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## Appendix B to Feeling Like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif

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## Appendix B: The Pastoral Syllabus of *SS74* and a Detailed Summary of the Sermons

### I. The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit (sermons 1–4)

- 1) fol. 3r, the ending of a sermon on Pentecost: It is probable that it originally began with *EWS* 53. “In þis gospel meueþ Crist his children to loue, for charite is the beste cloþ þat ony mon may haue. And herfore seiþ Godis lawe that loue is strong as dep, for loue meueþ men to suffre dep gladly in Goddis cause.” Treats John 14.
- 2) fol. 3r, lacks fol. 4, 5r–5v, Rev. 4:5: “Septem lampades ardentis . . . sunt septem spiritus dei.” *EWS* 54 for Trinity Sunday. Missing page starts at *EWS* 54 p. 471/51, then covers most of the exposition of the thema. Fol. 5r begins with Whitsun then transitions to the second and third gifts.
- 3) fol. 5v–7v, 1 John 4:12: “Si diligamus inuicem deus in nobis manet.” *EWS* 1 with variant transitional ending. Short discussion of epistle theme, smooth transition to gifts four and five.
- 4) fol. 7v, lacks fols. 8 and 9, fol. 10r, 1 John 3:13: “Nolite mirare si odit vos mundus.” *EWS* 2, breaking off at p. 228/25. Gifts six and seven were treated here, but only a fragment on fear of the lord remains.

### II. The Five Wits, the Seven Works of Mercy (sermons 5–6)

- 5) fol. 10r–12v, 1 Peter 5:8 : “Sobrii estote et vigilate.” *EWS* 3, with an added exhortation. Epistle exposition treats fleshly and ghostly prudence. Seamless transition to pastoral instruction: first three of five wits (taste, smell, hearing).

6) fol. 12v–14v, Rom 8:24: “Spe enim salui.” *EWS* 4, with added piece on works of mercy. Pastoral section treats final two wits, sight and touch, then bodily works of mercy.

### III. The Seven Deadly Sins (sermons 7–19)

7) fols. 17r–18r, lacks fol. 17, but the thema seems to have been 1 Pet 3:15: “Dominum autem Christum sanctificate in cordibus vestris.” The protheme is missing too, but later copies suggest it was not from *EWS*. Lacks epistle exposition—in later copies it treats the duties of a preacher. Lengthy treatment of four kinds of pride remains: vainglory, hypocrisy, presumption, foolish fear.

8) fols. 18r–20v, Rom 6:4: “In nouitate vite ambulemus.” Begins with second protheme sermon not from *EWS*: let us clothe ourselves in charity (cf. *EWS* 53 in sermon 1). The four ways to walk are Christ’s commandments, righteousness, truth, Christ himself. Pastoral section treats the second deadly sin: envy.

9) fols. 20v–22v, lacks one or more folios following Rom 6:19: “Exhibite membra vestra seruire iusticie.” *EWS* 7, Christ feeds the needy. Epistle exposition urges audience to give love, worship, dread, and hope to God, but love most of all. This exposition breaks off, and the treatment of the third sin, anger, is also missing, as is most of the following sermon.

10) lacks one or more folios, only end remains on fol. 26r–26v: Thema was from Rom 8, about living after the spirit not the flesh. Probably incorporated *EWS* 8. What remains is the end of the epistle exposition, then the pastoral section on the fourth sin, covetousness, in three branches, false getting, evil keeping, foolish spending. Only the first is explained here.

11) lacks fols. 27 and 28, fol. 29r–29v: Thema would have been from 1 Cor 16:13 about standing in faith and doing deeds and being comforted and remaining in charity. Probably included *EWS* 9. Pastoral section treats the second bough of covetousness.

- 12) fols. 30r–31v, lacks fol. 32, 1 Cor 12:8: “Per spiritum datur sermo sapiencie.” *EWS* 10, then pastoral treatment of the third bough of covetousness, foolish spending. Give to the poor, not to foolish wasters. Some wasters are missing on the torn out fol. 32.
- 13) lacks fol. 32v, fols. 33r–34v, 1 Cor 15:3: “Christus pro peccatis nostris mortuus est.” *EWS* 11, starting p. 266/45: All Christian men should be of one will, but the new orders create variance in will. Epistle exposition treats what sin is, why flee it, how it harms man. Pastoral section treats the fifth sin, sloth, in first three of six kinds: heavy heart, tender flesh, idleness.
- 14) fols. 33v– 37r, 2 Cor 3:4: “Fiduciam habemus ad deum per Christum.” *EWS* 12, includes explanation of senses of scripture. Epistle exposition urges leaving sin.. Pastoral section: three remaining kinds of sloth, heaviness of heart, malice, and narrow, fearful heart. Sixth sin: gluttony, both bodily and ghostly.
- 15) fols. 37r–37v, lacks fol. 38, 39r–39v, Gal 3:17: “Facta est lex.” *EWS* 13, parable of samaritan, up to 273/58. Epistle exposition also missing. Pastoral section: more on gluttony. Peroration gives clue to missing content: “And herfore as I sayde fyrste is þe lawe made to reule vs in þis exile and þis vale of sorowe to brynge us to þe londe of lyghte þere euere more is joye.”
- 16) fols. 39v–41v, fols. 42 and 43 missing, Gal. 5:16: “Spiritu ambulate et desideria carnis non perficietis.” *EWS* 14 on the ten lepers, discusses confession. Epistle section on withstanding the desires of the flesh. Pastoral section treats lechery, the last and foulest sing that draws man's love from God: ten kinds, bodily and ghostly. First branch: simple fornication. Second branch missing.
- 17) fol. 44r–44v, lacks one or more unnumbered folios: Thema from Gal 6:10, it seems. Probably included *EWS* 15. Epistle section missing. Only pastoral section remains, with more on lechery, the third branch, tending to allegory.

18) fols. 45r–47v, Eph 3:13: “Obsecro uos ne deficiatis.” *EWS* 16, the second body Christ raised. Epistle section: do not fear those who kill the body, for perfect charity puts out fear. Let us be Christ’s true knights. Pastoral: fourth and fifth sins of lechery.

19) fols. 47v–50v, Gal. 5:13 : “Fratres vocati estis.” *EWS* 17, Jesus heals sick man on sabbath. Epistle section: brethren help each other, bodily and ghostly. Pastoral section: 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> kinds of lechery treated briefly. Added 11<sup>th</sup> kind is sin against nature.

#### **IV. Ten Commandments (sermons 20–32)**

20) fols. 50v–51v, lacks one or more folios at end, 1 Cor 1:4: “Gracia dei data est vobis.” *EWS* 18, Pharisees challenge Christ: Christ’s religion vs that of sects. Long variant ending exhorts all to live in Christ’s religion and dwell in him. Epistle section: three kinds of grace, each from a person of the trinity: 1) comes before, of goodness; 2) of pity; 3) of might, which helps men for ever after. First is through baptism. Breaks off.

21) lacks one or more folios at start, fols. 54r–56r, Eph 4:25: “Loquimini ueritatem vnusquisque cum proximo suo.” *EWS* 19, starting at p. 297/42, treats confession and consent. Time too short to discuss fully: must tell forth the first commandment of the love of God as promised last Sunday. Promises more on love of God next Sunday.

22) fols. 56r–57v, lacks fol. 58, Eph 5:15: “Videte fratres quomodo caute ambuletis.” *EWS* 20, the wedding feast. Epistle section on prudence. Pastoral section missing.

23) fols. 59r–59v, lacks fol. 60, 61r–61v: Eph 6:10–11 seems to have been thema. Starts at *EWS* 21 p. 305/12, breaks off again right after epistle section starts. Fol. 61 is a discussion of love of God based on how three birds teach three statuses to love God: another version ed. by Doyle. A long piece on the gate of the five

wits and how God dwells in the soul is added to the material in Doyle. Breaks off a third down the page on verso, noting that the third bird will be treated next week. Next sermon starts on a new leaf.

- 24) fols. 62r–62v, lacks fol. 63, 64r–64v, Phil. 1:19: “Oro ut caritas vestra magis habundet in sciencia.” *EWS* 22, on how men should be merciful, parable of king and servants. Fol. 63 covered the very last line of *EWS* 22, the epistle section, and part of the pastoral section. Fol. 64 begins in the middle of discussion of love of neighbor. Third bird, on how the clergy should love God, is missing.
- 25) fol. 64v, lacks one or more folios containing rest of sermon, Phil. 3:20: “Saluatorem expectamus dominum nostrum iesum christum.” *EWS* 23, but to 314/25 only. All the rest of the sermon is missing, with its treatment of the first commandment.
- 26) Lacks all folios. Whole sermon is missing. Probably included *EWS* 24, on Christ’s first miracle of raising the dead. Presumably discussion of first commandment concluded here in this sermon.
- 27) Lacks opening from fol. 69v, fols. 70r–71v, lacks fol. 72, Jer. 23:5: “Ecce dies veniunt.” *EWS* 25 starting at line 12. Epistle treated briefly: day of judgement. Pastoral section: second commandment [NB commandments not in biblical order; compared with the usual Catholic numbering, his ordering of the decalogue is 1, 4, 3, then 2, 7, 5, 8, 6, 9, and 10.]: honor your father and mother, where mother equals church under four definitions: in heaven, in purgatory, true Christian men, and the material church. Third commandment: keep holy day, that is to say, the holy days holy church has ordained: breaks off.
- 28) fols. 73r–74v, 13:12: “Abiciamus opera tenebrarum.” Bodley 95’s sermon cycle starts with this sermon. *EWS* 26 on commandments vs false laws, false religious. Epistle section: cast away the works of darkness through keeping the commandments: I’ve told you three, now the other seven. Fourth commandment: do not take the Lord’s name in vain, to be continued in next sermon.

- 29) fol. 74v–78v, Rom 15:4: “Spem habeamus.” *EWS* 27, Epistle section: we have true hope if we turn to Christ. Promises more discussion of faith, hope, and charity elsewhere. Pastoral section: extended discussion of swearing, some erased.
- 30) fols. 78v–81r, Cor. 4:5: “Nolite ante tempus iudicare.” *EWS* 28, about how the religious have bad law. Epistle section treats true and false judgement, fraternal correction. Fifth commandment: do not steal.
- 31) fols. 81r–83v, Phil. 4:5: “Dominus prope est.” *EWS* 29, John confesses truth. Added exhortation: keep Christ’s rule and religion. Epistle section discusses proper prayer. Sixth commandment: do not kill, interpreted bodily and spiritually.
- 32) fols. 83v–86v, Isaiah 60:1: “Surge quia venit lumen tuum.” *EWS* 30 treats absolution, and explains how the dove was a real bird, but explains ‘is’ as figurative speech too—eucharistic implications. Epistle section: three things make men rise: “nede,” “mede,” and “drede.” Pastoral section: seventh commandment: do not bear false witness. Returns to gospel precepts too.
- 33) fols. 86v–89r, Isaiah 12:4: “Confitemini domino et inuocato [*sic*] nomen eius.” *EWS* 31, three ways men say things: affirming, purposing, supposing. Christ’s order is best religion: abbot is better, rule is better. knights are more free. Resistive obedience. Final added exhortation repeats reference to Christ as abbot and his rule. Epistle section discusses true and false confession. Eighth commandment: lechery.
- 34) fol. 89r–91r, Rom 12:2: “Nolite confirmari huic seculo.” *EWS* 32, with “pilgrimage” erased and “journey” substituted. Christ’s religion is best. Added peroration: let us busily keep Christ’s commandments, for then we shall not fail to win to god. Epistle section discusses desire of flesh, desire of eyes, pride of life. Extended complaint about ecclesiastical corruption. Exhortation: conform to Christ, not the world. Pastoral section treats final two commandments.

## V. Allegory of City: Five Wits (sermons 35–37)

35) fols. 91r–94r, Rom 12:14: “Benedicite et nolite maledicere.” *EWS* 33, on the wedding at Cana as the beginning of Christian men’s religion. Epistle section on blessing and cursing. Pastoral section launches allegory of city. Five wits again: sight. Promises remaining wits on subsequent Sundays.

36) fols. 94r–96v, Rom 12:16: “Nolite esse prudentes sed cum omnibus hominibus pacem habentes.” Epistle: should you be sly or not? Paul says both. Promises more about peace later. Pastoral: two more wits, hearing and smelling.

37) fols. 96v–100r, Rom 13:10: “Plenitudo legis est dilectio.” *EWS* 35, on Christ’s miracles and their effect on audiences, account of emotions and virtues. How to tell if you love as you should. Epistle: keeping the commandments IS love, and offending in one means offending in all. Pastoral: two more wits, taste and feeling.

## VI. Allegory of City: Four Cardinal Virtues (sermons 38–42)

38) fols. 100r–102v, Col. 3:16: “Verbum Christi habitet in vobis.” *EWS* 36, parable of sower. Epistle section about bad preaching. Pastoral: describes city of the soul. Four towers: righteousness is first, and means giving what we owe to God. Love, but we did that. Six kinds of fear. Honor and service saved for next Sunday.

39) fols. 103r– 105v, 1 Cor 9:27: “Castigo corpus meum.” *EWS* 37, parable of vineyard and six ages of church. Epistle section, withstanding lust. Pastoral: what is owed to neighbor. (Honor and service seem to have disappeared.)



40) fols. 105v–108r, 2 Cor 12:9: “Libenter gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis.” *EWS* 38, parable of sower. Epistle:

Christ’s virtue, indwelling. Abrupt switch to pastoral section: speak we now of counsellors, condemns bad ones. Those who suffer for truth will be rewarded.

41) fols. 108r–111r, 1 Cor 13:11: “Cum essem parvulus loquebor ut paruulus.” *EWS* 39, Christ warns his disciples

about passion to come. Epistle: four wisdoms needed in speech: what, where, to whom, when. Pastoral section: Second tower is prudence.

42) fols. 111r–114r, 2 Cor 6:2: “Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile.” Christ’s temptation in the desert. Religion of Christ

vs new order. Pastoral: Third tower is bodily and spiritual strength. Fourth tower is temperance.

## **VII. Allegory of City: Meekness (sermons 43–44)**

43) fols. 114r– 116v, 1 Thess. 4:7: “Non enim vocavit nos deus in inmundiciam.” *EWS* 41, Christ heals Canaanite

woman’s daughter. Added exhortation to prayer against temptation. Epistle section: holy church wedded to God. Pastoral section: Isaiah on the faithful city made into a whore: the city is man’s soul, so let us turn to Christ and keep the castle of our soul so that Christ will dwell therein. Ditch of meekness around the city needs to be dug deep, but is hindered by plenty, beauty, and worship of this world. Plenty and beauty treated here, worship of world saved for next time.

44) fols. 116v–119r, Eph. 5:1: “Estote imitatores dei sicut filii karissimi.” *EWS* 42, Jesus casting the fiend out of a

man. Epistle: on following God as his dearest sons: very short. Pastoral: meekness continued. Seeking honor plugs your ditch with shit. Doors of heart are closed through sin. Three degrees of meekness, including meekness of superiors to inferiors. Tree that bears no fruit.

**VIII. Allegory of City: Three theological virtues, with points of creed under “faith” and sixteen boughs of tree of charity under “charity” (sermons 45–54)**

- 45) fols. 119r–121v, Gal 4:31: “Christus nos liberavit.” *EWS* 43, Christ’s first feast multiplying food. Bodily symbolizes ghostly food. Epistle: passion meditation. Cut your hearts and not your clothes: now men do the opposite out of pride. Pastoral: Three engines of the city are faith, hope and charity. Faith: posts are good works, ground is Christ, fourteen pins are creed, stone to be thrown is word of God. Ground yourselves in Christ’s law.
- 46) fols. 121v– 123v, Heb 9:14: “Sanguis Christi emundabit conscienciam nostram.” *EWS* 44 for Passion Sunday. Epistle: lengthy treatment of how blood of Christ makes clean our conscience: five purgations of man’s soul/body. Pastoral: on to more on virtue of faith: first pin of creed, belief in God the father.
- 47) fols. 124r–126r, Phil. 2:11: “Dominus noster Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.” *EWS* 45, Palm Sunday. Epistle: Christ in joy of God the father. The higher a lord, the more glory to his servants that truly serve and trust him. Pastoral: second point of creed, on Christ: treats life of Christ.
- 48) fols. 126r–126v, lacks fol. 127, 128r–128v, 1 Cor 5:7: “Expurgate vetus fermentum.” *EWS* 46, Wycliffite account of Eucharist should be here, BUT torn out of MS: gets only to *EWS* p. 431/57. Fol 128 begins with end of epistle section, on cleansing old sin. Pastoral: On to points of creed on holy spirit and on holy church. Highly rhetorical passage of oppositions.
- 49) fols. 128v–131r, 1 John 5:4: “Fides nostra vincit mundum.” *EWS* 47, Christ’s fifth appearance, to confirm belief of church to disciples. Only God can forgive sin. Epistle: we must fight against the world with the shield of our belief. Pastoral: creed eleventh point: communion of saints. Twelfth: remission of sin, only God can

forgive sin. Thirteenth point: life everlasting. City allegory: Stone of engine is God's word. Good and bad preachers.

50) fols. 131r–133v, 1 Cor 13:4: “Caritas paciens est.” *EWS* 48 on good and bad shepherds. Added exhortation on truly turning to God. No discussion of epistle thema. Pastoral section treats charity as third engine of soul, then circles back to very quick description of hope, then back to charity as trustiest of all, a tree with sixteen boughs. First bough is patience. Different kinds of suffering.

51) fols. 133v–136r, 1 Pet 2:17: “Deum timete.” *EWS* 49, Christ telling apostles their sorrow will turn to joy. Epistle: fear God. Charity drives out fear. Pastoral: third through sixth boughs of charity.

52) fols. 136r–138r, James 1:18: “Uoluntarie genuit nos.” *EWS* 50, Epistle: God wilfully generated us through his blessed word by counsel of the Trinity. Christ generated us again through passion. Pastoral: Seventh through ninth boughs of charity.

53) fols. 138r–140r, James 1:24: “Uir oblitus est qualis fuerit.” *EWS* 51, Christ tells how his disciples should be helped by their prayer. Epistle: man has forgotten what he was. Pastoral: tenth and eleventh boughs of charity.

54) fols. 140r–142v, 1 Pet 4:8: “Caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum.” *EWS* 52, Epistle: charity covers a multitude of sins. Pastoral: Twelfth through sixteenth boughs of charity. Tree of charity is the true engine that most overcomes the fiend, enemies. This is how Christian men should keep the city of their soul.