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Los Angeles

Reginald Pecock and Vernacular Theology in Pre-Reformation England

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in English

by

Jennifer Anh-Thu Tran Smith

2012

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2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Reginald Pecock and Vernacular Theology in Pre-Reformation England

by

Jennifer Anh-Thu Tran Smith

Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Henry Ansgar Kelly, Chair

My dissertation, *Reginald Pecock and Vernacular Theology in Pre-Reformation England*, is about the adaptation of inaccessible Latin forms of discourse into texts intended primarily for an English reading lay population in Late Medieval England. It focuses on the surviving pedagogical and polemical texts written by Reginald Pecock in the middle of the fifteenth century: *The Reule of Crysten Religioun*, *The Donet*, *The Folewer to the Donet*, *The Poore Mennis Myrroure*, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, and *The Booke of Faith*. Pecock is significant for many reasons, both historical and linguistic. He was the most prolific English theologian of the fifteenth-century, writing in English at a time when doing so was fraught with political and religious implications. He was also the only sitting bishop to be convicted of heresy before the Reformation. Despite Pecock's importance to

fifteenth-century history and literature, however, his writings have often been maligned and misunderstood, in large part because his style and language are famously difficult to follow. The project that I have undertaken attempts to close the conceptual gaps that make Pecock so difficult an encounter and to provide the critical tools and analysis that will open up his work to wider scholarly engagement. On that account, my dissertation provides both thorough literary analyses coupled with the linguistic and historical background that has heretofore been absent in Pecock studies.

The first half of the dissertation is dedicated to the language and style of Pecock's works. It includes a systematic survey of Pecock's entire extant lexicon gathered from five source texts and the implications of Pecock's many new word formations, their etymologies and their types. It is the first such survey and the results have been very fruitful: Pecock's entire vocabulary numbers over 7,000 unique items and he forms 715 new lexical items. The second half of the dissertation is the first systematic analysis of Pecock's pedagogical system, one which he terms the "Four Tables of God's Law" and saw as a better teaching alternative than the Ten Commandments. It compares Pecock's techniques to his contemporaries, both orthodox and heretical, lay and religious. Fundamentally, the project moves from specific issues dealing with Pecock's language use and progressively broadens in scope and analysis to situate Pecock and his writings at the transition between the Medieval and Early Modern eras. The underlying organization of my approach is structurally cumulative: from individual words to sentences, from sentences to the argumentative units that they contain, from those argumentative units to the genres in which they operate, and finally, how all of those elements together relate to the curriculum of the layman. It is a forward-

looking and increasingly open research program that aspires to show the relevance of Pecoock as an educator, writer, and theologian within the broader story of the reform movements in England that brought with them an increase in vernacular instruction.

The dissertation of Jennifer Anh-Thu Tran Smith is approved.

Patrick Geary

Donka Minkova-Stockwell

Henry Ansgar Kelly, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2012

For my parents.

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Abbreviations and Short Titles

BIE	The Bible in English (970-1970), 1997. Chadwyck-Healy online. http://www.collections.chadwyck.com/bie .
<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>	<i>The Catholic encyclopedia: an International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church</i> . Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Edward A. Pace, Condé B. Pallen, Thomas J. Shahan, John J. Wynne. 16 vols. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907-12. Cited from the online edition without volume or page numbers.
Challoner Bible	[Richard Challoner, rev.] <i>The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgat: ... First Published by the English College at Doway, Anno 1609. Newly Revised and Corrected According to the Clementin Edition of the Scriptures, with Annotations</i> . 4 vols. [Dublin?], 1750; <i>The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Translated out of the Latin Vulgat: ... First Published by the English College of Rhemes, anno 1582</i> . Newly revised, etc. 2 vols. [Dublin?], 1752.
Collectanea	“Collectanea quaedam ex Reginaldi Pecock Cicestrensis episcopi opusculis exustis conservata, et ex antiquo psegrmate conscripta.” In <i>Commentarii</i> .
<i>Commentarii</i>	Foxe, John. <i>Comentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum maximarumque per totam Europam persecutionum, a Wiclevi temporibus ad hanc usque aetatem descriptio</i> . Strassburg: Wendelinus Rihelius, 1554.
DMLBS	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin British Sources</i> . 11 fascicules to date. Edited by D. R. Howlett and R. E. Latham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975-2008).
<i>Donet</i>	<i>Donet</i>
EEBO	Early English Books Online. http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home
EEBO-TCP	Early English Books Online. Text Creation Partnership. http://eebo.odl.ox.ac.uk/e/eebo/
<i>Faith</i>	<i>Book of Faith</i> . All citations from <i>Reginald Peacock's Book of Faith; a Fifteenth Century Theological Tractate</i> . Edited with an introduction by J. L. Morison. Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1909. A facsimile reprint on demand. N.p.: Kessinger, 2009. [A plain text transcription without introductory material is also available at the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse.]
<i>Follower</i>	<i>Follower to the Donet</i>
Late ME Bible	Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, eds. <i>The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers</i> . 4 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850; reprinted AMS Press, 1982).
MED	<i>The Middle English Dictionary</i> . 17 vols. Edited by Hans Kurath, Sherman M.

- Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-2001. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/> Cited from the online edition without volume or page numbers.
- NED* *New English Dictionary*
- OED* *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Edited by John A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. See also, online 3rd ed. Revised entries, www.oed.com. Citations are to most current entries through April 2012.
- OxDNB* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 60 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. www.oed.com. Cited from the online edition without volume or page numbers.
- PMM* *Poor Men's Mirror*
- Religious Houses* *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*. Edited by Caroline M. Barron and Matthew P. Davies. London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2007.
- Repressor* *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*
- Manuale Sarum* *Manuale ad usum Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis*. Edited by A. Jeffries Collins. Henry Bradshaw Society 90. Chichester: Moore and Tillyer Ltd. 1960.
- VCH:London* *Victoria County History: London*. Edited by William Page. London: Victoria County History, 1909. Accessed online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=202>.

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First thanks go to my friends at UCLA. Emily Runde and Sara Torres deserve great credit for reading early, very drafty drafts of the dissertation. Our dinners and dissertation group gave me the traction I needed to stop planning and start writing. Alison Walker, my first friend at UCLA, has inspired me to live a versatile and creative life with the knowledge I have gained in school. No ivory towers here. She also taught me how important friends are and that it's okay to have hobbies. Sam Zeno Conedera always made the time to listen, explain, and debate about the Church both medieval and modern. Our conversations made me realize how important it was that I choose a topic that was personally relevant not just intellectually stimulating. I miss our afternoon talks in the Rolfe courtyard.

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I also must thank the elite group of scholars who not only know who Reginald Pecock is, but have written about him in erudite and inspiring ways. Mishtooni Bose encouraged me to pursue my interests in Pecock's language. Fiona Somerset challenged me to rethink my understanding of orthodoxy. Kirsty Campbell sent me early copies of several chapters from her book. I have leaned on heavily their insights in the writing of this dissertation.

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think that there is anyone else who, so perfectly, understands what I mean when I don't have the words to express myself. My children, Josie and Ginny, reminded me every day why it's important to live a good life, not just write about one. Josie provided much moral support and assistance retrieving books from the library, as well as good company while I was writing that long book about the bird with a funny name. And Ginny, whom I am just beginning to know, brought me a sense of purpose and determination that I didn't know I lacked. Your presence, first in my belly and then on my lap, has spurred me on to the end. My husband, Willi, has also supported me in countless ways, although he has never asked for credit, nor complained about the tremendous family resources, both financial and spiritual, which have been devoted to my studies. He deserves thanks for donating many thousands of airline miles so that I could go to conferences and archives, for buying me those bookcases and the books that went on them, for supporting me on my trips to New York and England even though I couldn't explain why I needed to go beyond the insatiable desire to see the Reggie books in person, for fixing my Excel spreadsheets, and for making me laugh with his countless puns. BloO, thank you for everything said and unsaid, and especially for reminding me about the worth of my work when I couldn't remember myself. And finally, my parents, whom I am just beginning to appreciate, thank you for letting me read at the dinner table and letting me major in English, even though everyone knows it's a harder career path. Thank you for letting me go to that school with all of the hippies and for welcoming me home when I returned one. Thank you for watching Josie and Ginny, even though it has meant many sleepless nights and sore backs. Thank you for giving me just enough crazy to make me good at what I do. This book is for you.

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PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

- Smith, Jennifer A. T. "Fidelity in Versification: Modern English Translations of *Beowulf* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*," *Studies in the History of the English Language, Volume IV*, 2008, 121-154.
- . "The Didactic Dispute in Middle English Poetry." 14th International Medieval Congress, July 2008. Medieval Disputation, I: Literary Perspectives.
- "Wheeling and Dealing in the Middle English Lives of Saint Katherine of Alexandria." 43rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 2008. Hagiography as Narrative Theology.
- "Defining e/Ecclesia in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*." 41st International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 2006. Anglo-Saxon Space.
- "A Foreign Verse Line in a Native Tongue." 11th Association of Literary Scholars and Critics, November 2005. Poetic Translation in a Global Context.
- "Beowulf: Fidelity in Versification." 4th Studies in the History of the English Language, September 2005. Metrics.

INTRODUCTION

Author's Note

It has been at times amusing, at times frustrating, and at times extremely rewarding to have chosen a figure as obscure as Reginald Pecock as the topic of my dissertation. Yet, because so few have heard of Pecock, I find myself often the sole voice speaking for and about this largely forgotten author and his sometimes maligned, more often passed over, theological oeuvre. So where do I begin when making the introduction? Usually, with the trivia:

- Reginald Pecock was the most prolific theologian in England in the fifteenth century. He wrote dozens of books both in Latin and English, though just six English ones survive.¹
- Reginald Pecock was the only sitting bishop to be convicted of heresy before the Reformation. The poor man had to repudiate and burn his own books.
- Reginald Pecock is the first person cited in the *Oxford English Dictionary* to use the term “orthodox.” In fact, he’s known for many strange coinings and his prose style is famously difficult.

While each of those three introductions, taken separately or altogether, is an inadequate portrait of the Bishop, each of those small facts do represent a facet of Reginald Pecock that I hope to elaborate on in the following study. The first speaks to Pecock’s importance to the study of English religious instruction in the fifteenth century. The second speaks to his importance to the study of

¹ See Appendix A for a complete list.

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religious reform in England. And the last speaks to his importance to the rise of English literature as a legitimate language of religious exchange. All three ideas will play out in the following chapters.

Modern scholarship on Reginald Pecock has not been plentiful, though most of it has been of very high quality. By far, the most substantial body of research on Pecock is available from just a few sources, most of them dating from the first half of the twentieth century: the modern editions of his work by Churchill Babington (*Repressor*, 1860), J. L. Morison (*Faith*, 1909), Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock (*Donet*, 1921 and *Follower*, 1924), and William Cabell Greet (*Rule*, 1927); his three biographies, by John Lewis (1820), Thomas Kelly (1945), and Wendy Scase (1996); four general monographs dedicated to his theological and historical import, by V. H. H. Green (1945), Joseph Patrouch (1970), Charles W. Brockwell, Jr. (1985), and Kirsty Campbell (2010); and four dissertations devoted to Pecock's language and style, by Bruno Zickner (1900), Fredrik Schmidt (1900), Arnold Hoffman (1900), and Emmet A. Hannick (1922). Fortunately, one of the benefits of this limited pool of scholarship is that the greater part of original work already produced on Pecock is of high and substantive quality. The exception to this rule is the frequently shallow and judgmental paragraphs about Pecock in volumes ostensibly dedicated to Lollardy or English prose, where Pecock has become a favorite scape-goat of what went wrong with English prose in the fifteenth century. It should be evident from this brief survey of scholarship that Anne Hudson, writing in 1988, was justified in asserting "much work remains to be done on Pecock's writings."²

² Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, 55.

Summary of Contents

This dissertation is about the adaptation of academic forms of discourse into texts intended primarily for a non-academic reading population in Late Medieval England. It focuses primarily on the surviving pedagogical and polemical texts written by Reginald Pecock in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The study will consist of three major parts. Part I, "Reginald Pecock, Bishop," containing just Chapter 1, serves as introduction to Pecock and, perhaps more importantly, an introduction to the many ways that Pecock has been portrayed and perceived by his contemporaries and the earliest historians who wrote about him.

Part II, "Pecock and the Trivium," containing Chapters 2 and 3, are dedicated exclusively to the language, style, and structure of Pecock's writings. Chapter 2, "Grammar and Pecock's Language," is largely concerned with the way in which Pecock forged a new English vocabulary. Chapter 3, "Logic and Pecock's Style," discusses how the syllogism is not just the mode in which Pecock chooses to argue, but in fact a method which alters the kinds of arguments he is able to make.

Part III, "Pecock's Pedagogy," containing Chapters 4 and 5, are a synthesis of Pecock's alternative to Peckham's *Syllabus*. Chapter 4, "A New Catechesis," lays out Pecock's catechetical system in as simple a manner as possible with limited commentary. Chapter 5, "Complications and Implications of a New Catechesis," begins by explaining the variations in Pecock's system and the social implications of such a system. What Pecock ultimately proposes is a revolutionary change in

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the understanding of the role of the individual in living a Christian life and a radically different path for personal piety from those offered by either the mystics or the Lollards of the fifteenth century.

The project as a whole will move from specific issues dealing with Pecoock's language use and progressively broaden in scope and analysis to situate Pecoock and his writings at the transition between the Medieval and Early Modern eras. The underlying organization of my method is structural: from individual words to sentences, from sentences to the argumentative units that they contain, from those argumentative units to the genres in which they operate and the organization of those arguments, and finally, how all of those elements together relate to the curriculum of the layman. It is a forward-looking and increasingly open narrative that aspires to show the relevance of Pecoock as an educator, writer, and theologian within the broader story of the Reform movements in England that brought with it an increase in vernacular instruction.

I address how fundamental attitudes about evidence, authority, and accessibility change during the course of the late Middle Ages from exclusionary forms of discourse to inclusive ones, studying Pecoock's methods of "arguing, and examining, and proving"³ through the lens of different categories of evidence: linguistic, Logical,⁴ scriptural, and academic. I show how Pecoock's approach to these different sources of evidence manifest in his work and explain, to the extent that it is

³ *Faith*, 134.

⁴ I will capitalize Rhetoric, Logic (Dialectic), or Grammar when I am referring specifically to university curriculum. For clarity, I will also use the term Logic rather than Dialectic; in most cases, Logic and Dialectic are used synonymously but have different connotations with Dialectic emphasizing the dialogic process of reasoning that was originally developed in classical Greece and Logic emphasizing the syllogistic form. The field of Logic, as it developed in the Middle Ages, did retain much of the dialogic character of classical Greece in the form of university disputations and selected treatises; however, written dialogues in the late Middle Ages varied widely in their degree of back-and-forth conversation. Some written dialogues were genuine disputations and others used the dialogue form merely as a literary convention. Pecoock, in fact, exhibits both of these traits in his writing. Because I want to emphasize the distinction between the approach of Rhetoric and the approach of Logic to evidence within dialogues, sometimes more Rhetorical in nature and other times more Logical or syllogistic in nature, using "Logic" rather than "Dialectic" should help to retain that terminological distinction.

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possible to talk about successes and failures, why Pecock's overall method of arguing, examining, and proving was not effective.

In doing so, I intend to complicate and at least partially “deconstruct” terms often cast as binaries in modern scholarship, like heretical and orthodox, vernacular and Latinate, literate and illiterate, or medieval and modern, since these terms are not so much opposites as they are indications of points of historical and ideological change.⁵ Reginald Pecock is a particularly apt figure to assist in this role of refuting terminological opposites because in his life and work, he was a manifestation of these seemingly contrary values. Pecock was the staunch orthodox scholar convicted of heresy; the loyal Lancastrian cut down by his own party; the cleric devoted to clerical rights yet shunned by his peers; and the Oxford man condemned by other scholars. He is among the most ironic and sympathetic men of any age, but his significance lies in how telling a figure he is for fifteenth-century England even though he is often overlooked by modern literary and historical scholars.

Andrew Cole's recent book on heresy in late medieval England is a typical example of the type of exclusion and misrepresentation that Pecock suffers from in narratives of the period. Pecock is not mentioned for the first 187 pages; not until the penultimate paragraph to the book's conclusion does Pecock appear, when Cole says,

Both Nicholas Love's translation of the pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and the later vernacular *summa* of Bishop Reginald Pecock assume that

⁵ Ian Forrest objects to the terminological dichotomy that has arisen between orthodoxy and heresy as it was first critically described (Forrest 2003). Mishtooni Bose also objects to the terminology (Bose 2005), as does Fiona Somerset, “Professionalizing Translation at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century: Ullerston's *Determinacio*, Arundel's *Constitutiones*.” Somerset and Watson, 145-57.

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orthodox alternatives to the Wycliffite models of vernacularity and scriptural hermeneutics need to be offered. Between those reformist poles (the orthodox and the Wycliffite) are the literary examples I have explored here -- complete with their mix of secular and theological preoccupations.⁶

In this short excerpt, Cole exhibits just the sort of conventional gesture to Pecock that I want to overturn. He appropriates Pecock squarely for the Orthodox team, as well as implies that such thoroughly theological work does not have “secular...preoccupations” as well as theological ones. (The incorrectness of such an observation should be obvious by the end of Chapter 1.) By providing a more nuanced reading of Pecock's work, I would like to discourage these kinds of off-hand references that ask Pecock to stand in as a symbol of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, medievalism or modernity, corruption or reform.

The second of those pairings, medievalism and modernity, has been a common strand in attempts to categorize the bishop for the last hundred or so years: Was Pecock the epitome of the medieval intellectual or a precursor to the Early Modern reformer? Joseph Patrouch and Churchill Babington were among the many historians and critics of Pecock's works who felt that Pecock was the epitome of the medieval thinker. Others, including J. L. Morison (the editor of the *Book of Faith*) and John Lewis (Pecock's biographer) thought of Pecock as a reformer and quite modern (in the Renaissance sort of way). The real answer is that he was neither. He was a man precisely of his age--one living during the transitional period of the fifteenth century.

⁶ Cole, *Literature and Heresy*, 187.

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Just because Pecoock cannot be categorized, however, does not mean that he should be discarded as some kind of historical anomaly. Anne Hudson seems to come close to such a conclusion:

Piety in the fifteenth century was a seamless spectrum from the most extreme Lollard radicalism to Netter-ish extreme conservatism, even paranoia; perhaps more importantly, save at the two extremes there was an interest in written materials covering the widest range of opinions, necessarily in the vernacular for most (but by no means all) laymen but also in Latin for the more learned (clergy, but also men like John Carpenter). Pecoock's problems may seem to contradict this: his investigation for heresy, an investigation that turned on his written books as well as on his rash spoken words, surely indicates the limits of acceptable opinion? The affair is, however, a particularly obscure one from which, unless new evidence should come to light, it may be difficult to draw any conclusion: many of Pecoock's own writings have not survived, even if they were ever written, any detailed records of the trials equally have disappeared, the chroniclers tell a somewhat evasive and muddled tale. It would be rash to draw any general conclusion from this isolated and in many ways extraordinary case.⁷

Hudson takes the opposite approach from those who try to pigeon-hole Pecoock. Although she recognizes that fifteenth-century religious writers are not categorical opposites, orthodox or heretical, she also excludes Pecoock from that "seamless spectrum," of pious writers about whom she

⁷ Hudson, "Wyclif Texts in Fifteenth-Century London," 18.

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writes so often and so well. In my view, Hudson's lament that *too much has been lost* combined with the *if only we had more evidence* plea is unnecessarily defeatist. It is hardly true that Pecock is less well-attested than others of the period. Indeed, it seems to me that the problem has sometimes been the reverse; too much of Pecock's difficult prose survives and the task of reading it thoroughly and integrating it into the critical conversation is more trouble than its worth. At least that is what the critical sentiment has at times suggested.

There is no other single person whose life and work so perfectly encapsulate the most critical issues of the period. As V. H. H. Green asserted in the introduction to her volume on Pecock's theology,

Pecock qua Pecock is of only minor importance and interest, but Pecock qua fifteenth-century history takes on an altogether different appearance. No longer an isolated phenomenon, he fits into the vast, dramatic background of fifteenth-century history, and in so doing helps us to understand that fascinating but difficult age.⁸

My preamble to this dissertation, then, is intended not so much as an encomium to Pecock, as a defense of the worthiness of his work for general study. My goal is to situate his vernacular theology within a century of very exciting and dramatic change for the education of the layman in English and in so doing to illuminate another rich corner of fifteenth-century history and literature.

⁸ Green, *Bishop Reginald Pecock*, 7.

Editorial Principles

Quotations have been normalized following the practices that Henry Ansgar Kelly set out in his article, "Uniformity and Sense in Editing and Citing Medieval Texts," in *Medieval Academy News*, Spring 2004. I reference the modern editions throughout, unless there an ambiguity in the text required consultation with the manuscript; note was made in such instances. Each of the extant manuscripts are available in full only in single edited volumes; however, the editors of each of those volumes follow different practices concerning the transcription of the source manuscripts. I have, therefore, silently changed the allographs of i/y, u/v, i/j, þ/th, and 3/y or gh to follow modern orthographic conventions, capitalized proper nouns and beginnings of sentences, expanded all abbreviations, removed the space between compound words now spelled as a single unit, and used modern punctuation according to sense. There are some exceptions to this rule in Chapter 2, when I deal with specific passages of linguistic concerns, namely derivation by compounding. Otherwise, my aim is to improve the usability and readability of these texts.

Intended Use

It is my hope that this book will give students and scholars alike the tools necessary to embark upon the study of Pecock's writings, dense and long though they may be. Chapter 4, "A New Catechesis" has been designed as a stand-alone reference intended to clarify and simplify, as much as possible, Pecock's very complex pedagogical system. I have kept my interpretations in that chapter to a minimum, deferring them to the following chapter, "Complications and Implications of a New Catechism," with only minimal interpretations on my part. Several of the items in the appendices are intended as reference materials meant to facilitate rapid identification and cross-

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referencing of terms, concepts, and texts. Throughout the text, I have italicized all key terms relevant to Pecoek's scheme.

PART I. REGINALD PECOCK, BISHOP

CHAPTER

1 Perceptions of Pecock

1.1 Biography

The historical aspect of Pecock's life is the area most regularly addressed by scholars. As a result, there are a number of full-length biographies on Pecock to which one can refer for a more comprehensive account than what is to follow. I heartily recommend that the interested reader seek out the most recent and most thorough construction of Pecock's life by Wendy Scase, titled simply *Reginald Pecock*, published as volume 8 in the Variorum Series, Authors of the Middle Ages. Just as interesting for historical reasons, and perhaps even more accessible since it is available on Google Books in its entirety, is John Lewis's *The Life of the Learned and Right Reverend Reynold Pecock, S. T. P.* (1744, new edition 1820). Though heavy-handed in its Protestant leanings, it was extremely influential for Pecock scholarship for more than two hundred years. The biography that Churchill Babington included in the introduction for the *Repressor* was based largely on information retrieved from Lewis.

Reginald Pecock was, in all likelihood, a Welshman by birth, born around the year 1390.⁹ He was both a bachelor and a fellow at Oriel College, Oxford, where he arrived about the year 1408. He earned his Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Theology degrees while there, leaving in 1424 for his first benefice at the rectory of St. Michael's Church, Gloucester. (He incepted in Theology, earning his Doctor of Theology Degree, around 1445 at about the age of fifty-five.)

⁹ Thomas Gascoigne says that Pecock was "Wallicus origine," and, given his personal acquaintance with Pecock, this characterization is likely to be true (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 26).

1.1 PERCEPTIONS OF PECOCK: BIOGRAPHY

Sometime between 1424 and 1431, Pecoock left St. Michael's, Gloucester, and likely became a chaplain at Whittington College in London, since in 1431, he became the master of that house, a position that carried with it the rectorship of St. Michael Paternoster Royal, the adjacent parish church.¹⁰ Whittington College was to be one of Pecoock's most important homes, for it was there that he likely began serious work on his pedagogical writings. He remained here for over a decade, leaving only in 1444 to become bishop of St. Asaph's back in Wales. It was while holding the see of St. Asaph's that he gave a controversial sermon at St. Paul's Cross in London in 1447 justifying the rights of bishops to be absent from their dioceses for necessary or useful purposes. Despite the unpopular sentiments that resulted from his public defense of "absenteeism" among clerics, Pecoock was transferred from St. Asaph's to the even more visible bishopric of Chichester in 1450.¹¹ It was while holding this second see that Pecoock was charged with heresy and his teachings ultimately condemned.

The first formal complaints against Pecoock arose late in 1456, and by December of 1457, the political and religious condemnation had taken its course; Pecoock made a formal abjuration and his books were systematically gathered and burned both at St. Paul's Cathedral in London and at Oxford University in the presence of the chancellor. The following year, 1458, saw Pecoock trying to retain possession of his see and possibly possession of some of his works, but all of his efforts failed. Early in 1459, Pecoock was sent to Thorney Abbey near Peterborough for confinement. He

¹⁰ We cannot know for a fact that Pecoock was one of the five beneficed chaplains at Whittington College before becoming Master there, but it is probably because according to foundation's ordinance, Masters of the College were to be elected from among the resident chaplains. The Warden's account shows an allowance for the election of Pecoock to position of Master in 1431. (See Imray, *Charity of Richard Whittington*, 39, fn. 1.)

¹¹ St. Asaph's, in the north of Wales, was not a major bishopric in fifteenth-century England. It was over two hundred miles from London, while Chichester was a mere sixty miles away (a comparable distance between London and Oxford).

was allowed no books aside from a Bible, a legendary, a psalter, and service books. No instruments of writing were permitted. It is assumed that he died soon afterward.

The biography above, however, while presumably factually accurate, obscures one of the most important facets to the study of Reginald Pecock. More important than the story of what happened--and what he said--is the story of how he was perceived: what others said about him during his lifetime and after his death. Oftentimes, these characterizations were accusations from his political and religious enemies; at other times, they were attributions by those who wanted to claim him for historical posterity as being a member of a particular religious party. In all instances, there seems to have been a willful disregard for what Pecock actually said, advocated, or believed. Although skeptics may always object that what we have is an impartial record, as Anne Hudson does, cited above, still, impartial though it may be, the surviving corpus is of substantive size and range--enough to allow a close reader to examine the consistency of Pecock's arguments and style.

1.2 Writings

To make sense of the extensive list of accusations against him, both legitimate and imagined, we must begin with what came last, or rather, what remains of the Bishop's work today: six books of English theology and a smattering of short excerpts. This small library will serve as the critical focus of my examination.

The main texts are *The Reule of Crysten Religioun*, *The Donet*, *The Folewer to the Donet*, *The Poore Mennis Myrrour*, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, and *The Book of Faith*.¹² They represent

¹² Pecock himself refers to these works in various ways: For example, he titles the "*Donet* or *Key of Goddis Lawe* or ellis *The Donet* or *Key of Cristen Religioun*" (*Reule*, 3); *The Folewer to the Donet* is always referred to by that name (*Follower*, 2); *The Poore Mennis Myrrour* (*PMM*, 226) is also referred to as "the extract or outdraught of *The Donet*" (*Repressor*, 541); and *The*

just over twelve percent of what we know to have been written. Thomas Gascoigne indicates in his *Loci e Libro Veritatum* that Pecock wrote for twenty years, and Pecock himself cross-referenced many of his own writings in the surviving texts.¹³ *Rule, Donet, Follower*, and *PMM* are generally known as the pedagogical volumes; *Repressor* and *Faith* are generally known as the polemical texts, although elements of pedagogy and polemics are, of course, present in all of the extant works. *PMM* is an extract of *Donet*. And *Donet, Rule*, and *Follower* are part of a series that progressively increases in complexity and difficulty of theology. *Faith* is Pecock's last work and in many ways the most radical of the texts in regard to theological matters.¹⁴ *Repressor* is Pecock's best-known text.

The most prolific English theologian of the fifteenth century had, at the end of his life, very little to show for his lifetime of writing.¹⁵ The censorious flames of the English Church consumed nearly everything that he had written in both Latin and English. Of those works that survive, we can posit dates of composition as follows:

Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy is also referred to as “*The Repressing of Over Miche Writting the Clergie*” (*Repressor*, 4), though primarily in the shortened form, “*The Repressor*” (*Faith*, 109). The *Book of Faith* is unique in that Pecock does not give its title in the body of the book itself. Morison correctly assigns the title using the numerous references that appear in his other books, variously “the book of feith” (*Repressor*, 45, seemingly a reference to the English version) and “*The Book of Faith and of Sacramentis*” (*Repressor*, 38, clearly a reference to the Latin version). Greet conjectures in his index that the *Book of Faith* was originally written in either Latin or English and then translated into the other language since the contents of the two works seem to coincide. Babington postulates that the *Book of Faith and Sacraments* (he gives it a longer title here) could be the same as the *Book of Sacraments*. I will refer to each of these texts in an abbreviated and modernized equivalent: *Rule, Donet, Follower, PMM, Repressor*, and *Faith* respectively.

¹³ Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 26 and 30. In fact, Gascoigne makes a point of including the detail that Pecock wrote and edited these books “*manu sua propria*” (30). See Appendix A for a complete list of Pecock's works.

¹⁴ See Part III.

¹⁵ In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Wyclif was also considered a prolific theologian writing in English. Thomas Arnold's 1869-71 edition of *Select English Works of John Wyclif* and F. D. Matthew's 1880 EETS edition of *The English Works of Wyclif: Hitherto Unpublished* are among the most notable of the attributions; however, since then, Anne Hudson, among other literary historians, has discounted these findings. She says that there is little direct “evidence in favour of Wyclif's authorship of the [sermon] cycle [published by Arnold], or indeed of any [of the] English works” (Hudson, *Book Production*, 186).

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1443 Writes part of *Rule of Christian Religion*¹⁶

1443-9 Writes *Donet*¹⁷

c. 1449 Writes *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*¹⁸

1453-4 Writes *Follower to the Donet*¹⁹

c. 1456 Writes *Book of Faith*²⁰

While there is some debate as to the dating of some of these texts, I have followed the estimates of the editors for each of them. I have excluded *PMM* from this scheme since it is an excerpt of *Donet*. Each of these manuscripts survives in manuscripts contemporary with Pecock's life. Each of them is now housed in different libraries.

¹⁶ Greet, *Rule*, xiv.

¹⁷ Hitchcock, *Donet*, xvii.

¹⁸ Babington, *Repressor*, xxii, fn. 1.

¹⁹ Hitchcock, *Follower*, xxii.

²⁰ Morison, *Faith*, 12.

1.3 Interpreting Patronage

The question of which of the two major Lancastrian parties Pecock was allied to--that of Gloucester or that of Suffolk--has largely been settled. The first historians of Pecock attributed the bishop's early successes to an affiliation with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447). John Bale (1495-1563) says that

Reginaldus Pecock, Anglus, ob eruditionem atque eloquentiam, episcopus primum Asaphensis, tum demum Cicestriensis extitit, favore, ut fertur, Umfridi Glocestriae ducis, dum esset Anglici regni administrator.

Reginald Pecock, an Englishman, because of his erudition and eloquence served as bishop first of St. Asaph and then finally of Chicester, by the favor, it is said, of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester while he was the administrator of the English realm.²¹

Leland says the same, as does Foxe.²² Kelly, writing in 1945, was the first to demonstrate that the connection between the two men lacks evidence and is altogether unlikely, although every interpreter of Pecock's life between 1550 and the publication of Kelly's thesis assumes the affiliation to be true. Babington, for example, attributes Pecock's earliest appointments to Humphrey's favor, reasoning that Pecock could not have attained such a prominent position as the mastership of Whittington College with the rectorship of St. Michael in Paternoster Royal (1431) without the support of the protector of the realm.²³ This presumed association, therefore, has colored much of the substantive readings into Pecock's downfall. Such biased reading of Pecock's position is

²¹ Fols., 204b-205a. Translation mine.

²² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 731.

²³ Babington, *Repressor*, xii.

especially relevant since scholars are still trying to find an adequate political explanation for Pecock's heresy trial; adequate theological reasons are lacking, as will be discussed below.

Though groundless, it is easy to see why the association between the two men lasted so long. The lives of Pecock and Humphrey paralleled each other in some important ways. If we assume Pecock's birth around the year 1390, Humphrey and Pecock were the same age and lived through the same political turmoil: the seizure of the English crown by Henry IV, the great victories of Henry V, and the subsequent decline of the English empire under Henry VI. Both men were well known for their defense of the faith against Lollardy. Both achieved great professional success, though not so great as perhaps they hoped for themselves. Both, in late life, encountered unsurmountable enemies among those of their own party--Lancastrians in both cases, and, for Pecock, other ecclesiastics, as well. They were both men of letters, eager to share books and knowledge with others: Humphrey through his many patronages and eventual endowment of books to Oxford and Pecock through his efforts to establish a common profit book scheme. Indeed, it seems that both Humphrey and Pecock had the problem of being right though not very persuasive. George Harriss says of Humphrey, "His arguments might convince but his personality did not." The same could be said of Pecock.

1.4 Preaching Controversy

The reason that Gloucester's purported patronage remained such a compelling part of Pecock's story for so long is that scholars wanted to make sense of the eventual downfall of Pecock that began with the preaching controversy of 1447. This controversy is at the heart of Pecock's trouble with other ecclesiastics and, indeed, at the heart of why the crown ultimately became so

invested in his conviction and his removal from the Chichester episcopal see. Although a copy of the sermon itself does not survive, fortunately a copy of Pecock's vindication of his sermon, addressed to Archbishop John Stafford, does,²⁴ as well as another account given by Thomas Gascoigne.²⁵ Pecock's statement includes a spirited justification of his sermon and the reasons behind his defense of absenteeism:²⁶

1. No one can prove that bishops are bound to preach to the common people by virtue of their office.
2. Bishops ought not to consider themselves [so] bound.
3. Bishops ought to have more knowledge of divinity and of difficult questions than the inferior clergy.
4. Bishops may take up and lay down at will any of the functions of the inferior clergy, such as preaching, etc., provided taking them up does not interfere with their higher duties.
5. Divers causes may [legitimately] excuse bishops from residence in their dioceses.
6. Bishops have more important duties to discharge than mere preaching.

²⁴ MS Bodley 117 fols. 11-13, reprinted in the appendix to Babington's *Repressor*.

²⁵ Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 27. Gascoigne dates the speech to 1449 although all other details correspond to his sermon in 1447, so it is likely that Gascoigne was simply mistaken. Gascoigne is one of the primary sources of Pecock's life, although he was far from an impartial observer. See Section 1.8, Thomas Gascoigne (1403-1458).

²⁶ The summaries are Babington's.

7. Neither papal provisions to bishoprics, nor payments of annates to the pope, are simoniacal.²⁷

Standing alone, the foregoing conclusions seem to exemplify the arrogance that stereotypes the late medieval Church. Yet, Pecock's reasoning on these matters demonstrates a perspective deeply invested in the general welfare of the parishioners in his see. Pecock seriously questioned the value of oral instruction of the laity. He believed that written language was a much more efficacious means of instruction, and he saw the duty of preaching as an inferior responsibility best fulfilled by subordinates. His responsibility was to devote himself to the study of more complex theological matters (see point 3 above), to ensure that he conveyed the most important of that material to the parish priests under his supervision, and to provide appropriate spiritual guidance to temporal rulers. Given the copiousness of his pedagogical writings, it is clear that Pecock took this responsibility seriously, perhaps to his own detriment.

In the *Repressor*, for example, Pecock openly, and perhaps foolishly, criticizes, the royal obsession with dominating France:

But wolde God that the king of Ingland wolde sette so miche bisines forto conquere and reforme his lond of Ingland fro this seid wickid scole [i.e. Lollards] and fro othere defautis, as miche as he dooth aboute the conquest of his lond of Normandy and of Fraunce, and peraventure he schulde thanne have more thanke and reward at his laste coming hoom to the King of blisse, and more noble flavour of digne fame

²⁷ Unlike the inconsistent and inaccurate accusations of heresy, the main conclusions at the center of the preaching controversy are consistent across all of the sources. See Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 27-8.

1.4 PERCEPTIONS OF PECOCK: PREACHING CONTROVERSY

among alle the princis of the world and the worthy peeris of heven, than he schal have by miche of his labour and cost doon about the worldly conquest of Fraunce.²⁸

Such advice on matters of foreign policy would have been looked upon unfavorably by an English monarchy that was on the losing side of a very long conflict. At the writing of the *Repressor* in c.1449, England and France were nearing the end of what we now call the Hundred Years' War, and France had, at this point, already secured many important victories over the English.²⁹ The opinion that Pecock expresses above about the wrong-ordered priorities of the "King of Ingland" was not politically correct or politically expedient, yet it is in keeping with Pecock's values. In this case, although he may have been saying what others already felt or knew, Pecock was putting himself in a vulnerable position.

Taking this passage into account when assessing the conclusions of his 1447 speech at St. Paul's leads, then, inevitably to a very different understanding of the intentions of this hierarchically determined churchman. That is, he pointed out rightly that one of the main responsibilities of the bishops in England was to act as advisor to the king (see point 5 above). In order to fulfill that duty, Pecock and other bishops like him inevitably had to travel to wherever the king was located and away from their home dioceses. Such absences should hardly qualify as neglect on the part of the bishops who were away on business, since they were fulfilling a legitimate part of their ecclesiastic responsibilities by advising the king and ensuring the spiritual health of the country as a whole.

²⁸ *Repressor*, 90.

²⁹ Pecock makes one explicit reference to the conflict between England and France in the *Book of Faith* (252, fol. 94b) when the Father explains to the Son the instability of spoken accounts: "Verily, as I may trowe, thorough al the time of were during these xl yeer bitwixe Ingland and Fraunce, wist I not scant iii or iiij men, which wolden accorde thorough out, in telling how a toun or a castel was wonne in Fraunce, or hou a batel was doon there, though thilk men were holden right feifful men and trewe, though ech of hem wolde have swore that it was trewe what he tolde, and that he was present and sawe it."

Indeed, there is a logical connection between this particular point of view and the way in which ecclesiastical promotions occurred during the Lancastrian era. As Scase has pointed out,

Study of episcopal career patterns in the period has led to the conclusion that employment in the Church was not the deciding factor in the promotion of clerics to bishoprics; what counted was contact with and service to the state. Royal patronage was crucial, whether through personal contact or through holding positions in the bureaucracy.³⁰

It would be common sense, therefore, for clerics to devote their efforts in arenas that would do the most to ensure their professional advancement--as self-serving as that might be. Pecock's ambiguous patronage is, in fact, strong evidence for what happens when that patronage is lacking. Pecock may have had some contact with the state through his longstanding presence in London and the interest that he demonstrates towards the behavior of the crown in his writings but there is no actual evidence that the king ever took Pecock's advice into consideration. Ironically, what Pecock manages to do is fulfill his own sense of personal obligation to act as advisor to the king without securing for himself the protection that such advice usually confers.

Although the much-criticized speech at St. Paul's Cross was delivered a decade before formal charges were brought against Pecock for heresy, it is important to highlight that the negative outcry that surrounded his sermon had long-lasting consequences. As the above passage should have amply demonstrated, the candor of Pecock's spiritual advice in matters of foreign policy would not endear him to those royal advisors in favor of extended warfare in France, even if it may have

³⁰ Scase, *Reginald Pecock*, 83 [9].

1.4 PERCEPTIONS OF PECOCK: PREACHING CONTROVERSY

appealed to the pious Henry VI. And ultimately, it was royal interest in Pecock that led to a downfall more thorough than would have been possible if ecclesiastics alone were at the helm of his heresy prosecutions. For example, although Thomas Bourghier seemed content to restore Pecock to his episcopal see after the public recantation in 1457,³¹ it was royal effort that ultimately stripped Pecock of his position. Two letters from the Crown sent in September 1458 established its objections to Pecock's continuation in his episcopal duties and offered Pecock a pension in exchange for his formal renunciation of his see.³² And when these royal mechanisms failed to effect the change desired by the Crown, a second appeal, this time to Pope Pius II who, either ignorant of his predecessor's judgment or more pliable to royal interests, made the judgment that no resignation on Pecock's part was necessary since Pecock was a heretic at the time of his appointment, making that appointment null. Most important, however, was the fact that Pecock's replacement was none other than the King's own physician and chaplain John Arundel.³³ Whether it was Henry VI or Queen Margaret, his wife, who was behind the efforts to remove Pecock from the Chichester see is unclear; however, what is apparent at this period is that the Lancastrian Crown had good reason to fear any threat to the royal prerogative. Conflict between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians for control of the English crown was still ongoing. Efforts by Bourghier to secure a truce between the two houses during Lady Day, 25 March 1458, had already failed. Henry VI's mental health was still inconsistent.³⁴

³¹ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, Rescript from Pope Calixtus III (June 13, 1458).

³² Scase, *Reginald Pecock*, 112 [38].

³³ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, Provision of Pius II to John, bishop elect of Chichester (Jan. 8, 1459).

³⁴ Henry VI probably inherited his mental illness from his maternal grandfather, King Charles VI "the mad" of France. Charles's daughter, Catherine of Valois was married to Henry V at the same time that Charles declared his son, later Charles VII, illegitimate and disinherited him from the French throne.

Therefore, while the contents of Pecock's sermon at St. Paul's cross were not explicitly examined at the time of his trial, they do clearly establish Pecock's position regarding his role as royal advisor and the negative outcome of his taking such work seriously and without compromise. As a result, the active role that Pecock took in criticizing royal motives did not make his presence more welcome at court than it would have been in Chichester.

Finally, I think it important to note that there is no evidence that Pecock himself was chronically absent from his episcopal see while bishop of either St. Asaph's or Chichester. It is typical of Pecock to make an argument based on a hypothetical situation—to defend the most extreme example of an idea in order to prove a lesser point.³⁵ It is very important for the reader to understand that his defense of a logical extreme is not his advocacy for that position. Pecock, in all likelihood, was a good bishop. While his surviving writings are often dense, they are ample testimony of his sustained engagement with his pastoral responsibilities as bishop. As Chapters 4 and 5 will demonstrate, Pecock was so concerned with the comprehensiveness and effectiveness of current models of religious instruction that he formulated an entirely new catechetical program. Despite the ire that arose as a result of his conclusions, Pecock was not actually convicted on any of those points.

³⁵ See Section 3.1 on the syllogism.

1.5 Recantation

In assessing Pecock's relative guilt or innocence, it is important to recognize the nature of the actual charges against Pecock, those that he had to abjure, in contrast to allegations made against him according to reports written after his death. There is shockingly little overlap between the actual charges and the later allegations. Pecock's confession survives in a number of sources from the period immediately following his trial. They include Trinity College Dublin 516, which includes two copies of the recantation along with the short poem "Wyt Hath Wondyr"; Bodley 108, the manuscript copy of John Bury's *Gladius Salomonis*; the *English Chronicle*; Ashmole 789 which contains the trial documents; Lambeth Palace 594, Henry Wharton's hand written copy of Ashmole 789; the Whethamstede Register Whethamstede [Bostock], John (c.1392–1465); Foxe's *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum Maximarumque per Totam European Persecutionum*; and Archbishop George Neville's Register (1432-1476). The allegations, primarily elaborated on by John Bury and Thomas Gascoigne, expanded the number of Pecock's sins, so to speak.

The details of the heresies or errors vary in the sources. All copies of the recantation record two points of heresy concerning the authority of the church:

- 1) The church could err in matters of faith,
- 2) Christians need not hold to the determinations of a general council of the church on matters of faith.

Four other points, not attested in all sources, relate to the Apostles' Creed. These were that:

- 3) It was not necessary to believe in Christ's descent into hell;
- 4) or in the Holy Ghost;

5) or in the holy Catholic church;

6) or in the communion of saints.

A seventh point is attested in the *Registrum abbatiae Johannis Wbhamstede* only:

7) It was not necessary to believe in any other sense of Scripture than the literal sense.

John Foxe cites a point not attested in the medieval sources,

8) It was not necessary to believe in the materiality of the body of Christ in the sacrament.

While the first six points above are the only set for which Pecock was definitively tried, only one of the charges appears to be patently true whereas the other five charges were wrong. Sarah James demonstrates that the first charge is sound, the second charge unverifiable, he was technically innocent of the third charge, guilty of the fifth and sixth charges (although Pecock admonishes the laity to believe in the Church anyway). However, as James has pointed out, there is nothing in Pecock's abjuration that highlights the use of English as one of the main factors in assessing his guilt, an association that later critics have wanted to make.³⁶

The seventh and eighth points above were in all likelihood later accretions. Both of those points are also patently wrong. The *Book of Faith* is devoted to those aspects of Scripture that require faith as opposed to reason. The *Rule* covers a very orthodox explanation of the sacrament of the eucharist. I am inclined then to agree with Patrouch who predicted, "I expect that someday the problem of Pecock's heresies will be restudied, that he will be cleared of the artificially contrived

³⁶ James, "Revaluing Vernacular Theology," 137.

charges against him, and that he will eventually come to receive more attention than has hitherto been accorded him.”³⁷

Pecock's point about the descent into hell is that it was not in the authentic Apostles' Creed. This did not necessarily mean that one did not have to believe in it. His point about the articles of the Church was that it means “I believe that there is a holy Catholic Church,” not, “I believe everything the Church says is true” even though the latter may be true. I discuss this issue further in section 3.1.1 Conciliar Fallibility.

1.6 Participants

Before going into detail about how Pecock's Logical style has resulted in misreadings of his theological perspective, however, let us first return to the main sources of evidence for his audience. Establishing his main readership is important since his contemporary audience eventually became the font of his first accusers.

There are three main sources of evidence regarding the audience of Pecock's works: textual evidence as it is available in Pecock's own writings describing his intended audience, documentary evidence primarily dealing with the aftermath of Pecock's trial and the attempts of authorities to remove his writings from general circulation, and contextual evidence relating to Pecock's associates. The didactic texts (*Donet*, *Rule*, *Follower*, and *PMM*) were directed at an educated lay audience, though there are of course instances that seem more appropriate for lower ranking clerics or poor priests.³⁸ Pecock's position as parish priest of St. Michael's likely inspired his natural didactic tendencies; combined with his mastership at Whittington college, he had a ready audience to benefit from his

³⁷ Patrouch, *Reginald Pecock*, 143.

³⁸ See Section 4.1 Pedagogical Approaches for the "Lay Party."

efforts. Although the chaplains under his care probably had college degrees, it is likely that he had their continued improvement in mind when writing about many of the pastoral issues that *Donet*, *Rule*, and *Follower* addressed.³⁹ His polemical texts (*Repressor* and *Faith*) were intended primarily for a lay audience that was sympathetic to the point of views espoused by Lollards. In *Faith*, Pecock is boastful about how many Lollards liked him for his willingness to engage in debate with them. The introduction that Pecock writes to the *Follower* and his spirited defense of his opinions as they were expressed in the infamous sermon at Paul's Cross implies that many detractors were also reading Pecock's writings. Pecock's affiliation with a common-profit scheme in which books were made available to poor individuals implies that his writings, especially as they might be represented in the *PMM*, would have had wider circulation in the London area than may be expected. Documentary evidence following the trial leads us to believe that his writings were quite popular among university students, since a letter by Edward IV following Pecock's conviction complained about the remaining popularity of his writings. There is also some likelihood that the Mercers or other business people were likewise reading Pecock's writings, since Whittington College was administered by the Mercers and they were also parishioners of the church.⁴⁰ Pecock argues for the capacity of government administrators and business people to follow the difficult theological matters that he presents in his pedagogical volumes because they are already engaging in intellectually challenging work while conducting their business:

³⁹ Although he was not obligated to teach the other chaplains in any formal capacity, Pecock's position as rector of St. Michael's would have permitted him to assign pastoral duties to the other four chaplains and the clerics in minor orders who were under his supervision. Given Pecock's pedantic disposition, it seems likely that some of Pecock's complaints about the inadequacies of parish preachers were inspired by first-hand experiences (M. Reddan, *Religious Houses*, and see Part III. Pecock's Pedagogy, Section 4.1 Pedagogical Approaches for the "Lay Party").

⁴⁰ Wendy Scase makes a clear case for Pecock's extended association with the Mercers (*Reginald Pecock*, 89 [15]).

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And weel I wote that so myche sotilte and heighte of witt muste ech weel learned man in the kingis lawe of inglond, and ech wiis greet mercer, in hise rekenings and bargeins making, have, how grete, highe and sutel witt he must bisette upon the highest maters which I write, after that the signifying of the wordis ben to hem knowun.⁴¹

This cross-section of the population might reasonably be characterized as the emerging middle class. Pecock was writing for the university students who would become government administrators as much as for those administrators themselves; he wrote for lower ranking clerics and parish priests; he wrote for his parishioners, the mercers and tradespeople who conducted the business of the city. Indeed, this nameless audience is the most important group to keep in mind when reading his pedagogical volumes because it is for them that he wrote.

We do, however, know by name several individuals who did read his work. While it is impractical to list everyone whom we have cause to associate with Pecock during his lifetime, it is nevertheless fruitful to identify some of the most important figures. They are those who were most called to act upon Pecock's writings and were most impacted by them, whether for the positive or the negative. During Pecock's lifetime, we can definitively say that the following people read Pecock's work or parts of it: Thomas Gascoigne (1404-1458), Vice Chancellor of Oxford University and author of some of the most condemnatory pages written about Pecock, which survive in his *Theological Dictionary*; John Bury (1400-1480), Augustinian prior and author of the *Gladius Salomonis*, a dedicated rebuttal to the thirteen conclusions in Part I of Pecock's *Repressor*; and Thomas Bourghier

⁴¹ *Rule*, 21.

(1411-1486), Archbishop of Canterbury, who was ultimately responsible for depriving Pecock of his see at Chichester and having him confined to Thorney Abbey. During his lifetime, it is likely that John Carpenter (d.1442), Common Clerk of London and supervisor of Whittington College, was familiar with Pecock's theology. In the century following Pecock's death, John Foxe (1517-1587) wrote a positive response to Pecock's findings in his *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum*, although it was one which attempted to place Pecock in a continuum of Protestant rather than Catholic reformers.⁴²

The individuals listed above will serve as the lenses through which I will narrate Pecock's real and reputed history. What follows then, is a kind of "he said, she said" account of Pecock's teachings and reception in which I lay out the major controversial conclusions drawn by Pecock, what he was charged with during his heresy trial, and ultimately what others said about him in the hundred years following his death. What should become evident as this account unfolds is that there is very little overlap between each of these categories. The motivations of each of these voices were very different: whether Pecock himself, the Lancastrian royal court, Pre-Reformation Oxford academics, or the Post-Reformation Anglicans.

While I focus primarily on Pecock's lifetime and the hundred or so years following it, the bifurcation in interpretations of Pecock's life continued through eighteenth century in dramatic form. Kelly divides the two major groups into the Reformist interpreters and the Catholic leaning interpreters. Of the former group he places John Leland (c.1503-1552), John Bale (1495-1563), John

⁴² Master Thomas Lempster, a priest who was deprived of a benefice in the diocese of St. Asaph for remaining loyal to Pecock's cause following the trial, and Master John Harlowe, a doctoral candidate at Oxford whose degree was withheld for his Pecock sympathies were also associated with Pecock, although they did not play a central role in either his heresy trial or his subsequent reception in history.

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Foxe (1516/17-1587), Anthony Hall (1679-1723), Richard Grafton (c.1511-1573), John Stow [Stowe] (1524/5-1605), Raphael Holinshed [Hollingshead] (c.1525-1580?), Francis Godwin (1562-1633), Thomas Fuller (1654-1734), Henry Wharton (1664-1695), Casimir Oudin (1638-?), Johann Albert Fabricius (1668-1736), Thomas Tanner (1674-1735), Daniel Waterland (1683-1740), and John Lewis (1675-1747). In the latter group, he places Nicholas Harpsfield (1519-1575),⁴³ Robert Parsons [Persons] (1546-1610),⁴⁴ Brian Twyne (1581-1644),⁴⁵ Anthony Wood (1632-1695),⁴⁶ Odericus Raynaldus (1595-1671),⁴⁷ Jeremy Collier (1650-1726),⁴⁸ and Thomas Hearne (bap. 1678-1735).⁴⁹

In many ways, the Pre-Reformation Oxford academics and the Post-Reformation Anglicans had much in common. Both groups wanted to see Pecock identified as a member of the Reformist party. Yet Pecock obviously did not fit easily into any of the stereotypes of the Wycliffite party; he did not share any of the conclusions that were condemned by the English bishops in 1411 and by the Council of Constance (1414-1418). As we recall, Pecock was in Oxford during this time. Given his subject of study and peer group, it is likely that Pecock was well aware of the issues in contention.

What should also become apparent in the following discussion is that the public perception of Pecock was colored much more by the context of his social relationships and political

⁴³ Harpsfield was a Catholic and a biographer of Sir Thomas More. He also wrote a rebuttal against John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (Freeman, *OxDNB*).

⁴⁴ A convert to Roman Catholicism in 1579. He became a Jesuit (Houlston, *OxDNB*).

⁴⁵ A Calvinist (Hegarty, *OxDNB*).

⁴⁶ Wood was an avowed Anglican in his diaries, but he affiliated with known Catholics in the early 1670s (Parry, *OxDNB*).

⁴⁷ Cardinal Oderico Rainaldi, continuator of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* by Cesare Baronius.

⁴⁸ A non-juring Anglican, who refused to take an oath supporting William and Mary (Salmon, *OxDNB*).

⁴⁹ A non-juring Anglican (Harmsen, *OxDNB*); the division as a whole is Kelly's (Kelly, *Reginald Pecock*, xii.)

relationships than by what he actually argued in his writings. In particular, the age of the various persons involved is very relevant to Pecock's downfall.

1.6.1 *John Bury (c.1400-1480)*

Let us begin, then, with the charges that John Bury laid against Pecock. In the years immediately following Pecock's trial, John Bury, an Augustinian prior and fellow Oxford student,⁵⁰ wrote a scathing rebuttal in 1458-9 to part of Pecock's *Repressor*, titled *Gladius Salomonis*.⁵¹ Bury's response, though lengthy, is only a rebuttal to the first error, as identified by Pecock, of the three errors that underlie eleven main objections of Lollards against the medieval Church.⁵² That is, his rebuttal is only to roughly the first sixth of the *Repressor's* content.

Although there is no evidence that Bury himself was involved in Pecock's prosecution, he was an influential theologian active in London at the same time as Pecock and only about ten years Pecock's junior. The dedicatee of the *Gladius Salomonis* is Thomas Bourghier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who also oversaw the trial against Pecock. By all accounts then, Bury is the best attested of Pecock's contemporary critics. Although the *Gladius Salomonis* was originally planned as two books, we now only have one. They survive in two manuscripts: Durham, Cathedral Library MS. Hunter 4^o 59 and Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 108. It is unknown whether the second book

⁵⁰ Although Pecock and Bury were not from the same college, their time in Oxford did overlap by more than four years. Pecock was still in residence in 1424, though he left that same year for his first benefice; Bury arrived in Oxford in 1420 to study at the Augustinian convent there. (Clark, *OxDNB*)

⁵¹ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Bodley 108.

⁵² The eleven objections are: (1) the use of images; (2) the going on pilgrimage; (3) the holding of landed possessions by the clergy; (4) the various ranks of the hierarchy, *i.e.* papacy and episcopacy; (5) the framing of ecclesiastical laws and ordinances by papal and episcopal authority; (6) the institution of the religious orders; (7) the invocation of saints and priestly intercession; (8) the costliness of ecclesiastical decorations; (9) the ceremonies of the mass and the sacraments generally; (10) the taking of oaths; (11) maintaining that war and capital punishment are lawful (Babington, *Repressor*, lxxxvii).

was written and now lost through the vagaries of time or whether Bury, for other reasons, abandoned the project. The contents of the surviving book cover Bury's objections to thirteen conclusions Pecock drew up in response to what he saw as the first (and major) error of the Lollards. This major error is as follows:

- (1) That no governaunce is to be holde of Cristen men, the service or the lawe of God, save it which is groundid in Holy Scripture of the New Testament, as summe of the bifore-seid men holden; or namelich, save it which is groundid in the Newe Testament or in the Oold, and is not by the Newe Testament revokid, as summe othere of hem holden.⁵³

Presumably, Bury's second book would have been devoted to refuting Pecock's conclusions against the second and third Lollard errors. These two errors, as formulated by Pecock, are as follows:

- (2) That whatever Cristen man or womman be meke in spirit and willy forto undirstonde treuly and dewly Holy Scripture, schal without fail and default finde the trewe undirstonding of Holy Scripture in whatever place he or sche schal rede and studie, though it be in the Apocalips or oughwhere ellis: and the more meke he or sche be, the sooner he or sche schal come into the verry trewe and dew undirstonding of it, which in Holy Scripture he or sche redith and studieth.⁵⁴
- (3) Whanne-evere a persoon hath founde the undirstonding of Holy Scripture into which he schal come by the wey now bifore-seid of the ii^c opinioun, he or sche oughte bowe away her heering, her reeding, and her undirstonding fro al

⁵³ *Repressor*, 5.

⁵⁴ *Repressor*, 6.

reasoning and fro al arguing or proving which eny clerk can or wole or may make by eny maner evidence of resoun or of Scripture, and namelich of resoun into the contrarie, though the mater be such that it passith not the boondis neither the capacite of resoun forto entermete therwith and forto juge and yeve kunning therupon.⁵⁵

Table 1.1 Comparison of Pecock's Conclusions and Bury's Contradictions

Pecock's Conclusions according to Bury	John Bury's Contradictions ⁵⁶
1. That it is no part of the office of Scripture to found any law of God which man's reason may discover by the light of nature. ⁵⁷	1. It is the office of Scripture to found ordinances, truths, and laws of divine service, even although they may be discovered by the light of natural reason. ⁵⁸
2. Though Scripture be not the ground of any oral truths discoverable by reason, yet it bears witness to them, and exhorts to their better fulfillment. ⁵⁹	2. [<i>Sancta Scriptura fundet moralia quae dicta sunt, humano tamen more ratio naturalis haec ipsa recitare potest.</i> Holy Scripture establishes morals which are spoken; nevertheless, natural reason can recite them in human fashion.] ⁶⁰
3. The whole design of Scripture is (1) to ground articles of faith, and (2) to witness the truths of natural religion, in order to their better performance; and of these articles of faith (3) some are laws and some are not laws. ⁶¹	3. [<i>Proprium et speciale officium est Sacrae Scripturae mores viatorum reddere deiformes.</i> It is the proper and special office of Holy Scripture to make the morals of humans to conform to God.] ⁶²
4. It is not the office of the law of nature to ground any articles of faith grounded in Scripture. ⁶³	4. [<i>Non est officium moralis legis naturae fundare aliquem articulum fidei...lex naturae et moralis philosophia non sunt idem.</i> It is not the office of the moral law of nature to ground any article of faith. [And] natural law and moral philosophy are not the same.] ⁶⁴
5. Though treatises on natural religion cannot ground articles of faith, they may, nevertheless, rehearse and bear witness to them. ⁶⁵	5. [<i>Nil obviat quin articuli fidei in lege naturae philosophiaeque morali recitari valeant.</i> Nothing hinders the articles of faith to be recited in the moral law of nature and philosophy.] ⁶⁶
6. The office of moral philosophy is to express in writing the truths of natural religion, and by rehearsing some	6. [<i>Philosophia catholica homines Deo in moribus assimilat.</i> Catholic philosophy makes men like to God in morals.] ⁶⁸

⁵⁵ *Repressor*, 7.

⁵⁶ I have used Babington's wording in summarizing Pecock's and Bury's conclusions except for those in brackets, which I have translated myself.

⁵⁷ *Repressor*, 9-10.

⁵⁸ Babington, *Repressor*, 576.

⁵⁹ *Repressor*, 32.

⁶⁰ Babington, *Repressor*, 568.

⁶¹ *Repressor* 35.

⁶² Babington, *Repressor*, 568.

⁶³ *Repressor* 37.

⁶⁴ Babington, *Repressor*, 568-9.

⁶⁵ *Repressor* 38.

⁶⁶ Babington, *Repressor*, 569.

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articles of revealed religion to exhort to their better fulfillment. ⁶⁷	
7. The greater part of God's law is grounded in natural, and not in revealed religion. ⁶⁹	7. No part of God's law to man is without its foundation in Scripture. ⁷⁰
8. No one can know God's whole law without a knowledge of moral philosophy. ⁷¹	8. [<i>Aliquis potest scire totam legem Dei, etsi moralem philosophiam adquisitam nesciat.</i> Anyone can know the whole of God's law, even if he does not know acquired moral philosophy.] ⁷²
9. No one can fully understand Scripture where it rehearses truths of moral philosophy without being skilled in moral philosophy. ⁷³	9. [<i>Aliquis potest intellegere Sacram Scripturam ubi de virtutibus moralibus agit, quanquam philosophiam adquisitam nesciat.</i> Anyone can understand Holy Scripture where it rehearses moral virtues, even though he does not know acquired philosophy.] ⁷⁴
10. The knowledge of moral philosophy [is] indispensably necessary to Christians. ⁷⁵	10. The law of nature or moral philosophy is a very useful guide to those who are without the direct light of divine revelation; but is not universally necessary to those who have that light. Thus the hearts of the Apostles were enlightened without the aid of moral philosophy. ⁷⁶
11. The unlearned laity ought highly to esteem clerks learned in moral philosophy. ⁷⁷	11. The unlearned have cause to bless God that they have learned the sure rule of life, not from human philosophers but from inspired writers. ⁷⁸
12. The same persons ought highly to esteem English books on moral philosophy. ⁷⁹	12. Pecock's works are more to be detested by faithful people than those of Mahomet or of any heretic whatever. ⁸⁰
13. It is as unreasonable to expect a scriptural proof for a truth of moral philosophy, as to expect a truth of grammar to be founded in sadlery. ⁸¹	13. Since moral philosophy is a particular theology, and Scripture a general theology, we may reasonably inquire concerning all moral doctrines, where they are founded in Scripture. ⁸²

As we recall, the only charge against Pecock having to do with Scripture during the actual heresy trial was point 7, attested to only in the *Whethamstede Register*: "It was not necessary to believe in any other

⁶⁸ Babington, *Repressor*, 569.

⁶⁷ *Repressor* 39.

⁶⁹ *Repressor*, 39.

⁷⁰ *Repressor*, 591.

⁷¹ *Repressor*, 43.

⁷² Babington, *Repressor*, 569.

⁷³ *Repressor*, 43.

⁷⁴ Babington, *Repressor*, 569.

⁷⁵ *Repressor*, 43.

⁷⁶ Babington, *Repressor*, 596.

⁷⁷ *Repressor*, 46.

⁷⁸ Babington, *Repressor*, 600.

⁷⁹ *Repressor*, 46.

⁸⁰ Babington, *Repressor*, 602.

⁸¹ *Repressor*, 48.

⁸² Babington, *Repressor*, 607.

sense of Scripture than the literal sense." Bury's objection, therefore, is not the same as that with which Pecock was possibly charged: the trial charge was concerned with how one goes about interpreting Scripture; Bury's later allegation was concerned with what Scripture was meant to encompass. The main distinction between Pecock's outlook and Bury's is grounded in what they see as the appropriate relationship between Scripture and moral philosophy. For Pecock, Scripture is not complete in and of itself and to know all of God's law requires knowledge of moral philosophy. This is in contrast to Bury's perspective which argues that Scripture is whole in itself. For Pecock, God's law is almost completely represented by moral philosophy, except for revealed truths (*i.e.* truths known only by revelation). Ironically, Bury's perspective would today be considered the less orthodox point of view and, as Pecock rightly argued, it is one of the major distinctions between Catholic and Protestant readers of the Bible.

What is most important to appreciate about Pecock's argument, however, is that his position on the importance of the role of moral philosophy is an elitist one that excludes the illiterate or uneducated from understanding the totality of God's law except as informed by the learned. The uneducated have to take all theological positions on faith--faith in their teachers and faith in the Church. Indeed, common narratives which depict the medieval Church as an exclusive institution for its restriction of the Bible in vernacular languages (narratives that are not true, in my view), pales in comparison to Pecock's fundamental assumptions about the capacity of the laity to access theological truth: the laity could never attain that truth without access to moral philosophy as it was taught in the universities--a high standard indeed. It is a clue, perhaps, to why Pecock was unconcerned with Bible translations in general; he himself freely used the Late Version of the

Middle English Bible. A translated Bible still was not going to provide the average layman access to all of God's law; the layman would still be unlearned in the most important and comprehensive body of theology: moral philosophy. This fundamental position underlies Pecock's eleventh and twelfth points above: "The unlearned laity ought highly to esteem clerks learned in moral philosophy" and "The same persons ought highly to esteem English books on moral philosophy." For Pecock, clerics still held an irreplaceable role as mediators between the laity and salvation.

1.6.2 *Thomas Gascoigne (1403-1458)*

How that mediation was ideally to happen, however, was a major cause of critique by Thomas Gascoigne. That twelfth point attacked in Bury's *Gladius Salomonis*, the value of books of moral philosophy written in the English language, touches on this larger controversy that connected heresy with literacy--a point that was never among the items which Pecock was required to abjure (see section 1.5) but that was, nevertheless, a mark against him in Bury's mind as well as Gascoigne's.

Earlier in discussing Pecock's infamous sermon at St. Paul's Cross, I passed over Pecock's denigration of the sermon form, elaborating instead on the implications of Pecock's relationship with the Crown. However, the aspect of Pecock's sermon at St. Paul's Cross that would lead to the most ire among ecclesiastics was not clerical "absenteeism" (or as I like to put it, clerical business travel), but rather Pecock's opinion on the best practice of catechesis: sermon-giving or book-reading. His first point, "No one can prove that bishops are bound to preach to the common people by virtue of their office," his second point, "Bishops ought not to consider themselves [so] bound" and his sixth point, "Bishops have more important duties to discharge than mere preaching," all point to Pecock's belief that preaching is a secondary function in pastoral care. Fundamentally,

Pecock believed in a form of catechesis dependent on books, which in turn requires a reading laity. This point of view would cause greatest ire and inspire long-winded and spirited attacks from Gascoigne, a long standing peer of Pecock's.

Gascoigne was a seasoned administrator at Oxford, officially holding the title of chancellor between 1444 and 1445, though also acting as interim chancellor in 1442 and 1453. As a young man, Gascoigne was also at Oriel College at the same time as Pecock. Gascoigne arrived in Oriel between 1416 and 1420 when he was between twelve and sixteen years old, while Pecock, as mentioned before, was at Oriel from c. 1408/9 until 1424, or from the approximate age of eighteen to thirty-four. Wendy Scase does not believe that Gascoigne and Pecock knew each other personally since the men were a generation apart and since Gascoigne does not speak much of Pecock's early career, focusing instead on his years as a bishop.⁸³ I do not, however, agree with her assessment. Although Gascoigne would have been a teenager in the undergraduate arts program when Pecock was a thirtyish theology bachelor candidate, there would have been many opportunities for the two to have met. Oxford was not a large place. Rashdall estimates the size of the entire university in the fifteenth-century at approximately 1,000 including all masters and scholars.⁸⁴ We should remember, furthermore, that Oriel itself, like all medieval colleges, was a small affair: "The college consisted of a provost and ten scholars, at least bachelors of arts."⁸⁵ In addition to the probability of the two having met due to the relative intimacy of the college, when Gascoigne arrived, Pecock would also have been in the midst of his regent mastership. It is possible, therefore, that Pecock could have

⁸³ Scase, *Reginald Pecock*, 79-80.

⁸⁴ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 332.

⁸⁵ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 205.

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known Gascoigne, not as a peer, but as regent master and arts student. Peckock could have easily been Gascoigne's teacher.

Whatever their relationship at Oxford, there was continued opportunity for the two men to have met in later years. Gascoigne served as chaplain to Henry VI between 1434 and 1445, almost precisely overlapping the period during which Peckock was certainly in London residency at Whittington College (1431-1444). Gascoigne had the kind of close advisorial contact with the king that Peckock never had and his influence on King Henry during this period inarguably positioned Henry to be susceptible to believe charges put against Peckock, although those charges would not arrive for more than ten years. Gascoigne was also likely in residence at Oxford during the peak of Peckock's downfall, for he was granted a rent-free room for life by Oriel College in 1449 and died in Oxford in March of 1458 (the likely year of Peckock's death as well). By all accounts, then, Gascoigne was one of the people most capable of giving a first-hand account of Peckock's life and his downfall, which he chose to do very vocally in his *Theological Dictionary*, also known as the *Liber Veritatum*.

To understand why Gascoigne may have been so hostile to Peckock, however, we must return to a period of Oxford's history that which would shape the nature of the university during the entire period in question. Peckock was at Oxford at the same time or just after the approval of the Oxford Constitutions in 1407 (promulgated in April 1409), since we know that he was already a fellow at Oriel College in 1414. Scase estimates Peckock's arrival in 1408 or 1409. In 1411, an Oxford committee also condemned 267 propositions from Wyclif's works, which the bishops of the Canterbury Province condemned on March 17, 1411 and then sent to the pope. Those propositions were also later condemned at Constance. Peckock, as can be seen in his later writings, was a strong

advocate of Arundelian policy. And he did not object to the regulation, indeed submission, to which the university had to submit itself under the Oxford Constitutions. There is no doubt, however, that the Constitutions, which regulated allowable topics for debate and instruction at Oxford, caused ire among others at the university. Indeed, that hostility towards ecclesiastical interference came to head in 1411, when Archbishop Arundel was forcibly prevented from entering Saint Mary's (Oriel College's chapel) by students who may have been armed with bows and arrows. The issue was only resolved when the King intervened, though there was, of course, animosity still remaining on both sides of the controversy.⁸⁶ The polarizing force which these policies would have on the student population, however, would later manifest itself in Gascoigne's treatment of Pecock, even though Gascoigne arrived at the university only after the policies had taken effect.

During his residency in Oxford, Pecock demonstrated himself to be a strong advocate of the Province's policies. Gascoigne, however, was a critic of Arundel's policies, a position that was only magnified during his time as chancellor. In the *Theological Dictionary*, Gascoigne even tells the story of Arundel's death by choking, which he attributes to Arundel's policies which effectively tied up the tongues of preachers.⁸⁷ How Gascoigne linked Pecock to Arundel on a conceptual level was in both men's attitude towards preaching. As the preceding example illustrates, Gascoigne directly links Arundel's policies with the censorship of preachers and suggests that such a policy resulted in a mortal, divinely ordained punishment. Of the many descriptions which Gascoigne uses to describe Pecock, not one is more common than "Reginaldus, Pecok...qui praedicavit...quod episcopi in quam

⁸⁶ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 133-4.

⁸⁷ Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 34-5.

episcopi non tenentur praedicare,"⁸⁸ a statement which he makes more than two dozen times in his *Theological Dictionary*.

Gascoigne fundamentally believed that preaching was a key means of religious education and he backs up his position with numbers. In his refutation of Peacock's conclusions, for example, he claims that Christ was able to convert 3,000 people one day and 5,000 people another day through preaching.⁸⁹ There are no comparable examples of such effective oral preaching in Peacock's works, though he probably would have viewed Christ's skills as a preacher as an exceptional quality. Peacock, however, saw sermons not just as ineffective means of indoctrination but also as a fundamentally limiting means of indoctrination. He points out that some preachers treated the sermon form and the subject matter that could be covered in sermons as the outer boundaries of what they attempted to teach:

[If] clerkis take not hede, how and whereby the articlis of oure Cristen feith owen to be groundid and proved and defendid, such time may come, in which adversaries schulen finde the postis and pilers of our feith so unlearnid and naked forto meintene and defende our feith, that tho adversaries, by her greet evidencis to be maad withinne the boonds of the kinde perteing to feith, schulen perverte miche multitude from feith...and [those adversaries shall find]... the clergie schal more labour aboute worldly kunning of lawe, and of winning, and aboute beneficis and worschips, than aboute the kunning of substancial scole of divinite, other than miche

⁸⁸ Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 35.

⁸⁹ Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 30.

such as serveth for sermons in pulpit which lay men trowen al to be substancial
divinite.⁹⁰

By their very format and the nature of the audience, sermons could never be very sophisticated, and, if the clergy limited their studies to sermon-giving alone, Pecock saw that heresy would have opportunity to rise even more.

What I want to emphasize, however, is that despite these fundamental differences in theological perspective, there was still not enough evidence that could be considered heretical about Pecock's doctrine. The campaign against Pecock was a personal one from the very beginning--one which placed marginal theological error on the same level as personal defect. That is, the deep-seated hostility that Gascoigne held towards Pecock manifested itself in many ways, not just in his objection to Pecock's emphasis on literate culture over oral culture but also in his many *ad hominem* attacks reminiscent of the grammar school progymnasmata that both men unquestionably had to write in their boyhoods. Gascoigne, for example, most often describes Pecock using the epithet, "Welsh," a dirty word in fifteenth-century England when it acts as a reminder that Pecock, for all of his clerical success, would always be an outsider. In fact, Gascoigne highlights Pecock's Welsh origins fifteen times in the *Theological Dictionary*. Gascoigne describes himself using far more positive terms: "Ego enim, doctor Thomas et Cancellarius Oxoniae, regens ibidem per xii annos in sacra theologia..."⁹¹ alluding to his own credentials as chancellor half a dozen times. This reductive naming reinforces a flattened view of both men: Pecock is a Welshman; Gascoigne is a chancellor.

⁹⁰ *Faith*, 138. Although the second part of the quotation is a sentence fragment.

⁹¹ Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 30.

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Despite their shared educational experience at Oriel, Gascoigne repeatedly seeks to highlight the difference between himself and Peacock by emphasizing his own credentials and criticizing Peacock's. Peacock, unlike Gascoigne, earned a doctorate from the college with a dispensation from completing all of the requirements of the degree, a point to which Gascoigne objects on multiple occasions:

Nunquam enim respondit alicui doctori pro forma sua, ut esset doctor, nec aliquem actum in scholis fecit in Oxonia, postquam incepit in theologia. An postea faciet nescitur a nobis. Per omnes annos a die inceptions suae in Oxonia usque ad diem praesentis scripturae nullum actum fecit scholasticum, nec legendo, nec predicando, nec disputando, nec determinando.⁹²

For he never made a response to any doctor according to his requirement to be a doctor, nor did he ever perform any function in the schools at Oxford after he incepted in theology. Whether he will do so is not known. During all the years from the day of his inception at Oxford until the day of this present writing, he has performed no scholastic act, neither lecturing, nor preaching, nor disputing, nor determining.

According to Scase and Gascoigne, Peacock incepted in Theology by 1445 (though Emden gives an earlier date of 1444), twenty years after he left the university *and* the same year after he was assigned to the bishopric in Wales. Indeed, the hostility that Gascoigne exhibits towards Peacock is an

⁹² Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 26.

extension of a larger resentment that he, and other Oxford men, had towards the interference of the institutional Church with university affairs.

In order to incept in Theology, a doctoral candidate was required "to have lectured on one book of the Bible and on the Sentences," given "an examinatory sermon at S. Mary's," performed "eight responsions to non-graduate opponents," "[disputed] (as opponent) with every regent D.D." and performed "Vespers."⁹³

Pecock's dispensation from these requirements, despite Gascoigne's critique, was not unusual. University regulation had, by the fifteenth-century, become so elaborate that a dispensation of some sort was required in "the great majority of cases," and eventually in all cases.⁹⁴ The doctorate in theology necessitated a minimum of ten years of study,⁹⁵ so it would not have been unusual at all for Pecock to have requested a dispensation from the scholastic acts. The frequency of such an exception did not, however, appear to allay Gascoigne, who, as chancellor of Oxford, would have been present at the meeting of the regents, the Lesser Congregation, which decided such matters. Although he would not have had the right to vote, it is likely that he would have expressed his disagreement at that time.⁹⁶

Gascoigne's critique of the regents' decision to award Pecock the doctorate through dispensation did, however, have some good causes. Usually, dispensation was not granted without exacting "some additional exercise--a responsion, a disputation, a 'variation', a sermon, a course of

⁹³ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 159. "Vespers," according to the *OED* is "the public disputations and accompanying ceremonies which immediately preceded the incepton or commencement of a Bachelor of Arts" or presumably any other degree.

⁹⁴ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 147-9.

⁹⁵ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 152 fn. Eleven years if the student did not have an M.A.

⁹⁶ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 52.

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lectures, or two or more lectures in place of the regent doctor" or the making of a financial "contribution" to the schools.⁹⁷ Gascoigne's indignation appears to come from the fact that not only did Pecock fail to complete his normal course of study but that he also was not required by the regents to do any compensatory exercises. It would be tantamount to a modern university exempting a doctoral student from oral exams or the production of a dissertation. Indeed, Gascoigne's animosity appears to be directed at least in part at the Regents who granted Pecock's dispensation.

Fuit socius collegii de Oriell in Oxonia, et doctor fuit Oxoniensis in Theologia, et nec ante gradum illum nec post gradum illum fecit aliquem actum in scolis pro forma sua, sed recepit illum gradum per dispensacionem, *i.e.*, per dissipacionem seu licenciam ad malum per regentes in Oxonia.

He was a fellow of Oriel College in Oxford, and he was an Oxford doctor of theology; and, neither before obtaining the degree nor afterwards did he perform any act in the schools towards his requirements, but rather received the degree through a dispensation, that is to say, through a "dissipation," a license for wrongdoing, from the regents in Oxford.

Furthermore, Gascoigne's second comment that emphasizes Pecock's failure to perform "nec ante gradum illum nec post gradum illum" shows that the exemption extended beyond the minimum requirements of the degree; it seems that Pecock was also excused from his regency. Upon graduation from the MA and upon graduation from the DD, students were required to perform one

⁹⁷ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 148-9.

to two years of regency during which they assisted with the administration of the university: "The duties of necessary regents were to attend all meetings of Congregation, deliver lectures as required by the University, to preside over and take part in disputations, and to assist the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors in the administration of justice and peace in the University."⁹⁸ The decision of the regents to grant Pecock a grace in these matters also meant that the university was deprived of Pecock's service for this period of time.

It is unknown what conditions were set upon Pecock for the dispensation. It was not unusual to require "a responsion, a disputation, a 'variation,' a sermon, a course of lectures, or two or more lectures in place of the regent doctor" or a material gift of some sort; however, since Gascoigne is quite clear on the point that Pecock had, as of the writing of the *Theological Dictionary*, never performed such any such scholastic act and because there are no indications that Pecock would have been able to finance any item of material benefit to the college, it is quite possible that his degree was awarded at the behest of ecclesiastical authorities who wanted him to have a degree commensurate with the prestige of his position in the Church community. Although there is no definitive evidence that can explain why the regents were willing to grant Pecock such a generous dispensation, there are a number of circumstances that support the following conjecture. I believe that Pecock was granted the dispensation for his DD because of his recent appointment to the bishopric of St. Asaph's. Pecock was provided with the bishopric of St. Asaph's in April of 1444 and consecrated in June of that year.⁹⁹ This was twenty years after he left Oxford for his first benefice at St. Michael's Church Gloucester. If we can assume that Gascoigne's date of 1445 is approximately

⁹⁸ Oxford University Archives, "Congregation and Convocation."

⁹⁹ *Calendar of Papal Letters IX*, 433.

correct, then we can deduce that Pecock must have incepted sometime between June of 1444 when Pecock was consecrated and April of 1445 when Gascoigne resigned briefly from the chancellorship of Oxford.¹⁰⁰ According to the *Calendar of Papal Letters*, at the time of Pecock's installment at St. Asaph's, he only held a B.A. and a B.S.T.

Although bishops were not required to have a DD degree in the Middle Ages, as they were later required by the Council of Trent,¹⁰¹ I suspect that the practice of awarding doctoral degrees to holders of high episcopal office as a sign of their capacity to fulfill their magisterial responsibilities was not uncommon.¹⁰² There are later examples of this practice being the case for all holders of episcopal office in England. Starting in 1533, for example, the Archbishop began awarding degrees in the fields of "Divinity, Law, Arts, Medicine or Music" for individuals who had "already done work worthy of the degree." The Archbishop "dispenses [the recipient] from residence and

¹⁰⁰ Gascoigne incorrectly attaches Pecock's installment in the bishopric of Chichester with his inception in 1444/5; Gascoigne, however, was not chancellor of Oxford during Pecock's installment at Chichester but rather his installment at St. Asaph's. It seems more likely that Gascoigne misremembered the bishopric than that he misremembered being chancellor at the time of Pecock's inception (Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 215). Unfortunately, we do not have an exact date of composition for Gascoigne's *Theological Dictionary* since, like Pecock, Gascoigne worked on it over a period of many years. Because of the presence of the passages that cover Pecock's trial and recantation, we know that Gascoigne had to have written at least the portion dealing with the bishop after 1457 but probably before Pecock's death around 1459/60 since he makes no mention of it.

¹⁰¹ "The Council of Trent determined the conditions to be fulfilled by candidates for the episcopate, of which the following are the principal: birth in lawful wedlock, freedom from censure and irregularity or any defect in mind, purity of personal morals, and good reputation. The candidate must also be fully thirty years of age and have been not less than six months in Holy orders. He ought also to have the theological degree of Doctor or at least be a licentiate in theology or canon law or else have the testimony of a public academy or seat of learning (or, if he be a religious, of the highest authority of his order) that he is fit to teach others (c. vii, De electione et electi potestate, X.I. vi; Friedberg, II, 51. Council of Trent. Sess. XXII, De ref., ch. ii)." (Van Hove, *Catholic Encyclopedia*)

¹⁰² Thomas Arundel did not have his doctorate; he held only a BA, a point which Gascoigne, also highlights (34). Arundel, moreover, was the third son of Richard (II) Fitzalan, third earl of Arundel and eighth earl of Surrey (c.1313–1376), and his wife, Eleanor (*d.* 1372), the daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster, and widow of John, Lord Beaumont, which made his promotion in the Church follow a different trajectory than Pecock. Arundel was, for example, the youngest person to be consecrated bishop when he was provided with the bishopric of Ely at the age of twenty (Hughes, *OxDNB*).

examination."¹⁰³ In fact, honorary degrees, like those more familiar to us today, arose from the practice of dispensation. Oxford granted its first honorary degree in 1478 or 1479 for Lionel Woodville, who was not required to perform any of the regular exercises required for the title Doctor of Canon Law.

Although, as can be amply demonstrated by the erudition of his surviving works, Pecock could certainly demonstrate his competency in theology, his degree was awarded not for work completed at and for the college, but outside of it. For Gascoigne, Pecock was representative of these external forces. Gascoigne, alternatively, was also representative of the type of cleric whom Pecock did not want to tolerate. Gascoigne, though he was no Wycliffite, could certainly be considered a "bible man" and an advocate of the preaching which Pecock denigrates as ineffective.

1.6.3 *John Foxe (1516/17–1587)*

The marginalization and misrepresentation of Pecock's heresy charges started by Bury and Gascoigne reached the heights of inaccuracy in Foxe's famous English language *Acts and Monuments*, also known as the *Book of Martyrs*. *Acts and Monuments* was based on an earlier Latin work, *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum*. The *Commentary* contains the second of the two surviving fragments of Pecock's Latin writing: twelve conclusions that Pecock allegedly held regarding the Creed and the authority of the Church.¹⁰⁴ Many of these conclusions are covered in Pecock's English *Book of Faith*, and Babington believes that the passage may have been excerpted from Pecock's Latin *Book of Faith*. Although it is impossible to verify through another source, the twelve conclusions from the

¹⁰³ *Wikipedia* claims that " Until the 19th century all bishops who had studied at Oxford were made DDs *jure officio*"; however, I have not been able to confirm that statement.

¹⁰⁴ The first, as mentioned above, is Pecock's letter to Archbishop Stafford defending his sermon at St. Paul's Cross in 1447.

Commentary seem true in substance and style to Pecock.¹⁰⁵ The Latin conclusions from the *Commentary* are an important supplement to the English book because, unfortunately, the surviving copy of the English *Faith* ends in the middle of Part II, chapter 5; and we know that there was a minimum of two more chapters dealing with the Creed, from earlier cross-references by Pecock.¹⁰⁶ *Faith* was the last book that Pecock is known to have written, and it is its arguments on the nature of the Creed and the fallibility of the Church that would serve as grounds for the charges against Pecock. The *Book of Martyrs* does not include any translation of Pecock's Latin conclusions, including only a series of ill-founded accusations primarily derived from John Bale.

Unlike his sources, Foxe was writing from a point of view that sought to elevate Pecock. Foxe saw Pecock as an early precursor to the later reformers and as an enemy of the corrupt Church. Yet, this desire to see Pecock's elevation in a reformist light led Foxe wittingly (or perhaps unwittingly) to make many characterizations about Pecock that are patently false. This inaccuracy may, to some extent, be attributed to the mediated nature of his source material. In the *Book of Martyrs*,¹⁰⁷ for example, he claims to be quoting from Bale who was quoting from Gascoigne when he comes up with the following claims about Pecock:

- (1) That the office of a Christian prelate, chiefly, above all other things, is to preach the word of God.

¹⁰⁵ The Latin conclusions are included in Appendix B.

¹⁰⁶ *Faith*, 305.

¹⁰⁷ Foxe published four editions of *The Acts and Monuments*: 1563, 1570, 1576, and 1583. Pratt's 19th century edition takes note of important variations among the different versions. The biggest variation exists between the first and second editions. Pratt's 4th edition, the basis for the transcription below, does not make note of any major differences between the Latin of the *Commentarii* and the English of *Acts and Monuments*.

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- (2) That man's reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.
- (3) That the use of the sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse than the use of the law of nature.
- (4) That bishops who buy their admissions of the bishop of Rome, do sin.
- (5) That no man is bound to believe and obey the determination of the church of Rome.
- (6) Also that the riches of the bishops, by inheritance, are the goods of the poor.
- (7) That the apostles themselves, personally, were not the makers of the Creed,
- (8) And, that in the same Creed, once was not the article, 'He went down to hell.'
- (9) That of the four senses of the Scripture, none is to be taken but the very first and proper sense.
- (10) Also, that he gave little estimation, in some points, to the authority of the old doctors.
- (11) That he condemned the wilful begging of the friars as a thing idle and needless.

Foxe's first point is almost laughable in its inaccuracy, given Pecock's explicit critiques of preaching as attested in the *Theological Dictionary* and in Archbishop John Stafford's register. The second point is equally wrong given the fact that Pecock's very insistence on reason over Scripture is the premise of his objections to the "Bible men" to whom he addresses the *Repressor*. Foxe's third point is also patently false since Pecock, if anything, was an advocate of the law of nature as determined by moral

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philosophy which constitutes the major part of God's law. Points four, six, and eleven, all having to do with the Church's handling of money, is also contradicted by Parts III and IV of the *Repressor*. Point five, as will be discussed below, is explicitly proven wrong in *Faith*, where Pecock argues that one must always follow the determination of the Church in Rome even if the Church can err. Indeed, the only two points which we can reasonably say have any truth to them are points eight and ten. Pecock does argue that Christ's descent into hell was not originally part of the Creed--a point which, at the very least, overlaps with the heresy charges which Pecock had to abjure. Point ten is also true in that Pecock argues that the Church Fathers in and of themselves have no authority unless reason can to reinforce what they have to say. That is, he argues that the Church Fathers' authority does not extend beyond the boundaries of reason. Only two of the eleven points which Foxe attributes to Pecock, therefore, have any sound basis in truth. Why is this the case?

Aside from Foxe's basic motivation to appropriate Pecock in his narrative of the Protestant Reformation, there are several other reasons why Foxe would have made or passed on such gross mistakes. First, something that often happens with dialogic texts, it appears that Pecock's representation of the words and opinions of heretics in his various volumes have sometimes been mistaken for statements which Pecock advocated. Second, it appears that several of the errors come from the faulty transmission of information from multiple sources.

For example, the two relevant folios from Bale's *Illustres Majoris Britanniae Scriptores* do not have the same level of detail as what Foxe provides. Indeed, Bale lists only eight items for which Pecock was prosecuted and only in a most abbreviated form:

De providentia Dei,

De libertate Evangelii,
De saecularium potestate,
Contra dotationem cleri, (6 above)
De aequalitate ministrorum,
De legibus et doctrinis hominum,
De utriusque specie communione, (12 below)
Contra mendicitatem impiam, (11 above)
Atque alia id genus plura.¹⁰⁸

Foxe's embellishment of the charges against Pecock are an example of the kind of inaccuracy that has grown up around Pecock's heresy charges. If we return to Gascoigne's text from whom Bale supposedly got his information, we are left with something decidedly more diffuse and, I would say, reflective of Pecock's actual writings--even if Gascoigne presented the material in a critical light.

Indeed, Foxe seems anxious to catalogue as many accusations as he can find. He includes an accusation from Leland which claims:

(12) [Pecock], not contented to follow the catholic sentence of the Church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not think soundly of the holy Eucharist.

Although Foxe would have seen this particular attribution as a positive testament to Pecock's farsightedness, it, like the other attributions listed above, is wrong. Pecock does argue for the

¹⁰⁸ Bale, *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae*, fol. 205

sacramentality of the holy Eucharist according to Church doctrine and, as demonstrated above, always advocates following the sentence of the Church.

Foxe continues to add another false attribution, this time by Hall:

- (13) Spiritual persons, by God's law, ought to have no temporal possessions.

This desire for an injunction against the material wealth of the Church is likewise contradicted by *Repressor* Parts III and IV.

And he cites some unnamed "others":

- (14) Personal tithes were not due by God's law.¹⁰⁹

Finally, in the specific context of the *Commentary*, there is a third reason why Foxe was so glaringly wrong in his characterization of Pecock. Foxe's account of Pecock's trial is framed primarily with a discussion on the sacrament of the Eucharist, in which he emphasizes that the words "flesh" and "blood" are to be taken only as an "analogy" and not in their literal sense.¹¹⁰ That is, Foxe brings up Pecock only as an example of a kind of "proof" against the literal understanding of the sacrament of transubstantiation.

1.7 The Question of Vernacular Translation

The dishonesty (or at the very least, misrepresentation) which Pecock suffered from in the early historical record has continued to the present day, although predominantly in regard to Pecock's attitude towards translation and vernacularity. In this section, therefore, which will also

¹⁰⁹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 734.

¹¹⁰ *Repressor*, 576.

serve as a transition to Part II of the dissertation which focuses on Pecock's language, I return to the question of Pecock's attitude towards translation.

Pecock's position towards English-language writing was usually unmarked by political or religious regulation or polemic. His assumption was that texts will be translated. In the *Book of Faith*, for example, when the Father responds to the Son's questions concerning the proper place of Scripture, he says:

The apostlis knewen weel, as they mighten wel knowe, by resoun, that the writing of oure general feith, wole serve like wele to peple of ech cuntre, as to people of oon cuntre...It was noo nede to make to diverse cuntrees divers writingis, in this wise diverse that they schulden conceive diverse maters, though the writing of oon and of the same mater mighte be writen or translatis into diverse langagis.¹¹¹

That is, Pecock is making a distinction between different texts themselves on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a single source text that may be translated into different languages. He sees a text, no matter which language it is in, as a single-unified document. While he nonetheless recognizes the difficulty of translation, he does not recognize a translated document as a lesser form. In Pecock's opinion, a translated text does not automatically indicate a degraded text. This position put him in stark opposition with other writers of his day (and indeed afterward), who found Latin to be *de facto* the ideal language of discourse.

Pecock himself was an advocate of providing Scripture in English for the layman if they approached such reading without presumption and with the permission of their superiors:

¹¹¹ *Faith*, 258-9

This what I have now seid of and to Bible men I have not seid undir this entent and meening, as that I schulde feele to be unleeeful laymen forto reede in the Bible and forto studie and learne in, with help and counseil of wise and weel learned clerkis and with licence of her governour the bishop; but forto rebuke and adaunt the presumpcioun of tho lay persoones, which weenen by her inreding in the Bible forto come into more kunning than they or all the men in erthe--clerkis and othere--mowe come to, by the Bible oonly withoute moral philsofie and law of kinde in doom of weel disposid resoun, I have seid of and to Bible men what is now seid.¹¹²

Pecock's caveat that such English study be embarked upon only with "license of her governour the bishop" is reflective of his longstanding support of the efforts of the Canterbury Clergy to regulate (not eliminate) lay access to scriptural material. The Constitutions of 1407-9 were sometimes interpreted this way in the fifteenth-century, but in fact, what was to have episcopal approval was new translations not individual readers. Gascoigne's later critique of Pecock's practice of engaging in theological matters in English is perhaps a case of hindsight clouding historical reality. Pecock, as both men well knew, did not require a license to produce scriptural material in English because he himself was a bishop and by virtue of his own title had the requisite authority to produce in English whatever he pleased. This episcopal approval is explicitly covered in the seventh constitution, which governed translations of Scripture into English, in that it did not require bishops (like Pecock) to obtain permission to translate in English.

¹¹² *Repressor*, 37.

Periculosa quoque res est, testante beato Hieronymo, textum Sacrae Scripturae de uno in aliud idioma transferre, eo quod in ipsis translationibus non de facili idem in omnibus sensus retinetur, prout idem beatus Hieronymus, etsi inspiratus fuisset, se in hoc saepius fatetur errasse. Statuimus igitur et ordinamus, ut nemo deinceps aliquem textum Sacrae Scripturae auctoritate sua in linguam Anglicanam vel aliam transferat, per viam libri, libelli, aut tractatus, nec legatur aliquis hujusmodi liber, libellus, aut tractatus jam noviter tempore dicti Johannis Wickliff, sive citra, compositus, sive componendus in posterum, in parte vel in toto, publice vel occulte, sub poena excommunicationis majoris, quousque per loci dioecesanum, seu, si res exegerit, per concilium provinciale ipsa translatio recognita et approbata fuerit. Qui contra fecerit, ut fautor haeresis et erroris similiter puniatur.¹¹³

It is a dangerous thing, as witnesseth blessed St. Jerome, to translate the text of the Holy Scripture out of one tongue into another; for in the translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St. Jerome confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred: we therefore decree and ordain that no man hereafter by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise, and that no man read any such book, libel, or treatise now lately set forth in the time of John Wickliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place,

¹¹³ Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Appendix, 68.

or, if the case so require, by the council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy.¹¹⁴

The inhabitants of Oxford, more than any other fifteenth-century English town, were likely to be very familiar with the contents and implications of the Oxford Constitutions since many of them dealt specifically with the university. They were promulgated in 1409 and were still comparatively fresh when Pecock arrived in Oxford for his study for his B.A. They remained in force and received an elaborate commentary by Lyndwood in his *Provinciale*, published in 1432, and, especially as a bishop, Pecock was obligated to enforce them.

The fact that Pecock was technically in the right in regard to his English theological work has been overlooked even in our own day, when some scholars see Pecock's English writings as outside of the ecclesiastical law. For example, Anne Hudson says, "Nor, perhaps more surprisingly, is there any allusion to Pecock's contravention of the terms of Arundel's Constitutions by his publication of books that discussed the sacraments and doctrines of the church, and that cast doubt on the accepted teachings."¹¹⁵ There need not be any discussion because there was no contravention in Pecock's case. Kirsty Campbell also seems confused about what relationship Pecock did have or should have had with the Constitutions. Of the mandated program itself, she says:

The Constitutions were meant to reinforce orthodox doctrine and thinking by *censoring* academic discussions of theological matters, by forbidding the writing and reading of English translations of Scripture without *episcopal approval*, and by strictly regulating the activities of preaching and teaching, refusing some preachers the

¹¹⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1563), 247.

¹¹⁵ Hudson, *English Heresy*, 160

freedom of sharing with the laity religious knowledge that extended beyond the familiar basics outlined in Pecham's Syllabus, such as the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster, and the seven deadly sins.¹¹⁶

Although technically that description is true, it does not apply to bishops. Since Pecock was a bishop, it would hardly seem necessary for him to ask for "episcopal approval." Although Campbell, for her part, points out that "it is not entirely clear that someone like Pecock would have felt that these ecclesiastical decrees would have applied to someone like him," she does not appear to understand why they would not apply to him. Pecock considered himself to be sufficient guarantor of the soundness of his tracts, which could be used by others.

If the seventh constitution regarding translation did not play a role in Pecock's heresy conviction, the only other constitution that might be involved here is the sixth, which was so broadly written that it required *any* new book or treatise (language unspecified) to be examined, since all theological tracts were to be passed by a board of university censors:

Quia insuper nova via frequentius seducit quam antiqua, volumus et mandamus, quod nullus libellus sive tractatus per Johannem Wickliff aut alium quemcunque, tempore suo aut citra noviter compositus, sive in posterum componendus, amodo legatur in scholis aut hospitiiis seu locis aliis quibuscunque infra nostram provinciam antedictam, sive secundum ipsum doceatur, nisi per universitatem Oxonii aut Cantabrigiae, seu saltem duodecim personas ex eisdem quas eadem universitates, aut altera earundem, sub nostra successorumve nost[er]orum discretione laudabili

¹¹⁶ Campbell, *Call to Read*, 70 (italics mine).

duxerint eligendas, primitus examinetur et examinatus unanimiter per eosdem, deinde per nos seu successores nostros, expresse approbetur, et universitatis nomine ac auctoritate stationariis tradatur ut copietur; et facta collatione fideli, petentibus vendatur justo pretio sive detur, originali in cista aliqua universitatis extunc perpetuo remanente. Quod si quis libellum vel tractatum hujusmodi in scholis vel alibi, ut supra, legerit, sive secundum ipsum docuerit, contra formam supradictam, ut seminator schismatis et fautor haeresis puniatur, prout delicti qualitas flagitaverit.¹¹⁷

For that a new way doth more frequently lead astray than an old way, we will and command that no book or treatise made by John Wickliff or others whomsoever, about that time or since, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in schools, halls, hospitals, or other places whatsoever, within our province of Canterbury aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or at least by twelve persons whom the said universities or one of them shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion or the laudable discretion of our successors; and the same being examined as aforesaid, to be expressly approved and allowed by us or our successors, and in the name and authority of the university to be delivered unto the stationers to be copied out and the same to be sold at a reasonable price [or given away], the original thereof always after to remain in some chest of the university. But if any man shall read any such kind of book in schools or

¹¹⁷ Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Appendix 68.

otherwise as aforesaid, he shall be punished as a sower of schism, and a favourer of heresy, as the quality of the fault shall require.¹¹⁸

In practice, however, what occurred was the calling of a one-time council of twelve censors to read and assess all of Wyclif's books (all in Latin), after which ten of his books were chosen and from them 267 of his sentences were condemned, in 1411.¹¹⁹ Pecock's own books were subjected to similar scrutiny during his heresy trial, but unfortunately, the individuals responsible for vetting his work were the same university men that would have had some cause to see Pecock in a negative light. Therefore, the only connection which Pecock's heresy trial had to the Constitutions was indirect from the aforementioned animosity that arose from Gascoigne and others like him who resented the far reaching demands of the Constitutions and pinned that animosity on clerical authorities, like Pecock, who supported the enforcement of their statutes. Ironically, then, although people may be tempted to connect Pecock's heresy conviction with the Canterbury Constitutions, the reality is those Constitutions did not have any direct impact on Pecock's conviction.

That is not to say, however, that there was not an indirect impact due to Pecock's decision to write in English. "Pecock's decision to write in English must be seen as a political act."¹²⁰ This statement, however, needs additional clarification. Pecock's decision to write in English was a political act in fifteenth-century England, just as his critique of the Henry VI's foreign policy was a political act. Pecock, however, often seems to exhibit an intentional or willful ignorance of the potentially political nature of his pedagogical stances. When he argues in the *Repressor* for the

¹¹⁸ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1563), 247.

¹¹⁹ On this point, I follow H.A. Kelly, Review of Andrew E. Larsen.

¹²⁰ Taylor, *Later Lollards*, 154.

legitimacy of ecclesiastical practices not expressly allowed in Scripture, he chooses the translation of Scripture in English and Latin as examples of assumed (and obviously legitimate) current practice:

Also, thou schalt not finde expressely in Holy Scripture that the New Testament schulde be write in English tunge to lay men, or in Latin tunge to clerkis; neither that the Oold Testament schulde be write in English tunge to lay men, or in Latin tunge to clerkis : and yit ech of thes governauncis thou wolte holde to be leeful, and to be a meritorie vertuose moral deede forto therby deserve grace and glorie, and to be the service of God, and therefore to be the law of God.¹²¹

Pecock's assumption regarding the legitimacy of English translation extends throughout his writings. The most prevalent way it does so is in his regular use of the Later ME Bible as the basis for his scriptural quotations.¹²² This use implies that the Later ME Bible was either itself not a controversial text or that Pecock did not take that controversy into account when using it.¹²³

¹²¹ *Repressor*, 119.

¹²² Hitchcock, in her notes on the *Donet*, echoes Babington's earlier assertion that "Pecock generally follows the later Wycliffite Version, though he frequently merely paraphrases, or writes from memory" (Babington, *Repressor*, lxxxiii and Hitchcock, *Donet*, x).

¹²³ For additional reading on the Bible in English, see H.A. Kelly's forthcoming book, *The Orthodox Middle English Bible* and Mary Dove's *The First English Bible*.

PART II. PECKOCK AND THE TRIVIUM

“He is far more of the academician than the saint, far more in some ways at least the scholar than the man.” (V. H. H. Green, 75)

“Lete al the clergie of divinite...by cleer witt drawe men into consente of trewe feith otherwise than by fier and swerd or hangement.” (*Faith*, 139)

CHAPTER

2 Grammar and Pecock's Language

2.1 The Englishing of Pecock's English

To separate Pecock's use of English from the series of events that led to his heresy conviction is not, however, the same as discounting the importance of Pecock's English prose. Indeed, it is one of the areas of his work that is most worthy of study, although few have seen his language in positive terms.

It would be a gross understatement to say that Pecock's prose has inspired much spirited critique and defense. He has been described as "labored and tediously verbose,"¹²⁴ "monumental, heavy, massive, dull,"¹²⁵ "ponderous" and "annoying."¹²⁶ The same critics, however, also say of his prose that it is "complex...accurate,"¹²⁷ "refined and dignified,"¹²⁸ "comprehensive and exact,"¹²⁹ "crystal clear."¹³⁰ Hitchcock, perhaps his most sympathetic reader of the last century, says, "His talent and sincerity have enabled him to accomplish one of the hardest possible things, the creating, from dry principles and tedious axioms, of educational treatises sufficiently dignified by style and art and thought and wisdom to claim a place as 'literature'."¹³¹ In response to which, Albert C. Baugh responded: "Of late, his prose style has come in for enthusiastic praise, but sober judgment can

¹²⁴ Krapp, *Rise of English Prose*, 73.

¹²⁵ Green, *Bishop Reginald Pecock*, 190.

¹²⁶ Hitchcock, *Follower*, lxxv-i.

¹²⁷ Green, *Bishop Reginald Pecock*, 190.

¹²⁸ Hitchcock, *Follower*, lxxvi.

¹²⁹ Krapp, *Rise of English Literary Prose*, 73.

¹³⁰ Green, *Bishop Reginald Pecock*, 189.

¹³¹ Hitchcock, *Follower*, lxxi.

hardly acquiesce in too high an estimate of his purely literary importance.”¹³² To varying extents, all of these statements are true. Pecoek’s prose is indeed very difficult to get past and, I believe, the main impediment to the wider study of his writings.

Various theories have arisen to explain the oddities of his style, many of them related to modern attitudes towards Latinity. George Philip Krapp, writing in 1915 in *The Rise of English Literary Prose*, criticized Pecoek for not being nearly Latin enough in his syntax or his vocabulary:

He formed himself not upon the long cadences of the Ciceronian period, but upon a legal and syllogistic style. . . . His style in the main is a highly Latinized style, and his use of native words and constructions is not due to any consistent or *puristic* respect for the English language. It is due largely to an incomplete realization on the part of Pecoek of the value of the Latin vocabulary as a source for the enrichment of the English vocabulary.¹³³

The problem, Krapp laments, is that “if Pecoek had been more consistent in his style, if he had written altogether in popular language or had invented a thoroughly Latinized style, his influence as a writer might have been greater.”¹³⁴ Krapp’s privileging of Latin vocabulary and style and the evident failure of Pecoek to engage completely in one form of discourse or another, “discourse” here implying more than just language but rather popular and classical (perhaps humanistic?) language, reflects Krapp’s own discomfort with the transitional nature of Pecoek’s prose. Pecoek

¹³² Baugh, *Literary History of England*, 304.

¹³³ Krapp, *Rise of English Prose*, 75, italics mine. I have italicized the word “puristic” because it comes up frequently in scholarly discussions of Pecoek’s approach towards English. I will discuss this need to assess Pecoek’s motives below.

¹³⁴ Krapp, *Rise of English Prose*, 75.

wrote in English, but not a Latinate English—an English unfamiliar to scholars living after the Renaissance revival of classical learning.

Krapp's negative assessment of Peacock, however, would have a short life span. By the first quarter of the twentieth century, dramatic changes in the humanistic education of American and English universities were already under way. The value of English as a literary language began to grow in popularity, and along with it, the value of the English vernacular. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock, one of the great editors of Middle English, was among this group of scholars. From 1924, the year of publication of Hitchcock's modern edition of the *Follower*, onwards, all scholars writing on aspects of Peacock's prose style have looked to Hitchcock's introduction for guidance and affirmation for their own conclusions. In addition to the traditional linguistic matters available in the front matter of most EETS editions, Hitchcock included a discussion of Peacock's prose in historical context, comparing it to the works of Fortescue, Mandeville, Chaucer, Trevisa, Rolle, Capgrave, and "Wyclif."¹³⁵ Her more important contribution, however, was in her characterization of Peacock's vernacular prose, as a prose that looks first to English for new word formations:

It is a mistake to represent Peacock's works as a mere treasure-trove for the Teutonic philologist and dictionary-maker. They are more. Peacock is no *purist*. . . . Peacock incorporates a very large French and Latin element, accepting without question all those borrowings which had safely established themselves. Nevertheless, where he has no way of rendering a Latin learned term or technical phrase or abstract noun, he

¹³⁵ Hitchcock, *Follower*, lv-lx. Nowadays, no English writing is attributed to Wyclif.

turns to the native vocabulary, and forges, for the sake of clearness and simplicity, those curious Pecockisms that make his page look archaic and unintelligible to-day.¹³⁶

In Hitchcock's eyes, it is not that Pecock was unaware of Latin's linguistic potential in English; it was that Pecock did not want to use Latin terms because he wanted to be as transparent as possible for an English reading audience. With Hitchcock, the oddity of Pecock's diction transformed into a positive sign of his Englishness.

Writing just three years afterward Hitchcock, Greet continues what eventually develops into a long tradition of agreement and positive augmentation of Hitchcock's assessment of Pecock's Englishness:

The mechanics of [Pecock's] syllogistic prose and the considerable achievement of welding an English vocabulary for the discussion of theology contributed little to the development of English language and style. Modern prose grew from the popular Lollard writings which Pecock despised, and the modern learned vocabulary drew perversely on Latin roots...His style is very awkward and pompous and obscures the genuine goodness of the man and his sensible advice on eternal moral questions.¹³⁷

Here, Greet takes for granted that Pecock was "welding an English vocabulary," and he characterizes Pecock's dislike of Lollard writings in terms of their Latinity rather than their contents. What once required an explanation and justification by Hitchcock had just a mere three years later become virtual fact. English's acquisition of Latin vocabulary was now perverse, tied inextricably to Lollardy (not, strangely enough, to the rise of Humanism in the Renaissance).

¹³⁶ Hitchcock, *Follower*, lxi-lxii, italics mine.

¹³⁷ Greet, *Rule*, xvii-xviii.

And by the time that Green was writing in 1945, Peacock had become a veritable hero for English vernacularity. She says:

Pecock was not only an innovator but was also one of the first great writers of English prose, a pioneer. . . . Pecock has not only managed to evolve a vocabulary that was sufficiently extensive to deal with his subject clearly, emphatically and logically, but he uses phrases quite as fresh and as vivid as those of Wyclif.¹³⁸

Green's praise of Peacock's English style was quite untempered. She attempts to raise Peacock to the linguistic level of Wyclif as "innovator" and "pioneer." This progressive association between Peacock and the Englishing of theological education prose continues in all of the major scholarly works dedicated to him.

Joseph F. Patrouch, Jr., writing in 1970, says:

It should be clear from Peacock's intent in his works that he was as great a *purist* in his use of English as he could be. He intended his works, after all, as a communication of theological principles from a learned cleric, Peacock, to the unlettered masses, the laity, who needed the information Peacock was trying to give them, despite the fact that they did not know Latin. Thus Peacock had to keep his works free from foreign vocabulary: if he did not, the unlearned would not be able to understand even his words, much less the technology he was attempting to make available.¹³⁹

Thus, the scholarly opinion concerning Peacock's English has slowly been changing the balance between Latin and English. What in Krapp was a primarily Latinate style with not enough Latin has

¹³⁸ Green, *Bishop Reginald Peacock*, 203.

¹³⁹ Patrouch, *Reginald Peacock*, 52, italics mine.

become in Patrouch a primarily English style with too much Latin.¹⁴⁰ This transition can be seen in the way that Krapp, Hitchcock, and Patrouch all use the term “pure.” Krapp says that Pecock had no “*puristic* respect for the English language,” a point which Hitchcock echoes when she says that he was “no *purist*.” As already demonstrated, however, with Hitchcock came a change in the tone of that purity, so that by 1970, Patrouch could say that Pecock “was as great a *purist* in his use of English as he could be.” This ironic repetition of the same word to describe Pecock’s attitude and the slow metamorphosis in the representation of Pecock and his English is a clear example of a good reason why Pecock’s vernacularity needs to be revisited by a study such as this one.

The single exception appears in James Simpson’s recent article, on “Reginald Pecock and John Fortescue” in *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, 2004. In it, Simpson asserts that “Pecock’s vocabulary throughout his oeuvre is fundamentally Latinate; he does translate many Latin terms into English, but in such a way as to insist on their technical force.”¹⁴¹ This position is at odds with the previous hundred years of scholarship on Pecock’s vernacularity. The following study will show how correct Simpson is in his assessment.

¹⁴⁰ It is unclear what proportion of Pecock’s works were in Latin and which were in English. Pecock makes internal references to approximately forty-nine different works. (It is occasionally unclear whether some books of slightly different titles are the same work or not.) Eleven of those works are in English; fifteen are in Latin; twenty-three are of unknown language. See Appendix A for a complete listing along with references to the books in which the references occur.

¹⁴¹ Simpson, “Pecock and Fortescue,” 277.

2.2 Methodology

All of these characterizations by previous scholars however have a fundamental flaw: they are impressionistic assessments rather than systematic ones. Hitchcock's work is as balanced and as thorough as can reasonably be expected given the tools available at the time; however, she was writing in the 1920's and her volume on Peacock's prose was published four years before the last fascicle of *The New English Dictionary* had even appeared. While she does recommend in her footnotes to readers to refer to the *NED* as an excellent resource for the study of Peacock's vocabulary enrichment, she also points out that the dictionary-makers had excluded some seventeen first attestations that her own research had uncovered.¹⁴² She recognized the potential as well as the limitations involved in surveying Peacock's vocabulary.

Since then, the resources available to scholars of Middle English have changed dramatically, in scope and technological capacity. The *NED*, now the *OED* (*Oxford English Dictionary*), has seen the publication of five supplemental volumes (the first in 1933 and the last in 1986), the integration of those entries into what would become the second edition of the *OED* in 1989, the digitization of the entries in 1992, and since 2000 the ongoing systematic revision of every entry. That is, scholars today have a much larger store of information and much easier means to obtain it than ever existed before in the *OED* (not to mention the *Middle English Dictionary*, treated below.)

In Patrouch's chapter on Peacock's style, he refers to six of the seventeen words that Hitchcock cites as instances that the *NED* did not note Peacock as the first attestation.¹⁴³ Patrouch

¹⁴² Hitchcock, *Donet*, lxi.

¹⁴³ Patrouch, *Reginald Peacock*, 52. Actually, Patrouch incorrectly read the footnote; he thought that those were words for which the *NED* did cite Peacock as the first attested use.

was basing his characterization of the Englishness or purity of Peckock's English on scholarship done in the 1920's; writing two years before the first supplemental volume of the *OED*'s four volume supplemental series became available, he simply did not have the opportunity to benefit from a more comprehensive survey.

To give an example of the importance of these ongoing revisions to a linguistic survey such as the one that I am undertaking in this project, consider the case of the word "orthodox." In the second edition of the *OED*, the oldest attested use of the term occurred in 1581 by Hamilton.¹⁴⁴ In the ongoing revision, updated on September 9, 2004, the two oldest attestations for "orthodox" both come from the writings of Peckock, the *Follower* (c. 1454) and *Faith* (c. 1456) respectively.¹⁴⁵ As this single entry should demonstrate, Peckock is an extremely important innovator (to use Green's terminology) of the English language. But of course, this does not necessarily mean he was influential.

Many questions still remain, however: Exactly how innovative was he? By what means did Peckock create words? What kinds of words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.) did Peckock create? Were

¹⁴⁴ There is a problem with the *OED* regarding this citation. Its bibliography has a number of authors by the name of J. Hamilton, but none have the title *Certane orthodox and catholik conclusions with yair probations* that the citation claims is now the third earliest (after the two Peckock references) of the word *orthodox*. The likely author of this book is Archbishop John Hamilton, for whom the *OED* cites three other works, and who was alive and writing at the time *Certane orthodox and catholik conclusions*, etc. was composed.

¹⁴⁵ **1.** Right, correct, true; in accordance with what is accepted or authoritatively established as the true view or right practice.

a. Of, belonging to, or in accordance with the accepted theological or ecclesiastical doctrines of a particular religion, etc.; (also) designating practices or beliefs conforming with these.

¶1454 **R. PECKOCK** *Follower to Donet* 69 Þe same feiþ we clepen ortodox feiþ, þat is to seie, ri3t feiþ.

2. Holding opinions or beliefs which are generally or traditionally accepted as correct, or which are in accordance with some recognized standard.

a. Holding, professing, or propounding beliefs consistent with those held by the dominant authorities of a particular religion.

¶1456 **R. PECKOCK** *Bk. Faith* 286 Men..not so weel learned in latin..han brou te into a viciose use now late bi ignoraunce of trewe grammer forto calle a thing catholik for that it is orthodoxe.

they primarily Latinate or were they primarily Germanic? Which of his many word formations survive? What is the relationship between his word formations and his syntactic style? How do his word formations affect his representation of moral theology? How does he compare to other authors such as Chaucer and Shakespeare, also both well known for their coinages?

I have been able to provide a reasonable answer to all of those questions by extensively analyzing the representation of Pecock's lexicon in the *OED*, the *Middle English Dictionary*, and in the *Repressor* and *Faith*. This chapter will answer each of those questions; here I will give a brief explanation of my methodologies and the source material.

The use of the *MED* to demonstrate the word formation patterns in Pecock's vocabulary has its intrinsic challenges. On the whole, however, the *MED* is a more reliable and comprehensive source for the examination of Pecock's vocabulary than the *OED*. The editors of the *OED* used only *Donet*, *Repressor*, and *Faith* as source texts; whereas, the *MED* used those texts and *Follower*, *Rule*, and the copy of Pecock's Abjuration in Jon Benet's Chronicle, (Trinity College, Dublin 516). The *OED*, furthermore, did not use *Donet*, *Repressor*, and *Faith* in a consistent manner. It appears as if work on Pecock's lexicon for the *OED* halted at some point prior to the publication of the second edition and has not yet been renewed (though the reader should feel assured that I will be sending a copy of this study to the editors posthaste).

Among the challenges in the use of the *MED* is the practice of the editors in the representation of long vowels. All long vowels, regardless of how the word is spelled in the source text, are represented as a single vowel with a macron above it. Classic Pecock word formations, like "eendal" and "meenal," are listed in the *MED* as ēndal and mēnal. A search of "headword and

forms” does not take into account this editorial practice—only variations in spelling (*e.g.* "worldlihode" versus "wordlihod").

Other words are very difficult to find because some variations in spelling are not included as part of a different form, but, rather, are indicated by a parenthesis in the original headword. Therefore, “receivablenes(se)” can be found in the *MED* by entering “receivablenesse” but not by entering “receivablenes,” although both spellings are attested in the quotations display. Frustratingly, not all entries include this type of variation because not all words are attested in both forms; the entry for “threfoldenes” does not offer an “esse” ending and the entry for “squaimosenesse” does not offer an “es” ending.

It is also important to note that not all variations in spelling will show up in a search of headword and forms, though the *MED* implies that that is the case. The entry for unayenseiabili (adv.) Also una3enseiabili” should be reachable by searching either “unayenseiabili” or “una3enseiabili”; however, the second spelling with the yogh turns up no search results. As far as I can tell, this is a haphazard error as opposed to a systemic error, which means that it is less predictable in how it will appear. Headwords with hyphens also need to be entered with hyphens in while performing a search; “al-fulnes” does not appear if the user types “alfulnes” (nor, I should note, “al-fulness” and “al-fullness.”)

Without doubt, however, the most challenging part of using the *MED* to look up Pecock’s vocabulary is in the editors’ occasional practice of giving a headword form that is not the same spelling as *any* of the attestations. Reginald Pecock has the honor of being the author of the first attestation for the word “beautiful” in English. The *MED* headform for the word is “be(a)uteful.”

Pecock spells the word “bewteful.” The only other attestation is by George Ripley; he spells the word “beautefull.” Yet, entering “bewteful” or “beautefull” in the headword and forms search will produce no results. Because of this difficulty in searching word forms, the subsequent discussion will use the spelling of the official *MED* headword, even in instances where that spelling deviates from Pecock’s actual usage, unless otherwise indicated. Any important differences will be noted. These drawbacks aside, however, the *MED* is an incredibly rich source for the study of Pecock’s vocabulary.

Unfortunately, the *MED*’s search engine does not allow for a search of first attestation by author for an entry. I reached 715 first attestations by evaluating each of the 4,459 entries that the *MED* had on Pecock after first doing a Boolean search in the entries. In dating, I use the estimated date of composition rather than the estimated date of the manuscript. *MED* entries are ordered by the estimated date of the manuscript, so caution must be taken when evaluating the entry of the sample quotations. Unfortunately, none of the three texts that overlap in both dictionaries have the same estimated date of composition.¹⁴⁶ The *OED* dates *Donet* earliest, c.1444; the *MED* dates *Donet* c.1445. Both dictionaries date *Repressor* c.1449. The *OED* dates *Faith* c.1450; and the *MED* dates *Faith* c.1456, a full six years later. The remaining texts, *Rule* and *Follower*, are dated c.1443 and c.1454 respectively. The confession from Jon Benet’s Chronicle is dated in the *MED* c.1471, although the date of Pecock’s historical confession is 1457. The variation in dating between these two dictionaries means that there is a minimum of a six-year margin of error, in addition to the fact that there is no

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix D for further discussion of the dating of the texts and manuscripts.

way to tell whether or not other texts that contain these word forms exist but were not evaluated by the *MED*. (To fret over such things, however, would be futile.)

The print version of the *MED* is not comprehensive. It excludes the excerpt of Pecock's confession from John Benet's *Chronicle*, although the HyperBibliography of the *MED* online does include the text.

Neither the *MED* nor the *OED* allows for a search of first attestation by author for a particular sense of a word. This study only takes into account the first attestation of a form of a word in English, though not first attestation of a particular sense. Taking into account first attestations of a new sense would unquestionably result in higher numbers in respect to Pecock's word formation. Such a study, however, poses its own challenges because it would entail reevaluating the division of sense that the *MED* follows.

As the *OED* undergoes its third revision, inevitably there will be changes in the outcomes for Pecock's vocabulary breakdown. From the time that I embarked upon this linguistic study in May of 2009 to the time of this writing, April 2012, Pecock has gone from being cited 295 times as first attested author to 348.¹⁴⁷

Murray's program provided the vast majority of the quotations which appeared in the 1928 edition of the *OED*. After this publication there was much unused quotation evidence left over. To make use of this extra information the *OED* editors decided to publish a single-volume *Supplement*. This supplementary volume was published in 1933, along with a reissued and renamed edition of the Dictionary.

¹⁴⁷ In October 2010, he was first attested author in the *OED* only 322 times.

Even after publication of the *Supplement* there were still about 140,000 quotations slips left over. These quotations slips were put into storage or donated to other historical dictionary projects, such as a project for a dictionary of Middle English in Ann Arbor, Michigan. After these tasks were completed, the Dictionary staff was disbanded, and the Reading Programme was abandoned for over two decades.¹⁴⁸

In those instances where the *OED* or the *MED* has conflated two parts of speech under a single headword, I have separated the entries in order to document as accurately as possible word formations under all of the parts of speech. Some of these word formations are otherwise obscured in the *OED* because they are not listed under the headword and are not calculated separately when doing a search for earliest attestation of a form by a quotation author.

My third major source for Peacock's works required a combination of sources. First, I used the electronic texts of *Repressor* and *Faith* available on the "Corpus of Middle English Verse and Prose," then I prepared the text and transferred all of the linguistic data into the text analysis program, WordSmith. WordSmith created a complete list of every word used in both texts, although it did not, of course, resolve any of the many difficulties caused by inflection, conjugation, or homophones. I compared each entry against the original text and against the *OED/MED* wordlist in order to come up with a fairly complete word list for Peacock's entire working vocabulary. There will, inevitably, be gaps due to the fact that I used only *Repressor* and *Faith* out of his six extant

¹⁴⁸ 1928-NED last fascicle of NED published
 1933-one volume Supplement and renamed OED
 1972-1986 four volume supplement
 1989 20 volume 2nd edition of OED
 1992 cd rom
 since March 2000 quarterly updates
 "Reading Programme," *OED*.

compositions; however, since *Repressor* and *Faith* also happen to be the latest of his works, I think that the word list should be both representative and quite comprehensive, assuming that Pecoek did not lose large portions of his vocabulary over time.

2.3 Word Formation

2.3.1 *New Terminology and the Slipperiness of Signification*

While writing in English may have been controversial in the fifteenth century, writing didactic literature in English was, in fact, regularly attested in the two preceding centuries by such works as *Handlyng Synne* (1303), *Cursor Mundi* (c.1300), *The South English Legendary* (13th-14th c.), and *The Northern Homily Cycle* (c.1315).

Certainly part of this outgrowth in didactic religious literature stemmed from the pastoral reforms initiated by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Not since Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*¹⁴⁹ had an author taken such a direct interest in the Englishness of didactic literature as Reginald Pecoek.

If, however, we are to take Mannyng as a logical predecessor of the genre in which Pecoek operated, there are some significant differences in circumstance. While there was a long tradition of English didactic reading, many of those texts were translations. What cannot not be overemphasized is the originality of Pecoek's compositions. Everything that he wrote—from the mechanism by which he delivered his theology to the internal structure of catechesis—was original.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps one of the best ways to understand Pecoek is to see him as a writer *de novo* as opposed to a translator. It is not that he is not indebted to the writers that preceded him, but rather that his writings were

¹⁴⁹ Robert Mannyng lived c. 1275 – c. 1338. *Handlyng Synne* was written in 1303.

¹⁵⁰ See Chapters 4 and 5.

predicated on a complete reworking, reorganization, and presentation of that material. He was not simply translating from one language to another with a few alterations along the way.

Handlyng Synne was a translation of William of Wadington's Anglo-Norman *Manuel des pechiez*. Mannyng, like Pecoock, tries to explain difficult theological topics to his lay audience; however, Mannyng avoids the use of technical terminology when doing so.¹⁵¹ As Anne M. Scott points out, Mannyng describes the Limbo of babies without actually using the term 'Limbo,' an Italian form of the Latin "limbus," even though the Latin "limbus" was in common use in medieval Britain.¹⁵² Mannyng describes how transubstantiation works without using the term 'transubstantiation.'¹⁵³ This didactic technique presupposes that the challenge to comprehension is not necessarily the concept represented by a term but the term itself. New terminology can be just as big an impediment to knowledge as new concepts. Pecoock, however, writes in the exact opposite manner. Every idea has a term. In Pecoock's writings, those terms are at the heart of his explanations—one term serving as the shorthand for a complex of ideas that will be elaborated upon and perhaps not explained again in different texts.

Pecoock's use of terminology presupposes a very agile and absorbent mind. Agile because he regularly interpolates terms for which people have preexisting associations and applies them in new ways. Absorbent because a term that is introduced on the fifth page of one treatise might be used again without another introduction on the four hundredth page.

¹⁵¹ The intentional excising of technical vocabulary is still a common pedagogical practice. I still recall learning in my senior honors seminar all of the critical terms that defined the study of literature: close reading, feminism, Marxism, deconstructionism, etc. Yet, the ideas that those critical terms represented were already familiar—introduced long ago in the dozen or so courses that I had taken for the Major before that point.

¹⁵² The *DMLBS* cites Peter of Blois (ob. 1212), Walter of Wimborne (fl. 1265), and Robert Holcot (ob.1349) for attestations of the word "limbus."

¹⁵³ Scott, "For Lewed Men," 391-2, 395.

Like Pecoock, Mannyng appropriates English vocabulary for technical use; Scott points out Mannyng's use of the English term "lyknes" as opposed to the Latinate term "accident" to describe the process whereby the bread and the wine of the mass is transformed into the consecrated body and blood of Christ.¹⁵⁴ However, unlike Pecoock, Mannyng's use tends to be a direct substitution of one term for another. Mannyng writes as a translator, not as a theologian himself. Pecoock does not just appropriate vocabulary, but he appropriates English vocabulary and then builds upon it. He expands the very point of the theological explanation beyond whatever his source material might be.

Pecoock acted self-consciously and purposefully in his diction. He was acutely aware of the challenges of writing in English, and of the challenge that he might expect from readers regarding his word choice. He asks for leniency at the same time that he describes the methods by which he expands the vocabulary at his disposal:

For, sothely, I may require ech reder that he favore me anentis the naming of tho pointis, sithen to many of hem I kanne not finde redy bifore had propir names to hem. And therefore, in such caas as othire clerkis doon, in liik caas I muste needis or feine and make new namis (and thanne wolden men wondre), or I must take the propir name of sum othir thing mich liik to the thing which in my tretim lackith propir name, and sette thilk name to this thing, and favore the calling of this thing by thilk name, and that for nede.¹⁵⁵

In this passage, Pecoock breaks down his word formation into two categories. The first is the making of new names altogether; the second is the application of words in situations of similar context. In

¹⁵⁴ Scott, "For Lewed Men," 394-5.

¹⁵⁵ *Follower*, 220.

practice, Peacock does not create words *de novo*, as he seems to imply in his first category. He actually creates words by derivation from existing English, Latin, and French words, (e.g. see *Donet* “eendal” and “meenal” to refer to “ends” and “means”). And through analogy, Peacock broadens the applications in which a word can be used, making the original term polysemous.

The second of these two methods is the most problematic and the one that Peacock is most concerned with defending. A word with more than one signification can lead to misinterpretations or contradictions:

Ech voice may be takun to signify however a man wole assigne it to signify, and also how that ful kunning and holy men taken voicis and wordis ful ofte unpropirly out of the propir significacioun of the wordis, and sumtime oon such kunning holy writer takith a word other wise to signify than dooth another liik kunning and liik holy writer, or kunninger and holier than he was; and sumtime such a kunning holy writer takith a word in sum place of his writing forto signify in a certein maner, and yitt the same writer in another place of his writing takith the same word forto signify in another maner repugnaunt or not the same with the former maner . . . for gode causis forto expresse and teche the better and the clerer the diversite and the difference bitwixe kindis of thingis, many worthy clerkis doon as I do now—that is to seye, they appropren wordis into special and streit significacioun; and they so doone for mich lasse good cause than is this for which I make my now seid taking and appropriing.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ *Rule*, 251.

Pecock distinguishes his behavior from that of other “clerks” who, worthy though they may be, do not broaden the definition of words but rather narrow their definitions. His defense, however, is rather hollow. I am skeptical of this accusation against other clerks because Pecock himself frequently applies words in specialized situations.¹⁵⁷

Whether or not this particular claim by Pecock is valid, the point still stands that Pecock was both sensitive to and defensive about his vocabulary and aware of the possible misinterpretation of individual words that may be taken out of context:

Also, if I be not alwey and everywhere so war and so attendaunt to my wordis that no colour of inpu gnacioun may be maad agens tho wordis (as never yit clerk, oold or newe, was so war, and also it were not expedient that he schulde so mich laboure for warding of his maner of speche, and therby the lasse attendaunce have to the mater which he tretith), lete no man therof wiite me, neithir eny man be about so to snacche at me; namlich whilis whatever tho my wordis ben, what was my meening may be knowe by circumstauncis of the processis there or sumwhere ellis and othire markis. . . . And yit how my wordis han be thus chalengid, whanne ech witty, welwilly man to trouth mighte knowe that I othirwise meenid, writingis in the repliers side and writingis agen in my side, beren witnes.¹⁵⁸

The reason that misinterpretation was such a major concern for Pecock was that he realized the implications of those readings. Misinterpretations of theological texts resulted in accusations of

¹⁵⁷ See the discussion of “charity” in the *Donet*, 16-9

¹⁵⁸ *Follower*, 226.

heresy. And despite this plea to take his words only within their context, it was misinterpretation of his ideas that resulted in his own conviction of heresy. His concern was not unwarranted.

Yet, it would be unfair to say that Peacock's concern over misinterpretation was only rooted in his own fear of accusations of heresy. While not oblivious to the potential danger, Peacock did not let them drive his theological writings. He always forged ahead, much to his personal detriment. Peacock's primary goal was in the religious education of the layman and English, on this account, was ever an important practical option:

Miche rather mowe suche [highhe and sutil] maters be left to the peple in writing, forasmiche as they mowe the writing ofte rede and therupon study, therupon conseil aske and have helping, and so the bettir it kunne and the bettir kepe hem from erring and of it the misundirstonding, than if they schulde it heer oonly oonis or twies by word of preching.¹⁵⁹

Peacock's concerns about misunderstanding were still a major reason for anxiety. Information passed on orally and aurally was by its transient nature all the more likely to lend itself to misunderstanding. The challenge for Peacock was to transform a system of lay education that was primarily dependent on oral-aural means of communication into one that was primarily dependent on written texts. The stability of a written text is important in an era deeply concerned with heresy where multiple interpretations must be considered necessarily deviant from an established dogma. Variety in interpretation was necessarily destabilizing; therefore, Peacock sought to establish as immutable a method of communication as possible.

¹⁵⁹ *Rule*, 21.

2.3.2 *Total Vocabulary*

How to go about analyzing the results of Pecock's efforts to complete this transformation requires an thorough examination of Pecock's lexicon. To do so, let us return to the first set of questions that I posed: Exactly how innovative was Pecock?

The simple answer to the first question is that Pecock created 715 new words out of a total estimated vocabulary of 7,273 words. The way that I arrived at those numbers requires some explanation. The *MED* cites Pecock 4,459 times as compared to the *OED*'s 1,951.¹⁶⁰ Neither of these sources, however, purport to give a complete listing of Pecock's entire vocabulary. In order to obtain a relatively complete listing of Pecock's vocabulary, I turned instead to the text analysis software, WordSmith. I converted the digitized versions of *Repressor* and *Faith* that are available at the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (the body of digitized literature used for the compilation of the *MED* entries) into plain text documents. As my two base texts, they are a reasonable survey of Pecock's vocabulary because they are his two latest compositions and would, therefore, be likely to show the full development of Pecock's lexicon (assuming, of course, that Pecock's vocabulary did not experience vocabulary loss over time). Combined, *Repressor* and *Faith* also constitute approximately one third of Pecock's extant writings, with *Repressor* constituting one quarter of his writings alone.

The complete WordList that WordSmith generates, however, is a raw list of every word that Pecock uses in each of those two texts without differentiation for part of speech or consolidation for allowable variations in orthography, conjugation, or declination. The unprocessed WordList is

¹⁶⁰ *OED*, May 25, 2012.

10,501 words long. In order to consolidate and differentiate word forms and variant spellings, I used the Concordance tool to survey the actual use of a significant sample of words in context. Latin words and abbreviations are not included in the final count. Following the practice of the *MED*, I also only recognized seven basic parts of speech: noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, adverb, article, preposition, and gerund. Using these techniques and after combining and cross-checking that set of vocabulary against the yield from the *MED* and the OED, I determined that Peacock has a total estimated vocabulary of 7,273 words.

2.3.3 *First Attestations*

Of the 4,459 citations from the *MED*, Peacock is the first attested author for 705 entries as compared to the OED's 348.¹⁶¹ When conflated and checked for OED's lapses in identification, Peacock is verifiably the first attested author for 715 words in the English language. Many of these terms are in common use today: "precise," "reformer," "famously," "habitually," "unlimited," "day labour," "subordination," "decision," "misunderstanding," "conceivable," "caring," "neutral," "narrowing," "irremediable," and "beneficence."¹⁶²

By what means did Peacock create words? Well, all words new to the English language generally fall into one of the following categories: neologisms, blends, shortened forms, derivations, compounds, eponyms, and borrowed words. Peacock used most of these methods, with the exception of creation *de novo*¹⁶³ since Peacock's vocabulary was, for the most part, transparent even in

¹⁶¹ OED, May 25, 2012.

¹⁶² For the following discussion of Peacock's language, words in quotation marks follow the spelling of the OED or *MED* headword. Words contained within slashes, /word/, follow Peacock's orthography.

¹⁶³ I do not distinguish between neologisms and creation *de novo*.

his invention of new grammatical forms. As strange as some of his creations may be to modern ears, they were for the most part logical applications of pre-existing word-formation patterns.

Table 2.1 First Attestations

Words in Roman type in the *MED* and *OED* cite Pecock in the quotations of the definitions. Definitions for words in *italics* do not specifically cite Pecock.

MED Headword	OED Headword	Pecock's Orthography	Part of Speech	Last Attestation	Root Etymology
abiing	-	abiyng	ger.	1443	Rom.
absteiner	<i>abstainer</i>	absteyner	n.	1879	Rom.
accordingnes(s)	-	accordyngnes, accordingnes	n.	1454	Rom.
Acyanes	-	Acyany	n.	1449	Rom.
adaunting	-	adauntyng	ger.	1454	Rom.
advoker	-	aduoker	n.	1443	Rom.
affecting	affecting (n1)	affecting	ger.	1909	Rom.
affirmatif, -ive	<i>affirmative</i>	affirmatiue, affirmative	adj.	1976	Rom.
affirmativeli	<i>affirmatively</i>	affirmativeli	adv.	1860	Rom.
affomen	-	affome	v.	1443	Ger.
al-fulnes	<i>all-fulness</i>	al fulnes	n.	1656	Ger.
al-love	-	al loue	n.	1443	Ger.
allegorisen	<i>allegorize</i>	allegoriesed	v.	1882	Rom.
allouabli	<i>allowably</i>	allowably, allowably, alloweabilil, allowabli	adj.	1850	Rom.
almightines	<i>almightiness</i>	almy3tynes	n.	1877	Ger.
alternacioun	<i>alternation</i>	alternaciouns	n.	1950	Rom.
al-wittines	-	alwyttynes	n.	1443	Ger.
-	amaugrey	amaugrey	prep.	1449	Rom.
ameving	<i>amoving</i>	amovyng	ger.	1688	Rom.
answeringli	answeringly	answeryngly, answeringli, answeyngli	adv.	1865	Ger.
antetheme	<i>antetheme</i>	antetheme	n.	1561	Rom.
Antimarites	-	Antymaritis	n.	1449	Rom.
Antropomorfites	<i>anthropomorphite</i>	Apostelynys	n.	1872	Rom.
	apocryph(e)	apocrif, apocriefe	n.	1548	Rom.
Apollinarist	<i>Apollinarist</i>	Apollynaristis	n.	1882	Rom.
Apostelin	-	appriement	n.	1449	Ger.
apperingli	<i>appearingly</i>	apperyngli	adv.	1656	Rom.

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appetiting	-	appetityng	ger.	1454	Rom.
apprisement	<i>apprizement</i>	apprisement	n.	1605	Rom.
apprisen	<i>apprise</i>	apprise, apprisid	v.	1869	Rom.
appriser	<i>apprizer</i>	apprisers	n.	1815	Rom.
apprising	apprizing	apprising	ger.	1754	Rom.
approparli	-	approparli	adv.	1443	Rom.
approvable	approvable	approuable	adj.	1865	Rom.
archebishophod	-	archibischophode	n.	1449	Ger.
aredines	<i>arediness</i>	aredynes	n.	1620	Ger.
argumentacioun	<i>argumentation</i>	argumentacioun, argumentaciouns	n.	1877	Rom.
argumenting	-	argumentyng	ger.	1454	Rom.
aspiaunce	-	aspiaunce	n.	1445	Rom.
asserere	asserter	asserer	n.	1865	Rom.
assertiveli	<i>assertively</i>	assertyueli	adv.	1860	Rom.
assiduen	-	assidued	v.	1443	Rom.
assignabili	<i>assignably</i>	assignabili	adv.	1674	Rom.
assignable	<i>assignable</i>	assignable	adj.	1869	Rom.
attemen	-	atteme	v.	1445	Rom.
attempting	<i>attempting</i>	attempte	ger.	1784	Rom.
attender(e)	<i>attender</i>	attender	n.	1882	Rom.
attentif	<i>attentive</i>	attentif	adj.	1901	Rom.
auctoritativeli	<i>authoritatively</i>	auctoritatively, auctoritativeli	adv.	1808	Rom.
autentikli	<i>authentically</i>	autentikli	adv.	1883	Rom.
availabli	<i>availably</i>	availabili	adv.	1879	Rom.
avidioseli	<i>avidiously</i>	avidiosely	adv.	1550	Rom.
avidite	avidity	avidite	n.	1884	Rom.
aviseful	<i>adviceful</i>	a viseful	adj.	1624	Rom.
avising	advising	avisingis, avisyng, auising	ger.	1866	Rom.
avisingli	-	a risyngly, read avisyngly	adv.	1443	Rom.
avise	-	avise	adj.	1454	Rom.
avisoseli	-	avisoseli	adv.	1454	Rom.
avisosensesse	-	avisosensesse	n.	1454	Rom.
avoidable	<i>avoidable</i>	avoidable	adj.	1859	Rom.
aweldable	-	aweeldeable	adj.	1443	Ger.
bacul	bacul	bacul	n.	1449	Rom.
batail-ful	battleful	bateilfuller	adj.	1449	Rom.
be(a)uteful	<i>beautiful</i>	bewteful	adj.	2004	Rom.
benefeteful	-	benefeteful	adj.	1443	Rom.

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benefetour, -er	benefeter, -our	benefeter, benefetouris, benefetoure	n.	1449	Rom.
beneficence	<i>beneficence</i>	beneficence	n.	1858	Rom.
benevolent	<i>benevolent</i>	benevolent	adj.	1848	Rom.
berable	<i>bearable</i>	berable	adj.	1895	Ger.
bigilable	-	bigilable	adj.	1456	Rom.
biginningal	-	bigynnyngal	adj.	1443	Ger.
biholdable	beholdable	biholdeable, biholdable	adj.	1449	Ger.
bireuable	-	bireweable	adj.	1456	Ger.
bireuing	-	birewyngis, birewing	ger.	1445	Ger.
bitaking	betaking	bitakyng, bitaking	ger.	1449	Ger.
biwamblen	-	biwamblen	v.	1445	Ger.
blontnes(se, Also blunt-	<i>bluntness</i>	bluntnes	n.	1833	Ger.
bodied	<i>bodied</i>	bodied	ppl.	1855	Ger.
-	Bohemia	Beeme	n.	1871	Rom.
braunching	<i>branching</i>	braunching	ger.	1882	Rom.
bringable	-	bringable	adj.	1443	Ger.
busschel-ful	bushelful	buyschel ful	n.	1861	Rom.
cambie	-	camby	n.	1443	Rom.
caring	<i>caring</i>	caring	ger.	1797	Ger.
carkful	carkful	carkful	adj.	1482	Rom.
Carpocratian	<i>Carpocratian</i>	Carpocratianys	n.	1883	Rom.
cathezizer	catechizer	cathezizer	n.	1884	Rom.
causelli	causely	causeli	adv.	1449	Rom.
certainful	-	certainful	adj.	1443	Rom.
charitative	<i>charitative</i>	charitatie, charitative	adj.	1751	Rom.
chering	cheering	chering, cheryng	ger.	1861	Rom.
cherlili, Also cherlichly, chorelili	<i>churlishly</i>	chorleli	adv.	1875	Ger.
chesable	<i>chooseable</i>	cheseable, chesable	adj.	1856	Ger.
Chirencian	-	Chirencianys	n.	1449	Rom.
circumstanciated	-	circumstanciatid	ppl.	1445	Rom.
circumstanciouate(ed)	-	circumstancionat, circumstancionatid	ppl.	1443	Rom.
circumstaunt	<i>circumstant</i>	circumstaunt	ppl.	1675	Rom.
civilli	<i>civilly</i>	cyuyly	adv.	1871	Rom.
clarie	-	clarie	n.	1443	Rom.
clausul	clausule	clausulis	n.	1590	Rom.
cloistros	cloistrose	cloistros	adj.	1449	Rom.

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clompred	-	clumprid	ppl.	1445	Ger.
closenes	<i>closeness</i>	closenes	n.	1884	Rom.
closingli	closingly	closingli	adv.	1449	Rom.
clubbishnes(se	-	clubbisshenes	n.	1454	Ger.
com(m)aundable	<i>commandable</i>	comaundable	adj.	1880	Rom.
communaunce	communance	communaunce	n.	1449	Rom.
commune equite	-	comoun equyte, comoun equite	phr.	1443	Rom.
compai(g)nabilte	<i>companionability</i>	compeynabilte	n.	1889	Rom.
compaigning	<i>companying</i>	cumpanying, compenyng, cumpanyingis, cumpenyng, cumpanying	ger.	1648	Rom.
comparisouning	-	comparisounyng	ger.	1443	Rom.
comparisounli	-	comparisounli	adj.	1443	Rom.
compendi	<i>compend</i>	compendi	n.	1882	Rom.
comprehensioun	<i>comprehension</i>	comprehensioun	n.	1981	Rom.
comprehensiveli	<i>comprehensively</i>	comprehensiveli	adj.	1885	Rom.
conceitful	<i>conceitful</i>	conceitful	adj.	1607	Rom.
conceivabilnes	<i>conceivableness</i>	conceyuabilnes	n.	1877	Rom.
conceivable	<i>conceivable</i>	conceyuable	adj.	1879	Rom.
concurrentli	<i>concurrently</i>	concurrentli	adv.	1882	Rom.
confermedli	confirmedly	confermedli	adv.	1667	Rom.
conflacioun	<i>conflation</i>	conflacioun	n.	1890	Rom.
conflat	-	conflat	n.	1443	Rom.
confuseli	<i>confusely</i>	confuseli	adv.	1737	Rom.
conningal	-	kunnyngal	adj.	1454	Ger.
conningful	-	kunnyngful	adj.	1454	Ger.
consentingli	<i>consentingly</i>	consentingly	adv.	1883	Rom.
conserver	<i>conserver</i>	conseruer	n.	1869	Rom.
considerable	considerable	considerable	adj.	1943	Rom.
consideratif	considerative	consideratiif	adj.	1825	Rom.
considerer	considerer	considerer, considerers	n.	1870	Rom.
constreinable	<i>constrainable</i>	constreynable	adj.	1594	Rom.
conteiner	<i>container</i>	conteyner	n.	1969	Rom.
contemplable	<i>contemplable</i>	contemplable	adj.	1834	Rom.
contemplatour	<i>contemplator</i>	contemplatoure	n.	1873	Rom.
contenauncing	<i>countenancing</i>	countenauncyng	ger.	1690	Rom.
conventualli	<i>conventually</i>	conuentuali	adv.	1880	Rom.
corolarie	corollary	corelarie	adj.	1974	Rom.
correpten	corrept	correpte	v.	1657	Rom.
correpting	correpting	correpting	ger.	1449	Rom.

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costioseli	-	costioseli	adv.	1449	Rom.
costiosenes	-	costiosenes	n.	1443	Rom.
craftial	-	craftial	adj.	1454	Ger.
cronical	<i>chronical</i>	cronical	adj.	1859	Rom.
cronicling	<i>chronicling</i>	cronycleing	ger.	1885	Rom.
curacie	<i>curacy</i>	curacies, curacye	n.	1872	Rom.
currauntli	<i>currently</i>	currauntly, currauntli	adv.	1971	Rom.
cuttable	cuttable	kutteable	adj.	1743	Ger.
dadelar	-	dadelar	n.	1443	unk.
damageful	damageful	damageful	adj.	1645	Rom.
-	day labour, day- labour	day labour	n.	1911	Ger./Rom.
deciding	<i>deciding</i>	decidyng	ger.	1690	Rom.
decisioun	<i>decision</i>	decisioun	n.	1991	Rom.
declarative	<i>declarative</i>	declarative	n.	1985	Rom.
declarer	<i>declarer</i>	declarer	n.	1965	Rom.
delectaunt	-	delectaunt	ppl.	1445	Rom.
delitablenes	-	deliteabilnes	n.	1443	Rom.
demeritori	-	demeritori, demeritorie	adj.	1456	Rom.
denominen	-	denomynd	v.	1454	Rom.
denouncer	<i>denouncer</i>	denouncer	n.	1878	Rom.
deprecatie	<i>deprecatie</i>	deprecatie	adj.	1879	Rom.
derkable	-	derkeable	adj.	1445	Ger.
derkinge	-	derking	ger.	1443	Ger.
deserver	<i>deserver</i>	deserver	n.	1829	Rom.
destroiable	<i>destroyable</i>	distroiable	adj.	1851	Rom.
dialogazacioun	-	dialogazacioun	n.	1456	Rom.
difficuten	<i>difficult</i>	difficultyng	v.	1861	Rom.
dignifying	<i>dignifying</i>	dignifyng	ger.	1639	Rom.
diligent	<i>diligent</i>	diligent	adv.	1887	Rom.
directer	<i>director</i>	directer	n.	2002	Rom.
directive	<i>directive</i>	directyue	adj.	2001	Rom.
discheren	<i>discheer</i>	discherid	v.	1587	Rom.
disciplinable	<i>disciplinable</i>	disciplinable	adj.	1889	Rom.
discomenden	<i>discommend</i>	discomenden	v.	1879	Rom.
discordauntli	<i>discordantly</i>	discordauntli	adv.	1876	Rom.
-	disparkle, -parcle	disperclid	v.	1661	Rom.
dispreisable	dispraisable	dispreisable	adj.	1755	Rom.
dispreisingli	<i>dispraisingly</i>	dispreisingli	adv.	1839	Rom.
disworshipen	<i>disworship</i>	disworschipe, disworschipiþ, disworschip	v.	1610	Ger.

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disworshipping	<i>disworshipping</i>	disworschiping	ger.	1529	Ger.
disworshippingli	-	disworschipingly	adv.	1445	Ger.
diviseli	-	deviseli	adv.	1552	Rom.
doable	doable	doable	adj.	1883	Ger.
doctrinal	<i>doctrinal</i>	doctrinal	adj.	1894	Rom.
doctrinalli	<i>doctrinally</i>	doctrinali	adv.	1869	Rom.
-	dod, dodd	dod	adj.	1691	Ger.
donatour	donator	donatouris	n.	1894	Rom.
drauable	-	drawable	adj.	1443	Ger.
dressable	-	dressable	adj.	1445	Rom.
drinkable	<i>drinkable</i>	drynkeable	adj.	1894	Ger.
duchehod	dukehood	duchehode	n.	1449	Rom.
dulhede	<i>dull-bead</i>	dulhede	n.	1624	Ger.
duraunce	<i>durance</i>	duraunce	n.	1881	Rom.
Ebionite	<i>Ebionite</i>	Ebionytis	n.	1882	Rom.
Elvidian	-	Elvidianys	n.	1449	Rom.
embrethen	embreathe	embrepid	v.	1800	Ger.
encheridion	-	encheridion	n.	1445	Rom.
endal	-	eendal, eendale	adj.	1443	Ger.
endalli	-	eendali, eendaly	adv.	1443	Ger.
endeuer	endower	endewers, endeweris	n.	1885	Rom.
endeueri	endowry	endewries, endeweries	n.	1530	Rom.
endingli	endingly	eendyngli	adv.	1611	Ger.
endouer	-	endower, endowre	n.	1443	Rom.
endrunken	-	endrunking	v.	1443	Ger.
engarding	-	ingardying	ger.	1445	Rom.
ensaumplal, ial	ensampial, ensumplal	ensampial, ensaumplal	adj.	1449	Rom.
ensaumpling	ensampling	ensaumplingis, ensaumplyng, ensampling, ensamplyng	ger.	1598	Rom.
entermenen	entermeene	entermeeneden, entermeene, entermeened	v.	1449	Rom.
enviere, -our	<i>envier</i>	enviers, enuyers	n.	1874	Rom.
errer	-	errer	n.	1445	Rom.
estimatif	<i>estimative</i>	estimatiif	n.	1859	Rom.
etik	<i>ethic</i>	etik	adj.	1871	Rom.
eukarising	-	eukarising	ger.	1454	Rom.
Eunominian, also Ennom-	Eunomian	Eunomyanyans	n.	1959	Rom.

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Eutichian	<i>Eutichian</i>	Euticianys	n.	1883	Rom.
exaumatour	-	exaumatour	n.	1443	Rom.
excrescen	excresce	excreeciþ	v.	1691	Rom.
excusatorie	<i>excusatory</i>	excusatorye	adj.	1865	Rom.
executiveli	<i>executively</i>	executyueli	adv.	1716	Rom.
exercible	-	exercible	adj.	1454	Rom.
exhorting	<i>exhorting</i>	exortyng, exhortyng	ger.	1591	Rom.
experimental	experimental	experimental	adj.	1969	Rom.
expliing, also explaiing	-	explaiyng, expliyng	ger.	1445	Rom.
expliken	explike	explic	v.	1491	Rom.
expresslestli	-	expressistli	adv.	1454	Rom.
expressing	<i>expressing</i>	expressing	ger.	1889	Rom.
expropriacioun	expropriation	expropriacioun	n.	1889	Rom.
expropriat	expropriate	expropriate	adj.	1449	Rom.
extract	<i>extract</i>	extractis, extract	n.	1963	Rom.
extract	<i>extract</i>	extractis, extract	ppl.	1963	Rom.
failable	<i>failable</i>	faileable	adj.	1649	Rom.
fallable	<i>fallable</i>	falleable	adj.	1656	Ger.
falsifien	falsify	falsifie	v.	1884	Rom.
famousli	<i>famously</i>	famosely, famoseli	adv.	1858	Rom.
feinedli	<i>feignedly</i>	feynedly	adv.	1883	Rom.
felau-lik	<i>fellowlike</i>	felawlik	adj.	1928	Ger.
fillable	<i>fillable</i>	fillable	adj.	1870	Ger.
findable	findable	fyndeable, fyndable	adj.	1887	Ger.
fixli	fixly	fyxli	adv.	1604	Rom.
fleable	-	fleable	adj.	1443	Ger.
forbedable	forbiddable	forbedable	adj.	1449	Ger.
forberable	<i>forbearable</i>	forbereable	adj.	1803	Ger.
forberer	<i>forbearer</i>	forberer	n.	1755	Ger.
forth-leding	-	forth leeding	ger.	1456	Ger.
Fotianes	-	Fotyanyys	n.	1449	Rom.
fre-willen	-	free willing, fre williþ	v.	1443	Ger.
freres(se)	-	freresse	n.	1443	Rom.
fundamental	fundamental	fundamental, foundamental	adj.	1961	Rom.
fundamentalli	<i>fundamentally</i>	fundamentali, foundamentali	adv.	1880	Rom.
gastfulli	-	gastfully, gastfulli	adv.	1443	Ger.
gasting	-	gastyng	ger.	1443	Ger.
glorifier	<i>glorifier</i>	glorifiers	n.	1880	Rom.

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gostlihede, -hod	-	goostlihode, goostlihod	n.	1443	Ger.
groundable	groundable	groundable	adj.	1449	Ger.
groundabli	-	groundabili, groundabli	adv.	1443	Ger.
groundi	-	groundier	adj.	1456	Ger.
habitual	<i>habitual</i>	habitual	adj.	1880	Rom.
habituali, also habituelle	<i>habitually</i>	habitually, habituali	adv.	1883	Rom.
habituacioun	habituation	habituacioun	n.	1973	Rom.
harmingfulli	-	harmyngfully	adv.	1443	Ger.
harmingli, also harminli	-	harmynly	adv.	1443	Ger.
hateable	<i>hateable</i>	hateable	adj.	1883	Ger.
-	headhood	heedhode	n.	1449	Ger.
heft	<i>heft</i>	heftis, heft, hefte	n.	1972	Ger.
herable	hearable	heerable, heereable	adj.	1885	Ger.
hirer, also hiirer	<i>hirer</i>	hiirer, hirer	n.	1885	Ger.
historier	historier	historiers	n.	1581	Rom.
holful	<i>wholeful</i>	hooful	adj.	1513	Ger.
honouringli	-	honouringly	adv.	1445	Rom.
husbondhode	<i>husbandhood</i>	husbondhode	n.	1894	Ger.
immediacioun	<i>immediation</i>	immediacioun	n.	1677	Rom.
imperseveraunt	<i>imperseverant</i>	inperseueraunt	adj.	1594	Rom.
impertinentli	impertinently	inpertinentli, inpertynentli	adv.	1839	Rom.
impite	-	inpite	n.	1454	Rom.
impresseli	-	inpresseli	adv.	1454	Rom.
improving	improving	inprouyng, improuyng, inprouing	ger.	1611	Rom.
impugner	<i>impugner</i>	impugners, inpugners	n.	1890	Rom.
in las(se than	-	in lasse þan, inlasse than	conj.	1443	Ger.
inaccording	-	inaccordyng	ppl.	1443	Rom.
inclinable	inclinable	inclynable, inclinable	adj.	1880	Rom.
includingli	includingly	includingli	adv.	1449	Rom.
independabli	-	independabili	adv.	1445	Rom.
indifference, also indeferense	<i>indifference</i>	indifference	n.	1972	Rom.
inevitabli	<i>inevitably</i>	inevitabili	adv.	1862	Rom.
infailable	<i>infailable</i>	infailable	adj.	1631	Rom.

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infantil	<i>infantile</i>	infantil	adj.	1968	Rom.
infinitenes(se)	<i>infiniteness</i>	infynytenes	n.	1894	Rom.
infirmen	<i>infirm</i>	infrmyst, infermeth	v.	1890	Rom.
inhoneste	<i>inhonesty</i>	inhonestees, inhoneste	n.	1509	Rom.
inked	<i>inked</i>	ynkid	ppl.	1991	Rom.
inleding	<i>inleading</i>	inleding	ger.	1889	Ger.
inreding	-	inreding	ger.	1449	Ger.
instant	<i>instant</i>	instant, instaunt	adj.	2001	Rom.
instiwes	-	instiwes	n.	1454	Rom.
instonding	<i>instanding</i>	instonding	ger.	1878	Ger.
inviolable	<i>inviolable</i>	inviolable	adj.	1863	Rom.
invitacioun	<i>invitation</i>	ynuytacioun	n.	1964	Rom.
involuntari	<i>involuntary</i>	involuntari	adj.	1887	Rom.
irrecoverable	<i>irrecoverable</i>	irrecoerable	adj.	1878	Rom.
irremediabili	<i>irremediably</i>	irremediabili	adv.	1841	Rom.
irremediable	<i>irremediable</i>	irremediable	adj.	1865	Rom.
irreverenced	-	irreuerencid	ppl.	1445	Rom.
irreverencing	-	irreuerencing, irreuerencyng	ger.	1443	Rom.
jerarchien	-	ierarchied	v.	1456	Rom.
jerarching	-	ierarchiing, ierarchiyng	ger.	1456	Rom.
jerarchis, also jerarkis	-	ierarchis	n.	1456	Rom.
joinable, also joineable, jun(e)abil	<i>joinable</i>	joynable, joyneable	adj.	1483	Rom.
Jovianist	-	Iouyanystis	n.	1449	Rom.
jugeable	<i>judgeable</i>	iugeable	adj.	1570	Rom.
juger, also jugeoure, jugeour, juegour, juggoure	<i>judger</i>	iugers, iuger	n.	1859	Rom.
justificable	<i>justifiable</i>	iustificable	adj.	1671	Rom.
kepable	<i>keepable</i>	kepeable	adj.	1891	Ger.
kerverie	<i>carvery</i>	keruerie	n.	1978	Ger.
kindeful, also kindful	-	kyndeful, kyndful	adj.	1454	Ger.
knoual	-	knowal	adj.	1454	Ger.
knouingal	-	knowingal, knowyngal	adj.	1443	Ger.
labilnes	-	labilnes	n.	1443	Rom.
lateralli, also laterali, leteralli	<i>laterally</i>	laterali	adv.	1866	Rom.

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laudatif, also laudative	<i>laudative</i>	laudative	adj.	1824	Rom.
leffulnes, also lefulnes	<i>lanfulness</i>	leefulnes	n.	1959	Ger.
leiserful	leisureful	leiserful	adj.	1885	Rom.
lerningli	-	leernyngly, leernyngli	adv.	1443	Ger.
lettable	<i>lettable</i>	lettable	adj.	1894	Ger.
lever	<i>leaver</i>	lever	n.	1972	Ger.
lik(e)-wise	<i>likewise</i>	liik wise	adv.	1880	Ger.
likingful	-	likingful	adj.	1443	Ger.
lothinnes	loathiness	loþynes, lothinness, loþines	n.	1449	Ger.
longinge	longing	longingis	ger.	1470	Ger.
lothi	<i>loathy</i>	loþi	adj.	1855	Ger.
lotting	lotting	lotting	ger.	1825	Ger.
lovingful	-	louyngful	adj.	1445	Ger.
magestful	-	majestful, maiestful	adj.	1443	Rom.
makable	makable	makeable, makable	adj.	1987	Ger.
makingli	-	makyngli	adv.	1454	Ger.
malevolence, also mali-	malevolence	maliuolence	n.	1983	Rom.
maneral	-	maneral	adj.	1443	Rom.
manili	-	manyly	adv.	1443	Ger.
marchionat	marchionat	marchionat	n.	1449	Rom.
Marcionist	Marcionist	Marcionystis	n.	1988	Rom.
markable	markable	markable	adj.	1661	Ger.
-	mazing	masing	adj.	1961	Ger.
medable	-	meedeable	adj.	1443	Ger.
membracioun	-	membracioun	n.	1454	Rom.
menal	-	meenal	adj.	1445	Ger.
menali	-	meenali, meenaly	adv.	1443	Ger.
mening	-	meenyng	ger.	1443	Ger.
meningli	meaningly	menyngli	adv.	1982	Ger.
mere	mere	mere, meere	adv.	1635	Rom.
mereli	merely	mereli	adv.	1981	Rom.
meritoringli	-	meritoringli	adv.	1443	Rom.
metaphysicien	metaphysician	methafisicien	n.	1988	Rom.
	mill-horse	mylle hors	n.	1994	Ger.
mindig	mindig	myndingis	ger.	1999	Ger.
miscallen	miscall	mys callen	v.	1989	Ger.
miscustome	-	mys custome	n.	1443	Rom.
misful	-	mysful	adj.	1445	Ger.

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misunderstanding	misunderstanding	mys vndirstonding, mis vndirstonding	ger.	1987	Ger.
monasterial	monasterial	monasterial	adj.	1996	Rom.
monastik	monastic	monastik	adj.	1995	Rom.
morousli	morously	morously	adv.	1443	Rom.
-	mother's language	modiris langage, modris langage	n.	1449	Ger./Rom.
motring	muttering	motryng	ger.	1986	Rom.
multiplicite	multiplicity	multiplicite	n.	2002	Rom.
mustrer	musterer	mustrer	n.	1992	Rom.
-	name-giving	name 3euyng	n.	1992	Ger.
narrowing	narrowing	narowyng	ger.	1988	Ger.
nedable	-	nedeable	adj.	1456	Ger.
netherte	netherty	neþerte, netherte, neþirte	n.	1456	Ger.
neutral	neutral	Neutralis	adj.	2001	Rom.
nextnesse	nextness	nextnesse	n.	1982	Ger.
niceli	<i>nicely</i>	nycely	adj.	2000	Rom.
non-being	non-being	noun beyng, noon being	ger.	2000	Ger.
non-keping	-	noun-keping	ger.	1443	Ger.
non-voluntari	non-voluntary	noon voluntari, nooun voluntari	adj.	1998	Rom.
notifiing	<i>notifying</i>	notifiyng	ger.	2000	Rom.
nou3nesse	-	nou3nesse	n.	1454	Ger.
Novacianis	Novatian	Nouacianys	n.	1999	Rom.
obeiable	obeyable	obeiable	adj.	1992	Rom.
occasionarie	occasional	occasionarie	adj.	1702	Rom.
occasionarili	occasionally	occasionally, occasionarili	adv.	1454	Rom.
occasionen	occasion	occasionyd	v.	1999	Rom.
occasioning	<i>occasioning</i>	occasionyng	ger.	1992	Rom.
officen, also officien, p. (error) officieden	officy	officee, office, officieden (sic)	v.	1991	Rom.
officiing	officing	officiyng	ger.	1475	Rom.
opinial	opinial	opynyal, opinial	adj.	1456	Rom.
opinional	opinional	opynyonal	adj.	1999	Rom.
opinioun-holder	opinion holder	Opinioun-holders	n.	2002	Ger./Rom.
oratori	oratory	oratori	adj.	1995	Rom.
orbe	orb	orbis, orbe	n.	1995	Rom.
-	origination	origynacioun	n.	1999	Rom.
orthodoxe, also ortodox	orthodox	ortodox, orthodoxe	adj.	2002	Rom.

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other-where	<i>otherwhere</i>	othere wheris	adv.	1966	Ger.
outhilden	-	out hilding	v.	1443	Ger.
-	outspeak	out spake	v.	1999	Ger.
outhrouing	out-throwing	out throwyng	ger.	2000	Ger.
-	outwell	out wellen	v.	1913	Ger.
-	over and above	ouer and aboue	prep.	2001	Ger.
-	over-tenderly	ouer tendirly	adv.	1874	Rom.
overbiholden	-	ouerbiholden	ppl.	1454	Ger.
overcarkful	over carkful	ouer carkful	adj.	1482	Rom.
overcomable	overcomable	ouercomeable	adj.	2001	Ger.
overconfus	-	ouer confuse	adj.	1445	Rom.
overdeinteli	-	ouer deintyli	adv.	1445	Rom.
overderk	-	ouer derk	adj.	1445	Ger.
overdolorous	-	ouer dolorose	adj.	1445	Rom.
overexcellent	-	ouer excellent	adj.	1443	Rom.
overexcellentli	-	ouer excellently	adv.	1443	Rom.
-	overfavourable, overfavorable	over favorable	adj.	2002	Rom.
overgeneral	over-general	ouer general	adj.	1990	Rom.
overheighli, also overhizli	over-highly	ouerhizli	adv.	1983	Ger.
overneishli	-	ouerneishli	adv.	1454	Ger.
overofte	-	ouer ofte	adj.	1443	Ger.
overpeisen	overpeise	ouerpeise	v.	1652	Rom.
overpore	-	ouer pore	adj.	1443	Rom.
overreder	overreader	ouerreder	n.	1545	Ger.
overreding	-	overreding	ger.	1456	Ger.
overreueable	-	ouer reweable	adj.	1445	Ger.
overreverend	-	ouer reverend	adj.	1443	Rom.
oversharpli	oversharply	ouer scharpli	adv.	1977	Ger.
overstudien	overstudy	ouer studie	v.	2002	Rom.
overte	overty	ouerte, ouerteas, overte	n.	1449	Ger.
overthoughtful	over-thoughtful	ouer thou3tful	adj.	2002	Ger.
overwaiten	overwait	ouer waite	v.	1449	Rom.
overwepable	-	ouer wepeable	adj.	1445	Ger.
overweriful	-	ouer weriful	adj.	1454	Ger.
overwonderfulli	-	ouer wonderfully	adv.	1443	Ger.
parabolik	parabolic	parabolik	adj.	1998	Rom.
parcellinge	parcelling, parceling	parcelling, parcellingis	ger.	2002	Rom.
pardouninge	<i>pardoning</i>	pardonyng	ger.	1972	Rom.
pareable	pareable	pareable	adj.	1449	Rom.
parfiting	-	perfiting	ger.	1449	Rom.

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passifli	passively	passyuely	adv.	1995	Rom.
passionable	passionable	passionable	adj.	2000	Rom.
passional	passional	passional	adj.	2001	Rom.
Paternianis	Paternian	Paternyanys	n.	1993	Rom.
Paulianis	Paulian	Paulianys	n.	1996	Rom.
peculiar	peculiar	peculiar	adj.	1992	Rom.
peintorie	paintry	peyntorie	n.	1454	Rom.
-	performer	performer	n.	2002	Rom.
philosophik	philosophic	philosophik	adj.	2001	Rom.
placeli	placely	placeli	adv.	1674	Ger.
placing	placing	placing, placyng	ger.	1995	Ger.
placingli	-	placingly	adv.	1443	Ger.
portacioun	<i>portation</i>	portacioun	n.	1997	Rom.
Positively	positively	positively	adv.	2001	Rom.
prechable	preachable	precheable	adj.	2003	Rom.
precise	precise	precise	adj.	1996	Rom.
preiingly	prayingly	preiyngly	adv.	1937	Rom.
preisingli	<i>praisingly</i>	preisingly	adv.	2004	Rom.
presablenes	<i>praisableness</i>	preseabilnes	n.	1648	Rom.
prestial	priestial	prestial	adj.	1449	Rom.
presumptif	presumptive	presumptijf	adj.	2005	Rom.
pretensioun, also - cioun	pretension	pretensioun, pretencioun	n.	2001	Rom.
private	private	priuate	adv.	2005	Rom.
privativeli	privatively	priuativeli	adv.	1993	Rom.
probabilite, also probabilte	probability	probabilte, probabilite, probabilitees	n.	2004	Rom.
probabilnes	probableness	probabilnes	n.	1986	Rom.
proceder	proceeder	proceder	n.	1997	Rom.
proclaminge	proclaiming	proclamyng	ger.	1990	Rom.
procurable	procurable	procurable	adj.	1992	Rom.
promiser	promiser	promyser	n.	2004	Rom.
promissorie	promissory	promissorye	adj.	1999	Rom.
pronite	pronity	pronytees, pronitee	adj.	1723	Rom.
propreable	-	propreable	adj.	1454	Rom.
provocative, also provocatif	provocative	prouocative, prouocatyve, provocatyue	adj.	1991	Rom.
provocatorie	provocatory	prouocatorie	adj.	1993	Rom.
prudencial	prudential	prudencial	adj.	2006	Rom.
pseudoapostle	pseudo-apostle	pseudo [or false] Apostlis, pseudo Apostilis	n.	1998	Rom.

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publishing	publishing	pupplisching, publisching, publischyng	ger.	2003	Rom.
purposer	purposer	purposer	n.	2006	Rom.
pursing	pursing	pursing	ger.	1991	Rom.
ramblen	ramble	ramble	v.	2004	unk.
rauli	rawly	rawli	adv.	2001	Ger.
raunging, also (error, raging)	ranging	raging [read: ranging]	ger.	2002	Rom.
reaccepten	reaccept	reaccepte	v.	1998	Rom.
rebuker	rebuker	rebukers	n.	2004	Rom.
recche	reck	recche	n.	1996	Ger.
receivablenes(se)	receivableness	receyablenesse, receyuabilnesse	n.	1654	Rom.
reconvenioun	reconvention	reconuencioun	n.	2007	Rom.
redoublen	redouble	redouble	v.	2003	Rom.
redoubling	redoubling	redoubling	ger.	2007	Rom.
redresser(e)	redresser	redresser	n.	1993	Rom.
reformer	reformer	reformers	n.	2003	Rom.
refusable, also refuseable	refusable	refusable, refuseable	adj.	2004	Rom.
remeling	-	remelyng	ger.	1443	unk.
remembratif	remembrative	remembratif, remembratife	adj.	1999	Rom.
remembraucing	remembrancing	remembraucing, remembraucingis	ger.	1997	Rom.
remembraucing	-	remembraucyng	adj.	1449	Rom.
remembre	-	remembre	n.	1445	Rom.
remembrer	rememberer	remembrer, remembrers	n.	2002	Rom.
remembringli	-	remembryngli	adv.	1454	Rom.
rememoracioun	rememoration	rememoracioun	n.	2007	Rom.
rememoratif	rememorative	rememoratif	adj.	2005	Rom.
renningli	-	rennyngli	adv.	1454	Ger.
repentauncer, also repentaunter	-	repentauncer	n.	1443	Rom.
repetinge	repeating	repetingis	ger.	1996	Rom.
replier	replier	repliers	n.	2006	Rom.
reportacioun	reportation	reportacioun	n.	2001	Rom.
representer	representer	representer	n.	2005	Rom.
representing	representing	representing	ger.	2002	Rom.
represser	represser	represser	n.	1999	Rom.
reprevably	reprovably	reprouabili	adv.	2002	Rom.

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repugner	repugner	repungners, repugners	n.	1976	Rom.
resonablenes(se	reasonableness	resonabilnes, resonablenesse, resonabilnesse	n.	2005	Rom.
respective	respective	respectyue	adj.	2001	Rom.
respectiveli	respectively	respectyueli, respectiveli	adv.	2005	Rom.
restrein(e	restrain	restreyne	n.	2001	Rom.
reuleable	rulable	reuleable	adj.	1890	Rom.
revelate	revelate	reuelate	adj.	1575	Rom.
revelator	revelator	reuelator	n.	2006	Rom.
reviling	reviling	reuyling	ger.	2007	Rom.
rewardable	rewardable	rewardable	adj.	2002	Rom.
rewardabli	rewardably	rewardabli	adv.	2003	Rom.
richete, also ricchete	-	ricchete	n.	1445	Rom.
sacramental(e	<i>sacramental</i>	sacramentalis	n.	1892	Rom.
sacramenten	<i>sacrament</i>	sacramente	v.	1860	Rom.
sacramenting	-	sacramenting, sacramentyngis, sacramentyng	ger.	1454	Rom.
sacramentingli	-	sacramentingly	adv.	1445	Rom.
sadelerie, also sadelarie	saddlery	sadelarie	n.	2005	Ger.
saluting	<i>saluting</i>	saluting	ger.	1811	Rom.
satisfactori(e	<i>satisfactory</i>	satisfactorie	adj.	1907	Rom.
sauf-garding, also safgarding	<i>safeguarding</i>	saaf gardyng	ger.	1932	Rom.
scateringli	<i>scatteringly</i>	scateringly	adv.	1880	Ger.
sciential	sciential	sciential	adj.	1891	Rom.
scrivenrie	<i>scrivenery</i>	scryuenrie	n.	1898	Rom.
scrupulous, also scruplose, scrip-	scrupulous	scripulose, scrupulose	adj.	1907	Rom.
settable, also setteable	<i>settable</i>	setteable, settable	adj.	1981	Ger.
seuring, also suring	suring	suring	ger.	1530	Rom.
Severianis	Severian	Severianys	n.	1887	Rom.
significat	significate	significat	n.	1874	Rom.
siking	-	sykyng	ger.	1443	Ger.
silogising, also sillogising, -gizing	sylogizing	sillogizing, sillogising	ger.	1877	Rom.
silogistik, also sillogistik	<i>sylogistic</i>	sillogistik	adj.	1867	Rom.
sinodal	<i>synodal</i>	synodal	adj.	1910	Rom.

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smelleable	smellable	smelleable	adj.	1881	Ger.
smeller	<i>smeller</i>	smellers	n.	1934	Ger.
solnes	soleness	soolnes	n.	1889	Rom.
soneli	sonly	sonely, soneli	adj.	1903	Ger.
speculable	speculable	speculable	adj.	1592	Rom.
spirer	-	spirer	n.	1443	Rom.
spiring	<i>spiring</i>	spiring	ger.	1534	Rom.
sporiore	spurriery	sporiore	n.	1449	Ger.
sporting	sporting	sprotyng, sporting	ger.	2008	Rom.
squaimosenesse	-	squaymosenese	n.	1445	Rom.
stedeli	<i>steadily</i>	stedely	adv.	1909	Ger.
storing	storying	storiyng, storiing	ger.	1793	Rom.
strivable	strivable	strivable	adj.	1456	Rom.
subordinacioun	<i>subordination</i>	subordinacioun	n.	1910	Rom.
subordinat	<i>subordinate</i>	subordynat	adj.	1980	Rom.
subserven	<i>subserve</i>	subseruing	v.	1968	Rom.
subserving	<i>subserving</i>	subserving	ger.	1895	Rom.
surviving	<i>surviving</i>	surviving, survyvyng	ppl.	1900	Rom.
Tacianis	-	Tacianys	n.	1449	Rom.
takable, also takeable	takable, takeable	takeable, takable	adj.	1893	Ger.
takeabilnes	-	takeabilnes	n.	1454	Ger.
tariable	-	tariable	adj.	1445	Rom.
tariyngli	tariyngly	tariyngli	adv.	1450-1530	Rom.
techeable, also techeabil(le)	<i>teachable</i>	techeable	adj.	1887	Ger.
temptable	<i>temptable</i>	temtable	adj.	1883	Rom.
temptative	temptative	temptatyue	adj.	1449	Rom.
thankeable	-	þankeable	adj.	1443	Ger.
thankeabli	-	þankeabli	adv.	1445	Ger.
thillen	-	þillid	v.	1454	Ger.
thillinges	-	þillyngis	n.	1454	Ger.
-	thitherto	thidir to	adv.	1900	Ger.
threfoldenes	<i>threefoldness</i>	þrefoldenes	n.	1857	Ger.
threterner, also threterner	<i>threatener</i>	þreterner	n.	1867	Ger.
tocriing	-	to criyng	ger.	1454	Rom.
togeder-wordes, also togiderewordis	<i>together-words</i>	to gidere wordis	n.	1449	Ger.
togedercommuning, also togidercomuning	-	to gidere comunyng	ger.	1443	Rom.
togederfalling, also togiderefaling	-	togidere fallyng	ger.	1454	Ger.

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togederliving, also togidereliving	-	togidere lyuyng	ger.	1454	Ger.
togedertalking, also togideretalking	-	togider talking	ger.	1456	Ger.
tosetting	-	to settingis	ger.	1443	Ger.
towardli	<i>towardly</i>	towardly	adv.	1874	Ger.
towirching	-	to wirchyng	ger.	1454	Ger.
treter	<i>treater</i>	treter, treters	n.	1906	Rom.
trufloos, also triflose	-	triflose	adj.	1445	Rom.
un-to-be-thou3t-upon	-	vnto be þou3t vpon	ppl.	1445	Ger.
unacceptacioun	-	vnacceptacioun	n.	1443	Rom.
unaccordingli	unaccordingly	vnaccordingli	adv.	1534	Rom.
unalloued	<i>unallowed</i>	vnallowid	ppl.	1874	Rom.
unattendaunce	unattendance	vnattendaunce	n.	1449	Rom.
unavisednes	unadvisedness	vnavisidnes, vnausidnes	n.	1853	Rom.
unavoidable	<i>unavoidable</i>	vnavoidable	adj.	1885	Rom.
unaweidoable	-	vnaweidoable	adj.	1454	Ger.
unaweifallable	-	vnaweyfallable	adj.	1454	Ger.
unayendressabli, also una3endressabli	-	vna3endressabli	adv.	1445	Rom.
unayenseiabli, also una3enseiabli	unagainsayably	vna3enseiabily, una3enseiabily, vna3enseiabili	adv.	1456	Ger.
unayenstondabli, una3enstondeabli	unagainstandably	una3enstondeabli	adv.	1449	Ger.
unberable	unbearable	vnberable, unberable	adj.	1875	Ger.
unbigilable	-	vnbigilable, vnbigileable	adj.	1443	Rom.
unbigilefulnes	unbeguilefulness	unbigilefulnes	n.	1456	Rom.
unbigiling	-	unbigiling	ppl.	1456	Rom.
unbodi	-	vnbodies	n.	1443	Ger.
unbowabili	-	vnbowabili	adv.	1454	Ger.
unbrekeabili	-	vnbrekeabili	adv.	1443	Ger.
unbrekeable	<i>unbreakable</i>	unbrekeable	adj.	1963	Ger.
unbroking	-	vnbroking	ger.	1445	Ger.
uncausid	<i>uncaused</i>	vncausid	ppl.	1871	Rom.
uncharite	<i>uncharity</i>	vncharite	n.	1874	Rom.
unchaungeabilnesse	<i>unchangeableness</i>	vnchaungeabilnesse	n.	1871	Rom.
unchereful	uncheerful	vnchereful	adj.	1892	Rom.
uncircumspeccioun	<i>uncircumspection</i>	vncircumspeccioun	n.	1810	Rom.
unclerkli	<i>unclerkly</i>	vnclerkli	adv.	1531	Rom.

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uncongruite	uncongruity	vncongruyte	n.	1587	Rom.
unconsideracioun	unconsideration	vnconsideracioun, unconsideracioun	n.	1449	Rom.
unconsiderer	unconsiderer	unconsiderers	n.	1456	Rom.
unconstaunce	unconstance	vnconstaunce	n.	1603	Rom.
uncraftiose	-	vncraftiose	adj.	1445	Ger.
uncurrauntli	-	vncurrauntli	adv.	1454	Rom.
undeclarable	undeclarable	vndeclarable	adj.	1694	Rom.
undeclarid	<i>undeclared</i>	vndeclarid	ppl.	1884	Rom.
undeinteose	undainteous	vndeinteose	adj.	1449	Rom.
undelectable	<i>undelectable</i>	vndelectable	adj.	1761	Rom.
undepartabili	-	undepartabili	adv.	1456	Rom.
undepartabilnes	-	vndepartabilnes	n.	1449	Rom.
undependent	-	vndependent	adj.	1454	Rom.
underkeable	-	vnderkeable	adj.	1443	Ger.
underordined	-	vndir ordyned	ppl.	1443	Rom.
undignite	-	vndignyte	n.	1454	Rom.
undou3tili	-	vndou3tily	adv.	1443	Ger.
underer	underer	vndrers	n.	1449	Ger.
unendeable	-	vneendeable	adj.	1443	Ger.
unexceptid	<i>unexcepted</i>	vn exceptid	ppl.	1848	Rom.
unexpedient	unexpedient	vnexpedient	adj.	1768	Rom.
unfindable	<i>unfindable</i>	vnfyndable	adj.	1895	Ger.
unforberable	-	vnforberable	adj.	1454	Ger.
unformal	unformal	vnformal	adj.	1858	Rom.
unformalli, also unformali	<i>unformally</i>	vnformaly, vnformali, vnformally	adv.	1597	Rom.
unful-filling	<i>unfulfilling</i>	vnfulfillingis	ger.	1822	Ger.
unfulli	unfully	vnfully	adv.	1449	Ger.
ungloried	-	vngloried	ppl.	1454	Rom.
ungloriing	-	vngloriing	ger.	1454	Rom.
ungroundabili	-	vngroundabili	adv.	1449	Ger.
unhelpe	unhelp	vnhelpis	n.	1598	Ger.
unholsomli	unwholesomely	vnholsomli	adv.	1875	Ger.
unholsomnesse	unwholesomeness	vnhoolsomnes	n.	1897	Ger.
unhongingli, also unhangingli	unhangingly	vnhangingli	adv.	1449	Ger.
unjustnes	unjustness	vnjustnes, vniustnes	n.	1887	Rom.
unknoulechid	unknowledged	vnknowlechid	ppl.	1603	Ger.
unknower	-	vnknower, vnknowers	n.	1456	Ger.

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unlackable, also unlackeable, unlakable	unlackable	vnlackable, vnlakable, vnlackeable	adj.	1449	Ger.
unlackabli	unlackably	vnlackabli	adv.	1449	Ger.
unlikli, also unlikeli	unlikely	vnlikeli	adv.	1867	Ger.
unlimitid	unlimited	vnlimitid	ppl.	1976	Rom.
unlosabli	unloosably	vnlosabli	adv.	1445	Ger.
unmesurabilnes	<i>unmeasurableness</i>	vnmesurabilnes	n.	1724	Rom.
unnotable	<i>unnotable</i>	vnnotable	adj.	1837	Rom.
unobeier	-	unobeiers	n.	1456	Rom.
unovercomable	unovercomable	vnovercomable	adj.	1508	Ger.
unperseveraunce	unperseverance	vnperseueraunce	n.	1449	Rom.
unpertaining	unpertaining	vnperteynyng	ppl.	1449	Rom.
unpertinentli	unpertinently	vnpertynently	adv.	1449	Rom.
unpiteful	unpitiful	vnpiteful	adj.	1658-9	Rom.
unpossessen	unpossess	vnpossessyd, vnpossessid	v.	1542	Rom.
unprevyng, also unprovyng	unprovyng	vnprouyng	ger.	1449	Rom.
unprist	-	vnpristis	n.	1454	Ger.
unquik(e)	unquick	vnquyk	adj.	1925	Ger.
unrebukid	unrebuked	vnrebukid	ppl.	1870	Rom.
unrecoverabli	unrecoverably	vnrecoouerabli	adv.	1690	Rom.
unredili, also onredili	<i>unreadily</i>	vnredili	adv.	1871	Ger.
unrehersid, also unrehercid	<i>unrehearsed</i>	vnrehercid	ppl.	1875	Rom.
unremembraunce	unremembrance	vnremembraunce	n.	1725	Rom.
unremovabilnes	<i>unremovableness</i>	vnremouabilnes	n.	1990	Rom.
unremovable	<i>unremovable</i>	unremovable habite	adj.	1802	Rom.
unrestorid	unrestored	vnrestorid	ppl.	1899	Rom.
unreuleablenes	unrulableness	vnreuleablenes	n.	1445	Rom.
unreulili	unrulily	unreulili, vnreulili	adv.	1690	Rom.
unrewardable	unrewardable	vnrewardable	adj.	1445	Rom.
unrighten, also unri3tid	unright	vnri3tid	ppl.	1449	Ger.
unrightnes, also unri3tnes	unrightness	vnri3tnes	n.	1445	Ger.
unscapabli, also unscapabili	unscapably	vnscapabili, vnscapabli	adv.	1455	Rom.
unsoilable, also unsoileable	unsoilable	vnsoilable, vnsoileable	adj.	1449	Rom.

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unsoilabli, also unsoilabili	unsoilably	vnsoilabili, vnsoilably	adv.	1445	Rom.
unsparable	unsparable	vnsparable	adj.	1449	Ger.
unsubstancial	unsubstantial	vnssubstancial	adj.	1885	Rom.
untalkeable	-	vntalkeable	adj.	1443	Ger.
unwemeable	-	vnwemeable	adj.	1443	Ger.
-	unwoned	vnwonyd	adj.	1455	Ger.
unwronginge	unwronging	vnwrongingis	ger.	1449	Ger.
upsetting	upsetting	vpsetting	ger.	1964	Ger.
valentinianis	Valentinian	Valentynyanys	n.	1874	Rom.
veinnes(se	-	veynnes, veynesse	n.	1454	Rom.
vertuosite	<i>virtuosity</i>	vertuosite	n.	1886	Rom.
viciosite	<i>viciosity</i>	viciosite	n.	1838	Rom.
vileinien, also vilonien	-	vilonyed	v.	1483	Rom.
visife	<i>visive</i>	visife	adj.	1838	Rom.
vituperacioun	<i>vituperation</i>	vituperacioun	adj.	1887	Rom.
vocali	<i>vocally</i>	vocaly	adv.	1901	Rom.
voluntari	<i>voluntary</i>	voluntari	n.	1996	Rom.
vouching saf	-	vouching saaf	phr.	1443	Ger./Rom.
wagouring, also waioring	<i>wagering</i>	waioring	ger.	1888	Rom.
Waldensis	Waldenses	Waldensis	n.	1888	Rom.
-	weariful	weriful	adj.	1912	Ger.
-	well-proved	weel proued	adj.	1717	Rom.
-	well-tried	weel tried	adj.	1856	Rom.
wepable	weepable	wepeable	adj.	1456	Ger.
wernable	warnable	weernable	adj.	1449	Ger.
wherfrom	wherefro	wherefro	adv.	1643	Ger.
Wiclifist, also Wiclifists, Wiclefistis	Wycliffist, -ifist	Wiclifistis	n.	1819	Rom.
willnesse	-	willnesse	n.	1454	Ger.
wilner	-	wilner	n.	1443	Ger.
winful	winful	wynful	adj.	1445	Ger.
witable	-	wijtable, witable	adj.	1454	Ger.
witablenes, also witeabilnes	-	witeabilnes	n.	1443	Ger.
witer	witer	wijters	n.	1825	Ger.
withrenning	-	wijprennyng	ger.	1443	Ger.
witing	witing	wijting	ger.	1449	Ger.
-	word of mouth	word of mouthe	n.	2006	Ger.
worldlihode, also wordlihod	worldlihood	wordlihode	n.	1449	Ger.
worshipingli	-	worschippingly	adv.	1445	Ger.

wronger	wronger	wrongers	n.	1895	Ger.
wronging	wronging	wronging	ger.	1867	Ger.

2.3.4 *Derivation by Affixation*

One of the most productive of Pecock's methods of word formation was derivation by affixation, that is basing a new word formation on a previously known root or stem and adding a standard prefix or suffix to change the part of speech (*e.g.* a non-Pecock example, innovate (v.) → innovation (n.)). It is in the area of derivation by affixation that Pecock was most experimental, often offering multiple forms of a lexical item; hence, both "circumstanciated" (ppl.) and "circumstancionated" (ppl.), "conningal" (adj.) and "conningful" (adj.). Some very closely related words, however, did differentiate in meaning.

In many instances, Pecock favored the use of a word in every part of speech available. For example, Pecock is attested in all of the following forms: "remembratif" (adj.), "remembre" (n.), "remembren" (v.), "remembrer" (n.), "remembring" (ger.), and "remembringli" (adv.). Of those words, only "remembren" and "remembring" are attested in English before Pecock's use. That is, only the verb and its gerund were of common use. The other forms were invented by Pecock to encapsulate the full spectrum of grammatical forms available.

The most productive of Pecock's suffixes is -able, -abil.¹⁶⁴ 136 of the 705 new attestations in the *MED* contain an -able suffix; that is, 19.3%, or nearly one fifth of the entire set, contains this affix. Most of these affixes are used alone for the formation of an adjective.

¹⁶⁴ The -abel spelling is not attested.

Table 2.2 New Words with the -able Suffix

A. "approvable," "assignable," "avoidable," "aweldable,"	I. "immesurable," "inclinable," "inevitable," "infailable," "inviolable," "irrecoverable," "irremediable,"	T. "takable," "tariale," "techeable," "temptable," "thankeable,"
B. "berable," "bigilable," "biholdable," "bireuable," "bringable,"	J. "joinable," "jugeable," "justificable,"	U. "unavoidable," "unaweidoable," "unaweifallable," "unberable," "unbigilable," "unbrekeable," "undeclarable," "undelectable," "underkeable," "unendeable," "unfindable," "unforberable," "unlackable," "unnotable," "unovercomable," "unremovable," "unrewardable," "unsoilable," "unsparable," "untalkeable," "unthinkable," "unwemeable,"
C. "chesable," "commaundable," "conceivable," "cuttable," "considerable," "constreinable," "contemplable,"	K. "kepable," L. "lettable," M. "makable," "markable," "medable," N. "nedable," O. "obeiable," "overcomable," "overreuable," "overwepable,"	V. "wepable," "wernable," "witable."
D. "derkable," "destroiable," "disciplinable," "dispreisable," "doable," "drauable," "dressable," "drinkable,"	P. "pareable," "passionable," "prechable," "procurable," "propreable,"	
E.	Q.	
F. "failable," "fallable," "fillable," "findable," "fleable," "forbedable," "forberable," "formable,"	R. "refusable," "reuable," "rewardable," S. "settable," "smelleable," "speuable," "strivable,"	
G. "groudable,"		
H. "hateable," "herable,"		

On occasion, however, the -able affix is also paired with an adverbial ending:

Table 2.3 New Words with the -abli Suffix

"allouabli,"	"rewardabli,"	"undepartabli,"
"assignabli,"	"thankeabli,"	"ungroundabli,"
"availabli,"	"unayendressabli,"	"unlackabli,"
"groundabli,"	"unayenseiabli,"	"unlosabli,"
"indepatabli,"	"unayenstondabli,"	"unrecoverabli,"
"inevitabli,"	"unbowabli,"	"unscapabli,"
"irremediabli,"	"unbrekeabli,"	"unsoilabli."
"repreveabli,"		

On other occasions, the -able affix is paired with a nominal suffix:

Table 2.4 New Words with the -able+-ness Suffixes

"conceivabilnes,"	"receivabilnesse,"	"unmesurabilnes,"
"delitabilnes,"	"resonabilnesse,"	"unremovabilnes,"
"labilnes,"	"takeabilnes,"	"unreuleabilnes,"
"presabilnes,"	"unchaungeabilnesse,"	"witablenes."
"probabilnes,"	"undepartabilnes,"	

Only two examples of the following type exist: *compaignabilte* (*Follower* 1454) and *probabilite* (*Rule* 1443).

Some bases were successful in some forms but not in others. For example, /*avisedli*/, /*avisednes*/, /*aviseful*/, /*avising*/, /*avisingli*/, /*avisose*/, /*avisoseli*/, and /*avisoseness*/ are all first attestations by Pecock. They are all formed from the base of *advice* (*ad+vis*), yet only /*avisedli*/, /*avisedness*/, and /*avising*/ survive in common usage today as "advisedly," "advisedness," and "advising" respectively.

Despite the seeming awkwardness of some of Pecock's constructions (*e.g.* "circumstanciounated," "unaweifallable"), the allomorphy, or morphemic alternations, of his constructions, do not reflect the phonetic or orthographic changes present in older borrowing or word formations that would obscure the constituent parts. Indeed, it seems as if his affixes were often chosen for their transparency and his orthography (or the scribe's) purposeful in preserving the root and affix divide. In the cases where it seems as if a newly attested word has undergone assimilation, the borrowed item invariably reflects assimilation in the source language; hence, in the case of /*irrecoverable*/, /*irremediabili*/, /*irremediable*/, /*irreverenced*/, and /*irreverencing*/, the assimilation of "n" in "in+r" occurred in Latin or Old French rather than English. For words of his own making, however, Pecock maintains the prefix form: hence, /*inpresseli*/ not "impresseli," /*inperseueraunt*/ not "imperseveraunt," /*inpertinentli*/ not "impertinentli," /*inpite*/ not "impite," /*inprouyng*/ not "improving," and /*inpugners*/ not "impugner." This transparency of form is also present where the affix is a suffix, like in the case of /*unendeable*/, /*techeable*/, and

/pareable/, where the presence of the “e” between the root and the suffix could easily be dropped in scribal practice.

2.3.5 *Derivation by Compounding or Combining*

Equally important to Pecock's practice of word formation is derivation by compounding, or the combination of two words of transparent meaning to create a third word. Generally speaking, compounding is the most important source of new words in the English language because it is the largest category of word formation, with the exception of borrowing.¹⁶⁵ Although, compounding is never a simple category of lexical innovation to describe, the discussion of compounding in relation to Pecock's lexical innovation is especially difficult for a number of reasons. 1) Usually, the relative transparency or opaqueness of a compound word's meaning is related to the length of time that the compound word has been used in that particular combination. Words usually begin as syntactic compounds with transparent meaning and transition into lexical compounds with a somewhat obscured meaning. But in the case of Pecock's words, most of his compounds, though they maintain morphemic transparency, do not maintain semantic transparency because they are translations or calques from Latin. That is, they are immediately opaque compound words for all English speakers, except for those who are also familiar with Latin; in which case, they are transparent compound words; however, the transparency for English-Latin bilingual speakers stems from translation of the Latin forms rather than from the transparency of the morphemes themselves. 2) Pecock's usual practice of compounding also depends primarily on two roots of unequal semantic force so that the new word formations are somewhere between new compound words and words derived from

¹⁶⁵ Stockwell and Minkova, 13.

affixation, which, when combined with the scribal inconsistency in the representation of spacing between words, makes it all the more difficult to decide whether or not Pecock has truly created a new word.

Of the 715 new Pecock word formations, there are only four examples of compounds that are the unification of roots of equal semantic force: day labour, mother's language, opinion holder, and vouching saf. By contrast, 39 of the new word formations are examples of compounds which are constituted by one free-standing root and one combining form. These combining forms, according to *MED* practice, are morphemes which are free-standing but behave as affixes either because they are translations of affixes (free-standing or bound) from a source language or because they modify or augment the meaning of the base morpheme rather than acting as an equal semantic force in the creation of meaning.

Among Pecock's most productive combining forms is "over-," which he uses to modify nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and gerunds. His preference for the "over-" combining form is reflective of the same trend in Middle English. The *MED*, for example, lists over six hundred words with the "over" affix. Pecock was not the only one to experiment with the combinatory potential of forms; other writers were also experimenting. The *MED*, for example, includes the term "almightihede" from the *The Book of Privy Counselling* (c. 1400), which, like its Pecockian cousin "almightines," (n.), was also used to mean "omnipotence."

Table 2.5 Examples of Derivation by Compounding

/out hilding/	/overbiholden/	/to gidere wordis/	/vndir ordyned/	/weel proued/
/out spake/	/ouer carkful/	/to gidere		/weel tried/
/out throwyng/	/ouercomeable/	comunyng/		
/out wellen/	/ouer confuse/	/togidere fallyng/		
	/ouer deintyli/	/togidere lyuyng/		
	/ouer derk/	/togider talking/		
	/ouer dolorose/			
	/ouer excellent/			
	/ouer excellently/			
	/ouer favorable/			
	/ouer general/			
	/ouer ofte/			
	/ouerneishli/			
	/ouerpeise/			
	/ouer pore/			
	/ouerreder/			
	/ouerreding/			
	/ouer reweable/			
	/ouer reverend/			
	/ouer scharpli/			
	/ouer studie/			
	/ouer tendirly/			
	/ouer thou3tful/			
	/ouer waite/			
	/ouer wepeable/			
	/ouer weriful/			
	/ouer wonderfully/			

As mentioned earlier, however, the line between affixation and compounding is blurry for some terms. Out-, over-, together-, under-, again-, away-, and well- are all unbound roots in the English language. Pecock, however, does not always treat them as independent roots when translating from Latin. Instead, he treats them as English equivalents for Latin affixes; out- or over- may be English translations of Latin ex-, together- a translation of co-, under- a translation of sub-, and again- a translation of re- or contra- (depending on whether the intended translation is again or

against), and away- a translation of ab. Except for ab, those Latin prefixes, however, unlike their English equivalents, are bound morphemes in Latin.¹⁶⁶

The status of these morphemes as bounded or unbounded in both the foreign and native language matter to the extent that boundedness usually determines the parameters of a new word formation. Related to that issue is the scribal practice of word separation in compound words. Compound words, if perceived as a single lexical unit by the scribe, should generally be represented as a single word on the page with no spaces between the combining form/affix and the root. The practice of eliminating spaces in these compound words, however, is inconsistent in the manuscript record and initially suggests that Pecock or, more likely, the scribe may have perceived many of these terms to be two lexical items rather than one. For example, only a handful of the "over-" words do not show scribal separation: /ouercomeable/, /ouerbiholden/, /ouerhi3li/, /ouerneishli/, /ouerpeise/, /ouerreder/, and /overreding/. The vast majority do.

Some of the word separation can be attributed to the creation of English calques from Latin words. A calque or a loan-translation is "an expression adopted by one language from another in more or less literally translated form."¹⁶⁷ There are many examples of such words in Middle English which predate Pecock's coinings: "again-buy" for *redemptor*, "again-say" for *contradicere*, "again-stand" for *resistere*, "again-rise" for *resurgere*, etc. In fact, Pecock regularly uses all of those English formations. New calques by Pecock include /almi3tines/ (n.), /togidere fallyng/(ger.), /togidere lyuyng/(ger.), /togider talking/(ger.) from the Latin, *omnipotens*, *coincidere*, *cobabitare*, and *colloqui*.

¹⁶⁶ In the case of out-, the *OED* observes that it is a common substitution for the Latin prefix ex-, especially in the works of Wyclif (or rather, English language Wycliffite texts ("out," prefix, *OED*).

¹⁶⁷ "calque," *OED*.

Pecock's use of "togeder-" as a combining form is rare although not unique. The *MED* identifies one other use of "togeder" as a combining form: "togederstiring," (ger.) from the Latin *commotionem*. One other notable coinage is "togedercommuning," notably not "togethermuning," used to mean intercourse. Although the term "communing" can be used alone to mean "intercourse," as Pecock and Margery Kempe both exhibit, here, Pecock retains the Latin prefix "com-" and adds to it the English prefix "togeder" to act as an intensifier. Perhaps, his use of /togidere-communing/ is a way for him to distinguish the use of "communing" in its spiritual sense (to mean to receive the Eucharist, for example) with its use in the sexual sense.

He does not coin any new words that only use again-. He does, however, make the unique decision to combine "again-" with an additional prefix "un-": "unayendressabli," "unayenseiabli," "unayenstondabli." There are no other words in the *MED* that use that particular combination. Pecock's experimentation extends to his use of "away" in an analogous formation: "unaweidoable" and "unaweifallable." He does not, notably, use "awei-" without the presence of "un-." The use of awei- as a combinatory form seems to be very limited. The *MED* cites only three other instances of awei- in combination with other morphemes--al awei, her awei, and ther-awei--all of which are exclusively adverbial in their use. The *OED* cites away-bear and away-put both from the Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible. This limitation to awei-'s use as a combinatory form does not, however, extend beyond the Middle English period. Consider, for example, the modern form of "getaway." Although away- and again- are usually unbounded morphemes, their combination with the bounded prefix un-, makes it clear that in these instances, the scribe certainly perceived each of these compounds as new word formations. The manuscript record reflects that fact, as well; there

are no spaces between in /unayendressabli,/ /unayenseiabli,/ /unayenstondabli,/ or /unaweidoable/ and /unaweifallable./ But what to do about the other words discussed above which do not have a bounded morpheme along to help make the situation unambiguous?

Should we consider these compounds new word formations if the scribes repeatedly write them as two separate lexical items? I argue that we should follow the *MED* practice of counting those words as one word and, therefore, as new word formations because so many are modeled on Latin words, for which the lexical unity is well established. The reasons why the English calques are usually represented as two items on the page is more closely related to whether or not the affix or combining form can be considered a free standing lexical item in English: out-, over-, together-, under-, and well-. They are both combining forms and free-standing words. Scribal practice was not, moreover, always consistent and bound the bound lexical items of mis-, non-, and to- were also represented separately from their bases on the manuscript page. See Table 2.3. The status of these affixes or combining forms should be determined by the practice of the source language or by analogy from the source language rather than by the traditional practice of determination through boundedness. To put it simply, if Peckock coins the word /togeder living/ from the Latin, *cohabitare*, then he must conceive of the /togeder/ morpheme as a pseudo-prefix and not as an independent word.

Table 2.6 Word Separation in Derivation by Affixation

/mys vndirstonding/,	/noun beyng/, /noon being/	/to settingis/
/mis vndirstonding/	/noun-keping/	/to wirchyng/
/mys callen/	/noon voluntari/, /nooun voluntari/	/to cryng/

How one might choose to divide words which do not have Latin correlates, however, can be much more challenging. I shall let the reader ponder Green's famous example from the introduction to the *Donet*: "un-to-be-thou3t-upon": /vnto be þou3t vpon/. How many words is that?

2.4 Etymology

And finally, the questions with which we began this chapter: 1) Were Pecock's word formations primarily Latinate or were they primarily Germanic? 2) And to the point, could Pecock have been concerned with the "purity" of his word formations? 3) Did Pecock purposefully try to eschew Latinate vocabulary? The answers to those questions are: 1) primarily Latinate; 2) unlikely; and, 3) no. Using the root of the words to determine etymology, I found that 479 of his first-time words were of Romance origin, 227 were of Germanic origin, five were of unknown origin, and four of dual origin. If Pecock had been trying to be "pure," then he was not doing a very good job of it. There were over two times as many new Latinate words as new Germanic ones.

Pecock also regularly derived new words that combined morphemes of different morphological origin. Of the new "over-" words, for example, seven are etymological hybrids: /overconfus/, /overdeinteli/, /overdolorous/, /overexcellent/, /overexcellentli/, /overgeneral/, and /overreverend/. /Day labour/, /mother's language/, /opinion holder/, and /vouching saf/, the full compounds mentioned in the previous section, are also all etymological hybrids. This willingness to combine native and non-native morphological elements contributes to the argument that Pecock was not a purist in his word formations.

In fact, the practice of preferring Latinate vocabulary over Germanic vocabulary that started in the Early Modern period, may make Pecock seem artificially more Germanic than he was. A

good illustration of the strangeness that arises out of this preference occurs in the title of the *Repressor*. Few titles in the history of the English language can claim to be so paradoxically transparent and confusing as Pecock's *The Repressor of Over-Much Witting of the Clergie*. In many respects, this title is Pecock at his finest and his least comprehensible, at least to modern eyes and ears. If, however, "Over-Much" were replaced with "Excessive" and "Witting" were replaced with "Criticism," both more common Latinate equivalents in today's parlance, the sense would be much more clear: *The Repressor of Excessive Criticism of the Clergy*.

The notion, therefore, that Pecock would have somehow become a promoter of the English language over Latin so much so that he purposefully eschewed Latinate word formations is implausible for many reasons--not just because the numbers do not back up the hypothesis. The first time Pecock wrote anything in English of substantial volume, he was already a middle-aged man, perhaps writing in a third language if his first language was Welsh.¹⁶⁸ According to Babington, the earliest English work that Pecock wrote was the *Donet* in 1440. (Hitchcock, however, finds 1440 too early and dates the *Donet* instead to 1443-49.) If we are to accept Pecock's own dating of *The Rule* to 1443 as well as the earliest date proposed by Hitchcock of the same year, then Pecock would have been approximately fifty-one years old when undertaking his first major works in English. While Pecock undoubtedly spoke in English on a regular basis as a London resident, it is unknown whether or not English was his first language. He was, after all, considered a Welshman, as Gascoigne made all too clear. Latin may have been his second language and English his third. His opportunity for exposure to technical or sophisticated English was in all likelihood limited to the

¹⁶⁸ Although Pecock's birthplace has not been absolutely confirmed, he was in all likelihood a Welshman by birth. See Scase, *Reginald Pecock*, 75-76 [1-2].

times that he might discourse on theological matters with members of the Lollard sect.¹⁶⁹ Most of his other business as Master of Whittington College, London, was probably conducted in Latin. If anything, Pecoock would have experienced discrimination from native Englishmen, so it seems, unlikely that he would have then chosen the English language to elevate above his native Welsh or his ecclesiastical Latin.

This is not to say, however, that Pecoock's work in English was not unusual and unique among writers of the fifteenth century. He was among a generation of writers for whom there was no acceptable orthodox vernacular model to follow, since English prose in its syntax, vocabulary, and authority was still a work in progress. As Green says, "From the point of view of the historian or theologian if not the philologist, this is the most significant fact about his prose: he was the first Englishman to tackle a philosophical treatise in the English language."¹⁷⁰ This pioneering spirit, as we saw above, was exhibited partially in his many new coinages but it was also exhibited in his syntactic style.

2.5 Tautology

Pecoock's written texts do appear very peculiar to modern readers because of their seemingly unnecessary repetition, strange English forms, and long sentences. The most dominant form of repetition is in his use of series of nouns, adjectives, or verbs of synonymic meaning.¹⁷¹ This feature, called "word pairs" or "doublings" in other literature, has been extensively studied by scholars of

¹⁶⁹ The oft cited passage comes from *Feith* "I have spoke oft time, and by long leiser, with the wittiest and kunningist men of thilk seid soort, contrarie to the chirche, and which han be holde as dukis amonge hem, and which han loved me for that I wolde paciently heere her evidencis, and her motives, without exprobacioun" (202).

¹⁷⁰ Green, *Bishop Reginald Pecoock*, 204.

¹⁷¹ I use synonymic here instead of synonymous because these word clusters are not always intended as synonyms. They are generally accretive in meaning with each additional word acting as an elaboration (rather than a substitution) for the previous words.

fourteenth and fifteenth century prose. Janel M. Mueller's survey of the feature, focusing on Caxton's prose, in *The Native Tongue and the Word* is very informative and provides a good survey of linguistic studies on the matter. In it, she briefly summarizes arguments dealing with the Latin tradition of *synonymia*,¹⁷² French/English doublings,¹⁷³ cultural motives,¹⁷⁴ the functional-semantic explanation,¹⁷⁵ legal prose, and Chaucer's *hendiadys*.¹⁷⁶ R. W. Chambers mentions this issue of tautology during the period following the Norman Conquest as a natural byproduct of bilingualism:

During the bilingual period, a writer of English naturally often coupled his English word with a Romance synonym. When English prose reasserts itself there is therefore an inevitable tendency to tautology. But whilst with the good writers this is held in check, it becomes quite uncontrolled in those who are consciously striving after "sugared eloquence."¹⁷⁷

For scholars of Middle English literature, one extended passage in Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee* is a good reference point where word pairs are frequently inserted.¹⁷⁸

With Pecock, however, it is not clear that his cumulative style is tautological or incremental. Does he use so many synonyms or near synonyms in order to bridge the linguistic gap in terminology available to him in Latin by grouping such words with English ones or is it due to some other reason? And while Mueller's discussion is useful in relationship to Pecock's prose, the terms "doublings" or "word pairs" are nevertheless inadequate when dealing with Pecock's use of, what I

¹⁷² Mueller summarizing Jules Marouzeau and Heinrich Lausberg, *Native Tongue*, 150.

¹⁷³ Mueller summarizing the Behrens-Jespersen view, *Native Tongue*, 152.

¹⁷⁴ Mueller summarizing Barbara Strang, *Native Tongue*, 153.

¹⁷⁵ Mueller summarizing J. B. Greenough and George Lyman Kittredge, *Native Tongue*, 154.

¹⁷⁶ Mueller summarizing James F. Royster, *Native Tongue*, 155.

¹⁷⁷ Chambers, *Continuity of English Prose*, cxix.

¹⁷⁸ See Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*, ll.*2800-*2850, "joyneth" and "knytteth," "disseveren" and "departen," "swelwe" and "devoure," etc. (Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer*).

would prefer to term, “paronyms.”¹⁷⁹ Pecoock's words are accretive or incremental; they add nuances or other meanings rather than merely replicate meaning.

The following passage is an example of Pecoock's synonymic clusters and my corresponding etymological analysis:

Now in the eend of this prolog, I make protestacioun that it is not mine entent forto *holde*, *defend*, or *favoure* in this book or in eny other by me writun or to be writun in Latin or in the comoun peplis langage eny *errour* or *heresie*, that is to seye, *eny conclusioun which is agens treuthe* and *specialy agens the feith or lawe of oure Lord God*. And if eny such it happe me to *write* or *offre* or *purpose* or *hold*, *defende* or *favoure*, by eny *unavisidnesse*, *hastines*, or *ignoraunce*, eer than I may se the treuth, or by *eny other maner*, I shal be ready it to *leeve*, *forsaake*, and *retrete mekely* and *devoutly* at the assignementis of myn ordinaries,¹⁸⁰ fadris of the Chirche, after that they han take sufficient avising thereupon; yhe and it the same I now as for thanne, *forsake* and *leeve*.¹⁸¹

This table shows the etymological breakdown of the roots of the synonymic clusters:

Table 2.7 Etymologies of Sample Synonymic Clusters

holde-E	defende-Fr/L	favour-Fr/L
error-Fr/L	heresie-Fr/L/Gk	
write-E	offre-L	purpose-Fr
unavisidnesse-Fr/L	hastines-Fr	ignoraunce-Fr/L
leeve-E	forsaake-E	retrete-Fr/L
mekely -Sc	devoutly-Me/Fr	

¹⁷⁹ Para + onym, meaning similar + name.

¹⁸⁰ Although I have chosen this passage for its linguistic interest, it is also an important passage in explaining Pecoock's recantation. Note that Pecoock refers here to his “ordinaries,” i.e. the archbishop, a provincial council, the people, and a general council.

¹⁸¹ *Rule*, 29, italics mine. *N.B.* To make this last sentence grammatical, it would need to be read thus: “I shall be ready to leave and forsake it, and to retreat meekly and devoutly,” etc. (I.e. The last verb is intransitive.)

The bolded word is the sole new creation: *unavisednesse*. *Unavisedness*, in turn, appears to be a direct translation from the Old English, *unre(a)d*, meaning ill-advised.¹⁸² I have not repeated elements that were repeated in the text. Contrary to what we should expect from most scholarship on Pecock, the only word that is a new creation has a French or Latin origin with an English prefix and an English suffix. There does, however, appear to be a slight trend in favor of the theory that suggests that word pairs (or in this case triplets) tend to highlight diverse etymological origins. Four of the six groups exhibit this level of diversity. Though six clusters are hardly a statistically significant sample size, they are a good place to start. This finding is unsurprising since synonymic incrementation predictably draws on multilingual exposure.

They already exhibit a rich semantic spectrum. The first group, “holde, defend, or favoure” could be taken as near synonyms; however Pecock includes each of them because they each have different technical definitions. That is, just as there is a technical distinction between “heresy” and “error,” there is one between “holding” a heresy and “favoring” a heresy--the latter is the lesser charge of “vehement suspesion of heresy,” which is a burnable offense. The similar idea that may be conveyed by this first multiple group is one that can only be reached by assessing all of the words at once. It does not matter what degree Pecock’s association with an error might be for that error to justify his departure from it. Indeed, the various ways that Pecock suggests he would depart from this error—“leve, forsaake, and retrete mekely”—are better viewed not for their near synonymy, but in their correlation to the different levels of departure that would be demanded by the different levels of theological errancy.

¹⁸² C.p. Æthelred, the *Unre(a)dy*, c.968-1016.

Mueller, for example, discusses the “conspicuousness” that results in the use of “word pairs” here:

There are at least two further reasons for their conspicuousness in English sentence form: (1) the paired (or multiplied) elements are lexical primaries—nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs—which accordingly produce concentrations of strong stresses in their containing phrases; and (2) the structure-building effect of conjunction is such, in any case, that it renders a coordination a more obtrusive feature of surface phrasal structure than any single item would be.¹⁸³

What is true for these small pairings, therefore, would be exaggerated in the work of an author like Peckock. Peckock's sentences are very different rhythmically and his constant use of multiple diction is often severely obtrusive to sense as well as to style.

I would argue, however, that Peckock was also operating on another principle: parallelism. As a writer, Peckock preferred changing inflections to indicate part of speech over longer periphrastic constructions common in English. Hence, he preferred “sacramenten” over “to receive the sacraments.”

c1475(c1445) Peckock Donet (Bod 916) 113/30: Summe opire comaundementis ben meenys leding towards him..as ben besynes to learne, bisynes to preise, to preie, to worschip, and **to sacramento**.

He preferred “occasionen” over “to bring about.”

¹⁸³ Mueller, *Native Tongue*, 149-50.

(a) c1475(c1445) Pecock Donet (Bod 916) 116/22: If willing forto conforme or obeie to god or to resoun, as **occasionyd** and circumstauncid bi passionall loue to god, be callid `loue to god'.¹⁸⁴

This preference towards ideas expressed in individual words is strongly connected to his stylistic tendency to group words in doubles and triples. His desire for syntactic parallelism was so strong that it often led to the derivation of new words in order to maintain parallel grammatical structures. Well over half of the new attestations are part of this type of grammatical construction.

2.6 Pecock compared to Chaucer and other Writers in English

Pecock's creativity, therefore, is a deep one that consists not just of his new word formations but also in his application of them in these paronymic sentences. His originality, however, is invariably overshadowed by the more famous and influential of the lexical innovators in English: Chaucer and Shakespeare. But how does Pecock compare to these paragons of the English language? As a point of comparison, the *MED* cites Chaucer 9,781 and the *OED* cites Chaucer 13,062 with 2,013 of those citations qualifying as first attestations. The *OED* cites Shakespeare 33,138 times with 1,602 of those qualifying as first attestations. Mannyng, by comparison, is cited in the *MED* 4,786 times in the *OED* 4,389 times. Lest one imagine that Pecock is utterly beyond the bounds of traditional or accepted ME vocabulary, both Pecock and Chaucer are cited for the same 2,263 entries in the *MED* or for over fifty percent of the words for which Pecock is cited in the *MED*. By comparison, Pecock and Mannyng overlap just 1,288 entries or 28.9% of Pecock's total attestations. According to the *OED*, Pecock is the ninety-ninth most creative for first attestations of

¹⁸⁴ *MED*, sacramenten, v. and occasionen, v., emphasis mine.

a word. If one takes into account the MED first citations, as well, Pecoock would be the thirtieth most productive word creators. And since eight of the top thirty most productive sources for the *OED* are publications rather than people or single literary works, Pecoock could reasonably be identified as the twenty-second most productive lexical innovator of the English language!¹⁸⁵

Chaucer is the most productive.

But how different really were Chaucer and Shakespeare? Not as authors--their writings could not be more distinct--but as linguists. To what extent were Pecoock's practices in line with his literary forebearers? In order to answer this question, I turned to Christopher Cannon's *The Making of Chaucer's English*, which includes detailed analyses of Chaucer's language formation processes. At the center of Cannon's study of Chaucer's language is the question of origin: Whence did the language of English literature arise? His primary argument is that "Chaucer's English is not 'new,' but generally 'traditional?'"¹⁸⁶ (By traditional, he means that the modes which Chaucer employed in the formation of new vocabulary are well in line with the practices of his medieval predecessors.) At the center of my study of Pecoock's language is the question of purity: To what extent was Pecoock acting intentionally in his formation of new vocabulary? My primary argument is that Pecoock was not a purist in his use of English and that he regularly and without any inhibition drew from both Anglo-Saxon and Latin to form new vocabulary.

Using Cannon's study as a jumping off point for this examination does not, however, come without difficulties. When Cannon published his book in 1998, the critical response was immediate

¹⁸⁵ 1) Geoffrey Chaucer, 2) John Trevisa, 3) William Shakespeare, 4) Bible (Wycliffite, E.V.) 5) Thomas Blount, 6) Randle Cotgrave, 7) William Caxton, 8) *Cursor Mundi*, 9) John Florio, 10) *Promptorium Parvulorum*, 11) Nathan Bailey, 12) *Ancrene Rimle*, 13) Henry Cockeram, 14) King Alfred, 15) William Langland, 16) John Lydgate, 17) Thomas Browne, 18) Robert Mayne, 19) Robert Mannyng, 20) Thomas Nashe, and 21) John Palsgrave. (*OED*, May 24, 2012.)

¹⁸⁶ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 4.

and varied. Some critics saw Cannon's work as an admirable melding of literary and linguistic studies;¹⁸⁷ others saw it as an ineffective example of both.¹⁸⁸ The most common complaint, however, came from those familiar with historical linguistics and the methods and terminology employed therein. Since Cannon is a literary scholar by training, his efforts seemed everywhere hampered by his perception of the novelty of regular features of linguistic study (word formation by derivation is not a new discovery). Yet, Cannon's work has indeed stimulated much discussion, even if not agreement among scholars.

While the impetus behind Cannon's work and my own are different, the methods by which Cannon and I address them are the same.¹⁸⁹ Cannon's introduction and first chapter is an extensive defense of the rest of the book: the values of lexical study versus the disadvantages of traditional literary study, linguistic study, or metrical study. Cannon justifies this lexical study in the following five points: "First, lexical history isolates the linguistic objects that are Chaucer's words in their history....Second...isolating all the lexical objects in Chaucer's English as their history is written in the MED attaches information to those objects that even the most detailed comparison of text and

¹⁸⁷ Paul Acker, *Speculum* (77:3) 2002, 888-90; Frances Austin, *English Studies (The Netherlands)* (82:3) 2001, 272-3; Peter Brown, *Review of English Studies* (51:203) 2000, 460-1; Rita Copeland, *Medium Ævum* (69:2) 2000, 301-2; Manfred Görlach, *Anglia* (118:2) 2000, 270-2.

¹⁸⁸ T. L. Burton, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* (22) 2000, 465-8; David Burnley, *Notes and Queries* (47:1) 2000, 121-2; Matthew Giancarlo, *Modern Language Quarterly* (62:3) 2001, 293-6; Jeremy J. Smith, *Modern Language Review* (96:1) 2001, 156-8; Míceál F. Vaughan, *Medievalia et Humanistica* (27) 2000, 118-20.

¹⁸⁹ Cannon, however, has not made that comparison easy to make in the presentation of his data. Notwithstanding the fact that he includes a list of every word that Chaucer ever used along with its date of entry into the English language along with its etymology and the text from which it was first attested in Part II of the *Making of Chaucer's English*, so that "readers may find it helpful to interests and in directions [he has] not pursued," the list is a minimalist one, and easy access to his other computations is difficult to come by (5). There is no reference table for even the most important statistical conclusions, which leaves a reader with the difficult task of sifting through his prose to find the nuggets of evidence at the root of his argumentation. There is the sense throughout that he spent so long with his detailed list, that he presupposes a level of familiarity with the basic numbers of his analysis which, in reality, the reader can in no way possess. The first time that Cannon mentions the total number of words in Chaucer's vocabulary is in a footnote at the bottom of page 58, a footnote that also includes Mersand's assessment of Chaucer's total vocabulary and both Mersand and Cannon's assessment as to how many words of Romance origin are constituents of that whole.

source would have to miss....Third, lexical history discovers kinds of linguistic invention in the metrum and canticus that source study cannot...Fourth, lexical history makes it possible to situate Chaucer's achievement in the achievement of the English texts both anterior and posterior to his efforts, since the MED's history is equally well (and equally fully) a history of the lexical activity of all other Middle English writers... The fifth and final advantage of lexical history over other analytic forms is the extent to which it directly confronts the definitional problems inherent in measuring Chaucer's role in fashioning literary English."¹⁹⁰ The biggest disadvantage of his method is that "any history reliant upon the record remains too credulous before evidence which must miss the history of the spoken language and from which, particularly in the case of Middle English, so much that was written has been lost."¹⁹¹ That second point, about the loss of the written record, is even more relevant to the study of Pecock's language, so little of which survives.

Before we continue, however, there are a few major distinctions between Chaucer and Pecock that I need to highlight. Although both men were prolific authors writing in Middle English, they operated fundamentally in two different literary circles and were writing in very different genres. 1) Pecock was a writer of prose and Chaucer was a writer mainly of verse. 2) Chaucer's work was nearly always derived from older, usually continental sources, whereas Pecock was not writing derivative literature. 3) Crucially, Chaucer has received much praise for his lexical practices whereas Pecock has been marginalized for his.¹⁹² 4) Chaucer was writing in his native language, while Pecock

¹⁹⁰ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 38-41.

¹⁹¹ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 42.

¹⁹² I might add that public perception has long been a factor in the reception of new vocabulary. Few Americans will forget the public humiliation that President George Bush received for his creation of "misunderestimate." That same public has also managed to embrace the prolific nature of Shakespeare's lexical innovation. See "The Complete Bushisms" by Jacob Weisberg (<http://www.slate.com/id/76886/>).

may been a second-language speaker of English (maybe third-language) who conducted his professional affairs in Latin.

The focus of Cannon's linguistic study is on five different aspects: etymology, derivation, density of word formation, nonce usage, and reserved vocabulary. While etymology, derivation, and nonce usage are self-explanatory, density and reserved vocabulary deserve some elaboration, especially since I have expanded my own study of Pecoock's vocabulary to encompass the study of density.

In his study of density, Cannon measures how many new words Chaucer derives per words written or how many new words per headword. He applies this test to all of the categories of word formation in the purview of his study. He measures the density of the new borrowed words per words written, the nonce words per words written, the derived words per words written, and the reserved words per words written.

Canon identifies two further types of novelty: one which he terms "reserved vocabulary," and another which he leaves unnamed. Reserved vocabulary is Cannon's term for vocabulary which Chaucer had never used before in a previous work and which he applies for the purpose of poetic novelty.¹⁹³ The second, unnamed category, comprises vocabulary with a last attested date before 1100 (1100 is the breakoff date that the *MED* uses between the periods of Old and Middle English). In both instances, Cannon sees reserved vocabulary as evidence of colloquial spoken language that Chaucer has reappropriated for written poetic purposes.¹⁹⁴ Pecoock does not, by contrast, create words for novelty's sake; he reuses his inventions again and again.

¹⁹³ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 114.

¹⁹⁴ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 160.

Cannon summarizes the goals of his study as an effort to demonstrate that "Chaucer's English is not 'new,' but generally 'traditional.'" By traditional, he means simply that the methods by which Chaucer created words (his derivational habits) were well-established in Middle English. He argues, furthermore, that because previous methods of critical interpretation, specifically Joseph Mersand's methodology in *Chaucer's Romance Vocabulary*, approached the study of Chaucer's vocabulary in an additive, chronological way, conclusions regarding Chaucer's lexical novelty were fundamentally misleading.

My critique of Cannon's approach depends primarily on his belief that because a chronological approach to assessing Chaucer's word formation is based on finding the sum of how many new words Chaucer created in each of his works, it looks as if Chaucer's lexical total was always growing. He terms this approach a "developmental hermeneutic."¹⁹⁵ When Cannon analyzes the same set of data, he comes up with a very different conclusion from my own:

Indeed, the very process of charting new vocabulary text by text *as* a chronological march, begs for addition: the iteration of each text looks like a step *toward* a final total, and the very succession of numbers makes Chaucer's vocabulary seem to burgeon. But if this table may be read for this total, it also need not be so read; for the numbers that can be added here may also be compared to one another for their identity, and in that comparison, a stasis may be detected at the root of any growth – precisely because the growth here is steady. And it must be clearly borne in mind that what this table does *not* show is that the words borrowed in each of Chaucer's texts

¹⁹⁵ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 109.

were, in fact, passed to the texts that followed them, that iterative use was, in fact, successive use.¹⁹⁶

Cannon's logic here is faulty. Even though he concedes, "the growth here is steady," he sees that lack of growth over time is the same as the absence of growth in Chaucer's total vocabulary. Using physics terminology, what Cannon is describing here is zero acceleration; however, he fails to take into account the velocity at which Chaucer is creating words. Chaucer creates words at a relatively high velocity, although with zero acceleration. In physics, velocity measures the rate of travel, $\text{velocity} = \text{rate} \times \text{time}$, whereas acceleration describes the change of velocity over time, $\text{acceleration} = \text{rate} \times \text{time}^2$. In this context, we might be able to measure the velocity of Pecoek's (or Chaucer's) vocabulary by asking: how many words Pecoek writes over a period of time and how does that rate change over time? Velocity in this context = (number of words created) x (number of words written). Acceleration = (number of words created) x (number of words written²). According to Cannon's calculations, Chaucer's word creation maintains constant velocity and therefore exhibits zero acceleration. He automatically assumes that zero acceleration presupposes a traditional word formation pattern. But that is the wrong measurement to examine. It is not whether Chaucer's own vocabulary experiences zero acceleration, but rather, how the velocity of Chaucer's word formation deviates from the velocity of the word formation of his peers. Traditionalism is not a quality that can be measured in isolation; it must, by necessity, be compared to the "traditional"--in this case, Pecoek's medieval predecessors.

¹⁹⁶ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 108.

Where Cannon might be able to rescue his argument is in the unification of his examination of nonce-words with his discussion of word formation. Nonce-words are words that are created for use in a single very specific context. Cannon observes that many of Chaucer's new word formations are, in fact, nonce words since they appear only once in his entire corpus or only in a single text of his entire corpus:

Chaucer [was] most committed to novelty *for novelty's sake*, using new words at this textual moment, not to enlarge his vocabulary on the whole, but to enlarge his vocabulary *here*. It is the extravagance, *in extremis*, that figures forth the extravagance at the heart of Chaucer's lexical practice. It shows that lexical novelty was not Chaucer's point of departure for later development, but an end in itself. After this word had been novel here, Chaucer throws it away.¹⁹⁷

If we were to subtract the nonce words from Chaucer's word formation total, we would find a lexicon creating words at a considerably lower velocity. In which case, Chaucer's vocabulary might be considered conservative in that it is composed almost exclusively of pre-existing English words, though it is traditional in the methods, which it resorts to for word formation. Here, I use conservative in its literal sense. Chaucer's vocabulary keeps pre-existing English words in active use. And though Cannon makes the following statement about Chaucer's borrowings, it would be even more accurate when applied to Chaucer's total new words with the nonce words deducted: he says, "The similar numbers next to each text in this table show a lexis at procedural rest. It shows a vocabulary that, as it borrows, is not really growing at all."¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 125.

¹⁹⁸ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 109.

Nonce-words also constitute much of Pecock's known vocabulary; however, for the purposes of examining Pecock's lexicon, we must expand our understanding of what it means to be a nonce-word. Although many words that Pecock writes do not survive outside of Pecock's compositions, Pecock nevertheless used most of those words across his extant texts. This practice makes logical sense when we take into consideration the fact that most of Pecock's texts were interrelated by subject matter, whereas Chaucer's works were, for the most part, stand-alone productions. Logically, we would expect to find overlapping vocabulary between Pecock's pedagogical works (*Donet, Rule, and Follower*) and his polemical works (*Repressor and Faith*). The cross-fertilization of words and ideas is at the heart of Pecock's pedagogical style. In addition, Pecock's self-admitted practice of parallel composition suggests that a practice, which presupposes simultaneous composition, would also presuppose the drawing of vocabulary from a similar lexicon. To put it more simply: if Pecock were writing two different books on similar topics, we would expect him to use similar vocabulary in both books. An astounding 486 of Pecock's first attestations survive after the fifteenth century; indeed, 173 are still in current usage today.

Table 2.8 Last Attestation of Pecockian Word Formations

1400-1500	1500-1600	1600-1700	1700-1800	1800-1900	after 1900
277	28	41	17	174	173

As mentioned above, one of the major categories of Cannon's study is reserved vocabulary. Cannon posits that "Chaucer [mined] *English* for words that he had not used yet, thereby creating a separate category of novelty for vocabulary of this kind" by using words that were still in use in the spoken language, primarily from the lower, colloquial register, but not the written language.¹⁹⁹ This

¹⁹⁹ Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, 114.

assertion is problematic because, while it may be true, there is no way to prove it. It is also plausible that the words that Chaucer “mined” were re-derived in a new context. The biggest problem with Cannon’s take on reserved vocabulary, however, is that it places too much faith in the comprehensiveness of the contributors of the *Middle English Dictionary*. As the ongoing efforts of the *OED* amply show, new attestations are regularly discovered that predate, and in the case of reserved vocabulary same-date (my own nonce-word) the known attestations. While the *MED* was partially created using searchable texts from the Middle English corpus, it was also formed using the same old-fashioned practice of quotation slips that the original editors of the *OED* used--a system that could not be as thorough as more modern methods of data mining allow.

Table 2.9 Borrowed Vocabulary in Chaucer and Pecoek

Author	Total Vocabulary	New	New Borrowed (Romance)	New Non-Romance	Unknown
Chaucer (Cannon)	9,117	2,098 (Cannon)/ 2,013 (<i>OED</i>)	1,102	996	0
Pecoek	7,273	713	483	227	5

Table 2.10 Romance Suffixes in Chaucer and Pecoek

Ending	Romance source for ending	Chaucer: Total words with ending	Pecoek: Total words with ending
-able/-ible	[OF <i>-able, -ible</i> , L <i>-abilis, -ibilis</i>]	96	126
-age	[OF <i>-age</i> , L <i>-aticum</i>]	49	15
-a(u)nce/ -ence	AF <i>-aunce</i> , CF <i>-ance, -ence</i> , L <i>-antia, entia</i>]	131	85
-io(u)n	[OF <i>-ion</i> , AF <i>-ioun</i> , L <i>-ionem</i>]	220	173
-ment	[OF <i>-ment</i> , L <i>-mentum</i>]	47	35

Table 2.11 Native Suffixes in Chaucer and Pecock

Ending	Etymology	Chaucer: Total words with ending	Pecock: Total words with ending
-ful(le)	Fr. ful adj. (OE)	45	58
-hede/-hode	OE, n.	18	27
-nesse	OE, n.	132	97
-s(c)hip(e)	OE, n.	6	14
-ward	OE, adj.	30	13

The most interesting point of comparison between Chaucer and Pecock, however, comes from the relative proportion of new words which constitute are Latinate versus Germanic. Chaucer, the author whom Lydate once praised for his elevation of the English language²⁰⁰ is, in fact, much more native in his word formations than Pecock, the author to whom English purity has been ascribed. 52.5% of Chaucer's new word formations are of Latinate origins whereas 67.7% of Pecock's are of Latinate origins. Only 32.8% of Pecock's new words are of Germanic origin whereas 47.5% of Chaucer's new word formations are of Germanic origins. Pecock was not a purist. See Tables 2.6-2.8.

²⁰⁰ For he owre Englishe gilte with his sawes,
Rude and boistous firste be olde dawes,
That was ful fer from al perfeccioun
And but of litel reputacioun
Til that he cam, and thorough his poetrie,
Gan oure tonge firste to magnifie
And adourne it with his eloquence:
To whom honour, laude and reuerence. (*The Troy Book*, Bk. 3, line 4237,
<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/troyint.htm>)

2.7 Vernacularity and Heresy

2.7.1 *Vernacularity as Heresy*

The preceding discussion of Peacock's language does, however, seem somewhat unsatisfactory given how much we know about the role of the vernacular in the public perception of religious orthodoxy. Writing theology in English during the fifteenth century was an endeavor undertaken only with much care because of the fear of being misunderstood and the fear of being associated with Lollardy. Indeed, Anne Hudson goes so far as to say, "it may not be unreasonable to claim lollardy as the heresy of the vernacular, the English heresy."²⁰¹ Steven Justice goes one step farther--explicitly connecting Peacock's vernacularity with the heresy charges against him: "A decade or so after John of Exeter died, the Bishop of Chichester, Reginald Peacock, discovered the dangers of sounding like them [*i.e.* Lollards]: his attempts to answer the Lollards on their own terms, with vernacular books aimed at the laity, earned him formal condemnation by the English episcopacy."²⁰² Yet, we know from our earlier discussion in Chapter 1, that vernacularity itself did not play a direct role in his charges or his conviction, despite what the trend in modern criticism has decided, and we know from the first part of this chapter that Peacock was not attempting to be a purist English writer.

So where does Peacock fit into this picture? He was an anti-Lollard and considered himself to be wholly orthodox. What can Peacock's linguistic practices tell us about his particular brand of moral theology? Is it possible that lexical innovation is simply a feature of the rise of vernacular writing and not a feature of heresy at all?

²⁰¹ Hudson, *English Heresy*, 163.

²⁰² Justice, "Inquisition, speech, and writing," 304.

2.7.2 *An Orthodox Sect Vocabulary?*

To begin to answer these questions, we must return to Anne Hudson's article, "A Lollard Sect Vocabulary," (1981) which was the first scholarly article to propose the theory that there was a distinct vocabulary used by Lollards. She postulates, "Anyone who has worked for a long time on the vernacular Lollard texts, particularly amongst the 'central' texts...will probably answer firmly that there is" such a thing, although she stops just short of claiming herself to be one who feels the same.²⁰³ What she does offer is a list of words that might constitute the basis of such a shared vocabulary, leaving the assessment open to other scholars to decide for themselves. Fifteen years later, Steven Justice continues that argument asserting that there is a "common vocabulary" for heretical writing and that it is the basis for "the identity they [the Lollards] chose for themselves and the identity their prosecutors gave them."²⁰⁴

Let us assume, for a moment, that this group of individuals—Lollards—did, in fact, share a common vocabulary for heretical writing. Instead of asking whether or not the vocabulary is of a particularly heretical taint, let us ask: To what extent are writers of vernacular theology in late medieval England creating and sharing a common vocabulary? To answer that question, we might begin by examining Pecock's vocabulary, for although he was eventually declared a heretic, he certainly was not a Lollard. Of the terms which Hudson singles out as Lollard sect vocabulary, Pecock uses only a fraction--those underlined below.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Hudson, "Lollard Vocabulary," 174.

²⁰⁴ Justice, "Inquisition, speech, and writing," 303.

²⁰⁵ Recall that since only *Repressor* and *Book of Faith* have been completely digitized, I use those two texts as the basis of my characterization for Pecock's language. All of the numbers that follow Pecockian terminology or phrasing indicates the frequency which Pecock uses that particular word or phrase in those two texts.

Table 2.5 Lollard Sect Vocabulary according to Anne Hudson

'God kepe you and God blesse you'	<u>determinacioun</u>	pore prest
'may we all drink of a cuppe'	<i>dulia</i> (pejorative)	<u>prelate</u>
accidents	false prechours	<u>pseudo-</u>
alȝif	gab	<u>purvyaunce</u>
attricioun	gabbyng	quilage (quilet, colect)
<u>autentik</u>	<u>glose</u> (sb. and vb.)	renegate
beggar	<u>ground</u> (sb. and vb.)	<u>subjec</u>
<u>bishop</u>	<u>impugn</u>	<u>substaunce</u>
blabber	it semeþ to sum men	sum men þynke
<u>chargeous</u>	it semeþ to many men	trewe cristen men
clowtyd	jape (sb. and vb.)	trewe men
<u>colour</u> (sb. and vb.)	justfast men	trewe prechours
contrary (vb.)	<i>latria</i> (pejorative)	trewe prest
covent	mawmetrer	<i>yperdulia</i> (pejorative)
customable begging	<u>mawmetrie</u>	þenken many men
	newe sectis	
	pore man	

What Pecock's vocabulary and the Lollard vocabulary have in common is the contrastive nature of the terms. Generally speaking, the Lollard vocabulary aligns itself with popular opinion: "it semeþ to sum men," "it semeþ to many men," "sum men þynke," and "þenken many men." General consensus, in this respect, is intended to suggest truth--a democratic understanding of truth. Pecock also uses similar expressions: "it semeth to many of the comoun peple" (1x) and "it semeth to the lay persoonys" (2x). There is, however, an important distinction between Pecock's use of "comoun peple" and "lay persoonys" as opposed to the general Lollard practice of using "sum men" or "many men." "Comoun peple" and "lay persoonys" imply a distinction between the educated and the uneducated, as well as the clergy and the lay. That is, Pecock's categorization is one which suggests that popular opinion must be mistaken when it contradicts the opinions of the learned clergy. His is an elitist understanding of truth as opposed to a democratic one.

Pecock's appellations for the Lollards extend well beyond his uses of "Bible men" and "knowun men," the two names which Hudson identifies in Pecock's writings. He also uses

"heretik(is)" (21x), "adversari(s)" (5x), "unobediencers" (1x), "unobeiers" (2x), "aʒenstonders" (1x), and "aʒenseiers" (2x) in near synonymous usage with "comoun peple" and "lay persoonys."

("Unobeier" also happens to be a Pecockian first attestation.) What is important about these other names is that they, once again, create a conceptual division between the general populace and the clergy.

This contrast extends to how Pecock uses the words "bishop" and "prelate," as well. While Hudson explains that Lollard texts use those terms in a pejorative way, Pecock uses them only in positive ways. A common expression for Pecock to describe the opponents of the lay peple is the "kunnyng and weel learned preestis and prelatis."

In some instances, Lollard sect vocabulary also makes a distinction between the reformers and the establishment through an economic contrast. The "pore man" or the "pore prest" aligns the Lollard perspective with Lazarus not Dives. Pecock, significantly, avoids such economic vocabulary in his treatment of clerical wealth because he is an adamant defender of the rights of the Church to hold property.²⁰⁶

One of the other major contrasts that Pecock draws between the Lollards and the established Church is the notion of variety versus unity. "Sect" is intrinsically a pejorative term in Pecock's use, whereas Hudson's inclusion of "newe sectis" suggests a positive association. Pecock's sects are "sectis of perdition" (10x), "viciose sectis" (1x), "heretik sectis" (3x), and "dyuerse sectis" (1x), where dyverse is used pejoratively. In the same vein, Pecock uses the adjective "true" to suggest unity and continuity: "trewe feith" (18x), "trewe undirstonding" (5x), and "trewe apostles" (3x). The

²⁰⁶ See Part III of *Repressor* on Vindication on the Revenues of the Clergy.

Lollard sect vocabulary also attempts a similar association, however, instead of associating truth with abstract ideas or biblical figures, the Lollard vocabulary combines the term with those very popular groups with which Lollards most identified: the "trewe cristen men," "trewe men," "trewe prechours," or "trewe prest." The Lollard sect vocabulary is applicable to (and indeed contextually is applied to) a contemporary group of people. Pecoock's truth is applicable to the agelessness of faith, the apostles, and Christian theology. Evidently, therefore, Pecoock does have a vocabulary distinct from the Lollard writers with which he is often compared. This difference between Pecoock's linguistic style and the Lollards' style also extended to the genres within which he operated: the syllogism of the theological treatise.

CHAPTER

3 Logic and Pecock's Style

3.1 The Syllogism

The syllogism in Pecock's discourse is a fundamentally Latinate one, despite the fact that he writes in English. His writing operates almost exclusively within the academic genre of the treatise, and his arguments within the structural form of the syllogism. Even though he distinguishes between two types of knowledge, faith and reason, his faith-based knowledge is subsumed within the larger category of reasonable knowledge:

Ech treuthe which is knowen in mannis undirstonding is knowen by doom of resoun renning upon the matir of thilk trouthe, and upon hise causis and circumstauncis and purtenauncis; or ellis it is knowun by the assercioun or the witnessing of a persoon, which is not likely therin to make lesing and to bigile. . . . Al the kunning or knowing gete and had in the first of these two maners now-seid is clepid philsofhy, bicause it is had by labour of kindly witt without telling or witnessing fro above kinde; and al the kunning or knowing gete and had in the seconde now-seid maner is credence or feith, and is dewly to be clepid "pure divinite" or "pure theology," forto speke propirly of divinity and theology as it is diverse from philosophy.²⁰⁷

This distinction between knowledge acquired through reason, that is Philosophy or Logic, and knowledge gained through faith, whether human or divine (Scripture), is not maintained throughout

²⁰⁷ *Repressor*, 131-2.

all of Peckock's works because for Peckock, reason permeates every aspect of knowledge. His arguments inevitably fall back on the infallibility of syllogistic argument:

An argument if he be mad ful and foormal, which is clepid a syllogisme, is mad of twey proposiciouns driving out of hem and by strengthe of hem the thridde proposicioun. Of the whiche thre proposiciouns the two first ben clepid premissis, and the third folewing out of hem is clepid the conclusioun of hem. And the first of tho two premissis is clepid the first premissis, and the second of hem is clepid the second premissis. And ech such argument is of this kinde, that if the bothe premissis ben trewe, the conclusioun concludid out and by hem is also trewe; and but if evereithir of tho premissis be trewe, the conclusioun is not trewe. . . . Wherefore certis if eny man can be sikir for eny time that these two premissis be trewe, he may be sikir that the conclusioun may be trewe, though alle the aungelis in hevin wolden seye and holde that thilk conclusioun were not trewe.²⁰⁸

This description of the syllogism is quite basic. There is nothing revolutionary about it. (Peckock has comparable passages in *Rule*²⁰⁹ and *Faith*.²¹⁰) The utter reliability of the syllogistic system of

²⁰⁸ *Repressor*, 8.

²⁰⁹ If [a man] may combine togidere suche now-seid affirmaciouns and negaciouns or affermingis and denyngis in such maner that out of two of hem knowun for trewe he may drive forth the thridde affirmacioun or negacioun as for open to be knowun trouthe there that it was afore to him unknowun for trewe—which combining togidere is callid argumentacioun, arguing or discurse—and namelich if this body by knitting togidere of suche affirmaciouns and negaciouns in forme of an argument may drive out, prove, and conclude that ther ben unbodily substancis and manye thingis whiche mowe not be knowe by eny outward or inward sensitive witt, and thann if he may have eny knowing of hem, sothely it is nedis to be trewe that thilk body hath an higher and a worthier soule and a parfity knowing soule than is the soule of beestis, which is oonly knowing sensible thingis in her simplite withoute such two maners now seid of complexiouns and knittingis of hem togidere by afferming and denying and by proving and concluding, namelich in thingis not sensible (*Rule*, 38-9).

²¹⁰ Ech treuthe which a man leerneth and knowith, after that bifore this treuthe he not knewe for hardnes or derkenes, muste nedis be of thilk man learned and knowe be sum other treuthe, opener, and clerer, and sikerer, than the seid trouthe is. For-why, ellis can no cause or skile be seye, why the man schulde in eny time aftir leerne and knowe thilk

knowledge is expanded to include faith-based knowledge by introducing the distinction between the demonstrable syllogism and the probable syllogism:

That the *power* of resoun in himsilf is not ordeined of God to be oure next and best and surest reuler or reule anentis alle resonable treuthis, but the *doom* of reson is ordeined to so be; and yit not *ech* doom of resoun, but *thilke* doom of resoun which is a *formal complete argument* clepid a syllogisme in resoun, whos bothe premissis ben surely or likely knowen for trewe, and that by hemsilf or by sume othere bifore-had liik syllogisme or syllogismes proving the premissis having nede to be proved, into time it bicometh into premissis openest in *suerte*, or openest in *probabilite* (or likelihode). And certis this doom of resoun (in this wise had) failith nevere, neither may in eny time erre. . . . And in liik maner, suerte of knowing is had by ech other of the ninetene maners or chaungis of syllogismes taught in Logik by opene reulis. . . . And this difference here-now touchid is the difference bitwix a *demonstratiif* syllogisme and a *probable* syllogisme, that is to seye, bitwix a syllogisme which yeveth sure and

trouthe, and not as wel bifore, save for this, that now he considerith the other treuthe which is open and cleer to him, and which ledith into the man the knowing of this treuthe, which was bifore derke and unknowen to him. And thanne thus. Sithen thilke cleerly knowun trouthe may not gendre the knowing of this derke or unknowun trouthe, in the mannes resoun or undeirstonding, in-lasse-than thilke cleer treuthe be coupled and applied in the undeirstonding of the man to the derke trouthe, and stonde not arumme fro this derke trouthe to bi learned ; and this now-seid coupling and applying may not be maad without two proposiciouns going bifore, in teermes and wordis of the bothe treuthis, forto conclude and drive out of hem the third proposicioun, which is the derke trouthe to be leernyd and not erst knowe, . . . and the coupling togidere of such proposiciouns in the now-seid maner is an argument, which is clepid a syllogisme. [A paraphrase: Every truth that a man learns he learns through another truth that is easier to understand. The relationship of the dark truth to the easier truth is established through two propositions that are used to derive a third proposition] (*Faith*, 125-6).

3.1 LOGIC AND PECKOCK'S STYLE: THE SYLLOGISM

undoutable kunning and a syllogisme which yeveth probable kunning oonly, that is to seye, kunning of likelihood and of opinioun but not of certeinte.²¹¹

The probable syllogism allows Peckock to use syllogistic reasoning in situations that would normally look to authorities, either Church or classical, to confirm or deny the validity of truths. Therefore, Peckock does not distinguish between revealed theology, or faith-based knowledge, and natural theology, or reason-based knowledge. This practice diverges from the practice of the Schoolmen, like Aquinas and other Thomists, who distinguish between natural theology, which is a branch of philosophy—for instances dealing with arguments for the existence of God—and revealed theology, dealing with the truths of Revelation, like the Trinity and Incarnation.

The use of the probable syllogism leaves Peckock vulnerable to misinterpretation. Because the probable syllogism by its very nature cannot ever be completely proved, the truths that Peckock derives in this way are not truth so much as “probable truths.” Again, the possibility of misinterpretation is the cause for anxiety. Peckock takes pains to explain his diction so that his readers understand the limitations of this type of syllogistic argument:

Also I proteste that I take and schal take ech argument or mocion maad or to be maad by me in eny of my writingis, Englisch or Latin, as for argument or mocion oonly, and not as for a proof uttirly, though for more cleer foorm and forto the more encline men into the conclusions of tho argumentis, in caas that tho conclusiouns the redier to be take into good use, if tho argumentis be founde to prove, and her conclusions be founde trewe. I seye ofte thus, or in eny othir wise liik:

²¹¹ *Repressor*, 75-7, italics mine. This excerpt is just a short passage from a very long discussion about reason.

“I prove,” or “I schal prove,” “I schewe,” or “I schal shewe,” “I have provid”, or “I have schewid,” “no man may seye nay;” and so forth of othire liik spechis, whiche at sumtime ben wonid so to be spoke in arguing by word and by writing, whan the arguer entendith noon othir than is now seid, as may at sum time appere by circumstaunce of his processe, or by sum protestacioun maad by him; and whiche also at sum time ben wonid so to be spokun in arguing by word and by writing, whanne the arguer intendith forto make, as to his seming, *uttirly proof*, as may be seen to be so by circumstauncis of his proceding, or by sum protestacioun by him maad.²¹²

Despite these cautions, however, Pecock operates in large measure as if all of the truths that he derives are “utter” proofs. He offers a defense of the limitations of syllogistic reasoning only this once in all of his five works. In all of the other instances, Pecock is concerned primarily with increasing his readers’ respect for reason.

In addition to the problems of interpretation arising from the probable syllogism, Pecock himself has another practice that leads to misinterpretation. Pecock’s reasoning capacities regularly lead him to make conclusions diametrically opposed to those that others would have made given the same set of evidence. In discussing the preaching controversy in Section 1.4, we already covered his reading of absenteeism as evidence not of neglect but rather of sustained engagement in spiritual advice-giving or diplomacy in the secular sphere. Below, we will cover another Logical path that

²¹² *Follower*, 6.

allowed Pecoek to concede the possibility of fallibility of the Church, while finding this possibility inconsequential when taken into account with a full salvific program of instruction.

3.1.1 *Conciliar Fallibility*

Of all the charges that Pecoek had to recant in 1457, the one which we know to be true from extant textual evidence is the first: clergy may err in matters of faith. Pecoek argues:

We owen to bileeve and stonde to sume seyer or techer which may faile, while it is not knowe that thilk seyer or techer therine failith. And so forto move and convicte hem into obedience, never the lasse and never the latter, to the clergie in leorning her feith; though it were so [read: even though it might be the case] that the clergie may erre and faile ayens feith, and though the clergie mighte solempnely determine ayens trewe feith.²¹³

Pecoek's argument about the fallibility of the clergy--and indeed the irrelevance to that fallibility in its application to the obedience to the Church--may be related to a larger understanding of the fallibility of all humankind. His ability to reconcile those two issues: obedience and fallibility--is the same as Julian of Norwich's ability to reconcile a good God with the possibility of hell. Pecoek's representation of a fallible Church, or rather, the possibility of a Church which expounds mistaken conclusions, is not a defense of corruption so much as a realistic representation of an institution administered by a sinful, sometimes erroneous group of humans. One might say that Pecoek, like Julian of Norwich, would claim that "all will be well" when it comes to obedience to clergy. For like Julian, Pecoek sees the defects of the Church's earthly representatives as remedied not by earthly

²¹³ *Repressor*, 38. See also Pecoek's conclusions in Latin, Appendix B.

means, but rather by heavenly means. The sins of the Church are compensated for not by an individual's prideful presumption that they may somehow forgo the guidance of the Church, but rather by the boundless grace that meets all demands of justice (or as Pecoock would probably put it), reason. For even reason may fail. Though Pecoock places reason above other senses and types of evidence, he does not claim that it can be infallible where the Church is fallible. Rather, human reason, just like a Church that uses that same reason to make judgments, can err.

I might add, however, that his explanation is lacking in moral persuasiveness even if it makes abstract logical sense. He is arguing that there are some teachers whom we should believe even though they may be making mistakes in what they teach. He even urges his readers to spread this same message. He urges the people to obey the clergy, even though the clergy may be teaching errors when instructing them in the faith, and even though it might be possible for the clergy to make solemn determinations against the faith. It is not surprising that this conclusion was among the charges that Pecoock was forced to abjure. Even though Pecoock has come up with an argument that allows for the fallibility of the Church while still maintaining the necessity for obedience to that Church, who would want to adhere to such a position? His contemporaries preferred a simpler solution: accept the Church's infallibility as a reason for obedience.

3.1.2 *The Donation of Constantine*

Another significant example of Pecoock's creative application of Logic in the support of Church practice is in his disproof of the Donation of Constantine as the basis of the Church's right to hold land.²¹⁴ Joseph Levine wrote an excellent article explaining Pecoock's syllogistic moves, so I

²¹⁴ *Repressor*, 350.

will not recount them here. The point I would like to make is that, although historically most churchmen sought to prove that Constantine had indeed given the Roman Pope a huge swath of territory following his conversion to Christianity as evidence that the Church had the right to hold land, Pecock proved just the opposite in order to make the same point. As Levine rightly noted,

It was a strange thing for Pecock to do. The *Donation* had been used for centuries, had indeed been invented in the first place in order to justify the papal claims to her endowments. Its criticism, both earlier and later, depended for its motives largely upon the attack on those papal privileges. Yet Pecock meant to refute the *Donation* for the same purpose for which it had been invented, *i.e.*, to justify the papal claims. Only a logician with a supreme confidence in reason could have imagined such an undertaking.²¹⁵

Using a myriad of reasons, most of which depended on discounting the credibility of various sources, Pecock ultimately argues that the voice from the sky which claimed "In this day venom is hilded into the church of God!" as a consequence of the endowment was the voice of a devil and that the donation never happened at all since it was much more likely that Constantine was baptized in Nicomedia than in Rome, as multiple sources testify.

Together, then, these three examples of creative Logic (valid clerical absenteeism, the Church's fallibility, and the non-Donation of Constantine) are a good illustration of the innovative way in which Pecock's mind operated. Levine is right to say that Pecock used imagination to achieve

²¹⁵ Levine, "Reginald Pecock and Lorenzo Vallo," 127.

his goals. His methods may have been well-established, but the way in which he was able to manipulate accepted ideas to serve the purpose of the Church is imagination at its best.²¹⁶

3.2 Syllogistic Sentence

The facility with which Pecock formed syllogisms was so ingrained in his writing that the form even manifests itself on the level of sentence structure. Hitchcock believes that “Pecock’s gift for syllogistic argument is immense, and the style is that in which a man of his scholastic training would naturally express himself... His sentences are of the syllogistic shape because he thought that way”²¹⁷ Syllogistic argumentation such as this might be natural to the scholastic man, but it is not necessarily suitable to the syntactic structures of the English language which does not permit the separation of subject and verb as does Latin. The suspense intrinsically permissible in Latin language texts does not translate well into English language texts.

Just as Pecock pushed his readers to reason at the limit of their capacity, so too did Pecock’s syllogistic style push the English language to its capacity. This is a point which Mueller raises: “Pecock’s stylistic project is instructive in what it reveals of an important distinction between the wider potential capacities of the native tongue and the narrower limits of actual human toleration for their exercise.”²¹⁸ Pecock’s language is not ungrammatical even though it may sometimes seem so. If read carefully, each of his sentences make Logical sense. Pecock’s sentences are unwieldy not because they are incomplete thoughts or partially formed arguments but rather because they exhibit a fullness of expression that is difficult to process. As Mueller describes, “the influence of syllogistic

²¹⁶ Of course later, critics of Logic would criticize such imagination as nothing more than sophistry.

²¹⁷ Hitchcock, *Follower*, lxv-lxvi.

²¹⁸ Mueller, *Native Tongue*, 139.

[arguments] leads in the direction of additive clausal sequences, the influence of compendiousness makes for constant additions to the structure of individual clauses.”²¹⁹ In combination with his tautologic practice of word clusters,²²⁰ what we are left with is a form of discourse and argumentation that entails a good deal of syntactic suspense:

While coordinate phrases located anywhere but in sentence- (or clause-) final position introduce some amount of suspensiveness into overall syntactic form, an incomparably greater potential for complication arises from the class of appositives, parentheticals, and non-restrictive relatives. This is so in part because constructions belonging to this class markedly interrupt the progression of the clause in which they are adjoined (with their identifying comma intonation), and in part because this class of constructions is far more likely to be unreduced, closer to full clausal form, than are coordinate lexical primaries.²²¹

As a particularly witty professor likes to note, Peacock was a “proponent of apponents,” but apponents which ultimately detract from the quality of his arguments because they detract from their ability to be comprehended at all.

3.3 Reason as Natural Law

The fact that the imagination which drove Peacock's Logic and the syllogistic style which he employed obscured his many faithful points is an ironic one, for Peacock's adherence to the faculty of

²¹⁹ Mueller, *Native Tongue*, 145.

²²⁰ What I am passing over here without comment is a discussion of phrase clusters and clause clusters. Such a study, although also very intriguing, would entail a different methodology than the word-based one that I have employed here. I anticipate including a fuller syntactic study of Peacock's language in future work.

²²¹ Mueller, *Native Tongue*, 147.

reason stemmed from his belief that reason was accessible to all. Reason was the most important faculty for the uneducated since it was grounded in Natural Law:

Ferthermore, into proof of summe trouthis in this present book whiche mowe not be knowun certainly neither sufficiently likely or probabily by othere meene than by the meene of feith in Holy Scripture, I bringe forth motives and argumentis by meenis of resoun, sumtime withoute eny thereto presupposid feith, sumtime so that therto be bifore presupposid sum certein article of feith. And this I do for this cause, that painemis--hethene men--whether they liven oonly undir the lawe of kinde, that is to seye, doome of pure resoun withoute feith, or whether they liven under sum other lawe or feith than is cristen lawe or feith—schulden have noon horroure or abhominacioun to cristen feith, or ellis the lasse horroure and the lasse abhominacioun and indignacioun anentis tho trouthis of cristen feith, by so miche as therto ben so greet congruencis.²²²

Although Pecoock is certainly no proponent of the equality of all people--he believes in subordinate relationships, as will be discussed below--he does recognize the egalitarian nature of reason. It is the tool which all humans, by the very fact that they are human, have the capacity to use. Yet, his emphasis on the importance of accessible theological reading for all would, unfortunately, have the same outcome as those creative syllogisms discussed earlier: his contemporaries were unable to reconcile how reason because it was accessible to all could be better than faith in the education of the laity. The standard argument, of course, is that the uneducated should be taught not by the

²²² *Rule*, 28-9.

reason with which they are all endowed but convinced by the faith which would deny that part of their humanity given to them by God.

Despite his pleas to interpret his even-handed treatment of matters both orthodox and heterodox as good clerical practice, Pecoock was not a traditional cleric at all. Pecoock's privileging of reason above all other forms of authority necessitated the subordination of the Church Fathers and other classical authorities. He even wrote two Latin books (unfortunately neither survive) on the matter: *The Just Apprising of Doctouris* and *The Just Apprising of Hooly Scripture*.²²³ Pecoock accuses scholars of failing to use good discretion in their use of doctors' writings:

Another cause is forto take away the greet rudeness which over-many clerkis beninne, which rudeness is the over-mich cleving to doctouris writingis, because the clerkis biganne to studie and lerne in thilk wey, and they kunne not eesily bringe hemsilf out therfro; which defaut sothely hindrith mich the thrift of scole and of sure leorning and of kunning. Not that I meene doctoris findings and her deliverauncis to us maad in her writingis to be dispisid, or to be over-litil sett by. Goddis forbode I schulde so meene or feele, for I have openly writen me to feele hereof the contrary . . . God for his greet goodnes into the profit of al his Cristen Chirch bringe clerkis out of thilk rudeness wherinne they over-mich without dew examinacioun cleven to writingis of doctoris, and without the resolving of tho writingis of doctoris, and without the resolving of tho writingis into the groundis and principlis of the faculte to which they pertainen; for ellis they schulen never be sure feelers neithir seers, neither

²²³ *Follower*, 11.

be worthi to be clepid “leernid men,” but as children they must al thilk while be undir credence of othire, and so be oonly unsure trowsers and not proving knowers.²²⁴

Pecock’s point of view is very interesting because it places the burden of interpretation on individuals. He asks of every individual to be a scholar and not just a student: “knowers” not just “trowsers.”

Pecock’s approach to authority in general also extended to Aristotle and other classical authorities. All secondary sources required thorough examination, no matter how important they might be:

And though many wolen folewe Aristotil for reverence of Aristotil more than for reverence of trouth to be defendid and publischid, as ful oft such inparfitnes is wondid to be usid in scole of Filosofie and in scole of Divinite, the more reuth is; yit it likith not to me forto so reverence and folewe Aristotil agens treuth, for wel I wote, it was nevir Aristotilis wil that eny man schulde so do.²²⁵

Once again, while Pecock was a product of the university system, he was not a university man. His critique of the practices of members of the Schools of Divinity and Philosophy (probably Arts) are reflective of that stance of external criticism.²²⁶ In his opinion, people were enamored of the idea of Aristotle (and others like him) and used Aristotle as an absolute standard of truth. He points out

²²⁴ *Follower*, 68, detailing objections against images and pilgrimages.

²²⁵ *Follower*, 152.

²²⁶ There was no School of Philosophy in the Middle Ages, so Pecock is probably referring here to the School of Arts. There were only four faculties: Medicine, Law (Canon and Civil), Theology, and Arts. The curriculum of the School of Arts did not provide any religious training but rather covered the secular writers: Priscian, Donatus, Cicero, Ovid, Porphyry, Gilbert de la Porrée, Aristotle, Boethius, Euclid, Alhaçon, Vitellio, and Ptolemy (Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 153-6).

rightly that Aristotle himself would not have been an advocate of such blind obedience. Peacock's position was very admirable if a difficult one to defend in a system that was so deeply invested in classical and Church authority. He believed in truth above all else. He believed in evaluating the quality of an argument before accepting its validity. This pedagogical stance, however, would cast a shadow on his legacy.

One of the most interesting aspects of Peacock's logic lies in his ability to reason in a direction opposite of normal expectation. As we discussed above, this is how Peacock came to reason that conciliar fallibility was not a vital issue in maintaining the integrity of Church doctrine.

Now schal I seye what I have herde to be seid of me: "This man seith and techith mich thing, but he seith al of him silf and of his owen heed, fforwhy he alleggith not for him alwey Hooly Scripture or summe doctoures." Hereto mighte be seid agen that these men comenden and preisen me wherin it semith to hem that they discomenden and dispreisen me.²²⁷

What he writes above about his own critics is actually quite amusing: When others mean to criticize him by saying, "This man says and teaches many things, but he speaks only as himself and from his own head, because he does not always cite Holy Scripture or doctors," Peacock hears instead a statement that to him could not be more laudatory.

Alle thingis which a man knowith otherwise than a beest knowith must be knowen by argumentis....There ben noon bookis of uttrist ground and of autorite in maters whiche man may knowe and learne othirwise than a beest knowith, save the book of

²²⁷ *Follower*, 8.

feith and the book of resons doom²²⁸...Alle othire seid bookis fecchen her autorite fro oon of these two nowseid bookis, the Bible and doom of reasoun, and ellis tho othire bookis hadden noon autorite...²²⁹

There are two major points to be drawn from this argument. First, Pecoock's understanding of reason is guided largely by his division between the nature of man and the nature of "beestis." This distinction is a fundamental one. Secondly, Pecoock repeatedly refers to reason as a "book." This metaphorical use of reason in this capacity is important because it implies both the tangibility of reason's existence and its place in a particularly human continuum. That is, reason is something that only humans, as opposed to animals, can read. Reason and access to it is a uniquely human trait. Although this point may seem obvious—animals do not have the capacity to reason—the distinction between the animal kingdom and the human one was a fundamental part of Christian theology. Salvation, after all was dependent on the idea of separation and exclusion—humans versus animals; sinners versus saints. The delineation between human and animal was integral.

²²⁸ *i.e.* judgment.

²²⁹ *Follower*, 8-10.

PART III. PEACOCK'S PEDAGOGY

CHAPTER

4 A New Catechesis

4.1 Pedagogical Approaches for the “Lay Party”

With the power to reason, the human mind, Pecock believed, was capable of learning all of God's laws. And he set out to form a systematic method of instruction which would serve all of humanity in their achievement of this goal. This chapter turns its attention to Pecock's intended and contextual audience as major influences for his attempt to form a new pedagogical method, a method consisting of the unification of several different methodologies and trends in religious education: individual instruction, Logic, and taxonomies.

Pecock's didactic texts (*Donet*, *Rule of Christian Religion*, *Follower to the Donet*, and *Poor Men's Mirror*) were primarily directed at an educated lay audience, though there were instances that seem more appropriate for lower ranking clerics or poor priests. Pecock's firsthand knowledge of formal education acquired during his own time as a student at Oxford (1414-1424) and as master at Whittington College, London (1431-1444) is important in understanding how and why he developed the kind of pedagogical style that he did. Pecock's devotion to the syllogism is a reflection of his adherence to the Logical curriculum that dominated the arts curriculum in Oxford; while his time at Whittington College, where he served as master of a college of priests, ingrained the importance of systematic religious instruction to aid in the cure of souls.

Whittington College was also the home of Pecock's first pedagogic texts: it was no accident that it was there he began to write pedagogic texts, for the Master of Whittington College was responsible for the training of London priests, in addition to overseeing the pastoral work of the

local parish of St. Michael's Paternoster Royal.²³⁰ It was at Whittington, when he was immersed fully in English-language pastoral duties, that he first began composing in English; it is there that he wrote the *Donet*²³¹ and at least part of the *Rule*.²³²

Under Pecock's supervisions were four secular priests, two clerks [clerics in minor orders], and four choristers.²³³ Their responsibilities were extensive:

The chaplains of the College were to say mass and keep the hours of holy church every weekday. On feast days and Sundays the services were to be sung... . They were to pray especially for the souls of Richard and Alice Whittington, of Richard's parents, Sir William and Lady Joan Whittington, and of Richard II and Thomas Woodstock, late Duke of Gloucester, his special promoters. They were also to pray for the present king, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the executors, conservators and overseers of the foundation. On holy days, in the evening about sunset, when the workmen and neighbours about the church had ceased their work, the chaplains, choristers, and clerks ... were to sing an antiphon in honour of the Saviour and of His Mother, and the psalm De Profundis with collects for the souls named above. Every year there was to be an obit said for Richard Whittington on 23 or 24 March and for Alice Whittington on 30 or 31 July. It was the duty of the two clerks and the four choristers to sing, read and assist the chaplains in whatever way they could.

Those who were not officiating were to sit quietly in their stalls and to depart only

²³⁰ Catto, 275.

²³¹ *Donet* is from Donat which is a shortened form of Donatus, the author of the traditional grammar book for beginning students. It signifies any elementary book of instruction. See *OED* “Donet, n.”.

²³² Greet, *Repressor*, xiv.

²³³ Reddan, *Religious Houses*, 225.

when given permission. Any chaplain who was absent without cause from these services was to be fined.²³⁴

These responsibilities, which Pecock oversaw for thirteen years, were formative in their influence on Pecock's pedagogical outlook. Although the difficulty of Pecock's language may imply a person ignorant of the needs or capacity of the average London citizen, the reality of Pecock's situation suggests just the opposite. Pecock was no academic stuck in an ivory tower. His reform was designed and intended for the Londoners with whom he engaged on a daily basis. His reform was designed to aid chaplains and clerics to serve those very people.

As Rashdall has noted, university education offered no theological training in the Arts program²³⁵ and since the vast majority of priests never advanced beyond their BA or MA, they never would have received the kind of theological training that today one assumes every priest receives in seminary. In fact, what Pecock attempts to do by providing a theological curriculum for low level clerics is address a serious gap in training between what priests were trained to do and what they were expected to do. Since priests could not be expected to stay in university long enough to earn their DD (it took approximately sixteen to twenty years altogether: four years for a BA, seven years for an MA, four or five more years for a BD, and two years after that for a DD)²³⁶ and residency was usually a requirement, there were no other systematic means by which priests might continue their education. Pecock's *Four Tables* creates that an off-campus, self-paced, educational curriculum suitable for the working cleric, and he, moreover, bases the learning system off of the skills students

²³⁴ Imray, *Charity of Richard Whittington*, 32-33.

²³⁵ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 451.

²³⁶ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 153-59.

would have learned in the Arts School: philosophy. One might say, that Pecock invented distance education.

Pecock’s polemical texts (*The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* and *The Book of Faith*) were intended primarily for a lay audience that was sympathetic to the point of views espoused by Lollards or the “lay party” in general.²³⁷ An oft quoted passage from *Faith* shows Pecock boasting about the appreciation he received from Lollards for his willingness to engage in debate with them: “I have spoke oft time, and by long leiser, with the wittiest and kunningist men of thilk seid soort, contrarie to the Chirche, and which han be holde as dukis amonge hem, and which han loved me for that I wolde paciently heere her evidencies, and her motives, without exprobacioun.”²³⁸ It is a historical irony that Pecock was in later scholarship often seen as an ally to other Protestant movements in England, though he tried in such a systematic way to refute their heretical teachings.²³⁹ Perhaps it is a passage such as this that contributes to the perception of Pecock in this manner. For although Pecock’s intent seems to be in the service of elevating himself by virtue of his skill, he also unintentionally elevates and legitimates “men of thilk seid soort.” Pecock describes these others in unambiguously positive terms: they are witty; they are cunning; they use evidence in the support of their motives. That is, Pecock’s disagreement with the heretical ideas of these individuals who speak contrary to the Church does not hinder his respect for their methods. Like

²³⁷ How critics have defined Lollardy (indeed, Wycliffism vs. Lollard) over the years has been a topic of recent debate. For the purposes of this work, I apply the term in the same way that Pecock does--in a general sense which encompasses everything from the heresies derived from the works of John Wyclif (1328-1384) to the London Lollards of the fifteenth century to a general sense of lay ignorance that leaves individuals with a predisposition to over-read Scripture. For further reading on Lollardy and its senses, see J. Patrick Hornbeck II. *What is a Lollard*, and Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*.

²³⁸ *Faith*, 202.

²³⁹ For example, John Lewis’s influential biography of Pecock was a sequel to Lewis’s biography of John Wyclif. See Lewis, *The Life of Reynold Pecock*.

the Lollards, his plan for religious education consists of a vernacular, democratic, dialogic form of individual instruction that advocates education for all individuals.

The extent to which Pecock was writing with his political enemies in mind is unknown.²⁴⁰ Although he was fully aware that such critics would invariably be part of his audience, the pedagogic and polemical content of his books does not appear to be modulated in any way to appease the perception of these individuals of higher educational or religious standing. It is only in prefatory material, like that found in the introduction that Pecock writes to the *Follower*, that he makes any defense against the disapproval of others.²⁴¹ The ancillary nature of these defenses, like the one he crafts in response to criticism following his infamous sermon at Paul's Cross (1447), where he defended the rights of absentee bishops, implies that while Pecock was cognizant of the controversial nature of his opinions, he nevertheless was determined to maintain the position he had taken on any number of issues, whether they were in regard to vernacular education or the proper role of bishops.²⁴² Pecock does not appear to back away from his theological interpretations until the condemnation of his writings in 1457.

Pecock's affiliation with a common-profit scheme in which books were made available to poor individuals implies that his writings would have had wider circulation in the London area than might be expected if it had been put into practice.²⁴³ Modifications to his catechetical system tended

²⁴⁰ See Chapter 1. "Perceptions of Pecock."

²⁴¹ *Faith*, 122 and *Follower* 1-8-9.

²⁴² MS Bodley 117, ff. 11a-13b contains a short justification by Pecock of the ideas he propounded in his sermon at Paul's Cross. In addition to preserving his own reasoning for his position, the passage is also significant as the only surviving example of his Latin. For edited versions, see the appendix to Babington's edition of the *Repressor*, "Abbreviatio Reginaldi Pecock," (615-620), or the appendix to Scase (1996) "Abrenunciatio Reginaldi Pecock" and "Conclusiones Reginaldi Pecock," (130-132). Scase argues that Babington's edition is a bad one on the grounds of his reading of the "abrenunciatio" as an "abbreviatio," (95-96).

²⁴³ See Scase, "Reginald Pecock, John Carpenter and John Colop's 'common profit' books."

towards abridgment rather than emendation, as is clear from the existence of the *Poor Men's Mirror*, an abridged form of *Donet*.

Despite the fact that Pecock considers each of these texts as evolving out of each other, they do not share the same underlying didactic structures. *The Donet* is primarily concerned with the vices and virtues as they are broken down into *Four Tables*. *The Follower* is an elaboration of the *Donet*. *The Rule* is primarily concerned with the *Seven Matters*. Each text addresses theological topics relevant to living a good Christian life, but they are not simply successively longer versions of each other. The only true extract is *PMM*, which is an extract of *The Donet* that Pecock produced for those who needed something easier and cheaper, keeping in mind the cost of the works that Pecock produced.

Not withstanding that I have maad the first party of the book clepid *The Donet of Cristen Religioun* to be of litil quantite that welnigh ech poor persoon maye by sum meene gete coost to have it as his owne; yit, in to the moor eese of the persone poorist in haver and in witt, I have drawn this now folewing extract or outdrawght fro the first party of the seid *Donet*, that no persoon Cristen grown into discrecioun of resoun, or few of hem, after sufficient pupplisching of this book to hem, schulde have eny excusacioun for this, that they knowe not the lawe and service of her Lord God.²⁴⁴

Pecock realized that vernacular writings can and should have different gradations of difficulty. Lollard writings were not necessarily accessible to the layman, even if many of their texts were in English. Their concerns stemmed out of the university and the way that they challenged the

²⁴⁴ *PMM*, 226.

established church was governed by the learned strictures of academic writing and disputation. While Reginald Pecock was also educated at Oxford, his theology strove to be accessible to every level of English reader, hence the gradations of text available in *The Donet*, *The Follower to the Donet*, and *The Rule of Christian Religion*. The relationship between these fifteenth-century writers and their university background is very important to this project, because the university presupposes certain kinds of knowledge and discourse. All of the events of Pecock's heresy trials also took place at Oxford. Pecock even requested that his works be examined by his academic equals.²⁴⁵ Documentary evidence following the trial leads us to believe that his writings were quite popular among university students, since a letter by Edward IV following Pecock's conviction complained about the remaining popularity of his writings.²⁴⁶

It is also highly likely that the Mercers or other business people were also reading Pecock's writings since Whittington College was administered by the Mercers.²⁴⁷ In the introduction to the *Follower*, Pecock argues for the capacity of business people to follow the difficult theological matters that he presents in his pedagogical volumes because they are already engaging in intellectually challenging work while conducting business.²⁴⁸

Each of these different populations necessitated different pedagogical approaches, and indeed, Pecock conceives of his books as a type of home-school curriculum in which students begin with the easiest material and gradually work their way up to the most difficult, with the

²⁴⁵ Babington, *Repressor*, xxxix.

²⁴⁶ See Oxford, Queen's College, MS. 54, 341b-342b, a letter from Thomas Bourghier asking for rectors and preachers to inform their parishioners to hand over any books still in circulation by Pecock. A partial copy of the letter is in Scase, *Reginald Pecock*, and a full copy of the letter in F. D. Logan, "Archbishop Thomas Bourghier Revisited," 170-88.

²⁴⁷ Scase makes a clear case for Pecock's extended association with the Mercers (89 [15]) in *Reginald Pecock*.

²⁴⁸ See Anne Sutton, *The Mercery of London* and Kirsty Campbell's discussion of the mercers as audience in *The Call to Read*.

acknowledgement that not everyone will have the intellectual capacity nor the receptiveness to reach the most difficult topics. These qualities of intellectual "capacite" and “receivabilnesse” are at the root of his pedagogical curriculum:

Not al what is sufficient and inough to oon persoon is inough to anothisr persoon, no more than what is inough in licour to a potel²⁴⁹ pott is inough to a galon pott, sithen the noughnesse toward persoones is to be mesurid and to be take aftir her capacite and aftir her receivabilnesse.²⁵⁰

The ability to measure “receivabilnesse,” however, is placed primarily on the teacher.²⁵¹ The student’s ability to learn is premised upon the teacher’s ability to correctly “ordre and processe” the material to be learned:

Whannever eny techer is to sette forth his doctrine upon eny maters or trouthis, he may not awaite²⁵² oonly...if they schulde be taught in parfitist maner of teching...[that is, beginning] first in general, and aftir descende and come doun into special, and that he stable²⁵³ bifore the causis and the groundis of tho thingis which he is to trete aftir, and that he yelde, yeve, and assigne the causis and the whies of ech

²⁴⁹ A pottle is the equivalent of two quarts or half a gallon (*MED*).

²⁵⁰ *Follower*, 2-3.

²⁵¹ Pecoock actually makes the same point but in a different situation when describing the practice of the early Apostles in the *Book of Faith*. He says that “peraventure longe time in the biginning the apostlis prechiden not, neither ministriden to the peple but a fewe articlies of feith, as were these: --of Cristis coming, and of his incarnacioun, and of the cause why he came; and long time unnethis mighte suffice forto bringe the peple into consente and bileeve of these few feithis. Also, scolders in ech kinde of scole schulden not be oppressid, in the biginning of her scole, with over manye maters to be ministrid to hem at oonis, or sudenly, or over soone. And therefore, a good while by yeeris, scolders in the scole of Cristendoom herden parcelmele the feith prechid, eer the hool summe and birthen therof was delivered to hem by writing (257).”

²⁵² *i.e.* Attend to, see *MED* “awaiten, v.”

²⁵³ *i.e.* Establish, see *MED* “stabilen, v.1”.

special trowth not being open in himsilf to the resoun, and so forth of othire pointis longing to dew foorm of parfitist teching.²⁵⁴

Pecock, however, distinguishes between ideal practice and effective practice. Ideally, teaching should follow the values of a Logical education. The general principles and causes should be introduced before the special truths. This pedagogical practice follows Pecock's syllogistic form discussed in Chapter 2. Indeed, the dependence on Logical forms of argumentation for individuals presumably not intending to pursue a university education was already a departure from medieval educational norms on the lower level, although a reflection of a larger trend towards the primacy of Logic in university education.²⁵⁵ Grammar (the study of language) and Rhetoric (the study of oratory and persuasion) were the traditional means of instruction for beginning and intermediate students and in traditional instruction, would have been a part of the domain of grammar school or private tutoring prior to admittance to university life. Logic was the preserve of the universities and the dominant mode of instruction in the first two years of the arts course at for undergraduates.²⁵⁶ Pecock's time in Oxford was a likely a influence on his interest in the promotion of Logic as a form of instruction outside of the university. Oxford, more even than Cambridge, was a center of Logical writing and indeed the proliferation of texts dedicated to spreading Logic as a pedagogical method.²⁵⁷ Yet, Pecock also acknowledges that in reality, this is not how students learn in the medieval classroom. The study of Logic as the "parfitist teching" does not meet the needs of "children and newe scolers":

²⁵⁴ *Follower*, 12.

²⁵⁵ Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages*, 150.

²⁵⁶ Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages*, 152.

²⁵⁷ Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages*, 153.

If the capacite and receivabilnes be not in the leerners...for to receive upon the maters the now-seid parfitist maner of doctrine and of deliveraunce, sothely good discrecioun wole that the techer tempre his foorm of teching...For thus it is doon to children and newe scolers whanne they biginnen lerne Grammer, and whan they biginnin to lerne Logik, and whan they biginnen lerne Lawe Civile...Tho leerners muste long time lerne undir credence oonly...Forwhy if to a man in the biginning the causis and whies schulden be deliverid to her resoun and to her examinacioun, her witt schulde be therby oppressid, and they schulden be gastid and discherid.²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹

In fact, it is not just “children and new scolers” but individuals new to any field—Grammar, Logic, or Civil Law—who need to move from particular truths to general ones. Pecock lists these three fields of study in this particular order because they are successively more difficult fields. The study of Grammar occurs primarily before enrollment in university²⁶⁰ and the study of Logic, the primary constituent of the Arts curriculum, on the undergraduate and masters level. The study of Civil Law is the domain of the higher faculties.²⁶¹ One would go first for a BA, then an MA, then a BCL, the licentiate, only after that the DCL.²⁶² Pecock’s point is that when encountering a new field of study, no matter the level of study, whether it be pre-collegiate, undergraduate, or graduate, the observation holds that students find inductive Logic much more palatable than deductive Logic. This pragmatic approach to education, however, means that the students must forfeit the one quality that is most

²⁵⁸ Afraid and discouraged, see *MED* “gasten, v.” and “discheren, v.”

²⁵⁹ *Follower*, 13.

²⁶⁰ As a scholar studying for the BA after 1409, students were required to hear only three Grammar lectures (Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 154.

²⁶¹ Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages*, 167-8.

²⁶² Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, III. 156.

valuable in Pecock's pedagogical program: reason. For many years, the students must believe, must have "credence oonly," in the ideas that their teachers impart. Their education is based on the faith that there are general truths from which these particular truths are drawn.

Pecock is never at ease with this compromise and, inevitably, his pragmatic pedagogical program (the inductive program) and his perfect pedagogical program (the deductive program) are at odds with each other. On the level of the argument, Pecock chooses the ideal—the syllogism as the base unit of his argumentation. For his overall curriculum, he chooses the pragmatic approach, carefully planning each of his books to meet the different levels of intellectual capacity and the "receivabilnesse" of the readers. But neither his ideal program nor his pragmatic program allows for instruction that falls outside of the Logical paradigm. There are only truths and errors, generals and particulars. There is no room for the type of affective instruction that later scholars such as Thomas More found in the renewal of Rhetoric.²⁶³

Pecock's approach to difficult topics was also very complex. On the one hand, he believed that people should be allowed to take up as much religious instruction as their intellectual capacities allowed:

God is the feest fro which men risen with relefis, after hem leeving of more than they mowe take, in reward²⁶⁴ of the feest fro which men risen hungry and desiren to ete more than it is wherwith they ben servid.²⁶⁵

²⁶³ For More's spirited defense of Rhetorical modes of instruction, see Letter to Dorp (1515) in More, *Complete Works of St. Thomas More* Vol. 1.

²⁶⁴ *I.e.* regard.

²⁶⁵ *Rule*, 20.

On the other hand, he also believed that the most difficult theological matters needed to be withheld:

I will not in eny of my bokis in the comoun peplis langage writun and to be writun sett eny of the highest, hardist, and sutillist treuthis to be undirstonde which ben tretid in scolis and bokis of divinite.²⁶⁶

And despite his faith that the common people had the capacity to understand much of what was laid out in his English works, he nevertheless also believed that he should offer a little bit more than the laity could understand to remind them of how much more there was to know and to increase reverence for the priests. Despite his liberal beliefs in some areas of education, he still wanted the Church to play the mediating role in educating the laity:

Summe of tho bookis which ben to be maad in lay tunge, and to be deliverid to lay men, be so hard that they be not lightly and esily undirstonde of the wittiest lay men whiche schulen rede and studie therinne; forwhy they, summe and many lay men, mowe be tamid and repressid and chastisid fro pride and fro presumpcioun; and they mowe therby learne that clerkis schulen be to hem necessary forto teche hem therin, even as they holden now clerkis necessary to hem forto preche to hem in pulpit maner.²⁶⁷

Pecock suggests different programs of study depending on ability and inclination. For those students who are most zealous in their religious studies and want to have a comprehensive understanding of the moral virtues, Pecock offers this curriculum:

²⁶⁶ *Rule*, 21.

²⁶⁷ *Follower*, 9.

A. To whomever therfore schal plese and like forto knowe whiche ben in man natural vertues, kunningal vertues, and moral vertues, rede he and undirstonde he the al hool first party of this present book [*Follower*].²⁶⁸

For those students who do not have the desire to learn all of the technical divisions between the various moral virtues, they should follow this curriculum:

B. If eny man be not so lusty and frike²⁶⁹ forto leerne and knowe the seid iii gendris of vertues, lete him biginne at the x^e chapitre of the first party, and rede he forth into the end of the first party; and so schal he take learning of knowingal vertues²⁷⁰ and of moral vertues in her general moralte.²⁷¹

And for those who are limited on either time or motivation, curriculum C is a good choice:

C. And if he have not so greet corage, or peraventur not so greet leiser to reede and leerne, but that he wolde be contentid with knowing of moral vertues oonly, lete him biginne at the xv^e chapitre, and reede he into the eend of this present first party, and knitte he than therto the first party of the *Donet* for the specialte of moral vertues.²⁷²

Of the three divisions of virtues, "natural," "kunningal," and "moral," Pecock places moral virtues first. Pecock's pedagogical program is ambitious. He expects not just a short period of learning, but a lifetime of it.

The *Follower*, more than his other works, prompts Pecock's defensiveness regarding the difficulty of the material. This awareness of the challenging nature of the subject matter shows itself

²⁶⁸ *Follower*, 5.

²⁶⁹ Eager, see *MED* "frike, adj."

²⁷⁰ Pecock uses "kunningal vertues" and "knowingal vertues" synonymously.

²⁷¹ *Follower*, 5.

²⁷² *Follower*, 5.

in his acknowledgment of an alternative curriculum that postpones engagement with the ideas in the *Follower* for a period, “by long leisers of yeeris,” that will allow the student to prepare himself for the content of the volume. Of this alternative curriculum, Pecoock says,

D. If eny man, aftir that he is wel and long time leernid and customid with the haunt and use of the first and ii^e parties of the *Donet*, this present first party schal be to him over-hard, I wole that he lepe over this first party and sette him into the *Book of Cristen Religioun*, and ocupie his witt therinne by long leisers of yeeris unto time he be more able to undirstonde derk and hard maters than he schal be eer he so wrastle with the *Book of Cristen Religioun*; and thanne he schal sette this present first party in ordir aftir the *Book of Cristen Religioun*.²⁷³

Although the *Follower* is technically the sequel to the *Donet*, since it directly addresses the nature of the various moral virtues, it is also substantially more difficult than the *Donet*. Pecoock suggests that for those students, who have finished the *Donet* but are not yet capable of taking on the *Follower*, instead spend years studying the *Rule* as preparation for the *Follower*. Needless to say, this expectation is a high one.

Pecoock’s advice regarding the laymen’s interaction with Latin, like his own decision to write some treatises in English, was guided by pragmatism and piety. In his extensive section on proper prayer in the *Rule*, he says, “Whanne-ever a man undirstondith not, he preyeth not; and whanne that he understondith not anything for which he oughte preye or may preye, he preyeth not; for-why ech preyer is an undirstonding, sithen ech preyer is a deede of resoun.”²⁷⁴ Pecoock lays out extensive

²⁷³ *Follower*, 14.

²⁷⁴ *Rule*, 398.

guidelines for prayer, taking into consideration the many different contexts in which individuals might be expected to pray. Because Peckock believes that understanding is the key that allows prayer to actually take place, the use of Latin prayer (or even complex prayer) becomes problematic. The comprehensibility of language is of critical importance to Peckock because it is the medium through which individuals are able to form their knowledge of God. Reason cannot operate without understanding: “Why that mennis resoun ceesith from undirstonding whilis they preisen or preyen or dispreisen, oon cause is this, for-that the devisid forme and her preising and preyer is maad in such langage or undir so harde or derke clausis that they mowe not undirstond it.”²⁷⁵ This position leads Peckock to challenge the very academic nature of some prayers that further separated individuals from the task at hand: communication with God. As the consummate academic, Peckock probably was unaware of the irony of his position. He was himself guilty of providing theological instruction in language too “harde or derke” to understand.

Despite this irony, however, Peckock was well-intentioned and he provided for passable solutions for moments when the content, language, or speed of a prayer does not allow for understanding to keep pace:

Though a man purposing and setting himself to preye, spekith or redith in langage which he undirstondith not in the propre significaciouns of the wordis, or ellis in langage plain to be understonden he redith so faste that his minde may not holde cours with his tunge, or ellis if the forme of his preyer assigned to him makith not mencion of tho pointis which he desirith and for which he preyeth, . . . if the reder

²⁷⁵ *Rule*, 399.

in ech of these now-seid caasis thinke in general upon al maner good to be yoven or upon al maner iverl to be avoided or upon alle thilke special boonis for which he laborith in so (as now is seid) seyng or reding, . . . so he schal rather or lattir be herd and sped upon hem if alle othere circumstauncis be liik, though the wordis red or spoken maken no mencioum in her propre significaciouns upon tho desirid pointis and purposis. . . . This reding or speking is to him a verrey preyer, and of this same preyer he hath the cleer undirstonding, for-why he hath the cleer undirstonding which he himsilf at his owne volunte makith and yeveth to tho wordis signify to him tho treuthis. And in this wise ben unlettrid men holpen whanne they reden her Sauter or her Pater Noster in Latin, and clerkis ben holpen in seyng of her Latin Divine Office whanne they reden derke psalmes and othere derk chapitris, responsis, and lessouns.²⁷⁶

Pecock uncouples the words from their original meaning; however, he still maintains the intention of the prayer form itself. That is to say, he recognizes that people who speed through a Latin prayer because they do not know the Latin language or are bad Latinists have already decoupled the meaning of the words from the spoken words. Yet, he argues, quite persuasively, that new meaning can be added to the act of prayers and those words can, in fact, gain another new signification that fulfills the purpose of all prayer. Language, as such, is only useful to the extent that it serves its purpose. When the language, either because it is foreign or too difficult to understand, stops to function as a communicative vehicle, the praying individual must provide the meaning himself.

²⁷⁶ *Rule*, 400-401.

Pecock likens this type of prayer to the speech of infants as a temporarily acceptable form of prayer, but one that should eventually be discarded:

Suche maner of asking and preying . . . tretid is liik to the maner of asking and preying which yong unknunning babis maken, as whanne they schulde aske and seye, "Modir, yeve me drinke," they seyen, "Brom, brom," and instide of that they schulde seye, "Yeve me breede," they crien, "Pa, pa," And summe othere eldre whanne they seye, "Lete the cate winke," or sum othere inpertinent resoun by which nevertheles they entenden her purpos. . . Though al a modir for compaccioun which sche hath to the unknunning and the unpower of her babis to preye in fairer and more reverent forme, wole accepte her maner of asking and preying and wole yeve to hem her ententis as ferforth as though they askiden in fair and formal, plein and reverent maner, yit sche wole not so allowe suche ruide and uncomely askingis and preyingis of her elder children whiche mowe learne, kunne, and use to aske of her modir alle thingis in faire honest forme and reverent maner, but sche ellis blame hem, rebuke hem, and punishe hem.²⁷⁷

Although Pecock sees the practice of substituting the Pater Noster or other simpler prayers in the place of incomprehensible prayers as only a temporary solution, he does not offer a very effective resolution for the layman. As accommodating as Pecock is of the capacity of the layman, he stops short of revolutionizing the pedagogic practices that would actually enable people outside of the academic system from engaging in the thoughtful prayers that he is ultimately promoting.

²⁷⁷ *Rule*, 402.

Vernacular theology in the fifteenth century, whether orthodox or heterodox, is always reactionary, always part of a back and forth. Even in Pecock’s three surviving pedagogical works, therefore, he is extremely defensive of his theological positions, from all sides—the Church and the Lollards.

Oon is forto yeve the peple instrucciou or doctrine, namelich upon the seid vii maters moost necessarie to be learned. Another cause is forto stire and bringe the peple into love and into devotioun anentis God, His benefetis and Hise lawis, so that what prechers ben aboute to do by her preching in the comoun peplis' langage, I am about to do by my writing in the comoun peplis' langage.²⁷⁸

The nature of instruction in the vernacular necessitates the anticipation of objections from others; and, as is all too clear in the history of Pecock’s fate, the irony is that the objections to his work came most vehemently from the established Church and not the Lollards, after all.

We turn now to a discussion of the conflation of ideas from both the *Rule* and the *Donet* and, to a lesser extent, the *Follower*. Pecock addresses the *Four Tables* in three of his works: the *Donet*, the *Rule*, and the *Spreading of the Four Tables*. The *Donet* is the most basic explanation of the *Four Tables*, the *Rule* is a better and more elaborate version of these concepts, and the *Spreading of the Four Tables* is, according to Pecock, the most comprehensive of the three works.²⁷⁹ Unfortunately, the only extant copy of the *Rule* is incomplete, ending in Chapter 6 of Treatise 5 in a work intended to have a

²⁷⁸ *Rule*, 19.

²⁷⁹ *Rule* 367.

total of seven treatises.²⁸⁰ The *Spreading of the Four Tables* is not known to have survived. It is within the *Donet* that Pecock systematically defines each of the moral virtues within each of the tables. His explanations are easy to follow and they proceed, generally speaking, in order, beginning at the first *contemplative virtue*²⁸¹ in the *First Table* and proceeding to the last *active virtue* in the *fourth table*. (Chapters IV to IX of Pecock's *Donet* cover the *Four Tables*.) The *Rule*, however, does not follow this systematic treatment of the moral virtues. The *Rule* is much more ambitious because it attempts to define the relative worth of each of the moral virtues to one another. That is, the *Donet* is primarily about the establishment of the infrastructure of the *Four Tables*; the *Rule* is about showing how each of the moral virtues operates in relationship to each other. Its primary concern is to describe these relationships in terms of the relative worth of each value to the other values within the same table and as compared to the values represented in the other tables. At stake in the *Rule* is the hierarchization of moral virtue within Pecock's pedagogical system.

²⁸⁰ *Rule* 8.

²⁸¹ I have italicized all theological key terms.

4.2 God's Moral Law

What the foregoing discussion of Pecock's varying levels of instruction obscures, however, is how very difficult Pecock's theology is to understand.²⁸² Clearly, Pecock grasped this difficulty on some level, given his explanations above. Yet, what is almost certainly impossible to prove but is nonetheless an important part of this conversation, is that the challenges of understanding Pecock's system has led to some very important misinterpretations of his work, both in the fifteenth century and today. Today, Pecock's theology (although not necessarily the system) is almost invariably perceived of as unoriginal²⁸³ and (dare I say it?) boring.²⁸⁴ Yet, nothing could be further from the truth. What Pecock proposes is nothing short of revolutionary in its understanding of the role of the individual within the context of the New Testament as opposed to the Old Testament Commandments; his system offers a radically different path for individual piety from those offered by either the mystics or the Lollards of the fifteenth century.

Pecock's vision for pedagogical reform was a comprehensive one. His *Four Tables* are intended to synthesize all of the preexisting tools for religious instruction: the Ten Commandments; the Twelve Articles of the Creed;²⁸⁵ the Seven Deadly Sins;²⁸⁶ the Seven Works of Mercy; the Three

²⁸² There are three different ways that Pecock's pedagogical approach stretches the abilities of his readers' intellectual capacities. The first is rooted in his use of the syllogism and its very limited way of imparting information. The second is rooted in his use of and invention of word forms. The last way is rooted in Pecock's failure to state the fundamental parts of his divisions. Pecock typically refers to the *Four Tables* and its constituent parts using vocabulary that, certainly for the modern reader and in all probably for the medieval reader, diminishes the transparency of the fundamental principles that drive the organization of those tables. For example, the term *Four Tables* is very meaningful for Pecock, but it does not immediately evoke the idea of God's Commandments.

²⁸³ Hitchcock, *Follower*, vii.

²⁸⁴ See Patrouch, *Reginald Pecock*, 142.

²⁸⁵ According to the *Sarum Manual*, the Apostle's Creed in use during Pecock's day followed this formula:

- (1) Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terre,
- (2) et in Jesum Christum Filium Eius unicum, Dominum nostrum,
- (3) qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine,

Theological Virtues;²⁸⁷ the Four Cardinal Virtues; the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost; and the Sacraments²⁸⁸ as pedagogical tools for the laity.²⁸⁹ To put this another way, Pecock's tables are intended to replace Peckham's syllabus, which explicitly address each of those items. Pecock's tables are a reflection of the emphatic and comprehensive nature of his theological program and are themselves a fundamental part of his argument. The oversight or misinterpretation of his system thus far has been a sad hindrance to the wider study of his theology.

Table 4.1 Twelve Articles of the Creed

1 I beleve into God the fadir, maker of hevne and of erthe	1 st matter: What God is and 2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> 103)
2 And I beleve into Jesus Crist, his oon bigeten sone, oure lorde;	2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> Part I, ch. xv). (<i>Donet</i> 103)
3 Which was conceived of the holy goost, and born of Mary, the maide;	1 st matter: What God is (<i>Donet</i> 103)
4 Which Jesus suffrid undir Pounce Pilate, was crucified, was deed and birid;	2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> 103)
5 Pecock omits the descent into hell.	

(4) passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus.

(5) Descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,

(6) ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis;

(7) inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.

(8) Credo in Spiritum Sanctum,

(9) sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem,

(10) remissionem peccatorum,

(11) carnis resurrectionem,

(12) vitam eternam. Amen. (*Manuale Sarum*, 30.)

²⁸⁶ The sins were a popular topos for medieval writers. Notable examples include "The Parson's Tale" in the *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (see Larry D. Benson's *Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., 299-325); the procession of sins as allegorical figures in William Langland's *Piers Plowman* (see *Piers Plowman: A New Annotated Edition of the C-Text*, edited by Derek Pearsall (University of Exeter Press, 2008), 121-139; and Peckham's *Syllabus*.

²⁸⁷ The Three Theological Virtues are also the topic of one of Pecock's works not known to have survived. See the introduction to this work (34-36) that discusses the misidentification of a Wycliffite work with this still unknown work by Pecock. Also discussed in Peckham's *Syllabus*.

²⁸⁸ Pecock devotes much energy to discourse on the sacraments. He claims in the *Repressor* to have written a book by the name of the *Book of Sacraments* (163, 564) and another (perhaps the same?) called the *Book of Faith and Sacraments* in Latin (38, 42, 80, 92, 99, 101). Pecock devotes four separate books, likely all in Latin, to the sacraments of baptism, eucharist, penance, and priesthood respectively: references in the *Repressor* are to the *Book of Baptism* (163, 427, 564) *Book of Eucharist* (163, 564), *Book of Matrimony* (15), *Book of Penance* (427), and *Book of Priesthood* (427, 451). In the *Rule*, Pecock makes the same reference to the *Book of Sacraments*, in Latin, 7, 248, 252, 309 (twice), 361, 364, 366, 382, and 504, the *Book of Matrimony*, 276, and the *Book of Penance*, in Latin, 151, 154, 160, 163, and 172.

²⁸⁹ In the prologue to the second part of *Donet*, the Son asks the Father how the *Four Tables* can replace the instruction of those other pedagogical tools.

4.2 A NEW CATECHESIS: GOD'S MORAL LAW

6 And rose in the iii ^e daye to liif, stiyed up into hevene, sittith at the right side of the fadir;	2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> 103-4)
7 Fro whens he is to come for to deeme quyk and deed;	2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> 104)
8 I beleeve into the Holy Goost;	2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> 104)
9 And I bileeve the comuning of seintis or of holy men to be;	2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> 104)
10 I bileeve foryevenes of sinne to be;	2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> 104)
11 I bileeve the ayenrising of deed men, that is to seye, to be or to come;	2 nd matter: God's Benefits (<i>Donet</i> 104)
12 And I beleeve everlasting liif to be or to come.	3 rd matter: God's punishments (<i>Donet</i> 104)

Table 4.2 Seven Deadly Sins

1 Pride	Opposite of <i>meekness</i> (Table 4, pt. 4) (<i>Donet</i> 105)
2 Envy	Opposite of <i>charity</i> (Table 4, pt. 1) (<i>Donet</i> 105)
3 Wrath	Opposite of <i>charity</i> (Table 4, pt. 1) (<i>Donet</i> 105)
4 Sloth	Opposite of <i>doughtiness</i> (Table 3, pt. 7) (<i>Donet</i> 105)
5 Lechery	Opposite of <i>continence</i> a subset of <i>cleanness in gendering</i> , a subset of <i>largess</i> towards God and towards oneself (Table 2, pt. 7; Table 3, pts. 4 & 8) (<i>Donet</i> 48-49, 105)
6 Avarice	Opposite of <i>largeness</i> (Tables and <i>rightwiseness</i> (<i>Donet</i> 105)
7 Gluttony	Opposite of <i>doughtiness</i> (Table 3, pt. 7) and <i>temperance</i> = <i>fleshlihood, worldihood, cleanness, honesty, and patience</i> (Table 3, pts. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) (<i>Donet</i> 105)

Table 4.3 Five Inward Bodily Wits

1 Common wit (<i>Donet</i> 9)	What man is (not part of the <i>four tables</i> or <i>seven matters</i>)
2 Imagination (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)
3 Fantasy (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)
4 Estimation (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)
5 Mind (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)

Table 4.4 Five Outward Bodily Wits

1 Seeing (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)
2 Hearing (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)
3 Smelling (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)
4 Tasting (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)
5 Touching (ibid.)	What man is (ibid.)

Table 4.5 Seven Bodily Works of Mercy

1 To feed the hungry (<i>Donet</i> 67)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (Table 4, pts. 3 and 8)
2 To give drink to the thirsty (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)

PART III. PECKOCK'S PEDAGOGY

3 To clothe the naked (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
4 To visit prisoners (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
5 To shelter the homeless (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
6 To visit the sick (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
7 To bury the dead (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)

Table 4.6 Seven Ghostly Works of Mercy

1 To instruct the ignorant (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
2 To counsel the doubtful (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
3 To admonish sinners (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
4 To bear wrongs patiently (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
5 To forgive offences willingly (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
6 To comfort the afflicted (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)
7 To pray for the living and the dead (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>largess</i> (ibid.)

Table 4.7 Three Theological Virtues

1 Faith	What God is, God's benefits, God's punishments (Table 1, pt. 1; first, second, and third matter) (<i>Donet</i> 108)
2 Hope	A subset of <i>faith</i> , specifically under God's benefits (Table 1, pt. 1; second matter) (<i>Donet</i> 108)
3 Charity	Tables 2, 3, and 4 entire (<i>Donet</i> 109)

Table 4.8 Four Cardinal Virtues

1 Prudence	<i>Knowledge</i> (Table 1, pt. 1) (<i>Donet</i> 109)
2 Temperance	<i>Fleshlihood, Worldlihood, Cleanliness, Honesty, Patience</i> (Table 3, pts. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) (<i>Donet</i> 109)
3 Ghostly Strength	<i>Doughtiness</i> (Table 3, pt. 7) (<i>Donet</i> 109-10)
4 Rightwiseness	<i>Rightwiseness</i> in the widest sense includes all moral virtues of Tables 2 & 4, excluding <i>ghostlihood</i> (<i>Donet</i> 110)

Table 4.9 Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit

1 Wisdom (<i>Donet</i> 115-6)	<i>Knowledge</i> (Table 1, pt. 1)
2 Intellect (ibid.)	<i>Knowledge</i> (ibid.)
3 Counsel (i.e. Prudence) (ibid.)	<i>Knowledge</i> (ibid.)
4 Knowledge (ibid.)	<i>Knowledge</i> (ibid.)
5 Ghostly Strength (ibid.)	<i>Doughtiness</i> (Table 3, pt. 7)
6 Pity (ibid.)	<i>Largess</i> (Table 4, pt. 8)
7 Fear of the Lord (ibid.)	Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 entire (they are "sparclid" throughout)

Table 4.10 Seven Sacraments

1 Baptism	Sacramental living (Table 1, pt. 8)
2 Confirmation	Sacramental living (ibid.)
3 Communion	Sacramental living (ibid.)
4 Penance	Sacramental living (ibid.)
5 Extreme unction	Sacramental living (ibid.)
6 Holy orders	Sacramental living (ibid.)
7 Matrimony	Sacramental living (ibid.)

Table 4.11 Ten Commandments

1 The Lord God spake alle these wordis: 'I am the Lorde thy God, that ledde thee out of the londe of Egypt, and broughte thee oute of the house of thraldom. Thou schalt not have alien goddis bifore me. Thou schalt not make to thee a graven thing, neither eny liknes of thing that is in hevене above, ne in erthe binethe, ne of hem that ben in watris binethe the erthe. Thou schalt not loute hem, ne worschip hem, for I am the Lord thy God, a strong gelose lover, visiting the wickidnes [of fadris] into children, into the iii ^e and iiiii ^e generacioun of hem that haten me; and I do mercy into thousandis of hem that loven me and kepen myn heestis.' (<i>Donet</i> 119, Quotation of Exodus 20; here Pecock uses neither the <i>Early</i> nor the <i>Late Middle English Bible</i> .)	1 st matter: What God is (Table 1, pt. 1)
2 ^e Thou schalt not take the name of thy Lord God in vein, ffor the lorde thy God wole not have him unpunischid which takith his name in idel.' (<i>Donet</i> 126)	Table 1 of Contemplative virtues entire; <i>Rightwiseness</i> and <i>Truth</i> (Table 2, pts. 3 & 5; Table 4, pts. 3 & 6) (<i>Donet</i> 127)
3 Have minde to halewe the vii ^e daye of the weke, which is the satirdaye. Sixe dayes thou schalt worche, and do thine owne werkis. For in vi dayes God maad hevене and erthe, the se, and al that is withinne hem. And he restid on the vii ^e daye, which is the Satirdaye, and he blissid thilk daye, and maad it holy from al servile werk. Thou schalt kepe these thy silf, thy sone and thy doughtir, thi servaunt and thyn hande maide, thy werk beest, and thy gest which dwellith in thin house.' (<i>Donet</i> 128)	<i>Praise, worship, prayer, thanksgiving</i> (Table 1, pts. 2, 4, 5, & 6) and <i>doughtiness</i> (Table 3, pt. 7) (<i>Donet</i> 129); <i>attendance</i> (Table 4, pt. 2)
4 Worschip thou thy fadir and thy modir, that thou be of long liif upon the londe which the lord thy God wole yeve to thee.' (<i>Donet</i> 133)	<i>Attendaunce</i> (Table 4, pt. 2)
5 Thou schalt not slee. (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> (Table 4, pt. 3)
6 Thou schalt not take a mannis wiif in avoutrye. (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> (ibid.)
7 Thou schalt not de theeft. (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> (ibid.)
8 Thou schalt not bere fals witnessing ayens thy neighbore. (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> (ibid.)

PART III. PECCOCK'S PEDAGOGY

9 Thou schalt not coveite thy neighboris house, lond, rent ne noon of his goodis with wrong. (ibid.)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> (ibid.)
10 Thou schalt not desire withinneforth in thin herte or wil thy neighboris wiif, ne his servaunt, ne his maide, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne eny thing that is his, thou schalt not coveit it wrongfully.' (<i>Donet</i> 134)	<i>Rightwiseness</i> (ibid.)

Ironically, only one scholar has attempted to give an overview of Pecock's oft-cited and never discussed catchetical system: Joseph Patrouch in his 1970 Twayne volume on Pecock.²⁹⁰ Patrouch, however, severely misunderstands the relationship between the *Four Tables* and the *Seven Matters* (an issue which I will address below). Kirsty Campbell, in her recent book on Pecock's relationship to reading communities in London, also attempts to engage with Pecock's theology, but she limits herself to a discussion only of the *mixed life* and the *contemplative life* as it is addressed in the last surviving part of the *Rule*.²⁹¹ Campbell, like Patrouch, makes some problematic conclusions regarding the seeming equality of Pecock's scheme stemming from her incomplete understanding of Pecock's pedagogical vision. And while Shannon Gayk's recent work on Pecock's interpretation of the role of images in lay instruction certainly does justice to his approach to image-based education, it too leaves much to be desired, considering the fact that Pecock's instructional method is primarily word-based and not image-based.²⁹² Even Greet, the editor of the *Rule*, characterized Pecock's system as a thoughtless one based on personality, not intent: "For his militant theology he chose, I think, what theories suited his temperament and the needs of his party, without much thought of the

²⁹⁰ Patrouch, *Reginald Pecock*.

²⁹¹ The aspect of Pecock's pedagogy, which Campbell explores in depth and which I do not address at all, is his use of real-world examples to illustrate the abstract ideas, which form the basis of his argument. She uses historical material to contextualize Pecock's theology within the larger group of London lay people with whom Pecock interacted on a regular basis. (See Chapter 1. Perceptions of Pecock.) Campbell's work is a reader-centered reading of Pecock's texts, whereas mine is an author-centered reading. See *The Call to Read*.

²⁹² See Gayk, *Image, Text, and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England*.

system which they imply.”²⁹³ Nothing could be further from the truth in that regard. Pecoock’s system is, of course, a reflection of the rigorous syllogistic approach that he applied, but it was not intended to be controversial. As of this writing, no critic has sought to describe and analyze Pecoock’s *Four Tables* and his *Seven Matters* in their entirety. The partial treatments that result diminish the innovation of his systematic reorganization and, more often than not, lead to a misinterpretation of his work from even those scholars most steeped in his writings.

What I hope to accomplish in the following sections, therefore, is to provide a bird’s-eye view of Pecoock’s theology—one that clarifies the complex relationships at work in his *Four Tables* and his *Seven Matters* and removes much of the difficulty that has plagued his scholarship in the centuries since his death. For the following discussion, please refer to Figure 4.1.

²⁹³ Greet, *Rule*, xvi.

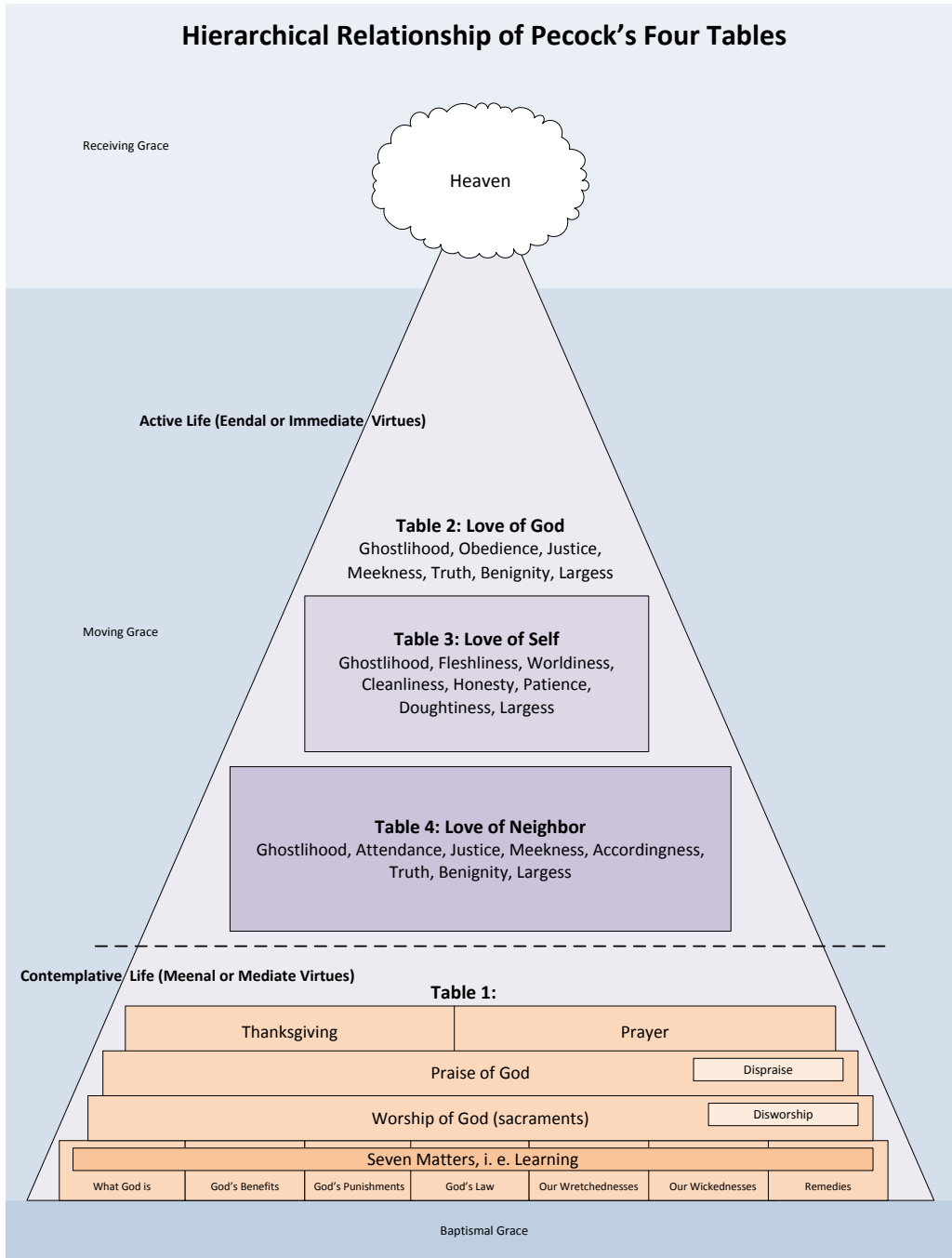


Figure 4.1 Hierarchical Relationship of Pecock's Four Tables

4.2.1 *Seven Matters*

To begin--there are two different interrelated schemas by which Peacock organizes his theological material: the first is the *Seven Matters of Knowledge* and the second is the *Four Tables of God's Moral Law*. Simply put, the *Seven Matters* are 'what' good Christians need to know and the *Four Tables* are 'how' they can go about putting them into practice. The *Seven Matters* form a part of the *Four Tables* in that they constitute all of the components of the first *moral virtue* of the *First Table: learning*. These *Seven Matters* are:

- (1) what God is in Himsilf,
- (2) whiche ben Hise benefetis,
- (3) which ben Hise punischingis,
- (4) which is Hise moral lawe and service commaundid and counseilid to be doon and to be fulfillid of us,
- (5) whiche ben oure natural wrecchidnessis,²⁹⁴
- (6) whiche ben oure wickidnessis,²⁹⁵ and
- (7) whiche ben remedies ayens hem bothe.²⁹⁶

The first three items in the *Seven Matters* concern God and His relationship to humanity. The first item is an attempt to define God himself. The second and the third items continue this definition of God, but through his action. That is, the first item shows God in a static, distant manner whereas the second and the third items show God in his potential to either benefit or punish humanity.

²⁹⁴ *I.e.* frailties.

²⁹⁵ *I.e.* sins.

²⁹⁶ *Donet 27*; numbering and formatting mine.

Items (2) and (3) are not simply items of knowledge, but also imply an argument in themselves. They imply that humanity can and should respond to God because the system which encompasses them all is a dynamic one dependent upon the potential of action and reaction.

Item (4), or *God's moral law*, is the realization of this potential for action; it is the link between knowledge (knowing what God is and how he might impact our lives) and fulfilling that action.

Items (5), (6), and (7) turn the focus from God to humanity. Human potential is defined primarily in the negative, in our inherent weakness and in the manifestation of that weakness: sin. This double threat to our salvation constitutes, like items (2) and (3) before them, motivators for good works, which are explicitly defined in item (7).

4.2.2 *Four Tables*

The *Four Tables* are Pecock's how-to manual on the ways of fulfilling God's commandments as they are presented in the New Testament²⁹⁷ and in the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*. "Thou schalt love thy Lord God of al thin herte, and of al thy soule, and of alle thy strengthis, and of al thy minde; and thy neiybore as thysilf."^{298, 299} These new commandments are based on man's duty to God, himself, and his neighbors.

²⁹⁷ All Bible references will be to the *Later Middle English Bible*, c. 1395 (also known as the *Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible*) unless Pecock provides his own translation, in which case the citation from the relevant modern edition will be noted. Translations of the Latin Vulgate Bible in Middle English are from Challoner's edition of the *Donay-Rheims Bible*. The editions of the *Late ME Bible* and Challoner *Donay-Rheims* are those available through *BIE*.

²⁹⁸ In addition to this passage, there are many others in the Bible that allude to the same concept of loving thy neighbor. The most important is from Matthew 22: 36-40 and it is on this passage that both Peckham and Pecock base their commandments:

Master, which is the greatest commandment in the law? Jesus said to him: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like to this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self. On these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets."

Other shorter versions appear throughout the Old and New Testament:

"Thou shalt love thy friend as thyself" (Leviticus 19: 18, Challoner Bible);

Like the *Seven Matters*, the *Four Tables* are also divided into two major parts. This time, however, the division is not between God and man; it is between the means to live a good life and the ends or recipients of that behavior: God, self, and neighbor. The *First Table* is an account of the *meenal moral virtues*:

The **First Table**, and first half of God's law, consists of eight "meenal" moral virtues which entail a life lived "learningly, preisingly, dispraisingly, preyingly, thankingly, worschippingly, disworschippingly," and "sacramental" (that is, through the seven sacraments: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, confession, marriage, holy orders, and extreme unction).³⁰⁰

The *Second, Third, and Fourth Tables*, the second half of God's law, are the tables of *eendal moral virtues*:

The **Second Table** consists of seven "eendal" moral virtues which constitute an individual's obligation to love God by behaving "goostly, obediently, justly, mekely, trewly, benignely," and "largely" towards God.³⁰¹

The **Third Table** consists of eight "eendal" moral virtues which constitute an individual's obligation to love oneself by behaving "goostly, fleischely, worldly, clenly,

"If a stranger dwell in your land, and abide among you, do not upbraid him: But let him be among you as one of the same country: and you shall love him as yourselves" (Leviticus 19:33-34);
 "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole strength" (Deuteronomy 6:5);
 "And as you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner (Luke 6:31);
 "All things therefore whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them. For this is the law and the prophets" (Matthew 7:12, Challoner Bible);
 "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Galatians 5:14, Challoner Bible).

²⁹⁹ Luke 10:27, *Later ME Bible*.

³⁰⁰ *Donet* 24.

³⁰¹ *Donet* 24.

honestly, patiently, doughtily,” and “largely” towards oneself.³⁰²

The **Fourth Table** consists of eight “eendal” moral virtues which constitute an individual's obligation to love his neighbor by behaving “goostly, attendauntly, justly, mekely, accordingly, treuly, benignely,” and “largely” towards his neighbor.³⁰³

At the core of the division between the First Table and the Second, Third, and Fourth Tables is the distinction between contemplative virtue and active virtue. For Pecock, the meenal virtues are contemplative virtues and the eendal virtues are active virtues.³⁰⁴ The First Table, therefore, could be more aptly referred to as the ‘Table of Contemplative Virtues’ and the Second, Third, and Fourth Tables could be more aptly referred to as the ‘Tables of Active Virtues,’ terminology which I will henceforth use. An effective active life necessarily requires a fully developed contemplative life.

To summarize, a fully developed Christian life has two components: a *contemplative* aspect and an *active* aspect, which together form the *mixed life*. The *contemplative life* necessarily precedes the *active life* in that it prepares the individual for direct engagement within society. The virtues of the *First Table* are the *meenal, mediate* virtues that constitute this preparation. The virtues of the *Second, Third, and Fourth Tables* are the *eendal, immediate* (unmediated) virtues that are the direct recipients of positive Christian behaviors.

³⁰² *Donet* 41.

³⁰³ *Donet* 22.

³⁰⁴ Pecock's distinction between *meenal virtues* and *eendal virtues* is extremely important to his division of the *Four Tables*; however, both of those terms--*meenal* and *eendal*--are Pecockian inventions. They are the adjectival form of the “means” and the “ends.” Occasionally, Pecock substitutes the terms *mediate* and *immediate* to describe the relation of those particular moral virtues to their constituent recipients. The modern-day equivalents are “mediated” or “medial” and “unmediated” or “final.”

Table 4.12 Contemplative Virtues*First Table. Meenal Virtues*

Knowledge (Table 1, Point 1) is “forto wille, chese, and be bisie forto knowe, learne, and kunne and thanne aftir forto remembre alle tho trouthis whos kunning and remembring schulen be meenis to us forto govern us in deeds of our wil aftir resoun or feith, anentis God immediatly, anentis us silf immediatly, and anentis oure neighboris immediatly” (*Donet 27*, fol. 13b).

Praise (Table 1, Point 2) is “forto declare or witness, by inward [or outward] speche, sum excellence or worthines or goodnes of God in himsilf, or in his worchingis, or in hise seintis, or in enye of hise creaturis” (*Donet 28-9*, fol. 14a).

Dispraise (Table 1, Point 3) is “forto declare, denounce, or witness, by inward speche or outward speche, sum unworthines or unnobilt, lack, defaute, wrecchidnes, or vice, trespas, or sinne, of himsilf or of sum othire creature, for this entent: that he himsilf, or the othir creature, be therby brought into mekenes, or into the depper mekenes, or into sorowe for his sinne, or into removing, withdrawing, or lassing of over moche fleischly or worldly love had upon him silf or upon sum othire creature, or into warnes and good disposioun wherby pride, or suche seid over moche love, schulen be lettid forto arise.” (*Donet 29-30*, fol. 14b).

Prayer (Table 1, Point 4) is when “a man forto aske of god, by inward speche in resoun oonly, or therwith by outward speche in tunge, or by othire outward signe, countenance, or dede occupying the stide of outward speche, enything that is to oure bihove or to our neighboris bihove, in Goddis service” (*Donet 30*, fol. 14b-15a).

Thanksgiving (Table 1, Point 5) is when “by inward speche in resoun oonly, or therwith by outward speche in tunge, or by othire outward signe, countenance, or dede occupying the stide of speche, that he hath receivid benefete or benefetis of God, and that he hath cause forto in sum maner of undirstonding ayen quite God fully, or sumwhat, in service for thoo benefetis doone of God, and received into the scier, or into sum othire persoun whom he loveth” (*Donet 31*, fol. 15a).

Worship or Honor (Table 1, Point 6) is when a man “declare or witness by dede, as of bowing or loughing us silf inneforth in the undirstonding, or in the imaginacioun, or ellis by signe, countenance, or dede withoutforth, divers from outward word, sum excellence, or worthines, or goodnes of God, being in himsilf, or being in hise worchingis, wrought by him into hise seintis, or into enye of hise creaturis” (*Donet 32*, fol. 15b).

Disworship (Table 1, Point 7) is “forto declare, denounce, or witness, withinne forth or withoute forth, by sum signe or tokun diverse fro inward and outward speche of word, sum unworthines or unnobilt, lacke, defaute, or wrecchidnes, or vice, trespas, or sinne, of himsilf or of othe othire creature, for this entent: that he himsilf, or the othire creature, be therby brought into mekenes, or into the depper mekenes, or into sorewe for his sinne, or into removing, withdrawing, or lassing of over miche fleischly or worldly love had upon himsilf or upon sum othir creature, or into warnes and good disposioun that pride, or this seid over moche love, not arise” (*Donet 33*, fol. 16a).

Sacrament (Table 1, Point 8) is “forto receive Cristis sacramentis, that is to seye, baptem and othire, dewly” (*Donet 33*, fol. 16a).

Table 4.13 Active Virtues*Second Table. Eendal Virtues Towards God*

Ghostlihood towards God (Table 2, Point 1) is “forto wille to God al his good, which is not in a creaturis power for to make him have, or not have, and lacke: as ben his might, his wisdom his love, his mageste, and suche othire” (*Donet 36*, fol. 17a).

Obedience towards God (Table 2, Point 2) is “forto obeye and kepe hise lawis of kinde assignid to us, summe by his commaundement, and summe by his counseiling; and forto obeye to alle his voluntarie

assignementis and positive ordinauncis, and to receive hem and fulfille hem, as fer forthe as we knowen his wil to be that we so schulde do, by witnessing of his holy scripture (*Donet* 37, fol. 17b).

Rightwiseness or *Justice* towards God (Table 2, Point 3) is “whanne-ever and how ofte evere we wolen or schulen to God make covenante or boond of biheest, by worde, or by othire signe or dede occupying the stide of worde, upon eny thing to be of us doon, or left undoone, in time to come, to which we weren bifore free, that we perfoorme thilke boond and covenant” and to “bere us anentis alle hise creaturis that we in no maner trete, use, or demeene eny of hise goodis, or enye of his creaturis, ayens his wil” (*Donet* 38-9, fol. 18a).

Meekness towards God (Table 2, Point 4) is “forto loughe us silf undir God in conceit, in wil, in countenance, worde, tokene, and werk, and to highe god fer above us in alle these seid maners as oure [highest] and sovereignest lord; and that we forbere to attempte or assaye Goddis might, wiisdom, or wil, that he schulde do or worche for us sum werk above kinde, by miracle, without nede, or withoute sure revelacioun that we schulden assaye him so to do” (*Donet* 39-40, fol. 18b).

Truth towards God (Table 2, Point 5) is “to God afferme or denye, by worde or by signe, countenance, or dede occupying the stide of worde, enyething present, passid, or to come, that we therinne afferme and denye treuly” (*Donet* 40, fol. 18b).

Benignity towards God (Table 2, Point 6) is “forto forbere worde, countenance, and werk which schulde tempte God into disturblance of his quietenes and reste withinne forthe, if he were therto movable, and into it changeable, as man is” (*Donet* 40, fol. 19a).

Largeness [i.e. Largess] towards God (Table 2, Point 7) is “forto yolde, yeve, or paye to God what we ben not bounde forto yolde, yeve, or do to him; as ben dedis of pure counseile and of plenteousenes, and not of comaundement, neithir of dette” (*Donet* 41, fol. fol. 19a).

Third Table. Eendal Virtues Towards Self

Ghostlihood towards self (Table 3, Point 1) is “a willing by whiche a man willith to himsilf tho goodis whiche is not in eny creaturis kindly power forto yeve to him, or putte to him, or take aweie from him: as ben oure blisful rewardis to be had in hevене, and goddis fre gracis thiderward helping here in erthe” (*Donet* 42, fol. 19b).

Fleshlihood towards self (Table 3, Point 2) is “forto wille, seche aftir, gete, have, and kepe goodis of the fleisch in maner and mesure and in othire circumstauncis with the whiche resoun comaundith or allowith hem to be soughte aftir, gete, have, and holde” (*Donet* 42, fol. 19b).

Worldihood towards self (Table 3, Point 3) is “for to wille, seche aftir, gete, and have, and holde worldli goodis, aftir rehercid in the vertu of honeste, in maner and mesure and in othire circumstauncis as resoun comaundith or allowith” (*Donet* 43, fol. 19b).

Cleanness towards self (Table 3, Point 4) is “forto kepe and fulfill the doom of resoun in use of nurisching and in use of gendring, for Goddis sake finaly or eendly” (*Donet* 47, fol. 22a).

Honesty towards self (Table 3, Point 5) is “forto kepe and fulfille the doom of resoun anentis use of worldly goodis to us silf ward, and anentis the moving, gesture, and countenance, and setting of our body” (*Donet* 50, fol. 23b).

Patience towards self (Table 3, Point 6) is “forto holde and kepe the wil in a softnes and in pees and reste, withoute disturblance and grucching, whanne enye maner of greefis fallen or comen; and that whethir these greefis comen fro God immediatly, or fro the feende, or fro oure fleisch or fro tho world” (*Donet* 56, fol. 26a).

Doughtiness towards self (Table 3, Point 7) is “forto kepe and folewe the doom of resoun in taking and bering and continuing excellent labouris and excellent painful dedis for the service and lawe of God fynaly or eendly” (*Donet* 57, fol. 26b).

Largeness [i.e. Largess] towards self (Table 3, Point 8) is “for to do to us silf goodis which we ben not bounde by God or by resoun forto so hem yeve or to do to us silf, and that of what ever maner of goodis tho be, so that God or resoun wel allowe that we so yeve or do tho goodis to us silf” (*Donet* 60, fol. 28a).

Fourth Table. Eendal Virtues Towards Neighbor

Ghostlibood towards neighbor (Table 4, Point 1) is “oure willing by whiche we willith to him goodis which, forto to him yeve, or forto to him sette, and forto fro him take, is not in a creaturis power: as ben his blisful rewardis to be had in hevене, and Goddis gracis freely helping him thidirward” (*Donet* 61, fol. 28a).

Attendaunce towards neighbor (Table 4, Point 2) is “the fulfilling of the lawe and boonde of overte toward undirlingis, or of subjeccioun toward overers. Or ellis thus: attendaunce is to fulfillle the lawe, charge and boond bi which a soverēin is bounden to his undirlingis, or by which the undirlingis ben bounden to her soverēins” (*Donet* 61, fol. 28b).

Justice towards neighbor (Table 4, Point 3) is (1) “whanne-ever and how ofte ever, we wolen, or schulen, to oure neighbore make covenaut or boond of biheest...that we perfoorme thilk boonde and covenant” (*Donet* 62, fol. 28b-29a) and (2) “we no wille forto hoolde or demene or trete eny thing which is his in possessioun, or in right claime, ayens his license or just wil, or withoute sufficient autorite of lawe made, and that whethir thilk thing be his worldly good or his fleischly good” (*Donet* 63, fol. 29a).

Accordingness towards neighbor (Table 4, Point 4) is “forto consent to neighboris into the making, keping and using of reulis, ordinauncis and lawis to be made, such as resoun wel deemeth to strecche into the comoun availe bodily or goostly, namelich if therwith they schulen come into the availe of the consenter, and not into disavaile” (*Donet* 65, fol. 30a).

Truth towards neighbor (Table 4, Point 5) is “as ofte as we wolen, or schulen, to oure neighboris afferme or denye, by worde, or by signe or dede occupying the stide of worde, that the mater so affermed or denied by treuthe” (*Donet* 65, fol. 30a).

Benignity towards neighbor (Table 4, Point 6) is “a mesuryng, reuling, tempering and demening of oure speche, countenance, gesture and dede toward oure neighbore fro boistosenes, rudenes, that at the leest oure neighbore be not therby temptid or movid into unrestful passious or into unpacience, or forto breke up his love from us, and forto wil and wirche to us ivel and harme” (*Donet* 66, fol. 30b).

Largness [i.e. Largess] towards neighbor (Table 4, Point 7) is “a willing forto releeve oure neihboris lak and nede by oure habundaunce and plente” (*Donet* 66, fol. 30b).

CHAPTER

5 Complications and Implications of a New Catechesis

5.1 Consistency of the *Four Tables*

Over time, Pecock in his revisions and reconsiderations, also offered several modifications to his already complex system. In the most basic of the texts, the *Donet*, there are thirty-one points distributed among each of the *Four Tables*; however, this structure is somewhat fluid. Here, figure 5.2 will be especially useful. At the end of the *Follower*, Pecock offers an alternative reduced numbering scheme that he describes as more scholarly: “Sothely, though this disposicioun of xxxi pointis be the more plein and eesy, and therefore the more fruteful into remembraunce and report, yit the othir disposicioun of xxvii pointis oonly, or of xxvi pointis, is peraventure more clerkly and curiose.”³⁰⁵ The ordering of the tables, furthermore, is not always consistent between texts. Despite Pecock’s painstaking construction of his *Four Tables*, he is not altogether consistent in his application of it. There are some points of variation. For example, truth is considered the fifth point in the *Follower*.

Table 5.1 Four Tables, *Donet* Version (31 points)

Contemplative Virtues	Active Virtues		
	God	Self	Neighbor
Learningly, Knowingly	Ghostly	Ghostly	Ghostly
Praisingly-> God	Obediently	Fleshly	Attendantly
Dispraisingly -> Self	Justly, Rightwisely	Worldly	Justly, Rightwisely
Prayingly-> God	Meekly	Cleanly	Meekly
Thankingly -> God	Truly	Honestly	Accordingly
Worshippingly-> God	Benignly	Patiently	Truly
Disworshippingly-> Self	Largely	Doughtily	Benignly
Sacramentally		Largely	Largely

³⁰⁵ *Follower* 225.

Table 5.2 Four Tables, *Follower Version* (27 points, 24 points + 3 subpoints)

Contemplative Virtues	Active Virtues		
	God	Self	Neighbor
Learningly, Knowingly	Ghostly	Ghostly	Ghostly
Praisingly-> God	Obediently	Fleshly	Attendantly
Dispraisingly -> Self	Justly, Rightwisely	Worldly	Justly, Rightwisely
Prayingly-> God	Truly	Cleanly	Truly
Thankingly -> God	Meekly	Honestly	Meekly
Worshippingly-> Self	Benignly	Patiently	Accordingly
Sacramentally			Benignly
Disworshippingly->Self			

Table 5.3 Four Tables, *Rule Version* (30 points)

Contemplative Virtues	Active Virtues		
	God	Self	Neighbor
Learningly, Knowingly	Ghostly	Ghostly	Ghostly
Praisingly-> God	Obediently	Fleshly	Attendantly
Dispraisingly -> Self	Justly, Rightwisely	Cleanly	Justly, Rightwisely
Prayingly-> God	Meekly	Worldly	Meekly
Thankingly -> God	Truly	Honestly	Truly
Worshippingly-> God	Benignly	Patiently	Accordingly
Disworshippingly-> Self	Largely	Doughtily	Benignly
		Largely	Largely

The first time that Pecock lists the eight moral governances of the *Third Table*, he lists *cleanliness* before *worldliness*;³⁰⁶ however, when he reiterates them at the end of the section, he reverts to the order that he had given in the *Donet* which has worldliness preceding cleanliness.³⁰⁷ *Accordingliness* precedes *truthfulness* in *Table 4* of the *Donet* whereas it follows in the *Rule*. The moral governance to live *sacramentally* (Table 1, Point 8) does not occur as such in the *Rule*. Although Pecock does discuss the necessity of the sacraments, he does not include it in the list of the meenal

³⁰⁶ *Rule*, 286.

³⁰⁷ *Rule*, 287 and *Donet*, 22.

virtues at all. In fact, Pecock's treatment of the *First Table* is, if you can believe it, incomplete in this regard. Nowhere in the *Rule* does Pecock list all of the *meenal virtues* of the *First Table* in one place. This absence indicates Pecock's assumption that any reader who had moved on to the material in the *Rule* had already fully assimilated the ideas of the *Donet* and would have the schema of the *Four Tables* memorized already. *Honesty*³⁰⁸ can also fall into other parts of the same table, as well:

But yitt it is to be feelid here, that alle tho maners of honeste which ben counseilis and not preceptis, considerid and takun as counseilis, ben in the viii^e point of this iii^e table. And if they be yovun immediatly to God, than, in thilk skile, they ben in the vii^e point of the ii^e table. And if thei have promysse made to God sette therto, thanne, as in thilk consideracioun, they ben in the iii^e point of the ii^e table."³⁰⁹

Ultimately, these changes in numbering, or offerings of alternate numbering, or assumptions of some points under other points is very confusing for the reader (and the editor). Pecock's works, while he intends them for a large audience, assumes such a thorough comprehension of his schema, that it is ultimately inaccessible to most readers. We are back at that issue of difficulty raised at the beginning of the chapter. The following quotation of Pecock's practice of reordering is a good example of how this complex practice can lead to confusion among readers:

But so it is that worschiping, which is the v^e point of the First Table, is not so good and meritorie a vertue as is largenes or bodily almes-deling, which is the ii^e point of the iii^e table;...wherfore neither preising, which is the ii^e point of the First Table, neither sacramenting, which is the viii^e point of the First Table, is so good and so

³⁰⁸ Typically Table 3, Point 5.

³⁰⁹ *Donet*, 55.

meritorie a vertue as is largenes or bodily almes-yeving, which is the ii^e point of the iii^e table.³¹⁰

The preceding passage is confusing because, as Greet rightly emends in the first line, *worshipping* is not the fifth point of the *First Table*, but rather the sixth point of the *First Table*. Greet, however, does not emend the second and third mistake which has *largess* as the second point of the *Third* and *Fourth Tables*. *Largess* should be the eighth point of both the *Third* and *Fourth Tables*, as he gives them earlier in the *Rule*, because they are not *commandments* as such but rather *counsels*.³¹¹ Some of these mistakes may be due to scribal errors. It is, after all, easy to write three minims where there should be four, *etc.*; however, the fact that such confusion can arise out of what is either a scribal error or an author's inconsistency highlights the difficulty with which Pecock's *Four Tables* would ever achieve widespread use. They are simply too confusing.

Although Pecock does address all eight of the points of the *First Table* in the *Rule*, he does so in a manner that obscures their inter-relationship within a single table, preferring rather to introduce these *contemplative virtues* as they are integral to the fulfillment of the *active virtues*. The first point of the *First Table*, *knowledge* or *learning*, is introduced in Treatise III Chapter III at the same time that he introduces the first point of tables 2, 3, and 4: love of God, love of oneself, and love of one's neighbor, respectively. In the following chapter, Pecock does address the remaining points, but his numbering is not continuous. He labels the fifth, sixth, and seventh moral governances *praising* and *dispraising*, *worshipping* and *disworshipping*, and *praying* and *thanking*.³¹² Pecock seems motivated to explain

³¹⁰ *Rule*, 382: I have removed Greet's emendations to the manuscript in order to show Pecock's inconsistency and Greet's confusion.

³¹¹ *Rule*, 286, 303. *Commandments* are required by God's law whereas *counsels* are recommended only.

³¹² *Rule*, 243.

these remaining points as complementary pairs in order to give priority to these other relationships and subsume the ordering that he is at such pains to maintain in the *Donet*. To put it simply, he skips from point one to point five of the *First Table* without any explanation about the intervening numbers. He also inverts the pairs of *worshipping* and *disworshipping* with *praying* and *thanking*, which in the *Donet* precedes *worshipping* and *disworshipping*. The inconsistency of this ordering continues well into the *fifth chapter*, as well. In it, Pecoock discusses the importance of partaking in the *sacraments*, naming baptism explicitly.³¹³ Yet, he does not mention *sacramenting* as a point of the *First Table* at all, which it clearly is in the *Donet*, point eight.

Table 5.4 Ten Commandments

First Commandment The Lord God spake alle these wordis: 'I am the Lorde thy God, that ledde thee out of the londe of Egypt, and broughte thee oute of the house of thraldom. Thou schalt not have alien goddis bifore me. Thou schalt not make to thee a graven thing, neither eny liknes of thing that is in hevne above, ne in erthe binethe, ne of hem that ben in watris binethe the erthe. Thou schalt not loue hem, ne worschip hem, for I am the Lord thy God, a strong gelose lover, visiting the wickidnes [of fadris] into children, into the iii^e and iiie^e generacioun of hem that haten me; and I do mercy into thousindis of hem that loven me and kepen myn heestis.' (*Donet* 119, Quotation of Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5, Although Pecoock normally uses the *Late Middle English Bible* for quotations from Scripture, in this case, he appears to be the translator himself perhaps working off of a preexisting translation. The passage from *Donet* corresponds most closely to the *Early Middle English Bible*, but does not replicate that text in full.)

Second Commandment 'Thou schalt not take the name of thy Lord God in vein, ffor the lorde thy God wole not have him unpunischid which takith his name in idel.' (*Donet* 126)

Third Commandment 'Have minde to halewe the vii^e daye of the weke, which is the satirdaye. Sixe dayes thou schalt worche, and do thine owne werkis. For in vi dayes God maad hevne and erthe, the se, and al that is withinne hem. And he restid on the vii^e daye, which is the Satirdaye, and he blissid thilk daye, and maad it holy from al servile werk. Thou schalt kepe these thy silf, thy sone and thy doughtir, thi servaunt and thyn hande maide, thy werk beest, and thy gest which dwellith in thin house.' (*Donet* 128)

Fourth Commandment 'Worschip thou thy fadir and thy modir, that thou be of long liif upon the londe which the lord thy God wole yeve to thee.' (*Donet* 133)

Fifth-Tenth Commandments 'Thou schalt not slee. Thou schalt not take a mannis wiif in avoutrye. Thou schalt not do theeft. Thou schalt not bere fals witnessing ayens thy neighbore. Thou schalt not coveite thy neighboris house, lond, rent ne noon of his goodis with wrong. Thou schalt not desire withinneforth in thin herte or wil thy neighboris wiif, ne his servaunt, ne his maide, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne eny thing that is his, thou schalt not coveit it wrongfully.' (*Donet* 134)

³¹³ *Rule*, 247.

5.2 Consistency of the Ten Commandments

Pecock's concern with the numbering and ordering of God's law extends to his discussion of the *Ten Commandments*, as well, and he briefly addresses the various controversies regarding the numbering and classification of the *Ten Commandments*.³¹⁴ He addresses two different controversies. The first and of lesser concern is about the numbering of the Commandments. Pecock follows the practice of division used by Archbishop Peckham, and that is current in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches today except for the reversal of the *Ninth* and *Tenth Commandments*, where he follows the ordering of Deuteronomy rather than Exodus. The alternate division of the Ten Commandments became popular after the Reformation and is primarily used by Anglicans and other Protestant faiths.³¹⁵ Some divide the *First Commandment* into two following the practice of Exodus 20: that is, 'Thou schalt not have alien goddis bifore me' and 'Thou schalt not make to thee a graven thing' and instead combine the last two commandments, 'Thou schalt not coveite thy neighboris house, lond, rent ne noon of his goodis with wrong. Thou schalt not desire withinneforth in thin herte or wil thy neighboris wiif, ne his servaunt, ne his maide, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne eny thing that is his, thou schalt not coveit it wrongfully.' Others divide the commandments according to how they are listed in Deuteronomy 5. Pecock also discusses this issue of numbering and division in his exposition on the *First Commandment* when he dismisses the possibility of dividing Exodus 20 into

³¹⁴ *Donet*, 157.

³¹⁵ For a more in-depth discussion of the ordering of the Ten Commandments, see Aston, *Laws against Images*, 371-75 and Lupton, "Rights, Commandments, and the Literature of Citizenship." For a literary description of the Ten Commandments, see the directions to the Castle of Truth in *Piers Plowman*, Langland, *Piers Plowman*, 150-152.

different commandments on the grounds that there would be eleven commandments instead of ten.³¹⁶ Pecock does agree, however, that there are two tables of Moses' Commandments.

The second matter, and the one of greater concern, has to do with the desire of some doctors to divide the *Ten Commandments* between those items that address our duty towards God (Commandments one through three) and those commandments that address our duty towards our neighbor (Commandments four through ten). Peckham's Constitutions of 1281, the effectual law of the Canterbury Province, for example, follow this division.³¹⁷ Archbishop Thoresby made it law for the York Province in 1437, immediately prior to the period that Pecock was working on the *Donet* (1443-9). From Pecock's description, we can deduce that this debate extends into a literal understanding of the tablets as pieces of rock. This division between the two tablets is therefore, not just a conceptual separation but a physical one, as well. In this reading, the two tablets necessarily contain three and seven commandments respectively. Pecock uses an historical account to the contrary, that of "Josophus, a ful worthy, witty and mighty Jewe," to refute any such conceptual split between the Mosaic commandments. Josophus testified that the commandments were divided evenly between the two tablets: five and five. The implications of Pecock's interpretation of this matter are twofold. The first assumes that any conceptual division must necessarily manifest itself in the physical realm. The second harkens back to Pecock's own syllogistic division of the *four tables*, which I discussed in Section 4.2.2. Pecock dismisses any division of the Ten Commandments into these two categories, because Pecock's conception of social relationships fundamentally depends upon three categories. He rhetorically asks, "Where is the wiise disposicioun

³¹⁶ *Donet*, 124.

³¹⁷ Patrouch, *Reginald Pecock*, 111.

of God that in these ii tablis ben comaundementis rewling a man toward himsilf immediatly?³¹⁸

Pecock fundamentally disagrees with an interpretation of New Testament theology that fails to take into account the logical place of the individual and his relationship to himself within a comprehensive system of Christian moral governance.

Pecock's objections to the Ten Commandments as a comprehensive guide to morality are twofold: his first complaint is that clerics either try to fit all matters dealing with Christian living into the Ten Commandments or that they lead the people to believe erroneously that everything a person needs to know is held within the Ten Commandments. The *Four Tables* are explicitly a replacement for Moses' Ten Commandments.³¹⁹

And therefore moche wondir might a wel leerned clerk have upon the greet, over-long-woned rudenes of newe doctouris and of her now folewers, which, withoute enye nede, and withoute enye resoun, and withoute the peplis profite, yhe, ayens nede, ayens resoun, and ayeens the profite of the people, cleeven to Moyses tablis so over tendirly, and as for al hool and sufficient commaundementis of God displayen hem so bisily. And, as I trowe, this is oone cause why Goddis comaundementis ben kunned so sengly and so simply; bicause alle vertues and alle moral vertuouse dedis comaundid mowe not in thilk x words of Moyses' tablis be seen so soon and so cleerly, by gadering and reduccioun made into hem so fer fet and so straungely, and

³¹⁸ *Donet*, 158.

³¹⁹ A nearly identical passage also occurs at Deuteronomy 5:6-21.

by logging of alle moral vertues and of alle moral vertuouse dedis in hem in so narow a place so streitly and unaccordingly.³²⁰

It is precisely the sort of authorial practice in which the anonymous author of *Dives and Pauper* engages, an English-language theological dialogue from 1405, that Pecock objects to in the use of the *Ten Commandments* as a catch-all catechetical scheme. As *Dives and Pauper's* editor has noted, *Dives and Pauper's* "scope extends beyond theology to political and social commentary, folk-lore, iconography, astrology, witchcraft, warfare, and trade."³²¹ The *Ten Commandments* are simply the entry-point by which the author of *Dives and Pauper* introduces a very far-ranging and comprehensive method for living a moral life as a Christian. Indeed, this practice of incorporating all sins within the framework of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (or the *Ten Commandments*) was common practice in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council's Command to confess all sins by species and number.³²² Chaucer, like his source, does this in the "Parson's Tale."³²³ Like Pecock's works, therefore, *Dives and Pauper* provides a complete guide for "the growing number of newly literate, worldly, somewhat credulous yet pious laymen" who are the intended audience for both authors' works, yet he does so in a more conservative manner.³²⁴ Here is what Pecock says:

Though it were so that alle Goddis comaundementis were includid in the seid foorme of the x comaundementis (as no man can schewe that they ben); certis, yit it must be seid and feelid that thei so ben there includid in an hid, privy, schort maner oonli; liik as if a man wolde seye that alle Goddis comaundementis ben includid in

³²⁰ *Donet*, 20-21.

³²¹ Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, I. ix.

³²² *Papal Encyclicals*.

³²³ Chaucer, 287-327.

³²⁴ Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, I. x

the tweyne first versis of the Sawtir, or in the first worde of the Sawtir, bi wresting of lettris and of syllablis, or in sum othire derk maner, not esily and lightly to be biholden.³²⁵

Pecock's formulation of the *Ten Commandments* and the *New Testament Precepts* also differs from Lollard interpretations of both. In the *Dialogue Between a Friar and a Secular*, the Secular (who is the stand-in for the Lollard) says,

We seyen that there may no man fulfille more than thes hestis of God: 'love thy God overe alle thing' and 'thy neighbore as thysilf', as there is no doing more than to love God over alle thingis and to love thy neighbore. And therefore seith Crist that in hem two hangeth alle the lawe and the profetis, to the whiche whoso addith or lassith, he is acursid of God. And therefore may no man wel fulfille more ne lasse than the hestis of God, and therefore whoso fulfillith oon of hem [that is, either the ten Commandments or Christ's two], fulfillith hem alle... Therefore right as he that kepith ten hestis kepith no more ne lasse than oon [*i.e.* the other set of two], right so they that kepen the hestis of God and Cristis counseilis kepen no more than the ten hestis.³²⁶

Unlike Pecock's formulation, this one insists that both (or either) the *Ten Commandments* and/or the *Two Precepts* contain all morality. Pecock, however, says only the *Two Precepts* (which he views as *Three Commandments*) hold all morality. Those *Two Precepts*, moreover, are a series of steps according to Pecock, whereas the Lollard description implies that they are indivisible.

³²⁵ *Donet*, 142.

³²⁶ *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, 37-38.

Though Pecoock himself systematically details where each of the *Ten Commandments* can be found in the second half of the *Donet*, he does not highlight here the fundamentally different approach that characterizes his tables in opposition to the tables of the *Ten Commandments*. Whereas Pecoock's tables are fundamentally all positive admonitions, the *Ten Commandments* are a mixture of both positive and negative admonitions (primarily negative, "Thou shalt not..."). To put it simply, Pecoock's tables are a series of "Thou shalt" commands: Thou shalt be clean, honest, patient, and so forth.

The positive nature of Pecoock's tables are important because they reflect the way in which Pecoock imagines a Christian life should be lived--not by avoiding the things one should not be doing but rather by doing the things that one should be doing. Positive action, or duty, is deeply embedded in his moral theology.

5.3 Hierarchical Chronology of a Christian Life

All *Four Tables* fall within a strict hierarchy of importance that reflects the social obligations of an individual to his larger community. The virtues of the *Second Table*, those relating to moral virtues belonging to God are of greater importance than the virtues in the *Third Table*, moral virtues belonging to man. And those virtues in turn, are of greater importance than the virtues, also belonging to man, which relate to the behavior of individuals towards their neighbors, the *Fourth Table*.³²⁷ The *tables of active virtues* are all more important than the *table of contemplative virtues*, though this relative importance does not imply that the *active life* alone is the preferred state. It is the *mixed*

³²⁷ *Rule* 507, fol. 192a.

life, a life of alternation between the *active life* and the *contemplative life* that fulfills the greatest moral potential.³²⁸

The *table of contemplative virtues* has within itself another hierarchy of value; in this case, some *contemplative virtues* are more important than others. *Thanksgiving and prayer* are more important than *praise, worship, or learning* although less valuable than *good works*. *Praise* is more important than *worship*;³²⁹ *worship* is more important than *learning*.³³⁰ The positive form of a virtue is always of greater import than a negative one. This is why *praise* is of greater relative importance than *dispraise*³³¹ and *worship* is of greater relative importance than *disworship*.^{332 333}

The thus-far linear description of Pecock's *Four Tables* must, however, be complicated in two different regards. First, love of God (the *second table*) underlies all of the tables, both *active* and *contemplative*. Second, the grace of God underlies the entire system, enabling and permitting an individual to meet the spiritual demands of the *Four Tables*. *Baptismal grace* is the first necessary form of grace.³³⁴ Next comes *moving grace*, the grace which corresponds with a person's entire Christian life.³³⁵ It is that grace which encourages a person to maintain the motivation and perseverance necessary to fulfill all of his Christian duties. Upon death, *receiving or accepting grace* takes over as the element of God's generosity which allows a person to enter into heaven.³³⁶ These incremental levels of advancement through the levels of spiritual maturity reflect an individual's corporate life. Baptism

³²⁸ See Campbell Chapter 3, "Theological Training and the Mixed Life," 85-109.

³²⁹ *Rule* 503, fol. 190b.

³³⁰ *Rule* 498, fol.188b.

³³¹ *Dispraise* here means a denouncing of one's own or another person's sin using verbal means (*Donet* 29-30).

³³² *Rule* 504, fol. 190b.

³³³ *Disworship* here means a denouncing of one's own or another person's sin using gesture or sign (*Donet* 33).

³³⁴ *Rule* 1, fol. 1a.

³³⁵ *Rule* 1, fol. 1a.

³³⁶ *Rule* 1, fol. 1a; *Faith* 145, fol. 25a.

usually occurs at birth. Then a child must learn what is expected of himself, engage within the Christian community by partaking in the traditional elements of religious community, and apply those lessons to his everyday life--in the treatment of his neighbors, of himself, and of God. Finally, if those elements are met, then the individual might be permitted entrance to heaven upon death by the grace of God.³³⁷

When giving the basic definition of the *Four Tables* above, I passed over one important distinction. Although the *tables of active moral virtues* are derived from the well-known New Testament commandments: “Thou schalt love thy Lord God of al thin herte, and of al thy soule, and of alle thy strengthis, and of al thy minde; and thy neybore as thysilf,”³³⁸ they, in fact, incorporate one additional conclusion. Peckock, in a show of his Logical perspicacity, realizes that the commandment is not two-fold (God and neighbor) as follows usual theological discourse on the subject, but rather three-fold (God, **self**, and neighbor). While the New Testament commandment does not identify self-love as an absolute commandment, the wording of the second admonition to love “thy neybore as thy silf” implies that a person automatically and even naturally loves herself.

Yet, Peckock’s insight into the Logical outcome of those commandments is not entirely justifiable by the Scripture. What starts out in the biblical text as a simple statement of hierarchy and equivalency—love for God should be greatest and love for neighbor should be equal to love for self—transforms into an argument not for equivalencies, but rather into a hierarchical system of successive priorities. The *Third Table* is higher in the pyramid than the *Fourth Table*. They are not on

³³⁷ Peckock’s division of grace does not coincide with the one Aquinas offers in the *Summa Theologica*, I-II, q. 111, a. 1-5, where the major divisions are between sanctifying and gratuitous grace, operating and cooperating grace, and prevention and subsequent grace. The relationship of Peckock’s theology and Thomistic theology is the topic of a book in progress by Kirsty Campbell (f.n. .

³³⁸ Luke 10:27, Later ME Bible.

equal planes. According to Peacock, our obligations belong first to God, then to ourselves, then to our neighbor.³³⁹

While the assertion that the individual's obligation to God is greater than that to either ourselves or our neighbors is wholly unsurprising, Peacock's reading of the self over the neighbor is not. Other biblical passages imply that the neighbor is in practice a stand-in for God. Yet, Peacock privileges the individual self over the neighbor.³⁴⁰

³³⁹ *Rule* 303-4.

³⁴⁰ For a psychoanalytic discussion of the neighbor, see *The Neighbor: Three Inquiries in Political Theology* (2005) by Slavoj Žižek, Eric L. Santner, and Kenneth Reinhard (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

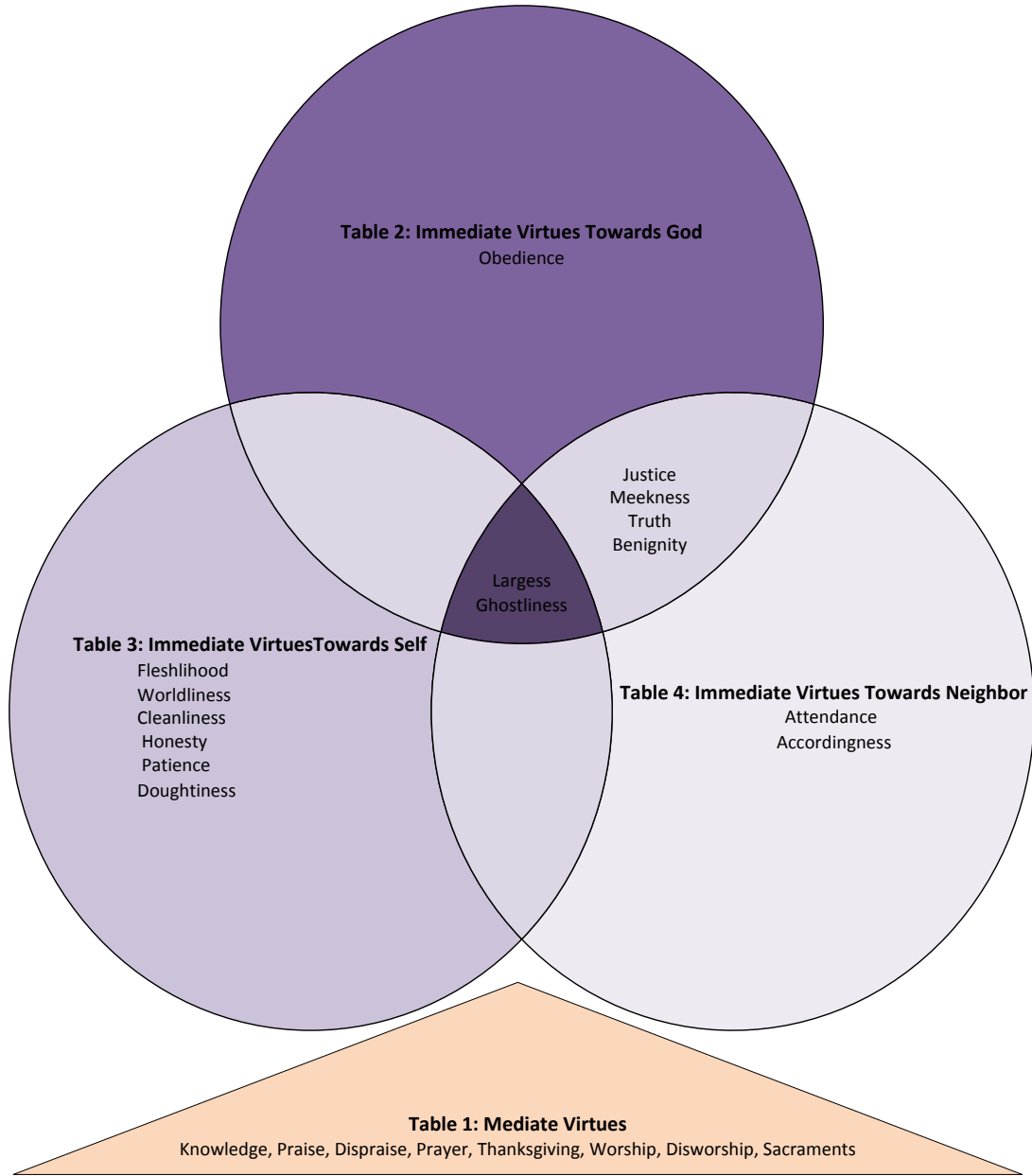


Figure 5.1 Overlap of Moral Virtues

5.4 Love of God and Neighbor

This alternate ranking in the social hierarchy is also complicated by the degree to which the moral virtues of each of the three tables of *active virtues* overlap, and indeed, which of the tables overlap the most. Following a direct reading of the New Testament Commandments, one would expect that loving “thy neighbor as thyself,”³⁴¹ would imply that the moral virtues, which demonstrate that love, would share some commonalities. Yet this is far from the case. The two categories of greatest overlap are not between Self and Neighbor, but rather between God and Neighbor.

Towards God, self, and neighbor, all people should behave *ghostly* and *largely*. Towards God and neighbor alone, all people should behave *justly*, *meekly*, *truly*, and *benignly*. The underlying principles of interactions--internal and external, divine and human--are predicated on spirituality and generosity. The underlying principles behind all social reactions, divine and human, are *justice*, *meekness*, *truth*, and *benignity*. *Fleshliness* (*fleshlihood* in the text), *worldliness*, *cleanliness*, *honesty*, *patience*, and *doughtiness* are due to self alone.³⁴²

Seven of the eight moral virtues required towards the neighbor overlap with the moral virtues required towards God. This overlap is significant because it means that the qualities required to be a good neighbor are nearly identical with those required in the devotion of God. This identity between God and neighbor is one that Pecock has difficulty addressing on an abstract level because God is, after all, more deserving than a neighbor as recipient of moral virtuous deeds. This overlap between God and neighbor is all the more important when considering the fact that the biblical command is not to love your neighbor as your Lord, but rather as yourself. Except in the context of

³⁴¹ Luke 10:27, Later ME Bible.

³⁴² See Tables 5.1-5.3 for the inconsistencies of the *Four Tables*.

the the bodily works of mercy, Peckock never resorts to Christ's statement in Matthew 25: as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me.³⁴³

Largess, or as Peckock often qualifies it, *bodily alms-dealing*, is one of only two moral virtues that all three of the *tables of active virtues* encompass. Unlike the other virtues of the *four tables*, *largess* is not a *commandment*, but rather a *counsel*.³⁴⁴ As a virtue, however, it is superior to the *meenal virtues* of *praise* and *worship* because it is representative of the generosity of deed necessary to a person seeking salvation.³⁴⁵ *Largess* in this context is the overarching term that encompasses the seven bodily works of mercy (examples of which are "feding, clothing, heling, herborewing, visiting in bodily maner, glading and chering, out of prisoun quiting, biring, worldly goodis yeving or leening, worldly dettis foryeving")³⁴⁶ and the seven spiritual works of mercy (examples of which are "teching, counseiling, exorting, preying, good exaumpling, to good putting and driving, trespacis and giltis foryeving, into goostlihode counforting and glading, chastising, or justly by love punisching").³⁴⁷

The overlap of *ghostliness*³⁴⁸ in each of the three eendal tables is integral in understanding Peckock's explanation of charity. Of the two kinds of moral virtue, inward or outward manifestation of deed, the concept of *love (charity)* can only be applied to the moral virtue that is an inner manifestation because love, though it consists of an outward habit and an inward deed, is defined by that aspect of inner mindset. Furthermore, because there is only one *moral virtue* that has an inner manifestation, *ghostliness*, there is only one way to have charity:

³⁴³ Challoner, Matthew 25: 40.

³⁴⁴ *Follower* 224, fol. 99a.

³⁴⁵ *Rule* 381, fol. 145a.

³⁴⁶ Matthew 25: 31-46.

³⁴⁷ *Donet* 67, fol. 30b-31a.

³⁴⁸ Peckock uses the term "goostly" and "lovingly" interchangeably in his descriptions of the Four Tables. Goostly occurs in the *Donet* (22); however, *lovingly* occurs in its stead in the *Rule* (377).

[I]t is not to lete passe undeclarid that there ben ii maners of love: Oone love is a disposicioun or habit or his dede³⁴⁹ proceding oute of the wil, which is a welwilling to sum persooone: that is to seye, in willing to him sum good. and this is charite, and it is a moral vertue. Anothire love there is which is a passioun, or a moving of the wil toward an othire persooone to good; and it is not a moral vertu, neithir a moral vertuose dede; for it is not a disposcioun or habit or his dede of the wil chosun of purpos by doom of resoun, but it is a moving or a bering of oure wil toward anothire thing in weye of ooning us to the othir thing; and it slippith into the wil naturally, aftir consideraciouns had in resoun, bisidis³⁵⁰ al choice of the wil, and bisidis the doom of resoun made that it so schulde slippe in; and therefore it is a passioun or a suffring³⁵¹. . . and if this passioun of love move not the wil agens resoun, it is good, and it is a profitable pricke to stire forth the wil into good choisis of good inward and outward dedis; and if it move the wil agens the doom of resoun, than it oughte to be refreined and not folewid.³⁵²

Pecock's understanding of charity is informed by the Latin Vulgate's use of *caritas* to render *agape* from the New Testament Greek,³⁵³ a practice that was later replaced by the word *love* in the King James version of the Bible.³⁵⁴ OED's 1b refers to charity within the context of the New Testament Commandments: "Man's love of God and his neighbour, commanded as the fulfilling of the Law,

³⁴⁹ *i.e.* a deed performed is virtue of the habit.

³⁵⁰ *i.e.* apart from.

³⁵¹ *i.e.* a passive experience.

³⁵² *Donet*, 114.

³⁵³ OED charity n., 1.

³⁵⁴ OED charity n., 1c

Matt. xxii. 37, 39," though it does not cite Pecock in doing so. Love (or charity), then, is necessarily a habit practiced over time that can occur only in a social system dependent on unequal relationships because it draws from a desire to "[oon]³⁵⁵ us to the other thing." It is simply the act of 'caring.' Love is about the desire and practice of lessening or removing altogether the inequality between individuals; it is about unification. It is, however, the inequality of the relationships that allows for the system of exchange to occur in the first place.

Pecock's desire to set every moral virtue within an unequal relationship (just as he seeks to explain the relative value of speech, image, and text), therefore, falls within a larger framework: God's plenitude. Just because Pecock says that one virtue is more important than another or one means of instruction is more efficacious than another does not mean that he therefore rejects that lesser element altogether. For Pecock, all paths in life are necessarily unequal; yet they are all necessarily desirable. That is, variety is even more desirable than the constant pursuit of a single moral virtue or blind adherence to a single pedagogical tack.

Relationships and hierarchy are very important to Pecock's explanation of Christian understanding and responsibility. Campbell argues from her reading of Pecock's presentation of the story of Martha and Mary in the *Rule*³⁵⁶ that he prioritizes a mixed life over a purely contemplative one. She argues:

Pecock's refusal to see Mary and Martha as exclusive choices suggests a more general refusal to construct hierarchical levels for different practitioners of the religious life: if contemplation is not better or holier than action, then those who spend more time

³⁵⁵ *i.e.* unite.

³⁵⁶ Campbell, *Call to Read*, 419.

in contemplation--like monks and nuns--are not necessarily truer servants of God. The lay Christian can pursue just as meaningful a spiritual relationship with God by sharpening his intellect with knowledge of God, focusing his affect on generating love of God, and devoting himself to God's service by loving others in his community.³⁵⁷

Alternatively, I would argue that Pecock's pedagogic philosophy is dependent not on the fundamental inclusiveness of religious instruction and preparation but rather on the inherent inequality of all people and values and the importance of understanding the order in which a person should prioritize their actions. The manifestation of the hierachization, which Arthur O. Lovejoy would later term the *great chain of being*, arises as much from Pecock's description of the relations between individuals (man to God, God to man, man to neighbor, husband to wife, etc.) as upon the relations between the moral virtues discussed above.³⁵⁸ Pecock's description of the concept of neighbor is inclusive of seven major categories of social relationships: husband and wife, parents and child, apprentice and master, teacher and scholar, layman and priest, prince and subject, hirer and laborer.³⁵⁹ None of these relationships are relationships of equals. All of them are relationships between individuals of different levels of responsibility. For Pecock, therefore, the stability of society and the ability of any given individual to fulfill his Christian requirement to love his neighbor is predicated on his ability to fulfill a duty or responsibility to someone either with greater or lesser authority than he.

³⁵⁷ Campbell, *Call to Read*, 91.

³⁵⁸ For further reading, see Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* and Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture*.

³⁵⁹ *Rule*, 289.

5.5 Love of Thyself

What is unique about this perception of inequality, however, is that it is dependent on the rise of the individual. Modern society makes the assumption that equality and individuality are necessarily linked concepts. Pecoock's vision for a Christian society has no such link between these two concepts so that individual responsibility and success occur outside of a democratic social network. As discussed above, it is not simply a commandment to love God and to love your neighbor, but also a commandment to love yourself.

The importance of individual responsibility within Pecoock's catechetical system is more than a theoretical one. On a practical level, his system of instruction is dependent upon self-directed study. It is a form of religious instruction that takes place outside of the public space of traditional Church instruction, although with the consent of the Church. Even the tailored curricula described in the previous chapter are reflections of the individual nature of responsibility and aptitude. This self-paced course of study is very different from the "one size fits all" form of instruction that an individual might receive from a sermon at church or while on pilgrimage. Indeed, the lending library that Pecoock propounds in *Faith* and the common-profit books, which Pecoock, at least by association, seems to support, is dependent partially on community access for materials but ultimately on individual consumption.

What makes Pecoock's vision unique in the history of fifteenth-century religious history is the fact that it offers an alternative path to private piety and individual direction to that offered by either the mystics (for example, Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe) or the Lollards--a path that does not deny the place of the institutional Church and one that does not deny the place of reason. The

Lollards surely fall into the first camp, and those engaged in affective piety fall into the second. Pecoek's vision for a Christian community is one that embraces reason, logic, and study all within the Church's oversight though outside of the pulpit. While Pecoek does believe in the role of faith, he understands it to be limited and narrow compared to the role of reason, a human faculty with which each individual is endowed and capable of exercising for his own spiritual benefit. The efficacy of action and the individual's capacity to perceive, judge, and then act on matters of theological import means that an individual is the most important and most powerful component in effecting his own salvation.

Epilogue

Rhetoric, Syllogisms, and Sophistry

The seeming modernity of Pecoock's attitude towards individualism was ultimately hampered by the methods that he used to convey his arguments. Despite his pride and confidence in his ability to argue with the Lollards, his arguments were not efficacious because they were, though in the vernacular, also all formulated as syllogisms. Indeed, the form of the syllogism became cause for objection by Lollards in the fifteenth century (perhaps because they could no longer follow the minutiae of the academic arguments) and ultimately by Catholics in the sixteenth. As John A. F. Thomson and K.B. McFarlane have pointed out, fifteenth-century city Lollards were not the same as the university Wycliffites from the century before.³⁶⁰ Since the actions of William Courtenay caused Lollardy to move outside of the sanctuary of Oxford,³⁶¹ Lollardy began to lose its academic rooting and, with it, the educational values that placed scholastic reasoning at such a high pinnacle.

Objections to the place of syllogisms in theological discourse began early. As the Secular says in the Wycliffite Dialogue of the *Friar and the Secular* written c.1380-1397.³⁶²

That ech hest of God is trewe, witnessinge Davith that seith "alle thine hestis ben trewe." And therefore alle othere sciences schulde be reulid by the cunning of the hestis of God, and nought ayenward. And therefore seith Seint Poul, "Whanne I was a child, I sivered as a child, and whanne I was maad a man, I avoidide thilke thingis

³⁶⁰ See Taylor, *Later Lollards* and McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights*.

³⁶¹ Cole, *Literature and Heresy*, 19.

³⁶² Somerset, *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, xlvi.

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that weren of childhood," as ben sophemesse and othere veine resouns that ben about to make that the gretteste science of alle be rewled by the leste.³⁶³

Pecock's model of persuasion did not result in accessibility for the average layman, regardless of the fact that it was in English, available in different levels of difficulty, or even right. (Pecock's advice was very sensible.) What Pecock was never able to understand was that access to theological matters amounts to much more than writing in English. For all of his attempts to make theological matters accessible, his writings were exclusionary.

These were the very issues that More took up in the following century so that what once sounded like Lollard objections to scholastic methodology was now being espoused by the Catholic majority. More clearly expresses his skepticism about the power of the syllogism as a tool in debate against heretics in his Letter to Dorp:

Sin docti sint heretici . . . quando iam redarguentur? Quis erit disputandi finis? Quum ex illis ipsis questionibus quibus oppugnantur ipsis quoque referendi ministratur inexhausta materia, ut propemodum eis accidere videatur, quod nudis inter acervos lapidum pugnantibus, ut quo feriat neutri desit, quo se defendat, neuter habeat. . . . Heretici ergo cum talibus compositi quales ante dixi Theologos, quum sint in eodem docti ludo, quando succumbent? Non cito hercle opinor, si non unum magis lignorum fasciculum vererentur quam multos syllogismorum fasces pertimescerent. If the heretics are learned . . . when will they be refuted? Will there be any end to disputing? For the very problems with which they are assaulted afford them no end

³⁶³ *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, 32.

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of material with which to strike back, so that the plight of both parties is very much like that of men fighting naked between heaps of stones: neither one lacks the means to strike out; neither one has the means to defend himself. . . . Now then, pitted against the sort of theologians I have mentioned, how soon are the heretics going to succumb, since they have been trained in the same school of tactics? Not very soon, to be sure, in my view, were they not more intimidated by one little bundle of faggots than daunted by many large bundles of syllogisms.³⁶⁴

More's point is quite compelling an argument against the use of syllogisms in debates against heretics, considering Pecock's failure in using this very tactic to refute the Lollard heretics. One syllogism could always be refuted by another, and there was not a clear solution to that kind of debate.

It seems that Pecock, by the middle of the 1450's, was already in the position of attempting to refute similar types of attacks, for he responds to accusations of philosophical sophistry in the *Follower*:

How rudely, as is brought me to eer, summe highe-degreed men in divinite beren hem in the seid principal mater, seying that I procede noon othirwise than undir a sophim, for-as-mich as I procede undir a distinccioun of preching, liik as the kunningist clerkis that ever were hadden deinte forto lede forth her maters and her ententis under distinccioun, and that for the more clering to be had therby! Greet routh and pite mighte and oughte be had upon so greet clubbisshenes³⁶⁵ in so greet

³⁶⁴ More, *Complete Works*, I. 71.

³⁶⁵ Clumsiness, rudeness, see *MED* "clubishnesse," n.

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graduatiū divinis. Redily and forsothe they schewen wel in her thilk seying that they hemsilf knowen not what a sophim is. And if her seid seying were trewe, the fairist foorm of teching in erthe in questionable mater were not ellis but sophim, yhe, and mich of the best doctrine maad in Divinite, Lawe, and Philosofy were not ellis than sophim. Alas, that such feeling and such speche schulde be had in hem which ben holde “grete clerkis,” and ben “grete prechers”!³⁶⁶

Where More was ready to dismiss the majority of instruction in Divinity, Law, and Philosophy as sophistry, Pecoock was not. More’s evaluations of the university curriculum led him to conclude that its problems were systemic. As Pecoock indicates here, that very opinion had already begun to take root among men considered to be “grete clerkis” and “grete prechers.” Indeed, Pecoock and his educational program were completely invested in the Logic-based medieval curriculum. It was a curriculum, however, that was destined to see its own demise--much like Pecoock.

As I hope that I have demonstrated in the above argument, Reginald Pecoock has linguistic and historical significance for the student of English. I would like to add, however, that there is also much to be learned from Pecoock that has nothing to do with his relationship with the fifteenth century or the development of English prose. Pecoock was a failure, and despite the number of books that he published (certainly enough to earn him tenure, I would think), he was still judged wanting by his peers. His work, though thorough, meticulous, and accurate, was unreadable for the vast majority of laymen and, I would argue, even ecclesiastics, since he was charged with heresy on so

³⁶⁶ *Follower*, 108-9.

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many counts that were contradicted in his own writings.³⁶⁷ The very abstruseness of his language prompted misreading, just as his pedantry inspired animosity. There is in Pecock's fate a lesson to be learned by all teacher/scholars who write as well as teach. Though misunderstandings of scholarship do not result in a bonfire, except in totalitarian regimes, the result may be the same if our work is not written to be understood.

³⁶⁷ See James, "Revaluing Vernacular Theology," 137-142 and Babington's long note, *Repressor*, 1-1ii.

APPENDIX

Appendix A. Attestations of Pecock's Writings

Pecock actively wrote for over thirty years of his life--from his mid-thirties when he left university until the time at which he was deprived of his writing instruments in his mid-sixties. From this period, we have only five books remaining, the *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*, *The Donet*, *The Follower to the Donet*, *The Rule of Christian Religion*, and *The Book of Faith*. (*The Poor Men's Mirror* was an excerpt from *The Donet* and, as such, does not provide new information.) All five of the surviving books are in the English language; however, due to Pecock's extensive cross-referencing, we know the titles of many more books by Pecock, both in English and in Latin, which were lost to the fires of censorship and the vagaries of time. Those titles are as follows:

English

1. *Book of Logic* (promised only) (*Repressor*)
2. *Book or Rule of Christian Religion* (*Repressor*, *Donet*, *Follower*)
3. *Filling or Spreading of the Four Tables* (*Repressor*, *Donet*, *Rule*, *Follower*)
4. *Just Apprising of Holy Scripture* (*Repressor*, *Rule*)
5. *Follower to the Donet* (*Repressor*, *Faith*, *Donet*, *Rule*)
6. *Donet into Christian Religion* (*Repressor*, *Faith*, *Follower*)
7. *Book of Faith* (*Repressor*, *Donet*, *Rule*, *Follower*)
8. *Book of Worshipping or of Signs* (*Repressor*, *Donet*, *Rule*)
9. *Provoker of English People* (*Repressor*)
10. *Book of Counsels* (*Repressor*, *Rule*)
11. *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* (*Faith*, *Donet*, *Rule*, *Follower*)

12. *Outdraught of the Donet* (i.e. *Poor Men's Mirror*) (*Repressor*)

Latin

13. *Book of Faith and Sacraments* (*Repressor*)
14. *Book of Faith* (*Repressor, Rule*)
15. *Just Apprising of Doctors* (*Repressor, Donet, Rule, Follower*)
16. *Book of Sacraments* (may be the same as *Book of Faith and Sacraments*) (*Repressor, Donet, Rule*)
17. *Book of Baptism* (*Repressor*)
18. *Book of Penance* (*Repressor, Donet, Rule*)
19. *Book of Lessons* (promised only) (*Repressor*)
20. *Book of Questions* (Latin) (*Donet, Rule, Follower*)
21. *Rule of Christian Religion* (Latin) (*Donet*)
22. *Book of Priesthood or Priests' Power* (*Rule*)
23. *Book of Sentence of Christian Religion* (*Rule*)
24. A sermon, "Montes Israel ramos vestros germinetis, etc." (*Rule*)
25. *Book of the Church* (perhaps same as *Just Apprising of Holy Church*) (*Follower*)
26. *Book of Lay Men's Books* (*Follower*)
27. *Just Apprising of Holy Scripture* (*Follower*)
28. Epistola, "Doctori ordinis fratrum minorum Godard"³⁶⁸
29. "Collectanea quaedam ex Reginaldi Pecock Cicestrensis episcopi opusculis exustis conservata, et ex antique psegmate conscripta."³⁶⁹

³⁶⁸ Gascoigne makes mention of this letter in his list of Pecock's conclusions. In it, he says, "[Reginaldus] vocat praedictores modernos clamatores in pulpitis" (100).

³⁶⁹ In Foxe's *Commentarii* and in Appendix B of this work.

No Mention of Language

30. *Book of Matrimony* (Repressor, Rule)
31. *Proving of Christian Faith* (Repressor)
32. *Book of Eucharist* (Repressor, Faith)
33. *The Before-crier* (Repressor, Donet, Rule, Follower)
34. *Book of Legends* (promised only) (Repressor)
35. *Book of Priesthood* (Repressor, Donet)
36. *Book of Counsels* (Donet)
37. *Book of Divine Office* (Donet, Rule, Follower)
38. *Book of Faith, Hope, and Charity* (Donet, Rule, Follower)
39. *Book of Learning* (Donet, Follower)
40. *Book of Making of Creatures in General* (Donet)
41. *Book of Usury* (Donet, Follower)
42. *Declarative* (may be the *Defensor of Bale*, see Hitchcock's n. 6) (Donet)
43. *Enchiridion* (Donet, Rule)
44. *Improving of Men's Insufficient Forms* (Donet)
45. *Proof of Christian Faith* (Donet, Rule)
46. *Provoker* (or *Forth Caller of Christian Men*) (Donet, Rule, Follower)
47. *Twelve Advantages of Tribulation*³⁷⁰ (Donet, Rule)
48. *Witnessing of the Four Tables* (Donet, Follower)
49. *Book of Orders and of Pastoral Care* (Rule)

³⁷⁰ Hitchcock is unwilling to attribute this text definitively to Peckock, although she finds it likely to be his. She has also identified another early printed book, the *Twelve Profytes of Tribulacioun*, printed by Wyndkin de Worde and Caxton which may be related. See *Donet* 218-9, notes 56/28-9.

APPENDIX A. ATTESTATIONS OF PECKOCK'S WRITINGS

50. *Book of Sentences* (Rule, Follower)
51. *Just Apprising Holy Church* (Follower)
52. *De Veritatibus*³⁷¹

³⁷¹ Gascoigne makes mention of this work in his *Theological Dictionary*. But since the *Dictionary* is written in Latin and he would have likely translated any titles even if they had been written in English, there is no way to know whether this work was originally in Latin or English.

Appendix B. *Collectanea Ex Reginaldi Pecok Episcopi Cicestrensis*

Collectanea Quaedam ex Reginaldi Pecoki Episcopi Cicestrensis opusculis ex ustis conservata et ex antique psegrmate transcripta.

1. Si dicitis mihi quod virtus est in imagine, quia est in aqua benedicta virtus Spiritus sancti, unde Ambrosius lib. de offic. Et Presbiter in sanctificando fontem, sic orat, "descendat virtus Spiritus sancti in plenitudinem fontis." Respondeo, Ambrosius fuit deceptus in illo, et plures alii antique Doctores. Ubi fundant se superratione, vel scriptura, tenendi sunt, Aliter non. Sic de Ecclesia dici potest admittendo idem officium, quod non est merae fidei, sed opinionis, quia non est inconveniens tenere, quod Ecclesia potest falli, et decipi: Vel potest dici quod intellectus Ambrosii, et Ecclesiae est quod Spiritus sanctus erit assistens aquae sanctificatae, et operans in ipsa aqua virtutem personae baptizatae, quae virtus, erit gratia, vel ipsa virtus quae dicitur virtus Spiritus sancti, non est aliud, quam concessio Spiritus sancti, quia promisit assistere et juvare aquam fontis quando puer baptizatur, et ipsa concessio Spiritus sancti, non est res permanens in aqua, sic nec virtus Spiritus sancti (de qua Ambrosius, et Ecclesia loquitur) est permanens in aqua, sed permanet in Spiritu sancto. Hoc in lib. suo de signis Ecclesiae.

2. Videtur quod Moses, ex informatione qua ex inspiratione, fecit Pentateuchum, etc. Non est, in ipso casu recurrere ad miraculum, sicut temere et inconsulte facit Gregorius super Ezechielem. Item quia de Iudaeis erant aliqui boni, videtur quod semper habuerunt fidem in scriptis: Ideo dicere, sicut multi Doctores dicunt, cum magistris historiarum, quod Esdras per inspirationem reparat libros legis, sine copia, est quid fictitium, quia est sine evidentia.

3. Hinc quaeritur an tota Ecclesia in terra potest facere de novo aliquem articulum esse fidem qui non fuerit ante in se fides. Dico quod fides uno modo dicitur cognitio, qua cognoscitur verus articulus, et sic fides sumitur proprie. Secundo modo sumitur pro articulo scilicet cognito tamen improprie, tum sic primo igitur sumendo fidem quae est cognitio, qua consentimus articulo supra capacitatem nostrae rationis, scilicet quia Deus affirmat. Tum rursus secundo sumendo fidem, pro veritate sic cognita, et neutrum istius fidei potest Ecclesia de novo, facere ad voluntatem propriam, quia non est in potestate Ecclesiae universalis, facere verum vel falsum, quod Maria concepit filium. Quia in istis Ecclesia tantum testificatur, quod talis articulus est fides. Et Ecclesiae est, determinare, quis articulus debet sumi pro fide: Et majoris fortitudinis non video determinationem Ecclesiae esse, sed potius credere per Ecclesiam quod hic dies est jejunabilis, vel dies festus etc.

4. Item Ecclesia non determinavit scripta quatuor doctorum esse vera, sed admisit sumi in studio legentium cum libertate judicandi, sicut evidentiae possunt movere. Quae scripta non fuissent sic in reverentia sumpta nisi fuissent admissa, sicut repudiavit scripta haeticorum.

5. Item non est idem credere sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam esse, et credere sanctae Ecclesiae catholicae. Quia per id quod ponitur in symbolo (Credo sanctam Ecclesiam) virtute verborum istorum non plus sentitur, quam "Credo sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam esse, et remissionem peccatorum esse," et non quicquid universalis Ecclesia dicit est verum, quia statim post Apostolos, haeretici dixerunt, diversas Ecclesias esse, ideo ponebatur, "Credo sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, quod idem est quod universalem orthodoxam, et gloriosam." Ideo quaelibet Ecclesia dicitur orthodoxa, quam vis non catholica. Nam Ecclesia sic statuit in symbolo, "Credo in

Deum Patrem, in Filium, in Spiritum sanctum." Sed ~~sed~~ non dicit, "Credo in sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam," sed "Credo sanctam Ecclesiam id est generalem Ecclesiam esse."

6. Item Ecclesia non potest esse fundamentum vel regula fidei Ecclesiae, quia determinatio est effectus cleri, vel Ecclesiae, et potuit non fieri. Igitur non potest esse fundamentum suae Ecclesiae, quia sentitur, quod clerus sic determinans non capit fidem ab illa determinatione.

7. Item quandocumque Ecclesia determinavit articulum esse fidem, prius vidit ipsum articulum esse fidem, aliter determinasset ipsum articulum sine visu quo determinasset, quia sentitur quod ecclesia fuit in fide illius articuli, antequam determinavit ipsum articulum non potuit habuisse fidem sine fundamento ipsius fidei, et cum determinatio est posterior, non potest esse fundamentum prioris: nec effectus fundat causam: tamen laici debent obedire determinationi Ecclesiae, nisi sciant improbare sic denunciantem vel testificantem ipsum articulum esse fidem.

8. Item sacra scriptura in sensu literali intellecta secundum verum iudicium rationis, est sufficiens regula fidei ecclesiae, tamen laicis determinatio est secunda regula vel particularis, Nam si in istis verbis, "Credo ecclesiam catholicam," intelligeratur quasi dicat "Credo esse verum quicquid ecclesia determinat," tunc sequeretur quod sicut intelligeretur idem, "Credo sanctorum communionem, idem esset," quasi "Credi verum esse quicquid congregatio fidelium dicit, vel docet, vel quod remissio peccatorum dicit verum, etc.," quod non est dicendum. Nam ideo ponebatur in symbolo scilicet. "Credo sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam," id est, unam generalem Ecclesiam esse sponsam Christi, propter haereticos qui dicunt extra Ecclesiam non est remissio peccatorum nec salvatio: cuius ecclesiae fides est fundamentum.

9. Item est opinabilis fides, quam habemus ex communi lege Dei, dum huiusmodi sumus,

de quibus ad Corinthios 13. "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate." Alia fides est scientialis, quae non cursorie habetur hic, sed in coelo, de qua loquitur ad Hebraeos 11. "Fides est substantia rerum sperandarum, etc."

10. Item quo ad Gregorii dictum. Fides non habet meritum, ubi humana ratio praebet experimentum. Dico quod sancti viri aliquando deficiunt. Ideo, si scripta eorum possunt improbari, non sunt tenenda. In dictis Gregorii, sunt diversi defectus, quia implicant quod quaedam fides est quae habetur per experientiam, quae est contra eum, in eadem homelia. Quia vidisti me Thoma, et non credidisti, ubi dicit quod fides non habetur aperte, et secure cognoscitur. Igitur primum dictum suum, et ultimum non simul staret. Si quis dixerit, quod Gregorius in illius verbis, "Fides non habet meritum, intellexit, quod ista cognitio genita per experientiam, nec est fides, nec est meritum (quia eidem est praetentio eorundem verborum, quam vocant cognitionem, cui humana ratio praebet experientiam esse fidem) aliter se quereretur, quod loquebatur ipsa verba indiscrete.

11. Item dicere quod "Cognitio genita super veritate, per securam experientiam" non habet meritum, est tertius defectus, quia non cognoscere id per securam experientiam, est viciosum. Igitur cognoscere est meritorium, quia virtuti semper vicium contrarium est, et contra.

12. Item homo non debet habere meritum pro fide, nisi habeat evidentiam, ad sic credendum, quia aliter non scit, quod sic deberet credere magis, quam contrarium.

Appendix C. Selected Words from Pecock's Lexicon

Pecock's vocabulary includes over 7,000 different lexical items. The following list includes 4,

***=first attestation**

A

a	prep.	about(n-	pref.
a, an	art.	aboute-stonden	v.
abatement	n.	above(n	adv.
abaten	v.	above(n	prep.
abating	ger.	abrod(e	adv.
abbey	n.	absence	n.
abhominacioun	n.	absolut	ppl.
abhorren	v.	absolutli	adv.
abiden	v.	absteinen	v.
abiding	ger.	absteiner*	n.
abidingli	adj.	absteining	ger.
abien	v.	abstinence	n.
abiing*	ger.	acceptable	adj.
abiler	adj. comp.	accepten	v.
abilite	n.	accepting	ger.
abilnes	n.	accident	n.
able	adj.	accidental	n.
ablen	v.	accidental	adj.
ablenes(se	n.	accidentalli	adv.
aboundaunce	n.	accord	n.
aboundaunt	adj.	accordaunt	adj.
aboundauntli	adv.	accordauntli	adv.
abounden	v.	accorden	v.
aboute(n	adv. as adj.	according	ppl.
aboute(n	prep.	accordingli	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

accordingnes(s*	n.	afore-seid	ppl.
acombren	v.	aforthen	v.
actif	adj.	after	adv.
actifli	adv.	after	prep.
actual	adj.	after	conj.
actuali	adv.	after-	prefix.
Acyanes*	n. pl.	agasten	v.
adaunten	v.	age	n
adaunting*	ger.	aggregat	n.
additament	n.	aggreggen	v.
admitten	v.	agilten	v.
adnulling	ger.	air	n.
adopcioun	n.	aknouen	ppl. (orig. adj.)
adversarie	n.	al	adj.
advocat	n.	al	pron.
advoker*	n.	al lim.	adj.
afer	adv.	al lim.	n.
afered	ppl.	-al suf.	suf.
affecioun	n.	al abouten	phr. adv.
affect	n.	al abouten	prep.
affectif	adj.	alder-man	n.
affecting*	ger.	ale	n
affermen	v.	al-fulnes*	n.
affermer	n.	al-gates	adv.
afferming	ger.	al-hol	adj.
affinite	n.	al-hol	adv.
affirmacioun	n.	alien	adj.
affirmatif*	adj.	alienacioun	n.
affirmativeli*	adv.	alienen	v.
affomen*	v.	alighten	v. 1
afore	prep.	alighten	v. 2
afore-	pref.	alightinge	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

allegacioun	n.	ameving*	ger.
allegeaunce	n.	amis	adv.
alleggen	v.	among	adv.
allegorie	n.	amonge	prep.
allegorisen*	v.	amonges	adv.
allouable	adj.	amonges	prep.
allouabli*	adv.	anagogie	n.
allouance	n.	anatomie	n.
allouen	v.	and	conj.
allouing	ger.	and	adv.
allouingli	adv.	anentes	prep.
al-love*	n.	anger	n.
almes	n.	angwisshen	v.
almes-dede	n.	ani lim.	adj.
almesful	adj.	ani on	phr.
almesse	n.	annexen	v.
al-mightines*	n.	annullen	v.
al-one	adv.	anoone	adv.
al-one	adj.	answere	n.
also	adv.	answren	v.
alteracioun	n.	answringli*	adv.
alteren	v.	antecedent	adj.
alternacioun*	n.	antecedent	n.
al-wei	adv.	antetheme*	n.
al-wise	adv.	Antimarites*	n. pl.
al-wittines	n.	antiquite	n.
amaugrey*	prep.	Antropomorfites*	n. pl.
ambicioun	n.	apeirement	n.
amblere	n.	apeiren	v.
amendes	n.	apeiringe	ger.
amendinge	ger.	apocrif*	n.
ameven	v.	Apollinarist*	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

Apostelin*	n.	archebishophod*	n.
apostlehede	n.	arche-deken	n.
apparaunt	adj.	arechen	v. 1
apparauntli	adv.	aredines*	n.
appareil	n.	aretten	v.
appareillen	v.	arguen	v.
apperen	v.	arguer	n.
apperinge	ger.	arguing	ger.
apperingli*	adv.	argument	n.
appetit	n.	argumentacioun*	n.
appetiting*	ger.	argumenting*	ger.
applien	v.	a-right	adv.
appling	ger.	arisen	v.
appointment	n.	aroume	adv.
apposen	v.	arrai	n.
apprentis		arraien	v.
apprentisehod	n.	arraing	ger.
appreven	v.	arrere	adv.
apprisement*	n.	arreren	v.
apprisen*	v.	Arrianes	n. pl.
appriser*	n.	ars-metrike	n.
apprising*	ger.	arten	v.
approprerli*	adv.	article	n.
appropren	v.	articled	ppl.
appropriacioun	n.	artificer	n.
appropriing	ger.	artificial	adj.
approvable*	adj.	as	conj.
apt	adj.	ascending	ger.
aqueintaunce	n.	ascriven	v.
quiting	ger.	asken	v.
Arabien	adj. & n.	askere	n.
arche-bishop	n.	askinge	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

aspiaunce*	n.	attempten	v.
aspie	n.	attempting*	ger.
aspien	v.	attendaunce	n.
assai	n.	attendaunt	adj.
assaien	v.	attendaunt	n.
assailling	ger.	attendauntli	adv.
assailour	n.	attenden	v.
assaïour	n.	attendere*	n.
assaut	n.	attente	n.
asserçioun	n.	attentif*	adj.
asserere*	n.	attentifli	adv.
assertiveli*	adv.	attourne	n.
asshe	n. 2	atwinne	adv.
assiduen*	v.	auctoritativeli*	adv.
assignabili*	adv.	auctorite	n.
assignable*	adj.	audite	n.
assignacioun	n.	aungel	n.
assigne	n.	autentikli*	adv.
assignement	n.	availabli*	adv.
assignen	v.	availe	n.
assigning	ger.	availen v.	v.
assoilen	v.	avauncing	ger.
assoiling	ger.	avauntour	n.
assumpt	n.	aventing	ger.
astonen	v.	aver	n. 2
astoninge	ger.	averren	v.
astronomer	n.	avidioseli*	adv.
at	prep.	avidite*	n.
at ones	phr.	avis	n.
atret	adv.	aviseable	adj.
atteinen	v.	avisedli	adv.
attemen*	v.	avisednes	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

aviseful*	adj.	ayen-stonden	v.
avisement	n.	ayen-stonder	n.
avisen	v.	ayen-standing	ger.
avising*	ger.	ayen-ward	adv.
avisingli*	adv.		
avisose*	adj.	B	
avisoseli*	adv.	babe	n.
avisosenesse*	n.	bacul*	n.
avoidable*	adj.	badde	n. 2
avoidaunce	n.	badde	adj.
avoiden	v.	baddenesse	n.
avoiding	ger.	baiard	n. 1
avoue	n.	bak-ward	adj.
avoutrie	n.	banishen	v.
avoutrious	adj.	bapteme	n.
awaite	n.	bar	adj.
awaiten	v.	bargaine	n.
awaiter	n.	bargaining	ger.
awei	adv.	barli	adv.
aweldable*	adj.	baronrie	n.
awelden	v.	batail-ful*	adj.
aworth	adv.	bataille	n.
a3en	adv.	bate	n. 1
ayen-	pref.	baume	n.
ayen-bien	v.	beaute	n.
ayen-biere	n.	beautiful*	adj.
a3en quyte	v.	bed	n. 1
a3ens	prep.	beden	v.
ayens-	pref.	beggen	v.
ayen-saien	v.	begging	ger.
ayen-saier	n.	being	ger.
ayen-saiing	ger.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

beli	n.	bicomen	v.
bem	n.	bidden	v.
Beme	n.	bidder	n.
ben	v.	bidoten	v.
benefete	n.	bien	v.
benefeteful*	adj.	biere	n.
benefetour*	n.	bifallen	v.
benefice	n.	bifore-	prep.
beneficence*	n.	biforen	adv.
benevolence	n.	biforen	prep.
benevolent*	adj.	bigam	adj.
benigneli	adv.	bigam	n.
benignite	n.	bigamie	n.
berable*	adj.	bigilable*	adj.
beren	v.	bigilen	v.
berere	n.	bigiler	n.
bering	ger.	bigiling	ger.
bern	n.	biginnen	v.
besaunt	n.	biginner	n.
beste	n.	biginningal*	adj.
bestial	adj.	biginninge	ger.
bestli	adv.	biginningli	adv.
beten	v.	bihalve	n.
beting	ger.	biheste	n.
bettle	n.	bihesten	v.
bettle	adj.	biholdable*	adj.
bi	prep.	biholden	v.
bi and bi	phr.	biholding	ger.
bible	n.	biholdingli	adj.
bicause	conj.	biholdingli	adv.
biclippen	v.	bihoten	v.
biclippinge	ger.	bihotere	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

bihotinge	ger.	bithinken	v.
bihove	n. (orig. dat.)	bitoknen	v.
bihoveful	adj.	bitokninge	ger.
bihovefulli	adv.	bitwene	prep.
biknouen	v.	bitwixe	prep.
bilden	v.	biwamblen*	v.
bileve	n.	biyeten	v.
bileven	v.2	biyetinge	ger.
bilever	n.	biyonde	adv.
binden	v.	biyonde	prep.
bindinge	ger.	blaknesse	n.
binimen	v.	blamable	adj.
biquethen	v.	blameles	adj.
bireuable*	adj.	blamen	v.
bireuen	v.	blamer	n.
bireuing*	ger.	blaminge	ger.
birien	v.	blasfemen	v.
biriinge	ger.	blasfemous	adj.
birthen	n.	blaundice	n.
bisechen	v.	blessednesse	n.
bisemen	v.	blessen	v.
bisetten	v.	blinding	ger.
bishophod	n.	blindnesse	n.
bisi	adj.	blisfulli	adv.
bisides	prep.	blish	n.
bisien	v.	blonderen	v.
bisnesse	n.	blontnesse*	n.
bisitten	v.	blouen	v.
bistad	ppl.	blouing	ger.
bitaken	v.	bocen	v.
bitaking*	ger.	bocherie	n.
bithenkinge	ger.	bocing	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

bodi	n.	breken	v.
bodied*	ppl.	breme	adj.
bodilich	adj.	brennen	v.
Bohemia*	n.	brenninge	ger.
boistous	adj.	brethen	v.
boistousli	adv.	breuing	ger.
boistousnesse	n.	bridel	n.
bok	n.	brideling	ger.
bokeler	n.	brigge	n.
bold	adj.	brimli	adj.
bon	n.	brimli	adv.
bond	n.	bringable*	adj.
bonde	n.	bringen	v.
bonde	adj.	bringer	n.
borwen	v.	bringing	ger.
borwere	n.	brinke	n.
borwing	ger.	brod	n.
bothe	n.	brod	adj.
bothe	adj.	brode	adv.
bothe	conj.	broding	ger.
bouable	adj.	brok	n.
bouen	v.	brotel	adj.
bouing	ger.	brother	n.
bounde	n.	bulk	n.
bourde	n.	bush	n.
bourding	ger.	busschel-ful*	n.
brain	n.	but	conj.
braunch	n.	but	(quasi) adj.
braunchen	v.	but	(quasi) adv.
braunching*	ger.	but	(quasi) prep.
bred	n.1		
brede	n.2		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

C

cacching	ger.	cathedral	adj.
caitif	n.	cathezizer*	n.
callen	v.	catholicon	n.
calling	ger.	catholik	adj.
cambie*	n.	caucee	n.
canale	n.	cause	n.
canker	n.	causeles	adv.
canonizing	ger.	causelli*	adv.
canoun	n.	causen	v.
canoun	n.	causer	n.
capacite	n.	causing	ger.
capitain	n.	cavillacioun	n.
carecte	n.	celle	n.
carien	v.	censen	v.
carier	n.	cerimonial	adj.
caring*	ger.	cerimonial	n.
cark	n.	certain	n.
carkful*	adj.	certain	adj.
carpentrie	n.	certainful*	adj.
Carpocracian*	n.	certainte	n.
carte	n.	certes	adv.
cas	n.	certificacioun	n.
cast	n.	certifien	v.
casten	v.	certifing	ger.
caster	n.	cesen	v.
casting	ger.	cesinge	ger.
casuelli	adv.	chaffare	n.
cat	n.	chaffaring	ger.
catecizen	v.	chaiere	n.
catel	n.	challenge	n.
		challengeable	adj.
		challengen	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

challenger	n.	cherlili*	adv.
challenginge	ger.	chesable*	adj.
chapele	n.	chesen	v.
char	n.	chesere	n.
charge	n.	chesinge	ger.
chargeable	adj.	chesingli	adv.
chargen	v.	cheuinge	ger.
chargeous	adj.	chidinge	ger.
charging	ger.	chierte	n.
charitative*	adj.	child	n.
charite	n.	child-beringe	ger.
chariteful	adj.	child-birthe	n.
charmen	v.	children	v.
chartre	n.	childhod	n.
chaste	adj.	childli	adj.
chastisinge	ger.	childli	adv.
chastite	n.	chirche	n.
chateren	v.	Chirencian*	n.
chaumbering	ger.	chois	n.
chaumbre	n.	circumciden	v.
chaunge	n.	circumcisioun	n.
chaungeable	adj.	circumstanciated*	ppl.
chaungen	v.	circumstancionated*	ppl.
chef	adj.	circumstaunce	n.
chep	n.	circumstaunced	ppl.
chere	n.	circumstaunt*	ppl.
chereful	adj.	Cisterciense	adj.
cheren	v.	Cisterciense	n.
chering*	ger.	civile	adj.
cherishen	v.	civilite	n.
cherisher	n.	civilli*	adv.
cherishinge	ger.	claim	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

claimen	v.	clout	n.
claiming	ger.	clubbishnesse*	n.
clarie*	n.	cohabitacioun	n.
clatering	ger.	coinen	v.
claustral	adj.	coit	n.
clausul*	n.	col	n.
clenli	adv.	cold	n.
clennesse	n.	collacioun	n.
clepen	v.	college	n.
cleping	ger.	colour	n.
cler	adj.	colourable	n.
cleren	v.	coloruabli	adv.
clergie	n.	colouren	v.
clering	ger.	colre	n.
clerk	n.	combinacioun	n.
clerkhod	n.	combinen	v.
clerkli	adv.	combraunce	n.
clernesse	n.	combrous	adj.
cleven	v.	comen	v.
clevinge	ger.	comfort	n.
climbing	ger.	comfortacioun	n.
cloistre	n.	comforten	v.
cloistros*	adj.	commaundable*	adj.
clokke	n.	commaunde	n.
clompred*	ppl.	commaunden	v.
clos	n.	commaundinge	ger.
clösen	v.	commaundour	n.
clönes*	n.	commendacioun	n.
clösingli*	adv.	commenden	v.
cloth	n.	commendinge	ger.
clothing	ger.	committen	v.
cloudi	adj.	commodious	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

commodite	n.	compounen	v.
communalte	n.	compouninge	ger.
communaunce*	n.	comprehenden	v.
commune	adj.	comprehensioun*	n.
commune crede	phr.	comprehensiveli*	adj.
commune equite*	phr.	compunccioun	n.
communen	v.	conceite	n.
communer	n.	conceitful*	adj.
communicacioun	n.	conceivabilnes*	n.
communing	ger.	conceivable*	adj.
communité	n.	conceiven	v.
compaignabilte*	n.	conceivinge	ger.
compaignie	n.	concepcioun	n.
compaignien	v.	concernen	v.
compaigning*	ger.	concluden	v.
comparatif	adj.	concludinge	ger.
comparatif	n.	conclusioun	n.
comparisoun	n.	concours	n.
comparisounen	v.	concurrence	n.
comparisouning*	ger.	concurrent	ppl.
comparisounli*	adj.	concurrentli*	adv.
compas	n.	condempnen	v.
compassioun	n.	condescenden	v.
compellen	v.	condicioun	n.
compendi*	n.	confermedli*	adv.
compendious	adj.	confermen	v.
competent	ppl. as adj.	conferminge	ger.
competentli	adv.	confirmacioun	n.
compilen	v.	conflacioun*	n.
compleinen	v.	conflat*	n.
complexioun	n.	conformen	v.
compounded	ppl.	conforming	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

confused	ppl.	constreinen	v.
confuseli*	adv.	constreiner	n.
congru	adj.	constreininge	ger.
congruence	n.	construen	v.
conjecturen	v.	contagious	adj.
connen	v.	contenen	v.
conning	ppl.	container*	n.
conningal*	adj.	contemplable*	adj.
conninge	ger.	contemplacioun	n.
conningful*	adj.	contemplatour*	n.
conningli	adv.	contenauncing*	ger.
conscience	n.	content	n.
conscienceli	adv.	contenten	v.
consecracioun	n.	contenance	n.
consecucioun	n.	continent	adj.
consent	n.	continuaunce	n.
consenten	v.	continuelli	adv.
consentinge	ger.	continuen	v.
consentingli*	adv.	continuinge	ger.
consentour	n.	contract	n.
consequent	n.	contradiccioun	n.
consequentli	adv.	contrarie	n.
conserven	v.	contrarie	adj.
conserver*	n.	contrarien	v.
conserving	ger.	contrariete	n.
considerable*	adj.	contrarious	adj.
consideracioun	n.	contrariousli	adv.
consideratif*	adj.	contree	n.
consideren	v.	controversie	n.
considerer*	n.	convenience	n.
constitucioun	n.	convenient	adj.
constreinable*	adj.	convenientli	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

conventual	adj.	counseil	n.
conventualli*	adv.	counseilen	v.
convers	n.	counseiling	ger.
conversacioun	n.	countrefet	ppl.
conversioun	n.	countrefeten	v.
convicten	v.	countren	v.
cop	n.	coupable	adj.
copie	n.	coupable	n.
copien	v.	couplen	v.
copious	adj.	coupling	ger.
copped	ppl.	cours	n.
Corinthies	n. pl.	coursli	adv.
corn	n.	court	n.
corolarie	n.	courteis	adj.
corolarie*	adj.	courteis	n.
coroune	n.	courteisie	n.
correpcioun	n.	coveitable	adj.
correpten*	v.	coveiten	v.
correpting*	ger.	coveiting	ger.
correspondence	n.	coveitousli	adv.
corrupcioun	n.	covenaunt	n.
corruptible	adj.	covenaunten	v.
corruptible	n.	covent	n.
corruptif	adj.	cover-chef	n.
cors	n.	coveren	v.
corveiser	n.	coveringe	ger.
cost	n.	covertli	adv.
costioseli*	adv.	cracche	n.
costiosenes*	n.	craft	n.
costious	adj.	crafti	adj.
cote	n.	craftial*	adj.
couardie	n.	craftili	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

craftious	adj.	curiosite	n.
creature	n.	curiousli	adv.
credence	n.	curraunt	ppl.
credible	adj.	curraunt	n.
crème	n.	currauntli*	adv.
crepen	v.	cursedli	adv.
creping	ger.	curser	n.
crien	v.	cursing	ger.
Crist	n.	customable	adj.
Cristen	adj.	customabli	adv.
Cristen	n.	custumed	ppl.
Cristenhede	n.	custumen	v.
Cristianite	n.	custuming	ger.
croked	ppl.	cuteler	n.
crokednesse	n.	cutellerie	n.
croking	ger.	cuttable*	adj.
cronical*	adj.	cuten	v.
cronicler	n.	cuttinge	ger.
cronicling*	ger.		
cros	n.	D	
crossen	v.		
crossing	ger.	dadelar*	n.
crucifix	n.	dai	n.
cruelnesse	n.	damage	n.
cruelte	n.	damageful*	adj.
culver	n.	dampnable	adj.
cuppe	n.	dampnable	adv.
curacie*	n.	dampnacioun	n.
curat	n.	dampnen	v.
curatour	n.	daunce	n.
cure	n.	day labour*	n.
curious	adj.	deceiving	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

deceivour	n.	defouling	ger.
deces	n.	degre	n.
deciding*	ger.	deinte	n.
decisioun*	n.	dekenhod	n.
declaracioun	n.	del	n.
declarative*	n.	delectable	adj.
declaratorie	adj.	delectabli	adv.
declaratorie	n.	delectacioun	n.
declaren	v.	delectaunt*	ppl.
declarer*	n.	delen	v.
declaring	ger.	deler	n.
decre	n.	deliberacioun	n.
decresen	v.	deliciousite	n.
dede	n.	deling	ger.
dedli	adj.	delitable	adj.
dedli	adv.	delitablenes*	n.
defame	n.	delite	n.
defamen	v.	deliteful	adj.
defamer	n.	deliten	v.
defaming	ger.	deliveraunce	n.
defamous	adj.	delivere	adj.
defaute	n.	deliveren	v.
defauti	adj.	deliverer	n.
defectif	adj.	delivering	ger.
defenden	v.	delivernesse	n.
defending	ger.	deluden	v.
defendour	n.	delusioun	n.
defense	n.	delving	ger.
defensorie	n.	demeinen	v.
defien	v.	demeining	ger.
defiing	ger.	demen	v.
defoulen	v.	demere	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

demerite	n.	derk	adj.
demeritorie*	adj.	derkable*	adj.
deming	ger.	derken	v.
demonstracioun	n.	derkinge*	ger.
demonstratif	adj.	derknesse	n.
demonstratif	n.	derogacioun	n.
den	n.	derthe	n.
denarie	n.	descense	n.
denier	n.	descripcioun	n.
deninge	ger.	descriven	v.
denominacioun	n.	describinge	ger.
denominen*	v.	deserven	v.
denouncen	v.	deserver*	n.
denouncer*	n.	deservinge	ger.
denouncing	ger.	desirable	adj.
denunciacioun	n.	desiren	v.
dep	adj.	desirer	n.
departable	adj.	desiringe	ger.
departen	v.	desirous	adj.
departinge	ger.	desirousli	adv.
depe	adv.	desolacioun	n.
dependaunce	n.	desolate	adj.
dependaunt	ppl.	despeir	n.
deposen	v.	despisen	v.
deprecativ*	adj.	despisere	n.
depriven	v.	destroiable*	adj.
depuring	ger.	detecten	v.
deputacioun	n.	determinacioun	n.
depute	n.	determinen	v.
deputen	v.	determininge	ger.
dere-worthi	adj.	deth	n.
dere-worthli	adv.	detracten	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

detractour		disciplehod	n.
dette	n.	disciplinable*	adj.
devis	n.	discomenden*	v.
devisinge	ger.	discomfiting	ger.
devout	adj.	discomforten	v.
devoutli	adv.	discordaunce	n.
dialog	n.	discordaunt	adj.
dialogazacioun*	n.	discordaunt	n.
dien	v.	discordauntli*	adv.
dieting	ger.	discorden	v.
difference	n.	discours	n.
different	adj.	discoveren	v.
differentli	adv.	discrecioun	n.
difficulten*	v.	discussioun	n.
diffinicioun	n.	disenen	v.
diffining	ger.	disgising	ger.
dighen	v.	disjunccioun	n.
digne	adj.	disparkle*	v.
dignifien	v.	disparplen	v.
dignifying*	ger.	dispensatour	n.
diligent*	adv.	dispensen	v.
diligentli	adv.	dispensing	ger.
dim	adj.	displaien	v.
diminishen	v.	displaiing	ger.
direccioun	n.	displesaunt	adj.
directen	v.	disposen	v.
directer*	n.	disposicioun	n.
directive	adj.	disposinge	ger.
disallouen	v.	dispreisable*	adj.
disavaile	n.	dispreisen	v.
discernen	v.	dispreisinge	ger.
discheren*	v.	dispreisingli*	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

disputer	n.	doctrinalli*	adv.
disputinge	ger.	doctrine	n.
dissenten	v.	document	n.
disserving	ger.	dod*	adj.
dissolven	v.	dodden	v.
distaunce	n.	doere	n.
distaunt	adj.	doinge	ger.
distemperaunce	n.	dokken	v.
distinccioun	n.	dol	n.
distincten	v.	dom	n.
distourblaunce	n.	dombenesse	n.
distroublen	v.	don	v.
distroubler	n.	Donatistes	n.pl.
distraccioun	n.	donatour*	n.
distributen	v.	Donet	n.
disworshipen*	v.	dong-hep	
disworshiping*	ger.	doseine	num.
disworshipingli*	adv.	doser	n.
diverse	adj.	doten	v.
diverseli	adv.	double	adv.
diversen	v.	doublenesse	n.
diversite	n.	douerie	n.
divine	n.	doughti	adj.
divine	adj.	doughti	n.
divinite	n.	doughtiliche	adv.
diviseli*	adv.	doughtinesse	n.
divisible	adj.	doun	adv.
divisioun	n.	doutable	adj.
divorcen	v.	doute	n.
doable*	adj.	douten	v.
doctour	n.	drauable*	adj.
doctrinal*	adj.	drauen	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECK'S LEXICON

drauere	n.	E	
draught	n.	Ebionite*	n.
drauinge	ger.	ech	pron.
drede	n.	edificacioun	n.
dredeful	adj.	edifien	v.
dredefulli	adv.	edifying	ger.
dreden	v.	effect	n.
drenchen	v.	effectif	adj.
drenchinge	ger.	effectively	adv.
dressable*	adj.	effectual	adj.
dressen	v.	effectualli	adv.
dresser	n.	efficient	adj.
dressinge	ger.	eft	adv.
drinkable*	adj.	eft-sones	adv.
drinken	v.	eie	n.
drinkinge	ger.	either	pron.
driven	v.	ek	adv.
drivinge	ger.	ek	conj.
droughte	n.	elde	n.
duchehod*	n.	elles	adv.
due	adj.	Elvidian*	n.
duelie	adv.	embrethen*	v.
duete	n.	enamelen	v.
duk	n.	enameling	ger.
dulhede*	n.	encensen	v.
duraunce*	n.	encensing	ger.
duringe	ger.	encheridion*	n.
durren	v.	enclinen	v.
dwellinge	ger.	encresen	v.
		encresing	ger.
		endal*	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

endalli*	adv.	ensaumpling*	ger.
ende	n.	enserch	n.
endeli	adj.	enserchen	v.
endeli	adv.	ensercher	n.
enden	v.	enserching	ger.
endenten	v.	entenden	v.
endeuen	v.	entente	n.
endeuer*	n.	entercomunen	v.
endeueri*	n.	enterferen	v.
endeuing	ger.	entermenen*	v.
endinge	ger.	entermeten	v.
endingli*	adv.	entermeting	ger.
enditen	v.	entrailles	n.
endouer*	n.	entre	n.
endrunken*	v.	envie	n.
enduren	v.	enviere*	n.
enemite	n.	epistel	n.
enflaumen	v.	equite	n.
enforcing	ger.	equivoca	adj. pl.
enfourmen	v.	er	adv.
enfourmer	n.	er	conj.
enfourming	ger.	erest	adv.
engarding*	ger.	erli	adv.
enhauncen	v.	erdest	n.
enqueraunce	n.	erren	v.
enquere	n.	errer*	n.
enqueren	v.	erring	ger.
enquering	ger.	erroneious	adj.
ensaumplal*	adj.	errour	n.
ensaumple	n.	escapen	v.
ensaumplen	v.	escapinge	ger.
ensaumplere	n.	eschete	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

escheuen	v.	ever-lasting	n.
ese	n.	ever-lasting	adv.
esement	n.	everlastingnesse	n.
esen	v.	evidence	n.
esi	adj.	evident	adj.
esili	adv.	evidentli	adv.
esing	ger.	examinacioun	n.
essencial	adj.	exaumplatour*	n.
essencialli	adv.	exaemplen	v.
est	n.	exaemplere	n.
estat	n.	exaumpling	ger.
estatli	adj.	excellence	n.
estimacioun	n.	excellent	adj.
estimatif*	n.	excellentli	adv.
estimatif	adj.	excepten	v.
etable	adj.	excluden	v.
et cetera		excluding	ger.
eten	v.	excrescen*	v.
eternal	adj.	excusable	adj.
etik	n.	excusatorie*	adj.
etik*	adj.	excuse	n.
eukarising*	ger.	excusen	v.
eukarist	n.	execucioun	n.
Eunominian*	n.	executen	v.
Eutichian*	n.	executing	ger.
evangelie	n.	executive	adj.
even	adj.	executiveli*	adv.
even	adv.	exempt	ppl.
evenli	adv.	exempten	v.
evennesse	n.	exercible*	adj.
ever	adv.	exercise	n.
ever-lasting	ppl.	exercisen	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

exercising	ger.	extinct	ppl.
exhortacioun	n.	extract*	ppl.
exhorten	v.	extract*	n.
exhorting*	ger.	extravagaunt	adj.
expedient	adj.	extremite	n.
expedientli	adv.		
expenden	v.	F	
expense	n.	faculte	n.
experience	n.	fader	n.
experimental*	adj.	faderhod	n.
expert	ppl.	failable*	adj.
expert	adj.	faile	n.
expert	n.	failen	v.
expiacioun	n.	fair	adj.
explien	v.	fal	n.
expliing*	ger.	fallable*	adj.
expliken*	v.	fallace	n.
exposicioun	n.	fallen	v.
expositour	n.	fallere	n.
expounen	v.	falling	ppl.
expounere	n.	fallinge	ger.
expouninge	ger.	falshede	n.
expres	adj.	falsifien*	v.
expresseli	adv.	familiarite	n.
expressen	v.	famous	adj.
expressestli*	adv.	famousli*	adv.
expressing*	ger.	fantasie	n.
expressioun	n.	fantasien	v.
exprobacioun	n.	fantastik	adj.
expropriacioun*	n.	faren	v.
expropriat*	adj.	fastidie	n.
extenden	v.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

fastinge	ger.	fer	adj.
faute	n.	ferdful	adj.
favourabli	adv.	feren	v.
favouren	v.	fer-fet	ppl.
favouring	ger.	fer-forth	adv.
feblen	v.	ferme	n.
feblenese	n.	fermeli	adv.
febling	ger.	fersli	adv.
fecchen	v.	fersnesse	n.
feding	ger.	ferther	adj.
feffen	v.	ferther	adv.
feffour	n.	ferther-more	adv.
feinedli*	adv.	fervent	adj.
feinen	v.	ferventli	adv.
feining	ger.	fervour	n.
feinten	v.	fet	n.
feintli	adv.	feue	indef. pron. pl.
feintnesse	n.	fichen	v.
feith	n.	fichinge	ger.
felable	adj.	fighten	v.
felaue	n.	fighter(e)	n.
felau-lik*	adj.	figuratif	adj.
felaushipe	n.	figuratifliche	adv.
felaushipen	v.	figure	n.
felen	v.	figuren	v.
feler	n.	fillable*	adj.
feling	ger.	fillen	v.
felingli	adv.	filling	ger.
femele	adj.	filth-hede	n.
femele	n.	fin	n.
fend	n.	fin	adj.
fer	n.	final	

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

finalli	adv.	folwer	n.
findable*	adj.	folwing	ger.
finden	v.	folwingli	adv.
finding	ger.	fonne	n.
finishing	ger.	fanned	ppl
finit	adj.	fanned	adj.
fired	ppl.	fannedli	adv.
firi	adj.	fannednesse	n.
fix	ppl.	fannish	adj.
fix	adj.	for	prep.
fixli*	adv.	for	conj.
flatour	n.	forbarren	v.
flavour	n.	forbarring	ger.
fleable*	adj.	forbedable*	adj.
flen	v.	forbeden	v.
flesh	n.	forbeder	n.
fleshlich	adj.	forbeding	ger.
fleshliche	adv.	forberable*	adj.
fleshlihede	n.	forberen	v.
fleten	v.	forberer*	n.
flien	v.	forbering	ger.
floteren	v.	forbod	n.
flouen	v.	forboden	v.
flux	n.	force	n.
fode	n.	fore-crier	n.
fol	n.	fore-tast	n.
fol-hardi	adj.	forfenden	v.
folie	n.	forfet	n.
folili	adv.	forgen	v.
folinesse	n.	forging	ger.
folish	adj.	forhed	n.
folwen	v.	formable	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

formabli	adv.	foryever	n.
formal	adj.	foryeving	ger.
formalli	adv.	Fotianes*	n.pl.
forme	n.	foundacioun	n.
formen	v.	foundement	n.
fornicacioun	n.	founden	v.
forsaken	v.	foundour	n.
forsaker	n.	fourtithe	ord. num.
forsaking	ger.	fre	adj.
forsoth	adv.	fre	adv.
forster	n.	frele	adj.
forswering	ger.	frelete	n.
forth	adv.	frelnesse	n.
for-that	adv.	frendful	adj.
for-that	conj.	frendli	adv.
forth-bringer	n.	frendshipe	n.
forth-bringing	ger.	frenesse	n.
forthinking	ger.	frere	n.
forth-leding*	ger.	freresse*	n.
forth-ward	adv.	fre-willen*	v.
forth-with	adv.	from	prep.
fortifien	v.	froward	prep.
forto	adv. & particle with infinitive	fruit	n.
fortune	n.	fruitful	adj.
for-whi	pron. adv	fruitfulli	adv.
for-whi	conj.	fruitfulnesse	n.
foryeten	v.	frustraten	v.
foryetful	adj.	fugitif	adj.
foryeting	ger.	ful	adj.
foryeven	v.	ful	adv.
foryevenesse	n.	ful-fillen	v.
		ful-filler	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

ful-filling	ger.	gendren	v.
fulle	n.	gendringe	ger.
fulli	adv.	generacioun	n.
fulnesse	n.	general	adj. & n.
fume	n.	generalli	adv.
fundamental*	adj.	generalte	n.
fundamentalli*	adv.	genetif	adj. & n.
furtheraunce	n.	gentil	adj.
furtheren	v.	gentilnesse	n.
furthering	ger.	gesse	n.
		gessen	v.
		gest	n.
		geste	n.1
		gesture	n.
		geten	v.
		getinge	ger.
		gibelet	n.
		gile	n.3
		gileful	adj.
		gilour	n.
		gilter	n.
		girden	v.
		gladnesse	n.
		gleim	n.
		gleimen	v.
		glimsinge	ger.
		glorie	n.
		glorien	v.
		glorifien	v.
		glorifier*	n.
		glorifinge	ger.
		gloriinge	ger.
G			
gaderen	v.		
gaderere	n.		
gai	adj.		
gaili	adv.		
gainesse	n.		
galoun	n.		
garnement	n.		
gasten	v.		
gastful	adj.		
gastfulli*	adv.		
gasting*	ger.		
gastnesse	n.		
gate	n.		
geaunt	n. & adj.		
gelding	n.		
gemeter	n.		
gemetrie	n.		
gendrable	adj.		
gendre	n.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

glorious	adj.	gravinge	ger.
gloriousli	adv.	gre	n.1
glose	n.	gre	n.2
glosen	v.	grene	adj.
glotonous	adj.	gret	adj.
God	n.1	gret	adv.
god	n.2	gret	n.
god	adj.	gretnesse	n.
godhede	n.1	grevauunce	n.
godnesse	n.2	grindinge	ger.
gold-smith	n.	grisful	adj.
gold-smithrie	n.	gropen	v.
gon	v.	gros	adj.
gostli	adj.	grosnesse	n.
gostli	adv.	grot	n.3
gostlihede*	n.	grouen	v.
gostlinesse	n.	ground	n.
governaunce	n.	groundable*	adj.
governen	v.	groundabli*	adv.
governour	n.	grounden	v.
grace	n.	grounder	n.
graceful	adj.	groundi*	adj.
gracious	adj.	groundinge	ger.
graciousli	adv.	groundli	adj.
graduaten	v.	groundli	adv.
graffen	v.		
gramarien	n.	H	
gramerci	n.	habit	n.
gramerci	interj.	habitacioun	n.
gramere	n.	habituacioun*	n.
graunten	v.	habitual*	adj.
graven	v.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PEACOCK'S LEXICON

habituali*	adv.	hed	n.
habituate	adj.	hedles	adj.
habitude	n.	hedlinge	adv.
half	n.	heft*	n.
half	adj.	heggen	v.
half	adv.	heien	v.
hali-dai	n.	heigh	adj.
hali-dai	phr.	heighe	n.
halk	n.	heighte	n.
halwen	v.	heinge	ger.
hap	n.	hei-ward	n.
happen	v.	helden	v.
happili	adv.	heldinge	ger.
harden	v.	helen	v.
hardnesse	n.	helinge	ger.
harmingfulli*	adv.	help	n.
harmingli*	adv.	helpen	v.
harpere	n.	helpinge	ger.
hastelie	adv.	hem	pron.pl.
hastilie	adv.	her	n.
hastinesse	n.	her	adv.
hateable*	adj.	herable*	adj.
hatinge	ger.	her-after	adv.
hatrede	n.	her-ayenes	adv.
haunt	n.	herberwe	n.
haunten	v.	herberwinge	ger.
haunting	ger.	her-bi	adv.
haven	v.	her-biforen	adv.
haver	n.	here	n.
havinge	ger.	here	pron. poss. pl.
he	pron.	heren	pron.
headhood*	n.	heren	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

herere	n.	historial	adj.
heres	pron.	historier*	n.
heresie	n.	hit	pron.
heretike	n. & adj.	hit-self	pron.
her-for	adv.	hok	n.
heringe	ger.	hold	n.
heritage	n.	holden	v.
herkenen	v.	holdere	n.
herkeninge	ger.	holdinge	ger.
her-of	adv.	hole	n.
herte	n.	hole	adj.
hertelie	adv.	holen	v.
herten	v.	holful*	adj.
hertili	adv.	Holi Gost	n.
her-upon	adv.	holnesse	n.
hervest	n.	holsom	adj.
her-with	adv.	holsomliche	adv.
heste	n.	hom	n.
heten	v.	homli	adj.
hetinge	ger.	homlinesse	n.
hevi	adj.	honde	n.
hider-to	adv.	hondful	n.
hilen	v.	honeste	adj.
him	pron.	hongement	n.
him-self	pron.	hongen	v.
hindraunce	n.	honi	n.
hindrere	n.	honouringli*	adv.
hine	n.	hopen	v.
hire	pron.	horrible	adj.
hiren	v.	hospitalite	n.
hirer*	n.	hostiler	n.
his	pron.	hostrie	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

hou	interrog. adv.	imagine	v.
hou	conj. adv.	immediacioun*	n.
hou-ever	adv.	immediate	adj.
houre	n.	immediateli	adv.
hous	n.	immensite	n.
housel	n.	immesurable	adj.
houselinge	n.	immevable	adj.
hous-hold	n.	impacience	n.
hous-holdere	n.	imparfit	adj.
huge	adj.	imparfitnesse	n.
hugeli	adv.	impediment	n.
humour	n.	imperseveraunt*	adj.
hurten	v.	impertinent	adj.
hurtinge	ger.	impertinentli*	adv.
hus-bondhode*	n.	impite*	n.
hus-bondrie	n.	impliedli	adv.
huse-wifshipe	n.	implien	v.
		importune	adj.
		impresseli*	adv.
		impressioun	n.
		improven	v.
		improving*	ger.
		imprudence	n.
		impugnacioun	n.
		impugnen	v.
		impugner*	n.
		impugninge	ger.
		in	adv.
		in	prep.
		inacording*	ppl.
		incarnacioun	n.
		incarnate	adj.
I			
iconomie	n.		
idel	adj.		
idolatre	n.		
idolatrie	n.		
if	conj.		
ignoraunce	n.		
ilernen	v.		
ilke	pron.		
illuminacioun	n.		
illuminen	v.		
image	n.		
imaginacioun	n.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

inclinable*	adj.	informacioun	n.
inclinacioun	n.	inforth	adv.
includen	v.	infusen	v.
includingli*	adv.	ingraffen	v.
incomplete	adj.	inhelden	v.
incomprehensible	adj.	inhoneste*	n.
inconvenience	n.	inked*	ppl.
inconvenient	n.	in lasse than*	conj.
inconvenient	adj.	inleding*	ger.
incorporate	adj.	innatural	adj.
indepartabli*	adv.	innest	adj. sup.
indifference*	n.	innocencie	n.
indifferent	adj.	innumerable	adj.
indifferentli	adv.	inough	adv.
indiscrecioun	n.	inquisicioun	n.
indisposed	ppl.	inreding*	ger.
indisposicioun	n.	insensible	adj.
inducciou	n.	in so much	adv.
indwelling	ger.	instant*	adj.
inevitable	adj.	instaunce	n.
inevitabli*	adv.	instincte	n.
infailable*	adj.	institucioun	n.
infantil*	adj.	instiwes*	n. pl.
infaunte	n.	instonden	v.
infeccioun	n.	instonding*	ger.
infecten	v.	instoren	v.
infinite	adj.	instruucioun	n.
infiniteli	adv.	instructen	v.
infinitenesse*	n.	instrument	n.
infirme	adj.	insufficiency	n.
infirmen*	v.	insufficient	adj.
infolwing	ger.	insufficientli	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

intelleccioun	n.	ivelnesse	n.
intellect	n.		
intellectual	adj.	J	
intense	adj.	jape	n.
interesse	n.	japerie	n.
interpretacioun	n.	japinge	ger.
interpreten	v.	jelous	adj.
interpretour	n.	jerarchie	n.
in-to	prep.	jerarchien*	v.
introductorye	n.	jerarching*	ger.
inviolable*	adj.	jerarchis*	n. pl.
invisible	adj.	Jeu	n.
invisibli	adv.	Jeuerie	n.
invitacioun*	n.	jocundnesse	n.
involuntari*	adj.	joie	n.
in-ward	n.	joien	v.
in-ward	adj.	joiful	adj.
inwit	n.	joinable*	adj.
iperbole	n.	joinen	v.
irrecoverable*	adj.	joininge	ger.
irremediabili*	adv.	joint	n.
irremediable*	adj.	jointlie	adv.
irreverence	n.	jolite	n.
irreverenced*	ppl.	journei	n.
irreverencing*	ger.	journeien	v.
isen	v.	journeiere	n.
isetten	v.	Jovianist*	n.
issue	n.	judicial	adj.
itaken	v.	judicial	n.
ivel	n.	juge	n.
ivel	adj.	jugeable*	adj.
ivele	adv.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

jugement	n.	kissen	v.
jugen	v.	knif	n.
juger*	n.	knitten	v.
juginge	ger.	knittinge	ger.
juridiccioun	n.	knokken	v.
jurour	n.	knotte	n.
juste	adj.	knouable	adj.
justificable*	adj.	knoual*	adj.
justifien	v.	knouen	v.
justifinge	ger.	knouere	n.
justinge	ger.	knouingal*	adj.
justnesse	n.	knouinge	ger.
		knoulechen	v.
		knoulechinge	ger.
K			
keie	n.		
kelen	v.	L	
kene	adj.	labilnes*	n.
kep	n.	laborious	adj.
kepable*	adj.	laborousli	adv.
kepen	v.	labour	n.
kepere	n.	labouren	v.
kepinge	ger.	labourere	n.
kerven	v.	labouringe	ger.
kerverie*	n.	lai	adj.
kete	adj.	lai-fe	n.
kinde	n.	lai-man	n.
kindeful*	adj.	lak	n.
kindeli	adj.	lakken	v.
kindeli	adv.	langage	n.
kindelinge	ger.	lappen	v.
kinrede	n.	lapsen	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

large	adj.	leien	v.1
largelie	adv.	leiser	n.
largen	v.	leiserful*	adj.
largenesse	n.	leit	n.1
largesse	n.	lemman	n.
largete	n.	lenen	v.
larginge	ger.	lenen	v.
lashe	n.	lenere	n.
lashen	v.	lengere	adj. comp.
laterale	adj.	lengere	adv. comp.
lateralli*	adv.	lengest	adj. sup.
laudatif*	adj.	lengthe	n.
laude	n.	lengthinge	ger.
laue	n.	leninge	ger.
laughen	v.	leninge	ger.
laughinge	ger.	lenten	n.
laumpe	n.	lepen	v.
leche	n.	leren	v.
lecture	n.	lernen	v.
led	n.	lernere	n.
leden	v.	lerninge	ger.
leding	ger.	lerningful	adj.
lef	adj.	lerningli*	adv.
lef	adv.	lesen	v.
lefful	adj.	lesinge	ger.
leffulli	adv.	lesinge	ger.
leffulnes*	n.	lesse	n.
leg	n.	lesse	adj. comp.
lege	n.	lesse	adv.
lege	adj.	lessen	v.
lege-man	n.	lessinge	ger.
leggen	v.	leste	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

leste	adv.	lightnesse	n.
leste	conj.	linge	ger.
leten	v.	lik	adj.
letinge	ger.	liken	v.
letroun	n.	like-wise*	adv.
lettable*	adj.	likingful*	adj.
lette	n.	likingli	adv.
letten	v.	likli	adj.
lettere	n.	likli	adv.
lettinge	ger.	likliehode	n.
lettre	n.	liknesse	n.
lettred	adj.	lim	n.
lettrure	n.	limiten	v.
leued	adj.	line	n.
leuedli	adv.	linen	n.
leuednesse	n.	linke	n.
leuk	adj.	litel	n.
leve	n.	litel	adj.
leven	v.	litel	adv.
lever*	n.	literal	adj.
levinge	ger.	liven	v.
liberalite	n.	livere	n.
liberalnesse	n.	livere	n.
lien	v.	livere	n.
lien	v.	livinge	ger.
lif	n.	livinge	ppl. adj.
lif-lode	n.	loggen	v.
light	n.	logginge	ger.
light	adj.	logicien	n.
light	adj.	loken	v.
lighte	adv.	Lollard	n.
lightinge	ger.	lollen	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECK'S LEXICON

lomb	n.	lushen	v.
long	adj.	lust	n.
longe	adv.	lusten	v.
longen	v.	lusti	adj.
longinge	ger.		
longinge*	ger.	M	
lordshipe	n.	Macedoniens	n.pl.
lore	n.	mad	adj.
los	n.	madnesse	n.
los	adj.	mageste	n.
losen	v.	magestful*	adj.
losen	v.	maiminge	ger.
lot	n.	maintenen	v.
lothen	v.	maintenour	n.
lothi*	adj.	maister	n.
lothines*	n.	maistershipe	n.
lothsom	adj.	maistrie	n.
lotting*	ger.	makable*	adj.
louable	adj.	make	n.
loue	adj.	maken	v.
loue	adv.	makinge	ger.
louen	v.	makingli*	adv.
louinge	ger.	male	n.
louten	v.	malefactour	n.
loutinge	ger.	malencolie	n.
lovable	adj.	malevolence*	n.
love	n.	maliciousli	adv.
loven	v.	man	n.
lovere	n.	manacinge	ger.
lovingful*	adj.	maner	n.
lovingli	adv.	maneral*	adj.
lumpe	n.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECK'S LEXICON

manere	n.	mazing*	adj.
manhede	n.	me	pron.
mani	adj.	medable*	adj.
mani	n.	mede	n.
mani-fold	adj.	meden	v.
manili*	adv.	mediate	adj.
man-kinde	n.	mediateli	adv.
manli	adj.	medicinal	adj.
manli	adv.	meditacioun	n.
man-slaught	n.	medlen	v.
man-slaughter	n.	medlinge	ger.
man-sleinge	ger.	meine	n.
mantel	n.	mek	adj.
manuele	n.	mekli	adv.
marchaundisinge	ger.	mel	n.
marchionat*	n.	melten	v.
Marcionist*	n.	membracioun*	n.
margarite	n.	memorial	n.
markable*	adj.	menal*	adj.
marke	n.	menali*	adv.
marken	v.	mencioun	n.
markinge	ger.	mene	n.
mase	n.	mene	adj.
masen	v.	menen	v.
masonrie	n.	menen	v.
matere	n.	mengen	v.
material	adj.	menginge	ger.
materialli	adv.	mening*	ger.
mathematik	n.	meninge	ger.
matrimoine	n.	meningli*	adv.
maumet	n.	mental	adj.
maundement	n.	mercer	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

mercifulnes	n.	mevinge	ger.
merciment	n.	middel	adj.
mere	adj.	middes	n.
mere*	adv.	mightli	adv.
merel	n.	mildenesse	n.
mereli*	adv.	milki	adj.
merite	n.	mill-horse*	n.
meritorie	adj.	milne	n.
meritorili	adv.	min	pron.
meritoringli*	adv.	minde	n.
merring	ger.	mindeful	adj.
merveille	n.	minden	v.
message	n.	minding*	ger.
mesurable	adj.	minging	ger.
mesurableie	adv.	ministerie	n.
mesure	n.	ministracioun	n.
mesuren	v.	ministre	n.
mesurer	n.	ministren	v.
mesuringe	ger.	ministringe	ger.
met	n.	minstral	n.
metaphisicalle	adj.	miracle	n.
metaphisicien*	n.	mire	n.
metaphisik	n.	miri	adj.
mete	n.	mirie	adj.
mete	adj.	mirour	n.
mete-bord	n.	mis	adj.
meten	v.	misberen	v.
metnesse	n.	misberinge	ger.
mevable	adj.	miscallen*	v.
mevablenessse	n.	miscustome*	n.
meven	v.	misful*	adj.
mevere	n.	mislivinge	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

misreule	n.	morn-tide	n.
mistakinge	ger.	morousli*	adv.
misti	adj.	morthur	n.
mistike	adj.	morwe	n.
mistili	adv.	morwe-tide	n.
mistrouinge	ger.	most	adj. sup.
misunderstonen	v.	most	n.
misunderstanding*	ger.	mot	n.1
misuse	n.	moten	v.2
mixtioun	n.	motif	n.
mo	n.	motif	adj.
mo	adj.	mother's language*	phr.
mo	adv.	motring*	ger.
mocioun	n.	mouen	v.
moder	n.	mouinge	ger.
moderacioun	n.	moustre	n.
moisture	n.	moustringe	ger.
monasterial*	adj.	mouth	n.
monasterie	n.	muche	n.
monastik*	adj.	muche	adj.
mone	n.	muche	adv.
moneie	n.	multiplicite*	n.
monk	n.	multiplien	v.
monkhede	n.	multiplinge	ger.
moral	adj.	multitude	n.
moralite	n.	musike	n.
moralli	adv.	mustard	n.
more	n.	mustrer*	n.
more	adj. comp.		
more	adv.	N	
moren	v.		
morninge	ger.	nai	interj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

naked	adj.	neigh	adv.
name	n.	neigh	prep.
nameli	adv.	neigheborhede	n.
name-giving*	n.	neighen	v.
namen	v.	neighinge	ger.
naminge	ger.	neighnesse	n.
narowing*	ger.	neigh to	prh.
narracioun	n.	neither	conj.
natural	n.	neomenie	n.
natural	adj.	nerre	adj.
naturali	adj.	nerre	adv.
naturalli	adv.	neshenesse	n.
ne	adv.	Nestorin	n.
ne	conj.	netherere	n.
necessarie	n.	netherte*	n.
necessarie	adj.	neue	n.
necessarili	adv.	neue	adj.
necligence	n.	neuinge	ger.
necligent	adj.	neutral*	adj.
necligentli	adj.	never-neither	pron.
nedable*	adj.	never-the-later	adv.
nede	n.	nexte	n.
neden	v.	nexte	adj.
neden	v.	nexte	adv.
nedes	adv.	nextnesse*	n.
nedes-cost	adv.	niceli*	adj.
nedesli	adv.	night	n.
nedi	adj.	night-time	n.
negatif	n.	nigromauncie	n.
negatif	adj.	nillinge	ger.
negatifli	adv.	no	adj.
neigh	adj.	no	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

no	conj.	notable	adj.
nobilite	n.	notabli	adv.
nobleli	adv.	no-thing	pron.
no-but	adv.	notice	n.
no-but	prep.	notifien	v.
no-but	conj.	notifiing*	ger.
noious	adj.	not-with-standinge	conj.
noisinge	ger.	nou	adj.
noisingli	adv.	nou	adv.
noisom	adj.	nou-a-daies	adv.
nol	n.	nought	pron.
no-man	phr.	nought	adj.
no-man	n.	nou3nesse*	n.
nombre	n.	nouthur	pron.
nombren	v.	Novacianis*	n.pl.
nominacioun	n.	novelrie	n.
nominatif	adj.	no-wher	adv.
nominatif	n.	nutriment	n.
non	pron.		
non	adj.	O	
non-being*	ger.	o	prep.
non-keping*	ger.	obedientli	adv.
non-other	adj.	obeiable*	adj.
non-swich	pron.	obeien	v.
non-swich	adj.	obeiinge	ger.
non-voluntari*	adj.	obeisaunce	n.
norice	n.	obeisauntli	adv.
norishen	v.	obeishen	v.
norishinge	ger.	obite	n.
not	n.	objecciou	n.
not	adv.	objecte	n.
notabilite	n.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

objecten	v.	on	pron.
obligacioun	n.	on	num.
obsecracioun	n.	on	prep.
obsequi	n.	onen	v.
observaunce	n.	on-hede	n.
observen	v.	oninge	ger.
obstinacie	n.	onli	adj.
obstinate	adj.	onli	adv.
obstateli	adv.	onnesse	n.
obstinate	n.pl.	open	adj.
occasionarie*	adj.	openen	v.
occasionarili*	adv.	openli	adv.
occasionen*	v.	operacioun	n.
occasioning*	ger.	opinial*	adj.
occasioun	n.	opinional*	adj.
occupacioun	n.	opinioun	n.
occupien	v.	opinioun-holder*	n.
occupiinge	ger.	oppresen	v.
occupiour	n.	oppressioun	n.
odious	adj.	or	conj.
of	adv.	oratori*	adj.
of	prep.	orbe*	n.
office	n.	ordeinen	v.
officen*	v.	ordeinour	n.
officing*	ger.	ordinal	n.
offrere	n.	ordinarie	n.
ofte	adv.	ordinate	adj.
ofte-times	adv.	ordinatli	adv.
oinement	n.	ordinaunce	n.
olde	adj.	ordre	n.
omelie	n.	ordren	v.
omissioun	n.	organe	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

originale	adj.	outspeak*	v.
originalli	adv.	outtaken	prep.
origination*	n.	outhrouing*	ger.
orloge	n.	outwallen	v.
orthodoxe*	adj.	outwarde	adj.
oth	n.	outwardli	adv.
other	pron.	outwell*	v.
other	adj.	over	adj.
other-wheres*	adv.	over	adv.
other-whiles	adv.	over	prep.
ouen	v.	overaboundaunt	adj.
ought	pron.	over and above*	prep.
ounere	n.	over-tenderly*	adv.
oure	pron.	overbiholden*	ppl.
ournen	v.	overbisi	adj.
ourning	ger.	overcarkful*	adj.
outdraught	n.	overcomable*	adj.
outdriven	v.	overcomen	v.
oute	adv.	overconfus*	adj.
oute of	prep.	overdeinteli*	adv.
outheldinge	ger.	overderk*	adj.
outher	conj.	overdolorous*	adj.
outhilden*	v.	overer	n.
outrageousli	adv.	overer	adj.
outrageousnesse	n.	overest	adv.
outraunce	n.	overexcellent*	adj.
outre	adj. comp.	overexcellentli*	adv.
outreli	adv.	overfavourable*	adj.
outren	v.	overfeble	adj.
outreste	adj. sup.	overgeneral*	adj.
outring	ger.	overgon	v.
outsheden	v.	overgret	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

overhard	adj.	overthrouen	v.
overhasti	adj.	overwaiten*	v.
overheigh	adj.	overwepable*	adj.
overheighli*	adv.	overweriful*	adj.
overlate	adv.	overwonderfulli*	adv.
overlepen	v.	o-wher	adv.
overlitel	adj.		
overlitel	adv.	P	
overliven	v.	pacche	n.
overlonge	adj.	paiement	n.
overloue	adv.	paien	v.
overmuche	adj.	paiere	n.
overmuche	adv.	palais	n.
overneishli*	adv.	palme	n.
overofte*	adj.	Palme-sondai	n.
overpassen	v.	pamperen	v.
overpeisen*	v.	papire	n.
overplus	n.	parabolik*	adj.
overpore*	adj.	paraventure	adv.
overreden	v.	parcel	n.
overreder*	n.	parcellinge*	ger.
overreding*	ger.	parcelmele	adv.
overrennen	v.	parcelmele	n.
overreueable*	adj.	parchemin	n.
overreverend*	adj.	pardouninge*	ger.
overseinge	ger.	pareable*	adj.
oversen	v.	paren	v.1
oversharpli*	adv.	parfit	adj.
overshort	adj.	parfiten	v.
overstudien*	v.	parfiting*	ger.
overte*	n.	parfitli	adv.
overthoughtful*	adj.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

parfitnesse	n.	peinting	ger.
parishe chirche	n.	peintorie*	n.
parishen	n.	peinture	n.
parlemente	n.	peirement	n.
part	n.	peiringe	ger.
partenere	n.	peis	n.
particioun	n.	Pelagien	n.
partie	n.	penal	adj.
partinge	ger.	penaunce	n.
partles	adj.	penitence	n.
pascale	adj.	penitente	adj.
passage	n.	peple	n.
passen	v.	perceiven	v.
passif	adj.	perceiving	ger.
passifli*	adv.	percen	v.
passinge	ppl. adj.	perdicoun	n.
passinge	adv.	perfeccioun	n.
passionable*	adj.	performen	v.
passional*	adj.	performer*	n.
passioun	n.	performinge	ger.
Paternianis*	n.pl.	perilous	adj.
pater-noster	n.	perliousli	adv.
patriarke	n.	Peripatetikes	n.
patrimoine	n.	perishinge	ger.
patroun	n.	perjurie	n.
Paulianis*	n. pl.	permanent	adj.
pavement	n.	perpetuelle	adj.
peculiar*	adj.	perpetuelle	adv.
peine	n.	perpetuelli	adv.
peineful	adj.	persecucioun	n.
peinen	v.	perseveraunce	n.
peinten	v.	perseveraunt	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

perseverauntli	adv.	placingli*	adv.
persoune	n.	plaine	adj.
persoune	n.	plainlie	adv.
pertenen	v.	plainnes	n.
pertinent	adj.	planete	n.
pertinentli	adv.	plaunten	v.
perverten	v.	pledinge	ger.
pes	n.	plegge	n.
pesible	adj.	pleie	n.
pesibleness	n.	pleien	v.
pesible	adv.	pleiinge	ger.
peti	adj.	pleine	adj.
phase	n.	pleinli	adv.
philosophie	n.	plente	n.
philosophik*	adj.	plentevous	adj.
philosophre	n.	plentevousli	adv.
picture	n.	plentevousnesse	n.
pilere	n.	plesaunce	n.
pilgrimage	n.	plesauntli	adv.
pilgrimage	ger.	plight	n.
pilioun	n.	plureli	adv.
pine	n.	pointe	n.
pipen	v.	pointement	n.
pite	n.	pointen	v.
piteful	adj.	pointen	v.
pithe	n.	pointinge	ger.
pithili	adv.	pointinge	ger.
pitousli	adv.	poisoninge	ger.
place	n.	policie	n.
placeli*	adv.	politike	adj.
placen	v.	popchede	n.
placing*	ger.	port	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

port	n.	preferring	ger.
portacioun*	n.	prefixen	v.
portraiture	n.	preie	n.
positif	adj.	preien	v.
Positively*	adv.	preiere	n.
possessen	v.	preiinge	ger.
possessour	n.	preiingli*	adv.
pote	n.	preisable	adj.
potelle	n.	preisere	n.
potestate	n.	preisinge	ger.
pouere	n.	preisingli*	adv.
Poule	n.	prejudice	n.
pouren	v.	premise	n.
pouringe	ger.	prente	n.
pouse	n.	prentinge	ger.
povre	adj.	prentis	n.
povreli	adv.	prerogatif	n.
practik	adj.	presablenes*	n.
practisen	v.	presente	adj.
precedent	n.	presentement	n.
precepte	n.	presenten	v.
prechable*	adj.	presentinge	ger.
prechen	v.	presentli	adv.
prechour	n.	presentour	n.
preciosite	n.	preservacioun	n.
precieuse	adj.	preserven	v.
precise*	adj.	presse	n.
preciseli	adv.	prest	n.
predecessour	n.	prest	adj.
predestinen	v.	prest	adv.
predicament	n.	presthede	n.
preferren	v.	prestial*	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

presumpcioun	n.	probabilnes*	n.
presumptif*	adj.	probable	adj.
presumptuous	adj.	probabli	adv.
presupposen	v.	probacioun	n.
pretenden	v.	proceden	v.
pretense	adj.	proceder*	n.
pretensioun*	n.	procedinge	ger.
prevailen	v.	proces	n.
preve	n.	proclamen	v.
preven	v.	proclaminge*	ger.
prevere	n.	procurable*	adj.
previnge	ger.	procuringe	ger.
prike	n.	procutour	n.
priken	v.	professen	v.
prikinge	ger.	profitable	adj.
primate	n.	profitablenessse	n.
princehode	n.	profitabli	adv.
principal	n.	profite	n.
principal	adj.	profitinge	ger.
principallie	adv.	profoude	adj.
principate	n.	profoundli	adv.
principle	n.	profre	n.
prisouninge	ger.	profren	v.
privacioun	n.	progresse	n.
private	adj.	prohibicioun	n.
private*	adv.	prologe	n.
privativeli*	adv.	promisen	v.
prive	adj.	promiser*	n.
privelie	adv.	promisse	n.
priven	v.	promissorie*	adj.
privinge	ger.	prompte	adj.
probabilite*	n.	prone	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

pronite*	n.	prudentli	adv.
prophecien	v.	pseudo	n.
propiciatorie	n.	pseudoapostle*	n.
proporcionable	adj.	publishen	v.
proporcionabli	adv.	publishing*	ger.
proposicioun	n.	puffen	v.
propre	n.	pullen	v.
propre	adj.	pulpit	n.
propreable*	adj.	punishable	adj.
proprelie	adv.	punishinge	ger.
proprete	n.	pure	adj.
prose	n.	purgatorie	n.
prosperous	adj.	purgatorie	adj.
prostrate	adj.	purginge	ger.
proteccioun	n.	purpos	n.
protecten	v.	purposen	v.
protectour	n.	purposer*	n.
protestacioun	n.	pursing*	ger.
protesten	v.	purtenaunce	n. sg. & pl.
provable	adj.	purveiaunce	n.
proverbe	n.	purveien	v.
providen	v.	purveiiinge	ger.
provincial	adj.	purveiour	n.
provocacioun	n.	putrefaccioun	n.
provocative*	adj.	putrefiing	ger.
provocatorie	adj.	putten	v.
provoken	v.		
provoker	n.	Q	
provokinge	ger.	qualite	n.
prudence	n.	quantite	n.
prudencial*	adj.	quartere	n.
prudent	adj.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

quer	n.	rebuke	n.
querele	n.	rebuken	v.
queste	n.	rebuker*	n.
questioun	n.	rebukinge	ger.
quietenesse	n.	recche*	n.
quik	adj.	recchen	v.
quiken	v.	receite	n.
quikenen	v.	receivableness*	n.
quikli	adv.	receiven	v.
quiknesse	n.	receivinge	ger.
quiten	v.	receivour	n.
quitinge	ger.	recheles	adj.
		rechelesli	adv.
		rechelesnesse	n.
		reclaime	n.
		reclaimen	v.
		reclaiminge	ger.
		recluse	n.
		reclusen	v.
		recompensen	v.
		reconcilen	v.
		reconvencioun*	n.
		recorden	v.
		recours	n.
		red	adj.
		redeli	adv.
		redempcioun	n.
		reden	v.
		redere	n.
		redi	adj.
		redi	adv.
		redili	adv.
R			
rabbishli	adv.		
ramblen*	v.		
rapte	n.		
rascaile	n.		
rateler	n.		
rathere	adj. comp.		
rathere	adv. comp.		
rauli*	adv.		
raunging*	ger.		
raunsounere	n.		
ravine	n.		
reaccepten*	v.		
real	adj.		
realli	adv.		
realte	n.		
reaume	n.		
rebunden	v.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

redinesse	n.	relevinge	ger.
redinge	ger.	religiosite	n.
redoublen*	v.	religioun	n.
redoubling*	ger.	religious	n.
redressen	v.	religious	adj.
redressere*	n.	remanent	adj.
redressinge	ger.	remediable	adj.
reduccioun	n.	remedie	n.
reducen	v.	remedien	v.
reducible	adj.	remeling*	ger.
reducinge	ger.	remembratif*	adj.
referring	ger.	remembraunce	n.
reformen	v.	remembraucing*	ger.
reformer*	n.	remembraucing*	adj.
refreinen	v.	remembre*	n.
refusable*	adj.	remembren	v.
refuse	n.	remembrer*	n.
refusinge	ger.	remembring	ger.
regendren	v.	remembringli*	adv.
regioune	n.	rememoracioun*	n.
regnen	v.	rememoratif*	adj.
rehersaille	n.	rememoraunce	n.
rehersen	v.	remenaunt	n.
reherser	n.	remeven	v.
rehersinge	ger.	remevinge	ger.
reheten	v.	remitten	v.
reini	adj.	remorse	n.
rejoisen	v.	reneuinge	ger.
rekenen	v.	rennen	v.
relefe	n.	rennere	n.
relen	v.	renninge	ger.
relesinge	ger.	renningli*	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

repellen	v.	resonable	adj.
repen	v.	resonableness*	n.
repentauncer*	n.	resonabli	adv.
repetinge*	ger.	resorten	v.
replete	adj.	resoun	n.
replete	ppl.	resounen	v.
repleten	v.	resouninge	ger.
replier*	n.	respectiue*	adj.
reportacioun*	n.	respectively*	adv.
reporten	v.	respounse	n.
reporting	ger.	resten	v.
representen	v.	restingli	adv.
representer*	n.	restitucioun	n.
representing*	ger.	restoren	v.
repressen	v.	restoringe	ger.
represser*	n.	restreine*	n.
repressinge	ger.	restreinen	v.
reprevabli*	adv.	restreininge	ger.
repreve	n.	resurreccioun	n.
repreven	v.	rethorike	n.
repugnaunce	n.	retreten	v.
repugnaunt	adj.	returninge	ger.
repugnen	v.	reue	n.
repugner*	n.	reudere	n.
reputacioun	n.	reuful	adj.
requeren	v.	reule	n.
rerer	v.	reuleable*	adj.
reringe	ger.	reuleli	adv.
residence	n.	reulen	v.
resolucioun	n.	reulere	n.
resolven	v.	reulinge	ger.
resolvinge	ger.	revelate*	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

revelator*	n.	rishe	n.
revelen	v.	rode	n.
reveling	ger.	rodi	adj.
reveling	ger.	rof	n.
reverence	n.	Rome	n.
reverencen	v.	roren	v.
reverente	adj.	rostringe	ger.
reviling*	ger.	roten	v.
revoken	v.	rouen	v.
reward	n.	roum	adj.
rewardable*	adj.	roume	adv.
rewardabli*	adv.	rubriche	n.
rewarden	v.	rude	adj.
rewardere	n.	rudeli	adv.
rewardinge	ger.	rudenesse	n.
richen	v.		
richenesse	n.	S	
richesse	n.	sabat	n.
richete*	n.	Sabellianes	n. pl.
riching	ger.	sacrament	n.
right	n.	sacramentale*	n.
right	adj.	sacramentale	adj.
righte	adv.	sacramentali	adv.
rightfulli	adv.	sacramenten*	v.
rightinge	n.	sacramenting*	ger.
rightnesse	n.	sacramentingli*	adv.
right-wisli	adv.	sacrilegie	n.
right-wisnesse	n.	sacrilegiose	adj.
rigornesse	n.	sad	adj.
ring	n.	sadelere	n.
ripe	n.	sadelerie*	n.
risen	v.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

sadli	adv.	scole-maister	n.
sadnesse	n.	scolen	v.
sak-cloth	n.	scolere	n.
sake	n.	scoling	ger.
saluting*	ger.	scorn	n.
same	adj.	scornfulli	adv.
Sarasine	n.	scorninge	ger.
satisfaccioun	n.	scripture	n.
satisfactorie*	adj.	scrivener	n.
satisfien	v.	scrivenrie*	n.
sauf	adj.	scroue	n.
sauf	prep.	scrupul	n.
sauf-garding*	ger.	scrupulous*	adj.
saule	n.	se	n.
savable	adj.	se	n.
saven	v.	seable	adj.
savour	n.	sechen	v.
savouren	v.	sechinge	ger.
savourer	n.	secondarie	adj.
savourie	adj.	secondarili	adv.
scant	adj.	secte	n.
scant	adv.	seere	n.
scantli	adv.	seien	v.
scarsnesse	n.	seiere	n.
scateren	v.	seilinge	ger.
scateringli*	adv.	seinge	ger.
science	n.	selde	adj.
sciencial*	adj.	selde	adv.
scisme	n.	seldence	adv.
sclaundre	n.	seler	n.
sclaundren	v.	sellen	v.
scole	n.	sellere	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

semen	v.	severallie	adv.
seminge	ger.	severalte	n.
sen	v.	Severianis*	n. pl.
senden	v.	shafte	n.
sendere	n.	shakel	n.
sengle	adj.	shame	n.
sengli	adv.	shape	n.
sensible	adj.	shapen	v.
sensibli	adv.	sharp	adj.
sensitif	adj.	sharpen	v.
sensual	adj.	sharpli	adv.
sentence	n.	shedinge	ger.
separaten	v.	sheuen	v.
sequele	n.	shilling	n.
sequence	n.	shinen	v.
sequestren	v.	shonen	v.
sermouninge	ger.	shoppe	n.
serven	v.	shortnesse	n.
servile	adj.	shouven	v.
servise	n.	shrift	n.
sesoun	n.	shrinken	v.
sethinge	ger.	shriven	v.
settable*	adj.	shulen	v.
setten	v.	side	n.
settinge	ger.	sider	n.
seuen	v.	sighte	n.
seuere	n.	sighti	adj.
seuingli	adv.	signe	n.
seuring*	ger.	significacioun	n.
seurli	adv.	significat*	n.
seurte	n.	significatif	adj.
several	adj.	signifien	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

sik	adj.	smakke	n.
siker	adj.	smal	adj.
siker	adv.	smel	n.
sikerli	adv.	smelleable*	adj.
sikernesne	n.	smellen	v.
siking*	ger.	smeller*	n.
silogising*	ger.	smellinge	ger.
silogisme	n.	smert	adj.
silogistik*	adj.	smertli	adv.
similitude	n.	smiten	v.
simonier	n.	smith	n.
simple	adj.	smithinge	ger.
simplete	n.	smitinge	ger.
simpli	adv.	smothe	adj.
sineu	n.	so	adv.
singularli	adv.	sobreli	adv.
sinken	v.	sobrenesse	n.
sinne	n.	sobrete	n.
sinodal*	adj.	socourer	n.
Siri	adj.	sodein	adj.
sith	n.	soilen	v.4
sitten	v.	solempne	adj.
skil	n.	solempneli	adv.
sleigh	adj.	solempnite	n.
sleighli	adv.	solicitude	n.
sleinge	ger.	solnes*	n.
slen	v.	som	pron.
sleve	n.	som	adj.
sliden	v.	somme	n.
slidernesne	n.	som-what	pron.
slippen	v.	som-what	adj.
slouthe	n.	som-what	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

som-whiles	adv.	speculable*	adj.
sonde	n.	speculacioun	n.
sone	n.	speculatif	adj.
sone	adv.	spedeful	adj.
soneli*	adj.	spedefulli	adv.
sonhede	n.	spedeli	adv.
sonne	n.	speden	v.
sope	n.	spedi	adj.
sopere	n.	speken	v.
sophime	n.	spekinge	ger.
sophisticaten	v.	spenden	v.
sorinesse	n.	spendinge	ger.
sorte	n.	spice	n.
sorten	v.	spillen	v.
sorting	ger.	spillinge	ger.
sorwinge	ger.	spiren	v.
sothli	adv.	spirer*	n.
sotiling	ger.	spiring*	ger.
sotilli	adv.	spirit	n.
soule	n.	spiritual	adj.
sounen	v.	spiritualli	adv.
souninge	ger.	spoile	n.
sour-dough	n.	sporie*	n.
soverain	adj.	sporte	n.
sparinge	ger.	sporten	v.
sparplen	v.	sporting*	ger.
speciale	n.	spouse-brekinge	ger.
speciale	adj.	spousesse	n.
specialte	n.	sprai	n.
specifien	v.	spreden	v.
specious	adj.	spredinge	ger.
spectacle	n.	spurnen	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

squaimosenesse*	n.	stikke	n.
squaimous	adj.	stile	n.
square	n.	stillen	v.
squatten	v.	stillinge	ger.
stable	adj.	stiren	v.
stablehede	n.	stirere	n.
stabilen	v.	stiringe	ger.
stabilnesse	n.	stirop	n.
stabli	adv.	Stoices	n. pl.
stabling	ger.	stok	n.
stablinge	ger.	ston	n.
standard	n.	stonden	v.
stat	n.	stonen	v.
statli	adj.	store	n.
staunchen	v.	storial	adj.
staunchinge	ger.	storie	n.
stede	n.	storien	v.
stedeli*	adv.	storer	n.
sted-fastli	adv.	storiing*	ger.
sted-fastnesse	n.	strau	n.
steinen	v.	straunge	adj.
stelen	v.	strecchen	v.
stem	n.	strecchinge	ger.
sterne	adj.	streinen	v.
sterre	n.	streit	adj.
stertelen	v.	streitli	adv.
stertmele	adv.	strem	n.
stien	v.	streng	n.
stif	adj.	strengere	adj. comp.
stifli	adv.	strengest	adj. sup.
stikel	adj.	strengthe	n.
stikinge	ger.	strengthen	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

strengthinge	ger.	suburbe	n.
strengthli	adv.	succeden	v.
streuen	v.	successif	adj.
strivable*	adj.	successioun	n.
striven	v.	successour	n.
strivinge	ger.	sufferere	n.
stroke	n.	sufferinge	ger.
strong	adj.	sufficient	adj.
stroutinge	ger.	sufficiëntli	adv.
studien	v.	superaboundaunce	n.
studient	n.	superficial	adj.
studier	n.	superflue	adj.
studiinge	ger.	supernatural	adj.
studiousli	adv.	supersticioun	n.
stufte	n.	supersticious	adj.
stuffinge	ger.	supplicacioun	n.
suasioun	n.	supportable	adj.
subalternate	adj.	supporten	v.
subdeuen	v.	supporter	n.
subget	n.	supportinge	ger.
subget	adj.	supposicioun	n.
submissioun	n.	surmounten	v.
submitten	v.	surviving*	ppl.
subordinacioun*	n.	suspecioun	n.
subordinat*	adj.	suspect	adj.
subserven*	v.	suspectli	adv.
subserving*	ger.	suspenden	v.
subsidie	n.	suspendinge	ger.
substancial	n.	sustenēn	v.
substancial	adj.	sustenour	n.
substancialli	adv.	sustentacioun	n.
substance	n.	suster	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

sute	n.	techeable*	adj.
swalwe	n.	techen	v.
swenge	n.	techere	n.
sweren	v.	techinge	ger.
sweteli	adv.	tedious	adj.
sweten	v.	tellen	v.
swich	pron.	tellere	n.
swich	adj.	tellinge	ger.
		temperate	adj.
		temple	n.
		tempren	v.
		temptable*	adj.
		temptative*	adj.
		tempten	v.
		tenour	n.
		tente	n.
		teren	v.
		terme	n.
		terroure	n.
		testament	n.
		testatour	n.
		testimonie	n.
		texte	n.
		than	conj.
		thankeable*	adj.
		thankeabli*	adv.
		thanken	v.
		thankinge	ger.
		thankingly	adv.
		thanne	adv.
		that	conj.
		the	def. art.
T			
table	n.		
Tacianis*	n. pl.		
taillour-crafte	n.		
taillourie	n.		
takable*	adj.		
takeabilnes*	n.		
taken	v.		
takere	n.		
takinge	ger.		
talken	v.		
talkinge	ger.		
tamen	v.		
taper	n.		
tariable*	adj.		
tarien	v.		
tariingli*	adv.		
tastable	adj.		
taste	n.		
tastinge	ger.		
tastour	n.		
taxen	v.		

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

thefte	n.	thretener*	n.
thennes	adv.	threteninge	ger.
ther	adv.	thrift	n.
ther-ayenes	adv.	thrifti	adj.
ther-bi	adv.	thriftili	adv.
ther-from	adv.	throuen	v.
ther-inne	adv.	thurgh	prep.
ther-of	adv.	thurgh-fare	n.
ther-to	adv.	thus	n.
ther-upon	adv.	thus	adv.
ther-with	adv.	thwert-over	prep.
thider	adv.	ticen	v.
thiderward	adv.	ticer	n.
thikke	adv.	ticinge	ger.
thilke	pron.	tikel	adj.
thilke	adj.	tillen	v.
thillen*	v.	time	n.
thillinges*	n. pl.	timeli	adv.
thinken	v.	tiraunt	n.
thinkinge	ger.	tirauntrie	n.
thirsten	v.	title	n.
this	pron.	to	prep.
this	adj.	to	verbal particle
thitherto*	adv.	tobreken	v.
though	conj.	tocomen	v.
thousand	num.	tocriing*	ger.
thraldom	n.	tofalle	n.
thre	num.	tofallinge	ger.
threde	n.	togeder	adv.
threfolde	adj.	togeder-	pref.
threfoldenes*	n.	togedercommuning*	ger.
threthenen	v.	togederfalling*	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

togederliving*	ger.	trespassour	n.
togedertalking*	ger.	trete	n.
togeder-wordes*	n. pl.	treter*	n.
token	n.	tretinge	ger.
tollen	v.	tretise	n.
tollinge	ger.	treue	adj.
tonge	n.	treuli	adv.
topasion	n.	treuth	n.
tosetting*	ger.	tribe	n.
toteren	v.	trien	v.
touchen	v.	triparten	v.
toucher	n.	tronchoun	n.
touchinge	ger.	tropologie	n.
toward	prep.	trotten	v.
towardli*	adv.	troublable	adj.
towirching*	ger.	troublous	adj.
tracinge	ger.	trouen	v.
tradicioun	n.	trouere	n.
translacioun	n.	trouinge	ger.
translaten	v.	truaunt	n.
translatinge	ger.	trufloos*	adj.
transmigracioun	n.	tumblen	v.
transmutable	adj.	turnen	v.
transmutacioun	n.	turninge	ger.
transumpcioun	n.	turnour	n.
travail	n.	twelve-month	n.
travailen	v.	twies	adv.
travailousli	adv.	two	num.
treblen	v.		
tresouren	v.	U	
tresourie	n.		
trespassen	v.	un-	pref.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECK'S LEXICON

unable	adj.	uncharite*	n.
unableness	n.	unchaungeabili	adv.
unacceptacioun*	n.	unchaungeabilnesse*	n.
unaccordaunce	n.	unchereful*	adj.
unaccordinge	ppl.	uncircumspeccioun*	n.
unaccordingli*	adv.	unclennesse	n.
unalloued*	ppl.	unclerkli*	adv.
unarraien	v.	uncongruite*	n.
unassigned	ppl.	unconninge	ger.
unattendaunce*	n.	unconningli	adv.
unavisede	ppl.	unconsideracioun*	n.
unavisedli	adv.	unconsiderer*	n.
unavisednes*	n.	unconstaunce*	n.
unavoidable*	adj.	uncontinent	adj.
unaweidoable*	adj.	unconvenient	adj.
unaweifallable*	adj.	uncorruptible	adj.
anayendressabli*	adv.	uncourteisie	n.
unayenseiabli*	adv.	uncourteisli	adv.
unayenstondabli*	adv.	uncraftiose*	adj.
unberable*	adj.	uncurrauntli*	adv.
unbigilable*	adj.	undeclarable*	adj.
unbigilefulnes*	n.	undeclarid*	ppl.
unbigiling*	ppl.	undeinteose*	adj.
unbodi*	n.	undelectable*	adj.
unbodili	adj.	undepartabili*	adv.
unbowabili*	adv.	undepartabilnes*	n.
unbrekeabili*	adv.	undepartable	adj.
unbrekeable*	adj.	undependent*	adj.
unbroking*	ger.	under	adv.
uncausid*	ppl.	under	prep.
uncertainnes	n.	underfon	v.
uncessable	adj.	undergoinge	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

underkeable*	adj.	undue	adj.
underling	n.	uneffectuale	adj.
undermininge	ger.	unendeable*	adj.
undernethen	prep.	unese	n.
undernimen	v.	uneven	adj.
undernimere	n.	unevennesse	n.
underniminge	ger.	unexceptid*	ppl.
underordined*	ppl.	unexcusable	adj.
underputten	v.	unexpedient*	adj.
underserven	v.	unfailable	adj.
underserving	ger.	unfailinge	ppl.
understandable	adj.	unfair	adj.
understonden	v.	unfillen	v.
understondere	n.	unfindable*	adj.
understandinge	ger.	unfitting	ppl.
understandingli	adv.	unforberable*	adj.
undevocioun	n.	unformal*	adj.
undevout	adj.	unformalli*	adv.
undignite*	n.	unfre	adj.
undiscrecioun	n.	unfil-filling*	ger.
undiscrete	adj.	unfulli*	adv.
undiscretli	adv.	ungirden	v.
undisposen	v.	ungloried*	ppl.
undisposicioun	n.	ungloriing*	ger.
undivisible	adj.	ungod	adj.
undoinge	ger.	ungroundabili*	adv.
undon	v.	ungroundable	adj.
undou3tili*	adv.	ungrounded	ppl.
undoutable	adj.	unhad	ppl.
undoutabli	adv.	unhavinge	ger.
undouted	ppl.	unhelpe*	n.
undrer*	n.	unholden	v.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

unholsomli*	adv.	unmesurable	adj.
unholsomnesse*	n.	unmesurabli	adv.
unhonestli	adv.	unmevable	adj.
unhongen	v.	unmightili	adv.
unhongingli*	adv.	unnobilate	n.
universal	adj.	unnombrable	adj.
universite	n.	unnotable*	adj.
unjuste	adj.	unnumerable	adj.
unjustli	adv.	unobedience	n.
unjustnes*	n.	unobediencer	n.
unkept	ppl.	unobeien	v.
unkinde	adj.	unobeier*	n.
unknouen	v.	unoccupied	ppl.
unknouinge	ger.	unovercomable*	adj.
unknoulechid*	ppl.	unpaciencie	n.
unknower*	n.	unparfit	adj.
unlackable*	adj.	unparfitli	adv.
unlackabli*	adv.	unparfitnes	n.
unlefful	adj.	unperseveraunce*	n.
unleffulnes	n.	unperteining*	ppl.
unletted	ppl.	unpertinent	adj.
unlettred	ppl.	unpertinentli*	adv.
unlikli*	adv.	unpes	n.
unlimitid*	ppl.	unpite	n.
unliven	v.	unpiteful*	adj.
unlosabli*	adv.	unpossessen*	v.
unlusti	adj.	unpowere	n.
unmaken	v.	unpreven	v.
unmanli	adv.	unpreviing*	ger.
unmedlid	ppl.	unprist*	n.
unmeke	adj.	unpropre	adj.
unmesurabilnes*	n.	unpropreli	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECOCK'S LEXICON

unpure	adj.	unseiable	adj.
unquike*	adj.	unseien	v.
unrebukid*	ppl.	unsemeli	adj.
unrecoverable	adj.	unsemeli	adv.
unrecoverabli*	adv.	unserchable	adj.
unredi	adj. 1	unsette	ppl.
unredi	adj. 2	unseur	adj.
unredili*	adv. 1	unshorne	ppl.
unredili	adv. 2	unskilful	adj.
unrehersid*	ppl.	unskilfulli	adv.
unremembraunce*	n.	unsoilable	adj.
unremovabilnes*	n.	unsoilabli*	adv.
unremovable*	adj.	unsparable*	adj.
unresonabli	adv.	unspedeful	adj.
unreste	n.	unspedi	adj.
unrestful	adj.	unspekable	adj.
unrestfulnesse	n.	unspoken	ppl.
unrestorid*	ppl.	unsubstancial*	adj.
unreuleablenes*	n.	unsufferable	adj.
unreulili*	adv.	unsufferablenes	n.
unrewardable*	adj.	unsufficiency	n.
unright	n.	unsufficient	n.
unright	adj.	unsufficient	adj.
unrighten*	v.	unsufficientli	adv.
unrightful	adj.	untalkeable*	adj.
unrightnes*	n.	untaught	ppl.
unroten	v.	unthinkable	adj.
unrotting	ger.	un-to-be-thou3t-upon*	ppl.
unsavouri	adj.	untretid	ppl.
unsavourili	adv.	untreue	adj.
unscapable	adj.	untreuli	adv.
unscapabli*	adv.	untreuth	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

unused	ppl.	usinge	ger.
unvertuous	adj.	us-self	pron.
unware	adj.	usual	adj.
unwemeable*	adj.	usualli	adv.
unwemme	ppl.	usurie	n.
unwisdom	n.		
unwiten	v.	V	
unwittili	adv.		
unwoned*	adj.	vacacioun	n.
unwonen	v.	vagabond	adj.
unworshipen	v.	vaile	n.
unworthi	adj.	valentinianis*	n. pl.
unworthili	adv.	value	n.
unwriten	ppl.	vanishen	v.
unwringinge*	ger.	variaunce	n.
up	adv.	variaunt	adj.
upbreid	n. 2	varien	v.
upbreiden	v. 2	vauntage	n.
updrauen	v.	veinli	adv.
upliften	v.	veinnesse*	n.
up-lond	adv.	velum	n.
upon	prep.	venginge	ger.
upplucken	v.	verifien	v.
upreisinge	ger.	verrei	adj.
upsetting*	ger.	verreili	adv.
upward	adv.	verreinesse	n.
us	pron.	vertu	n.
usable	adj.	vertual	adj.
usage	n.	vertualli	adv.
use	n.	vertuosite*	n.
usen	v.	vertuous	adj.
usere	n.	vertuousnesse	n.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

vice	n.	waiten	v.
viciosite*	n.	waitinge	ger.
viciousli	adv.	waken	v.
vileinie	n.	wakinge	ger.
vileinien*	v.	Waldensis*	n. pl.
village	n.	wallen	v.
vine	n.	wantoun	adj.
vinous	adj.	ward	n.
violence	n.	-ward	suf.
violentli	adv.	warde	n.
visible	adj.	wardinge	ger.
visife*	adj.	ware	n.
visitinge	ger.	wareli	adv.
vituperacioun*	adj.	warnen	v.
vocal	adj.	warnesse	n.
vocali*	adv.	washen	v.
voide	n.	waste	adj.
voiden	v.	wastful	adj.
voidenesse	n.	wax	n.
voidinge	ger.	waxen	v.
voluntari*	n.	waxinge	ger.
voluntarie	adj.	weariful*	adj.
volunte	n.	wei	n.
volupte	n.	weien	v.
vouchensauf	v. phr.	wei-fere	n.
vouching saf*	ger. phr.	wei-goer	n.
		wel	adv.
W		wel-done	ppl.
		wellen	v.
wagen	v.	well-proved*	adj.
wagour	n.	well-tried*	adj.
wagouring*	ger.	wel-neigh	adv.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

wel-willi	adj.	wher-fore	adv.
wel-willinge	ger.	wher-fore	conj.
wemmen	v.	wher-from*	adv.
wenen	v.	wher-inne	adv.
wepable*	adj.	wher-inne	conj.
weren	v.	wher-to	adv.
werer	n.	wher-to	conj.
weringe	ger.	whi	n.
werk	n.	which	pron.
werken	v.	which-ever	pron.
werkere	n.	whider-ever	conj.
werkinge	ger.	while	n.
wernable*	adj.	whippe	n.
wernen	v.	whippen	v.
werning	ger.	whistlen	v.
were	n.	who-ever	pron.
weven	v.	whom-ever	pron.
wevinge	ger.	whos	pron.
whanne	adv.	wicche-craft	n.
whanne	conj.	Wiclifist*	n.
whanne-ever	conj.	wide	adj.
what	prop.	wide	adv.
what-ever	adj.	widwehede	n.
whele	n.	wifhode	n.
whennes	adv.	wilde	adj.
whennes	conj.	wildeli	adv.
wher	adv.	wildernesse	n.
wher	conj.	wile	n.
wher-aboute	adv.	wilili	adv.
wher-aboute	conj.	wille	n.
wher-ever	adv.	willen	v.
wher-ever	conj.	willi	adj.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

willnesse*	n.	witnessen	v.
willinge	ger.	witnesser	n.
wilnen	v.	witnessinge	ger.
wilner*	n.	witted	adj.
wilninge	ger.	witti	adj.
wincen	v.	wlaten	v.
wincinge	ger.	wode	adj.
winful*	adj.	wombe	n.
winken	v.	womman	n.
winnen	v.	wonderful	adj.
winninge	ger.	wonderfulli	adv.
winter	n.	wonderfulnesse	n.
wisdom	n.	wonderli	adv.
wise	n.	wondringe	ger.
wise	adj.	wone	n.
wit	n.	wonen	v.
witable*	adj.	word	n.
witablenes*	n.	word of mouth*	n.
wite	n.	worldli	adj.
witen	v.	worldli	adv.
witen	v.	worldlihode*	n.
witer*	n.	worshipen	v.
with	prep.	worshipinge	ger.
withdrauen	v.	worshipingli*	adv.
withdraught	n.	worth	n.
withinne-forth	adv.	worth	adj.
withouten	prep.	worthi	adj.
withouten-forth	adv.	worthili	adv.
withrenning*	ger.	worthinesse	n.
witing*	ger.	wratthe	n.
witinge	ger.	wrecchednesse	n.
witingli	adv.	wrestinge	ger.

APPENDIX C. SELECTED WORDS FROM PECKOCK'S LEXICON

wrestlen	v.	yongthe	n.
wrestlere	n.	you	pron.
wringen	v.	your	pron.
writen	v.		
writinge	ger.	Z	
wrongen	v.		
wronger	n.	zele	n.
wrongful	adj.		
wrongfulli	adv.		
wronging*	ger.		

Y

ye	pron.
ye	adv.
yelden	v.
yeldere	n.
yeldinge	ger.
yeman	n.
yenes	prep.
yer	n.
yerli	adj.
yet	adv.
yeten	v.
yeting	ger.
yeven	v.
yevere	n.
yevinge	ger.
yifte	n.
yis	interj.
yonder	adj.
yong	adj.

Appendix D. Manuscripts

Aside from the *Book of Faith*, all of the extant manuscripts of Pecock's writings have been very ably edited. Readers should look to those editions for thorough manuscript descriptions. What I have provided here is a brief excursus on the possible scribal authorship of the various manuscripts--namely to put to rest some suggestions as to whether or not Pecock himself penned any of the existant manuscripts and/or made corrections to them in preparation for his trial in 1457. The debate surrounds Pecock's *Rule of Christian Religion*, *Book of Faith*, and *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*.

Morgan MS 519, *The Reule of Crysten Religioun*

The *Rule*, like all of Pecock's texts, survives in only one copy, currently housed in New York at the J. P. Morgan library. It is a neatly written 15th century volume with a variety of marginal annotations attesting to its use in at least the 15th, 18th, and 20th centuries.

There are between three and four annotators writing in Latin in a hand contemporaneous to the manuscript. The first (a) is almost certainly the scribe of the manuscript itself—responsible for inserting chapter numbers, running titles, and enumerating the proofs. These items are invariably in the same ink and of the same size and shape as the main text. The same scribe also produced the entire document, making for a regular and quite attractive text. The second medieval annotator (b) may be the same scribe, for he writes in a neat book hand quite similar to the main text, though slightly more angular, and is minimal in his annotations (primarily of a synoptic sort). However, unlike the running titles, these annotations appear to be added afterward, for they are in a different,

usually darker, blacker ink than the main text (which varies between a dark gray-brown to a near bronze). These annotations are also smaller in size than either the running titles or the main text. The third (c) and fourth (d) medieval annotators are often difficult to distinguish from each other and may indeed be the same individual working at different times. These annotators make corrections to the main text, underline important passages, and number relevant points in Pecoock's argument. (c) is a very small (often only 2 or 3 mm high) and usually though not always more pointed in its descenders and minims. (d) is the most regular and copious of the annotators, often writing in a very distinct golden bronze ink. (d) is more rounded in appearance and more carefully written than (c). If we are to entertain that Pecoock himself prepared this manuscript for trial, as Babington posited, (d) is certainly the most likely candidate of the four hands. There is in (d)'s efforts an attempt to clarify and at times modify the text that does not appear in the annotations of the other contemporaneous scribes, who, in the main, annotate to deconstruct the formal breakdown of Pecoock's arguments rather than engage with it. That is, the other annotators primarily summarize and enumerate rather than modify and correct. Yet, there are page references in which the hands of (c) and (d) are so similar that it would be virtually impossible to distinguish between the two hands if it weren't for the fact that they both use different inks. It is not entirely impossible that both hands are indeed Pecoock's—one (c) set of annotations and corrections being those that he wrote after the completion of the manuscript in date and the other being the set of annotations and corrections that he submitted for examination.

The next annotator (e) appears only on three pages of the manuscript: ff. 37b, 51b, and 52a. Greet identifies this as the hand of “a rather simple [Protestant] clergyman” of the sixteenth century

(x), challenging Babington's hypothesis (reference) that the annotations were done by John Lewis, the great eighteenth century Anglican biographer of Pecoek (1744).

The next annotator (f) writes exclusively in English in pencil and writes in a modern hand, possibly of the nineteenth or twentieth century. Since Morgan acquired the *Rule* in 1911 and it is unlikely that he made these annotations himself, the annotations were likely written before this time. The nature of (f)'s comments suggest that he is also Protestant.

Bodleian Library, Bodl. 916, *The Donet*

The manuscript is shockingly clean, written in a neat, consistent book hand throughout. There are few annotations throughout; several have been erased.

Hitchcock's description of the manuscript as having been been "cut short" in the last four folios can be confusing. Those final folios have been literally cut out of the manuscript in addition to the text being cut off. Hitchcock presumes that those folios would have been blank, based on the fact that the text ends middle of the page on folio 106v which does not happen at any point earlier in the manuscript. I am inclined to think that whatever is missing on those four folios would have included text, just not text of the *Donet*. Whoever erased many of the annotations for a cleaner manuscript may have also wanted to keep the cleanliness of the manuscript by removing the miscellaneous pen scratchings and testings, owner signatures, and the like the populate numerous other medieval manuscripts (ms. of the *Follower*, British Library 17. D. IX)

British Library, Additional 37788, *The Poore Mennis Mirrour*

Unlike the other Pecoock manuscripts which contain within them only the single work by Pecoock, the manuscript of *PMM*, British Library Additional 37788, contains also the ‘*councels of seint Ysidre*’

Although there is no internal indication that it belongs to the common-profit tradition, I do think it worthwhile to note that Additional 37788 is of comparable size and quality to other common-profit books also in circulation in London. 6 in. x 4¼ in Cambridge University Library Ff.6.31 and Harley 2336. The hand is a more formal textura hand than the other two common profit books at the BL, but in many respects, looks and feels exactly like these small, portable, affordable volumes.

British Library, Royal 17.D.9, *The Follower to the Donet*

Hitchcock seems to think that the *Follower* was one of the texts used at the trial. If so, and if the *Follower* was penned by the same hand as *Faith*, then there is some inconsistency in logic here, for *Faith* has extensive corrections whereas *Follower* has none. *Follower* also contains controversial topics.

It is unlikely that the manuscripts of *Faith* and *Follower* are written by the same hand as Babington posited.³⁷² While the two hands are very similar in many respects, they differ consistently in three letter forms: The scribe of *Faith* consistently forms a biting double *oo*, whereas the scribe of *Follower* does not. The scribe of *Follower* also prefers the rounded *r* in positions that the scribe of

³⁷² Babington, *Repressor*, lxviii.

Faith never utilizes. *Follower's* scribe uses rounded *r* word-initially in addition to instances in which the *r* follows a bowed letter like *o*. *Faith's* scribe also does not dot *y's*, whereas *Follower's* scribe frequently (though not always) does dot *y's*. Since both of these texts were composed in the last years of Pecock's life, neither of these manuscripts can have been written more than three years apart. If both manuscripts were written by Pecock, then it seems very strange indeed that a man in his sixties would have been altering his writing style so consistently. And as indicated above, if both of these texts were indeed penned by Pecock and used at trial, why would one have so many corrections, additions, and emendations (*Faith*) and the other be virtually absent of those improvements to the text?

Cambridge University Library Kk.4.26, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*

This leaves us then with the question: was our copy of *Repressor* used at trial or was our copy of *Faith* used at trial? Could they have both been used at Pecock's trial?

It is highly unlikely that they were both used at Pecock's trial because the hand of the corrections in our copy of *Repressor* does not match the hand of the corrections of our copy of *Faith*. And since we know that Pecock asked for the opportunity to emend his writings before examination, it seems unlikely that he would have asked and then failed to make those emendations.

In *Repressor*, Babington did identify three different correctors (I could only see two different hands doing correction myself), but none of those correctors made substantive changes to the body

of the text.³⁷³ In *Repressor*, the main annotator was one Thomas Atkyns. He signs at the end of the manuscript, “Atkyns, Lyncoln Colledge in Oxforde.” He creates running titles throughout most of the text, beginning on fol. 49a. The running titles are in Latin. He writes primarily in Latin although occasionally paraphrases key terms or passages in English. Perhaps the most notable of these instances is “Bible Men” (fol. 32b). His hand is large and sprawling with a distinct g—over-sized, looped, and angular.

Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.45, *The Book of Faith*

Wharton thinks that this book was written in Pecock’s own hand: “which seemeth to have been written with Bishop Peacock's own hand, as may be conjectured from the frequent Emendations and Additions inserted in the Margin, and bottom of the Pages by the same hand.”³⁷⁴

Babington thinks *Faith* and *Follower* were written in the same hand.³⁷⁵

There has been considerable debate and disagreement over which if any of the surviving manuscripts were written or annotated by Pecock. Lewis, Babington and Morison all believed that the manuscript of the *Repressor* at Univerity Library, Cambridge KK.4.26 was used at the trial. This belief is based on the single line at the end of the manuscript that reads: “Exhibit. Coram Domino in Capella sua apud Lamhith (i.e. Lambeth).”

A better case can be made for the manuscript of the *Book of Faith* at Trinity College Cambridge, B.14.45. Babington identifies a minimum of three different hands correcting the text,

³⁷³ “The principle corrections upon the erasures are almost certainly written in Pecock’s own hand (see Appendix, 573, and Gascoigne, u. s., 518, 543); and had I been aware of this at the outset, I might perhaps have noticed them in every instance...”

³⁷⁴ Wharton, Preface, xxxix.

³⁷⁵ Babington, *Repressor*, lxvii.

though I see only a clear case for two hands. The corrections made to the *Repressor*, however, are rather minor ones. A stray word here or there is replaced; words or phrases that were accidentally repeated were crossed out. In the *Book of Faith*, however, the changes made by the corrector (I can only identify one), range in scale from the minute to the substantive. On fol. 21, the corrections extended for twenty-one lines, reaching a full three lines into the bottom margin usually left blank. Folio 44b has six lines of corrections on erasure; folio 27b nearly three lines on erasure; and folio 28 on erasure two. Furthermore, folios 110b and 111a each had one line insertions written out in the bottom margin for inclusion within the main text. Nearly every other page included revisions of a more minor sort (*i.e.* retraced shafts of letters that had perhaps faded, replaced words, etc.). While I cannot with any certainty claim that this manuscript as opposed to any other is in the hand of Reginald Pecock, I do believe that this manuscript more than the others is a likely candidate.

We know that Reginald Pecock asked to be examined only on works written within the last three years of his life.³⁷⁶ We also know that he asked to have the opportunity to revise his most recent work before submitting it for examination.³⁷⁷ Since this is the case, it seems that Pecock would have had a strong incentive to do more than retrace a few letters and substitute one word here and there. It seems unlikely that Pecock would not have known what the charges would likely contain and should have, as a result, done something to diminish the inflammatory nature of his work. This incentive should have also been quite strong since Pecock would have understood well the possible ramifications of a conviction.

³⁷⁶ Gascoigne, *Theological Dictionary*, 211.

³⁷⁷ Gascoigne, *Theological Dictionary*, 211.

Could the revisions in *Faith* have been the ones that Pecoock undertook himself in the days (weeks?) before his trial? Quite possibly.

The most significant of the revisions, as mentioned above, occurs on fol. 21. It picks up in the middle of Part I. Chapter III during a discussion of the role that evidence plays in forming faith. It also occurs significantly just before a passage in which Pecoock defends his findings on the evidentiary nature of faith when challenged with the saying by Gregory, “Feith hath no merit, to which mannys resoun yeveth other sure proof or experience” (f. 25b). The emendation reads as follows:

Sithen every opinioun which is not feith, is maad the strenger and the perfiter in his kinde, by that that the mo, and the perfiter, and the strenger evidencis pertaineing to his kinde ben had, as no wis clerk wole seye nay, it folowith by liik skile that every opinioun which is feith, is maad the strenger and the perfiter in his kind, by that the mo and the perfiter and strenger evidencis, pertaineing *forto gendre an opinial feith, ben. In liik maner, sithen sciencial feith is not but a spice of general science, it foloweth that as every science which is not feith is maad the strenger, and the perfiter in his kind, by that the mo, and the perfiter, and the strenger evidencis pertaineing to his kind be had, as no wise clerke wole seye nay; so every science which is feith, is maad the strenger and the perfiter in his kinde, by that the mo, and the perfiter, and the strenger evidencis which thou thy silf broughtist forth, and for the evidencies which I have now brought forth, I graunte al that thou hast now last concludid.*

Fadir, if this be trewe which is of you grauntid, thanne foloweth ferther this, that the geting and the having of the mo, and of the more evidencis by which opinial feith is gendreable, lettith not the merit

APPENDIX D. MANUSCRIPTS

of a man to have thilk opinial feith, but encresith the merit of thilk man, and in liik maner the getting and the having of the mo and of the more evidencis, by which scencial feith is gendreable, lettith not the merit of the man to have thilk scencial feith, but encreesith it. ... (Correction in italic

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- London, British Library, Roy. MS. App. 70 Theyer Sale Catalogue (Records the appraisal of Roy. MS. 17 D. ix *Follower to the Donet* and the transfer from the collection of John Theyer to Charles II)
- London, Corporation of London Record Office London Possessory Assizes Roll EE
- London, Guildhall Library Commissary Court of London, Register 4 (Prowet)
- London, Guildhall Library MS. 7146 (Cutlers' Company account rolls)
- London, Lambeth Palace Library (Register of Thomas Bourghier)
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C66/474, C66/478, C66/479, C66/482, C66/485, C66/486
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Donet by the first cataloguer of Pecoek)
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- Oxford, Oriel College Archives Oriel College Archives B.12* (Confirmation of election 1424)
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London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 472 (Hilton's *Scale, Eight Chapters* and *Epistle on the Mixed Life*, and commentaries on Psalm xc, Psalm xci and the *Benedictus* from the goods of John Killum)

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