, Arnold, 98–110, *PN Arnold II*. *IPMEP* 604.

fols. 25v–27r: Commentary on the Ave Maria, Arnold, 111–13. *IPMEP* 455.

fols. 27r–29v: Commentary on the Creed, Arnold, 114–16. *IPMEP* 403.

fols. 29v–37v: *Visitation of the Sick* version E, Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 2:449–53. *IPMEP* 460.

fols. 37v–39r: *The Seven Works of Mercy*¹⁰

fols. 39r–40r: Lists of the five outer wits, seven deadly sins, seven virtues opposed to seven deadly sins, seven gifts of the holy ghost, seven works of bodily mercy, seven works of spiritual mercy, six manners of consent to sin. See Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," 2273, for other copies.

fols. 40r–56v: *The Wordis of Poule on Tribulacioun*. Also in Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.40 and Bodley 938. Jolliffe J.13.

fol. 57r: Scrap of musical notation and some verses in secretary hand. The remaining folios are blank.

London, British Library, MS Harley 2398¹¹

194 parchment folios; modern foliation in pencil repeats fol. 127 but is used here.

fol. 1r–69r: *Memoriale Credencium*, ed. J. H. L. Kengen (Nijmegen, 1979). *IPMEP* 448.

fol. 69v–72v: Text on prayer, for a woman recluse, followed by fifteen Latin prayers.

fol. 73r–106r: Commentary on the Ten Commandments (discussed in chapter 2).

fol. 106v–127r: *The Fyve Wyttes*, ed. Bremmer (discussed in the conclusion).

fol. 128r–140r :Text on proper internal disposition for loving God, Jolliffe D.8 and D.13.

fol. 140r–153r: *Redde rationem villiacionis tue* Thomas Wimbledon's sermon on the three estates. *IPMEP* 560.

fol. 153r–155v: Exposition of the Pater Noster from Edmund of Abingdon, *Speculum Ecclesie*. The full text is printed in Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:219–40. *IPMEP* 800.

fol. 156r–160v: *Visitation of the Sick* version E, Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 2:449–53. *IPMEP* 460.

fol. 160v–166v: *Of Wedded Men and Wyves*, Arnold, 188–201. *IPMEP* 521.

fol. 166v–174r: Commentary on the Pater Noster, *PN Arnold II*, Arnold, 98–110. *IPMEP* 604.

fols. 174r–175v: Two ways that lead to contrarious ends. Jolliffe I.2 One other copy, in Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125.

fols. 175v–185r: Easter sermon. The final section of it is Jolliffe K.9.

fol. 185r: Sixteenth-century memorandum

fols. 186r–188v: The AB chapter of *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, made into a freestanding treatise on prayer. An excerpt from *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, ed. Margaret Connolly, EETS, o.s. 303 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). *IPMEP* 362.¹²

fols. 188v–190v: *A Schort Reule of Lif*, edited in Mary Raschko, “Common Ground.” *IPMEP* 203.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938¹³

280 parchment folios. Foliation repeats 3 and 47 but is used here.

fol. 1r: Brief commentary on the passage about love of God from Deut. 6

fols. 1r–1v: Brief commentary on gospel references to the commandments: John 14, Matt. 6, Matt. 11

fols. 1v–2r: Brief prologue on the Creed, followed by the Creed in Latin, translated but without exposition

fols. 2r–4r: Commentary on the Ten Commandments, very brief

fol. 4r: Transitional passage on keeping the commandments

fols. 4r–5v: Brief description of the seven deadly sins. This and the following items are plainly related to the pastoral sequence of materials in a number of other manuscripts including Rylands 85, including some sentences in common, but have been modified independently.

fol. 5v: Virtues against the seven deadly sins

fols. 5v–6r: Seven Works of Bodily Mercy

fols. 6r–6v: Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy

fols. 6v–7r: Seven gifts of the Holy Spirit

fols. 7r–7v: Seven virtues

fols. 7v–8r: Five bodily wits

fols. 8r–8v: Five ghostly wits, each briefly discussed

fols. 8v–9r: Sixteen conditions of charity

fols. 9r–9v: Seven sacraments, each briefly defined

fol. 9v: Pater Noster, Latin translated verse by verse

fols. 9v–10r: Ave Maria, Latin and translation

fol. 10r: “Four things been needful.” Jolliffe I.9.

fols. 10v–13r: *A Schort Reule of Lif*, edited in Mary Raschko, “Common Ground.”

IPMEP 203.

fol. 13r–16r: Proverbs of Solomon. Biblical excerpts on the sins of the tongue. Also in Vernon, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a.1, and in Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498.

fol. 16r–17v: Commentary on the Ten Commandments, very brief. Jefferson's RV3, shared with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 30.¹⁴

fol. 17r–22v: A biblical catena, running through the bible from beginning to end, about obedience to rulers and keeping the commandments. No other copies known.

fol. 22v–23v: Exposition of Leviticus 26 interspersed with red-underlined quotation: "If you keep the commandments then God will love you and you will be in Christ's church." No other copies known.

fol. 24r–35v: Commentary on the Pater Noster, Arnold, 98–110, *PN Arnold II*. *IPMEP* 604.

fol. 35v–39v: Commentary on the Ave Maria, Matthew, 204–8. *IPMEP* 276.

fol. 39v–50r: Commentary on the Creed from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady.¹⁵ Jolliffe B.

fol. 50r–56r: *Three Things Destroy This World* Matthew, 181–86. *IPMEP* 170.

fol. 56r–58r: Exposition of the sixteen conditions of charity. Jolliffe G.4 e.

fol. 58r–59v: Brief commentary on the gospel precepts. Jolliffe G. 25.

fol. 60r–62r: Tract on the ten plagues of Egypt, provides an exposition of the ten commandments. *IPMEP* 207.

fols. 62r–73v: *Of Wedded Men and Wyves*, Arnold, 188–201. *IPMEP* 521.

fols. 73v–117r: *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Arnold, 119–67. *IPMEP* 596.

fols. 117v–153v: Commentary on the Ten Commandments from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 153v–166v: Commentary on the Pater Noster from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 167r–169v: The Council of Christ from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 169v–171v: Of virtuous patience from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 172r–172v: Of temptation from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 172v–178r: The charter of heaven from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 178r–184v: The horse or armor of heaven from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 184v–187r: Love of Jesus from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 187v–190v: Desire of Jesus from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 190v–192v: Of true meekness from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fols. 192v–194r: The effect of will from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fol. 194r–196r: Of Active Life and Contemplative Life from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fol. 196r–209r: Treatise on Virginity from *The Pore Caitif*, ed. M. T. Brady. Jolliffe B.

fol. 209r–236v: Richard Rolle, *Form of Living*, ed. Ogilvie–Thomson. *IPMEP* 351.

fol. 236v–243v: *Visitation of the Sick* version E, Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 2:449–53. *IPMEP* 460.

fol. 243v–246r: Treatise on the five inward wits, an extract from the *Cloud of Unknowing* (*IPMEP* 320), chapters 63–66. Interpolated and modified in this copy, more so than in the one other copy in Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.6.26.

fol. 246v–247r: Brief treatment of the five fleshly wits each taken in malo. But there are another five inward wits by which these first five are led to inward knowing. No other copies known.

fol. 247r–247v: The seven deadly sins and the sins they lead to. No other copies known.

fol. 247v: Remedies against the seven deadly sins. No other copies known.

fol. 248r–262r: *The Words of Paul* Also in Cambridge University Library, MSS li.6.40 and Nn.4.12. Jolliffe J.13.

fol. 262r–265r: *The Rule of the Life of Our Lady*. *IPMEP* 22.

fols. 265r–267v: On virtuous widowhood, edited in Marta P. Harley, “A Middle English Tract in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938,” *Manuscripta* 36 (1992): 178–90.

fols. 267v–270v: Treatise on the Sacraments, unique and unpublished

fols. 270v–278v: Excerpt from the interpolated commentary on the canticles printed by Arnold, 5–81. Here only the commentary on the Athanasian Creed appears. See *IPMEP* 134.

1 See Hudson, *EWS*, 1:115–22, Spencer, “Fortunes of a Lollard Sermon-Cycle,” *English Preaching*, 269–320, Ernest William Talbert, “A Fifteenth-Century Lollard Sermon Cycle,” *Studies in English* 19 (1939): 5–30.

2 Related texts: Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 95 contains the bulk of the cycle (Septuagesima through Lent 3 are missing), but in every case excises all or nearly all of the gospel sermon drawn from *EWS*. There is also considerable abridgement, and uneven expurgation and bowdlerization. The ordering of sermons is adjusted to begin at Advent. Parts of three of these sermons, and parts of five other sermons that appear later in the MS, appear as a group of eight in a manuscript of the *Middle English Mirror*, a translation of Robert of Gretham’s *Mirror*, Manchester, John Rylands Library MS English 109. London, British Library MS Royal 18 B, xxiii (edited as *Middle English Sermons* by W. O. Ross) contains a more thoroughly expurgated version of Trinity 5, 6, and 7; of these only Trinity 5 includes the gospel sermon protheme, Trinity 6 and 7 two remove it. Royal 18 B, xxiii also includes some content from Sidney Sussex 74, Advent 1, 2, and 3 in its sermons 18, 19, and 20. The same three sermons are also found in Shrewsbury School, MS 3. One of the sermons, from the first Sunday after Easter,

appears in a late fifteenth century sermon collection derived from Mirk's *Festial*, Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodl. e Museo 180. These relationships are very fully explored in Spencer, "Fortunes of a Lollard Sermon-Cycle."

³ *Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte*, ed. Aarts, xxiv and xxvii.

⁴ Alexandra Walsham, "Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58 (2007): 628–55.

⁵ Jefferson, "An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary," 1:cxliii–cxliv.

⁶ Peikola, "And after all, myn Aue-Marie," 282.

⁷ Spencer, "Fortunes," and *English Preaching*, 269–320.

⁸ Described in Margaret Connolly, *Index of Middle English Prose* 19, 348–51. Connolly updates her description in Connolly, "Preaching by Numbers." For another update see Somerset, "Textual Transmission." I thank Margaret for discussing with me our shared interest in this manuscript and sharing her article with me in advance of publication.

⁹ The most recent discussion of the version in this manuscript is Connolly, "Preaching by Numbers." See also chap. 6, n. 62.

¹⁰ On this highly variable text and its relatives, see Somerset, "Textual Transmission."

¹¹ Described by Jefferson, "An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary," 1:xii–xviii. A list of previous descriptions is given on p. xii.

¹² Connolly, "Mapping Manuscripts and Readers of *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*," 277–78.

¹³ Described in Hanna, *English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, 142–44. I rely heavily on this description, and the cumulative erudition that grounds it, while making a few additions of my own. I am also grateful to Ryan Perry for sharing his excellent, independently developed description of Bodley 938 with me before publication.

¹⁴ Jefferson, “An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary,” 1:xxxii.c.

¹⁵ Brady, “The Pore Caitif.”