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SELECT ENGLISH WORKS

OF

JOHN WYCLIF

EDITED FROM ORIGINAL MSS.

BY

THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A.

OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOL. III

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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INTRODUCTION.

Arrangement.—The present volume of Wyclif's works consists of a selection from his miscellaneous English writings. Out of the thirty-three pieces which the volume contains, only eight (Nos. XV, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, and XXX—XXXIV) have been ever printed before; and several of these are both short and unimportant. It was difficult to find a convenient principle of arrangement. To print them in the order of composition was impossible, there being no means of fixing with anything like certainty, in regard to a large proportion of them, the period of Wyclif's life to which they should be referred. On the whole, it seemed best to divide them into three portions,—one consisting of treatises of an exegetical, didactic, or devotional character, commencing with the longest, *Super Cantica Sacra*, and arranging the rest, so far as possible, according to the dignity of their subject-matter;—the second consisting of Controversial Tracts, which every effort has been made to arrange chronologically;—the third containing the few English documents of a personal character, such as letters and declaratory statements, which time and persecution—though the former is far less responsible for the paucity of them than the latter—have spared to our times.

Grounds of Selection and Exclusion.—Something must now be said as to the grounds of selection. The *Catalogue* published by Dr. Shirley contains sixty-five English works ascribed to Wyclif. The present edition contains thirty-two of these, and portions of another. Thirty-two remain unprinted on one or other of the following grounds,—either that they are certainly not by Wyclif,

or that their authenticity is more doubtful than that of those selected, or that they are in themselves less valuable, or that they have been already frequently printed. The works excluded under each of these heads are the following :—

1. No. 1 in the *Catalogue*, 'Early English Sermons,' is certainly no work of Wyclif's; see vol. i. p. iii. No. 9, the 'Commentary on the Apocalypse,' may be excluded no less positively; see vol. i. p. vi. No. 11, entitled 'Speculum Vitae Christianae,' led to a great amount of investigation, in which I was much assisted by Professor Stubbs. It was at last clearly established, that out of eight pieces included in the *Catalogue* under that title, Nos. 1 and 7 did not belong to Wyclif, but were a little 'Manual of Religious Instruction,' compiled in English by the direction of Thoresby, Archbishop of York, in the year 1357, and circulated among the clergy and laity of his province. See *Fasti Eboracenses*, art. 'Thoresby.'

2. On the more than doubtful authenticity of the three Commentaries on the Evangelists, included in the *Catalogue*, Nos. 6, 7, 8, I have spoken at p. iv of the Introduction to vol. i.

A large body of tracts has to be considered under this head, all of which are included in a well-known volume, belonging to Corpus College, Cambridge, to which it, along with other valuable MSS., was bequeathed by Archbishop Parker. These are numbered in Shirley's *Catalogue*, 12—14, 16—20, 25—34, and 37. No external evidence helps us to determine the authorship of these tracts; no clear internal allusions to current events enable us to say positively, either that they were, or were not, written by Wyclif. Even the frequent references which many of them contain to 'brenning,' and other forms of persecution, though I certainly think that they increase the probability of their having been composed not earlier than the fifteenth century, and therefore not by Wyclif, do not, as I have shown in the Introduction to vol. i. (pp. viii—xii) absolutely preclude the supposition of his authorship. The ground on which these tracts were excluded was simply this,—that after carefully reading them through, I considered that, whether from the absence of a tone of authority, or from the contractedness and poverty of the style, or

from peculiarities of diction, or from the multiplied indications of a period of active persecution, it was more probable that they proceeded from some Lollard pen, writing from ten to thirty years after the reformer's death, than from Wyclif's.

No. 47, 'Tractatus de pseudo Freris,' I found to be, on examining it in the unique copy belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, a fierce indictment in many counts against the friars. I could find nothing to throw light on its date or authorship; and if I exclude it, it is rather because the edition contains already so many denunciations of the friars, than on account of any opinion which I have formed adverse to its authenticity.

No. 48 has been excluded for the reasons stated in vol. i. p. vii. On Nos. 61 and 62, entitled in the *Catalogue* 'De Officio Pastorali' and 'De Papa,' I have had no opportunity of forming an opinion. They form portions of an unique MS. belonging to Lord Ashburnham, to whom applications have been made, both by private persons, and by the Vice-Chancellor in the name of the Delegates of the University Press, for permission to inspect the MS., and have these tracts transcribed if it were deemed expedient. To these applications no answer has been returned.

3. Nos. 51 and 58, entitled 'De Confessione et Poenitentia' and 'De Dominio Divino,' were examined by me on the visit which I made to Dublin for the purposes of this edition. The first treats of private confession, to which 'general shrifte and opyn' is preferred. The second attacks Church endowments, and the possession of temporal lordships and privileges by the clergy. It is quite possible that both these pieces may have been written by Wyclif; but as the arguments which they contain are repeated in various passages of the Sermons and Tracts now printed, and as they present no features of peculiar interest, I decided upon excluding them. No. 41, 'Of Faith, Hope, and Charity,' a copy of which is contained in a MS. belonging to New College, Oxford, is not improbably the work of Wyclif; but as I found it to be a remarkably dull composition, and to contain not a single new idea, I deemed it unnecessary to print it.

4. There remain the compositions entered in the *Catalogue* as

'Single Sermons,' (No. 3). The first of these, 'Wyclyffe's Wycket,' a sermon on the Eucharist, has been so often printed that it seems needless to add it to this selection, more especially as no MS. is known to exist, so that the means of establishing a correct text are wanting. Moreover, the line of argument adopted in the 'Wycket' is reproduced in more than one passage of the present edition; see e.g. vol. iii. pp. 403—410. With regard to the other 'Single Sermons,' there is no evidence of any kind to connect any of them with Wyclif, except perhaps that entitled 'De Sacramento Altaris,' which is found in the best MSS. of Wyclif's Sermons, inserted between the *Vae Octuplex* and the Sermons for the Commune Sanctorum. It contains, however, nothing on the subject of the Eucharist that is not repeatedly advanced in different places of the works now published.

Such, then, have been the grounds of exclusion. The grounds of inclusion are stated briefly in the prefatory notices prefixed to the several treatises.

General Remarks.—The reader will naturally wish to know at what period of Wyclif's life the various works composing this edition were written. So far as the means of answering this question exist, the evidence points with singular uniformity to the last six or seven years of Wyclif's life, as the period within which all the literary activity to which these volumes bear witness was exhibited. In his earlier years, while he was a student, and then a doctor, at Oxford, he naturally wrote in Latin, the common tongue of the learned. But as he grew old, many circumstances would concur in leading him to employ more frequently the native speech; such as the fame of Chaucer, the example of Gower, the continual advances made by English upon French as the language of the upper classes, the interest which his great enterprise of translating the Bible into English must have caused him to take in his mother tongue, and, lastly, the necessity, as the contest between him and his opponents increased in bitterness, of enlisting support for his opinions among the laity. He must have had something of the feeling expressed in the line 'Flectere si nequeo superos,' &c.; if he could not convince the bishops or the

abbots, he would arouse, in the fresher hearts and unwarped understandings of the common people, an emotion which would sooner or later be fatal to the strongholds of ecclesiastical corruption.

On the general moral bearing of the works contained in this edition,—much less on their theological value,—it is not my intention to enlarge. But any one who looks even cursorily through these volumes will at once perceive that they exhibit everywhere a vehement and uncompromising spirit,—a spirit which menaced what it attacked, not with reform, but with destruction. The feeling of Wyclif towards the friars seems to have amounted to positive hatred, of which Aristotle tells us that one characteristic is to desire the annihilation of its objects, —μὴ εἶναι[a]: he calls upon lords and gentlemen to unite with the reforming clergy in suppressing the friars altogether. Not one redeeming feature is allowed them; not a single ray of light relieves the awful shadows of the portrait which he draws of them. The superior clergy, —bishops, deans, and archdeacons,—the various orders of monks, and the canons secular and regular, of whom there were at that time numerous communities in England, are all denounced with nearly equal bitterness, and with as little allowance for any good qualities which they might possess. Now, that the portrait which Wyclif draws of his adversaries is an entirely fair and truthful one, cannot seem probable to any reasonable man. William of Wykeham, the model prelate of those times, was not a saint, but he certainly was still less that monster of simony, hypocrisy, pride, and sensuality, which the imagination of Wyclif creates as the normal character of an English bishop. And in spite of abuses, the same is true of the monks and friars. In short, the maxim 'Audi alteram partem' holds good, as much with regard to the English Church in the fourteenth century, as it does with regard to any other institution in any other age. The writings of Wyclif and the Lollards ought to be taken in connection with the great apologetic reply of Thomas of Walden, the *Doctrinale Fidei*. This Carmelite friar, the friend and confessor of Henry V, the correspondent of Pope Martin V, the trusted emissary

[a] Rhet. ii. 4.

of kings and prelates, was an exceedingly copious and able writer; and it cannot be doubted that justice will one day be done him, by making known through a translation portions of the *Doctrinale* to the English public. But, able as it is, this work is equally one-sided and uncompromising with Wyclif's tracts. If Wyclif would not allow a single merit to the friars, Walden cannot, or will not, discern a single defect. The judicial temper is alike alien to both. Thus proclaiming war to the knife, the conservative and reforming parties in the English Church, finding no common ground, persecuted and expelled each other in turn. The conservative forces, thanks to the statute De Haeretico comburendo and the organization of a kind of English Inquisition by Archbishop Chicheley, completely triumphed at first, and Lollardism was, not extinguished, but trampled out of sight. The court, though the temptation to follow Wyclif's advice, and relieve its own and the nation's burdens by sequestrating a portion of the enormous wealth of the Church, must have been very great, did not feel strong enough as yet to dispense with the political support of the hierarchy; nor had any examples of successful enterprises of the kind as yet been given on the continent. Perhaps too, the scandals and abuses were not then quite so flagrant as the Lollards painted them. When, however, in the sixteenth century, all these circumstances were reversed, and the movement party, standing to a great extent in a true line of filiation from the old Lollards, but much moderated owing to the accession of bishops and other dignitaries to its ranks, obtained liberty of action, it is no wonder if no more mercy was shown to the monks and friars, than they had shown to the Lollards. So little did Englishmen, till the civil war of the seventeenth century, understand that spirit of compromise and gradual change, which, since that epoch, has been the main preservative of our national institutions.

List of MSS., &c.—A description of the MSS. from which the miscellaneous works have been transcribed, in continuation of the list given at p. xvii of vol. i., is here inserted; to which is added a list of the chief works from which information may be derived concerning the life and opinions of Wyclif. A complete catalogue

of the English works ascribed to Wyclif has been also compiled, based on that prepared by Dr. Shirley, but including a detailed comparison with, and reference to, the lists of Bale and Lewis.

In conclusion, it becomes my duty,—a duty which I have the greatest satisfaction in performing,—to return my sincere thanks to those from whose advice and assistance I have benefited in the preparation of the Miscellaneous Works for the press. With regard to these, as before in the case of the Sermons, I have received from Professor Stubbs much valuable aid. I beg also to thank the Rev. H. O Coxe, Bodley's Librarian, for the kind promptitude with which he has forwarded any investigations which it was necessary to make. To Mr. Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, I am greatly indebted for the pains which he took to render the task of consulting an important MS. in the library of his college as easy for me as possible, notwithstanding the well-known stringency of the founder's regulations. I have to thank my friend Mr. Furnivall for his unvarying sympathy, and for many a well-timed suggestion. I have also to thank Mr. W. A. Wright, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Mr. Hunt, librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, for assistance kindly rendered. I will venture, lastly, to add the name of my daughter, Miss Mary Arnold, whose co-operation has been of great service to me in various ways.

It only remains to add, with reference to the entire edition, that my sincerest acknowledgments are due to the Delegates of the Press, for having, after the lamented death of Professor Shirley had caused the editorial function to devolve upon one of so far inferior qualifications, extended to me nevertheless, through the whole course of the undertaking, the kindest consideration and encouragement.

OXFORD, *January*, 1871.

LIST OF MSS. OF THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

Title of MS.	Distinguishing Letter.	Description.
Bodl. 288.	T.	A fine folio, double columned and well ornamented, containing, besides the 'Super Cantica Sacra,' nothing but Hampole's Psalter and Commentary, *inc.* 'Grete habondance.'
Magd Coll. Oxford, 52.	U.	A small thick volume, containing exactly what is contained in Bodl. 288, of which I am inclined to think it a copy.
Bodl. 789.	V.	This is a beautiful text, written in clear sharply cut regular characters on the finest vellum, with elaborate rubrics and illuminations; size about that of an octavo volume. It is a collection of devotional and hortatory pieces, made probably for some person of rank. Besides II, III, and V of this volume, it contains Archbishop Thoresby's 'Sixe thingis,' &c., and several meditations and prayers, taken from the works of St. Bernard and St. Bonaventure.
Bodl. 647.	W.	A curious and important MS., written in the West-Midland dialect, with Northern peculiarities. The workmanship is rough and uncouth. It contains little that has not been printed in the present volume; the text of Tracts IX, XIX, XX, XXIV, XXV, XXXI, and XXXII. being based upon it.
C C. C. Camb. 296.	X.	A small folio, full of clerical inaccuracies, and making no pretensions to textual splendour, but containing many treatises not found elsewhere. See Shirley's *Catalogue*, pp. 40–45. The hand is of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. Tracts XIII, XIV, XVII, XVIII, XXII, and XXIII, of the present edition, are taken from this MS.
Lambeth 408.	Y.	This MS. I have not seen; it supplied the text for Tracts VI, VII, and VIII.

Title of MS.	Distinguishing Letter.	Description.
Douce 274.	Z.	A small thin volume, with beautiful initial letters in gold; writing pale; date, late fourteenth century. This is one of the MSS. bequeathed by Mr. Douce to the Bodleian Library.
Trin. Coll. Dub. C. III. 12	AA.	A volume about 8 in. by 6 in.; totally without ornament; the hand passes in the strangest way from the clerkly to the cursive, and back again from the cursive to the clerkly. In several places there are lacunae. Through the greater portion of its contents it agrees with C.C.C.C. 296; yet I doubt whether either MS. be a copy of the other, but rather suspect that both were copied from some earlier text now lost. Tracts XII and XXI are taken from this MS.
Douce 273.	BB.	The description of Z applies exactly to this MS., except that it makes a thicker volume. Besides IX and XXIX of this volume, it contains a piece of unknown authorship in English, entitled 'Tractatus de Regibus.'
Trin. Coll. Dub. C. V. 6.	CC.	A small volume, about 6 in. by 4 in., in a cursive hand, of, I should say, the first or second decade of the fifteenth century. As it contains but little,—at least of what may with reasonable probability be assigned to Wyclif,—that is not found also in Oxford MSS., I have had recourse to it for the text of one tract only, XXVI.
Harl. 2398.	DD.	I have not seen this MS. The text of IV is derived from an accurate transcript taken from it by Mr. Brock.
Corser MS.	EE.	Neither have I seen this MS., which is the property of Mr. Corser, and has but recently come to light; but a useful collation of it with the Harleian MS. (DD) was obtained for me by my friend, Mr. Furnivall
Laud 174.	FF.	A small volume, now in the Bodleian Library, containing (besides XV of this volume, for which it has supplied the text), portions of I, a curious poem by Richard of Maydenstoon, and other pieces.
Harl. 2385.	GG.	A small thin quarto, among the Harleian MSS. at the Museum. About seven leaves of it belong to Wyclif. See below, pp. 93 and 441.

Title of MS.	Distinguishing Letter.	Description.
Tiberius C. VII.	HH.	This is one of the Cottonian MSS. at the British Museum; it was much injured by the fire of 1731, but has been most skilfully and effectually repaired. It is a copy of Knyghton's *Chronicle*, and, I am disposed to think, in his own handwriting. The text of XXX and XXXI is derived from it.
Claudius E III.	II.	Another Cottonian MS. The copy of Knyghton's *Chronicle* which it contains is evidently transcribed from Tiberius C. VII.

WYCLIF LITERATURE,

OR

A LIST OF THE CHIEF WORKS WHICH THROW LIGHT ON THE LIFE AND OPINIONS OF JOHN WYCLIF.

Aeneas Sylvius, *Historia Bohemica*, Basle, 1551.

Bale, John, *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium*, 1548 and 1559.

British Magazine, vol. vii. 1835.

Capgrave, John, *Chronicle of England* (Rolls Series).

Caxton, William, *Chronicles of England*, 1480.

Cochlaeus, Johannes, *Historia Hussitarum*, Mentz, 1549.

Eulogium Historiarum, vol. iii. (Rolls Series).

Fasciculi Zizaniorum; see Walden.

Fitz-Ralph, Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, *Defensorium Curatorum contra Privilegiatos*, 1357; in Appendix to Brown's *Fasciculus*.

Foxe, John, *Acts and Monuments*, 1583.

Gibson, Edmund, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, 1713.

Harpsfield, Nicholas, *Historia Wicleffiana*, Douay, 1622.

Huss, John, *Opera*, 1558.

James, Thomas, Bodley's Librarian, *An Apologie for John Wickliffe, shewing his conformitie with the now Church of England*, Oxford, 1608.

Knyghton, Henry, *Compilatio de eventibus Angliae*; in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*.

Le Bas, C. W., *Life of Wyclif* (No. 1 of Theological Library), 1832.

Leland, John, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, Oxford, 1709.
„ „ *Collectanea*, Oxford, 1715.
Lewis, Rev. John, Minister of Margate, *Life of Dr. John Wyclif*, Oxford, 1820.
Life and Times of John de Wycliffe, Religious Tract Society, London, 1851.
Lyndwood, William, *Provinciale*, Oxford, 1663.
Orthuinus Gratius, *Fasciculus rerum*, &c., 1535; re-edited by Brown, 1690.
Otterbourn, Thomas, *Chronicle*, edited by T. Hearne, 1732.
Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (in continuation of Baronius), Lucca, 1738.
Richard of Bury, *Philobiblion*, Paris, 1856.
Shirley, Dr. Walter W., *Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*, 1865.
Tanner, Bishop, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748.
Vaughan, Dr. Robert, *Life and Opinions of Wycliffe*, 1828.
„ „ *Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe*, 1845.
Walden, Thomas of, *Doctrinale Fidei Christianae*, Venice, 1571.
„ „ *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (Rolls Series).
Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series).
Wilkins, David, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, 1736.
à Wood, Anthony, *Athenae Oxonienses*.
„ „ *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, edited by Gutch, 1786.
Woodford, William, *Determinationes contra haereses Wiclevi*; in Brown's *Fasciculus*.
Wycliffite Versions of the Bible, edited by Forshall and Madden, Oxford, 1850.

LIST OF ENGLISH WORKS ASCRIBED TO WYCLIF,

Distinguishing those probably genuine from doubtful or spurious works.

No.	Genuine English Works of Wyclif.	No. or place in this edition.	Title in Bale's *Summarium.*	No. in Lewis' list.	No. and title in Shirley's Catalogue.
1	A Petition to the King and Parliament[1]	XXXIII	Ad Regem et Parliamentum	108	39, Four Articles.
2	A Short Rule of Life[2]	XV	.. ..	111	24, same title.
3	Church Temporalities	XVII	Cogendos sacerdotes ad honestatem	57, 115, 145	35, For þre skilles lordis &c.
4	Concerning the Eucharist (1)	XXX	.. ..	..	65, On the Eucharist.
5	Concerning the Eucharist (2)	XXXI	De fide Eucharistiae	133	54, Of the Eucharist.
6	De Apostasia Cleri[3]	XXVI	De Apostasia (?)	200	46, same title.
7	De Blasphemia	XXV	De Blasphemia contra fratres	88	52, same title.
8	De Confessione et Poenitentia	..	. ..	..	51, same title.
9	De Dominio Divino	..	same title	59	58, same title.
10	De Pontificum Romanorum schismate	XXI	De Papa Romano, and De Pontificum Romanorum schismate	63, 147	59, De Schismate.
11	De Precationibus Sacris	XVIII	same title	90	22, same title.
12	De Sacramento Altaris	..	..	8	3 (5), same title.
13	De Stipendiis Ministrorum	XIV	same title	52, 142	21, same title.
14	Fifty Heresies and Errors[1]	XXIV	De fratrum nequitiis	72	15, Objections of Freres.
15	Five Questions on Love	XI	Ad quinque quaestiones	159	57, Letter on the Love of God.
16	Letter to Pope Urban[4]	XXXII	Excusationes ad Urbanum	..	55, same title.
17	Lincolniensis	XIX	.. ..	..	..
18	Octo in quibus seducuntur	XXVIII	De episcoporum erroribus	77	23, same title.
19	Of Faith, Hope, and Charity	..	.. ..	..	41, same title.

[1] Printed by Dr. James and Dr. Vaughan. [2] Printed by the Religious Tract Society.
[3] Printed by Dr. Todd. [4] Printed by Lewis, *Life of Wyclif.*

No	Genuine English Works of Wyclif.	No. or place in this edition.	Title in Bale's *Summarium.*	No. in Lewis' list.	No. and title in Shirley's Catalogue.
20	Of Mynystris in the Chirche	Vol. II	De Christo et Anticristo	5	5, same title.
21	Of Weddid Men and Wives	XIII	.. ..	116	36, same title.
22	On the Apostles' Creed	VI	In symbolum fidei	152	11 § 4, Commentary on, &c.
23	On the Five Inner Wits	VIII	.. ..	..	11§6, Of the Five,&c.
24	On the Five Outer Wits	VII	.. ..	..	11§5, Of the Five,&c.
25	On the Seven Deadly Sins	IX	De peccatis fugiendis	131 ..	44, Of the Seven, &c.
26	On the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture	XII	De Veritate Scripturae, and, De Sathanae astu contra fidem	80, 149	60, De Veritate Scripturae.
27	On the Twenty-five Articles	XXIX	Super impositis articulis (?)	176	49, 50, 63, Super impositis articulis.
28	Sermons:—				
	On the Sunday Gospels	Vol. I	In Evangelia Dominicalia	12	2, Homilies on the Gospels and Epistles.
	On the Gospels of the Commune SS	,,	In Commune Sanctorum	13	
	On the Gospels of the Proprium SS	,,	In Evangelia festivalia	10	
	On the Ferial Gospels	Vol. II	In Evangelia ferialia	11	
	On the Sunday Epistles	,,	Sermones in Epistolas (?)	8	
29	Seven Heresies	XXVII	De seductione simplicium (?)	143	11 § 8, same title.
30	Simonists and Apostates	XVI	..	..	56, De duobus generibus haereticorum.
31	The Ave Maria	V	Super salutatione angelica	154	11 § 3, On the Ave Maria.
32	The Church and her Members [1]	XXIII	De ecclesiae dominio	58	45, De Ecclesia et Membris.
33	The Great Sentence of Curse	XXII	.. ..	119	38, same title.
34	The Pater Noster (1)	III	Super Oratione Dominica	89	11 § 2, On the Pater Noster.
35	The Pater Noster (2)	IV	.. ..	..	64, On the Pater Noster.
36	The Seven Corporal Works	X	De operibus corporalibus	155	42, Of the Seven Works, &c.
37	The Seven Spiritual Works	X	De spiritualibus operibus	156	43, Opera Caritatis.

[1] Printed by Dr. Todd.

No.	Genuine English Works of Wyclif.	No. or place in this edition.	Title in Bale's *Summarium.*	No. in Lewis' list.	No. and title in Shirley's Catalogue.
38	The Ten Commandments	II	Compendium X praeceptorum	153	40, Of the Ten. &c.
39	Vae Octuplex	Vol. II	.. ..	277	4, same title.
40	Vita Sacerdotum	XX	De Vita Sacerdotum	132	53, De Vita Sacerdotum.
41	Wyclyffe's Wycket	..	Ostiolum Wiclevi	126	3 (1), same title.
	DOUBTFUL WORKS.				
1	Antecrist and his Clerkis	..	De Antichristo et membris	64	33, same title.
2	Commentary on St. John	..	..	.	8, same title.
3	Commentary on St. Luke	..	.. ..		7, same title.
4	Commentary on St. Matthew	..	.. ..		6, same title.
5	De Obedientia Praelatorum	..	same title	105	12, same title.
6	De Officio Pastorali	..	same title	83	61, same title.
7	De Papa	..	..	..	62, same title.
8	For the ordre of Presthod	..	De clericorum ordinatione	86	20, same title.
9	How men of privat religion	..	Pro amplexando evangelio	109	30, same title.
10	How Sathanas and his children	..	.. ..	113	29, same title.
11	How Sathanas and his prestis	..	De Diabolo et membris	4, 114	34 same title.
12	How the office of curatis[1]	..	De XXXIII erroribus curatorum	78	19, same title.
13	Of Antecrist and his Meynee[2]	..	.. ..	..	48, same title.
14	Of Clerkis possessioneris	..	De clericis possessionariis	106	18, same title.
15	Of feyned contemplatif lif	..	Impedimenta evangelizantium	107	26, same title.
16	Of good prechyng prestis	..	. ..	117	37, same title.
17	Of Prelates	..	De conversatione ecclesiasticorum, *and* De praelatis et eorum officio	76, 121	16, same title.
18	Of servauntis and lordis	..	De dominis et servis	14	31, same title.
19	On the Ave Maria	..	.. ..	112	28, same title.
20	On the Pater Noster	..	.. ..	..	27, same title.

[1] Printed by the Religious Tract Society.

[2] Printed by Dr. Todd.

No.	Doubtful Works.	No. or place in this edition.	Title in Bale's *Summarium.*	No. in Lewis' list.	No. and title in Shirley's Catalogue.
21	Rule of St. Francis	..	In regulam Minoritarum	70	13, same title.
22	Single Sermons (2) (3) (4)	..	De hypocritarum imposturis	87	3 (3), same title.
23	Speculum de Antichristo	..	same title	75	17, same title.
24	Super Cantica Sacra	I	same title	42	10, same title.
25	Testament of St. Francis	..	Super testamento Francisci	71	14, same title.
26	Three thingis distroien this world	..	.. ..	281	25, same title.
27	Tractatus de pseudo freris	..	.. ..	..	47, same title.
28	Whi pore prestis han non benefice	..	Pro egentibus presbyteris	110	32, same title.
	SPURIOUS WORKS[1].				
1	Commentary on the Apocalypse	..	In Apocalypsin Joannis	104	9, same title.
2	Early Sermons	..	.. ..	..	1, same title.
3	Speculum vitae Christianae.				
	§ 1 In Mandatum	..	.. ..	..	11 (1), same title.
	§ 7. Six things to know God Almighty	..	.. ..	..	11 (7), same title.

[1] These works are taken from Dr. Shirley's *Catalogue*, and it did not seem necessary to add to them works, formerly ascribed to Wyclif, such as 'The Poor Caitiff,' and Hampole's Psalter, his connection with which has been already disproved by Dr. Shirley and others.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Introduction v

List of MSS. of the Miscellaneous Works xiii

Wyclif Literature xv

List of English works ascribed to Wyclif xvii

PART I.—EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC TREATISES.

I. Super Cantica Sacra 1

§ 1. The Thanksgiving of Israel 5

§ 2. The Prayer of Hezekiah 8

§ 3. The Song of Hannah 13

§ 4. The Song of Moses and the Children of Israel 18

§ 5. The Prayer of Habakkuk 24

§ 6. The Song of Moses 32

§ 7. The Magnificat 48

§ 8. Te Deum Laudamus 52

§ 9. Benedictus 56

§ 10. Nunc Dimittis 61

§ 11. The Song of the Three Children . . . 62

§ 12. Quicunque Vult 71

II. The Ten Comaundementis 82

III. The Pater Noster 93

IV. The Pater Noster 98

		PAGE
V.	Ave Maria	111
VI.	On the Apostles' Creed	114
VII.	On the Five Outer Wits	117
VIII.	On the Five Inner Wits	117
IX.	On the Seven Deadly Sins	119
X.	The Seven Werkys of Mercy Bodyly	168
	The Seven Werkys of Mercy Gostly	177
XI.	Five Questions on Love	183
XII.	On the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture	186
XIII.	Of Weddid Men and Wifis	188
XIV.	De Stipendiis Ministrorum	202
XV.	A Short Rule of Life	204

PART II.—CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.

XVI.	Simonists and Apostates	211
XVII.	Church Temporalities	213
XVIII.	De Precationibus Sacris	219
XIX.	Lincolniensis	230
XX.	Vita Sacerdotum	233
XXI.	De Pontificum Romanorum Schismate	242
XXII.	The Grete Sentence of Curs	267
XXIII.	The Church and her Members	338
XXIV.	Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars	366
XXV.	De Blasphemia	402
XXVI.	De Apostasia	430
XXVII.	Seven Heresies	441
XXVIII.	Octo in quibus seducuntur simplices Christiani	447
XXIX.	On the Twenty-five Articles	454

Part III.—LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

		PAGE
XXX.	Concerning the Eucharist (No. 1) . . .	499
XXXI.	Concerning the Eucharist (No. 2)	501
XXXII.	Letter to Pope Urban	504
XXXIII.	A Petition to the King and Parliament . . .	507

APPENDIX.

Note on the Authenticity of the Fifth Book of Knyghton's Chronicle 525

PART I.

EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC TREATISES.

I.

SUPER CANTICA SACRA.

[Bishop Bale's catalogue is the only authority for ascribing this Commentary on the Canticles to Wyclif. But in the same catalogue the well-known Commentary on the Psalms, beginning 'Grete haboundaunce of gostly comfort,' is ascribed to Wyclif, whereas it has been shown with abundant evidence by the editors of the Wycliffite versions of the Bible (Preface, p. iv) to be the work of Richard Rolle, commonly called Hampole. Now, in most (perhaps in all) of the copies of the Commentary on the Psalms—which we will call Hampole's Psalter—the Commentary on the Canticles follows without a break, and, so to speak, as a matter of course, in such a manner as to give rise to a strong presumption that Hampole was the author of both. But against this presumption had to be set the undoubted fact that the Commentary on the Canticles bears in several places decisive marks of a Lollard or Puritanical cast of sentiment, which no one acquainted with Hampole's genuine writings, and with his life and character, so far as known, could possibly father upon him. It was manifestly the fact of the occurrence of these Lollard passages which induced Bale, and many others since his time, to attribute the Commentary to Wyclif. Out of these difficulties, some introductory verses prefixed to a copy of the Psalter and Canticles, contained in a MS. of about the middle of the fifteenth century (Laud, 286), seem to afford the means of extrication. This MS. stops short at the seventh canticle, the Magnificat, omitting those five, the commentary on which in Bod. 288 and other MSS. contains most of the Lollard passages before mentioned. The writer of the introductory lines, after saying that this is the same Psalter as that which lies chained at Richard's own place of burial, in the nunnery at Hampole, thus proceeds:—

'Copyed has þis Sauter ben of yvel men of Lollardry,
And aftirward hit has bene sene ympyd in wiþ eresy.
They seyden þen to leude foles, þat it shuld be all enter
A blessyd boke of hur scoles, of Richard Hampole þe Sauter.
Thus ho þei seyd to make þem leve on her scole thoro sotilte,
To bring hem in, so hem to greve, ageyn þe feyth in grete fole;
And sclaundrid foule þis holy man wiþ her wykkid waryed wyles;' &c.

The Lollards then, it seems, had been grafting heresy, that is, their peculiar opinions, into the Psalter (in which general expression it seems certain that the Canticles are included) of Richard Hampole, and then circulating it as, in its entirety, 'a blessed book of their schools.' From these words it may clearly be inferred that the copy to which these lines are prefixed, and in which the handwriting is the same throughout, was the genuine work of Hampole, free from all Lollard interpolations. What difference this makes in the Psalter itself, I am not prepared to say with certainty; but the form which it wears in Bod. 288 (a MS. containing all the passages of advanced Lollardism in the Canticles) appears, from a tolerably close examination, to present scarcely anything that could be decidedly pronounced to come from a Lollard pen. But in the Commentary on the Canticles, the difference caused by presenting them in the form exhibited in the copy of this ardent versifier, as compared with that which they bear in Bod. 288, is very great. The former copy, containing only seven canticles, has not a single word which might not have been written by Hampole. The latter, containing twelve canticles, has in it, especially in the commentary on the Benedictus, passages which only Wyclif or one of his disciples could have composed. The conclusion which I arrive at therefore is, that in this Commentary on the Canticles, we have, down to the end of the seventh canticle, a genuine work of Richard Hampole, retouched in certain MSS. by a Lollard hand, but that the five remaining canticles are a later addition, made either by Wyclif himself, or by his school. Some confirmation of this view may be found in the fact that the valuable New College MS. (No. 95) of which, nearly, if not absolutely, all the remaining contents are of Wyclif's composition, gives just these five later canticles, and none of the seven earlier ones.

The text is based on Bod. 288 (T in this edition). The scribe seems to have been imperfectly acquainted with Latin, and has made frequent blunders in quoting the Latin originals; these I have corrected either from other MSS. or from the Vulgate. Other MSS. of the whole or of a portion of the Canticles are the following; of the whole, Laud 448, University College, Oxford, 56 (although in this MS. the *commentary* on the last six canticles is wanting, as if the scribe had been afraid to reproduce it); Magdalen College, Oxford, 52; of Nos. 1–7, Laud 286; of Nos. 8–12, New College, Oxford, 95; of Nos. 11, 12, Laud 174; of No. 12. Douce 258.

'In the Old Testament Canticles there is no agreement with either Wycliffite version; in the Benedictus and Nunc Dimittis the agreement is very close with the earlier version.'—Shirley's *Catalogue*, p. 37.

These twelve canticles (or rather these eleven canticles and one creed, the so-called Symbolum Athanasii) are found intermixed among the Psalms, as they are appointed to be read on the different days of the week in the Psalter of the Roman Breviary (ed. Lyons, 1546). Thus a commentator, who besides commenting on the Psalms, should have explained these canticles, would have given a commentary on the entire contents of the Psalter in his Breviary, with the exception of the Symbolum Apostolorum.]

[THE THANKSGIVING OF ISRAEL.]

[Isaiah, ch. xii.]

Confitebor tibi, Domine, quia iratus es michi; conversus est furor tuus, et consolatus es me: *I schall schryve to þee, Lord, for þou art wraþþed to me; turnyd is þi breeþ, and þou cumfortidist me.*

Þat is, to þe heriyng of þee I schall schryve my synnes; and þat I schal do, for þei displesen þee, and maken þee wraþþid to me synnynge, and I may not preie þee, but if I fordo my synne. Þerfor verry schrift is levynge of synne, þat turneþ þi breeþ fro me; but þou turnyst eendelees peyne which I have disserved lyvyng, into schort penaunce of a soruful herte, absteynynge fro synne. And in þat, Lord, þou cumfortist me, þat þis sentence in dyverse stidis of þi lawe is approvyd, not in newe writynge and newe confirmacioun, for noþing is, to trowe sooþ, left out of þe sentence of þi lawe. Þis cumfort bowiþ into myn herte, knowynge of feelinge of þi love, delyverynge my conscience of alle byndinge errours. Ffor

Ecce, Deus salvator meus, fiducialiter agam et non timebo: *Loo, God is my saveour, tristfulli I schal worche, and I schal not dreeden.*

Alle men, biholden; Lo, Jesus Crist is my saveour, clensinge me of synne, and delyverynge me of turment. Now he me saveþ turnyd to him, whom he bifore blyndide turnyd to þe world. Þerfor tristfully I schal worche, dredynge no man, seiynge boldly þat he schal come to deeme, ȝeldynge to ech man aftir his deede. Þe deedis of tirauntis and of ipocritis, hiȝed in þis world, ensaumplinge wickidenes, schulen be lowid þoru peyne eendelees, whanne trewe meke men schulen have coroun of joie; and I schal not dreede to seyn it, þouȝ I be

dispisid þoru soggestioun of my false briþeren for my soþfastnes. Whi?

Quia fortitudo mea et laus mea[1], **et factus est mihi in salutem:** *For my strenkþe and myn heriing oure Lord, and maad he is to me in helþe.*

My strenkþe of whom I am stalworþe is Crist, for of mysilf I am ful week; and myn heriing is heriinge in Jesus, for I seke in wil, word, and werk not myn heriing but Cristis; and he is maad to me double heelþe, aȝein Adam þat brouȝte me in seekenes of deeþ, and aȝein hem þat in blindenes of malice pursuen me for my sooþsawe[2]. But ȝe þat wolen folowe þe fforme of þis conversacioun,

Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris, et dicetis in illa die, Confitemini domino et invocate nomen ejus: *ȝe schulen drawe watirs in joie of þe wellis of þe saveour, and ȝe schulen seie in þat day, schryveþ to þe Lord and inclepiþ his name.*

ȝe schulen drawe þoru charite and mekenes watir of devocioun of hevenly desiris in joie, ȝeldinge servise to God of þe wellis, þat is, of þe plenteuouse graciouse ȝiftis of Jesus Crist; and ȝe schulen sey to oþere in þat day,—þat is, whanne ȝe drinken of so cleer wellis of Cristis lawe þat purgiþ alle þe vicis, and leven þe mody watirs of mannys lawe troublid wiþ coveitise and lustis,—Schryveþ to oure Lord ȝoure synnes, for he oonli ȝeveþ pardoun, and so inwardly inclepiþ his name, þat is, lyveþ so þat ȝoure liif schewe þe heriing of Jesus; and þat may not be but ȝe þoru charite inclepen his name to ȝou, makynge ȝou þoru mekenes his woniynge stide. If þou do þus,

Notas facite in populis adinvenciones ejus, mementote quia excelsum est nomen ejus: *Makiþ knowen in þe folk þe fyndingis of him; biþenkiþ*[3] *for his name is hiȝ.*

Here he monestiþ ech man to lyve wel, and prestis to make knowe opinly Cristis meedful werkis. Makiþ knowen, þat is, prechiþ among þe folk, what? — fre soþfastnes, þat þei moun knowe his incarnacioun, þoru þe which he found oure heelpe. And telliþ to hem alle fablis left, þat he is not founden but in

[1] Vulg. *laus mea Dominus.* [2] clause om. in U.
[3] So in U; *unbiþinkiþ*, T.

meke and wilful charyte ful worching; and beþinkiþ, þat is, holdiþ him evere in mynde, or in þinkinge, or in spekinge, or in worchinge, þat ȝe no tyme be founden out of his heriynge; for he failiþ no tyme, here in helpinge, ne in hevene of meedynge. And, for his hiȝ name Jesus is above alle names, holdiþ þat in ȝore þouȝt, for it is of greet virtu in a clene soule; fot þoru þe virtu þerof is ech soule clensid of vicious filþe. And if clensid it kepiþ cleene, bowynge þereinne abundantly grace of parfiȝt knowynge of virtues, no devel ne yvel man may noien þat soule, þouȝ þe body suffre peyne in which it restiþ peesibly. It is of so greet virtu þat blynde men coveyten to bere it on hem, but þe help of Jesus is not wiþ hem, to meede hem in hevene, þat beren it not in clennes of lyvynge, ne it failiþ not hem þat lyven wel, þouȝ þei herden nevere speke þerof. ȝe þat moun heere and seke to knowe Goddis wille, tristiþ in heringe of it in ȝoure hertis, not in schewinge þerof in ȝoure cloþinge, for it suffriþ not þe love þerof fallen into pride ne covetise aȝens Goddis honour, as Lucifer and Adam diden.

Cantate domino quia magnifice egit, Anunciate hec in universa terra: *Syngiþ to oure Lord for worschipfully he dide, schewiþ þat in al þe erþe.*

ȝe loviers of þe name of Jesus, syngiþ to oure Lord in contemplacioun, for þere is delitable cumfort. Þerfore is it riȝt clepid contemplacioun, for þe soule[1] of a good man or womman in þis liif haþ no cumfort but þereinne. Þerfor þerwiþ wel worchinge honouriþ Jesus Crist, for worschipfully he dide þe heelþe of mankynde, diynge þerfore, savynge synful wrecchis þat wolen leve synne. What þing is more bifore God þan to ȝelde good aȝen yvel? þerfore schewiþ þat worschipful þing among alle men. But þou namely,

Exulta et lauda, habitatio Syon, quia magnus in medio tui Sanctus Israel: *Be glad and merie, þe wonyng of Syon, for greet in myddis of þee þe holy of Israel.*

Þou lovier of Crist þat wonyest in Syon, þat is, in holy Chirche and contemplacioun of God, for þou art maad þe wonying of Crist, be glad, þat is, schewe þee wel cheerid in þi soule, worch-

[1] corrected; T has *oule*; U om. the clause.

inge gode werkis, and herye God, þat haþ do so to þee þat þou hast wille to love him and noon oþer. Þerfore greet he is in þee þoru love and virtu, he þat is halowe of Israel, þat is, Crist halowynge þee in his love, þat is verri Israel in truþe, hope, and charite, seeynge þere þoru God.

[PRECATIO EZECHIÆ.]

[Isaiah xxxviii. 10.]

Ego dixi; In dimidio dierum meorum vadam ad portas inferi: *I seyde, in half of my daies, I schal [go] to þe ȝatis of helle.*

Ezechie þe king, aftir his siiknes, grauntynge of liif xv ȝeer over, herieþ God, and seiþ, I seide in myn herte, dispeiringe of liif, fro I hadde herd þe vois of deeþ of þe profetis mouþ, In half of my dayes, þat is, in unperfiȝtnes[1] of werkis not fulfillid, þe dayes in whiche I schulde have lyved, I schal go to þe ȝatis of helle; þat is, I þus unperfiȝt, diynge, schal passe to helle, for þidir ȝeden alle men bifore þe comynge of Jesus Crist. And þerfore,

Quesivi residuum annorum meorum. Dixi, non videbo domum Domini[a] **in terra viventium:** *I souȝte þe levyng of my ȝeeris; I seide, I schal not se þe Lord in þe lond of lyvynge.*

I souȝte, preiinge to God, þat I myȝte eende þe levynge of myn ȝeeris, þat is, þat I myȝt bringe my liif to perfiȝtnes and fulnes of daies. For I seide in mysilf, if I now die wiþouten child, I schal not se God-man in hevene; as who seie, I cam nevere þere. For he wiste þat God hadde hiȝt, þat Crist, Goddis Sone, schulde be borun of his kynde, and þat myȝt not han be, speciali, if Ezechie hadde died and left no seed aboven erþe. Ffor I seide,

[1] So in U; T om. *in.*

[a] 'Dominum Deum' in the Vulgate.

Non aspiciam hominem ultra, et habitatorem quietis: *I schal not seen man overe, and wonier of reste.*

Þat is, if I die now, I schal not seen him þat is God and man borun of my kynde, over, þat is, aftir þat I be deed; and so I schal not seen wonyer of reste, þat is, I schal not seen cumpanyes of chosun men wonyinge in eendelees reste, ne wone wiþ hem where is delitable reste. Ffor lo,

Generacio mea ablata est, et convoluta est a me quasi tabernaculum pastorum: *My generacioun is raft, and togidere lappid is fro me, as tabernacle of heerdis.*

My generacioun, þat is, successioun of children, is so holly moved fro me as a tabernacle of heerdis, þat in schort while [is] lappid togidere, and remewede [1] is not seen. And þerwiþ,

Precisa est velud a texente vita mea; dum adhuc ordirer, succidit me: *Bifore schoren is as þe wevyng my liif; whilis I was in wevynge he kit me doun.*

My liif is schoren awey, ȝouþeheed bifore er I come to eelde, as of þe wevynge þat scheriþ doun þe web, er it be fully woven. And ȝit while I bigan to lyven he scheriþ me doun wiþ sikil of deeþ, for no sunner bigynne we to lyven þan we bigynnen to dien.

De mane usque ad vesperam finies me. Sperabam usque ad mane, quasi leo sic contrivit omnia ossa mea: *Fro morn to even þou schalt eende me. I hopide to þe morn, as lioun so I brak alle my boones.*

Iȝe [2] spekiþ in a maner of a man þat liiþ in a strayt fevere, þat fro þe morn to even abidiþ, aftir passing of þe yvel or of þe deeþ. I hopide to þe morn, þat is, al nyȝt, to be releeved or to dien. As lyoun þat noþing spariþ, so God in my siiknes brak alle my boones, þat is, wastide al myn strenkþe.

De mane usque ad vesperam finies me. Sicut pullus yrundinis sic clamabo, meditabor sicut columba: *Fro morown to even þou schalt eende me. As a bird of a swalowe, so I schal crie, I schal þinke as a dowve.*

Þou schalt eende me, þat is, I abide myn eende fro morn to even. Þat he rehersiþ þis twies, he schewiþ þe greetnes of his

[1] So in U; T has *is not seen remount.* [2] *he*, U.

yvel, and þe worchinge, as þe maner of siik men is whanne þei felen riȝt hard, and witen not what þei moun best seyn. As bird of swalowe þat gredily askiþ mete, so in siike, woundid in sorowe, and in noye of siiknes, schal I crie to God my leche, þat I now fynde his hoolsum medicyn; and I schal þinke as a douve, þat is, mekely, wiþouten galle of grucching, ire, and wickid wille, stilly usynge sorowynge for my synne, cumfortynge me in hope of God wiþ devout song of meditacioun, not wiþ song of vanite. And in þis cry and þinkinge,

Attenuati sunt oculi mei, suspicientes in excelso[a]**:** *Thynnyd ben myn iȝen, uplokynge in hiȝ.*

Myn iȝen ben þinned, þat is, my þouȝt and myn entent ben purgid of vile lustis, and foule willis, and veine þouȝtis, and maad sotil and semely in þe love of Jesus Crist; and so þei ben uplokinge in heiȝte to þe joie of hevene, not pressid doun in love of þis world.

Domine vim patior; responde pro me quid dicam; aut quid respondebit mihi cum ipse fecerim: *Lord, force I suffre, answere for me what schal I seyn, or what schal I*[1] *answere to me whanne I have do.*

Lord, I suffre force, þat is, violence of siiknes and disesis above my myȝt; [þat is[2]] answere for me, þat is, be boru of myn amendement; for my wille is, if þou wilt suffre, to amenden þat I have errid. It is greet perel to synnen, but myche more to be founde in ligginge where God is borowe; þerfore ech Cristen man þat þoru synne brekiþ his truþe dispisiþ þe boruheed of Crist, þat witnessiþ ech trewe mannys truþe. But what schal I sey to God whanne I suffre riȝtwiisli þis peyne? or what schal God answere to me whanne I have synnyd grevousli in his siȝt, and he but as riȝtwiis venger of synne puneschiþ it riȝtwiisli? For he is makir of my kynde, as a sliȝ werkman, knowynge betere how his hondi-werk is defoulid þan I, þouȝ I were keper þerof. For whanne I hadde defoulid it, I coude not, ne noon oþir, amenden it wiþouten him; and I knewe þat I have ofte defoulid his werk wilfully, and he

[1] *be*, U.

[2] These words are redundant.

[a] 'excelsum' in the Vulgate.

as ofte haþ recounsilid it; but now me schameþ wiþ mysilf, knowinge him for hiȝest Lord, and me for moost vile wrecche. How schulde I dore þinke to meve him þus ofte to amende my wilful defaute? As who seie, þe best is in al angwische to take Goddis sooude mekely, and preien him of mercy, þat dide as it was his wille. And þerewiþ,

Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos in amaritudine anime mee: *I schal þinke aȝein to þee alle my ȝeris, in bittirnesse of my soule.*

I schal þinke to þee, þat is, for þe heriyng of þee I schal bringe to my mynde alle my ȝeeris, þat is, al my liif þat is passid, in which I knowe me coupable; and þat in bittirnes of my soule, þat is, bittirnes of sorowe be in my soule for my synnes, and so I schal þoru þi mercy waische me clene of alle filþis, lovynge þi name wiþouten eende, more qwemynge þee wiþ heriinge þan evere I displeside þee in synnynge.

Domine, si sic vivitur, et in talibus vita spiritus mei, corripies me, et vivificabis me. Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima: *Lord, if man so lyve and in sich þe liif of my spirit, þou schalt chastise me, and þou schalt qwikene me. Lo, in pees my bittirnes bitterist.*

Lord, if man so lyve, as who seie, it is a general rule þat man so lyve, þat is, þoru verri penaunce,—and in siche, þat is, hatrede of synne and in love of riȝtwisnes, is þe liif of my spirit, —ellis it is deed,—þerfore þou schalt chastise me here as þou doost þi sones, þat I peresche not wiþ sones of þis world wiþouten eende. And chastisynge þou schalt quykene me, þat is, þou schalt ȝeve to me perfiȝt heelþe. For lo, in pees, þat is, in verri pacience, is my bittirnes, þat is, my siiknes; and tribulacioun þat þou sendist, of me is suffrid pacientli and in pees wiþoute grucchinge, þouȝ it be seen bitteriste while oþere men ben in welþe.

Tu autem eruisti animam meam ut non periret, projecisti post tergum tuum omnia peccata mea: *But þou delyveridist my soule þat it pereschide not, þou kestidest bihynde þi bak alle my synnes.*

Þou ordeynedest me to þi love, and into þin heriyng; delyvere my soule of deeþ of synne, þat it peresche not wiþ þe soulis of

wickide men, which þou neiþer delyverist fro synne ne fro helle. Þou castidest bihynde þi bak to forȝeting alle my synnes, þat þou se hem not to ponesche, for whom þou hast poneischid sufficientli here, þou wolt not ponesche eft wiþoute newe forfetynge.

Quia non infernus confitebitur tibi, neque mors laudabit te; non expectabunt qui descendunt in lacum veritatem tuam: *For helle schal not schryve to þee, ne deeþ schal not herie þee; and þo þat liȝten in þe lake wole not abide þi soþfastnes.*

Helle,—þat is, he or sche þat is sett in þe derk ground of synnes; for siche schulen not schryve to þee; for þe devel byndiþ his herte and his mouþ, þat he telle not his synne to þee wiþ wille to amende it. Ne deeþ, þat is, he þat is deed in dispeir, schal not love þee, for no fair heriyng is in þe mouþ of þe synful man. And þo þat liȝten in þe lake of dampnacioun schulen not abide þi soþfastnes, þat is, þei han noon hope to be delyverid þoru Jesus Crist, bier of mankynde. But,

Vivens, vivens, ipse confitebitur tibi, sicut et ego hodie; pater notam faciet filiis veritatem tuam[1]**:** *Lyvynge, lyvynge, he schal schryve to þee, as and I in þis day; fadir schal make knowen to sones þi soþfastnes.*

Lyvynge in body and lyvynge in grace, he schal schryve to þee, lovynge þi name, as I þis day, þat is, in þis present liif, schal herie þee. For ech good fadir bodili and goostli lyvynge in dreede of God, aftir þe foorme of trewe matrimonye, or after þe office of trewe presthood, schal make knowen to hise sones þoru trewe teching þi soþfastnes, þat is, verri soþfastnesse of truþe in þe loore of Cristin mannys religioun. For wiþ wrong is he clepid fadir of whos fruyt God is not heried.

Domine, salvum me fac, et psalmos nostros cantabimus cunctis diebus vite nostre in domo Domini Dei nostri: *Lord, make me saaf, and oure salmes schulen we synge alle þe dayes of oure liif in þe hous of oure Lord God.*

Lord, make me saaf of þe devels foundingys, and of alle oþere yvelis wiþinne and wiþoute, and we schulen synge oure salmes,

[1] corrected; T has *suam;* U om.

þat is, we schulen make solempne þin heriingis wiþ herte, mouþ, and hond, alle þe dayes of oure liif, þat is, contynuely while we ben in goostly liif, and in charyte in Goddis hous, þat is in holy chirche; of dwellinge out þerof, þouȝt of herte, ne salm of mouþ, ne werk of hondis, is not qweemeful to Jesus Crist.

[THE SONG OF HANNAH.]

[1 Sam. ii. 1—10.]

Exultavit cor meum in Domino, et exaltatum est cornu meum in Deo meo: *Myn herte gladide in oure Lord, and myn horn ys hiȝed in my God.*

Helcana þat was fadir of Samuel hadde two wyves, Ffennenne[1] and Anne. By Ffenenne, þat first woxe in berynge of children, is bitokenyd þe synagoge of þe Jewis; by Anne, þat was first bareyn, and siþin bigan to be more multiplied þan þe toþir, is bitokenyd þe Chirche of Cristen men. Wherfore Anna brest forþ in heriynge of God, and made þis Salm, enditinge it þe Holy Goost, stirynge us to þe heriinge of oure God þat haþ take us fro þe errours of heþen men. At þe bigynnyng of her song sche schewiþ þat in God is her deliit, and seiþ, as in figure of us, Myn herte gladide in my Lord, in þe fruit of good werk and of meedful meditacioun, þat was sory for my bareynheed; and hiȝed is myn horn, þat is, my goostli strenkþe, in þe which I putt awey my scoorners, hoping in my God, not in mysilf, ne in vanyte of þis world.

Dilatatum est os[2] meum super inimicos meos, quia letata sum in salutari tuo: *Largid is my mouþ upon myn enemyes, for I joiede in þin heelþe.*

Þat is, wilfully and wiþ gladnes I openede my mouþ in þe heriinge of God, above my foos, þat is, moore þan þei þat schameden me and dispisiden me bifore; and þat for I joiede

[1] *Phenenna*, in Vulg. [2] corrected from Vulg. T has *cor*.

not in pompe and in vanyte of vein joie, but in þin heelþe, þat is, in Jesus, þat me haþ hiȝed in vertu.

Non est sanctus ut est Dominus, neque enim est alius extra te, et non est fortis sicut Deus noster: *Noon is holy as oure Lord, for noon oþer is out of þee, and noon is stalworþe as is oure God.*

Noon is hooly, þat is, fre of synne, as is oure Lord Jesus Crist, for noon oþir is þat is holy out of þee, for in þee and þoru þee is ech man hooly. And noon is stalworþe to vengen yvele deedis as oure God is, þat ȝeldiþ to ech man aftir his yvel wille. Þerfore þe[1] scorners and þe[2] dispisers of meke pore men, and honourers[3] of riche men,

Nolite multiplicare loqui sublimia gloriantes: *Williþ not multiplien to speke hiȝe þingis gloriynge.*

Williþ no moore ȝeve to ȝoure tunge leve to speke proudli, for þat ȝe ben hiȝed of þis world, for þat myȝt is but schame and sorowe to ȝou, if ȝe coveiten hem, joiynge in richessis þoru pride in ȝoure delicis and leccherye. And if ȝe biþouȝten ȝou wel, ȝe schulden have more sorowe þan joie, for ȝe ȝeten noon oþir hevene, but if ȝe dispende hem at Goddis wille.

Recedant vetera de ore vestro, quia Deus scienciarum Dominus est, et ipsi preparantur cogitaciones: *Olde þingis departiþ fro ȝoure mouþ, for God of sciencis is Lord; to him ben redied þouȝtis.*

Olde þingis ben lesyngis, false oþis, cursingis, sclaundringis, backbityngis, and grucchingis aȝens Goddis wille and his sooude, whiche schewen þat ȝe dwellen in ȝoure oold liif; but if ȝee wolen plese God, departe þo fro ȝoure mouþ þat ȝe use hem no more, but newe speche in newe liif; for God of sciencis þat al woot and al may is Lord, streitly deemynge ȝoure oolde errours, and to him ben þouȝtis redyed, for he knowiþ wel al þat ȝe þinken, and whereinne ȝoure deliit is moost. Fyve þingis ben founden in a man,—þouȝt, affeccioun, entent, werk, and speche. Þe þouȝt schulde be devout and hooly, þe affeccioun cleene, þe entent riȝt, þe werk riȝtwiis, and þe speche atempre.

[1] *ȝe*, U. [2] om. U. [3] So in U; *honouris*, T.

Arcus fortium superatus est et infirmi accincti sunt robore: *Þe bowe of þe stalworþe is overcomun, and þe siike ben gird wiþ strenkþe.*

Þe bowe of þe staleworþe is þe trist of riche men and covetouse, þat þei beenden to wynne to þe honour and lordschip of þis world, and þat is overcomun, for Crist haþ dampnyd it, and schal breken it, and ċasten it into þe fier of helle. And siike men, þat is, meke men and feble in her owne iȝen, wiþoute presumpcioun and pride, ben gird wiþ strenkþe, þat is, wiþ goostli virtu; þei ben maad stable and lastinge in good þouȝt, to fiȝte aȝenis her goostli enemyes wiþ devoute preiers, and aȝein her bodily enemyes wiþ meke suffraunce; for alle gode men han manye foos, while þei ben in þis liif.

Repleti prius, pro panibus se locaverunt, et famelici saturati sunt: *Firste fillide for looves þei leyden hem, and þe hungry ben fillid.*

Who þat first werun fillid in erþeli lustis and bolueden in looves, þat is, for fode of soule, þei leyden hem, þat is, þei ȝeven hem mekely to resseyve þe loore of hevene; and so þe hungry, þat is, desirynge riȝtwisnes and þe word of liif, ben fillid in swetnes or eendelees joie. And so longe schal þis goostli breed laste,

Donec sterilis peperit plurimos, et que multos habebat filios infirmata est: *Til þe bareyn have boren manye, and siche þat hadde many sones be maad siik.*

Til þe bareyn, þat is, þe Chirche of Cristen men þat first was bareyn of truþe and good werk, have borun manye sones goostli to Crist, and þe synagoge, þat hadde manye fleschly sones, was maad syke[1], þat is, it is knowen þat it brouȝt no man to perfeccioun, and now bringiþ no man to salvacioun.

Dominus mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit: *Þe Lord sleeþ and he qwikeneþ, he lediþ to helle, and he bringiþ aȝein.*

Oure Lord sleeþ hem þat loven þis liif outragiousli, and qwikeneþ hem þat forsaken þis world and dispisen þis liif for þe liif eendelees. He lediþ to helle, þat is, he settiþ drede of helle in synful men, and so he bringiþ hem aȝein to hope of liif.

[1] So in U; T has *liik*.

Dominus pauperem facit et ditat[1], **humiliat et sublevat:** *Oure Lord makiþ pore and he makiþ riche, he mekiþ and he upliftiþ.*

Oure Lord mercifully makiþ a pore man riche of eendelees goodis, revynge his herte fro covetise and erþeli love; for he made him not riche þoru riȝtwiisnes, but if he firste made him pore in herte þoru mersy. He mekiþ þe proude to peyne of devels, and upliftiþ þe meke to joie of aungelis.

Suscitans de pulvere[2] **egenum, et de stercore erigens pauperem:** *Reisynge þe nedy out of dust, and out of fenne riȝtinge þe pore.*

Reisinge wiþinne þoru grace out of dust, þat is, fro yvel liif þat is stirid wiþ ech wynd of temptacioun, þe nedy, þat is, him þat knowiþ his goostli nede, and þerfor is he evere askynge of God þat he be stable in his love and not movable as dust; and out of þe fenne, þat is, of corrupcioun of bodi, riȝtynge þe pore þat dispisiþ þe falsheed of þis world, makinge him þoru grace þe holy lovere of Jesus Crist.

Ut sedeat cum principibus, et solium gloriae teneat: *Þat he sitte wiþ princis, and holde þe soler of glorie.*

Þat is, þat he be wiþ meede and reste of þe apostlis, and in þe day of doom holde þe trone and þe pouste of deemynge.

Domini enim sunt cardines terrae, et posuit super eos orbem: *For þe lordis ben þe haccis*[3] *of þe erþe, and he sette on hem þe world.*

Þe herris of erþe ben þe perfiȝt men of holy Chirche in truþe and charite, þoru whiche oþere men ben brouȝt to stablenes and fastnyng; and he sette on hem þe world, þat is, hem he sette þe ground of his Chirche, as wyde as it is þoru þe world.

Pedes sanctorum suorum servabit[4]**; impii et in tenebris conticescent**[5]**, quia non in fortitudine sua roborabitur vir:** *Þe feet of hise seyntis he schal kepe, and þe wickid in derknes schulen be stille, for not in his stalworþnes schal a man be strengþid.*

Þe feet, þat is, þe gode affeccioun and þe devoute desiris, of

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *dicat*, T. [2] corrected from Vulg.; *pulverem*, T. [3] *berres*, U. [4] corrected from Vulg.; *servabunt*, T. [5] corrected from Vulg.: *conticissent*, T.

hise seyntis, þat is, of hem whiche he halowiþ and holdiþ cleene, he schal kepe fro fallyng, for on þo feet þei goon to God. And wickide men wiþouten pite of her owne soule, in derkenes of ignoraunce and yvele deedis, schulen be stille, þat þei heve not God to queeme[1], ne schryve her synnes verrily. For not in his stalworþnes is a man strengþid, þat is, holy men han no presumpcioun of her owne virtu ne of strengþe, as proude men han, which strenkþe is chesoun of her dampnacioun.

Dominum formidabunt adversarii ejus; et super ipsos in coelis tonabit: *þe adversaries of oure Lord schulen drede him, and above hem in hevene he schal þundir.*

Goddis enemyes ben alle þat doon aȝein riȝtwiisnes, or þat loven falsheed. And if þei wolen not now dreede wiþ her wille, þei schulen be maad to drede him aȝein her wille, whanne he schal deeme; þanne he schal orribly þundir above hem his dreede, seiinge to hem, Go, ȝe wariede wiȝtis, into fier wiþouten eende, þat is greiþid to þe devel and hise angels.

Dominus judicabit fines terre, et dabit imperium regi suo, et sublimabit cornu Cristi sui: *Oure Lord schal deeme þe eendis of þe erþe, and he schal ȝeve empire to his kyng, and he schal hiȝ þe horn of his Crist.*

Oure Lord schal deeme þe eendis of erþe, not þe bigynnyngis ne þe mydward; for ech man schal be deemyd of God, sich as he is founden in þe eende of his liif. And þanne he schal ȝeve empire, þat is, alle chosun men þat lyveden in hise comaundementis, to his kyng, þat is, to Crist, þat is his sone king. And he schal hiȝen þe horn of his Crist, þoru þe which he blew away al þe myȝt of his enemy.

[1] *love not God,* U.

[THE SONG OF MOSES AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL.]

[Ex. xv. 1—19.]

Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim magnificatus est; equum et ascensorem[1] **dejecit in mare:** *Synge we to oure Lord, for gloriousli he is worschipid; þe hors and þe stier he caste doun into þe see.*

We þat ben lad out of Egypt, þat is, out of þe derknes of vicis and out of þe affliccioun of erþeli bisynes, synge we to oure Lord, þat is, herie we him, þankinge him wiþ al þe devocioun of oure herte, for gloriousli he is worschipid in sich delyverannce, þat deeþ is distried in glorios victorie. Þe hors, þat is, alle dampnable wrecchis þat now beren hem ful proude, and þe stier, þat is, þe devel, whom alle yvele membris[2] beren[3], he caste doun into þe see, þat is, into þe pit of helle. Þis schal be fulfillid in þe day of doom; þerfore we, þoru grace delyverid, synge we to God and seie,

Fortitudo mea et laus mea dominus, et factus est mihi in salutem: *My strengþe and myn heriynge þe Lord, and maad he is to me into heelþe.*

Þorn him we ben stalworþe to stonde, þoru him we schulen be heried, whanne oure enemyes þat ben now heried schulen be dispisid; and he is maad to us into heelþe eendelees, and her stiȝer to hem to eendelees dampnacioun.

Iste Deus meus, et glorificabo eum, Deus patris mei, et exaltabo eum: *He is my God and I schal glorifien him, God of my fadirs, and I schal hiȝen him.*

He, þis Jesus Crist, ȝever of grace, is my God; and þerfore I schal glorifien him. Þat is, I schal seke his joie and heriyng,

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *assensorem*, T. [2] *men*, U. [3] From U; om. T.

not myn, for he is God of my fadir, patriarkis and apostlis, and I schal hiȝen him þat his name be honourid þoru me.

Dominus quasi vir pugnator, omnipotens nomen ejus; currus Pharaonis et exercitum ejus projecit in mare: *Þe Lord as a man fiȝter, almiȝti his name; þe cartis of Farao and his oost he caste into þe see.*

Oure Lord is fiȝtir, for he betiþ out þe devel fro þe hertis of hise servauntis; Almyȝti is his name, for noþing may aȝenstonde him. And þat is wel seene, for þe cartis of Farao, þat is, þe boostful pride of þe devel, and his oost, þat is, alle unriȝtwise men þat serven to him as hise trewe knyȝtis, for þei han levere to dien in pryde and in malice þan to lyve in mekenes and charite, hem he caste into þe see, þat is, alle siche on domesday schal Crist caste wiþ þe devel, fadir of alle þe children of pride, into þe bittir peyne of helle wiþouten eende.

Electi principes ejus submersi sunt in mari rubro. Abyssi operuerunt eos; descenderunt in profundum quasi lapis: *Hise chosone princis ben drenchid in þe Reed see. Depnessis hiliden hem; þei liȝtiden into þe depnes as a stoon.*

Þe chosone princis of Sathan ben þe gloriouse princis and prelatis, wiþ oþere lustful riche men of þe world, þat setten al her love and her likyng in erþeli welþe; þese schulen be drenchid in þe Reed see of eendelees fier, for here þei ben drenchid in þe blak see of synne. Depnesses of helle schal hile hem, þat þei se no more of her vanyte; þei liȝtiden into þe ground of turmentis, as a stoon cast into þe ground comeþ nevere aȝein.

Dextera tua, Domine, magnificata est in fortitudine; dextera percussit inimicum; et in multitudine glorie tue deposuisti omnes adversarios tuos: *Þi riȝt hond, Lord, is worschipid in strengþe; þi riȝt hond smoot þe enemy; and in mychilnes of þi glorie þou didist doun alle myn adversaries.*

Þat is,—Lord, þi Sone schewide strenkþe aȝein þe devel, and refte him his myȝt; and for þe heriyng of þi myche joie þou didist doun alle yvele spiritis and vicis of her oold seete, þat þei hadden no power in my soule.

Misisti iram[1] **tuam que devoravit eos sicut stipulam;**

[1] So in U; T has *terram*.

in spiritu furoris tui congregate sunt aque: *Þou sentist þi wraþþe þat eet hem as stoble. In spirit of þi breeþ gaderid ben watris.*

Þou sentist þi wraþþe, þat is, þou didist veniaunce on hem, þe which eet hem as fier waastiþ stoble; hard veniaunce is in fier. In spirit of þi breeþ, þat is, þy spirit wraþþide, gaderid ben watirs of al turment to synful men.

Stetit unda fluens; congregati sunt abyssy in medio maris: *Þe flowynge watir stood; gaderid ben depnessis in myddis of þe see.*

Þe flowynge watir stood, þat is, þe peyne of proude bolnyd maliciouse dampnyd men and wommen lastiþ wiþouten eende. Gaderid ben depnessis of alle sorowis in myddis of þe see, þat is, in þe foulist pitt of helle, þat þei ben poneschid þere eendelees, þat ben depe here in malice and wickidnes. But first,—

Dixit inimicus, Persequar et comprehendam, dividam spolia, implebitur anima mea: *Þe enemy seyde, I schal folowe, and I schal take, and schal departe spoilis, my soule schal be fulfillid.*

Þe enemy þe devel seide, I schal folowe wiþ yvel eggyng Cristen men þat turnen out of Egypt and hasten into þe lond of hevene, and I schal pursue hem wiþ snaris of dyverse temptaciouns and manyfoold errours and fantums. I schal departe spoilis, þat is, whanne þei ben wiþdrawe fro clennes and charite, I schal putt hem in dyverse vicis and crueltees, and so my wille schal be fulfillid in hem. For þe devel coveitiþ no moore but to han me out of charite, for þanne ben þei lost fro grace if þei dwellen in pride and malice. And if þei stonden aȝein me,—

Evaginabo gladium meum, interficiet eos manus mea: *I schal drawe out my swerd, and hem schal myn hond sle.*

I schal outdrawe, þat is, apeertly I schal schewe bifore her iȝen my swerd, þat is, venemouse lustis and likingis of deedly synnes, and þoru þo my myȝt schal sle hem goostli. Manye he sleeþ but not alle, and al his malice schal þe wickider ben.

Flavit spiritus tuus, et operuit eos mare, submersi sunt quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus: *Þi spirit blew, and þe see hilide hem; drenchid þei ben as leed in grete watris.*

Thi Spirit blew, þat is, veniaunce passynge of þi wille fel on hem; þe see hilide hem, þat is, þe devel wiþ alle þat he haþ disseyved schulen be swolowid of helle, þat þei angre not aftir gode men. Drenchid þei ben hevy as leed, for birþun[1] of synnes, in grete watris, þat is, in grete turmentis þat nevere moun be goon.

Quis similis tui in fortibus, Domine? quis similis tui magnificus in sanctitate, terribilis atque laudabilis, et faciens mirabilia? *Who is þee liik in stalworþnes, Lord? who is þee liik, worschipful in holynes, feerdful and preisable and doinge wondris?*

Who is liik to oure Lord? as who sey, noon; for he dooþ al þat he wole, and noþing is doon wiþouten his suffring and his wille. Þerfore is he worschipful in largete of ȝiftis of grace to holy men, feerdful in veniaunce of yvele men, and to herien in delyveringe of riȝtwise men, and doynge wondris in hiȝinge of meke men and pore, and in doun-castinge of proude men.

Extendisti manum tuam, et devoravit eos terra. Dux fuisti in misericordia tua populo tuo, quem redemisti: *Þou strecchidist þin hond, and þe erþe devouride hem. Leder þou were in þi mercy to þi folk þat þou bouȝtist.*

Thow schewidist þi myȝt to þe veniaunce of hem þat weren eten here wiþ erþeli covetise, sleinge hem sodeinly, and puttinge hem into helle; but in þi mersi þou leddist to hevene alle meke folk, dispisers of synne, for þei ben þin heritage bouȝt wiþ þi blood.

Et portasti eum in fortitudine tua, ad habitaculum sanctum tuum: *And þou beere him in þi strenkþe to þin holy woniyng.*

Þat is, in þi virtu and þi goodnes þou berist þi loviers fro þe malicious bisynes of þis world to þi wonying in eendelees joie.

Ascendunt populi et irati sunt; dolores optinuerunt habitatores Philistiim: *Þe folk stieden and weren wraþþid; sorowis weelddiden þe wonyers of Filisteis.*

Gode men dispisen þis liif and haasten to hevene; þanne fendis and yvele men comen and casten before hem manye

[1] *birþen*, U.

noyes to letten hem; and if þei monn not overcomen hem, þei waxen wroþe, and þoru her wraþþe and indignaciouns, þe whiche þei han aȝein riȝtwise men, þei ben endurid in her unskilful errour til eendelees deeþ weelde hem. And so þei ben liik to þe wonyers of Filistiym, þat ben fallynge þoru drinke, for þei ben drunke þoru malice and pride, þat þei han no witt to amende hem, but liggen as drunken men in erþeli lustis.

Tunc conturbati sunt principes Edom, robustos Moab obtinuit tremor, obriguerunt omnes habitatores Chanaan: *Þanne ben troublid þe princis of Edom, tremblynge weeldynge þe stalworþe of Moab, alle þe wonyers of Chanain waxen starke.*

Þe princis of Edom ben erþeli kyngis, þat of pride and tirauntrie þristen mennys blood wiþ injuries; þese schulen be troublid whanne Crist deemeþ, þouȝ þei ben now holden ful glorios. Þe stalworþe of Moab ben alle þe proude princis[1], prelatis, and prestis of þis world, þat maken hem stronge in getynge of richessis þat Crist and hise forbeden to hem. Boostynge of her power schulen tremble, for her dampnacioun may not be aȝein-clepid, for stinkinge of her ypocrisie. Wonyers of Chanaan ben chaunsable men and unstable in good purpos, knowen defautis and amenden hem not, but for love of covetise, or for drede of noies, ofte tymes assenten or letten to sey þe soþe. But manye of þese schulen be movyd þoru truþe and charyte, and so þei schulen waxe starke for drede, havynge sorowe in her hertis for lackinge of socour to helpe in Goddis cause, for enemyes schulen multiplie, and fewe doren holde þe truþe. But, for þou failist not in dayes of angwisch to þi loviers,

Irruat super eos formido et pavor in magnitudine brachii tui: *Falle on hem dreede and qwaking in þe greetheed of þin arm.*

That is, make þin enemyes in drede of þi doom so afeerd for þee, þat þei have no myȝt to distrouble þi servauntis in her weye.

Fiant immobiles quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine, donec pertranseat populus tuus iste

[1] *proude men*, U: rest of sentence om.

quem possedisti: *Maad be þei unstable as a stoon, til þat þi folk passe, Lord, til þi folk passe, þis is þe which þou hast weldid.*

Þat is, yvele men be holden in hardnes of obstynacioun, til þat þe folk þat þou hast chosun be groundid in stedefast bileeve, for þanne þei ben passid þe dreede of þis liif.

Introduces eos, et plantabis eos in monte hereditatis tue, firmissimo habitaculo quod operatus es, Domine: *Þou shalt lede hem into þe lond, and þou schalt sette hem in þe hil of þin heritage, and in þi fastist wonyng, þe which þou wrouȝtist, Lord.*

Þat is, þou schalt out-lede hem þat ben out-cast and deed for þi love into þe lond of lyvynge, and setten hem an hiȝ in heven, þat is fast wonyng wiþoute angir or envye, þe which þou wrouȝtist to hem, þat þei moun be in endelees rest. And þat is,

Sanctuarium tuum, Domine, quod firmaverunt manus tue. Dominus regnabit[1] **in seculum et ultra:** *Þi seyntuarie, Lord, þe whiche þin hondis fastneden. Oure Lord schal regne wiþouten eende and over.*

In þat seyntuarie oure Lord schal be kyng, þat is, in all savyd men wiþouten eende; and over, he seiþ, for he is bifore al þing, and over al þing,—bifore al þing as maker, bifore al þat is maad,—and over al þat is or schal be, for of him þei ben alle, and wiþouten him moun þei not be.

Ingressus est enim eques Pharao cum curribus et equitibus in mare, et reduxit super eos Dominus aquas maris: *Pharao and hors wiþ charis and horsemen entriden into þe see, and oure Lord brouȝte on hem þe watirs of þe see.*

Þat is, þe devel sittinge in yvele men is entrid into þis world to tempten and to angren wiþ alle hise lymes gode men; but oure Lord bringiþ on him and alle hise þe peynes of helle.

Filii autem Israeli ambulaverunt per siccum in medio ejus: *But þe sones of Israel ȝeden bi drie, in myddis of it.*

Þat is, trewe Cristen men, folowynge Crist, passen þoru þe world to hevene by þe drie wey of meke chastite and charyte, wiþoute watris of fleschli lustis.

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *regnavit*, T.

[THE PRAYER OF HABAKKUK.]

[HAB. iii. 2—19.]

Domine, audivi audicionem tuam, et timui: *Lord, I herde þin heeryng, and I dredde.*

Lord, þoru þe pryvyte of þin incarnacioun I knew þee verri God, havynge mersy of þin hondywerk, and I dredde; þat is, þouȝ al my soule were glad, I helde me unworþi to heere sich an heerynge.

Domine, opus tuum, in medio annorum vivifica illud: *Lord, þi werk, in myddis of ȝeeris, qwikene it.*

Lord, þis woundirful natyvyte of þe Mayden is þi werk, not werk of mannys kynde; in myddis of ȝeeris, þat is, in fulnes of tyme, qwikene it, þat is, sende þi Sone to qwikene us.

In medio annorum notum facies. Cum iratus fueris, misericordiae recordaberis: *In myddis of ȝeeris þou schalt make knowen. Whanne þou were wrappid, of merci þou schalt biþinke.*

In þe laste eelde þat now is, þat is clepid myddis of ȝeeris, for it is in fulnes of tyme and of grace in which Crist is maad knowen to alle þat wolen come to him, for now is þe tyme in which he þouȝte to do mersy.

Deus ab Austro veniet, et sanctus de monte Pharon: *God schal come of þe Souþ, and þe holy of þe hil of Faron.*

Þat is, Jesus Crist shal come þoru truþe and love bi þe myȝt of his Fadir and þe heete of þe Holy Goost, and knowynge of his lawe.

Operuit celos gloria ejus, et laudis ejus plena est terra: *His glorie keveride hevenes; and of his heriing ful is þe erþe.*

Þat is, truþe and love þoru þe which he is glorified hilide þe apostlis and oþere holy men as honorable cloþing, and so he is heried þoru al holy Chirche, of hem þat weren þis cloþing, and of noon oþir, þouȝ þat he be in holy Chirche[1].

[1] U om. *of hem—Chircbe.*

Splendor ejus ut lux erit, cornua in manibus ejus: *þe schynyng of him schal be as liȝt, hornys in hise hondis.*

Þat is, þe verri knowyng in his lawe makiþ alle men þat holden it briȝt and schinynge in his love, for it suffriþ not þe knower to erre. He knowiþ it verrili þat fulfilliþ it, not þat rediþ it or telliþ it, for so doon ipocritis, enemyes þerof; and hornys in hise hondis, þat is, hise hondis weren strecchid and nailid in two corners of þe cros. Bischopis mytrid wiþ two hornys figuren þat þei schulden þoru good ensaumple putte þe folk fro vicis to virtues, but now þoru pride and covetise þei ben principal ensaumpleris of turnynge fro virtues to vicis; for þe which distruccioun Crist dyede on þe cros. Ffor,

Ibi abscondita est fortitudo ejus. Ante faciem ejus ibit mors: *þere is hiȝid his strengþe. Bifore his face deeþ schal go.*

There, þat is, in mekenes of þe cros, was hid in manheed þe strenkþe of his Godheed; and þere deeþ wolde have fled his prescence, but it myȝte not; for he diynge overtook deeþ and slouȝ it, as he seiþ, Deeþ, I schal be þi deeþ, and helle, I schal be þi bityng. He þat bitiþ a þing, he takiþ a part þerof in his mouþ and anoþir part he leveþ wiþoute; so dide Crist wiþ helle. Alle gode men he took wiþ him, and develis and yvele men he lefte þere. Hos. xiii. 14.

Egredietur dyabolus ante pedes ejus. Stetit et mensus est terram: *þe devel schal goon out bifore hise feet. He stood, and he mat*[1] *þe erþe.*

Ffor at þe comynge of Jesus Crist þe devel ȝede out of manye bodies and soulis, and þanne Crist stood and mat þe erþe, þat is, chosun men he took as his owne, and ȝaf hem grace and joie aftir þe mesure of his ȝevyng.

Aspexit et dissolvit gentes, et contriti sunt montes seculi: *He bihelde and he looside folkis, alto broken ben hillis of þis world.*

He bihelde wiþ iȝen of mersy, and he looside folkis of boondis of synne; and þanne þe hillis, þat is, proudist men þat bolneden in erþeli hiȝnes, ben alto broken, þat is, þei weren þoru Cristis loore maad ful meke.

[1] *mette*, U.

Incurvati sunt colles mundi ab itineribus eternitatis ejus: *Incrokid ben þe hillis of þe world fro þe weies of his eendeleesheed.*

Þat is, lasse proude men crokiden hem to þe bowynge to Cristis comaundementis; and ȝit fro þat þei knewen hise weyes, bi þe whiche he clepiþ to eendelees joie.

Pro iniquitate vidi tentoria Ethiopie; turbabuntur pelles terre Madian: *For wickidnes I say þe tentis of Ethiopie; troublid schulen be þe skynnes of þe lond of Madyan.*

Þe tentis of Ethiopie ben alle þat serven to þe devel, for þei ben blake and foule of synne; þe skynnes of Madyan ben alle þat dreeden not þe riȝtwise doom of God, and al þese þe profete say be troublid in peyne and turmentis for her wickidnes. But,

Numquid[1] in fluminibus iratus es, Domine? et in fluminibus furor tuus? vel in mari indignatio tua? *Whepir, Lord, in flodis þou art wrappid, or in flodis þi breeþ, or in þe see þin indignacioun?*

Þat is, whepir þou schalt suffre alle to peresche, and al þis world to falle in veniaunce. As who seþ, Nay, ffor þou art now he,—

Qui ascendis[2] super equos tuos, et quadrige tue salvatio: *That stiest on þin horsis, and þi charis salvacioun.*

Þat is, þou sittist in þe apostlis, and in alle holy techers þoru þe world, to werren aȝein þe devel; þi charis,—propirly þat ben þin evangelistis, for þei ben salvacioun[3] of men þat ben saaf þoru þe holy evangelie.

Suscitans suscitabis arcum tuum, juramenta tribubus que locutus es: *Reisinge þou schalt reise þi bowe, oopis to kynredis whiche þou speke.*

Þat is, þou reisinge holy writt in þe knowynge of þin apostilis schalt reise it in alle her meke folowers to worche þereafter, þat lay slepinge while men undirstoden it not, for þe oolde lawe was mysty til it was qwikenyd þoru þe Spirit of Crist, and so þou schalt fulfille þe oopis þat þou madist to þe kynredis of Israele.

[1] So in U and Vulg.; T has *nunquam.* [2] So in U and Vulg.; *assendis*, T. [3] So in U; *savacioun*, T.

Fluvios scindes terre; viderunt te [aque[1]], et doluerunt montes; gurges[2] aquarum transiit: *Streemys þou schalt schere to þe erþe, hillis seien and sorowden, þe dam of watres passide.*

Þese streemys ben holy loore fadris, þe whiche Crist departiþ to dyverse stidis, þat men þoru hem moun take weetynge of hevenly deew to her drie hertis. Þese saien hillis, þat is, proude men reisid above oþere for richessis and pride, and þei sorowiden for her synnes, resseyvynge holsum medicyns of her hevenly lechis. And so þe dam of watris, þat is, þe abundaunce of goostly loore, passiþ wondirfulli þoru þis fals world fro lovier to lovier of Crist. Ffor,

Dedit abyssus vocem suam, altitudo manus suas levavit[3]: *Depnessis ȝaf his nois, hiȝnessis liftide hise hondis.*

Þat is, þo þat weren in þe ground of yvelis ȝeven her vois of aȝein-seiing to soþefastnes, as oure prelatis wiþ her obedienseers and her lyvyng dispisen þe mekenes and þe povert of Crist; and þe hiȝnes of þe world reisid power to distrie trewe Cristen men, adversaries to hem. And nevere-þe-lattir[4],

Sol et luna steterunt in habitaculo suo; in luce sagittarum tuarum ibunt, in splendore fulgurantis hastae[5] tue: *Þe sunne and þe moone stoden in her wonyng; in liȝt of þin arrowis þei schulen go, in schynynge of þi liȝtnyng or gliteringe spere.*

The sunne, Crist, and þe moone, oonheed of holy Chirche, stoden; þat is, lastingly þis oonheed, ground of al goodnes, stondiþ in riȝtwise men, for þei schulen go þoru liȝt of þin arrowis, þat is, of þi þurlinge wordis, þoru londis and stondis, woundinge mennys hertis wiþ þe love of þi lawe; and in schynnynge of miraclis of parfiȝt lyvynge þei schulen make men afeerd as leiȝtynge dooþ, to dwelle in her synne.

In fremitu conculcabis terram, et in furore tuo obstupefacies gentes: *In gnastynge þou schalt trede þe erþe, in þi wraþþe þou schalt stonye folkis.*

In gnastynge, þat is, drede of þi riȝtwise doom, þou schalt

[1] Not in Vulg. [2] corrected from Vulg.; *gurgies*, T. [3] corrected from Vulg.; *levabit*, T. [4] *neþeles*, U. [5] corrected from Vulg.; *hauste*, T.

meke þe hertis of manye proude men and covetouse; and in þi wraþþe, that is, in manaassinge of eendelees fier, þou schalt make maliciouse men stonyed for wo þat is comynge to hem.

Egressus es in salutem populi tui, in salutem cum Christo tuo: *Þou art goon out in heelþe of þi folk, in heelþe wiþ þi Crist.*

Þat is, þou schewidist þee, and ȝit schalt to þe eende of þe world, þoru trewe preching and lyvynge þereafter, to þe helþe of trewe Cristen men dwellinge in hele, wiþ þi Crist Jesus oure Lord, ensaumpler of al trewe preching and lyvynge.

Percussisti caput[1] de domo impii, denudasti fundamentum ejus usque ad collum: *Þou smyte þe heed of þe hous of þe wickid, þou nakidist þe foundement of him to þe necke.*

Þe devel, þat is heed of alle þe sones of pride, þou smyte out of þe hertis of many wickide men in hour of þi deeþ; and so it is to trowe þat þou schalt smyte þe heed of pride regnynge in hiȝe princis and prelatis, þe whiche blenden þe peple bi pryve ipocrisie, and so þi loviers schulen be stablid in þi trewe trouþe of þi lawe, aftir þe knowinge of þis ipocrisye. And þou nakidist him to þe necke, þat is, þou reftist him al þe lappinge of pride and ipocrisie whereinne he hadde trecherousli hankid þi chosun, and so þe devel and his proude lymes han lost her power in trewe Cristen men, and ben left but nakide heedis of hem, þat schulen regne above hem in helle. For God wole þat he þat eggiþ a man to yvel have double penaunce of him þat dooþ yvel.

Maledixisti sceptris[2] ejus, capiti[2] bellatorum ejus, venientibus ut turbo ad dispergendum me: *Þou cursidist to hise ceptris, to þe heed of hise fiȝters, comynge as whirlewynd to scatere me.*

Þe kyngis ȝerde and þe bischopis staf bitokenen her regalte and her dignyte, by þe whiche þei schulen mayntenen and rulen hemsilf and her sogetis in resoun and Goddis lawe; and if þei be turnyd[3] lastynge into tirauntrie and ipocrisie þoru pride and covetise, God schal dampne hem as wickide men in whiche þe devel haþ myȝt, regnynge in hem for her synne. And also

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *capud*, T. [2] corrected from Vulg.; *ceptris*, *capita*, T. [3] corrected; *turyd*, T.

þou cursidist þe heedis of hise fiȝters, for noon of þese hiȝe princis or prelatis doon her deedis aloone by hemsilf, wiþouten assent of counceilers; þerfore he cursiþ her wickide counceileers, as hedis and capteyns of her bateils, fiȝtinge aȝens Jesus Crist in levynge of hise comaundementis, in lyvynge, in lustis and likyngis. For alle þese ben helpers to þe devel þat comeþ wiþ manye temptaciouns to waiste gode men as dust bifore wynd. But,

Exultatio eorum sicut ejus qui devorat pauperem in abscondito: *Þe gladnes of hem, as of hym þat devouriþ þe pore in hidlis*[1].

Þat is, al her joie is brouȝt to nouȝt, as of him þat spoiliþ a pore man, whanne he hadde ben riche and is not, and so he is disseyved; so schulen þese tirauntis of pride fallen in her owne turn, whanne þei pursuen þe meke þat doren not keveren þe soþe.

Viam fecisti in mari equis tuis, in luto aquarum multarum: *Weye þou madist in þe see to þin hors, and in þe leir of many watris.*

Þat is, in vile and clam coveitise of men, turnynge hem parfiȝtli to þee, lovynge þee oonli for þi silf, and noon oþir creature but for þe and in þee.

Audivi, et conturbatus est venter meus, a voce contremuerunt labia mea: *I herde, and my wombe is troublid, fro þe vois trembliden my lipps.*

I herde, þat is, I undirstood þoru þe Holy Goost what anguische gode men schulen suffre in þe eende of þis world, and my wombe, þat is, my freelte, is stirid fro dreede, for þe vois of þat heeryng; my lippis trembliden, þat is, I qwook for dreede of þe synne of my mouþ filid in speche, and wonyinge among folk þat haþ foule lippis, foulid wiþ vein speche and unnayt; as who seie, I dreede to telle holy wordis wiþ my foule mouþ, fillid wiþ unhoneste wordis. But I, trustynge to Goddis mersy, forsakinge and levynge my synne, aftir scharp sorowe sorowide þerfore, wantinge ablenes of men and covenable tyme; and I clenside my mouþ spekynge Goddis wordis, þat bifore was filid þoru unfructuouse jangelingis.

[1] *biddil*, U.

Ingrediatur putredo in ossibus meis, et subter me scateat: *Rotynge go in my bones, and undir me springe.*

Þat is, my flesch rote to my boones, and undir me springe rotynge ful of wormes; þis befalle me heer, þat I may fle þe worse.

Et ut requiescam in die tribulacionis, et ascendam ad populum accinctum nostrum: *Þat I reste in day of tribulacioun, and þat I stie til oure fold gird.*

Þat I reste wiþ halowis in day of moost angwisch, þat is, in þe day of doom, and þanne stie to þe cumpany of folk gird, þat was so gird in þe love of Crist þat þei fouȝten aȝen alle yvele stiryngis stalworþli for þe love of Crist. Þe profete assentiþ not to þe love of ony creature þat coveitiþ þat he rote above erþe, or he suffre peyne in þe toþir world. And siþen he þat was so holy, for drede of peyne aftir þis liif, and for greet desier to be wiþ his love, Crist, coveitide here to rote quyk if God wolde suffre it, what schulen we, þat hoten grete avowis to voiden angus and siiknessis of þis liif?

Ficus enim non florebit, et non erit germen in vineis: *For þe fige-tre schal florischen not, and burioun schal not be in þe vigners.*

Þat is, greet part of Cristen men þat seemede to be swete in devocioun schal no flour schewe of virtu. For þe rote of charite, þat is, þe kepinge of Cristis comaundementis, þat was wont to make men drunken in goostli joie, schal faile in hem for her double synne, doon of hemsilf and suffrid in her neiȝbore; and so þei schulen be drie and to noþing able but to brenne in helle.

Mencietur opus olive, et arva non afferent cibum: *Þe werk of þe olyve schal lien, and feeldis schulen not bringe forþ mete.*

Þat is, hiȝe kyngis and prestis schulen faile fro mersy, oppressynge her sogetis by her statutis, and her feyned sensuris, more for her displesing þan for brekinge of Goddis biddyngis; and so þei lien to God, for þei doon not as þei hiȝten. And feeldis, þat ben her sogetis, myche for defaute of pilinge, schulen faile to ȝeve goostli fruyt to paie wiþ God; for how schulde þat lond bere good fruyt þat nediþ boþe tilinge and

dungynge and haþ neiþer? Here moun sovereyns drede þe synne of her sogetis, leste it be arettid to her defaute. But schulen sogetis ben excusid of her synne, for þei have noon good informacioun of her curatis? Nay whi? for þei han resoun to lede hem wiþal, in love of God principalli, and to do nouȝt to her neiȝbore þat þei wolden were not do to hem. And faile þei not of þis double charite, and Crist schal not faile to ȝeve hem double ȝift, to norischen wiþ her bodies and save þerwiþ her soulis.

Abscindetur[1] **de ovili pecus, et non erit armentum in praesepibus**[1]: *Awey schal be smyten beest of þe foold, and neet schal not be in þe cribbis.*

Beest he clepiþ ech yvel Cristen man, lyvynge as beestis, unresonable in lustis and likyngis; alle siche schulen be smyten awey as dede lymes out of þe fold of holy Chirche. And neet, þat is, goostli travelours, schulen not be in cribbis, þat is, in þe degrees of riȝt liif; for neer-hond alle at regard schulen falle in to errour, and þe moost perel of alle schal be, þat þe greet multitude of yvele men schulen grevousli pursue þe fewe loviers of Crist.

Ego autem in Domino gaudebo, et exultabo in Deo Jesu meo: *But I in oure Lord schal joien, and I schal be glad in God my Jesus.*

Þis is þe sawe of chosun men, þat lasten stably in Goddis love; as who seye, þei þat han here joie in erþe schulen perische þerewiþ, but I schal joien in my Lord Jesus þoru swetnes of his love; and I schal be glad in God my Jesus, þat is, my saveour, not in þe fals world þat is leser of alle þat it loven.

Deus meus fortitudo mea, et ponet pedes meos quasi cervorum[2]: *God Lord my strenkþe, and he schal sette my feete as of hertis.*

Yvele mennes fete are sette[3] as of weike[4] assis, þat ben fastnyd as in myddis of depe leir; so yvele mens affecciouns ben yvele, for þei ben evere tackid wiþ sum love þat drawiþ hem fro Goddis love. But holy mennys affecciouns ben as of hertis, þat liȝtly lepen over all lettingis, and casten out fro her

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *abcidetur, precepibus*, T. [2] corrected from Vulg.; *servorum*, T. [3] So in U; T has *yvele men ben sett.* [4] *wayke*, U.

hertis al vile glat[1] þat stoppiþ her breeþ. Ellis myȝten þei nevere verrili loven Jesus Crist.

Et super excelsa mea deducet me victor in psalmis canentem: *Aboven myn hiȝe my victor schal lede me, in psalmes syngynge.*

Crist, þat is verri victor of deeþ and of þe devel, schal lede me syngynge to his heriinge, in salmes, þat is, gode werkis, and goostly devocioun above myn hiȝ, þat is, above al bodily þing þat semeþ hiȝ to fleschli men. He schal lede wiþoute dreede in þis liif, to hiȝ contemplacioun of God.

[THE SONG OF MOSES.]

[DEUT. xxxii. 1—43.]

Audite, celi, que loquar, audiat terra verba oris mei: *Hevenes, heere ȝe þat I schal speke, þe erþe heere þe wordis of my mouþ.*

That is, ȝe men þat han ȝoure conversacioun in hevene, and ȝe þat ben in actif liif, undirstondiþ þat I schal seie; beriþ witnes þat I holde not stille þe wickidnes of my folk.

Concrescat ut pluvia doctrina mea, fluat ut ros eloquium meum: *My loore growe in reyn, as deew renne my word.*

That is, my loore make þe heerers of it to bere goostli fruyt multiplied in þe reyn of hevene, and my wordis renne in mennys hertis as deew of grace, þat may coole hem in temptaciouns fro heete of vicis.

Quasi ymber super herbam, et quasi stille super gramina. Quia nomen Domini invocabo: *As reyn of gras, and as dropis of buriownyngis, for þe name of oure Lord I schal inclepe.*

My loore be to ȝou as reyn in gras, þat is, make it to be greene in þe buriownyngis of virtues; and seemynge it is þat I be herd, for I schal inclepe God into myn herte, heriinge him overe alle þingis, in herte and mouþ and werk, not oonli honoure him wiþ my lippis, as riche men and fleischely doon. Þerfore,

[1] *glet*, U.

Date magnificenciam deo nostro. Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes vie ejus judicia: *ȝeveþ worschiþ to oure God. For of God ben parfiȝt werkis, and alle þe weies of him doomes.*

That is, al þat he doiþ he doiþ wiþ doom, wheþir he take us or he forsake us; he þat wole not erre leede him in alle þingis, in trewe doom of discrecioun, kepinge him fro foly deemynge.

Deus fidelis et absque ulla iniquitate, justus et rectus. Peccaverunt ei, et non filii eius in sordibus: *God is trewe and wiþouten ony wickidnes riȝtwise; and riȝt þei synneden to him, and not hise sones in filþis.*

God is trewe in his heetynge, and he noieþ to no man riȝtwiis in ȝeeldinge and in vengynge. Firste synneden to him oure former fadris, and siþen yvele sones in filþe of synne; as who seye, not oonli oure former fadris synneden to him, but no sone of her ospring is, þat ne he is taken in filþe of synne.

Generacio prava atque perversa. Haeccine[1] **reddis domino, popule stulte et insipiens?** *Generatioun schrewid and weyward. Wheþir þou ȝeldist to oure Lord yvel for good?*

As who seye, is þat covenably doon, þe servaunt to do to his Lord? þerfore se, pore fool, what wrecchidnes þou art in and unwiis, þat wolt not wyte to how greet turment þou goest for þi wilful foly.

Numquid non ipse est pater tuus qui possedit te, fecit, et creavit te? *Wheþir he is not þi fadir þat weeldiþ þe, and made, and wrouȝte þee?*

As who seie, him þou schuldest love as þi fadir þat made þee man and ordeynede þee to his heritage, if þou þisilf wilt.

Memento dierum antiquorum, cogita generationes singulas: *Biþinke of oolde dayes, þinke alle generaciouns.*

How þat he delyverede his folk of dyverse perels, and how he echide encreessingli hise servauntis among yvele men, not lesynge hem. If þou wolt wyte þat þis is sooþ,

Interroga patrem tuum, et annunciabit tibi; majores

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *eccine*, T.

tuos, et dicent tibi: *Aske þi fadir and he schal schewe to þee, þi sovereyns, and þei shulen sey to þee.*

What is al þat þou hastnede to cunne? Aske of þi prelat or of þi prest, for þei ben bounde to teche þee; and if þei failen in þis loore, wiþ wrong þei occupien heerdis office, for in þat is knowen a trewe heerde fro an hiyrid hyne, þat he leede hise scheep in hole pasturis and plentenous.

Quando dividebat Altissimus gentes, quando separavit filios Adam: *Whanne þe hiȝeste departide folkis, whanne he twynnede þe sones of Adam.*

Þis departyng was whanne men bigunnen to wone in alle parties of erþe.

Constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel: *He sette þe termys of þe folk bisyde þe noumbre of þe sones of Israel.*

That is, folk schulen be dwellinge in þis world til þe noumbre of Goddis sones be fulfild, þat is, til God have as manye as he haþ ordeyned to be saaf.

Pars autem Domini populus ejus, Jacob funiculus hereditatis ejus: *But þe part of oure Lord his folk, Jacob streng of his heritage.*

As who seye, myche folk of þe world is, but Jacob oonli, þat is, wrastler aȝein vicis, is marke of his heritage, þat is, þis marke recchiþ no firþir þan in siche; alle oþere ben out of termys. Þerfore if þou wolt be of Goddis part, loke bisily ransakinge al þi liif, if ony vice regne in þee bi wille or by custum, and wrastle þere-aȝein til þou have þe maistry, and sette þanne in his stide a virtu contrarie to it, strenger þan it was, and laste in good worching, and hope to be of Goddis part.

Invenit eum in terra deserta, in loco horroris et vaste solitudinis: *He foond him in lond deseert, in stide of uglynes and of waste wildirnesse.*

Þat is, him þat he hadde lost he foond erringe in þe wrecchidnes of þis liif, and þe which is uggynge for drede and wo, and wast wildirnes for defaute of good teching, not of God, but of sleuþi prestis; for þoru her pride and covetise al þe world is markid in synne and bareyn of gode werkis.

Circumduxit eum, et docuit, et custodivit quasi pu-

pillam occuli sui: *He aboute ledde him, and he leride him, and he kepte as þe appil of his iȝe.*

Lo, what kyndenes Crist schewiþ to his lovier! He ledde him aboute fro yvele mennys liif, þe nexte wey to hevene, and he tauȝte him in what degre or staat þat he ordeynede hym þanne, how he schulde love him, kepinge him in alle anoies, as tendirly as a man in derke wody placis kepiþ hise iȝen fro hirtynge, for of þat þing ben men moost tendir[a].

Et sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos suos et super eos volitans: *As þe eerne*[1] *clepynge hise briddis to fleen and above hem fleinge.*

Expandit alas suas, et assumpsit eos, atque portavit in humeris suis: *He spredde hise wyngis and he took hem, and bare hem in hise schuldris.*

The eerne, clepinge his briddis to þe siȝt of þe sunne, whanne he seeþ þat þei waxen wery fleinge, he holdiþ hem up wiþ hise wyngis; so Jesus Crist sprediþ two wyngis of charite, upberynge us in oure werynes, and ledynge us to virtues. And þoru his myȝt he raveschiþ oure hertis to hevene, þat we moun goostli se sunne þat nevere schal have settinge, where-þoru we ben cumfortid to suffre mekely for his love alle tribulaciouns.

Dominus solus[2] **dux ejus fuit, et non erat cum eo Deus alienus:** *Oure Lord oonly was his leder, and oþer God was not wiþ him.*

Ffor he þat haþ him to help oonli, nediþ noon oþir, for he is hilyng fro al yvel.

Constituit eum super excelsam terram, ut comederet fructus agrorum: *He sette him on hiȝ lond þat he ete þe fruytis of feeldis.*

Þat is, Crist settiþ his lover in holy Chirche in mekenes, to have deliit in abundaunce of goostli fruyt and holy, not in gredy gaderinge of money, but in heelþe of mennis soulis.

Ut sugeret[3] **mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo:** *Þat he schulde souke hony of þe stoon, and oile of þe hardist rooche.*

[1] *heron*, U. [2] corrected from U and Vulg.; *soleus*, T. [3] corrected from Vulg.; *suggeret*, T, U.

[a] A beautiful comment on the text.

Hony of þe stoon he soukiþ, þat occupieþ him ententifly in þe lawe of Crist, for it is swetter þan hony to him þat loveþ Crist. And he schal [not][1] erre in treue bileeve. Oyle of þe hardist roche is þe anoyntynge of þe Holy Goost sent fro Crist glorified, and maad so hard in love þat he þat resseyveþ it may suffre in þis liif noon harmful peyne. Þis hony and oile schulden prestis resseyve, and fynde, if þei traveiliden truly in Cristis vyneȝeerd, in so greet plente þat þe swete odour þerof schulde flawme mennys hertis þat comowneden wiþ hem.

Butirum de armento et lac de ovibus, cum adype agnorum et arietum filiorum Basan: *Buttir of neet and mylk of scheep, wiþ grees of fatnes of lombis and of weþeris of þe sones of Basan.*

Buttir of neet is þe stable loore of þe ensaumplis of patriarkis, mylk of scheep is loore þat falliþ to hem þat bigynnen to do wel. Grees of lombis and of weþeris is þe brennyng desier þat holy techers wiþ her folowers han to hevene. Þe sones of Basan ben lovers of þis world þe which ofte-siþe han lordschip overe gode men here to her owne dampnacioun, for þe mysuse þerof, lyvynge aftir þe flesch, not after þe spirit.

Et hircos cum medulla tritici, et sanguinem uve biberent meracissimum: *And geet wiþ marwȝ of wheete, and þat þei drink schirist blood of grape.*

Geet ben þo þat enfoormen us wiþ ensaumple of penaunce, discreetly norischinge oure hors as he may journeyen. In þese us owiþ to have deliit wiþ marowȝ of whete, þat is, wiþ þe body of Crist, for he is þe grape whos flesch and blood trewe Cristen men in þe sacrament of þe auter in þe foorme of breed and wiin worþili resseyven, þoru trewe bileeve her savacioun, and yvele men and unclene her dampnacioun.

Incrassatus est dilectus et recalcitravit; incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus: *Encortif is þe loved, and kest up; he encortif, fattid, and enlargid.*

Þat is, þe folk þat God lovede, ȝevynge plente of goodis, haþ cast up at God, dispisinge hise maundementis, multipliynge hem in richessis. Manye siche dispisers ben now of Crist, but

[1] om. in T; passage om. in U.

noon so myche as ben þo þat schulden ben hise next folowers, for þo schulden be in ensaumple of alle oþere above hem and bineþe hem, to dispisen þis world þat blyndiþ þe men in covetise of multipliinge of richessis. Ffor ech sich,

Dereliquit[1] **Deum factorem suum, et recessit a Deo salutari suo:** *He forsook God his makir, and he departide fro God his heelþe.*

Ffor ese and welþe drawiþ men oftsiþe to synne, and makiþ hem to forȝete God and turne to þe devel.

Provocaverunt eum in diis alienis, et in abhominacionibus suis ad iracundiam concitaverunt[2]**:** *Þei stiryden hin in oþere goddis, and in her wlatingis þei moveden him to wraþþe.*

Þat þing ech creature makiþ his god, what þing he loveþ moost in his herte; þe wlatingis ben glotenye and leccherie wiþ covetise and pride, which God hatiþ. And here moun men seen how prelatis hiȝe and lowe loven moore her owne excellence þan Cristis worschip, and so þei worschipen false goddis, and ben unable þerþoru to ȝeve or to take ony sacrament [a]. Whi?—

Immolaverunt demoniis et non Deo, diis quos ignorabant: *Þei offriden to develis not to God; to goddis whiche þei knewen not.*

That is, þese Cristis enemyes qwemen not to God in her lyvynge, for þei ben avoutreris of alle vicis, in levynge of verri God and worschipinge develes, of whiche þei hadden nevere good.

Novi recentesque venerunt dii, quos non coluerunt patres eorum: *Newe and freische goddis camen, þe whiche her fadris worschipiden not.*

Þat is, dyverse goddis leeden to dyverse errours, her worschipis. For þe devel haþ in alle siche unstable men and women comoun entre, to entise hem to leve þe truþe of verri

[1] corrected from U and Vulg.; *dereliquid*, T. [2] corrected from Vulg.; *conscit.*, T.

[a] This sentence, which has a truly Wycliffite ring, with many other passages in this part of the Commentary, is omitted in the Magd. Coll. MS.

God, and folowen þe lustis of þe world, lovynge moore vicis þan virtues, and so þei serven mawmetis, þe whiche trewe Cristen men bifore hem usiden not.

Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti, oblitus es Domini[1] creatoris tui: *God þat þee gat þou hast forsaken, þou hast forȝete God þi creatour.*

We ben borun goostli of God; him alle forsaken þat assenten to ony deedli synne; and so ech body forȝetiþ him while þer þouȝt is bounden to love ony creature unordynatli.

Vidit Dominus, et ad iracundiam concitatus[2] est, quia provocaverunt eum filii sui et filie: *þe Lord say, into wraþþe he is stirid, for him moveden his sones and douȝters.*

God, þat al woot, seeþ þe wickidenes of men, þerfore he is stirid to veniaunce. Lo, what comeþ þerof!

Et ait, Abscondam faciem meam[2] ab eis, et considerabo novissima eorum: *And he seide, I schal huyde my face fro hem, and I schal biholde þe laste of hem.*

Noþing is moore pyne þan for to þarve þe siȝt of God and his good wille; and þouȝ yvele men be in myche ese here and welþe, God biholdiþ what wo schal falle hem in her eendyng.

Generatio enim perversa est et infideles filii: *For it is a schrewid generacioun and untrewe sones.*

Untrewe fadris geten often tymes untrewe sones, for whanne a child is norischid among vicis, how schulde he be unfilid? Fadris and modris ben cause if þe child be vicious, for while it is ȝong, it cannot but love and drede not upon resoun; but of kynde it loveþ to ben fed and clad, and it drediþ þe ȝerde of scourynge. Who schal be excusid if þe child mysfare? As who sey, no fadir ne modir; þouȝ þat it myskarie whanne it comeþ to age, þe childheed þei moun save. And þus yvele trees bringen forþ yvel fruyt. For neþer þe toon ne þat oþir, þat is, neiþer eldris ne her children, ben trewe to God. Whi? for þei holden not þat þei hiȝten in her baptem, but unkyndely,—

Ipsi me provocaverunt in eo qui non erat Deus, et irritaverunt in vanitatibus suis: *þei me stiriden in him þat was no God, and moveden in her vanytees.*

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *Deum*, T. [2] corrected from Vulg.; *contiocatus, tuam*, T.

That is, þei wraþþiden me, lovynge þe þing as God þat was not God, and havynge moore deliit in her vanytees þan in my servise, for al þat is loved wiþoute God is vanyte. But what schal I do? gaderen togidere þe wickidnes of fadris and modris and of her children.

Et ego provocabo eos in eo qui non est populus, et in gente stulta irritabo illos: *And I schal stire hem in him þat is not peple, and in fole*[1] *folk I schal stire hem.*

As who seye, siþin I have doon for hem al þat þei moun aske bi resoun, and þei forȝeten to þanke me in lovynge me and heriynge me as her God, I schal forȝete hem as þei werun no folk; but as þei ben movynge to do her owne lustful wil contrarie to my biddyng, so I schal al biþinke to ponesche hem wiþ eendelees peyne, contrarie to her heelþe. For alle proude men and dispitouse God schal so lowe bringe þorw his riȝtwise veniaunce, þat þei schulen not ben worþi to be likenyd to hem þat seemeden here foolis, and weren holde nouȝt for Goddis sake. In þat maner þei schulden be stirid to envy and hatrede, þat her synne stiriþ God to veniaunce.

Ignis succensus est in furore meo; et ardebit usque ad inferni novissima: *Fier is kyndelid in my wraþþe, and it schal brenne to þe laste of helle.*

That is, Goddis veniaunce bigynneþ here in wickide men and women, þat lyven in lustis and likingis, and wolen not amende hem ne hers, and it schal turmente hem wiþouten eende in helle.

Devorabitque terram cum germine suo, et moncium fundamenta comburet[2]**:** *And it schal devoure þe erþe wiþ his buriowynyng, and þe groundis of helles he schal brenne.*

Þat is, þe veniaunce of God, þat is eendelees peyne of helle, schal devoure wickide fadris and modris wiþ her ospring, for it schal swolowe alle loviers of erþeli þingis, wiþ al her fairheed, and þe hope of proud folk it schal waaste. Ffor,—

Congregabo super illos mala, et sagittas meas complebo in eis: *I schal gadere on hem yvelis, and myn arowis I schal fulfille in hem.*

[1] supplied from U, which has *in gens fole.* [2] corrected from Vulg.; *conb.*, T.

That is, alle kyndis of turmentis schulen comen on hem, þe whiche ben yvele and noiouse to hem þat suffren, but þei ben riȝtwise in Goddis doom; and myn arowis, þat ben scharpe and soore bitinge peynes, I schal fulfille in hem, þat is, þei schulen come to þes peynes and be fulfild of hem.

Consumentur fame, et devorabunt eos aves morsu amarissimo: *Þei schulen be distried wiþ hungir, and devoure hem schulen foulis in bityngе alþer bitteriste.*

Þat is, wickide men in þis world dien in soule for hungir of Goddis word, and so feendis eeten hem þoru venemous temptaciouns, in þe whiche þei fallen sodeynli, and taken þereinne þat is to hem ful bittir bityng.

Dentes bestiarum mittam in eos, cum furore trahentium super terram atque serpencium: *Teeþ of beestis I schal sende into hem, wiþ woodnes of drawynge and serpentis aboven erþe.*

Þat is, yvele men schulen suffre gnawyng of ugly devels, þe whiche crueli reeven her soulis fro God, scateringe hem fro virtues into dyverse vicis, wiþ woodnes of yvele men þat drawen and entisen to fleschli werkis. As neddris þei schulen be sliȝtli brouȝt into temptacioun of devels, but þei schulen in peyne venge hem as wode men, so þat yvel come on ech syde to wickide men.

Foris vastabit eos gladius, et intus pavor, juvenem simul ac virginem, lactentem[1] **cum homine sene:** *Wiþouten schal waaste hem swerd, and wiþinne drede, þe ȝonge man and mayden togidere, þe soukyng wiþ þe oold man.*

Þat is, þe swerd of helle fier schal be her peyne in bodi and soule, for þei schal have þe worm of yvel conscience bitinge and etinge hem wiþouten eende; þat swerd schal waaste a ȝonge man, þat is, ech þat is bareyn of gode werkis. ȝonge man and mayden he settiþ togidere in peyne of helle, for þei usen myche to be togidere in þis lif in synne. Soukynge ben þei þat ben so blyndid in lustis and bisynes of þis fals world, þat þei han no witt to do Goddis wille lyvynge in virtues. Eldir man is he þat eeldiþ in synne þoru yvel custum, weenynge

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *lactantem*, T.

his liif glorios þat is vicious. Þerfore dreediþ God, and loveþ him, amendinge ȝoure lyves; for ȝe moun wyte bi þis sentence þat God closiþ not fro helle fier neþer man ne womman, ȝong ne oold, þat wilfully synneþ and amendiþ it not here. For of al maner of men greet part gooþ to helle.

Et dixi, Ubinam sunt? cessare faciam ex hominibus memoriam eorum: *And I seide, Where ben þei? I schal make to ceessen ffro men þe mynde of hem.*

I schal in my loviers þat haten synne seyn, Where be þei alle bicomen þat florischiden in þis world in vicis, and where is al her jolite and welþe? Al is awey and þei in peyne; and now I schal do so, þat her mynde schal nevere be among riȝtwise men.

Sed propter iram inimicorum distuli, ne forte superbirent hostes eorum: *But for þe ire of enemyes I delayede, leste whanne enemyes pryded*[1].

Et dicerent, Manus nostra excelsa et non Dominus fecit hec omnia: *And þei seiden, Oure hond is hiȝ, and not God dide alle þese þingis.*

God wole not as soone as men han synned do veniaunce, but he dilaieþ it til serteyn tyme, þat þo to whiche þei han doon harm waxen not proude, and seyn, For oure meryt, and for þei weren contrarie to us, God distrieþ hem; and so þei seyn þat God dide not alle, for hem þinken þat her myȝt halp.

Gens absque consilio est et sine prudencia. Utinam saperent et intelligerent ac novissima providerent: *Folk is wiþoute counceil and wiþoute prudence. Wolde God þei saveriden and undirstoden and purveieden for þe laste.*

The folk of alle unriȝtwise men is wiþoute counceil of heelþe of soule, and wiþoute prudence to fle synne; but God wolde þei hadden ony savour in Goddis love, and undirstoden þe wille of Jesus Crist to doon it; þanne schulden þei purveie her laste, þat þei myȝten dye sikirly, and ben holden wiþouten drede what schal falle at þe laste eende.

Quomodo prosequebatur unus mille, et duo fugarent

[1] So in U; *preieden*, T.

decem milia: *How oon pursuede a þousinde, and two garl*[a] *fle ten þousinde?*

How þis myȝte be he schewiþ, and seiþ,—

Nonne ideo quia Deus suus vendidit eos, et Dominus conclusit illos? *Whepir not þerfore her God soolde hem, and þe Lord hem loukide*[1]*?*

As who seye, þerfore þei ben overcomun to her harme, for God alienede hem fro him for synne of hem, and loukide hem in þe myȝt of her enemyes.

Non enim est Deus noster ut dii eorum, et inimici nostri sunt judices: *For whi? oure God is not as þe god is of hem, and oure enemyes ben domesmen.*

Oure God is not as her god is, for þei han deliit in wickidnes, and oure God leveþ no synne unponeschid, and oure enemyes ben doomesmen, þat is, þei moun bere witnes of þat þing, þat oure God dampneþ and poneschiþ yvele deedis, for oftsiþis he smytiþ yvele men in þis world.

De vinea Sodomorum vinea eorum, et de suburbanis Gomore: *Þe vyner of Sodomo þe vyne of hem, and of þe suburbis of Gomorre.*

Sodom is as myche to seye as dombe, and Gomorre is scharp, as who seye, oure hiȝe prelatis, if þoru hem manye oþere ben dombe to serve God in þe foorme of his servise, and þei ben scharp in vicis.

Uva eorum uva fellis, et botrus amarissimus: *Þe grape of hem þe grape of galle, and flower bitterist.*

Her fruyt is turnyd into pride and covetise and ipocrisie, þe whiche ben bask or bittir synnes in Goddis knowyng; and þe flower þat is in hem is bittereste, for her fleschli love and covetise of erþe[2] is to hem eendelees sorowe. But men seyn þei moun have goodis and love hem not, and sooþ it is; but whanne men seen þat office þat men ben holden to do to God is lettid for þe occupacioun of worldli goodis, þo godis ben overmyche loved, whereof wole come eendelees sorowe.

[1] *closed*, U. [2] So in U; *fleschli and love of erþeli covetise*, T.

[a] The use of this word proves that the writer was an inhabitant of the north of England. U reads *chasid*.

Fel draconum vinum eorum, et venenum aspidum insanabile: *Galle of dragouns, þe wiin of hem, and venym of snakis incurable.*

Galle of dragouns is þe fel tresoun of bacbiters, þe which tresoun þei drinke wiþ deliit as wiin, and birlen it to oþere men. For he þat bacbitiþ his neiȝbore, in þat þat in him is techiþ him to whom he telliþ his bacbiting to do so of oþere. And venym of snakis, þat is, lastinge malis, is her drynke incurable; for þei wolen not be amendid of her malicious ire, taken of her owne hiȝnes; and if men snybbe hem, or chastise hem bi resoun, her malice waxiþ, and þei ben worse þan þei weren bifore. For he þat is defectif, and heeriþ his trespas, and wole not amende it, is liik to be endurid in his synne, as þe cruel Jewis weren þat stoppiden her eeris whanne Seint Stevene disputide wiþ hem þe truþe of riȝt bileve.

Nonne hec condita sunt apud me, et signata in thesauris meis? *Whepir þes ben not hid anemptis me, and selid in my tresours?*

Þat is, alle þes yvelis ben holden in Goddis mynde, and kepte as undir seel, for to be put forþ in þe doom to schewe þe riȝtwisenes of Crist in dampnynge of wickide men. And in þe same tresours ben hid virtues of gode men, to schewe þat dai to þe riȝtwiisnes of her corownyng, þat þei schulen take bi Goddis riȝtwiis doom. Þanne schulen gode men be maad riche of Goddis tresore in eendelees joie, and yvele men schulen be ful pore in eendelees peyne.

Mea est ulcio, et ego retribuam eis in tempore, ut labatur eorum pes[1]**:** *Myn is þe veniaunce, and I schal ȝelde hem in tyme, þat her foot slide.*

Þat is, to[2] me, seiþ God, falliþ þe veniaunce of synful men, not to man woniynge in erþe, for it is not semely o broþer venge him on anoþir, and unsemelynes schulde not be in Cristis Chirche in þe ȝeeris of grace, siþin it was forboden of God in þe ȝeeris of veniaunce. For I schal ȝelde hem aftir her yvel wille in tyme of doom, þouȝ I abyde a while. Be þou not to haasty, for ech day is day of grace, and I am not qweemyd in veniaunce;

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *pees eos*, T. [2] So in U; om. T.

þerfore þou makist me þin enemye whanne þou sekist veniaunce of ony þing but oonli of synne. Þat veniaunce sekiþ no bodili harm, if synne wiþouten þat may be amendid. And siþin I am God, þat no þing mai leve unponeschid, suffre yvele men lyven til I do her foot slippen, þat is, til I make al her pride and her vanyte to fallen, þat beriþ hem to helle. For it schal breke sodeinli and turne to nouȝt, ffor,—

Juxta est dies perdicionis, et adesse festinant tempora: *Bisyde is þe day of perdicioun, and to hem haasten þe tymes.*

Biside, þat is, neer is þe day in which alle yvele men schulen be lost fro þe cumpany of halowis, and tyme[1] of ȝeldynge to yvele and gode haastiþ to ben[2] and comeþ faste. And þanne—,

Judicabit Dominus populum suum, et in servis suis miserebitur: *Oure Lord schal deeme his folk, and in servauntis he schal have mercy.*

Þat is, Crist schal departe hise lovers fro þe lovers of þis world, and in hise servauntis he schal ben seen merciful, here and in þe day of doom, and in alle oþere riȝtwise venger of al wickidnes.

Videbit quod infirmata sit manus, clausi quoque defecerunt, residuique consumpti sunt: *He schal se þat þe hond be maad siik, and þe closide failide, and þe laste ben distried.*

He schal se, þat is, he schal make to seen, þat alle þat[3] yvele men doon is not sufficient to her salvacioun; for preier, almesdeede, and penaunce of him þat liiþ in synne, and wole not amende him for Cristis love, is abhominable offryng in Goddis siȝt. For þe closid in pouste of þe devel failide for peynes; for alle þat ben left, þat is, forsaken of God, schulen be distried in eendelees deeþ.

Et dicent, Ubi sunt dii eorum, in quibus habebant fiduciam? *And þei schulen seye, Where ben her goddis, in þe whiche þei hadden trist?*

Gode men þat schulen seen þe peynful peynes of yvele men, schulen seien, Where ben now alle her vanytees of worldly bisynes and lustis, þe which þei loveden moore þan God, for

[1] *tymes*, U. [2] *basten to be*, U. [3] So in U; *þe*, T.

þei setten her joie and her trist in hem, as þei schulden nevere have failid hem; havynge greet indignacioun to hem, þat for her soule hele reprehendiden her over bisy worldli lyvynge; seiinge, how schulde þe world oþere weies be mayntenyd? But he is folily blyndid þat mayntenеþ his enemy to his owne harm. Þe world and oure owne flesch ben enemyes to us, þe whiche moun not be mayntenyd over þe tyme þat God haþ sett. Þerfore foolis and idiotis, þat leften þe unfructuous bisynes of þis liif for Goddis love, schulen scorne wise myȝti men of þis world, þat setten her trust and her joie in þat þing þat myȝte not bifore God helpe hem.

De quorum victimis comedebant adipes[1], **et bibebant vinum libaminum ?** *Of þe offringis of þe whiche þei eeten grecis, þei drunken þe wiin of offringis.*

Here þe prophete dampneþ covetise and likerousnes of prestis, for it is more abhominable in hem þan in oþere, siþen þei schulden be mooste fleers þerof in ensaumple to oþere; seiinge, of þat þing þat was offrid to her unclennes, þei hadden deliit in greet abundaunce of gaderynge, and in lustful lyvynge, dispendynge it to preisyng of þe world, þat was offrid to hem to lyve upon, and to departe among þe pore and nedy peple. And so þei ben drunken in lustis and likyngis of erþeli goodis, forȝetinge þe povert of Jesus Crist. Þerfore on domesday, þat wrecchidnes þat ȝe tristen on moore þan on God,—

Surgant et opitulentur nobis, et in necessitate nos protegant: *Rise þei and helpe ȝou, and in nede hile ȝou.*

Þis is but scoornyng þat gode men schulen have of wrecchis þat forȝeten Crist for þe failinge world; as who seie, ȝoure goodis þat helden ȝou in honour in erþe, rise þei now and come þei to helpe ȝou, if þei may. And siþin þei moun do nouȝt but skaþe, for þat schal be peynful schame to yvele men, to knowen and to have rehersid þe þing þat made hem to lese þe blis of Crist, þerfore, ȝe þat ben ȝit on lyve,—

Videte quod ego sim[2] **solus, et non sit alius Deus preter me:** *Seeþ þat I am oonli, and þat oþir God is noon but I.*

[1] corrected from Vulg.; *adhipes*, T.

[2] corrected from Vulg.; *sum*, T.

That is, ȝe þat wolen be wiþoute schame on domesday, wytiþ þat God is oonli to tristen in, and he þat kepiþ not hise biddingis, triste not in him to his heelþe. Þerfore loveþ him as he lovede ȝou, denynge for his love to triste in ony creature; for al þing þat ȝe loven wiþoute him lettiþ ȝou of his love and disseyveþ ȝou. Ffor,—

Ego occidam, et ego vivere faciam; percuciam, et ego sanabo; et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere: *I schal sleen and I schal make to lyve; I schal smyte, and I schal hele; and noon is þat may delyvere of myn hond.*

Whi? for I am auctour of liif and deeþ, hem þat I love I schal smyte, chastisinge hem as a good fadir owiþ to doon his wel-loved sone. For it is not semely þat curteis Crist have an untauȝt child; þerfore I schal make my children holde perfiȝtly biddingis in þis liif, qwikenynge hem wiþ my grace, to lyve in mekenes vertuously, and I schal sle her enemyes whanne best tyme is. And if ony temptacioun or anoie hirte hem, if þei triste to me I schal hele hem. Þerfore stondiþ bi me in love, þat I stonde wiþ ȝou in needful tyme of help, for noon is þat may delyvere himsilf or oþere of myn hond. For alle creaturis ben undir my myȝt, and to me falliþ þe deemynge of alle.

Levabo ad celum manum meam, et dicam, Vivo ego in eternum: *I schal lifte to hevenes myn hond, and I schal seyn, I lyve wiþouten eende.*

Þat is, I[1] schal schewe me Lord Almyȝti aboven al þing, and I schal seyn apertly, I lyve wiþouten eende. It is oure alþirooþ, and a vow to fulfille þis Lordis bidding.

Si acuero ut fulgur gladium meum, arripuerint judicium manus mee: *If I schal scharpe as leiȝtnyng my swerd, and myn hondis schulen take doom.*

Þat is, I schal make qwaken for dreede alle wickide men of erþe, whanne I have redyed my swerd of poneschinge, comynge sodeinli as leytnynge; þanne myn hond, þat is, my myȝt, schal schewe þe laste dreedful doom: ffor þanne,—

Reddam ulcionem hostibus meis, et his[2] qui oderunt me retribuam: *I schal ȝelde veniaunce to myn enemyes, and to hem þat hatiden me I schal ȝelde.*

[1] from U; om. T. [2] corrected from Vulg.; *biis*, T.

I schal ȝelde veniaunce of eendelees peyne to my foos; þat is, to alle þat I foond contrarious to me, clad out of þe clooþ of charite, not holdinge my comaundementis. And to hem þat hatiden me, puttinge out of her hertis me for love of oþir þing, I schal ȝelde woniynge in peynes eendelees wiþ orrible develis in helle. And þanne,—

Inebriabo sagittas meas sanguine, et gladius meus devorabit carnes: *I schal drunken myn arowis in blood, and my swerd schal devoure flesch.*

Myn arowis, þat is, my scharpe manasynge wordis, I schal drunken, þat is, I schal fulfille in blood of dede dampnyd men; and my swerd, þat is, my veniaunce, schal hastily smyte alle þat lyveden fleisheli, and dieden so, into helle, to be devourid of feendis. And ȝit myn arowis I schal drunken,—

De cruore occisorum et de captivitate nudati inimicorum capitis: *Of þe blood of slayn and of caitifte and þe nakid heed of enemyes.*

Verrili ben þei slayn þat ben deede fro þe joie of God wiþouten eende, and of þe caitifte of helle, of þe nakidheed fro al solace of hevene or of erþe, of enemyes dampnyd. Nakidheed he seiþ at þe liknyng of taken prisoners in conqueringe, þe whiche weren wont to be shaven þe heed and so soold.

Laudate gentes populum ejus, quia sanguinem servorum suorum ulciscetur: *Herie, ȝe heþene, þe folk of him, for þe blood of hise servauntis he schal venge.*

ȝee synful men, þouȝ al ȝe wolen not folowe Cristis folk in virtu and goodnes, at þe laste holdiþ alle worþi heriyng þat loven him in worchinge of vertues, and angriþ hem not in word ne deede. For if ȝe do, God wole vengen it; ffor,—

Et vindictam retribuet in hostes eorum, et propicius erit terre populi sui: *And veniaunce he schal ȝeelden into her enemyes, and mersiful he schal be to þe lond of his folk.*

Þe lond of his folk in þis liif is holy Chirche, in þe which his folk wonen in truþe and in charite. Alle oþere wonen in þe lond of þe develis folk, to whom God schal be riȝtwiis in veniaunce and poneschinge.

[MAGNIFICAT.]

[LUKE i.]

Magnificat anima mea Dominum: *My soule worschipe þe Lord.*

Oure Lady Seynt Marye, aftir þe greetinge of Gabriel, and þe conseyvynge of Goddis sone, oure Lord Jesus Crist, verri God and verri man, and aftir þe blessing of Elizabet þat clepide her modir of hir Lord, sche roos not in hiȝnes of þouȝt for vein glorie ne in bolnynge of pride, dispisinge þerfore oþere, but in swetnes of herte and ful devout mekenes, þankinge God of al his goodnes, seiinge,—My soule, fillid of his grace, worschipiþ, þat is, herieþ perfiȝtli þe Lord of hevene and erþe, þat me þis grace haþ doon. As who seie, I holde not mysilf greet, but God I herie of alle hise ȝiftis in al myn herte. Þat soule worschipiþ God perfiȝtli, þe whiche wickide þouȝtis greeven not, unclene deliit filiþ not, uncovenable berynge hiȝeþ not, ne vein speche envenemeþ not; but in alle vertues, of kynde and of grace, it stondiþ in lastynge love and stable mekenes.

Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo: *And my spirit joiede in God myn heelþe.*

Not oonli þis blessid maide and modir herieþ God enteerli, but also sche seiþ þat hir[1] gladnes and hir joie was in mynde of God, in love and likynge of whom al hir love sche sette. Sche joiede not in hirsilf, ne in vanyte of þis liif, as oure founyd maidens don now, þat joien more in synful vanytees of þis world, þe whiche hem lusten to love, þan in God her saveour, þat corowneþ alle trewe virgyns in hevene. But þouȝ devoute soulis of holy men and wommen worþili worschipen God, and wondirfulli ben joiyinge in Jesus, þis blessid mayden and modir, oure Lady Seynt Marye, bifore alle oþere in privilegie of moost brennynge love sche heriede God, and in singuler joie sche was glad in Crist. Þe songis of heriinge ben swettist in hir mouþ, and þe nootis of love ben þe delitablist in þe melody þat

[1] So in U; *his*, T.

sche[1] schewiþ. Þat spirit now joieþ in God, þe which is verrili kyndelid wiþ þe fier of þe Holy Goost, to þe which, for mychilnes of Cristis love, no passing þing paieþ, but al fleshli lust and erþeli covetise loþiþ and is viile to it. For al þe joie and cumfort of it is in Crist, of whom it hopiþ liif and heele eendelees.

Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue, ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generaciones: *For he lokide þe mekenes of his hondmayden; lo, for whi of þat blisful me schulen seyn alle generaciouns.*

Wrecchid wommen of þis world loven synful creaturis whom hem luste, and worschipen hem, and han vein joie in hem þat schulen passe as schadowe aftir settinge of þe sunne; but oure Ladi Marye sette al her love and joie in God, offringe hersilf holly to Goddis love; and þat for he lokide wiþ bliþe iȝen of grace þe mekenes of hir þat was ful of alle gode þewis, and buxumer to his bidding þan ony hond-mayde in erþe may be to hir Lord. Lo, for whi of þat, þat is, of hir mekenes, for þat lokinge of God to me, as he were take in my love at a siȝt, þerfore blisful me þei schulen seyn, alle generaciouns of trewe Cristen men in þis world. And þat is worþi,—

Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est, et sanctum nomen ejus: *For he haþ do to me grete þingis þat miȝti is, and his name holy.*

Grete þingis he dide to hir in quantite of grace, grettere in mynystration of þe aungel, grettist, þoru wondir of Goddis vertu in wombe he made parfiȝt hir halowyng. In vertu he ȝaf to hir clenness of liif, in vow first offringe of hir maydenheed, and in alle þes þat moost seemeþ deppist mekenes. Þus he dide to me þat is myȝti, and whos name is holy halowynge me; and alle þat hooly ben, in his goodnes ben holy, not in hir meryt.

Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timentibus eum: *And þe mercy of him fro kinredis into kynredis to þo þat dreeden him.*

His mersy, delyveringe fro synne and sorowe, is fro þe

[1] So in U; *siche*, T.

kynrede of holy men into þe kynredis of synful men, for þereþoru oonli ben synful men maad riȝtwiis; but þe mersy of God is oonli to þo þat dreden him, for wiþoute þe drede of God may no man be maad riȝtwiis.

Fecit potenciam in brachio, dispersit superbos mente cordis sui: *He dyde myȝt in his arm, he scateride þe proude fro þe þouȝt of his herte.*

God dide, þat is, he schewide þat myȝt is in his vertu, whanne he sette þe help of hise loviers in his Sone, doinge vertu or myȝt in his arm to defenden him and hise fro alle her enemyes. And so he scateride, þat is, so he departide þe proude, þat is, þo þat seken þe weye of hiȝnes aboven oþere, fro þe þouȝt of her herte, þat þei myȝten not do in deede þe wickidnessis þat þei coveitiden, in conseyvynge of her yvel wille.

Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles: *He putte doun þe myȝti of seete, and he hiȝede þe meke.*

Þe myȝti he clepiþ þo þat joien in her myȝt, usinge it wrongfulli in wickidnes; þese he dide doun of seete of dignyte and honour. For kyng Salmon putt doun viciouse bischopis and proude, and sette in her stide meke men and vertuouse. For it falliþ to erþeli princis tao mende þe defautis of Cristis Chirche; þerfor þei beren þe swerd of correccioun þat þeir [a]. And he hiȝede to þe seete of angels felowschip þe meke, þat is, þo þat holden noþing lower þan hemsilf, and putten hem mekely to be defoulid of alle; knowynge hem viile as erþe, and grucchen aȝein noon angwisch of þis liif, but ben fayn to suffre alle þingis for Cristis love. And þerfore þei ben worþi to ben hiȝed for þat greet mekenes, þat þei ben not stirid to wraþþe for her owne cause, þouȝ men sey hem yvel or do hem yvel.

Esurientes implevit bonis, et divites dimisit inanes: *Þe hungrynge he fillide wiþ goodis, and þe riche he lefte empty.*

Þe hungrynge Oure Lady clepiþ hem þat greetli coveiten riȝtwisnes, wisdom of God, grace and cumfort of þe Holy Goost, þat evere stiriþ her desier to coveiten moore and moore, and contynuen þerinne; for siche good fulfilliþ of goostli goodis, profitable, delitable, and honest. Þe first, þat is, riȝt-

[a] The sentence suddenly breaks off in T, and is unfortunately absent altogether from the Magdalen MS.

wiisnes, helpiþ to meryt; þe secunde, þat is, wisdom of God, drawiþ þe ȝernyng fro erþe to hevene; þe þridde, þat is, þe cumfort in þe Holy Goost, makiþ a man parfiȝt in vertuouse werkis. Þes goodis han swete savour to þe soule. Þre maner of hungry men þere ben, þe whiche God filliþ not but wiþ peyne; as þo þat desiren þe pompe and þe pride of þis liif, and covetise of riches, and harmynge of her neiȝbore. Þe first hungir is of bittirnes, þe toþir of avarice, þe þridde of bacbitinge. Þese men, wiþ alle oþere þat ben wickid, þouȝ þei han greet welþe and ese in þis liif, and ypocritis þat leeten [1] as þei weren riche of goostli goodis, criynge her holynes in outwarde tokenys, he lefte empty of grace and joie, þouȝ þei ben ful of favour of folk, and vile lustis priveli, and manye apertly; but in þe day of doom þei schulen fynde nouȝt but peyne.

Suscepit Israel puerum suum recordatus misericordie sue: *He resseyvede Israel his child, he þouȝte of his mercy;*

Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini ejus in secula: *As he spak to oure fadris, to Abraham and to his seed into worldis.*

Þus schal þe lettre be joyned; he ressyvede Israel his child for mekenes and clennes, and he spak to oure fadris, and þat he dide bi þouȝt of his mercy, þe which he hiȝte to doon to Abraham and to his seed, þat is, to alle hise folowers in truþe and riȝtwisnes while þe world stondiþ. He resseyvede [a] Israel in kynde, in grace, in defendinge, in governynge. Þoru takinge of kynde he riȝtid us out of deeþ, and out of ire of God; þoru takinge of grace he drouȝ us out of synne; þoru takinge of grace in defence, he delyveriþ us þat oure enemy have no myȝt ne maistry of us; þoru takinge in governynge, he lediþ us out of perels of þis wey; þoru takinge of blisfulheed, he bringiþ us out of al wrecchidnes of synne and sorowe, and settiþ us yn þe joye of hevene. Amen.

[1] *loken*, U.

[a] The Magd. MS. ends imperfect at this point.

[TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.]

Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum et confitemur: *We herien þee God, we knowlechen þee Lord.*

It is comounly seid þat þis song was maad of Austin and Ambrose[a], whanne Austin was convertid. But þis we may suppose bynęþe þe bileeve; but howevere it be herof, þis song is devout. First Crist is God, and siþ he is Lord, for he is not Lord but if he have a servaunt.

Te eternum patrem, omnis terra veneratur: *Al þe erþe worschipiþ þee, everlastinge fadir.*

Here we seyen by partis þe heriyng of God; and first how alle men in erþe worschipen God þe Fadir, siþ al þe Trynyte is fadir to men, for it made man of nouȝt, and þerfore it is fadir. And so al þe Trinyte is fadir to man, but þe first persoone is Fadir to his Sone.

Tibi omnes angeli, tibi celi, et universe potestates. Tibi cherubyn et seraphyn incessabili voce proclamant:

Alle angels and hevenes, and alle powers in þis world, cherubyn and seraphin, crien bi vois and unstyntinge to þee.

Al if erþeli men be first in oure knowinge, ȝit hevene and sitesyns þerof ben first in her kynde, and specialy angels of þe two firste ordris, for þei ben schynynge wiþ kunnynge, and brennynge wiþ charite. And alle creaturis seyn to God þat he

[a] In the ancient offices of the English Church, according to Mr. Palmer (*Origines Liturgicae*, I. 228), this hymn is named indifferently the 'Psalm *Te Deum*,' or the 'Song of Ambrose and Augustine.' No higher authority for the legend mentioned in the text is known, than that of a spurious chronicle, ascribed to Dacius, a successor of St. Ambrose, but really written five centuries later. The rudiments of a large portion of the hymn may be traced, as has been shown by Archdeacon Freeman in his excellent work, *Principles of Divine Service*, in Oriental liturgies. But in its actual form, a preponderance of testimony seems to trace it back to Gaul; the earliest author named for it is Hilary of Poitiers (circa 354). If so it would be not one of the least precious gifts to Christianity from the glorious church of Gaul, well and fittingly called 'the eldest daughter of the Church.'

made hem, for þis is kyndeli seiing, þat kynde techiþ Goddis creaturis; but angels crien afer bi spiritual vois, and þei may not ceese herof, siþ þei ben needly blessid.

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth; Pleni sunt celi et terra majestatis glorie tue:

Þis is þe first song seid to þe Trynyte, and þerfore is þis word, holy, seid þries, and it bitokeneþ stablenes in God in bigynnynge of hise werkis, in kepinge, and eendynge. And as God is myche and glorious wiþoute mesure, and in ech part of þis world, so it is soþli seid þat he filliþ boþe heven and erþe; and al if he have in himsilf glorie of his magiste, in as myche as he is God, naþelees he schewiþ it out in mesure, noumbre, and weiȝt, as him falliþ for to do.

Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus: Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus: Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus: Þese þre cumpanyes of þe two testamentis herien þee God; and first, *þe glorious cumpany of Cristis apostlis*, siþ, *þe worschipful noumbre of prophetis;* and siþ, *þe oost of martirs maad whiȝt in her blood.*

Siþ Crist is heed of holy Chirche, and hise apostlis sueden him next, manye supposen þat þei ben in hevene bifore oþere. And, for fadris of þe oolde lawe weren grounde[1] of men of þe newe lawe, bi resonable ben þei putt bitwixe, and next hem suen martirs of þe newe lawe.

Te, per orbem terrarum, sancta confitetur ecclesia: *Holy Chirche knowlechiþ þee God, þoru-out al þe world.*

And as þe Trinyte is heried, so holy Chirche haþ þre partis. Þe hiȝeste ben angels of hevene, þe secunde, seintis slepinge in purgatorie, þe þridde is folk þat schulen be saved, here fiȝtinge in erþe. Of þese and noone oþere is holy Chirche maad. And þis schulde be bridil in us, to booste not þat we ben of holy Chirche. And so, for mysterie of þe Trinyte, ben confessours and virgyns taken in þe þridde part.

Patrem immense majestatis[2]: Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium: Sanctum quoque paraclitum Spiritum. Þis Chirche þat þus is scaterid in þe brode world,

[1] corrected; U has *gronde*, T *groundid*.

[2] So in U; *magestatis*, T.

knowlechiþ þe fadir of majeste wiþouten eende, and knowlechiþ þe secunde persone, *þi oonli worþi verri sone; and* it knowlechiþ þe þridde tyme, *þe Holi Goost cumfortour;* and alle þes þre persoones ben o God in his kynde. And, as clerkis seyn, magiste acoordiþ to þe Fadir, for he is in sum maner first of alle þre persoones; wisdom acordiþ to þe Sone, siþ he is wisdom of þe Fadir, and made and bouȝte mankynde; þe Holy Goost is cumfortor, for he makiþ a parfiȝt eende of brennynge charite in alle þe seyntis þat he wolde have, boþe here and in heven, in sorowe and in joie.

Tu rex glorie Criste: Tu patris sempiternus es Filius: Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non horruisti virginis uterum: Tu devicto mortis aculeo aperuisti credentibus regna celorum: Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes, in gloria patris: Judex crederis esse venturus: *Þou, Crist, art Kyng of glorie,* and hast take mannys kynde; *Þou art everlastynge sone of þe fadir. Þou, to take mankynde for to delyvere it, hidousist not þe virgyns wombe to be closid in it. Þou, for þou overcamest þe scharpenes of deeþ, openedist to men þat bileeveden in þee þe kyngdoms of hevenes. Þou, aftir þin assencioun, sittist on Goddis riȝt side.* And siþ þou art God bi þi hiȝer kynde, and best man bi þi oþir kynde, *þou art bileeved to come for to juge at þe laste day.*

And in þes articlis of bileeve is myche fair clergie, but we schulden not bileeve of þe Fadir of hevene þat he haþ a riȝt side, or partis, as a man haþ, but þat þe manheed of Crist is blisful in hevene, and next his Godheed in glorie among alle creaturis.

Te ergo quesumus, famulis tuis subveni, quos precioso sanguine redemisti: Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria munerari: Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hereditati[1] **tuae. Et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in eternum.** By þese two kyndis in Crist ben we hardy to preie him, *and þerfore we preien þee, helpe þou þi servauntis, whiche þou hast bouȝt wiþ þi precious blood. Do þis grace wiþ þi seintis, þat þei be rewardid in blis wiþ ever-*

[1] corrected from U; *hereditatis*, T.

lastinge glorie. Lord, make þi peple saaf, and blesse to þin eritage; and governe hem here, and hiȝe hem into þe blis wiþouten eende.

Cristen men schulden take þe wordis of Goddis lawe, as Ambrose and Austin and oþere bifore us han do, and drede not to graunte þat Crist was deed, and lesse þan his fadir, and herwiþ was God. But heretikis seyn here þat auctor of Goddis lawe was rude in his logiik, and ofte spak fals, and so þei wolen neþir holde hym ne sue him. But sey we booldly to þes eretikis, þat þei cannot amende þis auctor, ne reprove noone of hise wordis bi her newe logyk, and but if þei holden þis auctor þei schulen not be saved.

Per singulos dies benedicimus te: Et laudamus nomen tuum in seculum et in seculum seculi. We ben maad to serve God, and in þat have blis, and herfore we syngen to God and seien, *þat we blessen him bi ech daies* þat we lyven in þe world, *and we herien his name bi lastynge of þis world and of þe toþir boþe.*

Whanne oure soule was maad, þanne God made a newe world, and by al þis world we schulden herie God, on o maner þe while we lyven here, and on anoþir aftir. As þere ben two lastingis þat God ȝeveþ to þis world, oon is wiþout-forþ, þat men clepen tyme, anoþir is wiþinne, betere þan þis tyme, and þis is clepid often tymes world of world.

Dignare, Domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire: Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri: Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te: In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in eternum. Here we preien to oure God by hope þat we han gaderid in hym, and seyn, *Lord, vouchesaaf to kepe us þis day wiþouten synne. Lord, have mersy on us. Lord, be þi mersy maad upon us, as we han hopid in þee. Lord, I have hopid in þee, be I not schent wiþoute eende.*

In þese foure versis ben manye faire truþis. In þe firste vers we preien God to kepe us fro greet synne þat nevere schal have eende; and ech day we han nede to preie herfore; and so Crist techiþ us to sey in oure Pater noster þat, and God delyvere us fro þis yvel. Þus we han nede ech day to preie þis; but, as seint Joon seiþ, if we seyn þat we han no synne, we disseyven

us silf, and truþe is not in us. But as longe as we dwellen here, we asken Goddis mersi for oure mischevous bodi, but moost for oure soule; but in þe toþir world þis myscheef gooþ awey. And, for ech man schulde wyte þat he haþ ful hope in God, þerfore in þe þridde word we preie to God of his mersy as we hopen in him, and moore may we not axe. In þe fourþe word we turnen us in o persoone, of þe Chirche, and seien in persoone of þis Chirche, þat we han hope in þis Lord, and for þis hope we axen to be not schent wiþouten eende. For as Crist techiþ us to axe generali, so þese seyntis casten to close þer preier in charite, and to aske þis eende in þe name of holy Chirche. And þis is eende of oure asking þat mai falle in þis world. For þis yvel and þis scheending is moost of alle oþere, and so þis is a grete grace to wante þis scheendyng wiþouten eende; for þanne we schal not come to helle, but algatis go to heven. And no peyne is yvel but þis, or to regarde of þis, as no joie is good but blis, or ellis wey to blis. Þis witt schulde men undirstonde of þis holy song, and leve worldli chauntynge þat here is usid wickidly, for it distractiþ often tymes fro joie of þe toþir world. And it is hard þat it profite evene as myche to mennys soule as it likiþ to mennis eeris; and certis ellis it profitiþ not, for, as Austin knowlechiþ, he synneþ grevousli whanne evere þe song likiþ him more þan dooþ þe witt of þe song [a].

[BENEDICTUS.]

[LUKE i. 68.]

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia visitavit et fecit redempcionem plebis sue. Þis psalm is of moore auctorite þan þe song bifore, for it is bileeve of þe gospel, as Seint Luk telliþ; and Zacharie, Baptistis fadir, seide first þis salme aftir þat he was dombe, as Gabriel toolde him. And as myracle was bifore in dombnes and ȝevynge of speche, so in seyinge of þis salm was more myracle, whanne God liȝted þis profete and teelde him hid truþis. Þis profete bigynneþ þus, and seiþ to holy Chirche,—*Blessid be þe Lord God of Israel, for he haþ visited and maad biggyng of his peple.*

[a] S. Aug. *Confessiones*, Lib. X, cap. 33.

It is seid comounli þat þere ben þre salmes, maad of Marie and of Symeon and of þis Zacharie, and þei ben ordeyned of þe Chirche to be songun in tymes accordynge to þese persones, and witt after whiche þei weren seid. Þis salme is songen in þe Chirche at þe eende of mateyns, for Joon Baptist was lantirne bifore þe sunne, to make redy to take þe liȝt of þis sunne, as þis salm is sungun bifore þe sunne rising. Þis profete knew in spirit þe grace þat[1] God hadde maad here, and þerfore he biginneþ at þe heriyng of God, and clepiþ him first, Lord of alle men of þe world. He clepiþ aftir, God of Israel, for God in o sense is seer of al þing; and Israel is as myche as, men þat seen God[a], and bitokeneþ Jacob wiþ men þat camen of him; and it is takun comounli for seyntis in hevene. And first þei feelen his lordschip[2] and aftirward his godheed. Þis God visitide his peple bi myraclis of þe oolde lawe, but now late in birþe schewide in Seynt Joon Baptist; and soone aftir God haþ maad biynge aȝein of mankynde; for whanne Crist was maad man, þis priis was ȝovun of God, and whanne Cristis suffringe suede aftir, þis priis was in tellynge. And here he schewide him a profete in seiynge þis as passid, for profetis han þis maner, for certeynte of her witt, to seie her wordis as passid al if þei ben to come.

Et erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo David pueri sui: *And God haþ rerid þe horn of heelþe to us, in þe hous of Daviþ his child.*

Oft tymes an horn bitokeneþ bi manye propirtees a power schewid to þe peple. And for Crist cam of Daviþ þat was Goddis child, þis horn was arerid in Daviþis hous; and Crist was King of pees, as Daviþ was a meke king; and oþer liif of Daviþ figuride Jesus Crist.

Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum, qui a seculo sunt, prophetarum ejus: *As God haþ spoken bi þe mouþ of seintis, whiche ben fro þe world, Goddis owne prophetis.*

Þis biinge of mankynde by Goddis owne sone was ofte pro-

[1] So in U; T has *of þat.* [2] So in U; *lord*, T.

[a] St. Jerome (*De Nominibus Hebraicis*) says, 'Israel, est videre Deum, sive vir aut mens videns Deum.'

fecied fro bigynnyng of þe world, and also þese profetis weren drawen fro þe world, and alle þei spaken wiþ o mouþ bi o spirit þat whistlide in hem.

Salutem ex inimicis nostris, et de manu omnium qui oderunt nos: *Heelþe of oure enemyes, and of þe hond of alle þes þat han hatid us.*

Ffor þis haþ God spoken bi profetis bifore seid, how we schulden have heelþe boþe of men and fendis, and be delyverid of þe hond of alle þo þat hatiden us.

Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris, et memorari testamenti sui sancti: God haþ bihiȝt[1] bi his profetis bifore, *to do mersy wiþ oure fadris, and have mynde of his holy testament.*

God hadde hiȝt to Abraham in þe oold lawe, þat he schulde multiplien his seed as sterris of hevene, and as gravel of þe see; and many oþere þingis God bihiȝte to Abraham and oþere holy fadirs, þing þat þei hadden not fulfillid here in erþe. And þus bileve techiþ us þat þis was seid in figure of goodis þat þei schulden have in þe toþer world, as þe erþe þat Abraham slepte inne, þat God ȝaf to him and to his seed, figuride hem hevene, þat is clepid in Goddis lawe þe lond of men lyvynge. And so it is of oþere goodis þat weren bihiȝt oure fadirs, for God teelde but litil of erþeli riches, for boþe it felde to þis Lord and to his trewe children to ȝeve hevenli goodis and reste in hevene.

Jusjurandum quod juravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum, daturum se nobis. Whanne Abraham schulde have offrid Isaac, his owne sone of his wiif, he hadde a greet ooþ to God, *þat he swoor to him þat he schulde ȝeve him to us*, for to bigge mannys kynde.

Þe story is knowen how God temptide Abraham, and baad him rise and take his owne sone wiþ him þat he loveþ, Isaac, and offre him on an hil. And Abraham dide þus as God baad him do, and herfore God bihiȝte him þat he schulde ȝeve himsilf for þe worschip of God and savynge of mankynde. And herfore was Crist borun, as Isaie telliþ.

Ut sine timore, de manu inimicorum nostrorum libe-

[1] From U; om. T.

rati, serviamus illi in sanctitate et justicia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris. Þe eende whi þat God bouȝte us so costly and so kyndeli was þis,—*þat we wiþoute drede, delyverid oute of þe hond of oure enemyes, serve to God in holynes and riȝtwisnes, in whiche we schulden lyve to-fore him in alle oure dayes.*

And here may we seen how unkynde we ben, siþ God dide þis kyndenes for þis eende to mankynde, and it were so profitable and honest to man, and ȝit man leveþ it, and gooþ a wrong wey, for drede of þe world or love of his flesch, and so bicomeþ servaunt to hem fro whom God haþ delyverid him. And so man forsakiþ God, and takiþ him to þe fend.

Et tu, puer, propheta Altissimi vocaberis; preeibis enim ante faciem Domini, parare vias ejus, ad dandam scienciam salutis plebi ejus in remissionem peccatorum eorum. Here þe prophete turneþ his speche to his sone, and seiþ þese soþe wordis unto Joon Baptist: *Þou, child, schalt be clepid þe profete of alþer-hiȝest; and þerfore þou schalt go bifore þe face of þe Lord, for to make redy þe weies of him, and for to ȝeve kunnyng of heelþe unto his peple in forȝifnes of her synnes.*

And al þis was schewid in þe liif of Joon Baptist, for he forsook þe world and chastiside his flesch, and wente not to scoole to bigile his neiȝbore, but helde þe staat of innocense in deseert placis. And oure relegiouse[a] þat seien þei suen him, gaderen hem in coventis, and lyven contrarye liif; for in þe stide of innocence þei han chosun flockis; instide of deseert placis þei han chosun citees; instide of greet penaunce aftir þe staat of innocence þei han chosen lustful liif for to feede her flesch. And where þei schulden forsake craftily bildyngis, þei chesen housis and cloistris to huyde þer richessis. And þus þei maken a wey to þe prince of þis world, and fiȝten, and maken redy his wey to resseyven hise servauntis; and þere as þis prince is contrarye to Crist, so þese religious ben contrarie to Baptist; and ȝit þei feynen falsli sumwhat of Crist and sumwhat of Baptist to disseyve þe peple. But as in conjurisouns ben teeld manye goddis names, to disseyve þe peple and robbe of her

[a] All that follows down to the end of the Canticle, so far as it relates to the friars, has been erased in the Magdalen MS, though not so effectually but that the writing remains partially visible.

goodis, so in þes ordris ben feyned manye holynessis for a fals eende, to disseyve þe peple and to souke her blood for feynyng of her heelþe.

Per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto, Illuminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis. Here we preien þis child þat is ȝeven to us, and is boþe God and man, and so ful of witt and grace, *by þe inward power of mercy þat he haþ, and cam from hiȝ heven to visyte his folk, þat he sende liȝt to us þat sitten in derknessis and in schadowe of deeþ, for to dresse oure feet into þe wey of pees.*

Here we preien not, as freris, neiþer of Crist ne Baptist, to lyve worldli liif and likinge to oure flesch, ne go to þe wey of werre to fiȝte wiþ oure enemyes, ne to spoile þe peple, and gadere her goodis to oure castels, ne bi þe craft of lesyngis to plese to þe world; but to lyve evere contrarie liif, as dide Crist and Baptist. For bi wandringe of siche weies men may wel se whos children siche ben, and to whom þei maken redy. For king of alle þe children of pride, þat is Anticrist, leediþ siche cloisteris, and techiþ hem siche cautelis. And herfore seyn sum men, as Lyncolne and oþere, þat þei ben dede careynes cropen of her sepulcre, wlappid in cloþis of deel[1], and dryven of þe devel for to drecche men[a]. And þus þei ben baggid wiþ signes of ipocrysie, þat it were lasse harme to men of Cristis scoole to dele wiþ a legioun of feendis of helle þan wiþ a litil covent of siche qwike devels. For sum men þei robben, and sum men þei maken wode; and bi þer feyned ipocrisie and cautelis of þe fend þei bigilen mo men þan doon oþere feendis. Lord delyvere his folk for siche perels of fals freris, for if þis laste be pressid out, þe sevene bifore ben liȝtir. And ceertis þese religiouse þus bounden to þe fend passen wickide wommen, whos tracis þei folowen, for liknes of holy men disseyveþ myche folk.

[1] In the parallel passage at p. 230, the word is written 'deul,' i.e. mourning. U has *dole*.

[a] See the opening of the tract 'Lincolniensis,' infra, p. 230.

[NUNC DIMITTIS.]

[LUKE ii. 29.]

Þis is þe þridde salm songun of prestis aȝein þei goon to þer bed, late upon nyȝtis; and figureþ desier þat Cristen men schulden have in hour of her deeþ. For profiȝt of Cristis Chirche, þe gospel telliþ þer was an oold man, þat was clepid Symeon, and hadde answere of God þat he schulde not se deeþ bifore he say Crist. And whanne Crist cam into þe temple, he took him in his armes, and songe joifully þis song to God,—

Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace; quia viderunt occuli mei salutare tuum[1]**; quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum; lumen ad revelacionem gentium, et gloriam plebis tue Israel:** *Lord, þou levest now þi servaunt in pees aftir þi word þat* þou hast seid bifore, for now I am riip to dye; *for myn iȝen han seen* þin owne sone Crist þat is þine owne *heelþe to men, þat þou hast maad redy to sette bifore þe face of alle folk þat* schal be saved. Þe which heelþe is, *liȝt to þe schewing of heþene men, and* also to *glorie of þi folk of Israel.*

Þis oold man was cumfortid in soule bi bileeve, for he trowide þat hevene schulde soone aftir be openyd, and Crist wiþ hise membris schulde entre into hevene; and þerfore he coveitide þanne to be deed, and in haaste to be wiþ Crist, for þat he hopide truly, siþ he hadde answere of God þat was eernes[2] herto. And þus ben manye men moved, þat wolde þat Cristis Chirche were sumwhat amendid after Cristis ordenaunce, þat þei schulden not dye bifore þat þis come, þat Crist were schewid sumwhat in his Temple, and bifore þat he were borun as a pore ȝong child. And if þis venym of dowynge were sumwhat aslakid, þanne were þei riipe to dye to Crist; for þei hopen þat Crist is liȝt here unto schewe to hem his wille, as his lawe techiþ, and so he schal be glorie to hem in hevene, Amen.

Þe song of oure Lady in which sche loveþ God is sungen at

[1] corrected from U and Vulg.; *meum*, T. [2] *ernest*, U.

even-song, þat is oure first hour, for sche was byginnyng of heelþe of mannys kynde. And þes þre salmes ben of even autorite, siþin þei ben alle þre þe feiþ of þe gospel.

[THE SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.]

[DAN. iii. 57—88 a.]

Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino; laudate et superexaltate eum in secula.

Þis salme was maad aftir a myracle þat God dide in tyme of Nabugodnosor, whanne he savede þre Jewis for stablenes of her bileeve fro þe brennyng furneis, þat was hat[1] to brenne hem. Þese þre persoonys ben of double name, by dyverse langagis; þei ben clepid Ananyas, Azarias, and Myzael; and þei ben clepid on oþer maner, Sydrak, Mysaac, and Abedenago. Þis song heriþ[2] God, and spekiþ to alle hise creaturis, and biddiþ hem love God, siþin alle ben maad for þis eende. And þus þe first vers biddiþ,—*ze alle werkis of þe Lord, blesse ze to þe Lord, herie ze and overe-hize ze him in al tyme.*

Þes ben þre wordis in þis vers þat schulden be þus undirstonden. Siþ ech creature seiþ kyndely þat God made it of nouzt, ech creature schulde by kinde blesse God; and so if it do wel, servynge God as it schulde, þanne it seiþ wel to God, and grauntiþ þat God is blessid over al þing. And þis wel seiinge, þat is wel servynge, is blessing þat God spekiþ of here; and þus alle þingis blessen God, but oonli yvele men and feendis. Þe secunde word of þis vers seiþ þat þingis blessen to þe Lord, and þis word, Lord, by himsilf, is taken for God, Lord of Lordis. Þe þridde tyme we schulden undirstonde, þat by maner of Greek speche, þat þing overhizip anoþer þing þat seiþ it passiþ alle oþere creaturis; and so overhizinge, propirly, is lovynge proprid to God. And þus þese þre þingis, blesse, and loove, and overhize, bitokenen þe Trynyte, and þei ben oon in substaunce, þat is, heriinge, apperinge[3] to God.

[1] *bete*, U; *bat*, Q. must have been 'herieþ.'
[2] *heriþ*, FF, U; *beyes*, Q. The original word
[3] *appropryd*, Q.

[a] In the Vulgate version.

Benedicite angeli Domini Domino: Benedicite celi Domino: *ȝe angels of þe Lord blesse to þe Lord; ȝe hevenes blesse to þe Lord.*

Þis vers bigynneþ þe ordir of blessinge þat creaturis schulden blesse to God. But þere ben two maner of creaturis, spiritual and bodily. Þe beste creature of God is good angel, þat is namyd generali here. And þus þese angels han a maner to blesse God bi witt and wille. And among bodily creaturis hevenes generali ben þe best.

Benedicite aque omnes, quae super celos sunt, Domino: Benedicite omnes virtutes Domini Domino: *ȝe watris alle, þat ben above hevenes, blesse ȝe to þe Lord; ȝe alle vertues of þe Lord blesse to þe Lord.*

Here þinken men þat bi þese watris whiche ben above hevenes ben undirstonden alle partis of hevenes, above sunne, planetis, and sterris. For þes þre partis, for þe liȝt, ben clepid hevenes comounly, and þese oþere partis of hevene þat ben cleer as watir ben clepid watris above hevenes, for in hem ben þese þre partis picchid. And it is licly to trewe men þat þes watris ben of þe same kynde þat ben þes watris bineþe þe moone, but þei dyversen in propirtees; for watris þat ben above þe moone ben stable and cleer and everlastinge; but watris þat ben bineþe þe moone, remuynge, freele, and partable. And so watris þat ben above moun wel be preised, for þei ben sotil, but watris bineþe may be dyvyded, for þei ben boþe hevy and groos; and dyversyte of siche qualitees stondiþ in substaunce of o kynde. And vertues þat ben in hevenes ben powers þerof to rule þis erþe, as ech part þat is in hevene haþ vertu to move erþeli þingis.

Benedicite sol et luna Domino: Benedicite stelle celi Domino: *þe sunne and þe moone blesse ȝe to þe Lord; þe starris of hevene blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

Þe sunne and þe moone ben passinge liȝtis, and after hem ben þe sterris, and summe of hem ben clepid planetis, as fyve, wiþ þe sunne and moone; þe whiche men of astronomye clepen sevene planetis of hevene, and stonden in þis ordir: Saturnus is þe hiȝeste planete, siþ Jubiter, and siþ Mars. But þe sunne is as a kyng, and stondiþ in þe myddil of alle planetis, and haþ

þes þre above him, and oþere þre byneþe him; þe whiche ben clepid of filosofris, Venus, Mercurius, and þe moone is lowiste planete, and takiþ liȝt, wiþ oþere, of þe sunne. And alle þese sevene ben erraunt sterris, for chaungeable movynge þat þei han, for þei ben sumtyme joyned togidere, and sumtyme oon aȝein anoþer. And þis[1] falliþ for þese alle for propir movynge in her whelis, but above Saturnus ben sterris þat ben alle in o wheel, and þes ben evere iliche fer, and maken o figure in her wheel.

Benedicite ymber et ros Domino: Benedicite omnes spiritus Dei Domino: *Reyn and deew blesse ȝe to þe Lord; alle wyndis of God bless ȝe to þe Lord.*

Here þes þre children of Jewis nemen creaturis byneþe þe moone, but þei nemen not þes foure speris bi þe ordir þat filosofris doon. Þei seyn þat undir þe moone is a spere of sotil fier, and in þat is a spere of þe eir, and in eiþer spere of þe watir, and in þe myddil of þe world and lowiste[2], spere of þe erþe. Þis resoun moved[3] þes clerkes to putte a sotil spere of fier; þei seyn þe gros fier among us is boþe hoot and drie and liȝt, movynge upward; and al þis þing it dooþ bi kynde; and þus a cleene fier in his kynde mut be moore liȝt hoot and drie. And alle þe speris ben brokely[4], but so ben speris above þe moone. Clerkis seyn þat reyn comeþ þus; þe planetis, and algatis þe sunne, drawen up of þe watir and of oþere moist placis a sotil body fer into þe eir; and in þe myddil of þe eir is it kyndely cooldid a-nyȝtis, for þis matir is kyndely coold, and þere wantiþ heete of fier and liȝt, and þus coold makiþ þis moist matir renne togidere in smale dropis, and þus þei geten hevynes, and come doun in foorme of rein. But sumtyme þese planetis of hevene, aȝein þe tyme þat þe sunne gooþ doun, liften up a sutil matir but a litil space fro þe erþe; and fro þe tyme þe sunne be hid, þe coold of þe nyȝt engrosiþ þis matir, and so it comeþ doun anoon in moore sutil foorme þan reyn. Þere lien manye wyndis here; as summe wyndis ben in beestis, and summe ben closid wiþinne þe erþe, and summe blowen frely

[1] So in Q and FF; T and U read *þese*. [2] *lowest*, Q, U; *lowers*, FF. [3] So in U; *movyd*, Q, FF; *moveden*, T. [4] *brokel*, U; *brokeli*, FF.

bitwene þe erþe and sterris of hevene; and þis wynd is clepid here, spirit of God, for dyversyte of oþere. Þis wynd is in his kynde eir medlid wiþ watir þat comeþ of þe erþe. And planetis, wiþ sterris of hevene, and hurtlinge of cloudis moven þis wynd now to o place, now to anoþer, after þe chaungyng of þe mover.

Benedicite ignis et estus Domino: Benedicite frigus et estas Domino: *Fier and swiinge blesse ȝe to þe Lord; coold and somer blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

It is knowen by bileeve how al þis world profitiþ to man þe while he serveþ in grace to God, and ellis it fiȝtiþ aȝens man. Þus comeþ fier þat we usen; and þe brennynge þerof heetiþ men in coold tyme, and helpiþ to diȝte her mete and drinke. And þus coold in his tyme dooþ cumfort to mannys body, and heete of somer bringiþ forþ fruyt, þat man schulde not lyve but if þis were.

Benedicite rores et pruina Domino: Benedicite gelu et frigus Domino: *Dewis and hoor frost blesse ȝe to þe Lord; frost and coold blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

Summe ben dewis þat moisten þe erþe til forþ[1] dayes[a] in hoot tyme; and whanne þe coold haþ froȝen þis matir, þanne it is clepid hoor frost. Frost is moore, and lastiþ lengir; and coold is comoun to manye þingis. And as þese tempren mannis body, so þei tempren erþe and fruyt.

Benedicite glacies et nives Domino: Benedicite noctes et dies Domino: *Yise and snow blesse ȝe to þe Lord; nyȝtis and dayes blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

No dreede yis helpiþ manye men to passe overe watirs to manye cuntrees. Snow helpiþ to tempre þe erþe; for a good snow is worþ a dungyng, for it holdiþ heete wiþinne þe erþe, þat it crepe not out bi smale holis; and so it qwikeneþ þe roote of growinge þingis wiþinne þe erþe. It is knowen þing to clerkis, þat snow is gendrid hiȝ in þe eir, whanne watry matir mych in quantite to regard of þe substaunce is froȝen and so falliþ doun,

[1] *til forþe daies*, U; *til forth dayes*, Q; *til fro þe dayes*, FF.

[a] The expression 'til forth dayes' seems to mean, till far on in the day, 'dayes' being in the genitive case.

and haþ whiȝtnes for cleer and stable matir. And siþin[1] men mai not evere traveile, God haþ ordeyned nyȝt and day, nyȝt for to reste, and day for to traveile; and no drede eir in þese tymes temperiþ þe erþe and qualitees. And alle þes þingis techen men boþe of virtues, and of vicis, and of hevene, and of helle, to desire þat oon and drede þe toþir.

Benedicite lumen et tenebrae Domino; Benedicite fulgur et nubes Domino: *Liȝt and derknes blesse ȝe to þe Lord; leytis*[2] *and cloudis blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

Liȝt cumfortiþ mannis siȝt, and qwemeþ bodies here in erþe, and makiþ hem þinke on verri liȝt, þat is God þe first liif. Derknessis doon good to siȝt, and tempren mennys wittis, to take her reste, and figuren derknes of synne, and þereaftir derknessis of helle. And derknes is Goddis creature, siþ God haþ ordeyned it among oþere; and so not ech creature is substaunce þat may dwelle by himsilf. Clerkis knowen þat cloudis hurtlyn and bringen forþ fier of þer partis; as whanne þei breken bi violence þat werun fast togidere bifore, þanne þei maken a greet noise, which noise men clepen þe þundir. And, for siȝt is swiftir þan heeryng, as liȝt comeþ sonner[3] þan eir tremibliþ, þerfore men seen liȝtnynge bifore and aftir þei heeren þe þundir of cloudis. And al þis serveþ Cristen men to mysti comownynge of Cristis lawe.

Benedicat terra Domino, laudet et superexaltet eum in secula: *Blesse þe erþe to þe Lord, herie and overhiȝe it him for evere.*

Þe erþe serveþ wel to God whanne it holdiþ þe myddil of þe world, and gaderiþ plenteuously liȝt of hevene, and bringiþ forþ fruyt as God biddiþ. And for þis cause haþ God ordeyned erþe to be þicke and stable, to turne aȝein þe liȝt of hevene, and feede fruyt þat growiþ þereinne. And for stablenes of þe erþe, þat schal laste after doomesday, and blesse God above tyme, seyen[4] þese childrin þat þe erþe blesse[5] God.

Benedicite montes et colles Domino: Benedicite universa germinancia in terra Domino: *ȝe hillis boþe moore*

[1] So in FF; *siche*, T, U; *for*, Q.
[2] *leytes*, U; *leyte*, FF.
[3] So in U; *sunner*, Q, FF; *sanner*, T.
[4] So in U and Q; *seyn*, FF; *siþin*, T.
[5] *blessiþ*, U; *blissiþ*, FF; *blesse*, Q.

and lasse, blesse to þe Lord; alle þat burionen in erþe blesse ȝe to þe Lord.

It is knowen þing þat hillis holden stoones and metal-oor, and bryngen forþ manye eerbis þat woldin not so wel growe in valeis. And, for cause þat þes[1] þingis schal have no stide at doomesday, þerfore seiþ Goddis lawe, þat hillis and valeis schulen be playned, and erþe schal take a round figure, and hevene and erþe and watir schulen reste.

Benedicite fontes Domino: Benedicite maria et flumina Domino: *Wellis blesse ȝe to þe Lord; sees and floodis blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

Men fynden opinly what good doon wellis to mannys kynde, for manye tymes men schulden wante drinke, ne were þe servise þat þei take of wellis. And comounly in hoot somer wellis ben coolde, and hoot in wyntir. It is knowen þingis to clerkis þat in poris[2] depe undir þe erþe is watris gendrid and rennynge and springynge up at a place, so myche þat in manye placis where no watir seemeþ to be, men moun so depe hole þe erþe, þat good watir and plenteuous wole springe. And for þis watir renneþ in somer up cold erþe, whanne poris ben opin, þerfore watir comounly is moore coold in somer tyme. In wyntir, whanne it is frost, þe poris of þe erþe ben closid; and heete in þe erþe of somer bifore is lettid to come out by smale holis. Þerfore þe watir þat comeþ bi siche pooris haþ heete in wyntir, and smoke comeþ out and welliþ. For sich a cause eten men betere in coold tyme þan þei doon in hoot tyme, whanne heete is scaterid wiþoute-forþ. Sees in dyverse cuntrees han dyverse propirtees; as oure sees of Yngelond flowiþ twies in þe day and in þe nyȝt, for þe moone þat moveþ þes watris lokiþ so til oure Brytayn see, þat what bi riȝt liȝt and reflectid, in nyȝt and day, it moveþ it twies. Summe oþere sees flowen nevere, and summe but oones flowen in a moneþe, and aftir þat heven lokiþ upon hem, þei han dyverse propirtees. Sees gendren manye fischis to substaunce of mankynde, so þat, bi manye mennis cast, þere ben mo and moore fischis in þe see þan ben beestis upon londe, for þe space and matir is moore.

[1] So in U; *of þingis*, T. [2] *poores*, U.

Ps. cvii. 23. And þerfor seiþ Daviþ in þe salme, þat men þat weenden to þe see, þei seen þere þe wondir werkis þat God haþ maad in þis world; for no man suffisiþ in þis liif to telle fully þe kynde of fyschis. And þe see conseyveþ wiþ fischis manye oþere prescious þingis, as ben salt and margaritis, and many oþere prescious stoonys. Clerkis seyn þe see is salt, for þe kynde salt is þus gendrid; whanne gravel is hatt wiþ þe sunne, and sokid longe wiþ þe watir, it takiþ kyndeli a savour þat men clepen saltnes. And herfore in summe londis han men salt for gravel. And siþ þe see ebbiþ and flowiþ fro þe souþ into þe norþ, it is needful þat salt be medlid wiþ manye sees, and not al oonli wiþ sees, but wiþ watris where þe see flowiþ. And here may men se causes þat ben axid in þis matir. It is axid comounli whi floodis in lond ben not salt; and here men seien comounly þat floodis and wellis ben salt whanne ful cause of saltnes is founde in þes wellis, but þe see is comounly salt, for it takiþ moore þe liȝt of hevene; for it is moore, and neer hevene, and moore disposid to take liȝt; but bankis and manye oþere causis letten flodis to take þus liȝt. Also, gravel of þe souþ see is neer þe sunne, and moore hoot, and þis is medlid wiþ oþere sees, and makiþ hem salt bi rubbinge; so þat ful cause of saltnes makiþ fulnes of salt. And herebi may men se whi salt is boþe whiȝt and cleer; for salt, for greet part þerof, is of þe kynde of watir, and watir, whanne it turneþ to sadnes, mut be cleer by kynde. And sich watir, medlid wiþ erþe, mut nede be whiȝt in þe same kynde. But ȝit men axen comounly, whi salt is dissolved þus, but cristal and oþere stoones ben not loosid as oþir salt. Here seien clerkis þat dyverse bodies ben maad sad in dyverse degrees, and summe bodies may be dissolved and summe not, as manye stoones. And of þe firste clerkis ȝeven a rule, þat þo bodies þat ben hardid by coolde ben loosid by hoot, and hardid by hoot ben loosid by coold. As iys and leed ben hardid bi coold, and þei ben neischid[1] aȝein by hoot. But, for salt is hardid bi hoot and drie, þerfore it is kyndely neischid bi body of contrary qualite, as ben bodies coold and moist. And þus salt is hoot bi kynde, and haþ hise virtues by þis ground.

[1] *neschid*, U.

Benedicite cete et omnia qui movent in aqua Domino: Benedicite omnes volucres celi Domino: *Whallis and alle þingis moved in watris, blesse ȝe to þe Lord. Alle foulis of hevene blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

It is comounly seid þat a whal is þe moost fisch in þe see; and so by þis greet fisch ben undirstonden alle oþere fischis, boþe schel fische and scalid fisch, or of what kynde þat evere þei ben. Alle þei turnen to mannis help, and doon þe office þat God haþ ordeyned. And þus as beestis upon þe lond drawen in erþe to tempre her body, so fischis in þe flood drawen in watir to tempre hem. But as beestis ben sotiler þan ben fischis in her schap, so þei ben moore venemouse, moore anoyouse unto man; and þus fischis ben neer to elementis, and more religious for to ete, þan ben foulis or beestis of erþe, for þei ben neer mannys kynde. And ȝit þe first book of holy writt, þat men clepen Genesis, seiþ þat boþe fischis and foulis comen of substaunce of þe watir. And ȝit God schewiþ his craft to putt hem so fer a twynne, for þis lord can ordeyne of alle þingis as him likiþ. But watir is neer hevene in kynde þan is erþe, of which ben beestis; and þus boþe fisches and foulis kepen sum propirte of watir.

Benedicite omnes bestie et pecora Domino: Benedicite filii hominum Domino: *Alle kynde of beestis and wandringe beestis blesse ȝe to þe Lord; and mennys sones blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

Here may we wyte þat þes beestis weren werkis of þe sixte day; and man was maad on þe same day, and of slyme of þe erþe, as fischis and foulis weren boþe maad of God. On þe fifþe day beestis ben moore general þan beestis þat goon on her feet; siþ wormes and addris ben beestis, but þei helpen not to mannis werk, but oþere beestis, þat drawen in þe plouȝ, and helpen to bere men, as hors. And it is needful to teche men to blesse to God bi gode werkis, as þese beestis taken lore of men, and serven to hem to mannis worschip.

Benedicat Israel Domino: laudet et superexaltet eum in secula: *Þe folk of Israel blesse ȝe to þe Lord; herie it and overhiȝe him for evere.*

Men ben holden to serve God by double servise here in erþe. Summe ben laboreris, as beestis þat þis song haþ spoken of;

and summe ben moore witti, as angels, and þese schulen serve God moore hiȝly. And for þis servise stondiþ moore in spirit, þerfore it lastiþ aftir doomesday. And Israel, þat is, man seinge God[a] is not taken oonli for Jacob, but for al his kynde þat comeþ of him, and algatis for his goostli kynde.

Benedicite sacerdotes Domini Domino: Benedicite servi Domini Domino: *Prestis of þe Lord, blesse ȝe to þe Lord; servauntis of þe Lord, blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

Among alle folk þat serven God as doon þe children of Israel, preestis schulden moost serve him, and teche oþere men to serve him. Þei shulden large Goddis servauntis, boþe in hem and in oþere men.

Benedicite spiritus et anime justorum Domino: Benedicite sancti et humiles corde Domino: *Spiritis and soulis of just men blesse ȝe to þe Lord; Holy and meke men of herte blesse ȝe to þe Lord.*

In þis vers may ȝe se how no men but just men serven God meedfully, for to wynne þe blis of hevene. We moun se more in þese wordis how just men han two lyves; contemplatif and actif; and in boþe þes þei shulden serve God. We may se furþir how þes men þat God haþ ordeyned to blis ben here holy and confermyd, and meke algatis of herte.

Benedicite Anania, Azaria, Misael Domino; laudate et superexaltate eum in secula: *Ananye, Azarie, Mysael, blesse ȝe to þe Lord; herie ȝe and overhiȝe ȝe him for evermore.*

Siþin gode deedis, in Goddis myraclis, oblischen men moore to serve God, þese þre children schulden specialy serve God for hise ȝiftis. God sente his angel to hem and ledde hem saaf in þe furneys, and made þe erþe coold and good, and brente þe Caldeys wiþoute. What man schulde blesse God but þese þre þat weren þus holpen?

Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu; laudemus et superexaltemus eum in secula: *Þe fadir and þe sone and þe holy goost herie we, and overhiȝe we him wiþouten eende.*

Þis vers han Cristen men doon to, over þat it is in Danyelis

[a] See note at p. 57.

book, to teche þat þei shulden herie God as þese þre children of Israel; and specialy þese Cristen men þat have þus grace of God þat þei qwenchen þe flawme of synnes, as þese þre children bi myracle of God qwenchiden þe flawme of firis. For þis brennyng wiþ synne of soule is moore perelous þan þe toþir, and þerfore men schulden moore herie God for savyng fro þis brennyng. And oure Chirche haþ wittily specified first þe Trynyte, and aftir by a syngular name toold þe oonheed of God.

Benedictus es Domine in firmamento celi; laudabilis et gloriosus et excelsus in secula: *Blessid artow Lord in þe firmament of hevene; and worþi to be heryed and glorious and overhiȝed for evermore.*

Þis vers makiþ a knott to þis song of þes children, where we maken an opin schrift þat God is passingli blessid. Not þat God haþ nede to be blessid of us, for God is blessid in himsilf as myche as ony þing may be, and oure word and oure blessing may not alarge þis blessing of God; but by þis meke confessioun and joie of Goddis blessing we hopen þat God wole blesse us, boþe here and in hevene.

[QUICUNQUE VULT: COMMONLY CALLED THE ATHANASIAN CREED.]

Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam fidem. It is seid comounli þat þere ben þre credis. Þe first is Apostlis, þat men knowen comounly. Þat oþere is crede of þe Chirche þat declariþ þe former crede. Þis þridde crede is of þe Trynyte, þe whiche is sungun as a salme, and was made in Greek speche of oon þat is clepid Athanasie, and was aftir turnyd to Latyn, and sum deel amendid, and ordeyned to be seid at þe first hour[a]. Þis Salme

[a] With reference to the statement in the text, the following summary of the account given of this creed in the learned work of Dr. Harold Browne, Bishop of Ely (*Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*), may be not out of place.

Ecclesiastical writers, down to and including Baronius, assigned the creed to Athanasius without hesita-

telliþ myche of þe Trynyte, and it is no nede ech man here to know it, siþ a man may be saved if þat he bileeve in God, and hope þat God wole teche him aftirward þat is needful. And so, as men seyn comounly, men bileeven in two maners. Summe bileeven expresly þat þer is but o God; and summe bileeven confusely, howevere God wole þat þei trowen; and if þei lyven on oþer syde riȝtly, as God wole þat þei lyven, þei ben in good wey aftir to come to blis. For our crede schulde be medelid wiþ love and bileeve, so þat bileeve tauȝte oure witt how good þat oure God is, and siþ þe Holy Goost tauȝte how we schulden love oure God. And herfore seiþ þis[1] salm, whiche is lesse þan gospel, þat, *Whosoevere wole be saaf, it is needful bifore alle opere þingis þat he hoolde þe comoun bileeve*, for þerbi is man saved. And it seemeþ not inowȝ men to sey bi word þat þei trowe fulli as hooly Chirche trowiþ; for þus seyn Paynyms and manye out of þe bileeve; siþ men seien comounli þat all han sich bileeve. And so love and good liif ben needful to riȝt bileeve. And God forbede þat men bileeven þat ech man þat schal be saaf mut trowe expresly ech word þat here is seid; for feue or noone ben in þat staat, or Grekis or Lateyns. And ȝit to us falliþ, Englisch to telle þat litil þat we bileeven; for bileve is of truþe, þat is bifore oure langagis;

[1] So in U and Q; T has *þe first salm.*

tion. His authorship was first disputed by Vossius and Ussher in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Frenchman, Quesnel, writing in 1675, gave it to Vigilius Thapsensis, an African bishop of the latter end of the fifth century; and to this hypothesis Cave, Pagi, Bingham, and others assented. In 1693, a French divine, named Antelmi, made out a case of considerable strength in favour of assigning its composition to St. Vincent of Lerins. Lastly, Waterland, writing a few years later, strongly and most ably advocated the claim of Hilary, bishop of Arles in 429, to be considered the author.

Direct external testimony to the authorship there is none. But a variety of indications point, (as we saw was the case also with the *Te Deum*,) to the Church of Gaul as the source of its composition. The internal testimony, afforded by the peculiar cast of doctrine, and by significant omissions no less than significant statements, is said to fix the date at a period before the spread of Nestorianism, and after the appearance of St. Augustine's works on the Trinity, i.e. between 416 and 431. But if composed at that particular period, and composed in Gaul, it is not likely to have had any other author than one of two men, Hilary of Arles, and St. Vincent of Lerins;—and Waterland argues very ingeniously for the former.

and, as we seyn, God ȝeveþ bileeve boþe to children and to men, alif þei ben not of power to lerne bileeve of her briþeren.

Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in eternum peribit: Þis comyn feiþ is of þis kynde, *þat but if ech man kepe it hool and unfilid, wiþoute doute he schal perische wiþouten eende.*

Þere ben summe þat trowen to oon article, and of anoþer article þei trowen þat it is fals, as Jewis and Paynyms trowen to o bileeve, and trowen not to anoþir, and þerfore þei failen in hool bileeve. And it is al oon a man to have noon[1] armes[2], and to be woundid to þe deeþ on oon hoole of hise armes. And here may we se how bileeve is taken here for truþe þat men bileeven, groundid in God. And on two oþere maners men taken bileeve. Sum tyme bileeve is clepid a qualite, by which a man is namyd a trewe man in God, and þis bileeve is a maner of a trewe soule. On þe þridde maner is bileeve take for a þouȝt þat a man haþ in deede of þe first bileeve. And þus bileeve is liȝtist to falle fro a man. But we schulen undirstonde, þat manye men neden not to have opin knowleche of alle pointis of bileeve, but þei moten nedis bileeve þat þer is o God, and love him and serve him wiþoute synne dampnable. And þus men trowen generaly al þat is to bileeve, and failen in no poynt, as doon untrewe men. Oþere þat have moore witt of God, schulden trowe moore; and algatis ech man schulde kepe him fro fals bileeve, þat he trowe not contrarye to oure feiþ.

Fides autem Catholica hec est, ut unum Deum in trinitate, et trinitatem in unitate veneremur: *Þis is comoun bileeve, þat ech man schulde trowe, þat we worschiþ o God in trynyte of persoones,* þe which God is trinyte in oonheed of godheed; þat is to seie, we schal trowe þat þere is but o God, þe which God is þre persones, and þes þre persoones ben þe same God.

Neque confundentes[3] personas, neque substantiam separantes. And þus schal we trowe, *neþer medlynge þese þre persoones, ne departinge þe substance,* of God in þese persoones.

[1] So in U; *none*, Q; *on*, T. [2] *armys*, U. [3] So Q, U; *confundantes*, T.

Þat is to seie, we schal not trowe þat þe Fadir mai be þe Sone, ne þe Sone þe Holy Goost, ne þe Holy Goost þe Fadir; but þes ben þre persoones, þat noon is anoþir, ne part of anoþir; and alle þese þre persoones, and ech bi himsilf, be þe same substaunce, and so þe same God.

Alia est enim persona patris, alia filii, alia spiritus sancti; sed patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti una est divinitas, equalis gloria, coeterna majestas[1]: *Þere is oþir persoone of þe fadir, and oþir of þe sone, and anoþir of þe holy goost; but of þes þree persoones is o godheed, and evene glorie, and comyn magiste wiþouten eende.*

We schal trowe þat þe Fadir is þis persoone of þe Fadir; and so þes oþere two persoones ben persoone of þe Sone and persoone of þe Holy Goost. So, alle if þese persoones ben oþere, and ech is oþir fro þe toþir, naþelees noon of hem is oþere fro þe toþir in kynde, siþ þere is o kynde comoun to hem alle. And so is o Godheed comoun to hem alle, siþ ech of þese and alle þes ben þe same God. And bi þe same skil alle þes ben even in glorie, and magiste of hem alle is lastinge wiþouten eende, for þis glorie and magiste is not but þis Godheed. And so if men seiden þat þis same glorie and magiste were of þree persoones, þei seiden soþli and not contrarie herto. But glorie and magiste seyn sum tyme relacioun, whiche clerkis seyn ben dyverse in resoun.

Qualis pater, talis filius, talis spiritus sanctus: *Whiche is þe fadir, sich is þe sone, and sich is þe holy goost.*

In þis holy Trinyte is noon sich qualite as is in creaturis; but on sum maner mut we speke, to telle þis maner of God, which maner is not oþir þan God; for tungis failen in tellinge of God for þe excellence of him. And so it is toold aftirward, what is þis qualite of God, in which þes þre persoones ben ech evene to oþir.

Increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus spiritus sanctus: *Unmaad is þe fadir, unmaad is þe sone, and unmaad is þe holy goost.*

For alle þes þre persoones ben þe same God, which is wiþ-

[1] So Q, U; *magestas*, T.

oute bigynnyng and also wiþouten eende; and so noon of þese þre persoones may be maad of nouȝt.

Immensus pater, immensus filius, immensus spiritus sanctus: *Þe fadir is wiþoute mesure myche, and eke þe sone, wiþ þe holy goost.*

For þer is a comyn greetnes of alle þes þre persoones, and it seiþ no quantite, ne streechinge of Goddis partis. For þis holy Trinitye is wiþouten ony part, but at ech part of þis world is þe holy Trinyte, and if þis world were more, þere were þe Trinyte, for God may not faile to be in place, ne to þing þat he haþ maad. But if þere were a voide place wiþouten hevene wiþoute mesure, God were everywhere in þis place; but þer is no sich voide place.

Eternus pater, eternus filius, eternus spiritus sanctus: *Þe fadir is wiþoute bigynnyng, and also wiþoute eending, and so ben þe toþir two persones.*

And so al þis Trynyte, siþ ech of þese is þe same God, þat may not be mesurid ne maad.

Et tamen non tres eterni, sed unus eternus; sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus: *And naþelees,* if God be sich, *þere ben not þre Goddis siche;* for þere is but o God, of what kyn maner þat he be; *and so þere ben not þre unmaad, ne þre* þus grete, ne þre wiþouten eende; *but alle þes þre persoones ben o God,* þat is sich.

But here may men betere sey in Latein þe sotilte of þis matere, for articlis wiþ case, gendre, and noumbre helpen here for to speke. For alle þese þre persoones of God ben þus myche wiþoute eende; but þei ben not þre Goddis þat han siche qualitees, but þei ben þre persoones þat han sich propirtees.

Similiter omnipotens pater, omnipotens filius, omnipotens spiritus sanctus; et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens: *Also almyȝti is þe fadir, almyȝti is þe sone, almyȝti is þe holy goost; and naþelees not þre Goddis ben almyȝti, but o God is almyȝti.*

We schal bileeve of oure God þat he is a sovereyn spirit, o kynde and o substaunce, o God and o beinge; and he is wiþout part, and fulli sich as we han seid; and þis God haþ

power to knowe himsilf, and to willen himsilf. Þis power is þe first persoone, þis wisdom is þe secunde persoone, and þis wille is þe þridde persoone; and alle þes þre ben o God. And so þes names, þat moten nedis acoorde to al þe Trinyte, ben seid singularly of oure God wiþouten part. And ȝit þes þre persoones of God ben Almyȝti, and alle God, siþ ech of hem is Almyȝti, but þe same Almyȝti God. And clerkis seyn þat God is Almyȝti, for if he wil þat ouȝt be doon, he dooþ it in his tyme, and þis may noþing do but God, for angels wolen þat þei ben made, but ȝit þei mai not make hemsilf. But alle þese persoones ben o kynde, þat is þus myȝti as we han seid. And þus seiþ þis crede aftir,—

Ita Deus pater, Deus filius, Deus spiritus sanctus; et tamen non tres dii, sed unus est Deus. Ita Dominus pater, Dominus filius, Dominus spiritus sanctus; et tamen non tres domini, sed unus est Dominus: *So þe fadir is God, þe sone is God, þe holy goost is þe same God; and napeless þer ben not þre goddis, but o God* is alle þese þre. *And so þe fadir is Lord, þe sone is Lord, and þe holy goost is Lord;* and *ȝit þere ben not þre lordis, but o Lord* is ech of þese.

And þis roten resoun of men þat foolis maken wiþouten witt, is not worþi to be teeld for þe lewidnes þerof; if þis God be þis Fadir, and þe same God be his Sone, þanne is þis Fadir þis Sone, for o God is þei boþe. Þese foolis moten lerne filosofye, and how manye þingis may be a comoun þing.

Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri Cristiana veritate compellimur, ita tres deos aut dominos dicere Catholica religione prohibemur. And to þis witt spekiþ þe crede, þat we ben nedid bi Cristen trouþe to graunte þat ech of þese þre persoones is ful God and ful Lord, and he þe same þat ech oone is; and ȝit we ben forfendid of God to sey þat þere ben þre goddis, or þat þese þre persoones ben þre lordis, bi general religioun. For o God and o Lord is comowne to þese þre persoones.

Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus. Wiþ þis sentence þat is seid, is ordir bitwixe þese persoones. But þe Fadir is maad of noon, ne maad of nouȝt, ne bigeten; siþ þe Fadir is þe first persoone, þat may have no principle of his being.

Filius a patre solo est; nec factus, nec creatus, sed genitus: *Þe sone is of þe oon fadir, not maad, ne maad of nouȝt, but borun.*

And here clerkis mooten wake her wittis, and undirstonde two birþis. Þe first is not makynge of þing, but cause þerof wiþouten eende; as, if þe sunne were nevere maad, as errour of clerkis haþ seid ofte, ȝit þe sunne wolde cause his liȝt eiþer wiþinne or wiþoute. So þe first persoone of God bringiþ forþ þe secunde persoone as God, for power to knowe himsilf knowiþ himsilf fulli. And þis þing was wiþoute bigynnyng, and it may have noon eende aftir. And þis birþe or beringe is þe first þat may be, and of þis comeþ bodili bigetinge, whanne o kynde bringiþ forþ anoþir.

Spiritus sanctus a patre et filio; non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens. And here moten men wake wel, to knowe how þis þridde persoone comeþ al oonli of þe firste, and we seyn þis Holy Goost comeþ boþe of þe Fadir and of þe Sone. For þis Fadir and þis Sone ben o principle of þis þridde persoone; and herfore we seien in þis crede þat þe Holy Goost comeþ of þe Fadir and of þe Sone, not maad, ne maad of nouȝt, ne bigeten, but comynge forþ. For as we teelden of double birþe, so þere ben two comyngis forþ; þis comynge forþ þat we tellen here is wiþoute bigynnyng and eending, but it is a bringinge[1] forþ wilful of two persoones. And þus þei may not be o fadir, ne þis þridde persoone her sone; but bileeve techiþ us, þat as God knowiþ himsilf, for he may knowe himself, so for þese two þingis God restiþ in his owne wille, siþ God haþ good wille to himsilf, bi þis power and þis knowing. But undirstonde we not þes persoones as þre bodies, or þre substaunces, but as o symple substaunce þat is comoun to hem alle.

Unus ergo pater, non tres; unus filius, non tres filii; unus spiritus sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti. And herfore we moten nedis confesse, þat þere is *o fadir, not þre fadirs, o sone, not þre sones, oon holy goost, not þre holy goostis.*

And þus þer ben but þre persoones wiþinne in þe Godheed, al if manye ben wiþoute.

[1] So in U; *brynggyng*, Q; *bring*, T.

Et in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius, nichil majus aut minus; sed tote tres persone coeterne sibi sunt et coequales: *And in þis trinyte is nouȝt bifore ne aftir, moore ne lesse, but alle þre persoones ben evene wiþoute bigynnyng and eende, and evene in power and in godheed.*

Here moten men knowen, for heretikis, how þere ben two furþerhedis and two hyndirhedis also, þat men speken of in þis matir. For þe first furþerheed is forþerhed[1] of comynge forþ, and þe toþer forþerheed is furþerheed of kynde. And in þis trinyte is þe firste furþerheed þat here is spoken, siþ o persone comeþ of anoþir, and þere is ordir in þese persoones. Þe secunde furþerheed is not here, siþ o kynde is also þese þre, and þe same godheed; and þe same godheed is togydere Fadir and Sone and þe Holy Goost. And God wolde þat we Lateins amendide Grekis, suynge þe Sone, as we have amendid hem in þis point, addynge þe Sone to þe Fadir, and seyn sooþ þat þei ben o principle, bringynge forþ þe Holy Goost. But we failen to Goddis Sone in suynge þe manheed of him.

Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et[2] unitas in trinitate, et trinitas in unitate veneranda sit. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate senciat: *And so we gaderen hem, as it is bifore seid, þat boþe oonheed in godheed, and trinyte in persoones, and trinyte in þis oonheed, be to be worschiped overe oþere þingis. And whosoevere wole be saaf, þus feele he of þe trinyte.*

If he feele not þus expresly, loke þat he feele þus in comoun.

Sed necessarium est ad eternam salutem, ut incarnacionem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Cristi fideliter credat: *Bisyde þe godheed of þes þre persoones, is needful to knowe þe manheed of þis secunde persoone, and so trowe it truli.*

For Crist is giaunt[3] of two substauncis, of godheed and of manheed, and bigynnyng of oure bileeve, of oure heelþe, and oure blis; for hadde not Crist þus be man, we schulen nevere þus han be saved. And in Crist, boþe God and man, is heelþe

[1] From Q; om. T, U. [2] So in Q; *ut*, T, U. [3] So in U; *gyaunt*, Q; T has *graunt*.

of mannys kynde. And it is hard to bileeve þe Trinyte, but it is moore hard to manye to bileeve two kyndis in o persone; for riȝt as in þe Trinyte þre persoones ben in o kynde, so in þe incarnacioun two kyndis ben o persone. And herfore techiþ oure bileeve,—

Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus Cristus Dei filius, Deus et homo est. Deus est, ex substantia patris ante secula genitus; et homo est ex substantia matris in seculo natus. Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens: *þerfore it is riȝt bileeve þat we bileeve and knowleche, þat oure Lord Jesus Crist, Goddis sone, is boþe God and man. He is God of his fadris substaunce, borne spiritualy bifore þe world, and he is man of his modirs substaunce, born and maad man in þe world.*

And so he is parfiȝt God, as he was bifore þe world, and he is parfiȝt man, maad of a resonable soule and of mannis flesch. And so he is bicomen oure broþir, not maad of godheed and of flesche, wiþoute mannis soule in þis fleisch, ne of godheed and of his soule wiþouten verri body of man; but Crist haþ verri bodi and soule as oþere briþren þat he haþ, of þe same kynde þat þei ben, al if he myȝte not synne as þei.

Equalis patri secundum divinitatem, minor patre secundum humanitatem. Here moten men lerne, for heretikis, how þei schulen speke in þis matir. For as trynauntis[1] bigilen foolis in matir of þe Trinyte, so þei bigilen oþere trynauntis[1] in þe incarnacioun of Jesus Crist. And herfore bileeve techiþ us what we schulden trowe of Crist, and how we schulden graunte of him þat falliþ to his clene manheed, and also to his clene godheed; siþ Crist is boþe þes two togidere, and so, *evene to þe fadir bi his godheed, and lesse þan þe fadir bi his manheed.*

And siþ Crist is þes two kyndis bi myracle and dyvers resoun, graunte we boþe þese of him, as we graunten of þes two kyndis. And siþ Crist is boþe God and man, graunte we þat he is evere wiþ þe Fadir, and þerewiþ lesse þan þe Fadir, for his godheed and his manheed is sich, and þese two ben not contraries.

[1] *truantes*, U.

Crist is evene wiþ þe Fadir, and Crist is lesse þan þe Fadir, *siþ Crist is boþe þees kyndes; but ȝif Crist were evene wiþ þe Fadir, and þerwiþ lesse þan þe Fadir,*[1] bi þe same kynde of Crist, þanne two contraries folowiden him. And þus grauntiþ Crist in þe gospel, wiþoute cloutinge of oþere wordis, þat þe Fadir is moore þan he, and al þat þe Fadir haþ is his. And if we graunten to þis witt þat Crist is not evene wiþ þe Fadir, for his manheed is not evene, þis is not contrarie to þe toþer; as, sum man renneþ, sum man renneþ not.

Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Cristus: *But if Crist be God and man, and so two kyndis, and boþe of hem, haþelees Crist is not two persoones, but oon,*

Þat is boþe God and man, and þis persoone is godheed, and þerto it is manheed. And so schal we graunte of Crist wiþouten drede, bi þese two kyndis, boþe þat þat falliþ to his godheed, and þerwiþ þat falliþ to his manheed.

Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumpcione humanitatis in Deum: *Crist is o persoone, not by turnynge of Godheed into flesch, but bi takynge of manheed into godheed.*

For Crist took manheed þat he bifore was not, and lefte not godheed þat he was evere. And ȝit godheed may not be manheed, alȝif þei ben o persoone.

Unus autem[2]**, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate persone:** And þus, *Crist is algatis oon, not by confusioun of his substaunce, but bi oonheed of his persoone*, þat is boþe þes two substaunces.

And so Crist bigan to be þis, but he bigan not to be persoone, as Crist was not twies persoone, ne[3] twies man by his deeþ. And so þe godheed of Crist is not medlid wiþ his manheed, ne neþer of þese kyndis turneþ into oþir, but þese kindis ben hool in Crist.

Nam sicut anima racionalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Cristus: *For whi? as a resonable soule and flesch is boþe o man, so in Crist boþe God and man is o persoone in Crist.*

[1] The words between asterisks are supplied from U: they are found also in Q, but om. in T. [2] *Unus omnino*, Q. [3] So U and Q; *not*, T.

And so þis soule, þat is, þis man, is no part but al þis man, and þus soþli a man is spirit, and schal lyve aftir þat he is deed.

Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

And þus we graunten to enemyes þat Crist suffride for oure heelþe, wente doun into helle, and on þe þridde day roos fro deeþ. First he suffride bi his flesch, and wente to helle by his soule, and roos boþe bi his Godhede and bi his manheed þat he quikenede. But Crist left nevere to be þis spirit, al if he left oonys to be flesch. And þus he haþ power to put his liif, and to take it aȝein.

Ascendit ad celos; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos: *And þus Crist stiede to hevenes, sittiþ on þe riȝt side of þe fadir almyȝti, and fro þens he is to come to deeme qwike men and dede.*

Crist stiede bi his manheed, þat was moved bi his godheed, and passide manye hevenes, and restiþ evermoore in glorie, and at þe day of doom schal come to juge boþe qwike and dede, þe whiche han served him truly, and doon unkindeli aȝens him.

Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem: *To þis comyng at þe laste day schal al maner men arise, and ȝeve resoun to Crist of her owne dedis here.*

Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam; qui vero mala, in ignem eternum: *And þes men þat han do goodis schulen go to liif wiþouten eende, and þes men þat han doon yvelis schulen go to fier wiþouten eende.*

And we speken here of good and yvel, by hem þat dyen here in þese.

Hec est fides catholica, quam, nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit: *Þis is general bileeve, þe which but if ech man trowe truly and stidefastly, he may not herewiþ be saaf.*

And al if þis crede accorde unto prestis, naþelees þe hiȝer prelatis, as [popes cardinalis][a] and bishopis, schulden moore specialy cunne þis crede, and teche it to men undir hem. Amen.

[a] The words have been erased in Bodl. 288, but I have supplied them from U and Q.

II.

þE TEN COMAUNDEMENTIS.

[The following tract on the Ten Commandments is found in at least two different forms, beginning alike, but soon diverging. The one here printed is that found in the beautiful MS. Bodl. 789. The other may be seen in the following MSS., Laud 524, and Univ. Coll. 97. There are two other MSS., according to Shirley's *Catalogue*, at Dublin and in the British Museum; but I have not examined either closely.

The version found in the Laud and Univ. Coll. MSS. is considerably fuller than that here printed; but it is at the same time tamer, and less characteristic. It might have been written by any well-meaning priest living at the time, but the Bodl. MS. contains quite different touches. The attack upon non-preaching priests at p. 87, the assertion of the ultra-Puritan doctrine of dominion being founded in grace (p. 88), and the exhortation to the reading of the Scriptures (p. 90), if they do not prove the tract to have been by Wyclif, at any rate show it to be of Wycliffite or Lollard origin. Now not one of these passages is found in the mild and colourless commentary of the Laud MS. I am inclined to think that the author—and I see no reason why it should not have been Wyclif—found a pre-existing commentary, which he used as the vehicle for the introduction of his views. The tract is ascribed to Wyclif by Bishop Bale, under the title 'Compendium Decem Praeceptorum.']

Alle manere of men schulde holde þe comaundementis of God, for wiþouten holdynge of hem may no man be savyd. And so þe gospel[1] telliþ how oon askide Crist what he schulde do for to come to hevene. And Crist seide, ȝif þou wolt come to blisse, kep myn comaundementis.

Primum Mandatum.

Þis is þe firste maundement of God. God spak alle þiise wordis: I am Lord þi God, þat ladde þe out of Egipt, and

[1] So in BB; V has *as þe gospel*.

brouȝte þe out of servage, þere þou servedist men. Þow schalt not have bifore me alyen Goddis. Þow schalt noon ymage have, graven wiþ mannys hoond, ne no leeknesse in hevene ne in erþe ne in watris; þou schalt not loute hem, ne worschipe hem, for I am þe Lord þi God, a stronge gelous lovere; I visite wickidnesse of fadris into þe sones, þe þridde and þe ferþe of hem þat hatiden me, and I do merci unto þousandis of hem þat loven me and kepen myn hestis.

Commentary.

But, for manye men wenen þat þei kepe þiise maundementis, and ȝit þei lyven þere-aȝens, þerfore men schulden wite þat what maner þing þat a man loveþ moost, he makiþ his god; and so, syþþe al synne stondiþ in love, everi heed synne is brekynge of þis heeste. And so þiise ten hestis ben as ten mirouris þat men may se hemsilf ynne. And siþen þei ben þre synnes, as Seynt Joon seiþ, þat enwrappeþ alle oþere, in þre maneris may a man breke þis maundement,—in þes þre, love of fleische, and love of eiȝe, and pride of liif. And so glotouns and lecchouris breken þis heeste; as Poul seiþ, þat þes glotouns makyn hire beli hire god. For God biddiþ þe feede þe in mesure, and ȝit þou passist þis mesure for lust of þi beli; þi fleische stiriþ þe moore to do þat þi fleische askiþ; and so þou makist falsli þi beli þi god. And on þe same wise þe coveytous man makiþ his mawmet þe temporal goodis, as Poul seiþ þat averyce is service of mawmetis. And so þe proude man makiþ þe feend his god. Þus it is in dede, howevere oure mouþ blabre. And so preestis þat prechen moore to have a loos, oþir for wynnynge of worldli goodis, oþir lustis of hire beli, makyn fals leeknesse in hevene and erþe and water. And þus mai men knowe how þese maundementis ben brokyn, boþe of preestis and of seculeres. And so in trust of ymagis many ben disceyved, in hope of help or helþe in a maner neede, as þe olde lawe and þe newe witnyssen. Þe Dedis of Apostlis, in þe seventenþe chapiter, seiþ þus; Siþen God is Lord of hevene and of erþe, he woneþ not in templis maad wiþ hondis, ne he is worschipid wiþ mannys honde, for þat he haþ neede of any þinge þat man doþ, siþen he ȝiveþ unto alle liif, and wynde enspirynge, and al oþir þing. And of o þinge he made al mankynde for to inhabite on al þe face of þe erþe, and tymes and termes, or habitatioun; for to

Phil. iii. 19.

seeke here God. For in him we liven, and in him we stiren, and we ben also his kyn, as poetis seyn. And sipþe we ben þe kyn of God, us auȝte not suppose þat þat perteyneþ unto God is like unto gold or silver or ston, of þe craft of gravynge, or of mannis hond-worchynge. For þat þing þat is hiȝe to men, is abhominacioun bifore God. But, for we knowyn him litil, we loven him þe lesse. And ȝif we undirstoode þe miȝt of þe Fadir, þe wisdoom of þe Sone, and þe goode wille or grace of þe Holi Goost, we schulden be war to kepe hem soundeli, for bodeli þingis distractiþ men to kepe hem riȝt. And þis is sumdeel þe resoun [1] of þe firste maundement.

2 *Comaundement.*

Commentary.

Þe secounde maner maundement of God perteyneþ to þe Sone. Þow schalt not take þe name of þi Lord God in veyn, neþþer in word neiþer in lyvynge. Eche man takiþ Goddis name in veyn, þat sweriþ bi his name more þan is need. Crist techiþ in þe gospel to have oure wordis þus, ȝhe, ȝhe, and nai, nay, wiþouten ony ooþ. Þere he doubliþ his wordis, as if he wolde seie,—ȝif ȝe seie ȝhe in ȝoure soule, seie ȝhe wiþ ȝoure mouþ, and be ȝe trewe men. For God techiþ bi Jeremie þe prophete, wiþ þre condiciouns it is leefful to swere. First þat þei be war þat þei swere treuþe, and þat þe cause of hire oþ be to schewe riȝt, and siþen, þat in jugement be it need to swere; and ellis schulde alle men kepe hem from oþis. For it is writen in Ecclesiasticus, þe þre and twenti chapitre, þere he seiþ þus; A man much sweringe schal be fulfilled with wickidnesse, and veniaunce schal not go awey fro his hous. For soþe wiþ werst ȝeldinge schal be fulfillid þe hous of him. But we schullen wite afterward, þat everi man beriþ þe name of God printid in his soule, for ellis he miȝte not be, as Seynt Austyn seiþ;—in þre þingis, mynde, resoun, and wille, and alle ben o substaunce. And so þe gospel techiþ þat þou schuldist on þre maners worschipe þe name of þi God, þat þou hast wiþ þee. Þow schuldist love þi God of al þin herte, of al þi soule, and of al þi mynde.

[1] corrected: *rosoun* in Bodl. 789.

Þanne þou lovest þi God of al þin herte, whanne þi witte and þi power is oonli set on him, þat everi eende of þi werk is worschip to þi God. Þou lovest God of al þi soule, whanne þou ordeynest al þi lif to worschip of þi God. Also þou lovest þi God of al þi mynde, whanne þou forȝetist not þus to þenke on þi God; but þenkinge is in dede as it is in mynde. On þis wise schulde men worschipe þe Trinite. And whanne a man doþ þat he schulde not do, or leveþ þat he schulde do, he takiþ in veyn þis hiȝe and holi name. For no man is maad but to serve God, in doynge his wille or suffrynge peyne.

III Mandatum.

In þe þridde maundement God biddiþ have mynde to halwe þin holiday. In sixe daies þou miȝte worche, and in þe sevenþe day is reste of þe Lord God. In þat day þou schalt do no servile werk, ne no werk of synne, þou, ne þi sone, ne þi douȝter, ne þi servaunt, ne þin hand-mayden, ne þi werk-beest, ne þe straunger in þin hous. For in sixe daies God made hevene and erþe, and al þat is þerinne, and restide in þe sevenþe day.

Now it were to wite how men schulen halwe and kepe here holi dai. And siþ þe moost servile werk is worchinge of synne, eche man schulde on þe holiday kepe him out of synne, siþþe Crist himsilf seiþ þat hosoevere doþ synne makiþ himsilf servaunt to synne. And no þinge is worse þan þe occasioun. For we schulden spende þe holiday in heriynge of God, and ellis we synnen greetli in faylinge of his service; for þe moost hiȝe service þat man can serve God þerinne, schulde he schape him to do on þe holidai. But God wole þat freedom of his lawe be kept, and specialli as Poul techiþ. But be war þat þou kepe þiise four feestis principalli, Christemasse and Estre, Ascension and Whitsountide, and þe Soneday þurȝ þe ȝeer. For no feeste ne service is plesynge to God, but in as myche as it scharpiþ a man to love oure Lord Jesus Crist. For upon þe Sunday God made þe worlde, and on þe Sunday God roos fro deeþ to lyve, and on þe Sunday he sente þe Holi Goost; and, as clerkis seyn, upon þe Sundai schal be þe laste jugement þat ever man schal have. And Cristene men schulde leerne

Commentary.

bi techinge of priistis, and bisie hem devoutli on þe holiday to studie on virtues, and on þe ten comaundementis, and on þe sevene dedis of merci, bodili and goostli, and speke wiþ men, and specialli wiþ hem of hevenli þingis, and putte awai giles and wrongis and oþir synnes; and leerne we to love God in parfit charite, and eende þerynne.

Þe IIII Comaundement.

Þe fourþe comaundement is þis. Þou schalt worschipe þi fadir and þi moder, þat þou be longe lyved upon erþe, and þi neiȝbore as þi self. And whoevere loveþ his neiȝebore, loveþ his God, and dwelliþ in God and God in him. And so þes twei braunchis of charite mowe not be departid, as Seynt Joon seiþ in his firste pistil. He þat loveþ not his broþir þat he seeþ wiþ eiȝe, how loveþ he his God þat he seeþ not? So as God haþ more resoun of love, for he made þe of nouȝt, and kepiþ þe, and mediþ þe. And herfore seiþ Crist, He þat loveþ his eldris moore þan him is not worþi of him. And he worschipiþ his fadir and moder as he schulde do, þat kepiþ hem in nede, boþe bodili and goostli. So schulde ech man understonde þis worschip as Poul techiþ. ȝif þei ben nedi, helpe hem in resoun; but make not þi kyn riche to gete þe a name, if þei suffice to fynde hemsilf bi hir owene travail. For Crist cam of poore men, and leet his modir be poore, and his poore cosynes; and whanne þei askiden worschip and richesse of þe world, he denyede hem þat, and ordeynede hem passiouns; and bileve techiþ us þat he dide al for þe betere. And so schulde we serve him, ȝif we been his children, and love him moore þan þe worlde or oure veyne name.

commentary.

Þe fifþe Comaundement.

Þe fifþe comaundement of God biddiþ, Þow schalt not sle þi broþir; and it is undirstonden of unskilful sleynge. And here men seyn, þat men þat be killid bi mannis lawe been not slayn of men, but þe lawe sleeþ hem, and hire owene dedis. But witeþ wel, þis maundement is sibbe to many synnes. For

commentary.

Seynt Joon seiþ, he þat hatiþ his broþir is a mansleer, ȝhe, ofte tymes moore to blame þan he þat sleeþ his bodi, for þe synne is moore. And bi þis skile a bac-bitere is a man-sleer. But, as clerkis seyen, upon sixe maneris is þis consent doon, and men schulden wel knowe it. He consentiþ to þe yvel þat wirchiþ wiþ þerto; he þat defendiþ and conseiliþ þerto; he þat bi whos auctorite is þe yvel don; or he þat wiþdrawiþ his helþe or scharp reprevynge, whanne he miȝte don it and schulde bi Goddis lawe. And among alle synnes bi whiche þe feend bigileþ men, noon is moore sutil þan such consent. And þerfore þe prophetis of þe olde lawe tolden men hire periles, til þei suffriden deeþ; and in þis cause þe apostilis of Crist weren martrid, and we schulde, ȝif we were trewe men. But cowardise and defaute of love of God makiþ us sterte abac, as traytours don. And what trowen we of þe Cherche, þat sellen men leve to synne, and ȝiven hem leve to last þerinne for an anuel rente bi ȝere? And persones þat leeven to traveile in here office, bi power of lordis and ȝyvynge of money, ben suffrid to lyve þus wiþouten prechinge. And so ofte tymes ben priistis irreguler, for þe multitude of soulis þat þei sleen þus; and þis irregularite is moore for to drede þan irregularite chargid of þe worlde. For ofte tyme hit falliþ þat bi a medeful dede men been maad irreguler bi jugement of þe world, but bi þis irregularite ben priistis dampned of God.

Þe VI Comaundement.

Þe sixte comaundement is þis; Þou schalt do no lecherie, bodili ne goostli. Goostli leecherie is whanne a man forsakiþ þe love of his God for love of a creature; and þis leccherie is moost for to charge, for no leccherie is synne but ȝif þis be þere. And syþen ech mannis soule schulde be Cristis spouse, what leechour þat synneþ þus synneþ in avouterie, for he brekiþ þe marriage þat schulde be bitwixte Crist and him. But bodili lecherie is hard for to vencuse or maistir, in men þat norschen[1] here fleische stronge in kynde, for kynde meveþ to þe dede,

Commentary.

[1] should be *norischen*.

but not to þe synne. And heer seyn clerkis on þis wise, þat specialli in þis synne moot a man be coward, and fle occasioun þat meveþ to þis synne, and truste not in strenþe ne in witte. For what man was strengere þan Sampson? or who wiser þan David? or hwo moore witti þan Salomon his sone? and alle weren brent wiþ þe fier of lust. And if þou wolt be Cristis clene child, fle as Godis coward þe cumpanye of wymmen. Þe secounde medicyne þat helpiþ aȝens þis synne were to kepe þi bodi fro lusti fode, for fleisch þat is yvel fedde deliteþ þe lasse to þis synne. Þe þridde medecyne aȝens þis synne were a man to be bisy in clene occupacioun, for such lust comeþ not but if þouȝt go bifore. And þerfore occupie þi þouȝt and þi bodi in clene occupacioun, and so fle þis synne, and be Cristis spouse, and dwelle þerinne.

VII Mandatum.

Þe sevenþe comaundement is þis; Þou schalt do no þefþe,—siþþe God þi fader is treuþe; and ȝif he be þi fadir, þou schalt not noye þi broþir in bodi ne in godis; ne þou schalt not desire no godis of him unskilfulli, to have in harmynge of þi neiȝebore, pryve ne apeert. As comunes, bi false oþis in chaffarynge and in questis, up trust of absolucioun, or on feyned pardoun, þat dewe restitucioun þenkeþ nevere to ȝelde; and marchauntis bi usure, under colour of treuþe þat þei clepyn chevysaunce, to blynde wiþ þe puple,—for þe devyl schameþ to speke of þis þefþe,—and lordis, þat bi extorsiouns oppresse þe puple wiþ tyrauntrye and raveyne, aȝens Goddis lawe, not dredynge him þat is Lord of alle. So eche man in his degree is boundoun to serve God. And ȝif he wante þis service, he is no lord of goodis bi no trewe title. For he þat stondiþ in grace is verrey lord of þingis[a]; and whoevere failiþ by defaute of grace, he failiþ riȝt title of þing þat he occupieþ, and unabliþ himsilf to have þe goodis of God. And so curatis of þe Chirche stelen þe goodis of God, þat comen in bi þe roof, and not bi þe dore, þat is Crist, ben nyȝt þeves and dai þeves of simonie

[a] See the prefatory notice.

of benefices, and sillynge of sacramentis. And herefore seiþ Crist, herde of alle herdis, þat þiise ben stronge þeves and cursid of God. As Zacharie þe prophete seiþ, he sauȝ a book fleynge in þe eire, þat was of twenti cubitis longe and ten of breede; and he axide þe aungel of God what it miȝte be, and he seide, It is þe curse of God þat goþ to alle þeves houses. And siþþe þis was sent for worldli goodis, þese Anticristis clerkis auȝten sore to drede, þat þus lurken under lordis, as þeves doon in wodis. Crist seiþ, þat may not lye, þat þiise ben þeves, siþen þei taken þe godis of Crist, wiþouten his leeve þat is cheef Lord, if ony suche been. Zech. v. 2.

Þe VIII Comaundement.

In þe eiȝtþe comaundement Crist forbediþ alle men to speke fals witnesse aȝens here neiȝeboris. And þis is needful to execute þe lawe; for Goddis lawe and mannis lawe axen witnesse, and of suche witnesse comeþ jugement of man; and falshede of witnesse makiþ fals jugement, and so errour in witnesse strecchiþ ful fer. For many been diseritid and many been hangid by suche fals witnessis; and of þis spryngiþ mani fals eyres. Whoso witnessiþ fals, he witnessiþ aȝens treuþe; and siþþe God himsilf is treuþe, he witnessiþ aȝens God. And so, whanne he witnessiþ fals, he takiþ God to witnesse þat þat þing þat he seiþ is trewe and of God; and siþþe þat þing is fals, as muche as in him is he makiþ his God fals, and bringiþ him to nouȝt; for God may not be, but ȝif he be trewe. And þus beriþ noon fals witnesse but ȝif he reverse God. And alle þe seyntis in hevene and alle creaturis witnessen of here God aȝens him þat lieþ. But her seyn wise men, bi witnesse of seintis, þat þe craft of liynge is evere moore unleefful, for it comeþ but of þe feend, þat first made lesynge. And if it were leefful, it worschipide Crist, þe meene persone of God þat is þe firste treuþe. And þerfor I dar seie, bi witnesse of hevene, þat noȝt contrarieþ Crist moore þan doþ lesynge. So þat if a man miȝte bi a prive lesinge save al þis worlde þat ellis schulde perische, ȝit schulde he not lye for savynge of þis worlde.

Þe IX Comaundement.

In þe nynþe comaundement God forbedeþ þe to covete þi neiȝebores hous, ne noon oþere þingis þat ben unmevable; as ben suche þingis as ben not on lyve, ne of power to meve hemsilf fro o place to anoþir. For no man haþ wrongli eny suche godis, but grounde of his havynge be fals coveitise. And as a weed is wel purgid of a loond whan þe roote is drawyn away, so þiise foure maundementis ben wel kept whanne þe fals coveitise is fulli quenchid. And herfore seiþ Seynt Poul, þat þe roote of all yvelis is wickide coveitise in a mannys soule [1].

Þe X Comaundement.

Þe laste maundement of God is boden in þese wordis;—Þou schalt not desire þe wiif of þi neiȝebore, ne his servaunt, ne his maide, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne no þing þat is his. And so in þis maundement is desire forboden, for ofte it falliþ þat þe synne is moore groundid in yvel wille þan þe dede wiþouteforþ. And herfore Crist oure hevenli leche forfendiþ suche desire.

And þus þese ten maundementis ben lawe surest of alle, and moost of autorite, and eke of moost nede. And siþþe þiise ten lawis techen al þe wille of oure Lord, þis lawe schulden be holden, and oþere lawis despisid, but if it be groundid in þis, and declare þis lawe. And so, siþþe lawe of þe emperoure, and lawe of þe pope, is worse bi a þousand part, þat letten knowynge and doynge of Goddis lawe [2], and many men þenken þat Goddis lawe itsilf schulde be redde and leerned and sued in dede, for hope of hevenli mede and drede of peyne to come, as þe prophete seiþ.

If [a] þou kepe þiise maundementis þat God haþ bedyn þee, þe Lord schal make þe heiȝer þan alle folkis of kynde, and þere schullen come upon þe al þiise blessyngis. Þou schalt be blessid

[1] The space of rather more than a page is here left vacant in the MS.
[2] dele *and*.

[a] What follows is an abridged translation of the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy. It does not agree exactly with either of the Wycliffite verions, but is nearer to the earlier one than to the later.

in citie and in felde, and þou schalt be blessid, and þe fruyt of þi wombe, and þe fruyt of þin erþe, and þe fruyt of þi bestis. Blesside schullen be þi bernes and þi rekis [a]; þou schalt be blessid in goynge and out-goynge; þin enemyes þat risen aȝens þe schullen falle in þi siȝt. Bi o wei þei schullen come aȝens þe, and bi sevene þei schulen flee fro þi face. And upon þi werkis of þin hondis þe Lord schal bless to þee. And þe Lord schal opin his beste tresour, hevene, þat he ȝyve reyn to þi lond in his tyme. Þou schalt leene to many folkis, and þou schalt not borwe to oþer. Þe Lord þi God schal sette þe in þe heed and not in þe taile. Þou schalt be evermoore above, and not undir, if þou kepist þe comaundementis, and bowist noþer to þe riȝt side, ne to þe left side, ne hast not folwid alien goddis, ne heriede hem, ne worschipid hem. And ȝif þou kepist not þe comaundementis of God, as I have seide bifore to þe, cursid þou schalt be in feelde and in toun; cursyd be þi bernys, and cursid be þe fruyt of þi wombe, and þe fruyt of þin erþe, and of alle þi bestis, ingoynge and out-goynge. And þe Lord schal sende upon þe hunger and blamynge in to alle þi werkis, in whiche werkis þou hast forsakyn him. And þou schalt have pestilence and fevere, cold, and brennynge hete, and corrupt aier. And þe Lorde schal caste þe doun bifore þin enemyes, and be þi careyn etyn wiþ beestis and foulis. And þe Lord schal smyte þe wiþ biel [b] of Egipt in þe part of þi bodi bi whiche þou seendist out þi filþeheed; scabbe forsoþe and ȝicche [c], so þou mowe not be helid. Þe Lord schal smyte þe wiþ maadnesse, and blyndenesse, and woodnesse of þoȝt; and þou schalt grope in myddai, as a blynde man in derknessis. In alle tyme wrong chalenge suffre þou, and be þou born doun wiþ violence, ne have þou þat delyvere þee. A wiif take þou, and anoþer man slepe wiþ here; an hous bilde þou, and dwelle þou not in it. Plaunte þou a vyne, and kite þou no grapis of it; þin oxe be slayn bifore þee, and et þou not of it; and alle þin oþere

[a] Probably an error for *relikis*; the word in the Vulgate version being *reliquiae*. Laud 524 has *releves*.

[b] A note in the MS., in a hand of the same age, has here, *biel, þat is a wounde*.

[c] The word in the Vulgate is *prurigine*.

beestis to þin enemyes. Þi sones and þi douȝtris be þei takyn of oþir puple; þe fruyt of þin erþe, and alle þi traveilis, ete þe puple þat þou knowist not. And be þou evermore wrong chalange suffringe, and born doun alle daies. And þe Lord schal smyte þee wiþ moost yvel biel in knees and in sparlyveris[1], and mowe þou not be helid fro þe sole of þe foot unto þe nolle[1]. And þi fadris and þou schullen serve to alien goddis, of tree and stoon. Muche seed þou schalt þrowe into þe lond, and litil þou schalt gedre, for wormes schulen devoure alle þi fruytis. Þe Lord forsoþe schal ȝyve to þee a dreedful herte and failynge eiȝen, and a soule wastid wiþ privey sorwe; þou schalt drede niȝt and day, and þou schalt not trowe to þi liif. Eerli þou schalt seie, Who ȝyveþ to me eeven? and at eeven, Who ȝiveþ to me eerlich? for drede of þin herte for þe þingis þat þou schalt see wiþ þin eiȝen. Ferþermore all þe veniauncis þat ben not writen in þe volym of þis lawe, þe Lord schal bringe upon þee, to þe tyme þat he have alto trodyn þee. And ȝe schulen leve fewe in noumbre, þat weren bifore as sterres of hevene for multitude, for þou herdist not þe word of þi Lord God.

[1] The first Wycliffite version reads *sparlyvers* and *nol*.

III.

THE PATER NOSTER.

[It has been shown in the Introduction to this volume that there is no valid reason for connecting this tract, or the short commentary on the Ave Maria which follows it, with the other pieces included by Dr. Shirley under the general title of *Speculum Vitae Christianae*, the authorship of which has been clearly traced to Archbishop Thoresby. The authority of Bale, such as it is, may, I think, be produced in favour of ascribing this tract to Wyclif. In his longer list we find, Super Oratione Dominicâ, *inc.* 'Docet nos Dominus Jesus Christus.' This commencement is sufficiently near to that of the tract before us to make it probable that the same work is referred to, especially as it is immediately followed in all the four MSS. (V, Y, CC, GG) which contain it, by the tract Super Salutatione Angelica, or on the Ave Maria, the first words of which, as given in the Catalogue of Bale, manifestly agree with those of the extant work. Again, the tract on the Ave Maria, with which in all the MSS. this tract on the Pater Noster is so closely linked, bears in the Harleian text the name of Wyclif. No internal evidence points to Wyclif or any one else; but the fine concluding passage proves the writer, whoever he was, to have been a man of an elevated way of thinking.

The text is founded on a beautifully written MS. in the Bodleian Library (Bodl. 789).]

We schal bileve þat þis Pater Noster, þat Crist himsilf tauȝte to alle Cristene men, passiþ oþere prayers in þese þre þingis; in auctorite, in sotilte, and profit to Cristis Cherche. It passiþ in auctorite,—for Crist, boþe God and man, made it for Cristene men to usen it; and he is moost of auctorite, as oure bileve techiþ. And heerfor þe Gospel of Mathew seiþ þat Crist baad us praie þus. It passiþ also in sotilte,—for we schal understonde þat in þese seven askingis is [1] sotelli conteyned alle

[1] *ar*, Y.

poyntis of þe worlde in whiche lieþ any witte; and so schortli to comprehende so muche witte in pleyne wordis, is a sotilte of God passynge witte of men. Þe þridde, we schal suppose þat no praier in þis world be moore profitable to man, siþþe Crist himsilf heriþ alle.

The first petition of the first part.

Þe firste askynge of þe Pater Noster stoondeþ in þese wordis;—

Oure Fadir þat ert in hevenes, halwid be þi name;

In whiche wordis we mowen leerne, þat men worþi to be herd moten be knyt togidere in charite and meeknesse of herte. Siþþe alle þe holi Trinite is fadir of us alle, and holi Cherche is oure moder, we schulden love ase breþeren. And siþþe God is so hiȝe in hevene above alle his angelis [1], and we ben so lowe in erþe, wrappid wiþ many mischeves, we schulden bi resoun be meeke and buxum to þis Lord, and meekli praie to oure fadir þat halwid be his name; so as his name is holi in himsilf, so be his name halwid and stedefast in oure soule. For whanne oure soule was maad to þe leeknesse [2] of þe Trinite, Goddis hiȝe name was preentid þerinne.

The second petition.

Þe secunde axynge of þis praier stoondiþ in þese wordis;

Þi rewme come to þee;

into þe blisse of hevene. And as þe ferste axynge answeriþ to þe Fader, so þis secunde askynge answeriþ to þe Sone. For he is þat noble man þat cam doun unto þe erþe to gete him a rewme, and aftir tournede aȝen. Þe rewme of þis Fadir is clepid holi Cherche, þat at þe day of doom schal go hennys to hevene.

The third petition.

Þe þridde askynge seiþ þus;

Þi wille be doon; as it is fulli doon in hevene, so be it doon and [3] in erþe:

And þis þridde askynge answeriþ to þe Holi Goost, for he is good love of þe Fader and þe Sone. And al ȝif þese askyngis moten needli be fulfillid, neþeles mannys soule, lift up wiþ charite, is wiþ desire hiȝed wiþ God, and þat is a praier. Þus we seien, blessid be God, and oþer þingis þat nede moten be. And þes þre askyngis be to þe holi Trinite. And þerfore we schapen oure wordis oonli to God.

[1] So Y; V has *aunglis*. [2] *lyknesse*, Y. [3] om. Y.

Þe secunde part of þis praier conteyneþ foure askyngis. First we prayen oure fader,— The first petition of the second part.

To ȝive us oure eche days breed to day:

And þis may be understonden wel on þre maneris togedre, as Seynt Austyn seiþ [a], bi wit of God Almiȝti. First we asken oure bodili foode, for to serve oure fader; after we aske þe sacrament, to have mynde of oure fader; and after we asken Goddis woord, to fede wiþ oure soule. And for we have neede of alle þes eche day, þerfore Crist clepeþ hem, oure eche dayes breed. And for we shulden be trewe and ete oure owene breed, and not wiþ wrong ete oure neiȝeboris breed, þerfore Crist techiþ us to aske of him oure breed. And for Crist wolde þat oure hope were fresshid in him, oure þoȝt and oure mynde and al oure desiir, þerfor he biddiþ us aske þis mete of him to day.

Þe secunde askynge of þis part is seid in þese wordis; The second.

Forȝif us oure dettis, as we forȝive to oure dettouris:

Þe dette [1] þat we owen to God ben service þat we owen to him; and as ofte tyme as we faylen we rennen in dette of peynes; and but God forȝive us þis dette of oure synne, we be not worþi to have ouȝt of oure fader. And, for God wole þat we loven oure breþeren, he knyttiþ to a condicioun under whiche we asken þis boone, þat he schulde forȝive us oure dette as we forȝeven to oure dettouris. So if we ben unmerciful to men þat aren oure dettouris, truste we to oure fader þat he wol punysche us; and so we prayen oure hiȝe juge aȝens oure owen heed. But understonde we wel, þat we may leeffulli aske of oure breþeren dette of erþeli þingis, but þis askynge moot be in resoun and charite, and þanne it is for love and profit of oure neiȝebore. And here mote we fle boþe rancour and hate and envye to oure neiȝebore, wiþ oþere schrewide castis.

Þe þridde askynge of þis part sueþ in þese wordis;

[1] *dettys*, Y.

[a] S. Aug. *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, lib. ii. cap. 7: 'Panis quotidianus aut pro iis omnibus dictus est, quae hujus vitae necessitatem sustentant, de quo cùm praeciperet, ait, Nolite cogitare de crastino; ut ideo sit additum, Da nobis hodie: aut pro sacramento corporis Christi, quod quotidie accipimus: aut pro spiritali cibo, de quo idem Dominus dicit, Operamini escam quae non corrumpitur.'

The third.

Leed us not into temptacioun:

Soþ it is þat Crist was temptid, and God temptiþ man for love, but hard it is and grevous peyne to be lad into temptacioun. Whanne[1] a man of his folie falliþ into þe myre of synne, riȝtful jugement of God wol make him synke deppere. And herfore we prayen oure fader þat he lede us not in to temptacioun, leste we comen nevere out.

The last.

And herfore þe laste askynge of þis part is seid in þiise wordis;

But, gracious Fader, delyvere us from alle yvel:

Þe werste yvel of þis worlde is wickidnesse of synne, siþþe a man for no þing schulde willen to synne, siþþe for þis worlde, ne nouȝt þat is þerinne, schulde any man do synne. But siþþe summe synnes ben moore worse[2] þan oþere, in þis last askynge we prayen delyverement[3] of þe worste. Þe werste is þe develis synne, þat man dieþ ynne wiþouten repentaunce, þat evere schal be punysschid; and þis þe gospel clepiþ synne aȝens þe Holi Gost. God for his grete merci kepe us fro þis yvel, and þanne schal we have everlastynge freedam.

The comprehensiveness and universal significance of the Lord's Prayer.

In [a] þe eende of þe Pater Noster, AMEN is the signet of þe Lordis praier, whiche word þe Ebru translatoure, Aquyla [b], interpretid, 'and þe Lord confermede.' Ciprian [c] on þe Pater Noster seiþ, whatevere oþir wordis þe desire of him þat praieþ fourmeþ in bifore-goynge, þat it be cleer, oþir addiþ afterwarde, þat it encreesce, we seie noon oþir þinge þan þat is conteyned

[1] *ffor whan*, Y. [2] *moche worse*, Y. [3] *delyveraunce*.

[a] All that follows, to the end of the tract, is wanting in the Lambeth MS.

[b] Aquila, concerning whose life all that we know is derived from the work of St. Epiphanius *De Ponderibus et Mensuris*, was a native of Sinope, who became first a Christian, and then a Jew, and to please his new co-religionists, made an exceedingly literal translation of the scriptures of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, about the end of the first century of our era. Of this version unfortunately only some fragments exist. See the article 'Aquila' in the *Biographie Générale*.

[c] There are no expressions in St. Cyprian's treatise *De Oratione Dominicâ*, as found in modern editions, which exactly correspond to those quoted in the text.—Since writing the above, I have found the passage quoted in the text in one of St. Augustine's letters, *Epist. CXXX.* cap. 12. 'Quae libet alia verba dicamus, quae affectus orantis vel praecedendo format ut clareat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat, nihil aliud dicimus quam quod in ista Dominica Oratione positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus.'

in þe praier of þis Lord, ȝif we praien riȝtli and covenabli. For whanne a man seiþ, Lord, be þow glorified in alle folkis as þow ert glorified in us, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þat, Þi name be halwid? And whanne a man seiþ, Lord, schewe þi face to us, and we schulle be saaf, what oþer þinge seiþ he þan þat, Þi rewme come? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, dresse my steppis up þi spechis, what oþir þing seiþ he þan, Þi wille be doun? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, ȝif not povert ne richessis to me, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þis, ȝif us to-day oure eche daies breed? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, have mynde of David and of al his myldnesse, and, ȝif I have ȝolden yvelis to hem þat ȝolden yvelis to me, falle I voyde fro myn enemyes, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þis, Forȝive to us oure dettis, as we forȝyven to oure dettoures? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, do awey fro me þe coveitise of þe wombe, what oþir þing saiþ he þan þis, Leed us not into temptacioun? Whanne a man seiþ, My God, delyvere me fro myn enemyes, what oþir þing saiþ he þan þis, Delyvere us from yvel? And ȝif þou rennest aboute bi alle þe wordis of holy praieris, þou schalt fynde noþing whiche is not conteyned in þis praier of þe Lord. Whoevere seiþ a þing þat may not perteyne to þis prayer of þe gospel, he praieþ bodili and unjustli and unleeffulli, as me þenkiþ. Whanne a man saieþ in his praier, Lord, multiplie myn richesses, and encreese myn honouris, and seiþ þis, havynge þe coveitise of hem, and not purposynge þe profit of hem to men, to be bettir to Godward, I gesse þat he may not fynde it in þe Lordis praier. Þerfore be it schame to aske þo þingis, whiche is not leefful to coveyte. If a man schameþ not of þis, but coveytise overcomeþ him, þis is askid, þat he delyvere fro þis yvel of coveytise, to whom we seyn, Delyvere us from yvel.

Ps. lxxx. 3.

Ps. xvii. 7.

1 Kings iii. 11.

Ps. cxxxii. 1.

HERE ENDIÞ ÞE PATER NOSTER.

IV.

þE PATER NOSTER.

[The only ground for ascribing the following treatise to Wyclif, besides internal evidence, is the fact of its being found in a volume of Wyclif's sermons at Wrest Park. (See Shirley's *Catalogue*, No. 64, English works). The style much resembles, I think, that of Wyclif. There is a remarkable passage near the end, where the writer speaks of the obstacles thrown in the way of those who were endeavouring to preach the gospel generally among the people, but mentions no definite forms of persecution. Hence I should judge that, if by Wyclif, this treatise is, compared with most of his English works, of early date, composed after he had sent out the 'poor priests,' but before persecution had commenced.

Two other copies, for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Bond and Mr. Furnivall, have come to light since the appearance of Dr. Shirley's *Catalogue;* one at the British Museum (Harl. 2398), the other in the possession of Mr. Corser. The present text is taken from a correct transcript of the Harleian MS., made by Mr. Brock.]

Introductory.

SYþþE þe Pater Noster is þe beste prayer þat is, for in it mot alle oþer prayers be closed yf þey schulle graciouslyche be hurde of God, þerfore scholde men kunne þis prayour, and studie þe wyt þerof. And syþþe þe treuþe of God stondeþ nouȝt in one langage more þan in anoþer, bot whoevere lyveþ best, techeþ best, pleseþ most God, of what langage evere he be, þerfore þis prayere, declared en Englyssche, may edifye þe lewede peple, as it doþ clerkes in Latyn. And syþþe it is þe gospel of Crist, and Crist bad it be preched to þe peple, for þe peple scholde lerne and kunne it and worche þerafter, why may we nouȝt wryte in Englyssche þe gospel, and oþere þynges declaryng þe gospel, to edificacion of Cristen mennus soules, as þe precheour telleþ it trewelyche an Englyssche to þe peple? For by þe same

An apology for the use of English.

resoun þat it scholde nouȝt be wryte, it scholde nouȝt be preched. Þis heresye and blaspheme scholde men putte oute fro here hertes, for it spryngeþ up by þe fende, þer as Crist seyþ, þe fende is fader of lesynges. And so þe kynreden of Pharyseys is cursed of God, þat loveþ nouȝt Jesus, as Seynt Poul seyþ, bot letteþ þe gospel to be lerned of þe peple. For yf þer be any sotilte lyȝtere þan oþer, for to kunne a crafte þat is nedeful, he þat can þis sotilte and wol nouȝt teche þe lerner able þerto, he is cause of his unkunnyng. And so wrytyng of þe gospel in Englyssche, and[1] of goede lore accordyng þerto, is a sotilte and a mene to þe commune peple, to kunne it þe betere. Who loveþ lasse Crist? who is acursid of God, bot he þat letteþ þis mene? for he is Sathanas contrarie to Crist. Bot þes wyckede kynrede wolde þat þe gospel slepte; bot, for þey bere þe name of Crist, þey preche somwhat þerof. And þus dude þe Machamete and Surgeus þe monk, whanne þey made a lawe after þer owene malys and toke somwhat of þe gospel to a fleschlyche understondyng, so þat þurghe þe lore of hem heþene folk to þis day beþ oute of here byleve. And þus þis evele kynredene[2] telleþ nouȝt hollyche þe truþe of þe gospel, for þey leveþ contrariouslyche þerto [as her dedes shewen][3]; and Crist byddeþ his children deme after þe werkes.

Leve we now þis mater, and speke we of þe Pater Noster þat Jesus Crist made. Þis holy prayer is ful of wyt, and conteyneþ vij axynges. Þe fyrste axynges answereþ and perteyneþ to þe worschep of þe Godhede. Þe firste perteyneþ to þe Fader, to whom power is apropried, of whom, as seyþ holy wryt, is alle power in hevene and in erþe. And þe secunde answereþ to þe Sone, to þe whiche wysdom is apropried; as Seynt Poul seyþ, In him beþ alle tresoures of kunnyng and of wysdomhud. Þe þrydde answereþ to þe Holy Gost, to wham is apropryed love; and þerfore seyþ Seynt Jon, God is charite, and he þat dwelleþ in charite dwelleþ in God, and God in him. And þe oþer foure axynges perteyneþ to profyȝt and helþe of mankynde, boþe gostlyche and bodylyche. And so þis blessede prayer passeþ alle oþere in þre speciale poyntes, in

The Lord's Prayer contains seven petitions, of which three relate to God, and four to man.

Col. iii. 3.

1 John iv. 16.

[1] From EE; om. DD. [2] *kynrede*, EE. [3] From EE; om. DD.

Its high and unique authority.

auctorite, in sotylte, and profyȝt to Cristes Churche. In auctorite it passeþ, for Crist, boþe God and man, made it, and tauȝte it his disciples; and syþ he is þe wysdom of þe Fader, men scholde hertelyche love þis prayer by cause of þe makere, and wyt conteynede [1] þer-ynne. In sotylte it passeþ, for in so schort a prayer is conteyned so muche wyt þat no tonge of man may telle it al here in erþe. And syþþe a craft of gret sotilte is muche y-preysed of worldlyche men, muche more scholde þis sotylle gospel, þis worþy prayer, be loved and preysed of Cristes dere chyldren. It passeþ oþer prayers in prophyt to holy Churche, for al þyng þat nedeþ to a man gostlyche and bodylyche, is conteyned in þis prayer. And syþþe it is so schort, and so muche medelyd þer-ynne, to hem þat beþ of goed wylle, none excusacioun is to man rekened in þis prayer.

It should be taught, as Christ taught it, in the language of the people.

Wherfore, whenne þe disciples axede Crist how þey scholde praye, Crist seyde to hem, þey scholde nouȝt wylne to speke muche as heþene men doþe; þey weneþ [2] to be yherde in here muche speche. Wille ȝe nouȝt þer-fore, seyþ Crist, be lyche to suche men. Bot whanne ȝe schulle praye, seyeþ þus, *Fader oure þat art in hevenys, yhalwed be þy name.* And so he tauȝte hem oute þis prayer; bot be þou syker, noþer in Latyn noþer in Frensche, bot in þe langage þat þey usede to speke, for þat þey knewe best. And here is a reule to Cristen men, of what langage evere þey be, þat it is an heye sacrifice to God to kunne here Pater Noster, þe gospel, and oþer poyntes of holy wryt nedeful to here soules, and þey to do þer-after, wheþer it be ytolde to him or wryten in Latyn, or in Englyssche, or in Frensche, or in Duchyssche [3], oþer in eny oþer langage, after þat þe peple haþ understondyng. And þus clerkes scholde joye þat þe peple knewe Godes lawe, and travayle hemself busylyche, by alle þe goede menes þat þey myȝte, to make þe peple knowe þe treuþe. For þis was þe cause þat Jesus Crist bycam man, and suffrede deþ on þe croys, so þat by kepyng of his lore þe peple myȝte ryse fro deþ, and come to þe lyf þat haþ none ende. And yf any clerke wolde contrarye þis, who schal be dampned bot suche a quyke fende?

[1] So in EE; *þat conteyneþ*, DD.
[2] *the whiche weren*, EE.
[3] *Duche*, EE.

Þerfore þe sevene askynges of þis prophetable prayer scholde men lerne, and reule hemself þerafter.

The first petition of the first part; three points of difficulty.

Þe firste askyng, þat is answerying to þe Fader, is seyde on þis maner, *Fader oure þat art in hevenes, yhalwed be þy name.* Of þis wytty lore of Crist may be meved þre questions. Þe firste, why we seye oure Fader, and nouȝt my Fader. Þe secunde, why we seye, þat art in hevenes, raþer þan, in hevene. Þe þrydde, why we seye, halwed be þy name, seþþe þe name of God in himself may nouȝt be appaired noþer amended.

First point.

As to þe firste, we schulle ywyte þat Crist, whanne he tauȝte ous to seye oure Fader, he betoke ous mekenesse, and bad ous fle pryde, and þat we, so lowe and so synful wrecches, whanne we hadde mynde of heynesse and þe power of oure God, and þerto of grete grace of þis ryche Lord, we scholde love him þe more, and myldelyche aske of him, as þe childe of þe fader, þyng þat ous nedeþ. For þe grettere þat a lord is, and þe more gracious þat he is to pore men, þe more he is to be loved. And þerfore seyþe Crist, Lerneþ of me, for I am meke and mylde of herte, and ȝe schulleþ fynde reste in ȝoure soules. Wherefore we alle scholde be meke, and specialyche prestes, and nouȝt boste of here holynesse and goede dedys þat þey supposeþ þat þey have ydo, but wylne for to have of gode dedys of here broþeryne, as here broþeryne desyreþ to have part of herys, and so sulle þey nouȝt to oþere part of here meritys, namore þan þey wille bye part of oþer mennes. For boþe it is symonye, and also it longeþ to God to partye suche meritys, and it is nouȝt in erþelyche mannes powere. Late God þerfore dele [hit] as him lykeþ. Þus techeþ God in þe gospel, and seyþ þus, Whanne ȝe have do alle þyng wel, seyeþ, we be unprofetable servantȝ. And þus knowynge oure owen wyckednesses mekelyche in þis prayer, we schulde clepe God oure Fader, and nouȝt my Fader, by stynkynge pryde holdyng ous self worþyer to God þan oþer trewe men.

Luke vii. 10.

Second point.

As to þe secunde poynt, why we seye þat art in hevenys, raþer þan in hevene, we schulle understonde þat hevenes in þis place beþ understonde Cristen mennes soules, þe whiche, as holy wryt seyþ, beþ þe seeles of God. And so alle þylke þat schulleþ be in blysse after þe dome, ryȝtwyslyche may be cleped

holy Churche. But now holy Churche is seyd to be disposed on dyvers maners. First it fyȝt here in erþe, and resteþ nouȝt clerlyche fro synne, bot ȝit by travaile and sorwe of herte desyreþ to come to blysse; wherefore it is ryȝtfullyche yclepyd þe fyȝtyng Churche. To þis Churche spekeþ Crist, and seyþ, Beþ stronge in bataille, and fyȝteþ wiþ þe olde serpent, þe devel, and ȝe schulle take everlastyng kyngdom. On þe secunde manere is þe Churche yseyd to be disposed, for þulke þat beþ passed out of þis worlde, and ȝit beþ nouȝt come to reste of lyf in blysse, bot resteþ in purgatorie, and suffreþ peyne for synne, abyding [1] þe mercy of God to delyvere hem out of peyne. And whanne þe Churche is þus disposed, it is ycleped þe restyng Churche; and her-of spekeþ Seynt Poul whanne he seyþ þat
1 Cor. iii. 13. fuyr schal preve þe worke of everyche. On þe þrydde manere is holy Churche yseyd to be disposed, for þulke þat beþ ypassed fro sorwe and payne to joie everlastyng, have overcome þe synne and sorwe of þis worlde, and beþ passed payne, þat comeþ bot for synne, and have wonne þe reste of everlastyng blysse; and herefore it is ycleped þe Churche of overcomyng.
Ps. cxlix. 5. Of þis [2] Churche spekeþ þe prophete and seyþ, Seyntes schulle joye in glorie. And so al holy Churche schal be overcomyng after þe day of dome, and be oute of myschef of þe worlde and alle oþere paynes, and be in joye wiþ here spouse Crist Jesus, þat techeþ man to be meek, and to suppose oþere as goed or betere þan he, by þe dedys þat he seeþ reuled by Cristes lawe; and so to seye mekelyche in prayer, Oure Fader þat art in hevenes, and nouȝt in hevene, as yf he supposeþ nouȝt his broþer as goed as himself.

Third point. As to þe þrydde questioun, how þe name of God [may be halowed, we shuln understonde þat þe name of God] [3] in himself may nouȝt be holyer þan it is, and ȝit it is seyd to be maad holy whenne Cristen mannes soule [4], lyche þe holy Trinite, is reuled by brennyng love after Cristes lawe. For take a berille-ston, and holde it in a cleer sonne, and so þat ston wol take hete of þe sonne, and þanne maist þou wiþ tendre gete fuyre of þat ston, to do þerwiþ what þe nedeþ. Ryȝt so put al þy mynde, al þy

[1] So in EE; *abydeþ*, DD.
[2] So in EE; *þus*, DD.
[3] From EE; om. DD.
[4] So in EE; *mennes soules*, DD.

soule, to þe verray sone of Crist Jesus, and þou schalt cacche hete, and brennyng love to þy God, and þou schalt have lyȝt of understondyng by þe techyng of his lawe, as muche as is nedeful to þe, and ensample of goede lyvyng to þy neyȝebores bysyde. And ryȝt as þe berille-ston take nouȝt hete for to ȝeve lyȝt bot by þe sonne, and þe sonne schyne nouȝt in þe berilleston for to make himself bryȝtere or hattere, bot þat þe berille may take hete and ȝeve lyȝt by þe sonne, ryȝt so Crist techeþe ous nouȝt to praye þat his name be halewed, for þat we scholde make him more holy in himself, bot þat we þurghe presyng of him, and trewe reulyng after his lawe, mowe be maad holy and brennyng in charite to God and to oure even Cristen; as þe tendre[1] wex makeþ no preynte in þe seel, bot þe seel makeþ a preynt in tendere wex. Also þes proude clerkes, symoniours, silleres of pardoun and indulgences, of confessiouns and oþer holy dedys, false lawyours, wyckede juriours[2] and cursede advocatȝ, disseyvable notaries, and alle fals aquestis[3], grete swerers, vengeable fendes, proude men, and coveytous glotouns, and lecheours, bacbiters, and pursuers of Godes trewe servantȝ, and oþer suche lymes of þe fende, may nouȝt medefullyche seye, Fader oure þat art in hevenes, yhalwed be þy name, tylle þey amende hem of here evel lyvyng. And þerfor seyþ Crist in his gospel, *Nouȝt every man þat seyþ to me, Lord, Lord, schal entre into þe kyngdom of hevenes, bot he þat doþ þe wil of my fader schal entre into þe kyngdom of hevenes.*

The second petition.

Þe secunde part of þis worþy prayer, þat in a maner is apropried to þe Sone, is seid in þes wordes, *Come to þe þy kyngdom.* Þe kyngdom of God in holy wryt is understonde on dyvers maners; and so here it may ryȝtlyche be take for þe fyȝtyng Churche, þe whiche wolde desyre to regne in blysse wiþ Jesu Crist her spouse, as sone as it is his wille. For upon þis condicion we scholde desyre, as Seynt Poul techeþe ous, to passe out of þis wrecchede lyf and come to þe blysse everelastyng, for þat is muche betere. And syþþe Crist is þat noble man þat cam fro hevene into þe lowe erþe, to take ous for his[4]

Phil. i. 23.

[1] So in EE; *untendere*, DD. [2] *jurours*, EE. [3] *questis*, EE.
[4] So in EE; *fro þis*, DD.

kyndom, þat byfore were y-lost þurghe Adamis synnes, and þat suffrede deþ on þe rode-tree, and bouȝte ous alle aȝen to joye of þe Fader, for savacioun of mankynde, wel may þe trewe Cristen peple be clepyd Godys kyngdom. And ryȝt as we beþ tauȝt in þe fyrst axynge, to destroye pryde by verraye mekenesse, whanne we seyeþ, Fader oure þat art in hevenys, halewede be þy name, ryȝt so we beþ ytauȝt in þys secunde axynge to destroye envye aȝens oure evene Cristen wiþ parfite charite, whanne we seyeþ, Come to þe þy kyngdom. And as it is nedeful in þe firste axynge specialyche to have parfyt feyþ, þat God oure Fader is in hevenys, so it nedeþ specialyche in þis secunde axynge þat we have hope, þat alle þylke þat we supposeþ be his kyngdom schulde regne wiþ him in blysse of hevene.

The third petition.

Þe þrydde axynge of þys holy prayer, þat is answeryng to þe Holy Goost, is y-seyde in þese wordes; *Be þy wylle ydo in erþe as it is in hevene.* By þese wytty wordes we beþ ytauȝt to have goede wille to oure even [1] Cristen, and to reule oure soules after þe Holy Gost, and nouȝt after þe luste of þe flesche; for þe spiryt coveyteþ contrarious to þe flesche, and þe flesche to þe spiryt, as Seynt Poul telleþ. And ryȝt as in þe firste axyng we beþ ytauȝt to have parfyȝt feyþ, and in þe secunde goede hope, so in þe þrydde we beþ ytauȝt to have parfyȝt charite to God and oure even Cristen. For þe most of þese þre vertues, as Seynt Poul techeþ, is charite. For feyþ and hope schulle cesse in man whanne he comeþ to blysse. For instede of feyþ he schal have clere syȝt in soule of þe godhede of Crist, and clere bodyliche syȝt of [2] þe manhede of Crist; and instede of hope he schal be syker, and have parfyt joye; and so feyþ and hope schulleþ be ychanged, and charite schal waxe more and more, and laste wiþoute ende. And þus seyþ Seynt Poul, þat now we seeþ God by myrrour and in fer syȝt, by Scripture and feyþ; bot þanne we schulle see him as he is, whanne we comeþ to blysse, wyþ eye of body and eye of soule. Þerfore praye we God þat his wylle be don here in erþe among synful men, þurghe amendement of here lyf, as it is ydo yn hevene among

[1] From EE; om. DD.

[2] So EE; *in*, DD.

his glorious seyntȝ wiþoute medlyng of synne. Nouȝt þat he ne may make his wylle to be do in erþe wiþoute oure prayere, bot þat we, in charite þus prayenge, mowe be corouned in hevene blysse. But, for þat it is corrupt[1], it greveþ þe soule, as Seynt Poul telleþ. And yf we seye þat we have no synne, we deceyveþ ous self, and treuþe is nouȝt in ous, as Seint[2] Joon telleþ. Þerfore, whyle we beþ in þis world, we may nat so parfytlyche do þe wille of God as seintȝ in hevene, for corrupcioun of bodyliche unstabelnesse of lyf. And þerfore Crist techeþ ous utterlyche to praye, Be þy wille ydo in erþe as it is ydo in hevene; bot nouȝt so parfyȝtlyche in erþe as it is in hevene. And þus, as we beþ ytauȝt in þe firste and in þe secunde axynge to destroye pryde and envye wiþ mekenesse and charite, so we beþe ytauȝt in þis þridde axynge to destroye wraþþe wiþ verray love of herte. And þerfore seyþ Crist, *I ȝeve ȝou a newe maundement þat ȝe love togedere as I have loved ȝow.*

The first petition of the second part.

Þe secunde partie of þis Pater Noster is yordeyned of God for þe infirmite of man, as þe firste perteyneþ to þe worschepe of þe godhede; and it conteyneþ þre peticiouns, and þese, wiþ oþer foure, makeþ sevene axynges in þis holy prayer. Þe firste of þes foure is seyd on þes wordes. *Oure echeday bred ȝef ous to day.* Þis peticioun, as Seynt Austyn telleþ, ryȝtfulliche is understonde in þre maners. Ferst þat þis breed betokeneþ oure sustinaunce, and alle oþer sustinaunce, and alle oþer necessaryes nedeful to oure body. And for God[3] made alle þynges to help of mankynde, þerfore we scholde axe þes þynges of God as wilfullyche for oþer as for ous self; and þus wiþ goede wille and largenesse of herte we scholde desyre oure neyȝebores profyȝt, as we wolde þat hy[4] desired oure. And þis is þe remedye aȝens þe[5] cursed covetyse. And for man nedeþ everyche day bodilyche sustinaunce, þerfore þese necessaries may well be cleped eche dayes breede. Also by þis breede, in þe secunde manere, ys understonde þe lore of Godes worde. For ryȝt as breede saveþ a mannes herte, and makeþ him stronge to bodylyche travayle, so þe worde of God makeþ saad a mannes

[1] *for the body that is corrupt*, EE.
[2] So in EE; *seintȝ*, DD.
[3] From EE; om. DD.
[4] *he*, EE.
[5] om. EE.

soule in þe Holy Gost, and stronge to worche after þe lore þerof. And þis breed is more nedeful þan þat oþer firste breed, as þe soule of man is worþyere þan his body. For whanne þe body lyþ stynkyng in þe grave, þanne þe soule is parfyȝtlyche yclensed fro synne, and joyeþ in blisse of Jesus Crist here spouse. And þus yf, þurghe necligence of oure byschopes and prelatȝ, and oþer false techers þat beþ in holy Churche, þe truþe of Godes word be nouȝt ysowe in þe peple, praye we Jesus Crist byschepe of oure soule, þat he ordeyne prechours in þe peple to warne hem of synne, and telle hem þe truþe of God. And he þat enspiryde þe prophetes wiþ kunnyng and wysdome, and tauȝte þe apostles þe weye of al truþe, lyȝte oure hertes wiþ understondyng of his lore, and graunte ous grace to worche þerafter. And specialiche, for ous nedeþ eche day þis breede, þerfore pray we mekelyche, Oure eche dayes breed ȝyve ous to-day. On þe þrydde manere, by þis eche dayes breed is understonde þe sacrament, verray Godes body in forme of breed, þe whiche was ybore of þe mayde Marye, and suffrede harde payne and deþ upon þe croys, to delyvere man fro payne and deþ wiþouten ende. And þerfore Seynt Austyn seyþ, þat yf we have resceyved oure Creatour dayes of oure lyf, ous nedeþ to have þis byleve, and so every day resceyve God, and þus every day to praye, Oure eche dayes breed ȝeve ous to day.

The second.

Þe secunde peticioun of þis secunde part of þis Pater Noster is seyd on þes wordes, *Forȝeve ous oure dettes as we forȝeveþ oure dettoures*. By þese wytty wordes of oure Lord Jesus Crist, mowe malicious men and vengeable wrecches knowe þat þey beþ in þe weye to helleward, as longe as þey dwelleþ in here cursede malice. For by þes dettes beþ understonde þe synnes aȝens God; and so everyche day ous nedeþ to praye God forȝevenesse of oure synnes. And Crist techeþ ous, þat we schulle praye God forȝevenesse on þis condicioun, þat we forȝeve oþere. And so, yf we praye God to forȝeve ous oure synnes as we forȝeve hem þat trespasseþ aȝens ous, and þerto holde malice in oure herte, we beþ oute of charite, and makeþ oure synnes more grevous byfore God, and axeþ verray vengeaunce to ous self of God þe hye Justice. And þerfore techeþ Crist and seyþ, Bot yf ȝe wolle forȝeve oþer men þe trespasse þat þey have trespassed

to ȝow, ne my Fader of hevene shal nouȝt forȝeve to ȝow ȝoure synnes. Þerfore God byddeþ ous to putte awey al malice of oure hertes, þat we may be ysaved. Lo þe goednesse of God! how it ous to penaunce draweþ, and techeþ ous to flee slouþe for to turne to him. And þerfore techeþ þe bouke of Wysdom, Ecclus. v. 8. þat we scholde nouȝt tarye to be yturned to God; for yf we do, we synneþ in slouþe of Godes service.

Lyft up, wrecches, þe eyȝe of ȝoure soules, and byholdeþ him þat no spot of synne was ynne, what payne he suffrede for synne of man. He swatte water and blood, to wassche þe of synne; he was ybounde and ybete wiþ scourges, þe blod rennyng adoun by his sydes, þat þou scholdest kepe þy body clene in his service; he was corouned wiþ scharpe þornes, þat þou scholdest þenke on him and flee alle cursede malice; he was nayled to þe croys wiþ scharpe nayles þurghe honden and feet, and ystonge to þe herte wiþe a scharpe spere, þat alle þyne fyve wyttes scholde be yreuled after him, havynge mynde on þe fyve precious woundes þat he suffrede for man. And ryȝt in al þis grete payne þis innocente prayde for his enemys to his Fader, and seyde, Fader, forȝeve hem þis gylt, for þey wyteþ nouȝt what þey dooþ. Lat þis sterye[1] ȝowre hertes to putte awey slouþe, and to serve God wiþ verrey busynesse, to worche after his lawe, and so mekelyche praye oure Fader to forȝeve ous oure trespasses, as we forȝeveþ oure trespassours.

The third. Þe þrydde peticioun of þe secunde part of þis[2] holy praier folweþ in þese wordes: *And lede ous nouȝt into temptacion.* By þese wytty wordes may we lerne, þat þe devel tempteþ men evere to an yvel ende, and God temptede nevere man bot to a goed ende; for þus we redeþ þat he temptede Abraham, and it was aritted[3] to him into ryȝtwysnesse. Bot þe devel temptede Crist, to make him to synne in glotenye and veynglorie and coveytyse. And so Crist techeþ ous nouȝt to praye þat we be nouȝt ytempted of þe fende, syþþe þat temptacion of þe fende profyteþ muche, yf it be wiþstonde. For, as Seynt Jame seyþ, þat man James i. 12. is blessed þat suffreþ temptacion for whanne he schal be prevyd, or whanne þat he is prevyd, he schal take þe coroune of lyf þat

[1] *stere*, EE. [2] So in EE; *his*, DD. [3] *arettid*, EE.

2 Cor. xii. 7.

God haþ beheyȝt to hem þat loveþ him. And þus Seynt Poul was tempted of þe synne of lecherye [a], wherefore þryes he prayde God þat he myȝte be delyvered of his temptacioun. And God answerede him aȝen, My grace sufficeþ to þe. And he himself knowelecheþ þat þis temptacioun was nedeful, laste he scholde have had vayn glorie of þe pryve syȝtes þat he sawe, whanne he was ravysched into þe þrydde hevene. Þerfore praye we nouȝt God þat we be nouȝt ytempted, syþþe it is so profytable, bot praye we God þat we be nouȝt overcome, and þat he lede ous nouȝt into temptacioun. Þat man is yseyde to be lad into temptacioun, þat þurghe his wyckede and unrepentant herte continueþe [1] evere in his wyckede lyvyng, and so is overcome in temptacioun. And þus it is to be understonde þat God hardede Pharaois herte for þe mysbyleve þat he hadde to God, and þe malice þat he wrouȝte to Godes peple. And so, as we beþ ytauȝt in þis oþer prayere and axyng to destroye sleuþe in þe service of God in verray busynesse of herte, to knowe his lore and worche þerafter, so we beþ ytauȝt in þis peticioun to destroye glotenye and lecherye wiþ discrete abstinence and chastite of herte. And for þes two beþ synnus of þe flesche, and þat on noryscheþ þat oþer, is [2] þe more perilous yf a man in him falle. Þerfore praye we oure Fader þat he lede us nouȝt into temptacioun, ne suffre ous nouȝt to be overcome in þes synnes, ne in none oþer. For yf we beþ, oure wyckede lyvyng and oure wyckede þouȝtes beþ cause þerof, as God seyþ by Jeremye þe prophete.

Jer. iv. 4. (?)

The last.

Þe fourþe peticioun and þe laste of þe secunde part of þe Pater Noster is yseyd in þis manere: *Bot delyvere ous from yvel.* We schulde understonde þat every synne is yvel; and so of alle synnes þat beþ yrekened in þis praier we schulle praye God þat he delyvere ous, boþe of yvel þat we doþ in þis worlde [3], and of yvel of payne þat wyckede men schulle have onelyche for synne. For payne comeþ nevere to man bot because of synne. And

[1] So in EE; *conteyneþ*, DD. [2] *bit is*, EE. [3] So in EE; *wordle*, DD.

[a] A glance at the commentary of De Lyra will show, that while the Fathers spoke doubtfully as to the exact meaning of the 'stimulus carnis' from which Paul suffered, the grosser mediaeval mind interpreted the words unhesitatingly of the temptation of sensuality.

so on fyve maneres comeþ payne for synne. Payne come to Crist to bigge mannes synne; and payne comeþ to dampnyde men forto venge synne in þis worlde; and payne comeþ to Cristes children to purge hem fro synne; and payne comeþ to oþer men to schewe þat God hateþ synne, and to kepe hem þerfrom; and payne comeþ to wyckede men to punysche hem evere for synne. And so, as God is þe beste þyng in þe worlde, so synne is worse þan any oþer þyng; and þus men scholde flee synne as al maner of yvel. But sithe[1] synne aȝens þe Holy Gost is worst of alle oþer, for, as Crist seyþ, þat schal nouȝt be forȝeve in þis worlde ne in þat oþer worlde, þerfore specialiche praye we God to delyvere ous from þis yvel. Þat man synneþ aȝens þe Holy Gost, þat to his lyves ende is rebelle aȝens God, [and so dyeþe in dispeir, and goþe to peyne wiþeouten ende. And he is rebel aȝenes God][2], þat is rebelle aȝenst his lore. And þerfore seiþe Crist[3], whoso loveþ nouȝt me, he kepeþ nouȝt my word. And þus everyche man þat loveþ nouȝt Cristes lore, he loveþ nouȝt Jesus Crist, and þus, as Seynt Poul seyþ, he is acursed of God. And þerfore seyde Crist to þe Jewes þat were contrarie to his lore, and pursuede him for truȝþe, þat þey scholde deye in here synnes. And so þes men þat contrarieþ to þe gospel and to þe epistele, and wolde lette it to be ypreched, and pursuwe þe trewe telleres þerof, loveþ nouȝt Crist, and þus þey schulle deye in here synne, bot yf þey amende hem whyle þey haveþ tyme.

1 Cor. xvi. 22.

Sin of those who obstruct the preaching of the gospel;

Wel we wyteþ þat þe scribes and þe Pharyseus and þe princes of þe prestis, in Jesus Cristes tyme, were more contrarious to his lore þan were oþere commune peple; for þorghe[4] entyssyng of hem þe peple cryde, Do him on þe croos. Þe scribes were wyse men of þe lawe, and also þey were þe clergie of þe Jewes. Þe Phariseus were men of religioun, þat made customs, and kepte hem for lawe; and þus þey sette more by here lawes þat þey hadde maade, þan þey dude by þe lawe þat God ȝaf to hem and to þe peple, þat was sufficient to be reuled by[5]. Bot þus, under colour of perfeccioun, þey were departed in customs, in cloþyngis, and in many oþer doyngis fro þe commune peple, as

they are compared to the Scribes and Pharisees.

[1] So in EE; DD has *by synne*. [2] The passage within brackets is from EE; om. DD. [3] These three words are from EE. [4] From EE; om. DD. [5] So in EE; DD has *reuled by him*.

þe maner of religious is nowe. A Pharise is as muche for to seye as departed in doynge; þey bereþ here names. Þes ypocrites were most contrarie to Crist, and þe peple wrouȝte muche after here lore. And þerfore Crist, as þe gospel wytnesseþ, eyȝte tymes seyde wo to hem. And ones þey reprevede Crist, for his disciples wesche nouȝt here hondes whanne þey scholde eete, as here custome was; and Crist axede hem, why þey breke Godes hestes for here feynede lawes. Byholde now wel þese condiciouns, and loke where men doþ after hem oþer worse, and so þou schalt yknowe þe kynreden of þe Phariseus. And þes fayners of holynesse pursue Crist in his membres, as þe Phariseus pursuede Crist bodilyche. And yf þey seye þat God is here fader, and his lawe þey kepe and here reule boþe, understonde þat Phariseus breke þe lawe þat God ȝaf to hem and to þe peple, for here feynede reule þat hy hemself ordeynede. And þus, yf þes ypocrites seyeþ þat hy[1] kepeþ here reule and Godes lawe boþe, bot[2] byholde here dedis. For þe Jewes seyde to Jesus Crist, þat God was here fader; bot Crist answerede hem aȝen, þat yf God hadde be here fader, þey scholde have yloved him. And yf þes were trewe Cristene men, þey scholde nouȝt pursue Cristes membres for prechynge of þe gospel. And so by here dedys þou schalt knowe hem, and þerfore Crist byddeþ to trowe to þe workes. And þerfore techeþ Seynt Johan, þat whoso bryngeþ nouȝt þe lore of Crist, þou schalt nouȝt to him seye, Hayl, in confortyng of his synne, ne
2 John 10. resceyve him into þyn hous, for yf þou do, þou art partyner of his synne. Praye we þerfore herteliche oure Fader, þat he delyvere ous from yvel of Phariseis, þat is synne aȝens þe Holy Gost, and ȝyf ous grace to love his lore in herte, and to werche þerafter in dede, þat we may come to him in blysse, and wonye wiþ him in joye wiþoute eny ende. Amen.

[1] *thei*, EE. [2] om. EE.

V.

AVE MARIA.

[This tract is mentioned by Bale, under the title 'Super Salutatione Angelica.' It also, as has been already mentioned, bears the name of Wyclif at the end, in the Harleian MS., 2385. If written by the reformer, which seems to me very probable, it must have been an early composition. The language used respecting indulgences (p. 112) is less trenchant than that which he was accustomed to use in his later years, and the general tone of the composition milder. This tract is found along with that on the Pater Noster, No. III, in all the MSS. which contain the latter.]

Men greten comynli oure Ladi, Goddis Moder, and we supposen þat þis gretynge saveþ many men. For we taken as bileve þat sche is blessid in hevene, and Crist wol do at hire praynge among alle oþere seyntis: al if we trowe þat neiþer Crist ne sche wole do for men, but it be resonable, and men ben worþi to ben holpen. And so many men folili truste to suche praier [a].

In þre parties comunli þis preier is devyded. Þe firste part conteyneþ wordis of Gabriel whiche he seide unto oure Ladi;

Hail, ful of grace, þe Lord is wiþ þee:

Þe secounde part been wordis þat Elizabeþ spak to hire, whanne sche seide;

Blessid be þow among wymmen, and blessid be þe fruyt of þi wombe:

Þe þridde part haþ two wordis encresid, for devocioun. First men seien, Heil, Marie, þat Gabriel lefte in his gretynge, to teche us þat he was homli and knowen wiþ þis ladi, and þerfore wolde he not nemne þis name of Marie. Þe secounde word

[a] Y has here 'And so mow men truste to be holpyn fully in suche prayer,' which completely alters the sense.

is Jesus, added to Elizabeþis wordis; and þis word lefte þe gospeler, to teche þat Marie hadde but a[1] childe, and þis child was Jesus, þat is Savyour of mankynde; but þis ful longe after þat oure Ladi was greet þus. Þe firste word, þat is Ave, reversiþ þe name of Eva, to teche us þat oure Ladi contrariede Eve in lyvynge. For as Adam and Eve weren cause of dampnacioun of mankynde, so Jesus and Marie ben cause of mannis salvacioun. Þe secounde word of þe aungel seiþ, oure Ladi was ful of grace. And man may be ful of grace on þre maneris bi Godis lawe. First of himsilf, as Crist was þe firste quyke well of grace, for of Crist spronge grace unto alle men after him. And oure Ladi was ful of grace as a stronde ful of water, and ȝaf grace plentenousli boþe to oþere men and wymmen. Seynt Stevene was ful of grace, þat suffride to his lyves eende for to bringe himsilf to blisse; and so ben manye oþere seintes. And so God is wiþ alle creaturis, but speciali wiþ men þat schal be saved, but moore specialli wiþ þe chaumbre of his manhod, þat was oure Ladi Marie. But boþe þe aungel and Elizabeþ seyn þat oure Ladi is blessid amonges alle wymmen þat ben, for gendrure of such a child. And so þe bigynnynge and þe endynge schulde be blessid of Jesus, þat is fruyt of þe wombe of oure Ladi Seinte Marie.

Þe þridde part of þis gretynge addiþ to two wordis to þe gospel, þat ben Marie and Jesus, and ben two devoute wordis. But, for it is hard men to grounde hem, siþþe Goddis lawe seiþ þat men schulden not upon greet peyne adde unto Goddis word; it is seid þat þe pope ȝiveþ greet pardoun to men þat adden þes wordis. And bi þe same skyle þat men schulden trust to any pardoun *men schuld truste to þis pardoun*[2], be it foure score dayes or moore. And as[3] þe pope may ȝive pardoun bi addinge of þes two wordis, so[3] maye he adde oþere mo, and wiþdrawe, as him likiþ, and so turne Goddis lawe into lawe of Antecrist. Oþir mooten men graunte þis weie, or seie þat þis was yvel doun, or seie þat heer was first a defaute, kep unto popis to amende. And þerfor þenken many men þat þo wordis of þe gospel weren wiseli sette in þe gospel wiþouten

[1] *one*, Y. [2] The words between asterisks are from Y; om. V. [3] From Y; om. V.

any variynge. And many men þenken over,—if suche pardoun miȝte be grauntid liȝtli wiþ lasse travail, hit schulde be grauntid generalli unto men þat devoutli seiden þes names. And so myȝte pardoun be geten, to seie eche day our Ladi sauter, ȝhe, ten þousand ȝeeris in o ȝere[1]. Truste we unto wordis of þe gospel, and worschipe we Jesus and Marie wiþ alle oure miȝt.

[1] So in Y; V has *day*.

VI, VII, VIII.

[The three short pieces which follow, and which are included by Dr. Shirley under the heading of *Speculum Vitae Christianae*, are of little importance. That on the Apostles' Creed is attributed to Wyclif by Bale, under the title 'In symbolum fidei.' It certainly gives indication of Lollard sentiments. The two other short pieces follow Tract VI. in the Lambeth MS. (Y), but are otherwise, apparently, unknown. The text of all three is founded on a transcript from the Lambeth MS.]

VI.

[ON THE APOSTLES' CREED.]

The three creeds.

The Apostles' Creed has three parts.

Hyt ys soþ þat beleve is ground of alle vertues, and þerfore eche Cristyn man schulde be sad in beleve. Þer be þre credys in þe Chirche,—crede of þe Apostelys, and crede of þe Chyrche, and crede of Attanasy, þat was a gret doctour. But of þe fyrste crede schulde Cristyn men speke, ffor yt is more comyn and more schortyr þan eny oþer. Ne bysy we us nat what þe[1] apostyl made, ne what party of þis holy crede, and whan þe apostelys gaderyd yt; ffor oure beleve techis us þat God ordeynyd hyt al, and bad þat men schuld cun hyt, and teche yt to oþer. And ȝif prelatys faylyn in þis, Christ seyde þat stonys schulde cry; and secler lordys schuld, in defawte of prelatys, lerne and preche þe law of God in here modyr tonge. Ne study we nat how many partyes ben in þis holy crede; ffor soþ it is þat alle þese partyes ben conteynyd in þre. And herfore men seyn þrys, þat þey trow in God. Ffyrst þey trow in þe Ffadyr, for he ys fyrst persone; aftyr þey trow in Jesus Crist, be dyvers artyclys; and sytþe þey trow in þe Holy Gost. And eche on of þese þre partyes contenys many partyclys. But we schul wele wyte, þat þese thre thyngys ben wel

[1] qu. *eche?*

sotel and divers. Trow in God, and to God, and trow God; þat ys þe leste. Þat man levys in God, þat clevys to hym be charite; and þus eche man þat ys in hed synne is owt of his beleve. That man trowys to God, þat belevyþ þat he is trewe and ry3tful in al þynge þat he seyþ; and þus do unkende men, þat trow not in hym. Þat man trowys God, þat trowys þat he ys; and so do develys þat trow not in hym.

Þe fyrst part of þis crede conteynys þre articulys. Ffurst þat men schulde trow in þe fyrst Person, þat ys þe Fadyr of hevyn and power of God. And so schulde men trowe þat he is almy3ty; so, if he wyl au3t be don, he dos hit whan hym lykys. And so þe þridde artycule stondys in þis, þat he made of no3t boþe hevyn and erþe. And 3it schul men trow þat Almy3ty ys comen to þre personys. Almy3ty ys þe Fadyr, almy3ty ys þe Sone, and almy3ty ys þe Holy Gost. 3it schul not men trowe þat þese ben þre almy3ty goddys, but on God Almy3ty. The first part.

The secunde part of þis crede begynnys at Jesus Crist, and towchis xiiij artyculis þat stondis in ordre. Ffurst men schuld trow in Goddys word, or his Sone. Aftyr men schuld trow þat he becom man, stondynge his godhed, þat he my3t not lese. The þridde tyme we schuld trow, þat þe Fadyr of hevyn has but on suche sone, evyn wiþ hym in kende, and þis ys Jesus oure Lord, be godhed and be manhed, sythen he made us of no3t, and bow3t us fro synne. The iiij articule of þis parte seys, þat Crist was conseyvyd of þe Holy Gost, nat as oþer men gete childryn be kynde; sethyn þis person ys no man, but þe Holy Gost, þe whyche ys lyf be sum propyrte. And most tokyn of lyf þat God wold schewe to man was, þat he wold take oure kende, and become oure broþer. And þerfore we beleve þat oure Lord Jesus was conseyvyd of þe Holy Gost wiþowte mannys genderynge. The fyfte tyme we schuld beleve, þat oure Lord Jesus was born of þe virgyn Marie, as of his owne modyr, þat was ever virgine wiþowte knowynge of man, alþow Crist tok of hire matere of hys body. And seþyn sche norischyd hym withynne, as oþer childyr ar norschid; but he went owt of here body be myracle, as he was formyd. The vj tyme we schul trowe, þat aftyr xxxij 3er he suffrid hard passioun, undir Pounce Pilate, for to by mankynd and mayntene trewþe. And so he The second part.

was don on þe cros, and aftyr ded and beryyd. Sethen his sowle went to helle, and toke owt þe sowlys þat he ordeynyd to save before þis world was made. And sethyn, upon þe thrydde day, his sowle com to his body, and quykyd hyt as beforn, and ros owt of þe sepulcre. And sethyn, whan he hadde efte tyme schewyd to his discipulis his resurreccioun, he steyȝ up to hevyn as þey saw opunly. And þer he syttys now, in best sete þat may acorde to man, an[d] þat ys callyd þe ryȝt syde of God þe Fadyr. And at þe laste he schal come doun here to man, and jugge sum to blysse and oþer to helle, for evermore to be þere withoutyn dwellynge here.

The third part.

The thrydde part of þis crede begynnys at þe Holy Gost, in wham we schul trow, sethyn þat he ys God. And vj articulis ben knyt to þis part of þe crede. Ffurst we schul trow þat þer ys general chirche of angelys and seyntys in hevyn, and of alle þat schul be savyd; and þis, aftyr þe day of dom, schal be withouten synne with here spowse in endles joye, and iche on have joye of oþer. And no man here in erþe ys parte of þis chirche, but if he come to hevyn be his holy lyvynge. And þus men lakkys knowynge whether þey ben partyes of holy Chirche, ffor þey schuld nat boste of heynes in here prelacy. But þey mot leve aftyr Crist ȝyf þey schul be savyd; ffor þus techis oure beleve, however Antecrist werke. And so þis Chirche has þre statys be processe of tyme. Ffyrst he wandrys here in erþe, and sethen he slepys in purgatory, and aftyr he restys in blysse of Crist þat ys here spowse. And so, as sum men þynke, þese popys ne þese prelatys ar nat part of holy Chirche, but of synagoge; sethen þey mot leve aftyr Crist ȝif þey schul be savyd. Þus techis oure beleve, howevyr Antecrist grucchis. And schul we trowe so[1], þat eche parte of þis Chyrche commovys and helpis othir, boþe here and in hevyn. But in hevyn þey schul yn reste have joye of here blysse. And so schul we trow, þat ech part of þys Chirche schal have ful remissioun of synne þat yt has don in body and in sowle, with glorye in ham bothe, and so evyr lyve in blysse. Amen.

[1] read, *so schul we trowe.*

VII.

[ON THE FIVE OUTER WITS.]

Þe be-hovys to know þy fyve wyttys, þe uttyr and þe ynnyr, and to spend hem in good use, and in þe lovynge of God. Þe fyrst ys syȝt of eye; þe toþer heryng of ere; þe þyrd tast of mowþ; þe ferþe smellynge of nese; þe fyfte handlynge or towchyng of membris. Kepe so þy syȝt, þat þou se noþyng þat ys not leful to se, or may harme þy sowle. And kepe þy heryng so þat þow here no evyl speche, or þynge þat is nat honeste ne profitable. And kepe so þy tast, þat þou swolow no more þan ys nede, or myster[1] to þy bodily sustynaunce. And kepe so þy smellyng, þat yt make þe nat to ete over moche, ne delite not over mekyl in smellyng; ne ugge þou not wiþ seknesse of þyn evyn Cristyn. And kepe so þy towchyng, þat þou wiþdraw þe fro schameful towchynge, or handlyng bare of man or of womman. Handyl þou not unhonestly þyself, ne noon oþer, ne let non oþer towche þe unhonestly. Ffor ȝif þy flesche neghȝe ony towchinge unclene, þou may not þe dede eschewe.

Sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch.

VIII.

[ON THE FIVE INNER WITS.]

Þese ben also þy fyve inwyttys; Wyl, Resoun, Mynd, Ymaginacioun, and Thogth. Lok þat þy wyl be good and holy, and loke þat þy resoun rewle þe, and nat þy fleschly lust; and loke þat þy mynde be good and honest. And lok þyn ymagynacion be spedynge in lovynge of God, and not be set to harm or schame; and loke þy thowȝt be groundyd in þe joy of hevyn. And drede þe peyne of helle, and þynk not over mekyl in þe vanite of þe world, but þynk devowtly on þe passion of Crist,

Will, reason, mind, imagination, thought.

[1] read, *mynisteris*.

in wo and in wele, and he schal helpe þe in al þy nede. These be þe wittys þe whiche God has gevyn us to know hym wiþ, and to rewle us thorwȝ wysdam, and leve [1] holy lyf, as good servauntys of God schuld do, and eschewe perelys of synne, and for to come to þat joye þat God has ordeynyd us to be made fore, to þe wiche joy he us brynge, þat deyde for us up on þe rode. Amen.

[1] read, *lyve*.

IX.

[ON THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS.]

[The evidence connecting the following tract with Wyclif may be deemed tolerably satisfactory. Besides being mentioned by Bale, under the title of *De Peccatis fugiendis*, it is the first tract in a small MS. volume (Bodl. 647), nearly all the contents of which are known or reputed to be by Wyclif. The Bodleian Library has a second copy of it (Douce 273), and there is a third at Dublin (Trin. Coll. Dubl. c. v. 6). The text is based on Bodl. 647, a MS. written in the West Midland dialect. The internal evidence proves the tract to be of Lollard origin, but no more. Yet the passage about the right to resume church endowments if misused, (p. 154), sounds like the voice of Wyclif; as does also the rough humour in the comparison (p. 139) of the feats of a knight to those of a hangman. The mention of the romance of the 'batel of Troye,' were it necessary to understand it of the version made by Lydgate, would indeed fix the date of the composition to a period subsequent to Wyclif's death. But, not to speak of the old and well-known French version of Guido delle Colonne, which had been long in circulation, an English metrical version is known to have been made by John Barbour, author of the *Brus*. See Morley's *English Writers*, vol. ii, part 1, p. 432.]

SYNNE IS FOR TO DREDE[1].

Cap. I.

The deadliness of sin.

Siþ byleve teches us þat everiche yvel is ouþer synne or comes of synne, synne schulde be fled, as al maner of yvel. And siþ no þing is fled by wisdome of mon, bot if þo harme of þat þing be knowen, everiche trew mon schulde wel knowe

[1] These words appear as a sort of heading to the treatise in the Bodleian MS.

synne, and so schulde he knowe þo frut þat buriones þerof. Al maner of yvel is ouþer synne, or elles peyne, þat comes bot of synne. And so in fyve maners comes peyne for synne. Peyne come to Crist for to bye synne, and peyne comes to dampned men for to venge synne. Peyne comes to Gods childer to purge hom of synne, and peyne comes to mony men to kepe hom fro synne, and peyne comes to oþer men to schewe þat God hatis synne. And so, as God is þe beste þing in þo world, so is synne þo worste þing in þo world. And so, where alle oþer þingis ben Gods creatures, synne is made wiþoute God, as Seynt Jon seis. So þat synne is clepid noght for þis enchesoun; ffor noþing is creature in þat he synnes, and so nouþer fende ne mon is yvel bot for synne; and so synne is worse þen ony creature; and God hatis more synne þen any oþer þing. Synne is so yvel, þat for al þis world a mon schulde not synne, ȝe, liȝtly in his þoȝt; ne God may not bidde a mon for his godenesse do synne; ne synne may not serve God, alþof hit profite. Ne synne of oure first fadir myȝt not be boȝt bot by God and mon, þat is above aungel. If þou fleest deþ and oþer maner peynes, fle þou more synne, for hit is myche worse. For peyne is gode medicyne þat Crist hymself toke to heele mon of synne, for savyng of his right. Ffor rightwisenes of God may not suffer synne, but if he punysche hit, even affter þo malice. And þis is cause þat þo peyne þat Crist sufferd for mon mot be principal cause to make aseþ for synne. God may suffer peyne, but he may not synne, ne he may not suffer synne, but in his owne creature peyne is joyned þerwiþ. For elles al were noght, and synne were more þan God, and mayster owver his right. And so þo worste servise þat a mon may have is servise to synne, for þo Lord is worste.

Five forms of punishment for sin.

1 John ii. 16.

If a mon synne ageyne þo Holy Gost, hit may not be forgyven, more þen synne of þo fende. Þat mon synnes ageyne þo Holy Gost, þat to his lyves ende is rebel ageynes God; and þis mon mot have synne wiþouten ende, siþ in þat oþer world is no medeful penaunce. Synne is calde dedly, for hit bringes in deþ boþe to body and to soule wiþouten any ende; and synne is cald venyal, for Gods Son forgyves hit. Men schulden be war wiþ al synne, for perel þerof, siþ þei knowen not dedly

The sin against the Holy Ghost

synne fro venyal, as þei witten nevere wheþer þis synne schal evere have ende, or þat þis mon schal be dampned for hardyng in his synne.

Cap. II.

The seven sins; Pride and Envy, of the devil; Sloth, of the world; Gluttony and Lust, of the flesh; Anger, both of the devil and of the world; Covetousness, both of the world and of the flesh.

Al maner of synne þat comes to mon is of sum enemye contrarye to his soule. Þo fende, and þo worlde, and monnis owne flesche, stiren hym to coveyte ageynes Gods wille. And so ich one of þes haves thre synnes, ffor ich one takes at other, and þese maken seven. Pride, envye, and wrath ben synnes of þo fende; wrathe, slouthe, and avarice ben synnes of þo world; avarice, and gloterye, and þo synne of lechorye, ben synnes of þo flesche. And þus we haven seven, and þese seven cisters ben so knytted togedir, þat one bringes in alle þo oþer cisters. Bot of þo synne of pride is first for to speke.

Definition of PRIDE.

Pride is wicked liif of a monnis hyenesse. As God askes ordir in al þis worlde, so everich part of þis worlde ordeynes he to serve hym in a gode mesure, acordyng wiþ anoþer. And if mon or aungel passe þis mesure, þen he synnes in pride ageynes his God. And so hit is seide þat pride bygan wiþ first aungel þat wolde be even wiþ God; not þat ne Lucifer wiste þat God moste be above hym, bot he coveyted an ordir in servise of God whiche þat God wolde not, bot oþer meke servise. And so hit semes þat iche mon synnes in pride in þat þat he synnes ageynes his God. And so for sex causes falles a mon in pride. Ffirst for hyenesse þat he hafs of giftis of grace; as men þat ben ypocritis hyen hom in holyneș, and somme men hyen hom in witte þat God haves gyven hom, and sum men hyen hom in giftis of kynde, as sum men ben proude of bodily strenght, and sum men ben proude of bodily bewte. Somme men ben proude of godes of fortune, as of happe þat hom fallen, or richesse of þis worlde. And on þo sevent maner may a mon be proude by alle þese causes, or mony of þese togedir. And whenever a mon loves to myche his owne hyenesse for any of þese ȝiftis, he synnes in pride. And so a proude mon mysusis Gods giftis, when he þonkes not his God mekely for hom. Bot sith Seynt Poul seis, and byleve teches us, þat a mon haves noght but þat he haves of God, iche mon

Six principal forms of pride.

shulde mekely serve his God aftir þo giftis þat he hafs of hym. As he were a fole worthy to be scorned, þat had godes of men onely to serve hom, and were proud of þes godes in þat þat he mysused hom, and made hymself unworthy for to use þese godes, and be punischid for hom, and for to leese hom. And so iche proude mon hyes hymself for þat þat he schulde have sorowe, as an ypocrite schulde bisy hymself to large his holynes. But now he dos þo contrarie, for he feynes hym holy by mony fals sygnes; and þis is one condicioun of þo fadir of falshed. And by þis ypocrisye ben mony men desseyved, and specialy by falshed of prelatis and prestis. And falshed is ground of schewyng of þis synne; ffor iche holy mon hafs holynes of God to profit to his neghtbore by þe wey of treuthe, and not for to gab to hym veynly by his falshed. And by þis fendes synne ben mony men disseyved.

Cap. III.

Pride of knowledge.

Also mony men ben proude of hor conyng; ffor, as Seynt Poule seis, Science blowes men; þat is to sey, mony for conyng hyen homself to myche, and bosten by pride. On two maners may men synne for hor conyng; as somme men gyven hom to conyng of monnis science, þat is unperfite to regarde of oþer, for science of God and science of kynde is myche more perfit þen crafft made of mon. And ȝitte clerkes and seculeres studyen in monnis lawe, and done mony wronges for mysuse þerof. Bot for þo service is foule in hymself, one cister of pride, þat is covetise, is taken wiþ þis science, and marres þo Chirche. As laweres for hor covetise distourblen myche folk, and so þei synnen ageyns homself, and eke ageyns þo puple. And þus synnen men of craftis of honde; for wiþ what craft þat a mon may most wynne richesse, þat gladlyest he uses, and leves Gods science. Bot science of God is most nedeful, sith iche mon mot nede serve his God; and science of God techis Gods wille. And no mon may serve a lord, bot if he witte his wille, and herfore dyvynite is evere more nedeful. In þo state of innocense mon schulde have coned divinite, and in þo state of synne mon mot nede serve God. And he serves hym not wil, but ȝif he kepe his comaundementis; bot how schulde he

kepe hom, bot if he knewe hom? And so iche mon here mot nede con divinite, somme more and somme lesse, if he wil be saved. Ffor in þo state of blis schal iche mon be a divyne, better þen any mon is here, for þerin stondes his blis. And so, if men traveilen wel here in þis service, þei ben more disposid to con hit in heven. And ȝitte þese wrecchid craftis, for þei ben more wynnyng, maken men more proude in hit and in araye. But men þat schulden be professoures of science of God synnen many weies aboute þis science. As somme men hiden þis tresoure, and delen hit not aboute; and ȝette þo more þat hit is delid, þo more hit encresis. And þis is myche more synne þen to hyde gold. Somme men þer ben, professoures of divinyte, þat feynen lesyngis by lawes of men, and whan þei schulden preche Gods lawe to þo puple, þei tellen lesynges, or oþer fablis, þat ben unpertynent to þo lawe of God. And summe men done avoutrye wiþ þo lawe of God, and turnen hit oute of his kynde, to plese wiþ þo puple. And so wiþ beggyng, and pride of hor speche, þei sellen Gods worde, as who schulde selle an oxe. Nereþoles Crist teches, siþ þat his science is frely gyven to him, hit schulde b̄e frely delid. And, for tellyng of Gods lawe schulde moste profit his Chirche, þo fende is ful bisye to lett þis gostly profite.

Cap. IV.

Pride founded on natural gifts.

Bot as men ben proude for ȝiftis of grace, so þei ben proude of ȝiftis of kynde. As somme men ben proude of strenght of hor body, and boþe men and wymmen ben proude of hor bewte, and somme ben proude of hor grett kynn. But generaly, if þou wilt fle pride in þis, þenke hou þou haves borowid al þis of God, and he hafs lent to þe al þis to þis use, to serve hym in mekenesse aftir þese ȝiftis. And if þou kepe þis reule, what gode evere God hafs lente þe, þou kepis þe fro pride, as aungels in heven. If God hafs lante þe bodily strenght, kepe hit to his servise, and not to þo noye of þi neghtbore; and so þenke mekely, be þou nevere so strong, how feble þat þou schall be byfore þat þou dye. And if þou be proude of schappe þat God hafs gyven þe, þou schulde wil knowe, by witte þat he hafs lante þe, þat in iche ston, or other foule body, is as feyr schap as

any þat þou haves. And so soche men þat boosen hor brestis, or pynchen hor belyes, to make hom smale wastes, or streynen hor hosis [1] to schewe hor strong legges, semen to chalange God of giftes þat he hafs gyven hem, and amende hym in his crafft as if he fayled þerinne. And in þis pride synnen wymmen in makyng of hor bosis [2], and generaly in atyre of hor body; þat comynly, fro þo hede to þo fot, men deformen hor body by hor foule atyre, as pikes of schoone, and garlondes of hedes, and tatering of clothes, beren opun wittenesse. Al maner of atyre þat comes to monnes body schulde be mesured by þis reule. If he wolde fle pride wiþ sorowe and mekenesse, reulid by resoun, schulde he loke what atyre wolde do profite to his body, and aftir þis ende gete hym his garnementis [3]. Mon schulde þenke how God made hym in þo state of innocence wiþouten any clothing, as aungels or bestis; and bycause of his synne þis ape made hym clothing; and þis is no matir of pride bot of sorowe. And so in al þis atire schulde resoun reule men, þat þei synned not in pride of quantite or qualite; as a clerke or a frere may synne by pride in valew of his clothis and largenes of hom, and have als myche pride in leefing [4a] of hom as a knyght hafs in his strayte garnement; and more harm þei done in waasting of Gods gode. And nereþoles we schulden witte, þat costily dispenses harmen unto pore men ageyn rightwisnes. And so al maner of pride harmes to Cristis Chirche. And if þou aske of proude men resoun of þis, þese apes seyn þat suche atire makes hom schapply, and þei mote conferme hom to þo worlde, þat asken [5] þis. But Lord! where is resoun of men þat speken þus! Ffor right as a laste schulde saumple a schoo, so schappe of body, þat hafs God schapen mon, schulde saumple his cletyng [6], als myche as hit helpes hym. And Seynt Poul biddes us ffle as folye to confourme us to þo worlde, siþ hit is oure enemye.

Rom. xii. 2.

[1] *boose*, BB. [2] *boosus*, BB. [3] *garmentis*, BB. [4] *leesyng*, BB. [5] *askis*, BB. [6] *cleþinge*, BB.

[a] I cannot understand 'leefing.' The reading of the Douce MS. is *leesynge*, which perhaps means 'loosing' or 'loosening;' the lax drapery of the priest or friar being contrasted with the close-fitting attire of the knight.

CAP. V.

Pride of beauty.

Bot as anentis fairnes[1] of a monnis body, hit is right veyne þing, if hit be wil soght, sith fayrnesse wil fade wiþ wynde and sonne, and nowther mon ne wommon schulde pryse hym of his bewte, if he þenke wil how he schal be deed. Ffor mon when he is deed is mony weyes more foule þen any oþer caryone of oþer dede bestis. Lord, what schulde move þe to be proude of þis fairnesse, sith hit profites not to þo soule, and is of litel lastyng? And, as Seynt Bernarde seies[a], a mon while he lyves is a seck[2] ful of drytt, and þat is litel bewte; so if al þo filthe þat a mon haves wiþinne were turned outwarde, hit were a grett peyne to be nye such a mon, bothe to hym and to oþer. Herye we mekely þis Lord, þat hydis þis filthe.

Pride of birth.

And as anentis pride of monnis kynn, Adam was most gentil mon aftir Jesus Crist, and he come of erthe, as oure byleve teches. And so iche mon, ȝe, Crist, was made of erthe, and so ben wormes and monny foule bestis. And so hit is a folye, a mon to be proude for nobley of his kynn, for alle we comen of erthe. And comynly gentil men and hye in þo worlde ben synful men as oþer men ben, and no men ben more bonde, sith þei serven to synne. And sith synne is þo worst þing and foulest in þo worlde, no bondage is more þen to have synne. And siþ oure kynraden was synful, and so bonde to þo fende, how schulde men bot schame to be proude of hor kynn? If we take hede to stories of men, lordes of þo worlde by trechorie and raveyne ben comen to hor lordschipps; and þis makes no gentil mon; and bondage to men, ȝif a mon be virtuouse, makes a mon to be fre to God. Ffor þo first bondage come bot of synne, and bondage to men come of tyrauntrye; and so as two brether ben bothe iliche noble, so alle men schulden be even gentil in kynde. Have we nobley of oure fader and moder, þat ben Jesus Crist and his spouse, holy Chirche; ffor by þis noble kyn we schal be gentil in heven. Off þis kyn we schulden have joye, and not of erthly kyn; ffor þei were somtyme beggers or servauntis to foolis. And herfore Jesus Crist come bot of pore

[1] So in BB; W has *farnesse*.

[2] *sack*, BB.

[a] The reference is perhaps to a sermon of St. Bernard's 'De triplici genere cogitationum nostrarum.' *Opera*, Paris, 1586.

kyn, and wolde not make hom riche to þo worlde bot in virtues. Ne he schamed not of povert of his kyn, bot taght us more to be glad of kynraden in virtues; for joye is of suche kynraden in þo blisse of heven. Bot nedderȝ and wormes ben felowes to dampned men, as þei weren felowes to thefes lyvyng here in erthe. And so, if we take hede, he þat is proude of his kynn, he hafs pride for to be fer fro þo state of innocense; and certis þis is no mater of pride.

Cap. VI.

Pride of riches and prosperity.

Þo thridde þing þat moves men for to be proude, is godes of fortune, as riches of þis worlde. And as havyng of soche godes is þo lest of thre, so by þo leest evydense is a mon proude; for richesse by fortune falles fro a mon, as by theft or robrye, or perilis of þo see, or by wastyng of þingis for defaute of hom; and God forbede þat godenesse passe þus fro a mon; as, if he serve treuly to God in charite, he is als gode pore as when he was riche. And sith God acountes a mon aftir þat he is gode, not aftir þat a mon is riche is he gode to God; ffor þen Crist and his apostils were noþing worth. And þat richesse of þis worlde be matir to be proude, wittenesses experiense, and wittenes of Gods lawe. Ffor hit is seide comynly, þat evere þo more gode þat a man haves, evere þo better he is, and þo more to telle by; and in wittenesse herof, riche men ben worschippid, and travelen ful sore to have suche richesse; and hit were a folye to putt men in suche peril, bot if þei were þo better for wynnyng of suche richesse. And one mon is more worth þen ben two oþer, when he is taken prisoner, or schulde be solde. Soche mony resouns, with comyne experiense, techen us þat richesse is matir of pride. Bot resoun of kynde teches þo peril þat a riche mon is inne by havyng of his richesse. Ffor if he spende yvel þese godes, þei don hym myche harme; and if he spende hom wil, þo occupacioun of hom lettis hym fro better servise þat he schulde serve God. And herfore nowþer in state of innocense, ne in state of blis, schulde mon be þus riche. And herfore teches Poul, for sikernes of prestis, þat þei schulden have fode and hillyng nedeful to hom, and herewiþ holde hom payed, ffor more wolde tarye hom. And so richesse

of þis worlde ben nedeful for þis weye; bot be men war for pride of hom, and mony oþer perils. Ffor, as Seynt Poul seis, riche men of þis worlde smaken[1] herfore hyenesse and hopen in a fals grounde. And hit is al one, mon to be proude for richesse, and to be proude for a weght þat he is cloutid wiþ. Bot who schulde be proude of a nede[2] cloth, þat be beris hevyly for a trespas þat he did? If mon had stonden in state of innocense, he schulde not have ben þus occupied wiþ richesse, ffor alle þinge schulde have ben comyne, as hit is in hevene; and iche mon schulde have had fre use of godes þat he wolde. What evydence schulde mon have to be proude nowe in synne, for losse of þis fredome and hevynesse of erthe? And so ben we certeyn by Crist and his apostels, þat such habundaunce of godes makes us not better to God. And even aftir þat we ben gode to oure God, ben we onely gode to þo worlde, or any oþer þing.

1 Tim. vi. 9.

Cap. VII.

Sith þo fende temptis first men to pride, he castis mony weyes hou he schal desseyve hom. And so he castis byfore hom mony maters of pride; if he fayle in one he takes in anoþer, and if he take in mony he is þo better payed. Bot we schal undirstonde þat þis fals gylor fayles in iche resoun þat he makes to mon; ffor as God is grounde of treuthe, so he groundes falshed. And herfore were hit gode to witte þo cautelis of þis giloure; for iche mon loves treuthe, and flees to be disseyved; ȝe, þof he luf falshed, ȝitte he lufs treuthe. Se we hou þis gyloure fayles in his resouns. He temptis men to ypocrisye, to hyen hom of hor holynesse; and if þei done þus, hor holynesse flees fro hom, and so þei hyen hom falsly of þing þat þei have not. Þis is þo love of þo fende, fader of falshed. If þo fende move men to pride of hor connyng, he makes hom foolis by þis fals pride; ffor iche mon here in erthe hafs more of unconnyng þen he hafs of connyng, if he loke wel. And so mon schulde lerne to knowe mekely, þat inalsmyche as he is proude of connyng, he drawes to hym unconnyng þat he wolde fayne fle. If þo fende tempt men of bodily strenght, and þei falle in pride by movyng of þis giloure, þei ben made so myche unstronge in

Remedial considerations against the various kinds of pride.

[1] *smachen*, BB.

[2] *nedy*, BB.

hor soule; and so þei losen more strenght for semyng of lesse strenght. And þus if men ben proude of bewte of hor body, þei losen als myche þo feyrnesse of hor soule; and þo soule with his purtenaunses is better þen þo body. If þo fende move men to be proude of hor kynn, þei fallen in þat fro kynraden and childerhed of God, and þen kynraden of kynde is litel for to preyse. And so, if a mon presume ageyns his God to amende his schappe, he foules his soule, and þat is more yvel þen foulenesse of body. And þus þis fals faytour fayles in richessis when he moves men to be proude of hom, as he lyed to Crist when he heght hym to gif hym alle rewmes of þo world for to worschip him; bot he had not þat he hyght, for his first forfeture. And so, if a man falle in brygge[1], for worldly richesses, he forfetis ageyne þo cheef lord, and noght haves by right. And þus of alle þo argumentis þat þo fende con make, he fayles foule in his proffer to a trew mon. And a virtuouse mon schulde lerne þis scole to conclude þo fende, as Crist did when he temptid hym; and in such answeryng and arguyng of mon lise more mede þen in stryves of scole. And so Cristen men, þat is, Gods Chirche, schulde sey to soche stryvers þat chiden wiþ wordes, þat childre of God have none suche custoum, but answeren by stillenes ageyne soche fendis. And þus, if pride be chasid fro a monnis soule, alle hir cisters wil fle, for þei ben not wiþouten hir.

Cap. VIII.

Definition of Envy.

Þo next cistir of pride is synne of envye. Envye is cald an yvel wille of a mon, by whiche he wilnes harme falle to his neghtbore, and if hit he fallen, he joyes hym þerof. And so, riȝt as pride, þo first of þese seven, is unordynel wille of a monnis owene hyenesse, so envye, þo secunde cister of synne, is unordynel wille of mon to his neghtbore. And so envye algatis sownes to yvel, and is most even contrarie to charite. And here clerkis disputen how envye may be, sith no mon may wilne a þing bot if hit þenk hym gode, or elles þat gode comes þerof; bot nowþer falles to envye. Bot here schal þo fende witte þat envye is his synne, for hym þenkes þat þing gode þat

[1] *bryke*, BB.

is harme to anoþer; and so, as Gods children have likyng in gode þing, so þo fende and his childer have likyng in harme. Ffor þo fende hafs no profite of his felowschip; ffor more felowschip shewis more consense in hor yvel wille; and þat dos hom more harme. And so, as godenes profites to a gode mon, so wickednesse plesis to an yvel mon. And so iche envyouse mon is an opun fole, ffor hym þenkes þat þing gode þat is yvel.

The fable of the envious man and the covetous man.

As men tellen in fablis of two men in a cyte; þo first was envyous; þo secounde was covetous. Þo justise of þo cyte ordeyned to make a crye, þat wheþer of þese two men asked oght of þo juge, þo secounde schuld have þo double þat þo first asked. Þese two men comen at tyme and þo stede[1] assigned, and stryven among homself, wheþer schuld first aske. Þis envyouse mon þoght þat if he asked first he schulde do myche gode to his first brother. Þo covetouse mon þoght þat if he asked first his broþer schulde have þo double to hym; and so hit was ordened þat þis elder broþer schulde aske first what he wolde. And so þis envyous mon moste nede stonde to þis decre; and he had sorowe to do profite to þis covetouse; and þerfore he asked þat his eye schulde be put out, undirstondyng þat by þis his broþer schulde be pure blynde; and þo juge of þo cyte made parforme þis sentense[a].

Þis justise of þis cyte may be God Almyghty, þat puttes in monnis fredame to chese gode or yvel; and by his godely

[1] So in BB; W has, *at tyme assigned.*

[a] A somewhat different version of this fable, in French of the thirteenth century, may be seen in the *Recueil* of Barbazan (I. 91; ed. 1808). St. Martin meets the two men on a plain, and on parting company with them, says that if one of them will ask him for something, he shall have it, whatever it may be, but the man who has not asked shall receive double. Urged on and menaced by the covetous man, the envious man asks that he may lose an eye; and the rest of the story agrees with the version given in the text. Barbazan took this fable from a MS. of S. Germain des Prés, No. 1830.

A third version is given in the appendix to Robert's edition of Lafontaine's Fables (II. 509; Paris, 1825). In this version (which bears the name of Ysopet-Avionnet, who professes to have translated it, and his other fables, from the Latin), Phoebus occupies the place of St. Martin, and the language and whole air of the fable are of much later date.

From what source our author derived his version of the fable I cannot determine. The *Gesta Romanorum* will immediately occur to the literary reader, but this fable is not found there.

choyse his brother schulde fare þo better. Þis justise is Lord bothe of Gods cyte and of þo cyte of þo fende, for bothe men [1] ben his creatures. Bot þo envyous mon, of þo cyte of þo fende, chesis to harme hymself to harme his neghtbore. Bot þis riȝtwise juge by his trewe jugement jugis þis envyous mon to be pure blynde; ffor he is juge of alle, and jugis men by hor wille. And so þo envyous mon is blynde by boþe his eyne, bothe by eyne of his body and eyne of his soule; ffor whatevere he sees in kynde, bodily or gostly, harmes to hymself to lyve þat evere schal laste. And þus envyous men ben þo fendes childer, and don harme to homself, and profiten to Gods cite. If þou aske resoun why þei don þus, þei ben wiþout resoun, and herfore resoun dampnes hom.

Cap. IX.

Three classes in the Church: preachers, soldiers, labourers.

Bot, for to speke more of þis fendes synne, þo Chirche is divyded in þese thre partis;—in prechoures, and deffendoures, and þo þridde part ben laboreres. Prechoures schulden be prestis; for Crist, hed of þe Chirche, bad his disciplis to preche þo gospel to alle maner men, and þus he wan þis worlde. And gode marke how Crist, þat was God and mon, bad his gostly knyghtis go in to al þo world, not for to feght wiþ colde armes of body, bot wiþ armes of charite, þat is Cristes gospel. And so he bad not leesynges ne fablis be prechid, but treuthe of þo gospel, for þat is virtu; ne he bad not onely preche to men þat gaf hom, bot to alle maner of men wiþouten acceptyng of persones. And so, on a stille maner, Crist forfended symonye and beggyng and covetise unto alle his prechoures. For as þei token frely hor connyng of God, so schulden þei frely dele hit to þo peple.

Envy among priests.

Þo first part of þo Chirche schulde be next Crist, for hit schulde be next heven, and most ful of charite; bot þo [2] part by þo fende traveles by envye. Þis part schulde be al of one religione, as prestis, and dekens lyvyng clerkes lif; bot þo fende hafs chaungid þis part in mony coloures, as seculers and religiouse; and bothe have mony partis,—as popes and cardinalis and bischops and archdekens, munkes and chanouns, hospiteleres and freris. And sith of þese ordires one lufs more his

[1] om. BB. [2] *þis*, BB.

broþer þen he lufs a mon of a straunge ordire, and wil deffende his ordir by personel affeccioun, hit is no wondir þat charite be putt awey, ffor hote humoure þat is partid wil souner waxe colde. And so Cristen men byleven, by ordynaunce of Crist, þat hit were better to clerkes to be alle of one sute [1], and þen myghten two oþer partis lif with hom in more charite. Ffor now may men se þat foure ordires of freris þat ben late founden by ordynaunce of men, kepen hem not in charite amonges homself; sith not onely one ordir hafs envye to oþer, but one persone in one ordir, for worschip or office, haves envye to his broþer for hor dyversite. And for þis cause one ordir wolde have anoþer aweye, bothe for hit harmes hym in name and in beggyng; and one begger is woo þat anoþer lettis hym. And þus hit is of oþer ordires of religioun. By ordynaunce of Crist prestis and bischops was [2] al one, bot effter þe emperoure departid hom, and made bischops lordis and prestis hor servauntis; and þis was cause of envye, and quenchid myche charite. Ffor ordynaunce of Crist stondis in mekenesse, in unyte, and charite; and variaunce of richesse, and hyenesse in statis, gendren envye, as comynly variaunce of worschip and richesse gendres envye amonge mony men. And so if possessioneris weren broght to þat state þat Crist ordeyned to his clerkes, þen schulden men have charite, bothe wiþ seculere clerkes, and also wiþ religiouse.

Cap. X.

Envy among lords and knights.

Þo secounde part of þo Chirche is calde deffenderes, as lordes and knyghtis, and oþer men of armes. Envye regnes in hom for mony enchesouns. Ffor þei coveyten by pride worschipp and richesses, and lordschip of clerkes makes lordes to pore. Ffor we schal undirstone þat holy Chirche, as ho [3] is oure moder, so ho is a body; and hele of þis body stondes in þis, þat one part of hir answere to anoþer, aftir þo same mesure þat Jesus Crist haves ordeyned hit. As in a monnis body, if humoures ben uneven, on oþer hole members comes sekenes anoon, or feveres of body, or oþer straunge sekenesse. And þus hit mot be in body of þo Chirche, ffor oure Lord Jesus Crist

[1] *secte*, BB. [2] *bene*, BB. [3] *scho*, BB.

is auctor of kynde, and ordeynes better lawes to membres of his Chirche þen he ordeynes to partis of a monnis body. And so men seyn, Surely þo Chirche schal nevere be hool, byfore proporciouns[1] of hir partis be broght ageyne by þis hevenly leche, and medicyne of men. O, if hit were a charite to hele a seke mon, how myche more charite were hit to hele þo Chirche our moder! Mercye faylis to men þat helpen not þis seke wommon, ffor more charite men schulden have to hir and to hir membres. And þis defaute of charite brynges in envye, and makes men of armes feght and to stryve; ffor batels ben unkyndely[2] officis to þese defendoures, bot to mayntene by strenght þo ordynaunce of God. And here hom fayles charite, when þei leven þis better and esyer algatis, and taken þo fendes office; ffor hitt falles to fendes by pride and envye one to feyht wiþ anoþer, as Gods lawe telles; and clerkes office schulde be to drawe men to pees. Bot nowe þei moven unkyndely, bothe in worde and in dede, men for to werre ageyns Gods lawe. And so many principlis þat þo fende haves founden unto þese grete werroures, ben even ageyne charite. Ffor þei taken for a lawe, þat hit is leveful for hom to anoye hor enmye on what wey þat þei may. Bot charite of Crist biddes þo contrarie, þat men schulden love hor enemyes, and do hom gode for yvel. And so þis part of þe Chirche faylis in multitude and humours of charite, and travels in envye. And so, as virtu in prestis quickens þo Chirche, so synnes or vices þat regnen in hom maken þo Chirche venymous in two oþer partis; and specialy synne of consense of clerkes, þat þei hiden Gods lawe fro oþer partis bynethen hom. For þo virtu of charite schulde be most in clerkes; envye is moste in hom when þei ben turned to yvel. Bot nowe, to plese þes lordis, clerkes hyden Gods lawe, and pursuen prestis for prechyng of treuthe.

Cap. XI.

Envy among labourers.

Þo þridde part of þe Chirche travels by envye for mony enchesouns, bot thre ben most comyne. One is defaute of prechyng in whoche þei schulden be tauȝt more to telle by

[1] So in BB; W has *proposiciouns*. [2] So in BB; W destroys the sense of the passage by reading *ben nowe kyndely offices*, unless *nowe* is used for *no*.

charite þen any worldly gode. For þis lore fayles hom bothe in worde and dede, ffor more covetouse ben none þen ben þes prestis. Þo secounde cause of envye among þo laboreres is þat þei ben to chargid and spoylid in hor godes by two partis above þat schulden deffende hom, ffor freris, persouns, and oþer men þat robben þo Chirche, maken hom to swete hor owne blode by hor ypocrisye. And siþ seculer lordes schulen mayntene hom ageyns þis, bothe þese two partis spoylen þo puple. And right as light and virtu of heven comes fro above, so helpe of þo puple schulde cum fro þese two partis; sith ensaumple of gode lif, and gode techyng, and gode dedes, schulde cum fro þese clerkes and seculer lordes. And þo stomak of a mon schulde deffye his mete, and norische oþer members þat hongen on his body; so, as seyntis seyn, schulden prestis be a stomak to deffye þo gostly mete, and so norische þo body of oure modir holy Chirche. Bot þis offis faylis. And as eyne in þo hed reulen al þo body for to go right weyes and profitable to mon, so prelatis of þo Chirche schulden lede hit in Gods wey. Bot Crist seis in his Gospel, þat if a blynde lede a blynde mon in þo wey, þei fallen bothe in þo dike. And þus þo wey of charite, þat schulde be brood to alle men, is streyned by envye, and lettis men to sue Crist. And so þo fend haves cast a boon, and made þese honndes to feght; and by a bal of talow lettis hom to berke.

And so uneven delyng of godes of þis worlde genderes myche envye among þese worldly men. And so partis of þis comyne, and specialy marchauntis, moven to þis envye by desseyt of hor crafft. And as lordes schulden be mendid by prechyng of hor bischopis, so lordes schulden amende marchauntis and oþer folk, þat in þo þridde part of þo Chirche sowen by hor envye seed of dissencioun, and synnes þat distourblen rewmes. For al þof pore men of þo comyne, for hor bisye travel, synnen lesse in envye and in oþer synnes þen done men above hom þat traveilen not þus, nereþoles for mony causis fallen þei in envye, ffor everiche synne brynges in anoþer; and alle oure þre enmyes, and specialy þo fende, worchen to iche synne, and one helpis onoþer. And specialy if a mon be partid fro God, þat schulde be his foundement to ageynstonde synne, he is a house upon gravel, þat is light for to move. And so, by lore of Seynt

1 Cor. xii. 12.

Poule, iche membre of holy Chirche schulde be as membre of a mon, and iche schulde helpe oþer; for kyndely monnis hond helpis his heved, and his eye helpis his foote, and his foote his body; so þat membres of a mon þat ben more foul, ben more helpyng to a monnis body, ne one membre lettis not anoþer for to worche, bot raþer helpes hit wiþouten envye, and eche one dos his propir werke, and so stondis monnis body. And þus schulde hit be in partis of þo Chirche; bot departyng fro þo stok lettis siche helpe, and somme men, as deede lymmes departid by synne, helpen not þo Chirche, bot rather don hit harme. And þus done men þat ben departid fro þo rote of charite. And herfore membres of þo Chirche drawen alle in one 3ok, and ben alle of one wille, as þo Chirche telles. And herby may we suppose who ben of holy Chirche, and who membres of þo fende, and maken þo wicked Chirche; ffor charite is a cloth þat partis þat one Chirche fro partis of þat oþer, as holy men seyn. And þese two glues, of predestinacioun and of prescience of God, joynen þese two bodies. And þo token, þat þo puple is þus partid in willes, teches þat þei ben not of one Chirche. For Gods lawe schulde be reule to schape men of one wille, bot parting fro þis lawe departes men fro charite, and so hit departis men fro membres of Gods body, and so fro membres of holy Chirche, and þen ben þei fendis.

Cap. XII.

Definition of sinful ANGER.

Ire is þo thridde cister approprid to þo fende. Bot þere ben two ires, gode ire and yvel. Gode ire is, when a mon is wroth in Gods cause, and not to venge his owne cause, but to venge Gods wrong. And þus is God seide in his lawe bothe wroth and wode; and þus weren holy prophetis medefuly wroth, as Moyses was a meke man, and wroth on þis maner. Wrathe þat is synne is by pride of mon, and principaly for monnis cause, unskilful wille of vengeaunce. And alþof mony ypocritis excusen hom fro þis ire bi coloure of þo firste ire, nereþoles þo juge above schal juge at þo day of ire hou þat treuthe stondes. Envie and ire ben dyverse in maner; ffor envye stondes in yvel þoght, and schewes hym not forthward; and envye, modir of ire, haves maner of þo fende; bot ire distourblis monnis witte,

and moves his body, and neghes neer to vengeaunce of a monnis neghtbore; as Caym was fadir of ire, sleeyng his broþer. Bot ire þat is in God is al in oþer maner. Ffor by þo reule of Austyn, take awey movyng and distourblyng of witte, and al þinge þat is unperfit, and kepe wille of vengeaunce, as right-wisenes askes, and such ire is acordyng to God. When God takes gret vengeaunce, and hastly[1] wiþal, þen is maner of wodenesse acordyng to hym; as here God by his ire snybbes his servauntis, bot at þo day of dome he dampnes hom scharply. Ffor iche fende serves to God, suffryng þat he is worthy; and so ire þat God snybbes wiþ mon sownes to reprove[2] þat he blames[3] þo fendes childer. Ffor no man askes wysely þat God chastise hym not, bot takes rather mekely þo peyne þat God sendes hym, ffor elles he were unbuxum scoler to his mayster.

Three evils flow from Anger.

And þus þre harmes fallen of ire. Ffirst, a monnis witte is lettid in his worchyng, and mon is made by his foly like unto beestis. And þus movyng of spiritis lettis oft men to herberow þo Holy Gost, þat lufs reste in soule. And soche men taken not hete of charite, as þo sonne makes not hoot watir þat rennes hastily; and in figure of þis, Caymes heved tremblid, and despeyred for to have remyssioun of his synne. Ffor he was distourblid in resoun, þat is heved of þo soule. And so movynges of mon withinne maken a den to þo fende to reste hym inne, derkyng and aspying when he may anoye mon; and þis is þo secounde harm þat comes of ire. Þo þridde harme of ire stondes in þis, þat hit spoyles a mon of godes wiþouteforth. He þat slees his broþer leesis hym a frende, sith Crist seide þat Scariot was a frende to hym. And not al onely lesis mon by ire frenschip of þat mon þat he slees unjustly, bot frenschip of his frendes, and luf of God and aungels. And as a mon by suche ire lesis his strenght, so he lesis his catel for harme þat he dos. Ffor al þof þo fende make hym strong for tyme of his ire, nereþoles he mote nede be feble þeraftir. And þus, among synnes, ire is ful contrarious to felouschip and charite þat schulde be in þo puple. And herfore biddes þo prophete to bewar wiþ þat man þat hafs his spirit in his nose and hastly takes vengeaunce. Is. ii. 22.

[1] *bastiliche*, BB. [2] *reprofe*, BB. [3] *blamed*, BB.

Cap. XIII.

Vengeance, under what limitations lawful.

Iche mon þat is vengeable by unskilful ire, is like to a fende þat blasphemes ageyns God, to whom is propre to take vengeaunce of his sogett. Ffor no mon scholde take vengeaunce bot if God move hym, and teche hym as his instrument how God wil have vengeaunce. And þus iche irrouse mon blasphemes ageyns God. And herfore by comyne lawe schulde no mon make batel, bot if he have leve of prince of þo puple. And certis an erthely prince is comynly proude, and wantis witte to teche when men schulden feght; and herfore it is lickly þat prince of þo worlde is auctor of batels þat men now usen. Ffor wil I wot þat Crist is kynge of pees and charite, and moves men to pacience, as to his monhed falles. And here may we se how þo fendes argument disseyves þo puple, and moves hom to feght. Þo fende takes a soth[1], þat in þo olde lawe was leveful men to feght by auctorite of God; and sith þo same God is now, why schulden men not now feght? Bot here we graunten þo fende þat in þo Olde Testament hit was leveful to feght, *as Gods lawe techis us; and now in þo newe lawe were leefful to feyȝte*[a], if suche circumstansis weren as were in þo olde lawe; and elles schulden men be in pees for luf of oure God. Sothly in þo olde lawe men foghten wiþ Gods enmyes, to venge Gods injurie, and by noone oþer cause; and nowþer schulden men now, if hor feghtyng be leveful. Þo seconde circumstaunce of leveful feghtyng askes þat by autorite of God þo feghtyng be made; and þat God telle hom, and bidde hom feght þus; and þen schulde God mesure men, and teche hom to feght. And if men kepten wil þis, þei schulden not feght now ffor no men. Bot fals men stiren now to batel; ffor tyme is comen þat Ysaie spekes of Crist,—þat men schal welle hor swerde into plowgh-schares, and þo irne of hor speres into sythes or sikles. Þo thriddè cause þat men schulden holde in feghtyng and werryng, is þat þei schulden by charite do dedes of hor feghtyng, loovyng God and hor neghtbore, ȝe, men þat

Is. ii. 4.

[1] *take*þ *for a sotbe*, BB.

[a] The words between asterisks are omitted in W, evidently by a mistake of the copyist.

þei feght wiþ. Ffor Seynt Poule biddes þat alle oure dedes be done in charite; and by Gods lawe we schulden luf oure enimyes, and so make hom frendes by þo strenght of charite. And sith no mon schulde feght bot wiþ þese thre maners, hit is knowen þing þat men schulden not now feght. And herfore Jesus Crist, duke of oure batel, taght us lawe of pacience, and not to feght bodily. If God rowne in þin eere, and bid þe feght in his cause, as God taght by prophetis in þe Olde Testament, feght fast in Gods cause, as he hymself biddes þe, and elles holde þi pees, as Crist did wiþ his clerkes. And se þis apis argument, þat if men foght sumtyme, wiþ þes þre causis, þen men schulden feght now. For now is tyme of pees, and þo Chirche is olde, and none of þese casis fallen þat men schulden feght wiþ, bot even þo contrarie sueȝ[1], as iche mon schulde knowe. And so þo fende, fadir of ire, autorises þis feghtyng; and his lymmes suen hit, moved of hor mayster.

Cap. XIV.

A justification of war, both defensive and offensive.

Bot ȝitte argues Anticrist, to mayntene mennis feghtyng, þat kynde techis þat men schulden by strenght ageynstonde hor enmyes. Sith a nedder by hir kynde stynges a mon þat tredes on her, why schulde we not feght ageynes oure enmyes? for elles þei wolden destrye us, and dampne hor owne soules. And þus for luf we chastisen hom, as Gods lawe techis us. And so, sith oure enmyes wolden assayle us, bot if we sayliden hom byfore, sith we loven better oureself, we schulden first assayle hom, and þus we schal haf pees.

The author's reply.

Here me þenkes þat þo fende disseyves mony men by falsenes of his resouns, and by his fals principlis. Ffor what mon þat hafs witte connot se þis fallas? if hit be leveful by strenght to ageynstonde violence, þen hit is leveful to feght wiþ men þat ageynstonden us. Wil I wot þat aungels ageynstode fendes, and mony men by strenght of lawe aȝeynstonden[2] hor enmyes; and ȝitte þei killen hom not, ne feghten not wiþ hom. And wise men of þo worlde holden hor strenghtes, and þus vencuschen hor enmyes wiþouten any strok; and men of þo gospel vencuschen by pacience, and comen to reste and to pees by

[1] *sewes*, BB. [2] So in BB; *ageynstoden*, W.

suffryng of deth. Right so may we do, if we kepen charite; þof men ravischen oure lordschipp, or elles oure meblis, we schulden suffre in pacience, ȝe, þof þei diden us more. Þese ben þo counseils of Crist. But here þo world grucches, and seis þat by þis wise weren rewmes destryed. Bot here byleve techis us, siþ Crist is oure God, þat þus schulden rewmes be stablid, and oure enmyes vencusched. Bot peraventure mony men schulden lese hor worldly richessis. Bot what harm were þereof? sith in þo state of innocense alle men schulden comynly wante suche lordschipp. Bot þo fende takes ensaunple at wormes of venyme, and by a naked propurte teches men to feght; bot mony oþer ensaunples of pacience of bestis schulden teche us to suffre, for myche more gode. And a fendis conscience reulis hym þat bringes of þis, þat if he were þus pacient his enmyes wolde kille hym. As if a mon wolde sey, þat if he keppid Cristis counseil þo fende wolde fordo hym, for he is more þen Crist. And if we feghten þus for luf, hit is not luf of charite; ffor charite sekes not propur gode in þis lif, bot comyne gode in heven by virtuouse pacience. And wil I wot þat worldly men wil scorne þis sentense; bot men þat wolden be martirs for þo love of God wil holde wiþ þis sentense; and þei ben more to trow, for þei have more charite and better ben wiþ God. And disseyt of love is wiþ men þat feghten, as wiþ fendes of helle is feyned fals luf. Bot at Domesday schal men witte who feghtis þus for charite; ffor hit semes no charite to ride ageyne þin enemye wil armed wiþ a scharpe spere, upon a strong courser; ffor ȝitte þo cosse[1] of Scariot was more token of charite. And so Gods lawe techis men to cum bifore in dedes of charite and werkes of worschip; bot I rede not in Gods lawe þat Cristen men schulden cum byfore in feghting or batel, bot in meke pacience. And þis were þo mene whereby we schulden have Gods pees.

Cap. XV.

Rejoinder from those who maintain the lawfulness of war.

ȝitte þo fende argues þat men feghten wil; for by virtu of feghtyng men have grete name and honoures and worschippis, þat ben mede of virtues. And titil of conquest is þo beste of alle; bot conquest may not be wiþout gret feghtyng, and so

[1] *kys*, BB.

oure batil is leveful; or elles wil hit sue þat in alle þis world, men occupyen hor lordschips by unjust titil, and so schulde iche mon feght wiþ his broþer for defaut of titil. Lord, siþ Crist approved þese knyghttis, and bad his apostils selle hor cootis and bye hom swerdis,—wharto bot to feght? and of dedes and wordes of Crist is feghtyng approved, why is hit not leveful? Bot here we answeren aftir þo first sentence, þat werres and feghtynges ben now unleveful. And to þo first resoun we answeren on þis wyse; þat name of þo worlde þat þo fende hafs hyed is a grete evydense þat batil is cursed. Ffor mony men ben preysid now for fendes werkes, and honour and worschip þat þo world gyves hom is comynly for vicis and not for virtues; ffor worldly men tellen more by vicis þen by virtues. Lord, what honour falles to a knyght, for he killes mony men? Wil I wot þat honge-men killen mony moo, and by more just titel, and so by vertue, and so schulden þei be preysid more þen soche knyȝtis. And bochere of bestis dos oft tyme his offis by right and by charite, and so he dos hit wil; bot bocher of his breþer by not so gret evydense slees men in charite, and so not so justly. Why schulde not þis bocher, for his better dede, be preysid more þen þis knyȝt þat þo world hyees? sith more virtuous dede is more for to pryse. And so hit were better to mon to be bocher of bestis þen to be bocher of his breþer, for þat is more unkyndely. Þo passioun of Crist is myche for to preyse, bot sleeyng of his tormentoures is odiouse to God. Lord, siþ kynge of al þis world preyses so myche passioun, and hatis such accioun[1], why schulde not men do so?

Title by conquest examined.

As to titil of conquest, we schulde undirstonde þat if God bid conquest, hit may þen be leveful,—as childer of Israel had justly hor rewme. Ffor sith God is Lord of alle þes worldly godes, he may gif mon right to what þing þat he wil. And so, if rewme have forfeetid ageyns þis cheff[2] lord, in peyne of þis trespas he gyves hit oþer folk. Bot mon schulde not dreme þat puple haves so synned þat God wil punysche hom þus, bot if God telle hit hym. Ffor foure hundrid wynter synneden þese Amorees, and God justly suffrid hom in londe of byheest. And to suche a conquest mot conqueroures be worthy for to

[1] *occupacioun*, BB. [2] *chefe*, BB.

have þis londe whoche þei schulden conquere. And þo thridde; if God gif hit hom, and move hom to conquest, þo titel is gode inoghe if þei contynuen in gode life. Bot hit is likly þat mony conquerours faylen in tyme of grace in mony of þese. Bot one þing I wot wil by lore of God's lawe, þat if a mon occupye a lordschip unjustly, and his eyr aftir hym be a just mon, God þat is cheeff Lord approves his lordschip; ffor gift of God is best titel, ȝe, better þen heritage. And so just lif of eyres schulde clere hor conscience. And þus schulde no mon feght wiþ oþer by titel of conquest, bot if God bad hym. And so, as Baptist telles, God approved knyghtis to deffende his lawe by strenght, al þof þei slee no men. And Crist bad sille mennes kootis and bye hom swerdes, not to feght bodily, bot to speke mekely, bothe in cause of God and worldly causis; and þes ben two swerdes þat Crist seis ben inoghe.

Cap. XVI.

Crusades not necessarily lawful because sanctioned by the pope.

Bot ȝitte men replyen of þis new dede, þat þo pope approves croyserye, and to hym schulden men trowe. Herinne[1] is seid pleynly in oþer placis þat þo pope may synne, and clerkes þat ben to him ward. Ffor he is not more confermed þen Seynt Petre was; and he, aftir he had taken þo Holy Gost, synned, as Poul seies. Why myght not Anticrist synne? He is Anticrist, þat by ypocrisie reversis Jesus Crist in his fals lyvyng. Crist forsoke to þo fende temporal lordschip; Anticrist gedris hit wiþ mony a fals titil. Crist was most servisable of any prest of erþe; Anticrist is most daungerouse, and closid in a castel, and comynes not wiþ men by forme of þo gospel more þen a spirit in cloos; how schulde he be Cristis vikere? Mekenesse and servise and povert to þo worlde schewis þo fals feynyng of such an ypocrite. And in þis fals gabbyng is groundid mony oþer,—as assoyling of synne, and mony oþer privylegies, bi whoche he bigyles þo folk. For þei may not se hom; and þei schulden trowe þat he seies, as he falsely feynes, as blaspheme falsehed, þat he makes medeful to slee Cristen men, and mayntene his lordschip, ȝe, more medeful, as he seis,

[1] *hit*, BB.

þen to deffende Cristis lif. And þus byleve of Cristen is turned up so doune.

Different modes of consenting to sin.

And in consence of þis synne synnen clerkes comynly; for siþ consence to a synne foules mon in þo same synne, and on sex maners may a mon consente, hit is knowen by prestis dedes how þei consenten in þis. He consentis þat helpis to do a wickid dede, or deffendis þis synne on o maner or onoþer; he þat counseils þerto, and he þat approves hit; and he þat is stille to helpe men ageynes hit, and he þat stirtis[1] o bac for to reprehende hit.

Great sin of the pope, in encouraging war and bloodshed among Christians.

Þo pope is stirtour[2] of þis feght, and synnes more þen feghters,—as þo bischopis of þo temple synned more þen Pilate, or knyȝtis þat slowen Crist, for prestis autorisiden þis synne. But who schulde have autorite to deffende þo popis lordschip, his state, or elles his lif, by such maner of feghting? Ffor wil I rede þat Crist blamed Seynt Petre, for he wolde deffende Cristis lif by smytyng of swerde. Also I rede þat Crist wolde not take vengeaunce of Samaritanes, when þei helden his owne godes fro hym and his apostils, and denyed hom þus bothe mete and herberow. Bot Crist seide he was not comen to lese þus mennis lyves. Also Crist is a gode hyrde for þis condicioun, þat he puttis his owne lif for savyng of his schepe; bot Anticrist is a wolff of raveyn, for he dos ever þo reverse; he puttis mony thousande lyves for his owne wrecchid lif. And by forsakyng of þing þat Crist biddes prestis forsake, he myght cees al þis stryve. Why is not he a fende? Þo prestis þat feghten in þis cause synnen foule in homycide; ffor if men-sleeyng in seculeres be odiouse to God, myche more in prestis þat schulden be Cristis vikers. And clerkes consenten in prechyng and mayntenyng of þis cause, and in cowarde dombenesse for a foule luf, and seculeres in mony wises consenten to þis synne. And þus prestis ben irreguler, and seculeres helpen hom. And þus al þis worlde is fouly in discencioun; and I am certeyn þat þo pope and alle men of his counseil con not make a spark of resoun to prove þat he schulde do þus. And þus bolnyng by ire, and specialy in

[1] *sturtis*, BB. [2] *autour*, BB.

clerkes, distourbles þo Chirche mony weyes, and lettis men to wynne heven. Bot byleve schulde teche us to be meke as Crist was, and þen schulden we fare þo better, bothe to body and soule. If we have ire in Gods cause, kepe we þat wiþ mekenesse and wiþ prudense of God, and so schal we plese hym.

Cap. XVII.

On Sloth.

Þo fifte synne of þese seven is calde slouthe in Gods servise; and þo world helpes þo fende boþe in þis and ire. We schal witte þat ydelnesse in servise of God norischis oþer mony synnes, and þus plesis þo fende. And herfore seis þo Gospel, þat þo fende aspyes whether servauntes of a monnis house ben ydel and proude, and if he fynde þat hit be so, he dwellis wiþ þat mon. Lord, if a gode housebonde wil not his hyne be ydel, myche more of God, þat lufs clene travel. And þus we reden of aungels, þat nowþer nyȝt ne day þei ben ydel in God's servise, but blisfuly serven hym. Mon in state of innocense schulde be kept fro ydelnesse, ffor, as Gods lawe seis, he schulde have kept Paradis; and myche more in state of synne schulde mon wake in Gods servise. Ffor þo fende is a theff to wake on mon bothe day and nyȝt; and if he se hym nappe or ydel, he temptis hym to monnis harme. If he slepe in Gods servise þo theff spoylis fro a mon godes þat God hafs gyven hym, to helpe hym fro þo fende. If mon wake in ydelnesse, þo fende aspyes þat þen is tyme to tempt mon to serve hym, for þen he þenkes to spede his cause. As, if a mon have to a lord any cause for to spede, he chesis a tyme when þo lord is ydel for to here hym. And so þo fend aspyes tyme when mon leves to serve God, and þen he moves to serve hym, in lustful servise of þo flesche, or in servise of þo world, and putt byhynde Gods servise. And in þat mon is fals ageyne þo firste comaundement, and þen þo fende sees his tyme to move mon to serve hym. Ffor iche mon mot sumwhat do, as a spere in pleyne place, moved in a grete wynde, mot nedes be moved sumwhyder; aftir þo movyng of þis wynde mot þo spere take his weye. So iche monnis soule is a spere þat nedely mot sumwhat do; and if þo Holy Gost lede hym not to Gods servise, þo fende ledes him to his; for sumwhat mot a mon do.

Lord, if monkynde in þo stat of innocense, when he had in hym strenght, and was not bysett wiþ enmyes, schulde not be ydel bot serve his God bisily, ffor elles he schulde by ydelnesse have fallen fro þo state of innocense,—how schulde he be ydel now when peril is myche more?

Each human condition or calling has its own appropriate work.

And here schulde a mon witte to what state a mon is calde of God, and aftir þo office of þis state serve his God treuly, as dyverse membres of mon serven þo body in hor kynde. And as dyverse partis of mon served unkyndely to mon if one toke þo servise of anoþer and loft his owne propur werk, so dyverse partes of þo Chirche have propir werkes to serve God; and if one part leve his werk þat God haves lymyttid hym, and take werke of anoþer part, synful wondir is in þo Chirche. And herfore is iche mon nedid to witte what state he stondis inne, and kepe þo servise of þat state, for elles he synnes in ydelnesse. And so, if a mon synne, he falles in ydelnesse of his werke. And if þis synne be in a mon, hit haves sum cistir couplid wiþ hit. For nedes mot men here in erthe serve God or elles þo fende; and so as virtues ben knyttid togedir, so ben vicis in hor maner. And also hit sues þat iche mon is nedid to con his byleve, ffor a servaunt of a lord mot nede witte what he schulde do. And þus byleve of holy writte schulde teche men of hor state, hou þei schulden serve hor God, lest þei synned in ydelnesse; and þus byleve is nedeful to iche mon of þis worlde.

Cap. XVIII.

The work of a priest is the highest of all,

And þus schulden Cristen men witte þat sum servise is comyne to alle statis of men, when þei have discrecioun; and iche mon is holden to kepe Gods comandementis, and to serve hym bisily in al þat God haves gyven hym. Bot, as we seiden byfore, thre partis of þo Chirche schulden in þre dyverse maners serve treuly hor God,—as prestis, and gentil men, and laboreres of þo worlde. As prestis have a state hyest of alle oþer, so God askes of hom more parfit servise; and ydelnesse in prestis is more dampnable. Þo moste hye servise þat men have in erthe is to preche Gods worde, þat falles unto prestis. And herfore more streytly God askes of hom þis servise, ffor herby schulden prestis make childer in God, and þat is a werke of God, þat hafs

weddid þo Chirche. Ffeyre hit is to have a son þat were lord of þis worlde, bot myche feyrer hit were to have a son in God, þat schuld cum to heven as lyme of holy Chirche.

and preaching is the most important branch of it.

And herfore Jesus Crist occupyed hym mooste in þo werke of prechyng, and laft oþer werkes; and þus diden his apostils, and herfore God loved hom. Also he dos better þat bettir kepis Gods heestis. Þo first heest of þo secounde table biddes us worschip oure elders, as fadir and modir, bot þis schulde moost stonde in worschip of holy Chirche. Ffor ho is oure modir þat we schulden most luf, and for hir dyed Crist, as oure byleve techis us. Bot ho is most worschippid by prechyng of Gods worde, and so þis is þo most servise þat prestis schulden do to God. And þus a wommon seide to Crist þat þo wombe þat bare hym and þo teetis þat he sook schulden be blessid of God; bot Crist answerid þat rather schulden þoo men be blessid, þat heren Gods worde and kepen hit in lyvyng. And þis schulden prechoures do more þen oþer men, ffor þei schulden here þo worde of God þat schulde speke in hom, and þis worde schulden þei kepe more þen oþer tresoure. And ydelnesse in þis office hyndris most þo Chirche, and gendres moste þo fendes childer, and sendes hom to his court. Also þo servise is better þat haves a worse contrarie; bot contrarie of prechyng is worste of alle oþer; and herfore prechyng is þo best, if hit be wil done. And herfore Jesus Crist, when he steyghe to heven, enjoyned specialy to alle his apostils to preche þo gospel frely to iche mon. And also when Crist spake last wiþ Petir, he bad hym thryes upon his love for to fede his schepe; and þis wolde not a wise hirde do bot if he loved hit wel, ffor þo office of gostly herde stondes in þis. And, for þo bischops of þo temple tellid Crist to do þis dede, þerfore Crist tolde hom þat at þo day of dome Sodom and Gomor schulden better fare þen þei; for lettyng of gostly seed, siþ þat hit is better, is worse þen þo spillyng of bodily seed. And þus if oure bischopis prechen not in hor persone, bot letten trew prestis to preche to hor schepe, þei ben in þo synne of bischopis þat kilden Jesus. Praying is gode, but not so gode as prechyng; ffor no prest wot, þat dwelles wiþ us, wheþer his preyer be better þen preyer of þo puple. And þis is done herfore, for no prest schulde chaffere wiþ his owne

preyer and money of men. Ffor a prest wot not þo valew of his preyer; bot þat mon chafferes ageyns God and resoun, þat knew not þo valew of his owne chaffere. And so in prechyng and preying wiþ hert, and gyvyng of sacramentis, and lernyng of Gods lawe, and gyvyng gode ensaumple by clennesse of lif, schulde stonde þo lif of a prest if he lif wil. Etyng and slepyng and honeste of pleying schulde a prest take unto þis ende, þat hit profite to hym to do þese fyve first.

Cap. XIX.

Gentil men of þo worlde schulden serve hor God in gifftes þat he haves gyven hom, and specialy in þis; þat þei deffende Gods lawe by powere of þo worlde. And þus þo prestis schulden wynne godes to þo Chirche, and gentil men deffende hom by powere ageyns yvel men. Bot no mon haves any offis to serve his God, þat ne he schulde serve hym more if God gif hym wherwith. And þus fendes childer schulden be chastised wiþ strenght, þat þo Chirche myȝt profite aftir Gods lawe. Ffegting and werryng is non offis to þis part of þo Chirche, bot if God bidde hom for deffence þerof; and þen schulden þei holde hom in mekenesse and mesure, as hor God techis hom. Justyng and huntyng and hawkyng, wiþ oþer pley þat[1] may be done wiþouten synne, þei schulden take in mesure, in als myche as þei helpen for to serve God. Bot if prestis leven hor offis lymyttid unto hom, and usen chesse and tablis and hasarde or taverne, þei passen unkyndely fro þe offis of prest. Ffor þei schulden hunte þo fende, and destrye synnes, and bisye hom in Gods lawe, and taste of his swettnesse, ne take not þis state bot if þei wil holde þese boundes. Ffor covetise of wynnyng and ydelnesse of reste bryngen mony prestis to serve þo fende.

The work of a gentleman is to defend God's law.

And as garmentis of pride schulden be fer fro knyghtis, so spoyling of pore men, al if þei ben hor tenauntis. Rightwisenesse of Gods lawe schulden þese knyghtis knowe, and mayntene hit in hom and in oþer bothe; for myghty deffendyng of þo lawe of rightwisenesse falles to knyghtis, by a holy purpose for to serve God and mayntene his lawe. If þere ben feble men, as clerkes or comynnes, þat stonden wiþ Gods lawe and

He should avoid injustice towards his dependents, and should defend the weak, as women, and oppressed clergymen.

[1] So in BB; om. in W.

have mony enmyes, hit longis to knyghtis to deffende hom fro þese enmyes. And herfore seis Baptist to knyghtis of Rome, þat if þei wolden wynne heven, þei schulden holde hom in þese boundes. 'Oppresse ȝe not ȝoure breþren, ne do hom non injurie; bot fle covetise of godis, and be payed wiþ ȝoure sowdes[a].' And for þei schulden passe comynes in knowyng of Gods lawe, þei schulden teche comynes to holde rightwisenes. And þis is þo cause why God approves þis state, and ȝifs hom worldly worschip wiþ powere and rentis; and if þei leven þis office, þei forfeten ageyns God, and serven Gods enmye, and ben Gods traytoures. And so to hor servauntis schulden þei have charite, ne punische hom in no wey, ne take of hom no servise bot by þo waye of charite and profite to hor soule. And as God lufs more mon þen mon schulde luf God, so lordes of hor godenesse schulden luf more hor servantis þen hor tenauntis loven hom, for þis is Gods lawe. And, for luf dos mony þinges, for hit is not ydel, þen lordes schulden helpe hor tenauntis, and defende hom in right. And so if þei weren oppressid by unkynde braunchis, as prestis or freris, lordes schulden helpe hom, as kepere of a vyneȝerd schulde helpe þo vynes, and kutt awey superflu þat growes in hom; as unkynde braunches, þat growen in þo roote, schulden be kutte awey for profite of þo tree. And alþof lordes schulden comynly do þus, nereþoles gretter lordes, and specialy kynges, ben more to blame if þei faylen in þis. Ffor as hor mede is more if þei don wel hor offis, so blame is more and peyne for defaute. Þis schulden prestis telle lordes, or elles þei ben to blame.

A scholastic speculation on this topic.

Bot somme trewthis ben hid in þis mater þat men wil not assent wiþ, for þei con not þo termes; as, God is oblischid to mon by his owne fredome, and God by his just lawe may take no servise of mon, bot if he gif mon þo better þen he takis of hym. And so God is more holden to mon þen mon may be to God, ffor even als myche as he is holden gifs he to mon. Lef, sith[1] lordes ben vikers of godhed of Crist, lete hom sue godhed in maner of hor governayle.

[1] *leeve, sithen,* BB.

[a] The rendering of this passage does not agree with either Wycliffite version.

Cap. XX.

The duties of the commonalty;

Moreowver hit were to witte how comynes schulden fle þis synne, and serve God and mon[a]. By þo lawe of God þei schulden serve mekely to God and to hor lordes, and do trew servise to God and to hor maysteres, not servynge at hor eye, and ydel in hor absence; ffor, as Seynt Poule seis, þei serven first to God, and God may not be aweye, ne noþing hid fro hym. ȝe, by þo lawe of Crist, if þo lord be untrew mon and tyraunt to his sogettis, ȝit schulden þei serve hym, ffor þei schulden serve to God in mekenesse and charite. I have not redde in Gods lawe þat sogettis schulden feght wiþ hor worldly soveraynes, and so gete hom pees; bot Crist taght us by paciense to vencusche oure enmyes, and wynne þo blisse of heven, bot not wiþ oþer stryvyng. O, if killyng of men be foule þing in knyghtis, more in hor sogettis, þat schulden be meke and pacyent. And so þenken trew men þat no mon schulde take vengeaunce bot if God bid hym, for to venge Gods wrong. Þis lawe schulden men teche þo folk, and putte on bak þo fendes lawe; and þen schulden men have pees, and stryves schulden slepe.

were they taught as they ought to be, there would be peace instead of strife.

Alle we seyn we loven Crist and holdyng of his lawe; bot when he bad his apostils preche, he wente hymself to heven, ffor þei schulden at þat tyme have more mynde on his wordes fro he had reproved hom. He bad hom do þis offis, go into al þo worlde, and preche to eche mon þo gospel. He bad not wende to Jude[1] and preche only þere, ne to þo folk of Israel for þei weren of his kyn, bot preche generaly bothe to state and mon. Bot þei schulden not preche cronyclis of þo world, as þo batel of Troye[b], ne oþer nyse fablis, ne monnis lawes, founden to wynne hom þo money, ffor Crist biddes his clerkes preche þo gospel, and by þat þei wan þo world and scounfitiden þo fende. For he þat trowes þis worde, and aftirward is cris-

[1] *Judee*, BB.

[a] The studiously un-democratic tone of this chapter is very noticeable, when one remembers the charge continually brought against Wyclif and his followers by their contemporaries, of exciting the commons to contempt and hatred of their lords.

[b] See the prefatory notice.

tened, and lastis in þis lore, schal be saaf in heven, and he þat trowes hit not schal be dampned in helle. Bot helþe[1] is fer fro þo trewthe of þoo oþer thre japes[a]. And þus defaute of prechyng of þo lawe of Crist distourblis al þis worlde, and makes stryff among men. Gods lawe techis subjeccioun and pees, and techis þo menes herto, and forbedes þo contrarye. Þus schulde þo folk be taght to kepe hom fro synne, and to use hom in virtues. Bot þis is not by werre, sith þe puple þat travels in werris schal evere be worse in virtues, and þis is worse þen myche losse of worldly godis. And we schal witte by Gods lawe, þat a gode comynate makes hom have gode hedis, for þus þei disserven of God; and synne þat is in comynate God ordeyns to be punischid by wickednesse of hor soverayne; and þerfore þei schulden fle synne, ffor þes two partis of þo Chirche suen iche to oþer. Bot iche mon schulde witte þat al þis worlde is led by lawe; and so holdyng of Cristis lawe floures in pees and charite, bot holdyng of Anticristis lawe brynges in stryff and envye. And þus may men knowe þo fruyt of þese two lawis. Anticrist bisyes hym to sommen men, and curse hom, and pryve hom of her godes, and putte hom efte in prisoun. And þis lawe is more taght and dred and executid, for þo fende and covetise hafs more maystrye of men þen Crist and his lawe, for þat is thynne sowen. Ffor marke contreys and comynatees, and herby may þou knowen hom.

Cap. XXI.

On Covetousness.

Þe fiffte synne of þese seven is cald covetise, or avarice of worldly godis, and marris mony men; and hit fallis to men when þei coveiten to myche godes of þo worlde, and to litil gostly godes. And desire, wiþ bisynes, may juge men in þis, ffor what a mon desires he travels more aboute hit, and sorowis more of losse of hit, þen of a þing lesse loved. And by þis, as Greggor[b] seis, may men knowe hor owne luf. And þus

[1] So in BB, and W may have had the same reading originally, but the word has been partly erased, so that it now stands *be*.

[a] *thre japes*. That is, romances, fables, and human laws. See preceding page.

[b] S. Greg. *Moralia*, lib. xxxi. cap. 13. 'Dum [hypocrita] animarum damna aequanimiter tolerat, jactu-

when laboreres of þo worlde travelen in hor offis, þei schulden have hor eye to God, and first and moste do for hym. Ffor he is untrew to God þat lifftis not up his eye to hym, and knowes not hym lord of alle, to whom eche mon mot nede serve, and to worschip of his God dos al þat he dos. And so to knowe Gods lawe, and specialy to serve God, is holyday ordeyned, and to fille þing leffte on werk day. And so clerkes, þat schulden lif contemplatif lyve, ben worse þen mony men of þo world þat lyven actif lif. Ffor he þat serves treuly to God and his mayster, and kepes hym fro grete synnes, as mony servauntis done, lifeþ[1] better lyve to God þen þes hye prelatis þat ben negligent to serve God by his lawe. Ffor God curses soche prelatis as traytoures to hym, and soche comyn lyvers loven God ful wil.

The covetous man is an idolater.

And so, if we loken avarice, hit faylls in mony wyses. Ffor whoevere is avarous, he is ydolatroure, and makes worldly godes his God, and þat is a falsehed ageyne þo first maundement of God, and worse þen lif of Paynym. And þerfore Seynt Poule calles ydolatrye of soche men service of mawmetis, as done heethen men. And hit is light for to prove, supposyng þis reule, þat what kynd þing a mon loves most he makes his God. And if men out of byleve schulden be fled as paynyms, mony of us schulden be fled, for þei ben more perilouse. And so covetouse men ben aboute, as foolis, to turne þo ordynaunse of kynde þat God hymself hafs made; ffor God haves putte hymself hyeste of alle þingis, and aftir hym monnis soule, for þus þinges schulden be loved; and erthly þinges lowest, ffor þei schulden be leeste loved. And herfore erthe is defoulid under feet of men, to teche þat mennis affeccioun schulde be litel to þo erthe. And herfore Cristis apostils were taght of hor mayster to shake þo powder of hor feet to men þat denyed hym. Bot þo covetouse mon dos al contrarye herto; and when

[1] So BB; *lyven*, W.

ram vero rerum temporalium repellere . . . festinat, cunctis veraciter indicat, teste mentis perturbatione, quid amat. Ibi quippe est grande studium defensionis, ubi et gravior vis amoris. Nam quanto magis terrena diligit, tanto privari eis vehementius pertimescit. Qua enim mente aliquid in hoc mundo possidemus, non docemur nisi cum amittimus.'

he coveitis to be lord þus ageyns Gods wille, he forfeetis ageyne þo Lord of alle, and þus is made most pore mon. Ne vauntage herby haves he none oþer, bot by luf is drawen to helle, and þat is ferrist þing fro heven. Ffor loved þing drawes men to hit, as þo stoon of adamaunt drawes irne unto hym. And herfore God biddis men most love heven and hevenly þinges. And se we hou þo avarous mon coveytis unkyndely to fille his soule wiþ þing þat on no wyse may fille hit. Ffor monnis soule is ordeyned þus to be filde wiþ hir God, and vanyte of þis worlde makes hir to long aftir hym, ffor ho haves not kyndely ende to whiche monnis soule is made. And herfore þo avarouse [a] mon, evere þo more he haves of worldly gode, evere þo more he longes, ffor he is ferther fro his ende.

Cap. XXII.

Covetousness infects all three parts of the Church; and first, the clergy.

Bot se we hou þis avarice marres þre partis of þo Chirche. Ffor þese prestis and þese clerkes, þat schulden be ferrest fro covetise, ben most engleymed þerwiþ, for þei forsaken Gods lawe. Þei schulden be payed by Gods part, as wiþ dymes and offerandes, and gif hom al to hevenly lif, as aungels þat were sende fro God, and drawe men fro þo world by virtu of hor mayster. Bot now no more covetouse men schal men fynde in erthe, ne ferrer fro hevenly lif, ne more wrappid wiþ worldly causes. And hit semes to mony men þat þei gon hedlyngis to helle, and drawen men aftir hom þat þei schulden bere to heven. Ne we ben not sufficient to speke ful of þis covetise, for þo synne of symonye entris us into avarice, and by stiryng of þis synne we wedden hit al oure lif. Ffor soche lawes and occupacioun þat wynnes us þis worldly mucke, we suen hom for al oure lif, and leven lif þat falles to prestis. Ffor sith prestis haf ful certeyne worldly godes to hom in mesure, for þei schulden travel night and day to coke for mennis gostly fode, and teche hem by Gods lawe hou men schulden leve perels of þis worlde,—if þei faylen in þis, þei ben traytours to God and mon. Ffor prest is a spyere in his castel, to loke ofer perels of schepe; and if he be blynde in his soule for pouder of

[a] At this point there is a gap in Douce 273 (BB), extending to p. 154.

temporal goodis, or slepe for lust, as swyne done, and þus perel come to schepe, þo Lord þat owis þo schepe by skil schulde dampne hym for negligense. And so, þof we se not nowe þo hardnesse of oure jugement, Gods lawe techis us how God wil harde deme us.

who commonly seek benefices from desire of worldly gain, and so are simoniacal.

And sith, as we seyden byfore, who þat coveytis worldly godes more þen profite to his soule, or is nedeful to his lif, he synnes in avarice ageyne his God and his soule, hit semes þat persones comynly taken beneficis for avarice. Ffor if þei token for heele of soule, þei wolden bisily do hor cure, ffor negligence of þis offis dampnes hom ful grevously. And sith þei resten in worldly godes, and leven þis offis in whiche is mede, hit semes þat þese godes þei sought, and not soule heele, in þis offis; and þis is symonye to God, and cursis hom in hor entre. And als long as þei dwellen in þis symonye, þei don harme to hor floc in gyvyng of sacramentis, in syngynge or preyinge, or what evere þei do. And þus blynde hirdes and necgligent done harme to þo Chirche. Lord, wheþer þo first juge, þat is welle of resoun, schal dampne þus for necgligence hyred hynes of his floc, and schal spare more thefis, þat bothe letten to do Gods service, and spoylen hor schepe bisily, and recken nevere of hor soules, and hou þei faren! And þus don somme bischopis, erchdekens, and officials and servauntis to hom, þat clippen þo puple and spoylen hom. And þus somme hyrdes in hor entyre synnen sore in symonye, and in contynuaunce þerof grevousely agreggen hor synne, and maken þo fendes knott in hor dying in þis synne. Lord, sith no puple schulde gif hor prestis by þo titil of almes norischyng and hillyng to do hor prestis servise, if þei frauden of þis servise, and harmen men as fendes, wheþer men ben holden by Cristis lawe to laste in þis almes? Wel I wot þat Gods lawe byndes not men to þis, for þen God nedid men to synne and do hor owne dampnacioun. And alþof harme may cum herof, in foole jugement of sogetis, so more harme may lightly cum in foole askyng of almes. Covetise of clerkes falles bothe in bying and sellyng, and also in procuryng of soche benfices. Covetise is in freris, in sellyng of hor prechyng, in schryvyng, in birying, and in hor fals counseyling; so þis semes þo worste synne þat is amonge men.

Cap. XXIII.

Covetousness in the nobility and gentry, from kings down to squires,

Þo secunde part of þo Chirche fayles not of avarice, siþ alle men of nobley, fro kyngis unto squyeers, synne in þis covetise ouþer more or lesse. Ne hor owne covetise is not ynoghe to hom, bot if þei comynen wiþ clerkes in hor cursid covetise. Oure byleve techis us þat not onely þese men synnen þat don þo wicked dede of synne, bot þese [þat] consenten. Loke sixe maner of consence, and aseye mennis dedes, and þou schalt se þat lordes consenten to synne of clerkes. Ffor þei norischen and defenden symonye of hom, and þerfore hit is resonable by rightwisenes of God þat þei ben parcyneres of þis grete synne. Lordes senden lettris for soche avaunsementis, þei speken by mouthe for doying of þis synne, and mayntenen in hor servise clerkes ful of symonye; hou may þei be excused of synne to God? Þei done first perpetuel harme in apperynge of þo chirches, and avaunsen hor foolis to grete benfices, and at þo last schal þei witte þat þis dos hom harme. For most avauntage þat þei have of suche symoneres is þat þei lasten in hor servise, and wasten pore mennis godes; and þus[a], if hit be wil soght, dos hom algatis harme. Hit is a trayturye to God, to be his special vikere, and hyre wiþ Gods godes men to serve God, and sithen put hom in hor offis, and drawe hom fro Gods servise; sith servise þat þei schulden do is fedyng of þo Chirche, and feghtyng wiþ þo fende in deffense of Gods part. Suche fals traytorye dos no gode to rewmes. Hit were better þat lewid men diden to lordes þis offis, and al þo lordschip of prestis were purgid fro hom; ffor better and lighter and treulier schulde hit be done, and moo gentil mennis childer, aftir hor eyris, schulden be helpid by þis offis, þat now ben in myschef. Lord, wheþer hit were worschip to lordis of þis world to se in hor presence soche synnes done, and pore mennis godes on þis wyse wastid! If þei were lightid wiþ light of byleve, to se al aboute resoun of þese dedis, þei schulden have schame herof and drede of þo perel. Þei have perel ynogh of her owne synne, þof þei clouten not on hom synne of hor servauntis. And in þis same consence ben lerid and lewid, þat reproven not þis synne, bot helpen þerto, — bischops and prechouris,

who 1. consent to the covetousness of the clergy;

[a] Read *þis*.

confessoures and counseyloures, þat schulden crye ageyne þis, and deffende Gods cause. Bot blyndenesse of Gods cause makes traytors unknowen. Welle of þis traytorye is þo popis court, and a streem herof ben courtis of bischops, and anoþer streem ben courtis of lordis. And þis synne flowes to possessioneres and freris; and so hit owverflowes al þis wyde worlde.

2. are driven into this sin by pride and vain-glory.

Þere is anoþer avarice approprid to lordes, þat comes of hor pride and hor grete costis, þat nedes hom to spoyle hor tenauntis and hor neghtboris, and to feght wiþ rewmes, wiþ whoche þei schulden have pees. Richees of þis world þat God hafs graunted lordes schulde be sufficient to hom, wiþ a litil prudence. Þei schulden þenke hou þei ben dedly, as oþer men ben; þei broghten noght into þis worlde, and naked þei schal wende awey. And schort tyme þat þei dwellen here, þei have bot hor sustynaunce, bot if þei oght profiten to hor soule, and ordeynen wisely hor godes, for day of dome schal cum when þei schal nedely acounte.

Cap. XXIV.

Covetousness in the commons; 1. in lawyers;

Þo þridde part of þo Chirche is þo comynate of men, þat hafs mony partis smytted wiþ avarice, and specialy marchaundis, and men þat wolden be riche, so þat few men or none ben cleene of þis synne. Bot men of lawe and marchauntis, and chapmen, and viteleres, synnen more in avarice þen done pore laboreres. And þis token hereof; for now ben þei pore, and now ben þei ful riche, for wronges þat þei done. Men of lawe ben somme of þo lawe of londe, and somme of þo lawe of þo pope[a], þat holden Cristen court. Bot þis name is ofte fals, and named by þo contrarye, when þis is byfore oþer Anticristis court. Þese laweres comynly ben men wiþouten mercy and wiþouten charite, as hor dedes schewen. Þei ben knytte by covenaunt to mayntene hor wynnyng, þat þei schulden take no losse, bot þus selle hor wordes. And, as Austyn seis[b], þei sellen hor rightwisenes, and now þei sellen falsehed, and so þei sellen þo devel,

[a] Either of the common, or of the canon law.

[b] In the only passage bearing on the professional honesty of lawyers that I can find in his works, (Epist. CLIII) St. Augustine says pretty nigh the contrary.

and þus þei parten hom fro God and wedden hom wiþ þo fende.

2. in money-lenders.

And þis same marchaundise is wiþ thre oþer. Bot usure is a comyne synne þat mony men usen; and þis is forfendid in þo olde lawe, and more in þo new lawe, when luf schulde be more. Lord, what charite is wit hym þat leeves his neghtbore worldly godes for a tyme, and after askes þo same, or þing als[a] myche worth, and owver þis encrees? So þat, when al þing is sought, he selles pure tyme; bot by propurte of God he is lord of tyme, and so charite is awey bothe to God and mon. He may not by covenaunt have so mykel encrees, bot if bytwene hym and oþer be bying and selling. He wil be certeyn of þat at he byes, and sumwhat he selles, or ellis hym fayles right. He selles not þat þing þat he leeves in a maner, for he askes þat hool in ende of a tyme; ne he selles not wynnyng þat comes of þis catel, ffor mon selles not a þing þat nevere was his, ne þing þat stondes in fortune; and oft þere comes no wynnyng. And so, if al þinge be soght, he selles not þing, bot lenght of tyme by whiche he leeves þis money. And so, sith lenght of tyme and tyme is al one, he selles tyme to his neȝtbore, and þat he may not; for God onely is Lord of tyme, and wil þat tyme be comyne to alle maner of creature þat dwellis in þo tyme. Ne chaffaryng of tyme profitis not to mon, ffor as God ordeynes tyme to mon, so mot hit be. And blessid be þis Lord, þat okeris on þis wyse. He leeves mon frely giftis of grace and giftis of kynde to have for a tyme; and efft, in ende of tyme, he askes acounte, what þis mon haves profited wit godes of God. If he have myche profitid, þo Lord is þo better payed, and al þo encrees þo Lord gifs hym, for þo Lord is riche inoghe, and dampnes ydelnesse. And everiche servaunt in erthe þat profitis not to hymself, þis is usure of luf, and not usure of avarice. Wil I wot þat mony a caas fallis in þis mater, and answeres and resouns to excuse oker, bot God þat wot al þinge schal juge men by hor purpose, ffor bothe he puttis mede and synne in mennis purpose. Bot þo usurere wolde not leeve to men þese godes, bot if he hopid wynnyng, þat he lufs

The sin of usury

[a] Here ends the lacuna in the Douce MS.

more þen charite. Mony oþer synnes ben more þen þis usure, bot for þis men cursen and haten hit more þen oþer synne.

Other forms of covetousness in the commons.

Bot oft tyme oþer avarice is more synne þen þis. Hit is a myche synne to holde conyng of God, and profite not þerwiþ to þin even Cristen. Oþer comyne laboreres ben not wiþouten avarice, when þei done injuries to hor even Cristen, not onely for wynnyng of þis worldly gode, bot pure for envye and veniaunse of hor broþer. And somme men pleten by costes and dispensis, and wynnyng geten þei none, bot likyng of hor veniaunse. Bot we schal undirstonde þat þere ben þre lawes, lawe of God, and lawe of mon, and lawe of þo fende. Lawe of God dos gode for yvel, and monnis lawe gode for gode; bot þo lawe of þo fende dos evere more yvel for gode. And þis lawe is myche usid of þo fendes childer.

Cap. XXV.

GLUTTONY: definition of the sin.

Þo sixte synne of þese seven is called glotorye; and hit falles to þo flesche. Bot bothe þo fend and þo world tempten mon to þis synne, when þei supposen victorye; ffor bi fallyng in þis synne þei haf mon lightly to hor propur synne, by cautels of hor temptyng. Glotorye falles þen to mon, when he takes mete or drink more þen profitis to his soule. Ffor few men synnen in abstinence, þat have habundaunce of þis fode, and ȝitt þei wil not take of hit. Bot certis hit may falle to a mon þat he synnes in abstinence, when he fedes not his horse þat schulde bere hym to serve his soule. Ffor iche mon schulde be a knyȝt, and ryde here in worldly travel; ffor by þis travel schulde a mon make blis to his soule and gete to hit þo joye of heven, for mede of his travel. Ffor, as þo gospel techis, mon is here as wommon þat travels of childe in anguische and noye. And if þo childe be wil borne, þat is, a cleene soule, in house of his deth hit partis fro his body; þen he joyes for his peyne þat he suffrid here, ffor his peyne is turned to blis þat he schal evere have. And so þis Lord þat we serven wil þat we eete and drink als myche as profitis us, or we schulde aske by resoun. If a mon, to chastise his body, take þese þinges in abstinence, if he have prudense þerwiþ, þo abstinence is medeful. And so, if God sende hym wantyng of þese godes, and he þenke al is

The possible abuse, but general benefits, of abstinence.

gods, and þat he has myche more synned, þen þis abstinence is worthe, and þonkes God in charite; þis abstinence is gode and medeful to þis mon. Lord, men abstenen in werre, with myche fastyng and peyne, to wynne worschip of þo worlde and to anoye hor enmyes; bot for to wynne þo blis of heven and discounfite þo flesche, þei wil not gladly fast þus, for þat flesche is hor god. And herfore seis Seynt Poule þat glotouns ben oute of þo feith, sith þei maken hor wombe hor God, þat þei loven more þen homself, and so more þen trewe God, alþof be he above mon, whiche he schulde luf more þen mon, for God is bettir þen mon in kynde. And certis þis is a foule sac[1] and stynkyng þat mon makes his god. And mon is more foule by synne when he hafs chosen hym suche a god, and forsaken oure gode God þat so myche hafs done for mon.

Other kinds of gluttony.

And here may we se þo maner of glotorye. Ffor glotorye is not onely in meete and drink, bot in al oþer þing þat schulde norische a mon; and so, as temperure of iche bodily þing schulde norische a mon, distemperure þerinne may be calde glotorye. So foole fastyng is glotorye, and so, sith excessis in mesure is calde glotorye, iche synne is glotorye or suyng þerof; ffor he is a glotoun þat travels oute of mesure to con mony þinges, þat don his soule harme. And þus may we se þat iche glotoun is a foole, as mon when he synnes travels in foly; as iche synful mon synnes for sum gode, and þo contrarie falles þat þo foole coveytis. As, þo glotorous mon coveytis to haf lust, or ellis to have strenght or beute of body, bot þo contrarie falles of alle þes þinges, sith a glotoun by his synne schortis his lif, and makes hymself feble in strenght of his body, and a stinkyng caryoun by resoun of his glotorye.

Cap. XXVI.

Gluttony in the clergy and monks;

And þus þre partis of þo Chirche synne in glotorye, bot clerkes more schamely, for þei schulden kepe more temperaunce. Upon fyve maners synnen men in excesse of eetyng and drinkyng, and comynly clerkes. Ffirst when a mon eetis or drinkes byfore þo tyme þat resoun schulde aske; as glotouns of drinke wil drinke in þe morowe, and þat, as þei

[1] So in BB; W has *sek*.

seyn, askes dronkenes owver even. Sum mon to hastily eetis or drinkes, and þat ageyne physik dos harme to his body. And somme men deynteuously[1] norischen hor body, as spendyng Gods gode to costily in glotorye. And sum mon to lustfuly eetis or drinkes, and þat distemperes a mon in body and in soule. And somme men taken hom tyme to eete saverly, and evere þo more þat þei wasten þo better ben þei payed; ȝe, þei holden hit a booste to eete myche or drinke. And God wot wheþer proude clerkes synnen in þese maners; ȝe, religiouse men, as mounkes or freris, wasten more meete or drinke þen profitis to hom. *Ffor, as mony men seyn, monkes haf grete kuppes, and purchascen pardoun to men þat drinken depe of hom*[2], and in hor bred and hor drinke asken þei a mesure, and stryven for defaute þerof more þen defaute of virtues. As þei asken noumbre and grettenesse of eyren, so þei asken largenesse of flesche and of fische; and þus þei harmen homself in mortheryng of meete. And so þei synnen in excesse of wakyng and fastyng; and biddyng of hor psalmes, and forme of hor clothyng, and syngnes of hor silence, done homself harme, and occupyen hor wittes in lernyng of þese þinges. And al suche excesse smakes glotorye.

waste of good food.

Bot blessid be þo Lord þat askes of mon mesure and noumbre and weght of a clene luf! for virtues of God may no mon disuse; and herfore schulde iche mon coveyte myche of hom. Bot bischops or abbotis or oþer grete prelatis holden a grete avaunt[3] to be gode meete-gyveres, and coste myche of Gods godes in quantite of meete and in qualite þerof, by whiche þei passen hor neghtbores; and by resoun herof maken fals suggestiouns, and seyn þat þei have nede of so myche rent. And þis schewes opunly whoos childer þei ben. Ffor þo fadir of leesynges, god of alle glotouns, is god of hom, to whom þei alle serven. Ffor he þat worschips fals goddes mote nede have mony. And þus, if we taken hede to noumbre of þese prestis, and quantite of hor fode þat þei consumen, no folc in þis worlde maken more waste. And if þei schulden feste men wiþ

[1] *to tenderly*, BB.

[2] The passage between the asterisks is omitted in BB.

[3] *vaunt*, BB.

hor meete, þei maken more waste þen any oþer men. And sith seyntis seyn, and resoun approves hit, þat richesses þat clerkes have schulden be pore mennis godis, þei done wronge to pore men in alle suche excesse. Hor chekis and hor body beren wittenesse of hor lif, hou þei lyven in glotorye of pore mennis part. Lord, siþ Crist schal dampne men at þo day of dome for þei fede not pore men, as þo gospel seis, hou schal þei be dampned þat professen povert, and maken hor suggestioun in getyng of hor godes þat þei schulden fede pore men, and aftir al þis mortheren pore mennis godes, as traytours to God. Þer ben mony mon-sleeres, bot þese ben þo foulest, ffor þei sleen pore men, hor owne[1] body and soule. Of þis serves dowyng, ageyne Gods maundement, to norische soche fendes and traytoures to pore men. Þus speken seyntis of almes gyven to clerkes, hou hit is turned to thefte, to raveyne, and sacrilege.

Cap. XXVII.

Gluttony in the nobility and gentry;

Þo secounde part of þo Chirche synnes in glotorye, and specialy in costily meetis and drinkes. And alþof gentil men schulden costilyere fare þen prestis, þei ben not excusid fro þo synne of glotorye. Ffor he þat wil kepe hym fro drenchyng of water, kepe hym fro þe brynke for to be siker. Soth hit is þat lordes schulden reule by drede and powere, and so þei schulden be costily in fode and in clothyng. Bot þei may passe resoun by pride of hor state; and herof comen mony perels by wey of suche glotorie; and þus þei rennen in dette, and wasten hor godes; and aftir þei pillen hor tenauntis, and distourblen rewmes, and so þei ben worse þen theves by cause of þis glotorye. For soth hit is þat grete cause of stryffe in þo puple is unjust partyng of worldly richesse. Þo puple is childische, and takes more hede to suche þing þen þei done to virtues or richessis of þo soule, ffor gostily þingis þei seen not, and knowen hom to litil. Lordes by suche glotorye fallen offt in sikenesse, and so ben deede or hor tyme, by hor owne hondes. Ffor, as clerkes seyn comynly, glotorie slees mo men

[1] BB reads *and þer owne.*

þen dos swerde. And on þis wyse glotouns ben mon-sleers; and when þei loven homself so litil, no wonder þof þei sleen hor brether. Glotorye distourblis lordis to have hor hoole wittes. Ffor when þo body is undisposid, hit serves not wil þo soule; and þen þei reulen amysse homself and þo peeple undir hom. And of þis springes lecchorye, and mony synnes aftir hit; and þus þo fende by one synne bringes a mon to mony. And þus fro þo brinke ben mony led into þo grete see, and þere ben þei drenchid.

And lustis and defaute of reule is cause of þis synne. For mon schulde wil witte, þat ofte comyne meetis ben more holsum to men þen ben þese riche meetis wiþ hoot spices, and oft tymes comyne drinkes dos more gode þen þese hye drinkes, made costily by crafftis. And þus mony men supposen þat God hafs gyven to reumes bothe meete and drink þat is most acordyng to hom. So if þo reume of Englond were reulid wil by resoun, þing þat comes forth in þo lond wolde suffis hit to meete and drinke. Bot wil I wot þat God hafs ordeyned one lond to be plentyuous in one maner of þing, and one in anoþer, ffor cause þat þei schulden comyne in charite. Bot þis is to myche lefft by werris and covetise; for mony men byen wyne for lustis and for wynnyng. For alþof wyne be nedeful for lordes and sacramentis, nereþoles God Almyghty askes þing in mesure. And so mony drinken wyne þat were better lif wiþ ale. We schulden trist and knowe of oure gode God, þat he wil þat his servauntis have gode mete and drinke, to remounte hom in hor body, and herby serve hym better; bot in al þinge he askes mesure, as God is in al þinge. And þus, by ensaumple of glotorye of lordes, apis þat ben lesse þen þei synnen mony weys, when þei ben to costily and to lustily in fode. Ffor prelatis and abbotis be[1] ensaumple herof, passen lif of lordes, and wasten pore mennis meete. And þis makes þo lordschip þat þei ben dowid wiþ; ffor herfore þei leeven prestis state, and taken lif of lordis.

interchange of products between different countries is good.

Cap. XXVIII.

Þo þridde part of þo Chirche synnes to myche in glotorye, as men þat haf myche worldly gode, and þerwiþ ben to lustily; as

Gluttony in the commons.

[1] *by*, BB.

burgeis and marchaundes and oþer riche comynes. Hom þenke hit is a grete avaunt to spende myche in household, and make grete festis to lordes; and herof comes myche yvel; ffor by þis ben parties made, and mony wrongis mayntened. Ffor þo synne of covetise bringis in þo synne of glotorye. And not onely riche comyns synnen þus in glotorye, bot mony pore laboreres ben blemyschid by þis synne, and specialy in dronkenesse, for uneven norisching. Ffor now þei hungren and thristen, and þerwiþ travelen fast, and now þei comen to meete and drinke, and taken to myche þerof; and soche mot nede passe mesure, as swyne eten hor meete. Þis we seyn, for soche men schulden warly ete and drinke, and take sum drinke on werk day, and not spende al on holy day; ffor þis þing unables hom to serve God on holy day, and makes hom to feght as wode men, ȝe, more þen beestis done, ffor beestis kepen more mesure in etyng and drinkyng.

Evils of drunkenness.

Hit were to long to telle þo harmes þat comen of dronkenesse, ffor soche men, as beestis, serven þen not Crist,—ffor Crist is wisedome of þo Fader,—and þei faylen þen in resoun, and ben þen as hors and mule þat wanten undirstondyng. Lord, sith hit is schameful to be in state of a beeste, myche more schulde hit be to passe beeste in foly; and so done þes dronken men for tyme þat þei ben dronken. A mon schulde not by resoun, to wynne al þis worlde, ne to wynne þo blis of heven, chese to lese his witte; for þen hit did hym no gode, lordschip ne blis of heven; as men seen þat beestis coveyten not monnis lordschip. Bot siþ men fallen by dronkenesse fro resoun worse þen beestis, who schulde not by pure skile fle to be dronken? And by þis skile al synne schulde algatis be fled, for synne makes a mon noght in þat þat he is synful. Ffor ȝitt a mon is sum þing in þat þat he is myche or litil, and so in þat þat he is whit [1], slepynge, or restynge; bot no mon is oght worthe in þat þat he synnes. And herfore, as Austyn seis, synne makes mon noght [a].

[1] *witty*, BB.

[a] S. Aug. *Enarratio in Ps.* 143. '*Homo vanitati similis factus est.* Peccando *vanitati similis factus est.* Nam quando est primum conditus, veritati similis factus est; sed quia peccavit, quia recepit digna, vanitati similis factus est.'

Pleas for intemperance refuted.

And if þou sey þat hit spedes a mon to be dronken ones in a moneth, for myche gode comes þerof,—suppose we to phisisians þat þei taken soth, bot wil I wot þat more gode comes of mennis synne; bot schulden men synne herfore? sith þat Poule seis nay. If gode cum of synne hit is a grace of God, and men schulden not putt hom in þis caas to wynne al þis worlde, ffor in þis þei tempten God, and witten not wheþer his rightwisenes wil profyte mercyfuly to mon when he synnes þus. And if þou sey, mon fallyng in dronkenesse ryses sone þerof, and better is disposid for to do his werk, or what þat he schulde do, here þou spekes as a foole, as alle proctoures of synne. For þou woste nevere wheþer þou schalt dye in tyme of þi dronkenesse, and nere make asethe to God for synne þat þou fallis inne. Bot Gods lawe techis us to lyve evere in þat state þat we be redy to hym, what tyme þat he calles us. And amonge oþer causes, herfore haves God ordeyned þat tyme of deth be uncerteyne to men þat dwellen here in erthe, ffor we schulden evere be redy whenevere God calles us to ende in his servise, and take of him þo blis of heven. Mony soche blyndenessis colouren mennis synne and maken hom Gods foolis, for iche synne comes of folye. If þo worlde holde men foolis for þo luf of Crist, hit is a gode token in men þat lyve wel, for we schulden take as bileve þat mon when he synnes dos hym harme, to body and to soule, to þis lif and to þat oþer.

Rom. vi. 1.

Cap. XXIX.

Definition of LUST.

Þo sevent synne is lecchorye, and stondis in þis þing, þat mon mysusis lymes or powere of his body, þat God haves ordeyned unto men for his kyndely gendrure. And undirstonde we by mon, bothe mon and wommon. And on fyve maners is þis synne done. Ffirst, when a sengle mon delis wiþ a sengle wommon, and þis þo chapitre calles a symple fornicacioun. As God hafs ordeyned instrumentis and powere to do þis dede, so he ordeynes mariage and feyth of wedded folk. And þus in iche lechorye is sum þing by kynde, and sum þing ageyns kynde; and þerinne stondes synne. Ffor synne is so feble and noȝt worth[1] of hym, þat hit myght not be bot if gode

It has five kinds:
1. fornication;

[1] *worthy*, BB.

of kynde groundid hit. And he þat excusis synne, or preysis hit herfore, excusis þo fende and dispreyses God. Þo secounde maner of þis synne is calde avoutrye, and falles on thre maners; when weddid synnes wiþ weddid, or weddid wiþ unweddid; and þat is on two maners. And þis is a gratter synne, for feyth in þis is broken, and mony harmes comen herof, as feghtyng and disheritynge, leesyng of godes and virtues, and þat is moste of al. Þo thridde maner of þis synne is lecchorye wiþ virgyns. Ffor he þat moves hom herto, ouþer mon or wommon, is bygynner of þis synne and mony oþer þat folowen. Þo fourt maner of lecchorye is bytwene kyn, or ellis bytwene affinite, and þis is grett synne. Ffor everiche suche couplyng schulde be for luf and charite, and herfore hafs monnis lawe ordeyned þat kyn and affinite schulde not be weddid þus togider, for hit is no myster. And dispensacioun wiþ þis lawe wynnes myche money. Weddyng of fadir or modir wiþ hor owne childe is agens Gods lawe for resonable causes. Þo fifft maner of lecchorye is þo synne of Sodome, and is more unkyndely þen any oþer lecchorye. And þis synne may mony weys falle unto men, or elles to wymmen, for mony kyns causes. And among oþer synnes þis hatis God myche; and hit cryes unto God to have veniaunse þerfore.

2. adultery;

3. seduction;

4. seduction in the case of kindred;

5. unnatural offences.

Bot bisyde þis bodily lecchorye of men þere is gostly lecchorye, þat God chargis more. Iche synne may be calde a maner of voutrie, sith God schulde be spouse to iche monnis soule, and þis weddyng is broken by iche hedly[1] synne; and more synne is none þen to breke þis spousehed, for hit is most hye and most for to kepe. And here asken prestis hou hor synne is calde[2]; for hit semes þat hit is bot simple fornicacioun, and so þo lightist of oþer maner lecchorye. But me þenkes þat þis synne of prestis is more grevouse; for as þei schulden be more hye in virtues þen oþer men, so þei synnen most grevously in brekyng of Gods spousehed, as lecchorie of a noune is comynly more grevouse þen simple fornicacioun of anoþer wommon. Trist we not to lightenesse of þis lecchorye, ffor hit is grevous for to dampne a mon, sith Seint Poule seis þat no

Every sin is a kind of spiritual adultery.

The nature of this sin in priests.

[1] *bedely*, BB.

[2] *clepyd*, BB.

maner lecchoure hafs part of heritage in þo reume of God. Ne triste we not to leve þis synne by oure owne powere in tyme of oure elde, alþof we synnen in ȝoukthe [1], ffor certis we witte not what tyme God wil calle us. And þis synne is ful lustful in men of nowne powere, and þei may synne as myche as ȝonge men in dede.

Cap. XXX.

The secular clergy are grievously guilty of this sin, both in the material and in the spiritual sense.

Bot se we owver how þis synne is partid in þo Chirche. And hit semes þat prestis synnen myche in avoutrie, bothe religious and oþer. And by þis skile wil we witte, þat ȝoukthe of hom, and state of complexioun, and hor fode and ydelnesse, wil dryve hom to þis synne. And herfore men þat knowen hor dedis seyn þat þei synnen here mony gatis, sith more grevos avoutrie þei chargen to litel, and he þat is untrew in more reckes litel to be fals in lesse. Ffor prestis ben weddid wiþ God by holdyng of his lawe, and þis bond is dissolvyd bothe in lif and offis. For þei schulden lif on Gods part, and preche trewly þo gospel, bot bothe þese have prestis schamefuly forsaken, and ben weddid wiþ þo contrarie to hor lyves ende. And so þei have taken Anticrist and forsaken Crist, and more foule devorse was nevere none made. Hor bodily lecchorye cryes in þo Chirche bothe prively and apertly, by holdyng of hor lemmons and by getyng of hor childer, as þei were weddid men. Lord, sith Seynt Poule wolde nevere ete flesche bifore he sclaundrid his brother, hou may prestis for schame synne comynly wiþ wymmen, ȝe, þat schulden be hor childer! Ouþer Gods lawe is fals and þo popes lawe bothe, or þese men schulden be prived of almes of þo puple. Ffor oure bileve techis us þat þei harmen homself, and þo puple þat þei schulden gostly serve in clennes. Bot cursid be þat lawe þat þus nedis a mon to harme hymself and his broþer, ageyns þo lawe of God.

And by myche more skile fro freris and possessioneres schulden men wiþdrawe hor almes, when þei synnen more, bothe by wastyng pore mennis godes by more falsehed and lecchorie, and lesse servyng unto men, bothe bifore God and

[1] *ȝowthe*, BB.

mon. Bot, for strenght of Anticrist, men þat wolden bygynne þis moten gedire hom togedir, and onely holde wiþ Gods lawe. Lord, who wolde not despise þis, þat mouthe and hondes of þis prest þat makes and tretis Gods body schulden be polute wiþ a hoore! And if he abstyne hym fro masse, and resseyve þo sacrament, sith he resseyves hit gostly wiþ an unclene bileve, he dos more despit to Gods body þen if he caste hit in þo lake; for synne is more unclene to God þen any bodily filþ. And þus þo prest brekes his vow, ouþer prive or apert, sith he vowed to serve God at tyme þat he toke þis state, to lif þo lyve þat fel to a prest, and clenly do his offis. And sith þat gostly sacrilegie is fals takyng of holy gode, hym semes to synne in sacrilegie when he withdrawes his holy service, and so he serves in myche more to be hangid þen a theff. And as hangyng in helle is more grevous þen hangyng here, so punysching of God is more grevous þen monnis punyschyng. And so, sith place agreggis synne, as comynate of men schulde wil knowe, so holy state agreggis synne in prestis þat synnen þus. As hit is more grevous synne to do lecchorie in holy Chirche þen in oþer unholy placis, so hit is of synne of prestis. And þus þese traytoures don despit to God þat þei schulden most serve; and þei desseyven þus þo puple, þat þei schulden serve in helpe of soule. And more traytoures ben þer none, bothe to God and to his Chirche.

Cap. XXXI.

Prevalence of this sin among the nobility and gentry;

Þo secounde part of þo Chirche is smyttid wiþ lecchorie, as ben gentilmen and hor wifes bothe, as if þei holde hit bot a gamen, one to lye by oþers wif. And if freris enterlasen, þo synne is more perilouse. We sufficen not to telle harmes þat comen of þis synne; ffor by þis ben fals traytoures bothe to God and to mon. And he mot nede be fals to iche mon þat he delis wiþ, þat on þis wyse is traytour to his God. And þus ben fals eyres geten in rewmes, and mariage of cosyns, and dishonoure of faderes. Hou schulde rewme by soche beestis stonde in gode governayle? Ffor certis beestis wiþouten witte gone not þus togeder. And of þis comes feghtyng, bothe wiþinne and wiþoute; ffor, as philosoforis seyn, bothe mon and

beestis ben pure batelouse in tyme of þis dede; and men bi þis fals luf ben made pure hardy to assayle hor enmyes, by foly þat ledes hom; ne hit it is no nede to aske wheþer þis synne be costily, and bringes injurye bothe to God and mon. And herby is hit lesse excusid, þat comynly þese lecchoures have wifes of hor owne, fayrere þen þei synnen wiþ. Hou schulde God teche þese foolis to holde his lawe and luf hit, sith soche foolis ben wode and unable to holde Gods lore?

whom it incapacitates from standing up in defence of God's law,

And most synne þat sues aftir þis avoutrie is, þat þei ben unstable to stonde for Gods lawe and his right. Ffor þese men þat ben þus divided by luf of lecchorye, ben unstable as wedircokkes, and wil turne wiþ one foul wynde. Lord, hou schulden soche men be vikers of godhed, and execute þo wille of God, þat no weye may be turned! And sith þei ben by þis offis in þis hye state of þo Chirche, no drede by levyng of þis dede þei ben vikeres of þo fende. And sith wommon is chaumburleyn of hert of mon þat lufs hir, falsehed of soche wymmen turnes mennis hertis wiþ þo wynde. Ffor if hor purpose and hor luf stode in God and in his lawe, þei schulden be more sad in hit þen in any oþer þing; but þei schewen opunly contrarie by hor dedes. Lord, sith lawe of oure God is algatis wiþouten wem, and þis synne is so foule, hou schulden þese two dwelle togedir? Gods lawe is wiþouten wem, as þo holy psalme seis, bot monnis lawe is comynly unstable, and eke fals. For who con excuse þis lawe by whiche lordes ben oblischid to prisoun men to hor deth, þat ben cursid by Anticrist, al if þo cause be deffence of Gods lawe þat may not fayle? Certis, þese lordes bynden hom by þis lawe to serve þo fende. And þus gostly lecchorie comes to men by false lawe.

while they persecute preachers in obedience to man's law.

Bot se þo filthe of lecchorie, hou mon schulde kyndely hate hit. Iche mon by lore of kynde schames to do hit opunly; and sith þo soul of iche mon is principal part of hym, ȝe, al þo persone of þo mon, as byleve techis us, sith lecchorie puttis doune þo soule, and makes þo body mayster of mon, hit semes þat hit turnes mon fro monnis kynde to kynde of beeste. And þus is[1] synne in monnis body, when hit hafs lordschip þus on

Man ought naturally to hate this sin, because it makes the body master of the soul.

[1] *þis is a*, BB.

his soule, and so ageyns al aungel kynde, for soule hafs kynde of aungels. And þus þis synne specialy puttis blame in monnis body, not onely for hit wastis þo body, bot for hit puttis þo body above þo soule. And þus is þis a stynkyng synne bothe bifore God and mon, and wastis and fordos þo gode bothe of body and of soule. And of þis schulden lordis gedir witte, and forsake þis lecchorye, for hit harmes gretly to persone and to comynate.

Cap. XXXII.

Incontinence in the poorer class

Þo þridde part of þo Chirche is not clene of lecchorie, for þei gone togedir as bestis. And þis is knowen to bischop [1] clerkis, for þei spoylen hom in chapiters, as who wolde spoyle a thef; and by hor feyned sommenyng [a] þei drawen hom fro hor laboure, to tyme þat þei have grauntid what silver þei schal paye; and þen by feyned cursyng þei maken hom paye þis robbyng. And by þo knott of leesyng þei schewen to whom þei serven. Þei seyn, as þei mot nede, þat þis þei done by charite, and putten enplaster of cursyng for heele of monnis soule. Bot þis is open gabbyng, as men may wil knowe, sith be [2] streyt covenaunt þei sellen tyme of synnyng, þat þus longe schal he not be lettid for so myche money; and by so myche as hit is fals is þis robrye worse. And þis falshed schulden lordes lette, and make þis puple be punischid by opun penaunce in hor body, as fastyng, or schameful beetyng; and þus were not hor laboure lettid, bot hor synne wil quenchid. Bot by þo gospel medicyn prestis schulden preche to hom, and move hom by Gods lawe to leve suche synne, and fro þei weren thries

[1] *byschops*, BB. [2] *by*, BB.

[a] Chaucer's Sompnour, whom the energetic Archdeacon employed in enforcing church discipline, will at once occur to the reader:—

'He had a sompnour redy to his hond,
A slyer boy was noon in Engelond;
Ful prively he had his espialle,
That taughte him wher he might avayle.
He couthe spare of lecchours oon or two,
To techen him to four and twenty mo.

. . .

Withoute maundement, *a lewed man*
He couthe somne, vp peyne of Cristes curs,
And they were glad to fille wel his purs,
And make him grete festis atte nale.'
Freres Tale.

warned, no more comyne wiþ hom þen wiþ a hethen mon, for þei ben cursed of God. Lord, where slepis þis gode lawe, and when schal hit be wakened? Certis, not bifore coveytise of þese clerkes be quenchid. Alþof comynes ben as beestis in doyng of þis synne, nereþoles by luf and drede þei may be drawen þerfro.

should be left to the parish priest, or to the gentry, to rectify; not to chapter clerks, or church courts.

Hit is seide þat mony comynes wil chaffere in þo new feyre, and þus chaunge hor wyfes and lye in avoutrie. Certis suche lecchorie schulden prestis better amende, or seculer lordes, þen done clerkes of chapiter. Hor persouns schulden telle hom medicyn, hou þei schulden fle þis synne. Þei schulden fle dalyaunce wiþ wymmen, and dwellyng in privey placis, for hit is hard to touche þo picche and not be foulid þerwiþ. Þo secounde medicyn ageyn þis synne is mon to chastise his flesche wiþ fastyng and wiþ travel, and oþer privey penaunce; ffor flesche þat is wel chastisid stires late to lust; and he lufs to litel his God þat wil not suffere þus for hym. Þo thridde medicyn ageyne þis synne is to þenke on Gods lawe, and wiþdrawe þoght and wille fro þis dede of lecchorye. What is he þat trowes not þat he schal answere unto God of alle þo dedes þat he haves done ageyne þo ordynaunce of hym? God haves ordeyned monkynde þat hit schal be above beest, and by his resonable werk gete þo mede þat evere schal laste. Beestis ben moved by kynde to do þis werke when hom liste, bot God hafs gyven mon powere and instrumentis to do þis werk, to do hit by Gods lawe. And þat may he do levefuly, bothe to susteyne monkynde, and to wynne þo blis of heven. Soche resouns, wiþ clene lif, schulden prestis telle þo folk, and move first to[1] luf of God, to leve þis synne. And sith wiþ awȝe[2] þenke, mon, hou þou hafs of God bothe powere and appetit, and þerwiþ kyndely instrumentis, to serve hym[3] and not þo devel; and fayle not in þis trew servise, for scharpe vengeaunce takis God for suche.

EXPLICIT: DEO GRACIAS.

[1] *by*, BB. [2] So in BB; W has *eybe*. [3] So in BB; om. W.

X.

ÞE SEVEN WERKYS OF MERCY BODYLY.

[The interesting double tract which follows is ascribed to Wyclif by Bale under the titles 'De operibus corporalibus' and 'De spiritualibus operibus.' But the fact of the chaptering in the New College MS. being continuous shows that the two were considered to form one work,—composed, it would seem, not long after the holding of the council convened at London by Archbishop Courtenay in May, 1382. (See p. 175.) The evidence of style seems to me strongly in favour of its being authentic. The text is based on the New College MS. (Q), with the advantage of collations from the only other known copy, in the Library of Trinity Coll., Dublin (CC), obtained through the kindness of Mr. Hunt, Assistant Librarian, and Mr. French.]

To be merciful is a Christian duty.

ȝif a man were siker þat he schulde to morowe come bifore a juge, and oþer lese or wynne alle þe godes þat he hadde, and also hys lif to, he wolde drede þis jugement, and bisie him ful fast to redye hym and hys to have þe sentence for hym. But where is oure bileve of þe day of dom, when we trowen þat we schal come bifore þe heyest juge, and be juggid of oure lif and all þinge þat we have, to wynne it ever in blisse, or ellis for to lese it ever more in peyne of helle, wiþ fendis and þer angelis? Þis schulde be our feiþ, and siþen schulde we have hope, be oure gode lif after þe lawe of God, to be glad in charite, and so þe sentence ȝeven for us. But siþen oure bileve techiþ us þat Crist jugis for none but bi titil of hys mercy, ne he haþ no mercy but only on hem þat ben merciful, eche man schulde lerne for to be merciful. And herfore seiþ Crist in þe boke of hys gospel,—Blessid be mercyful men, for þey schal have mercy!

Of the seven corporal works of mercy, six

Þer ben seven werkis of bodily mercy, and oþere seve werkis of goostly mercie; and þes loveþ Crist more, as he loveþ þe

soulc more þan þe bodye, for it is better. But, for bodily werkis arunne more knowen to us than arunne goostly werkis, þerfore bygynne we at þes bodily werkis, for so dos þe gospel. Crist seiþ, when he schal come at þe day of dome, þer schal be gederid before him alle maner of folke; he schal depart hem atwynne, as herdmen don schepe fro gete. Schepe þat schal be savid schal be on hys riȝt honde, and gete þat schal be dampnyd schal be on hys left hond. And þanne schal he seie to þeise þat schal be savyd, Come my blessid fadur childur, and take þe blisse of heven þat was ordeyned to ȝou before þe world was made. And for cause of þis blis Crist telliþ be ordre sixe werkis of mercy, whereby þei schul have blis. I hungred, he seiþ, and þanne ȝe fedde me in my menbris; I þristed, and ȝe ȝaf me drynke; and when I was a gest, ȝe herbert me in ȝoure house, and gedered me to rest. I was nakid and ȝe cled me, seke and ȝe visitide me, I was in prisoun and þen ȝe comen and visitid me. Þe sevent werke of mercy is seid in þe book of Thobie, biriynge of dede men þat han nede þerto. Alle þes seven werkis of mercy don men to Crist when þey don hem to hys membris devoutly in hys name; for as he hirtus a man þat hirtis hys lymes, so he dos for a man þat doiþ for hys lymes.

are named in the parable of the sheep and the goats.

The seventh—burying the dead—in the book of Tobit. Tob. ii.

Cap. II.

But here meven many men, whebur it be werke of mercye to do þes dedes to hem þat schal be dampned in helle, siþen it is certeyne þat non of þes ben Cristis lymes, and þe gospel makes no minde of reward of þis almes, but if it be don to membris of Crist. But þis semes hevye and agayn resoun, siþen no man but God wote who schal be saved, ne who is ordeyned to blisse or ordeyned to be dampned. And only þei þat schul be blessid ben membris of Crist, and þus no man for doute schulde do þes werkis of mercy. But here we seyn þat iche man schulde be war in wirchynge þat he norische not lymes of þe fend; for if he do þis wytyngly, he werres aȝens Crist, and mayntens lymes of þe fend to wirche aȝens Crist, and þis is opyn traytorie, as iche man may see. And herfore iche Cristen man schulde have bisie descrecioun to whom he did þis almes, lest he reversid Crist; and so schulde he al only do

Ought works of mercy to be done to the evil and reprobate?

almes to suche, þat he supposes by holy signes kepen Goddis lawe, and is in sadde purpose to stonde þerfore. For if a man do þis almes to him þat lyveþ yvyl aȝen þe lawe of hys God, and stondis wiþ þe fend, it is al on to norische hym, wityngly or lickly [a], and holde wiþ þe fend agayn Jesus Crist. And þis may we se weller in bodyly ensample, when þou refreschid on siche wise enemye to þi frende.

great circumspection should be used:

And herfore Crist askes two þinges of þin almes, þat þou do it in hys name, and also discretly. For many men may as ypocritis aske in Cristis name, and in lyfynge or wirchinge do agens his lawe. As [b], ȝif freres by gabbingis blasfeme upon Crist, and in multitude and howsynge ben chariouse to þe peple, men schulde not do hem almes for to lyve þus, for þanne þei mayntene enemyes of Crist aȝens him silf. As, if þei seie þat all þese godes ben don to Cristis worschipe, and afterward ben despendid to honour of God, sothe it is, but þis is not ynow to þee, for þe fend may not do but if þat it turne to þe worschipe of God, mawgrethe hys wille. As, when þe fend temptid Crist, hys dedis were wickid, and ȝit it turned to worschipe of Crist and profit of hys Chirche. And þus Crist ordeyned hou hys prestis schulde serve hym be gode lif and good dede, and not by fals wordes. And syngynge, or peyntid housis, was lityl preysid of Crist. But Crist haþ lymytid in hys lawe who schulde have suche almes,—pore men and blynde, pore men and lame, pore men and febel, þat neden suche helpe. And so þes starke beggeres don wronge to suche pore men; for ypocrisie, by Poule seyinge, is most privey synne þat dos harme to þe Chirche in þe laste daies. And þus schulde riche men of þis worlde do suche almes to pore men þat þe gospel lymites to helpe, and be not desseyved be fals novelries, ne þei schulde axe prof þat may no wey faile, ne to liȝtly ȝyve þer godes [c], but be discrete in almes and founde hem in Goddis lawe, for þat may no weie fayle.

for instance, alms should not be given to able-bodied friars, but to the really poor and infirm. 1 Tim. iv. 2.

[a] That is, knowingly or probably.

[b] Here, and frequently, Wyclif uses 'as' in the sense of 'for instance.'

[c] That is, rich men should neither wait, before giving alms, till it be proved to demonstration that the object is a deserving one, nor on the other hand should their liberality be lavish and undiscerning.

CAP. III.

But it were to witen of perpetual almes, whether it be eny of þe seven werkes of mercy; and certeynly, but if it be, it is opun erroure. And þis may we see by ten lawes, þre of þe old lawe and seven of þe newe, þat tellen opunly how prestis shulde lyfne a pore lif, as men did in state of innocence,—wiþouten superfluyte, as Crist him silf lyved; wiþouten beggynge as freres, or dowynge as oþere bischopis and monkes, and oþere calde possessioners; al þis is unleful or Goddis lawe is false. If nobul-men be bischopis, let hem þenke on Crist, þat was most nobul man þat evere was in erthe, for hys Fadir was God and hys modur Marie, and boþe þese ben best in kynde, as Crist himself is. And sithen Crist, nobulest man þat may be in ertheþ[1], was porest man of alle whan he chese to be bischope, oþer shulde þis lordis kyn be pore as Crist was, or ellis holde hem in staat of lordis of þis worlde. And Y am certeyne, lordschipe þat God haþ ȝeven lordes of þis world were ynowe to hem alle ȝif it were not yvel departid. And on þis resoun schulde men þenke, boþe lordes and þer kyn, and oþer take mekely þe staat þat Crist chees, or ellus holde hem in þe worlde as her kyn does, and defend Goddis lawe, or ellis be þei false. And so þe staat of monkes schulde alle be pore men and so alle oþur clerkes þat han possessiouns. And if þei reverse þe sentence of þis worde, þei ben dowble and fals, and so hatid of Crist, and most cursed men þat ever God suffred. And so schulde men loke, by resoun of Goddis lawe, wheþer it were medeful and a werke of mercy to make riche bischopis, and lett hem of þe werke þat Crist ordeyned hem to do, and drawe folke fro þe world, or ellis for to make hem to lyve so worldly þat non synes so lustly, ne meduld hem wiþ þe worlde, þan don suche bischopis; ne have more wast meyne, ne more wast dispence make of Cristis and pore mennis good. And so þes irreligious þat have possessiouns, þei have comunly rede and fatt chekis, and fatt and greet belies. But Lord! what mede were it to feden and norischen þus Anticrist martres! Men schulde þenke on Goddis worde seyde by Ezechiel, þat þes were

The wealth which has been bestowed on her is the bane of the Church,

enabling monks and priests to live grossly and luxuriously, not according to the poverty of Christ.

Ezek. xvi. 49.

[1] So in the MS.; read *erthe*.

foure wickidnesse don of men of Sodom, pride in herte, and fulnesse of mete and of drenke, abundaunce of richesse, and ydulness of travel. Lord, what devocioun were to grounde suche an ordre? For, as Goddis lawe seiþ, alle þes ben wickidnesse, and it is no devocioun to founde such wickidnes. And siþen þes foure were wickidnesse in seculer men, muche more þei were wickidnesse in prestis, þat Crist forbedis to lyve suche lyf or þus have possessiouns. And so, as it is seide, oþere Goddis lawe is fals, or it is unleful prestis to lyve þus. And siþen God biddiþ a man to wirche in þe state of innocence, and þis abundaunce of richesse makis men to be ydul, men may se hou þis dowynge contraries þes two lawes, and þe state of innocence, and comawndement of God. But Lord! what werke of mercye were to make suche ordres! And so þese fyve lawes of þe Olde Testament schulde be fyve barly loves, and scharply moeve men to holde þe Olde Testament and þe ordynaunce of God; and þes, wiþ oþer seven loves of þe Newe Testament, schulde moeve men to destrie privat religions, and put þe persones of hem in ordre þat Crist made.

Cap. IV.

The day of judgment, though men think it far off, is both certain and near.

But here men seyn þat it is soþe, when a perile is neiȝghe, þanne men dreden it and seken helpe on many weyes. As, if I trowed þat be þe lawe of man my cause schulde be jugged to morue, I wolde be bisie and dredeful þat it went on my side; but nowe þe day of dome is fer fro our lyvynge, and our juge is merciful, and we may myche plese him bifore þat tyme come; whi schulde we þan drede it more þan oþer men done, siþen helpe may come so liȝtly? Well I wot þat þus men speken þat saveren þe worlde, and þese ben men out of þe feiþ for mercy and longe tyme. But wolde God þat suche men knewe þus myche of dyvinite, þat þe day of jugement, þat is present to God, is ful neye bisidis us[1], and tyme mut nede come, and þanne schulde þei have more bileve of þe day of dome þan þei have of any werke þat men don in þis lif. For well I wot þat suche werkes may liȝtly be put of, if God wil þat it be so, and þerfore ben we uncerteyne. But we ben certeyne of oure feiþ

[1] So in CC; *by sy sidus*, Q.

þat domsday mut nede cum, and we mut answere to Crist of alle þat we han don. And þus us ow not to be lefe of jugement of men. And so þis greet dome of God passes dome of men in certeyne of commynge and in drede of perel. And, as clerkis wyten wel þat travelen in resoun, noþinge is more nye þan þe day of dome. Ffor siþen a man may see sum þinge þat is passid, and Goddis si3t wiþouten mesure is more þan si3t of man, þanne God may see alle þinge þat ever was passid before, and bi þis same resoun alle þinge þat schal be; and so alle þe day of dome is present to God. Lord, who cowthe undirstonde þat a sparke of fire, turnede aboute in derke ny3te, semes to make cercul, but mennus si3t holdes prent of þinge bifore seen for a littyl schort while, til alle þe fire be turnede? And so þe greet si3t of God holdus togedur alle þinges þat han ben and alle þat schal be; and so a þousand 3eer ben frescher in Goddus si3t þan is 3isterday in þe mynde of man. And þus presens or nei3nesse schulde not moeve a man to drede not þe day of dome, siþen it is nye God. And 3if þou tristist on Goddis mercy, triste to hys ri3tfulnesse, þat he 3yves not man mercye but if þei deserve it. And evere þe lenger þat þou lyfest to lyve bi Goddis lawe, evere þe harder it is to þee to come agayne. And if þou speke of seyntis, more wis amonge oþere seide and last writen[a] þat þei þou3t ay on þis tyme. For when I þenke, seis Jerom, on þe day of dome, I trembul in myn hert for peryles þat schal þanne falle; ffor wheþer þat I ete or drynke, me þenkus þat þe aungel trumpe sownes in myn ere, and biddis rise to juggement[b]. Þis juggement schulde men drede for þes þree skylles.

Cap. V.

But men here moeven comunly, of what maner þinge men schulde gif þer almes to lymes of Crist. And it is no drede þat ne men schulde knowe bisile þat þes godes were justly geten of whiche þei do þer almes. For siþen iche almes þat men don þei 3yven first to God, and God þankes not for suche godes

Alms not pleasing to God, if the money was not righteously gotten.

[a] The wisest among them have said, and it has been among the last things that they have written, that, &c.

[b] Something like this may be read in St. Jerome's Commentary on Joel, but I have not discovered the precise passage here quoted.

þat ben not justly geten, it is opun þat of just havynge schulde almes be don. For siþ 3yvynge is not worþe but if God approve it, but God approves not unjuste havynge of þinge, þanne it is non almes to dele of suche catel. Lord, hou schulde God approve þat þou robbe Petur, and gif þis robbere to Poule in þe name of Crist[a]? Þou puttes here on Crist consense of mayntenynge of þefte. And if þou seist þou 3yvest þis gode in þe name of God, þat makis more þi synne 3if þou lokest wel, for here þou takest witnesse of God þat he approve þi doiynge. And bi þis skil þis robberes, þat seyn þei gatt þis godis in greet peryl and travel, speken ageyne hem self, and accusen hem to God, and putten on him þer wickidnes. But undirstonde þat many men don almes of þer godes, and 3it þei wan hem wickidly, but after þei amendid hem; as sum wan justlye þer godes, and siþen forfeted a3en God. And for tyme of þis forfeture þei don schrewidly þer almes, for God askes clennes of hert when men don þer almes.

Restitution.

But here men dowten comunly to whom men schulde restore þe godes þat þei have geten wiþ wronge, siþ þei schulde not do þer almes of suche goten godes bifore þei had restored þer þefte to men þat schulde have hem, and make amendis to God by þe lawe þat he askes, and to him þat he is bounden to. But ofte tymes it may falle þat þese men ben dede, or ellus he knowes hem not, or þei dar not comme to him; how schulde he do almes þat is a riche robbere, and is wrappid in suche cases? it semes þat he may not be safe. And here freris gaderen myche gode of suche maner robberis; and boþe þe 3yver and þe taker don wronge to þer nei3tbore. And herfore many men supposen þat werke of þise freris schal þe sunner fayle, for defaute of ri3t grounde. And so summe seyen þat þese freres serven of þis office, to be resett of robbers, and to susteyne wronges bytwix cuntreis and cuntreis, and not for to quenche hem.

But to þis doute may men answere by resoun of Goddes lawe, and sey þat suche robbers schulde first have contricioun,

[a] It is commonly said that the proverb 'robbing Peter to pay Paul' arose out of a transfer of lands belonging to Westminster Abbey to St. Paul's Cathedral in the seventeenth century; but this passage proves it to be at least as old as the fourteenth century.

and be in hole purpose never synne so after, and make restitucioun to þes men þat þei schulde. And, for þis is selden seen, herfore þis synne is greet, and wrappes hem in gnaris of þe fend, of whom þei kunne not delyver hem. But first, me þenke, þei schulde restore men þat þei have robbid, or ellis neyȝghe neiȝbores þat hadde riȝt to þese godes; and if þis may not be don, aspie pore men of þe gospel, and ȝyve hem wisely Goddis godis, and lyve in penal povert. But ȝit men douten comunly, wheþur men schulde paye þer dette to þes men þat þei wote lyve in wickid life. And it seemes nay, by resoun of God, for suche men ben unworþi to have ony godes, ȝhe, to have life ȝovun of þer God; how ben þei worþi to resseyve þer dettes? siþen þei han lost titil of alle riȝtfulnesse. But here men þenken by Goddis lawe, þat men schulde stire suche schrewes to serve trewly þer God boþe bi worde and dede, and paye hem her dettes, and hope of þer mendement. Ffor as God wole þat þei lyve, so he wole þat men ȝyve hem. And herfore techiþ Seynt Poule þat Cristen men þat ben servauntes serve wel þer heþen lordes, by resoun of þer God. And so we graunt wel þat suche resseyven unjustly and to þer dampnacioun dettes þat men payen hem, and ȝit þer dettoures medefully ȝyven þes godes.

Cap. VI.

On the friars' denying, at the late Council, that tithes were pure alms.

But here mut men moeve sumdel of speche of þes freres, þat in Londone, at þer cownsel of trembulynge of þe erþe [a], seyde, for to plese prelatis and persones, þat it is an erroure to susteyne þat dymes ben pure almes, and þat men þat ȝyven hem may wiþholde and ȝyve hem to oþere pore men, for synne of þer curat, and faylynge of hys service. But many men wondren here why þese freres seyd þus, siþen þei wold þat þes dymes were ȝyven unto hem, and þes persones were destried, and no prest were but þei. Her workes schewes þis wel, howevere þei speke by syde. And so it seemes to sum men, þat þis was a fagynge of þe fendus childur, by lore of þer fadur; as if þei wolde bringe of þis, þat almes ȝyven to freres schulde not be pure almes, fro it were brouȝt in custome, siþen custom makis lawe, and dette

[a] This allusion to the earthquake which occurred during the sitting of Archbishop Courtenay's synod in 1382, on May 19 (*Fasc. Zizaniorum*, p. 272), fixes so far the date of this treatise.

over almes; and so miȝt freres be fulli fals, and aske þe puple þer almes be titil of custome, al ȝif þei were unworþi and traytours to rewmes. But trist we not to fals freris, ne fayle not in treuþe, for þei beren venym in þer tayle, speke þei never so faire. And to þer speche of dymes, siþen þei ben almes, þei ben pure almes, and not ellus but almes. And so lyved Crist wiþ hys apostlis on almes of þe peple, þat was pure almes al if it were dett, siþen al þis [is] dett þat God askes and nedes man to ȝyve. And so, if freres ben moeved here to seye þat dymes of persones ben not pure almes, for þei ben here wiþ dett, þei mut seye þat þes persones lyven on pure almes, þat han dymes, and serven not ne ministren to þer parischenes, for hem wantis titul of dett be þe lawe of God. But what frere þat seis þus is not a pure frere; for boþe he is a fals frere, and þerwiþ a fende. And certis a pure God rulis not such a frere. For, as þei schulde seie, God is not pure God siþen he is boþe God and man, and þes ben diverse kyndes; and schortly þer is no creature þat ne it haþe diverse resones of diverse names, and ȝhitt it is a pure þinge. Leve we lesingis of þes freres, and seye we þat dymes ben boþe almes of God, and almes of þe parischenes; ne schame we not to be sustened of suche maner almes, siþen Crist and hys apostlis were susteyned be suche. For, as Seynt Poule teches, We schulde be payed of fode and hylynge, and aske no more þan nedes; and ȝit Poule proves be Goddis lawe, if we serven treuly, þes godes ben dette over resoun of mannis lawe.

Parishioners as a body, but not individually, may withhold tithes from unworthy priests.

But to the dowte of dymes þat is tochid after, wheþer parischenes may leffully holde dymes fro persones for synne of þes persones,—and freres seyn þat þis is heresie. O God! if freres wolde þenke on þe power of God, what þinge he may do by men, and suffer fendes worche, and þanne schulde þei graunt þis power þat þei here denyen. Þei have forȝeten þer owne powers þat þei seien þei han, and doynge of miracles of þe sacrid hoste[a]. But leve we þeise uncrafti wordus of þes freris, and

[a] This is evidently an allusion to the miracle recorded by Knyghton (col. 2651), as having happened in the church of the Black Friars, on the Friday in Whitsun-week, 1382, to the knight Cornelius Clonne, to confirm whose wavering faith in the Eucharistic mystery, the host was said to have exhibited itself to him under the guise of flesh.

speke we to þe purpose of matir þat is touchid. And certis me þenkes þat parischenes may in certeyne cases wiþholde dymes fro hym þat is calde þe persone, as þei may medefully holde godes fro þes freres, or fro Jewes or Sarrasenes, þat ben lesse evil þan þei. But not iche parischen schulde, whan ever he wolde, holde fro hys person be hys owne juggement. But marke we wel þat we have not titel to þes dymes be mannus resoun of dett, as oþer worldly men pleten þer dettoures in forme of mannis lawe. But serve we trewly as God biddus to our sugetis, and þei ben holden to serve us in temporal godes; and ellus, as me þenke, us failis riȝt to dymes.

ÞE SEVEN WERKYS OF MERCY GOSTLY.

Cap. VII.

Teaching, Counsel, Reproof, Consolation, Forgiveness, Patience, Prayer.

Siþen we schulde serve our parischenes in spiritual almes, as þei serven us in bodily sustinaunce, it were for to speke of seven werkis of mercy þat we calle spiritual; þat ben better þan þes first, and ben clepid comunly by þes seven wordes,—Teche, Counsel, Chastise, Cownfort, Fforgif, Suffer, and Pray. Þanne a man teches anoþer bi þe lawe of charite, whan he teches hym for to love þe biddynge of God. A man cownseles anoþer as he schulde do, *whanne he moveþ him to a weie þat leliþ surely to hevene. A man chastisiþ anoþer bi word or bi dede*[1], or ellus bi wiþdrawynge of bodily helpe, whan he helpus þat he leefes þe synne þat he was inne. A man cowmfortes anoþer whan he solaseþ hys sowle to drawe in Goddis ȝock, for hope of greet mede. A man forgyffeth anoþer trespas þat he did to him, whan he askes not veniaunce bi resoun of hys trespas, but helpus him to Godward, to turne to gode lyf; and þis may man do sumtyme, and punische men by charite. But ofte tyme suche punischynge saveriþ of pride or coveytise, and herfore it were nedeful to purge þis charite, and loke þat sixtene condiciouns suen it, as Poule telliþ. And þanne symonye of freres and covetise of lawers schulde be

[1] The passage between asterisks, wanting in Q, is supplied from CC.

exiled fro þe folke, and Goddus word schulde renne, and iche man schulde kepe charite to oþer. And þe first condicioun of charite is, a man to suffur. Be lawe of charite a man schulde suffur anoþur, and muche more a prelate schulde wisely suffur hys sugettis. And syn a man schulde pray for helpinge of hys enemyes, as Crist did, with Steven, and resoun nedis þerto, miche more schulde a prest preye for hys sugettis.

These works superior to the bodily works,

And as a mannis soule passes hys bodye, so þes seven goostly werkes passen þe seven oþer. And herfore eche Cristen man is holden to þes seven, but more is prelatis, as þei ben heyer in state. And so men of holy Chirche schulde bewar of þis heresie, þat bodily almes is better þan is gostly almes, and evere þe more þat it be þe bettur it is. And þus þe fend blyndiþ prestis to coveyte to be riche, for, as þei seyen, þer almes schulde bie þer soule fro peyne. Þei schulde white þat Crist himself was most pore man, and ordeyned hiis apostlis to do þis secounde almes, and not to do þis bodyly almes for unperfitnesse þerof. For siþen almes stondes in wille and profite to þi broþur, wheþer is better, wille schewid to bringe mannis soule to blis, or ellus to fede hys bodye þat lastis but awhile? And herfore badde Crist to Petur þat he schulde fede hys schepe by þe mete of hys word, as he loved him. And so Petur fedde þe folk in techinge of Goddus word, and lafte bodily fedynge, siþen it fel not to him. And þus schulde prestis and prelatis do, þat ben Petur vikers. Syn þis werke is better, þe levynge is more synne. And þis fendis heresie desseyves þe Chirche, whan þei tellen more bodily dette þan bi goostly dette. And meddelynge of þise two dettus confowndus Cristis lawe; for if a man schulde not were wollen and lynnen togedur, miche more he schulde not medule þe resones of þeise almes, and specialy syn þe wersse doiþ harme to þe better.

Cap. VIII.

but in these days shamefully neglected.

We schulde beleve þat þese werkes passen oþer werkis of charite, and defaute or fraude in hem harmis more Cristis Chirche þan defaute of worldly godes, if men of þe world kouthe se it. And herbye apostlis of Crist gendrid Cristis childur; but now oure Chirche is bareyne for defaute of suche

sede; for now men loken after bodily þinge, as bestis, and lefen þingus spirituale, for hem faylis feiþ. And herfore Crist preyses more heringe of Goddis word, and good kepynge of it, þan beringe of hiis modur. And syn it was a holy þinge þus to bere Crist, and norische him in hiis ȝowthe by bodily fode, and ȝitt be witnesse of Crist it is miche more holy to here Goddus word and worþily kepe it, and ȝitt more þan þis is to preche wel Goddus word, þanne it semes þat þis is moost heyȝe werke of oþer, and þus þe mede of þis werke passes oþer medes. And herfore sais Seynt Joon, I have no more grace of þis, þan to here my childur wandur in treuthe of þe gospel, for frute of such fadurhede schal be joye of heven, of childur þat men geten to heven, and þis passes al þe joye of þe worlde. And herfore men seyn þat doctours han passynge corown in heven. But þe fend, bi pride and coveytise of þe worlde, lettis frut of þis sede by bryngynge in of Anticrist. Alle þes ben Anticristes, þat chaleyngen by tityl of Crist for to synne worldlyest and lustyest of oþur; suche on is a mydday fend, opun aȝenns Crist. And so, as hirdes in heven have joye of þer childur þat þei have goten to heven be vertu of Goddis seed, so þese fendes schal in helle have sorowe of oþer childer, þat þei have brouȝt unto helle be lawe of þe fende.

3 John 4.

Þis schulde Cristen men defende as þe feiþ of Crist, þat þe most holy werke, and most duwe to prelatis, were to sowe Cristis seed by charite among þe peple, and so stonde for Cristis lawe to suffringe of deþ. And herfore seis Crist þat no man hadde more lufe þan on þis wise put hiis lyf for profit of hiis frendis. And so did Crist and Baptist, and oþere Cristis martires, þat seid þe treuþe of Goddus lawe for Cristis love and hiis Chirche, and suffred deþ wiþ good will for kepynge of hiis lawe. And siþen þis is þe best werke þat man may do in erþe, þe most cursid werke þat Anticrist haþ fownden were to lette þis sowynge of Jesus Cristis worde. O if oure prelates lettid trewe prestis to preche Cristis gospel and charge not þe peple, and bringe in suche prechours þat reversen Cristis lawe, and pylen her herers[1] aȝens Cristis lawe, how opun kalendis it were of lordschipe of Anticrist! And alle þes may be brouȝt inne

To spread the gospel, and uphold it if need be, even to death, is the noblest of all works of mercy.

[1] So in CC; *þus hererers*, Q.

by lyttul and lyttul, of levynge of Cristis lawe and ypocrisie of þe fendus.

Cap. IX.

But the preaching of the friars is a disfiguring of the gospel.

To þis travelen þeise newe sectus, be helpe of Anticrist, and forsen hem by prelates of þe emperoures lawe. For freres in her prechinge fordon prechinge of Crist, and prechen lesyngus and japes plesynge to þe peple; and if þei touche a worde þat is in Cristis lawe, þei cutten it so, and reven it fro fowrme of Goddis wordes, þat þe peple schal not wite what þis word menes. And so þes freres faren wiþ þe worde of Goddis lawe worse þen fendus turmentours faren wiþ þer cloþis. For þei docken Goddis word, and tateren it bi þer rimes, þat þe fowrme þat Crist ȝaf it is hidde by ypocrisie. And so þes fendes prechen sutilte of hemself, and leven to preche of Jesus Crist, and þus men ben desseyved. And certis, as þe word of Jesus Crist is better þan þes cloþes, and use wiþ profite of hem schulde profit more to man, so þes ypocritis of þe fende don more harme to þe Chirche þan dos þes turmentours þat þus defowrmen þer cloþes. O! siþen Seynt Petur techus, þat if a man speke ouȝt he schulde schape him for to speke as he spake Goddis wordis, how miche more schulde þeise prechours hold þis rewle, and put away japes and lesynges in þer prechynges, and speke wordes of Goddis lawe, (for þei ben of vertu to teche men þe riȝt weye, hou þei schulde come to heven), and leve all oþer wordes but if þei helpe þe prechoure to declare þe word of God, as releffe fedus men. And herfore Jon Baptist answered prestes and Phariseis, and prechid not hys heynesse, but þe worþinesse of Crist, and seid himself was a voyce criynge in wildirnesse, and grownded hiis word on Goddis lawe in Ysaye, and so tolde what office God hadde ordeyned hym. And þe same he ordeynes to iche prechoure of hys word, to make redye Goddis weyes, and make riȝt þe paþis bi whiche owre God schulde come, in hiis membris þat lufen hym, sone and schortly to heven by riȝtwisnesse of þeise biw-eies. Þis schulde be þe werk of prechours, or Goddis lawe is fals; and he þat seis þe reverse blasphemes in Crist, and seis þat helpe of men schulde be taken fro hem, and Crist schuld ordeyne men to be dampned

by Anticristis lawes. But, for iche Cristen man schulde hydowse þeses wordes, beleve we þat ordenaunce of Jesus Crist is best, bi þe whiche he ordeyned hiis prestes to despise þis worlde, and teche hiis puple þe riȝt weye þat ledis hem to heven, boþe in maner of lif and worde of þer prechynge. And so prestis schulde teche, be trewe lawe of God, how men schulde come by þe strynge to þe blisse of heven, and not go downward to helle, ne tarie be croked weies. And if þou doist away synne, þou rediest Goddis weye, and removest stockes, heye, and stobul, as Seynt Poule teches.

Cap. X.

There is a school of error abroad which alters and deforms the precepts of the gospel. Is. v. 20.

And þus is Goddis lawe reversid by Anticrist clerkis, þat gode is calde evyl, and evyl is cald gode. But wo worþe hem þat speken þus, as Ysaie synges. And so wo schal come to hem þat turnen werkes of mercy to felnesse of werkes of þe fende, to drawe sowles to helle; as he þat turnes Cristis lawe, and richeþ[1] prestes to þe world, is seide to do hem almes, for he contraries Crist and makes hem gloriouse to þe worlde, þat Crist forbede many weies. And þus ordynaunce of Crist is put aback be þe fende, and where men seyden þat it were gode sowles go to blis, now seis Anticrist indede, it is gode hem to go to helle; and where weyes þat Crist hadd ordeyned to governe hiis Chirche schulde be susteyned and kepte, siþen God himself biddus so, Anticrist seis apertly þat it were greet schame to lyve or to speke so, siþen þe world askes þe contrarie. And so þei ben greet heretikes, þat speken of Goddus lawe, or agayn Anticrist lawe, as enemyes to þe Chirche. And he þat spekes þat God assoyles or cursus for hiis lawe schal be halden for a foole, siþen Anticrist contraries. And so assoylynge stonden in billus and wordes, and so we chargen sensible þinges, and leven Goddus lawe, as God were aslepe and Anticrist were ful lord. For beleve schulde teche us þat no man were cursud but if God cursid him for faylynge in hiis lawe, ne no man is assoyled but if Crist assoyle him for mayntenynge of hiis lawe, hou evere þe world blaber. And herfore schulde þes lordes begynne at hemself, and amende þes errours þat regnen

It is as if God were asleep and Antichrist ruled everywhere.

[1] So in CC; *richesse*, Q.

amonge þe peple, before þei go to straunge londes to werre wiþ þere enmyes. But certis men han non enmyes more þan is þer homely meynes; and here þei schulde begynne to wirche by þe rule of charite. For who lufes more in charite hys enmyes þan hys frendes? or who wolde prick to Cawnterburie, to fiȝt þer wiþ hys enmyes, whan he hadde in þe myddys þis lond moo enmyes alle aboute hym? And þus þe lawe of charite, and also þe werkis of mercy, schulde moeve men to chaunge þer ordre and sumdel trowe to Crist; for alle þe harme þat comes to men is for chawngynge of Cristis ordynaunce.

Lorde! gloriouse were þi Churche if it stode clenly bi þe ordynaunce of Crist, wiþowten fendes novelries! þan schulde men begynne to werre on enmyes nexst hem, as mede and nede and kynde teches Cristen men.

XI.

FIVE QUESTIONS ON LOVE.

[This short but highly interesting piece is a letter written by Wyclif to some unknown friend, who had put five questions to him respecting the love of God. Bale mentions it under the title of 'Ad quinque quaestiones;' and the Wyclif MSS. at Vienna and Prague contain several copies of a Latin version of it, the ending of which however appears to be different. Its authenticity can hardly be doubted. The text is founded on New Coll. 95 (Q), the only copy known to exist.]

Questions proposed.

A SPECIAL frend in God axiþ bi charite þes fyve questiouns of a mek prest in God. First, what is love. Aftirward, where is love. Þe þridd tyme he axiþ hou God schuld medefully be loved. Þe fourþe tyme he axiþ hou a trewe man may knowe wheþer he love his God in þe fourme þat God axiþ þat a man love him. Þe fifþe tyme he axiþ, in what staat of þis lif a man may best love his God, and more medefully to come to hevene. Alle þes questiouns ben hard to telle hem trewly in Englisch, but 3it charite dryveþ men to telle hem sumwhat in Englische, so þat men may beste white bi þis Englisch what is Goddis wille.

Answered.

To þe firste questioun þat is axid seien men on þis maner; þat love is a maner of werk, þat comeþ of a mannis wille to wole good to loved þing; and so love is in mannis herte, and man oþer maner in lovyng [a]. But to þe þrid questioun answeriþ Crist in Jones gospel. Crist seiþ,—He þat haþ my maunde-

[a] This, the reading of the only MS., appears to be corrupt. A collation of the Latin version of the tract, copies of which exist in five MSS. at Vienna, (see Shirley's *Catalogue*, p. 22) is much to be desired.

mentis and kepiþ hem in his lif, he is þat ilk þat loveþ me. And þus he makiþ redy love to God, þat studieþ wel Godis lawe, as þe first Psalme seiþ. As to þe fourþe questioun,—a man may wite bi himsilf wher he þenkiþ on Goddis lawe and loveþ it and kepiþ it, and þanne Crist seiþ þat he loveþ God. As anentis þe fifþe questioun,—it is knowun bi Goddis lawe, þat þer ben in þe Chirche þre statis þat God haþe ordeyned; state of prestis, and state of knyȝtis, and þe þridd is staat of comunys. And to þes þree ben þre oþere, comyn and leeful bi Goddis lawe,—state of virgyns, and state of wedloke, and þe state of widewis. State of virgyns is þe hiest, bi witnesse of Crist and seyntis in hevene. Sum state is here good for o man, and sum is good for anoþer; and God moveþ a man to his best state ȝif he lette not bi his synne.

Four states of life, now practised in the Church, are unlawful.

But foure statis, of þe emperour clerkis, of munkis, of chanouns, and of freris, semyn perelous, and not ordeyned of God, but suffrid for mannys synne. And þerfore men schulden be war to take of þes foure statis, for oþer statis þat God haþ ordeyned bringen men bettere to blis of hevene; and he is a miche fool þat leeveþ þe bettere and chesiþ þe werse. And þus it helpiþ heere to Cristen men, to studie þe gospel in þat tunge in whiche þei knowen best Cristis sentense. For our bileve techiþ us þat ech Cristen man is holdyn heere to sue Crist in maner of lyvyng, sum ferrer and sum nerrer, aftir þat God ȝyveþ him grace; and he þat sueþ Crist most nyȝe loveþ him most, and is most lovyd of God. And siþ lif and dedis of Crist, and his lore, ben in þe gospel, it is opyn to profit of men to studie þis bok, to love Crist.

Christians ought to be able to study the gospel in their native tongue.

In these times men must be ready to suffer death for the sake of God's law.
Ps. cxvi. 16.

But over þis axiþ þis frend of God, what wil Daviþ hadde in þes two versis þat he seiþ in þe Sauter,—and þei ben comynly known in Latyn,—O Lord, I confesse to þee þat I am þi servaunt, in bodie, soule,—and I am son of þin hand-mayden, for Y am trewe child of holy Chirche. Þou hast brokun my bondis, of synne, and bondis bi whiche my soule loveþ my flesche; to þee I schal sacre an ost of heriyng. And þus Y schal clepe inne to me þe name of þe Lord, to dwelle in me. And þes same wordis maie martris seie, þat loven so miche Goddis lawe, þat þei wole suffre peyne of deeþ, for love and

mayntenyng of þis lawe. And bettere cause of martirdom schewid God never to plese him. And siþ a man mut nedis die, and Goddis lawe haþe nowe manye enemyes, a man schulde wisely putt him forþ to suffre now þus gloriously.

War, man, lette not for synne,
Prest, knyȝt, ȝemon, ne page,
ȝif ȝee wole of God have large wage:
Amen, Amen, Amen.

XII.

[ON THE SUFFICIENCY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.]

[Of this striking 'fly-leaf' the only copy known to exist is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (AA). It appears to be entered by Bale in his catalogue twice over, once as 'De Sathanae astu contra fidem,' *inc.* media multa diabolus quaerit, and again as 'De veritate scripturae,' *inc.* diabolus quaerit multis modis. It is strange that it should never before have been printed.]

THE fend sekiþ many weyes to marre men in bileve, and to stoppe bodily þis, þat no bookis ben bileve. For ȝif þou spekist of the Bible, þanne seyen Antecristis clerkis, how provest þou þat it is holy wryt more thanne annother writen book? Here we seyen, as Crist seith, that kynrede of hordom sekiþ signes. And þerfore men moten use cautels, and axe hem questiouns aȝen, whether Crist lefte his gospellis here for to counforte his Chirche. And ȝif thei seyen that he dide, axe hem whiche ben þes gospels, and hem we clepyn holy wryt. And þus we axen of oþir partis þat trewe men clepyn hooly wryt. But, for Cristen men schulde speke pleynly to Antecrist, we seyen that hooly wryt is taken on þree maneres comynly. On the firste manere Crist him silf is clepid in the gospel holy wryt, whanne he seiþ þat þe writynge may noȝt be fordon þat þe Fadir haþ halwid and sent into the world[a]. On the secounde manere holy wryt is clepid truþis þat ben conteyned and signyfied bi comyn biblis, and þes truþis may noȝt faile. On þe þridde maner holy wryt is clepid bookis þat

[a] This mistranslation of John x. 35, 36, is found in the earlier Wycliffite versions, but is corrected in the later.

ben writen and maad of enk and parchemyn. And þis speche is nouȝt so propre as the first and the secunde. But we taken of bileue þat þe secunde writ, of truþis writen in the book of lyf, is holy wryt, and God seiþ it, and þis we knowen by bileve. And as oure siȝt makeþ us certyn of þat þing þat we seen, so oure bileue makiþ us certyn þat þes trewþis ben holy wryt. ȝif holy wryt on the þridde manere be brent or cast in the see, holy writ on the secunde manere may noȝt faile, as Crist seiþ. In Dei nomine, Amen.

XIII.

OF WEDDID MEN AND WIFIS AND OF HERE CHILDREN ALSO.

[The only known copy of the following tract is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 296 (for a description of the manuscript, see the Introduction to this volume). It is not mentioned even by Bale, and the only reason for ascribing it to Wyclif is that it is found in a volume which Archbishop Parker, in the sixteenth century, believed to contain only tracts of Wyclif's composition, and under that belief bequeathed to the college. St. Augustine's being called here 'Seynt Austyn,' instead of simply 'Austyn,' as in the Homilies, appears a suspicious circumstance, yet capable perhaps of explanation, if we suppose the tract to have been composed by Wyclif in his younger days. But, whatever may be thought of its authenticity, it possesses sufficient intrinsic interest to justify its appearing, for the first time, in print.]

Cap. I.

Two kinds of matrimony:

Oure Lord God Almyȝty spekiþ in his lawe of tweie matrimoneys or wedlokis. Þe first is gostly matrimonye, bitwixe Crist and holy Chirche, þat is, Cristene soulis ordeyned to blisse. Þe secunde matrimoyne is bodily or gostly, bitwene man and womman, bi just consent, after Goddis lawe.

1. The espousals between God and holy souls.

Hos. i. 19.

Of þe first matrimoyne spekiþ God bi þe prophete Osie to holy Chirche; and to ech persone of holi Chirche God himself seiþ, I schal spouse þe, or wedde þe to me, in riȝtwisnesse, in dom, in mercy, and in feiþ; and I schal wedde þe wiþouten ende. Þis is þe first matrimoyne and best, as God and þe soule of trewe men ben beter þan mennys bodies. And þis beste matrimoyne is broken for a tyme bi brekynge of saad feiþ, and defaute of riȝtwis lyvynge. And herefore God seiþ

oft bi his prophetis, þat his peple dide fornicacioun and avoutrie, for þei worschipen false goddis; and Seint Jame seiþ þat men þat loven þe world ben gostly avoutreris. For þus writiþ he; ȝee avoutreris, wite ȝe not þat frendischipe of þis world is enemyte of God? And þus alle men þat loven more worldly worschipe or goodis of þe world þan God and his lawe and trewe lif, ben avoutreris gostly, ȝif þei weren Cristene bifore; and þis is worse avoutrie þan brekynge of fleschly matrimonye. James iv. 4.

Of þe secunde matrimoyne, þat is bodily, spekiþ God in þe firste bok of holy writt, whanne he maade matrimoyne bitwene Adam and Eve in Paradis in staat of innocence, bifore þat þei synneden. And for þat God hymself made þis ordre of matrimoyne, and he not so made þes newe religions, it is betre and more to preise þan þes newe ordris. Also Jesus Crist wolde not be borne of þe virgine Marie, ne conseyved, but in verrey matrimoyne, as þe gospel of Luc, and Seynt Ambrose, and oþere seyntis witnessen. Also Jesus Crist was present in his owene persone wiþ his modir in bodily matrimoyne, to approve it, as þe gospel of Jon techiþ, whanne he turned watir into wyn. Also þe Holy Gost warneþ Cristen men, hou in þe laste daies summe heretikis schullen departe fro feiþ of Goddis lawe, ȝevinge entente to spiritis of error, and to techynge of develis, spekynge lesyngis in ypocrisie, forbedynge men and wymmen to be weddid, and techynge men to abstene hem fro metis, þe whiche God haþ maad to be eten of trewe men, wiþ þankyngis and heriyng of God. Also þis bodily matrimoyne is a sacrament and figure of þe gostly wedlok bitwene Christ and holy Chirche, as Seynt Poul seiþ. Also, þis wedlok is nedful to save mankynde bi generacioun to þe day of dom, and to restore and fulfille þe noumbre of aungelis, dampned for pride, and þe noumbre of seyntis in hevene, and to save men and wommen fro fornycacion. And þerfore he þat forbediþ or letiiþ verrey matrimonye, is enemye of God and seyntis in hevene and alle mankynde. And herefore man ponischide fornycacion and avoutrie in þe olde lawe bi stonynge to deþ, and in þe lawe of grace bi dampnynge in helle, but ȝif men be verrey contrit þerfore. 2. Ordinary marriage; its justifications and ends. 1 Tim. iv. 1.

And herefore, siþ fornicacioun is so perilous, and men and The marriage of priests

allowed by God; evils of enforced celibacy.

wymmen ben so frele, God ordeynede prestis in þe olde lawe to have wyves, and nevere forbede it in þe newe lawe, neiþer bi Crist ne bi his apostlis, but raþere aprovede it. But now, bi ypocrisie of fendis and fals men, manye bynden hem to presthod and chastite, and forsaken wifis bi Goddis lawe, and schenden maydenes and wifis, and fallen foulest of alle. For many ben prestis and religious, in doynge and oþere [a], for to have lustful lif and eisy, ȝong and strong of complexion, and faren wel of mete and drynk, and wolen not traveile, neiþer in penaunce, ne studie of Goddis lawe, ne techynge, ne laboure wiþ here hondis; and herefore þei fallen into lecherie in dyverse degrees, and in synne aȝenst kynde. For many gentil-mennis sonys and doutres ben maad religious aȝenst here wille, whanne þei ben childre wiþouten discrecion, for to have þe heritage holly to o child þat is most lovyd. And when þei come to age, what for drede of here frendis, and what for drede of povert in cas þat þei gon out, and for ypocrisie and flatirynge, and faire bihestis of þes religious, and for drede of takynge of here bodi to prison, þei doren not schewe here herte ne leven þis stat, þouȝ þei knowen hemself unable þerto. And hereof comeþ lecherie and sum tyme morþerynge of many men.

Continence, however, is the highest state, if a man has the special gift to practise it.

Neþeles, þouȝ matrimonye be good and gretly comendid of God, ȝit clene virgynite is moche betre,—and wedlok also, as Seynt Poul seiþ opynli [b]; for Jesus Crist, þat lyvede most perfitly, was evere clene virgine, and not weddid bodely, and so was his modir evere virgine, and Jon Evaungelist. Seynt Austyn and Jerom specially witnessen wel þis in many bokis. Neþeles virgynite is so heye and so noble þat Crist comaundid it not generaly, but saide, who may take, take he it. And þerefore Poul ȝaf no comaundement of virgynite, but ȝaf conseil to hem þat weren able þerto. And þus prestis þat kepen clene chastite in bodi and soule doun best; but many taken þis charge not discretly, and sclaundren hemselfe foule bifore God and his seyntis, for newe bondis maade nedeles of synful men. And þis is a gret disceit of þe fend under colour of perfeccion and chastite. For he stireþ men to heiȝe poyntis of perfeccion,

[a] I cannot understand this phrase.

[b] If the text is not corrupt, the reference must be to 2 Cor. xi. 2.

when he knowiþ or supposiþ hem unable, not for here goode, but for to falle foulere and depere in more synne, as Seynt Austyn techiþ. And þus þe fend Sathanas transfigureþ or turneþ hem falsly into an angel of liȝt, to disceyve men bi colour of holynesse.

Cap. II.

What constitutes a true marriage; evils of mercenary and ambitious marriages.

See now how þis wedlok owiþ to be kept in boþ sides. First þis wedlok shulde be maad wiþ ful consent of boþe partis, principaly to þe worschipe of God, to lyve clenly in þe ordre þat he made, and bringe forþ childre to fulfille þe chosen noumbre of seyntis in blisse, and not to have flescly lustis wiþoute reson and drede of God, as mulis and hors and swyn þat han no undirstondynge. For þe angel Raphael warned Tobie, þat þe fend haþ maistrie upon siche men þat ben weddid, to have þus lustis of flesch as bestis wiþoute resoun and drede of God. Also þis contract shulde not be maade bitwixe a ȝonge man and an olde bareyne widewe, passid child-berynge, for love of worldly muk, as men ful of coveitise usen sumtyme,—for þan comeþ soone debat and avoutrie and enemyte, and wast of goodis, and sorowe and care ynowȝ. And it is a gret dispit to God to coloure þus here wickide coveitise, lecherie, and avoutrie bi þe holy ordre of matrimoyne. And many men synnen moche, for þei defoulen many wymmen, and letten hem fro matrimoyne, and undon hem in þis world, and sumtyme ben cause of here dampnacion; for þei ben maad comyn wymmen, whanne þei han lost here frendishipe, and kunnynge no craft to lyve by. Many hote and coragious men wolen not take a pore gentil womman to his wif in Goddis lawe, and make here a gentil womman, and save here owene soule, but lyven in þe develis servyce al here lif, or þe more part; and defoulen many templis of God to gret peril of here soule, and abiden to have a riche womman for muk, and þanne wasten here goodis in harlotrie and nyse pride, in avoutrie on gaie strumpatis, and evere lyven in wraþe and chydynge, and in bondage of synne to þe fendis of helle. Also summe myȝtty men marien here children, where þat here herte consentiþ not wilfully, but feynen for drede. For comynly þei loken alle afŭr richesse and wor-

þinesse to þe world, and not after goodnesse of virtuous lif. And so God and his side is putte bihynde, and þe devel and þe world and þe flesch han now here maistrie.

The relations between the parties considered.

For þre skillis may a man knowe fleschly his riȝtful wif[1], þe firste for to geten children, to fulfille þe noumbre of men and wymmen þat schullen be savyd; þe secunde to kepe his wif fro lecherie of oþere men; þe þridde is to kepe himself fro lecherie of oþere wymmen. And no party may kepe him chaste fro þe dedis of wedlok wiþouten assent of þe toþer comynly, for þe man haþ power of þe wifis body, and þe wif haþ power of þe mannys body, as Seynt Poul seiþ. And ȝif þe partie desire[2] to be chast, suffre he wiþowten his owene luste þe toþer part in dedis of matrimoyne, and he getiþ him þank of God, boþe for suffrynge of his make, and for þe wille þat he haþ to chastite; for God takiþ reward to þe goode wille, and not onely to þe dede. Also men seyn, ȝif boþe parties assenten wilfully to perfit chastite, boþe of wille and dede, þat it is betre þan to use forþ þe dedis of matrimonye; and ȝif þei assenten boþe parties at þe begynnynge to lyve evere chast, wiþouten bodily knowynge, þat it is þe best kept matrimoyne of all oþere, as diden oure Lady and Josep, whanne þei ben weddid. Loke þat eche partie lyve wel anentis God and þe world, and stire eche oþere to charite, riȝtwisnesse, and mekenesse and pacience, and alle goodnesse. And be ech man war þat he procure no fals devours, for money, ne frendischipe, ne enemye; for Crist biddiþ no man departe atwyn hem þat God haþ joyned; but only for avoutre þat part þat kepiþ him clene may be departid fro þe toþeris bed, and for noon oþer cause, as Crist seiþ hymself. And ȝit þanne þe clene part myȝt lyve chast evere while þe toþer lyveþ, or ellis be reconseled aȝen to þe part. Neþeles þe clene may dwelle forþ wiþ þe toþer lyveþ þat forfetis[3], bi weie of charite. And men supposen þat þat weie is gret charite, ȝif þere be evydence þat þe toþer part wolle do wel aftirward.

[1] corrected: *wille*, X. [2] corrected; *deserie*, X. [3] text corrupt; if *lyveþ* be struck out, the sense is restored.

Cap. III.

Scriptural view of the mutual duties of husband and wife.

See now how þe wif oweþ to be suget to þe housbonde, and he owiþ to reule his wif, and how þei boþe owen to reule here children in Goddis lawe. Ffirst Seynt Petir biddiþ þat wifis be suget to here housbondis, in so moche þat ȝif ony bileve not bi word of prechynge, þat þei ben wonnen[1] wiþoute word of prechynge bi þe holy lyvynge of wymmen, whanne men biholden þe chast lyvynge of wymmen. And þes wymmen schulden not have wiþouten forþ tiffynge of her, ne garlondis of gold, ne over precious or curious cloþinge, but þei schulden have a clene soule, peisible and meke and bonere, þe whiche is riche in þe siȝtte of God. And sumtyme holy wymmen, hopynge in God, honoureden hem in þis manere, and weren suget to here owene housbondis, as Sara, Abrahamys wif, obeischid to Abraham, clepynge hym lord; and wymmen wel doynge ben gostly douȝtris of Sarra. Alle þis seiþ Seynt Petir. Also Seynt Poul spekiþ þus of housbondis and wifis; I wole þat men preie in eche place, liftynge up clene hondis, þat is, clene werkis, wiþouten wraþþe and strif. Also I wolle þat wymmen ben in covenable abite, wiþ schamefastnesse and sobirnesse ournynge hem or makynge fair, not in wriþen here, ne in gold, ne in margery stones, or perlis, ne in precious cloþ, but þat þat bicomeþ wymmen bihetynge pite, bi goode werkis. A womman oweþ to lerne in silence, wiþ alle obedience and subjeccioun. But Poul seiþ, I suffre not a womman to teche, þat is, openly in chirche, as Poul seiþ in a pistel to Corynthis, and I suffre not a womman to have lordischipe in here housbonde, but to be in silence or stillnesse. For, as Poul seiþ in many placis, þe housbonde is heed of þe wif; and Poul telliþ þis skille, þat Adam was first formed and Eve aftirward, and Adam was not disceyved in feiþ, but þe womman was disceyved in feiþ, in trespasynge aȝenst Goddis comaundement. Alle þis seiþ Poul in dyverse placis of holy writ. Also Poul biddiþ þat bischopis and prestis techen wifis to love here housbondis, to be prudent and chaste and sobre, and to have care of þe hous, and benynge and under-

1 Pet. iii. 1.

1 Tim. ii. 8.

[1] corrected; X has *wymmen*.

lont, or suget, to here housbondes,—þat þe word of God be not blasphemyd. And þat olde wymmen schullen be in holy abite, not puttynge fals cryme or synne to oþere, ne suynge[1] to moche wyn, and to be wel techynge, so þat þei teche prudence. Also
Eph. v. 22. Poul techiþ þus,—þat wymmen ben underlont, or suget, to here husbondis, as to þe Lord. For þe husbonde is hed of þe womman, as Crist is heed of þe Chirche, he is saveour of þe body þerof, þat is, þe grete multitude of alle worþi to be savyd. But as holy Chirche is suget to Crist, so be wymmen sugetis to here housbondis in alle þingis. Husbondis, loveþ 3oure wifis, ri3t as Crist lovede holy Chirche, and toke himself wilfully to peyne and deþ for holy Chirche, to make it clene and holy; and made it clene bi waschynge of watir in þe word of lif, to 3eve þe Chirche glorious to himself, not havynge wem ne revelynge[2] ne ony siche filþe, but þat it be holy and wiþouten spot oþer wem. And housbondis owen to love here wifis as here owene bodies, for he þat loveþ his wif loveþ hymself. For no man hatid evere his bodi, but norischiþ and forþeriþ it, as Crist doþ holy Chirche. For we ben membris of his body, of his flesch, and of his bones. For þis þyng a man schal forsake, or leve, his fadir and his modir, and schal cleve to his wif, and þei schullen be tweiyne in o flesch. Þis sacrament is greet, but I saye, seiþ Poul, in Crist and in holy Chirche. But forsoþe, 3e husbondis, eche by himself, love he his wif as hymself, and drede þe wif here housbonde. 3e children, obeischiþ to 3oure eldris, fadir and modir, in þe Lord, for þis þing is ri3tful. Worschipe þi fadir and þi modir,—þat is þe firste comaundement in biheste; þat Crist be wel to þe, and þat þou[3] be longe lyvynge upon erþe. And, 3e fadris, nyle 3e stire 3oure children to wraþþe, but norische hem and brynge hem forþ in disciplyne, or lore, and chastisynge of God. Alle þis
Col. iii. 18. seiþ Seynt Poul togidre. Also Poul comaundiþ þus in anoþer pistel; Wymmen, be 3e underlont to 3oure husbondis, as it bihoveþ in þe Lord. 3e men, love 3oure wifis, and beþ not bitter to hem. Children, obieschiþ to 3oure eldris bi alle þingis, for þis is plesaunt to þe Lord. 3e fadris, stireþ not 3oure chil-

[1] corrected; *sonynge* or *souynge*, X. [2] *ryveling* in Wycl. Vers.
[3] supplied; not in X.

dren to indignacion, lest þei of litel witt offenden, or trespasen, aȝenst God or man [a].

Marital cruelties and irregularities.

Here sturdy husbondis and cruel fiȝtteris wiþ here wifis, wiþoute resonable cause, ben blamyd of God. But manye, whanne þei ben drounken, comen hom to here wifis, and sumtyme fro here cursed strumpatis and jectouris of contre, and chiden and fiȝtten wiþ þer wif and meyne, as þei weren Sathanas brollis; and suffren neiþer reste, pees, ne charite be among hem. But dere schalle þei abie þis bitternesse, for ȝif þei wolen have mercy of God þei moten have mercy of oþere men, þouȝ þei hadden discervyd betynge,—amende hem in faire manere.

Cap. IV.

On the duties of parents towards their children.

Of þis may weddid men and wifis knowen, hou þei owen [1] lyve togedir, and teche here childre Goddis lawe. For at þe bigynnynge a childe may esily be tauȝt, and goode þewis and maneris, accordynge wiþ Goddis lawe, esily be prentid in his herte; and þanne he may esily holden hem forþe, and encresse in goodnesse. And þerfore Poul biddiþ þat þe fadir norische his children in þe lore and chastisynge of God; and God comaundiþ in þe olde lawe þat þe fadris schulden telle to herre children Goddis hestis, and þe woundris and myraclis þat he dide in þe lond of Egipt, and in þe Rede See, and in þe watir of Jordan, and in þe lond of biheste. And moche more ben fadir and moder holden to teche here children þe bileve of þe Trinyte, and of Jesus Crist, howe he is verray God wiþouten bigynnynge, and was maad man þorouþ moste brennynge charite, to save mankynde bi stronge penaunce, hard torment, and bittir deþ. And so alle comen in poyntis of Cristene bileve, but þei ben most holden to teche hem Goddis hestis, and þe werkis of mercy, and poyntis of charite, and to governe wel here fyve wittis, and to drede God bifore alle oþere þingis, and to love him most of alle þingis, for his endeles myȝt, endeles wisdom, endelesse goodnesse mercy and charite [b]. And ȝif þei trespasen

[1] corrected; *bowen*, X.

[a] The foregoing passages from Scripture do not agree with either Wycliffite version.

[b] The collection of didactic pieces in the Lambeth MS. 408, called in Shirley's Catalogue (p. 38) *Speculum Vitae Christianae*, corresponds closely to the catechetical materials here

aȝenst Goddis hestis, þei owen to blamen hem þerfore scharply, and chastise hem a þousand fold more þan for dispit or unkyndenesse don aȝenst here owene persone. And þis techynge and chastisynge schulden in fewe ȝeeris make goode Cristene men and wymmen, and namely goode ensaumple of holy lif of olde men and wymmen, for þat is best techynge to here children.

which cannot be devolved upon the godparents.

And Cristene men, aboute many prestis[1], chargen godfadris and godmodris to techen þe children þe Pater Noster and þe Crede; and þis is wel don; but it is most nede to teche hem þe hestis of God, and ȝeve hem good ensaumple bi here owene lif. For þouȝ þei ben cristenyd, and knowen þe comyn poyntis of bileve, ȝit þei schullen not be savyd wiþoute kepynge of Goddis hestis, but be ful hard and depe dampnyd in helle, more þan heþene men. And it hadde betre be to hem to nevere have resceyved Cristendom, but ȝif þei enden trewely in Goddis comaundementis, as Seynt Petir techiþ pleynly.

An enumeration of the various forms of vicious training which sons often receive from their fathers.

But summe techen here children jeestis of bataillis, and fals cronyclis not nedful to here soulis. Summe techen novelries of songis, to stire men to jolite and harlotrie. Summe setten hem to nedeles craftis, for pride and coveitise; and summe suffren hem in ydelnesse and losengerie, to breden forþ strumpatis and þeves; and summe wiþ grett cost setten hem in lawe, for wynnynge and worldly worschipe, and here to costen hugely in many weies. But in alle þis Goddis lawe is putt bihynde, and þerof spekiþ unneþis ony man a good word, to magnifye God and þat, and to save mennis soulis. Sume techen here children to swere and stare and fiȝtte, and schrewe alle men aboute, and of þis han gret joie in here herte. But certis þei ben Sathanas techeris, and procuratouris to lede hem to helle, bi here cursed ensaumple and techynge, and norischynge and meyntenynge in synne; and ben cruel sleeris of here owene

[1] corrupt; perhaps we should correct, *above alle many prestis;* for we can hardly give to the words the sense of the Greek idiom **οἱ ἀμφὶ Περικλέα.**

stated to be necessary. Also, every one acquainted with the MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to be found in any large library, will recognize the care taken by our ancestors to supply just those demands for religious instruction that are here indicated.

children, ȝe, more cruel þan þouȝ þei hackeden here children as small as morselis to here poot or mouþ. For bi þis cursid techynge, and endynge þerin, here children bodies and soulis ben dampnyd wiþouten ende in helle. And þouȝ here bodies weren þus hackid nevere so smale, boþe bodi and soule schal be in blis of hevene, so þat þei kepen trewely Goddis comaundementis. And of siche necligent fadris and modris, þat techen not here children Goddis lawe, and chastisen hem not whanne þei trespasen aȝenst Goddis hestis, Seynt Poul spekiþ a dredeful word. He þat haþ not care of his owene, and most of his homly in houshod, haþ resceyved[1] þe feiþ, and he is worse þan a man out of Cristendom. And siche fadris and modris, þat meyntenen wityngli here children in synne, and techen hem schrewdnesse, ben werse þan þe cursed fadris þat killeden here children, and offr hem up to stockis, worschipynge false maunmetis. For þo children in here ȝougþe weren dede and distried, and diden no more synne; but þes children of cursed fadris and modris, þat techen hem pride, þefte, lecherie, wraþþe, coveitise, and glotonye, and meyntenen hem þerinne, ben holden in long lif, and encresen in synne to more dampnacion of ech party. And þus litel wonder þouȝ he[2] take vengaunce on oure peple boþ old and ȝong, for alle comynly dispisen God, and han joie and myrþe at his dispit and reprovynge. And God mot ponische þis synne for his riȝtful majeste.

1 Tim. v. 8.

Cap. V.

But þouȝ husbondis han þus power over his wifis bodi, neþeles þei owen to use þis doynge in mesure and reson, and sumwhat refreyne here foule lustis, and not take superfluyte of hot wynes, and spised alle, and delicat metis, to delite hem in þis occupacion, but þenk þat þei ben gestis and pilgrimes in þe world, and han not here a dwellynge-place for evere. And þerfore þei mosten ȝeve hem to holynesse, wiþouten whiche no man schal se God; and abstynen hem fro fleschly desiris þat fiȝtten aȝenst þe soule, as Petir and Poule techen bi auctorite of God hymself; and þenke on þis word of Seynt

Sobriety and self-control are incumbent on persons engaged in the married state.

[1] error of scribe; correct *denyed*.

[2] supplied; not in X.

1 Cor. vii. 29.

Poule;—þe tyme is schort; þe toþer part is þat þei þat han wifes ben as havynge noon; þat is to seie, þat þei usen hem for and in drede of God, and mesure, not to fulfille here lustis, as bestis wiþoute undirstondynge; and þat þei have mynde of þe dredful comynge of Crist to þe laste dom, hou þei schullen þanne answere for eche dede, eche word, and eche þouȝt,—and eche evyl suffraunce of here children and meyne, and princypaly of evyl ensaumple to here sugetis. And ne cavyllacion ne procuratour schal be þere, but here owene goode lif to save hem, or cursed lif to dampne hem. And fleschly lustis, and glotonye, dronkenesse, and overe moche likynge in fleschly dedis, maken men most to forȝete þis dredful dom. And þerfore þe gospel seiþ, þat þe þridde servaunt þat hadde weddid a wif, seide þat he myȝtte not come to þe soper of Crist; and þat servaunt is undirstonden, he þat ȝeveþ hym to overe moche likynge in fleischly lustis. And þerfore biddiþ Crist in þe gospel, þat we take hede þat oure hertis ben not chargid wiþ glotonye and dronkenesse and bisynesse of þis lif, for þe day of dome schal come as a snare, or grane, upon alle þo þat sitten upon þe face of alle þe erþe.

The wife should exert a purifying and softening influence on the husband.

But ben wifis war þat þei stiren not here husbondis to wraþþe, ne envye aȝenst here neiȝeboris, ne to falsnesse and overe moche bisynesse of þe world, to fynde to costy array. For þe wif was made to be an helpere lich to þe husbounde, eche to helpe oþer in clennesse and holy lif, and trewe anentis God and man. But ȝif þe husbonde be stired to vengaunce and pride and envye, þe wyf oweþ to stire hym to penaunce and pacience, mekenesse and charite, and alle good manere of Cristene lif. And whanne Goddis lawe biddiþ þe husbonde and þe wif love eche oþer, be þei war þat þei turnen not þis love al to fleschly love, and not to love of þe soule, for þei ben bolden moche more to love þe soule þan þe body, for God loveþ þat more þan þe bodi, and for þe soule Crist diede. And certis love of þe body is verrey hate, but ȝif it be in helpe to save þe soule, and kepe it in holy lif.

Three failings commonly found in married people: 1. that they care more for

But ȝit þre grete defautis fallen many tymes in weddid men and wymmen. Þe firste defaute is, as Seynt Jon wiþ þe gildene mouþ seiþ, þat þei maken sorowe ȝif here children ben nakid or

pore, but þou3 here children ben nakid fro virtues in soule, þei chargen noþing. And wiþ moche traveile and cost þei geten grete richessis and hei3e statis and beneficis to here children, to here more dampnacion ofte tymes, but þei wolen not gete here children goodis of grace and virtuous lif, ne suffre hem to resceyve siche goodis, frely proprid of God, but letten it as moche as þei may; and seyn, 3if here child drawe hym to mekenesse and povert, and flee coveitise and pride, for drede of synne and for to plese God, þat he schal nevere be man, and nevere coste hem peny, and cursen hem, 3if he lyve wel and teche oþere men Goddis lawe, to save mennis soulis. For bi þis doynge þe child getiþ many enemyes to his eldris, and þei seyn þat he sclaundriþ alle here noble kyn, þat evere[1] weren helde trewe men and worschipful.

the temporal than the spiritual welfare of their children;

Þe secunde defaute is, þat wifis 3even here husbondis goodis to stronge beggeris and riche, and oþere curleris, to geten hem swete morselis, and sum tyme spende here husbondis goodis aboute holouris and lecherous, þe while here husbondis traveilen fare[2] in ferre contreies or grevous traveiles. And to holden holy and excuse þis wickidnesse, wifis many tymes don a litil almes opynly, and fynden ypocritis to seyn massis, and maken þe sely husbondis to meyntene siche ypocritis in here falsnesse, to robbe þe pore peple, and to lette trewe men to teche Goddis lawe, and to favoure false sclaunderis of here breþren. And 3if wifis favouren and meyntenen siche ypocritis, and stiren here husbondis þerto, for prive lecherie bitwen hemself, and for fals sykernesse þat þe ypocritis maken to hem, þou3 þei dwellen stille as swyn in synne, it is so mochel þe worse.

2. that wives waste their husbands' substance on begging friars;

Þe þridde defaute is þis; 3if Almy3tty God, of his ri3twisnesse and mercy, take here children out of þis world bi fair deeþ, þes riche wifis wepen, grucchen, and crien a3enst God, as God schulde not do a3enst her wille; and axen God whi he takiþ raþere here children fro hem þan pore mennis, siþ þei may betre fynde here children þan may pore men heren. See now þe woodnesse of þis grucchynge! It is gret mercy of God to take a child out of þis world; for 3if it schal be saaf, it is

3. that parents, and especially mothers, repine against the providence of God when their children die early.

[1] corrected; *bevere*, X.

[2] dele *fare*.

delyverid out of woo into blisse, lest malice turnyd þe undirstondynge of þe child to synne, and þat is gret mercy of God, and herefor alle men schulden be glade. ȝif it schal be dampnyd, ȝit it is mercy of God to take hym soone to deþ, leste it lyve lengere, and do more synne, and þerfore be in more peyne. And siþ þei grucchen þus aȝenst Goddis riȝtful dom, þei putten on God þat he is unriȝtful,—unwitty,—þat he knowiþ not whanne is best tyme of þe child, and out of mercy and charite ponysche so sore þe child and his eldris. But certis þan þei ben cursed Luciferis children, weiward Anticristis, and unkynde heretikis and blasphemes. Þerfore be þei glade, and þanke þei God for al his mercyes, and benefices, and riȝtful domes. Amen [a].

Several considerations, tending to inculcate and recommend fidelity to the marriage bond.

Also loke þat ech parti enforce hymself to kepe þis ordre maad of God, and breke it not for no temptacion ne likynge of flesch. And hereto helpen many resones. First, for God þat is auctor of þis ordre loveþ it to be kept in clennesse, and present in every place, and for his riȝtwisnesse mot ponyschen hym þat brekiþ it. And no defoulynge þerof may askape unpeyned, for he knoweþ alle þingis, be þei nevere so preve; and noþing, be it nevere so myȝtty, may aȝenstonde his ponyschynge. Also þenk hou soone þis stenkynge flesch, þat now deliteþ in lecherie, schal turne alle to aschis, and poudre, and erþe, and wermes mete; and for so schort likynge to lese everelastynge blisse, and to gete everelastynge peyne in helle, in body and soule, were a cursed chaunge; and no man wot hou soone he schal die, and in what staat. Also goode angelis, keperis of men and wymmen, schewen to God a grevous pleynt, whanne þis holy ordre is þus broken, and Cristene soulis, templis of þe Holy Gost, ben þus wickidly bleckid wiþ filþe of synne, and maad liche to þe fendis of helle. And for þis skille, men and wymmen schulden be wel occupied in goode werkis, and not ydel; for ydelnesse is þe develis panter, to tempte men to synne; and lyven in devout preieris and resonable and [1] abstynence of mete, and namely of hote drynkis and myȝtty,

[1] dele *and*.

[a] The treatise seems to have originally ended at this point.

and visite here pore neiȝeboris þat ben bedrede, and cloþe hem, and herberwe hem, to gete remission of over moche likynge in fleschly dedis; and evere crie to God, wiþ gret desir and good lif, þat he graunte hem grace to kepe clenly þis holy ordre, and do verrey penaunce for here olde synnes, to ende in perfit charite, and so evere have here verrey spouse, Jesus Crist, in blisse of hevene wiþouten ende. Amen.

XIV.

DE STIPENDIIS MINISTRORUM.

[This tract, with the Latin title as given above, is mentioned in Bale's list of Wyclif's writings. The text is based on a careful transcript from C. C. C. C. 296, which has had the benefit of a revision by Mr. W. Aldis Wright, of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Dublin MS. C. III. 12, also contains this tract, of the authenticity of which I entertain little doubt.]

Hou men schullen fynde prestis.

The qualifications which laymen should look for when they undertake to find priests.

Þenkiþ wisly, ȝe men þat fynden prestis, þat ȝe don þis almes for Goddis love, and helpe of ȝoure soulis, and helpe of Cristene men, and not for pride of þe world, to have hem occupied in worldly office and vanyte, and þei criynge in mennus eris. For ȝif ȝe don, it is for worldly pride; for to have a grete name of grete almes-doeris ȝe lesen ȝoure mede, and money þat ȝe spenden þus, and getten wraþþe of God, as Crist seiþ opynly in þe gospel. And ȝif ȝe fynden hem for Goddis love, and helpe of ȝoure soulis, and gostly helpe of Cristene men, ȝe schullen fynde hem to lerne Goddis lawe, to know hou þei schulde serve God in holy lif, and techen oþere men þe gospel, to save here soulis þerbi. For þei neden to have bokis of holy writt, as þe bible and exponitouris on þe gospellis and pistelis, more þan Graielis[a] and oþere bokis of song; and ben more bounden to lerne holy writt, and preche þe gospel, and Goddis hestis, and werkis of mercy, þan to seie matynes and masse and evensong bi Salisbury uss. And in what place or werk þei plesen most houre God bi holy lif, and stiren men to kepe Goddis hestis, in þat place and þat werk þei profiten most to here maistris and alle Cristene men. And be

[a] Graiel, or Grayel, is a corruption of Graduale, the name given to the collection of short passages, chiefly taken from the Psalms, which are sung at mass between the epistle and the gospel. By a licence of language each such separate passage has come to be called a Gradual. Compare Halliwell's Archaeol. Dictionary, sub voce.

þes maistris þat fynden prestis wel i-war, þat þei suffren not hem to lyve in synne and ydelnesse and vanytee, and þat þei meyntenen hem not þerinne. For þan þei meyntenen Goddis enemys in dispisynge of God, and so bicomen Goddis traitours hemself; namely, whanne þei knowen þe opyn defaute of here prestis, and may so soone amende hem, or ellis not fynde hem forþ. ȝif þei don not þis, þei ben gilty and consentouris and auctouris of here synnes. And loke þat þes maistris cherische and meyntene here prestis in goode lif and trewe techynge and lernynge of holy writt, aȝenst Anticristis[1] clerkis and here cruel censuris. And þis schulde make Goddis prestis of holy lif and trewe techynge encresse, and synne be dispisid and forsaken, and vertues lovyd and hauntid, and goode Cristene peple drede God and his lawe, and love hym before alle þingis, and þes maistris to have moche þank of God and alle his halwes, and costen no more þan þei don nowe, ne so moche, but lasse and betre for boþe partis, and for Cristene and heþene.

God forbede þat[2] ony Cristene man understonde, þat þis here synsynge [a] and criynge þat men usen now [b] be þe beste servyce of a prest, and most profitable to mannus soule. For Jesus Crist and his apostlis useden it [not[3]], ne chargeden prestis þerto; but þei preiden devoutly and stilleliche, in nyȝttis and hillis, and precheden þe gospel opynly and frely, and dieden þerfore. For, as Austyn [c] and Gregory witnessen, preire is betre don bi compunction and wepynge and holy desir of riȝtwisnesse, þan bi grete criynge and blowynge of mannus vois. Þerfore seynt Gregory ordeynede þat prestis schulden ȝeve hem to prechynge of þe gospel, as þe cronycle of Sistrenþe [d] telleþ.

The new system of loud intoning is not the best way of serving God or benefiting our neighbour.

[1] corrected; *auncristis*, X. conjecturally. [2] corrected; *þan*, X. [3] supplied

[a] incensing.

[b] Compare the description of the 'newe preiynge bi gret criynge and hey song' in Tract XVIII of this volume.

[c] The passage in St. Augustine referred to is perhaps the *Enarratio in Ps.* xxxvii. § 14. That quoted from St. Gregory may be the following passage in lib. xxii. of the *Moralia*, § 43: 'Aeternam . . vitam si ore petimus, nec tamen corde desideramus, clamantes tacemus. Si vero desideramus ex corde, etiam cum ore conticescimus, tacentes clamamus.'

[d] 'Sistrenþe' must mean Cistrensis, i.e. Ranulf Higden; but I have not been able to discover the passage here cited in the *Polychronicon*.

XV.

A SCHORT REULE OF LIF.

[Bale does not appear to have known of this interesting tract, the only known copy of which was in the MS. C. C. C. C. 296, until I found a second (Laud 174) among the Laudian MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Though it is destitute of external evidence, except such as it may be supposed to derive from its presence in the Corpus volume, the character of the style and composition dispose me to consider it authentic. It has been printed by the Religious Tract Society, in the work entitled *British Reformers;* Dr. Vaughan also reprinted the greater part of it in his 'Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe.' The text is based on the MS. Laud 174.]

A SCHORT REULE OF LIF FOR ICH MAN IN GENERAL, AND FOR PRESTIS AND LORDIS AND LABORERIS IN SPECIAL, HOW ICH MAN SCHAL BE SAVYD IN HIS DEGRE, IF HE WILE HYM SILF.

FIRST, whanne þou risist or fulli wakist, þenk on þe goodnesse of God; ffor his owne goodnesse and non oþer nede he made al þing of nouȝt, boþe angels[1] and men, and alle oþer creatures good in her kynde. Þe seconde tyme þenk on þe gret passion and wilful deþ þat Crist suffrid for man-kynde. Whan no man miȝt make satisfaccion for þe gilt of Adam and Eve, and oþer moo, ne non angel owe ne myȝt make aseþ þerfor, þan Crist of his endeles charite sufferid so gret passioun and peynful deþ, þat no creature myȝt suffre soo myche. And þenk þe þrid tyme, how God haþ savyd þe fro deep and oþer miscevis, and suffrid many þousyndis to be lost þat niȝt, sum in watir, sume in fier, sume bi sodeyn deeþ, and sume to be dampnyd wiþouten ende. And for þeise goodnessis and mercies þanke þi God wiþ al þin hert, and preye hym to ȝive þe grace to spende, in þat day and

[1] corrected; *angles*, FF.

evermore, alle þe miȝtis of þi soule, as mynde, reson, witt and wille, and alle þe miȝtis of þi bodi, as strengþe, bewte, and þi five wittis, in his servise and his worschipe; and in no þing forfete aȝenis his comaundementis, but redi[1] to performe werkis of merci, and to ȝive good ensample of holi lif, boþe in word and in dede, to alle men aboute þe.

Loke afterward þat þou be wel ocupied, and in no time ydul for temptacion. Take meete and drinke[2] in mesure, ne to costli ne to licorouse, and be not to corious þeraboute, but such as God sendiþ, wiþ treuþ take it, in such mesure þat þou be freischer in mynde and wittis to serve God, and algatis þank hym of his ȝift. Over þis loke þou do riȝt and equite to alle men, boþe to sovereynys, peris, sogetis, or servantis; and stire alle men to love treuþ and merci, and over þes charite; and suffre no man be at discencion, but acorde hem if þou maist on any good maner. Also most of alle þinges drede God and his wraþe, and most of all þingis love God and his lawe and his worchip; and aske not principalli worldly mede, but in all þin herte desire þe blisse of hevene, up merci of God and þin owne goodnesse of liȝf. And þenk myche of þe dredful dome and peynes of helle, to kepe þe ouȝt of synne, and on þe endles gret joies of hevene, to kepe þe in vertuous lif and þou up þi kunnyng teche oþer þe same doyng. And in þe ende of þe day þenk where þou hast afendyd God, and how myche and howe often, and þerfor have entere sorwe, and amende it wil þou may; and þenk how manye God haþ suffrid periche þat day manye weyes, and summe to be dampnyd wiþouten ende, and how graciousli he haþ savyd þe, not for þi desert, but for his owne merci and godnesse. And þerfor þank hym wiþ al þin hert, and preye hym of grace to duelle and ende in his trewe service and veri charite, and to teche oþer men þe same doyng.

If þou be a prest, and nameli a curate, lyve þou holili, passyng oþer in holy preyere and holy deseir and þenkyng, in holy spekyng counselyng and trewe techyng, and ever that Goodis hestis and his gospel be in þi mouþ, and evere dispice synne, to drawe men þerfro. And þat þi dedis ben so riȝtful, þat no

[1] corrected; *red*, FF. [2] corrected; *dringe*, FF.

man schal blame hem wiþ reson, but þin opyn dedis be a trewe book to alle sogettis and lewid men, to serve God and do his hestis þerbi. Ffor ensample of good[1], and opyn and lastyng, sterriþ rude men more þan trewe prechyng bi nakid word. And waste not þi goodis in gret festis of riche men, but lyve a mene life of pore mennys almes and godis, boþe in mete and drynk[2] and cloþes; and þe remenand ȝive treuli to pore men þat have nouȝt of þer owne, and may not labore for febulnesse or sekenesse, and þan þou shalt be a trewe prest boþe to God and man.

If þou be a lord, loke þou lyve a riȝtful lif in þin owne persone, boþe anentis God and man, keping þe hestis of God, doyng þe werkis of mercy, reuling wel þi five wittis, and doyng reson and equite and good conscience to alle men. Þe seconde tyme, governe wel þi wif, þi childryn, and þi homely meyne in Goddis lawe, and suffre no synne among hem, neyþer in word ne in dede, up þi myȝt, þat þei may be ensample of holynesse and riȝtwisnesse to alle oþer. For þou schalt be dampnyd for here yvel liȝf and þin yvel suffrance, but if þou amende it up þi myȝt. Þe þride tyme, governe wel þi tenantis, and maynteyne hem in riȝt and reson, and be merciful to hem in þer rentys and worldly mercimentis, and suffere not þi officeris to do hem wrong ne extorcions, and chastice in good manere hem þat ben rebel aȝens Goddis hestis and vertuous lyvyng, mor þan for rebelte agens þin owne cause or persone. And holde wiþ Goddis cause, and love, rewarde, preyse, and cheriche þe trewe and vertuous of lif, more þan if þei don only þin owne profiȝt and worschip; and maynteyne trewli, up þi kunnyng and miȝt[3], Goddis lawe and trewe prechours þer-of, and Goddis servantis in rest and pes, for bi þis reson þou holdest þi lordchip of God. And if þou faylest of þis, þou forfetist agens God in al þi lordchip, in bodi and sowle; principalli if þou maynteynest Anticristis disciplis in her erroures aȝens Cristis lif and his techyng, for blyndnesse and covetise and worldli frencipp, and helpist to slaundere and pursue trewe men, þat techen Cristes gospel and his lif. And warne þe pepul of here

[1] *good lif*, X. [2] corrected; *dryng*, FF. [3] So in X; *myth*, FF.

grete synes, and of fals prestis and ypocritis þat disceyvyn Cristen men, in feiþ and virtuous lif, and worldli goodes also.

If þou be a laborer, lyve in mekenesse, and trewly and wylfully do þi labour; þat if þi lord or þi mayster be an heþen man, þat by þi mekenesse and wilful and trewe servise, he have not to gruche aȝens þe, ne sclandere þi God ne Cristendom [a]. And serve not to Cristen lordis wiþ gruchyng, ne onli in here presens, but trewli and wilfulli in here absens, not only for worldly drede ne worldly reward, but for drede of God and good conscience, and for rewarde in hevene. For þat God þat puttiþ þe in suche service whot what stat is best for þe, and wile rewarde þe more þan alle erþeli lordis may, if þou dost it trewli and wilfulli for his ordinaunce. And in alle þingis bewar of grucchyng aȝens God and his visitacion, in gret labour and long [1], and gret sikenesse, and oþer adversities, and bewar of wraþe, of cursyng and waryying, or banning, of man or of best. And ever kepe pacience and mekenesse and charite, boþe to God and man. And þus eche man [2] in þes þre statis owiþ to lyve, to save hym silf and help oþer; and þus schulde good lif, rest, pees, and charite be among Cristen men, and þei be savyd, and heþen men sone convertid, and God magnified gretly in alle naciony s and sectis, þat now dispisen hym and his lawe, for þe wikkid lyvyng of fals Cristen men [b].

At þe day of doom Crist chal seye to þat waryed companie þat on his lift hond schal be, for þei did not þe werkis of mercy,—'Wende ȝe forwaryed wrechis, awey fro me, into þe everelastyng fier of helle, ordeyned to þe devel and alle his angelis. Þere schal be weping and gnashyng of teþ, as ȝe þat ben hatid of God and al his halewys.' And whan þe forcursid schal see þat þei þus ben dampnyd, and knowyn þer is no helpe ne mersy to fynde, þan may þei seye þe wordes of Job—wiþ syȝyng ful sore; þat day mot periche þat I was born onne, and þat carful niȝt þat I was conceyvyd onne; þat ne I hadde be fed in my modir wombe. Wher-to, my Job iii. 3.

[1] So in X; FF om. *in gret labour.*

[2] So in X; FF om. *and þus eche man.*

[a] 'Cristendom,' like *Cristenthum* in German, means Christianity, not Christendom.

[b] At this point the tract ends in the Cambridge MS.; nor does there appear to be any real connection between the subject of the additional paragraph found in Laud 174, and that of the rest of the tract; I have accordingly printed it in smaller type, as of doubtful authenticity.

modir, settist þou me on þi knees, and weysche me, and rokkid me, and fed me on þi brest? Alas þat wyle! so myche swynk sche looste, þat norchyd a brond to duelle in helle fier! For requiem þat prestis synggyn, ne non oþer þyng, schal helpe þem in her gret woo þat dyen in dedly synne. For in hem God hadde non rest þe wyle þei lyvedyn here in synne, and þerfor schal þei never have rest þe wile God is in hevene. And as þei [founden][1] non ende of synne þe wyle þei lyveden here, þerfor schal þei never fynde ende of here peyne þere. Seynt Bernard beriþ witnesse þer-to, þere he þus seiþ, þat synne þat wiþ penance is not here fordon, or wiþ sorwe of herte haþ not here amendid it, wiþouten doute he schal periche wiþouten ende[a]. Ffor soþly to þe riȝtwisdomous man it falliþ, þat þei hen never wiþowtyn peyne whan þei been dede, þat here synne wolde never leve þe while þe lyveden here. And þerfor Jeremie seiþ,—riȝt as a þeef is confondid whan he is takyn, so schal be confondid þe hous of synful men. Alas! what schame and repref schal be whan þe Kyng of kynggis schal sitte wiþ al hys meyne of seyntis, and schal blame synful man, brynggyng in his nekke þe fardel of his wickidnesse in siȝt of al þe world! And þerfor, breþeryn, leve we synne, and serve we God þe Fadir of our Lord Jesus Crist and oure Savyour, to whom he glorie, joie, worchip, and honor, unto world of worldis wiþouten ende. Amen.

Jer. ii. 26.

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[a] St. Bernard says (*De Conversione*, cap. iv.) 'Poenitentiam agere, remedium doloris est; . . . quisquis ante obitum carnis non redierit ad se-ipsum, in se-ipso maneat necesse est in aeternum.' But I doubt whether this be the precise passage referred to.

PART II.

CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.

XVI.

[SIMONISTS AND APOSTATES.]

[Of this tract, in English, there is only one known MS., that at New College, Oxford, (Q in the present edition). But there is a Latin version of it among the Wyclif MSS. at Vienna,—a fact which forms the principal ground for ascribing it to our author. Its position in the New College MS., between the 'Letter to Urban,' and the 'Letter on the Love of God,'—pieces of undoubted authenticity,—is also pretty good proof that the compiler of that MS. considered it to be from the hand of Wyclif. There is no sure indication of date; but from the absence of allusion to certain favourite topics of the reformer's last years, such as the doctrine of the Eucharist and the papal schism, I am inclined to infer that it is a comparatively early production. This tract is No. 56 in Shirley's *Catalogue*.]

Þer ben two maner of heretikis of whiche Englond schuld be purgid, and symonieris ben þe first. And alle siche ben symonieris þat occupien bi symonye þe patrimonye of Crist,—be þei popis, be þei bischopis, curatis, or provendereris. And lite prestis or none ben clene of þis symonye. For to spek generali of þis synne of symonye, it is unleful chaffaringe wiþ spiritual goodis; and so boþe partis ben bleckid wiþ þis synne. 3if freris sellen her prechyng, her preying, and her schryvyng, þe symonye is þe worse in siche ypocritis. If þes possessioners bien hem þus rentis, and propringe of chirchis, wiþ oþere privylegies, þei ben opyn heretekis to harm of þe Chirche. And þus 3if seculer prestis, oþer more or lesse, bien her dignytees, to be greet in þe worlde, and leven þe servise of God and profit to his Chirche, þei ben opyn heretikis, and oþere þat mayntenen hem.

Þe seconde heretikis in þe Chirche ben apostataas [1], and ben

[1] corrected; *apostaas*, Q.

alle siche þat gon abac in Cristis ordre, for þei trowen not fully þat Crist was most pore man [a]. And mony degrees of þe Chirche ben bleckid wiþ þis heresie; as alle men þat coveiten more siche statis for worschip of þe world, or richesse þerof, þan for worschip of Crist and profit of his Chirche, and for medeful lif to sue Crist in povert. Alle siche rotid in þis ben apostataas; and ȝif þei mayntenen þis errour aȝens Goddis lawe, þei ben perelous heretikis to harm of Cristis Chirche. And siche wolen depart men fro God and hevenlie ȝiftis, and distroye rewmes by synne and discenciouns. And herfore alle Cristen men schulden fle þis perel. And þus haþ God meved men now to spek of heretikis more þan þei diden bifore, to discryve hem bi Goddis lawe. For certis holy Chirche schal never be wiþoute debate, þe while siche heretikis ben so þick sowun. And siche men ben heretikis þat ben aȝenns Goddis lawe, or in word or in lif, alle ȝif þei holden wiþ mannus lawe; and jugement of prelatis makiþ not siche heretikis, but þe fend and synful lif, þat partis hem from Goddis lawe. And þevis in þe Chirche, moost heretikis of alle, wolen clepe trewe men heretikis, and unable her witnesse; as a þef in a derknesse biddiþ a trewe man stonde, for he wold þat no man spak aȝenns him. And heere we schulden leeve mannus lawe and jugement of þe world, and holde hool Goddis lawe, and mak it oure juge. And men weren traytours to God ȝif þei hidden þis sentence; siþ opyn werkis of heretikis crien hem to þe Chirche. And armis of men þat tellen þis schulden be on two maners; þei schulden knowe Goddis lawe, and so bi werkis knowe heretikis, and arme hemsilf wiþ patiense, and above wiþ charite, and putte hem to perel of deþ for distroying of þis synne. 'Fac quod in te est, et sic perficis illud; propheta dicente, Zelus domus tue comedit me.'

[a] This looks as if Wyclif, supposing him to be the author, had adopted the notion of the spiritual Franciscans, so much debated in the fourteenth century, concerning the absolute poverty of Christ. See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. vii. ch. 6.

XVII.

[CHURCH TEMPORALITIES.]

[This tract, which ha snever before been printed, is entered in Bale's list (the identity being proved by the recurrence of—substantially—the same initial words), under two different titles, 'Cogendos sacerdotes ad honestatem,' and 'De Civili Dominio.' Lewis, in his list of Wyclif's works, enters the same tract *three* times over; see Nos. 57, 115, and 145. For the reasons assigned in the note on p. 218, I think it probable that it was composed about the year 1378. There are two known MSS.,—one at C. C. C. Cambridge, the other at Dublin; the present text is founded on the former.]

FFOR ÞRE SKILLIS LORDIS SCHULDEN CONSTREYNE CRERLIS TO LYVE IN MEKENESSE, WILFUL POVERT, AND DISCRETE PENAUNCE AND GOSTLY TRAVEILE.

Priests and monks should of themselves lead a holy and self-denying life in Christian poverty,

OPYN techynge and Goddis lawe, old and newe, opyn ensaumple of Cristis lif and his glorious apostlis, and love of God, drede of peynes and Goddis curs, and hope of grete reward in þe blisse of hevene schulde stire alle prestis and religious to lyve in gret mekenesse and wilful povert of þe gospel and discrete penaunce, and traveile to stoppe pride, coveitise, and fleischly lustis, and ydilnesse of worldly men, and renne faste to hevene bi riȝt weie of Goddis comaundementis, and to forsake trist in welþe of þis fals world, and alle manere falsenesse þerof; for þe ende of þis false worldly lif is bitter deþ and stronge peynes of helle in body and soule wiþouten ende.

to which, if necessary, secular lords ought, for three reasons, to compel them.

Þre þingis schulden meve lordis to compelle clerkis to þis holy lif of Crist and his apostlis. Þe firste is drede of Goddis curs and peynes, in þis world, in purgatorie, and helle; and desirynge of Goddis blissynge, and pees, and prosperite of

rewmes. Þe secunde is wynnynge of holy lif, boþe of clerkis, lordis, and comyns. Þe þridde is strengþinge of rewmes, and distroiynge of synnes in eche staat, and þe Chirche. First, kyngis and lordis schulden wite þat þei ben mynystris and vikeris of God, to venge synne and ponysche mysdoeris, and preise goode doeris, as Petir and Poul techen. And herefore techiþ Seynt Ysidre in þe lawe of þe Chirche[a], þat þis is office of kyngis and lordis, bi drede and bodely rigor [to][1] constreyne men to holde Goddis lawe, whanne þei wolen not bi prechynge of prestis; and God schal axe rekenynge of worldly lordis, where holy Chirche encrese bi here governaile. Þanne, siþ prestis leven mekenesse, and taken worldly pride and bost, and forsaken wilful povert of þe gospel, and taken worldly lordischipis bi ypocrisie of veyn preieris, wiþ brennynge coveitise, wrongis, extorsions, and sillynge of sacramentis, and leven discret penaunce and gostly traveile, and lyven in glotonye, wastynge pore mennys goodis, and in ydelnesse and vanyte of þis world, lordis ben in dette to amende þes synnes. For ellis þei loven not God, for þei don not execucion of Goddis hestis, and venge not wrong dispit of God; but þei venge wrongis don to hemself, and loken þat here owene comaundementis ben kept up grete peyne. Also Poul seiþ, þat not only men doynge synne ben worþi of deþ, but also þei þat consenten to hem. Þan, siþ lordis may amende þes grete synnes of pride, coveitise, and extorsions, and symonye of clerkis, þei ben dampnable wiþ þe synneris but ȝif þei don; and þan þei ben cursed of God for brekynge of his hestis, and for þei loven not Jesus Crist. And grete vengaunce comeþ for meyntenynge of synne, and brekynge of Goddis hestis, as Goddis lawe schewiþ in many placis. And siþ adversities and werris comen for synnys regnynge þat ben not amendid, lordis schulden have neiþer prosperite ne pees til þes synnes ben amendid. For no man wiþstondynge þus Goddis lawe, schal have pees. For lordis han here lordischipis bi God to distroie

First reason: because power to punish the evil and reward the good is committed to them by God.

Rom. i. 32.

[1] supplied.

[a] There is a passage to this effect in the *Decretum* of Gratian (Pars II, Causa 23), quoted from S. Austin: but I cannot discover any dictum of Isidore on the subject.

synne, and meyntene riȝtwisnesse and holy lif; þanne, ȝif þei paien not to God þis rente, wite þei wel God mot ponysche hem, as he techiþ in his lawe. And certis, ȝif lordis don wel þis office, þei schullen sikerly come to þe blisse of hevene.

Cap. II.

Second reason; because the result would be increased holiness of life on both sides.

Þe secunde profit is wynnynge of holy lif on eche side. For nowe prelatis and grete religious possessioners ben so occupied aboute worldly lordischipis and plea and bysinesse in herte, þat þei may not be in devocion of preiynge, and þouȝt of hevenely þingis, and of here owene synnys and oþere mennys, and studie and prechynge of þe gospel, and visitynge and confortynge of pore men in here diocisis and lordischipis. And þo goodis þat ben overe here owene sustenaunce and necessaries, þat schulde be departid among pore men most nedi, ben now wastid in festis of lordis and riche men, in festis and robis and ȝiftis of men of lawe, in alle contrees where here lordischipis ben, and in riche clerkis of þe Chauncerie, of þe Comyn Benche and Kyngis Benche, and in þe Checher [a], and of justicis and schereves and stiwardis and bailifis, þat litil or nouȝt comeþ to hem, or here chirchis and coventis, but name of þe world, and þouȝt and bisynesse and care and sorowe. And for drede of losse of þes temporaltees, þei doren not reprove synne of lordis and myȝtty men, ne frely dampne coveitise in worldly men, ne in meyntenynge of fals plee; for þei ben opynly smytted in alle þes synnys, and many moo. And þus is trewe techynge of Goddis lawe, and ensaumple of holy lif, wiþdrawen fro lordis and comyns for þes worldly lordischipis of clerkis, and symonye, pride, extorsions, and alle manere synne and meyntenynge of synne is brouȝt in.

Mischiefs caused by wealth and pomp accruing to the Church.

And ȝit þei have parische chirchis aproprid to worldly riche bischopis and abbotis þat [1] han many þousand mark more þan

Evils of the system of impropriating parochial tithes to bishops and abbots.

[1] corrected; *þan*, X.

[a] The three courts,—of the Common Bench (or Common Pleas), of the Exchequer, and of the King's Bench,—were, as is well known, finally established as separate tribunals on the ruins of the Aula Regia by Edward I, who abolished the office of Chief Justiciary, and transferred much of his jurisdiction to the Court of Chancery, the authority of which thenceforth rapidly increased.

ynowe. And þis appropringe is geten bi fals suggestion maad to Anticrist, be lesyngis maade to lordis, and coveitise and symonye, and wastynge of pore mennis goodis. And ȝit þei don not þe office of curatis, neiþer in techynge, ne prechynge, ne ȝevynge of sacramentis, ne resceyvynge of pore men in þe parische; but setten þere an ydiot for viker or parische prest, þat kan not and may not do þe office of a good curat, and ȝit þe pore parische fyndiþ hym. And no tonge may telle in þis world what synne and wrong comeþ herby. For, as Robert Grosted seiþ, whanne apropriacion of parische chirchis is made to siche religious, of alle evelis þat comeþ bi weiward curatis is maad a perpetuacion. And þus þei han worldly lordischipis, and reulen not þe peple ne meyntene þe lond as lordis. And whanne care of soulis and dymes and offryngys[1], and governe not þe peple in techynge and prechynge and sacramentis, as curatis, and han richessis and tresour more þan eny worldly man, and traveilen not þerfore as marchauntis and laboreris. And, as Bernard seiþ[a], þei taken þe wynnynge and giftis of eche degre in þe Chirche, and traveilen not þerfore. And þerfore þei shulden be where is noon ordre, but everelastynge errour and peyne. Þis covetise, symonye, and moo synnys, schulden goo awey fro clerkis ȝif þei hadden no seculer lordischipis; and holy lif and povert schulde turne to hem, and newe techynge and good ensaumple to alle manere men.

Cap. III.

Third reason: because the wealth and temporal power thus taken from the Church, would, if distributed among laymen, greatly strengthen the kingdom.

Þe þridde profit is stablynge of rewmes and distriynge of synnys. For parische chirchis approprid þus schulden frely be ȝoven to clerkis able of kunnynge and lif, and trewe techynge in word and dede. And þanne schulde þe clergie be strengere, and peple of betre lif. And seculer lordischipis, þat clerkis han ful falsly aȝenst Goddis lawe, and spende hem so wickedly, schulden be ȝoven wisly bi þe kyng and witti lordis to pore

[1] text of X corrupt.

[a] The reference is perhaps to a passage in a sermon by St. Bernard on the conversion of St. Paul (*Opera*, i, 956, ed. Paris, 1690), where he says, speaking of bad priests, 'Nunc autem dati sunt sacri gradus in occasionem turpis lucri, et quaestum aestimant pietatem.'

gentilmen, þat wolden justli governe þe peple, and meyntene þe lond aȝenst enemyes; and þan myȝte oure lond be strengere by many þousand men of armes þan it is now, wiþouten ony newe cost of lordis, or taliage of þe pore comyns, [and][1] be dischargid of gret hevy rente, and wickid customes brouȝt up bi coveitouse clerkis, and of many talliagis and extorsions, bi whiche þei ben now cruely pillid and robbid. And þus bi restorynge of lordischipis to seculer men, as þei duwe bi holi writt, and bi bryngynge of clerkis to mekenesse and wilful povert and bisy gostly traveile, as lyveden Crist and his apostlis, schulden synne be distried in ech degree of þe Chirche, and holy lif brouȝt in, and seculer lordis moche strengþid, and þe pore comyns relevyd, and good governaile, boþe gostly and worldly, come aȝen, and riȝtwisnesse and treuþe, and reste and pees and charite. And hereto schulde ech Cristene man helpe, bi al his wille, herte, kunnynge, and powere.

Ban and excommunication should be defied.

And ȝif worldly clerkis of þe Chaunserie or Chekir seyn þat þe kyng and lordis may not þus amende þe clergie, and turnen here temporaltees into seculer mennis hondis, for drede of curs, seie þat þei blaberen moche of Anticristis curs and his clerkis, and magnyfien þat for here owene pride and coveitise, but þei speken not of curs of God, þat oure lordis rennen inne, for þei meyntenen not Cristis ordynaunce in þe clergie. And to Luciferis clerkis, þat it is al on to blabere þat oure lordis may not take aȝen þe temporaltees fro Anticristis clerkis, and to blabere þat oure lordis may not holde and meyntene Goddis hestis and Cristis owene ordynaunce. Be þes worldly clerkis war, þat þei conseilen not oure lordis to renne inne to Goddis curse, to meyntene heiȝe prelatis and religious, aȝenst staat of apostlis and here owene profession, for gold, robis, and fees, þat þei taken of Anticristis clerkis. But wite lordis wel, þouȝ alle clerkis in erþe cursen hem, for as moche as þei traveilen wiþ clene conscience to brynge clerkis to þis holy lif, ensaumplid and comaundid of Crist, and to restore seculer lordischipis to seculer men as þei schulden bi Goddis lawe,—þat God and alle angelis and seyntis blisse hem for þis riȝtwisnesse; and þanne

[1] supplied.

mannis curs harmeþ noþing, ne enterditynge, ne ony sensuris þat Sathanas may feyne [a].

Invocation.

Almyȝty God, stire oure clerkis, oure lordis, and oure comyns, to meyntene þe riȝtful ordynaunce þat Jesus Crist maade for clerkis, and to drede curs of God, and not curs of Anticrist, and to desire spedly þe honour of God and blisse of hevene, more þan here owene honour and worldly joie.

[a] This bold declaration seems to refer to the attempt of Gregory XI in 1377 to procure a formal condemnation in England of nineteen conclusions attributed to Wyclif, several among which (particularly the sixth, seventh, seventeenth, and eighteenth), embody opinions similar to those propounded in the present tract. See Lewis' 'Life of Wyclif,' p. 46. For instance, the ninth conclusion ran thus: 'Si Deus est, domini temporales possunt legitime ac meritorie auferre bona fortune ab ecclesia delinquente.' And with regard to the efficacy of church 'curses,' or excommunications, the ninth conclusion maintained,—'Non est possibile hominem excommunicari ad sui dampnum, nisi excommunicetur primo et principaliter a se ipso.' The four following conclusions are all in the same strain.

XVIII.

DE PRECATIONIBUS SACRIS.

[This tract, never before printed, is found in Bale's list under the title 'De precationibus sacris.' It is contained in the Corpus volume, and in two MSS. at Dublin. I do not see that any reasonable doubt can be entertained of its authenticity. There is no means of fixing the date of composition exactly; but the absence, in a tract of this length, of all reference to either of those topics which were of gravest interest to Wyclif in his last years, the papal schism and the doctrine of the Eucharist, inclines me to place it in or before 1379. The text is based on C. C. C. C. 296.]

How preiere of good men helpiþ moche, and preiere of synful men displesiþ God, and harmeþ hemsilf and oþere men.

Oure Lord Jesus Crist techiþ us to preie evermore, for alle nedful þingis boþe to body and soule. For in þe gospel of Seynt Luk, Crist seiþ þat it is nede to preie evermore, and Seynt Poul biddiþ Cristene men preie wiþoute cessynge, or lettynge. And þis is understonden of preiere of charite, and not of preiere of mannis voys, as Seynt Austyn declariþ wel[a]; for ellis myȝtte no man fulfille þis heste, to preie evermore. For as longe as a man lyveþ just lif, kepynge Goddis hestis and charite, so longe he preieþ wel whatevere he do[b]; and whoevere lyveþ beste, he preieþ best. Also Seynt Jame seiþ, þat þe besy and lastynge preiere of a riȝtful man is moche worþi. And þer while Moyses was in þe Mount, and held up his hondis, and preiden for his folk, his folk hadden victorie of here enemys; and whanne he cessed to preie þus, his peple was

The efficacy of prayer,

James v. 16.

[a] See the very beautiful passage here referred to in St. Augustine's *Enarratio in Ps.* xxxvii. § 14.

[b] 'He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.'
Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*.

overcomen, as þe secunde book of Holy Writt techiþ. ȝif prestis dwelliþ in þe hill of hey gostly lif, and aspien disceitis of þe fende, and schewen hem to þe peple bi trewe prechynge, and holden up here hondis, þat is, opyn goode werkis, and lasten in hem, and preien bi brennynge desir to performe riȝtwisnesse of Goddis lawe and ordynaunce, Cristene peple schal have victorie of þe fende of helle and cursed synne, and þan schal reste and pees and charite dwelle amonge hem. And ȝif prestis cessen of þis holy lif and good ensaumple, and þis desir of riȝtwisnesse, Cristene peple schal moche be overcome bi synne, and have pestilence and werris and woo ynouȝ, and, but ȝif God helpe, þe more endeles woo in helle. Also kyng Ezechie bi holy preiere and wepynge and sorowe gat remission of his synnys, and fiftene ȝeer of his lif; and þe sonne wente abac, or turnede [1] aȝen, ten lynes in þe orologie, as Ysaies book witnessiþ. Also þe sonne and þe mone stonden stille al day, to ȝeve liȝt to pursue Goddis enemyes, willynge to quenche Goddis name, his lawe, and his peple, bi þe holy preiere of þe noble duk Josue.

Is. xxxviii. 8.

if made in the name of Christ and for spiritual good.

Þerfore seiþ Crist to his disciplis,—ȝif ȝe axen my Fadir ony þing in my name he schal ȝeve it to ȝow. But we axen in þe name of Jesus whanne we axen þing nedeful or profitable for savynge of mennis soulis, so þat we axen þis devoutly, of gret desir, and wittily, or mekely and lastyngly, bi saad feiþ, riȝtful hope, and lastynge charite. And whatevere we axen þus, we schullen have of þe Fadir of hevene. Also Crist seiþ þus in þe gospel, ȝif ȝe, evele men, kunnynge ȝeve [2] goode þingis to ȝoure children, whiche goode þingis ben ȝoven to ȝow, how moche more schal ȝoure fadir of hevene ȝeve a good spirit to men þat axen him. Þanne, siþ kynde techiþ synful men to ȝeve goodis to here children, how moche more wole Godde, auctor of goodnesse and charite, ȝeve to his children þat he loveþ so moche gostly goodis profitable to þe soule. Þerfore axe of God hevenely goodis, as grace, wille, witt, and myȝt, to serve God to his pleasaunce,—and not worldly catel, but in as moche as it is nedeful to susteyne þis lif in truþe and service of þi God.

[1] corrected; *turnende*, X.

[2] corrected; X has, ȝeve *evele men kunnynge* ȝeve ȝe.

þerfore Crist techiþ us þat whatevere we preien and axen we schulde bileve and truste wiþouten ony doute to have it, and it schal be don us. And ȝif twei or þre of ȝou consenten togedre of ony þing on erþe þat þei schulden axe, it schal be don to hem.

All right prayer is ensampled in the Pater Noster.

þerfore Crist tauȝte and comaundid us to preie þe Pater Noster, þat is best and liȝttest and most siker preiere of alle. For þat conteyneþ al nedful þing, and profitable for body and soule, and noon error ne singularite aȝenst Goddis wille; and Jesus Crist made it, and comaundid it in schorte wordis, for men schulden not ben hevy ne werie to seie it, ne combrid to lerne it. And herfore Seynt blameþ men þat leven þis Pater-Noster, tauȝt and comaunded of God, and chesen singuler preieris maade of synful men. And herbi it is opyn, þat holy men, dwellynge in charite to God and alle men lyvynge in erþe, boþe frendis and enemys, Cristene and heþene, profiten moche by devout preieres, but most bi holy lif, and brennynge desir of riȝtwisnesse.

Cap. II.

The prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord.

Prov. i. 24.

See now how wickid mennis preiere displesiþ God, and harmeþ hemself and þe peple. God himself seiþ to evele men þat preien to hym in nede on þis manere: 'I have clepid and ȝe han forsaken, and han dispisid alle my blamyngis, and I schal lieþe in ȝoure perischynge, and schal scorne ȝou whanne þat þing þat ȝe han dred schal come to ȝow. þanne þei schullen clepe, and I schal not here; þei schullen rise herelyche, and þei schullen not fynde me; for þei hatiden disciplyne,' þat is, lernynge and chastisynge, 'and þus resceyveden not þe drede of þe Lord. And þei assentiden not to my conseile, and depraveden and mysdemeden al my correccioun,' þat is, reprovynge warnynge and chastisynge of synne. And bi þe prophete Ysaie God seiþ þus to wickide men: 'ȝe princes of Sodom, here þe Lordis word; þe peple of Gomor, perseyveþ wiþ heris þe lawe of oure Lord God. oure encence is abhomynacioun to me; I schal not suffre ȝoure neomye[a],' þat is a principal feste, 'and Sabaoth and

Is. i. 10.

[a] A mistake of the scribe for 'neomenye,' which is found in the second Wycliffite version at this place.

oþere festis; 3oure compaynes ben yvele; my soule haþ hatid 3oure festis of calendis and solempnyties; þei ben made to me hevy and noiful. And whanne [3e [1]] schulden holde forþ 3oure hondis, I schal turne myn ei3en awey fro 3ou; and whanne 3e schullen make many preieris, I schal not here, for 3oure hondis ben ful of blood,' þat is, of wrong sleynge of men, or foule synnes. Also God seiþ þat þe preiere of þat man þat turneþ awey his ere, þat he here not þe lawe, is abhominable or
Mal. ii. 1. cursed. Also God seiþ bi þe prophete Malache: 'And now to 3ou, prestis, is þis comaundement, 3if 3e wolen here. And 3if 3e wolen not putte on 3oure herte to 3eve 3ou glorie to my name, siþ [2] þe Lord of compaynyes, or hostis, I schal sende into 3ou nedynesse and schal curse to 3oure blyssyngis; and I schal curse to hem, for 3e han not seet þis comaundement on oure [3] herte. Loo, I schal caste to 3ow þe armie, and sprede abrood upon 3oure face þe þost, or dirt, of 3oure solempnyte.' Also bi þe same prophete seiþ God to prestis and mynistris of þe
Mal. i. 10. temple; 'Woo is among 3ow, þat schal sitte, and encence myn auter wilfully and frely, wiþouten mede?' as who seiþ, noon. 'Þe Lord of companyes seiþ, þer is no wille to me among 3ow, and I schal resceyve no 3iftis of sacrifice of 3oure hond.' And
Mal. ii. 13. God seiþ bi þe same prophete to prestis, '3e han coverid þe auter of þe Lord wiþ teris and wepynge and mornynge,' þat is of widewis and pore men þat [3e] oppressen, and disceyven, 'so þat I schal no more biholden to þe sacrifice, and I schal not resceyve only pleasaunt þing of 3oure hond.' Þerfore seiþ
Ps. lxvi. 18. Davyd; '3if I have biholden wickidnesse in myn herte, þe Lord schal not here bi grace;' þat is, 3if I wilfully and gladly do
Ps. l. 16. wickidnesse. And God seis to þe synful man, 'Whi tellist þou my riþtwisnesse, and takist my testament bi þi mouþ?'
Ps. cix. 6. And þe Holy Gost seiþ of Judas Scariot, 'His preiere be maad
Matt. xv. 9. into synne.' And oure Lord Jesus seiþ, 'Þis peple worschipiþ me wiþ lippis, but here herte is fere fro me. But þei techen loris and maundementis of men, worschipen me wiþouten cause,' þat is, siche men as techen and chargen mennis lawis and tradicions and comaundementis, more þan holy writt and

[1] not in X. [2] a mistake for *seiþ*. [3] should be *3oure*.

Goddis hestis, veynly and falsly worschipen God. Also Jesus seiþ to wickid men; 'What seie ȝe to me, Lord, Lord, and don not þe þingis þat I comaundede?' For Jesus seiþ, 'Woo to ȝow, Scribis and Phariseis, ypocritis, þat eten widewis houses, preiynge longe preieris; þerfore ȝe schulle take grettere jugement.' And in þe gospel of Seynt Jon is writen þus: 'And ȝe witen þat God heriþ not synful men, but ȝif ony man worschipiþ God and doiþ his wille, God heriþ hym.' And whanne a prest seiþ his masse out of good lif and charite, and makiþ þe sacrament, he etiþ and drynkiþ his owen dampnacion, not demynge wisly þe body of oure Lord, as Seynt Poul techiþ in holy writt. Þerfore Crisostom seiþ on þe gospel of Mathew [a]; As a þing may be wiþoute odour or savour, but odor may not be wiþouten sum þing, so a good dede wiþouten preiere is sumwhat, but preire wiþouten goode dede is nouȝt. And Seynt Austyn seiþ on þe Sauter; ȝif þou passe mesure in mete and drynk, and lyve in glotonye and dronkenesse, whatevere heriyingis [1] þi tonge speke, þi lif blasphemeþ God [b]. Þerfore Seynt Poul seiþ, Many men knowlichen þat þei knowen God, but þorowȝ here dedis þei denyen God. And Seynt Gregory writtiþ þus in many bokis, A man seet in grevous synnys, þerwhile he is overchargid wiþ his owen, he doþ not awey oþer mennis synnes. For it is knowen to alle men, þat whanne he þat dispiseþ is sent forþe to preie, þe herte of him þat is worþi is stired to more wraþþe and vengaunce. Soþly it is writun, Þe sacrafies of wickide men ben abhominable to þe Lord; þe vowis of sacrifices of just men ben pleasaunt. For in þe dom of God Almyȝtty, it is not souȝt what is ȝoven, but of whom. Þerfore it is written in holy writt; Þe Lord biheld to Abel and to his ȝiftis. Whanne Moyses schulde seie þat þe Lord tok reward to ȝiftis, bisily he sette bifore þat God biheld Abel; of whiche þing it is schewed opynly þat þe offerere pleside not of ȝiftis, but ȝiftis pleseden of þe offerere or ȝevere. Forsoþe þe heiste Tit. i. 16.

[1] supplied conjecturally; *hereiþgis*, X.

[a] S. Joh. Chrysost. in cap. Matt. vii. Homilia xviii.

[b] S. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. cxlvi: 'Si modum naturae debitum immoderatione voracitatis excedas, et vinolentia te ingurgites, quantas libet laudes Dei lingua tua sonet, vita blasphemat.'

God approveþ not þe ȝiftis of wickid men, ne biholdiþ in here offryngis, ne schal have mercy of synnys in þe multitude of here sacrifices. Also þe Lord is fer fro wickide men, and he schal graciously here þe preieris of juste men. Al þis seiþ Seynt Gregory in þe popis lawe.

Cap. III.

Such prayers are also condemned by the canon law, which forbids to hear the masses of priests living unchastely.

Now see how streit is mannys lawe aȝenst synful mennys preiere. Þe pope comaundiþ in his lawe, þat no man here þe masse of þat prest, whanne he whot wiþouten doute þat he haþ a concubyne or lemman; and þis lawe is confermyd of þe holy Seyne under gret curs. Over þis seiþ þe Pope Alisaundre [a]; We comaunden and bidden þat no man heire þat prestis masse, whom he whot wiþouten ony doute to have a lemman, or a womman prively weddid. Wherof also þe holy Seyne confermede þis lawe, and seiþ [b], Whatevere man of prestis, of dekene, or sub-dekene [1], holde and wedde opynly a concubyne, or forsakiþ not ȝif he have weddid here, aftir þe statut of Seynt Lionir þe pope, or Pope Nychol, of chastite of clerkis, we comaunden on Goddis halve, and bi auctorite of Petir and Poul, and algatis aȝen-seyn, þat he synge no masse, and rede ne gospel ne pistel at masse, and þat he dwelle not in þe quere at dyvyn service, wiþ hem þat ben obeischaunt to þat constitucion of chastite; and þat he resceyve not part of þe chirche. Also Pope Gregory seiþ þus: ȝif þer ben ony prestis, dekenys, or subdekenys, þat lyve in synne of fornycacioun, on Goddis halve, and bi auctorite of Seynt Petre, we forbeden hem þe entre of þe Chirche til þei don penaunce and ben amendid. But ȝif ony of hem have levere to dwelle in here synne, none of ȝow presume or be hardy to here here office or service, for here blessynge turneþ into cursynge, and here preiere turneþ into synne; as oure Lord witnessiþ bi þe prophete

[1] corrected; *so-dekene*, X.

[a] Probably Pope Alexander II, (1061–1073), who wrote a letter to this effect to the Dalmatian church.

[b] By the 'holy Seyne' seems to be meant Gregory the Great, though I have not discovered the passage cited in his works. If he be meant, the words 'or Pope Nychol' must be taken for an interpolation of the writer, for the first pope of the name of Nicholas flourished not earlier than the ninth century.

Malachie. I schal, seiþ God, curse to ȝoure blissingis. Soþly þei þat wolen not obeie to þis most holsum precept rennen into synne of ydolatrie, þat is, honourynge of false goddis, witnessynge þe holy prophete Samuel and Seynt Gregory. It is synne of whicchis, of men out of Cristene byleve to not be obedient; and to wille not to assente and acorde is synne of ydolatrie [a].

Also it is written þere þus; ȝif ony bishop, or prest, or dekene, fro hennys forþ take any womman, or forsake here not ȝif he have taken ony, falle he fro his owen degre til he come to satisfaccion, and dwelle he not in quere of men þat syngyn Goddis servyce, and take he not ony part of þingis of þe Chirche. Also ȝif ony bischop consente, bi preiere or pris, to fornycacion of prestis or dekenys in his parische, or þat he impugneþ not bi autorite sich synne don, be he suspendid of his office, þat is disposid as þe lawe seiþ. Also Austyn seiþ, þat soþly no man doþ more harm in þe Chirche þan he þat doþ weiwardly, and haþ name of ordre of holynesse or presthed. For no man presumeþ to reprove hym whanne he mysdoþ, and þe synne is drawen gretly into ensaumple, whanne a synful man is worschipid for reverence of ordre. And so þat bischop þat amendiþ not synne of siche men, is more worþi to be clepid an [1] unchast hound þan a bischop.

Nowe siþ lecherie makiþ prestis unable to entre into holy Chirche, and seie masse, and have part of tiþes and offringis, and þat men schullen not here her servyce, whanne here synne is opyn, moche more schulde þes peynes renne for grettere synnys, as pride, envye, coveitise and glotonye, usure, þefte of Goddis word, and symonye, þat passiþ alle oþere synnes. For þe grevousere synne is worþi more peyne. For pride makiþ men forsake God, kyng of mekenesse, and take Lucifer to here fals kyng, as God seiþ in Holy Writt; and envye and wraþþe makiþ men forsake God of charite of mercy and pacience, and bicome children of Bellial, as Goddis lawe, reson, and seyntis

But there are other sins besides incontinence which mar the prayers of priests, such as pride, covetousness, gluttony;

[1] *and* in the MS.

[a] This is a translation of an entire canon of Gregory VII; see *Decretum*, Pars I, dist. 81, can. 15.

techen. Coveitise and usure maken men forsake God of treuþe and riȝtwisnesse, and worschipen false goddis, as Seynt Poul seiþ. Glotonye and dronkenesse makiþ men to worschipen false goddis, and forsake Almyȝtty God in Trinyte, þat is God of mesure and reson. For Poul seiþ, þat glotonys maken here stynkynge bely her God. And ȝifte of Goddis word, and evyl ensaumple to Cristene men, is worse þan bodily synne of Sodom, as Goddis lawe and Grosted witnessen; as Goddis word and mannis soule ben betre þan seed of mannis body. And þus þefte and gostly lecherie of Sodom don curatis and prestis, whanne þei techen not trewely bi word and goode ensaumple holy writt, as þe wise clerk Grosted shewiþ. Mansleynge is not only bi dede of hondis, but also bi consent and counseil and auctorite. And siþ prestis þus consenten to false werris, and many þousand deþis, þei ben cursed manquelleris and irreguler, bi Goddis lawe and mannis, and reson þerto.

and simony, which is almost universal.

Symonye is so gret heresie þat alle synnes ben countid for nouȝt in comparison þerof, as þe lawe seiþ; insomoche þat ech synful prest may seie masse, and make þe sacrament, þouȝ he do it to his dampnynge; outaken[1] a prest comynge to þis ordre bi symonye. Þanne siþ no man comeþ to þis ordre or benefice wiþouten symonye, almost man may drede of irregularite, and privyng of beneficis, and lesynge of salaries, and of degradynge; and þat here preiere is cursed, and þei in weie of dampnacion, fro þis cursed symonye. For whoevere comeþ to presthod or benefice bi ȝifte of money-worþ, bi preiere or servyce, comeþ in by symonye, as Seynt Gregoir and þe lawe techiþ. And whoevere comeþ to þis ordre or benefice, mot bi mekenesse seke Goddis worschipe, and helpe of Cristene soulis, and for devocioun to lyve in holynesse and ȝeve good ensample. But to lyve in pride and lustis of fleisch, as ydelnesse, glotonye, dronkenesse, and lecherie, comen not in bi Crist, but bi þe fend; and [he is[2]] Goddis traitour and heretik til he amende þis entente, and do wel þis gostly office, as Crist tauȝte. And ful fewe ben clene to preie for þe peple, for gretnesse of here

[1] should be *out-taken*. [2] *his* in X.

owene synnes in here entre, and evyl contenaunce, and meyntenaunce, and excusynge of here synne, and oþere mennis synne, for money and worldly rank, aȝenst God in his riȝtful dom, and for hard endurynge in here synnes.

Cap. IV.

But aȝenst þes lawes, boþe Goddis and mannis, and resoun, and seyntis, þe fend techiþ his disciplis a newe glose, to seie þat þouȝ men ben not worþi to be herd in preiynge for here owene good lif, ȝit here preiere is herd in merit of holy Chirche, for þei ben procuratours of þe Chirche. Certis þis is a foul soffyme, a foul and a sotil disceit of Anticristis clerkis, to coloure here synne þerbi. For þis glose is foul, but contrarie to Goddis wordis; and none of þese grete holy doctours knewen þis feyned sotilte of wordis til þe fend was unbounden. Whi schulde God here graciously sich a cursed mannis preiere, for he dispisiþ God in his holy servyce, and falsly disceyveþ Cristene men, and evyl takiþ þe honour of presthed, aȝenste Goddis heste? For God comaundiþ bi Seynt Poul þat no man take to hym honor but he þat is clepid of God, as Aaron. And þe peple gessiþ to fynde a trewe servaunt of God, and clene of lif, and devout, to helpe hem aȝenst here synnis and combraunce of þe fend; and ȝif he be not sich, he disceyveþ foule Cristene peple. For God biddiþ þat his prestis ben holy, for he is holy; and þat no prest havynge notable filþe of his body[1] schal mynystre in þe peple, þat is, þat no preste havynge filþe of orible synne in his soule presume to do þe holy office; for ȝif he do it in þis cursed lif he getiþ himself dampnacion, as Seynt Poul seiþ.

According to modern sophistry, the prayers of wicked priests are heard, not for their own sakes, but in virtue of the merits of holy Church.

Þes Anticristis sophistris schulden knowe wel, þat a cursed man doþ fully þe sacramentis, þouȝ it be to his dampnynge, for þei ben not autouris of þes sacramentis, but God kepiþ þat dygnyte to hymself; but of preieris is al þe contrarie, as þes autorites of holy writt and seyntis bifore seide schewen. For ȝif cursed mennis preiere were þus herd of God, whi telliþ not

But this doctrine, though true of sacraments, is not true of prayer.

[1] corrected; *of his and bodily*, X.

God þis poynt in his lawe? but þe contrarie he telliþ opynly. Whi schulde þan popis ponische men, and suspende hem fro masse whanne þei ben opyn lechoris? whi schulde God seie þat sich a synful mannis preiere is abhominable, and þat God curseþ to here blissyngis? Þes weiward ypocritis glosen þus expresly aȝenst Goddis word, ffor þei dreden laste þe peple knewe here cursed lif, and þat curseþ here preieris, and þerfore sette not bi hem, and þanne here worschipe and wynnynge cessiþ, and þe peple wole bisien hem to lyve wel, and do almes to pore nedi men, as Crist techiþ, and not fynde siche ypocritis þat þus blasphemen God.

The modern practice of intoning or chanting the prayers condemned.

Wonder it is whi men preisen so moche þis newe preiynge, bi gret criynge and hey song, and leven stille manere of preynge, as Crist and his apostils diden. It semeþ þat we seken oure owene likynge and pride in þis song more þan þe devocion and understondynge of þat þat we syngen, and þis is grete synne. For Austyn seiþ in his confessions, As oft as þe song delitiþ me more þan þat is songen, so oft I knowleche þat I trespasse grevously[a]. Þerfore seiþ Poul, I have levere fyve wordis in my witt þan ten þousand in tonge. Poulis witt is in devocion and trewe undirstondynge; þe tonge is þat a man undirstondiþ not, and haþ no devocioun. O Pater Noster seynge wiþ devocion and goode understondynge, is beter þan many þousand wiþouten devocion and undirstondynge. And þis newe preiynge occupieþ men so moche þat þei han no space to studie holy writt and teche it. But Austyn axeþ, Who may[1] excuse him fro prechynge and sekynge and savynge of soulis, for love of contemplacion? siþ Jesus Crist cam fro hevene into þis wrecched world to seke soulis and save hem, bi opyn ensaumple of holy lif and trewe prechynge. And Gregory seiþ in his Pastoralis, þei þat han[2] plente of virtues and kunnynge of Goddis lawe, and gone into desert for reste of contemplacion, ben gilty of as many soulis, as þei myȝten

1 Cor. xiv. 19.

[1] The scribe at first wrote *scbal;* then added *may* in the margin, forgetting to draw his pen through the *scbal.* [2] corrected; *bat*, X.

[a] S. Aug. *Conf.* Lib. x. cap. 33: 'Cum mihi accidit ut me amplius cantus quam res quae canitur moveat, poenaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallem non audire cantantem.'

profiten to in kunnynge to men dwellynge in þe world. Where þis newe song schal excuse us fro lernynge and prechynge of þe gospel þat Crist tauȝte and bad? Þerefore, ȝe prestis, lyveþ wel, preieþ devoutly, and techiþ þe gospel trewely and freely, as Crist and his apostils diden. Amen.

XIX.

LINCOLNIENSIS.

[This curious tract was overlooked by Dr. Shirley; nor is it mentioned by Bale or Leland; nor do Lewis or Dr. Vaughan appear to have seen it. The only existing copy, so far as appears, is found in the MS., Bodl. 647, between the *Vita Sacerdotum* (Shirley, No. 53) and *Of the Eucharist* (Shirley, No. 54). From this MS. of course the text is transcribed. The occasion of writing seems to have been the imprisonment of some of the poor priests, which may not improbably have taken place under the letters patent of Richard II, granted to the Archbishop after the Council of London in July, 1382. (See Lewis' *Life of Wycliffe*, App. No. 22.) The date of the tract therefore I should be inclined to fix somewhere about the end of 1382. Its position in the MS., between two tracts, the authenticity of one of which is beyond dispute, while the other has at least the authority of Bale, not to speak of internal evidence, in its favour, tends to make it probable that Wyclif was the author; at the same time, it cannot be denied that it contains nothing which might not equally well have been written by one of his followers, as Herford, or Repyndon, or Aston.]

Lincolniensis generaliter describit sic claustralem egressum de claustro et sic fratrem; talis, inquit, est cadaver mortuum de sepulcro egressum, pannis funebribus involutum, a diabolo inter homines agitatum.

Irritation of the friars at being reproved for their misdeeds.

ÞERE is, he seis, a deed caryone cropun of his sepulcre, wrapped wiþ clothes of deul, and dryven wiþ þo devel for to drecche men. Do we gode whil þat we have tyme, for Judas slepes not nyght ne day, bot studyes by alle his cautels hou þat he may slee Crist in his lymes. Bot his malice and his faderes is knowen by his werkes; alþof Crist lete hom noye his servauntis. Bot sith bothe mede and synne stondes in wille, men may witte by his werkes whos clerke he is. Sith Crist and

Anticrist contrarien togedir, and freris pursuen moste men þat tellen hem hor sothes, þei schewen hom Anticrist clerkes, contrarie to Crist. For Crist was more innocent þen any freris ben, and suffred more reproves of his gode dedes, and ȝitte he suffred most mekely, and cast hym not to vengeaunce. If þo freris do þo reverse, þei are Anticrist clerkes; and for drede þat hor ypocrisye schulde be knowen to þe puple,—and ypocrisie is noght but if hit be hid,—þei are wode when þei are reproved oght of hor vices; as a horce unrubbed, þat haves a sore back, wynses when he is oght touched or rubbed on his rugge. And so shulde men rubbe oute þe defautes of freris, and thriste oute þo quyter of hor olde synnes, for þus dide Crist wiþ þo Pharisees.

They have got the poor priests imprisoned because their pure lives and sounder faith about the Eucharist put them to shame.

And one þing I telle hom, þat hor neue ordir dos hom to soule heele more harme þen gode. For al þo holynesse þat þei do to þe Chirche her moder myght þei do wiþoute suche weddynge to hor sygnes; ffor so did Crist and his apostels, lyvynge wiþ þo puple. And þerfore fle ypocrisye, and be scolere of treuthe; and ouþer seme þat þou art, or be þat þou semes. Owþer Gods lawe is fals, or þe reume of Englonde schal scharply be punyschid for prisonynge of pore prestis. And when þo grounde is sought oute, þo cause of hor punyschynge stondes in two poyntes; ouþer þat Anticrist schulde schame of hor lif, and hor wordes contraryen to hym, or for þei grauntid opunly þo feythe of þo gospel, as þei grucched in jugement[a], þat þo bred of þo auter is verrey Gods body, as þo gospel seis and comyne feithe holdes. And sothly a Sarasene or a hethen prelate wolden not þus punysche Cristis prests for grauntyng of þo gospel. And one þing I sey boldely, certen of þo gospel; þat alle þo freris of þis lond, or oþer blasphemes, connot disprove þis faythe þat we telle.

Knights and other powerful laymen ought to see that they are released.

And þof alle Cristen men schulden be on Cristis side, and reverse Anticrist wiþ alle his disciplis, nereþoles knyghtes schulde more scharply stonde in þis cause, ffor by titel of þis servise þei holden of Crist, and kepen þo ordire of knyght, in more perfeccioun þen þo ordire of freris or of munkes. Þerfore

[a] Namely, in the judgment passed by the Council of London in 1382 against Wyclif; which related chiefly to his opinions on the Eucharist.

þo gospel approves hit by Seynt Jon Baptist. And suche a covent of freris, or of munkes ouþer, was never in Cristendome as Mauris[a] and his felowes; and hit is likely þat al þis private religioun makes not suche a legioun of seyntis in heven. On þis schulde knyghtes þenke, and do servise to Crist, for þere are none feller fendes þen are wickkid prestis, as schewes Cayphas and Scaryot, and mony soche oþer. Alle Cristen men schulden þenke on þis faythe of þe gospel, hou Crist schal cum at þe day of dome, and reprove dampned men for hor unkyndenesse, and when he was in prison þei visited hym not. Gedir we oure wittes, and knowe we wisely þat hit is more [to][1] assent to unskilful prisonynge, þen for to absent us fro visitynge of prisouns. And one þing is knowun in Cristen mennis byleve, þat whoso wiþdrawes his helpe fro cause of Crist, he consentis to þo synne þat he schulde destrye. And so everiche Englische mon þat helpes not soche persouns is reproved of Crist as a fals servaunt. Somme schulden helpe by preyer, and somme by gode speche, somme by worldly pouste, and somme by gode lyve. And trowe not þat wikkednesse of freris or ignoraunce of prestis excuses not seculer lordes to autorise hor dedes. As knyghtes and alle Cristen men schal be dampned of God bot if þei do servise þat þei owe to hym, so prestes are dampnable, þat God schewes periles by whom he wil punysche
Jonah i. 2. þo puple, for hydynge of hom, as þo prophete seis. And þis worlde neded prophetis to speke and drede no mon. Amen.

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[a] St. Maur, or Maurus, according to the account given of him by Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues*, was the son of a nobleman, by whom he was brought, when only twelve years old, to Subiaco, and placed under the care of St. Benedict. Though the founder of a flourishing branch of the Benedictine order, he never was more than a deacon. Does the writer mean to say that St. Maur preserved, after he joined St. Benedict, his secular rank and status as a nobleman? or merely that he and his fellows as they were the first monks in the West, so had never been equalled since? There is another reference to St. Maurus in the tract *De Schismate*.

XX.

VITA SACERDOTUM.

[Bale names this tract under the title 'De Vita Sacerdotum;' but in the only MS. known to exist it is headed 'Vita Sacerdotum.' The MS. in question is Bodl. 647. The manner in which the Council of London is referred to at the opening of the tract seems to show that it was written within a few months after that event; that is, in 1382, or early in 1383. Although Wyclif was at this time disabled by paralysis from active participation in the movement which the Council was designed to repress, there is no reason why we should not believe him to have sent, as in this tract, from his retirement at Lutterworth, words of encouragement and counsel to the partisans of reform. The aim of the treatise is to advocate the gradual resumption of all lands and temporal dignities held by the clergy, and their restoration to the state of poverty taught and practised by Christ and his apostles. It is in fact a re-assertion, more or less, of six out of the fourteen conclusions condemned as erroneous by the Council of London.]

Cap. I.

2 Cor. xi. 26. The friars, at the late Council of London, defended the temporal endowment of the Church;

Þo peril of freris is þo laste of eght, þat falles to men in þis waye, as Seynt Poule telles; and Austyne nootis þis is þo moste. And, for dede doynge shewes more þo sothe, telle we how freris[a] desseyved late oure rewme at Londen, in þo counseile; þei wolde disseyve oure bischopis, and so lordis and comynes þat dwellen in þis rewme. Þei seide as byleve þat þis is an heresye to sey, þat men of þo Chirche have temporal pos-

[a] A sort of pious pun is here essayed, founded on the identity of meaning existing between the word 'freris,' etymologically taken, and the 'false *brethren*,' named by St. Paul as the last of the eight 'perils' through which he had past.

sessiouns is ageyns holy writte, whosoever affermes hit. Suppose we þese sophistris desseyven not þo puple by hor fals wordes, bot speke we to þo purpose. Wil we woot þat prestis in þo olde lawe had housyng and dwellynge and mony oþer godes, bothe mebles and unmebles, as Gods lawe lymytes; as freris have nowe places and rentes and myche worldly gode geten of þo puple. Bot if þese freris schulden speke to þo purpose and plesynge of bischops, þei schulden meene þus;—þat þis dowyng of þo Chirche in temporale lordschippe stondis in Gods lawe and meryt of þo Chirche; for if hit quenchid or forbid meryt, hit were a grett harme, and reversid Gods lawe, in which is al treuþe.

but the witness of Scripture is against it.

Nowe se we first wittenesse of þo olde lawe, when prestis schulde sonneste þus have worldes godes. Þo first boke of holy writte spekes even þus:—God seide to Aaron and prestes of his sorte, In þo londe þat ȝe dwelle inne schal ȝe noȝt have, ne ȝe schal have no part of hor heritage, for God is part and heritage of alle his prestes. Bot Levy childer gaf I alle þo tythes þat comen of Israel to her owne possessioun, for hor bisye servise þat þei served me in þo tabernacle, as I ordeyned hom. Lord! if prestis by a worde of God taken gredily hor tythes, why schulde þei not, by anoþer worde of God, kepe hom fro þo lordschippe?

Deut. xviii. 1. God also commanded man to work even in Paradise; but the friars disobey this command.

Also, in þo fyfft boke þat is of Gods lawe, biddes God þus to his owne prestes,—Nowþer prestes, ne dekens, ne none of hor kyn, schal haf part ne heritage wiþ oþer folke of Israel, for sacrifices and offrynges I gif hom to eete, and none oþer þing schal þese prestes take of possessiouns of hor breþren, as I myself bidde; ffor I myself haf gyven me to be hor heritage. O if God so scharply biddes þese negatifes, and Crist hymself kept hom straytely in his persoun, who are more heretikes þen þese þat done hit ageynes hym?

Ezek. xliv. 28.

Also þo prophete Ezechiel biddes þus in Gods persoun,—Þere schal be none heritage gyven unto prestes, for I am hor heritage, better þen al erthe; and no possessioun ȝe schal ȝif hom, ffor I am possessioun to alle my prestis. Ffor sacrifices for synnes, and vowes þat men byheten, and þo first of bestis, wiþ offrynges of oyle, schal falle to prestis, as God hymself

biddes. O Lord! if prestis of þo Testament were so straytely bounden by þo biddynge of God to holde hom to hor scharpe part, wher richesse was þus leveful, how myche more schulde we kepe þis nowe, when Crist, God and mon, lyved so porely! Here may we se how þese fals freris loken ofer Gods lawe, as scribes and Pharisees.

Also God in state of innocence putte [mon][1] in Paradise for to werke þerinne, and also for to kepe hit; hou schulde he make prestis lordes nowe, ageyns his owne ordynaunce? Bot servise þat God had or hafs lymitid to prestes wil fynde hom at þo fulle, þof þei ben no lordes. Bot hit semes to mony men þat freris passen þis state, and þat þo fadir of leesynges haves putte hom in rewmes to be ydel, and to begge, and to waste rewmes. O Lord! siþ God putte mon to wirke in state of innocense, why schulde he not so nowe? Wil I wot þat þo Psalme seis of fendis childer, *In mennis travel ben þei not, and herfore are þei proude.* Also in iche lawe is ydelnesse forfendid, and no state of monnis lif, ungroundid in resoun, schulde be taken of ony mon, for drede of þo fende, bot if hit be fully groundid in servise of God. But sith bisynes of beggynge may not be groundid in þo lawe of God, how schulde hit þen grounde freris? And so fyve barly lofes of scharpe barly bred schulde teche þese freris what þei schulden trowe, and not dampne as heretikes men for Gods lawe.

Ps. lxxiii. 5. 6.

Cap. II.

For Crist made two festis, and fed þo comyn puple; and at þo seconde feste were þo seven lofes; þerfore by seven wittenesses of þo newe lawe techen we þat prestes schulde not þus spoyle þo puple. Ffirst Crist seis by Seynt Luke, þat everiche preste þat renounses not alle þinge of whiche he haves possessioun, may not be his disciple, ne so nyghe sue hym. And how God undirstondes þis renunsynge, teches he by lif of Crist and of his apostlis. Lord! siþ Crist seis þat men of þo worlde may not be his disciplis, wheþer þis be nowe fals? Also, Crist teches

Christ ordered his disciples to renounce all property,

[1] supplied conjecturally.

þat no disciple schulde be above his mayster, bot hit suffices to þo disciple to be suche as his mayster. Bot Crist, mayster of alle, was so pore a mon þat he had not by monhede, ne titel of mon, so myche of worldes richesse to hil his hed inne. Lord! whether clerkes suen Crist in his large lordschipps!

and distinctly separated his kingdom from the kingdoms of the world.

Also, when þo apostils stroffe whiche schulde seme more, Crist of his grett wisedome declarid þis doute, and seide þere ben two lordschippes, worldly and gostily. Þe first falles to kynges and lordes of þis worlde, and no wey to prestis, þat are on Cristis syde; bot he is more amonge hom, þat more mekely serves. Lord! whether þo emperoure by his grett wisedome haves reversed þo ordynaunce of Crist, whiche þat Crist hymself made! Also þo gospel of Seynt Poule apostil, þat was ravisched to þo þridde heven, and sawe Gods privetees, gifs beste prestes for a reule for to lif þus. Have we, he seis, norischment to body, and hillynge to þo same, holde we us þerof payed. Lord! whether prestes of þis world passen þis reule! Also, Seynt Petre, prince of apostlis, biddes þat we be not lordes amonge clerkes, ne myche more þat we lif as lordes of þis worlde; bot we schal be fourme of mekenesse to oure flock. Also, Seynt Poule seis, þat Crist was for oure leef boþe pore and nedy mon, to make us gostily riche. Bot everiche mon þat schal be saved most sue Crist in maners. Lord! how kepe þese freris þis, þat studyen to be riche? Siþ evereiche seculer lord schulde be pore in soule, who ȝifs þese prestes leve to be þus riche in wille? Also, alle þo apostils seide togedir, þat hit was not leveful to hem to leve Gods wordes, and serve pore men at þe meete by way of bodily almes; myche more hit were unleveful to prestes to wlappe hem bisily in nedes of þis worlde. Bot so done þese hye prestes, and oþer þat have þis state. Lord! what nede were þese freris to dampne men as heretikes, þat seyn þat Gods lawe forbedes prestis þus to be lordes? Somme men seyn þat pouder of temporale godes makes þese freris to owverloke þo lawe of hor God, as dogge lokes ofer towarde Lincolne, and litel sees þeroff[a].

1 Pet. v. 3.

2 Cor. viii. 9.

[a] A Lincolnshire proverb, I suppose.

Cap. III.

The bishops should be warned not to hearken to the emissaries of Antichrist.

Þis schulde be myn obedyence; counseile þese bischopes þat þei trowed not to þes fals Anticrist clerkes [a], for þei desseyve homself, and oþer þat delen wiþ hom. Bot as hor ordir hafs no grounde to be of Cristis Chirche, so hor wordes haf no grounde stable in treuthe. Þat may men see by heresye of freris þat þei sowen in þo Chirche, of þo sacred ooste.

Reply to the objection that, but for endowment, departed souls would often be deprived of ghostly help.

Bot here þei reply lewedly ageyns men of treuthe, and seyn, by þis resoun devocioun of lordes schulde be quenchid, and hor elders wante gostily helpe. Bot þese freris schulden knowe, þat hit is non almes to reverse Cristis ordynaunce, and to harme his Chirche; bot by þis foule dowynge are algatis harmed clerkes and lordes and comynes wiþal. Clerkes ben apostatas, and breken Cristis ordir; lordis be poorid or made pore, and nedid mony gatis to werre, and to begge, and spoyle hor owne pore tenauntes; and so comynes be charged more þen þei schulde. And so synful erroure of devocioun of lordes schulde be quenchid, and þo lawe of Crist schulde be reysid. And if anyþing schulde helpe lordes elders, þat schulde be quenchynge of erroures þat hor eldres founde; as no mon of witte wil sey þat contynuaunce of a synful dede is medeful to deede men; as no mon wil sey, þat hit were medeful to breke Cristis ordynaunce, and putte þerfore an yvel; as no mon wil sey þat ignoraunce of lordes, þat wenen þat þei done wil, schulde in þis excuse hom; siþ Poule by more coloure schulde be excused, and neverþeles hymself seis þat he synned gretly ageyns Crist and his Chirche, and was a foule blasfeme. We schal trowe in þis to þo ordynaunce of Crist; for he was al myghty, al witty, and wilful; and so þes founed lordes are like to a leche þat gyves a mon in fevers wyne, ageyns his heele. And so reysinge up of ordynaunce of Crist schulde profite generaly to queke and to dede.

[a] This may perhaps refer, amongst other attacks and replies, to the public 'determination' made at Oxford by Friar Wodeford, as he himself informs us (Brown's *Fasciculus*, p. 218), against Wyclif's treatise *De Religione*. This Wodeford was afterwards commissioned by Archbishop Arundel to prepare a confutation of eighteen condemned propositions of Wyclif's; this work he executed in the compass of a rather bulky treatise, which he dedicated to the Archbishop.

And þus byhoves iche mon sey þat he holdes wiþ Crist, as freris wil confesse þat hit were non almes to dowe hom as monkes, and charge hom wiþ mukke. Lord! hou were hit almes to destrye Cristis ordynaunce, better þen reule of freris, in his speciale prestis? And so þese blynde bosardes spekin ageynes homself, and ageyns bischopes and seculer lordes, and ageyns comyns, and al holy Chirche. Who schulde þonke þese fendes for suche procurynge? And if þou sey þat þo fende lufs lastynge in synne, and boostynge of erroures þat elders have done, þis schulde move þe for to reverse þo fende, and trowe not unto freris, bot stonde on Cristis ordynaunce.

Cap. IV.

Reply to the objection that saints have sanctioned the use of endowments.

Bot ȝitte Belial brolles blabur for his syde, and seyn þat mony seyntis have suffred and approved suche dowynge of þe Chirche and worschipful dedes; hou comes þo witte in þat disproves hom? Here we answere to þo freris, certeyne of oure faythe, þat no custome in þo Chirche, confermed of popes, ne done bi hor seyntis, is for to preyse, bot in als myche as Jesus Crist confermes hit. Bot siþ Crist spake nevere ageyns hymself, and he ordeyned and bad his prestes to lif þus, al speche of men þat seyn þe contrarye is schewid opun folye by autorite of hym. And so þese seyntis þat þei alleggen synned ful feele siþe; and no mon schulde in þis sue hom in lyvynge, bot onely in als myche as þei sued Crist. Bot teche men þat þese seyntis in þis sued [not][1] Crist, bot rather diden ageyns Crist, and synned grevously; but þou may suppose forgyvenesse of þis synne by hor gret contricioun, if þat þe like.

A new objection; that alms left to the Church are put to better use than if the same property had remained in the hands of its owners.

Bot ȝitte þese fals freris replyen for hor partye, and seyn þat clerkes done almes better þen hor patrouns wolde evere have done, or couthe, or myght; and wiþ al þis þei may lif pore lyve as beggers. Who wolde not preyse hom for hor gret charite, þat þei discharge þus lordes, and take on hom suche bisynes? And suche solempne servise as comes of suche dowynge may do myche gode, bot harme may hit none do. Bot ypocrites speken here as God were on slepe; þei þenken not on þo lawes

[1] supplied conjecturally.

Answered.

þat God hymself gaf. Ffirst þei take fals, and þerof þei grounde hom [a], ffor almes askes ordir þat Jesus Crist ordeyned. He ordeyned not to do suche almes, but to do gostily almes, and take suche of þo puple. Bot as freris wolde tourne lordschippe fro seculer lordes, so þei wolde tourne sustynaunce fro curatis þat Crist ordeyned. Ffor as hom fayles groundynge of hor fals sectis, so wolde þei reverse þo ordynaunce of Crist. Þo apostlis þat weren tauȝt by Crist, seide hit was not gode to leve hor prechynge and hor first lyve, for servise to lordes; and myche more schulden prestes sey so of seculer lordschippe.

As to þo secounde worde, þat prestes may þus lyve, þis worde is fer fro þis þat prestis lyven as þei schulde. Ffor what mon þat haves þus godes and lordschippe of þis worlde, þat he ne haves his hert tourned to pride, and sumdele fro God and occupynge of his soule; and schal lette him fro prestes werkes? He is a gret fole þat þus temptis God, and puttis hym to suche perel ageyns Cristis biddynge. And so God dispreyses hom for þis gret folye, as he dispreyses freris, al þof þei helpen þo worlde for to brynge forth childer on oþer mennis wyfes, to make hor owne childer aftirwarde soche freris. And so þese freris knytten hor tale wiþ an opun falsehed, þat suche worldly glory may do no harme in prestes. Lord! if seculer lordes wolden þenke hou God haves putte hem to grete worschipp of þis worlde, in state of his Chirche, to stande for his ordynaunce ageyne Anticrist clerkes, and aske of þese freris grounde of hor ordires,—siþ þei sey þei connot se þat ne prestes schulde be lordes, and myche more þat ne þei schulden feght and haf sumtyme wyfes, for so hadden prestis in þo Olde Testament! On þis wyse þese newe ordiris marren þo puple, as if þei wolde tourne upsodoune al Cristis ordynaunce. Bot certis þei ben bot bastarde braunches, cropun in by þo fende; and rekelessehed of lordes and folye of clerkes schulden be cause, if þese freris springen on heght.

[a] The meaning is,—they interpret Scripture falsely, in that they ground their own practices concerning the receiving of alms on the commandment of Christ.

Cap. V.

Lords and great men should not shrink from the duty of reforming the Church.

Lord! siþ hit is Gods lawe þat prestes schulde lif þus, and þei schulde be meenes bitwix God and þo puple, what wondir is hit of werres and wikkednes of þo worlde? Ffor alle men þat schulde stonde for Gods lawe, and lyven as tyrauntis for to mayntene hit, synnen ugly in þis ageyns hor God. Ow! siþ in monnis cause men travel so bisilye, and þo cause of God schulden Cristen men luf more, what blyndenesse lettes men to helpe Gods cause? Ffor blynde devocioun schulde noþing lette, as hit is seid bifore; siþ Crist teches us treuþe; ne oldenesse, ne drede of movynge of rewmes, schulde lette þes lordes to stonde in cause, siþ þei dar go in werres þat ben more perilouse, and Gods helpe wil ferre, and hor mede is lesse. And so þo fende and his childer haf cowarded lordes. Bot sith men schulde counseil to pees, as Crist did, hit semes þat by his weye men schulde stable pees. And herfore spekes a clerke þus in þis matir; þat kynges and lordes myght esily do þis wiþouten gret coste or travel of hor body, þat þei conferme not þese erroures þat hor elders did; and sone þo ordynaunce of Crist schulde tourne ageyne.

The reforming party should preach three points:

Ow! whate confessoures have lordes þat tellen hom not þis perel; bot seyn hom þat devocioun and right of þo lawe schulde nede hom to conferme olde done errours! Hit is no drede, whoevere teches þis lore of þo fend, he is an opun heretike and Anticrist clerke. O sith oure bileve teches us, kynge of Englonde haves ofte in his honde, and oute of þe deede honde, þo lordschippe of Anticrist, what moves hym so folily to ȝif hit ageyne? Freris and prestis schulden preche þre poyntes.

1. the sinfulness of the assumption by the clergy of temporal power,

Ffirst, þat þes prestes schulde not be soche lordes; nowþer bischopes, ne religiouse, ne none oþer prestes; and owþer Gods lawe is fals, or þis is Gods wille. Aftirwarde, þei schulde teche þat whosoevere approves þis, confermes hit, or streynes hit, he synnes ageyns God; for he mayntenes erroures ageyns Gods ordynaunce. And so at þo laste schulde men sey opunly, hou lordes schulde gete by processe of tyme hor owne lordschippe oute of þo fendes hondes. And right as fendes gate hit by sotil ypocrisye, not sodeynly bot by processe of tyme, so schulde

men sowcandely wynne hit ageyne. And þen were þo puple on Gods halve discharged of noumbre and maners of prestis and freris. Ffor a fewe prestes þat helde Gods lawe wolden more profite to rewmes þen nowe done many. And þus myght lordes be lordes in quyete, and þo puple taught clene Gods lawe, and not be þus taxed for defaute of godes, þat are nowe occupyed by þese newe ordires. In þis myght men se trewe clerkes to God, and profitable to rewmes by iche part of hom. Þen schulden Caymes castels of þo newe ordires be voydid fro fendes, as Crist taught in dede; and þen schulde temporal godes multiplye in rewmes as þei first did, to worschippe of God. Amen.

2. the error of those who support them in so doing,

3. the duty and expediency of a general but gradual resumption by the laity of lands held in mortmain.

XXI.

DE PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM SCHISMATE.

[Bale enumerates among the writings of the reformer *De Papa Romano*, inc. 'pro eo quod haec insolita dissensio,' and also *De Pontificum Romanorum schismate*, inc. 'ob inauditas lites inter hos duos.' These appear to be two different names for the following treatise. The *De Dissensione Paparum* of the Vienna catalogues seems to be a different treatise, being very much shorter than this; (see Shirley's Catalogue, pages 25 and 60.) The date of composition may be fixed in the last months of 1382, when the southern and eastern counties were resounding with the din of preparation for the richly indulgenced expedition to Flanders, under the leadership of Bishop Spencer; (see note at p. 246.) The only MS. known to exist is that in Trinity College, Dublin, C. III. 12—AA in this edition—from which a careful transcript has been made for the Delegates by Mr. T. French.]

On the causes which have led to the present schism in the papacy.

For þis unkouþe discencioun þat is bitwixe þes popes semeþ to signyfie þe perillous tyme þat Poul seiþ schulde come in þes laste dayes, herfore schulde true men declare þis to þe peple; ffor knowynge of perels makiþ men warlyer to flee hem. And firste it semeþ, þat discencioun of þis popehede is for covetise of worschipe and wynnynge of þis world, þat bi cautele of þe fende is knytted to þis office. Ffor ȝif þe pope hold clenly þat þat Crist ȝaf to Petir, he schulde have goodis of vertues, and traveylle wiþ povert, and noon of þis worldlyche glorie, siþe þat Crist forbeed it. But who wolde þanne stryve þus ffor þe popis office? And so it were a medicyne, þat men þat han power drow awey þes bronndes þat norischeþ þis fire. And so emperour and kyngis, þat synneden in þis dowynge, schulde restore to seculer men þat þei bi foly alyende; ne þe graunt

was nouȝt leeful on neiþer on nor þe oþer partye, siþþe hem wanted leeve of God þe cheif Lord, and bi title of þis office þei holden. And ȝif þis matier of stryfe were þus take fro clerkis, boþe among hem and seculeris schulde be pees and charite. And it semeþ þat þat man, be he pope or oþere, þat wolde noȝt assente to þis chaunge, hatiþ Goddis lawe; ffor alle worldly goodis ben nouȝt so goode as charite. And God himsilf forbediþ such lordschipe in clerkis; and so, ȝif men wolde bygynne to distroye þis foul strijfe, þei schulde mayntene Goddis ordeynaunce; and þanne were it doun. And so, what clerk or seculer wolde noȝt fayn do þus, he is nouȝt in Goddis half, but servaunt to þe devyl. And so of þis it semeþ, þat what persoone or comunte traveylle to restore þe pope to þis worldly dignite, traveylliþ aȝens Crist in cause of þe fende. Ffor Crist in his owne lawe forbediþ his prestis suche lordschipe, and fleede it in his owne persoone, and þis kepte his apostolis. And of þis it semeþ þat Crist grauntide never assoylynge of synne and peyne for to do þis dede, siþþe it were aȝens his lawe, his wille, and his ordeynaunce; but mede þat God grauntiþ to men þat travailen þerinne, grauntеþ he to suche men þat maynteyneþ his ordynaunce. But bileve teche us, þat what þing is grauntide her is a false feynynge, but[a] Crist graunte it. And herfore it semeþ þat men ben noȝt holden to trowe þat it is trewe, whatever þe pope grauntiþ, ffor in þis he may erre, and varie fro Cristis jugement. But Crist grauntiþ never, ne ordeyneþe no þing, but ȝif it soune in resoun, in pees, and in charite.

And her þenkiþ many men, þat in caas of þis discencioun may men se whiche ben servantis to God, and whiche loven þe fendis cause and bisily serven to him. Ffor alle þes þat traveyllen to lette Cristis ordeynaunce in staat of his firste prestis, reversen his lawe, and in þat þei haten God and serven þe fend. And herby may trewe men se; ȝif frerys or ony oþer men lyen in þis to þe peple, and spoylen hem of here goodis in colour of her lesyngis, þei ben traytouris to God, and traytours to þe Chirche þat þei dwellen inne, and ben holden to restoren þing þat þei have spoylid. And herfore schulden trewe

True men may easily see that, as the whole system of the temporal wealth and power of the Church, so the pretensions of the popes to grant indulgences to those who fight their battles are radically untenable.

[a] meaning, except.

men trowe lasse þis court, or þes freris, and axe goode ground of newe þingis þat þei telle men. And hereinne semiþ þe peple, al ȝif we seen it noȝt, þat men fallen inne to helle, and drawen oþer wiþ hem; and þis is mor perel þanne ony bodily deeþ. And of þis may trewe men se, þat riȝt as þe fend bi o castynge in of a venemed boon, þat is, dowinge of clerkis aȝenes Cristis ordynaunce, haþ venymed Cristene men, boþe seculeris and clerkis, and meveþ men of armes to batayls and stryves, so by on openynge of tresour of his lesyngis, þat he may asoylle men boþe of peyne and synne ȝif þei wele holde on his side aȝenes Cristis ordynaunce, he haþ hight his clerkis alle rewmes of þe world. Ffor by spiritual power, þat men may noȝt se, ne grounde it in bileeve, ne prove it bi resoun, þe fend may lyȝteste bigyle þe peple, and make hem trowe falce bi his sotel lesyngis; as he may meve his vikir to seie, þat he haþ power to assoyle men fully þat helpen in his cause, and to curse all hem þat aȝen-stondiþ it; and þus may he lyȝtly gete lordschipe of alle þe world. But as þe fend byhiȝte to Crist falsly al rewmes, so myȝte falsehede walken in purchas of þis lordschipe. But by þis blynde falsehede schal Cristis cause slepe. And so it semeþ to many men þat Sathanas hadde envye to þe ordynaunce of Crist, þat his clerkis schulde be pore men. Ffor bi vertu of þis povert, Petir and oþere apostilis conquered of the fendis hond many of his servauntis, and herfore he meved hem for to trowe þe Chirche. And ofte he tauȝte his clerkis to feynen hem a power þat þei may assoylle men, howevere þei haue synned, and ȝeve hem hevenly ȝiftis, howevere God ordeyneþ of hem. And þe fend haþ many clerkis to meve þe peple to trowe þis; and so he wole cursen alle men þat meven to Cristis ordynaunce. And ȝif ony kyng lette his peple or his tresour to goo out of his rewme in Antecristis cause, he wele curse boþe þat kyng in his rewme, and aftir, whanne his children ben myȝty and willful, take to him þis rewme for his former cursynge.

Cap. II.

In all these proceedings the active intervention of

Siþ þe fend is kyng of children of pruyde, he coveytiþ in bateylle to have þe victorye, and herfore he temptiþ hardest

þes men in our of her deeþ, in hope to overcome hem at þe laste ende. And herfore, siþ he knowiþ bi wordis of holy wryt þat þe day of doom is nere þis tyme, al ȝif he know noȝt evenly how longe haþ God ordeynede byfore þis day schal come, herfore more bisylyche he temptiþ Cristis Chirche. And as Seynt Poul seiþ, þe tyme is more perillous, and herfore schulde ech man make him silf stronge, and kepe þat þe fend cast him noȝt doun; for him þat he overecomeþ, and holdiþ him byneþen, he haþ a grete hope to vencusche hym for evere, and so aftir his deeþ evere to dwell wiþ him. And herfore, siþe man is procuratour to þe fend ffor to tempte his broþer, as we may se by Eve, þerfore he castiþ to have many sectis þat bisyen hem faste aboute newe þingis, boþe in newe lawis and sensible sygnes, ffor bi boþe þes schal Cristis ordre be best [shent[1]]; siþ mannes ocupacioun aboute ony þing mot nedilyche be best for contrarie werk. And herfore clepiþ Crist men of newe sectis kynrede of hordom, þat sechiþ suche signes. And as Crist seiþ, wiþ Poule his apostle, þe synne of ypocrisie schulde regne wiþ suche men, siþ þei feyne holynesse by sensible sygnes, and coveytise wiþ oþere synnes beþ huge in her soulis. And þis mevede þe fende, aftir þe dowynge of þe Chirche, to use þe monk Sergyus[a], and turne men of þe Chirche to all þe secte of Saresenes, þat is now ful large. And so it semeþ to sum men, þat monkis or false cardinals may bygile þe litil flook now lefte of Cristen men, ffor so þei dide whanne Cristendome was more and more of myȝte. And Antecristis sect is more bi many ordris, so þat, aftir Cristis speche, Goddis chosen schal be disceyved her ȝif it may be, in reversynge of false Cristis. And so, as many men þenken, þe best remedy in þis wer to lyve holy lijf, and trowe holly þe gospel, for boþe in noumbre and speche schal Antecristis clerkis passe trewe men

the evil one is manifest.

1 Cor. vii. 29.

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[a] The story is well known of the Nestorian monk of Bassorah, called Bahira by the orientals, and Sergius by the western writers, who is said to have predicted the great career of Mahomet to his guardian Abu Taleb, and to have instructed him in ecclesiastical affairs and the tenets of Christianity. See p. 99 of this volume for another mention of Sergius.

in God, ffor þei beþ þicker i-sowe. But grope we wel her ground, wheþer it be Goddis, or ellis provid bi resoun, and lefe we alle oþer.

On the late bull of Urban, granting indulgences for the crusade against the anti-pope.

And now in oure dayes, out of þe nest of Antecrist is come an hard maundement, and seiþ to men in sentence, þat hoso confermeþ[1] Antecristis ordeynaunce in dowynge of þe Chirche, and lettiþ Cristis ordynaunce, he is fully soylled, and wendiþ striȝt to hevene wiþouten ony peyne her or in purgatorie. And ho-evere lettiþ þis decre, and holdiþ on Cristis side, he is deplyche cursid and pursued wiþ Antecristis clerkis. Ffor þei seie, hoso lettiþ decre of þe pope to pursue his adversarie, he is þus cursid[a]; and hoso pursueþ him and dowiþ þe toþer pope, aȝens þe ordeynaunce of Crist, he is þus blessid. And siþþe Crist was maad man I herde nevere more blasfemye. Leve, wer he noȝt traytour to God and to man, þat in absense of God reversid his ordynaunce, þat God him silf haþ maad for savynge and tenþernesse, ffor love of his spouse, and gabbed her on God, þat God haþ ȝeve him leve to graunte her in erþe boþe pardoun and blysse to breke Goddis firste ordynaunce, and conferme þe ordynaunce þat þe fend tauȝte þe emperrour? And he were traytour to rewmes ȝif he spoylede here peple and tresore of þes rewmes bi suche feynede lesyngis; for temporal goodis and spirytual rebbed he fro þes rewmes. Certis, siþ þe world was maad þe fend feyned nevere more lesyngis to spoyle rewmes of tresore and peple þat makiþ hem stronge, þanne to seie þat ho-so lettiþ to take folke or tresore at wil of þe pope, to distrye his mennye, he is cursid of God and schulde be deed by man; and aftir sendiþ freris and oþer falce clerkis, to make þe peple to trowe, and meveþ hem to þis sentence. O ȝif Antecrist and his clerkis in her grene growyng overleyn þus rewmes,

[1] corrected; *confermerme*þ, AA.

[a] This seems clearly to refer to the bull of privileges granted by Urban VI, in the year 1382, to the Bishop of Norwich, one of which runs as follows: 'Item, habet potestatem *excommunicandi, suspendendi, interdicendi*, quascunque personas rebelles, seu *impedientes ipsum exercere potestatem sibi commissam*, cujuscunque status, gradus, praeeminentiae, ordinis, loci, conditionis, extiterint, etiamsi regali, aut reginali, vel imperiali, seu quavis alia ecclesiastica vel mundana, praefulgeant dignitate.' Walsingham (Rolls edition), II. 77.

and bigyliþ trewe men, what weleþ þei do whanne þei beþ fully stablid? And þis is þe falseste conquest þat evere þe devyl haþ cast, ffor þus myȝte he liȝtly ȝeve rewmes to his servauntis, and make hem of nowun power to aȝenstonde his cautels. And þus is heresye of þe fend pupplischid in londis, þat he haþ maystrye overe Crist, and his servants overe trewe men. And more falsenesse of þe fend here we never feyned. Stonde we stablyche in feiþ þat Cristis lawe techeþ, ffor it was nevere more nede for cautels of þe fend. He feyneþ false dremes[a] of power of Cristis vikir, þat Crist myȝte nevere graunte to such a false cause. And truste we in þe helpe of Crist in þis poynt; ffor he haþ bigunne to helpe us graciously, in þat þat he haþ clofe þe heved of Antecrist, and maad þe ton part fiȝte aȝen þe toþer. Ffor it is no drede þat synne of þe popes þat haþ be longe contynued, haþ brouȝt to þis dyuisioun. And so, ȝif boþe þes hevedis lastiþ, or þe ton bi him silf, þanne schal þe laste errour be worse þan þe firste. And so emperrour and kyngis schulde helpe in þis cause, to maynteyne Goddis lawe, and conquere her heritage, and distroye þis foul synne, savynge þe persones. And þanne were pees founde, and symonye distroyed; for while þis rote lastiþ, duriþ bataylle and symonye. And ȝif þes lordis loveþ God, þei loveþ Goddis lawe; and helpe him in þis cause, ffor to hem it longiþ; and more glorious conquest dude nevere Cristene kyng.

Cap. III.

The slanders of the papal agents repelled.

But feynynge of ypocritis wole stonde faste aȝen, and crieþ to alle men þat aȝenstondiþ þis, [ȝe[1]] beþ heritikis and wickid men, and fewe aȝenst oþere. But counfort it is þat þes þre resouns meveþ noȝt. Þe firste meveþ noȝt, siþ Crist him silf was clepid blasfeme, þat is heretik most of alle oþer; and in a fend, Belzabub, þei seide he dide his dedis, ffor servyce þat he dude to þis prince of fendis. So whanne many wickid men defameþ

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[a] See Vol. II, p. 166, where this matter of the dexterous use of dreams by the friars, in furtherance of the ends of the papal court, is mentioned more in detail.

a good man, and haveþ noon evydence of his schrewid dedis, hit is a greet evydence þat, for he schameþ her synnes, þat þei accuse him falsely, al ȝif he be clene. And bi þis same answere we may avoyde þe seconde word; siþþe þe Jewis seide þat Crist was noȝt on Goddis halfe, ffor he dide myracles and helpid men on holy day; and þerfore þei seide þat none men þat koude good trowid to þis wickid man, but cursid and founed peple. Ffor, as þei seide, no Pharise ne prince of þe prestis trowid to þis false man, but þei þat knewe noȝt þe lawe. And so han þei seid of Cristis trewe servantis. And to þis þridde evydence,—it is knowen þing, þat whanne þe world is peyred, and Antecrist haþ maystrie, þere beþ many fendis sones[1] aȝens any trewe man; as in tyme of Hely was he nyȝe left aloone, aȝens sevene hundrid prestis þat serveden to Baal.

The proceedings of both popes censured, as irrational, uncharitable, and unchristian.

But take we more evydence of schrewidnesse of þe toþer side. Ffor þei grounde noȝt her speche in resoun ne in Goddis lawe, and feynen þat Jesselyn[a] seiþ so, and neiþer Jerom ne Austyn. And certis Jesselyn knewe litil of remyssioun of synne, or ellis of spiritual suffragies, þat God him ony grauntiþ. How schulde men trowe Jesselyn in glosynge of þe popis lawe, siþþe þe toon pope falliþ þe toþurs bullis? Also men schulde have suspect boþe þe popes dedis, siþ þei beþ noȝt grounded in þe lawe of God; but, as þei knewe no sovereyne, as Lucyfer here mayster, þei sechen veniaunce to him silf, and lesiþ pacience and charite. And certis it is no love of God to maynteyne such prelatis, ffor wantynge of her charite seiþ þat þei beþ fendis, siþþe for lasse avarice Crist clepid Judas a fend; and it seemeþ no wisdom to be ladde bi many Scarioþs. And take heed to þe mynystris of þes prelatis; þei ȝeve leve to prestis, to monkis, and to freris, to traveylle in her cause, al ȝif þei slee men, and suche þat have be comynly most viscious men of oþere. Lord! siþþe in þe oolde lawe, whanne it was lefe to fiȝte, Goddis folke was vencuschid for synne of oon

Josh. vii. 12.

[1] corrected; *synnes*, AA.

[a] This is Zenzelinus (or Genzelinus) de Cassanis, a doctor of laws, and, according to Pancirolo (*De Claris Leg. Interpp.*), a Frenchman, author of the received commentary on the 'Extravagantes' of Pope John XXII.

man, how schulde þei noȝt be vencuschid in þe newe lawe, for more synne of many men? Certis þere is no cause but ȝif God have forsake hem, and letiþ hem serve deplyer her dampnynge in helle; as beestis þat beþ dispeired, men bisyeþ noȝt to reule hem. A! siþþe kyng Daviþ, þat was so just a man, was lettid to make a temple, but Salamon þat lovede pees was ordeyned of God to make þe temple of stoon, myche more schulde popis, and prestis her servauntis, schede noȝt Cristen mennes blood in her owne cause. And certis, siþþe þei han forsake pacience and charite, it semeþ þat God forsakiþ hem as for his owne children, ffor whos werkis men worchen, his children þei beþ.

And take noon heed to þe persones þat telleþ þes wordis, but take heed to þe sentence and cause þat þei spekeþ inne; and lok wel in holy wryt wheþer it seie noȝt so. Lord! where it be Goddis wille to lette to preche þe gospel, and ȝev leve and counseil to prestis to slee men? Hit semeþ þat suche dedis schewiþ whos beþ þes prelatis; ffor every man her meree[1], and specially prelatis, schewen bi her werkis whos children þei beþ. Ffor þes þat traveyllen wel for pees beþ children on Goddis half, and þei þat traveille by werris to have richesse and worldly glorie beþ children of þe fend and enemyes to Crist. And herfore is Crist clepid peysible kyng, and þe fend kyng of alle þe children of pride. A! ȝif a man myȝte chese to holde Cristis biddinge, and forsake welþe of þe world and al worldlyche glorie, ffor to make pees bytwixe him and oþere men,—ȝif he lefte þis Cristis biddynge, and takiþ lore of þe fend, who wolde noȝt seye þat ne he wer þe fendis child? But þes popis myȝte leve hiȝenesse of þe world, and þis worldly richesse, as God him silf haþ beden hem, and þanne þis strif schulde cesse bitwixe hem and oþere men. And ȝif þe fend lette hem by love of worldlyche þingis, ho drediþ þat ne þanne þei beþ þe fendis owne children? But lordis schulde compelle hem to leve þis fendis lesynge, ffor God biddiþ his servauntis compelle men to entre his weye. And ȝif þu seie þat no man schulde speke aȝens þe pope, comun dedis techiþ us þat he may liȝtly synne; and for he is capteyn over alle his children, þerfore his

[1] The text at this place appears to be corrupt.

synne is more, and more harmynge to þe Chirche. And herfore seyntis bifore, wittynge þat he is noȝt God, ne confermyd in vertues, as aungels beþ in hevene, weren ful bisy bi Goddis lore to reprove þe pope. As Poul repreved Petir for a liȝt trespasse, Bernard repreved Eugenye for he was to worldly, and left þe office of apostil, and took office of Antecrist[a]. Why schulde noȝt men now reprove popes, ȝif þei don now wersse? siþ alle men schal sue Crist, and stonde for þe truþe; but Crist reprevyd Petir, and repreveþ ech yvel pope. And at þe leste Cristis children schulle flee an yvel pope, and sue him noȝt but in as myche as he sewiþ Crist, ne trowe him noȝt but in as myche as he spekiþ Cristis lawe; and ȝif he do contrarie, flee we hym as Antecrist. Ffor no resoun ne no lawe nediþ us to sue þe fend, ne forsake oure God, ne þe lawe þat he haþ ȝeven us. Wel we wytten by Goddis lawe, þat þe heyȝeste in þis Chirche schulde nexte sue Crist, and moost flee þe world; ffor so techiþ Crist, þat þe moost in his Chirche schulde be mooste meke, most pore, and moost servysable.

Cap. IV.

The promises of Christ to Peter, though applicable also to his successors, are of no avail to those who live not the life of Peter.

But here Antecristis clerkis wole preve bi manye weyes, þat þe pope, þat is vikir of Crist and of Petir, haþ power in þis Chirche to do what he wole, siþþe Crist biheiȝte to Petir þat what he byndiþ in erþe schal be bounde in hevene, and so what he unbyndiþ. Ho may denye þis bileve but ȝif he be an heretik? But here schulde þe fendis children lerne here logyk and her phylosophie, þat þei ben noȝt heretikis in falce undirstondinge of þe lawe of Crist. Soþ it is þat Crist hiȝte to Petir þis power, and to oþire apostlis, by suche manere of wordis, and to alle here successouris in persone of hem. But suppose þat a prest forsake þe liif of Petir, and bidynge of his maystir our Lord Jesus Crist, and goo annoþir weye as þe world axiþ, what is Cristis word sibbe to suche, a prest of

[a] St. Bernard (Ep. CCLXVIII) reproved Pope Eugenius III, his former friend and follower, for having promoted an unworthy person to some ecclesiastical dignity. The language, however, is carefully restrained, nor can I find in any of St. Bernard's letters to this pope what would justify the strong assertion in the text.

Antecrist? Certis eche bettre prest, in whiche beþ þes condiciouns, myȝte bi more colour seye he is Petris successour; ffor as Crist chargiþ more mennes dedis þanne her wordis, so he chargiþ more vertues þanne worldlyche fame. Ne noon eleccioun of man is worþi bifore God, but whanne it accordiþ to chesynge of Crist. And herfore þe apostlis, whanne þei were ful of God, chesen Mathy by sort, and noȝt bi falce cardynarls. And as sort may faille ȝif Crist reule it noȝt, so may chesynge of false men, aftir þat þe Chirche is dowid, and as myche more perilouslyche, as man þat is perverted is a quik fend, worse þanne oþere sortis. And so men schulde putte in þe ordeynaunce of God suche eleccioun of prestis, and wedde hem noȝt wiþ þis staat, and trowe more to her werkis þan to chesynge of men; ffor þus Crist biddiþ men trowe to his werkis, and þus took Clement þe office of Petir, and as soone forsook it, whanne he myȝte more profyte in an noþere office [a]. And so schulde Cristis prestis do, or ellis þei leven Goddis reule, þat biddiþ of two þingis þat men schulde chese þe better, and more for Cristis Chirche; for ellis þei lyven aȝens God, þat ordeyned men þe bettir, and biddiþ men to chese it. And ȝif mennes lawis reversiþ þis lawe of God, woo be to þes lawis, and to men þat usen hem. Ffor þus seiþ þe profete in text of oure bileve. And so, ȝif mennes lawe or custom of þe Chirche lettiþ resoun and lawe of God, woo be to it. And more harm in þis mater þat falliþ to prestis is, þat þei makiþ hem a lawe aftir lawis of þe world, and þat þei kepe more bisyli þan lawe of þe gospel. And ȝif her dowyng or her staat nediþ hem to do þus, woo be to þis dowyng and such staat of þe world, siþþe it nediþ to forsake God and his lawe.

Here may we se þat prelatis, feynynge for staates wheþir þei beþ Petris successouris or suers of Crist, han more þing for to preven þan þei cunne come aweye wiþ. Ffirste, þei schulde teche þat þei suen wel þes heedis; and ȝif þei teche þis wel, þei schulde noȝt stryve for dygnitees, ne telle so mychel by hem

To be a true successor of the apostles, one must imitate their life.

[a] This seems to be the author's mode of reconciling the opinion of St. Jerome, confirmed by the Epistle of Clement himself (supposing it to be genuine) to the Church of Jerusalem, that Clement immediately succeeded St. Peter as Bishop of Rome, with the statement of Irenaeus that Linus and Anacletus both held the see before him.

as bi werkis of þe gospel; ffor ȝif þei do, þei schewe in dede þat þei sue noȝt þes heedis; and so of privylege þat Crist haþ grauntid unto Petir beþ þei noȝt worþi to have part by such a falce title. But suppose þat þei wer vikers of Petir, ȝit þer is anoþer þing þat þei schulde fulfille, þat in byndynge and losynge þei beþ conformed to Crist, ffor ellis þei makiþ a false knotte, and falselyche semeþ to loose. And herfore is nede to hem to have þe keye of science, þat þei kunne bynde and lose aftir þe Chirche above; ffor ellis þei gabbe on hem silf, and doiþ noȝt as þei seyen. Her mayst þou se, how popes and oþere prelatis mut argue in þis wise; what evere Petir byndiþ or losiþ, or ellis his verrey viker, is þus bounde or losid of God in þe Chirche of hevene; but þis pope or þis prelat is verrey Petris viker, and byndiþ or losiþ by þe keye of Goddis kunnynge; þerfore it is bounde in hevene or losed, as he seiþ. And ȝif þou seie þat by þis lawe none schulde trowe Cristis viker, but ȝif he schulde trowe him in byndinge and losynge, and so we schulde trowe what evere þe pope seiþ, ffor al þe boot of Petir flocced in uncerteyn,—here we schal wite how trewþe and hope and charite beþ divers, and how þere beþ diverse þingis to trowe and to hope and leve; and so we schulde sorwe for synne, and hope to be assoyllid of God and of his vikir, ȝif it be as we hope. And ȝif we faille in þis sorwe, or bigge noȝt oure synne of God, we bygile oure silf in speche of byndynge or losynge. And so þi confessour can nouȝt wyte wheþer þou be bound or soyled, but bi supposynge þat he haþ of þi trewe speche, ffor þere is no more heresie þan man to bileve þat he is assoyled ȝif he ȝeve hym moneye, or ȝif he leye his hond on þin heed, and seie þat he assoylliþ þee. Ffor þou moste by sorowe of herte make aseeþ to God, and ellis God assoyliþ þee noȝt, and þanne assoyliþ noȝt þi viker.

Conditions of valid absolution.

How evere þe pope speke, þis is þe lawe of God, and alle þingis þat wole sue herof schulde Cristen men graunte. And by þis schulde prelatis ceese to boste of her power, ffor soþe it is þat assoyllynge is propred unto God, and his viker in erþe telliþ his lord wille; and ȝif hym fayle kunnynge, he lyeþ on his lord. And so many men mysosiþ her power, þat is þe secunde keye in assoylynge of prestis. And here may we se,

Consequences which flow from this doctrine.

þat it is noȝt bileue, þat ȝif a man semeþ to be assoyled of þe pope, þanne he is assoylled so ffor þe popes affermynge, ffor þe pope may erre ofte in presumpcioun of his keyes. And God forbeede þat it wer bileve to trowe of eche man, þat þis man is assoylled or cursid as þe pope seiþ; ffor þanne bileve, þat schulde be oon, were falce and diverse in many men; for þe confessed and þe confessour were cause of oure bileve. But God forbede þat hit were so, for þanne feiþ were uncerteyn. A man may make his owne hope, and confessour helpe to, but hope and bileve beþ ful divers.

Cap. V.

Here grucchiþ Antecrist, and seiþ þat by þis skyle þe pope hadde no power to certifie men confessid of him, þat þei beþ assoylled of Crist, for he kan nouȝt teche þis, and so schulde perriche Petris keyes, groundid in Cristis graunte. And herfore men seyen comunly, þat whom so ony prest assoyliþ, he is assoyled of God by vertu of þe keyes. Ne men schulle suffre no more penaunce þan þe prest enjoyneþ hem, ffor God haþ ȝeve þe prest power to deme aftir his owne wille, ffor ellis it were a needeles þing to schryve men þus to prestis. As anentis þis, me þinkiþ þat men schulde trowe þat þei beþ nouȝt assoyllid ne bounde of her synne, but in as myche as God him silf doiþ it. For siþ God is lord of alle, agens whom is synne i-do, ȝif ony man synneþ aȝens ony creature, þis lord mut ffirst forȝeve his wreþe; and hit wer as unsemelyche man to forȝeve þe wreþe of God, as ȝif þe werst boy in þis rewme forȝaf þe kyngis wreþe, and specially siþ God is more overe þe pope and eche prelat her, þanne þe kynge of Ingelond is more þanne a boy; and God is neiȝe to ech soule more þanne ony man may be. And graunte in presence of þis lord, wiþouten his autorite, [of[1]] trespace don unto him, were a foul presumpcioun. And so prestis be but servauntis to telle þe wille of God, þat God forȝeveþ þe synne, ȝif þat men beþ worþi. And þis knowynge schulde prestis have, and knowe Goddis mercy, þat ȝif men make aseeþ to God, God wole þanne assoyle hem. And errour

Answer to an objection made by the defenders of the ordinary view of absolution.

[1] supplied conjecturally.

in þis bileve disceyveþ many men. And herby may we se,—as power 3eve to servauntis, is no3t wittily 3eve, but 3if þei kunne here office, so God geveþ no3t to men power for to assoyle, but 3if he 3eve hem kunnynge þat falliþ to her office. And so it may be ofte tymes, þat prelates feyneþ hem power, al 3if þei have no such power, ffor þei beþ unable. And siþ God mute graunte þis power as propre to him silf, and he may no3t erre in knowynge of unable prestis, herfore men may be disceyved in hope of suche power; and herfore men schulde telle þe peple of þis power of God, and teche men to affye in þis, and no3t in mennes power.

The true doctrine is not a lucrative one, but must not therefore be abandoned.

But wel I woot þat þis bileve wynneþ no3t us þe peny, ne makiþ us no3t to be worschipid, ne þe peple soget to us; but pupplischinge of Goddis lawe schulde no3t be lefte herfore. Bi þis may men se answere to þis resoun,—þat no pope here in erþe, but 3if he have revelacioun, can telle men þat þei beþ assoylled of synne þat þei beþ schryven of, siþe he can no3t telle þat men haveþ contricioun. And as þe popis lawe seiþ, in grauntynge of his pryvylegie he grauntiþ no3t suche indulgence but to contrit and confessid. 3e, 3if þe pope seie contrarie, or freris, or seyntis in hevene, men schulde no3t trowe to hem in þis, siþe þei seie byside þe feiþ. And siþ no confessour in erþe kan wyte where men be contrit, but suppose bi her owne wordis þat þei seye soþe in þis, hit is open þat þes confessours wyttiþ ne bileveþ þat her confessid beþ contrit, but li3tly suppose þat þei seie soþe of hem silf, and bi þis þei suppose þat God him silf assoyliþ hem, and þanne beþ þei wel assoyled. And þei beþ Goddis bedels to telle truly his sentence, and oþir wise may þei no3t assoyle men of here synne. And siþ þe pope seiþ þat he assoyleþ ech confessid and contrit, in þat þat he seiþ þat men beþ confessid and contrit, hit semeþ þat þe pope presumeþ to seie þat þes men haveþ contrycioun. And certis þes popis or cardinals can no3t wyte of hem silf, wheþer þei have contrycioun, but by a li3t hope, siþe þei knowe no3t diference bytwixe attricioun and sufficiant contricioun[a], þat God acceptiþ

[a] The reader of Pascal and of Boileau will here be reminded of the famous controversy concerning attrition and contrition which shook the Church of France in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits contend-

for synne. And so it semeþ þat þes wordis smachen presumpcioun, and beþ no3t groundid in þe lawe of God. And so sum men þenkiþ, þat al þis sacrament is no3t fully groundid in al holy wryt but in general wordis, and special beþ unknowen; and herfore men schulde no3t graunte special þat þei knowe no3t. And her may men se þat Petris keyes schulde no3t perriche, but be furbusched and clensid of þe rust of heresie, and blasphemye of confessouris schulde be leyd adoun, and þis were profyt to our Chirche and hatynge of blasfeme confessours. For in her absolucioun faylip comunly Petris keyes, and þei feyne ofte to assoylle, and þei assoyle no3t.

The practice of conscientious confessors.

And herfore many prestis þat dredip hem ffor to lye seieþ[1] no3t, I assoylle þee, but, God of hevene assoille þee; and 3if þei seie þat þei assoyle, þei speke by reputacioun, and nou3t bi wytynge ne bi trowynge, ffor God chargiþ hem no3t herto. And so þis confessioun þat is maad to man, haþ ofte tyme be varied in varyinge of þe Chirche. For first men confessid to God and to þe comun peple, and þis confessioun was used in tyme of apostlis. Siþ men were confessid more specially to prestis, and maad hem juges and counseilers of here synful lijf. But at þe þridde tyme, siþ þe fend was losed, ordeyned pope Innocent a lawe of confessioun [a], þat ech man of discrecioun schulde ones in þe 3eere pryvyly be confessid of his propre prest, and addede myche to þis lawe þat he kowde no3t grounde. And al 3if þis popis ordeynaunce do myche good to many men, neþeles many men þenken þat it harmeþ þe Chirche. Hit doiþ many men good, for schame and drede of here schrifte drawiþ hem fro many synnes, and makiþ hem drede so aftir. And so[2] þis

[1] corrected; *siþþe*, AA.

[2] corrected; *in* AA.

ing that *attrition*, that is, sorrow for sin out of a motive of fear, together with the sacrament of penance, was sufficient to cleanse men's souls and make them fit for heaven, while the other side urged that *contrition*, or sorrow for sin out of a motive of the love of God, was indispensable. He will remember that terrible sarcasm of Boileau, who makes the Almighty invite the defender of the sufficiency of attrition into Paradise, with the words—

'Entrez au ciel; venez, comblé de mes louanges,
Du besoin d'aimer Dieu désabuser les anges.'

[a] The law enforcing private confession, which was established at the fourth Council of the Lateran in 1213.

sacrament is nedful to synful men, but not so nedful as is confessioun maad to God, for þat is evere nedeful ȝif God schal assoylle men. Þe harme þat comeþ of þis schrifte is ful gret in þe Chirche; ffor many prestis, boþe more and lasse, blasfemeþ in here power, and failliþ in þe keye of kunnynge in þis feyned absolucioun, and falliþ in heresie, prestis and her sogettis, but ȝif prestis purge þe keye of here kunnynge, and stondiþ in boundis of bileve. But þis [is][1] open heresie þat men taken of þis sacrament, þat men þat beþ confessid schal suffre evene þat peyne þat her prest enjoyneþ hem, howevere þei haveþ synned. Þe prest haþ no wite to taxe evene þe peyne aftir þe synne þat þe men haþ do aȝens God, for no man in erþe, ne aungel in hevene, but ȝif God telle him specially, can taxe such a penaunce. And herfore bookis seyen þat penaunce is arbitrarie, now more and now lasse, after þat prestis lykyn. So ofte tyme sum prestis for þe lasse synne enjoyneþ more penaunce, and sum for þe more synne lasse penaunce; but how evere þei enjoyneþ, God þe hiȝe juge, agenst whom men synneþ, taxeþ evene þe penaunce, þat prestis knowiþ nouȝt, as þei knowiþ noȝt grevousnes of synne. But it semeþ generally, þat men þat schal be saved haveþ penaunce ordeyned of God, in þis liif and in purgatorie, þat þe prest haþ no wytt ne power to enjoyne men. And so men þat schal be dampned beþ noȝt fullyche assoylled of synnes þat þei han be schryfen of, ffor þei schal come aȝen. And þei faille in alle her dedis þat þei do to God, and so þei haveþ noȝt contritcioun as men ordeyned to blisse, ffor þes men bi her grace semeþ noȝt þus dedelyche. But what pope or confessour wot ho haþ suche synnes? And herfore [þei][2] blasfemen, assoillynge of peyne and gilt; and so many men schryveþ hem ofte in veyn to her confessours; and cause of þis vanytee beþ prestis or confessid. But schryve þee to God and laste in contrycioun, and God may noȝt faille ne he wole assoylle þee.

Cap. VI.

Futility of the plenary indulgences granted by the rival popes to those who fight in their cause.

Off þis may men se how perlously men spekiþ, and wiþoute fundement, þat grauntiþ pleyn absolucioun of synne and of

[1] supplied conjecturally. [2] Id.

peyne to alle men, confessid and verreylyche contrit of synne þat þei haveþ don, whiche travaylliþ faste in cause þat þei coveyteþ, be hit nevere so seculere and fer fro Goddis wille. Ffor þere is no cause more seculere in þis world, þan is to dowe þe Chirche and maynteyne þe dowynge; and herfore þe popes grauntiþ þis pleyn absolucioun. But þei schulde þenke how in þis graunt þei schulde charge þes þre þingis,—matere, and forme, and ende of her graunt. Her matere schulde be truþe and fullynge of Goddis lawe, her forme schulde be trewe wordis groundid in Goddis lawe, and her ende schulde be profyt of her modir holy Chirche, for to come to hevene bi menes þat Crist haþ ordeyned. Lord! siþ Crist is trewþe, as he himsilf seiþ, as truþe in þis world or bigynnynge þereof, and he himsilf techeþ, boþe in liif and word, þat [1] his prestis schulde be pore and have non suche lordschip, as it is schewed bi twelf lawis of God, Lord! wher he þat is God, þat may noȝt be chaunged, haþ hereinne chaungid his purpos, and loveþ more prestis lordschipen þanne he loveþ onyþing þat he himsilf comaundid? Ffor wel I woot þat þis assoillynge is falce and ful of venym, but ȝif Crist himsilf be autour þerof. And wel I woot, siþ God appreved never bifore so large absoluciouns for nouȝt þat he comaundid, ȝif he approve þis assoyllinge, þe þing for whiche he assoylliþ plesiþ more to him þanne ony oþir comaundement. And trowe þis ho evere wole, ffor I may not trowe it; siþ Crist boþe in dede and word contraried þus þis dowynge, and wel I woot þat he is God, þat may noȝt reverse himsilf. And ȝif he hadde purposid so myche to dowe his prestis, boþe þere were resoun þereto, and he wolde have told it. Resoun may þere non be, but ȝif a blaspheme seie, þat now in ende of þe world, whanne avarice is more, and Cristis Chirche haþ more nede of prestis þat fleeþ more coveytise, Crist haþ ordeyned þe contrarie to his Chirch in his prestis. But it wer oone to seye þus and to seie þat Crist hymsilf is turned into Antecrist; but wher were more blasfemye?

Such grants are defective, 1. in matter,

But leve take heed to Cristis wordis, how he telliþ of þis mater. In þe oolde lawe he biddiþ þat prestis schulde have

2. in form,

[1] corrected; *and*, AA.

no part of heritage of þe peple, for God schulde be here part; þat is to seie, þat offryngis and dymes þat beþ Goddis rentis schulde be ȝeve unto prestis for servyse þat þei serveþ God. Lord! ho wot noȝt þat ne suche wordis, wiþ so scharpe negatyves, byndiþ evere and for evere, as we wytiþ in þe maundementis? And in þe Newe Testament Crist seiþ, þat suche prestis may noȝt be his disciplis; and þanne þei beþ fendis clerkis. And siþ God by suche lawis ordeyned fruyt of þe erþe to men, for to serve him by forme of his ordynaunces, what wondir is ȝif God wiþdrawe his hond fro erþelyche fruytis? And þis semeþ a greet cause of barynnesse of erþe, ffor soþ it is þat no venjaunce sendiþ God to men, but ȝif þat venjaunce be ordeyned to synne þat is cause þereof. And her may we se how we faile in forme of þe wordis of Goddis lawe, as we faille in mater. And herfore in oure dayes seiþ Antecristis clerkis, þat among alle lawes þat evere God suffride, beþ boþe his testamentis falseste of alle oþere; and herfore men schulde glose hem aftir her owne wille, and þe wordis of þes glosatouris passiþ Goddis lawe.

3. in regard to their end and purpose.

As anentis þe þridde poynt, þat is, ende of Cristis clerkis, bileve techeþ us þat Crist wolde drawe his children to heveneward, by holy lyvynge of his prestis aftir þe staat of innocence; so þat men þat beþ sett in worldlyche liif and werkis, schulde be ravychid herfro by word and liif of Cristis prestis. Lord! where þes þre þingis stere[1] prestis for to fiȝte, or to be seculer lordis, or to implye hem wiþ worldly nedis? Wel I woot, by þe cours of þe Oolde Testament, whanne prestis wer rewleris of þe peple and leders of batayls, þanne þei were werst ladde, and slowen oure Lord Jesus Crist. So many men þenkiþ, ȝif prestis leveþ Cristis ordynaunce, and lyveþ as seculer lordis, and fiȝte as tyrauntis of þe world, þei schal slee Crist in his membris and make an ende of þis liif, ffor þis passiþ wickidnesse of prestis of þe oolde lawe. Ffor þanne þei myȝte have wyfes, and fiȝte undir kyngis, but now oure mayster Crist forbed þis to his prestis. And so þes prestis of Antecrist, þat feyneþ þat Crist assoylliþ men, more þanne evere he dide bifore for servyce þat þei servede

[1] corrected; *strere*, AA.

him, ffor mayntenynge of þes prestis dedis, and seiþ þat it is Cristis bateylle and noȝt mennes cause, puttiþ heresie on Crist; and so þis is an opyn blasfemye, þat men schulde horrour for to here.

The argument of the friars from Luke xxii. 36 considered.

But her þes false freris florischen þis falsehede, and seyen þat Crist baad his apostlis celle here cootis and bie hem swerdis, and so it is leeful, in defense of Cristis riȝt, to Cristene men for to fiȝte, boþe prestis and oþir men. But her schulde þes freris teche to whom Crist spak þes wordis, and wheþer he spak of cote and swerd bodily or goostly. Hit semeþ, siþ none of Cristis apostlis dide þus of bodily swerdis, but Crist forbede þat þei schulde fiȝte, or have swerdis mo þan two, þat he mened noȝt of bodily swerd, but of swerd of þe spirit[1], þat is Goddis word; and þis accordiþ wiþ Cristis dedis, and lore þat he tauȝte bifore. And as Crist fauȝte wiþ suche swerd, so schulde alle his prestis, and plese men wiþ meke speche, ȝe, ȝif þei leese her cotis and al her temporal goodis, and specially her lordschipe. A! siþ freris, as þei seyen, sueþ most þe lore of Crist, whi wole þei noȝt bigge bodily swerdis, and fiȝte þus in Cristis cause[2]? But certis her wordis and her dedis techeþ þat þe fend is her fadir; ffor Crist wolde by pees and pacience þat his cause wer endid, and herfore he repreved Petir for smytynge wiþ a swerd. Here may we se how þis cause is fully forged wiþ falsehede. And so þis mede þat is feyned is founde of þe fend her fadir, and is noȝt groundid on charite ne profyt of Cristis Chirche. And so freris schewiþ hem prooctours of þe fendis cause, and traytours to God and his Chirche bi her bisynesse in þis cause.

Cap. VII.

The theory of papal indulgences.

But ȝit Antecrist gruccheþ, and seiþ þat þis is blasfemye, for it reveþ fro prelatis power þat Crist ȝaf hem, and bi þis heresie oure Chirche schulde perische for defauȝte of helpe. Ffor no prelat may assoylle, ne graunte hevenely suffragies; but doctouris seien þat þe pope haþ power grauntid of God of alle meritis in hevene, more þanne nede was; and so, by þe passioun of Crist and oþere seyntis meritis, may þe pope dele to

[1] corrected; *sprit*, AA.

[2] corrected; *caust*, AA.

men as myche as he wole. Ho schulde be brent of þe pope but suche heretikis? Her me þenkiþ þat Antecrist presumeþ above Crist and al þe holy Trynite, as Seynt Poul seiþ. Ffor he seiþ noȝt oonly of truþe þat it is heresye, as bischopis putte on Crist þe Friday þat he diede on, but he seiþ þat he forȝeveþ þe offence of God, God unconseilid bifor, to whom evere he wole. And certis þus may no man do of an erþely lord, for eche man haþ so gret maystrie overe his owne wille, þat no man may constrayne him to ȝeve if but hym like; and myche more þe wile of God, þat evere more mote be, may not be grauntid but ȝif God graunte it firste. As, ȝif þe pope graunte þe good wille of Crist, þat is good wil bifore þe pope graunte it, and ȝif good will by Crist haþ graunted it. And so neþere God ne man may graunte anoþers good wil, but ȝif þe Lord of þis good will graunte it himsilf. And certis no synne is forȝeve but bi good will of God; and so prestis may telle þe peple, as servauntis or bedels, þat men han þe good wille of God ȝif þei don on þis wise. And þis office haþ God ȝeve prestis ffor þei schulde be more wise, and noȝt to boste ne to lye on þe will of God; but riȝt as prestis of þe oolde lawe hadde power and kunnynge to telle ho wer leprous and ho were clene of lepre, bi sygnes þat God tauȝte hem, so in þe newe lawe haþ God tauȝte his prestis by what spiritual sygnes þei schulde knowe goostly lepre, and bi what sygne þei schulde seie þis lepre is forȝeve, ȝif þe man confessid to prestis seie soþ of himsilf. And þis is Jeroms sentence upon Cristis word seid to Petir[a]; and certis þis holy doctour koude more of holy wryt þanne alle þes popis, or freris, or ony Antecristis clerkis. And so þes prestis have power, but noȝt evene wiþ God, ne þei graunte noȝt forȝevenesse of Goddis offence but as trewe mennis[1] bytwixe God and þe peple.

2 Thess. ii. 4.

Answered.

[1] should be *menes?*

[a] St. Jerome on St. Matthew, ch. xvi. 19: 'Istum locum Episcopi et Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisaeorum assumunt supercilio; ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur; quum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quaeratur.' He then refers to the lepers under the old law, and the *declaratory* office of the priest respecting them; and adds, 'Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit, sic et hic alligat vel solvit Episcopus vel Presbyterus, non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii, sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietatem, scit qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus.'

And certis þe boost of Antecrist schulde be ceessid herby, þat he wot noȝt of himsilf, ne of his broþer þat lyveþ bi him, wheþer God haþ ordeyned him to helle or ellis unto blisse, for þe manere of þis laste ende þat he schal make to God. And certis, ȝif he schal be dampned, þe pope assoilliþ him noȝt of alle deedely synnes þat he haþ don aȝenst God, ffor one stykiþ wiþ him þat no man may assoylle, siþ Crist seiþ þat unkyndnesse do aȝens þe Holy Goost, schal neiþer be forȝeve her ne in þe toþer world. On þis bileve schulde men þenke, whanne þei blowe her boost þat þei assoille men of alle synnes þat þei have do. And ȝif þis feiþ were toold to popis and to cardynals, and prelatis undir hem, by þe grace of God her bargeyn of assoyllinge, and eke of cursynge, schulde bygile fewer folk, þat schulde hoolly trist in Crist.

Answer to the objection that the Wycliffite doctrine takes away their power from priests.

And herby may men se, þat in þe resoun þat is mad is falsenesse take of trewe men, þat þei bynemiþ prestis her power. But evene þe power þat Crist ȝaf to prestis, þat is toold to hem; and how þei schulde noȝt to myche gabbe on Goddis power, and take upon hem falslyche more power þan God haþ graunted hem. And þus may men se þat holy Chirche schulde stonde stable ȝif men affiede hem in Crist, and stode mekely in her degree, and noȝt coveyted more power þan Cristis lawe lymyteþ hem. Ffor noþing displesiþ God more þanne suche blasfeme coveytise. Ffor among alle propretees þat falliþ to oure God, þis is oon principal, þat he forȝeveþ offence in him, siþ every erþelyche lord haþ suche a pryvilege. And þus assoylliþ God bifore, and his viker aftir, ȝif he acorde to Goddis will and telle truly Goddis sentence. And ȝif he coveyte for to graunte principally þe will of God, he coveyteþ to be God, and is werse þanne Lucifer; siþ þe manhede of Crist coveyted neuere suche hiȝenesse, but mekid him evere to his God, and herfore is he hiȝed þus. Ne absolucioun maad to men is noȝt betered by suche pride, siþ evene as God wole assoylle men, and no more bi þis presumpcioun, be þei clensid of her synne; and proude prestis beþ myche þe worse. And so schal we graunte, þat ȝif men makiþ aseeþ to God, by contritcioun of here herte, her synne is forȝeve hem, ȝif þei speke wiþ non oþere prest. For Cristis lawe is fre and schort. Trowe we, whanne Crist

forȝaf synne oþer to men or wommen, as Petir or Poul, or Mawdeleyn or Baptist, or oþere seyntis, þat he sente hem to oþere prestis to be assoyllid, as we usen now? And we schulde trowe, þat ȝif Cristis lawe axed evere suche absolucioun, Crist wolde noȝt forȝete it, but fulfilide it, as he dide Moises lawe; and herfore badde he leprous men go and schewe hem to prestis. And so is nedful in þe Chirche to have prestis of Goddis lawe, to telle þe peple by what signe þei schulde hope her synne is forȝeve hem, and what privylege þei schulde have of God, for servyse þat þei servede him. But hope schulde stonde in such þingis, and noȝt bileve, þat schal be comun.

On the power claimed for the pope of dispensing the treasure of the accumulated merits of the saints.

And so þis founed fantasye of spiritual tresour in hevene, þat eche pope is maad dispensour of þis tresour at his owne will, þis is a liȝt word, dremed wiþouten ground. Ffor þanne ech pope schulde be lord of þis hevenly tresour, and so he schulde be lord of Crist and oþere seyntis in hevene, ȝe, ȝif he were a fend, as was Judas Schariot. Lord! whi schulde God of hevene make þis fend suche a lord? siþ it is propre unto God to dele suche meritis, and alle meritis þat beþ in hevene beþ fully rewarded, so þat none is ydil, but nedlyche mut be do. And so is[1] applicacoun or delynge of merit, presumed of þes popis, is proprid unto God, and so þis founed blasfemye [is][2] blabred wiþouten grounde, [to][2] suppose þat eche pope be God, more mayster in his liif þanne he is in his deeþ, whanne oþir men beþ bettre. A! siþ þes merites be wiþouten ende, so þat, ȝif[3] ech man were maad bi him a seynt, þe meritis þat leveþ schulde suffice for alle seyntis, what charite is in þe pope ȝif he dele hem noȝt largely, and make boþe him and his passynge seyntis in hevene? Certis ȝif ony of þes men be dampned in his tyme, hit semeþ him failiþ charite, and þanne he is a fend. ȝif he hadde a lumpe of feiþ, and witt of Goddis lawe, he schulde schune suche feynyngis as open heresye. Witte and charite lastiþ in hevene wiþ oþir glorious ȝiftis, but meritis beþ passid[4] in her kynde, but fruyt of hem lefeþ. And so it were lasse heresye to seie, þe pope is lord of blisse and witt and of charite, and þus þis may he dispense, and take þerof to him at his owne will, and aȝenst selle

[1] dele *is*. [2] supplied conjecturally. [3] corrected; *ȝif þat*, AA.
[4] should be *passynge*?

to oþere men, for noþing may lette him. And so it semeþ þat þis tresore is better wiþouten mesur þanne alle þe worldly lordschipe þat þe pope haþ of þe emperrour. Ffor ȝif he solde bere[1] peneworþ of þis goostly tresour, hit wolde come to more moneye þanne al þe world is worþe. Lord! how riche is þis man for havynge of þis tresour! And ȝif þou seie he may noȝt selle ne parte but as God lymyteþ, for ellis myȝte he putte in blisse enemye to his God, certis þanne is þis tresour veynlyche in þis office, siþ, magry his, God mote dele as resoun and good liif axiþ. So ȝif þe pope be deed, or falle in synne, he haþ noþing hereof. Lord! how helpeþ he his God to parte þis goostly dole?

Cap. VIII.

Absurdities that seem to flow from this doctrine.

Off þis may men se, how falsely freris feyneþ ȝifte of þis tresore to ech pope of Rome. Ffor certis God may noȝt be acceptour of persoones, but evere þe betre man rewardiþ he more. Ffor þe pope is noȝt betre for he forsakiþ Goddis hestis; how schulde he be tresorer to God wiþouten resoun? Also, siþe in þe Chirche above is no meryt in his kynde, siþe seyntis beþ passid þe state of merrit and come to staat of blisse, þe tresour þat þe pope dispensiþ schulde be lisse in his kynde, and he is yvel tresourer, but ȝif he take him sum þerof, and yvel mynystreiþ to his God, siþ God takiþ fro him all, ȝee, every part of þis blisse þat he myȝte kepe in his soule[a]. Also, siþe þe pope myȝte take þis blisse into his soule, and be most blisful fadir, as he assenteþ þat he be clepid, no pope schal be dampned, siþe blisse may nevere be lost; and so he is confermed in þis liif more þan Petir or Poul, ffor certis þei hadde her a staat þat stood noȝt wiþ her blisse. Lord! wheþer blisse be suche a þing þat may be take fro seyntes in heuene, and putt in soulis of erþely men, as þe pope lykiþ? Þis is þe lewedeste heresie þat evere was founde of freris.

The question as to Christ's command to buy swords further discussed.

But, for þe secunde heresie, of byinge of swerdis, semeþ to have more colour by wordis of þe gospel, þerof it were good for to speke more. And siþ Jerom witnessiþ, he is an open

[1] this is the reading of AA; query *bi þe?*

[a] The meaning of the latter part of this sentence is to me inscrutable.

heretik þat expouneþ Goddis lawe to oþere witt þan God meneþ, freris schulde avise hem wel byfore þei seid þat Crist baad to his apostlis to bie hem swerdis, ȝee, ȝif þei selle here cotis þerfore. For it is certeyn, ȝif Crist baad it, he dide it for greet resoun, and for cause þat þes apostlis schulde use þes swerdis aftirward; for it were no wisdom to bie þus þingis þat men schulde noȝt use, but be combred þerwiþ; and it is noȝt semely to feyne þis use of swerdis but for to fiȝte wiþ hem, as Petir dide aftir. And so it semeþ þat Crist baad his apostlis þus to fiȝte; for kervynge of mete, or scredynge of trees, schulde not be þe ende þat þei schulde now bigge hem swerdis. But ȝif Crist wolde þat þei schulde fiȝte wiþ swerdis, þat þei schulde þus bigge, hit were wondir whi he blamed Petir, ffor he fauȝt wiþ Malcus. For it is noȝt likly þat Crist blamed him for cowardise, ffor siþ Crist helid Malcus ere, he wolde not þat he hadde hurte him werse, ne his will ne his biddinge chaunged noȝt so soone to þe contrarie. Also doinge of Crist is beste and liȝtteste þat men can divyse; but Crist myȝte liȝtly have vencushid his enemyes by word or bi aungels, alȝif he hadde noȝt woundid hem; ffor Crist hadde many lygiouns of aungels at his biddinge, and whanne Crist seide þis schort word, his enemyes wenten aback and fell to þe erþe. Lord! what nedide þe apostlis to þus have bore swerdis? Also, whanne Crist comaundiþ ouȝt, he wole þat it be don; and men þat reversen it synnen in þe levynge. But þe apostlis synnede noȝt in levynge of yren swerdis; þanne Crist spak noȝt in veyn to bidde hem bie such swerdis. Ne þe pris was noȝt covenable, apostel to ȝeve his kirtil ffor suche a bodilyche wepene to bete wiþ þe erþe; ffor, as Seynt Poul seiþ, suche fiȝtynge is in veyn. Also, Crist was noȝt in lore contrarie to himsilf; but he tauȝte his apostlis to vencushe bi pacience, and in suche pacience þei schulde have peysible her liif; and ȝif a man wolde smyte on þe ton cheke, þei schulde ȝeve him þe toþere; and ho bynymeþ hem her cootis, þei schulde ȝeve hem here mantil. Lord! wheþer þei schulde fiȝte for bynemynge of suche swerdis! Þis falce lore lernede nevere þes martirs as Antecrist haþ now brouȝt in; siþe glorious knyȝtis, as Seynt Maurus [a] and his felawis, wolde noȝt fiȝte for

1 Cor. ix. 26.

[a] See note on page 232.

her liif, but mekely suffrid deeþ. Lord! where þis heresye schulde meve knyȝtis for to fiȝte for lordschipe of Antecrist, þat Crist himsilf haþ forbeden? Also, þes apostlis hadde noȝt synned ȝif þei hadden bouȝte suche iren swerdis, ȝif Crist hadde bede hem bie suche, for þei hadde do his biddynge. But he seide, two is inow, þat he wist wel þat þei hadde. But it is open þat þei hadde synned to bigge more wepene þan inow. But siþe þei hadde suche swerdis inowe, byfore þat Crist hadde seid þes wordis, hit semeþ þat þei hadde noȝt medfully do, bigginge suche swerdis mo þan inowe. And þus blasfemye of þes freris meneþ þat Crist was a fool, and scornefullyche wiþouten cause he spaak þes wordis to mennes lore. But certis of[1] Crist may noȝt be fool, ne speke wordis wiþouten greet witt, siþe he may noȝt be fool suffering freris be in his Chirche, alþouȝ þei meve bischopis to fiȝte and þerto spoyle þe pore peple wiþ beggynge of blasfeme lesynge, openly prechide aȝenst þe gospel.

The true and spiritual interpretation of the command.

And so it semeþ þat þes wordis of Crist meneþ two juridiciouns, as spiritual and seculer; siþ Crist wolde noȝt þat seculer fel to his apostlis, siþe þei clene use prechinge; but, as Seynt Poul techiþ, þat Crist mened swerd of þe tunge, þat is, spiritual swerdis and lyflyche word of oure God. A! quyk is Cristis word, as Seynt Poul seiþ, and scharper þan ony two-eged swerd. Siþe it piccheþ to þe soule, þis swerd of Goddis word is nedeful apostlis for to have, whanne þei beþ pursued to þe deeþ, as Crist ensaumplid in his wordis. But siþe Crist myȝte noȝt fiȝte wiþ swerd of yren, and he tauȝte noȝt lore to his apostlis þat he tauȝte noȝt do in dede, siþ he bigan to do and teche, it is open þat he baad noȝt bie swerd of yren for to fiȝte, ne to booste here enemyes, boþe for þe tyme was derk, and Crist lyvede noȝt by biggynge þat myȝte be cause of fiȝtynge to make pees amonge men, but mekenes and pacience was mene to Crist to make pees. And two swerdis beþ inowe, to fiȝte herwiþ fendis children,—one to teche hem scharplyche and boldlyche þe word of God, annoþir to telle hem mekelyche þe mede þat sueþ of Goddis lawe. Þe bookeler to þis goostly fiȝt is a man to holde his pees in tyme; and þus fauȝt Crist wiþ boþe his hondis whanne he was pursued to þe deeþ; and þis

Eph. vi. 17.

Heb. iv. 12.

[1] dele *of*.

lore is comyn to alle þat ben Cristis disciplis, and profytable and sotil whanne we beþ pursued of men.

It is to be wished that the land may be utterly delivered of friars.

And God ȝefe we cowde use þis lore whanne we speke wiþ wraþful men! þanne schulde Goddis lawe walke, and irous men be vencushed. But God ȝeve þat þes bolde freris use noȝt swerdis to fiȝte wiþ men, whanne þei telle hem Goddis lawe, and freris defautis aȝens it; ffor þe compenye of freris myȝte þanne conquer many londis, and seie þat þei have riȝt of God to alle þe goodis þat beþ þerinne, but God ȝefe þat þei dide no worse, in false consence and falce counseil. Oþir freris dremeþ lasse ȝvel, þat þes two swerdis were two fleisch knyves, wiþ whiche þei slowe þe Paskcal lombe, and aftir Petir fauȝt wiþ þe ton. But trowe noȝt þis feynynge of freris, siþe it wanteþ groundinge; ne it is not liklyche þat Crist, þat dide alle his dedis bi resoun, schulde carie a swerd in a scaberge for to slee a sely lombe. And here many men supposen, as reule þat failliþ noȝt, þat word groundide first in freris is an open lesynge. But ho is more perilous folke to rewmes þat þei dwelliþ inne, þan beþ suche ypocritis? þat seien þat þei beþ mediatours bytwixe God and man, and telle alle men Goddis wille, and gabben on þe wille of God, and make men to serve þe fend. Þei spoyle noȝt oonly of rewmes tresour and mennes bodies, but þei sendiþ soulis to helle, and doiþ hemsilf aftir.

XXII.

THE GRETE SENTENCE OF CURS EXPOUNED.

[The following pamphlet, of which a complete analysis is given by Dr. Vaughan in his *Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe*, and of which Lewis also, in his Life of the reformer, made considerable use, is known to exist in one MS. only, the Corpus volume at Cambridge, so often referred to. The text of this volume is not in a good state, having been evidently written by a careless scribe; of this the frequent conjectural emendations at foot of the page will supply evidence. The text as here given to the reader is founded on a transcript made at Cambridge, which my friend Mr. W. A. Wright has been good enough to examine with the MS. before sending it to me. This transcript I have again compared with a transcript made for Lewis about a century and a half ago, and now among the Rawlinsonian MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

With regard to authenticity, it seems to me impossible to come to any certain conclusion. The treatise does not occur in Bale's *Catalogue*, nor is it ascribed to Wyclif by any early writer; in fact, there is no external evidence whatever in support of its having been written by Wyclif beyond the circumstance of its being found in the Corpus volume. The internal evidence, so far as date goes, is satisfactory enough. The Council of London is referred to in ch. xix, as having recently taken place, and in ch. xxv Bishop Spencer's war in Flanders seems to be spoken of as actually going on; this would fix the date of composition to 1383, about a year before Wyclif's death. With regard to the style, opinions may differ; but it does not seem to me to be precisely that of Wyclif, but more appropriate to some fiery follower of his, who had reached a point of intense exasperation not exhibited in the undoubted works of Wyclif.

The author's choice of subject, and the title of the work, have great light thrown upon them by a document printed by Mr. Maskell (*Monum. Ritual. Eccl. Angl.*, vol. ii. p. 286) from an early printed copy of the *Sarum Manual* in the Bodleian Library. The heading of this document is—'Isti sunt generales articuli *majoris excommunicationis* in lingua materna, et dicantur

hoc modo.' I shall extract from what follows such portions as directly illustrate our text:—

'Godemen and wymmen, it is ordeyned by the counseil of all holi Chirche: First of our holy fader the pope of Rome, and his cardinalis, and all his counseil, sithen of alle archebisshopes and all the clergie, that every man of holy Chirche that hath soule for to kepe, sholde shewe among them foure sithe bi yere, the articles that ben writen in the general sentence, that is for to seyn, the pointes that longen to the great curs; that on is the fyrst Sonday of Advent, that other is the first Sonday of Lenten, and the nexte Sonday after Witsonday, and the first Sonday after the Assumpcyon of our Lady.'

The document proceeds to explain for the information of the laity the terrible effects, here and hereafter, of church cursing, especially of the 'great curse,' which is now in question. The next clause which our pamphlet refers to runs as follows:—

'So that first and formest, we denounce acurse, all tho that holy Chirche folsli depriven of any right or profyt, either by law writen, or elles by good custom which hath ben holden and used of old tyme: and in this poynt falleth iii manner of folk: first all tho that stelcth holy Chirche goodes in what place so they ben don for to kepe: or elles that stele unhalowed thynges out of holy place, or thinges that ben halowed out of place unhalowed, and all tho that wytyngly breke and destroye any poynt of fredom that longeth to holy Chirche: and this is nought all onely understand of the fredomes that longen generaly to all holy Chirche, but also of other special fredomes, which that some chirche hath more one than another.'—Capp. ii, xxiv, 'Grete sentence, &c.'

Two clauses follow (relating to church courts and assault on persons belonging to the clerical order), which are not specially referred to; then comes:—

'Also we denounce all tho acursed, that maliciousli stele or destroye the goodes, that longeth to manere, or to graunges of any men or women of religion, or of archebisshop, of bisshop, other of any other place of mennes of holy Chirche, wythout special leve of them that have the goodes to kepe.'—Cap. xix.

Several clauses follow, designed for the protection of the persons and property of the clergy, which the pamphleteer does not notice; then comes:—

'Also all tho ben acursed by al holy Chirche that breke or destorb the unite and the pes: first of our lorde the kyng, and sythen of his kynne, by power, or by counseil, by word or by werk: or elles by any way to herte or to compace hys deth, or any point of traytourie of hym or of his lond: and all tho that falsly withholde his heretayge or any other ryght, that hym ought lawfully to have: and all tho ben acursed, that geve mede, or elles take any manere geftes for to lette pes, and for to procure strif in any degre, other more or lasse, among Cristene folk.'—Cap. x.

'Also they ben acursed in hevun and in erthe, that falsli forswere them upon the holydam: and knowe wel that it is fals whenne they begynne to swere, in questes, or in acises, or in any other fals cause: and all tho that hyre suche men, or make them to be hyred, or mayntene them, or teche them, eyther by word or werk, for to lette trewe matrymonye, or lawful herytage, or testament, or ought elles that is trewly ordeyned: and also all tho advokatis of lawe of holy

Chirche, that in plee of matrimonye, or any other trewe cause make wytingly, and with any semed false exceptions for to destroye, or lette, or tarie a trewe cause, that it may nought spedly be discussed, and ended after the cours of lawe.'—Cap. xii.

'Also all tho ben acursed, that for hate or for mede, or any other encheson, sclaundre falsli, or defame any man or woman, so that they be brought fro good fame unto wykked, wherefor that thei have nede to porge them bi the lawe and ben therfore gretly greved, and anoyed in body and in soule.'—Cap. ix.

Of the numerous clauses relating to the important subject of tithe, the following is the only one which the pamphleteer directly notices:—

'And that Crystene men and women be hard bounden on peyne of dedly synne nought alle onely be the ordenaunce of man, but first and formest be the ordenaunce and the commaundament of all myghty God them selfe, but in the olde lawe and also in the newe, for to paye trewly to God and holy Chirche, the tenthe part of all maner of thinges that them have by yere; also wel the tenthe part of all maner encrese, that they winne trewly by the grace of God, both with here travaille and also with here craftes; also the tenthe part of al maner of fysshes and foules and bestes bothe wild and tame, and of al manere frutes that growe out of the erthe, wytnessed wel Seynt Anstyn in hys decret, as it is wryten in the lawe of holy Chirche. And what veniaunce that our Lorde God taket upon thys world, by encheson of them that with nought paye ther tythes, and also for them that falsly tythe, and in what manere that our Lorde God hath graunted iiii thinges to all them that trewly tithe, telleth openly Seynt Jerome, in the same cause and question I seide ere, and also Seynt Austin in the same chapit. Also men of holy Chirche have leve by Goddis lawe, for to acurse al tho by name that wyl nought paye ther tythes, as it is writen in many places in the lawe of holy Chirche.'—Cap. xvii.

Sanctuary.

'And also ye shal knowe wel that all tho ben acursed, that in vyolence drawe out any man or woman, that fleth for help and socure unto holy Chirche: or elles out of any other place that is halowed, but in certein poyntes that the lawe geveth leve. Or lette them to have sustenaunce ther while thei ben there, and all tho that geve therto help or counseil.'—Cap. xxiii.

Wills.

'Also all tho ben acursed that lette or procure to lette the testament, and the laste wil of folk whan they deye, of thynges that ben ther owne, and that they maye skilfully bequethe bothe by lawe of holy Chirche and by custome: whether it be testament of wyves, or of widedowes, or of any other wymmen: but al onely of theym that ben bounden, wher that it is ordeyned so by olde custome of the contre, and of them that ben bounden men to religion, the whiche shulde by lawe of holy Chyrch have notyng of ther owne, and also that be sworne and charged with executoriis, and fulfille nought the dedes wil as ther charge axeth.'—Cap. xiv.

Taxation of the clergy.

'Also all tho seculer men whych that be reweleres and leaders of cytees, and of townes, yf they make any unlefful taxes, or talages, or any exaccyones on prestes and clerkes, and men of holy Chirche, and constreyne them by there lewed power, or elles by any way for to do, or destroye, the jurisdiccion of prelates of holy Chirche, but yf thei leve such doynge for evere, whych tyme that they be amonested lawfully therto, elles they ben acursed in thys gret curs,

and may nought be assoyled or thei have mad ful amendes, both to them that they have so greved, and also to holy Chirche.'—Cap. ii.

. . . . . .

Magna Carta.

'Also tho that breke any point of the kinges great chartre or chartre of the forest, in wiche chartre is writen the fredoms of this lond, that divers kynges have graunted to everi man: in the grete chartre ben xxxv pointes and the chartre of the forest comprehendith xv pointes; and all archebishops and bishops that longen to Engelond have acurset all tho that breke wytingli any of all these pointes, the wych sentence of cursynge hath ben often confermed by the court of Rome.'—Cap. xxiv.

Forgery, &c.

'And all tho ben acursed, that false the popes letters or is seel, or any other letters or seel that ben autentik, and all tho that them purchase, and all tho that use wytingly suche false purchased letters.'—Cap. xvi.

'And also all tho ben acursed that stele, or destroye, or falsli with holde chartre, or testamentes, or any other maner letters, that longen til otber men; wher for thei lese their heritage, or any right that thei shulde have by lawe. And all tho that use false weghtes, or false yerdes, or any other false measures for to deceive the people with, and all tho that false the kinges moneye, or clippeth or maketh lasse bi cause of their profit.'—Capp. xiii, xxi.

. . . . . .

Heresy and Simony.

'And all heretikes ben acursed, and all tho that mayntene heresie: and all tho that use symonye: and all usurers: and all tho that make, whanne usure ys taken, that yt be nought restored agen, and all tho that live on such craft: and all tho that be cursed bi name: and all tho that wilfully slee them selve.'—Capp. i, iv.

. . . . . .

Theft.

'Also we denounce acursed all open theves and robberes, and all that them receyve wytyngly, or gyve them help or counseil.'—Cap. xx.

Parricide.

'And them that in violence drawe blod on her fader or moder, and this is understonde bothe of bodili fader and moder, and goostly.'—Cap. xxii.

But the version of the Great Curse from which these extracts are taken is confessedly an incomplete one; for at the end of the next clause occur the words—'and many other poyntes also longe unto this greate sentence.' This explains the fact that the offences anathematized in the last five chapters of the pamphlet are nowhere particularly described in the document now under consideration. Careful search would probably lead to the discovery of a fuller version than that here cited from.]

HERE BIGYNNEÞ ÞE GRETE SENTENCE OF CURS EXPOUNED.

CAP. I.

FIRST[1], alle heretikis aȝenst þe feiþ of holy writt ben cursed solempnely foure tymes in þe ȝer, and also meyntenouris and consentoris to heresie or heretikis in here errour. Siþ þen heresie is errour meyntened aȝenst holy writt, as Seynt Austyn and oþere clerkis seyn, who evere meynteneþ ony errour aȝenst Goddis lawe is an heretik, be he prest, be he lord, be he pore, be he riche, or of what evere degre. Þanne ȝif oure clerkis þat lyven worldly, in pride, pompe and covetise, and ydelnesse fro gostly traveile, understonden þat þis is Goddis wille and his lawe, þei ben in open errour aȝenst holy writt; and ȝif þei witen þat þis lif is aȝenst Goddis techynge and his ensaumple, and ȝit holden it forþ for lust and ese of body, and meyntene it in word or dede, þei ben expresse heretikis and cursed Anticristis, whom no man schulde resceyve in to his hous, ne grete hem in þe weie.

Those of the clergy who indulge in worldly pomp are either in error or in heresy.

Also, who evere understondiþ holy writt oþer wise þan þe Holy Gost axiþ is an heretik, as Seynt Jerom[a] and oþere seyntis witnessen. But oure worldly prelatis understonden wrongfully holy writt in mater of prechynge of Cristis gospel; þerfore þei ben cursed heretikis. For whanne Seynt Poul axiþ, hou men schulden preche but ȝif þei ben sent, þei understonden, but ȝif men ben sent of þe pope, or oþere worldly prelatis, where Seynt Poul understondiþ sendynge of God; so þat ȝif worldly prelatis wolen þat [þei[2]] prechen not þe gospel wiþouten here licence, þei schullen not speke þe treuþe of þe gospel to save Cristene soulis, þouȝ God stire hem nevere so moche þerto, bi wynnyng of hevenely blisse ȝif þei don it wel, and bi everelastynge peyne ȝif þei don it not treuely and wilfully and

Again the perversion by the higher clergy of the scriptural meaning of *mission* is heretical.

[1] corrected; *frist* in MS.

[2] supplied conjecturally.

[a] S. Hieron. *in Epist. ad Gal.* cap. v: 'Quicunque igitur aliter Scripturam intelligit, quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat quo conscripta est, licet de Ecclesiâ non recesserit, tamen haereticus appellari potest.'

frely, as Crist bad his disciplis. For if here understondynge sueþ þis open errour, þat an angel of God schal not do Goddis massagis to save Cristene soulis, for a worldly prest, Anticrist and cursed heretik, and in cas a dampnyd fend, as Judas was, lettiþ Goddis biddyng mercy and charite, þerfor þei þat understonden þus þis sendyng ben in open heresie. For þe Holy Gost understondiþ not þus þis part of holy writt as þes worldly prelatis don, but evene þe contrarie. For certis a prest may be sent of þis worldly prelatis wiþ here lettris and selis, and ȝit be an heretik, bi symonye, bi lesyngis put on God to meyntene his ypocrisie, and robbyng of þe comyns, bi flateryng and beggynge and oþere disceitis, and not sent of God but bi þe fend, whois werkis he prechiþ and doþ, and þerfore cursed of God and alle his trewe servauntis. Þerfore sendyng of þes worldly prelatis is not ynowȝ, wiþouten sendynge of God, as Seynt Poul meneþ. And God axiþ trewe[1] lif aftir his lawe, and trewe prechynge of þe gospel, wiþ clene entent, not for worldly name, ne coveitise of worldly muk, ne bacbytynge of pore prestis and hyndryng of Cristis ordynaunce, and meyntenyng of worldly lif of clerkis, as false prophetis prechen now, but trewly to dispise synne and teche vertues, for honour of God and helpynge of Cristene soulis to heveneward.

A third symptom, and also evidence, of their evil life, is their persecution of the poor priests.

Also, oure worldly clerkis lyven not only aȝenst holy writt in word and dede, but also meyntenen þer worldly lif bi ypocrisie, bi fals excusacions and false expounyng of holy writt, and hard persecucion of pore prestis þat prechen Cristis mekenesse, his wilful povert, and gostly bysynesse, and witnyssen þat prelatis schulden sue Crist in þes þre specialy. For þes pore prestis ben sclaundrid for heretikis, cursed and prisoned wiþouten answere, for as moche as þei stonden for Cristis lif and techynge, and meyntenaunce of þe kingis regale and power of seculer lordis, and savyng of Cristene mennus soulis, aȝenst Anticristis tirauntrie, and ypocrisie of his weiward disciplis, þat envenymyn and distroien holy Chirche. And of þe discrivyng of heresie may men se, how eche man þat meyntneþ [God]dis comandemetis is a cursed heretyk, for in þat he meyntneþ

[1] corrected; *trewþe*, X.

errour aȝenst holy writt. And blynd entent, or blynd devocion, excusiþ not þes worldly clerkis, wiþ here fautouris, no more þan Petir was excused fro Sathanas, and Poul of blasphemye notwiþstondynge here blynd entent, aȝenst Goddis wille, for goodnesse and riȝtwisnesse, as hem þouȝte. Moche more worldly clerkis and here fautours schullen not be excused aȝenst þe opyn meke and pore and traveilouse lif of Crist and his apostlis, for no sotel ypocrisie of Anticrist, and blynde devocion of glotenouse manquelleris, for pride and covetise.

Cap. II.

The rulers of the Church are justly liable to anathema,—

Alle þo ben cursed solempnely, þat spoilen and taken awey ony riȝt of holy Chirche, or defrauden[1] holy Chirche of ony dewte[2]. Here Cristene men, tauȝt inn Goddis lawe, clepen holy Chirche þe congregacion of juste men for whom Jesus Crist schedde his blood, not for stones and tymber and erþely muk, þat Anticristis clerkis magnyfien more þan Goddis riȝtwisnesse and Cristen soulis. Þan þo prelatis and curatis þat wiþdrawen þe riȝtful prechynge of Cristis gospel fro Cristene men, þat ben holy Chirche, ben acursed of God and alle his seyntis: for þis trewe techyng is most dewe to holy Chirche, and is most chargid of God, and most profitiþ to Cristene men, ȝif it be wel don. Þerfore, as moche as Goddis word and blisse of hevene and Cristene soulis ben betre þan erþely goodis, so moche ben þes worldly prelatis, [þat[3]] wiþdrawyn þis grete dette of holy techynge, worse þeves and curseden sacrelegires þan bodily þeves þat breken chirchis and stelen chalicis, vestementis, or nevere so moche gold out of hem. First, þei ben grevously acursed of God for þis roberie of Cristene men, whanne þei wiþdrawen Cristes gospel fro þe eris of Cristene peple. Þe secunde tyme þei ben more grevously acursed, whanne þei letten and forbarren oþere prestis to teche trewely and frely Cristis gospel, whanne þei hemself kunnen not or wolen not for here bodily ese, or may not for worldly occupation. As whoso were, up peyne of hangyng and drawyng, to fede many lege men of oure kynge, and toke þerfore wagis

1. because they will not preach the gospel themselves;

2. because they prevent true ministers from preaching it;

[1] corrected; *defaudren*, X. [2] corrected; *dwte*, X. [3] supplied conjecturally.

ynowe, and wastide hem, and suffride þe kyngis lege men die for hunger, or ȝelde þe castel and hemself to þe kyngis enemys,—he were a cruel traitour and sleere of all þes men; and ȝit more traitour, ȝif he lettide oþere knyȝttis[1] of oure kyng to vitele þes men asegid, and rescowe hem of here enemyes. So it is of þis worldly prelatis and curatis, þat taken cure of soulis and tiþes and offryngis to teche hem Goddis lawe, and purge hem of synnes þoruȝ preier and prechyng and good ensaumple, last þe devel þat evere ensegiȝ mannus soule cumbre hem in synne and bringe hem to helle. Þe þridde tyme þes weiward prelatis ben most grevously cursed of God; for whanne þei kunnen not preche þe gospel, or may not, or wolen not, or letten oþere pore prestis to helpe Cristene soulis bi techyng of Goddis word, þei graunten leve to false prechouris þat sowen lesyngis, and bi flateryng and oþere veyn preieris norischen men in synne, and robben þe peple bi fals beggynge þat þei putten on Crist, seiyng þat he beggede as þei don. For þus þei wiþdrawen trewe prechynge of þe gospel fro Cristene men, and neden hem to ete and drynke venym of Anticristis lesingis and flateryng, and to be robbid of here catel bi ypocrisie of stronge beggeris. As knyȝt, chargid of þe kyng to kepe his castel and his men, and hereto hadde wagis ynowe, and wolde not do þis office, but lette oþere þat wolden save þes men for pite, but over þis he nedide hym[2] to be governed bi here enemys, and þei schulden have here goodis for to slee þes men in þe castel, in þis poynt were[3] most opyn traitour to his kyng, so it falliþ bi oure weiward prelatis, þat prechen not Cristis gospel, but letten oþere pore prestis to teche trewely and frely Goddis word, and senden freris þat colouren here open synne, and prechen fablis and lesyngis, and robben þe pore peple bi stronge beggynge and nedles.

3. because they authorize false teachers to preach corruptions of it.

Our worldly prelates also sin by withholding the example of personal holiness,

Also oure worldly prestis lesse and more drawen fro holy Chirche, þat is, þe congregacion of just men, þe grete dewete of good ensaumple of here owene lif, þat schulde be a bok and mirrour of here sugetis, to kepe Goddis hestis, and seyntis and reson witnessen. Þerfore Crist dide first in dede þat þing he

[1] corrected; *kynȝtis* in MS. [2] should be *hem.* [3] corrected; *be were* in MS.

tauȝte aftir bi word, and whanne Crist hadde waschyn his disciplis feet for mekenesse, he seide þus, I ȝeve to ȝou ensaumple, þat ȝe do as I have don. But now instide of ensaumple of mekenesse and charite and holy devocion in Goddis servyce, þei ȝyven ensaumple of pride, wraþþe, vengeaunce, coveitise, ydelnesse, glotonye, leccherie, and oþere vices, to wiþdrawe fro holynesse and devocion. And siþ techyng in dede, doying and meyntenyng of open errour in lif, is as evyl techyng or worse þan techynge bi nakid word, certis þei ben opeyn heretikis, strongely meyntenynge here errour aȝenst Goddis lawe, as he is worse þat betiþ me wrongfully, þan he þat manassiþ me or dispisiþ me only in word.

and the edifying spectacle of voluntary poverty.

Also oure worldly prelatis and prestis robben holy Chirche of þe tresour of wilful povert and mekenesse, and maken Cristene men blynd wiþ pouder of worldly goodis, bi pride and coveitise, and robben seculer lordis of here heritage and temperal power, þat God ȝaf hem to meyntene his lawe and his ordynaunce in clerkis. And þis is don bi blynd devocion of seculeris, þat knowen not Goddis lawe, and by ypocrisie of worldly clerkis and sillyng of here preiere. And where Crist maad his spouse, and namely of clergie, fair bi briȝt cloþes of wilful povert, schynyng to God betre þan doþ ony gold to men, þes werldly clerkis han alle to-bleckid Cristis spouse wiþ drit of erþely[1] goodis, coveitise and pride and worldly bysynesse, and robbed here pore of here cloþis and goldyng of wilful povert, mekenesse and gostly bisynesses of studyyng and techyng of holy writt, and preiynge, and oþere werkis of penaunce. And whanne þe kyng and seculer lordis perseyven wel þat clerkis wasten here auncetris almes in pompe and pride, glotonye and oþere vanytees, and þei wolden take aȝenst þe superfluyte of temperal goodis, and helpe þe lond and hemself and here tenauntes,—þes worldly clerkis crien faste þat þei ben cursed for entermetynge of holy Chirche goodis. As ȝif seculer lordis and þe comyns weren no part of holy Chirche, but only proude prestis, ful of coveitise symonye and extorsions and alle oþere synnys. And þus Anticristis clerkis feren

[1] corrected; *hereþely*, X.

þe kyng lordis and comyns, þat þei dar not mende þe open þefte of cursed clerkis, myspendynge þe almes of lordis and temperaltees in symonye glotonye and wrong purchas of seculer lordischipes, aȝenus Goddis lawe, notwiþstondynge þat þe kyng is Goddis viker, to venge synne and wrongis don in þis rewme generaly of mysdoeris. But summe of Anticristis clerkis seyn apertly, þat þe lond shal be enterdited, and alle men þerinne cursed, raþere þan þei wolen be brouȝt to þe meke staat þat Crist putte hem inne. And raþer þei wolen rere baner aȝenst þe kyng and his lordis and comyns, þan temperal lordischipis schulden turne to þe kyng and lordis, and þei on spiritualte, as God ordeyned. And schortly to seie, raþere þan þe king and his lordis and comyns schulden meyntene Cristis ordynaunce in his clergie, and distroie opyn symonye heresie and extorsions and robberie þat Anticristis clerkis done in oure lond, þes worldly prestis wolen curse and enterdite men and rewmes, and reren open warre aȝenus oure kyng lordis and comyns in oure owene lond. And loke eche wise man where þis be traiterie and open heresie, and tirantrie of Antecrist and his cursed prelatis and veyn religious.

All approaches to which they clamorously resist.

Cap. III.

Gross and habitual misappropriation by the worldly clergy of ecclesiastical and charitable revenues.

ȝit worldly clerkis and veyn religious wiþdrawen þe riȝttis of holy Chirche many maneris. For where þei han many rentis and lordischipis for to fynde certeyn noumbre of prestis and bedrede men in hospitalite, þei han unneþe half, or þe þridde part, þe noumbre of prestis, and lyven lustful lif in costi metis and wyn; and in glotonye, drounkenesse, lecherie, and grete festis wasten þer goodis, where þei schulden lyve in abstynence and penaunce, and devoute preieris for here goode doeris and comynte of Cristene men. And where þei schulden fynde many pore men in mete and drynk and herbore, and sumtyme cloþis, þei wasten pore mennus liflode in grete festis of riche men, and robis and fees of men of lawe, and herboryng of riche lordis, not for charite, but in hope of more wynnynge of worldly goodis at þe laste in here deþ, and graunte of aproprynge of parische chirchis, and amortisyng of temperal lordischipe more þan

nediþ. And alle þis is sotel marchaundise wiþ pore mennus liflode and holy Chirche goodis; and where in many abbeies schulden be, and sumtyme weren, grete houses to herbore pore men þerinne, now þei ben fallen doun, or maad swyn-kotis, stablis, or bark-houses. And þus, as Judas staal þe money ȝoven to Crist and his disciplis to lyve þerby, so þes worldly clerkis and religiouse taken huge noumbre of temperal goodis undir colour of almesdede and hospitalite, and stelen þes goodis of pore men, and wasten hem nedles in gret array of þe world, in gaie houses, and festis of lordis and riche men, and oþere vanytees.

General abuse of their patronage, by episcopal, monastic, and lay patrons,

Also many bischopis and religiouse and seculer lordis wiþdrawen riȝtful reulyng of Cristene soulis, bi makyng and presenting of unable curatis. For where þei myȝtten lyȝtly fynde many, able boþe of kunnyng and good lyvynge to teche Cristene men Goddis lawe, þei presenten and maken, for love of here kyn or servyce or worldly love, and sumtyme bi money takynge prively, many unable curatis, þat kunnen not þe ten comaundementis, ne rede her sauter. And ȝit þei holden hem in here worldly office, and taken to hem moche of þe chirche goodis; and suffren hem not to goo to þe scole and lerne þe gospel, to governe here parischenis, but halden hem in balies office, or stiwardis, or kechene clerkis, and suffren wolves of helle to strangule here parischenis soulis, bi dyverse synnes and harde customes, of veyn sweryng, lecherie, and alle oþere vices. Also ȝif eche man þat wiþdrawiþ ony riȝt of holy Chirche is þus acursed, þanne eche man þat wiþdrawiþ fro[1] ony good þouȝt or dede or counfort fro his breþeren, is acursed. For eche goode þouȝt, speche, and dede, and counfort of careful men, is dwe to God and holy Chirche, for þe prophete seiþ, I schal blisse God in eche tyme; his heryng schal everemore be in my mouþ. But what holy man in þis lif scapiþ uncursed? siþ no man lyveþ but ȝif he faile sumtyme in þouȝt, word, and dede, or in counfort of men in disese. Þerfore it semeþ, þat covetise of worldly goodis haþ mad worldly cursed clerkis to heie aȝenst Goddis dom. Certis sum men understonden, þat þe cruel manquellere

Ps. xxxiv. 1.

and most of all, by the Pope.

[1] dele *fro*.

of Rome, not Petris successour but Cristis enemye, and þe emperours maistir, and poison under colour of holynesse, makiþ most unable curatis, and so wiþdrawiþ most þe riȝttis of holy Chirche. For he avaunsiþ many lewid men, sumtyme techereris and disciplis of his owene lawe, not of þe gospel, sumtyme þenne clerkis, þat kunnen not good in regard of curatis, and takiþ of men moche gold for leed and þe friste fruytis, and forbarren clerkis of Goddis lawe, kunnynge and wel-lyvynge men, lest þei aspie his heresie and ypocrisie, and warnen Cristene men þerof. And þe weyward clerkis of Sathanas maken þis cruel manquellere, prisoner and brenner of Cristis servauntis, to be well ground and roote of alle þe mysgovernynge of þe Chirche. And ȝit þei maken blynde men bileve, þat he is hed of holy Chirche, and þe most holy fader, þat may not synne; and he distroieþ þe feiþ of holy Chirche, mekenesse, pacience, and charite, and desire of hevenely blisse. Þerfore, as þe trewe clerk Robert Grosted wroot to hym, he is cause well and grounde of distruction of Cristene feiþ and good religion, bi makynge of evyl schepherdis, and privylegies, suffryng of synne, siþ he may best distroie it, and most is holden þerto.

Cap. IV.

Simony is also accursed; of which there are three kinds: 1. that relating to ordinations;

Also, alle symonyentis þat bien or sillen spiritual þingis for temperal þingis unlefful, ben cursed solempneli, boþe bi Goddis lawe and mannis. But þre degres ben in symonyentis: summe ben symonyentis in ordre, summe symonyentis in beneficis, and summe symonyentis in sacramentis. Of symonyentis in holy ordre ben þre degres. Summe come to ordre of presthod, dekenhede, or oþere ordris hiere or lowere, by ȝevynge of money; and þes ben no prestis ne dekenes, but han only þe name, and ben ordrid to þis ende for to be heretikis, whos blissing turneþ into cursyng, and her preier into synne, as Seynt Gregory techeþ and þe lawe canoun [a]. Þerfore seiþ þe Chirche lawe in decretalis, þat every synful prest may seie a masse, out taken a symonyent, whom eche synful man may lefully acuse,

[a] S. Greg. *Epist. ad Syagrium* (Benedictine ed., vol. ii. p. 1006); and Decretum Gratiani, Pars. I, Causa I, Quaest. I.

ȝe, an hore may acuse him, þat he be remevyd from þe ordre þat he mystakiþ. For, as Seynt Ambrose seiþ, in þis caas curs is to þe ȝevere and to þe takere[a]; for þat þat sich on ȝeveþ is is gold or money, and þat þing þat he resceyveþ is lepre of synne, and curs to þe takere and to þe ȝevere. Summe by symonye comen to siche ordris for preiere of lordis, or oþere worldly frendis, not bi clene entent and worþinesse of kunnynge and lyvynge, but only bi favour of men, and þes in þe cursed heresie of symonye. And boþe þe ȝevere and recesceyvere of ordris in þis caas schulden be degradid, for þei make marchaundise bi ȝiftis of þe Holy Gost, and maken þe Holy Gost servaunt of synful men, and, in caas, of fendis, as moche as is in hem. Þerfore þei ben worse heretikis þan oþere þat maden þe Holy Gost lesse þan þe Fadir and þe Sone, as the lawe of canoun witnesiþ. Þe þridde tyme, summe comen to ordris bi symonye, bi servyce to lordis or prelatis or oþer officeris, servynge long tyme to men for þis ende, þat þei may be ordrid, or bihetyng to serve after þat þei ben ordred longe tyme, where þei ben not worþþi to þes holy ordris bi kunnyng and goode lif. And þes fallen in þe same dampnacion wiþ þe firste, for it is al on to ȝyve money and to serve þus for holy ordris, bifore or after. Þe fourþe tyme summe comen to holy ordris, not for devocion and love of God, but for to lyve in worldly lordischip, and have welfare of mete and drynk, and gay cloþis, and ese, and rejoischen hem þerinne, and bisien hem not aboute Goddis lawe ne holy lif, but in lecherie and vanyte and ydelnesse and worldly myrþe. And in þe riȝtful dom of God þei ben symonyentis, as was Symon Magus. For þei sillen to fendis of helle here soule, here body, and tyme, and catel, for to have and use unworþily þe holy ordre of presthod. And þerfore Seynt Jon Crisostom seiþ, þat þo prestis þat don not justly here office after Goddis lawe semen ordeyned of men and not of God, and anenctis God þei ben non prestis. And þis undirstonding he hadde of þe canoun of Cristis apostlis; for, as þis Seynt Jon seiþ, treuþe in lif, þat a man drede God, makiþ a man a lewed man; and, as who seiþ, no clerk, but treuþe in lif and prudence, þat is, know-

[a] The reference is perhaps to St. Ambrose, *Exp. in Luc.*, Lib. IV. § 53.

yng of creaturis boþe erþely and gostly, and usyng of every in his degre, and wise techynge of Goddis lawe after þe nede of þe peple, makiþ a man to be a prest. Þerfore seiþ Seynt Austyn, þat he þat disireþ þe stat of bischop for to have worschipe and reverence of men and worldly goodis, oweþ to understonde þat he is no bischop; and þe same sentence seiþ Seynt Gregory in his Pastoralis. And þe same reson semeþ of prestis; and þerfore Seynt Austyn biddiþ, þat sich a sovereyn þat spekeþ not good cleenely for hymself, but worldly worschipe and temperal wynnyng, þat he schal not rikene him among Goddis servauntis. For certis, as Crisostom, and Origene, and lawe canoun witnessen, siche a weiward prest makiþ Goddis hous a den of þeves.

Cap. V.

2. that relating to benefices; as when men get preferment by means of money,

On þre maneres ben men symonyentis in beneficis, bi ȝifte of money to þe patroun for presentacioun, or to prelat for collacion, or ȝevyng institucion, or induction, or bi brocage maade to mene persones for to have ony beneficis of þe chirche. And þis is cursed heresie, for it presumeþ to sille þe Holy Gost, as þe lawe witnessiþ; siþ it presumeþ to sille þe ȝiftis of þe Holy Gost, þat schulden be ȝoven frely to alle men, as Crist biddiþ.

or of service,

On þe secunde manere don many men symonye, whanne þei serve lordis or prelatis undwe servyces longe tyme, for to have a benefice in þe ende of here servyce. And herefore þei biheten to serve lordis and prelatis in worldly office on here owene cost, and dwellen in here courtis absent fro here chirchis; and þis is cursed marchaundise wiþ temperal servyce and benefices of þe Chirche. And oure Lord Jesus drof alle siche out of þe temple, in token þat þei ben not approved of him in þe Chirche, but schullen be dreven to helle bi jugement of God, ȝif þei lasten in þis synne to here deþ. And þerfore seiþ Seynt Gregory and þe lawe, þat þei þat don siche symonye schullen be dampnyd in everelestynge fier of helle, but ȝif þei resygnen here benefices, and in tyme of deþ ben founden in scharpe penaunce.

or by persuasion and influence.

On þe þridde manere don men symonye bi tunge, þat neiþer ȝeven gold ne servyce to lordis, ne prelatis, ne mene persones, but bi flateryng and preier of myȝty men comen to benefices,

more þan bi holynesse of lif and ablete to þer office. For þes comen not to þes benefices bi Crist, þat is dore of holy Chirche, but bi þe fend, to whom þei maken sacrifice for love of worldly heienesse and erþely muk, þat þei seken more þan Goddis honour, or profit of Cristene soulis. Þerfore þe Chirchis lawe witnessiþ, þat ȝif a man come to benefice bi symonye, ȝe, don bi his frend, hym unwyttynge, he mot resigne it, and ellis he may not be savyd. For, as Crist seiþ, he is a nyȝt þef and a day þef; and a þef may do no verrey penaunce, but ȝif he restore þat þing þat he haþ takyn awey, as Seynt Austyn seiþ; namely, ȝif he be of power þerto. And þis symonyent is of power to resigne; and þerfore he mote nedis resigne his benefice wilfully and frely, wiþouten desiryng to have it aȝen, as Seynt Richard of Armawȝ techiþ. For bi rigour of þe lawe he schulde be degradid, for þe blasphemye þat he dide to God in sillyng þe Holy Gost, as moche as was in hym. And certis, howevere we speken of dispensacion of þe Bischop of Rome, þis symonyent mot do verey pennaunce, and gete a newe riȝt or title, bi grace of God and ablete of kunnyng and wil to his office, wiþ open just lif and verrey techyng of his parischenis, and ellis he holdiþ his benefice to his dampnacion; and namely ȝif he waste pore mennes liflode, in pride and riche array, in glotonye and drounkennesse, and grete festis of riche men, as officeris of þe bischop, and getteris of countre. And þes þre menes of symonye ben wel groundid in holy writt and reson, and Seynt Gregory and Seynt Bede declaren hem wel, wiþ þe comyn lawe of þe Chirche. But what man comeþ now to ony fat benefice or prelacie wiþouten ȝifte of money or servyce, or flateryng and preier boþe of himself and oþere grete men of þe world? For now many lordis axen moche for presentacion, and longe worldly servyce of þes clerkis, bifore here benefices and aftir; and of privy ȝiftis and preieris is noon ende in mannus witt. Who getiþ ony fat benefice of þe Bischop of Rome wiþouten siche flateryng and preier, and gold for his dede lede [a], and þe first fruytis, and omage, and swerynge, oþer þan Crist and his apostlis diden? And certis his takyng of þe first fruytis is no

[a] By the 'dede lede' is meant of course the lead of the seal attached to a papal bull.

lesse heresie þan takyng of lordis for ȝifte or presentynge of here benefices, but þat he doþ more general heresie, and more traitourly to God; for he schulde be his chif viker in holy lif, and trewe techyng, and riȝtful governaunce of Cristis Chirche, and now is most open his traitour under colour of holynesse, and sutely wastiþ rewmes, drawing from hem moche gold and goode curatis, where lordis maken lesse evyl curatis, and spenden þe gold þat þei taken among men in þe same rewme. And certis, what clerk, lord, or comyner aȝenstondiþ not þis cursed heresie bi his power, wiþouten doubte he schal be pertener wiþ [1] þe first [1] fynderis of þis errour, as Seynt Gregory techiþ and þe lawe canoun.

Cap. VI

3. Simony relating to sacraments;

ȝit on þes þre maners don many men symonye in sacramentis, as ordris, masse synging, confession, and alle þe sevene sacramentis of holy Chirche. First in ordris; who evere ȝeveþ holy ordris for money to himself or his servauntis, or for preier of men, or þank of hem, þouȝ he take no money, he doþ symonye, and silleþ þe Holy Gost as moche as is in him, as witnessiþ Seynt Gregory, Seynt Bede, and oþere seyntis, wiþ lawe canoun. But Lord! who comeþ to ony holi ordris wiþouten extorsion of money for barbour fees, and grete raunsons for letteris? And siþ þis money is taken bi maistri for ordris þat men taken, for ellis þei schullen not be ordrid, or ellis ponyschid to þe double or treble, and here weddis taken, who may excuse oure bischopis from extorsion of symonye? And feyned excusacion, þat þei taken þis not for ordris ȝevyng but for cost of wrytyng and oþere officeris bisinesse, accuseþ hem more þan excuseþ. For þei taken for wryttyng and selyng of a litel scrowe, wiþ sixe or sevene lynes, twelve pens or two schillyngis; and certis þis is foul extorsion. For hem nedeþ no lettre wiþ here seel bi Goddis lawe; but witnessynge of here felowis and oþere trewe men is ynowȝ, hou þei weren ordrid at siche a tyme. And hem nediþ not many tymes to be schavyn, and ȝif it were nede, þei myȝtten be schavyn at a comyn barbour, and clippen [2] alle a ȝeer

for instance, by the extortion of fees at ordination;

[1] corrected; *wþ, frist*, X.

[2] corrected; *clipynge*, X.

for þe money þat here barbour takiþ at onys [a]. And certis þei han worldly goodis at þe fulle to fynde here officeris in her servyce, and to helpe pore men at nede, þouȝ þei robben hem not aȝenus here wille, and maken hem to bie here ordris aȝenus þe gospel and comyn lawe expresly. Certis it semeþ, þat alle doyng in þis mater is cursed corserie of symonye, ȝevynge þe sygne of holy ordris for temperal drit. And so fast þei cleven þeronne, þat unneþes is ony lewid wrecche putt abak, ȝif he wole ȝeve moche dritt; þat bi here prestis and heie corserie God and holy Chirche ben foule blasphemed, and presthod and good lif moche distroied, and Cristene men foule sclaundrid, and synne and trecherie encressid. And þis cursed fruyt schewiþ, for what ende þei ȝeven sygnes or holy ordris.

Hou confession and absolucion is don for covetise and pride men may liȝtly see. For in confession we seken more after tiþes and oure temperal wynnyng þan after kepyng of Goddis hestis, or contricion for synne, or paying of dettis to pore men, owe þei nevere so moche and ben in power to paye; and we enjoynen penaunce as us likeþ, and namely to seie massis, and offre to þe heie auter, and certeyn ymages for oure wynnyng. But we speken [1] over litel for to visete, and offre to pore men, and maken broken briges and causeis where men and bestis and catel perischen ofte. And ȝif men foolily avowen to go to Rome, or Jerusalem, Caunterbury, or oþere pilgrimagis, þat we chargen more þan þe grete avowe maad of oure Cristendom, to

by abusing, for unworthy ends, the power of the priest over his penitent in the sacrament of penance;

[1] corrected; *spekyng*, X.

[a] If these petty extortions at the time of ordination were really of common occurrence when our author wrote, it was not for want of endeavours to put them down on behalf of the rulers of the church. A constitution of Archbishop Stratford, dated in 1342, expressly decrees that no more than sixpence shall be demanded for the letters of orders (the 'litel scrowe' that the writer speaks of), and that *nothing else* shall be paid on any other account, either to marshals, porters, door-keepers, or *barbers*. The business of the episcopal barber was to shave the head of the candidate for ordination, so that the corona, or round bald space on the top of the head, might be trim and seemly. A constitution of Archbishop Boniface (temp. Henry III) orders all the clergy to observe this as well as other proprieties of clerical costume. Lyndwood tells us that the circular form of the corona was regarded as the emblem of the absence of dirt and uncleanness; 'quia ubi angulus ibi sordes.' See Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, art. *De Censibus*, and Gibson's *Codex Jur. Eccl. Angl.* Tit. vi. Cap. 1.

kepe Goddis hestis, and forsake þe fend and alle his werkis. For þouȝ men breken þe hieste comaundementis of God, þe lewideste parische prest schal assoile anoon, but of þe founed vowis maad of oure owene heed, many time aȝenus Goddis wille, noman schal assoile but grete worldly bischopis, or þe most worldly prest of Rome, þe emperoures maister and Goddis felawe, or God of þe erþe. And þei wolen not dispense wiþ þes vowis, but ȝif þei han þe cost þat men schulden make, inward and outward [a]. Lord! why kunnen not men of reson see, þat þis is [1] open covetise, and coloured under holynesse, and cursed symonye, and blaspheme heresie? It passeþ mannus witt to telle what pride and coveitise of prestis is norischid herby, and what synne, boþe lecherie, and extorsion, and heresie, and blasphemye, is brouȝt up herby. But neþeles confession maad to trewe prestis, and witty in Goddis lawe, doþ moche good to synful men, so þat contricion for synnes before don come þerwiþ, and good lif and keping Goddis hestis, and werkis of mercy don to pore men, sue after.

by the extortion of exorbitant marriage fees;

Hou þe sacrament of matrimonye is bouȝt and sold men may openly se. For no man schal be weddid but ȝif he paie sixe pens on þe bok [b], and a ryng for his wif, and sumtyme a peny for þe clerk, and covenaunt makyng what he schal paie for a morewe masse, and ellis he schal not be weddid þouȝ he lyve in nevere so gret lecherie. And hereto þei techen men þat þei schullen not seie þe wordis of sacrament bifore þe banes be cried in þe chirche; and sumtyme it was don for good entent; but now it is turned into coveitise and raveyn and symonye. But þe lewideste heresie þat evere Sathanas foond is putt forþ for excusyng of þis olde roton synne. For prestis han many ȝeer seld þus þis sacrament, þerfore it is now lawe and privylegie

[1] corrected; *bis*, X.

[a] For a similar denunciation of this practice see vol. ii. p. 381.

[b] This surely was not a very heavy tax upon matrimony. Taking into account the altered value of money, the fee of sixpence, near the end of the fourteenth century, may be considered equivalent to fifteen times that sum at the present day, or seven and sixpence. Now seven shillings and sixpence, I am told, is the ordinary fee given by a labourer here in Oxfordshire to the clergyman that marries him; and probably the rate is much the same in other counties. The Registrar, of course, will not marry him under half a guinea.

Neither Lyndwood nor Gibson supplies us with any information on the subject of this note.

of þe Chirche. But certis þis is not ho[ly] Chirche, þat wole noþing but treuþe and equyte, but it is Anticristis clerkis and synagoge of Sathanas.

And in many places þe same errour regneþ of þe sacrament of cristendom and of þe laste anoyntyng, and sumtyme in birying, for many coveitouse prestis axen gredely money for þes doyngis, or ellis þei schullen not be cristened, ne oyntid, ne biried wiþouten mortuarie [a]. And for al þis is neiþer Goddis lawe ne reson alleggid, but old totyng of wrongful takynge of poore mennus goodis, aȝenst here wille and Goddis comaundement expresly. And of confirmacion of children, and crowning of benetis [b], renneþ þe same extorsion in summe placis. But whi þat pore prestis and lewid men, in tyme of nede, may lawefully baptise children, and not conferme hem, is gret wonder among men of reson; siþ Crist comaundid his disciplis to baptise alle men, and chargide hem not to conferme men, as bischopis usen. For bi baptym schal a child come to hevene wiþouten siche confermyng, but not bi sich confermyng wiþouten baptym. And ȝif a prest sacriþ Goddis body, and makiþ breed and wyn turne into Cristis flesch and his blood, bi vertu of his ordre and Goddis wordis, whi may he not blisse a ȝong child wiþ a rag and oyle? It semeþ þat bischopis holden þis

and by similar abuses connected with christening, extreme unction, and the burial of the dead.

If priests, and even laymen in case of need, may baptise, why may they not confirm?

[a] Mortuaries were 'a kind of ecclesiastical heriots, being a customary gift claimed by and due to the minister in very many parishes on the death of his parishioners. They seem to have been originally, like lay heriots, only a voluntary gift.' So far Blackstone (quoted in Todd's Johnson's Dictionary), bringing out clearly the actual legal compulsion to the payment of mortuaries; — while, with professional euphemism, Dr. Cowell in the *Interpreter* prefers to insist on the theoretical spontaneity of the offering. A Mortuary, says he, 'is a gift left by a man at his death to his parish church, for the recompense of his personal tythes and offerings not duly paid in his life-time.' The payment of Mortuaries was enjoined by statute (13 Edw. I), and also by several archiepiscopal constitutions.

[b] *crowning of benetis.*] By this appears to be meant the ceremony of making the corona (see note on p. 283) on the head of a benet or exorcist, which corona, together with the tonsure, or cutting off of the hair below, so as to leave the ears exposed, constituted the tonsura clericalis, and was if not an order itself, at least a predisposition and preparation to orders. See Lyndwood, art. *De Vita et Hon. Cler.* The exorcist was called a benet, because of his frequent use of *aqua benedicta*, 'eau bénite,' in the performance of his functions. (See *Prompt. Parvulorum* (Camd. Soc.), and Mr. Way's useful note.) But why *benets* are singled out by our author rather than the two inferior orders of *Ostiarius* and *Lector*, I have not been able to discover.

more worþi and nedful þan Cristis body and þe sacrament of baptym; þerfore to magnyfie here staat in pride and chargyng of Cristene men, þei reserven þis newe confermyng to hemself, and putten þe more travaile, and more worþi and nedful sacramentis, on pore prestis. And in þis þei schewen her vanyte and worldly dignyte.

Cap. VII.

Simony in various forms as connected with the saying of mass.

But now is nede to telle, hou prestis crien her masse for money, and sillen þe sacrament, þat is Cristis flesch and his blood. Alle þo þat ben maade prestis, more to lyve in worschipe of þe world, at gentlemennys staat, and for worldly myrþe and bodily welfare and ese, þan to lyve in devocion and profite to Cristene soulis, to sue Crist in mekenesse and gostly traveile, in preiere and studyynge and techyng of Cristis gospel, and to be ensaumple and myrrour of pacience, chastite, and oþere vertues, ben smyttid wiþ symonye, and on sum maner sellen þis worþi sacrament, whanne þei seyn masse for money, or name of holynesse, or bodily nede, more þan for devocion of Crist, of helping of soulis in purgatorie, and of gostly love to make men vertuouse in lif, and namely in unyte in charite. For but ȝif men wolen here prestis for tene mark [a], sixe, or sevene, þei wil not dwelle wiþ hem in honeste place to cumpayne, and seie here masse, but goo where þei may most gete for here song, þouȝ þei schullen worse serve God þere þan at þe first place, where men wolden ȝyven hem resonable liflode, ȝe, moche more þan Crist or ony of his apostlis toke for himself. And to þis ende many drawen hem to grete citees, where is occasion of moche synne, not for to distroie it, but raþere encresse it be taverne goyng, pleiyng at þe tablis, chees, and oþere vanytees. And fewe drawen hem to scole, to lerne holy writt, and edifie hemself and oþere Cristene peple. But who may seie þat þes prestis sellen not foule her masse? siþ þei seken more grete salaries and lykyng of þe world þan to seie here masse in clennesse of lif, and brennyng devocion to Crist for his passion, in whos mynde þis holy sacrament was ordeyned

[a] See vol. i. p. 291, note a.

of Crist himself. Þus fariþ þe most del of bischopis and grete prelattis, þat seyn here masse, more for presence of lordis and grete placis, for to be holden holy and have offryngis and ȝiftis, þan for devocion or compunccion of here synnes and her breþeren synne, and to make pees and charite. And þus it fareþ of persones, munkis, and freris, þat don here servyce and massis more for name of holynesse and wynnyng of worldly muk, þan for clene love of God, and gostly helpe of Cristene soulis.

The author proves from the Fathers how great holiness is required in a priest;

And eche prest deme wisly himself, whi he seiþ his masse, and in what life; for ȝif þei ben not in clene lif, charite, and devocion, but in pride, coveitise, lecherie, envye, glotonye, or oþere grete synnes, þei dispisen God ful gretly, and as moche as is in hem þei slen him, and don hym more dispite and vileyne þan diden Judas Scarioth and Jewis, þat naieled him on þe croos, and leiden him in a cold stone. For Seynt Poul seiþ, Who þat resceyveþ þis sacrament unworþily, etiþ and drynkyþ his dampnacion. And Seynt Joon Crisostom[1] seiþ, We slen Crist in us, whanne we lesen feiþ and charite of Crist. And Seynt Bede seiþ, We sellen Crist whanne we forsaken treuþe, and taken falsnesse and meyntene it. And Seynt Austyn seiþ, Þat Cristene men trespassen, and don more dispit to God, whanne þei dispisen him bi pride, coveitise, and fals swerynge, þan þe Jewis þat naileden him on þe croos; and namely þes heretikis, bi siche symonye as is bifore seid, for all symonyentis ben worþi to be forsaken of alle trewe men. And but ȝif þei amenden hem after good monestyng, þei schullen be chastised and brouȝte doun bi straunge poweris, þat ben seculer lordis; for in comparison of þe heresie of symonye, alle synnes ben counted for nouȝt, as þe lawe seiþ expresly.

and contrasts with this picture the prevalent vice and hypocrisy of the persecuting clergy of his own day.

A! Lord, hou moche is oure kyng and oure rewme holpen bi massis and preieris of symonyentis and heretikis, ful of pride coveitise and envye? þat haten so moche pore prestis, techynge Cristis lif and þe gospel, to meyntene holy life of Cristene peple and þe kynges regalie, þat þei cursen hem and prisonen hem wiþouten answere, whanne þei ben redi reulid in

[1] corrected; *Cristostom*, X.

alle goodnesse and treuþe after holy writt; namely siþþen oure prelatis lyven in open extorsion and Luciferis pride, and sillen men leve to lye in synne of lecherie and avoutrie for annuel rente, and þerto lyven in pompe of worldly array and glotonye and drounkenesse, and wasten pore mennus lifelode in grete festis and fate hors, and eten and drynken pore mennus lif, and bilden grete paleis in Cristene mennys blood, and ben cloþid and slepen þer inne. Where þei plesen God in offrynge þis sacrament of unyte and pees, þe while here hondis ben ful of þe hote blood of Cristis children and eires of hevene? Whanne þei taken bi raveyne and extorsion pore mennus goodis, and wasten hem in festis and oþere vanytees, þan þei eten and drynken pore mennus blood and her lif; for þei spendiden here blood for getyng of þes goodis þat þes worldly prestis wasten þus, and bi þes goodis þei schulden sustyne here lif. And þis sentence is wisely taken of Goddis word bi þe prophetis, as Robert Grosted and oþere doctouris declaren pleynly, and certis þes weiward heretikis stiren God raþere to vengaunce þan mercy, as Seynt Gregory proveþ; and here blissyng turneþ in to cursyng, and here preier in to synne. And Seint Poul seiþ, þat þei defoulen Goddis Sone as moche as is in hem, and þerfore, as to hem self, þei offeren defouled bred, as Seynt Gregory and Seynt Jerom witnessen, wiþ þe comyn lawe of holy Chirche. Certis Jewis suffriden Crist to be leid in a clene stoon after his deeþ; but þes viciouse prestis, ful of pride coveitise and heresie, putten his bodi in here soule, þat is foulere a þousand fold þan ony stynkynge privey in erþe. And siþþen here foule soule is in þe develis possession, þei bitaken Cristis body into þe fendis power as moche as in hem is. But neþeles, as seiyng of þe masse in unclene lif, and wiþouten devocion, and unworþi resceyvyng of þis blessed sacrament, ful moche and neer hondis, most displesiþ God, so seiyng of masse wiþ clennesse of holy lif and brennyng devocion, ful moche and neer hondis, most plesiþ God Almyȝtty, and profitiþ to Cristene soulis in purgatorie, and to men lyvynge in erþe, to wiþstonde temptacions of synne, and encresen pees and charite. Þerfore þenk ȝe, clene prestis, hou moche ȝe be holden to God, þat ȝaf ȝou power to sacre his owene preciouse

body and blood of breed and wyn, whiche power he grauntid nevere to his owene modir ne aungel of hevene. Þerfore wiþ alle ȝoure desir and reverence and devocion do[1] youre office and sacramentis.

Cap. VIII.

Those who seek high posts and dignities in the Church are not fit to have them

Of þis may men see hou perilous it is to coveite prelacie or gret benefice in þe Chirche, siþ no man almost comeþ to hem wiþouten pride, veyn glorie, and symonye. Þerfore seide Seynt Gregory and þe comyn lawe of þe Chirche, þat honour or prelacie schulde not be ȝoven to hem þat seken and coveiten it, but to siche men as fleen honouris and dignyte; and þe same seiþ Seynt Austyn and Crisostom, wiþ oþere doctoures. For Crist techiþ us bi Seynt Poul, þat no man schal take honour to hym, but he þat is clepid of God, as Aaron was. Þerfore Moyses and þe holy prophete Jeremye, halewid in his moder wombe, excusiden hem mekely whanne God badde hem take þe ledyng and governyng of þe peple; and þe holy prophete Ysaye durst not take þis offis at Goddis profer, til he was clensed fro synne bi angelis mynystracion, and enflawmed wiþ Goddis science and charite. Þerfore Seynt Gregory and Seynt Austyn fledden at al here power to be bischopis, but souȝtten to lyve in devocion and studie of holy writt and in lowe degre, and coveitiden not þe heyenesse of þe statis, but wiþ sorowe and grete drede of God, and for grete nede of Cristene soulis, token þis staat, not of honour, but of traveile and bysynesse, as Austyn and Jerom witnessen. Lord! what stireþ us foolis, ful of ignoraunce and moche synne, þat kunnen not governe o soule wel, to seke so bisily grete statis where we schullen governe many þousand, and for þe leste of hem alle answere at domes day to þe blood of Jesus Crist,—gilti of schedyng þerof ȝif ony perische bi oure defaute. Where strong schampions and pileris of holy Chirche dredden so sore to governe a fewe soulis, whi roten festues seken so moche charge? Certis it is ful soþ þat Seynt Jon wiþ þe gilden mouþ seiþ, wiþ lawe canoun, þat what clerk sekiþ or desireþ prelacie or primacie

proved from the Fathers and from the canon law.

[1] corrected; *to*, X.

in erþe, schal fynde confusion in hevene. And who wolde desire sich dignyte of þe Chirche, in whiche he muste forsake his owene profit, and be servaunt of alle men, and bounden in tyme to take wilful deþ for oþer mennys helpe, and answere for so many soulis to Crist, rytful domesman? Certis, seiþ þis seynt[a], no man but he þat drediþ not Goddis harde dom. Þerfore seiþ Seynt Austyn and þe comyn lawe, þat no þing in þis world is more traveilous, more harde, and more perilous þan þe office of bischop, prest or dekene, to do it wel as oure emperoure Crist comaundiþ; and ȝif it be evyl don, no þing is more wrecchid ne more dampnable in Goddis dom. But what was þe good reulynge of þis staat he lernede nevere fro childhod ne ful age of man. And þerefore Seynt Austyn crieþ in þe story of his lif, þat he felide nevere God so moche wroþ aȝenus hym, as whanne, in peyne of his synnes, he suffride him take þe grete charge of bischopis staat. Þerfore he fleiȝ algatis citees where bischopis weren olde, lest þe peple wolde have hym bischop. Þerefore me þenkeþ treuly, þat who evere comeþ wel to ony benefice in þe Chirche, he sekiþ not dignyte ne honour of men undir him, but traveile and servyce, and dispit of worldly hienesse, as diden Crist and his disciplis, and oþere holy doctouris and bischopis, as Seynt Martyn, Seynt Colas, and siche oþere. And loke þat no worldly clerk excuse hym[1] . . . . . makeþ him take his office; for Seynt Gregory seiþ in þe lawe, whanne a man comeþ to siche a staat as bringiþ wiþ hym worschipe and ese, ȝif he come þerto of his owene desire, he fordoiþ to himself þe vertue of obedience. And þerfore Moyses forsoke þe ledynge of þe peple as fer as durst for wraþþe of God. And wanne bodely traveile and disese is putt bi sovereyn on þe suget, but ȝif he take it þanne of his owene desire, it is not plesaunt to God. Þerfore Seynt Poul forsok riches and honour of þe world as dritt, and wilfully putte him to traveil and peyne and martirdom. And in tokene of þis

[1] Several words are lost here, through their having been inadvertently cut off when the MS. was bound. The sense seems to require the insertion of some such words as '*for þat love of soulis.*'

[a] St. John Chrys. *Comm. in Acta Apost.* Hom. III. § 4.

obedience Crist fledde awey whanne þe peple wold have maad him kyng, as þe gospel of Jon witnesseþ; but he offred hym self wilfully to Jerusalem, to suffre peyne, woundis, and dispitous deþ for oþere mennus nede and profit.

Application of the principle to present circumstances.

And certis oure worldly clerkis myȝtten longe ynowȝ be wiþouten hem, bifore þat trewe prelatis wolden prese on hem; and ȝif þei weren opyn trewe men in Goddis cause, þei schulden sunere[1] gete pursuyng cursing and prisonyng, or brennyng, of worldly coveitouse prelatis, þan fatte benefices or grete dignytees. Þerfore Seynt Gregory techiþ in his Pastoralis[a], þat whanne bischoprichees weren pore, and bischopis weren þe first in martirdom for Cristene feiþ, þanne it was worþi grete preysynge to coveite a bischopriche. But now, siþ bischoprichis ben riche, and many worldly bysinesses knyȝtt þerto, it is not do but dredeful to have bischopriches. Þerfore Seynt Bernard wrot to Egenye[2] þe pope, þat he drede no vermyn so moche to come to þe pope as foul lust to be lord; and ȝit comynly in þat tyme popis weren poysond, for coveitise of þe staat þat oþere men hadden þerto. And to refreyne synful yđiotis fro siche statis and beneficis, seiþ lawe canoun, he þat passiþ oþer in honour or dygnite of þe Chirche, he is most foul of alle but ȝif he passe oþere men in kunnynge and holynesse. Of þes few wordis may worldly foolis see here pereles and sclaundris, and do no symonye for holy ordris ne benefices ne sacramentis, bi feyned colour of dispensyng and privylegie, and customes of Anticristis weiward collegie and synagoge of Sathanas.

[1] corrected; *sumere*, X.

[2] read *Eugenye*.

[a] There is nothing about the *poverty* of bishops in the passage from St. Gregory's *Pastorale* here cited. He was considering the text, 'If any man desireth the office of a bishop he desireth a good work,' and observes,—'Quamvis notandum, quod illo in tempore hoc dicitur, quo quisquis plebibus praeerat, primus ad martyrii tormenta ducebatur. Tunc ergo laudabile fuit episcopatum quaerere, quando per hunc quemque dubium non erat ad supplicia graviora pervenire.' (*Past.* Pars I. cap. 8.)

Cap. IX.

Worldly priests are guilty of the accursed sin of slander, when they maintain that Christ and his apostles lived like themselves,

Also alle þo þat putten sclaundre or evyl fame on ony men, for whiche hem nediþ to be purged, whanne þei don þis maliciously, ben solempnely acursed by Goddis lawe and mannys. Here worldly prestis, þat ben bounden to sue Crist and his apostlis in lyvyng prechyng and abstynence, as Seynt Jerom and here owene lawe witnessen, owen to drede ful sore of þis riȝtful curs. For siþþen in wordis and dedis, and resceyving of here gostly office, þei seyn and crien þei suen Crist and his postlis, þei seyn in dede þat Crist and his postlis lyveden þus worldly, and diden not here office, as þei faren now. And certis, ȝif Crist schal be holden verrey prophete and techere and verrey God, he mut purge hym of þis sclaundre; for ellis his lif lawe and techyng is fals, and alle his disciplis gone in þe same sclaundre. And þis wickid fame is put on Crist and his apostlis bi malece, and for coveitise of worldly goodis; for þei desserveden not to have þis foule name of worldly lif and necligence and sleyng of Cristene soulis. Þan it is putt on him for malice, and coveitise of worldly clerkis, and for to colour here owene raveyne, bi whiche þei stelen fro lordis and comyns here temperal lordischip and goodis. Certis in þe olde lawe a blaspheme þat despisid God, puttyng fals errour on him, schuld be stoned to deþ of alle þe peple; and in þe lawe of grace alle men schulden caste stones of charitable correpcion or reproving. And ȝif it be resonable þat a man schal be hangid for stelyng of fourtene pens, moche more schulden[1] þes blasphemeris of God, þat stelen so many lordischipis and temperal goodis from comynte of seculeris, and wasten hem in synne. It is grete synne to gabbe on a pore man; it is more to gabbe on an holy man, and defame hym; but most synne it is to gabbe on Crist, hedde of alle seyntis and lorde of alle lordis. Also it is grete synne to lie and disceyve men bi lesyng of here temperal goodis; more to disceyve in spiritual goodis, as vertues and good lif; but most to disceyve men in feiþ and myrrour of Cristis lif, þat is grond of alle rightful lif after.

Lev. xxiv. 16.

[1] corrected; *sculden*, X.

For no seyntis lif is worþ, but in as moche as it is acordyng wiþ Cristis lif; þerfore it is worse a þousand fold to robbe Cristene men of þis tresour, þan of alle erþely goodis þat evere weren or schullen be.

and that 'poor priests' teach, not the gospel, but heresy,

Also worldly proude clerkis, ful of coveitise and ypocrisie, sclaundre pore prestis as heretikis, for þei techen holy writt, and namely þe gospel and þe pore lif of Crist and his apostlis, aȝenis here worldly lif, to distroie synne and norische holy lyvyng in prestis lordis and comyneris; and seyn and meyntenen faste, in word and dede, þat heresie is ful feiþ of þe gospel, and saad treuþe of holy writt is heresie, for it is aȝenst here proude worldly lif. And herefore þei fallen into Goddis curs and alle his seyntis, þat for þis sclaunder lordis and comyneris doren not here þe gospel and Goddis hestis prechid of pore prestis in Goddis name, but ben constreyned to here fablis and lesyngis prechid, and flateryng, in stede of Goddis word. And of þe noumbre of Goddis curses set in his lawe upon siche ypocritis is not esy to wise men to sette a terme, for witty men may not fully comprehende alle þes curses in þis lif.

and that holy Church approves of idolatrous and superstitious devotions more than of the pure service of God and our neighbour.

Also þei sclaundren foule oure modir holy Chirche, þat is Cristis spouse, wiþ here coveitise and customes and privelegies. For whanne þei bryngen up newe sleiȝtis of covetise and jobbynge of lewede mennys goodis, þei seyen þat alle þis is for honour and devocion of God and holy Chirche; and ȝif ony man wiþstonde hem in þis, þei feynen him acursed, and enemye of God and holy Chirche. As, ȝif a pore man have longe founden moche wex, brennynge bi fore a rotyn stok, ȝif a trewe man teche þis pore man to paie his dettis, fynde his wif and children breed and cloþ, and ȝif he may strecche ferþere, to do his almes to pore bedrede men, old and feble, crokid and blynd, as God biddiþ, þei boþe ben holden cursed and enemyes of holy Chirche, for as moche as þei don Cristis biddyng, and more mercy to here pore neiȝeboris, and leven unskilful devocion and blynde mawmete and foul ypocrisie of prestis. But certis God blissiþ alle siche merciful men, and graunteþ hem þe blisse of hevene. And þes coveitouse prestis, ful of mawmetrie, crien faste Sathanas curs and tirauntrie aȝenst Cristis

breþeren, eyris of hevene. Moreover þei crien faste, ȝif coveitouse prestis han be in possession of oþere mennus goodis fourty ȝeer or þritti, wrongfully, aȝenst Goddis bidding, þei may not be taken from hem on no maner; for þe vertu of prescripcion, bi long custom of synne, haþþe made hem lordis, and holy Chirche approveþ þis, and curseþ alle men contrarie herto, in wille word or dede.

On the abuses of the right of sanctuary claimed for particular Churches.

Also þei chalengen fraunchise and privylegie in many grete chirchis, þat wickid men, opyn þeves, mansleeris, þat han borwed here neiȝeboris goodis and ben in power to paie and make restitucion, þere schullen dwelle in seyntewarie, and no man empeche hem bi processe of lawe, ne ooþ sworn on Goddis body and used. And þei meyntenen stifly þat þe kyng mote conferme þis privylegie and neste of þeves and robberie of þis rewme, aȝenst Goddis hestes, riȝtwisnesse, and his opyn ooþ, bi whiche he is sworn to do justice and equite to alle his lege men. And for þis privylegie, þat is opyn heresie, þes proude worldly clerkis wolen coste and fiȝtte to meyntene it forþ, for wynnyng of worldly dritt; but for to meyntene privylegie of Cristis gospel, or Cristis mekenesse and povert, wolen þei not coste a ferþing, but spende many þousand pound to make it heresie, and curse[1] prisone and brenne alle men þat techen trewely þe gospel, and þe pore lif of Crist and his postlis. Certis it were grete synne to sclaundre þe Quene of Englond, or Empresse, wiþ synne of avowtrie, where siche were ful trewe and clene and chast to here laweful husbonde; it is a þousand fold more synne to sclaundre holy Chirche, Cristis spouse, whiche Chirche, as Seynt Poul seiþ, is a pilere and foundement of trewþe, wiþ here cursed ypocrisie and robbyng of Cristen mennis goodis bi long custom of wrong and synne. Certis alle Cristene men schulden crie out on þes cursed heretikis, þat sclaundren Crist and holy Chirche his trewe spouse. For in þis þei maken holy Chirche a bande of here synne, and resceitour of here raveyn, and sclaundren holy Chirche wiþ þe cursede dedis of Anticristis chirche and synagoge of Sathanas. And þus þei seyn good evyl and evyl good, for to have Goddis curs.

[1] The MS. has a word here which is undecipherable.

Cap. X.

Also alle men þat distourblen[1] þe pees of holy Chirche and þe kyng ben cursed solempnely bi Goddis lawe and mannys. Certis pees of Cristis Chirche stondeþ in verrey sadnesse of feiþ, hope, charite, mekenesse, and pacience, and holdyng of Cristis ordeynaunce, and verrey pes of þe kyng and his rewme, and verrey subjeccion, and riȝtful domes, and just ponyschyng of mysdoeris, and relevyng of pore men, faderles children and moderles, and pore widewis. And who evere doþ most aȝenst þe poyntis, disturbliþ most þis verrey pees, and no man ellis. First, alle worldly clerkis þat wolen not holde hem payed wiþ holy writt and þe ordynaunce of Crist, to lyve in mekenesse, wilful povert, and besy traveil in gostily werkes, as Crist and his postlis diden, disturblen verrey pees of holy Chirche and Cristendom. Lord! how grete hyndryng of[2] Cristen feiþ is it, þat so many clerkis leven holy writt, and namely Cristis gospel, and studyen heþene mennys lawis and worldly coveitouse prestis tradicions, maad of here owene willardis dom for here pride and coveitise, and charge hem more þan Goddis hestis! Siþþen Goddis lawe is liȝt, swete, and esy, and best wole brynge men to hevenė, and at þe fulle occupie alle prestis wittis in þe world til þe day of dom. And oþere tradicions of synful men ben ful of errour, and maken many snaris, or gnaris, to lette men in þe weie to hevene, þat bifore was siker and pleyn, wiþoute ony lettid.

By their upholding of human laws and traditions, worldly priests disturb the peace of Church and State,

Lord! what charite is it for hem þat schulden be most gostly prestis to make werre in alle Cristendom for here worldly cause and stynkynge lordischipe, aȝenst Cristis biddyng and lif, and graunte ful absolucion and relessyng of alle peynes in purgatory, for to slee eche Cristene man oþer, as[3] don þes proude prestis of Rome and Avynoun, wiþ here worldly clerkis on boþe sidis. Certis þei disturblen verry pees of al holy Chirche and alle Cristendom þerto. Lord! what mirrour of mekenesse is þis, þat bischopis and prestis, monkis chanons and freris, þat schulden be meke and pacient and lambren among wolvys bi

and in particular by stirring up war, as these two popes at Rome and Avignon are doing.

[1] corrected; *distribulen*, X. [2] cor.; *oft*, X. [3] cor.; *and*, X.

techyng of Crist, ben more proudly arraied in armer and oþere costis of werris, and more cruel in here owene cause þan ony oþere lord or tiraunt, ȝe, heþene emperours! For þei wolen wiþouten pite and answere curse, prisone, slee, and brenne trewe prestis, þat techen pleynly Cristis lawe and his lif aȝenst here pride coveitise and ypocrisie. Lord! what ensaumple of pacience ȝeven þes worldly prestis and religiouse, þat schulden ȝeve alle here goodis and here bodely lif to kepe oþere men in pees and in charite, as Crist and his lawe techen, and now pursuen men so cruely for a litel trespas or noȝt, bi londis lawe, bi Cristen court, clepid in name, but in dede Sathanas trone, and bi open tirauntrie,—þat a man myȝtte soonere gete grace and riȝtwisnesse at þe kyng or emperour þan[1] at hem, for Goddis drede is not in hem, ne love of God and desire of hevene, but þe world and joie þerof and pride of Lucifer and cruelte of Sathanas. And seke wisely in alle here dedis, and þou schalt fynde þat þei seken worldly heynesse, and prosperite of worldly muk, and ese of body, and wombe joie, and norischyng of synne for annuel rente, and pilyng of here sugetis boþe lerid and lewid, and casten to distroie holy writt, and myrrour of Cristis lif and his postlis, and alle men þat techen it.

Courts Christian, so called.

Persecuting spirit of worldly priests.

And þus þei clepen reste and encresyng of þis cursed worldly lif, þe pees of holy Chirche. But certis Crist cam[2] in to þis world to distroie þis fals pees, as he seiþ hym self, and to make pees bitwixe God and Cristene men bi feiþ and holy lif, and forsakyng of worldy muk and joie, and bi suffryng of peynes in body for trewe techynge, and holdyng of mekenesse and charite. But whoevere wol be about to meyntene þis [pees[3]] of God, and distroie fals pees of þe fend, of þe worldly and fleschly temptacions, he schal be cursed pursued and slayn wiþouten pite or open answere. And þus þei cursen Crist and alle his trewe servauntis, in þis world and in hevene, for þei alle wole distroie þis reste in synne þat þei clepen pees of holy Chirche. And þus þei colouren alle here cursed synnys under name of Cristis spouse, and falsly sclaundren hir and oure Savyour Crist.

[1] corrected; *þat*, X. [2] cor.; *cbam*, X. [3] supplied conjecturally.

Cap. XI.

The worldly priests undermine the peace of the realm by asserting independence on the part of churchmen of all secular jurisdiction,

3it worldly clerkis and feyned religious breken and disturblen moche þe kyngis pees and his rewmes. For hir prelaties of þis world, wiþ prestis lesse and more, crien faste, and writen in here lawis, þat þe kyng haþ no jurisdiccioun ne power of here persones, ne goodis of holy Chirche. And 3it Crist and his postlis weren most obediaunt to kyngis and lordis, and tau3ten alle men to be suget to hem and serve hem, trewely and wilfully, in bodily werkis and tribut, and drede hem and worschipe hem bifore alle oþere men. First þe wise kyng Salamon put doun an heie bischop þat was fals to hym and his rewme, and exilide him, and ordeyned a good prest for him, as þe þridde bok of Kyngis telliþ. And Jesus Crist paiede tribut to emperour, and comaundid men to paie him tribute. And Seynt Petir comaundiþ in Goddis name Cristene men to be suget to every creature of man, eþer to kyng, as more hie þan oþere, oþer to deukis, as sent of him to þe vengaunce of mysdoeris, and preisyng of goode men. Also Seynt Poul comaundiþ bi auctorite of God, þat every soule be suget to hieris poweris, for þer is no power but of God; princes ben not to þe drede of good werk, but of evyl werk. Wilt þou not drede þe potestate? do [1] good and þou schalt have preisyng þerof, for he is Goddis mynystre to þe into good. Soþly, 3if þou hast doun evyle, drede þou, for he beriþ not þe swerd wiþoute cause, for he is Goddis mynystre, vengere into wraþþe to hym þat doþ evyl. Þerfore þorou3 nede be 3e suget, not only for wraþþe but for conscience. Paie to alle men dettis, boþe tribuyt and custom, (for þingis borun aboute in þe lond,) and drede and honour and love. And oure Savyour Jesus Crist suffrid mekely peynful deþ of Pilat, not excusynge him for his jurisdiccion bi his clergie [a]. And Seynt Poul proferide hym redy to suffre deþ bi dom of þe emperours justice, 3if he were worþi to deþ, as Dedis of Apostlis techen. And Poul appelide to þe

1 Kings ii. 26.

[1] corrected; *to*, X.

[a] He did not claim 'benefit of clergy,' the right to be tried by an ecclesiastical rather than by a secular court.

heþene emperour fro þe prestis of Jewis, for to be under his jurisdiccion and to save his lif. Lord! whoo haþ maad oure worldly clerkis exempt from kyngis jurisdiccion and chastisynge, siþþen God 3eviþ kyngis þis office on alle mysdoeris? Certis no man but Anticrist, Cristis enemye; siþen clerkis, and namely hie prestis, schulden be most meke and obedient to lordis of þis world, as weren Crist and his apostlis, and teche oþere men boþe in word and dede to be myrrour of alle men, to 3if þis mekenesse and obedience to þe kyng and his ri3tful lawis. How stronge þeves and traitours ben þei now to kyngis and lordis, in denying þis obedience, and in 3evyng ensaumple to alle men in þe lond for to be rebel a3enis þe kyng and lordis! For in þis þei techen lewid men and comyns of þe lond, boþe in wordis and lawis and opyn dede, to be fals and rebel a3enis þe kyng and oþere lordis. And þis semeþ wel bi here newe lawe of decretalis, where þe proude clerkis have ordeyned þis,—þat oure clergie schal paie no subsidie ne taxe, ne helping of oure kyng and oure rewme, wiþouten leve and assent of þe worldly prest of Rome; and 3it many tymes þis proude worldly prest is enemye of oure lond, and prively meynteneþ oure enemyes, and[1] weren a3enst us wiþ oure owene gold. And þus þei maken þis alien proudest prest of alle oþere, to be cheef lord of alle goodis þat clerkis han in þe rewme, and þat is of þe most pert þerof. Where ben more traitours boþe to God and holy Chirche, and namely to here lege lord and his rewme; to make an alien worldly prest, enemye to us, cheef lord of þe most pert of oure rewme?

their one object being to pull down the power of kings and nobles and exalt their own.

And comynly alle þe newe lawis þat clerkis han maad ben sutilly conjectid by ypocrisie, to brynge doun power and regalie of lordis and kyngis þat God ordeynede, and to make hem self lordis, and alle at here dom. Certis it semeþ þat þes worldly prestis distroien more kyngis regalie and lordis power, þat God him self haþ ordeyned for governaunce of Cristene men, þan God distroieþ þe fendis power. For God setteþ him a terme what he schal do and no more, but he suffriþ his power to laste, to profite of goode men, and just ponyschyng of mys-

[1] read *to*.

doeris; but þes worldly clerkis wolen nevere cesse ȝif þei may, til þei han fully distroyed kyngis and lordis, and here regalie and power.

The peace of realm is also disturbed through the practices of the friars, who by giving illusory or corrupt penances in the confessional, foster sin.

Also þes newe religious, and namely freris, distroien and disturblen þe pees and reste of þe kyng and his rewme; for þorouȝ privei confession þei norischen moche synne, namely lecherie, avoutrie, and synne aȝennis kynde, extorsions and robberie and usure, for to have pert þerof, and tellen not þe treuþe in confession, for drede of lesyng boþe frendischipe and wynning, and meyntening of here feyned ordre. And bi þis is strif and debate among curatis and here children in God[1]; and in many tymes open fiȝtting for mortuaries and prechyng; and þei doren not seie þe treuþe aȝenst þe worldly prestis of Rome, þouȝ he robbe nevere so foul houre lond bi symonye and falsehed of perdon and privylegies, whanne þei knowen wel þe treuþe, for drede þat he wold take awey þes þre poyntis, þat is, prechyng, schryvyng, and biryng. And for esy penaunce of money þat þei enyoynen men, for trentalis[a] and masse pens, and makyng of gaie wyndowis and grete housis, þat þe world may see and preise, þe moste vicioune men, as avoutreris, extorsioneris, usureris, and open þeves, gon to þes ypocritis, and forsaken here owene curatis þat wolden sumwhat telle hem þe perilis. And herefore of fals purchas, of wickid extorsion and robberie, comeþ nevere restitucion for siche privey schriftis and penaunce of masse pens; and where þei regnen most in houshold, prechyng and stryvyng, þere regneþ most synne. And siþen discencions wiþinforþ, and open werris wiþoutenforþ, comen most for synne and norischyng of synful men in here myslyvyng, þes weiward and coveitous confessouris disturblen most þe pees of þe kyng and his rewme, siþþen þei norischen moste synne bi fals prechyng of lesyngis, fablis, and veyn cronyclis,—bi sikernesse of letteris of fraternyte and synguler preieris, and disceyven men of þe treuþe of Goddis word, and

[1] corrected; *good*, X.

[a] A trental was 'an office for the dead that continued thirty days, or consisting of thirty masses; from the Italian *trenta*, that is, *triginta*.' Cowell's *Interpreter*, sub voce.

perverte almesdede fro þore bedrede and feble men to hemself, bi colour of ypocrisie. And for þis ende þe holy prophete Helye seide, þat kyng Acab disturblede þe lond of Israel. And comynly þe peple of God hadde evere pees and vittorie but for here owene synne, as þe processes of Goddis law schewiþ. And certis ȝif men taken regard[1] to þe ground of holy writt, boþe þe Olde Testament and Newe, and to lyvyng of Crist and his postlis, and to þe lif and governaunce of oure worldly clerkis, þei may openly se þat oure worldly blynde clerkis ben most traitours of Crist and his lawe, and most traitours to þe kyng and his rewme, and moste distroien pees of holy Chirche and Cristene londis.

1 Kings xviii. 18.

Cap. XII.

Bishops are often perjured, —as in the case of those who have sworn to go and preach to the heathen, and then stay in England in the capacity of suffragan bishops,

Also alle þo þat forsweren hem are justly cursed of God and man. First, bischopis maad of þe court of Rome, who[2] sweren to go and converte heþene men in placis of here bischoprichis, don not in dede þis office, but dwellen in Engelond, and bicomen riche bischopis suffragans, and pillen and robben oure peple for halowyng of chirches, chircheȝerdis, auteris, and ornamentis of þe chirche. And þus þei ben þries forsworen; first, for þei levyn to converte heþen men to bileve, of which þei taken cure wilfully; þe secunde, for þei don not treuely here office to profit of her maistris to whom þei ben sworon. For þei sillen here sacramentis, and þingis þat perteynen to sacramentis, þat þei schulden do frely as Crist comaundiþ, and distroie synne bi here power, þat þei norischen now for money and favour of worldly men. Þe þridde tyme, þei don not treuþe and profit to þe kyng and his lege men, as boþe þei and here maistris ben sworen, but falsly robben his lege men of here goodis for ȝevyng of spiritual þingis, and kepen moche of þis muk to hemself, and wasten it in gay mytris and ryngis and oþere worldly vanytees; and bi þis doyng þei ben grete traitours to God, to here kyng, and to here maistris. Þerfore, as capital traitours and chef heretikis, þei schulden be hurlid out of oure rewme, but ȝif þei wolen treuely make satisfaccion, and do trewely here office.

[1] corrected; *reward*, X.

[2] corrected; *and*, X.

and of those who, to be true to the pope, are false to their king.

Also alle bischopis and possessioneris, sworen to be trewe and holy to þe kingis conseil and profit, se men opynly forsworen. For þei drawen alle þe wynnyng þat þei may fro þe kyng to hemself, and þe proude prest of Rome, makyng him chef lord of moche part of þe rewme and of þe kyngis power, makyng þe conseil of þe kyng knowen to him, as þei ben sworen to þe pope. And of þis office serven freris, confessouris of grete lordis and ladies, and þis norischiþ hate and envye and debates and werris myche in Cristene peple.

Also oure bischopis ben sworen to meyntene þe honour and dignyte of Petre and Poul, but þei moste distroien it of alle men in erþe at here power. For here honour and dignyte was to kepe Cristis conseilis of gostly wilful povert, mekenesse, pacience, and charite, and to be servauntis of alle men to save here soulis; and þei, under colour of hem, desiren to be gretteste lordis of þe world bi ypocrisie, to get moche drit of þe world by pleting cursing and fiȝttyng, to sclaundre of God and alle his servauntis.

Perjury is also rife among the laity, high and low.

Also men of lawe and jurours han non conscience to forswere hem for twel pens and her dyner, and make many false eires; and many lordis, þat schulden be pileris of riȝtwisnesse and meyntene pore men in riȝt, wolen hire questis, and constreyne hem bi manas to forswere hem, for enemyte þat þei han to a man, or for coveitise of wynnynge. Viteleris, marchauntis, and chapmen, forsweren hem alle day for muk of þe world, þat unneþis may ony trewe word be among hem. Þe same weie, officeris of lordis, [who][1] sweren to do riȝt to alle men, and trewely lok þe lordis profit, gederen to hemself, robben þe tenauntis, and maken þe lordis pore. How men breken þe solempne oþ and profession maad in here cristendom, to forsake þe devel and alle his werkis, and kepe Goddis hestis, it is liȝt to se and hard to amende. Of oure religious possessioneris and oþere, how þei kepen here profession of povert, chastite, and obedience, is no word to speke nowe, for alle ben fosworen or ellis . . . .[2] Þei maken not profession to here patrouns reule, as Benet, Austyn, Domynyk, and Fraunseis,

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[2] a word dropped out here.

for noon of hem alle kepiþ it, but stryveþ aȝenst Goddis reule and here owene, and aȝenst alle men þat traveilen to brynge hem to Cristis reule.

Cap. XIII.

A curse is also incurred by those who make false heirs; instances of this sin.

Alle þo þat maken false eiris ben cursed grevously of God and man. First, prelatis and lordis þat maken evyl curatis, as eiris of Cristis office, to kepe Cristene soules bouȝt wiþ Cristis precious blood, rennen sore in þis curs. Also clerkis, þat purchasen hem lordischipis, and putten out lordis sones and cosyns and nyȝ blood, rennen in þe same curs; for þei holden hem out bi ple, bi cavyllacions and false questis, hirid for money and frendischip, and dryven to forswere hem for drede of here lordischip and tirauntrie. For þei holden it wel spendid and geten, al þat þei may purchase wiþ riȝt or wrong of seculer mennis goodis, and holde it or[1] bi many ȝeris, for þanne vertu of prescripcion, þat is, havyng of oþere mennis goodis bi long tyme, makeþ hem lordis of whatevere þing þei wrongfully sette hond onne. But certis Crist[2], lord of treuþe and riȝtwisnesse, is not ground ne autour of þis wynnynge, but Sathanas fadir of lesyngis, to whom þei maken sacrifice and omage for þis falsly geten lordischip.

The clergy, always grasping at lands and lordships, will not cease till they get all the kingdom into their hands.

Also þes feyned religious, and oþere worldly clerkis, amortisen many grete lordischipis bi fals title and gret ypocrisie. For þei feynen to lordis þat Crist is maad eir of alle here goodis, and he forbediþ clerkis to have siche lordischipis, and in his owne persone wolde noon have, ne his apostlis, but fledden it as venym, as al his lawe and here lif schewen. And bi þis amortysyng þei wolen nevere cesse, til alle þe seculer lordischip of oure lond be in here hondis, clene awey fro seculer lordis. For þei seyn þat þei may lawfully have al þat men wolen ȝeve hem, and alle þat þei may purchase by sotel menys, bi preising of here preieris and oþere gostly helpe, and stelyng of chartris, and distreynyng of ȝonge eiris; and no man may take ouȝt from hem, ne þei ȝeve ne selle ony lordischip out of here hondis. And þus litel and litel þei may gete al þe rewme into here owene hondis. Trewely

[1] omit *or*. [2] corrected; *Cristis*, X.

Crist haþ alle þes lordischipis wel, whanne seculer men han hem and spenden hem wel, moche betere þan whanne Luciferis heretikis wasten hem in glotonye, lecherie, and worldly vanyte. And þei drawen þes lordischipis fro þe comynte of Cristene men, þat is holy Chirche, and murþeren hem in a litel covent of Sathanas synagoge, þat ben moche worse þan heþene myscreauntis. And so bi name of holy Chirche þei distroien holy Chirche, and magnifien Anticristis chirche; as who wolde under þe baner of þe kyng of Engelond disseyve bi treson his lege men, and brynge hem into his enemys power.

The Franciscans, to whom the Pope is universal heir, are signally liable to this curse,

Also þes mendynauntis, Menours, falsly and sutely maken wrongful eiris; for þei maken þe worldly bischop of Rome, þat schulde be most perfit in gostly povert and mekenesse, and most forsake þe world, after Crist and Petir and Poul, to be chef lord[1] of alle here goodis[a], prevey and apert. For þei may no lordischipe have of hem, for here heie perfit povert, and of þis false makyng of lord and eier þei han bullis as privylegies. Wi ben not þes cursed traitours?

as are also colleges and cathedral churches.

Also religious and grete colegies and cathedral chirchis maken many false eieris; for þei maken hemself, þat ben riche, unkunnyng, and unable, to be successouris of Crist and his postlis, and cure of mennus soulis, and to be eyris perpetual of tiþes and offryngis, þat schulden be pore mennus liflode. And alle þis is doun bi fals suggestion, symonye, and peiryng of governaunce of holy Chirche, for þei ben riche at þe fulle, and [do][2] not þe office of a curat neiþer in techynge ne relevyng of parischenys and helpynge þe Chirche as þei schulden, but alle

[1] corrected; *lordis*, X.

[2] supplied conjecturally.

[a] The bull vesting all the property, houses, church furniture, &c., of the Franciscan Order in the Holy See, reserving to them the usufruct only, was promulgated by Innocent IV (1243–1264), a wise and resolute pope. But the more rigid and ascetic members of the Order—the Spiritualists—deemed this arrangement an unworthy compromise, and succeeded in obtaining from Nicholas IV (1288–1292), himself a Franciscan, a bull sanctioning the opinion that Christ practised an *absolute* poverty. A reaction ensued; and after John XXII (1315–1334) had annulled the bull of Nicholas IV by one which was published among his own *Extravagantes*, and so came to be regarded as incorporated in the canon law, the pious half-measure of Innocent IV seems to have been at length generally acquiesced in by the Order. See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vols. vi. and vii.

goþ to noȝt and to Anticristis covent. And certis it is not in mannys witt to telle alle þe harme þat comeþ hereof, boþe bodely and gostly. And of hem þat geten false eiris of mennus wifes, bi privy schryvyng and oþere homly daliaunce, avyse eche man who ben siche.

Cap. XIV.

Worldly priests break the testament of Christ, because he bequeathed poverty and persecution to his disciples, but they choose instead riches and honour.

Alle þo þat letten þe juste wille of a dede man ben cursed solempnely of God and man. Þe trewe testament of Jesus Crist was maad on Schire Þorisday at nyȝt, in whiche he biquaþ to his disciplis and here successouris pees in hem, and tribulacion and persecucion for his lawe in þis world. But worldly clerkis breken foule þis worþi testament of Crist, for þei seken pees and prosperite of þis world, and pees wiþ þe fend and here flesch, and wolen suffre no traveile for kepynge and techynge of Goddis law, but raþere pursuen pore men þat wolden teche it, and so maken werre aȝenst Crist and his peple for havyng of worldly muk, þat Crist forbediþ to alle his clerkis. In þe lif of Crist and his gospel, þat is his testament, wiþ lif and techyng of his postlis, oure clerkis schullen not fynde but povert, mekenesse, gostly traveile, and dispisyng of worldly men for reprovyng of here synnes, and grete reward in hevene for here goode lif and trewe techyng, and wilful sofforyng of deþ. Þerfore Jesus Crist was pore in his lif, þat he hadde no house of his owene bi worldly title to reste his heed þerinne, as he hymself seiþ in þe gospel. And Seynt Petir was so pore þat he hadde neiþer silver ne gold to ȝeve a pore crokid man, as Petir witnesseþ in þe bok of Apostlis Dedis. Seynt Poul was so pore of worldly goodis þat he traveilede wiþ his hondis for his liflode and his felowis, and suffride moche persecucion, and wakyng of gret þouȝt for alle chirches in Cristendom, as he hymself witnessiþ in many placis of holy writt. And Seynt Bernard writiþ to þe pope, þat in þis worldly aray, and plente of londis and gold and silver, he is successour of Constantyn þe emperour, and not of Jesus Crist and his disciplis. And Jesus confermyng þis testament seide to his apostlis after his risyng fro deþ to life, My Fadir sente me and I sende ȝow,—þat is, to traveile, persecucion, and povert and hunger and martirdom in þis world,

and not to worldly[1] as clerkis usen now. Bi þis it semeþ, þat alle þes worldly clerkis havyng seculer lordischipe, wiþ aray of worldly vanyte, ben hugely cursed of God and man, for þei doun aȝenst þe riȝtful testament of Crist and his postlis.

Also they administer to the property of poor men corruptly, and exact large sums for probate.

Also þei taken mynystracion of dede mennus goodis aȝenst here juste wille, under colour of holynesse, and turnen þe goodis to here kychenys and oþere nedelis offices, and þat is worse, to here glotonye and drounkenesse, and festyng of riche men, and suffren dede mennis wifes and children and oþere pore men fare ful harde and in gret myschief. Also þei taken dede mennis goodis for provynge of testamentis, aȝenst here juste wille, and aȝenst þe statute of oure kyng, and sumtyme in fraude of þis statute, where þei schulden take but eiȝte pens at þe moste. Þei feynen hem pore to acounte for alle þe goodis, and þan for aquitaunce taken moche gold of þe dede mennis goodis; for ellis þei wolen make executours to coste moche bi somonyng fro place to place, þouȝ þei ben redy to counte for alle þe testament. And ȝit bi Goddis lawe and mannys þei schulden not entermete hem þus of testamentis ne worldly occupacion. Þerfore, aȝenst holy writt, þe popis lawe, and kyngis statute and good conscience, þei robben comyns of oure lond of many þousand pound; and al þis is doun bi ypocrisie of Anticrist under colour of holynesse. And bi so moche þei ben worse þan outlawis and comyn þevys, for þei doun þis robberie apertly, and justifien it bi colour of holynesse, þat no man may aȝenstonde hem wiþouten open werre. And þei meyntenen þis cursed þefte boþe bi seculer power and spiritual swerd and colour of holynesse, bi feyned privylegies of holy Chirche, moche more þan doun oþere comyn þeves and outlawis, and þerfore þei ben cursed heretikis, worþi to have more peyne þan oþere strong outlawis.

Also they waste and misappropriate endowments designed by their founders to answer pious and charitable ends.

Also þes worldly clerkis and religious, dowid wiþ temperal rentis and londis, breken foule þe riȝtful wille of here dede founderis; for þei wasten moche here goodis in pride and grete festis and newe bildyngis, where here founderis wille was to

[1] Some such word as *pompe* or *richesse* has been omitted through error of the scribe.

fynde many meke prestis, and devout in Goddis servyce, and hospitalite of pore nedy men of þe countre. And alle þis goodnesse is wiþdrawen boþe of meke prestis and devout bedemen, and herboryng and fedyng of nedy men; and proude worldly clerkis, þat han no savour in Goddis servyce, brouȝt up, and ȝit fewe in noumbre, þere þe founder ordeynede manye; and þei ben myrrour of pride, coveitise, slowþe, glotonye, and drounkenesse, and namely of lecherie and meyntenyng of synne, where here foundere wolde have hem mirrour of mekenesse, devocion, and abstynence, and stoppyng of synne. And þus þei ben endurid in here errour worse þan Sodom and Gomor, and dispisen God in here lif, and disceyven here founderis as[1] Cristene peple bi here veyn criyng, whoos preier God curseþ, as he witnessiþ bi þe prophete Malachie.

Cap. XV.

Worldly priests fall under a double curse, for they falsify both the charters of the king, and the charter of the King of kings, i.e. the gospel.

Alle þo þat falsen þe kyngis chartre and assenten þerto ben cursed solempnely of God and man, puppliched foure tymes in þe ȝeer. Siþ þe kyng seiþ in his chartre, þat he ȝeveþ þis maner or lond into siche an hous of prestis or religious, into pure and perpetual almes, þei falsen þis chartre whanne þei clepen hemself lordis of þis worldly goodis, and denyen þat þei ben almesmen or bedemen, namely ȝif þei denyen in dede goode condicions for whiche þe kyng ȝaf þes goodes. Moche more þei ben cursed þat falsen þe chartre of alle kyngis, þat is, holy writt, in whiche God chargiþ alle his prestis to lyve in honest povert, and forsake seculer lordischip, and bisie hem in spiritual office, as Crist and his apostlis diden.

Also þei falsen þe kyngis chartre bi grete treson, whanne þei maken þe proude bischop of Rome, þat is cheef manquellere in erþe and meyntenour þerof, to be chief worldly lord of alle goodis þat clerkis han in oure rewme, and þat is almest alle þe rewme or þe more pert of it. For he schulde be most meke and pore prest, and most bisy in Goddis travaile to save mennus soulis, as weren Crist and his postlis, siþ he clepiþ him-

[1] For *as* perhaps we should read *and*, but the MS. is obscure at this point.

self chief viker of Crist. And hereby þes worldly clerkis ben traitours to God and here lege lord þe kyng, whos lawe and regalie þei distroien bi here power, and false traitouris to þe pope, whom þei norischen in Anticristis werkis, for to have here worldly staat in richessis and lustis meyntened bi hym.

Instances of their defrauding the king.

Also whanne þei geten leve to amortise ony lond or rente, þei certifien to þe kyng þat þis schal be to encrese of holy Chirche and stablyng of his rewme, and up þis condicion þei geten it, where it is to distruccion of Cristis Chirche, and peinynge of alle þe rewme, and norischyng of debate bitwixe clerkis and lordis and here tenauntis. And ȝit whanne þei geten leve to amortise twenti markis worþ lond bi a writt, ad quod dampnum, þei amortisen moche more þan þe kynge grauntid hem leve þerto. And whanne many londis schulde falle into þe kyngis [hondis][1], bi eschet or oþere juste menes, þes worldly clerkis and veyn religious meden gretly þe kyngis officeris and men of lawe, to forbarre þe kyngis riȝt, and maken hemself lordis wrongfully. And þus bi þe kyngis goodis þei maken his officeris and lege men to forswere hem, and defraude here lege lord. But, Lord! where ben falsere and cursedere traitouris in erþe? Also many worldly peyntid clerkis geten þe kyngis seel, hym out-wittynge, and senden to Rome for benefices moche gold; and whanne þe kyng sendiþ his privey seel for to avaunce goode clerkis, and able boþe of good lif and gret kunnyng to reule, þei bryngen forþ hereby many worldly wrecchis, unable to reule o soule for defaute of kunnyng and good lyvyng, and þus usen þe kyngis seel aȝenst Goddis honour and þe kyngis, and profit of Cristene peple, where þe kyng undirstondiþ to do wel bi here suggestion. And þerfore þe kyng haþ many cursed peynted clerkis aboute hym, ȝif he take hede to here lif, kunnyng, and reulyng of þe Chirche. Also men of lawe þat faveren lewide clerkis in þis wrong for wynnyng and worldly frendischipe, rennen in þis same curs; and so don confessours and conseilours þat tellen not þis disseit boþe to kyng and oþere men, and namely prechouris, þat schulden warne men of þis peril.

[1] The word was evidently omitted by accident.

Cap. XVI.

The canon law lays a heavier curse on those who disobey a papal bull than on those who oppose the gospel.

Alle þo þat falsen þe popis bulle or bischopis letteris ben cursed grevously in alle chirches foure tymes in þe ȝeer. Lord! whi was not Cristis gospel putt in þis reverence among oure worldly clerkis? Here it semeþ þei magnyfien þe popis bulle more þan þe gospel; and in token on þis þei ponyschen more þo men þat trespassen aȝenst þe popis bulle þan þo þat trespassen aȝenst Cristis gospel. And hereby men of þis world dreden more þe popis leed, and his comaundement, þanne þe gospel of Crist and Goddis hestis; and þus wrecchis of þis world ben brouȝt out of bileve, hope, and charite, and rotid in heresie and blasphemye, ȝe, worse þane ben heþene houndes.

Undue influence and importance obtained by these bulls,

Also þenne clerkis þat kunnen not rede and undirstonde avers of þe Sauter, ne telle Goddis comaundementis, bryngen forþ a bulle of leed witnessynge þat þei ben able to governe many soulis, aȝenst Goddis dom and opyn experience of treuþe; and to pursue þis false bulle þei costen and traveilen and fiȝtten many tymes; and for geten[1] of þis false bulle þei ȝyven myche gold out of oure rewme to alyens and enemys, and many persones ben dede herefore in oure enemys hondis, to coumfort of hem and oure confusion.

Also þe proude prest of Rome settiþ ymagis of Petre and Poul and his leed, and makiþ Cristene men to bileve þat alle þat his bullis speken of is don bi here auctorite and Cristis; and so, in as moche as he may, he makiþ þis bulle þat is fals to be Petris and Poulis and Cristis, and in þat makeþ hem false. And by þis blasphemye he robbiþ Cristendom of bileve and good lif and worldly goodis, and makiþ hem to serve Anticrist and synne, whanne þei weren to serve God and charite. And of þis falsyng is noon ende in mannis witt, for it encreseþ evere more, in newe fyndyngys of blasphemye, and robbynge of Cristendom boþe of gostly goodis and worldly, and namely whanne þei bryngen þe seel or baner of Crist on þe croos, þat is tokene of pees, mercy, and charite, for to slee alle Cristene men for love of tweie false prestis þat ben opyn Anticristis, for

which are now involving Christendom in the horrors of war.

[1] read *getynge*.

to meyntene here worldly staat, to oppresse Cristendom worse þan Jewis weren, aȝenst holy writt and lif of Crist and his postlis. And almest alle men in þis world assenten and meyntenen þis false sleyng of Anticrist and his felowis; and ȝif ony pore men telle þe treuþe of holy writt aȝenst þe tirauntrie of Anticrist and his officeris, nouȝt ellis but curse hem, prisone, brenne, and slee, wiþouten answere. Nowe it semeþ þat Jones prophecie and Apocalips is fulfilled, þat no man schal be hardy to bye and sille wiþouten token of þe cursed beste, for no man schal now do ouȝt in þe chirche wiþouten false bullis of Anticrist, not takyng reward to worchyng of Crist and Holy Gost in mennus soulis, but alle to his dede bullis, bouȝt and seld for gold as men byen or sillen oxen or bestis.

Cap. XVII.

Against the practice of anathematizing those who defraud the church respecting tithes.

ȝit, alle þo þat mystiþen ony goodis ben cruely cursed foure tymes in þe ȝeer. Here men wondren moche whi worldly prelatis and feyned clerkis cursen not for defaute of werchis of mercy doun to pore nedy men, as Crist techiþ; siþen þe gospel telliþ þat at domesday Jesus Crist schal reckene generally wiþ men for werkis of mercy; and ȝif þei han not don hem þere as Crist biddiþ, þei schullen be dampnyd wiþouten ende. But of tiþes schal Crist speke þanne no word, but ȝif men graunten þat tiþes ben werkis of mercy and almes, as is fedyng and cloþing of pore men. Certis it semeþ alle þis cursyng is for here owene coveitise[1], not for synne of þe peple and trespas aȝenst God, for þanne þei schulden more curse þere where more synne and more dispit aȝenst God and his lawe; but þis is not don, as alle witti men may opynly see; þerfore þei cursen wrongfully, and so cursen hemself, and envenymen þe peple þat þei diden wiþ.

Þe secunde tyme men wondren more whi worldly prestis cursen so faste þe pore peple for þei paien not here tiþes at here likyng, þe while þei ben a þousandfold more cursed of God, for þei don not here gostly office in trewe prechyng, and holy ensaumple of lyvyng, and mynystryng of sacramentis. And ȝit God chargiþ a þousandfolde more þes dettis of gostly dedis,

[1] corrected; *coveitouse*, X.

þan alle þe muk of þis world. And as men of lawe techen, he þat is riȝtfully cursed may not lawefully curse anoþer man, siþen he is dede gostly, and out of holy Chirche.

Þe þridde tyme men wondren most whi coveitouse prestis and worldly clerkis cursen so faste and cruelly in here owene cause and wynnyng, siþen þei schulden schewe mekenesse and pacience in here owene cause and wrong, as diden Crist and his apostlis. And siþ Crist, verrest bischop of alle, cursede not for his tiþes, ne whanne men ȝaven him neiþer mete ne drynk ne herbore; and he blamyde his cosyns and apostlis for þei wolden have do vengaunce on þis peple; but Crist seide þat mannis Sone cam not to lose mennus lyves and soulis, but to save hem, as þe gospel of Luk witnesseþ, whi cursen oure weiward curettis so many mennus soulis to helle, and bodies to prison, and loos of catel, and sumtyme to deþ, for a litel muk, whanne þei ben cursed of God for symonye don in here entre, and levyng of prechyng and ensaumple of holy lif, and þerfore þe tiþes ben not dewe to hem, but only peyne and helle? Many tymes þei ben cruel turmentours, þat slen a soule bouȝt wiþ Cristis precious blood, þat is betre þan alle richessis of þis world, for sixe pens or foure. Salamon provyde bi witt ȝoven of God, þat whanne tweyne horis stryvede whos was þe child þat lyvede, þe child was hern þat wolde have it on lyve, and not hern þat wolde have it deed. Moche more þes ben not gostly fadris of Cristene soulis, þat wolen dampne hem to helle bi here cursyng for a litel rotyn dritt. But þei ben werse þan ony turmentours of heþene houndes; for þei turmentiden þe body, and not þe soule everemore; but þes Sathanas children casten bi alle here power to slee þe soule in everelastynge peyne. Certis þes weiward curatis of Sathanas semen in þis poynt worse þan fendis of helle, þat turmenten no soule in helle but only for everelastynge synne; and þes Sathanas clerkis cursen soulis to helle for a litel temperal dette, þat þei wolen paye as soone as þei may, and many tymes whanne it is not dette, but bi long errour and þefte and custom brouȝt up, aȝenst Goddis comaundement and good reson and charite.

Cap. XVIII.

Against rigour in demanding tithes and laxity in accepting offerings.

And ȝit þei cursen pore men for tiþes, whanne þei may not paie for povert, and whanne curatis schulden ȝyve hem of here owene goodis; and ȝif beggyng weren lifful, þei schulden begge at riche men for to releve here pore breþeren, and algatis be trewe procuratours for pore men at grete lordis and riche men, as Seynt Poul, bi comyn assent of apostlis, was for pore men in here nede. Also þei schulden not resseyve offryngis and ȝiftis of men þat weren at debate and discord, as Goddis lawe and mannis witnessen, wiþ declaryng of Seynt Jon Crisostom upon þe gospel of Matheu,—ne of usure and wrongful geten goodis, lest þei weren pertener of þe synne, but stire hem to make hem restitucion, and leve here synne, and schewe in dede þat þei seken more profit and savynge[1] of Cristene soulis þanne here owene wynnynge or worschipe, as God doþ bi his Godhed, and Jesus Crist bi his manhed, and alle his disciplis after him.

Christ neither paid nor received tithes; yet he paid tribute to Caesar.

At þe laste men wonderen hugely whi curatis ben so chariouse to þe peple in takynge tiþes, siþþen Crist and his apostlis token no tiþes as men doun nowe, and neiþer spaken of hem, to [be[2]] paied þus, neiþer in gospel ne in pistel, in þe perfit lawe of fredom and grace, but Crist lyvede on almes of Marie Maudelen and oþere holy men and wymmen, as þe gospel telliþ, and apostlis lyveden sumtyme bi labour of here hondis, and sumtyme taken pore liflode and cloþ, ȝovyn of fre wille and devocion of þe peple, wiþouten axing or constreynyng. And to þis ende Crist seiþ to his postlis, þat þei schulden ete and drynke siche as men setten bifore hem, and take neiþer gold ne silver for here prechyng and ȝevyng of sacramentis. And Poul, ȝevyng a general reule for prestis, seiþ þus, We havyng fode and cloþis to hile us, wiþ þes þinges be we apayed. And Jesus Crist and Poul proveden, þat prestis prechynge trewely þe gospel schulden lyve bi or of þe gospel, and nó more of þe tiþes. Certis, as tiþes were dewe prestis and dekenes in þe olde lawe, so þanne was bodily circumcision nedeful to alle men, but not nowe in þe lawe of grace. And ȝit Crist was circumcidid,

[1] corrected; *savyd*, X. [2] supplied conjecturally.

but we reden not where he took tyþes as we don, and we reden not in alle þe gospel where he paiede tiþes to hie prestis or bad ony man do so, but boþe he paiede tribut to þe emperour for hym and his, and comaundide oþere men to do so.

Tithes are not due under the gospel, and should not be recoverable by legal process.

Lord! whi schullen oure worldly clerkis charge more Cristene peple wiþ tiþes, offringis, and customes, þan diden Crist and his apostlis, and more þan men weren chargid in þe olde lawe? For þanne alle prestis and dekenes and officeris of þe temple weren susteyned bi tiþes and offryngis, and hadden noon oþere lordischip; but now o worldly prest, þat is more unable þanne oþere, bi vertu of Anticristis bullis haþ alle þe tiþes and offrynges to himself, and oþere prestis more kunnynge in Goddis lawe and of clenner lif, han no þing but temperal almes. And in o countre is o maner of þing, and in anoþer faste bi is contrarie maner; and ȝif tiþes weren dewe bi Goddis comaundement, þanne every where in Cristendom schulde be o maner of tiþyng. And ȝit men axyn now more tiþes, of many þinges þat God spac not in þe olde lawe. Wolde God þat alle wise men and trewe men wolden enquere where it were betre for to fynde goode prestis bi fre almes of þe peple, and in a resonable and pore liflode, to teche þe gospel in word and dede, as diden Crist and his postlis, þan to paie þus tiþes to o worldly prest necligent and unkunnynge, as men ben now constreyned bi censures and bullis and newe ordynaunce of prestis. ȝif þis meke lif com aȝen, symonye, coveitise, necligence and strif and plee and worldlynesse [of[1]] prestis schullen down, and trewe techyng of Goddis word, and ensaumple of holy lif, and pees and charite, schullen regne in Cristendom. ȝif þis be betre þan þis newe ordynaunce of proude and coveitouse prestis, as men moten nedis graunte, for lyvng and ensaumple of Crist and his apostlis, who maade Anticrist and worldly prestis so hardy to charge Cristene men wiþ þis newe ordynaunce þat [is[1]] more costy and profitable? Siþen Crist and alle his disciplis hadden nevere ony power but to encresyng of holy Chirche, and edifiynge of Cristene soulis to heveneward, who ȝaf Anticrist and his worldly prestis þis power to hyndre and peire þo goode

[1] supplied.

reulyng of holy Chirche bi so gret charge and cost? ȝif þis first ordynaunce of Crist and his postlis come aȝen into Cristendom, þan schal Cristene peple be fre to take her tiþes and offryngis fro weiward prest, and not meyntene hem in here synne, as þei ben now constreyned bi Anticristis power and censures, and frely and wilfully ȝyve a resonable liflode to goode prestis: and þis were moche betere and esiere, boþe for prestis and comyns, boþe for þis world and þe toþer.

Cap. XIX.

Against the practice—involving disloyalty—of cursing all those who deprive the Church of any property.

Also þei cursen alle men þat beren out ony goodis of maneres or graunges of men of þe Chirche, aȝenst þe wille of here keperis. Here men wondren moche whi þei cursen not alle hem þat beren out ony þing of lordis placis and pore mennus houses, siþþen þei ben many times more cursed of God þan þe firste. It semeþ þei reken nevere of here neiȝberis harm so þat here lust be performed. But men wondren more whi þei cursen þe kyng and his trewe officeris, þat for felonye or dette or eschet taken his owene goodis, aȝenst þe wille of a false prest traitour, out of þes graunges, and taken noon hede wheþere þei don þis bi processe of lawe or ellis bi extorsion and tirauntrie. And it semeþ þat þei understonden þis, how evere it be taken, wrongfully or justly, bi here newe dampnacion þat þei maden at London in þe erþe schakyng, where þei saiden þat it is errour to seie þat seculer lordis may at here dom take temperal goodis fro þe Chirche, þat trespassiþ bi long custom[a]. ȝif þis be errour, as þei seyn falsly, þanne þe kyng and seculer lordis may take no ferþing ne ferþing-worþ fro a worldly clerk, þouȝ he owe hym or his lege men nevere so moche good, and may wel paye it and wole not. And þus þe kyng schal be cursed, ȝif he do riȝtwisnesse in his rewme on his lege men, and brynge a Sathanas out of his olde synne and þefte, whiche þing þe kyng is bounden for to do bi Goddis owene word. And siþ þe persones schullen have more privylegie þanne worldly muk annexid to hem, siþen þei ben betre in kynde and gronde of

The canon of the Council of London on this point.

[a] This, according to Walsingham (vol. ii. p. 59, Rolls edition), was the sixth of the conclusions condemned as erroneous at the Council of London in 1382.

privylegie of þes goodis, moche more þe kyng haþ no power of þe bodies of clerkis. And þis menen þei in here opyn lawe, bi whiche þei maken clerkis exempt fro seculer domesmen, til þei ben degraded bi dom of bischopis. Of þis wrongful sentence ȝoven of bischopis in þe erþe to don, wiþ good reson suen þes poyntis, þat þouȝ a collegie of clerkis, or covent, or religious, ben open þeves, and robben and sleen þe kyngis lege men, ȝit þe kyng may take no ferþing-worþ good fro hem, for alle worldly goodis ben temperal þingis, and, as þei seyn, noon seculer lordis may lawefully take temperal þingis fro þe Chirche þat trespassiþ bi long custom.

Absurd consequences which would flow from its adoption.

Also, þouȝ comynte of clerkis and religious sende gold and goodis of þe rewme to aliens and enemyes wiþoutenforþ, and resseten many þousand enemyes in here paleices and grete houses, stronge as castellis, to robbe slee and brenne alle men in oure lond, ȝit no man may take ony goodis fro hem bi þe same reson.

Also, þouȝ an hous of monkes freris or clerkis ymagynen to poysone þe kyng, queene, and alle þe lordis of oure rewme, as þei han bifore þis tyme boþe popis emperours and kyngis, ȝit þe kyng wiþ alle his lordis mayn not ponysche hem in o ferþing-worþ of good. Also, þouȝ a frere monk or prest, bi comyn assent of þe covent, defoule quen bifore þe kyngis eyen, and moche more in privey chaumberis, ȝit þe kyng may not ponysche þe leste of hem in o ferþing-worþ of good.

Also, þouȝ þe clergie bi comyn assent caste þe kyngis deþ, quenys, and of alle þe gentel blood of þe rewme, and conspiren to be kyngis in hemself, and make oon of hem kyng of alle þe world, ȝit þe kyng wiþ alle his lordis may not ponysche hym in o ferþing-worþ of good. And siþen þe bodies of clerkis ben betere þan goodis of þis world, siþ þe kyng haþ no power on here goodis þat ben lesse, he haþ no power of here bodies þat ben betre in kynde, and cause of privylegies of here goodis. And þus þe kyng is constreyned bi Anticristis lawis to suffre and meyntene opyn þeves and mansleeris, and traitours of God and alle men, in here opyn cursed synne. And þouȝ clerkis myȝtten lawefully have seculer lordischipis, ȝit þei han justly forfetid hem alle, siþþen bi comyn assent þei han conspired þus

aȝenst Goddis mageste, ye kyngis regalie, wel groundid in holy writt, and aȝenst here owene solempne oþ. But þes blynde moldewerpis, evere wrotyng in þe erþe aboute erþely muk, schullen wite bi holy writt and Cristene bileve, þat þouȝ þe kyng, Goddis viker, take temperal goodis fro worldly cursed prestis and Anticristis religious, ful of pride coveitise symonye heresie and blasphemye, and meyntening of oþere mennus synnys, ȝit þe kyng takiþ not þes goodis evyle from holy Chirche, but justly takiþ þes goodis of holy Chirche, evyl occupied bi Sathanas clerkis, and restoreþ hem to holy Chirche. For þanne bi Goddis auctorite he takiþ þes goodis from Anticristis chirche, þat is traitour and enemye of God, of þe kyng his viker, and alle men, in Goddis half, and restaureþ hem to holy Chirche, whanne he depertiþ hem wisly to just men, to helpe of pore men, and encresyng of vertuouse lif boþe of prestis lordis and comuneris.

Pride and exclusiveness of the worldly clergy.

And in þis poynt þes worldly clerkis and feyned religious fallen into Luciferis pride, and into heresie aȝenst þe crede of Cristene men. For þei holden hemself men of holy Chirche and noon oþere, where þe crede seiþ þer is on general holy Chirche of alle men and wymmen þat schullen be savyd, and of goode[1] angelis, and Jesus Crist is hed of þis holy Chirche. And as Judas was a þef and no membre of Crist, ne pert of holy Chirche, þouȝ he mynistride[2] þe ordre of bischopod, but was a devel of helle, as Crist seiþ in þe gospel, so, ȝif þes worldly clerkis schullen be dampned for here cursed synnes, as coveitise ypocrisie symonye and dispeir, as Judas was, þei ben fendis of helle and no Cristene men, ne membris of Crist, ne pert of holy Chirche. And þus þe beste of hem alle woot not where he be a man of holy Chirche bi Goddis apprevyng, or ellis a fende of helle now dampnyd in Goddis knowyng. Þerfore þei schulden meke hem self boþe to God and man, and leve þis fendis pride and Anticristis tirauntrie, and open tresoun and blasfemye aȝenst God and his viker þe kyng.

[1] corrected; *goodis*, X. [2] corrected; *mysurde*, X.

Cap. XX.

The curse pronounced on thieves and receivers falls on the clergy themselves.

Alle þeves and alle þat reseten[1] hem wyttyngly, and alle consentours to hem in synne, ben cursed of God, and foure tymes in þe ȝeer of men, in alle parische chirches. First, alle clerkis of our lond semen cursed in þis poynt, for in eche parische chirche a comyn þef and mansleere schal be resseyved fourty daies at þe leste, and no lawe passe on hym to make restitucion, þouȝ he be of power, and to ponysche him justly for chastisyng of oþere mysdoeris; but after fourty daies he schal forswere þe kyngis lond, and þanne many tymes he robbeþ more and sleþ mo men, in trist of siche refute. And þis makiþ many stronge þeves and cursed manquelleris in oure lond; and to meyntene þis resset and norischyng of þeves, oure worldly clerkis wolen coste and traveile and lyve and die; and þerfore þei ben stronge schameles heretikis, to meyntene þis opyn errour aȝenst Goddis lawe.

The prvilege of sanctuary

Also grete houses of religion, as Westmynstre, Beverle[a], and

[1] corrected; *receseten*, X.

[a] Dugdale's *Monasticon* contains ample information about these privileges of sanctuary attached to certain churches. To Westminster Abbey the right was conceded, according to Stow, the historian of London, by an express charter of Edward the Confessor; but Widmore doubts the authenticity of this charter, and considers that the privilege probably followed soon upon, and as a consequence of, the canonization of King Edward. High and low sought and benefited by the privilege; amongst others, Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV, first in 1470, and again in 1483, and the poet Skelton, who died in sanctuary in 1529.

The story of the sanctuary at St. John's collegiate church of Beverley is like a golden thread of romance running down through the dim records of six hundred years. The common belief about this famous foundation (originally the work of St. John of Beverley early in the eighth century, but afterwards destroyed by the Danes),—a belief attested by a charter of Henry V, was, that when King Athelstan, returning victorious from Scotland in the year 925, redeemed by a lavish grant of lands and liberties his knife, which on the march out he had left upon the high altar, he did so in these words, 'As fre make I the, as hert may think or eigh may see.' Or, as it is in a metrical version, also given by Dugdale, of the same transaction, which is probably as old as the middle of the thirteenth century,—

'Swa mikel fredom give I ye,
Swa hert may think or eghe see.'

This church of Beverley, however, was not exempted from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York; rather it was he who exercised, or superintended the exercise of, the great franchises which it possessed. The privileged circuit,

oþere, chalengen, usen, and meyntenen þis privylegie, þat whatevere þef or felon come to þis holy hous of religion, he schal dwelle þere alle his lif, and no man enpeche hym, þouȝ he owe pore men moche good and have ynouȝ to paye it. And þouȝ he robbe and slee every nyȝt many men out of þe fraunchise, and every[1] day come aȝen, he schal be meyntened þerto bi vertu of þis opyn heresie. And þes feyned clerkis crien faste, þat þe kyng and alle þe lordis ben bounden bi vertu of here oþ, in whiche þei sweren to meyntene holy Chirche and riȝttis þerof, for to meyntene þis open þefte aȝenst Goddis heste and here owene oþ, in whiche þei sweren to doo riȝtwisnesse to eche man and meyntene eche man þerinne. And þus þei maken holy Chirche and her lege lord þe kyng patrons of here þefte, under colour of holynesse and devocion. But certis þes plȩcis ben synagogis of Satanas, dennes of þeves, and worse þan Sodom and Gomor, as þo þat resceyven not Cristis word in þe gospel; and þes ben cursed ypocritis, and weiward traitours to God and here lege lord þe kyng and alle Cristendom, and þei ben confermed in þis heresie, þat þei wolen lyve and die þerfore.

annexed to certain churches is greatly abused.

Also alle curatis and prestis þat comen not to þes statis bi þe

The rulers both of Church and

[1] corrected; *evere*, X.

within which fugitives from secular justice were protected, was called the Lenga, and is described in the Domesday survey. A stone chair, called the *Frid-stol*, or stool of peace, stood on the right of the high altar; to this chair those who sought sanctuary repaired, and in it they were seated during the ceremony of admission. The form of oath, administered by the archbishop's bailiff to the suppliant, is preserved in one of the Harleian MSS. No. 4292, being a register of persons who sought sanctuary for various crimes in the reigns of Edward IV, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. It ran as follows:—

'Sir, tak hede on your oth. Ye shal be trew and feythful to my lord Archbishop of York, lord off this towne, to the provest of the same, to the chanons of this chirch, and all othir ministers thereof.

'Also ye shal bere gude hert to the baillie and xii governors of this town, to all burgesses and comyners of the same.

'Also ye shall bere no poynted wapen, dagger, knyfe, ne none other wapen ayenst the kyngs pece.

'Also ye shal be redy at all your power, if there be any debate or strif or oder sothan case of fyre within the town to help to surcess it.

'Also ye shal be redy at the obite of Kyng Adelstan, at the Dirige and the Messe, at such time as it is done, at the warnyng of the belman of the town, and do your dewte in ryngyng, and for to offer at the messe on the morne, so help you God and thies holy evangelists.'

And then gar hym kisse the book.

State are corrupt from the highest to the lowest.

dore, þat is, Crist, þat is to seie, bi mekenesse to seke Goddis worschip and savyng of mennus soulis, but for pride coveitise and bodily welfare, ben ny3t þeves and day þeves, as Crist seiþ in þe gospel, and Seynt Austyn expouneþ it so. And siþen alle ressettours and meynteneris of siche wityngly ben cursed, and þe pope ressetiþ hem and meynteniþ hem, and bischopis also, and þe kyng and parischens, alle þes semen cursed þeves, siþen þei may not be excused bi ignoraunce of Goddis lawe and here open dedis to knowe and wite hou þei ben þevys. And parischens ben so constreyned bi Anticristis lawis to meyntene hem in here þefte; for þou3 þei knowen þat here curat is a cursed þef, wiþdrawynge trewe prechynge and ensaumple of good lif, and dide grete symonye in comyng to his benefice, 3it þei schullen not be suffrid to wiþdrawe here tyþes here, as long as a grete prelat of Anticrist wole suffre him in his synne, for money or necligence or favour. But of alle þevys, þe pope makyng siche curatis bi his bullis for gold, and lordis and oþere prelatis presentynge siche unable clerkis for here worldly servyce and money, ben in þe grete hienesse of robberis, and meyntenours of opyn þeves. And þei may not be excused bi ignoraunce, for Seynt Poul seiþ, he þat haþ not cure of his owene, and most of his homely meynne, he haþ forsaken þe feiþ and is werse þan an unfeiþful man þat nevere toke Cristendom. For þei may openly see þat þe dedis of þes curatis ben opynly contrarie to Cristis lif and his lawe, and to many siche; as þei maken curatis of many þousand soulis þei wolden not bitake kepyng of a fewe hoggis, and holde hem from her office of kepyng of hoggis, as þei doun[a] from keping of soulis; þerfore þei setten more pride bi a fewe hoggis þan bi many þousand soulis bou3te wiþ Cristis preciouse blood.

Various ways in which men may fall under the curse pronounced against thievery.

Also alle tyrauntis and extorsioneris and conselours and consentours þerto, fallen in þis grete curs, for alle þat þei han þus is þefte, bi Goddis jugement and reson; and alle curatis and prelatis þat taken tyþes and offryngis, and doun not here spiritual office, of God ordeyned[1] in his lawe, ben cursed þevys;

[1] corrected; *ordeyneþ*, X.

[a] That is, as the curates withhold themselves.

for þis hire is not ordeyned to hem but for doyng of þis spiritual office. And þerfore Seynt Poul biddiþ, þat he þat werchiþ not, ete not. Also alle þat mysusen here goodis in wast, pride, glotonye, or oþere synnes, or þat wiþholden werkis of mercy fro nedi men in tyme of grete nede, rennen in grete curs, for þei han and holden þes goodis aȝenst Goddis comaundement, to harm of hem and oþere men, as Ambrose and Austyn witnessen in many placis. Alle þo þat mysusen þe myȝttis of here soule or body, and drawen hem fro Goddis servyce and holynesse into þe fendis service and synne, fallen in þis same curs; for þei stelen Goddis goodis from his servyce and worschipe, as moche as in hem [is [1]], and bi hem maken sacrifice to þe fend, in whos servyce þei spenden hem.

ȝit alle þo þat disseyven here neiȝeboris in ony chaffare or servyce, bi false oþis, false cautelis, and false weiȝttis or mesures, ben stronge þevys, for alle þat þei getten þus þei geten falsly, aȝenst Goddis comaundement, bi colour of holynesse and equite; and þerfore þei lasten stille in her synne wiþouten peyne of mannys lawe, comynly more þan don oþere open þevys. Also stronge beggeris, under colour of holynesse, rennen faste in þis curs; for sotely bi many sleiȝtis expresly agenst Goddis comaundement, þei robben þe pore peple fro moche good, and bederede men from here liflode, and bryngen þe peple in heresie many weies. For þei maken þe peple bileve þis, þat it is betre to ȝeve here almes to riche men and stronge þan to pore men and nedy, as Crist comaundiþ. Þerfore of alle þevys þes semen most cursed, for þei robben contynuely, boþe of temperal goodis, of mennus children, and of gostly goodis, and sleen soules and bodies boþe of riche and pore under colour of holynesse. And alle þei þat may distroie þis synne and doun not, assenten þerto, and fallen in þis curs; and þis cursyng and þefte woundeþ almest al Cristendom.

Cap. XXI.

Alle þo þat clippen þe kyngis money, and þat kytten mennus purses, ben solempnely cursed in parische chirches. Here it

The pope, as the greatest plunderer, comes under

[1] supplied conjecturally.

the curse pronounced against coiners and cut-purses,

semeþ þat þe proude worldly preste of Rome, and alle his fautours, ben most cursed of clipperis and purse-kerveris, for þei drawen oute of oure lond pore mennus liflode, and many þousande mark bi ȝere of þe kyngis money, for sacramentis and spiritual þingis, þat is cursed heresie of symonye, and makiþ al Cristendom assente and meyntene þis heresie. And certis þouȝ oure rewme hadde an huge hill of gold, and nevere oþere man toke þerof, but only þis proude worldly prestis collectour, bi proces of tyme þis hil moste be spendid, for he takiþ evere money oute of oure lond, and sendiþ nouȝt aȝen but Goddis curs for his symonye, and acursed Anticristis clerk to robbe more þe lond, or wrongful privylegie, or ellis leve to do Goddis wille, þat men schullen not do wiþouten his leed and biyng and sillyng. But þouȝ oure kyng take taliage of þe peple as he may lawefully, for nedeful helpe of þe lond, ȝit þe money dwelliþ stille in oure rewme, to profit þerof in manye pertis.

which falls also on the general body of the secular clergy,

Also worldly prelatis and clerkis kerven foule pore mennus purses, whanne þei wasten þe chirche goodis, þat ben mennus sustenaunce, in pride glotonye lecherie and oþere vanytees. For þei ben procuratours or tresureris of pore men in takyng dymes and offryngis, and as wel þei myȝtten take it out of here purses openly and devoure it, as þus to gete it bi extorsion, wrong customs, and Anticristis censuris, more þan þei schulden paye bi Goddis lawe and good conscience. For ȝif þei kittide þus openly here purses, þei schulden reckevere it bi comyn lawe, but of þis sotel kittyng of here purs þei geten no remedie, but evere ben more robbid and more; and þe ende for whiche þei ben þus robbid is many tymes to fynde haukis and houndis, and riche pelure, and proude hors, to hie prestis and curatis, þat schulden be myrrour of mekenesse and chastite and gostly traveyle and hevenly lif.

as well as on lawyers, bailiffs, &c.

Also somenors bailies and servauntis, and oþere men of lawe, kitten perelously mennus purses, for þei somenen and aresten men wrongfully to gete þe money out of his purse, and sumtyme suffren hem to meyntene hem in wrongis for money, to robbe oþere men bi false mesures and weiȝttis, and in þis þei kitten boþe partis purses. And men of lawe contryven ofte newe sotel poyntis, to delaye just proces of lawe for money, and

hyndryng of riȝtwisnesse in þe peple; and þis is don so sotilly under colour of lawe, þat a pore man is betre to forsake his owene goodis þan to calenge it and plete þerfore. And ȝif his purse were opynly kit, he schulde get sum rekenere þerof, but now bi colour of equite al is stoppid. But of alle purs-kitteris false confessours ben þe werste; for whanne þei schullen make wickid men to restore þing wrongfully geten, and to cesse evere after, bi trewe witnessynge of peyne dewe þerfore, þei assoilen wickid men liȝtfully, for to have pert of here þefte, and hereby þei norischen evyle men in here wrongis and robbyng of þe peple.

Cap. XXII.

The persecutors of the poor priests fall under the curse pronounced against those who lift their hand against father or mother.

Alle þo þat leyn hond on fadir or modir in violence ben cursed of God and man. Men leyn here hondis, þat is, here werkis, in violence on [1] God and holy Chirche, here gostly fadir and moder, whanne þei sclaundren God and holy Chirche wiþ here worldly weiward lif, and dispisen him bi grete oþis and false and nedeles, and oþere grete synnes. For, as Seynt Austin seiþ on þe Sauter [a], þes wickid men dispisen God more þan þe Jewis þat naileden him on þe cross, and in here wille þei crucifien Crist, whanne þei wolen not forsake here synne for his love ne drede. Also þei leyn hond violently on Crist, whanne þei sclaundren and pursuen wrongfully ony membre of Crist, and namely for tellyng of treuþe and reprovyng of synne, as Crist and his postlis tauȝte. Whanne þei crien þat alle men leiynge hond on a clerk bi violence be cursed, whi ben not alle oure worldly prelatis hugely cursed, þat violently and wiþouten answere prisonen prestis, redy to be justified bi holy writt and reson, and to lyve after Cristis lif and his postlis, and helpe oþere prestis þerto? Certis, whanne worldly prelatis and clerkis bi here false gloses and fals lif distroien þe treuþe of Cristis lif and his postlis as moche as þei may, þanne þei sleen Crist and his postlis, as Seynt Jon Crisostom witnesseþ [b].

[1] corrected; *þat in*, X.

[a] S. Aug. Enarr. in Psalm lxviii, sermo ii. 'Minus enim peccaverunt Judaei crucifigentes in terrâ ambulantem, quam qui contemnunt in coelo sedentem.'

[b] S. Joan. Chrys. in Matt. v. homilia ix. 'Qui autem veritatem Christi denegat, ipsum denegat Christum,' et seq.

Also in þat þat þei faveren false prechouris and wickid men, þei leyn hond in violence on Crist and his prophetis, and fyȝtten cursedly agenus oure moder holy Chirche; for in þat þei meyntenen Goddis enemys, to lese and dampne children of holy Chirche þoruȝ false techyng and evyl ensaumple.

The curse pronounced against those who maintain false causes falls upon worldly priests, and also on many landlords and lawyers.

Also alle þat taken and meyntenen false causes ben cursed grevously, as þei ben worþi, boþe of God and man. Here worldly clerkis wiþ here fautours rennen fully in þis curse; for þei meyntenen here worldly lif aȝenst þe trewe techyng of Crist and his lawe, and wole not leve her worldlynesse for prechynge ne peyne, in þis world ne in þe toþer. Also lordis holdynge grete lovedaies, and bi here lordischip meyntenenge þe fals pert, for money frendischip or favour, fallen opynly in þis curs, and so don men of lawe, wiþ alle false witnesses þat meyntenen falsenesse aȝenst treuþe, wityngly or unwittyngly. For in alle þis fals meyntenyng þei holden wiþ þe fend aȝenst God, and as moche as is in hem, þei fordoun þe riȝtwisnesse of God, and so God himself, and magnyfien Sathanas more þan God. And bi þis poynt many þat semen ful holy and devout ben gretly acursed; for þouȝ þei ben devout in preieris and siȝtte of men, ȝit here meyne schal holde wrongis at lovedayes [a], and bere doun treuþe and pore men in here riȝt, bi colour of lordis knelynge in þe chapel. And þe colour of holynesse blyndiþ moche of þe peple, þat þei perseyven not þe treuþe but beren it doun, and holdiþ wiþ falshed, and seyn þus,—Þes grete lordis and wise men wolde not holde wiþ þis pert but ȝif þei knewen þat it were trewe, siþen þei ben so devout in here preieris, and knowen Goddis lawe and mannis so fully. And bi þis doyng þes hie lordis and men of lawe ben maistris of errour, techyng it in

[a] In *Titus Andronicus*, act i. sc. 2, Saturninus, after announcing his intention to reconcile enemies and pardon offences, says—

'This day shall be a love-day, Tamora.'

The word occurs also in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. The passage in the text throws indirect light on this old custom, instituted to prevent litigation; we see knights and yeomen kneeling in the castle-chapel, a general gathering in the hall, statements from both sides, arbitration and reconciliation. But as to the exact form of procedure upon such occasions, I can nowhere meet with information. The Paston Letters may perhaps contain something which would throw light on the matter; but so far as I could examine a book in many volumes, unfurnished with an index, my search was sterile.

word and dede, and constreynen þore men to holde forþ, bi manas of bodi and loos of catel and oþere persecuciouns, and þerfore þei ben not only heretikis but princes of heretikis, as þei þat chefly meyntenen oþere men in synne and compelle hem þerto. Clerkis þat don evyl and meyntene it bi sotilte of word ben sly or sotel heretikis, but þes lordis of prestis, þat ben bischopis, and oþere officeris þat meyntenen oþere men in synne, ben sotil maistris of errour and princis of heretikis. And worldly lordis þat don wrong, and constreynen þore men to assente to here wrong, ben rude or boistouse heretikis. And comynly alle mysdoeris fallen in þis curs, for þei meyntenen a fals quarele aȝenst God and his seyntis.

Cap. XXIII.

The abuses of the privilege of sanctuary further considered.

Alle þat drawen men out of þe chirche or seintuarie, whanne þei fleen þeder for sukour after here manslauȝter or þefte, ben cursed hugely of oure prelatis, lesse and more. Here men wondren moche whi alle manquelleris schullen have þis fraunchise of þe sche, siþ God grauntide it only to hem þat sleen bi ignoraunce, or happily, not wilfully, and bi noon enemyte; and alle siche as sleen a man wilfully bi enemyte, and bi chastyng and aspiynge bifore, schulden be drawen, ȝe, fro þe auter, to be deed bi Goddis comaundement. And Salamon þe wise kyng dide þis in dede; but bi oure privylegie, ȝif a kyng or seculer justice do þis comaundement of God and just ponyschyng of wickednesse and disturbleris of þe pees, he is cruely cursed of oure worldly clerkis,—but blissed of God, whoos byddyng he fulfilliþ. And þus þei cursen hem þat God blisseþ; þerfore þei ben cursed of God, and alle þat consenten to hem in þis poynt. But in alle Goddis lawe redde we nevere, þat þeves schulden have refute in þe chirche. Whi don oure worldly clerkis þis? it semeþ for coveitise, to have part of here pelf. It semeþ þei cursen openly hemself, for þei resceyven þeves wittyngly, and alle siche ben cursed bi here owene sentence. And in þis þei disturblen pees of þe rewme, for just ponyschyng of mysdoeris schulde make goode pees in þe peple, and þei letten þis bi here privylegie; and also þei letten restitucion, þat is due bi Goddis biddyng.

The curse which the worldly clergy pronounce against all who are slack in bringing true preachers to punishment embraces the king himself, and his officers of justice, in its scope.

Also þei cursen alle hem þat ben necligent to enprisone cursed men; but here þei cursen hem þat God blisseþ many tymes, for oft þei cursen wrongfully trewe men for prechynge of þe gospel, and treuþis suynge þerof, aȝenst open synnes, for þis prechyng is aȝenst here lust, and schewiþ here foule ypocrisie and symonye. And God blisseþ þes trewe prechours and alle þat faveren hem in þis; þanne þes worldly clerkis cursen þe kyng and his justices and officeris, for þei meyntenen þe gospel and trewe prechours þerof, and wolen not prisone hem for wrongful comaundement of Anticrist and his clerkis. But where ben foulere heretikis þan ben þes worldly clerkis? þus cursynge trewe men, and styrynge þe kyng and his lege men to pursue Jesus Crist in his membris, and exile þe gospel out of oure lond. And many tymes þei maken þe kyng and lordis pursue trewe men and þe gospel, whanne þei wenen to pursue heretikis hardid in here errour, and to distroie [hem][1], and meyntene Goddis worschip; and þus þei maken þe kyng and grete lordis to bicome turmentours of Sathanas, and do more malice and peyne to Goddis servauntes þanne þe devel dar do himself. For þouȝ a just man be cursed wrongfully, þe fend dar not noye in his soule no weie, ne in his body, for drede of God; but whanne þe fend dare not dere a just man, þanne worldly clerkis maken þe kyng and lordis, for blynd pite, to turmente his body as he were a strong þef, and caste him in a depe prisone, to make oþere men aferd to stonde wiþ Goddis part aȝenst here heresie. And þus þei bitraien oure kyng and lordis, and robben hem of riȝt bileve and riȝtful dom and werkis of mercy, and stoppen Goddis word, and letten verrey pees of Cristendom. Lord! where ben more cursed heretikis þan þes weiward traitours? þat þus sleen Crist and his postlis and prophetis, and bitraien þe kyng and lordis to do wrong aȝenst God and his servauntis, and robben Cristendom of feiþ, hope, and charite. Certis I wolde þat lordis wolden wisely prisone hem þat ben cursed of God, for brekyng of his hestis, but ȝif þei wolen leve here false swerynge and nedeles, and fraudes þat þei usen eche to oþere; for þis curs is evere riȝtful, and mannis

[1] supplied conjecturally.

curs is þe wrongful. Þanne þe kyng schulde fynde how worldly clerkis, þat lyven in pride, glotonye, and lecherie, and don not here office, ȝevynge ensaumple of holy lif and trewe prechyng of holy writt, ben comen in bi symonye, ben cursed heretikis, and he schulde prisone hem faste, but ȝif þei wolden amende here defautis bi þe lawe of God. And þis prisonyng moten þes clerkis graunte just, but ȝif þei setten[1] more prise bi mannis wrongful curs þan bi þe riȝtful curs of God Almyȝtty. And þis were open heresie and blasphemye; and siche blasphemes bi þe olde lawe of God schulden be stoned to deþ bi þe comyn peple; and in þe lawe of grace alle men schulden scharply blame here synne, and but ȝif þei wolde leve it, holde hem as pupplicanis or heþen men, and not comune wiþ hem, as Crist tauȝt and his postlis.

Cap. XXIV.

Absurd consequences which flow from the curse pronounced by the worldly clergy against sacrilege.

Alle þat don sacrilegie, þat taken holy þing oute of holy place, or unholy out of holy place, or holy þing out of unholy place, ben grevously cursed in þe chirche. Here men wondren of þis sentence, for comynly alle prestis beren holy þing out of þe chirche, as dymes and offryngis, þat þei clepen holy, and spenden hem sumtyme ful evele; and siche ben cursed bi þis sentence. And ȝif þei seyn þat þei have leve þerto, seie þat God ȝeveþ no leve whanne þei don not here office þerfore. And prestis spenden hem evele in worldly vanyte, glotonye, and lecherie, and þanne algatis ben þei riȝtfully cursed of God on double manere; oon, for þei don not here office þat Crist chargiþ so moche,—anoþer, for þei wasten þus pore mennus goodis, aȝenst Goddis lawe and mannis. Þe secunde tyme men wondren of þis sentence; for ȝif alle ben cursed þat take unholy þing out of holy place, þan eche man þat doþ out of[2] dedly synne of his soule, halewid in baptym, is cursed; and namely ȝif he do ony venyal synne oute of his soule þat is in charite, for þan he doþ unholy, þat is synne, out of his soule, þat is holy place; and þanne Crist and alle his seyntis mosten be most cursed of alle men, for þei moste did þis unholy þing out of

[1] corrected; *senten*, X.

[2] dele *of*; the meaning is, 'driveth deadly sin out of his soul.'

mennus soulis, and autoriseden it. And ȝif þei seyn þat þei understonden only of worldly goodis, seie þat smoke of erþely muk blyndiþ hem so moche þat þei taken non hede to God and vertues, and where þei blaberen trewe or fals.

Þe þridde tyme men wondren most, siþ charite only schulde make men to curse for synne don aȝenst Goddis hestis. Whi oure clerkis cursen not hem þat taken lordis goodis of here maneres and places, and pore mennus goodis out of here houses and feldis? siþ þis is many tymes more synne, and disturbliþ more pees of þe lond. It semeþ þes clerkis loven not here neiȝeboris as hemself, and þat þei pursuen not þe synne in here curs, but only here owene wynnyng; and herefore þei forfeten aȝenst alle þe maundementis of God; for þei loven neiþer God ne here neiȝbore as þei schulden, and þanne utterly þei ben cursed of God and alle his seyntis.

The study of the king's statutes, especially of Magna Carta, is more useful for the clergy than that of the Roman, or a large portion of the Canon Law.

Also oure prelatis cursen alle hem þat don aȝenst þe Grete Chartre [1] and þe Chartre of forest. And alle þis is lawe cyvyl [2], and þe pope forbediþ prestis to here lawe cyvyl, and puttiþ on hem grete peyne ȝif þei don it. And þei may not knowe þes poyntis but ȝif þei heren hem; þan þei ben nedid to falle blyndly in þis sentence. Þerfore it were more profit boþe to body and soule þat oure curatis lerneden and tauȝten many of þe kyngis statutis, þan lawe of þe emperour. For oure peple is bounden to þe kyngis statutis, and not to þe emperours lawe, but in as moche as it is enclosid in Goddis hestis. Þanne moche tresour and moche tyme of many hundrid clerkis, in unyversite and oþere placis, is foule wastid aboute bookis of þe emperours lawe, and studie aboute hem. And ȝif oure clerkis studien þes bokis of þe emperours lawe, for reson þat þei fynden in hem, Lord! where þes blynde foolis schulden not fynde more reson in þat lawe þat God, autor of reson, made himself, for most profit of men, boþe to body and soule? And ȝif men seyn, þat studie aboute þe emperours lawe wiþdrawiþ men from studie and knowyng of holy writt, and for to encresse more þe studie of holy writt þe pope wole þat prestis here not ne studie lawe cyvel, certis þis is ful soþ, and þe popis entent is good in þis.

[1] corrected; *charite*, X.

[2] corrected; *cruel*, X.

But þis lettyng of studie and knowyng of holy writt is more don bi þe popis lawe þan bi þe emperours, for it is lengere, and more stondiþ in singuler wille of þe pope and his cardynalis þan in reson, oþerewise þan doiþ þe emperours lawe. And mo clerkis drawen to þe popis lawe, and þerby leven holy writt, for wynnynge of worldly muk and veyn worschip of þis world; and þe pope forþeriþ hem in þes poyntis, and hindriþ men of dyvynyte, and techiþ alle men to don þe same bi his ensaumple. Þerfore þe Cardynal Odo [a] seiþ, þat þe popis law and þe emperours ben þe tweyne calvys of gold þat lettiden Goddis peple worschipe him in Jerusalem; so þes twey lawis drawen men fro studie and knowyng of holy writt, and dewe worschipynge of God. For evere as a man owiþ to worschipe God bifore alle þingis, so owiþ eche man, and namely a prest, to studie and knowe holy writt bifore alle oþere lawis. Þerfore prestis biheten to God þat þei schullen evere þenke of Goddis lawe; and Jesus seiþ in þe gospel, ȝif ony man love him, he schal kepe his words; and God comaundid in þe olde lawe þat þe kyng schulde studie in bokis of his lawe, and þat þis bok schulde not passe fro his eien. Þerfore Seynt Gregory witnessiþ, þat evere as a man loveþ a kyng, so he loveþ his lawe. It semeþ þat curatis schulden raþere lerne and teche þe kyngis statutis, and namely þe Grete Chartre, þan þe emperours lawe or myche part of þe popis. For men in oure rewme ben bounden to obeche to þe kyng and his riȝtful lawes, and not so to þe emperours; and þei myȝtten wonder wel be savyd, þouȝ many lawes of þe pope hadden nevere be spoken, in þis world ne þe toþere.

Cap. XXV.

Alle þo þat comunen wiþ cursed men ben cursed bi oure prelatis, namely ȝif þei don þis wittyngly. Here it semiþ þat God is cursed bi þis sentence, for no cursed man may be in þis

The curse pronounced on those who hold communion with persons excommunicate may be turned against the clergy themselves,

[a] The constitutions of Cardinal Otho, framed at a 'Concilium Pan-Anglicum' held in London in the year 1236, are printed as an Appendix to Lyndwood's *Provinciale* (ed. Oxford, 1769). But I can discover no passage in them at all resembling that quoted in the text, which indeed would be a strange admission for a cardinal to make; nor can I discover any other work by a Cardinal Otho or Odo, which the writer can be referring to.

lif but ȝif God wittyngly comune wiþ hym, and ȝeve him beyng and sustenaunce to his lif, where he be wrongly cursed or riȝtfully. And ȝit he is redy to ȝeve him grace and forȝevenesse of his synnes ȝif he ax it worþily; and God ȝeveþ him grace bifore þat he axe it, ȝe, in herte. And siþ oure goode God may not be cursed, þis sentence semeþ to large. And ȝif men ben wrongfully cursed, þerfore wrongfully pursued,—þei þat comynen wiþ hem, and helpen hem, and don werkis of mercy to hem, ben blissed of God. For Crist seiþ in þe gospel, Blissed be þe mercyful, for þei schullen have mercy. And þouȝ men ben nevere so opynly cursid, ȝit men may lawefully comynen wiþ hem, for to drawe hem into good lif, and not to coumforte hem in here synne; and þus boþe God and goode men may lawefully comynen wiþ cursed men wittyngly, in wrongful curs and riȝtful. But late worldly prestis answere here, where a man þat oweþ dette to a cursed man may wittyngly comune wiþ hym, and paie him his dette; and it semeþ bi þis sentence, cried in þe chirche, þat ȝif he do he is cursed, for wyttyngly he comuneþ wiþ a cursed man. Þanne, bi here owene dom, siþ curatis and prelatis þat breken openly Goddis hestis ben riȝtfully cursed of God, sugetis schulden not comyne wiþ hem, resscevynge here sacramentis, ne tiþe ne offre to hem ony goodis, for þan þei comynen wyttyngly wiþ cursed men, þat þei schulden not do for alle þis worlde, bi here owene sentence.

whose curses, if they are bad men, are not to be feared.

Also, siþ siche curatis don not here office in good lyvyng and trewe techyng, and comen not into here benefices bi þe dore, þat is, Crist, but symonye, pride, and coveitise, þei ben þevys, as Crist seiþ in þe gospel, and cursed, for þei wiþdrawen riȝttis of holy Chirche. Þanne here sugetis ben ressettours of þevys, and meyntenors of hem in here synne, and so cursed bi here owene sentence, and for consent to synne, as Seynt Poul seiþ. And ȝif lawieris seyn þat þis were soþ ȝif men weren þus cursed bi sentence ȝovyn openly of prelatis, certis myche more þis peyne renneþ whan God curseþ justly for brekyng of his hestis. And þe comynte of prelatis cursen in comyn lawe for symonye and wiþdrawyng of holy Chirche riȝttis, and not o singuler prelat for his owene pride and coveitise; for ellis þes lawieris moten sette more priss bi a wrongful curs of a worldly prest,

sumtyme cursed of God, and in cas a dampned fend, þan bi þe moste riȝtful curs þat God can ȝeve; but þis were al on and to drede a worldly cursed wrecche, and in cas a fend of helle, more þan God Almyȝtty and alle his sugetis, and magnyfie siche a frend more þan grete God of hevene and erþe, and alle creaturis. Þerfore þis peyne mot renne for just cursyng of God, and not everemore for cursyng of worldly clerkis, for þei don ofte wrong.

Cap. XXVI.

The curse against manslayers falls upon all soldiers that engage in wrongful wars, and upon all preachers that incite them thereto.

Alle mensleeris and brenneris of houses and corves ben cursed opynly in parische chirches. Here men of armes, þat sleen and brennen in wronge werris, ben openly cursed boþe of God and man; and alle counseilours to wrongful werris ben in þe same peril, wiþ alle prechours þat stiren men and herten hem in þes werris, and alle penytaunceris þat tellen not to hem þe treuþe, but assoilen over liȝtly, for money or worldly favour. And it semeþ þat alle prelatis in oure lond þat consenten to þes werris, ȝe, þouȝ þei ben riȝtful, ben irreguler bi here owene lawe. For siþ he is irreguler þat writiþ a lettre of dom wherof o þef is dampned to deþ, or sittiþ in place as associed wiþ þe domesman, moche more þes worldly prelatis þat sitten in Perlement, and conseilen þat oure gentelmen schullen goo out of oure lond to werre wiþ Cristene men, where many þousand ben slayn [a], ben irreguler bi Goddis lawe and mannis. For be many resons þes worldly prelatis don werse in þis cas þan ȝif þei killeden sudenly many men bi here owene hondis. And siþþe pope and oþere clerkis, lesse and more, myȝtten soone fordo þes werris and make pees in Cristendom, and leven þis grete dede of charite for worldly wynnynge or frendischipe or bodily desese, it semeþ þat þei ben irreguler, and cause of alle þis werre. And eche man avyse hymself wel, þat þouȝ men han nevere so grete riȝt bi worldly title, ȝit þe werre is wrongful bifore God, but ȝif it be don principaly for charite, to distroie synne of men, and not for coveitise of here goodis, ne pride, ne enemyte of hem; for no

[a] The writer evidently refers to the expedition to Flanders in 1383, which, from the language used a few lines below, would seem to be still in progress, or at any rate only just over.

man schulde do ony of þes þre for ony good in þis world, for þus he leesiþ [1] charite.

If Christ were obeyed, wars would cease; but the pope sedulously encourages war.

And siþ Crist in þe gospel grauntiþ a hundridfold and everlastynge lif in hevene to eche man þat forsakiþ for his love hous or lond, or ony worldly honour, whi wole not þes prechours preche opynly þis gospel, þat men myȝtten leve werris and suffre persecucion paciently, as Crist tauȝte for þe beste? Whi wole not þe proude prest of Rome graunte ful perdon to alle men for to lyve in pees and charite and pacience, as he doþ to alle men for to fiȝtte and slee Cristene men, and to helpe þerto? Certis þis prest wiþ his fals prechours, þat ben princes of manquelleris and werris, ben openly contrarie to Crist and his postlis, and so open Anticristis, maistris of Sathanas. ȝit weiward prelatis and curatis, þat techen not Goddis word to here sugetis, but suffren hem be stranglid wiþ wolvys of helle, ben cursed mansleeris, as Crist, bi schewyng of Seynt Gregory, seiþ in many placis of his lawe; and not only sleeris of bodies in þis world, but comynly of body and soule bi deþ of synne, and everelastynge deþ of boþe in helle wiþouten ende.

The wickedness and evil effects of bad examples set by those in power and authority to their subjects.

Alle worldly and oþere sovereyns þat ȝevyn evyl ensaumple of open synne to here sugetis and neiȝeboris, distroien and brennen Goddis hous and temple, þat is mannis soule, in as moche as [is] [2] in hem. And oure Savyour Crist principaly curseþ siche men in þe gospel; for as moche as mannis soule is betre þan erþely muk, so moche ben þes gostly distroieris or brenneris werse þan brenneris of worldly houses. For sumtyme in sum cas þei may lawefully brenne placis of erþe, but nevere Goddis housis, þat is, mannis soule. And ȝit þe more þat a worldly clerk bi evyl ensaumple sclaundriþ þus Cristene soules, þe more he is preised and benefised among grete men of þis world. And certis alle þis meyne is hugely cursed of God for þis meyntening of synne.

Cap. XXVII.

The pope falls manifestly under the curse pronounced against common evil-doers.

Alle comyn mysdoeris of Cristene peple ben expresly cursed of God and man. Here alle men owene to drede sore, and

[1] corrected; *lees*, X.

[2] supplied conjecturally.

eche man for himself; for he is a comyn mydoere þat comynly doþ grete evyl, and opynly and longe contynueþ þerinne, and cesseþ not for drede of God ne schame of þe world; and namely, ȝif he meyntene oþere men in evyl. Loke now wher þis bischop of Rome wiþ his court do þus in his wengis, boþe possessioneris and religious and mendynauntis. First, bi his worldly [lif][1] he drawiþ þe comynte of clerkis from holy writt, and so distroieþ moche þe feiþ of holy writt; boþe bi his worldly lif, and false expounyng of Cristis lif, for to coloure his lif and his felowis, þat suen þis world and likyng þerof. And he stireþ men bi grete perdon to breke opynly Goddis hestis, and he envenymeþ comynly alle Cristendom wiþ his symonye, and robbiþ it of goode men and vertues, and lettiþ treue prestis to holpe men to heveneward bi prechyng of þe gospel. And he norischeþ most men in synne bi his exempcions, privylegies, indulgencis, and general perdon; and makiþ men triste more in his doyng þan in God Almyȝtty and his mercy. And certis of his comyn[2] mysdoyng, privey and apert, kan no man fully telle but God himself.

Also tirauntis ben ofte tymes comyn mysdoeris; for seculer tirauntis robben þe pore peple, and namely here owene tenauntis and sugetis, bi extorsions, bi wrong mercymentis, and newe customes and chargis, þat þei hilden pore men and leven hem half quyk. So God seiþ bi his prophetis. But tirauntis of þe chirche, as hie prestis wiþ here officeris and oþere curatis, ben worse comyn mysdoeris. For þei robben here sugetis bi grete extorsions, bi suspendyng, cursing, and enterdityng; and pursueþ to mannis lawe more cruely þan alle oþere tirauntis. And þei maken sotil delaies whanne men ben presentid to grete chirchis, to make hem longe stonde voide, þat þei may have þe profitis in þe mene while; and þei sillen sacramentis, as ordris, and oþere spiritualte, as halwyng of auteris, of chirchis, and chircheȝerdis; and compellen men to bie alle þis wiþ hok or crok. ȝit þei taken moche money of open synful men, and norischen hem in open synne for annuel rente, [and][3] so sillen Cristene soulis to Sathanas for

Tyrannical laymen fall under this curse, but still more tyrannical bishops and priests,

[1] supplied conjecturally. [2] corrected; *comyng*, X. [3] supplied conjecturally.

here owene muk. And what trewe prest or pore man spekiþ openly aȝenst þis cursed marchaundise, he shal be sumoned, suspendid[1] fro prechyng and treuþe-seyng, or cursed, prisoned, or exilid.

as well as dishonest lawyers.

Many men of lawe ben comyn mysdoeris, for comynly þei meynteynen þe false pert, for money or favour or drede of men, and letten þe treuþe bi alle here witt and power, and bi here suteltes turnen þe cat in þe panne, and tarien pore men in here riȝt, þat it is betre to hem for to leve here owene good, þan to calenge it bi worldly dom. ȝit þe kyng and oþere lordis, wiþ comyn justicis, semen comyn mysdoeris; for þei suffren wickid tyrauntis oppresse pore men bi extorsions and oþere wrongis, whanne þei may liȝtly amende it, and ben so sore chargid of God to helpe pore men, and be to hem as good fadir and modir, and eie to blynde men, and on hand and foot to þe crokid, as Job was, as holy writt telliþ. And þis necligence and consente of grete lordis makiþ hem ful gilty and cursed in þe dom of God. Also alle comyn swereris bi Goddis herte, bonys, nailis, and sidis, and oþere membris[a], and false and veyn swereris, wiþ lecchours, and alle oþere þat comynly don aȝenst ony of Goddis hestis, for þei ben comyn mysdoeris, rennen fully in þis sentence.

Job xxix. 15.

Cap. XXVIII.

Friars, monks, and worldly priests fall under the curse pronounced against conspirators,

Alle false conspiratours ben cursed of God and man. Conspiratours ben þo þat by comyn assent don wrong or ony falsnesse to here neiȝeboris. Here it semeþ openly þat alle freris, worldly clerkis, and possessioneris, ben openly cursed; for þei conspiren falsly aȝenst þe gospel and Cristis[2] pore prestis; and

[1] corrected; *suspendyng*, X.

[2] corrected; *Crist*, X.

[a] The use by the Host in the *Canterbury Tales* of the profane oaths 'for Goddis bones,' and 'by Goddis dignitee,' elicits a remonstrance from the Parson;—

'What eileth the man, so sinfully to swere?'

To which the immediate reply of the Host is,—

'I smell a loller in the wind!'

this no doubt being a frequent theme of expostulation and censure with the Lollard pamphleteers and itinerating preachers, with whom England swarmed in the last twenty years of the century.

þei schullen not preche wiþouten leve of þe bischopis, and þei wolen not suffre hem to preche fully þe treuþe of holy writt, and warne þe peple of Anticristis tirauntrie, and of his clerkis ypocrisie, as God biddiþ hem do. And whanne þei comen to þe purpos of here false ypocrisie, and stoppen trewe men fro prechyng of þe gospel, þei maken moche joie and gladnesse; and here þei schewen opynly þat þei serven to þe fend, fadir of falsnesse, and haten Jesus Crist, lord of treuþe and soþfastnesse.

as well as fraternities or guilds,

Also alle newe fraternytes or gildis[a] maad of men semen openly to renne in þis curs. For þei conspiren many false errours aȝenst þe comyn fraternyte of Crist, þat alle Cristene[1] men token in here cristendom, and aȝenst comyn charite and comyn profit of Cristene men. And þerto þei conspiren to bere up eche oþer, ȝe, in wrong, and oppresse oþere men in here riȝt bi here witt and power. And alle þe goodnes þat is in þes gildes eche man owiþ for to do bi comyn fraternyte of Cristendom, bi Goddis comaundement. And þei bryngen in moche pride vanyte and wast, cost, and triste in mennus helpe more þan in Goddis; and þus þei bryngen in moche evyl, and no good, more þan God comaunded frist; but þei letten moche unyte pees and charite of Cristene peple, and meyntenen errour of wrong and gret discencion, and moche symonye, and letten pore mennus almes and liflode þat lyn bedrede blynd and feble. Also men of sutel craft, as fre masons and oþere, semen openly cursed bi þis sentence. For þei conspiren togidere þat no man of here craft schal take lesse on a day þat þei setten, þouȝ he schulde bi good conscience take moche lesse, and þat noon of hem schal make sade trewe werk to lette oþere mennus wynnyng of þe craft, and þat non of hem schal do ouȝt but only hewe stone, þouȝ he myȝt profit his maistir twenti pound bi o daies werk bi leggyng on a wal, wiþouten harm or penyng himself. See hou þis wickid peple

[1] corrected; *Criste*, X.

[a] For the fullest and most accurate information on the subject of English Guilds, see the work entitled 'English Gilds' (Early English Text Society), edited by the late Mr. Toulmin Smith, with the excellent preliminary essay of Dr. Brentano, of Aschaffenburg.

conspirep azenst treupe and charite, and comyn profit of pe lond, and ponyschip hem pat helpen frely here neizeboris.

and merchants, grocers, &c.

Also it semep pat marchauntis groceris and vitileris rennen in pe same curs fully. For pei conspiren wickidly togidre pat noon of hem schal bie over a certeyn pris, pouz pe ping pat pei bien be moche more worpi, and pei knowen wel pis; and pat non of hem schal sille betere chepe[a] pan anoper, pouz he may wel forp it so, and it be not so moche worp as anoper mannis chaffer; pus he schal be ponysched sore zif he do trewe and good conscience. Certis alle pis peple conspiripcursedly azenst treupe, charite, and comyn profit. Summe trewe men seyn, pat summe parische prestis conspiren togidere to selle sacramentis for a certeyn pris, and to lette trewe men to preche pe gospel, for drede last pei tellen out here cursed ypocrisie and symonye and heresie. And zif it fare pus wip hiere penytaunceris, bope of bischopis and popis,—and sum men supposen pat pei don,—it is moche pe werse on alle ordris, for panne pei ben cursed of God and man, and maken pe peple cursed perto.

Cap. XXIX.

Those of the clergy who will not preach the gospel nor lead good lives, fall under the curse pronounced against those that withhold other men's goods unreasonably,

Alle pat wipholden unresonably ony goodis axid pries in pe chirche, fallen into pe grete sentence of curs. Pis sentence of curs semep resonable to good understondyng, for Seynt Austyn seip, zif pou fynde ouzt of opere mennus and quitest it not, pou hast ravyschid pat ping, or stolen, or taken bi raveyne[b]. Pan sip Crist himself hap axid solempnely, bi hie redyng of his gospel and opere placis of holy writt, generaly in churchis, rizt feip and good lyvyng and due reverence to him, pei pat wipholden pes goodis ben justly acursed of God himself, pat may not erre. Also, sip God himself, and bi his prestis bope hap axid pus many pousand tymes pat prelatis and curatis, more and lesse, do trewely here gostly office in trewe techyng

[a] 'Chepe' meaning to buy, (*kauffen*, cheapen, &c.) the customer that bought any article in the market for a low price, got it 'good chepe,' i.e. made a good bargain for it. Similarly, to sell 'betere chepe' is to sell at a better bargain for the buyer, or, as we say, cheaper.

[b] S. Aug. Sermo clxxviii, § 9. 'Quod invenisti et non reddidisti, rapuisti.'

of þe gospel and his comaundementis, wiþ open ensaumple of here owene good lif, to be myrrour to here sugetis, þei þat wiþholden þes goodis ben riȝtfully cursed of God and alle his seyntis. And siþ God and trewe prestis han axid þus many tymes, þat curatis schulden lyve in mekenesse symplenesse and sobernesse, and spende al þat leveþ over here resonable susteynaunce in relevyng of pore men, þei þat wiþholden þes goodis of holy Chirche, and spenden hem in pride glotonye lecherie and worldly vanyte, ben openly cursed bi þis sentence, and many oþere ful trewe and resonable.

Also, siþen God and his prestis han openly axid þus oft tyme in chirchis, þat prelatis and curatis ben not bisy in lordis courtis, in worldly officis, but be bisi on here gostly office, and resident at hom wiþ here scheep, þei þat wiþholden þes curatis in here worldly servyce, for here gostly office, fallen fully in þis riȝtful curs. But more þis weiward steffadris of mennus soulis, þat for coveitise of moo benefices, and gederyng of erþely dritt, procuren þis, and ȝyven moche money to be þus in worldly office; for þei procuren faste to poisone here lordis, hemself, and þe peple, wiþ Goddis curs and here owene. Oure bischopis þat pressen to be chaunseler[a] and tresorer and governours of alle worldly officis in þe rewme, to dredeful sore[1], for þei may not wel togidre do her gostly office and worldly, for Crist and alle his postlis, wiþ alle here witt, kouden not and wolden not entermete wiþ worldly office, but fledden it as venym. And certis oþer þes bischopis ben wittier and myȝttier þan Jesus Crist and his postlis, or ellis þei ben open foolis cursed of God and man. For þei moten nedis be traitours of God and his peple in þe sovereyn medicyn of soulis helþe, þe while þei ben þus bisy aboute worldly occupacion. And alle þis þei don for worldly pride and wynnyng, and for þat þe kyng and lordis schulden have no power to brynge hem to meke and gostly lif of Crist and his postlis.

as do those who hinder priests from residing in their parishes,

Also, siþ God and his prechours han ofte axid in chirchis

and rich men, who waste in

[1] something seems omitted.

[a] The writer seems to glance principally at William of Wykeham, who was chancellor for several years under Edward III, and again for a short time under Richard II, from 1389 to 1391.

luxury the superfluity of their goods which ought to be given to the poor.

solempnely, þat alle riche men do treuely and wisely [ȝeve[1]] þe residue of here goodis, over her owene sustenaunce and oþer nedis, in werkis of mercy to pore feble lame and blynde, þei þat wiþholden þes goodis fro þes pore men, and wasten hem in pompe and glotonye and oþere vanytees, rennen in þis sentence. Also, siþ prelatis and curatis han axid so ofte dewe obedience reverence and love, and unyte of her sugetis and parischenes, freris þat wiþholden þes sugetis from here parisch chirches, and her sacramentis þere, for here owene coveitise and pride, fallen fully in þis sentence. For þei wiþdrawen oþere mennus riȝttis to hemself for coveitise, and maken discension, and disturblen pees and charite, and namely whanne þei taken almes of riche men, þat is sustenaunce of pore bedrede men, to hemself bi sutel ypocrisie, as fals beggyng whanne it is no nede, and maken grete festis to riche men, and bilden wast housen[2], and namely hie kechenes and grete chaumbris for lordis, aȝenst here owene reule and profession; and to pursue trewe men þat prechen þe gospel aȝenst comyn synnes, and so Crist himself, aȝenst þe lawe of God expressely. Þus many men rennen in þis poynt of curs, and namely oþere, whoso sekiþ wel.

General wonder and indignation at the proneness of churchmen to shower curses where their worldly interests are at stake.

Men wondren moche whi prelatis and curatis cursen so faste, siþ Seynt Poul and Seynt Petir comaunden men to blisse and not have will to curse; and Jesus Crist blissed his enemys, and hertely preiede for hem, þe while he was nailed on þe croos of hem. More men wondren whi þei cursen so faste for here owene cause and wordly muk, and not for reprofe don to Crist and his majeste; siþ men schulden be pacient in here owene wrongis and dispitis, as Crist and his disciplis weren, and not suffre o word be don aȝenst Goddis honour and mageste, as bi fals and veyn oþis, and ribaudrie of lecherie, and oþere filþe. Most men wondren whi worldly clerkis cursen so faste for brekyng of here owene statutis, privylegies, and weiward customes, more þan for open brekyng[3] of Goddis comaundementis; siþ no man is cursed of God but only for brekyng of his hestis,—whatevere worldly wrecchis blaberen,—and no man

[1] supplied conjecturally. [2] corrected; *bousyng*, X. [3] corrected; *breken*, X.

is blissed of God and schal come to hevene, but only he þat kepiþ Goddis hestis, and namely in hour of his deþ,—have a man nevere so many þousande bullis of indulgence or perdon, and letteris of fraternyte, and þousynde massis of prestis monkis and freris.

Conclusion.

Þerfore an holsum counseil is þis, þat prelatis and curatis leve þes poyntes of sentence, for many of hem be as false as Sathanas, and teche Goddis hestis and Goddis curs, and peynes of helle dewe to men but ȝif þei amende hem in þis lif, and what blisse men schullen have for kepyng of hem; and þat þei teche trewely Cristis gospel in word and ensaumple of holy lif; and þe mercy of God, and hienesse of his blissyng; and blisse to alle þat enden in riȝt bileve, and hope to God, and ful charite to God and man. God graunte us þis ende: Amen.

XXIII.

[THE CHURCH AND HER MEMBERS.]

[Two good texts of the following treatise are extant—one at the end of the volume Bodl. 788, which contains the Sermons; the other in the volume of Wyclif tracts at Trin. Coll., Dublin, marked C. V. 6. The Bodleian MS., which has been transcribed for the present edition, appears, on a comparison with the text of the Dublin MS., as printed by Dr. Todd in his *Three Treatises by John Wyclyffe*, to be considerably the more accurate of the two.

The treatise is ascribed to Wyclif in Bale's catalogue under the title 'De Ecclesiæ Dominio,' inc. 'Christi ecclesia est ejus sponsa.' It is impossible to say whence he derived this title, which however accurately enough describes the work, or at any rate all the early portion of it. There is no title, but only a descriptive heading, in the Bodleian MS. The Dublin MS. gives as the title 'De Ecclesia et Membris ejus.' Perhaps the scribe invented this title, on the hint given him by the descriptive heading in the Bodleian MS.;—perhaps he confounded the present work with the long Latin treatise, *De Ecclesia et Membris*, written by Wyclif, which is frequently referred to by Walden in his *Doctrinale*, and catalogued by Bale with the *incipit* 'Suppositis dictis de fide Catholicâ.' That Wyclif was the author of the present treatise I see little reason to doubt. The mere fact of its being found in Bodl. 788 is an evidence in its favour, since all the remaining contents of that volume are unquestionably by Wyclif. The style, the mention of 'Caymes castelis' (p. 348, note), the language held respecting the Eucharist in Ch. VI,—all tend to identify Wyclif as the writer.

From the manner in which the expedition to Flanders is spoken of in Ch. V, as an event of the recent past, I should infer that the treatise was written in the early part of the year 1384.]

HERE BIGYNNEÞ A TRETICE ÞAT TELLIÞ KNOWLECHE SUMWHAT OF ÞE CHIRCHE AND HIR MEMBRIS.

CRISTIS Chirche in his Spouse, that haþ þree partis. Þe first part is in blis, wiþ Crist heed of þe Chirche, and conteneþ angels and blessid men þat now ben in hevene. Þe secounde part of þis Chirche ben seintis in purgatorie; and þes synnen not of þe newe, but purgen þer olde synnes. And many errours fallen in preiyng for þes seintis; and siþ þei alle been deed in bodi, Cristis wordis may be taken of hem,—sue we Crist, in oure lif, and late þe dede birie the dede. Þe þridde part of the Chirche ben trewe men þat here lyven, þat schulen be aftir saved in hevene, and lyven here Cristen mennis liif. Þe first part is clepid over-comynge; þe myddil is clepid slepyng; þe þridde is clepid fiȝtinge Chirche; and alle þes maken o Chirche. And heed of þis Chirche is Crist, boþe God and man; and þis Chirche is modir to ech man þat shal be saaf, and conteyneþ no membre but oonli men þat shal be saved. For, as Crist vouchiþ-saaf to clepe þis Chirche his spouse, so he clepiþ curside men fendis, as was Scarioth. And fer be it fro Cristene men to graunte þat Crist haþ weddid þe fend; sith Poul seiþ in oure bileve þat Crist comouneþ not wiþ Belial. And here we takun as bileve þat ech member of holi Churche shal be saved wiþ Crist, as ech membre of þe fend is dampned; and so þe while we fiȝten here and witen not where we schal be saaf, we witen not where we ben membris of holi Churche. But as God wole of þre þingis, þat we knowun hem not in certein, so he wole for greet cause þat we witen not where we ben of þe Chirche. But as ech man shal hope þat he schal be saaf in blisse, so he shulde suppose þat he be lyme of holi Chirche; and þus he shulde love holi Chirche, and worschipe it as his modir.

Christ's Church is in three parts: The first consists of angels and saints in heaven; the second of saints in purgatory; the third of men that shall be saved, here on earth.

And by þis hope, bineþe bileve, shulden be two synnes fled; pride of men and coveitise, bi title þat þei ben men of holi Chirche. For no pope þat now lyveþ woot where he be of þe Chirche, or where he be a lym of the fend, to be dampned wiþ Lucifer. And þus it is a blynd folie þat men shulden fiȝte for þe pope more þan þei fiȝten for bileve; for many siche fiȝten

Therefore no man, not the Pope himself, can tell while he lives whether he be a member of the Church or not.

for þe fend. And take we þis as bileve, or treuþe þat is next bileve, þat no man þat lyveþ here woot wheþer he shal be saved or dampned, al ȝif he hope bynehe bileve þat he shal be saved in heven. ȝif ony man be tauȝt of God þat he shal be saved in hevene, noon or fewe men ben siche; and asaye hem bi hem silf, for þei schulden have noon[1] evidence to seie þat God haþ told hem þis. Þe first bileve þat we schulden have is, þat Crist is God and man; and how he haþ him bi his Goddhede, and how he lyvede here by his manhede. And þus oure hope and bileve ben temperid in Cristen men.

Cap. II.

Sketch of the early history of the Church till Pope Sylvester.

But aftir þes two godliche virtues, we taken sumþing as bileve, and sumþing bi comune croniclis; and hopen þat charite moveþ us here. After that Crist hadde dwelt here long ynowȝ wiþ his apostlis, aboute þree and þritti ȝeer, as him likide, aftirward he was kild of þe Jewes, and aftirward þe þridde day oure God aroos from deþ to lyf. And aftir þe fourtiþe day fro þat he was schewid to his disciplis, Jesus stiede in to hevene, and rengnede ever þere wiþ his Fadir. And so þe first part of þe Chirche rengneþ þus in hevene with Crist; þe secounde part slepiþ ȝit, as longe as Crist likiþ; þe þridde part of þe Chirche fiȝtiþ here aftir Crist, and takiþ ensaumple and weie of him to come to hevene as he cam. And ever more þe Hooli Goost governeþ wiþ hem al Cristis Chirche; for as þes þree persones of God ben o God and not manye, so alle dedes and werkes of þe Trinite mai not be departid from oþir. For as al þat þe Fadir wole, þe Sone wole, and þis Goost wole,—so al þat o persone doiþ, þes þree persones done. Aftir þat Crist was stied in to hevene, aboute ten daies, as he hadde ordeynid, he sente doun þe Holi Goost, and movede apostlis to do his dedes; and þei wenten and prechiden faste among Jewis and heþen men. But Jewis aȝenstonden hem faste, and heþene men token him wiþ wille, and resceyveden þe Holy Goost, and bicamen Cristene men. And þus apostlis of Crist filliden bi Goddis grace þis world. But longe aftir, as croniclis seien, þe fend hadde envie herto; and bi Silvestre preest of Rome he brouȝte in a newe

[1] omitted; CC.

gile, and moved þe emperour of Rome to dowe þis Chirche in þis preest. For, as the fend tauȝte þis kyng, þis dede cam of greet almes; for þei þouȝten not how þe Chirche shulde sue Crist in his lawe. But trewe men supposen here, þat boþe þis emperour and þis preest weren moved of God bi tymes to trowe þat þei synneden in þis dede. But bisie we us not where þei ben seintis, and how þei were þus moved of God; for al þis is bineþe bileve, and men mai trowe it ȝif þei wolen.

Whan þis lif was þus changid, þe name of this preest was changid; he was not clepid Cristis apostle, ne hiȝ disciple of Crist, but he was clepid the pope, and heed of al hooli Chirche; and aftirward camen oþer names bi feynyng of ypocritis; as sum men seien, þat he is even wiþ the manheed of Crist, and hierste viker of Crist to do in erþe whatever him likiþ; and summe florishen oþir names, and seien þat he is moost blissed fadir. But cause herof ben beneficis þat þis preest ȝyveþ to men; for Symon Magus travailide nevere more in symonie þan þes preestis doon. And so God wolde suffre no lenger þe fend to regne oonli in oo siche preest, but, for synne þat þei hadden do, made devisioun amongis two, so þat men myȝten liȝtlier in Cristis name overcome þes boþe. For as o virtu is strengere if it be gedrid, þan if it be scatrid, so o malis is strenger whanne it is gederid in o persone, and it is of lesse strengþe whanne it is departid in manye; for þanne oon helpiþ aȝen anoþir to confounde Anticrist.

After whom the Papacy was corrupted more and more,

And þis moveþ pore preestis to speke now herteli in þis mater. For whanne þat God wole helpe his Chirche, and men ben slowe and wole not worche, þis slouþe is to be dampned for many causis in idil men. And myche more ben þei dampnable, þat letten Goddis lawe to shyne. Þes men taken noo witnes of adversaries to þis pope, and ben Jewis and Sarasynes, Grekis and Yngdis, wiþ many oþir; but þei taken þe lyf of Crist as bileve, and þeron grounden hem; and þus þei seien, ȝif þis pope contrarieþ to Cristis lyf, he is þe moste fendis viker and Anticrist þat is here; and sich Anticrist and noon oþir þenken many þat Goddis lawe spekiþ of. Bileve telliþ how Joon seide, þat now ben many Anticristis; but ȝif oon is moost of

so that the poor priests now speak out boldly and declare the Pope to be Antichrist.

oþir, þat gileþ man bi ypocrisie. For oon mai seie þat he aloone is Cristis viker here in erþe, and he haþ power singuler to taxe gracis as him likiþ, for so dide Petir, aftir Crist, and many oþir after Petir; and þus þer is oon emperour, and oon heed in a comunnete. But here þenken trewe men þat þe fend failliþ here, and goiþ unstable bi two weies, and reversiþ Goddis lawe. First shulde þe fend grounde þat þis pope is Petris viker, and so viker of Crist, in þat þat he sueþ Crist. For bileve techiþ þat þe chesyng maad of man is fals signe, and incompleet for to make Cristis viker; but workis of a mannis lyf shulde make a man sue Crist. And þus Crist biddiþ þe Jewes, þat þei shulden trowe to his werkes; and þus verry Cristis viker shulde be porerste man of oþir, and mekerst of oþir men, and moost traveile in Cristis Chirche. But chesyng of cardinalis, and parting of benefices, and takyng of newe names, ben ful fer fro þis staat. Þus lyvede Petir, aftir Crist; and chalengide no siche names, ne to be heed of holi Chirche, but how mekely he myȝte serve it. But ech apostle in his cuntre wrouȝte aftir Cristis lawe, and noon of hem hadde aftir nede to come to Petir to be confermed. But oonhede on heed of holi Chirche is Jesus Crist here wiþ us, þat is ever in þe myddil of þree þat ben gedrid in his name. And þat man is out of resoun, þat trowiþ þat Clement in Petris tyme was more þan Joon evaungelist, or any apostle that lyvede wiþ him. And ȝif we trowen to croniclis here, hou þat Clement left his office and procuride oþir to helpe him, as Poul helpide Petir, and Petre suffride mekeli þat Poul snybbide him whanne he erride, we mai see opunli how þes popis fallen fro Petir, and myche more þei fallen fro Crist þat myȝte not erre in onyþing. Trowe we þat Crist lefte to preche, and seelde officis of þe Chirche, or wolde juge of unknowun þing to him, or make him more þan he was? Alle þes þingis þat popis doon techen þat þei ben Anticristis; for Crist myȝte not take a name, but ȝif it were mekenes and treuþe.

Christ, not the Pope, is the true and sole head of the Church.

And ȝif þou seie þat Cristis Chirche mut have an heed here in erþe, soiþ it is, for Crist is heed, þat muste be here wiþ his Chirche unto þe day of dome, and everywhere bi his Godhede. For siþ vertue of a kyng mut be strecchid by al his rewme, myche more þe vertue of Crist is comuned wiþ al his

children. And ȝif þou seie þat Crist mut nedis have sich a viker here in erþe, denye þou Cristis power, and make þis fend above Crist. For bileve techiþ us, þat noo man mai grounde þis viker oonly on Cristis lawe, but on presumpcioun of man; and sich hyenesse of emperours haþ destried her empire; and, ȝif þat God wole, þes popes shal destrie hemsilf, ȝhe, here,—for no drede þei ben distried in helle bi jugement of Crist. And so whatever reasoun men maken of Crist, of Petir, or oþer good ground, it goiþ opinli aȝen sich a pope for þe grete diversite; and so whanne þes men failen resoun, þei tristen to mannis helpe, and feynen bi ipocrisie how myche good þei don aȝen. But God cursiþ by Jeremye hem that affien þus in man. Jer. xvii. 5.

Cap. III.

Here men taken sumwhat soiþ, and doon dremyng to þis treuþe. Þei seien soþli, þat Cristis Chirche is his hous to kepe his meyne;—and summe in þis hous ben sones, þat shulen ever dwelle in hevene and take her fadris heritage, ȝhe, ȝif þei trespassen for a tyme,—and summe ben servauntis in þis hous, al ȝif þei shulen aftir be dampned. And so it is greet diversite to be in þis Chirche; and of þis Chirche þes wordis ben soþli seid, and notabli to mannis kynde. But whanne dremes come aftir, þei maken a fals feyned tale. Þei seien,—whanne Crist wente to hevene, his manhed wente in pilgrymage, and made Petir, wiþ al þes popis, his stewardis to reule his hous, and ȝaf hem ful power herto bifore alle oþir preestis alyve. Here þis dreem takun amys turneþ up so doun þe Chirche. For Petir was a trewe help wiþ Poul and Joon and oþir apostlis; but noon of þes servauntis dremeden þat he was heed of hooli Chirche, or þat he lovede Crist more þan ony of his breþren dide. It is licli to many men þat Petir lovede Crist more in a maner þan ony of þes oþir apostlis, but he was tauȝt to strive not herfore; for oþir apostlis in oþir maner loveden more Crist þan dide Petir,—as Poul traveilide more in þe Chirche,—and Joon lovede Crist more hevenliche. For Joones love was in quiet and clene, as seintes loven in heven. Which of þes is more hiȝ now is but foli us to dreme. Wel we witen þat Crist

The theory of the high papal party has no foundation in Scripture.

wole taken, of what state þat him likiþ, a man, afur þat he is worþi, to more blis or more joie; but aftir bileve of hooli writt, þat telliþ of Petre and oþir apostlis þat þei ben now blessid in hevene,—for noon fel but Scarioth.—taken we biside bileve of many oþir, þat þei ben seintis, as of Clement and Laurence, and oþir þat þe Legende* spekiþ of. And of summe we han more evidence, and of sum lasse, bineþe bileve.

Canonization no proof of holiness, nor equal to the Popedom of election to bliss.

And summe þenken a greet evidence, þat if þe pope canonise þis man, þanne he mut nedis be seint in hevene. But trowe þei þis men þat wolen. Wel Y woot þat þese popis may erre and synne, as Petre dide, and ȝit Petre dremede not þus, to shewe þat men ben seintis in hevene. But it mai falle þat manie men þat ben canonisid by þes popis ben depe dampned in helle, for þei disseyven and ben disseyved. Afferme we not as bileve, þat ȝif a man be chosen pope, þan he is chosen to blis, as he is here clepid blessederste fadir. And many trowen bi þer werkes þat þes ben depperst dampned in helle. For þei chargen hemsilf as ypocritis, boþe in office and in name; and so þei sitten in þe firste place here, and at þe laste day of dome þei schulen be in þe laste place, þat is, þe depperste place of helle. Holde we us in bondis of bileve, þat stondiþ in general wordis and in condicionel wordis, and juge we not here folili. But we mai sele bi supposal, þat we gesse þat it is so; and whoever haþ more evidence, his part shulde sunner be supposid. But here ben þree grete heresies þat disseyven many men. First, men supposen þat ech pope is þe moost blessid fadir; but þis speche lastiþ but a while, til þat þe pope mai awaunce men. But heere we selen soþly, þat þes men þat clepen hem blessid, disseiven hem and flateren hem, for þei hopen to have wynnyng of hem. For wheþir is þis pope moost blessid in þis liif or afur þis lyf? He is not blessid in þis lif, for blis falliþ to þe toþir lyf, and þis lif is ful of sorowe and synne, þat suffriþ not blis wiþ it. And ȝif men speken largeli, many men ben here more blessid þan þe pope; for hyenes of þis state makiþ not bi himsilf man blessid, for ellis ech pope were blissed, al ȝif he were falsly chosen of fendis: and Scarioth shulde be blissed, for he was chosen of Crist himself. And it is no nede

* The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine.

to argue here for to disprove þis foli, for it is more fals in himsilf þan ouȝt þat men shulen bringe herof.

The notion of papal infallibility is a heresy,

Þe toþir heresie, þat comeþ of þis, disceyveþ many simple men; þat ȝif þe pope determine ouȝt, þanne it is soiþ and to bileve. But Lord! where ech pope be more and beter wiþ God þan was Petre? But he erride ofte, and synnede myche; ȝhe, aftir he hadde take þe Holi Goost. Lord! wher Crist clepide hym Sathanas, and bad him go aftir him, and ȝit þer was no cause of his errour, wherfore Crist clepide him þus? And so whanne Petre denyede Crist, and swore fals for a wommans vois, he erride in þis foul synne; and þerfore he wepte aftir. Also, aftir takyng of þe Holi Goost, Petre erride, as Poul seiþ, whanne he wolde not dele with Gentiles for tendirnesse of þe Jewis. Lord! wher men of worse liif mai sunner erre in þer jugement! And ever þe moo þat ben of siche, ever þe sunner mai þei erre; for Scarioth made oþir apostlis to erre in companye of Crist, and it were to fals a feynyng, to seie þat holi Chirche hangiþ on þes, for þis feyner can not teche þat ony of þes is of þe Chirche. And of þis comen many heresies, as of assoilingis and indulgencis, and cursingis, wiþ feyned pardons, þat make many men have conscience and trowe more to þe pope in sich a cause þan þei trowe to þe Gospel. And men moten erre here in bileve, and take ofte fals as bileve. Þis heresie schulden men flee, for fals mainteynyng makiþ heretikes, and to assente wiþ suche falseheed bringiþ in ofte heresies; and Crist wole not assente wiþ þes, for þei mai not be soiþ.

with other opinions connected with it.

Cap. IV.

Monks, canons, and friars have been successively brought in, only to the burden of the Church.

Se we ferþer how þis stiward may erre in ordenaunce of the Chirche; and bigynne we at þe freris, þe which ben brouȝt last in. It is licly þat Cristis preestis, þat stooden til þat monkes comen, turneden to myche fro Cristis lawe, and monkes lyveden þan wel beter. But þes monkes stoden awhile, and turneden souner to coveitise; and aftir monkes camen þes chanouns; and after chanouns camen freris. And so greet defaute was in prestis bifore, þat þes newe ordris camen in. But as þes newe ordris changen in cloþis, in bokis[1], wiþ oþer ritis, so þei varien

[1] So in CC; *beckis*, A.

in Goddis office fro þat þat Crist bad his preestis do. So, ȝif apostlis weren now alyve, and sawen þus preestis serve in þe Chirche, þei wolden not clepe hem Cristis officeris, but officeris of Anticrist. Suppose we þat þes newe ordris, stondinge alle þes olde ordris, ben chargious to þe Chirche in worldli goodis þat þei dispenden. For noumbre of preestis brouȝt in bi Crist was sufficient for Cristis hous, and for þe same hous ben now moo and worse; and þis hous is lesse by hem. Who mai denye þat ne þis noumbre of þes officeris is now to myche? And so þis stiward haþ chargid þis hous wiþ newe rehetours [a], to harm of it. And siþ Poul techiþ in bileve, þat þei shulden not be chargious to þe Chirche, and þat þei have no power but to profite, not to harme, it semeþ bi good resoun þat þis stiward passiþ his power, and failiþ in governaunce of þe Chirche, aȝen þe reule þat Crist haþ tauȝt; and so he is not Cristis stiward, but stiward of Anticrist. What man can not se þat a stiward of an erþely lord, [þat] [1] whanne many servauntis done amys, holdiþ stille, and bryngiþ in newe þat done werse bi litil tyme, failiþ foule in his office? And so servauntis upon servantis weren charious to þis hous; and ȝif þer firste office was good, and þis is now al oþer, þe changynge of þes newe rehetours shulde do harm to þis hous. And þus it stondiþ in þe Chirche of þes newe servauntis þat ben brouȝt in.

The clergy are ever absorbing more wealth, and more land.

And newe lawes ben maad to hem, and newe customes þat þei bryngen in, by whiche þei spuylen on newe þe puple, but fruyt of þer profit failiþ. And siþ Petre hadde not þis power, ne Poul, ne ony oþir apostle, þis stiward of Anticrist mut nede come in bi þe fend. O! siþ in þe olde lawe weren preestis and

[a] Several explanations have been proposed of this word, the general sense of which clearly is 'servants,' 'menials.' But since *rebete* and *rebetinge*, in the sense of 'refresh,' are of frequent occurrence in Chaucer, the proposal of Dr. Todd to consider *rehetours* a noun of the agent formed from *rebete*, and to derive it from the old French word *rehaiter*, *rehetier*, seems to me preferable to the ingenious solutions proposed by writers in 'Notes and Queries.' *Hait* meant enjoyment, *haiter* to enjoy oneself; therefore *rehetours* might mean lazy apolaustic fellows, idlers, supernumeraries with little or no work to do,—a class which in those days of 'maintenance' infested, as we know, the great country houses and castles of the nobility. See Todd's *Three Treatises by Wycliffe*. Dublin, 1857.

[1] supplied conjecturally.

dekenes myche chargid in berynge of þe tabernacle, in sleying of beestis, and oþir ritis, and ȝit þe kynrede of Levi sufficide to al þes officis, myche more in tyme of grace, whanne Goddis service is liȝter! And so, siþ þe tenþe part of þe fruyt sufficide for al þes clerkes, how shulde not þis suffice now for fewer clerkis and lesse of spensis. We mai not pynche at þis lawe, þat God himsilf ordeynede first, but ȝif we putten blasphemye on God þat he ordeynede folily. And herfore Cristis apostlis, and oþere disciplis longe aftir hem, were not bisie aboute dymes, but helden hem paied on a litil, þat þe puple ȝaf hem redily. And so housing and cloþing þat Poul seiþ shulde be ynowȝ. But now men seien þat preestis ben moost gredy purchasours in erþe, and han to hem þe fourþe part þat shulde be in þer breþeren hondis; and þis þei seien is mortified, and patrimonie of Crist þat was done on þe cros. And to defende þis patrimonie ben manye newe lawes ordeyned, and cursing for sacrilegie in whomever þat reveþ þis rente. And, for prestis han ynouȝ of suche goodis mortified, þerfore þis styward chafferiþ wiþ appropryng of chirchis; and so þe puple dwelliþ untauȝt, and unlerned in goostli helpe. Who shulde be blamyd herfore but þis stiward, þat doiþ þis wiþouten leeve of þe lord, but opynli aȝens his biddynge? ȝif ony man shal be dampned, þis styward shal be depperste dampned; and algatis for he feyneþ power, and newe lawes þat God made never. And ȝit þis blaspheme gabbiþ upon God, and seiþ þat al þis is Goddis werk; but in þe Olde Testament shulden siche blasfemes be stoned to deeþ. And þus bringing in of newe ordres, wiþ service þat þe pope confermeþ, techen þat he is traitour to God, and turneþ þe Chirche up so doun.

Lord! where he were not chargid at þe fulle, as apostlis weren? but ȝif he took more charge upon him bi his newe foundun ordenaunce, certis þe apostilis dursten not do þis, and ȝit þei hadden more grace of God, and traveiliden more bisili to growyng and profiting of þe Chirche. And no dredc al þat þe pope haþ over, more þan hadden apostilis of Crist, he shal streitly rekene þerfore, siþ Crist is Lord of alle lordis. And so it semeþ þat þe pope is more holden to Crist þan was Petre, bi as myche as he haþ more of staat and worldly goodis. But

The more the Pope arrogates to himself, the heavier reckoning he will have to render.

sum men seien, þat state in helle, and punisching for þis þefte, moten maken aseeþ herfore, siþ good service failiþ here. And so þe pope semeþ wood, and blyndid by þe fend, whanne he takiþ more charge upon him þan he nediþ for to have, or here or in þe toþer world, for ony state þat God haþ ordeyned. And þus it semeþ þat he dispeireþ of comyng of þe day of dome, as ȝif he caste nevere to rekene wiþ God þat muste be heierste Juge. And so, ȝif men avise hem wel, but ȝif þei han oþir title þan ben bullis of þe pope, or graunt of him, þei shulen be dampned. And þis title of Crist oure God were ynowȝ to Cristene men, as it was in Petris tyme, alȝif þe pope shewide not þus his power bi fals bullis of Petre and Poule, þat semen to be aȝens Cristis lordschip. Þus mai men see, þat þis styward doiþ more þan he haþ leeve to do; and þes newe ordris, groundid on him, and not on grauntyng of Cristis lawe, ben a flok of þe fendis children, but ȝif þei leeven þis mannis title.

Cap. V.

The misdeeds of friars,

And here men noten many harmes þat freris don in þe Chirche. Þei spuylen þe puple many weies by ipocrisie and oþer leesingis, and bi þis spuylyng þei bilden Caymes Castelis [a], to harme of cuntreis. Þei stelen pore mennis children, þat is werse þan stele an oxe; and þei stelen gladlich eires,—Y leeve to speke of stelyng of wymmen,—and þus þei maken londis bareyne for wiþdrawyng of werkmen, not al oonli in defaute of cornes, but in beestis and oþer good. For þei reversen Goddis ordenaunce in þre partis of þe Chirche; þei maken men to trowe fals of hem, and letten almes to be ȝovun bi Goddis lawe; and þus þei letten bi gabbingis office and lif of trewe prestis, for þei letten hem for to preche, and speciali Cristis gospel. Þei moven londis to bateilis, and pesible persones to plete; þei maken many divorsis, and many matrimonies, unleveful, boþe

[a] *Caymes Castelis.*] Dr. Todd, in a note on this phrase, quotes a passage in lib. iv. cap. 33 of the *Trialogus*, in which Wyclif explains that he calls the monasteries of the friars 'Caym's castles,' because the four letters of the word 'Caym' (which Wyclif imagined to be the right way of spelling Cain), designate respectively the Carmelites, the Augustinians, the Jacobites (or Dominicans), and the Minorites (Franciscans).

bi lesingis maad to parties, and bi pryvelegies of þe court. Y leeve to speke of fi3ting þat þei done in o lond and oþir, and of oþir bodili harmes þat tungis suffisen not to telle. For as myche as þei dispenden, as myche and more þei harmen rewmes;—as þei han, in þis laste journe þat Englishemen maden into Flandres[a], spuylid oure rewme of men and money more þan þe freris han wiþ hem. And no drede to Englishemen, þat ne þei han procurid þis iourney, boþe in preching, and in gedering, and in traveiling of þer owne persone. And freris þat semen uncoupable here, moten algatis graunte þer assent; for oo maner of consent is, whanne a man is stille and telliþ not. And 3if freris forsaken þis now, and seien þat þei assentiden not herto, þei usen þer olde crafte of gabbing, and encresen harm algatis. But as spiritual þing is betere þan bodili þing þat we mai see, so spiritual harm is more þan bodili harm þat þei don. First whan þei maken freris, þat ben worsid bi þis makyng, þei don hem a goostli harm, and al mankynde wherof þei ben. And if þou seist þat noone freris ben, but 3if þei ben þe betere to God, for holynesse of þer companye makiþ many goode þat ellis wolde be shrewis, stryve we not wher þis mai falle, but graunte we on þe toþer side, þat many wolden be lesse yvel out of þes ordris þan in hem. And siþ þei witen not who is beterid by entryng into þes ordris, þei doon as a blynd man castiþ his staf, to brynge ony to þer ordre. Crist seiþ þat Pharisees ben to blame for þis dede, and Scarioth was þe worse for beyng in þis holi cumpanye; for ellis he hadde not þus traied Crist, and be mooste unkynde traitour. And siþ coventis of freris ben shrewis, for þe more part or moche, no woundir 3if þei envenyme men þat comen þus unto hem. For þei moven men to olde errours þat þei han holde among hem, as þei tellen to greet avaunt þat þei ben charious to þe puple in þer sinful begging. And 3it þei blasfemen in Crist, and seien þat he beggide þus, to mainteyne þer owne synne. Suche blasfemyes ben foundun and contynnued in þes sectis, þat unneþes þei ben ever purgid fro service þat þei ben brou3t in.

who are afraid to reprove vice,

As Crist techiþ in his gospel, how þat men shulde snybbe þer

[a] See the prefatory notice

breþeren bi þre tymes, and aftirward forsake þer companye as venym, þes sectis han fordone þis gospel; for neiþer þei doren þus snybbe þer breþeren, ne forsake hem at þe fourþe tyme; for ȝif þei done þei shulen be deed or emprisonyd longe tyme, or ellis hastili be kild. And whanne synne rengneþ among grete men, and þei dreden of worldli harm, þei doren not snybbe men of þis synne, lest þer ordre leese worldli helpe. But where is more heresie, þan to love þis ordre more þan God, or to do yvelis for hope of good, þat Poul forfendiþ men to do?

and set their own rule above the law of God.

Also þes sectis inpungnen þe gospel, and also þe olde lawe, for þei chargen more þer owne statute, alȝif it be aȝens Goddis lawe, þan þei done þe lawe of þe gospel; and þus þei loven more þer ordre þan Crist. As, ȝif it were nevere so myche nede to go out and preche Goddis lawe, to defende our modir holi Chirche, ȝit þer ordre lettiþ þes, but ȝif þei han þer priours leeve, alȝif God bidde to do þis. And comunly þes pryvat prioures letten þer felowes here to go out; and so, be þei never so riche, þei shulen not helpe her fleishli eldris; for alle þer goodis ben þe housis, siþ þei han nouȝt propre but synne. And þis errour reproveþ Crist in Phariseis, þat siȝen þe gnat, and swolowen þe camele, for þei chargen lesse more harm. Also þes Phariseis chargen moche þer fastingis and oþir þingis þat þei han founden, but keping of Goddis mandementis þei charge not half so myche. As, he shulde be holde apostata þat lefte his abite for a day, but for leevyng of dedis of charite shulde he noþing be blamed. And þus þei blasfemen in God, and seien, whoso dieþ in þer abite shal nevere go to helle, for holynes þat is þerinne; and so, aȝens Cristis sentence, þei sewen an old cloute in newe cloiþ. For þer ordre, þei seien, is gedired of þe olde lawe and þe newe; and ȝit þei han founden herto newe þingis þat þei kepen as gospel; and þus þei chargen þer owne fasting, and oþer ritis þat þei kepen, more þan biddingis of Crist, for þei ben no newe mandementis to hem. Sich hid synnes among freris done more harm to Cristene men þan ben þe bodili harmes which þe world chargiþ more. And þus errours in þe world ben liȝtli mayntened bi freris, for wynnyng of worldli good or worldli worschip þat þei coveiten, as lettris of fraternite[1]. And

[1] Some word appears to have dropped out.

dowyng of oþir preestis, alȝif it be aȝens hemsilf, is stiflli susteyned bi freris. And so men suffisen not to telle unsensible errours þat þei susteynen; and ȝit for privilegie of þe pope noon oþer man dar blame hem, for þei ben exempt fro Goddis lawe bi privylegies þat þei han getun. But Petre was not þus exempt fro sharp snybbing of Poul. And heiling, þat Joon forfendide, haþ noo vertue among þes freris[a]; for þei saluten ofte fendis, more þan þei doon Cristis children.

Yet the Pope sustains them in everything.

2 John 10.

Cap. VI.

Lord! where þe pope þinke good to conferme siche newe ordris! Certis synne of siche children turneþ into heed of þer fadir, as Helias sones maden þer fadir to be punishid sharply of God. And generalli, whoso synneþ for avantage of himsilf, his synne makiþ disavauntage of þat þat he weneþ turne to good. As, þes two popis han now no more enemyes, ne more hid, þan ben þes freris; for summe holden wiþ þe o pope and many and grete wiþ þe toþir; and þei enformen þer countreis to holde stifli wiþ þer pope. And no drede, ȝif cuntreis turne fro þe oo pope to þe toþir, þe freris wolden turne also, for þei obeishen to þe puple. And þus love ungroundid in God, but oonli in temporal goodis, mut nedis faile and do harm, for al siche love is sinful.

The friars are divided between the two Popes.

Siþ þes sectis ben so harmful to oure modir hooli Chirche, and, as bileve techiþ us, þe Chirche may be purgid of þis, it were sumwhat for to speke of þis purging of þe Chirche. For alȝif it shal not fulli be turned in þis lyf, but first in hevene, and[1] ȝit it may be purgid in part, and in þis purginge stondiþ mennis mede. And no man is excusid here of consenting to þis synne, but ȝif he helpe on sum maner; for ech man mai helpe sumwhat. Sum men shulden helpe bi resoun þat is taken of Goddis lawe, and summe by worldli power, as erþely lordis þat God haþ ordeyned, and alle men bi good liif and good preieris to God, for in him liggiþ þe helpe here aȝens þe cautelis of þe fend.

All men ought to help to deliver the Church from them.

[1] dele *and*.

[a] The meaning is, that St. John's prohibition to say God speed to those who bring not the true doctrine is disregarded among the friars.

And þus popis, bischopis, and freris, shulden helpe here to purge hemsilf; for bileve techiþ us þat ech man is endettid to God, as ech man is endettid to oþir, to helpe him algatis goostli and bodili. Dette is not to charge, but ȝif it turne to goostli help; and þus spekiþ Crist in þe gospel of dette in þe Pater Noster, and also in o parable, bi which he moveþ men to mercy. And þus seiþ Poul, þat he is dettour to ech man, but bi ordre. And þus prelatis shulden helpe þe Chirche, as þe freris shulden helpe hemsilf. But more part of þis world erreþ here, and clepiþ harm helpe; but lawe of Crist shulde reule men here, to wite how men shulden come to blis.

Rom. i. 14.

One easy way is this; to detect and expose their heretical belief about the sacred host.

Men speken here of a liȝt helpe to which men ben comunli holden, þat men shulden on þis maner comune wiþ freris, and ellis not. First, to seie þat þei putten not on freris þat þei ben heretikes, for þanne men wolden not dele wiþ hem, ne nurishe hem in worldli goodis; but men han hem suspect of heresie for many causis. First, for þei varien þus in bileve of þe sacrid oost. And þus þei schulden telle at þe bigynnynge what þing þei trowun þat it is,—wheþir it be Goddis bodi or not. And here þei mai not be excusid; for mynystrel or joȝelour, tumbler and harlot, wole not take of þe puple bifore þat þei han shewid þer craft; and siþ freris crafte stondiþ in þis, to teche þe puple þer bileve, and þe puple trowiþ comunli þat þis oost is Goddis bodi, here freris shulden bigynne, and telle men where þis be soiþ. And ȝif þei seien þat þis oost in no maner is Goddis bodi, flee þes freris as heretikes, for Crist and his Chirche seien þe contrarie. ȝif þei seien þat it is Goddis bodi, and manye freres seien þe contrarie, þis word techiþ not þat ne þei gabben in comune bileve of þe Chirche; and þerfore men shulden abide witnes of þer comune seel, and bifore dele not wiþ hem, but have hem suspect of heresie. ȝif þei seien þat þis oost is an accident wiþouten suget, as colour and figure, and þus it is not Goddis bodi, wel we witen þat olde bileve, groundid in þe wordis of Crist, seiþ þat it is Goddis bodi, as þe pope sumtyme seide. And it is not ynowȝ þat freris erren in colour and figure of þer abitis, to prove þat þis sacrid oost is colour and figure of breed. And þis defamynge shulde þe pope seke out wiþ greet traveile; for þes sectis han sclaundrid him, as he and hise hadden errid in bileve.

And it is not ynow3 to seie þat þer is Goddis bodi, for beter þing þan Cristis bodi is everywhere for þe godhede; and men axen not what is þere, but what is þat þat men worshipen so. And 3it freris seien, þat þei trowun here as holi Chirche doiþ in þis mater. So seien Jewis and Sarasynes. But, frere, telle me how Y shulde trowe. And 3if þei seien þis mater is sutil, and men mai not undirstonde it, wel we witen þat God bindiþ not men to bileve ony þing which þei mai not undirstonde,—as we seien of þe Trinite. And 3if þei seien þat þis sacrament is Goddis bodi, as it is in hevene, þes freris speken as idiotis. For we axen of þis sacrid oost þat men seen bodili brekun and etun comunli, and it is moved as oþer oostis. And þus, whatever a frere seiþ, trewe men shulden leeve hym here as suspect of heresie, bifore he have wel put þis of.

Another is to show, that not one of the new Orders was founded by Christ.

Aftir þis my3te a man axe, siþ God tolde of newe sectis þat shulen come into þe Chirche, to charge and harm of þe Chirche, how groundiþ þis frere his ordre, and in what tyme it bigan. And siþ o frere contrarieþ anoþer in þis mater, and nou3t is proved, men shulden avoide þis frere til he hadde here tau3t þe treuþe. Þis strif is mater of gabbing and of synnyng among manie; and þus for profit of þe Chirche shulden freris worche to quenche þis strif. Carmes seien þat þei weren bifore þe tyme þat Crist was born[a]. Austyns seien þat þei weren many hundrid wynters bifore oþer freris. Prechouris and Menours seyn þe reverse. But noon groundiþ here his word, as noon of þes newe ordris groundiþ þat he cam in bi Crist; and but þis grounding be in dede, dremes and confermyngis ben nou3t. On þis maner shulden trewe men seke wisely þe soþe, and purge oure modir of apostemes þat ben harmful in þe Chirche. To þis shulde þe pope helpe, for to þis dette weren apostlis bounden,

[a] The Carmelites pretended that their Order was founded by the prophet Elijah, when he retired to Mount Carmel to escape the wrath of Ahab. But the wide extension and notoriety of the Order date from the time of St. Simon Stock, an Englishman of the thirteenth century, concerning whose marvellous vision consult Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, May 16. The Augustinian friars, or the Hermits of St. Austin, claim to have been founded and placed under a special rule by the great Bishop of Hippo. The Friars Preachers (Dominicans) and the Friars Minors (Franciscans) were, as all the world knows, founded near the beginning of the thirteenth century by SS. Dominic and Francis.

and not to lordschippes of moneie, but in as myche as it helpide herto. And siþ it lettiþ comunli, popis shulden flee þis, as dide apostlis; for ellis þei seiden wiþ oþer foolis, þat helpe were harm, and good were yvel.

Cap. VII.

Men should reject the extravagant tenets current about papal absolution and indulgences.

Aftir þis shulden men wite of þe popis power in assoilinge, in graunting of indulgencis and oþer privylegies, wiþ cursing. For riȝt as þe popis clerkis feynen þat þei done miraclis whanne evere þei syngen[a], moo and more woundirful þan ever dide Crist or his apostlis, so in asoiling and cursing þei feynen hem unknowun power; and in fablis of þis power þei blasfemen and harme þe Chirche. And þus comeþ in errour into þe Chirche, as it doiþ of þe sacrid oost; for noon mai comprehende þis power, siþ it is wiþouten noumbre, siþ Crist ȝaf þis to Petre, and oþir popis þat camen aftir.

Peter had no power above other apostles.

Here Cristene men bileven þat Petre and Poul and oþir apostlis token power of Crist, but not but for to edifie þe Chirche. And þus alle prestis þat ben Cristis knyȝtis han power of him to þis eende. Which of hem haþ moost power, is ful veyne for us to trete; but we supposen of preestis dedis, þat he þat profitiþ more to þe Chirche haþ more power of Crist, and ellis þei ben ydil wiþ þer power. And þus bi power þat Crist ȝaf Petre mai no man prove þat þis preest, þe which is Bishop of Rome, haþ more power þan oþer preestis. For siþ oure bileve seiþ, þat þer is noo power but of God, chesinge of þes cardinalis ȝyveþ not sich power to þe pope. And it sueþ not þat God mut ȝyve, whan þes cardinalis han þus chosen, but apostlis dedis þat popis doone shulden bere witnes of þer power; siþ fleyinge to hevene of assoilid spiritis, and comyng aȝen, bereþ no witnesse. And wordis þat Crist seiþ in þe gospel ben to liȝtli undirstonden. Crist seiþ to his apostlis; Y am wiþ ȝou alle daies unto þe ende of þe world; but what maken þes wordis for þis pope? Þes wordis techen generali, þat Crist shal be wiþ his lymes þat he haþ ordeyned to blis riȝt to þe dai

[a] That is, sing the mass.

of dome; but how shulden men wite þat þis pope is ony of hem þat Crist spekiþ to? Certis þis pope woot not himsilf, and haþ litil mater to hope it; for in goode werkis and suynge of Crist shulde þis pope grounde his hope. But ȝit in anoþir word þat Crist seide unto Petir, groundiþ þis pope his power, þat it is so myche over oþir; Crist bihiȝte to Petre, þat whatever he bindiþ in erþe it shal be bounden in hevene, and so of þis assoiling. But þis resoun is ful of folie for many causis, whoso takiþ hede. Soþly Crist seide þus to Petre, and so he seide to oþer apostlis; whi shulde Petre have power bi þis more þan oþir apostlis of Crist? Also men shulden wite here, þat þes wordis þat Crist seide to Petir ben noþing for þis pope but ȝif he sue Crist and Petir in lyf. And suppose þat al þis be soiþ; ȝit eche preest of ony apostle shulde have power to do good to þe Chirche, but not so myche as here is dremed. For ellis Petre synnede many weies; for Petre uside not þis power; who shulde excuse hem of þis synne?

Absurdities which flow from assuming the unconditional validity of papal bindings and loosings.

Also men shulden undirstonde what it is to bynde man above erþe. And men moten nedis seie here, þat þanne a preest bindiþ man above erþe, whanne he bindiþ man after God, and not for fleish ne coveitise. And so þis pope shulde teche men þat he bindiþ þus above erþe, and neiþer in þe erþe, ne undir þe erþe, but evene after þe keies above; but þis wole he nevere teche bifore þat Gabriel blowe his horn. And ȝif he teche þat þe Chirche above byndiþ þus, or assoiliþ, at þe instaunce of hym, ȝit he proveþ not his grete power. And þus grounding of Goddis lawe failliþ shamefulli here, þat ȝif Crist seide to Petre, whatever he bonde above þe erþe is bounden in hevene, þanne it sueþ of þis pope, what þing he feyneþ him for to binden, it is so bounden of God. But certis þe lewiderst man in þis world myȝte shame of siche a resoun. Ferþermore, ȝif we ȝyven þis pope siche power as he feyneþ, ȝif men taken hede to hise dedis, he shulde shame of sich power. For lawe of charite wolde teche, þat ȝif he hadde siche power, he shulde assoile alle hise sugetis fro peyne and fro trespas; for þanne he brouȝte alle men to heven, and suffride no man go to helle. And siþ charite stondiþ in ȝiftis of God to þis eende, he were to slowe in Goddis service, and disuside þe ȝiftis of God, but ȝif he dide

here þat he myȝte, and were merciful to men. And ȝif þou seist þat neiþer Crist ne Petir dide þus to alle men, certis þei hadde not sich power as þis pope feyneþ in him; and þus Crist myȝte not assoile men, but after þat he saw his Fadir vouchsafe. Lord! siþ Crist assoilide not þus, ne Petre, ne ony oþer apostle, and þis pope seeþ not in God þat he wole þat it be so, what spirit shulde move þis pope to feyne sich asoilinge boþe fro peyne and fro synne, and aftir chaffare þus þerwiþ? Siþ he toke freely þis power, Crist biddiþ þat he shulde freli ȝyve it; but now he assoiliþ never þus, but for frendship or wynnynge; and he takiþ noon hede to God, wher God wole þat it be so, and where þis man lyve an yvel lyf and be ordeyned to be dampned. And certis noo pope oþer þan Crist can telle how nedeful[1] þis dede is, or how unmedeful is anoþer; how shulde he þanne assoile þus? For he mai not asoile here of a litel bodili peyne, as myȝten Petir and oþer seintis; how shulde he assoile soulis of þe peyne of purgatorie? Prove he his power by þis lesse, and suspende assoiling of moneie. And siþ þes popis ben not assoilid þus of peyne and trespas, for þanne þe popis weren alle seintis, and confermed by þer state, it were to seke oþer signes, bi which þes popis shulden be blessid, for þei failen in charite, bi principlis þat hemsilf seien.

Cap. VIII.

Abuses in the exercise of patronage by the Popes.

It were for to wite over þis, how popis ȝyven þes beneficis, and confermen and acursen men whanne hem likiþ and myslikiþ men. And no drede, siþ þei knowun not whanne Godhede doiþ þus, þei shulden not difyne here but ȝif God shewide hem þis; for it is peril to gabbe on God, and in matir of mennis helþe. And so it is a greet peril to feyne siche power, but if it be groundid. And siþ þes popis ben not hardy as blynde Bayard, þei moten seie þat þei speken ofte wiþ God, þat techiþ hem þat it mut be þus, and so þes popis mai not erre. But who herde ever more blasphemye? siþ þei cunnen not telle þingis to come, touching þer state and þer desire; for o pope aȝens anoþir telliþ opinli þer errour here.

[1] Query, *medeful*.

But, for ȝyvyng of benefices makiþ hem boþe greet and stronge, it were to wite of þis power, and of þe lawes þat þei usen. And siþ Crist uside not this power, but forsoke in jugement lesse yvel[a]; as þis power were in vein ȝif þe Chirche were undowid, it is knowen to trewe men þat þis is not groundid of Crist; but þe pope, as he blasfemeþ, and seiþ þis dowyng is þe patrymonie of Crist, so he feyneþ newe lawes to teche to parte þes benefices. And þis lawe haþ he maad, þat ȝif two men ben of o date, whoever presentiþ first, shal be avaunsid bifore. And so he haþ ordeyned many lawes,—how þat men shulen oones be schryven, and oones þe ȝeer be comuned of her propre preest, whomever he wole ordeyne. Bi þes two unfamous lawes mai men wite whiche ben oþir, for þer is noo lawe but Goddis, or lawe groundid in Goddis lawe. First it semeþ, þat þis partyng of benefices is opyn folie. For whanne þe pope avansiþ a shrewe, he autorisiþ his shrewidnesse, and speciali whanne þer ben betere, þat wolden take siche an office; and þe pope haþ noo witt, ne bidding of God, to take him þis. And þus ofte, for preiynge and moneie, he avaunsiþ lymes of þe fend; for al þes ben his children; and he shal answere for þes soulis þat his children leesen to helle, and for oþir shrewidnessis þat þei done. Lord! when þe popis synne were not ynowȝ to him, al ȝif he gete noon on oþer side? as, ȝif he bouȝte not for þe firste fruytis, or oþir frendshipe of þe world, synnes of oþir truauntis þat he avaunsiþ, and envenymiþ myche folk.

The rules of the canon law about patronage have no divine sanction.

Oþir wordis þat here ben spoken excusen him not bifore God, þat þe pope mai do no symonie, for alle beneficis ben hise. For ȝif he were clene for a tyme, alle weren hise bi title of grace; ȝit for þis averouse pride shulde he leese al þes þingis. And no drede þis lawe of þe pope is opinli aȝens treuþe, and so aȝens Jesus Crist, þat is boþe God and man. It falliþ ofte bi þis lawe, þat a tryaunt and a fendis lyme is put bifore a lyme

Other abuses of patronage.

[a] Christ would not exercise secular authority as the Popes do; but even shunned, when he refused to arbitrate between the two brothers respecting their inheritance (Luke xii. 14), a responsibility which involved 'less evil' than the wide-reaching jurisdiction now claimed by the Popes.

of Crist. For ofte þes coveitouse triauntis gone bifore goode simple men; þus bi vertue of siche lawis ben ofte þe fendis lemes maad maistris, for to lede symple men, but whidirward but to helle? And þus, bi vertue of mannis lawe, man shul go to be confermed of a fend, þat techiþ men how þei shulen worche aȝens Crist. For many prelatis by coveitise and symonie ben ofte fendis, and þei serven þer maistir, to wiþdrawe men fro Cristis lawe. And no woundir ȝif men gone þikke to helle bi þe leding of suche prelatis.

Evils of enforced private confession.

And as anentis þe secounde lawe, of shrifte, þat þe pope haþ made, no drede it doiþ myche harm, al ȝif it do to summe profite; and it fordoiþ Cristis privylege, þat where Cristene men shulden be free, now þei ben nedid to hire a preest, and þus be suget to þe fend. For aftir þat þis prelate ordeyneþ ben sugettis nedid for to do; and þus freres and religious wymmen mai soone assente to leccherie. Lord! in tyme of Jesus Crist, whanne þe Chirche florishide myche, were men not bounden to shryve hem þus, as Crist, Baptist, and apostlis. Lord! where þe pope haþ ordeyned þat Cristis weie sufficiþ not now, so þat mennis doing bi scole of Crist be dampned wiþouten oþir synne, for þat þe pope haþ ordeyned him partener to forȝeve synnes wiþ Crist? And in caas þat men ben martris in Cristis cause, [þei [1]] shulden be dampned, for þei shulden rowne wiþ a preest, and for worse leeve þe betere. Shrifte to God is put bihynde, and shrifte more shameful also; but privy shrifte newe founden is autorisid, as nedeful to soulis heele.

Cap. IX.

We will declare our meaning plainly, which is, that all church endowment should cease, and the Pope and clergy practise the poverty of Christ

It myȝte seme to many men þat myche of þis is hid speche, and men shulden speke opinli to þe world, as Crist dide, for to telle more clereli what is oure last entent. For ȝif it were a trewe sentence, God myȝte move men hereafter, boþe lordis and clerkis, to drawe to þis sentence. And herfore we wolen seie opinli þe sentence þat we conseyven; and ȝif God wole vouchesaaf, it mai aftir be declarid more. Oure ground is comune bileve, þat Crist is boþe God and man, and so he is þe beste

[1] supplied conjecturally.

man, þe wyserst man, and moost vertuous, þat ever was or ever shal be. And he is heed of þe Chirche; and he ordeynede a lawe to men, and confermede it wiþ his lyf, for to reule holi Chirche, and teche how þat men shulde lyve; and al þis mut passe al oþir, siþ þe auctor is þe beste. And grutche we not þat many men þenken ful hevy wiþ þis sentence, for so þei diden in Cristis tyme, boþe wiþ his lyf and wiþ his lawe. Of þis ground we gessen ferþere, how us þinkiþ þat men shulden do. But we graunten at þe firste, þat if ony man wole shewe us þat we speken aȝens Goddis lawe, or aȝen good resoun, we wolen mekeli leeve of, and holde Goddis part bi oure myȝte. For we ben wiþholden wiþ treuþe, and wiþ Goddis grace shulen ever last þerinne. Us þinkiþ þat þe Chirche shulde here holde þe ordenaunce of Crist; and ever þe streiter þat it helde þat, evere þe betir it were to it. And þus bastard braunchis shulde be kutt fro þis tree; and þus þe pope, wiþ his cardinalis, and alle preestis þat been dowid, shulden leeve þis dowing and worldli glorie þat þei han, and neiþer lyve ne do ouȝt, but ȝif it were groundid in Cristis lawe; for þat lawe is charite, and groundiþ al þing þat is medeful. ȝif þat God wolde fouche-safe to ȝyve þes preestis of his grace, þat þei wolden mekeli leeve þis, and lyve in Cristis poverte, þe miracle were þe more, and more wolde profite to þe Chirche.

and that monks and mendicant friars should be suppressed,

Aftirward men þenken þat al þes newe sectis or ordris, boþe possessioneres and beggeris, shulden ceese bi Cristis lawe. And ȝif þei wolden leeve þes for charite, and lyve purely aftir Crist, þer merit were þe more, and þei myȝten encreese þe Chirche; and ȝif þei wolden not do þus, þei shulden be honestli constreyned. Both worldi goodis and comunyng shulde be wiseli drawun fro hem, and knyȝtis, wiþ lordis of þe world, shulden be confortid bi Cristis lawe to stonde and defende þis sentence, as þei diden aftir Cristis deþ; and trewe prestis shulden telle þe comunes how þei shulde kepe charite, and obeishe upon resoun, as Poul techiþ hem to do. And God myȝte move summe of þes ordres to leeve þer ritis, and take Cristes lawe, for þei hiden now ypocrisie, and ben ydil fro many goode dedes. Lord! what stiward were he þat wolde ordeyne newe rehetors to ete mennes mete and do hem harm, aȝens Cristis ordenaunce?

and parish priests be maintained, not by tithes, but by free-will offerings.

Þe þridde point, of curatis, us þinkiþ shulde stonde þus. Þei shulden lyve on þe puple in good mesure as Poul biddiþ; but þe puple shulde not be artid to 3yve hem dymes ne oþer almes; but þer goode wishes shulden move to 3yve hem freeli þat were nede, for þus lyvede Crist with his apostlis. What preest shulde not be paied herof? And þus shulde þe Chirche drawe to acord bi Crist, þat lediþ þe daunce of love. 3if oþir men wolden be preestis, lyve þei þerafter, and shewe þei bi dede þat Crist haþ made hem preestis, for þis passiþ lettris of bishopis. And þus þe puple myȝte wiþdrawe þer almes fro wickide preestis, and þe pride of preestis shulde be stoppid, bi which þei envenymyn þe puple. 3if þis be not doone anoon, 3it it myȝte drawe to þe good; for Cristis lyf was þe beste, þat shulde ensaumple alle oþir.

Objections of the defenders of the papacy rebutted.

Here men arguen many weies aȝens þis sentence þat here is seid, and speciali for þe pope, þat þanne were holi Chirche fordone, siþ Petre was pope and many oþer seintis, and who shulde contrarie þis? But here han men seid ofte, þat it were good to obeishe to Petre, and[a] þat sich a captein were in þe Chirche; but name of þe pope hidiþ venym. Men seien þat it cam first yn bi folie of þe emperour, þat reiside him an enemy boþe to God and to þe world. And 3if þou aleggist seintis lyves, noon of hem is to preise but in as myche as it acordiþ to Cristis lyf and his lawe; and siþ Cristis lawe is more opyn, slepe þe fablis, and rengne his lawe. It is no nede here to dreme, how holi eende þes men maden, for men mai trowe it whoso wole, and many ben seintis wiþouten þis trouþe. Al oþer office of þe pope myȝte be done mekely, as myche as it wolde turne to worshipe of Crist and profite of þe Chirche, by a trewe preest, as was bi apostlis, al 3if þes bullis of leed slepten. It is licly þat Petre suede more Crist in brennyng love þan diden oþer apostlis þat weren wiþ Crist in Petris tyme, and so Petre was more servisable, more meke, and more pore; for fervour of love of Petre made him in þis more love Crist. But aftir þat þe Chirche was dowid, no man hatiþ þis more þan þe pope; and þus he is not Cristis viker but raþir Anticrist him-

[a] *and* is used for *an*, in the sense of 'if.'

silf. ȝif he wolde be meke and pore and servisable, as Petre was, and take no more werk upon him þan þat he myȝte wel do in dede, þanne he myȝte be Petris vicker, bi grace of Crist heed of Petre.

As anentis þes newe ordris, þei semen alle Anticristis proctours, to putte awey Cristis ordenaunce, and magnefie þer newe sectis; and þus hem nediþ to have an heed oþir þan Crist to susteyne hem. For Crist tolde not bi siche habitis, ne siche ritis of Phariseis, but bi werkes of charite, bi preching among þe puple.

Cap. X.

Now were it for to speke last of censures, þat þe fend blowiþ, as ben suspendingis, enterditingis, cursingis, and reisingis of croiserie. But first Cristene men shulde byleve, þat alle suche feyned censures don noon harm a Cristene man, but ȝif he do harm first to himsilf. Bi hem may his bodi be sleyn, and he be pursued many weies; but Crist seiþ, þat mai not lie,—Blessid be ȝe whanne men cursen ȝou, and whanne men pursuen ȝou, and seien al maner of yvel aȝens ȝou, for me and my lawe. As Cristis apostlis weren confortid, holde þou þe in Cristis lawe, and sue þou him in maner of lyf, and drede þou not alle þe censures þat Anticrist can blowe aȝens þee; but as he meneþ to harm þee, he doiþ þee good mangree his. And as þe assoiling serveþ of nouȝt, but as it acordiþ wiþ Cristis keies, so þe cursyng noieþ not, but as Crist above cursiþ. And herfore Crist tolde but litil bi cursingis of þe hie bishopis, but confortide his disciplis of þes cursingis and þes pursuyngis. For þei puttiden men out of chirche, and pursueden hem in Cristis tyme, but apostlis wolden not leeve to preche for al þis pursuynge. And o confort is here; þat a man mai serve God in clene wille þat he haþ, as longe as he haþ lyf, and ȝif his wille lastiþ, aftir, whanne Anticrist haþ slayn his bodi, in more blisse þan bifore, as oure bileve techiþ us. And þus drede we hem not for censures þat þei feynen, but drede we ever oure God, lest we synnen aȝens him. And so double drede falliþ in sich cursingis of Anticrist. Oon, lest we ben not worþi to have grace to cleve to God and stonde stif in his mandementis,—and þanne God

True men should brave censures, bannings, and other persecutions.

cursiþ us; and þus cursing is to drede, for cursing of God for oure synnes. Also men shulden be in charite, and loven þes men þat cursen þus; and so men shulden drede þer curs, lest it harme hemsilf and þe puple. For ȝif þei cursen undiscretly, as þei don ever whanne þei cursen not for love of þe Chirche, or for love of oþer men to whom þei leien þis medecine, þanne þei cursen hemsilf first, al ȝif þei knowun not þis foly. And bi sich blyndenesse in cursing many curseris emblemyshen hemsilf, and þerwiþ þe comune peple. Such cursing is to drede; such drede passiþ mannis lawe, and comeþ to lawe of charite, and axiþ not curseris assoilinge, but Goddis purging, ȝif it wole be.

Suspension and interdict do no harm but to fools.

As anentis suspendinge and enterdityng þat ben feyned, we trowen þat þei doon myche good, and noon harm but to foolis. For ȝif þei wolden suspende hemsilf fro alle þingis but Goddis lawe, it were a graciouse suspendinge, for hem and for oþer men; for þanne Goddis lawe myȝte freeli renne bi þe lymytis þat Crist haþ ordeyned. And he is a cursid man þat leeveþ to do þat God biddiþ, and for sich feynynge of censuris,—ȝhe, ȝif deþ sue aftir.

To fight for the Pope, for the sake of the indulgences that he promises, is folly.

As anentis croiserie, summe of Cristis Chirche ben enformed how þei shulden not trowe to þe pope for ony bullis þat he sendiþ, but ȝif þei ben groundid in Goddis lawe. And þis grounding shulden men take wiþ reverence, and leeve þis leed. For men shulde take as bileve þat þei shulden neiþer trowe to Crist ne Petre[a], but in as myche as þei grounden bi Goddis lawe þat men shulden trowe þus. For Crist lettiþ fulli in his lawe, how men shulden trowe to him and hise; and þus no þing untouchid in þis lawe shulde be dun or axid to do. But who shulde axe more þan Crist, or more obeishe to þe pope þan to Crist? And we ben certein þat Crist may not axe oþir obedience; whi shulde þe pope? Men shulden bi hooli lif of Crist trowe þat his lawe is compleet, and axe noon oþir ground of þis lawe, for Crist is þe firste and þe laste. And so, ȝif þe pope assoile men *a pena* or *a culpa*, or whatever pardone he grauntiþ for þing þat is not charite, forsake it as þe fendis bidding, þat is contrarie to love of Crist. Wel I woot þe fend

[a] There must surely be an error of the scribe here.

mai feyne more pardone þan God wole graunte to ech man þat wole slee his broþir; but God[1] forbode þat we trowun þis, as þe pope may graunte to day, and to morowe perseyve his folye, and revoke þe formere errour. But who shulde bileve siche bullis? for wel we witen bi Goddis lawe, þat God ȝyveþ þe pope no power, but for to edifie his Chirche, bi charite þat God haþ toold. Crist was þe beste herd, and so he puttide his lyf for his sheep; and þe pope mai not opinlier telle þat he is Anticrist or a fend, þan for to putte many mennis lyves for þis office þat he presumeþ. For Cristis lyf was myche betere þan al þis office or þes popis. How shulde men fiȝte for a persone, þat þei witen not where he be a fend, or tauȝt of God to do þus? Siþ þei ben certein of medeful dedis, certis þat man were a fool þat wolde take þis uncerteine weie, and leeve þe certeyn witt and feyþ for wordis ungroundid in Goddis lawe. And many þenken þat þes prelatis þat ben upon Cristis side shulden have joie of þis sentence; for it is for alle good men. And if ony can disprove it, men wolen revoke it, and treuþe shal shyne, and it shal have moo witnessis, and þis is more to Goddis worship.

The Pope's party is now the stronger, but we must look to the end.

But here men dreden blasphemye, and oþir cautelis of þe fend; þat men gon not bi resoun ne bi Goddis lawe in þis mater, but putte þe pope here heierste juge, as ȝif he were god in erþe. And he, wiþ his part þat loveþ þe world, quenche men þat speken þis, and axen noon oþer proof þerof. And siþ þe fend haþ þe strenger part here þan þe part of treuþe þat is wiþ Crist, Crist wole suffre, for formere synne, þe fendis side have maistrie ȝit. But in o bileve men resten, þat day shal come of þe laste jugement, whanne þe fendis side shal lurke, and treuþe shal shyne wiþouten lettyng; and þat day abiden men, bi reule of lawe þat Crist haþ ȝovun.

Let new sects and new laws be abandoned

Wel we witen þat þe synne and disturblyng of þe Chirche stondiþ myche in defaute of love of Crist and his lawe. And þus bringinge in of sectis, and of lawes þat Crist made not, quenchiþ þe love of Crist and of his religioun here. And þus men shulden stonde in þe mesure þat Crist haþ ȝovun of þes

[1] corrected; *Goddis*, A.

two, boþe of sectis and of lawis; for bringinge in of þes doiþ harm. And so marke þis as greet synne, whanne men passen in oþer of þes, alȝif þe fende coloure it, and medle good wiþ þe yvel; for þus dide Machamete in his lawe, and þe fend doiþ þus comunly; and confermyng of men is nought but ȝif God conferm bifore. And siþ þis point is perelous, men shulden be seker þat God confermeþ. And þus þis reule failiþ now to weie love aftir þat it shulde be, so þat love þat shulde be more were more chargid in mannis soule. And þus, siþ men shulden love more Cristis ordenaunce and his boundis þan ony þat comen after, and Crist haþ ordeyned[1] at þe fulle, men shulden leeve þes novelries as contrarie to Cristis ordenaunce, and love þe mesure þat Crist haþ ȝovun, for so diden Cristis apostlis.

as inconsistent with the pure love of God.

And wite we wel þat alle þes autours of þes novelries done harm to hemsilf and to þe Chirche, and to þer neiȝboris. Also whi shulden not love of Crist move men to holde his boundis? And þus it semeþ to many men, þat þes newe ordris and þer fautours failen over myche in charite, for in love of Crist and his Chirche, siþ Cristis religion were algatis beter, perfitere, sekere, and liȝtere. For Crist autour passiþ in þes; and we shulden drede Poulis sentence, þat who þat loveþ not Jesus Crist, he is cursid of God; and þis cursing is moost to drede. And generaly, worst þing is more costly and more hevy; and þus it lettiþ feble weie-goeres, to be taried wiþ sich þing. And errour in weiyng of þis love makiþ many fals weddingis; as men ben weddid wiþ þer habitis, and þer custumes, and þer singular maners, as ȝif þei weren Cristis comaundementis; and ȝit þei ben ful feble in kynde. And men blasfemen in þis point, for þei putten a reule of love to ordeyne an yvel þing to be more loved, aȝen þe ordenaunce of God. And þis is opin blasfemy, siþ God appropriþ unto him to weie þingis, how þei shulden be loved, and to make hem oþer betere or worse. And þus auctours of accidentis hyen hem above Crist, as ȝif þei wolden maken a newe world, and change goodnesse of þingis. But þes goddis varien; as oon loveþ o maner, and anoþir loveþ anoþir, and hatiþ þe maner of his broþir; and þis techiþ wel

[1] corrected; *ordeyneþ*, A.

ynowȝ þat alle þes ben false goddis. And þus þe crafte of love of þingis is moost nedeful to al oþer; for no man mai come to blis but bi vertue of þis crafte; and no man mai synne but for errour in þis crafte, as blessid men doone Goddis ordenaunce, and dampned men loven þe contrarie. And alle þes newe ordris ben dividid in þer love, as oon loveþ oon and anoþer anoþer, and so hatiþ his contrarie. But Crist, whanne he lovede hoolliche his Chirche, wolde not make it faire wiþ þese ordris; and eche man is holden to love liche after þat Crist loveþ, and to hate þat he hatiþ, and þanne is his hierste vertue stablid.

XXIV.

[FIFTY HERESIES AND ERRORS OF FRIARS.]

[Three MSS. of the present tract are known to exist,—one in the Bodleian, another in the Corpus volume at Cambridge, and the third at Trinity College, Dublin. It was printed by Thomas James, Bodley's librarian, in the year 1608, with as much accuracy as could be expected in that age, when scholarly criticism was all reserved for the classics. Dr. Vaughan, who has given the entire tract in his *Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe* (London 1845), has contented himself with reprinting the text of Dr. James. The text here given is based upon Bodl. 647, with which the Corpus MS. has been collated.

Bale mentions this treatise in his *Catalogue* of the Reformer's works, under the title 'De Fratrum Nequitiis.' Other external evidence of authorship there is none. The date of its composition was probably the last half of the year 1384 (see the note to ch. xxiv). So far it would be quite possible to assign it to Wyclif; but it is perhaps equally probable that it was written by one of his disciples. The language used in ch. xxii rather points to some ex-friar as the author, such e. g. as Peter Patteshull, who, having been originally an Augustinian friar, abandoned his Order, and joining the Lollards in London, 'learned that he had done well in deserting a private religion, and betaking himself to the public or general life' of Christians (Walsingham, sub anno 1387).

It seems probable that the form of the treatise was suggested by the proceedings of the Council of London, which extracted from the writings of Wyclif twenty-four conclusions for condemnation, ten as heretical, and fourteen as erroneous. In reply, the writer of our treatise charges the friars, the most active opponents of the Lollard movement, with holding more than twice as many 'heresies and errours' (ch. 1) as Wyclif had been charged with. The unmeaning title 'Objections of Freres,' given to this tract in Dr. Shirley's *Catalogue*, and also by Lewis, has no other authority than a marginal note, in a hand of the seventeenth century, found in the Corpus MS.]

CAP. I.

The religion of Christ more perfect than the so-called religion of the friars.

FIRST, freris seyn þat hor religioun, founden of synful men, is more perfite þen þat religion or ordir þo whiche Crist hymself made, þat is bothe God and mon. Ffor þei sey þat iche bischop and prest may lawfully leeve hor first dignyte, and after be a frere; bot when he is oones a frere, he may in no maner leeve þat and lyve as a bischop or a prest, by þe fourme of þo gospel. Bot þis heresie seis þat Crist lacked witte myȝt or charite, to teche apostlis and his disciplis þo beste religion. Bot what mon may suffer þis foule heresie to be putte on Jesus Crist? Cristen men sey þat þo religion and ordir þat Crist made for his disciplis and prestes, is moste perfite, moste esy, and moste siker. Moste perfite for þis resoun,—for þo patroune or founder þerof is moste perfite, for he is verrey God and verrey mon, þat of moste witte and moste charite gaf þis religion to his der-worþe frendis. Also þo reule þerof is moste perfite, sith þo gospel in his fredome, wiþouten error of mon, is reule of þis religion. Also knyghtis of þis religion ben moste holy and moste perfite,—ffor Jesus Crist and his apostils ben chef knyghtis þerof; and aftir hom holy martiris and confessors. Hit is moste esy and light, for Crist hymself seys þat his ȝok is soffte, and his charge is light, siþ hit stondes al in luf and fredome of hit, and biddes noþing bot resonable þing, and profitable for þo keper þerof. Hit is moste siker, for hit is confermed of God, and not of synful men; and no mon may distrie hit, or dispense þerageyns; bot if þo pope or any mon shchal be saved, he mot be confermed þerby, and ellis he schal be dampned.

The confirmation of which by the Pope avails nothing.

Bot men sey þat oþer newe ordiris and reulis ben noeȝt worth, bot if þei ben confermed of þo pope, and oþir synful men; and þen þei ben not worth, bot if þei ben confermed of þo devel, in caas þo pope schal be dampned, for þen he is a devel, as þo gospel seis of Judas. And þus men seyn þat Cristis religioun in his owne clennesse and fredome is more perfite þen any synful monnis religioun, by als myche as Crist is more perfite þen is any synful mon. And if newe religiouns seyn þat þei kepen al þat Cristis religioun biddes, þei sparen þo sothe. For þei lacken þo fredome and mesure of Cristis religioun, and ben

bounden to errours of synful men, and þerby ben letted to profite to Cristen mennis soulis, and not suffred to teche frely Gods lawe, ne kepe hit in homself. Ffor by þo first and moste comaundement of God, þei ben holden to love God of al hor hert, of al hor lif, of al hor mynde, and of alle hor strengthes, and hor neghtbors as homself. Bot who may do more þen þis? þen may no mon kepe more þen Cristis religion biddes. And so, if þis new religion of freris be more perfit þen Cristis religion, þen if freris kepen wil hor religion, þei ben more perfit þen Cristis apostils; and ellis þei ben apostataas. And if men ben apostataas, þei leeven þo better ordir, and taken anoþer lesse perfite. And þo ordir of Crist in his clennesse and fredome is moste perfite, and so hit semes þat alle þese freris ben apostataas.

Cap. II.

Friars who leave their convents in order to preach freely, are persecuted.

Also freris seyn prively þat hit is apostasie and heresie for a prest to lyve as Crist ordeyned a prest to lyve, by forme of þo gospel. Ffor if þer be any frere þat is a prest, cunnynge in Gods lawe, and able to travel to sowe Gods wordis amonge þo puple, if he do þis offis frely, goynge fro cuntre to cuntre where he may moste profite, and ceesse not for prioure ne any oþir satrap, and charge not singuler habite, and begge not, bot be payed with comyne mete and drinke, as Crist and his apostils were, þei wil poursue hym as apostata, and drawe hym to prisoun, and sey þat he is cursed for þis dede. Ffor þis fre goynge aboute and fre prechinge is leeveful to suche a frere, sith hit is ensaumplid and comaundid of Crist, and not to be cloosid in a cloyster, as hit were Caymes Castel[a]. And so freris schulden be nedid to leeve þis lyvynge of cloyster, and feyned obedience by singuler professioun, and to dwelle amonge þo puple, to whom þei may moste profite gostly. For charite nedid Crist and Baptist to cum oute of desert to teche þo gospel to þo puple, til þei were deed; þerfore myche more charite schulde dryve freris to cum out amonge þo puple, and leeve Caymes Castels þat ben so nedeles and chargeouse to þo puple, sith þei

[a] See note on p. 348.

connot occupye homself so wil in suche solitarie lif and contemplacioun, as couthen Crist and Jon Baptist. And to þis same ende Crist ordeyned alle his apostils and disciplis to lyve an open gode lif, in mekenesse and willeful povert and discrete penaunce, to teche bisily his gospel to þo puple, and not be closid in grete cloystres and coystily, as Caymes Castels. And hit semes an open doynge of Anticrist to suffer not prestis to frely do þis offis of Crist, bot nede hom, upon peyne of prisonynge, to be reulid in þis after þo wille of a symple ydiot, and, in caas, a dampned devel of helle. And so þer seemes no meene to holde þese sectis togedir, bot if hit be þis blasphemye, to prisoune a mon for als myche as he dos aftir þo wille of God. And þus þis new professioune is harmeful for mony skilles, for hit is not ensaumplid of Crist, ne any of his apostlis, and he tauȝt us al þat was nedeful and profitable.

Also þis profession serves of noght bot if hit be to make foolis do more after þo erroures of synful men, þen after þo maundement of God. Ffor by vertue of Cristis teching, iche mon is holden to do after iche oþer, in als myche as he techis Cristis comaundement or counseil; and more may no mon bynde anoþer. Also Crist gaf his disciples power of iche werk þat turnes to profite of hor soulis, and helpe of oþer men; and þis fredome is letted by þis profession made to synful men, and, in caas, to fendis of helle. Bot here men wil not distrie freris, ne slee hom, ne curse hom, bot distrie hor errours and save þo persones, and brynge hom to þat lyvynge þat Crist ordeyned prestes to lyve inne, for þat is algatis þo best, to þo moste worschip of God, to moste profite of holy Chirche, and to freris also. Bot what mon schulde not helpe herto, upon al his power, witte, and wille?

The obedience to which their rule binds them is pernicious.

Cap. III.

Also freris seyn, if a mon be oones professid to hor religioun, he may nevere leeve hit and be saved, þof he be nevere so unable þerto, for al tyme of his lif. And so þei wil nede hym to lyve in suche a staate everemore, to whiche God makes hym evere unable, and so nede hym to be dampned. Alas! oute on suche heresie, þat monnis

The iniquity of compelling a friar to remain in his Order, though his conscience bids him leave it.

ordynaunce is holden strenger þen is þo ordynaunce of God! Ffor if a mon enter into þo new religioun, ageyns monnis ordynaunce, he may lawefully forsake hit; bot if he enter ageyns Gods ordynaunce, when God makes hym unable þerto, he schal not be suffred by Anticristis power to leeve hit. And if þis resoun were wel declarid, siþ no mon wot whiche mon is able to þis new religion [a] by Gods dome, and whiche is not able, no mon schulde be constreyned to holde forth þis new sect. And þus þis new religioun may not laste bot if hit be by þis blasphemye, to constreyne a mon unable by Gods dome to holde þis new sect, and suffer him not to cum to fredome of Cristis ordir.

CAP. IV.

and of forbidding him to preach publicly though God may be strongly moving him to do so.

Also freris seyn, if a mon be professid to hor holy ordir, he schal not preche frely and generaly þo gospel to Cristen men withouten license of his sovereyne for virtue of obedience, be his sovereyne nevere so cursid mon of lif, and unconnynge of Gods lawe, and enemye to Cristen monnis soule, and, in caas, a foule devel of helle,—þof þis mon professid have resseyved of God nevere so myche connynge of Gods lawe, and power and wille to wurche after þis connynge. And so þis mon schal nedis be dampned for mysspendynge of Gods tresoure; ffor siþ Gods lawe seis þat he is oute of charite þat helpis not his broþer with bodily almes, if he may, in his nede, myche more is he oute of charite þat helpis not his broþers soule wiþ techinge of Gods lawe, when he sees hym renne to helle, ȝhe, by ignoraunce. And þus to magnyfie and mayntene hor roten sectis, þei neden men by ypocrisie, fals techinge, and stronge peynes to breke Gods heestis and leese charite. Oute on þis fals heresie and tirauntrye of Anticrist, þat men ben nedid strongly to kepe more his lawes, and obeeche more to hom, þen to Cristis comaundements evere rightful!

CAP. V.

Friars live by begging, which is clean against Holy Scripture,

Also freris seyn and mayntenen, þat begginge is leveful, þo whiche is dampned by God, bothe in þo Olde Testament and in þo New. For in þo fyveȝt boke of holy writt, God seis to his

[a] So in X; W has the words transposed.

puple, Algatis a nedy mon and begger schal not be amonge ȝowe [a]. Also þo Holy Gost tauȝte Salomon to preye þese two þinges of God:—God, make vanite and leesinge wordis fer fro me, and gif not to me beggyng, or beggyngnesse[1], and richesse[2], bot gif oneliche þinges þat ben nedeful for my lyvelode in avauntre, lest I, fulfilde, be drawen to renaye, and sey, Who is Lord? as who sey, I knowe no Lord; and lest I be compellid or made of force by nedynesse to steele, and to forswere þo name of my God. Also þo Wise mon seis, Hit is a wicked or weyward lif to seke herberow fro hous to hous; and he schal not do tristiliche, þere he schal be hereberowid, and he schal not open his mouthe. Also Crist biddes his apostils and his disciplis, þat þei schul not bere a sachel ne scrippe, bot loke what meyneȝ is hable to here þe gospel, and eete and drinke þerinne, and passe not þennes, and not passe fro hous to hous. Also Seynt Poule laborid or travelid wiþ his hondis, for hym and for men þat weren wiþ hym, and coveytid nouþer golde ne silver ne clothes of men þat he tauȝte, to gif oþer teechers ensaumple to do þo same in tyme of nede. And Seynt Petre fischid after Cristis resurreccioun. Also Seynt Poule biddes þat men þat wil lyve in ydelnesse and curiouste, and not travel, schulde not eete.

Prov. xxx. 8.

Ecclus. xxix. 31

2 Thess. iii. 10.

Also Seynt Clement ordeyned þat Cristen men schulden not begg opunly. And, for to putt awey þis beggynge, Seynt Austyne makes twoo bokes, hou munkis owen to travel wiþ her hondis for her lyvelode [b]. And þo same techis Benett to his munkis, and Seynt Bernarde; and so does Fraunceys to freris. And Jerom seis þat munkis schulden travel wiþ hor hondis, not onely for nede, bot raþer to exclude ydelnesse and vanyte. Ffor in state of innocense God ordeyned mon to travel, and aftirward in þo state of synne God gaf þis labour to mon to his

and at variance with the teaching of saints and fathers.

[1] *beggynnesse*, X. [2] So in X; W omits *and richesse*.

[a] The reference is to Deuteronomy xv. 4, where the Wycliffite versions, following the Vulgate, translate as in the text. The authorized version, following the Hebrew, gives quite another meaning: 'Save when there shall be no poor among you,' or, as it is better given in the marginal reading, 'To the end that there may be no poor among you.'

[b] S. Aug. *De Opere Monachorum*.

penaunse. Þen sith iche open beggynge is þus scharply dampned in holy writt, hit is a foule erroure to mayntene hit; bot hit is more erroure to sey þat Crist was suche a begger, for þen he moste have ben contrarie to his owne lawe; bot hit is moste erroure to contynue in þis dampned beggynge, and robbe þus, ageyns charite, þo pore puple, and make hom to byleve þat Crist was suche a begger, and þat þis beggynge is wil done.

Cap. VI.

Friars thus intercept alms which should go to the really needy and suffering.

Also freris seyn in dede, þat hit is medeful to leeve þo comaundement of Crist, of gyvynge of almes to pore feble men, to pore croked men, to pore blynde men, and to bedraden[1] men, and gif þis almes to ypocritis, þat feynen hom holy and nedy when þei ben strong in body and haven over myche richesse, bothe in grete waste housis, in preciouse clothis, in grete feestis, and mony jewels and tresoure. And þus þei sleen pore men with hor fals beggynge; siþ þei take falsely fro hom hor worldly godis, by whiche þei schulden susteyne hor bodily lif, and deceyven riche men in hor almes, and mayntenen or counforten hom to lyve in falsenesse, ageyns Jesus Crist. For siþ þer weren pore men ynowe to take mennis almes, byfore þat freris comen in, and þo erthe is nowe more bareyn þen hit was, ouþer freris or pore men moten wante of þis almes. Bot freris by sotil ypocrisie geten to homself, and letten þo pore men to have þis almes.

Cap. VII.

The abandonment of the habit is treated as a heinous sin.

Also freris chargen more brekyng of hor owne tradicioun þen brekyng of þo comaundementis of God. Ffor a frere schal more be punysched for brekyng of one of hom, þen for brekyng of Gods heestis, for brekyng of Gods heestis is not charged of hom. And in þis þei schewen hou þei loven hor owne worschip more þen Gods; and þus þei taken to homself þo worschip þat is appropred to God; and so ben blasphemes and heretikis. And so þei chargen more hor bodily habite þen charite and

[1] *beddere*, X.

oþer vertues. Ffor if a frere leefe his bodily habite, to þo whiche he is not bounden by Gods lawe, he is holden apostata and scharply pursued, sumtyme to prisoun, and sumtyme to þo deth, þof he serve better God wiþoute his habite þen þerinne. Bot þof he trespas ageyns charite by impacience and fals leesingis, or pride or coveitise, hit is litil or noȝt charged, bot raþer preysed, if hit bringe hom worldly [1] mukke.

Cap. VIII.

Pretending to follow Christ strictly, they are the most covetous of men.

Also freris feynen hom, as ypocritis, to kepe straytly þo gospel and povert of Crist and his apostils; and ȝitt þei moste contrarien to Crist and his apostils in ypocrisie, pride, and coveitise. Ffor þei schewen more holynesse in bodily habite and oþer signes þen did Crist and his apostils; and for hor synguler habite or holynesse þei presumen to be even wiþ prelatis and lordis, and more worthy þen oþer clerkis; and in covetise þei con nevere make an ende, bot by beggynge, byqueethyng [2], by birying, by salaries and trentals, and by schryvyngis, by absolucioun, and oþer fals meenes, cryen evere after worldly godis, where Crist usid none of alle þese. And þus for þis stynkynge covetise þei worschippen þo fend as hor God.

Cap. IX.

By false professions friars induce parents to give up their children to them.

Also freris drawen childre fro Cristis religioun into hor private ordir by ypocrisie, leesingis, and steelynge. Ffor þei tellen þat hor ordir is more holy þen any oþer, and þat þei schul have hier degree in blis þen oþer men þat ben not þerinne; and seyn þat men of hor ordir schul nevere cum to helle, bot schul deme oþer men wiþ Crist at domesday. And so þei steelen childir fro fadir and modir, sumtyme soche as ben unable to þo ordir, and sumtyme soche as schulden susteyne hor fadir and modir by comaundement of God; and þus þei ben blasphemes, takyng upon hom ful counseil in doutouse þinges, þat ben not expressely comaundid ne forbeden in holy writt, sith siche conseil is approprid to þo Holy Gost. And

[1] So in X; W has *wordly*.

[2] *queþinge*, X.

þus þei ben herfore cursid of God, as þo Pharisees were cursid of Crist, to whom he seis þus;—Woo be to ȝowe, Scribis and Pharisees, (þat ben, writers of lawe and men of synguler religioun) þat cumpassen aboute þo water and þo londe to make a mon of ȝoure religioun; and when he is made of ȝoure religioun, ȝe maken hym double more a childe of helle. And siþ he þat steelis an oxe or a kow is dampnable by Gods lawe, and monnis also, myche more he þat steelis a monnis childe, þat is bettere þen alle erthely godis, and drawes hym to þo lesse perfit ordir. And þof þis synguler ordir were more perfite þen Cristis, ȝitt he wot nevere wheþer hit be to dampnacioun of þo childe, for he wot not to what state God hafs[1] ordeyned hym, and so blyndly þei done ageyns Cristis ordynaunse.

Cap. X.

They meddle in parish work, and so cause ill-will between priests and their parishioners.

Also freris for pride and covetise drawen fro curatis hor office and sacramentis, in whoche lyen wynnynge or wurschip, and so maken dissencioun bitwix curatis and hor gostly childer. Freris drawen to hom confessioun and birying of riche men by mony sotil meenes, and messe pens, and trentals [a], bot þei wil not cum to pore mennis dirige [b], ne resseyve hom to be biryed amonge hom. And þei cryen faste þat þei haf more power in confessioun þen oþer curatis; for þei may schryve alle þat comen to hom, bot curatis may no ferþer þen her owne parischens. Bot curatis seyn, þat sith þei schul answere byfore God for þo soulis

[1] *haþ*, X.

[a] See p. 299, note.

[b] 'pore mennis dirige.' In the office for the dead, according to the use of Sarum, at the vigils (which were recited daily unless hindered by the occurrence of the greater festivals) nine psalms were ordered to be sung, followed, when the body was present, by nine different antiphons; but when the body was not present, by one and the same antiphon, which was either *Placebo*, the 9th verse of Ps. 116 (114, Vulg.), or else *Dirige*, part of he 8th verse of the 5th psalm (Dirige in conspectu tuo vitam meam). These vigils, celebrated always on the day before the masses for the dead or for the repose of souls, and connected with those masses, must have made the word *Dirige*, londly repeated nine times after each psalm at the beginning of the antiphon, so familiar to the ears of our forefathers, that one cannot wonder at the employment of the word to express funeral obsequies generally. See the Sarum Breviary (Paris, 1554) and Mr. Way's note on *Dyryge* in the Camden Society's edition of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*.

of hor sogettis, þei wil knowe hor lif; and freris seyn hit is no nede, for þei haf more power þen þo curat; and þus discencioun and hate is made bytwix curatis and hor childer. And pride and covetise of freris is cause of al þis, and mony oþer synnes. And þus, for þei maken discorde amonge Cristen men, þei ben hatid and cursid of God Almyghty.

Cap. XI.

They talk of the sanctity of their founders, yet break their precepts.

Also freris comen in under þo name of seyntis, and forsaken þo seyntís reule and lyve, and putten hor owne errors to þo seyntis, and sclaundren both hom and God. For if men speken of Fraunceys, he usid and tauȝte myche mekenesse, povert, and penaunce, and Menoures now usen þo contrarei. For þei maken statutis of hor owne wille, and hom þei kepen faste, and maken men to wene þat Fraunceis made hom. Bot Prechours seyn þat Dominyk foundid hom, and þen he kept Austyns reule, sith he was a chanoun bifore; for ellis he was apostata if Austyns reule were gode. Bot Austyn wolde algatis sue þo apostils lyvyng, and Prechoures done even þo contrarie. And frere Austyns founden hom on Austyn þo grete doctor; bot his reule spekes noȝt of freris; and so þei ben groundid on leesingis, for þei have no patroun seynt. And of þo Carmes knowen men nouþer founder ne reule. And so þo freris þat haf founders done ageyns her founders teching and Cristis also; and colouren hor owne wicked lawes under name of þese seyntis; and so ben groundid on leesingis, and sclaundren hor patrouns and Crist also. And oþer freris, þat have no patrouns, lyven aftir hom-self, and putten hor erroures on seyntis, and so sclandren hom and Crist. And so ypocrisie regnes, and synne is mayntened by coloure of holynesse.

Cap. XII.

They thwart and persecute true priests.

Also freris pursuen treue prestis, and letten hom to preche þo gospel, notwitstondynge þat Crist enjoyned presthed and preching of þo gospel. And so þei departen þat þing þat God joyned togedir; and so, als myche as in hom is, þei fordone Gods ordynaunce. And so þei harmen Cristen men more cruely þen þo Soudon of Saraȝenes, for þei ben neer and more

malicious. For sith Crist charges alle his prestis to preche treuly þo gospel, and þei pursuen hom for þis dede, ȝhe, to þo fyer, þei wil slee prestis for þei done Gods biddinge. And þerfore þei ben mon-sleers and irreguler, and cursid of God, for þei letten his puple to be saved, and so neden hom to be dampned. And sith þo principal poynt and ende of Cristis dyinge and his passioun was to save monnis soule, and þo principal werk of Sathanas is to leese monnis soule, þei ben traitoures to Crist, and aungels of Sathanas transformed into aungel of light, and cruel traytoures of all men.

Cap. XIII.

Luxury and arrogance of the capped friars; covetousness of the Limitors.

Also capped freris, þat ben calde[1] maystres of dyvynite, have hor chaumber and servise as lordis or kynges, and senden oute ydiotis ful of covetise to preche, not þo gospel, bot cronyclis, fablis, and leesingis, to pleese þo puple and to robbe hom. And what cursidenesse is þis to a deed mon, as to þo world and pride and vanyte þerof, to gete hym a cappe of maysterdome, by preyer of lordis, and grete giftis, and makyng of huge feestis of a hundrid and mony hundrid poundes, and þen be ydel fro teching of Gods lawe, bot if hit be seelden[2], byfore lordis and ladyes or grete gederyngis for name of þo worlde, and þen to leeve hor povert and symplenesse þat he is bounden to, and devoure pore mennis almes in waste and feestynge of lordis and grete men, and so ȝif sclaunder to his breþer and oþer men, to lyve in pride and covetise, gloterie and ydelnesse, and leeve þo servise of God as þof þei were exempt from alle godis. And ȝitt forfendynge[3] of þese coveytouse foolis þat ben lymytoures, gos myche symonye, envye, and myche foule marchaundise; and who can beste robbe þo pore puple by fals beggyng and oþer disseytis, shal have þis Judas offis. And so a neste of Anticrist clerkis is mayntened by sotil cautelis of þo fende.

Cap. XIV.

The friars flatter the people, and let them live on in their sins.

Also freris schewen not to þo puple hor grete synnes stably as God biddes, and namely to myghty men of þo worlde, bot

[1] *clepid*, X. [2] *seldom*, X. [3] perhaps it should be *for sendynge*.

flatren hom and glosen and norischen hom in synne. And sith hit is þo offis of a prechoure to schewe men her foule synnes, and peynes þerfore, and freris taken þis offis, and done hit not, þei ben cause of dampnacioun of þo puple. For in þis þei ben foule traytours to God, and eke to þo puple, and þei ben nursis of þo fende of helle. For by flatryng and fals byheestis, þei leten men lyve in hor lustis and counforten hom þerinne. And sumtyme þei pursuen oþer trewe prechoures, for þei wil not glose myghty men, and counfort hom in hor synnes, but wil scharply telle hom þo sothe; and þus myghti men hire by grete costis a fals traytour to lede hom to helle. And ensaumple men may take, how freris suffren myghty men fro 3eere to 3eere lif in avowtrie, in covetise, in extorsiouns doyng, and mony oþer synnes. And when mẹn ben hardid in soche grete synnes, and wil not amende hom, freris schulden fle hor homely cumpanye, bot þei do not þus, lest þei leese worldly frenschip, favoure, or wynnyng. And þus for þo money þei sellen mennis soulis to Sathanas.

Cap. XV.

They deceive them and cheat them by means of their letters of fraternity.

Also freris by lettris of fraternite[a] disseyven þo puple in feyth, robben hom of temporal godis, and maken þo puple to trist more in deed parchemyne, seelid wiþ leesinges, and in veyn preyers of ypocrites, þat, in caas, ben dampned devels, þen in þe helpe of God, and in hor owne gode lyvynge. Comynly þese lettris ben poudrid wiþ ypocrisye, covetise, symonye, blasphemye, and oþer leesinges. Wiþ ypocrisie,—for þerinne ben tolde wiþouten ende[1] mony gode dedis, and sumtyme ben fals, and more to schewe hom holy, to gete worldly godis, þen to save mennis soulis. Wiþ covetise,—for þei done þis to wynne þo penye; for a pore mon þat may not gif hom, be he nevere so trew to God, schal not have hom, bot a riche, be he nevere so cursid, schal have soche lettris, and wenes þat he is siker ynowh herby, do he nevere so myche wrong to pore men. Wiþ symonye,—for þei sellen þis spiritual gode for temporal godis, and

[1] *nede*, X.

[a] For some account of these letters of fraternity, see vol. i. p. 67.

þat unskilfuly, for suche chafferynge or grauntinge of lettris was nevere ensamplid of Crist ne his apostils, and ȝitte þei loved best mennis soulis. Wiþ blasphemye,—for þes synful wrecchis taken upon hom þo deelyng of gode dedis; but þis þing is appropred to God; and so þei ben blasphemes. For þei passen bischopis, popis, and eke God hymself; for þei graunten no pardoun, bot if men ben contrit and schryven, and of meryt of Cristis passioun and oþer seyntis; bot freris maken no mencyoun, nouþer of contricioun ne schrifft, ne of meryt of Cristis passioun, but onely of hor owne gode dedis. And so Crist grauntis to no synful mon, contynuynge in his synne, suche part; but freris graunten raþer to cursid men, for worschippe or wynnynge, þen to gode pore men. And þus falsely þei passen Crist, ffor Crist wolde not graunte to his cosyns part of his kyngdome, bot if þei wolden suffre passioun as Crist did, bot freris wil make men eeyris in þe blis of heven, siþ þei graunten men part of hor gode dedis after þis lif; and þei may not haf þen part bot if þei schulen be saved. Bot Cristen byleve techis þat alle men in charitee ben parcyneres by graunte of God of alle medeful dedis; why þen graunten freris þis part? Ffor þei wil have proprete of gostly godis where no proprete may be, and leeven proprete of worldly godis where Cristen men may have proprete. And þus þei techen þo puple þat hit is more medeful to gif soche ypocritis bodily almes, þen to gif hit to pore nedy men after þo gospel. And þus þei disseyven þo puple in byleve, and robben hom of temporal godis, and maken to recke lesse of hor owne gode lyvynge, for trist of þese fals lettris.

Matt. xx. 22.

Cap. XVI.

Their heresy concerning the Eucharist.

Also freris perverten þo right feithe of þo sacrament of þo auter, and bringen in a newe heresie. Ffor when Crist seis þat þo bred ȝat he brake and blessid is his body, þei sey hit is an accident wiþouten sugett, or noght. And when holi writt seis openly þat þis sacrament is bred þat we breken, and Gods body, þei seyn þat hit is nouþer bred ne Gods body, bot accident wiþouten sugett, and noght. And þus þei leeven holy writt, and taken new heresie on Crist and his apostils, and on

Austyn, Jerom, Ambrose, Ysider[a], and oþer seyntis; and þe Court of Rome, and alle trew Cristen men þat holden þo feith of þo gospel. Ffor Crist seis þat, þis bred is my body; and Seynt Poule seis, Þo bred þat we breken is þo comunycacioun of þo Lordis body; and Seynt Austyn seis, þat þat þing þat we seen is bred. Bot as to faith fully tauȝte þo bred is Cristis body, Ambrose seis þat þing þat is bred schal be Cristis body[b]. Jerom seis, þat þat bred þo whiche Crist brac and gaf to his disciplis is þo body of oure Saveour, ffor Crist seis, þis is my body[c]. Berengarie, by approvynge of þo Court of Rome, seis þus;—I knoweleche wiþ herte and wiþ mouthe þat þo bred þat is leyd on þo auter is not onely þo sacrament, bot verrey Cristis body[d]. O Lord! what hardy devel durste teche þese freris to denye þus openly holy writt, and alle þese seyntis, and þo Court of Rome, and alle trew Cristen men, and to fynde þis heresie, þat þis sacrid oost is accident wiþouten sugett, or noght? sith þis is not tauȝte opunly in holy writt, and resoun and witte is ageyns þis. And Austyn, in þre or foure grete bookis, seis expressely þat noon accident may be wiþouten sugett, and alle wise philosoforis acorden here wiþ Austyn. Lord, what schulde move Crist Almyghty, al-witty, and alle[1] wel[2] willynge, to hide þis byleve of freris by a thousande ȝeer, and nevere to teche his apostils and so many seyntis þo right byleve, but to teche first þese ypocrites, þat comen nevere into þo Chirche til þo foule fende Sathanas was unbounden? Herby schulden alle Cristen men knowe þo freris heresie, and not resseyve hom into hor housis byfore þat þei confessiden under hor general seel þo right bileve of Cristen men, and had forsaken hor olde heresie.

[1] So in X; om. W.

[2] So in X; W has *wil.*

[a] Isidore.

[b] S. Ambr. *De Sacramentis*, lib. iv. cap. 5.

[c] The passage is in St. Jerome's *Epistola ad Hedibiam*, ch. ii.: 'Nos autem audiamus panem, quem fregit Dominus, deditque discipulis suis, esse corpus Domini Salvatoris, ipso dicente ad eos, *Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum.*'

[d] See the abjuration of Berengarius (made by him at the Council of Rome in 1059) in Labbe's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1101 (edit. 1671, Paris).

Cap. XVII.

The parochial system impaired by the encroachments and covetousness of the friars.

Also freris bylden mony grete chirchis and costily waste housis, and cloystris as hit were castels, and þat wiþoute nede, where-thorw parische chirchis [a] and comyne weyes ben payred, and in mony placis undone. And so þei techen in dede þat men schulden have heritage and dwellynge cyte in erthe, and forgete heven, ageyns Seynt Poule. Ffor by þis new housinge of freris, þof hit rayne on þo auter of þo parische chirche, þo blynde puple is so disseyved þat þei wil raþer gif to waste housis of freris þen to parische chirchis, or to comyn weyes, þof men catel and beestis ben perischid þerinne. Byfore þat freris comen in þer was more puple, and þo erthe more plentyuos; and þen were chirchis ynowe. What skil is hit now to make so myche cost in new byldyng, and lete olde parische chirchis falle doune? And if men seyn þat in þese grete chirchis God is feyre served, certis grete housis make not men holy, and onely by holynesse is God wel served. Ffor in heven, þat was so feyre, Lucifer served God untreuly, and so did Adam in Paradise. And Jesus seis þat þo grete temple of Jerusalem, þat was a hous of preyer and sumtyme Gods hous, was made a den of thefis, for covetouse prechoures dwelliden þerinne. Bot Job served God ful wel on þo dunghil, and so did Adam oute of Paradise, and Crist beste, when he preyed in hilles and desertis, and Baptist eke. And þerfore Crist and his apostlis maden no grete chirchis ne cloystris, bot wenten fro cuntrey to cuntrey, preching þo gospel, and teching men to do hor almes to pore men, and not to waste housis. Ffor Crist tauȝte men to preye in spirit and treuthe, þat is, in gode wille and devocioun and holy lyvynge. And to destrie þis ypocrisie, he ordeyned þo temple of Jerusalem schulde be destried, for synne done þerinne.

[a] As bishops and [monastic] corporations were in mutual hostility, so the parochial clergy found opponents and dangerous rivals in the richly privileged Mendicant Orders, who were indefatigable in their attempts to appropriate the lucrative functions of the priesthood, and to decoy the people from the parish-churches into their own.'—*The Pope and the Council*, p. 167 (English translation, Rivingtons, 1869).

Cap. XVIII.

Their doctrine of implicit obedience to a superior is dishonouring to Christ.

Eph. v. 21.

Freris also destrien obedience of Gods lawe, and magnifyen singuler obedience made to synful men, and, in caas, to devels; whiche obedience Crist ensaumplid nevere, nouþer in hymself ne in his apostils. Ffor by teching of Seynt Poule iche mon owis to be sugett to oþer in þo drede of Crist, þat is, in als myche as he techis hym Gods wille; and no mon schulde obeeche more to any mon. And evere þo more þat a mon were, þo more schulde he þus meke hym self, as Crist did to alle his apostils. Bot freris tellen noȝt by þis obedience, bot if þei maken singuler professioun to sinful foolis, þat mony tymes techen and comaunden hom ageyns Gods wille; and seyn, þat in suche þinges as ben not expressely comaundid ne forfendid in Gods lawe, þei schulden algatis do after hor sovereyns, ȝhe, þof hit be unwittingly ageyns Gods wille. And sith hit is approprid to þo Holy Gost to gif ful counseil in soche poyntes, þei maken hor synful prioures even wiþ þo Holy Gost; and where þei schulden be governed in soche douty poyntes by þo Holy Gost, þei leeven his counsel and reulyng mony tymes, and taken hom to þo reulynge of a synful fool, and, in caas, a dampned fende in helle. And þus þei leeven obedience þat Crist tauȝte and ensaumplid, as unperfite and not sufficient, and prysen more feyned obedyence to synful foolis, þat þei taken of hor owne presumpcioun, as if soche foolis hade founden perfiter obedience þen evere did Crist, God and mon.

Cap. XIX.

Friars who leave their Order to accept Church dignities are still more pernicious.

Also freris forsaken perfeccioun of hor ordir for worschip of þo world and covetise, and ben not suffrid to take þo fredome of þo gospel, for to preche Gods worde to þo puple. Ffor freris ben made bischopis,—ȝhe, mony tymes bi symonye, and sworne strongly to go and preche and convert hethen men; and leeven þis gostly offis, and ben suffragans in Englond, and robben men by extorciouns, as in punysching of synnne for money, and suffren men to lye in synne fro ȝeer to ȝeer for an annuel rente. And so in halowynge of chirchis and chirchc-ȝerdis and

auters, and comynly alle oþer sacramentis, for money. And þus þese freris, bischopis, lyven comynly evere after in symonye pride and robberye, and þus þei ben exempt by Cayaphas bischopriche fro alle gode observaunsis of Gods lawe, and of hor owne ordir, and be fre to lyve in synne, and to robbe oure lond, and envemyn[1] hit by mony cursinges. And so þei beren oute first þo golde of oure lond to aliens, and sumtyme to oure enemyes, to gete of Anticrist þis fals exempcioun, and evere after lyven in robbynge of pore men, and mayntenen myche synne, cursinge, and symonye, þat is passing heresie. And oþer bischopis of hom þat have diocisis in þis lond, forsaken povert and penaunse and obedience, for þei loken to be maysters of all freris of þat ordir in þis lond, and to lyve in pride, lustis of hor flesche, ydelnesse, and spoyling of þo puple more suttily þen oþer. And þus a frere schalle dwelle in courtis of lordis and ladies, to be hor confessours, and not displeese hom for noþing, þof þei lyven in nevere so cursid synnes, for to lyve in his lustis, and to gete falsely muk to Anticristis covent, and lette pore men of hor almes. And herto he schal have leeve and comaundement upon vertue of obedience; bot he schal no leeve have to go generaly aboute in þo worlde, and preche treuly þo gospel wiþouten beggyng, and lyve an open pore and just lif, as Crist and his apostils diden, ffor þis were destrying of hor feyned ordir. And þerfore þei loven more pride, covetise, and lustis of hor owne flesche, þen þo worschip of God and heele of monnis soule. And þus þei maken sacrifice to Lucifer, to mammon, and to hor owne stenkynge bely.

Cap. XX.

They inculcate a superstitious reverence for their habit, and trust in its virtue at the hour of death.

Also freris prysen more hor rooten habite þen þo worschipful body of oure Jesus Crist. Ffor þei techen lordis, and namely ladies, þat if þei dyen in Fraunceys habite þei schul nevere cum in helle for vertu þerof; and certis þis is an open heresie, dampnynge alle þat tristen þus into hor lyves ende. Bot a mon may have þo sacrament of þo auter, þat is verrey Gods body, in his

[1] *envenyme*, X.

mouthe, and streyght fle to helle wiþouten ende, and þo more be dampned for þo yvel takynge of þis sacrament. Soche heretikis ben unable to be amonge Cristen men.

Cap. XXI.

Friars beg without need, and thus intercept alms from those in real distress.

Also freris beggen wiþouten nede for hor owne riche secte, and not for pore bedraden men þat may not go, and have no mon to sende for hor lyvelode, bot raþer drawen riche mennis almes fro soche pore men. And herfore charite is outelawed amonge hom, and so is God; and leesinges, covetise, and fendis, ben enhabited amonge hom. For þei disseyven men in hor almes, to make costily housis, not to herberow pore men, bot lordis and myghty men; and techen men to suffer Gods temple, þat ben pore men, to perische for defaute. And þus þei ben traytoures to God, and his riche puple, whom þei disseyven in hor almes, and monquelleres of pore men, whose lyvelode þei awey taken fro hom by fals leesinges, and herfore þei ben irreguler bifore God, and despisen hym, and harmen þo puple when þei seyn masse or mateynes in þis cursid lif, as holy writte techis, and Austyn and Gregor declaren fully.

Cap. XXII.

Their cruel practice of imprisoning members of their own Order.

Freris also kepen not correpcioun of þo gospel ageyns hor breþer þat trespassen, bot cruely done hom to peyneful prisoun. Bot þis is not þo meke suynge of Jesus Crist, for he and his apostils prisoneden not synful men in þis lif, bot scharply reproved hor synne, and at þo laste, when þei wolden not amende hom, tauȝten gode men to comyne not wiþ hom. Bot þese freris schewen here tirauntrie at þo fulle, whoso knewe wil hor peynes and tourmentis. And hit semes no wisedome ne profite to gif freris power to prisoune men. Ffor when þo kyng by his officeris prisounes a mon, þat is comynly done for gret and open trespas, and þat is gode warnyng to oþer mysdoers, and sum profit comes to þo kynges ministers. Bot when freris prisounen her breþer, þo peyne is not knowen to men, þof þo synne were nevere so open and sclaunderouse, and

þat dos harme to þer lege men, and profite of kynges ministris is awey. And when þo potestatis of freris ben proude, covetouse, and synful, and haten þo treuthe, þei wil soone prisoun trew men þat reproven hor synnes, and spare oþer schrewes, þat þei may flater hom and mayntene hom in hor synne, and so, byside þo kynges leeve, tormenten trew men, for þei wolden do Gods heestis. And sith þo kyngis graunte is occasion herto, þo kyng is holden to revoke and lette freris prisonyng, leste he be gilty of þo synne þat comes þerby, sith he may destrie hit and dos not. And þus deede beggers, freris, lippen up to kynges power, and mony tymes more þen þo kyng dar do, and maken þo kyng þo fendis tormentour to prisoune trewe men, for þei seyn þo sothe. And so þo kyng stoppis Gods lawe to be knowen in his lond, and norischis yvel men, and prisounes gode. Ffor þis deede and mony moo schulde þo kyng revoke þis prisonyng, and make clerkes by-reulid[1] aftir þo gospel, by symplenesse and holy lyvynge.

This the king ought not to suffer.

Cap. XXIII.

Also freris maken oure lond lawelesse, for þei leeden clerkes, and namely reulen prelatis and lordis and laydies, and comynes also; and þei ben not reulid by Gods lawe, ne lawes of þo Chirche, ne lawes of þo kyng. Ffor þei glosen Gods lawe as hom likes, and ben exempt fro bischopis and oþer ordinaries, and leeden þo bischop of Rome as hom likes. And men seyn þei ben not lege men to þo kynge ne sugett to his lawes; ffor þof þei steelen mennis childer, hit is seyd þer gos no lawe upon hom. And þat semes evil, for þei robben þo kynges lege men by fals beggynge of sixty thousande mark by ȝeere, as men douten resonably, and ȝitte þei ben not punisched herfore. And þus lawelesse freris, by hor fals reulynge, maken our lond laweles, ffor þei letten clerkes, lordis, and comyns to knowe þo treuthe of holy writt, and maken hom to pursue trew men to þo deth, for þei techen þo comaundementis of God, and crien to þo puple þo foule synnes of fals freris. And þus falsenesse

Their inordinate power,—social, political, and ecclesiastical.

[1] *to be reulid*, X.

is mayntened, and fals men ben raysid to grete astatis, and treuthe is putt on bac, and trew men ben pursued, ȝhe, to prisonyng, to losse of alle hor godis, and to scharpe jugement, for als myche as þei wolden destrie synne þat was openly and cursidly done, and in poynt for to fordo oure lond. And of þis reuling ben freris moste gilty, for þei leeden prelatis, lordis and ladies, justisis and oþer men by confessioun, and tellen hom not spedily hor synnes; ffor if þei tolden hom hor synnes, and þei wolde not amende hom, þo freris þat ben hor confessoures schulden leeve hom up, as Crist and Poul techen. Bot þei done not þus, for þen þei schulden leese wynnyng and favor of þo worlde. And þus, for love of money and wilfare of hor body, þei leeden oure lond oute of þo lawe of God and al rightwisenes.

Cap. XXIV.

The friars eagerly promoted the late disastrous crusade to Flanders.

Also freris ben irreguler procuratours of þo fende, to make and mayntene werris on Cristen men, and enemyes of pees and charite. For freris counseilen and opunly prechen, þat men schulen fle to heven wiþouten peyne if þei wolden goo and slee in hor owne persone, or mayntene and synde one at hor coste, to slee Cristen men. And þo ende was to make Cristis viker moste riche to þo worlde, þo whiche viker schulde be moste pore, suynge in þis moste hyely Crist and his apostlis. Bot Crist dyed to make pees and charite; and if men myghten þus frely graunte pardoun, þei schulden, ȝhe, to lese hor owne lif, graunte pardoun to make pees. ȝitte þei prechen no pardoun ne mede to make pees and charite, and ȝitte þei ben bounden of God to make men siker to have þo blis of heven, if þei wil treuly procure for pees and charite. Bot of þo pardoun þat men usen to day fro þo Court of Rome, þei have no sikernesse by holy writte ne resoun, ne ensaumple of Crist or [1] his apostils. And so of oþer werris and debatis, þat freris myghten lette if þei wolden. And siþ þei done not, bot raþer counseilen þerto, and counforten men þerinne, and tellen nȯt þo periles of hom, þei ben cause and procuratoures of alle werris, and specialy of

[1] so X; W has *of*.

þis werre in Flaundris. For þei prechiden þat, and haden hit forth, aȝeyns þo kyng, þo duke[a], and oþir lordis and clerkis, and scharply pursueden prestis þat stoden by charite and profite of þo rewme. And so þei weren þen above þo kyng, lordis, and trew prestis, and robbiden þo kyngis lege men by fals leesinges of many thousande poundis, þat þof þo kyng schulde now be taken, and oure lond conqueerid or destried, þo kyng myght not reyse so myche to helpe hymself and his lond. And certis here was tresoun to God and þo kyng, and false disseyte of alle men, bothe of catel and of soule, and lettinge and destrieyng of pees and of charite.

Cap. XXV.

The same subject continued.

Freris also ben Scarioths childre, bitrayinge trew men of þo gospel, and so Crist, for money. And for money þei senden soulis to Sathanas, by ensaumple of hor yvel lyvynge, by counseil to werris, and norischinge and counfortinge men in synne, for lustis of hor flesche. Ffor, in pleesinge of bischopis and oþer men, þei prechen ageyns povert of Crist, and seyn þat prechours of þo gospel and Cristis lif ben heretikes, worthy to be brende. And so, for giftis of bischopis and oþer men, and worldly favor, þei sellen treuthe of þo gospel, and so Crist, as Judas did. Ffor Seynt Bede and Seynt Ambrose seyn, sith Crist is treuthe, he þat for money seis falsenesse, and leeves þo sothe, dos suche synne as Judas did. And so þei counseilen to werris, for þei wynnen myche þerby; and for defaute of charite þei senden soulis to helle, when men by hor counseile taken fals werris and enden in hom, wenynge þat þei done wil, and þerfore dyen wiþouten sorwe of hom. And for to hert men in þis cursid werringe, þei gone with hom into werre, and ben hor confes-

[a] That is, the Duke of Lancaster, for he was in power in 1383, the year of the expedition to Flanders. The form of expression also seems to show that this was written before 1386, in which year, owing to the departure of John of Gaunt for Portugal, his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, obtained a commanding influence at court. At the same time the enterprise of Bishop Spencer is not spoken of as a *very* recent event; so that, if this tract be really by Wyclif, we must assign it, I think, to the last six months of his life.

soures, and sumtyme sleen men in hor owne persone. And þus þei ben Anticristis martiris, and fleen to helle, to drawe oþer men þider after hom.

Cap. XXVI.

As spiritual guides, they encourage the rich in pride and worldliness.

Also freris destryen þis worlde moste of alle cursid men, ffor þei bacbyten gode clerkis, and seyn þat þei distourblen þo worlde, and flateren yvel clerkes in hor synne. And so þei preysen lordis þat ben tyrauntis, extorsioneris, and yvel lyvers, aud ladies also. And þei dispisen lordis and ladies þat bygynnen to leeve pride and vanyte of þo world, and seyn hit was not myrie, sithen lordis and ladies taken rewarde to þo gospel, and lafften hor aunsetris maners þat weren wurschipful to þo worlde. And so, of riche men and oþer, þei preysen hom þat bringen hom myche money, wiþ wronge and mony disseytis, and seyn þat þei ben holy; bot oþer men þat gyven not freris much more þan ynowhe, þei lakken at þo fulle, þof þei done hor almes myche better to hor pore neghtboris. And sith God seis þat yvel techers ben cause of destruccioun of þo puple, and Grosted declarid hit wil, and freris ben principal yvel techers, þei ben principal cause of destryinge of þis worlde. Ffor þei ben confessoures, prechoures, and reulers comynly of alle men, and þei techen hom not hor foule synnes, and periles of hom, bot suffren hom in hor synnes, for wynnynge of stinkynge muck and lustis of hor owne bely, þat is foule wormes meete and a sack of dritt.

Cap. XXVII.

Their impatience of reproof;

Also freris ben moste rebel ageyns þo techinge of Cristis gospel and moste out of patiense and pite, ffor þei ben moste unpacient ageyns reprovynge of synne and destryinge þerof. Ffor a lord wil mekelier suffer scharpe despisinge of his litel synne, þen þei wil suffer meke and soffte reprovynge of hor grete heresies. Ffor þei ben wode þat mennes almes schulde be rightly departid amonge pore men, nedy, feble, crokid, and blinde,—ffor þen þei seyn þei ben undone. Bot þei ben of veyne religioun, as Seynt Jame seis, Ffor þis is a clene religioun, wiþouten spott anentis God þo Fadir, to visite fadirles and

modirles childre, and widows in hor tribulacioun, and to kepe a mon unfoulid fro þis worlde, þat is, fro pride, covetise, and vanytees. Bot freris done al þo contrarie, for þei visiten riche men, and by ypocrisie geten falsely hor almes, and wiþdrawen hit fro pore men. Bot þei visiten riche widows for hor mucke, and maken hom to be biried at þo freris; bot pore men comen not in þere. And willeful povert þei forsaken, and ben moste covetouse of alle men, and boosten more of hor holynesse, and ben moste dislavy[1] of hor veyn speche and worldly. And, as trewe men tellen, freris seyn apertely, if þo kynge and lordis and oþer men stonden þus ageyns hor fals beggyng, and wil not suffer freris to robbe hor tenauntis, bot gif hor almes to hor pore neghtboris, freris wil go out of þo lond and cum ageyne wiþ bright hedis[a]. And loke wheþer þis be tresoun or noon.

their treasonable language.

Cap. XXVIII.

Also freris techen and mayntenen þat holy writt is fals, and so þei putten falsenes upon oure Lord Jesus Crist, and on þo Holy Gost, and on al þo blessid Trinyte. Ffor sith God Almyghty tauȝte, confermes, and mayntenes holy writte, if þis wryting be fals, þen God is fals, and mayntenour of error and falsenesse; bot certis þen he is no God. ȝitte knewen we nevere þat any sect wold sey þat lawes of hor God were fals, and þerwiþ byleve on þo same God, bot þis despit done þese blasphemes to þo holy Trinyte. Alas! who may suffer þis blasphemye? þat Crist in whom is al tresoure of witte, wisedome, and treuthe, couthe not or wolde not sey trew wordis and sentence, bot synful folis haf trew maner of speking, contrarie to þo speche of oure Lord Jesus Crist. Ffor if þis be sothe, synful folis, ȝhe, in caas, devels of helle, ben wiser and trewere þen is Jesus Crist. And when þis cursid grounde is sought, hit stondes in þis error; ffor I am mayster of vanyte, and of heresie mysundirstonde þo wordis of God, þerfore þei ben fals. Bot þese heretikis schulden knowe þat hit sues of hor cursid grounde þat God is þo falsest þing

The friars virtually deny the truth of holy Scripture.

[1] *dilavy*, X.

[a] That is, with helmets on their heads.

in erthe or heven or in helle. Why? for men falsely understonden moste falsenesse of hym; and þus myght iche Paynyme or Saraȝen make oure God fals as hym likes. Bot why seyn þei þat holy writt is fals? for þei ben wonte so myche to leesinges and falsenesse, þat þei taken falsenesse for treuthe. As men seyn, a mon may so long be norischid litel and litel by venym, þat he wenes þat hit be holsum meete and gode. Also holy writt dampnes hor foule ypocrisie, beggyng, covetise, and oþer synnes; and þerfore þei seyn þat hit is fals, to coloure by hor falsenesse. Also holy writt preysis myche Cristis religioun, and tellis how newe sectis, ful of ypocrisie and covetise, schulden cum and disseyve Cristen men, and biddes hom knowe hom by hor covetise and ypocrisie. And herfore þei seyn, as Sathanas clerkis, þat holy writt is fals.

Cap. XXIX.

Their inordinate and superstitious regard for the habit of their Order.

Freris also ben stronglier weddid wiþ hor roten habite, ageyns þo fredome of þo gospel, þen þo housbande is wiþ his wif by ordynaunce of God. Ffor þo housbande may lawefully be absente fro his wif by a moneth, an half ȝeer, and sumtyme seven ȝeer, and, by comyn asent of hom bothe, by al hor lyve. Bot if a frere be oute of his roten habite, ȝhe, an hour, he is apostata, þof he love more God and serve hym better, and profite more to Cristen men. And þus þei putten more holynesse in hor roten habite þen evere did Crist or his apostils in hor cloþis, ffor Crist was thries on a day oute of his clothis, and ȝitt he was not apostata. Bot þei chargen so myche þis roten habite, for herby þo puple wenes þat þei ben holy, and gyven hom more dritt þen is nedeful or profitable. And herfore iche partye drawes oþer to helle,—þo freris, for hor fals takyng of almes when no nede is, ne þei have leeve of Gods lawe þerto,—þo blynde puple, for þei drawen hor almes fro hor pore and nedy neghtboris, where þei schulden do hit by þo heest of God, and mayntenen freris in hor fals beggyng, ypocrisie, and oþer synnes mony.

Cap. XXX.

Friars inculcate an extravagant and servile reverence for papal dispensations and the mandates of superiors.

Also freris techen þat hit is not leeveful to a prest or anoþer mon to kepe þo gospel in his boundis and clennesse, wiþouten error of synful men, bot if he have leeve þerto of Anticrist. And þus þei seyn hit is not leveful to a Cristen mon to do Gods comaundement, bot if a fend gif hym leeve þerto, as if þo leeve and comaundement of God be not ynowh herto. For þei seyn þat a prest þat has bounden hymself to errours of synful men by new professioun, may not go to þo fredome of þo gospel, and lif þerafter as Crist tauȝte prestis, bot if þei have dispensacioun of þo pope. And I suppose þat he be Judas, and schal be dampned; þen he is a devel, as Crist seis; and þen hit is pleyne, sith þis prest may not kepe þo gospel in his fredome wiþouten his leeve, and he is in þis caas a devel, þen a prest may not kepe þo comaundementis of God wiþouten leeve of a fend. Bot for to gete þis leeve is oure golde gyven to aliens, and sumtyme oure enemyes; and ȝitte þo prest schal be bounden comynly to þo roten habite, and be exempt fro godenesse, and boldid in synne.

Cap. XXXI.

Their usury, simony, covetousness, and extortion.

Also freris ben ressett, and a swolowhe of symonye, of usure, of extorsiouns, of raveyns, and of thefftis, and a nest or hoorde of mammons tresoures. Ffor þof men lyven in symonye, þei wil not counseil hom and charge hom in schriffte to resigne hor benefice, bot counforten hom to holde hit stille, and bringe hom myche dritt þerof, and þei wil undertake for hor synne. And so of usureris, þei chargen hom not spedely to make restitucioun, bot raþer colouren þis synne, to be partyner of þis wynnyng. And so of oþer robberie, þei resseyven hit prively, and so mayntenen and colouren thefes in theffte, where oþer lege men schulden be punisched þerfore. And so þei ben more coveytous þen þo wicked Jewes þat bouȝten Crist, for þei wolden not take þo money of Judas, and do hit to hor money ne tresoure, for hit was þo price of Cristis blode, for Crist was solde and trayed to deth for þat money; bot freris wil resseyve money, geten by as grete synnes or more, to make grete housis

and grete festis to lordis, and not bye a felde to birie inne pilgrimes, as þo Jewis diden, bot raþer leyen hit up in hor tresoure, to mayntene wronges ageyns hor curatis and oþer pore men, by fals plee at Rome, and marchaundise in Englond.

Cap. XXXII.

Friars tax poor priests with heresy, because they would take wealth and lordship from the Church, and support the king's regale.

Freris also cryen loude þat pore prestis ben heretikes, for þei techen by Gods lawe hou clerkis schulden kepe willeful povert of Cristis gospel, and þo kyng and lordis owen to compelle hom þerto. And þus þei dampnen holy writt, and þo kyngis regalrie[1]. Ffor sith pore prestis have tauȝte, bothe in Englische and in Latyn, hou mony open lawes, bothe in þo Olde Testament and in þo Newe, forfenden alle prestis and dekenes to have seculer lordschip, and þes lawes ben confermed by Cristis lif and his apostils, and freris seyn þat þis is heresie, þei dampnen openly holy writt. And sith þo kynges regalrie askes by olde statute þat þo kyng may in mony, in caas[2], take temporalties fro clerkis, and freris seyn þat þis takyng is error ageyns Gods lawe, þei dampnen þis rightful regalye. And so þei dampnen þo rightful regalie of oure kynge, and also oure kyng and lordis, as heretikis, if þei mayntenen þis rightful lawe to stable pees of oure rewme. And sith by Gods lawe þo offis of þo kyng and lordis is to preyse, rewarde, and mayntene gode and rightful men, and to chastise scharply wicked men, and constreyne clerkis to holde þo state þat Crist putt hom inne, and algatis willeful povert, ffreris sey, if þo kyng and lordis done hor offis of Gods lawe, þat þei ben foule heretikes. Bot why schulde þo kyng mayntene in his lond soche traytoures bothe to God and hym, and cruel enemyes of alle Cristen men?

Cap. XXXIII.

Friars enter the Church like thieves, and not by the door.

Also freris ben theves, bothe nyght thefis and day thefis, entryng into þo Chirche not by þo dore, þat is Crist; ffor wiþouten autorite of God þei maken new religiouns of errours of synful men. And ȝitt þei maken worse reulis evere þo lenger þat þei lasten, and þei seken not mekely þo worschip of God,

[1] *regalie*, X.

[2] *in many caases*, X.

and profite of Cristen mennis soulis, and þis þing þei mosten do, if þei comen in by Crist. Bot þei chesen and fynden a new ordir, lesse perfite and profitable þen is þat þat Crist made hymself, and so þei maken dyvisioun in presthed, ageyns þo comaundement of God. And sith þei ben not groundid on Crist and his lawe, þei moten nedis be drawen up, and þo ordynance of Crist mot stonde in his clennesse and perfeccioun.

Cap. XXXIV.

They bind their novices to impossible things.

Also freris by ypocrisie bynden hom to impossible þing þat þei may not do; for þei bynden hom ouver þo comaundementis of God, as þei seyn homself; bot þei may do no more þan þo comaundement of God. For God biddes in his moste comaundement, þat þou schalt luf þo Lord þi God of al þi lif, of al þi mynde, and of alle þi strengthis and myghtis. Bot who may do more þen þis? No mon; þen þei bynden hom to more þen þei may do. And sith hit is not counseil of Crist to make synguler professioun to a synful ydiot, and, in caas, a devel, and þei bynden hom to siche oon, þat þei done over þo counseil of Crist. Bot al þat is over þo counsel of Crist is algatis yvel, siþ Crist counseils to iche gode þing. And þus many blynde foolis bynden hom to þo hye counseils of Crist, þat connot kepe þo leest comaundement. Bot se ypocrisie of hom! sith iche counseile of Crist is comaundement for sumtyme and summe circumstaunsis, hou bynden þei hom to more þen to comaundementis? Not by þo counseils, for þei ben comaundementis. Bot þei feynen þis to drawe ȝonge childre into hor roten habite, and oþer foolis, þat knowen not þe perfeccioun of Cristis ordir.

Cap. XXXV.

The burdensomeness of their innumerable rules and ceremonies.

Freris also ben worse heretikis þen weren Jewis, þat wolden kepe cerymonyes of þo olde lawe wiþ fredome of Cristis gospel. Ffor þo Jewis kepten resonable lawes, made of God, and medeful for tyme þat God ordeyned hom; bot freris kepen now lawes feyned of erroures of men, moo þen God ordeyned in þo olde lawe, and more uncerteyne. For to day þis lawe is holden amonge hom, and to morowen destried, bot þus uncerteyne was not Gods lawe. And þese lawes of freris ben more ageyns þo

gospel; for þo lawes of þo Olde Testament were figure of Cristis comynge and passioun, and ledden men to þo gospel; bot new lawes of freris ben not suche figure, and letten men to holde fredome of þo gospel. O Lord! sith gode lawes, ordeyned of God, mosten nede ceese for fredome of þo gospel, myche more moten yvel lawes, ordeyned of errour of synful men and worldly, ceesse, and lette not men to kepe þo gospel in his fredome.

Cap. XXXVI.

In persecuting poor priests, they return evil for good.

Also freris ben adversaries of Crist and disciplis of Sathanas, not ȝeldinge gode for yvel, as Gods lawe techis, ne gode for gode, as kynde and monnis lawe techen; bot ȝelding yvel for gode, as þo fendis lawe techis. For þei casten and ymagynen þo deth of trew men þat desiren and travelen to delyver hom fro þo fendis mouth and everlastinge deeth, and to bringe hom to þat staate in whiche Crist ordeyned prestis to lyve inne. And þei proferen freris þis condicioun, if þei wil teche by holy writt or resoun, þat freris ordir and lyvynge is beste for prestis, þei wil gladly be professid to þo freris ordir; and if prestis may teche, bothe by holy writt and resoun, þat hor ordir is better þen freris, sith Crist hymself made hor ordir, and not freris, þei preyen freris for luf of God to take þat ordir, and to leeve hor singuler ordir, in als myche as hit drawes hom fro þo fredome of þo gospel. And þus þei pursuen prestis, for þei reproven hor synnes as God biddes, bothe to brenne hom, and þo gospels of Crist written in Englische, to moost lernyng of oure nacioun. And þus, for þo grete almes þat men gyven to freris, þei letten men to con Gods lawe, and so letten hom to be saved, ffor þei may not be saved wiþouten connyng and kepynge of Gods lawe. And so freris neden oure lond to be dampned wiþ fendis in helle.

Cap. XXXVII.

They give easy absolution, and so encourage sin.

Freris also ben worse enemyes and sleers of monnis soule þen is þo cruel fende of helle by hymself. Ffor þei, under þo habite of holynesse, leden men and norischen hom in synne, and ben special helpers of þo fende to strangle mennis soulis.

For þei han[1] name of holynesse and of grete clerkis in reputacioun of þo puple, þat þo puple tristis not to few trew men, prechinge ageyns hor covetise, ypocrisie, and fals desseyt. And þo freris, for luf of a litel stinkynge mucke, and wilfare of hor foule bely, sparen to reprove þo cursid synne of þo puple. Ffor comynly if þer be any cursid jurour, extorsioner, or avoutrer, he wil not be schryven at his owne curat, bot go to a flatryng frere, þat wil asoyle hym falsely for a litel money by ȝeere, þof he be not in wille to make restitucioun and leeve his cursid synne. And þus, if þo foule fende myght be schewed in his schappe to þo puple, as men seyn he was in tyme of Seynt Bartholomew[a], þo puple wolde be ferde to dwelle in his servise, þat is synne. Bot þo cursidnesse of synne is hid, and þo puple is made siker by fals pardouns and lettris of fraternite, þof þei alle breken þo heestis of God and kepen not charite. And certayne þen is þo devel siker of bothe partyes.

Cap. XXXVIII.

Their blasphemous setting up of Church curses above the curse of God.

Also freris leden and norischen oure prelatis, oure lordis and comyns, in grete blasphemye ageyns God. For þei techen al þis puple to recke lesse of þo moste rightful curse of God, þen by þo wrong curse of mon synful, þof he be a dampned devel. Ffor þei callen þo curse of God þo lasse curse, and þo curse of synful mon þo more curse. Ffor þof a mon be nevere so cursid of God, for pride, envye, covetise, or avoutrie, or any oþer, þis is not chargid ne pursued, nouþer of prelat ne lord ne comyns. Bot if a mon wiþstonde onys þo cytacioun of a synful prelat, ȝhe, after þo comaundement of God, þen he schal be cursid and prisouned after fourty dayes; and alle men schulen gow upon

[1] So X; om. W.

[a] The wonderful tale may be read at large in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, how Polimius, an Indian king, had a huge idol which was tenanted by a devil, and how St. Bartholomew undertook, if the king would receive baptism, to produce his god before him bound with chains. The demon, like the racoon in the American story, owned himself beaten at once, came out of the idol in the presence of all the people, and after obediently breaking it in pieces, was allowed by the apostle to retire into the jungle.

hym, þof þo mon be pursued for treuthe of þo gospel, and be blessid of God. And þus synful mennis dome, and, in caas, of þo fendis, is more dred and magnifyed þen is þo rightful dome of God Almyghty.

Cap. XXXIX.

Freris also destrien þis article of Cristen mennis faith, I byleve o comyn, or general, holy Chirche. Ffor þei techen þat þoo men þat schul be dampned ben membris of holy Chirche. And þus þei wedden Crist and þo devel togedir, ffor Crist is gostly weddid wiþ iche membre of holy Chirche, and summe of þese, as þei seyn, schul be dampned; and þen, as Crist seis, þei ben fendis; þerfore by hom Crist and þo devel ben weddid togedir. Bot God seis by Poule, þat þer is no comynynge ne consent to Crist and to Belial. And þen may þer no weddinge be bitwixe hom. Bot þis general holy Chirche is þo congregacioun of Crist, þat is hed, and alle gode aungels in heven, and alle men and wymmen, in erthe or in purgatorie, þat schulen be saved, and no moo. For Crist seis, þat noone of his membris schal perische, for no mon schal take hom out of his hondis. And Jon Evaungelist seis of fals techers, þat þei wenten out of us, bot þei were not of us. And þerfore Crisostom seis, þat þoo þat kepen not Gods lawe, bot dyen out of charite, weren nevere Cristis body, þo whiche schal not regne wiþ hym. And sith iche part of Cristis gostly body, of whiche Austyn spekes as holy writt dos, schal regne wiþ hym in blis, þen no mon þat schal be dampned is part of Cristis gostly body, and so part of membre[1] of holy Chirche. Bot freris seyden þus, for men schulden gyf hom myche money to preye for alle, bothe gode and yvel, and also to plese bischops and possessioneres.

Their heresy in affirming that the wicked are members of the Church of Christ.

2 Cor. vi. 15.

1 John ii. 19.

Cap. XL.

Also freris seken bisily hor owne worldly worschip, and putten þo worschip of God byhynde, ageyns þo techinge of Jesus Crist and Seynt Poule. ȝhe, þat is worse, þei taken upon homself

General worldliness and pride of the friars.

[1] *part ne membre*, X.

glorie þat is approprid to God, and so maken hom even wiþ God. For þei seken faste, by grete giftis and veyne costis, to be calde maysters of dyvynite, and speke bifore lordis, and sitte at þo mete wiþ hom, and not to teche treuly þo gospel to alle maner of men, by meke lif and frely, as Crist biddes. Also to be confessoures of lordis and ladyes, and algatis to be myche tolde by, and fare wil, and not seke pore men, þof þei have more nede. And so of oþer bisynesse of freris, whoso takes gode siȝt to hom. Ffor if a frere do wil litel, þat schal be preysid algatis, bot þof anoþer mon do myche better, þat schal be lacked or despised. Also þei schulen swere by hym þat þei callen patroun of hor ordir, and leeve God bihynde, and ȝitt þei done so for worschip of hor owne patroun and hor owne sect. And noþoles God techis to swere by hym in nede, and not by his creaturis. Bot for hor proude sweringe and ydel, þei dispisen God and hor patroun also.

Cap. XLI.

They exalt themselves even above Christ Himself,

Freris ȝitte hyen, ȝitt[1] falsely, homself above Crist. Ffor where Crist biddis þat men trowe not to hym, bot if he do þo werkis of þo Fadir of heven, freris chalengen þat men triste and obeeche to hom, as nedeful to soulis heele, when þei done not þo werkis of God. Ffor ellis þei may not aske þat men do after hom, when þei witten not wheþer þo þinge þat þei comaunden is ageyns Gods dome or þerwiþ. And þus no mon schulde do after hom, bot when þei techen certeynli þo heestis of God, or his counseils, leste men, doynge after hor techynge, in þis do ageyns þo wille of God. Bot farewil þen þis new feyned obediense, wiþ þis new professioun.

Cap. XLII.

and will not be content to abide by His rule and commandment.

Also freris falsely enhansen homself abofe Crist and his apostils, for þei wil not be payed wiþ Cristis reule in þo gospel, to teche trewly þo gospel, and have mete and drinke frely of a gode mon and devout to God, ne be apayed wiþ fode and hyllynge, as Crist and his apostils weren. Bot þei robben

[1] om. X.

curatis of hor offis and gostly worschip, and letten hom to knowe Gods lawe, by holdynge bokis fro hom, and wiþdrawinge of hor vauntages, by whoche þei schulden have bokes and lerne. And also þei robben lordis of hor rentis; and somme by more ypocrisie taken fre annuel rentis of lordis cooferis; and þei robben þo comyns of hor lyvelode by ypocrisie, and fals beggyng, dampned by Gods lawe. And þus at þo bygynnynge þei feynen hom moste pore of alle clerkis, bot at þo last þei passen alle oþer in grete housis, and costily libraries, in grete feestis, and mony oþer prides and covetisis. And evere þei passen foule Crist and his apostils; ffor where Crist had not to reste inne his heved, freris, feyned beggers, have lordly plasis[1], þat almoste þorw Englond þei may iche nyght lye on hor owne.

Cap. XLIII.

They deceive their novices,

Freris also of grete cautel bynden[2] novycis to unknowen þing, for þei wil not suffre hom knowe hor privetees of hor reule and hor lif, til þat þei ben professid; and þen þei schulen not be suffred to leeve hor reule, þof þei witten wel þat þei may not kepe hit. And þis is openly ageyns Cristis techinge in Jones gospel. Ffor Crist seis þat he spake opunly to þo world, and in hyddenesse noþing; and freris done here fully þo contrarie. For firste þei schewen grete devocioun and swettenes of holy lif to ȝonge childre, til þei ben professid, and þen maystren hom by tyrauntrie to do mony þinges ageyns hor conscience, and so neden hom to go to helle or to prisoune, and sumtyme to cruel deth.

Cap. XLIV.

and impoverish the land, by referring the decision of everything to Rome.

Also freris ben wasteris of tresour of oure lond by mony blynde and unskilful maners. Ffor firste þei bynden[3] hom blyndely fro fredome of þe gospel, and þen spenden myche golde to gete hom dispensacioun, and mony tymes bringen

[1] *pacis*, X; probably by mistake for *palacis*. [2] So in X; *byndynge*, W.
[3] So in X; *blynden*, Bodl.

veyne pardouns, quienals [a], and oþer veyne privilegies. And in al þis þo gold of oure lond gos oute, and symonye, and curse, and boldenesse in synne comes ageyne. And God wot wher privitees of oure lond ben þus schewed to oure enimyes. And God wot wher matrimonye be þus departid for money by soche freris, makynge fals suggestioun, and fals poursuyte after. Also hit semes þat in þis þei magnifien a synful caytif, and, in caas, a dampned fende, more þen God Almyghty. For þei dar not by fre graunt of God do a gode þing to pleese hym þerwiþ, bot if þei haf leeve of suche a synful caytif. And if þei have leeve of suche an unwitty caytif, þei dar do, ageyns Gods pleesinge, an unresonable þing, and synful, and sclaunderouse to alle Cristen men.

Cap. XLV.

In their Satanic pride they deem themselves holier than other men.

Freris also by Lucifers pride hyen homself, and holden hom holier þen alle oþer oute of hor sect, for as myche as þei bynden hom to new tradiciouns of synful men, þo whiche ben ful of error, over þo moste sufficient reule of Jesus Crist, þat leffte no profitable ne nedeful þing out of his reule. Ffor þof a prest or bischop do nevere so treuly þo offis þat God bad prestis do, ȝitte þei seyn he is more holy if he cum to hor newe feyned religioun and obediense. Bot siþ boostinge and rejoysching of synne is one of þo grattest synnes of alle, and þese freris boosten so myche of hor synful errour, hou þei have founden a better religioun þen Crist made for his apostils and prestis, hit semes þei ben moste synful and cursidly proude over alle oþer wicked men. Ffor hit semes þat þei maken homself wiser þen Crist, more witty and more ful of charite, siþ þei techen better wey to heven þen did Crist, as þei feynen.

Cap. XLVI.

Yet they set greater store on riches than on virtues.

Also freris setten more by stinkyng dritt of worldly godis þen þei done by virtues and godis of blis. Ffor if a Caymes Castel

[a] 'Quienal' seems to be a corruption of *quinquennale*, by which was meant, an arrangement for saying mass for a departed soul during the period of five years. *Triennale* (English, trinal or trienal) and *annuale*, are similar arrangements for three years or one year. See Ducange, *Triennale*.

of freris haf myche dritt of worldly godis, þof þo freris þerinne ben ful of pride, covetise, symonye, and fals robberie, by fals beggyng and flatering, ȝitte þei seyn þat riche hous is better þen a pore hous of freris, þof þei lyven in mekenesse, povert, and penaunce, and myche holynesse. And þei travelen more for to gete dritt of þis world þen to gete þo blis of heven; and þei comenden more a frere þat con sotely and thicke gete þis worldly dritt, þen anoþer þat con do and teche myche virtuous lif. And þus þese freris maken sacrifice to fals gods, for hor covetise, and forsaken God Almyghty; siþ þei loven more worldly mucke þen virtues and þo love of Jesus Crist.

Cap. XLVII.

They feign to die to the world, but rise again both to cloak and to practise sin.

Freris also schewen and wittenessen in homself Anticristis miraclis, right as Laȝar, and oþer reysid by Crist, shewiden and wittenessiden Cristis miraclis. Ffor as Laȝar and oþer weren verely deede, and verely reysid by Crist to lyve of kynde and grace, so þese freris feynen hom deede to pride of þo world and oþer synnes, bot þei ben reysid by Anticristis doyng to pride of staatis, covetise, and sotil mayntenynge or colouringe of synne. Ffor þof men ben cursid avoutreris, extorsioneris, and wrongeful mayntyneris of falsenesse and debatis, ȝitte freris wil coloure þese synnes, and undertake for þese synful men, if þei wil gif hom myche dritt and mayntene hor veyne sect, and comende hit more þen Cristis owne religioun. And þei ben quicke to stryve, pleete, and feght bodily for worschipis and staatis of þis world, and so þei ben deede to mekenesse, charite, and gode religioun, and ben reysid to cursid lif of synne; and þis is Anticristis myracle.

Cap. XLVIII.

They are guilty, in a spiritual sense, of the sin of Sodom.

Also freris ben foule envenymed wiþ gostly synne of Sodome, and so ben more cursid þen þo bodily Sodomytis, þat weren sodeynli deede by harde vengeaunce of God. For þei done gostily lecchorie by Gods worde, when þei prechen more hor owne fyndyngis, for worldly mucke, þen Cristis gospel for savynge of mennis soulis. And when þei leeven to preche þo seed of Gods word and leesen hit, by whiche men schulden by gostly gendrure

be made Gods sones, þei done more synne þen þof þei losten monnis seed, by whiche þo body of mon schulde be gendrid. Ffor þo mysusing of þo better virtue is more synne. Bot þo seed of Gods word is better þen þo seed of mon; þerfore hit is worse to mysspende þat þen to myswaste monnys seed. And Robert Grosted declaris þis resoun wil ageyns yvel curatis.

Cap. XLIX.

They are notoriously the agents of papal impositions and extortions.

Freris also ben moste privy and sotil procuratoures of symonye and foule wynnynge, and biggynge of beneficis, of indulgensis and trinels[1], pardouns, and veyne privilegies. Ffor men seyn þei wil gete a grete þing of þo pope, or of cardinalis, in Englond better cheep þen oþer procuratoures, and þei ben more wily, and more plesauntly con flater þo pope in his court, and most prively make lordis to mayntene þo pope and his in robbinge oure lond of tresoure by his pardouns, privilegies, and þo firste fruytis of beneficis in oure lond, and dymes and subsidiis[2], to werre on Cristen men for stinkynge worldly lordschip, þat God haves forbeden to hym and alle prestis. And in fals confession þei stiren lordis myche herto, and neden to distrie þo lond, when þei mayntenen þo pope in þis fals robbynge.

Cap. L.

Lastly, friars are generally pernicious to the Church, and burdensome to the State.

3itte freris ben moste perilouse enemyes to holy Chirche and al oure lond, for þei letten curatis of hor offis, and spenden comynly and nedeles sixty thousande mark by 3eere, þat þei robben falsely of þo pore puple. Ffor if curatis diden hor offis in gode lyve and trewe prechinge, as þei ben holden upon peyne of dampnynge in helle, þer were clerkis ynowhe, of bischops, parsouns, and oþer prestis, and, in caas, over mony to þo puple. And 3itte not two hundrid 3eere agone þer was no frere; and þen was oure lond more plentyuous of catel and men, and þei were þen strengere of complexioun to labour þen now, and þen were clerkis ynow3e. And now ben mony thousande of freris in Englond, and þo olde curatis stonden stille un-

[1] *tryenalis*, X. See note on quienal, p. 398. [2] *subsidies*, X.

amendid. And amonge alle synne is more encreesid, and þo puple chargid by sixty thousande mark by ȝeere, and þerfore hit mot nedis fayle. And so freris suffren curatis to lyve in synne, so þat þei may robbe þo puple and lyve in hor lustis. Ffor if curatis done wil hor offis, freris weren superflu, and owre lond schulde be dischargid of mony thousande marke. And þen þo puple schulde better paye hor rentis to lordis, and dymes and offringis to curatis; and myche flatering and norisching of synne schulde be destried, and gode lif and pees and charite schulden regne amonge Cristen men. And so, when al þo grounde is sought, freris seyn þus in dede, Lete olde curatis waxe roten in synne, and lete hom not do hor offis by Gods lawe, and we wil lyve in lustis so longe, and waste veyneliche and nedeles sixty thousande marke by ȝeere of þo pore comyns of þo lond; and so at þo laste make discencioun bytwene hom and hor childre, for dymes and offringes þat we wil gete prively to us by ypocrisie, and make discencioun bitwene lordis and hor comyns. Ffor we wil mayntene lordis to lyve in hor lustis, extorciouns, and oþer synnes, and þo comyns in covetise, lecchorie, and oþer disseytis, wiþ fals sweringe in mony giles; and also þo curatis in hor dampnacioun, for leevynge of hor gostly offis; and so be procuratoures of þo fende for to drawe alle men to helle. Þus þei done in dede, houever þei feynen in ypocrisie of pleesing of wordis. Off þese fiffty heresies and errours, and mony moo, if men wil seke hom wil out, þei may knowe þat freris ben cause, bygynnyng, welle, and mayntenyng, of perturbacioun in Cristendom, and of alle yvels of þis world. And þese errours schulen nevere be amendid, til freris be brouȝt to fredome of þo gospel, and clene religioun of Jesus Crist.

Conclusion.

God for his endeles mercy and charite make verrey pees, unite, and charite, amonge Cristen men, and bringe alle prestis to Cristis clene religioun, wiþouten errour of wronge by lawes. Amen.

XXV.

DE BLASPHEMIA, CONTRA FRATRES.

[The only MS. of the following tract known to exist is contained in Bodl. 647 (W). In the *Catalogue* of Bale it bears the title ('De Blasphemia, contra Fratres'), here prefixed to it. Wyclif's Latin treatise, 'De Blasphemia,' also mentioned by Bale, but without first words, and frequently quoted by Walden in the *Doctrinale*, is an entirely different work. I can discover in this tract no reliable indication of the date at which it was composed. Although Bale is our only authority for ascribing the authorship to Wyclif, I am disposed, from the evidence of style, language, and turn of thought, to consider it authentic.]

[PARS I.][1]

The prevalence of Blasphemy, especially among friars, with whom it takes three forms:

Hit is seide þat thre þinges stourblen þis reume, and specialy heresie, þat hafs thre parties; bot of blasphemye, þat is þo worste, is bot litel spoken. And, for wickidnesse of þis vice, þo bischopis of þo temple putten blasphemye upon Crist, to do him to deþ. For, as þo Psalme seis, and þo gospel beris wittenesse, þei scharpid hor toungis and cried togedir, What kepe ȝe wittenesse? ȝe have herde his blasphemye. Blasphemye is in a maner sclaundring of God. And so in þre maners may mon blaspheme in God. Ffirst, when worþynesse approprid to God is unworþily putt to a pore creature. Þo secounde, when unperfecciouu is putt upon God. Þo þridde, when divynyte is denyed for God, þat mot acorde to hym for his grett

Ps. lxiv. 3.

[1] Some unlucky binder has cut away the greater part of the heading in the MS; it seems to have been 'Pars Prima Blasphemiæ.'

lordship. And if blasphemye be scaterid amonge mony men, nerepoles þis heresie is comynly wiþ freris. And wiþ thre blaspemyes þei blynden þo puple. Þo first is hor heresie of þo sacrament of þo auter. Þo secounde is blasphemye of beggyng of Crist. Þo þridde is hor blasphemye of graunt of gostily helpe to hem þat wil bye or pourchasse to be Anticristis broþer.

I. Blasphemous doctrine respecting the Eucharist.

As to þo first, we seyn, siker of oure feyth, þat þo whyte þing and rounde þat þo prest sacris, like to þo unsacrid oostis, and is broken and eeten, is verrely Gods body in þo fourme of bred. Ffor Crist toke bred in his hondes, blessid hit, brake hit, and bad alle his disciplis eete þerof. Ffor as he hymself seide, Þis is my body; and everiche Cristen mon is fully certeyn þat alle blasphemyes in þo world may not fals Crist. Bot here þo fals blasphemes gropen after weyes, and seyn þat bi þis þei schewe Gods body and not þat bred. Bot witte þei wil by Cristen mennis bileve, þat þes wordis of Crist ben not so naked of witte, to telle his apostils þat his body is his body, for þat knew þei first. Also, þof al Cristis shewyng were straunge to þo bred, hou shulde þese blasphemes, by virtu of þese wordes, proffe þat bred tournes to noȝt, and accident leeves wiþouten any sogett, or þat Gods body is newly þere? Also, as everiche Cristen mon moste graunt, Crist schewid wyn in þo chalis, þat he cald his blode. Lord, why shulde he not shewe by þo same skil bred, þat he toke in his honde and comaundid to eete hit? For everiche Cristen mon may wel witte, þat Crist seide not þat þo metal was his blode; ne Crist undirstode not þat accidentis were his blode, ne he schewid not his blode wiþinne his body, bothe for his wordis were þen wiþouten witte, and also þen his wordis were fals, for þo tyme þat he spake hom. Of þis may we se þat Crist was a gabber, or þis was soþ þat he seide, þis bred is my body.

Their explanation of the words of institution novel and untenable.

And herfore Seynt Jerome, þat couthe more of holy writte þen alle þo men now on lyve, for he was lenger tauȝt, wrytes þus[a]. Here we, he seis; þat bred þat Crist brake, and gaf his disciplis to eete, is his owne body, ffor he hymself seis þat þis

[a] S. Hieron. ad Hedibiam, § 2.

is my body. And to dampne wordis or sentence of þis holy mon were a foolis tourne, to scorne of þo dampner; as we shulden scorne þes heretikes, þat leven Cristis wordis, and feynen wordis or sentence wiþouten auctorite. As somme seyn, þat is þo sentence of þo gospel, not þat þis bred is Cristis body, bot þat þis bred schal be Cristis body. Somme ben not payed of þis, but þat of þis bred shal be Cristis body. Þo þridde seis, þat Cristis body is not new made, ne getis not new mater þat was in þo bred; so þat not of þis bred is makid Gods body, but þat þes accidentis bitoken Gods body. Mony soche sentencis ben feyned of freris, by whom Anticristis clerkis reversen Cristis sentence. By þis mot we graunte þat þis bred þat Crist brak is verrely his body, or elles sey þat þis holy gospel is fals, or ellis uncraftily cloute to wordes of Crist. And sith everiche mon þat wiþouten auctorite of Crist puttes witte to Cristis wordes þat God askes not, is an heretike, hit is open þat soche feyners ben alle blasphemes.

The substance of the bread remains after consecration, contrary to what they maintain.

Bot ageynis þis grutches Anticrist, þat þis sacrament shulde togedir be bred and Gods body. Bot, as he feynes, when þat Gods body bygynnes to be þere, þen bred turnes to noȝt, and accident leeves. Þes foolis shulden undirstonde þat Baptist, when he was naked, holly ceesid not to be Jon, ne non oþer þing. And so þes blasphemes passen Juwes in fooly, for Juwes knowen þat hit is bred when þei kyndely eten hit; and so þese freris and Pharisees ben madder þen Juwes and falser þen Paynims, siþ þei trowen nowþer þat hit is Gods body, ne bred, ne creature þat ever God made. Bot feythe of þo gospel techis us to trowe þat þis is verey bred after þo sacringe, for Crist hymself seis, þis bred is my body; bot what foole con not se þat ne þen hit is bred? Also þo gospel techis Cristen men to preye aftir þis iche day bred, or owne substaunce. And Austyn techis þat by þis bred Crist undirstode þis sacrament. Also þo apostlis knewen Crist by brekyng of þis bred; and þis bred was þo sacrament, as Austyn seis, wiþ þo popis lawe. And Seynt Poule, þat owver oþer knew of Gods priveytes, calles þis sacrament, bred þat we breke.

They dare not publicly place their doctrine

Owe, whe þer we shal se Anticrist so myghty þat he shal dampne Cristen men for þei graunte þo gospel! Wil I wot

þat we may amonge Sarazens trowe and teche þis gospel wiþouten any punyschyng; bot alle Cristen men shulden have freris suspecte, þat þei dar not putt out her feiþe to þo puple, and putt hit by oure feythe, and stonde þerby. And certis one of þese þree þinges semes to meete hom,—þat ouþer þei con not, or dar not, or þei travel by envye. God helpe us few Cristen men þat stonden in þis feythe, ffor leesynges and flateryngs of freris spreden ful wyde. And, as Crist schewid bred bifore þo sacringe, and bad hem all eete þerof, so he schewid aftir.

by the side of ours,

And as Anticrist marres men in hor wittis, so he destries virtues þat shulden cum of hom. Ffor amonge alle bodily wittis, moste certeyne of alle are gropynge and tastynge, as philosophers seyn. Bot gropynge þei marren by hor foly sentence; ffor no bodily þing we knowen more certeynly þen hardenesse and sofftenesse of þis holy bred. For when hit is new baken, hit brekes in a maner, and varies in sounde fro olde baken bred; bot olde bred, in moyste tyme, brekes not þus. Bot, as philosoferes seyn, hardenesse and sofftenesse, freelnesse and towghnesse, with soche qualytees, may nowþer qualite ne quantite sogetten. Ow, wheþer God, þat is treuþe, ordeyned Cristen men for to be marred in hor wittes in þo sacrament of trewht, more þen Juwes or Paynims erren in hor feythe! And so þo sacrament of þo chalis may opinly shewe, ffirst, swettenesse of wyne, and aftir sournesse, as prestis knowen wil. Lord, wheþer swettenesse and sournesse ben sogettid in figure! And here mennis innwittis mot algatis erre in knowynge and jugynge of difference of substaunce; as, if mony oostis, sacrid and unsacrid, were mengid togedir, a blaspheme þat knewe not þo medelynge of hom, kouthe not knowe accident fro bred, ne telle what is þis more þen a beeste. And if tonnes of wyne were sacrid byȝonde þo see, nowþer vyntyners of Englonde couthe taaste þis likoure, ne prestis myȝt synge wiþ soche accidentis. And so þes fals men mot algatis dowte wheþer alle soche men faylen in hor jugementis.

for it is contradicted by the plainest evidence of sense,

And after soche errours in kyndely wittes þei make men to erre in science and vertues, as þei mot curse gramaryens þat Englishen þo gospel, þat þo apostlis knewen Crist in brekyng

The friars quarrel with the new translation of the Bible.

of bred, for þei myght make hor scolers to trowe þat þo sacrament of þo auter were bodily bred; as þo gramarien were to blame þat taught þus hir childer, þat þo hounde schynes aboven þo sonne[a]. For if gramariens shulden construe þis þus,—þo apostils knew Crist in brekynge of accydent wiþouten suggett, þen nowþer þei ne þo puple wiste what þei mente; as þis were erroure in gramer to teche, for, þis bred is nedeful to mon, þat þing is nedeful to mon. And here Anticristis clerkes maken homself perplex; hit nedes not to suen. Owe! þis blasphemye pervertis boþe logik and science of kynde. Bot moste harm in þis mater stondes in þis; þat þei perverte þo feythe of þo gospel. For þo gospel seis, þat Crist toke bred in his hondes, blessid hit, and brake hit, and gaf his disciplis, and bad hom ich one, Eete ȝe of þis; for, as he seide, þis is my body. By þo first þis, þei sey þat bred is shewid, and by þo seconde þis is al anoþer þing. And so þei blaspheme in Crist and mystaken his worde. For as[1] everiche gode mon by resoun con se, þat as þo wisdome of Crist shulde first schewe bred, so schulde he aftir shewe þo same bred; ffor elles þis were a causel wiþouten any witte, Eetis alle of þis, for þis is my body.

The laity ought to suppress their erroneous teaching on the Eucharist, and spiritually stone them as blasphemers.

And herfore lordis and comyns and alle trew men schulden juge þo blasphemes in hor wronge partye. Ffor so myche may prelatis erre, þat hit is worthy þo puple to juge hom, as þo bischopis of þo temple were nedid to forsake to juge Crist, þat is trewth of þo gospel. And right as a blaspheme in þo olde lawe shulde be stoned of al þo puple, so alle Cristen men shulden gostily stone blasphemes. Bot who is a Cristen mon, bot he þat trowes þat bred is Cristis body, as þo gospel seies? And so by erroures þat growen of þes blasphemes is holy Chirche lettid to profit in virtues. Ffor if mon trowid holly in þo lawe of þo gospel, and durst not cloute þerto nor drawe þerfro, þen shulden þei be mekely Cristis disciplis and fle soche blasphemes,

[1] dele *as*.

[a] The friars impute to grammarians, who undertake the translation of the Bible, the desire, by the way in which they render this passage, to bring down the sacrament of the altar to the level of common bread,—which would be like saying that the dog-star shone more brightly than the sun. Such appears to me to be the meaning of this difficult passage.

as vertues techen; for boþe vertues and vyces ben knyttid togedir, and þen shulde Cristis lawe be worshippid as hit is worthy, for hit suffices by hitself to reule Cristis Chirche, wiþouten þo popis lawe or any suche oþer. And as men thar not renne to Rome, ne to any one, to fecche by leeve of Crist or ellis to be made Cristis membre, so men thar not go þider for to cum to heven. Ffor, as everiche mon had a lyne streght unto heven, so haves he Crist above hym, þat wiþouten oþer prelatis sufficis to gif grace and al þat men neden. Mony þinges ben hidde here þat Cristen men may fynde, and witte wel þat of vanyte sues more vanyte.

Bot ȝitte ageyns þis sentence meefes Anticrist, and, as an heretik departid fro treuth, he wandris unwarly unto wronge wayes. Þo first is in derkenesse of resouns of scole. Þis wil we passe owver, certeyn of oure feythe þat þei shal nevere hirte oure sentence of þo gospel, bifore þei con Porfyry, wiþ Aristotils textis. Þo secounde wey þat þei walken is trist of new wittenesse. Þo first wittenesse and þo moste is þo pope and his cardynals, whom þei have hyed so myche, and evened him with Crist, þat as þei sey he myght not synne in leedyng of his Chirche, so he myght not erre in articles of þo trouth. Bot blessid be God, þat schewes us in dede þat one þat men callen pope may erre in þes bothe. And one þing I sey, certen of resoun, þat no mon in þis worlde may lightlyer or grevouslyer synne, for his fote is festid at pride by hynesse of state, and þo fende temptis hym more, for hope of more harmynge bycause of his synne. And one þing is certen, þat he is not confermed, in þat þat he hyes him and varyes fro Crist. And evere þo moo of soche men ben gedird togedir, þo strenger þei ben to Anticrist, and þo ferrer fro Crist; as aght hundrid prestis on Baal syde were not so stronge in God as Hely hym one. And here may we se hou falsely þo fend bigiles þo Chirche wiþ his fals principle, þat if þo more part of soche men assenten to a sentence, þat al holy Chirche shulde trowe hit as gospel. And so, þof þo pope and alle his cardynals determen as gospel, þat þo sacrament of þo auter is accident wiþouten sugette, neverþoles, for þei con not grounde hem on Gods lawe ne resoun, holy Chirche shulde not trowe hom, bot have hom suspect.

The friars rest their doctrine on the Pope, whom they declare to be infallible.

This attempt to change the ancient faith must be resisted.

Lord, whebher feythe of bo gospel gyven to Cristen men, bo whoche lastid bo thousande 3ere bat Sathanas was bounden, wolde not suffice nowe when Sathanas is lowsid! Ffaythe of bo gospel seis bat heven and erbe shal passe, and chaunge fro state to state, bot bo wordes of Crist schul not bus passe. Ow! what wodenesse ben were hit, any Cristen mon to leve bo wordis of Crist, bo gospel, and trowe to fals wordis! Bot worschippid be bo lore of sothfastnesse bat mevyd bis courte to confesse bis faythe, as schewes pope Nychol[a]. And 3itte afftir, when bis courte was fer fro bo trewthe, hit determyned not bis feyned sentence bat men holden nowe, al bof wode glosatoures had wrytten in bis mater more than bei knew of, or elles couthen grounde. And 3itte alle bes freris bat procur for Anticrist, mot cloute to leesynge to textis and glosis. And so bo fende haves counseilde wib Anticrist his viker, and heght hym Gog and Magog to bigyle bo puple; and comettis bis fantasye,—bat if bei maken men to denye hor wittes and Cristis wordis bobe, bat bis sacrament is not verely bred, but bing bat bei knowen not, he schuld make hom lightly to denye afftir bat bis were Gods body, or what he wolde. And so my3t he lightliere make hom lye by wyfes, and disuse temporal godes, or do what bei wolde, and sey bo puple shulde not trowe soche binges, bot trowe bo sawes bat Anticrist lyes, for wittes of bo puple erren ful ofte. For we may als opunly knowe bat bis is bred, as we may knowe bo synnes of Anticrist. Bot one bing lettis, bat ben bei my3t not wynne bo money of hor soggettis, bat bei nowe spoyle; and so, by hydynge of synne bat bei nowe selle, bei shulde not feble bes rewmes bat bei nowe bygile. Ne alle Anticristis clerkis con not telle bo cause, why accydentis schulden leve wibouten sogett, bot if hit were to sygnifie one of bese binges,—ouber bat soche men ben partid fro Crist, or elles bat blessynge of prelatis are verely cursynge, or elles to make bo puple to trowe bat bei passe God. Ffor houevere bei blaber here wib hor lippes, hor soule may not understonde what are

[a] The reference is, I think, to the recantation of Berengarius, incorporated in the Acts of the council held at Rome in the year 1059 under Nicholas II, in which the former declares that he accepts the faith concerning the Eucharist prescribed to him by 'Nicholas and this holy Synod.' *Concilia*, ed. reg. vol. xxv. p. 591.

þese accydentis; ne God may not undirstonde an accydent wiþoute a sugett. Bot anentis þo first of þese, Austyn seis þat as mon may not be wiþouten his God, so an accydent may not be wiþouten his sugett [a]. And if we glose Austyn, þat þis may not be by kynde, by þo same skil shulde we putt on Austyn þat he shulde denye al holy faythe, for none of þes articles may be wiþouten myracle. And so þo first and þo laste ben falsely feyned, for al þof þei be partid fro God, neþoles God fyndes hom, and puttes hom to payne.

What St. Ambrose really held on the subject;

God wolde þat Anticristis clerkes, þat perverten oure byleve, and chargen more wordes of Ambrose þen wordes of þo gospel, wolden ȝif us leve to treuly glose Ambrose. When he seis þat aftir þo sacringe þo sacrament shulde not be holden bred, þis seynt undirstondes, as he ofte telles, þat it schulde not be trowid afftir principaly bred [b]. Ffor þis Ambrose seis þat þat þing þat was bred is nowe Gods body; and wil may we witte þat Ambrose seis not þat bred gos to noght, as Anticrist seis. As anentis þis cursid blessynge falsely feyned, hit is knowen þat Crist curside þo fige tre more mekely þen þese men feynen þat þei blesse þis bred. Ffor ȝitte aftir Cristis cursynge was þo tre dryed, and substaunce lefft, as þo gospel seis. Bot, as þes seyn, aftir hor blessyng leves nowþer mater, ne forme, ne part of þis bred. Ffor, as þei seyn in sentense, þei blesse þis bred to noght in forme of noght. Bot schilde us fro soche blessynges of blaspheme prestis! And siþ noght þat was bifore in bred tournes into Gods body, or any oþer creature, as þei mot nedely sey, how falsely þen feyned þei þat þo bred of þo auter tournes into better! For by þo same skil hit tournes into Cristis soule, and into his Godhead. Sothe hit is þat þis bred tournes into Cristis body. Ffor, as Seint Ambrose seis, hit shal be Cristis body. And so þo substaunce of bred, offerd in þo auter, shal be turned into substaunce of Cristis owne body, and nowþer schal be broght to noght, for þei ben not contrarye. Lett we þese blasphemes take hede, how Crist, bifore þo sacrynge, bad alle eete of þis bred; bot everiche blaspheme schulde

both substances remain after consecration.

[a] This dictum is taken from a treatise on the Ten Categories, falsely ascribed to St. Augustine. See his *Works*, vol. i. App. p. 34 (Benedict. ed. 1679).

[b] See vol. i. p. 379, note.

schame þat Crist shulde bidde hom do þing contrarye to his purpose, þat were not for to do. And herefore wiþouten dowte Crist wolde þat þis bred were lastynge til it were his body, and aftir were eeten, ffor elles mot þei putt tregettrye and falsenes in Crist. And sith bodily eetyng was bidden of Crist, and þis bodily eetyng myȝt not be, bot if hit were bred, þen þis bred lastis aftir þo sacrynge. And þus Seynt Poule and oþer apostils usiden suche eetynge; ffor gostily eetynge of Cristis owne body was not tauȝt by schewyng of bred, bot by brekyng of bred, as Seynt Poule seis. And oþer wittenes in þis mater is multitude of doctoures. Bot siþ Seynt Austyn forbedes þat ony man trowe hym, bot if he grounde hym in resoun, or elles in Gods lawe, myche more of alle þese doctors, siþen þo fende was loused, no mon schulde trowe hom, bot þei grounde hom þus. And myche more of oure popis wiþ alle hor cardinals. And so, þof we had an hundred of popis, and alle þo freris in þis worlde were tourned unto cardinals, ȝitte schulde we more trowe þo lawe of þo gospel þen we schulde trowe al þis multitude.

II PARS BLASPHEMIAE.

II. Blasphemous doctrine concerning begging. The writer distinguishes between lawful and unlawful begging.

Þo secounde blaspheme grounden þes freris, for þei feynen falsely beggynge in Crist; and hereby þei peyren þo Chirche, and spoylen þo pore puple. Þei supposen sothely þat Crist was pore, for Seynt Poule seis þat Crist was made boþe pore and nedy, for þo luf of mon. And þis we graunten hom, and more þerto, þat Crist was a beggar, as þo Salme seis. Bot, for to knowe fraudes and falsenesse of freris, moste we knowe what is beggyng, and maner of beggynge. No creature beggis bot mon-kynde one; ne nevere shulde have begged bot for his owne synne. And so begges a mon, þat askes purely, for Gods luf, helpe of any þing to releve him of his wreechidnes. And by dyversite of þingis þat we beggen of, and by maner of beggyng, may we knowe kyndes of beggynge. Everiche mon is nedid to begge of his God, for we asken of hym oure iche dayes bred, and in þat we begge of hym, as Austyn beres wittenes [a]. Bot speke we of beggyng of mon and beggyng of

Ps. lxix. 29.

[a] S. Aug. Serm. No. LVIII. (ed. Paris, 1685).

temporal godes; and so somme beggen of men in worde, and somme beggen in dede. And of þoo þat beggen [in] worde, somme seyn treuly and expressely hor owne myscheffe, for to be releved as þei shulde be, and such beggynge is algatis of synne of þo puple. And somme cryen by worde aftir temporal godes in yvel maner, aftir more þen þei schulde have; and suche willeful beggynge lackes groundynge of resoun. Ffor of Crist I rede not þat evere he beggid in worde, ne he myȝt not begge more þen hym nedid. Sothely in þo olde lawe was beggynge forbeden[a], for hit gos oute of kynde more þen is nede; siþ bestis by kynde taken hor fode, ich one by hymself, als myche as hym nedes. And if him wante strenght, by tendernesse of ȝouthede, kynde hafs taught þo first beste to norische his owne issue. In elde þei bisye hom noȝt, siþ hor soule lastis not aftir. And so iche mon schulde, by þo wey of kynde, take þat hym nedes of temporal godes; and if hym wantid witte in kyndely power, he schulde be releved by men þat God sendes more. And so, sith beggynge is unkyndely to bestis, myche more to mon þat God lufs more, ffor God haves gyven a mon bothe powere and witte, for to begge not, bot if he be nedid by unkyndenesse of mon. And herfore men wischen þat yvel mot he spede þat begges on þis wyse, bot if he have nede; for slouthe of coveytouse men, þat shulden gif bifore, and helpe þo pore men, is cause of þis beggynge, or elles slouthe in covetyse of þese stronge beggers. And þus forbedes Gods lawe þat any mon be begger. And as God haves gyven men tole, to begge þus in nede, so haves he gyven men power to helpe homself as bestis; and he þat mysuses þis powere reversis Gods ordynaunse. And herfore techis Austyn munkes to travel; and so algatis hit is synne a mon to begge þus; for if he willefuly begge, and haves no nede, he is a schrewid begger, reproved of God. If he be nedid to begge for synne of his neghtbore, defaute is in his neghtbore, al þof he be clene; and so suche beggynge moste smake synne, ouþer in hym þat begges, or in hym þat first schulde helpe hym. Here may we se þat Crist begged not þus, siþ he had no nede, but evere was occupied in oþer better

[a] The reference is to Deut. xv. 4; see p. 371, note [a].

werkes; and of Crist lerned Seynt Poule to travel wiþ his hondis, and flewȝh suche beggynge, in hym and his folowers.

In what sense Christ begged. Acts i. 16.

Bot, for Seynt Petre expownes þo prophete, þat Judas pursued Crist, mon nedy and begger, hit were for to witte hou Crist was a begger. Ffor hit semes þat Crist beggid, not onely in his membres, bot in his owne persone, as he was pore and nedy; and so þo moste honeste beggyng ordeyned of God, and likeste to þo state of innocense, acordid to Crist; and þat he seide in dede defaute that he was inne, and asked not in worde helpe for his myschef, not by almes of mon ne pleynynge to hom. And þis seyinge in dede, wiþouten Cristis bisynes, was þo beggynge þat þo Psalme puttes to Crist. Bot as in byinge of a hors, mon byes hym not to bye þo heer of þis hors, ne none oþer lymme, so Crist bisyed hym not for þis bodily almes, bot for to worschip his Fadir, and profite to þo puple. And ne were Gods lawe, þis speche were ful straunge, ffor men speken comynly of beggynge by mowthe, not by mevynge of voyce, bot by expresse wordes; and þus menen men þat seyn þat Crist begged not.

The begging of the friars is of a totally different kind.

And siþ freris beggen on þis wyse by autorite of Crist, hit semes þat þei conseyven þat Crist begge þus. Bot Seynt Richart of Armawhe proves on feir maner, þat were an heresye to putt upon Crist suche maner of beggynge, and mayntene hit stifly. For feyth nedes us to trowe, þat al þat Crist did, he did hit on þo beste maner wiþouten defaute; bot what nede of profite shulde mefe þis Lord, for to begge þus wiþouten any cause? Nede drof him not þerto, siþ Crist hungred nevere bot when he chees to hungre so, and ȝif ensaumple of penaunce. Bot Lord! what profit were hit Crist to begge þus, siþ he myght mefe men to gif hym when hym nedid, wiþouten any bisynes of askyng of hom? And sith þis were algatis þo better to Crist and to þo puple, what shulde mefe þo blasphemes to lye þus on Crist? Also, siþ Crist did ever more þo beste, what shulde mefe hym to ocupye his mouthe wiþ suche beggynge? Certis, siþ Crist ches to be unchargeaunte to þo puple, ne gif non occasioun of avarise to oþer, þei shulden fle þis doynge, and occupye hom better,—specially siþ he forfended to begge in his lawe. Also, siþ freris seyn þat beggynge groundes hom, and puttes hom in hyer

degre of al þis Chirche, why wolde not Crist byfore þo comynge of freris teche þis beggynge, to profite of his spouse? Hit semes þat he shulde not bid, to lousyng of þo fende. Bot, as Seynt Hildegar seis in hir prophesye, þis beggynge abode þis perilouse tyme, when fals ypocritis disseyven þo puple [a]. Also, siþ þo gospel is ful of dedes of Crist, and sufficyent in treuthe to governe Cristis Churche, if þis beggynge of freris were taken of Cristis lif, sumwhere in þo gospel shulde hit be groundid. Bot þo gospel leves hit, þat holdes al treuthe. And so þo blaspheme freris, to grounde hor ordir, putten Crist out of state of innocense, and putten folie in his werkes, siþ he wrot unwarly. Mony fayre resoun makis þis holy bishop to convicte in þis falsnesse of freris.

Bot siþ freris were heretikes and blasphemes in Crist, bot if þei groundid þis beggynge in lawe of þo gospel, þei bisien hom ful faste to seke hom a grounde. Þo first and þo myghtiest resoun of freris to prove beggyng in Crist, stondes in þis; Crist askid þo womman watir to drinke, and ȝitte he was an alien, for he was a Samaritan; myche more wolde he be homely to his owne kyn. Bot here þo blynde blasphemes mosten lerne hor logik. Ffor lewid men wot wel, þat hit sues not, þof þo Lord aske of his owne þinge þat hym nedes, þen he moste begge þat þing of his servaunt. And so, if Crist bad þo wommon gif hym a drinke, neverþoles he beggid not þis drinke of þo wommon. And wolde God þat soche freris beggid noȝt bot water, or ellles oþer elementis, þate by kynde shulden be comyne! And, for freris may not feyne oþer drinke bot water of þo welle þat Crist shulde aske, þei feyne falsely þat Crist asked watir to drinke. Bot hit is not semely þat he wolde þen drinke watir, siþ he sende his disciplis to towne to bye meete, and a fastynge mon lufs litel suche drinke. Also þo

The friars say that Christ begged water of the Samaritan woman: it would be well if they begged nothing else.

[a] St. Hildegardis was abbess of the convent of St. Robert on the Nahe near Bingen. She lived to the age of 82, dying in the year 1180. The passage here alluded to is probably contained in the Eleventh Vision of the third book of *Scivias*, the name which she gave to the book of her Visions; for this particular vision deals with the state of things existing in the Church in her own time, and to exist after her death. But the work not being indexed, I have been unable to light on the passage. See the *Liber* 3 *virorum et* 3 *virginum*, Paris, 1513.

gospel telles not þat Crist askid water, ne þat he dranke water when þat hit was drawen. And so it semes þat feynyng of freris expownes þis gospel as heretikes done. Bot hit is more semely, siþ þo welle was depe, and Crist loved þo womman in shewynge of myraclis, þat he shulde make þis water by myracle springe up, and sithen drinke þerof if he had nede. And herfore olde sentence is acordyng wiþ þo gospel, þat Crist spake here of spiritual eetynge and drinkynge; for when his disciplis bad him eete, he seyde he had mete to eete þat þei knewen not. And so when þis wommon by devocioun of feyth ȝaf Crist hir hert, þen he dranke wiþ hir. Lord, wheþer God begge of mon when he askes his wille, or Crist beggid of þis wommon when he mevid hir hert, and gaf hir water of lif, and filled hir for evere!

They also say that He begged of Zaccheus; but He rather commanded him.

Bot ȝitte þo freris fablen of beggynge of Crist, and seyn he beggid of ȝachee boþe meete and house. Bot here þo ydiotes faylen in discrevynge of beggynge. Ffor if a bayle aske rent to þo lord, he begges not þis rent of þo lordis tenaunte. Ne if a mon aske his dette of anoþer, he begges not þis of hym, for dyversite of titel. Miche more Crist, þat was boþe God and mon, and had by state of innocense lord[1] of al þis worlde, þof he asked of his owne, as a lord shulde, þinges of his servauntis þat he had myster of and nede, he beggid not, bot nedid his servauntis thorw mercy. And lefe loke þo wordes þat Crist seyde to Zachee, wheþer þei sowned beggynge or lordship in Crist. Zachee, hyinge cum doune of þo tre, for I mot þis day dwelle in þin house. A riche mon wolde þenke spyte of a begger, þat bad him hastily cum doune fro a sight þat hym liked, and seide þat he moste herberow þis begger; ffor suche a mon wolde sey sone to suche a begger,—Begger, ȝitte myghtes þou aske wheþer þat I wolde. Bot þo gospel techis þat Crist did mercy unto þis riche mon, and begged not of hym.

Replies to other similar arguments of the friars.

ȝitte þo foles blabur to prove þat Crist beggid, siþ he sende his disciplis to Jerusalem, to fett him an asse and hir foole for to ryde on. Bot þis blyndenesse of þo blasphemes gos þo same waye, ffor þei blabur heresye þat God asked not. And

[1] an error probably for *lordshiþ*.

siþ þere is no beggynge of soche comyne bestis, þo freris shulden schame to forge suche beggynge; specialy siþ þo Lord bad his disciplis, þat if ony mon seide owght unto hom, þei[1] schulden sey þat þo Lord had myster of hom. Þei schulden lerne, þat name of Lord, taken by hymself, sygnifies God, Lord of all lordes. And, for hit were to streyte to lordship of Crist to be a special lord of Jude or Jerusalem, þerfore he bad þat þei schulde calle him Lorde. Bot ȝitte þo freris casten out oþer blynde resouns, þat Crist beggid a house, to eete inne his maundye, ffor, as þo gospel seis, he had none of his owne, and so he toke almes bothe of men and of wymmen; why schulde we not sey þat ne Crist was a begger? Bot here we seyn to freris, as þo Psalme seis, þat Crist was to geder bothe riche and pore, and herfore he ordeyned þo apostils to sey þat he was Lord of alle lordes; and ȝitte had he myster. And so Crist was moste pore mon þat evere was oute, and þerto most riche mon, and also moste curteyse. And so in al his povert he beggid not by voyce, bot meved folk to gif him, for more mede of hom. And so, þof Crist toke bodily almes, neverepoles he gaf better ageyne gostily almes, and beggid nevere on þis maner þat þo freris feynen. And so he bad, as verrey Lord, to go to þo cyte, and sey to sum myghty mon by þis token, þat, Þo mayster seis, I make Paske wiþ ȝe. And at þis lordely worde of þis maister, þis burgeys of þo cyte schewed hom a grett house strewid. Lord, wheþer þis menes beggynge of Crist! Bot þes blynde blasphemes con not depart beggynge fro povert, for boþe acorden sumwhat.

They profess to imitate Christ in life, but falsely.

Bot se we wheþer þes newe sectis seyn soþ upon Crist, þat þei suen hym in lif bifore alle oþer men; bot hit semes nay. Ffirst, when þei sey þat þei ben pore as Crist, þo fend hafs clothid hom in a cope to bringe in more deceyte. Certis þei have feele rentis, bot Crist had nevere one. Crist was herberowid in symple houses of oþer comyne men; þese freris have in propur[a] houses of coste. Crist þat was al wyse had bot twelve disciplis; þese founed freris rekken nevere how

[1] corrected; *þe*, W.

[a] As their own.

mony þei have. And, for Crist chees his disciplis, and gedrid hom of mony, þo freris steelen lesse childer wiþoute discrecioun; herfore þei have Scarioths moo þen apostils. Bot loke how þese freris kepen þo lawe of þo gospel. Crist wolde þat nowþer he ne his were chargeaunt to þo puple; þese freris loken how myche þei may gete of godes of þo comynes, to carye to hor castel. Ffor by þis entent þei make hom a cyte, as Caym, to carye to. Bot ouþer Seynt Poule seide fals of propurtees of charite, þat hit sekes not his owne gode, but godes of comynes, or elles þese freris reversen þo rewles of charite.

Gen. iv. 17.

Christ gave to the people more than He received from them; the friars take all, and give nothing.

I rede not þat Crist wiþ alle his apostlis toke more of þo comynnes þen he gaf ageyne. Ffor in his two feestis þat he maked by myracle, he fed þo puple in als myche as he and his apostils token of þo puple; and spiritual giftes þat Crist ȝaf þo puple was wiþouten mesure better þen hor ȝiftes. If freris, in more spense of housyng and mete, in clothyng, in juwels, chargen more þo puple þen Crist wiþ his apostils, how suen þei Crist in þis maner of lyvynge? And so hit were al one to grounde soche ordiris of beggers, and grounde Anticristis clerkis and blasphemes of Crist. Ow! siþ Seynt Richarde, bishop of Armawh, proves ageyne freris by mony feyre resouns þat þei faylen opunly fro Cristis religion; and harmen þo Chirche and þo comynes bothe; how ben oure bishops and freris now knyttid togedir, bot as Herowde and Pilate were made fals frendes? And þis knotte lastid not, for hit was yvel groundid in hate of Crist, and of his lawe; so hit semes here. And harmyng of þo puple may we sone se; siþ heven lokes lesse to fruyt of þo erthe, monnes strength is lesse, here lyve is shortere, þo tyme is lesse sesounable, and charite withdrawen. What shulde mefe Anticrist to double þo rentis of þo pore puple in suche yvel tyme? Ffor byfore þat freris comen by cautel of þo fende, þo puple gaf no more rente for so myche to hor lordes. And al þinge acountid, þei gyven nowe to þo ordiris wel nyhe als myche as þei did to hor lordes. And so frutis of worldes godes faylen in þo grounde. And siþ yvel partynge of soche godes is cause of discencioun, þo fende hafs caste þis snare for to bryge men, ffor charite is exiled, and envye is kyndelid. And þis semes þo caste of þo fende of helle, þat he

schal destrye lordes and hor tenauntes, and leve none in þo world bot Anticrist clerkes. And so, in þis þat freris ben chargeaunt to þo puple, þei suen hor mayster Anticrist, and not Jesus Crist.

Nor do they imitate Christ in their inordinate attachment to their several Orders.

Þo secounde waye þat þei go fro Crist and his lawe is weddyng of hor newe ordiris, and dyversen fro Cristis lawe. Men may opunly se hou freris tellen more by hor newe ordir and hor ordynaunse, þen þei do by Cristis lawe, or profit of his Chirche. Ffor þis þei suen scharplyer, and punyschen herfore; and þis privey horedame makes myche harme. As Crist biddes, undertake thryes oure broþer, and at þo fourt tyme forsake hom as hethen men. Bot þese private ordiris bidden al þo contrarye; for he þat sues þis gospel is holdun sclaunderer of his breþeren, destroyer of hor house, and of hor newe religioun. Ffor oft sithe he shulde telle apertely þo fautes of his brether, and oft fle hom as cursed men þat his reule ageyne-seis. Ffor oft his gode brethere ben putt into prisoun, and moste schrewis of oþer have leve to go aboute, and use frely hor malice as procuratoures of þo fende. And sith hit is al one to luf a lord and his lawe, ofte tyme þei luf more hor ordir þen Crist. And in mony caas fredom of þo gospel moste be forsaken for hor newe tradiciouns.

When they ground their right to alms on the spiritual services they render, they prove too much.

Bot ȝitte þo blasphemes blaburen ageyne þis sentense, þat bothe resoun and holy writte acorden togeder, þat whoso edifyes þo puple shal lif on þo puple; bot siþ freris in lif and worde edifyen moste þo puple, hit semes þei schulde first take almes of þo puple. Bot wayte we whydir þo blasphemes drawen. Þis resoun meenes þat no maner of comynes schulde gif temporal godes to lordis or persouns, bifore þo freris were served of þat at þei craven. Bot hit were al one to holde upon þis sentense, and destrye þo ordiris þat Crist made, and mayntene his enemyes. And þus bigan Anticrist to reverse Crist, not mending defautes þat were in Cristis ordir, bot makyng newe ordiris and sectis, as he wolde passe Crist. Bot feyth and kynde techis us, þat ordir of Crist is better, and þat he ordeyned his Chirche as beste wolde be, nouþer to myche ne to litel, bot in gode mesure. Bot þo bastarde braunchis of þo newe ordiris spronge in wiþoute auctorite of God. Ow! what wise mon

wolde make a hye house, and putte tymbre bynethe, and stoories aboven? or elles above more hevye þinge þen þo foundement wolde bere? Þo foundement of þo Chirche ben comyners and laboreres; bot if moo ordiris and sectis ben clotirde on hom þen schulde by resoun hele hom wiþ charite, defaute is in ordynaunce of maker of þo Chirche. And so soth hit is, if freris travel more to profite of þo Chirche þen oþer men done, þei schulden upon resoun be susteyned of þat Chirche, if þei come to þis werke by autorite of God. Bot Seynt Poule techis þat soche schulde not be hevye to þo puple þat þei techen, bot lyve on litel, as foules. Bot þese raveyners robben þo puple, and done not hor devere. And so resoun wolde aske þat noumbre of prestis schulden stonde in mesure, and travel in hor offis; and if þei were ydel, or elles to monye, withdrawe of hor sustynaunce, and spende on oþer maner þo tresor of God, and not norische his enemyes. Bot howevere þese blasphemes bosten þat þei travel more to profite of þo Chirche þen done oþer prestis, one þinge men knowen, þat sith þei comen in hafs þo Chirche payred in everiche membre.

Had Christians only been content with the law and teaching of Christ, no prelates, monks, canons, nor friars would have been needed;

How blessidful were þo Chirche to renne aftir Crist, if it were onely payed of þo ordynaunce of hym, and broght up no newe lawes, ne no newe sectis, bot amendid mysdoeris by Cristis owne lawe, and bringe hom ageyne to þo lyve þat Crist hymself ordeyned! And þen þo dowynge of þo emperoure had nouþer comen in, ne his prelatis had not blasphemed þus ageynes Gods lawe, ne þese private religiouse schulde nouþer on þis wyse have stourblid Cristis Chirche, ne pervertid his ordir. Ffor chaunouns, munkes, and freris schulden noȝt þen have stonden in sted, bot few pore prestis schulde have sufficid to þo Chirche by pure Cristis lawe. Bot here cryes Anticrist þat by þis blaspheme holy Chirche schulde perishe, and Crist be unworshipped; ȝe, and seintes in heven, patrouns of þo ordiris, schulden be sclaundrid of hor moste gloriouse werkes. Bot wolde God þat Anticrist wolde gedir his wittes, and witte þat hit were better to hye Cristis ordenaunce, þen ordynaunce of Benett or Domynik or Fraunces. Ffor we owe to trowe þat Crist myght not fayle, nouþer in ordenaunce ne lawe sufficient for his Chirche; and whosoevere reverses þis sentense blasphemes

in Crist. Here may we se þat þei take fals, for þus þo Chirche schulde be saved and Crist more worshippid, þo fendes host owvercomen, and Cristendome confortid. Ffor multitude of cowardes harmes Cristis batel, ffor þei knowen nowþer his armes, ne his feghtyng. As aneyntis þo patrouns schulde we wil trowe, þat þei did not poynt devyse as oure Jesus did; and herfore erroure in secte of hom brynges men to more. Ne bere not to hevye þat þo seyntis errid. Ffor Seynt Jon seis þat if we seyn we synnen not, we deceyve oureself, and passen oute of treuthe. And so, siþ þoo seyntis diden not þo beste in foundyng of þoo ordiris, bot synned venyaly, hit were a gret folye to sue hom in þis erroure, and leve þo ordynaunce of Crist þat may not be amendid. And herfore Poul durste not, ne none oþer apostil, founde newe sectis bysyde þo ordir of Crist. Bot þre þinges of þis sentence may we suppose, þat þei keppid þo ordiris better þen þei nowe ben, so þat þes newe ordiris ben ofte newe made. Also þo seyntis wolde not þat hor sect were weddid wiþ hor tradiciouns, and laft Cristis lawe. And þo þridde we supposen, þat þo seyntis sorowed in tyme of hor deth, ffor alle soche erroures. And so, for oþer godes þat þei did ofte, suppose we þat þei ben nowe in heven, and so we dampnen not þo seyntis, but putt Crist byfore.

not that the founders of Orders were not holy men;

Lord, siþ Poule presumed not to founde[1] soche sectis, why schulde foles and ydiotes take þis upon hom? Specialy siþ folye were to one unwyse to take a flok of Gods folke, þat lastid bot for his lif; myche more an ydiot schulde not gif a reule to alle his sect, lastynge for evere, whiche reule were not expressid in Gods lawe. And so þes sectis sclaunderen hor owne patrouns, amendynge hor defautes, and passynge fro hor ordiris. And so al þof þese newe ordiris profiten to Cristis Chirche, neverþoles not so myche as fendes in helle. Ffor þei made meryte of Crist, and mony oþer merytis, byfore þat freris comen. And so, if þei wil be purgid, turne þei to Cristis ordire, and þen thar hom not aske confermynge of þo pope.

but they erred in founding new sects, and their followers now, departing from their rules, get deeper into error.

[1] corrected; *founded*, W.

III PARS.—OF LETTRIS OF FFRATERNITE.

III. Blasphemous pretence of sharing the merits of their Order with other men by letters of fraternity.

Nowe of þo thridde blaspheme is for to speke, for freris founden hor ordires fully in leesynges. Þei feynen first, þat Crist beggid as þei, and herby þei lyve by leesynge upon leesynge; and for to spoyle more þo puple, þei feynen hom a powere to graunt men gostily helpe more þen þei have of Gods lawe, or elles may þei helpe homself. Þei graunten letters of bretherhed under hor comyne seele, þat hor breþer schal have part of alle hor gode dedes, bothe in lif and in deth, and rekkenen mony werkes. Bot first may men se, hou þis maner of doynge savers heresye in proude ypocrites. For þes gostily suffrages þei sellen in a maner, siþ þei graunten not comynly, bot þere þei hope wynnynge. And more booste of þo fende herde we nevere, sith quantite of merytes is hydde fro seyntis, and chaffers wiþ soche þinges, unknowen to þo partyes, were presomptuose foly upon bothe sides. Also, sith þei supposen þat hor naked graunte is als myche worthe as graunte wiþ hor lettres, þen hor lettres serven of noght bot for to jape þo pepul. And in þis þei suen not Crist, as þei falsely feynen, for he grauntid nevere soche lettres of þing þat he gaf; and þus þei passen þo apostels, bot in ypocrisye. Also þis charite of freris schulde strecche to alle gode men; and siþ hit is als myche worthe by graunte as by letter, þen introduccioun of soche lettres serven of noght bot if it be to bleere mennis eyne wiþ threde, and wiþ gaye wrytynge. Also, siþ Cristen men wot wil þat no man aftir his deth shal have part of meryt but if he go to heven, and, as freris seyn, þei may graunt iche Cristen mon part of hor meryt aftir his deth, þen may þei graunt iche Cristen mon for to be saved; and so hom fayles charite, if any of homself or elles any Cristen mon be dampned in helle. Also, men of þo gospel schulden do prively hor almes, so þat hor lift honde wiste not what hor right honde did. Bot þese freris seyn þat þis is a passynge gostily almes; þen þei schulde do hit prively, and not conferme hit opunly by hor charteres. And mony þenken þat þes two þinges mefen hom; ffirst to feyne hor holynesse, makynge trompe bifore hom, as ypocrites done, and spoylen

pore mennes godes by maner of rentis, and to be confedrid with hom as wiþ hor owne breþeren. Also hit were inogh to freris to have breþerhed of þo puple, þat ben comynly better þen þo freris, þof þei come not unkyndely to spoyle hor breþren; ffor þei haf no skil to selle þo letters þat ne by þo same skil þei shulde begge soche lettres of oþer men, whom þei schulde suppose to be better þen þei. And if þei did þus, þei did as þei wolden þat men did to hom; and þis is þo lawe of gospel and kynde. Also, þese freris wot not wheþer þei shal be saved, or wheþer þei ben now viserde devels, as Schariot was; and if þei ben suche, þei graunten not part of hor merytes to men þat shal not be saved. And herfore hit is a fendis presumpcioun to selle þus hor merytes þat þei knowen noȝt, ffor þo gospel biddes, þat as þei take frely, so schulde þei frely gif to oþer. Ffor hit were no kyndenesse þus to venyme hor gift, as þo Pharisee venymde his dedes, for a privey boste þat he made to God. Also þei wot not wheþer hor breþren þat þei chaffere with shal evere be saved. Bot no mon schulde deceyve his broþer in bodily chaffer; myche more þes freris shulde not deceyve þo puple of þing þat þei knowen not.

It is folly, and not charity, to presume that such merits exist.

And, certis, þer is no witte in þo wordes þat trewauntis casten oute in þis mater, þat evere þo better part schulde be supposed; and þus men schulde suppose þes freris to be saved, and by merytes of hom þo puple to be also. Bot certis þere is no werse worde to grounde þes freris. For bi þis resoun iche mon shulde suppose þat he shulde cum to heven withouten helpe of freris. Also Hildegar seis, þat þes cursed sectis schal be destryed and dampned in helle, for hor ypocrisie and deceyte of þo puple. Þen þis schulde be supposid, sith hit semes soth, for þat God demes is evere þo better. And so schulde men suppose þat soche ypocrites ben deppere in helle þen any oþer men. And if men schulde holde hor pees in þing þat [þei][1] knowen not, why boosten þese freris so boldely of privetees of God? Also þes founed freris taken on hom a þing þat is propred to God, as partyng of blis, þat aungels in heven presumed nevere; and so þes synful wrecches byheten here in erthe, þat

[1] supplied conjecturally.

hengis onely in wille and jugement of God, as þof þei wolde bowe hym, as maysters of his conseile. And if þei feynen þat þei graunten al þis upon condicioun, þen þei siker not hor breþeren of partynge of hor merytes, more þen þei myȝt siker Sathanas of þo blis of heven. Ffor wil we wot, if God wil, þus shal hit be, þof alle þes freris were dampned in helle.

Immoral consequence of the practice.

Also no mon shulde ȝif occasioun to his broþer for to be deceyved in salvacioun [1] of his soule. Bot mony, for sikernesse of meryte of þese freris, ben to negligent in hor owne werkes, and dreden not to do injurye to hor breþer. Ffor siþ þei may be asoyled lightly of freris, and after have ful part with hom in þo blis of heven, who wolde drede to do his wille for a litel money? And þis is þo welle wherwiþ þo fende blyndes þo puple, and gendres wronges in þis worlde, and moves hem to feght. And so þis folye of freris unables homself, and eke þo puple þat chaffaren wiþ hom. And þus þei make hom pertyners of hor peyne in helle, ffor more folye in chaffere suffred God nevere. To bye a catte in þo sakke is bot litel charge: to bye chirchis by symonye semes sumwhat siker: bot for to bye þus heven and broþerhed of Crist, hit semes chaffere of Lucifer, and withouten grounde.

Pretended miracles alleged by the friars.

Owe! wolde God þat þese freris, þat ben so bolde to graunte by letter and comyne seele þinges þat þei knowen not, dursten graunte hor byleve, what is þo sacred oost. Bot þese apostatas stirten abak where þei shulden go forth. And so wolde God þat þo crabbis made by myracle, if þei myght, alle hor leesyngis withouten any sugett, for þen shulden þei not noye us as þei nowe do. Ffor comynly þese blasphemes, when hom wantes answers, and wil blynde þo puple, þei feynen on God miracles þat he nevere did. For if men aske hor groundynge, þei stonde stille as foles, or tellen straunge tales noȝt to þo purpose; as wycches feyned of dede men þat þei myght not quicken, [þat þei] [2] were translate to felowschippe and dwellynge wiþ gods. Bot þo craffte of hor leesynge moste þei nede haunte, for elles þei myght not be mayntened wiþin holy Chirche. But wolde God þat þei lyed not þus upon Crist, and feyned hym to do

[1] corrected; *savacioun*, W. [2] supplied.

myracles of hor accidentis þat he nevere did, ne profiten to men, ne no mon may se hom, ne where þei ben groundid.

Their arguments replied to.

Bot ageyne þis arguen þese Anticrist clerkes, and feynen þat þei have verey lordship of hor medeful dedes, as fer forthe as ony mon haves lordship of temporale godes. Bot by suche lordshippe hit is leveful to graunte men temporal godes at þo wille of þo Lord; þen by þo same skil hit is leveful to freris to graunte men hor merytes, or partis of hom. And þus þese apes arguen by wey of likenes, and done more harme to men þen þof þei cutted hor throtes. Ffor herby þei myght bye mennis synnes, and laye hor soules in wedde, þat oþer mennis soules shulde be saved, ȝe, þof God wil þo reverse. Bot for to falle to þo answere. Byleve techis us þat no mon may levefully chaunge any godes, bot if he have leve of þo cheff lorde. Neverefoles summe godes ben more nyghe God, as vertues, þat may not be gyven of none bot of God, ne nouþer mon ne fende may dysuse vertues. Bot ȝitte go we nerre to þese ypocrites, and telle hom þat merytes and delynge of merytis ben dyverse in hor kynde, as þei con knowe hit. Ffor as gyvynge of vertues and gyvynge of grace ben appropred to God, so delynge of merytes; for in þo same mesure þat God approves merytes, deles he þo merytes to whom þat hym likes. Bot merytes of men ben dedis or lyves, þat God of his grace acceptis to mede. Bot ȝitte þes blasphemes blabur hereageyne; and seyntes in heven gyven foure maner of mede, and so erthely men schulden dele hor merytes. Bot certis þes apis travelen in veyne as þei did ever, for seyntis in heven gyven hor blis, as none of us in erthe hafs powere to gyve. And ȝitte suche gyvynge and delynge dyversen; for seyntes gyfen accydentaly blisse, when þei be objectis to glade oþer seyntes; bot God hymself deles, as he acceptis seyntes. Ne God bisyes hym not makynge soche doole, ffor lette a mon able hymself, and þo dole is done. Bot Lucifer wolde be like to God. Þese blasphemes wol refe God his owne stede, and dele merytes of men after hor wille.

They are more reckless in their grants than the Popes themselves.

ȝitte forþermore, þese ydiotes scharpen hor tounges, and seyn þat popis graunten pardouns, and merytes of seyntis þat nowe ben in heven; and sith freris have fully and frely powere of popis, why may þei not dele hor propir desertis? Bot loke

now þat þese ypocritis wolden here passe popis. For popis graunten no pardoun to men bot if þei be byfore verrely contritte [a], bot þese freris in hor lettres speken of no contricioun. And right as þei passen Crist in multitude of coventes, so þei passen þo popis in grauntyng of suffrages. Bot I counseile þat iche mon trayste fully in God and in his owne gode dedis, by whoche he shal be saved, and tryste not to myche to popis ne freris, for hor graunte avayles of noght, bot in als myche as hit is confermed to þo Chirche aboven.

Against exaggerated language about the immunity of Popes and Cardinals from error.

And hereonne wolde I þat men þoght, þat taken as bileve þat þo pope wiþ his cardynals may not erre, in þinges þat towches þo byleve of Cristis comyne Chirche. Comyne byleve seis, þat nouþer men in erthe, ne seyntis in heven, may do owght approved of God, bot if God hymself do hyt bifore. Bot who wot þat by ordynaunce of God þus myche penaunce is done for his synne? or þat þus myche pardoun is ordeyned of God? or þat þus longe tyme shal cum bifore þo day of dome? And þus hit is of a hundred dedis of popis, þat boþe hor cardynals and hor chirche approven. And siþ in mony soche caas þei contraryen Gods wille, hit semes of hor dedis, and of right byleve, þat þei reversen oft tyme þat Cristen men shulden trowe; ffor ofte tyme þei feynen hom to do by hor powere, and nouþer þei wot wheþer hit be so, or Cristen men shulden trowe hit. And wil I wot þat Cristis worde, seyde unto Petir, Whatevere þou byndes upon erthe schal be bownden in heven, and whatevere þou lesis upon erthe shal be lesid in heven, was seyde to Petir, and successouris of him þat verrely suen Crist and Petir in maners, ne erres noȝt in byndynge ne lesynge of men fro þo right jugynge of þo Chirche aboven. Lord, wheþer þis be byleve, þat þis pope dos go amonge alle þo articles of þo trowthe þat evere Crist taught? Þis is none of hom, ne ordeyned to be trowed. For þen were þo pope conformed, and nedely most þei be blessid, bothe in erthe and in heven, be he nevere so schrewid. And so hor bulles ben not gospel, bot ofte tyme fals, þat fayles nevere of Cristen byleve. And herfore triste we to þo rightwysenes of oure owne werkes, and laste we in þo faythe of þo lawe of Crist, for al suche fals feynynge moste

[a] See vol. i. p. 136, note *b*.

nedely perische. Bot as þo witte of þis word,—Þis is my body,—is mony weyes chaungid as Anticrist wil, so þo witte of þes wordes seide unto Petir. So þat lawe of þo emperoure, and chesyng of heretikes, neden Crist to gif suche powere to his traytoure. Bot as hungre of one and dronkenesse of anoþer techis þat Poule undirstode bodily fode, so worldly lif of emperoure prelatis techen þat þei ben not þo same þat Crist spake to.

His mass is the best who leads the best life.

Bot if þese freris with hor preyers deceyven þo Chirche, and maken þo puple to trowe þat one masse of hor is better to God þen oþer of comyne prestis,—(and herof serven hor sygnes, and hor feyned varyaunce[a], to schewe hor ypocrisye to þo lewid folke; and herby men seyn þat one frere takes mony grete salaryes of dyverse men togider for one tyme, bot hom unwittynge, ffor hor speciale preyeris þat þei slepen inne ben, as þei sey, better þen oþer comyne preyers; bot herfore thorw defaute of right byleve þo fende deceyves þo Chirche by soche fals procuratours)—We shulde understonde, þat whoso lifs better, he preyes more profitably to iche Cristen mon. And þus Seynt Poule biddes men preye wiþouten lettynge. And so þat prest þat lyves better synges better masse; for masse and þo ooste ben dyverse þinges, siþ ellis freris myght not feyne of hor massis þat þei ben better þen masse of a fende. Scarioth was a fende, as Crist hymself seis, and, as freris seyn, soche prestis syngen right. And herbi may we se what preste singes beste; for Crist songe beste of alle by generale preyer; and certis þo beste helpe þat men myght gete by preyere were to dresse Cristis Chirche aftir his owne ordenance. And þus specialte of preyere blyndes mony men. Ffor generale preyere is better þan speciale, siþ it comes of more large charite, and is abowte better and more comyne profite.

General prayer is better than special.

And herfore Crist taught us moste generaly to praye. Bot profitable applyinge is appropred to God, as he moste part merytes aftir þat men ben worthy. And so hit falles oft tymes, þat a fer straunge mon had more mede of foundynge of abbeyes and chauntryes þen he þat haves founded hom, for he is more

[a] The variations in the singing of the mass, which the different religious orders were, and still are, authorized to use.

worthy. And þis fayth shulde move men to sue Crist, and coveyte noght private suffrages, but more procure treuly aftir comyne profite. And so specialte in preyere is noþing worþ, bot in als myche as hit scharpes to preye for generale þinges; as, when a man preyes for a certeyne persone, his entent shulde be more principaly for þo comyne Chirche. As, when men preyen for one persone, for he is profitable helpe to holy Chirche, men preyen more principaly for þat holy Chirche. And þus ypocrisye of freris unables hom to God, sith þei schulde prively lyve hor holy lif, and bothe by worde and sygnes schewe hor lownes, and þen were þo servyse of masse and oþer doynge more profitable to men þen hit nowe is. Bot þo sacrament þat is sacrid in þo masse is nouþer better for one prest ne for oþer. For in his kynde hit is bred, noght mendid bi þo prest, and in þat þat hit is Gods body, hit is ilike gode, whosoevere sacres hit.

On the right posture of mind in which to receive certain statements.

And here knowe we mony þinges, bynęþe oure byleve, þat we shulde graunte hom, ne denye hom, ne dowte hom; bot suppose hom, gesse hom, or hope hom. As if a mon asked me whęþer þis bred were Gods body, I wolde nouþer byleve þat, ne dowte hit, ne denye hit, bot suppose þat hit were so, bot if I had contrarye evydence,—as, if I had evydence þat þo prest were not sacred of God, or þat God wolde not wirke wiþ hym for his yvel lyvynge. And so evere worshippe Gods body in heven, and þo sacrament of þo auter upon a stille condicioun. And so what þing þat a mon myght more medefuly do, and have more medefully mynde on þo body of Crist, schulde he do, and in caas leve heryng of masse. Bot for þo more part, heryng of masses scharpes men, and moves men to haf medeful mynde of Crist. And so if þo pope asked me whęþer I were ordeyned to be saved, or predestynate, I wolde sey þat I hoped so, but I wolde not swere hit, ne ferme hit wiþouten condicioun, þof he grettly punyscht me; ne denye hit, ne doute hit, wolde I no wey.

On the right way of answering inquisitorial questions.

And so, if prelates opposed me, what were þo sacrament of þo auter in his kynde,—I wolde sey þat hit were bred, þo same þat was byfore; ffor þus teches þo gospel þat we shulden bileve. And if þou aske forþer, whęþer hit be substaunse of material bred, nouþer wolde I graunte hit, ne doute hit, ne denye hit, byfore audytorie þat I trowed schulde be harmed þerby, bot

sith[1] þat I supposid or reputid þat hit is so. And þes prelatis þat wolde wrynge oute anoþer absolute answere, faylen bothe in logik and divinyte, and schewen hom unable to examyne of heresye. Ffor it falles to soche men to teche þo bileve by sufficyent foundynge, and eschewe erroures. As, for no mon con grounde accydent wiþouten sugette, no mon schulde aferme þat þis were þo sacrament. And, for fewe prelates knowen accydentis and sugettis, men schulden bywar to bringe þis in Cristen mennis byleve. Bot accydente wiþouten sugette nowþer knowes mon ne God, as Austin teches and resoun proves. Bot þo fende haves blyndid þus Anticrist in þis matir, þat he contraryes to hymself, and knowes not hys erroure; as he seis þat þis sacrament is an accydente withouten sugette, or elles þat in þis sacrament is suche an accydente. And ȝitte he contraryes hymself, þat quantite and qualite sugetten oþer accydentis, and everiche part þereof. Also iche part of þis accydente hafs Crist and Cristis body, and so none of þese accydentis is wiþouten sugette.

Recapitulation. How the first species of blasphemy should be met.

And so, if þese thre poyntes of blaspheme and thre kyndes of heresye were fully declared, nouþer prelates ne freris þat nowe bisye hom þus schulde clerely excuse hom, þat ne þei ben suche. Ffor þei undirstonde omys þis pointe of þo gospel,—When þou art cald to heven reste in þo laste place, and kepe þe in mekenesse wiþouten ypocrisye. And so hit is likely þat alle þo bishopes of Rome þis thre hundred ȝere and more were fully heretikes, ffor þei undirstonden not þis þat Poule teches, When we have fode and hyllynge, be we payed of þis. Þere ben mony heresyes of folis in þis mater, and fole wordis shulden be lafte, and not to longe tretid. Make we an ende of þis mater, and speke we of oþer þinges. Ffor somme folis þer be þat will be payrid in yvel, and noþing amendid, by devoute wordes. Bot geder we þes þre partyes of þis synne of blaspheme, and make we þese fautours of þis grett synne, and make hom as blasphemes in Crist and his seyntes. And as anentis þo first, þat is, þo sacred ooste, no mon schulde here hom, ne grete hom, ne suffer hom þat denye þo gospel, in þis or in oþer

[1] perhaps we should read *sey*.

matir. And, for freris and oþer religious ben suspect in þis heresye, men schulden not comyne wiþ hom bifore þei schewid þo fayth by sufficyent wittenes, and with a wyse asker. Ow! sith everiche parishe chirche hafs mony sacred oostis as medicyne to þo soule for seke parischens, he were a schrewid leche þat wolde not telle his sugettis of what kinde were þo medycyne þat he gyves hom. And so, if we loved oure feyth and Cristis lawe, as we shulden luf if we wil be saved, we schulde not slepe þus in þis cause, bot warly wake. Bot negligence of Gods cause shewes þat we hate God. And cautels of blasphemes þat perverten oure fayth schulden be schaken awey by scharp dyvynes. For þes folis leeven þo letter of þo gospel, and seyn þat we schulde not aske what þing þat is, bot trowe þat þere is verey Gods body. Bot þo gospel telles not what þing is þere, but seis þat þis brede is Cristis owne body. For wil we witten þat in iche knotte of a stree is better þing þen Gods body, for þo holy Trinyte. And siþ we worschippen not soche sensible strees, and worschippen þis sacrament, resoun schulde dryve us þat hit is better þing þen oþer comyne bodyes. Bot wil I wot þat freris seyn þat hit is werse þen venyme. Alle men schulden thriste oute þis roten of oure faythe.

The second blasphemy.

As to þo secounde blaspheme, of beggyng of þes freris, everiche Cristen mon þat lufs Jesus Crist schulde crye out on hom þat seyn Crist begged þus, siþ þat hit is blasphemye ageyns oure God. Alle we sey þat we luf Crist moste of alle þinge, bot negligense in oure dedes wittenes þo contrarye. And I am certayne, at þo day of dome schal þo sothe be proved. Who wolde not sey þat he were fals to his erthly lord, þat herde him be sclaundred and opunly despised, and ȝitte wolde nowþer reverse hit, ne have sorowe in his hert? Ow! how shal men be saved, þat loven better erthely þing þen þei luf oure God and oure Lord Jesus Crist?

The third blasphemy: letters of fraternity should be done away with, and the laity cease to support the friars.

And to þo þridde blaspheme, of lettres of freris, he loves nowþer God ne his even Cristen þat ageynestondes not þis heresye. For þei blaspheme in God, and desseyven þo puple, and harmen homself where þei myght ellis be gode. Bot sith we schulde sue Crist in maner of oure lyvynge, and Crist spake scharply ageyns þes Pharisees, we mot nedely scharp oure

tounges ageyns þese freris; ffor þo erroures þat þei have ben so longe rootid inne wil not elles be avoydid, ne oþer men excusid. But siþ Crist keppid charite to þese Pharisees, he were not a trewe mon, ne suer of Crist, þat wolde not speke þus ageyns erroures of freris. Ow! if knyghtes and comynes, and alle Cristen men, wakid to þis resoun and did hit in dede, siþ no mon schulde susteyne blasphemes of Crist, and siþ þis secte of beggers blasphemes in God, alle men schulden lette hom of hor cursed werkes. And more esy lettynge con I not se bot þat iche Cristen mon gif hom no bodily gode, bifore þei schewid wrytten þat Crist begged so; for ellis þei are suspect of opun blasphemye. And siþ no mon schulde gif þo freris gode, bifore þis cause were descided bytwene wyse men, God schulde ordeyne his servauntis to stonde for þo treuthe. And, for ech Cristen mon schulde destrie blasphemes, þei schulde seke þis oute þat regnes in freris. Þei sey þat God haves byheght hom þat þei schal do myracles wiþoute any nowmbre in sacring of þo ooste. Bot certis þese myracles may þei not teche, as þei may not profit to þo Chirche of Crist. As anentis hor chaffere by lettres of fraternyte, schulden myghty men aske hom groundynge of hor sentense; and so of hor ordiris, þat þei þus preyse, and seyn þat þei passe þo ordir þat Crist gaf. And so þei preyse hor patrounes, and putten Crist byhynde. Lord, who herde evere a more blaspheme, þen þat ydiotes seyn hor patrounes schulden passe Crist! Wil I wot þat Seynt Poule, for reverense of Crist, durst not grounde soche ordiris as þo folis did. Ne grucche we not þat þes patrounes ben cald þus ydiotes. For holy wrytte calles disciplis of Crist ydiotes[a]; and byleve teches us þat þei ben nowe seyntes. Bot of holynesse of þese patrounes may trowe who so wil, for byleve nedes not to trowe þat þei ben seyntis; bot I suppose þat þei did mony foly werkes by blyndenesse of yprocrisye, and after were purgid, and so þei ben now in heven, as God vouchessafe. And so iche Cristen mon, if he wil be saved, most hold stiffly wiþ þo lawe of Criste.

[a] In Acts iv. 13, the Vulgate has *idiotae*, and the Wycliffite versions *ydiotis*.

XXVI.

DE APOSTASIA CLERI.

[This tract is printed from a transcript made for the Delegates by Mr. French from the only known MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, (C. V. 6; CC in this edition). It has been already printed, in black letter, by Dr. Todd, in his *Wycliffe's Three Treatises* (Dublin, 1851). It seems to me impossible to decide whether it is really by Wyclif or not. Bale certainly mentions a 'De Apostasia' in his *Catalogue*, but gives no first words; and it is more likely that he was referring to the Latin treatise of that name, which forms part of the *Summa Theologiae* (Shirley's *Catalogue*, p. 8) than to the present tract. The style has a general resemblance to that of Wyclif, and a remarkable expression at p. 440, about a 'lump of talow strangling the houndis,' recalls a similar expression in the Sermons (vol. i. p. 247). On the other hand, the phrase 'in mong', for 'among', is never used elsewhere by Wyclif to my knowledge; and the frequent use of the first person plural looks like some inferior member of a party rather than its leader. No indication whatever helps us to settle the date; all that can be said is, that as the subject of the Eucharist is *not* referred to, there is, so far, some ground for supposing that it was written before 1381, the year in which Wyclif began publicly to impugn the received doctrine.]

Cap. I.

On the apostasy of the clergy, both regular and secular.

Siþ ilche Cristen man is holdon to serve Crist, and who ever fayliþ in þis is apostata, it is likliche to many men þat þe mor part of men, bi her viciose lijf, ben combred in þis heresye. But al ȝif knyȝts and alle men shulden be religiose, neverþelees spek we of apostasye of prests.

Þre maner of prestis fallen in þis synne. Þe firste is peple of privat religioun, þe secunde is þe multitude of emperours prelatis, þe þridde is prestis wiþoute þise two firste. We shal sup-

pose of our bileve, þat ilche man þat is ordeyned of God to be dampned is apostata to jugement of God, as þe riȝt resoun shewiþ of þe apostasie. And ȝif apostasie is stondyng bihynde, hou myche stondiþ bihynde ilche siche þat shal be dampned? mor þan Goddis derlyng þat shal afterward be saved wisliche, al ȝif he semeþ grevousliche unkynde for þe tyme. Fferþermor we shal suppose þat bodyliche abyte, or wantyng þerof, makiþ not men religiose neyþer apostataes, al ȝif þey semen siche bi jugement of men; for oonliche charite þat sewiþ it makiþ men religiose, or of Cristis ordre. But it is knowen bi lawe of our God, þat alle þes bodiliche signes ben straunge fro charite; for charite stondiþ in soule, and not in siche signes. But Lord! wheþer weddyng wiþ siche signes helpiþ to holde religioun of Crist, and love hym of hert? siþ it is certeyn þat Cristis religioun stondiþ in love of God of al our herte. And it semeþ þat siche signes drawen fro love of Crist þo þat setten so meche trist in hem, and bynden hem to kepe perpetuelly. For þey needen a man to take heede to sensible þing, but heede to sensible þing wiþdrawiþ fro God. Also oblishyng of men unfreeþ hem to God; but it is greet oblishyng to be bonde to perpetual kepyng of siche maner signes, siþ it falliþ ofte þat Goddis lawe askiþ to do dedis þat Crist biddiþ, and leve siche signes; and so byndyng to siche signes lettiþ fredom of Crist. Also, siþ Crist is al witty, as our feiþ techiþ us, and he ȝaf us not siche signes, but raþer reproveþ hem, it semeþ þat þis ordre askiþ not siche signes. And herfor it semeþ þat Crist seiþ, þat kynrede of hoordom sekiþ siche signes; and þis is a cause whi signes of þe old lawe shulden ceese, bi fredom of þe comyng of Crist. Of þis it semeþ þat signes to wiche men ben oblishid ben not groundid in þe lawe of grace, but raþer techen us to leve signes. And cerimonyes of þe olde lawe, betere þan þes, ben tauht to be left bi lore of Poul.

Monasticism condemned in general, though in particular cases it may be of service.

And herfore it semeþ þat privat religiose ben hyndred bi her ordris to kepe Cristis lawe; alȝif it falleþ þat somme men ben beterid bi bynding to þise chargis, þat ellis wolden be wylde. But al ȝif it falleþ profyte to summe men to be bounde to a stake, or chargid wiþ stones, neverþelees religion þat wisdom haþ ȝyven us byndiþ us not to kepe siche rewlis, for, as to þe

mor part, it fallip þat resoun of Goddis law shulde occupie men betere. And so, 3if observaunce in lyves of fadris profytede to many men þat brou3te hem to hevene, neverþelees it wer a pur open folye to make herof a rewle for al and for ever. For God haþ ordeyned somþing to profyt for oon man, and þat same þing to noye for anoþer; and ofte to þe same man somþing wer good for a tyme, and somtyme to hymsilf wold þat þing noye. And þerfor he haþ 3iven witt and resoun wiþ his lawe to man, to chese what wer good for hym; ne it may not be þat 3if man fayle not to God, þat þe spirit of God fayle hym, to shewe hym what he shulde do, betere þan þese[1] ordris can. And so men þat oblishen hem to kepe siche ordris, or ellis to founde hem evere to laste, semen to reverse God in his ordinaunce, and turne upsodoun wisdom of kynde. And herby Aristotle[a] soyliþ an argument, bi whiche it my3te seme to folis þat kynde failiþ to man, siþ it ordeyneþ armur and defence to bestis, and to man it ordeyneþ noon siche þing. Þis philosophie assoyliþ þis folye bi þis, þat kynde haþ ordeyned to man boþe wit and hondis, bi þe whiche he may take when he wole, and leve when he wole, armur and oþer help þat is meche betere. O, wheþer Crist knewe not clerliche þe profyt þat comeþ of privat religions, siþ he left hem! It semeþ þat al siche religion smacchiþ blasfeme in shadewe of pride, for it reversiþ in a maner þe ordynaunce of Crist. And 3if þei seyen þat many seynts han ben in þis ordre, certis many moo han ben in Cristis ordre. And it is hyd to us whyche of hem ben seynts; and siþ it is hyd to þe pope, and to al his covent, confirmacioun of hym makiþ litel feyþ; but it my3te make feyþ to hem þat knewen his revelacion; for þe popis autorite makiþ not seynts in hevene. And so martirdom, wiþ hooli lyf after Cristis lawe, makiþ mor evydence þat þis is a seynt. But siþ we shal suppose þat many holi confessors han ben in þise ordris, þat nowe ben in hevene, two þingis ben to seye of lijf of siche men. Ffirst, þat þei lyveden diverseliche fro þise newe sects, and loveden God and his lawe, and leften siche signes. And so þise new sects shulden kepe mor Cristis reli-

[1] corrected; *þis*, CC.

[a] Aristot. *De partibus Animal.*, lib. iv. cap. 10. (Dr. Todd's note).

gion ȝif þei leften her rytis, as her fadris diden. But ferþermor we shall suppose of þise hooli confessors þat þei weren contrit and purgid of her synnes; and bi þis, and not bi rytis, þei ben now seynts. As blasfemye of Poul, þat he pursewede Crist, makiþ hym not seynt, but good þat he dide after. But to trowe siche canonyȝaciouns is lesse þan bileeve.

DE DOTACIONE ECCLESIE.

Cap. II.

As to þe possessiouns and dowyng of clerkis, bileeve shulde teche us þat it doiþ hem harm to kepe Cristis religioun, and harm to lewid men; for Crist seiþ þat noo man may be his discipul but ȝif he renunce alle siche þingis. And hou he shulde renunce, Cristis lijf techiþ, and lif of hise apostlis þat com in after hym; and ensaumple of siche deds exponeþ best Cristis lawe. And þus bi process of tyme is þe Chirche peyred, bi turnyng fro Cristis lawe, and bi love of þe worlde. And herfor seiþ Poul, þat coveytise is roote of all yvelis þat comen to Goddis Chirche. And comynge inne of freris þat shulden quenche þis synne makiþ it mor fervent, as watir fier of smyþis. And siþ þei ben apostataes þat gon abac in Cristis ordre, few or none of siche prestis ben clene of þis heresye. For þei forsaken Crist in kepyng of his lawe, and Crist seiþ þat man mot kepe it ȝif he love hym. But siþ love of worldliche þingis drawiþ fro love of Crist, hou myche is love of prests drawe now fro God! Wantyng of workis of þe gospel, and werkis of þe world, dampneþ our prestis in defaute of þis love. And ȝit þei poudren blasphemye in among þis apostasye, for þei seyen þat þei haven mor power of Crist þan ever he wolde ȝive to Petre or Poul. For in spiritual power þei ben even wiþ him, and in worldliche power þey passen hem; siþ Petre seiþ he havede neþer silver ne gold, and Poul laborede wiþ hise hondis; and so her power, gederid togeder, in so myche passiþ power of Petre.

On the evil of Church endowments.

And ȝif ony man seyþ þat our prestis haven not so myche spiritual power as Petre, þey wolen curse hym and dampne

Prelacy did not exist in primitive times.

and might well be spared now.

hym, and use siche power þat neyþer Crist ne Petre semeþ to have had; siche fals power feyneþ Antecrist; and þat may be clepid Luciferis power. But siþ ilche power is of God, as Poul seyþ, and þise men reversen God. as her lijf shewiþ, summe men may trowe þat hem failiþ power, and þat þei feynen falsliche þat þei ben vikeris of Crist; for likliche hem wantiþ to be þe leeste membre þat Crist haþ ordeyned to be of his Chirche. And notwiþstondynge þis, Crists Chirche shulde live, ȝif alle siche prelats wanteden þerinne; for whoever trowiþ in Crist, and lastiþ to his lyves ende in þis feiþ, he shal be saved wiþouten siche prelatis; siþ in tyme of apostlis, and when þe Chirche þryvede, siche prelatis wanteden, as Goddis lawe techiþ. For þe apostlis weren felowis, and ilche oon suffisede to converte þe peple in þe name of Crist, wiþout autorite borewid of oþer. But God forbede þat lordschip ȝyven of þe emperor shulde chaunge or destrie þis lawe of Crist; for Cristis lawe, al ȝif it be contrarie to þis dowyng, is mor myȝty and groundid in resoun. And so in þis poynt ben heretiks many in þe world. For Petre was cheveteyn of oþer apostlis for his mekenesse and service þat he dide to oþer, and not for his lordship ne his sterne power.

Cap. III.

Against those who talk about the necessity of order and gradations, we plead simply the authority of Christ.

But her grucchiþ þe world, and grenneþ on trewe men, and seiþ þat þei ben heretiks, and casten destrie al holy Chirche and feyþ þerinne. Also þei seyen þat seculer lordshipis asken degrees; for ȝif alle weren oon, þer weren noon ordre, but ilche man myȝte ylyche comaunde to oþer, and so seculer lordship wer fully destryed. Also þei seyen, ȝif þer wer noon ordre of popis and bishopis, þer shulde be noon ordris of abbots and priors; and so al religioun shulde be distryed; and so shulde perish makyng of prests and doyng of sacraments, as holy Chirche usiþ. To assoyle þise dowtis, men moten arme hem and pacientliche dispose hem to deye for Crist, and fals not þe gospel for favor of men, but seye fulliche þe soþe, for Crist is ever present. And so it semeþ to trewe men, þat ordris of religioun þat Crist groundid not shulden be fordone, for Crist is al witty and al sufficient in hise werkis.

As to þe first grucchyng, shal Antecrist grenne at þe day of dom, and bete togedre wiþ hise teeþ, for his sharp reprovyng of sentence of þe gospel. For þenne wo shal be to alle siche, þat clepen good yvel and yvel good. And Zebedeus sones traveleden in þis foly, as we alle done; and askeden bi her modir heyȝnes of þe world, þat þe oon myȝte sitte on þe oon side of Crist, and þe oþer on þe oþer syde, in his kyngdom. But Crist, willyng al good, ordeynede hem to suffre anoyes in þis world, and bi þis to come to heyȝnesse in hevene. And þus þise folis seyn, þat men þat ben aboute to brynge Cristis Chirche to þe state þat Crist ordeynede, ben aboute to distrye holy Chirche. And it semeþ þat ȝif Crist com in his owne persone, and tauȝte and comaundede þis stat to be holden, he shulde be holden a fool and fals heretik; and ȝif he travelede herto he shulde be persewid; for so doyþ Antecrist aȝen hise membris, þat over softliche seyen his sentence. And siþ al bileeve is in þe gospel, and we travelen and worchen þat þis gospel wer knowe and kept, it is openne þat we wolden destrie but heresies, for we wolden destrie errours contrarie to þe gospel.

Christ magnified the authority of the secular arm.

As to þe secound, we seyn þat seculer lordis shulden holde wiþ þis sentence of þe gospel, and mayntene it wiþ myȝt. For in mong alle þe men þat evere weren her in erþe, noon heyede mor þen Crist seculer lordis; for he chees to be bore when þis lordship florishede moost in þe empyr of Rome. Crist ȝaf tribute to þe emperor; Crist wolde not so myche lessen seculer lordship, þat he wolde have a litel hous to hyde his heved inne; Crist comoundede to ȝyve þe emperor þat was hise; and to destrie lordship of prestis of þe temple, for seculer lordship shulde be holde bi hymself. And Crist norishede þe tenaunts of seculer lordis; he helede hem and fedde hem, and pilede hem not; so þat he ȝaf hem mor bi myracle of his godhede, þen he took of þe world wiþ alle hise apostlis. And for þise sixe kyndenessis, bysyde goostliche suffragies, þise seculer lordis han be to unkynde to Crist. And soone in his absence, when he was set in hevene, þe emperor reverside[1] him, and fordide his

[1] corrected; *reverse*, CC.

ordynaunce, and makede hise bishopis haywardis [a] of þe world, and took fro hem þe kepyng of Crists sheep. And so þe last offiss þat Crist ȝaf to Peter, and bad hym þries up his love performe þis offiss, took þe emperor fro hym þat seyþ he is Petris viker, and makede hym perpetuel hayward of his drit. But, for it is to hard to kyke aȝen þe spore, wite ȝee, seculer lordis, þat þis harmeþ ȝou. For it takiþ awey help of soul fro ȝou and fro ȝour peple, and to-teriþ ȝour lordship þat ȝee tellen myche by, and evere shal mor and more, til þise unkyndenessis ben somdel amendid. And wite ȝee wel þat ȝour folye, bi whiche ȝee wenen to plese God, shal not excuse ȝou to God at þe day of dom, for Crist and hise lawe shal witnesse aȝen ȝou. And siþ Poul was not excusid bi þe olde lawe of persewyng of Crist in hise ȝonge membris, meche mor þe emperor, þat bi mannes lawe persewede þe soule of Crist in his tendre membris, shal not be excusid, siþ he drawiþ hem to helle.

In the true Church the order consists in all serving and loving one another.

But ferþer we shulde knowe, þat seculer lordship þat clerkis hanne nou smacchiþ imperfecciouu on many maner, and comeþ not to þe perfectioun of þe ordre of Crist; as seculer lorshipis asken worldliche degrees, and so heyȝnesse in worldliche goodis, but Cristis lordship askiþ goostliche degrees, and heyȝnesse in vertues, þat God oonliche ȝiveþ. And herfor, when stryf of þis was in mong þe apostlis, Crist determynede þe cause bi word and bi dede. Crist puttede a ȝong man in myddil of hem, þat was meke in many vertues, and seyde,—Whoevere mekiþ hym as þis ȝong man, he shal be holden mor to þe jugement of God. But þis world haþ put awey þe sentence of Crist; for alle prestis and seculers seken her owen goods, and þat is aȝeyn þe charite of Poul. And, for þe world knowiþ not heyȝnesse in vertues, God hymsilf shulde clepe hise servaunts as he wolde, and leve þe worldis maner of sensible þingis. And so þe rewele of religioun of Crist biddiþ, þat ilche man obeshe to oþer, not for þe world, ne for worldliche maundements, but in as myche as biddiþ Goddis wille. And ȝif a best bad a man do siche, he

[a] 'Hayward' is explained by Phillips (*New World of English Words*, 1662) to mean, 'a keeper of the common herd of the town, who is to look that they neither break, nor crop hedges; from the French words *Hay* [*haie*], a hedge, and *Garde*, custody.'

shulde obeshe to beest in þe name of God. And herfor Goddis lawe techiþ hise men, þat God obeshede to mannes voys, and Crist obeshede and servede to Scarioth [a].

And herby we may see an onswer to þe þridde resoun. Sequestre we al mannes lawe, supposynge Crists ordynaunce; al þe drede of florishyng of men of þe world; and þanne it sewiþ þat we shal graunte, þat alle degrees of emperor clerkis, alle þise religions of monkis, chanouns, and freris, shal slepe as þei diden in tyme of þe apostlis. For alle þise semen to smacche worldliche heyȝnesse, and men ben clepid to degre þat God clepede not, and þis is errour and synne on ilche syde. But neverþelees þe ordre of Crist shulde be þenne mor perfiȝt þan it is noon, by meddlyng of mannes ordynaunce; and prests shulden have betere ordre in ministryng of sacraments, for Crist wolde leve in goode prests power þat holy Chirche nediþ.

If this order were followed, prelates, monks, and friars would be suppressed;

And, as þe pope feyneþ, he byndiþ to-day and lousiþ to-morewe; and so in byndyng and lowsyng ben many fals gabbyngis. And þenne wyndis of treuþis shulden blowe awey þe heresyes, and cler þe eyr of holi Chirche, þat is now ful troble. Þenne shulde lyf of grace come doun fro God, and lyȝte ilche man aftir þat he wer worþi. And þenne shulde þis blasfemye be blowen awey, þat grace and power of God mot nede first come to þe prelat, and þenne be departid of hym, how evere he wolde sille it in mong hise suggets, þat nouȝt may be wiþoute hym. And certis it wer lesse error to seye, þat þe bemes of þe sonne crooken, þat shyneþ freliche in bodyes after þat þei ben disposid, þen to putte þis error on þe Sonne of riȝtwisnes. For Crist is in ilche mannes soule þat loveþ hym owterliche, and nediþ not þe help of þis cursid prelat; for Crist may not of his ryȝtwisnes þus accepte persones. And þenne shulde grace come to men, as hevene scateriþ reyn; but now castiþ Antecrist to hepe hise disciplis, so þat ilche may strengþe oþer in her malice; as ȝif hevene of oon cloude sende gushyng of watir, and overflowede som erþe, and som wer left drye. Þus

and the grace and power of the gospel would have free course.

[a] It must have been such expressions as these which originated the charge against Wyclif, contained in the sixth of the twenty-four articles condemned at the Council of London, that he maintained 'Quod Deus debeat obedire Diabolo.'

Crist sente hise apostlis, when þei weren rype, to diverse londis, to sowe wateris of wisdom, and closede hem not in cloysteris as Antecrist doiþ. So ȝif we taken heede to apostasye þat goiþ evene aȝen þe ordre of Crist, þer ben fewe bisshopis, possessioners, or frers, þat þei ne ben apostataes, al ȝif þei holden her sygnes. For take we heede to þe lyf þat men first ledden, and to þe lyf þat men leden now; and we shal fynde þat alle þise ben gon abac. And siþ þei ben as myche now holdon to serve God, and sommwhat mor for takyng of temporal goodis, it semeþ þat þei ben bounde to mor þen þei may. And siche apostataes marren muche[1] of Cristis ordre. And þus, ȝif alle bisshopis possessioners and freris weren wislyche examyned wheþer þey weren heretiks,—ȝif þey seyden nay, wiþoute revelacioun fewe men or none weren holde to trowe hem; for it semeþ open bi her wikkid deds, þat þei ben apostataes fro Cristis religion. But siche heretikis wolen bleþeliche dampne oþere men of heresyes, for here witt is blyndid.

Cap. IV.

Owing to the wealth which encumbers her, heresy and apostasy are almost universal in the Church.

Bi þis may we see how þikke groweyn eretikis in þe rewme of Englond, and in oþer londis, þat men clepen Cristen men. For ȝif alle symonyents weren markid out of Cristendom, and alle apostataes, wiþ alle blasfemes, þe multitude of heretikis wer mor þan þise oþer. For þer ben fewe prelats now in þe Chirche, ne fewe oþer men, þat þei ne ben heretiks; siþ assent to heresie makiþ an heretik. And þerfor we supposen þat God movede men to speke now of heretikis, to make hem mor knowen; for noon man doiþ mor harm in batel of Crist. For þei stonden bihynde, and fyȝten not wiþ þe fend, ne wiþ þe world, ne wiþ her flesh, as Poul seyþ; and þis is cause whi þe world peyreþ, and charite of many cooldiþ. Þe ground of þis malice stondiþ in prestis, þat ben þus cooldid wiþ temporal goods. For þey shulden be capteynes in batele of Crist, but now þei ben cheveteyns on Antecrists syde, and letten bi ypocrisye oþer to fyȝte. And ȝif fewe trewe men wolden worche or speke aȝen þis traterie þat is in Goddis enmyes, þey quenchen hem as heretiks, bi

[1] corrected; *meche*, CC.

cautel of þe fend; as bishopis diden wiþ Crist in tyme of his passioun. And in mong alle þe malices of þe fendis werkis, þer semeþ noon mor to harme Cristis peple. As, ȝif a greet lord shulde be susteyned wiþ herbis þat groweden in a orchard, and weren nyȝ rype, þat man þat come into þis orchard, and kyttede þise herbis, and destriede þe rotis, dide to myche harm to peyryng of þis lord; and specialliche ȝif þer hele sustynaunce stood in þise herbes. Goode Cristen men þat holden Cristis lawe ben siche herbis to folc þat þei dwellen wiþ; herfor Antecrist lettiþ siche seed be sowen or growe in mong Cristen men. And to performe þis malice, Antecrist haþ cast to be knyttid wiþ kyngis and use her power; and þus venemeþ hymsilf þe lordis and þe peple. But he groundiþ not in Cristis lawe þe deds þat he doiþ, but oþer in mennes lawe, or glosyng of freris. And ȝit blyndnesse of þe peple norishiþ her enmyes; for love of God is quenched bi blyndyng of þe world, and þise fewe Cristen men þat haveden som lyȝt of God, ben drawen abac bi þise apostataes. And certen þei ben cowards and of to lytel feyþ, for ȝif þei loveden Crist mor þen her owen lijf, as þe gospel techiþ hem, þei shulden putte her lijf for þe lawe of Crist; and þanne wolde Crist helpe his Chirche, and putte siche knyȝts to worship in hevene, and glorifie her body deed for Cristis love. But defaute of bileve lettiþ þis profyt, and specialliche of freris, for þei procuren bisiliche part for Antecrist, and sowen þikke lesyngs wiþ her ypocrisie, and maken Cristis lawe fade bi her fals signes. On þis wyse þe fend haþ ben many day abowte to vencushe Cristen men bi Antecristis clerkis; and þus he haþ drawe many to his lordship, and specialliche bi heretikis, þat parten men fro Crist; and þis shal never ceess bifor Cristis lawe be worshipid, and Antecristis lawe despisid as heresie.

The rules of monks and friars are part of the law of Antichrist, and will not serve them at the last day.

Lord! siþ Crists lawe sufficiþ of itself, hou lytil shulden men recche of Antecristis lawe, but despise persones and brollis þat holden þerwiþ! ȝif þow wolt wite which is Antecristis lawe, loke you what lettiþ Cristis lawe to be holde in worship, and to be performed bisiliche in dede. And so alle þe lawis of þis newe religiose þat ben not well groundid in þe lawe of Crist, semen Antecrists lawis, and lettynng of Cristis lawe. And þis newe ordynauncis, ungroundid in þe gospel, helpen þe fend,

and letten þe lawe of Crist. And so siche prelats shulden be Cristis houndis, and berke bi hise lawe, and not bi lawe of wolves. Lord! what lettiþ þise houndis to berke, and lede Cristis sheep aftir his lawe? Certis it semeþ þat dowyng of þe Chirche, and too myche worshypyng of Antecristis lawe; for a lumpe of talowe stranglip þe houndis [a], and lettiþ hem boþe to berke and to byte; and occupying of men in Antecristis lawes, þat speken oonliche of worldliche goods, drawiþ fro Goddis lawe, and makiþ to love þe world. But siþ bileeve techiþ us, þat at þe day of dom þe book shal be opened, and ilche of us shal wite wheþer we han loved Crist mor þen ony oþer þing, and þerfore be jugid to hevene or to helle, hou shal we þenne onswer to askynge of our juge? Wel Y woot þat Crist haþ ordeynyd men to live in his lawe, and þen be knowen bifor many juges, wheþer þei haven faverede mor Cristis lawe or þe worldis. Worldliche excusacioun shal not þenne assoyve, ne onswer by procuratorye, ne suttilte of werkis; but ȝif we ben coupable we shal þenne be domb, ne alle þes newe habitis shal not þenne profyte; but ȝif we have þenne bryde cloþis, we shal for evere be dampned. Þise cloþis ben of charite þat evere more shal last: and her is an ende.

[a] This strange expression occurs also in the Sermons. See vol. i. p. 247.

XXVII.

[SEVEN HERESIES.]

[The text of the following tract is based on a MS. in the Bodleian Library,—Douce 274. There is another copy of it at the British Museum (Harl. 2385), and a third at Dublin, (Trin. Coll. Dub. C. V. 6). Though not mentioned by Bale, its authenticity can hardly be doubted, both on account of the direct evidence supplied by the Harleian MS. (see notes at the beginning and end of the tract), and because the style, and the reference to previous labours in the same field (p. 443) both point to Wyclif as the author. There is no direct evidence of date; but as, in the passage just quoted, frequent previous statements of his doctrine on the Eucharist are spoken of by the author, it is probable that the tract was composed quite at the close of Wyclif's life, in 1383 or 1384, because, as has been said so often, he did not begin to teach that doctrine publicly till 1381.]

SEPTEM HERESES CONTRA SEPTEM PETICIONES[a].

Seven heresies against the Lord's Prayer.

For fals men multiplien mony bokes of þe Chirche, nowe reendynge byleve, and nowe clowtyng heresies, þerfore men schulden be ware of þese two perilles, þat fals men pynchyn in þe Pater noster. Þai say furst, þat speciale prayere aplied by hor prelatis is better þen generale. As, one Famulorum saide of a frere is better þen a Pater noster, wiþ oþer þinges even; ffor þo Pater noster is moste generale, and þe Famulorum moste special, of alle þe prayers þat God heris. But we schul beleve þat no prayer is worþe, but in als muche as God hym selfe heris hit, and applies þis prayere to profite of þe man. Lord! wheþer God hym selfe wolde gladlier here þe preyere þat a false man hade contreved to hym, þen þe generale preyere þat he hym

1. False men say that special prayers are more potent than general.

[a] The Harleian MS. commences thus:—'Here ben sevene heresies aftir continued of false prestis aȝen þe Pater Noster. ¶ Wyclif.'

selfe made? Wele I wote þat þis preyere is ful of witte and charite, and conceves alle þe gode þat a man schuld aske of God. Hit is one to say þus, and to heghen Anticriste over oure Lorde Jesus Criste, þat is oure alle fader. Þe generalte of þis preyere lettes not oure Lord God to here syngulere personys, aftur þei ben worþi.

SECUNDA HERESIS.

2. The second heresy, against the second petition, makes bad prelates members of the Church or Kingdom of God.

Þe secunde heresie of þe secunde askyng sais, þat þese prelatis are hedes of Gods rewme, for þei ben hedus of holy Chirche by vertue of prelacie. Ande þese freres bene men of holy Chirche, þat wole here be gladliere hedes of holy Chirche þen oþer comyne men. Lord! siþen God and iche membre of his Chirche bene weddid togedre, as oure bileve sais, wheþer ony of þese prestus schul be dampned in helle? Wele I wote þat none schal be dampned but devellis; ande if ony of þese devellis were capteyne of his Chirche, þen God and þe devell were weddid togedre. But as oure bileve sais þat þer is no comynynge wiþ Crist and Belial, þen þai ben not weddid. Herfore schal we trowe, as holy men tauȝt of two thowsande ȝere byfore þat Sathanas was bounden, þat holy Chirche is of þoo þat God has ordeyned to dwelle wiþ hym in blisse, of what state so þai be, prestes or seculeres, lordis or comyners, ladies or pore wymmen, þat endles loven God. And so some partie of þe Chirche regnes above in heven, and summe slepis in purgatorie, and summe feyȝttes here in erthe. But at þe day of dome schulle alle be gedrid togedir, and regne in heven wiþ hor spouse, oure Lord Jesus Crist. So if þat prelatis or freris or seculers sewe not Criste in manere of hor lyvynge, þai were never Cristis spouse, ne membris of his Chirche.

TERTIA HERESIS.

3. The third heresy pretends to know the will of God, that He will certainly save those whom they pray for.

Þe thrid heresie of þe thridde askyng sais, þat þai knowe þe wille of oure Lord God to bringe a soule to heven by manere of hor preyyng. But certis we schul trowe, þat God may not be moved but as he has ordeyned bifore þe worlde was made;

and aftur a man deserves while he lyves here schal he be rewardid aftur his lyife, ouþer in blisse oþer in peyne, notwithstondynge oure preyere. But wel I wote þat God may helpe soulis in purgatorie, and make hom schortliere to dwelle þerinne, after þat þei have made hom worthi for þe tyme þat þei have lyved here. But we schal understonde þat God acceptis þe lyfe þat men lyven here wele, ande approves hit for soulis, and þeraftur hit is medefulle for soules þat bene in purgatorye. Ande if we knowe not þe privete of God, ȝit neverþoles we wote þat hit is fully riȝtwysenes, þat prayer of a man þat God hath ordeyned to blisse is more worthye þen a thowsande of hom þat schal be dampned. Ffor þe furst is Gods childe, and ordeyned to have his blis, þe secund is the fendus childe. And pray he never so muche, he getes not þe blisse of heven, for he makes hym not worthi. Ande þis faithe shulde move men not to selle hor prayers, but iche man life bisili, iche aftur þe lawe of God; ffor aftur þat a man deserves in his owne persoyne schal he be rewardid, in heven or in helle. But gode lyve of a man may helpe hym þat lyves wiþ hym, to amende his owne lyfe, and so come to blisse. And so private almes done syngulerlyche, þat Crist hymself tauȝt not, dos littel gode or none to donor of siche almes for to come to heven.

QUARTA HERESIS.

4. The fourth heresy maintains that the sacred host is not bread in any sense.

Þe ferthe heresie of þe ferthe askynge says, þat þe sacrid ooste is no maner of brede, but ouþer nouȝt, or accident wiþouten ony sogett, and so worse þen stones or ony oþer body. And when ony suche men asken þe sacrid ooste, þai ȝyven hom worse þen stones, as þai falsly feynen. Ffor þis were aȝeynes holy writte, as Crist hymself sais. Lordus and prelatus con not distroye þis heresie, ouþer for hor negligence, or for þo wiles of Anticrist. Lord! if þese grete lordus wold ȝif þese prestis no gode, ne freris, bifore þai schewid her bileve in þis poynt, and groundid hit in Gods law! and so þai myȝt come to bileve, and knowe þese fals heretikis. We have offt tymes saide [a] þat þis sacrid ooste is verrey Goddis body and verrey breede, for so sais holy writte, and seyntus of Crist thowsandis.

[a] See prefatory notice.

QUINTA HERESIS.

5. The fifth heresy claims for the Pope and his clergy powers of absolution which belong to God alone.

Þe fyfft heresie, contened of þe fyfft askynge, says, þat prestis have powere to assoyle men of synne, whom ever þe pope lymytes, at hys owne wille. Ande absolucions and indulgencis bothe fallen in mannes chaffare by byynge and sellynge; and so men may lightly for money be assoyled bothe of peyne and of synne, be þai never so synneful. But oure bileve techis us, þat no synne is forȝyven but if God hymself forgif furste of alle. Ande if his trewe vicare acorde to Gods wille, he may assoyle of synne as vicary of his God. But if he discorde from juggement of his God, he assoyles not, boste he never so muche. Ande herfore hit is nedeful þat a preste have two keyes, of powere and of cunnyng, to acorde to Gods wille. Ffor if he want þis connyng he nouþer byndes ne assoyles; ne hit is not byleve þat ne he may erre in þis. Ande amonge alle heresies or blasphemyes in oure Chirche, þis is one þe moste þat men bene deceyved inne. And if a man speke herof by þo law of God, he schal be prisoned, or done to deth as an heretike.

SEXTA HERESIS.

6. The sixth heresy claims for friars an extraordinary exemption from temptation.

Þe sexte heresie, contened of þe sexte askyng, sais, þat men of private religioun bene more thikk saved þen men þat kepe trewly comyne Cristus religione; ffor, as þai say, þai have helpe of hor owne breþer, specially in houre of hor deth, of body and of soule, and so bene not lad in to fendus temptacioun. But oure bileve techis us þat comyn Cristus religioun passes al religioun of þese newe ordris. Lorde! whedur we schuld trowe þat Benet and Dominik, or Ffraunces, schuld passe þe wisedome of Criste? Or whedur hit be wisedome to obeysche to siche prelatis, and leefe þe wille of Crist, þat is God and þine abbot. Wele I wote þat þe Chirche was rewlud by Cristis ordynaunce, bifore þese ordris coomen inne, better þen hit was sithen. Ande so, sithen þese religiouse dyen in þis false triste, and have lyved in ypocrisie for þe more parte of hore lyve, hit

semes þat suche gone prively til helle, and so be led in to fendus temptacioun, for þai ben hardid in errour of hor private ordris. And herfore clepid Crist Nichodeme fro þe ordre of Phariseus, savyng hym and destroyyng of hit. Wiþouten doute þo ordynaunce þat Crist hym selfe ordeyned, if hit were holden clene, hit were þe beste of oþer; ffor þerby in ilke degre myȝt iche man be saved. Ffor þen wolde charite growe more, and envie be more distroyed. Thre membris of þe chirche, as prestis, knyȝttus, and laboreris, wolden be sufficient wiþouten more diversite. God kepe his Chirche. Amen.

SEPTIMA HERESIS.

7. The seventh heresy maintains that friars and their friends are protected from evil.

Þe sevent heresie and þo last, þat is contened of þe sevent askyng, sais, þat if we wirke by counsel of þese newe ordris þat leven þe ordynaunce of Criste, we schal nedely be saved. And herby bene men lad in to fendus temptacioun, and wrappid wiþ synne ageyne þe Holy Goste; and þis is þe werste synnė þat ever may falle to ony man. Wele I wote þat freris wold not here þis publischt in þe pepul, for fallyng of hor ordre. But sithen it is not groundid in bileve, he is not on Gods halve þat lettis hit for freris. Ande we schulde trow þat foundyng of abbays and frerus and [1] lettys mon þat ne þai mowe falle in þe last synne. And herfore alle maner of men schuld know Cristis ordynaunce, and travaile þerfore þat hit were clenly kept; for hit is moste light, most profitable, and moste medeful. O Lord! if al þe peple in Yngelonde traveyled in alle cuntreyes, and falsed þe kyngis wille, movyng to discordis aȝeynes þe pes of þe rewme, who wolde not say þat suche a peple were perilouse in Yngelonde? mykel more if newe religious be skaterud in Cristendame, and gabben on þe wille of Criste þat is oure kynge, and moven not to pes and acorde as Crist and his apostilles did. What wonder is hit, þow batellis and oþer perellus come, þat Crist has bifore saide? God kep his Chirche fro fals ypocrites and ungroundid newe statis, not

[1] something appears to be omitted.

foundid in Crystes lawe. Wele I wote þat many [1] say þat monye of hom are seyntus; but nowþer is þis bileve, ne groundid in resone [a]. Omnis plantacio quam non plantavit pater meus, eradicabitur, dicit Dominus in evangelio Johannis.

Explicit tractatus qui vocatur speculum vite Christiane [b].

[1] corrected; the MS. has *may*.

[a] The words 'groundid in resone' are immediately followed in the Harleian MS. by 'ut patet per Wyclif,' written in the same hand.

[b] The purport of this *explicit* has been fully discussed in the Introduction to this volume.

XXVIII.

OCTO IN QUIBUS SEDUCUNTUR SIMPLICES CHRISTIANI.

[The text of this short piece is founded on a transcript from the Corpus MS. 296. There are two other copies known, both of which are at Trinity College, Dublin; of these one is imperfect at the end. Bale includes this tract in his list of Wyclif's works, though giving it the erroneous title, whence derived it is impossible to say, of 'De Episcoporum Erroribus.' There is no means of fixing its date with accuracy. It is vigorously written, and I am disposed to regard Wyclif as the author.]

Eight sources of deception for simple Christians.

Þere ben eiȝte þingis bi whiche simple Cristene men ben disceyved, þat ben þes eiȝte; holy Chirche, lawe, religion, obedience, cursynge, þe goodis or riȝt of holy Chirche, maundement and conseil, dedly synne and venyal.

1. By the Church, people understand the clergy only.

Ffirst, whanne men speken of holy Chirche, þei undirstonden anoon prelatis and prestis, monkis and chanouns and freris, and alle men þat han crownes[a], þouȝ þei lyven nevere so cursedly aȝenst Goddis lawe,—and clepen not ne holden seculeris men of holy Chirche, þouȝ þei lyven nevere so trewely after Goddis lawe, and enden in perfect charite. But neþeles alle þat schullen be savyd in blisse of hevene ben membris of holy Chirche, and ne moo. And Crist seiþ, and Austyn, and Crysostom, and many moo seyntis, for non of alle þes schal perische wiþouten ende, as Crist himself seiþ. And so comynly

[a] That is, all men that have the tonsure.

þo þat ben clepid men of holy Chirche ben enemyes þerof, and synagoge of Sathanas, and þo þat ben membris of holy Chirche, as ben good Cristene men þat kepen Goddis hestis, ben not holde men of holy Chirche, but aliens þerfro. And þus we demen foliliche more bi signes þat[1] men han maade, who ben men of holy Chirche, þan bi goode lif and endeles lastynge in charite, bi whiche God biddiþ us deme wisly and riȝtfully.

2. By law, people understand human laws, not the law of God.

Also, whanne men speken of lawe, anoon men taken it of mannis lawe, and not of Goddis lawe, as ȝif mannis lawe were more worþi and more principal þan Goddis lawe. And þis fordoþ muche þe reverence and studiynge of Goddis lawe. For herefore, and for worldly wynnynge and worschipe, men lerne mennis lawis, as þe popis and emperouris and kyngis, and studyen not Goddis lawis, þat techen virtues, and to suffren myschiefis and dispitis, and to wynne þe blisse of hevene. And herfore God and his lawe and virtuous lif ben unknowen and dispisid, and synne and cursednesse norisched and meyntened, and many men rennen to helle, and fewe gon to hevene.

3. By religion, they understand the rules of monastic orders, not the pure religion of Christ.

Also, whanne men speke of religion, anoon þei undirstonden religion maad of synful men wiþ many errouris, and not of þat holy religion þat Criste, God and man, made hymself for his apostils and prestis; alle and ȝif[a] religion founde of synful men, wiþ pride and ypocrisie, were betre þan þe clene religion in his clene fredom þat Crist made. And þus þei þat holden Cristis clene religion, as prestis, wiþouten cloutynge to of errouris of foolis and synful men, ben holden seculer men, or seculer prestis, þouȝ þei kepen nevere so wel þe gospel, and techeþ it frely and trewly, as Crist and his apostils diden. But ȝif þei han a newe habite, founden of mannis folye, and have maad singuler profession to synful men, and, in cas, to fendis, þei ben holden men of religion, þouȝ þei ben nevere so proude, coveitous, envyous, lecherous, or oþere synnes. And þus, for pride and ypocrisie, þes newe religions fordon þe reverence and þe name of Cristis clene religion, and maken þat it is holden for noon, as ȝif foolis or synful men wolden fordon Goddis

[1] corrected from *pan* in the MS.

[a] Meaning 'as if.'

makynge. And so þei seyn prively, þat synful men ben more myȝtty, more witty, and fullere of charite, þan ne was Jesus Crist, to teche a perfitere weie to hevene þan evere Crist dide himself. For siþ Crist was endeles myȝtty, endeles witty, and endeles ful of charite to save mennis soulis, what schulde lete him to teche þe best religion of prestis, siþ in hem hangiþ moche þe good lif and techynge of þe peple? Wheþer Crist bi a þousand ȝer and more tauȝte nevere to his apostils and oþere prestis þe beste religion, to serve him inne and to plese him, but to kepe þis til now, wiþinne þese two hundrid ȝere[a], whanne Sathanas was unbounden, as Seynt Jon seiþ in þe Apocalips, and ȝit telde nevere in þe law of grace who schulde bigynne þes newe perfit religion, ne whanne it schulde come. Of þis may men see, þat oþer Crist was unmyȝtty, unwytty, or not ful of charite to ȝeve þe best religion to apostlis and oþere prestis; or ellis þes newe religious ben foolis, takynge þe worse religion maade bi errors of synful men, and levynge þe beste religion and most perfit and most liȝt and most siker, made of Jesus Crist.

4. By obedience, they understand mere monastic obedience.

Also whanne men speken of obedience, anoon it is take for obedience maad to man ful of synne and unkunnynge, and not for obedience to do Goddis hestis; as ȝif obedience don to þe conseil or biddynge of a synful creature, were more worþi þan obedience don to comaundement or conseil of God. And þus new ypocritis seyn þat it is more medful, aftir unkunnynge profession, to do after þe biddynge of synful man, or errors of a fool, and, in cas, of a devel of helle, þan to do after þe hestis or conseilis of God. And þus þes new ypocritis wiþ here newe obedience distroien obedience of Goddis lawe, and comyn lawe of men, and chargen only here owen obedience founden of hemself. For bi Goddis lawe eche man owiþ obeische to oþer, in as moche as he techeþ him Goddis wille and good lif; and specialy to bischopis, þat han cure of alle men in here diocese bi charite and comyn lawe. But þe new religious dispisen þis, and seyn, Þou art not myn ordynarie; and geten hem exempcion fro bischopis and oþere men, þat schulden distroie here synnes

[a] The Franciscan Order was first founded by St Francis of Assisi in 1209; the date of the institution of the Dominicans or Friars Preachers is a little later, 1217.

and norische virtues. And þus þei ben exempt bi gold fro God, trewþe, and charite, and only bounden to here synful potestatis, and, in cas, to fendis; and herefore þei holden hem most perfit, for þei forsaken alle good perfeccion.

5. By cursing, men understand mere church banings and anathemas, not the curse of God.

Also, whanne men speken of curs, anoon it is taken for mannis curs, and not for Goddis curs, as ȝif[1] mannis curs were more principal and more worþi þan Goddis curs. And herefore foolis clepen Goddis curs þe lesse curs, and mannis curs þe more curs[a], as ȝif synful man were more þan God Almyȝtty. And herbi folis dreden more mannis curs, þat is unriȝtful, and, in cas, of devyl in helle, þan þe moste riȝtful curs of God Almyȝtty, for trespassynge aȝenst his comaundementis. And herefore folis ben so blente, þat for drede of mannis curs þei leven Goddis hestis, and done þe contrarie of hem, and so rennen into Goddis curs. And þei dreden more a synful man, and, in cas, quyk devel, þanne Almyȝtty God in Trinyte. For þei leveþ þe hestis of God undon, for drede of mannis curs, and don a wrong heste of man, and, in cas, of a devel, to plese him; and þus þei fallen fro bileve and hope and charite. For Crist techeþ in þe gospel, whanne men ben cursid wrongfully for the treuþe of God, þan God himself blessiþ, and þan mannis curs, þat is onriȝtful, doþ moche good to him þat suffreþ it mekely and paciently. And þei loven not God of alle here herte, þat wolen not suffre for his treuþe and his love a veyn blast of a fool, and, in cas, of a devyl, þe whiche harmeþ hem not, but doþ hem moche good, ȝif þei lasten stably in trewþe of mekenesse pacience and charite.

6. By the riches and rights of the Church, men understand temporal riches and rights only.

Also, whanne men speken of goodis of holy Chirche, or riȝt þerof, anoon it is taken for worldly goodis, and not for goodis of virtue, or for worldly riȝt to plede and curse, and stryve for tiþes and chirchis, and oþere prophetis of worldly muk, and not for riȝt to lyve vertuous lif in good pacience and pees and charite, and to suffre gladly wrongis peynis and disceitis, for to kepe virtuous lif, þat is betre þan al þis world; as ȝif stynkynge

[1] corrected; the MS. has *and ȝif as*.

[a] See the introductory notice to 'The Grete Sentence of Curs,' page 267 of this volume.

muk, or drit, or worldly goodis, were betre þan pacience charite and oþere virtues. And so ypocritis clepen þe worldly lordischipis þat prelatis han, aȝenst Goddis lawe, boþe old and newe, and aȝenst Cristis lif and his apostilis, þe patrymonye of Jesus Crist don on þe cros, for to fere seculer lordis to taken aȝen here owen goodis, and governe hem riȝtfully, and to brynge clerkis to Cristis owene ordynaunce. And ȝit þat bryngynge aȝen is nedeful boþe to lordis and clerkis, for ellis þei ben boþe out of charite, ȝif þei may redresse þis wrong don to Crist and his ordynaunce, and don up here kunnynge and myȝt. And þus riȝt of worldly goodis is magnyfyed overmoche and falsly, and riȝt of virtues and grace and virtuous lif is not set bi, as ȝif þe Chirche were wrecchidly groundid in worldly muk, and not in vertues and goode lif. But certis holy Chirche is seet in virtues and good lif; but certis Anticristis chirche is set in pride coveitise and oþere synnes, and most settiþ bi worldly muk and pride, aȝenst Crist and his apostilis.

7. Mischievous distinctions between the precepts and the counsels of the Gospel.

Also whanne men speken, aȝenst prelatis and religiouns, of Cristis povert, mekenesse, and oþere virtues, þei seyn þat þo ben conseilis of Crist, and not comaundementis. And þerfore þe bischop of Rome, þat is most contrarie to Cristis techynge and lif, may dispense as he wole; þat þouȝ men bynden hemself nevere so stronge to þis povert and perfeccion, and ȝit may vel [a] don it in dede, þei ben not holden to fulfille it, whanne Crist ȝeveþ hem þerto myȝt, witt, wille, and grace,—for Anticrist haþ feyned to dispense, aȝenest Goddis wille, and aȝenst here owen avowe and profession. And in þis þei seyn þat it is betre to lyve in siche worldly astaat, þan in clene povert of Crist and his apostilis; for þis dispensynge mot be fro þe lasse perfeccion to þe more perfit lif, for ellis þei weren peired aȝenst God, and þerto hade nevere creature undere God power ne leve. And over þis newe religions seyn, þat þei ben more perfit þan oþer prestis, þat kepen presthod wiþ fredom of þe gospel, as Crist ordeynede it, for þei kepen boþe Goddis hestis and conseilis. But certis, howevere þei bynden hem to þe conseilis, þei kepen

[a] *vel* must be for *wel*. 'And in addition carry out their vow well in practice.'

evele þe comaundementis, and, in cas, kunnen hem not. And it is grete folye to bynden hem to þe more, whanne þei kunnen not and kepen not þe lasse.

In truth, what is of counsel to some, is of precept to others.

But it semeþ þat it is ypocrisie þat þei seyn, for every conseil of Crist is to sum man and sum tyme a precept. As, whanne God ȝeveþ a man knowinge þat þis conseil is Goddis wille, and myȝt and wille and wisdom to governe him þerinne, þan þis, þat is conseil to summe oþere, is a precept to þis man; for ellis he loveþ not God of al his herte, al his lif, or wille, of alle his mynde and alle his myȝttis. But many han þe name of religious, for worldly pride and sikernesse of welfare to þe body, and not for devocion of holy lif and peyneful. And summe ben disceyved in ȝongþe bi ȝeftis and false bihestis, and grucchen evere aftirward; and þes kepen neiþer preceptis ne conseilis; but ȝif þat symonye be wel souȝt, þei ben heretikis in þe bigynnynge, in þe myddil, and þe ende of here lif. Ffor whoevere entreþ into religion more for worldly pride or coveitise, or lustful lif of his body, þan for holynesse of lif, to sue Crist and his apostilis in penaunce and wilful povert, he doþ symonye, and þan he is an heretik.

8. Dangerous and unauthorized practice of distinguishing between mortal and venial sins.

Also whanne men speken aȝenst synne, anoon þei seyn, þouȝ þis be synne, ȝit it is venyal, and not dedly, and venyals ben waschen awey wiþ preieris of a Pater-noster, wiþ hali watir, wiþ pardon, wiþ bischopis blissynge, and many oþere liȝtte weies, as men feynen. But trewe men seyn, þat þei knowen not in þis lif wiþ revelacion whiche is venyal and whiche is dedly, and þes termes, venyal and dedly, ben founden up of newe men, wiþouten auctorite of holy writt, and þerfore þei ben suspect. For certis it stondiþ not algatis after mannis dom in þis matere. For many tymes a man demeþ þat þis synne is venyal, and God demeþ þat for þis synne þis man schal be dampnyd, and also aȝenward. And so manye opynyons ben founden of newe men, whiche synne is dedly and whiche venyal, þat unneþe ony man undirstondiþ anoþer of hymself. But it cordiþ most to holy writt resoun and proprete of word, þat þis synne is dedly for whiche a man schal be dampned in helle, and alle oþere ben venyals; and þanne it is reservyd to God, to wete wiche is dedly and which is venyal. But allagatis a man most first be

purged of dedly bifore þat ony venyal ben forȝoven; and siþ no man wot where hymself be out of dedly synne, it is a presumpcion to seie þat his synne is but venyal. And as to pardons, and haly watir, and blyssyngs of bischopis, it is a feyned þing, for pride of statis and covetise of worldly muk, and to blynde þe peple, and to make hem over litel to drede synne. Þerfore do eche man his bisynesse, to flee alle manere of synne, and to have grete sorowe and lastynge for his synnys, and mynde on Cristis riȝtwisnesse and wisdom, to ponysche and knowe þe foulnesse of synne, and on Cristis passioun, deþ, and mercy, to forȝeve synnes for verrey repentaunce. And putte ech man his fulle trust in Goddis mercy, and in his owen goode lif; and not in false pardons, ne vanytees, þat men graunten aftir mennys deþ, for love of money. For sich japis availen not, but disceyven men þat trusten in hem for evere. As a man is in charite, kepynge þe hestis of God, so Crist ȝeveþ hym part of alle goode dedis as he is worþi, and neiþer more ne lesse schal he have, for no creature undere God.

XXIX.

[ON THE TWENTY-FIVE ARTICLES.]

[Dr. Shirley could not have observed, when he included this Lollard rejoinder to charges brought against the sect in his catalogue of Wyclif's works, that the same heads of charge, in a Latin version, are given in Knyghton under the year 1388, and that their vindication could not therefore have proceeded from Wyclif, who died at the end of 1384. After describing the opening of parliament in the February of 1388, the arrest of the judges which immediately followed, and the impeachment of Vere, Archbishop Neville, and the rest of the king's friends, Knyghton goes on to say that 'his diebus' the Wycliffites, 'qui et Lollardi dicti sunt,' continued to pour forth their errors with infinite clamour, heat, and pertinacity. Of these errors, he says, some are here inserted, while others which have been noted already are here repeated. Then follows a list of twenty-five points, which substantially agrees, point for point, with the list in the present treatise, the order only being slightly different. He then states that the Lords and Commons petitioned the king to take measures for the extirpation of these errors, and that the king did so, but ineffectually, 'because the hour of correction was not yet come.'

The treatise had been transcribed for press before I had found out all this; otherwise I should hardly have included a piece clearly not written by Wyclif in the contents of this volume. Yet the historical interest of the piece is sufficient to make me not regret its appearance, to say nothing of its own merits as a vigorous piece of writing, which are certainly considerable.

The date of composition, if we take Knyghton's account of the circumstances under which the articles were 'put upon' the Wycliffites to be correct, must have been either in 1388 or 1389, for the articles were not framed till 1388, and Pope Urban, who is mentioned as the reigning pope in the first article, died in 1389.

The work named in Bale's *Catalogue* under the title 'Super Impositis Articulis' may have been, as Dr. Shirley conjectured, this very treatise. But this remains quite doubtful; for to 'imponere,' or 'put upon' a party

or an individual the maintenance of certain errors was the phrase in common use (see *Fasc. Ziz.*); and it was a process continually going on until the Lollard movement was suppressed; so that the 'articuli' of Bale might have been something quite different.

The text is founded on the only known MS., Douce 273, in the Bodleian Library.]

ÞESE BENE ÞO POYNTUS ÞAT WORLDELY PRELATIS AT ÞO SUGGESTIONE OF FRERUS PUTTEN ON PORE CRISTEN MEN, AND WHAT ÞAI GRAUNTEN ANDE WHAT ÞAI DENYEN.

Twenty-five articles, containing the chief Lollard opinions, as imputed to the sect by the bishops.

1. Þo firste, þat þis pope Urban þe sixte bereþ not þe strenght of Seint Petur in erþe, but þai affermen hym to be son of Anticriste, and þat no verrey pope was fro þo tyme of Silvester pope.

2. Also byschopus ande freris putten on pore men þat þei seyne, þat þo pope may not graunte ony indulgencis, ne ony oþer bischopis, ande þat alle men tristynge in sooche indulgencis ben cursid.

3. Also prelatis ande freris putten on pore men þat þei seyne, þat þo pope may not make canons, þat is, reulis, or decretalis, or constitucioun; ande if he make ony, no man is holden for to kepe hem.

4. Also bischopis ande freris putten on pore men þat þei seyne, þat of onely contricione of hert al synne is done awey, wiþouten schrifft of mouþe; ne þat schrifft of mouþe is nedeful, ȝe, where plenty or leyser of a preste may be hadde.

5. Also bischopis ande freris putten to pore men þat þei seyne, þat ymages of Cristis crosse, of þo crucifixe, of þo blessid Vergyne Mary, ande of oþer seintis, in no manere bene worþi to [be[1]] worschipid, but þat alle men worschypynge in ony manere þoo ymages, or ony peyntyngus, synnen and done ydolatrie; and þat God dose not ony myracul by hem; and þat alle men goynge pilgrimage to hem, or manere worschippynge, or putting lighttis or ony devociones bifore þoo ymagis, ben cursid.

[1] supplied conjecturally.

6. Þo sexte tyme, prelatis ande freris beren upon pore men þat þei seyne, þat alle prestus ande dekenes ben holden for to preche þo gospel openly by reson of ordur taken, þof þei have not pepul ne cure of soulis.

7. Þo sevent tyme, prelatis and frerus beren upon symple men þat þei seyne, þat nouþer cursynge of pope ne of byschop byndus.

8. Also prelatis and frerus beren upon symple men þat þei seyne, þat hit is not to beseche to seyntis for to pray for lyvynge men, ne þo Letany is not to be seid. Soþely þei affermen þat God may do alle þingis wiþoute hem, ne hit is not bileve þat þai bene seyntus whom we clepen seintus; but þai prechen mony of hem for to be in helle, whos halidayes þo Chirche halowes here in erþe[a]. . . . . ne men owen not for to byleve ne stonde to þo canonysynge of þo seyntes made by þe courte of Rome in þis part.

21. Also byschopis and freris putten to pore men þat þei seyne, þat þo holy Trinity in no manere schulde be worschippid, fygurid, fourmed, ne peyntid, in þat fourme by whiche comynly hit is peyntid, by al þo Chirche of God.

22. Also prelatis and freris putten to pore men þat þei seyne, þat hit is not leeffull to a preste for to sette to hire his bysynes or werkes.

23. Also byschopis curatis and frerus putten on pore men þat þei seyne, þat no persone, ne vicare, ne prelate, is excusid fro personele residence, to be made in þer benefices, in dwellynge in servyces of bischopis, or of archebyschopis, or of þo pope.

24. Also prelatis ande prowde curatis and freris putten to pore men þat þai seyne, þat persones and vicars, not seyynge masse, ne mynystrynge sacramentis of holy Chirche, bene worþi for to be removed and oþer for to be ordeyned in hor stede; for þai bene unworþi, and wasters of þo Chirchis godis.

[a] A leaf is wanting in the MS. here, containing the points or heads from the ninth to the twentieth. The reader, however, can easily supply them for himself from the commencements of the several chapters in which the points are discussed. The words *ne men . . . in þis part* form the conclusion of the twentieth point.

25. Also byschopis and freris putten to pore men þat þei seyne, þat men of þo Chirche schulden not ride on so stronge horses, ne use so mony jewellis, ne precious cloþes, ne delicate metus, but renounce alle þinges and 3yve hem to pore men, goynge on feete, and takynge stafes in hondes, receyvynge þo state of pore men, in 3yvynge ensaumple of holynes by þeire conversacione.

To þese poyntes pore men onsweren by autorite of holy writte and of seyntus, and by open dedis of men þat may not be denyed; makynge þis protestacione, þat if þei erren in ony poynt of þeire onswerynge, þei submytten hem to be correctid openly to þo kynge and his chivalrye and þo clergye and comyns, 3e, by deþe, if hit be justly demed lawefulle.

POINT I.

1. That Pope Urban is the son of Anti-christ, and no true Pope.

Furste, þat þis pope Urban þo sixte beres not strenght of Seint Petur in erþe, but þai affermen hym to be þo son of Anticriste, ande þat no verrey pope was siþ þo tyme of Silvester pope.

Here Cristen men seyne pleynly, þat whatever pope or oþer preste, in maner of lyvynge or techynge or lawis-makynge, contrarius Crist, is verrey Anticrist, adversary of Jesus Crist and of his apostlis, ande of alle Cristen pepul. Sees inwardely, alle 3e Cristen pepul, þo meke life of Jesus Crist, pore and symple to þo worlde, and ful of brennynge charite, and puttyng hym selfe to penaunce and travayle in prechynge and prayinge, and willeful schedynge of his precious blode, for to make pes and charite and for to save mennes soules. Ande sees 3e þo open lyif of popes, how proude þai bene, þat Cristen kyngus schal kysse þer fete, and wiþ þer fote þai schal kroune þo emperoure, þer lorde and founder, ande þat emperours, barfot, leden openly, as men sayne, þer bridelis [a], and þat all men þat schal wiþ hem speke schul kisse þer fete, and calle hem moste holy faderis, and moste blessid and moste mercyful and gracius. And loke wheþer þis be contrarie to Cristis mekenes, þat

[a] Such a scene took place at Venice, on the reconciliation between the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III.

weysche his disciplis feete, and coome not for to be served but to serve oþer men, and to gif hys lyife for redempcioun of mony. And he coome not to seche his owne glorie by manhed, but in alle þingus to do þo wille of his Fadir of heven.

Þo secunde tyme, See, ȝe Cristen peple, þo willeful poverte of Jesus Crist, how he hade nouȝt by worldly lordschipe one howse where he myȝt reste his heved, but lyved by temporale almes of Mary Mawdeleyne ande oþer holy wymmen, as þo gospel sais. Ande see ȝe wisely, wheþer oure popis, makyng stronge palayces wiþ pore mennus lyvelodis, wiþ al þer glorie of richesses and jewelis, acorden wiþ þis porenes of Criste.

Þo thrid tyme, See, ȝee Cristen pepul, þo charitabul lyif of Crist, ande loke wheþer oure popis contrarien hym. Where he was moste bisye in spirituale occupacione, þese popis bene most bisy in delynge of beneficis to hem þat moste muck brynggen or worldly favour. Where Criste willefully gafe tribute to þo emperoure, þese popis robben Cristis rewmes by þo furste frutes of mony þowsande poundis, by manyschynge of suspendyng and enterdytynge of londis. Where Criste mekely travelid wiþ grete penaunce upon his fete for to preche þo gospel, þese popes, more þen emperoures, resten in palaycis chargid wiþ pretious, in þer feete and in al þer stynkynge carione, ande prechen not þo gospel to Cristen men, but crien ever aftur worldly glorye and riches, and make newe lawes for to magnyfie þer worldly state, þat Crist and his apostlis durste never do. Where Crist gafe his precious blode and lyif for to make pes and charite, þese popis maken ande mayntenys werre þoroweout Cristendame, for to hold þer worldly state, moste contrarie ageyne Crist and his apostlis, ande herto spenden þo almes of kyngis, and oppressen Cristen rewmes by newe subsidies. And, þat is werst, þai senden indulgencis, foundid as þai faynen on Cristis charite and his dethe, to sle alle men contrarie to þeire lustis[a]. Certis þis semes contra-

[a] In writing thus the writer might have had in his mind, either the expedition of Bishop Spencer to Flanders in 1383, or the crusade against the king of Castile, indulgenced and preached in England by Urban's order in 1386, in favour of John of Gaunt, who had views on the crown of Castile. See the curious fragment of a sermon in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (Rolls publications), p. 506.

rious to Crist and his lovers. Seynt Robert Grosthede sais þat þis court is cause, welle, and begynnynge of destruccione of Cristendame, and loser of al þo worlde. Ande trewly, if þai be þus contrary to Crist in lyvynge and techyng, as þer open dedis and þo world crien, þai ben cursid heretikis, manquellars bodily and gostly, Anticristis, and Sathanas transfigurid into aungelis [of[1]] liȝt. Ande, as þis worþi clerk Grosthede proves, ande[2] certis no man is verrey pope but in als myche as he sewis Crist; and in so myche Cristen men wole do aftur hym, ande no more, for alle bulles and censuris, for no creature of God.

POINT II.

2. That the Pope may not grant indulgences, and that those who trust in them are cursed.

Also bischopis and freris putten on pore men þat þai sayne, þat þo pope may not graunt ony indulgencis, ne ony oþer bischopis, ande þat alle men tristyng in suche indulgencis ben cursid.

Cristen men seyne þat þese indulgencis, by maner as þai bene tied in writyng, done mykel harme to Cristen soulis and sownen erroure ageynes þo gospel. Ffor Crist ne his apostlis never usid suche, ande ȝit þai tauȝten al þat was nedeful for salvacioun of mennes soulis. Also þese indulgencis maken men for to bileve not to þeir crede, ffor if þai bileveden þo comunyng of seintus, þat is, þat iche man in charite has part of Cristis passione and of alle þo meritis of ilk seint, as þo crede techis, þai wolden not coste so muche aboute dede lede, and suffer þer pore neyghbouris in so open meschеif, and renne to Rome wiþ pore mennus lyvelode. Also þo pepul bileveþ more to suche dede bullis þen to Cristis gospel, for þai bileven to have more þonke of God for spendyng of þer money at þo ordynaunce of þo pope, þen to spende hit on pore men as Crist biddis in þo gospel.

ȝit þese indulgencis bene fals, for so mony þowsand of ȝeris as þai speken of schul never be bifore þo day of dome, and after þai serven of nouȝt. Also a synneful man in þese indulgencis presumes more þen Crist and his apostlis wrouȝten in erthe, and maken hem heyȝer þen God. Ffor God gyves none

[1] supplied conjecturally. [2] dele *ande*.

indulgencis from everlastyng peyne, no but til hym þat fynaly endis in charite; and þis synful man, graunter of þis pardoun, grauntis to mony oþer by his owen techynge. By þes bullis riche men drede nout to synne, ande miche wynnynge and worldly glory is goten to worldly prelatis by hem. Ande þese pardouns bene not grauntid generally for fulfillyng of Goddis hestis and werkis of mercy to moste nedy men, as Crist biddis, but for syngulere cause and syngulere place, as if Anticrist wolde be chefe lorde and parter of Cristis passioun, and martirdame of seintis, and over holy werkes. Þerfore iche man do verey penaunce for his synnes, kepe Goddis hestis, ande do werkis of charite; ande ȝe schul have parte of alle Gods dedis in al holy Chirche, als myche as Gods mercye and riȝtwisenes wille, þof alle popis ande her bullis were fynally laide to slepe. Ande more þen a man disserves by gode lyif ending in charite schal he never have, for alle þo bullis in erthe.

POINT III.

3. That the Pope may not make canons nor decretals; and if he does, no one is bound to keep them.

Also prelatis and freris putten on pore men þat þai sayne, þat þo pope may not make canouns, þat is, rewlis, or decretalis, or constitucioun; ande if he make ony, no man is holden for to kepe hem.

Here Cristen men seyne, þat no pope may make lawfully ony lawe contrary to þo gospel, ne superflue, ne by his lawes withdrawe men fro studiyng ne kepynge holy writte, ne sette more bisynes ne prys by suche newe lawis þen by þo gospel of Jhesu Criste. If he do ageynes þese, he is cursid of God ande of alle his seintis. Ande no man schulde receyve suche lawes, nouþer for lyve ne dethe. Ande sithen þe popis lawis semen ful but contrary to hem self, and olde lawes made of holy men contrary to newe decretalis, made of synful men for worldly powere and godis, in suppressing of kynges state and destroyynge of obediens of prestis to lordis, þat God commaundid ful myche, Cristen lordis schulden þerfore avyse of þese lawes, þat venyme coome not in under coloure of holynes, lest þo ordynaunce of Crist in holy lyvynge, trewe techynge, and gostly occupacioun, be destroyed or hyndrid, ande Anticristis ordynaunce, and

worldly pompe, and worldly occupacioun of his proude prestis, and robbyng of comyns by fals statutis and customys, be magnified into destruccione of Cristis religione. And siþen mennes wittis bene febler þen elder seintis wittis, and oure lyve myche schorter, and holy writte so depe of understondyng, and ever nedeful and profitable, whi þen schul Cristen men be chargid wiþ so mony statutis of worldly prestis, þat þai may nout knowe holy writte for studying of hem? Ande if þai fayle in one poynt of þese newe statutis made of covetouse men, þai schal be more punischid þerfore þen for brekynge of alle Goddis hestis. Siþen mony of þese newe lawis of worldly prestis bene contrary to Gods wille, and lewid men witten not whiche þai bene, ande also þai done away þo fredame of Cristis gospel, ande oppressen Cristen men wrongefully, hit nedis þat Cristen men entermete hem not of hem, for dred of gostly veneme, til þai bene fully declarid, but holde hem to þo gospel and Goddus commaundmentis, to werkis of mercy, and iche man do treuth and charite iche one til oþer.

POINT IV.

4. That true contrition does away sin, and oral confession is unnecessary.

Also bischopis ande freris putten upon pore Cristen men þat þai seyne, þat of onely contricione of hert al synne is done away, wiþouten schrift of mouth, ne þat schrift of mouth is nedeful, ȝhe, where plenty or leyser of a preste may be hade.

Here Cristen men seyne boldily, þat verrey contricion of hert, þat is never wiþouten speciale grace of God and charite, does away alle synnes bifore done of þat man þat is verrey contrite, þof alle prestus nowe in erthe were unborne. Ande wiþouten verrey contricione is no remissione of synne, what ever men blabiren. Moreover confessione made by mouthe to a wise preste of lyvynge, þat boþe can, and for grete charite techis þo treuthe of Gods dome, dos muche gode, and to suche hit spedis þat men schewe hor lyif. Ande certis confessione made to a vicious preste, unknowynge holy writte, hauntyng his office fro worldly wynnyng more þen for charite to save mennys soules, þo suyng of his counsel dos miche harme, and ledis mony soulis to helle. Ande sithen comynly alle grete prelatis been ful of symony and covetise, wrong wastyng of pore mennes lyvelode,

ande cursid man-quellers for defaute of trewe prechyng, sechyng þeir worldly glory more þen salvacion of Cristen soulis, þat is ful perilouse to constrayne lewde men to sewe þer counseile, and leefe cunnyng prestis and clene of lyif, doyng þer office aftur þo heste of Crist als fer as mannes dome stretchis; sithen he þat slees hymselfe has no charite of oþer.

Ande þis poynt comys ofte by þer newe decretalis, aȝeyne þo olde decre made of Seint Austenn, and grounde of holy writte and resoun. Certis, as holy prestis of lyvynge, and cunnynge of holy writte, han keyes of heven, and bene vicars of Jesus Crist, so viciouse prestis, unkonnynge of holy writte, ful of pride and covetise, han keyes of helle and bene vicaris of Sathanas, deceife mannes soules by feyned jurisdiccione of Anticrist. Ande sithen þese new lawus of confessioun done away þo liberte of Cristis gospel and resoun, and bene horde of synne, and mayntenyng of alle pride and cursidnes boþe of clerkis ande lewid men, hit is nede þat men do verrey penaunce for her synnes, and triste to Cristis presthode þat never may faile, and seke trewe prestis ande witty of Gods wille, and do aftur hem in als muche as þai teche Goddis dome, and no ferþer for no creature.

POINT V.

5. That the worship of images is unlawful and accursed.

Also bischopis ande freris putten to pore Cristen men þat þai seyne, þat ymagis of Cristis crosse, of þo crucifixe, of þo blessid Vergyne Mary, and of oþer seintus, in no maner bene worþi to be worschipid, but þat alle men worschipynge in ony manere þoo ymagis or any payntyngus, synnen ande done ydolatry, and þat God dose not ony myracle by hem, and þat alle men doynge pilgrimage to hem, or ony manere hem worschipynge, or puttyng lighttis or ony devocions bifore þoo ymagis, bene cursid.

Here Cristen men seyne, þof ymagis myȝtten be sufferid for lewid men, in defaute of prechyng þat prestis schulden do, noþoles ymagis þat representen pompe and glorie of þo worlde, —as if Criste hade bene crucified wiþ golden cloþis ande golden schone, and as hys pore apostilis hade lyved in worldely glory, and oþer seintes also, and herinne haden plesid God,—bene false ymagys and bokis of heresye worþi to be destroyed,

nomely when þo lewid pepul honouris hem for God and seyntis, and done more honour to hem þen to God and Cristis body. And as þo nobul kyng Ezechye distroyed þo neddur of bras when þo peple did ydolatrie þerby, noutwiþstondynge þat þat same serpent was made by Moyses at Gods biddyng, myche more þese false ymagis made of synnefull men, siþen nouþer God, ne Crist by his monhede, gafe never commaundement to make þese, ne counseile, ne his apostilis in al holy writte. Þerfore Cristen men schulden worschip þo holy Trinite and seintis, ande not þese ymagis, as Seint Gregorie techis in his registre [a].

A! grete blyndenes is in þo pepul, þat þai costen so myche aboute a roten stock, ande offeren faste þerat, and suffren a pore man, verrey ymage of þo holy Trinite mad of God hymselfe, for to lye in muche mescheif, and seken not hym to helpe hym by þer powere; siþen God commaundus þis upon peyne of dampnacione, and of þat oþer offrynge he never bad ne counseylid in holy writte. Hit semes þat þis offrynge to ymagis is a sotile caste of Anticriste and his clerkis, for to drawe almes fro pore men, and cumber worldly prestis with muck, þat þai nouþer know God ne hemselfe, but maken sacrifise to Sathanas by glotony, lecherye, pride, slouthe, envie, and many oþer synnes. For þai ben verreyly wode, if ony trewe man teche þo hestis of God and werkis of mercy to ony nedy man, for defaut of whiche werkis men schul be dampned wiþouten ende. Certis, þese ymagis of hemselfe may do nouþer gode ne yvel to mennis soulis, but þai myȝtten warme a mannes body in colde, if þai were sette upon a fire, ande þo silver ande jewelis upon hem wolden profite to pore men, and þo waxe for to liȝt pore men and creaturis at þer werke. If men wille have ymagis of tre or stone or oþer wyse payntid, be þai suche þat techen þo povert ande peynus of seintis, and forsakynge of worldly vanite after Cristis lyve and his seintis, and þen let þo waste coste of ymagis be delud ferth fully to pore men, ande not to stockis ne to stonys, þat never have honger colde ne þrist, ne to riche

[a] Gregory the Great (Epistles, IX. 105, and XI. 13) forbids that images should be adored, but reproves those who broke them, apprehending such adoration. He speaks of them as the books of the unlearned.

bischopis munkis and riche prestis, þat have myche waste tresoure, and wasten pore mennes lyvelode to þer dampnacione, if þai ben nout founden doyng verrey penaunce þerfore. And þen many ymagis made of hem schal sone cees, and ymages of þo holy Trinite be worschipid and holpen.

POINT VI.

6. That all priests and deacons are bound to preach the gospel, whether they have cure of souls or not.

Also prelatis and freris beren upon pore men þat þai seyne, þat alle prestis ande dekenys bene holden for to preche þo gospel openly, by resoun of order taken, þof þai have not pepul ne cure of soulus.

Here Cristen men seyne stedefastly, þat iche preste ande deken is holden by þo ordynaunce of Jesus Criste for to preche þo gospel to Cristen peple, boþe by ensaumple of holy lyfe, and faithful ande sadde techynge, ande willefully suffer tribulacion þerfore, if hit come not for worldely savour and wynnyng of muck, but princepally for þonke of God and love of savyng of Cristen soulis, þof al he do no symony for a benefice upon synneful mennes departyng. Ande if a symonyent bischop ȝyve hym not lettre of newe licence, for þo autorite of God ande charge taken of hym, by his grace dispendyng in charite, his cunnyng is ynoghȝe for to do his office, þof a worldely preste cry oute aȝeynes holy writte ande charite, blasphemyng þat a trewe preste schal not do mercy ne charite to his broþer wiþouten his lettre and leeve, as if he were Goddis mayster, and þat men schulden more obeysche to hym and his cursid blasphemy, þen to God Almyȝtty and his riȝtful commaundement of charite. In þo olde law dekenys crieden þo commaundementus of God, ande in þo newe lawe þai prechid þo gospel, as Seint Steven and oþer. Also in þo olde lawe boþe Cristen kyngus and hethen, as Josias, Nabugodonosor, ande oþer, prechiden God ande his myraclis; myche more prestis, aungelis of God by þer office, as God seis by þo prophete Malachie, schulde preche þo gospel. Ande Crist bad his disciplis preche þo gospel to iche creature; ande by þo same gospel þat prestis have autorite for to make þo sacrament of þo auter, þat is verrey Cristis body, by þo same gospelle han prestis autorite for to preche. And als generaly as þai have þat one, als generally þai

Mal. ii. 7.

have þat oþer. Also þo two ande seventy disciplis hadden powere for to preche, and þerto Criste sende hem, in whom alle prestis bene understonden, as holy doctouris ande comyne lawe witnessen. Also Seint Gregore techis in his Pastorallis [a], and in þo comune lawe, þat who ever comes to prestehode takis þo voyce of a crier for to crye bifore þo dome, and ellis he stiris þo wrathe of God aȝeynus hymselfe. Seynt Jerome sais on þo Sauter, þat every preste verrey owes to have schewing of Gods worde, þat he teche alle men. Also Seinte Austyne upon þo gospel of Jon seis, þat everiche Cristen man schal drawe fro synne whom ever he may, by worde, by monestynge, by chastysynge, if þo charite of God be in hym. Ande to þis acorden Crisostome ande mony oþer. Lo! worldly prestis for þeire pride ande covetise willen nout suffer Gods aungelis to do his message, leste þeire heresie, symony, and cursidnes were knowen, but raþer willen make alle men dampned in þat þat in hem is, for mayntenyng of þer heresie.

POINT VII.

7. That neither papal nor episcopal anathemas are binding.

Also prelatis ande freris beren upon symple men þat þai sayne, þat nouþer cursynge of pope ne of bischop byndes.

Here Cristen men witnessen hardily þat no wrongeful curse of ony prelate in erthe byndis aneyntys God. But when þai cursen wrongefully, stondynge pacience and charite in hym þat is cursid of hem, he is blessed of Almyȝtty God in Trinite and alle his seintis. And no creature of God may harme þis mannes soule þus stondynge, ne pyne his body no but to his sovereyn glory, ande blis wiþouten ende. Over þis we seyne, þat no man schuld bere fals wittenessynge ageynus his broþer, seyynge hym cursid whom God and alle his aungellis blessen, by evydence of man, for kepyng of his lawe, þof a synneful a [1] prelate openly reverse Gods dome by his lettre cursynge hym. Ffor no faith-

[1] dele *a*.

[a] S. Greg. *Reg. Pastoralis*, Pars I, cap. 4. 'Praeconis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit: ut ante adventum judicis qui terribiliter sequitur, ipse scilicet clamando gradiatur.'

ful Cristen man may wiþdrawe charitable commynyng and helpe in Gods cause for blaspheme lettres of covetouse prelatis, when he knowis no notable defaute in his broþer, but perceyves pleyne treuth and gode resoun, þat his broþer spekis and mayntenys. Þerfore no trewe Cristen man schortly wil renne into Goddis curse for a blaste of Sathanas, ne for worldly þanke and flateryng of Anticristis clerkis.

POINT VIII.

8. That to pray to the Saints is superfluous, and that many so-called saints are now in hell.

Also prelatis and freris beren upon pore symple men þat þei seyne, þat hit is not to beseche to seintis for to pray for lyvynge men, ne þo Letany is to be seide. Sothely þai affermen þat God may do alle þingis wiþouten hem, ne þat hit is bileve þat þai bene seintis whom we clepen seintis, but þai prechen mony of hem for to be in helle whos halidais þo Chirche hallowis [a].

Here Cristen men seyne þat þo maner of prayynge þat Crist tauȝt, for to pray to God for hys worschipe to be encresid and for commyne profite of holy Chirche, is bettur þen ony oþer manere founden of synneful men for syngulere affeccione. Noþoles men may wele pray to oþer seintis, þat þai be meenys bytwixe Crist ande hem, in als muche as hit stiris hem to love more God, and no forþer, so þat þai know wele þat no seint in heven may graunte ony þinge, ne spedis, ne but as God grauntis hit furst. Ande nouþer God ne alle his seintus willen heren men for no rabul of wordis, ne curiouse florischynge in ryme, ne but aftur þer holy desire and charite ande gode lyve, for þer aftur God lokys. Ande sithen God is moste myȝtty for to helpe us, moste witty in knowyng what is spedeful to us, and lovyng for to ȝyve us þat us moste nedis and helpis, and no seint may do ony þinge wiþouten his leeve, and he a þousande folde more redy to here and helpe þen ony creature, hit were no grete

[a] This opinion, that many who are called saints are in hell, the holding of which by the sect the writer of the tract does not dispute, indicates a later stage of development, and is enough of itself to show that Wyclif was not the author. Wyclif's opinion, repeated in various places of his works, was, that many who are called saints had done wrong, e.g. the founders of the Mendicant orders, but that, as they had probably repented before their death, they might charitably be supposed to have got to heaven.

perile if we directen oure prayers to God onely, as Crist and his modur diden, and his apostilis, and tauȝten us to do so; ffor onely God may do alle þinge withouten hem, and þai mot nedis pray for us, so þat we serve God trewly, for alle hyngus in hym. And no doute Cristen men myȝtten be saved by þat feith þat Criste tauȝt in kepyng of his hestis, þof þai be not chargid iche ȝere wiþ newe articlis of bileve and newe servyce, for þo olde þat God ordeyned is ynoghȝe. Ande a thowsand þowsandis bene moo seintis in heven þen we kanonysen in þo kalendar; and siþen popis and prelatis, as þer dedis openly schewen, ben unconnyng in holy writte and holy lyife, proudely lyvynge, fulle of fleschly affeccions and covetise, by fals wittenessis þai moone sone be deceyved in canonysynge of sum riche man. Ffor comynly, if ony trewe man wille impugne or contrary þeire worldly life, ande telle out þeire cursidnes to þo pepul as God biddis, þai wil not canonyse hym þow he dye in þis poynt, ande be never so fervent in charite, as hit felle of Robert Grosthede [a]. How gloriouse a cause he had, ande pleyne treuthe, and comyne profite of holy Chirche, and what gloriouse bokis he wrote, more þen any oþer grete seintis of þis londe, to comyne profite of al Cristendame!

No trust can be reposed in the power that now canonizes.

Certis, þis court wil enforce hit to dampne by cursynge or prively murthur trewe men þat tellen þo treuthe of prestehode, groundynge hem upon Criste ande his lawis, schewynge þo state of kyngis ande lordis, how falsely hit is borne doune by ypocrisy and blaspheme power of Anticristis clerkis. Þerfore Cristen men wilen bileve to Criste ande to his lawe and holde hem seintis þat ben expressid in holy writte, ande alle oþer suppose bynethe [bileve] [1], as þai han evydence. Ffor þese worldly

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[a] Foxe, in his *Acts and Monuments*, quotes largely from Ranulf Higden, Matthew Paris, and the author of the *Flores Historiarum*, on the subject of the denial of canonization by the court of Rome to Robert Grosthede, and the marvellous apparition of the holy bishop to Innocent IV, who, being frightened out of his wits, desisted from the design which he had formed of having Robert's bones exhumed. What such stories really show is the strength of the nascent principle of nationality, which made English monks of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries uphold and honour their brave countryman, who had stood up manfully against the innumerable encroachments, knaveries, and exactions of the Roman Curia.

clerkis may crie þat a grete seint is dampned, for he contraries þer lustis, ande þat a cursid fende þat died in open heresie is a grete seint in heven, for he was frend to hem or enrichid hem. When prestis ande clerkis weren bisye in studyynge of holy writte, and forsoken worldly pompe and vanite, and lyveden in mekenes, sympulnes, charite, and gostily travaile aftur Cristus techynge, hit was grete evydence þat God schewid to hem who was saved. But nowe, hem turned alle to þo worlde and pride and covetise, men dreden lest God suffer þo fende to disseyve hem in mony dedis þat þai done; as cronyclis schewen þat þat one pope canonyses, anoþer dampnes, and aȝeynward; ande holy writte wittenessis þat Anticrist schal deceife by false myraclis hem þat hadde no charite ande trewthe. Þerfore hit is no poynt of bileve þat, if þai done or seyne ony þinge, þat God approves hit.

POINT IX.

9. That tithes should not be paid to bad priests, nor money given for churching, or masses for the dead.

Also prelatis ande freris putten to Cristen men þat þai seyne, hit ys not to gife dymes to a persoun beyng in dedely synne, ne offryngus, ne devociouns of money owen to be made in puryfyingis of wymmen, ne in halowynge, ne in syngynge of massis for dede men.

Þis poynt, as mony oþer ande almoste alle þer poyntus, bene medelid wiþ lesyngus. Wherfore Cristen men seyne pleynly, þat if hit be knowen þat persouns comen to þer benefices by symony, or lyven in notary fornicacione, or done not þer offices by ensaumpul of holy lyife in trewe prechynge, but couchen in lordis courtis wrappid wiþ seculere offices, ande contynuen openly in þese cursidnessis, men schulden not receyve hem for persouns, ne gif to hem tythis, leste þai bene acursid for consent ande mayntenynge of oþer open synne. For if þai bene symonyens þai bene heretikis, cursid of God and alle his seintus, as Gods lawe ande mannes lawe wittenessen in many placis. For if þai be open lechouris, þo lawe forbedis hem to say a masse, and þo pepul is forbiden in þo same lawe þat þai here not þer masse, ande þat suche prestis take no part of þo chirche godis, as þer owne lawe wittenessis[a], wiþ gode

[a] See ante, p. 224.

resoun and grounde of holy writte. And if þai lyven proudely, wiþdrawyng techyng of Gods worde, wrappyng hem in seculere offices, þai bene cursud and manslears ande thefis ande ravynouris, as Goddus lawe ande mannes ande resoun wittenessen; as Seynt Austyne, Gregore, and mony moo proven. Ffor if he is cursud þat wiþholdis ony dewte of holy Chirche þat God commaundis, muche more þai bene cursid þat wiþdrawen ensaumple of holy lyife ande trewe techyng, siþen þis is moste dewte, ande moste medeful and nedeful, and beste meene to helpe holy Chirche. Mony bokis boþe of Gregore and Austen seyne playnely, þat þe schepard slees Cristen soulis, when he is stille and cries not ageyne her synnes. Ande Ysaie sais, þat suche bene doumbe houndus þat may not berken. And Seint Austeyne in þo comyne lawe sais, þat suche a bischop is raþer an unschamefast dogge þen a bischop. Cristen men schulden have fredome in al þer doynge nowe to offer or leve, wheþer þeire conscience reulid by Goddis lawe ande resoun thynkis beste; and þai schulden not be constrayned for a blynde devocioun or worldly schame, for to bringe money to hem þat þai knowen for to have no nede, ande for to waste pore mennys lyvelode in tavernys and rybawdery, and suffer þer neyghburis in myche meschefe, and þai hemself endette hem for siche offrynge.

Is. lvi. 10.

POINT X.

10. That the whole hierarchy of the Church is accursed,

And prelatis and freris putten to symple men þat þai seyne, þat þo pope, cardynalis, archebischops, bischopis, archedekenys, denys, and alle grete personys of þo Chirche, bene cursid.

Here Cristen men committen þis to Goddis dome and to þer owne conscience, and to wise demyng of þo pepul, wheþer þai bene cursid for þer symonye, pride, covetise, ravayne of pore mennys godis, levyng of prechynge, and for lecherye, glotony, and cursid lesyngus, and manquellyng, boþe of mannus bodies and soulis. Þo grete clerk Grosthede proves by holy writte and grete resone, in a sermone þat he prechid in Rome, and gafe hit written to þo pope and mony cardynalis, and in mony moo sermones, þat þo pope wiþ his courte was cause ande grounde of alle yvelis in þo Chirche, not onely for he distroyed nout

open errouris, when he is moste bounden þerto, and best may, but also for he makis unable curatis, þat bene lesars of þo worlde. Also þo pope pursues more cruely Jesus Crist in his membris þen kyng Herode and Jewis, þat diden nayle hym on þo crosse. Also þo pope settis more pris by temporale dritte þan by mannys soulis, ande by seculere frendeschipe and favoure of fleschely love þen by þo blode and deth of Goddis Son, þat was rannisome for mannes soules. And he techis alle seculere lordis, and alle þo world, for to do þo same cursidnes. And curatis þat prechen not þo gospel, wiþ clene lyvyng and for love of mannes soules, bene dede in hemself, slears of mennys soulis, Antecristis heretikis, and Sathanas transfigurid into an aungel of lyȝt, and þat þai bene more abomynable to God and to þo court of heven þen þo cursudde synne of Sodome, þat for hidouse synne sanke into helle. Þis clerk proved playnly alle þese scharpe poyntis, ande mony moo; ande al þo popis court couth not say nay by holy writte and reson; and if hit be nowe werse þen hit was þen in his tyme, so myche þai bene more cursud. Avyse hem wele how hidously God by his prophet cursis wayward curatis, and how playnely Seint Jerome, Gregore, and Austyne, and nomely Seint Bernarde and Grosthede, crien out on þer open heresies, and deme þai þen hemselfe wheþer þai bene cursid or nay. Hit semes playnly þat Judas was not so cursid as þai, for ravayne of pore mennys lifelode done under coloure of holynes passis þo crueltie of alle robbers, as Seint Jerome wittenessis in his epistilis, and Bernard also; and for þai betrayen mony þowsandis of soulis to fendys of helle, for to be devourid of hem in everlastynge dethe, for temporale avaunsyng of sum one man, where Criste Gods Son died moste payneful deth for ich one of hem, as Grosthed wittenessis in þo same sermone. And Judas knowlachid his trespas, and restorid þo money falsly taken; but þese prelatis contynuen in þer heresies and blasphemyes, and restoren not to pore men þer godis taken by extorsioun. And if ony trewe man for Gods sake crie aȝeynes þese heresies, þai pursuen hym to dethe by lesyngis, and murtheren hym wiþouten open onswere, lest þo pepul conceyve þo trouthe of Gods lawe and amende hem. Þis cursidnes did not Judas, ne Nero, ne

Julianus apostata, ne Mathamet, ne Sergius þo munck, his techer.

Wherfore if þai amenden hem not in þis worlde by verrey penaunce ande satisfaccioun, þai schul be depper dampned þen Judas Scarioth, as hit semes by mony resouns. Wherfore now Judas may wele fourme a pleynt of disherytyng of his riȝt and possessione aȝeynes worldly prelatis. Ffor a þowsand ȝere ande more Judas was in possessione of þis name, Judas werst marchaunt[a]; but as þai done more traytory, and undur coloure of more frendschip, after moo beneficis receyved of God, so þai bene werse marchaundis. Þerfore, lest þai feyȝten in helle wiþ Judas and alle develis, ande þai wiþ hem aȝeynewarde, hit semes by sum skille þat þese symonyens bene warse þen Lucifer if þai amenden hem not, for þai bene warnyd by his peyne, þat he was not bifore. Also þai synnen of malice wittyngly, as he did, ande bene in state of medeful penaunce if þai wil accept hit, þat he was not, ne never schal be. Also þai bene lower of kynde þen he, and in myssese þat he was, and þai wil be aboven God, where he desirid to be even to God. Also Criste is mannes broþer, and suffrid bitter deth for man, þat he dide never for Lucifer. Also for littel penaunce ande schort tyme, if men willen, he wole forgyve alle þer synnes ande bringe hem to þo blis of heven, and þerto grauntis us longe tyme, þat he dide never to hym. Also he made us to his owne ymage and lickenys, þat we never rede of aungel. Also þese symonyens drawen moo soulis to synne and to helle by þer cursud lyfe, ande felle censuris, and sotile tirauntry, þen alle þo develis of helle schuld do wiþouten hem. Mony of þese resouns makis Seint Austyne, for to prove þo gretnes of mannes synnes. Prelatis, here deme ȝee and wrastulis ȝee who schal be mayster, for trewly ȝee have mony resouns to agregge ȝoure synne, whiche has not Lucifer ȝoure page, in tourementynge of Cristus children.

inasmuch as they make worse and more wicked bargains than Judas himself.

[a] For instance, in the first of St. Bernard's Sermons *In Coena Domini* he says, 'O Juda infelix, o discipule pessime, *mercator nequam!* Tibi coena parabatur, et a te dator coenae tradebatur.'

POINT XI.

11. That no man can be saved who does not renounce all property. A false charge; what the sect really does say.

Also prelatis and freris putten to symple men þat þai sayne, þat no man schal entur into þo kyngdame of heven but if he forsake all þinges, in gyvynge hem to pore men onely, sewynge Jesus Crist in þo manere of hem.

Here is open lesyng made for hate, for to make alle men feyȝt ageynes þo treuthe of Jesus Crist. But not forþi Cristen men seyne boldly, þat no man schal entre into þo blis of heven but if he love God and his lawe more þen al erthly gode and his owne lyife, ande make restituccione of wronge-goten godis upon his powere, and lyve in trewe meknes and charite, and helpe his pore neygheburis at nede as he may resonably, and dye in þis charite, þat he wolde raþer be hongud quarterid and brent, ande a þowsande tyme lesen his lyif, if he myȝt, raþer þen one breke ony commaundement of God, or ellis he loves not God over alle þinge. Seculere men may have worldly godis ynowe wiþouten noumber to us [a], so þat þai gete hem trewly, and spende hem to Gods honoure and furtherynge of treuthe and helpe of þer Cristen breþur, and þat þai suffre not Anticristus clerkis to distroyen seculere lordschipis, and rob þer tenauntis by feyned jurisdiccion of Anticrist. But prestis moten lyf in symplenes, and forsake þo worlde, and trewly teche Cristes gospel, ande knowleche hem servauntis of alle men, and lyve in grete travaile, penaunce, and holy devocione, and do satisfaccione for þer owne synnes and þo peple boþe, if þai schal come to heven. But þai wolde algatis be lordis of þis worlde, aȝeyne Criste and his lawe, and drawe alle men for to holde aȝeynes Gods treuthe, lest þai be brouȝt to þo meke and pore and charitable lyvyng of Crist and his apostilis. But no drede Anticrist and his proude clerkis schal downe wiþ þer pride, and þo treuthe of þo gospel be knowen ande kept and worschippyd, mawgre alle þo develis of helle, and alle þer false mynystris; ffor Anticrist in his moste pride schal sodeynly be brouȝt to grounde.

[a] according to us, in our opinion.

POINT XII.

12. That for a man to offer money for a mass brings a curse both on the giver and on the receiver.

Also prelatis at þo suggestion of freris beren upon pore men þat þai seyne, þat a man or wouman offrynge to a preste a peny, axynge þo masse for to be songen for hym, boþe þai and þo preste so receyvyng þo peny bene acursid.

Here is playne lesynge by malice put on pore men. But Cristen men seyne, þat a man offrynge at þo masse schal not purpose for to bye hit, ne desire more part þeroff to hymselfe þen to anoþer pore man, more worþi aneyntis God, for he were out of charite and a symonyen and an heretik. If þo preste be a devoute man and clene of lyfe, ȝyve hym frely what hym nedis upon þi state, and if þou se þat hym nedis not, or be a cursid schrewe, dele þi peny to a pore man þat has nede, and occupie þe in forþinkynge of þi wickyd lyif, havynge mynde of þo stronge peynus of helle, wiþ þo gretenes of Goddis mercy and þo hyȝe blis of heven. And turne þe clenly to Goddis heestis, werkus of mercy wiþ poyntis of charite; and all gode prestis in erthe, and alle gode men and wymmen, and aungelis and seintus of heven, prayen for þe evermore.

POINT XIII.

13. That the property of the clergy ought to be in common. As to property, the sect really holds with St. Bernard.

Also prelatis and freris beren upon pore men þat þai sayne, þat alle þinges amonge clerkis schulden be comyne.

Here Cristen men sayne, þat alle þingis þat clerkis have bene pore mennes godis, and þo clerkis ben not lordis of hem but procuraturis, as Gods lawe and mannus law wittenessen. Ande clerkis schulden holde hem apayde wiþ fode ande helyng, as Seint Poul sais. Seint Bernarde sais[a], What ever þou haldes to þe of þo auter, over a streyte lyvelode ande symple cloþing, hit is not þine but is oþer mennes, hit is thefte, hit is sacrilege. Ande efte Bernarde sais, Seye, ȝee bischoppis, what dos golde in ȝoure bridel? hit dryves not away cold; ȝoure bestis gone honourid wiþ gemmys, precius stonys, and jewelis, ande oure sidis bene nakid, seyne pore men. Þai bene oure godis þat ȝee

a S. Bern. *Epist. II.* (Opera, Paris 1586). 'Denique quicquid praeter necessarium victum ac simplicem vestitum de altario retines, tuum non est, rapina est, sacrilegium est.'

wasten, and we þo heritage of Crist, bouȝt wiþ his blode, and we hongryn ande þrusten ande ben nakyd. Hit is cruely drawen away from us þat ȝe wasten in ȝoure pride. Two yvelis comen þeroff. We sufferen myche meschefe, ande in ȝoure wast ȝe sleen us, and ȝe, doyng vanite, peryschen þerfore, as Seynt Jerome sais; ffor to receyve þinge for to ȝyve to pore men, and ony þinge wiþdrawe þeroff, passis þo cruelte of alle robbers. See ȝee þerfore, prelatis and abbotis, þat han mony godis of ȝoure founders for to spend in hospitalite of pore men, and wastynge hem in pompe and glotonye and feestus of riche men, how strongely ȝe bene acursud of God and of alle his seintus, and traytouris to ȝoure founderus, and robbers and monquellers of Cristen men. How hidously schal pore men crye aȝeynnys ȝow at domesday for ȝoure cursid synnes! Þerfore make ȝe nowe alle ȝoure godis comyne to pore men in nede, and lyve in penaunce, prayer, ande holy teching in dede and worde, leste Crist dampne ȝowe for traytouris and monquellers and scheders of his blode for ȝoure unpityuousnes.

POINT XIV.

14. That the clergy ought not to have temporal possessions.

Also byschopis and freris beren symple men on hande þat þai sayne, þat hit is aȝeynes holy writte þat clerkis have temporale possessiones.

Num. xviii. 20.

Here Cristen men tellen only holy writte, and autorites of grete seintus, wiþ sum maner of reson. In þo iiij boke of holy writte God seis þus to Aaron and oþer prestis; In þo londe of hem, þat is, in þo childer of Israel, ȝe schal welde no þing, ne ȝe schul have part amonge hem; I þi part ande þine heritage in þo myddel of þo sonnys of Israel. Soþely to þo sonnys of Levy I gafe alle þo tithys of þo sonnys of Israel into possessione, for þo servyce by which þai serven to me into þo tabernacle of þo bond of pes. Ande aftur hit sewys, Þai schal welden, or have in possessione, none oþer þinge, but be apaide wiþ offrynge of tithes, which I have departid into þo uses of hem, and necessaries.

Deut. xviii. 1.

In þo fifte boke of holy writt God seis þus; Prestis and dekenys, and alle þat bene of þo same lynage, not haf parte and heritage wiþ þoo oþer men of Israel, þat is, wiþ princis and comyns, for þai schal eete sacrifices of þo Lord ande offryngus

of hym, and þai schal take none oþer þinge of possessione of þer breþeryn; for sothe þo Lord hymselfe is þo heritage of hem, as he spake to hem. By þo prophet Ezechiel God seis þus,— Ez. lxiv. 28.
Soþely heritage schal none be to hem, I þo heritage of hem; and ȝe schal not ȝyve to hem possessione in Israel, I forsothe þo possessione of hem. By Israel is undurstonden alle Goddis peple; for, as Seint Poule sais, þese þingus bene writen for us. Rom. xv. 4.
Ande as clerkis taken tithes amonge Cristen men by virtue of þis lawe, myche more þai schulden abstene hem fro oþer possessiouns of þer breþerin, for þo generale forbedyng of God Almyȝtty; sithen Crist, God ande man, and alle his apostilys kept hem fro seculere lordschip, as þo gospel sais. Crist, God and man, seys in þo gospel, þat þo servaunt is not more þen þo lord, ne þo disciple aboven þo maystur. But Jesus Crist hade not by worldly lordschipe whereupon he schuld bowe his heved; þen Cristen prestis, disciples of Crist and servauntus of hym, schulden not be so grete worldly lordis aboven þer mayster. Ande God, Lord of alle creaturis, Jesus Crist, seis to his disciplis, Þerfore so eche of ȝow þat schal not renounce alle þingus þat he has in possessioun may not be my disciple. And how þis renounsynge schal be done, þo pore lyfe of Crist and of his apostilis schewis pleynly. Lord! sithen Petur and his felawis myȝtten not be apostilis of Criste til þai haden forsaken nettis and botys, ȝhe, and þer kyndely fader, how may oure hyȝe prestis take þo state of apostilis, and be grettur worldly lordis þen erlis ande dukis, kyngus unklis ande kyngus sonys, in þo riches[1] londe of Yngelonde.

Seint Poule, ravyschid to þo thrid heven, ȝyves a generale rewle to prestus, saying þus aȝeynus covetise of þo worlde, We, havynge fode and wiþ what þingus we be hiled, be we apayde. Lorde! sithen Crist and alle his apostilis, so wele doyng þer offices, haden nevermore ne never ordeynden no but a pore lyfelode to hem þat preche þo gospel, who maken oure prestus worldly lordis and chefe governouris of alle worldly officis ande nedis in þo rewme? and þai þerþorowe doumbe fro prechyng and spirituale occupaciouns. No wonder þerfore if þo rewme be yvul governyd, siþen þo chefe governouris ben symonyens, The lowliness of Christ and the apostles contrasted with modern practice.

[1] So BB; read *richeste*.

heretikis, cursid of God and of alle holy Chirch wiþouten cesyng. Seint Petur seis to alle prestis, Fede 3e þo folke of God þat is amonge 3owe, not by constreynynge but willefully, for cause of love of soule-wynnyng, not as beyng lordis in clergy, but be 3e made fourme or ensaumple of inwitte or wille þat is meke ande symple, as Crist was, siþen Seint Petur, more þen alle þo popis aftur hym in Rome. And God in Seint Petur forbed prestis for to be lordys in þo clergye. Whi bene þese hye apostotaas clepid generally, My lorde of Caunturbury, of Yorke, and oþer? Lorde! sithen men bene acursid doynge a3eynys þo popis lawe, as his symonyens blaberen, how cursid ben þese Luciferys children, so openly doynge a3eyn just lawe of Crist chef pope, and of Seint Petur, and of Cristen bileve! 3it, when stryfe was made amonge Cristis disciplys who of hem schuld be sene for to be more, Jesus saide to hem, Kyngis of folkes lordschipen, or bene lordis of hem, and þai þat have powere on hem bene clepid wel-doyng, or 3yvyng benefitis. For sothe 3e not so, but he þat is more in 3owe be he made as 3onger, and he 3at is biforegoar be he as a servaunt. And by Mathewe Crist seis þus, 3e witten for princis of folkis lordschippen, or ben lordis of hem, ande þai þat bene more haunten powere into hem. Hit schal not be so amonge 3owe; but who ever schal willen for to be made þo more amonge 3owe, be he 3oure mynyster, and who ever schal willen to bene furste amonge 3owe be he 3oure servaunte; as þo Son of man come nout to be served but for to serve, and 3yve his lyfe redempcioun for mony [a].

Luke xxii. 24.

Matt. xx. 25.

The clergy have nothing to do with secular employment.

Allas! how durne worldly prestis take so grete lordschipe upon hem, siþen Crist so playnly forbedus hit, ande tellis by his owne ensaumpul þo servyse and mekenys of hem? How stronge heretikis bene þai, þat maken lordis for to swere to mayntene hem in her open erroure, a3eyne þo gospel and lyvyng of Crist. 3it Seint Jerome writis expressely, ande hit is sette in decrese [b], þat clerkis schulden be taken fro worldely officis. And in tokyn of doynge away alle temporaltees, clerkis bene schaven þo hede, and schul have no þinge but dymus and of-

[a] These translations do not very closely resemble either Wycliffite version, but are nearer to the older than to the later one.

[b] The 88th Distinction of the first Part of the *Decretum* of Gratian is very full and explicit on this subject.

fryngus, as dekenys in þo olde lawe. Seint Bernarde in a sermone of apostilis seis, þat a preste havynge temporale possessione schal nout have Goddis part. And þo grete clerk Origene and Seint Jon Chrysostom holden þo same way. Seint Bede says in a pistil to Enberthe archebyschop of ȝorke, þat þo ȝyfftus of kyngus, ȝyfing temporaltees to prestis, were moste foltische [a]. An aungel cried in þo ayer when þo chirche of Rome was dowyd with halfe þo empiry, þat þis day venym is sched into þo Chirche of God, treuly seynge þo pride symony ande tirauntry in þo Chirche sprungen fro þat tyme, and leevynge of spirituale occupacione. Cursid venym has strangelid almoste all Cristen pepul. Certis as seculere schullen not, whilis þai bene lordis, take presthode ande riȝttis annexid þerto, myche more prestis, ande nomely in state of pore apostilis, as bischopis faynen hem to be, schullen not take seculere lordschip and powere annexid to þo state by Gods ordynaunce; siþen Crist commaundus in þo gospel, ȝelde ȝe to þo emperoure þoo þingus þat bene of þo emperoure, and to God þoo þingus þat ben of God. Ande no man depart þat þinge þat joyned no worldly preste. . . . . excuse [1] his heresie of possessions havynge by þis, þat Jesus Crist was a kynge, as þo prophet and þo gospel wittenessen; for Crist was kynge of alle creaturys by his godhede, and by his manhed gostly kynge for to governe soulis ande virtues, ande never worldely kynge. For þo gospel sais, Of his kyngedame schal be none ende; ande in þo gospel of Jon he seis, My kyngedame is not of þis worlde. Ne no worldly preste excuse his heresie of possessions-havynge by his ypocrisie, þat þai bene not lordis of þer godis, but onely procuratouris; þat þey spenden treuly upon pore men, as resoun

[1] So the passage stands in BB. It may be restored thus: *Ande no man depart þat þinge þat* [God haþ] *joyned.* [Ande] *no worldly preste*, &c.

[a] What Bede seems to deprecate, in the Epistle to Egbert Archbishop of York (Gallandii *Bibliotheca*, vol. xiii. p. 261) here referred to, is rather the foundation of sham monasteries, built by laymen, and occupied in part by them and in part by bad monks who had been expelled from real monasteries, endowed also by the ruling powers with lands, and privileges which exempted them from taking any part in the burden of national defence, than the grant of temporalities to the clergy in the ordinary sense of the words. The whole Epistle is very remarkable and interesting, and throws a strong light on the condition of society in Northumbria in the year 735.

ande nede axen. Let al þo worlde deme wisely by þer open dedis, ande tirauntry on retenauntis, ande sittynge in parlement above grete lordis, seyynge þat no parlyment may be holden wiþouten hem, wheþer þis be feyned ypocrisie or treuth. Lorde! siþen Jesus Criste al witty, þat couthe best depart temporale godis to pore men, wolde not take þo kyngedame, as þo gospel sais, þow þo pepule wolde for love have ravyschid hym þerto, (and ȝit he was verreyly son of kyng David, and myȝt not erre in ony doyng), how þen durne þese erthly moldy-warpis take so grete burthen of worldly dritte upon hem? siþen þer wittes ben þinne, þer strynthe littel, þer tyme schort, to study ande teche holy writte, to lyve in prayer and devocione, and visite seke men in soule. Lorde! wheþer þai cun better þen Criste, and bene more myȝtty for to do temporale and spirituale office togedir, þat one of þes is an open fole and a cursid! Loke ȝe lordis who hit is, siþen ȝe schullen recken of þo governaile of þo Chirche.

The laity ought to strip the clergy of their wealth and temporal power.

ȝit, siþen Cristis apostilis, freschly fulfillid wiþ wisedame, strenght, and charite of þo Holy Gost, wolden nout be occupide aboute money redy at þer fete, for to dele hit to pore men þere redy, but ȝave hem to prechynge of Gods worde and prayere, as holy writte wittenessis, what blyndenes of covetise stiris þese ydiotis, unmyȝtty and fer lowere in charite, to marre hem wiþ so myche drit, more þen alle Cristis apostilis dursten? Wheþer of þese two bene folis and wode, byhold wisely, ȝe lordis, for ȝe beren þo swerde principealy for to distroye errouris in þo Chirche. Certus, Crist, God Almyȝtty, durste never take worldly office ande suche dome upon hym, as þo gospel sais, for þen he had robbid þo emperoure of his lordeschipe, aȝeyne his owne techynge. What spirite dryves þes Anticristis to seculere office, ande to wlappe hem in seculere nedis, ande leve þer spirituale office undone? Certis hit semes, Sathanas, for pride and covetise, and mayntenynge of þer cursid heresies, blyndis hem in payne of þer synne, til God take vengeaunce at onys upon hem and alle þer fautouris. Ware, ȝee lordus, lest God take vengeaunce on ȝow and ȝoure pepul, for suffrynge and mayntenynge of þese heresies; siþen God has ȝyven ȝowe þo swerde for to mayntene his lawe, and bitaken his Chirche to ȝoure powere, and grete kyndenes schewid to ȝowe in groundyng, worschip-

pyng, and conferming 3oure state, and made alle men, prestis ande oþer, sogett þerto. He schal aske strayte reckenyng of 3owe, how 3e have governyd his Chirche. Þerfore, as 3e wil be saved bifore God, distroyes Anticristis tirauntry in his ypocritis, and mayntene 3oure state in þat fourme þat God made hit, ande bringis prestus to þo meke ordynaunce of Jesus Criste, and helpe 3oure selfe and 3oure pore tenauntis wiþ þo waste godis to whichee heretikis, havyng þo nome of prelatis and prestis, makyn sacrifise to Belial, by pride, covetise, glotony, leccherie, symonye, and alle cursidnessis. Ande if 3ee wil nout do þis ri3twisenes purely for þo love of Crist, þat has done to 3ow so mony benefetys, 3oure londe and 3oure pepul schal be conquerid of enmyes, ande 3ee 3oure self dampned wiþouten ende. And 3if 3e wille for pure love do þis ri3twysenes, 3e schal gete pleyne remyssion of alle 3oure synnus, so þat 3e kepe 3ow clene aftur. And for þis mercy doynge schall come to 3ow propperte of lordeschip, and pes and riches in erthe, and at þo furrest in heven, wiþouten ende. Ande if 3e dyen in þis poynte, stondyng clene entente to Goddus honoure and comyne amendyng of Cristendame, wiþ paciens and charite bitaking all to governaunce, and 3e doyng 3oure bisynes upon 3oure connynge ande powere, trewe God wil accept 3owe for his trew martiris and breþerin of Cristis passione, and crowne 3ow in heven wiþouten ende.

POINT XV.

15. That church music, as now practised, is not acceptable to God.

Also prelatis prestis and freris putten upon pore men þat þai sayne, þat Goddis office or servyse ben not to be songun wiþ note, and þat God delytes not in suche manere songe.

Here Cristen men sayne pleynly, þat Criste and his apostilis prayden devoutly wiþouten siche songe, and þai never tau3tten in worde ne dede, ne openly counseiled in holy writte to þis songe, ande myche more þai never chargid man herwiþ in al holy writte. Þerfore prestis schulden bisye hem to cunne ande teche holy writte in worde and dede, and be in devoute prayere in spirit and treuthe, as Crist and his apostilis diden, and not fulfille þo eeris of hem and of þo pepul wiþ cryynge of þinge þat nouþer þai ne þo pepul understoden, as 3yf jayes and pyes chatiriden; and 3it þai understonden iche one oþer in þeire

kynde. Lorde! whepher þis songe dispose men for to understonde þo sentence of holy writte, and for to mourne for þer synnus, or ellis to pride, vanite, daunsyng and lecchery, wiþ vayne spendynge of tyme. Seint Austyne sais in a boke of hys Confessione [a], Als ofte as þo songe delitus me more þen þo þinge þat is songun, I knowlache me for to have synned horribly. Loke ȝe lordus, þat schulden lif justely ande devoutely, sechynge grace of God to reule ȝowe and ȝoure pepul aftur þis lawe, whepher þes proude, ful of covetise and envie, ben in þis case or nay. Loke whepher þai lyven in glotonye, drunkennes, and leccherie, for jolite of þer chauntynge; ande þen what ever heriyng of God þo tunge sounys, þo life blasphemys God [b], as Seint Austyne sais on þo Sauter. Seint Poule biddus us synge and say psalmus in oure hert to þo Lord. Seint Jerome in a Pistile to Ephesyanys, as þo lawe wittenessis [c], seys þis, Here þis þinge, ȝonge waxen men, here þai to hor office of seying psalmus to God, if bytaken in þo Chirche, þat hit is to be songen, not in voyce, but in hert; nepher þrotis ne chekys bene to be anoyntid wiþ medicyne, in manere of foule songis, þat swete notis of spectaclis or taverne songis be herde in þo Chirche. Þerfore, as Seint Gregore techis in þo lawe, dekenys and mynystris of þo auter schullen not chaunt ne syng but rede þo gospel; and if ony man do þeraȝeyns, Gregori cursus hym. Hit semes þo dekenys and prestus han als much nede in oþer chirchis for to do kepe clene lyife, and do þo office ordeyned of God and of þo apostilis, as in Rome; þen þo same state and peyne schuld be in oþer chirchis as þere, siþen þis statute has grounde in holy writte and resoun; and als myche or more þis songe lettis dekenys ande mynystris of þo auter, in oþer placis as in Rome, fro clennes of lyife and prechyng, and almes dedis þat God biddis.

Ancient authorities quoted against it.

Ȝit Seint Jon Crisostome on Mathew [d], where Criste biddus

[a] See above, p. 228, *note*.

[b] See above, p. 223, *note* b.

[c] *Decretum*, Pars I, Dist. 92, Can. 1. 'Audiant haec adolescentuli; audiaut ii, quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est; Deo, non voce, sed corde cantandum; nec in tragoedorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine liniendae sunt, ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur et cantica.'

[d] See S. Chrys. Hom. XX. in Matthaeum.

þat we shul not speke much in prayer as heþen men done,—soþely þai wenen þat þai bene herde in þer muche speche,—þere sais Seint Jon, þat thre grete harmys comyn of prayer wiþ crye, ffurste þat men þus cryinge byleven not þat God is present in iche place, and siche crie lettis oþer men fro prayer, and þo crier schewis to oþer men sumtyme þat nedis not ne spedis. Lord! wheþer þis sotile and swete knackyng to þo eeris makis us to praye wiþ sorowes þat mowne not be tolde oute? On þis maner þo Holy Goste askis for us, as holy writte techis, þat is, as Seint Austyne and oþer seintus declaren, þo Holy Goste makis us to pray wiþ suche mournyng, ande þo prayer þat he makis in us ys arettid to hym, siþen he is princepale doar þeroff, and we dulle instrumentis of hym. Lorde! wheþer þis chauntyng of Kyries, Sanctus, and Agnus, wiþ Gloria in excelsis and Patrem [a] maken þat men heren nout þo wordis but onely a sowne! makus men to have savoure in þese dytees, þat schuld stire hom to moste compunccione for synnes, and to most devocione for hyȝenes of þo Trinite, þat is touchid in Sanctus, and bitter passione ande stronge benefices of Criste, touchid in Patrem, wiþ huge unkyndenes and horribul traytory of synnes, touchyd thryes in Agnus Dei. As heþen men skorned þo sabbatis of Jerusalem in þer conquestis, for synnes of prestis and lordis and comyns, as Jeromy weyleþ, myche more oure enmyes, fendus of helle, seynge oure halidayes wiþ þis nyse knackyng, þat fillus þo eeris ande spoylus þo soulus fro virtues, wiþ over muche costlewe pride, glotony, ande leccherye, wiþ false oþis, scorne us.

Matt. vi. 7.

Rom. viii. 26.

Lam. ii. 6.

Ande al þo court of heven has abhomynacion of oure lewed halowynge; ffor we halowen to oure wombe ydelnes and Sathanas, and done werste werkis of synne in dispysynge of Almyȝtty God and alle his lovers. Lorde! siþen we be so feble of witte, febul of bodily myȝte, and of ful schort tyme, ande holy writt so harde, and plentynouse of swete sentences to whichee God byndus us sore, what resoun is hit to bynde us to

Against the multiplication of hallowings and ceremonies.

[a] The Kyrie Eleison and Gloria early in the mass, the Sanctus just before the canon, and the Agnus Dei before communion. But what is the Patrem? Probably the prayer beginning 'Qui pridie quam paretetur,' for in it the word 'Patrem' occurs.

newe songe and newe serymonyes of dyverse uses al day, þat we never mowe do boþe togedur? Ande siþen synne is so playne, and more encresid herby, and we bounden upon payne of dampnacioun for to preche ande crye holy writte aȝeynes þo fendis ooste, when a drunken preste, in luste ande welthe of þis lyife, has syngulere affeccion to a man or a cause for temporale dritte, all prestis in þat diocise schul be gnarid wiþ a newe ȝock or cerymony ever more; and none ende is made of suche serymonyes, þat tarien mennys conscience, and letten hem fro better occupacione.

Against the rule compelling priests to use the Sarum ritual, and to say their office.

ȝit, þow Salisburye use may sumtyme occupie wele summe slowe wrecchis, hit is no reson to bynde alle prestis þerto, or to suche anoþer, when God sturis hym to studye and teche holy writte, þat is muche better, or for to mourne for þer synne, ande hertly occupie hem wiþ þo Pater Noster. For God seis not þat he is blessid þat syngus or knackus swete notis, ne þat kepis þo ordynale of þis cerymonye or þis, but he is blessid þat nyȝt and day þinkis in þo lawe of God, þat is, for to understonde hit and lif þeraftur, and teche hit trewly, and willefully suffer tribulacione for þo gospel in savynge of mennus soulis, as Criste and his apostilis diden. Lorde! whebir a congregacione of drunken prestis, in lustis of þo worlde and of þer balyes, con ȝyve a better reule of occupacione to prestis þen Criste and his apostilis diden? or ellis wille þai charge hem wiþ so myche chauntynge ande so mony cerymonyes, þat prestis mowe not fulfille þo charge and office of Crist, þat is beste, moste esye, ande moste siker for prestis and alle lewed peple? Þerfore synge we in hert by holy desire, seyyng psalmus by clene werkis and heryyngus and ympnus to God for his large ȝiftus of mercy, wiþ brennynge charite in studyynge understondynge and techynge holy writte, ande receyve we resonable customs made of men in als miche as þai helpen us to þis grete gode, and encresen[1] oure love to God and oure breþerin. And ȝif þai letten us fro better doynge, and encresynge of Gods worschipe, and helpe of Cristen soulys, for þat tyme suspende alle suche cerymonyes, leste þai take þo grace of God in vayne, leefynge þo better ande chesynge þo worse.

[1] corrected; *encresynge*, BB.

POINT XVI.

16. That it is unlawful to swear at all. Charge untrue; we only blame profane and unnecessary swearing.

Also bischoppis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, hit ys not leefful for to swere in ony manere.

Trewly here is þo sothe sparid, as in mony wrytyngus and prechyngus hit is openly knowen. But here Cristen men sayne, þat hit is not leeful to swere by creaturis, ne by Goddus bonys, sydus, naylus, ne armus, or by ony[1] membre of Cristis body, as þo moste dele of men usen, ffor þis is aȝeynus holy writte, holy doctouris, and comyn lawe, and grete peyne sette þeruppon. Hit is nout leeful for to swere nedeles for a veyne thing, as mony men usen, ne for yvelle wille to harme oþer men, for þis is aȝeyne þo maundement of God fully, ne to forswere hem for hate ne love ne drede ne wynnynge, ne for lyve ne deth, as mony men chargyn ful littel; for þis false swerynge schulden kyngus punysch by þer office, ande suffer not suche false men in þer londis, as Seint Austyne sais. ȝit, no man schulde swere, nouþer for life ne dethe, no but wiþ þese þre condiciones, þat is, in treuthe, in dome, and in rightwisenes, as God sais by þo prophet Jeremye. If hit be nedeful for to swere for a spedful treuthe, men mowe wele swere as God did in þo olde lawe, Crist in his gospel, Seint Poule in his pistile, þo aungel in þo Apochalipse, wiþ declarynge of Seint Austen, Crisostom, Jerom, and mony moo.

Jer. iv. 2.

POINT XVII.

17. That the consecrated bread is not Christ's body. Charge untrue; we say it is, but that it does not cease to be bread.

Also prelatis ande frerus putten to pore men þat þai schulde say, þat þat ilke þinge þat was brede bifore þo consecracione in þo sacrament of þo auter, after þo consecracione or halowing is not Cristus body, but a signe of þat þinge, and not þo ilke þinge.

Certus here is openly schewed þo malice of freris, wrongfully accusynge pore men. Noþoles þese wordis of freris ben nout craftily sette; ande ȝit þis sentence is þo olde heresie of freris ande munkys, and men of þo newe lawe, aȝeyne þo gospel ande olde seintis and þo olde lawe. For freris and munkis, and þer

[1] corrected; *be ony by*, BB.

folowars of scole, seyne þat þat ilke þinge þat was brede bifore þo consecracione, is turned into nouȝt, þat þai clepen adnichilat[a], or brouȝt to nouȝt; ande þo sacrament þat men sene wiþ bodily een, is not Cristis body, but accident wiþouten sogett, or nouȝt, as þai han playnly said in Oxenforde scole, and in many placis of þo londe boþe seide ande writen. But Cristen men seyne pleynly, as Crist techis, Seint Poule, Seint Austyne, Seint Jerom, and alle Cristen pepul bileven, þat þo sacrament of þo auter is verrey Cristis body in forme of brede, ande þai wole no ferþer þen holy writte ande olde seintus teche, for no newe knackynge of sotile cavellaciones, or multitude of synneful wrecchis. Crist toke brede in his hondus, blessid, brake hit, and ȝave hit to hys disciplis, seyynge, Þis is my body; þus Cristen men bileven fully. Ande Seynte Poule seis in holy writte, þat þis sacrament is bred þat we breken, ande efte, Prove a man hymselfe ande so ete he of þat brede. Ffoure tymes Seint Poule clepis hit brede in holy writte. And þo holy Trinite, autorisynge Seint Poule to write Cristen mennys bileve, clepis þo sacrament þo same word, brede. Lorde! wheþer Cristen men schulden be tourmentid by Anticristis clerkis, þat þai schullen not graunte þo wordis of God and Cristen bileve! siþen Seynt Austyne seis, as þo comyne lawe wittenessis[b], þat þat þinge þat is sene is bred, þat, sothely, þat þo feithe askis; þenne brede is Goddus body. Seint Jerome sais in his pistiles, þat þo ilke brede þat Criste blessid, brake, and ȝafe to his disciplis for to ete, is þo body of oure Savyoure. Þo comyne lawe of decrees wittenessis, when prelatis weren sumwhat gostly, þat þo bred and wyne þat bene put in þo auter, aftur þo consecracione [ben][1] not onely þo sacrament, but þo verrey body and blode of oure Lord Jesus Criste. Ande siþen holy writte spekis not of accident wiþouten sogett, ne resone schewis, ne philosophurs tellen hit, ne revelacion of

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[a] *annihilatum.*

[b] *Decretum*, Pars III, Dist. 2, cap. 58. 'Quod videtur, panis est, et calix, quod etiam oculi renuntiant. Quod autem fides postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis.' Our author's translation of these words is not, it must be confessed, very exact. Nor are they taken from St. Augustine, but from Bede; the first portion of this chapter only being derived from the former, namely, from his second sermon, *De verbis Apostoli.*

God proves hit, ne olde seyntis þat beste couthen holy writte ande were saddest in feythe affermed hit not, but fully þo contrary; ande siþen Seint Austyne, namely wysest of alle doctouris holden siþen þo apostilis weren, þat[1] seis in mony bokis þat none accident may be wiþouten sogett[a], wheþer schullen [men][2] be constrayned by Anticristis powere to forsake holy writte and resone and beste seyntis, for an unknowen þinge þat plesus to a multitude of worldly moldywarpis, ful of pride, covetise, symonye, heresie, and blaspheme? Criste for his precius blode move worldly lordis to love his lawe; mayntenynge hit, þat Cristen men may frely telle holy writte, and comyne lawe and bileve of Cristen peple; ffor, þorow Goddis grace, nouþer for lyfe ne dethe þai wille no ferþer, but crien oute on þo open synnus ande heresies of Anticriste and his fautouris.

POINT XVIII.

18. That a priest in deadly sin can make no sacrament; how far the charge is true.

Also bischopis prestis and frerus putten to pore men þat þai seyn, þat a preste beyng in dedely synne nouþer makis þo sacrament of þo auter, ne cristynes, ne ȝyves ony sacrament.

Sikerly here is feyned þinge putte on pore men, wiþouten evydence of þer seyynge. But Cristen men sayne, þat a preste beynge in dedely synne may make and ȝyve sacramentis to salvation of hem þat worþily receyven hem, and consenten not to þo prestus synne; as, if his synne be privey, and als sone as þai knowen hit, þai done þer bisynes for to amende hym by mekenys and charite. And if he wille not amende hym, hym owe to be eschewid as a hethen man, as þo gospel techis. But þo preste in þis case mynystris to his owne dampnacion, as Seint Poule sais, þat is, if he amende hym not in þis lyve. And he displesis God ful muche and deceyvus þo pepul of gostly helpe and teris God to vengeaunce þen to mercy, as holy writt, Seint Gregore, and oþer doctouris tellen. If þo preste unworþily sey masse, and receyve þo sacrament unworthily, he receyvus dampnacion to hym, and is gilty of þo body and þo blode of þo Lorde, as holy writte sais; þat is, as

[1] dele *þat*. [2] supplied conjecturally.

[a] See p. 409, note *a*.

holy doctours sayne, he is gilty as he þat betrayed Crist, and as he þat naylud hym on þo crosse. Ande if his synne be open, þo pepul owes nout to receyve sacramentus of hym, leste consent to his synne make hem parteners in peyne, nomely of open fornicacione, open covetyse and raveyne of pore mennus lyvelode, þat is mawmetry, as Seint Poule tellis, and of symonye, þat is cursid heresie, þat makis þo doar and alle þo maynteners þeroff cursud of God and of al holy Chirche. Ffor Seint Jon Evangelist sais in his Epistile, If ony man come to ȝow and bringe not þis doctrine of þo gospell, nyl ȝee receyve hym in to ȝoure howsis, ne say ȝee to hym, Hayle. Sothly he þat schal say to hym, Hayle, comyns wiþ his yvel werkis. Lorde! how unkynde is þat childe þat wittyngely is present where open despite and deth of his fadur is done, and consentus þerto! Þus done yvel Cristen men, þat receyven sacramentis of prestus knowen in open grete synnes biforesaide; for þerinne, als muche as in hem is, þai crucifien Jesus Criste and approven his deth. Þerfore Cristen men schulden bisye hem for to here reverently and devoutely Goddis worde, and receyve sacramentis at prestis of clene life, and amende vicious prestes by gode counselyng and ensaumple of gode lyife, and els eschewe þer companye as cursid men. Ffor Seint Poule sais, wiþ leccherous covetous men, or drunkenlewe by custome, Cristen men schulden not take mete.

POINT XIX.

19. That prayer in a church is no better than prayer anywhere else.

Also byschopis ande frerus putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat men owen not raþer for to pray in chirche þen in oþer placis.

Here Cristen men sayne, þat in iche place where a man is he owes for to pray God in spirite and treuthe, þat is, wiþ wille and devocioun and clennes of lyvynge. Crist says; Tyme comys when nouþer in þis hille ne in Jerusalem men schullen worschipen, but hit byhoves for to worschipe God in spirite and treuthe; þat is, þat þo hert by clen desire, and al þo man, be kepynge of Gods heste, worschipe God trewly; ellis wil Criste say to hem, What say ȝee to me, Lord, Lord, and do not þo þinge þat I say; ande efte, Þis pepul honouris me wiþ þer lippis, soþely þer hert is fer fro me. Forsoþe þai worschipe

John iv. 23.

me wiþouten cause, techynge þo doctrynys ande þo maundementis of men. Seint Poule sais, I wole þat men prayen in iche place, liftynge clene hondis, þat is, gode werkys, wiþouten wrath ande strife. Also David seis, My soule, blesse þou to þo lorde in iche place of his lordschip. Men of God dreden to pray in mony grete chirchis, leste þai ben cursid and abhominabul. Þo comyne lawe sais, A chirche þat is halowid by covenaunt-making is raþer cursid þen halowed. Crist sayde of þo temple of Jerusalem, Myn hows schal be clepud a hows of prayere, soþely ȝe have made it a den of thefis. If als open symony, extorsioun, fals oþis, and false causis, bene mayntenyd in grete chirchys nowe as was þen in Jerusalem, þen as unclene and unholy bene þai as Jerusalem, þat was destroyed by heþen men. Moreover þo place halowis not a man, but a man halowis þo place, as þo storye of Machabeis and comyne lawe seyne. Ande cursid pepul defoules þo londe in whiche hit dwellis, as God wittenessis ofte by his prophetis, how þo londe of byheste was polutid for ydolatrie and oþer synnes of Jewis. And þo erthe was cursid in Adams werke, as God seis in þo furste boke of holy writte. Þen hit semys þat grete churchis where symonye is done, false oþis, fals covetise, takynge wrongly oþer godis by extorsioun of feyned correctione, sellynge of sacramentus, and nomely of Cristus body, when men seyne more þo masse for money and worldly favoure þen for devocione,—alle suche chirchis bene gretely polutid and cursud of God, nomely for sellynge of leccherie, and fals swering upon bokus. Siþen þo churchis ben dennus of thefis and habitationis of fendis, hit is gode þat Cristen men bere no false wittenessynge, saying in dede þat suche chirchys ben holier þen oþer placis where is lesse synne, ande þat [þai][1] mowne in pes serve God in hem þerfore, sithen Criste sais in þo gospel, Þo rewme of God is wiþinne ȝowe, ande Seint Poule seis, þat Cristen men ben þo temple of þo Holy Goste, consent ȝee not þerfore to þo symony of byschopis, ne covetise of oþer prestis, for þo feyned blessynge of heretikis to whos blessyng God cursus, as þo prophete wittenessis; as Seint Jerome sais, wiþ þo comyn lawe, whatever þai blessen God cursis.

1 Tim. ii. 8.

Ps. ciii. 22.

[1] supplied.

Few churches are now consecrated without simony.

Efte men mowe say þer Pater noster medefully under þo cope of heven, as Crist dide in þo hille in nyȝttus, ande þo apostilus in prisone and oþer placis, þof þai do symonye for halowynge chirchis and þer ȝerdis and auteris. Ffor now comynly none is halowyd wiþouten symonye of fals suffrygans, forsworn mony wayes. Be ȝe not made thrallys to heretikis and fendus, by ypocrisie of þes nedeles halowyngus, þat comynly is verrey cursynge, but pray ȝe whereever ande when God ȝyves ȝow moste devocioun ande fervour of charite. Crist seis, When þou schalt pray, entre into þi couche, and þi dore schytte, pray þi Fadur in hydde place. Seint Austyne sais, What þou to bysechynge God sechest an holy place and convenable? clense þou þine inwarde þingis, þat is, þi soule and conscience, and alle yvel covetise put away fro þennes; mak redy to þe a privey place in pes of þine hert, willynge to pray; pray þou in þi selfe, and do so, broþer, þat þou be þo temple of God.

Soþely here God heris graciusly where he dwellis. Þus Cristen men willen devoutely comyn to þo chirche, where prestis bene gode and clene, and Gods word wele tauȝt, ande sacramentis frely mynistrid, not solde for money; and where symony regnus openly, wiþ fals oþus, ravayn, pride, and mayntenynge of leccherye and oþer synnus for money, þai will flee þennus, leste þai consent to open mawmetry and oþer cursidnes. Ffor þo hoore-hows is not so cursid as mony suche templis bene; ffor more cursid synne regnus in hem, and lesse schameles, undur coloure of holynes ande riȝtwysenes, þen at þo hoore-hows þat alle men knowen is nouȝt; þow popis and bischopis halowen horedame by receyvyng of money, and bene partyners þeroff, wers þen þai þat done it in dede. For þo suffrynge of lecchery is expressely aȝeynus Goddis commaundement, ande receyvyng of þis money is mayntenynge þeroff, for whiche þo bischope, by Goddis lawe and comyne lawe of þo Chirche, schulden be degradid, for hit is open mayntenynge of open erroure aȝeyne Cristen menus bileve. And so no doute oure byschopis, mayntenynge hit openly and stedfastly, ben cursid heretikis and treryn[1] God to vengeaunce.

[1] This is all that I can make out of the strangely abbreviated word in the MS.

POINT XX.

20. That the festivals of saints ought not to be kept holy. We make a distinction, in favour of the earlier, and against the later saints.

Also byschopis prestus and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat þo festys of Steven, Laurence, Nicholas, Kateryne, Margarete, and of oþer seintis, ben not to be worschipid ne bene to be halowid, for þat men wote not, as þai sayne, wheþer þai bene dampned or saved; ne men owen not to byleve ne stonde to þo canonysyng of þoo seyntus made by þo courte of Rome in þis part.

Here is open malice and untreuthe putte on Cristen men. Ffor of Seint Steven men bene certeyne by holy writte þat he is a gloriouse martire, ande trewly prechid, boþe of þo Olde Testament ande þo Newe, when he was onely deken, which men sayne nowe is aȝeyne þo lawe and dewe obedience, and in þis þai distroyen his martirdame, or ellys þai sayne nowe open falshede, þat dekenys owen not to preche. Of Seint Laurence, Seint Nicholas, Seint Kateryne, and Seynt Margarete, virgynes, Cristen men dowten noþinge þat þai bene glorious seyntis, but supposen hit sothe, and not as article of þo bileve þat iche man mot bileve upon payne of dampnacioun. But of oþer þat lyveden late, and bene clepid seyntis, and seen grete heresies of open tirauntry of worldely prelatis, ande tolden nout þo treuthe and suffiriden þerfore persecucion, as did Grosthede þat was pursued of þo pope, and mony trewe Menourys, as men sayne, but raþer faveriden hem [in][1] þese open errouris, men witten never wheþer þai died fynaly wiþouten satisfaccioun for þer synnus, ande endid in charite. Ande if þai haden bene open trewe men, as Grosthede was, in withstondynge þo pope, þai schulden have bene hatid als myche as he and oþer trewe men weren. Certis, þof lewid men ande symple resten in þo crede, ande knowen nouþer one ne oþer wheþer þese late men ben seintus, hit is none heresie, so þat þai kepe Goddis hestis.

Of þes grete halidayes men wondryn, ffurst what þo holy Trinite has trespassid aȝeyne þes worldly prelatis, þat his

Trinity Sunday and other great days disparaged in the ritual.

[1] supplied conjecturally.

Sonenday may nouȝt be dowble feste[a], als wele as þo festes of mony oþer þat littel profiten to holy Chirche, and han dowble festis one or two; ande whi Seint Poule, þo solempne clerk and apostle of alle þo apostilis, þat travelid more þen alle oþer, has no dowble feste ne haliday by hymselfe in þo provynce of Caunterbury, nouþer Conversion ne Passione. And ȝit he dide more honoure and profite of holy Chirche þan mony þowsandis, whos dayes men halowen more þen þo Sonenday. What have alle þo apostilis of Criste agiltid in þo syȝte of symonyen clerkis, þat one symple seint, þat longe lyved in luste of þe worlde, littul or nouȝt tauȝte and wrote to edificacioun of Cristen soulis, has more worschipe and solempnite þen alle Cristis apostilis and disciplis[b]? What have alle þo foure doctouris of holy Chirche trespassid, þat þei alle haven not one haliday amonge lewid men, as wele as mony confessourus of synglere bischoperiches? Hit semys þat syngulere affeccione, and acceptynge of persons aȝeynes Goddus lawe, ande lesse worschip of great seyntis, wyrcchys myche þat is done in þis halowynge. What has Seint Jon Baptiste trespast, þat his day of martirdame is not halowid dowble feste, as wele as martirdame and translacioun of Seint Thomas? Wheþer Baptiste hade werse, and was lesse holy þen Thomas?

Hallowing is good, if it be of the right persons and things.

Mony Cristen men wonderyn whi prelatis chargen more bodily werk done on a lyȝt haliday, þen cursid pride, open blaspheme of God by fals swerynge, done on a Sonenday, wiþ glotony, leccherie, drunkennes, open marchaundyse, fals covetise, chydynge and feyȝttynge, ande wronge schedynge of mannys blode, wiþ usure and false extorsiouns. Men proposen not þo lewed pepul schulde be chargid wiþ moo halidayes, ne wiþ alle þese, but for to schewe þat muche of þis halowynge gose aftur luste and accepting of persones, and nouþer aftur resoun ne charite. For if þo pepul, laboreris, halowiden wele þo Sonendayes, and kepte hem upon þer myȝt fro open synnes,

[a] According to their dignity, and the degree in which they are permitted to displace variable feasts, the festivals of saints, in the modern Roman ritual, are rated as, greater-double, double of first class, double of second class, and semi-double.

[b] The description must be intended for St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was for many years the king's chancellor, and led a worldly life before he was made archbishop.

doynge treuth and charite, hit were ynowȝe þof þai hadden no moo gnaris.

POINT XXI.

21. That it is wrong to paint or carve representations of the Trinity.

Also bischopis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat þo holy Trinite in no manere schulde be worschipid, fygurid, fourmed, ne payntid, in þat fourme by whiche comynly it is peyntid by alle þo Chirche of God.

Here Cristen men supposen þat þese prelatis menyn of þis þinge, where a þinge is payntud as if þo Fadir of heven were an olde hore man, þo secunde persoun a man crucified, þo þrid persone a white culvyr. Of þis paynting men supposen, þat hit bringus symple men of cunnynge into grete erroure, ffor by þis þo Fadir moote be eldur þen þo Son if þis payntynge be trewe, and þai paynten þo Trinite, þat is spirite and no creature. Þai make þo godhede of þo Trinite a man, and þat þo secunde persone by his godhede is man, and whenever þo Trinite was, þo secunde persone was man. God kepe men fro þis foule heresie! By þis payntynge þo Holy Goste is not like to God þo Fadur, ne to God þo Son, whiche erroure be fer fro Cristen mennys soulys. Ne men supposen þat alle Cristen chirchis have þis payntynge, as þese prelatis and freris seyne. Ffor in heven, þat is chefe Chirche, is not þis payntynge; and, in case, mony Cristen chirchis wolen nout receyve hit; þerfore hit is none heresie, þow þis ymages be lefte, siþen God expressely commaundis in holy writte, Þou schalt nout make to þe a graven ymage, þat is of þo godhede, ne eche lickenes in heven aboven and þat is in erthe bynethe, ne of þoo þingis þat bene in watur under erthe, ne þou schalt worschip hem in erthe. Þis commaundement is ever in stryngthe, ande if prestis sufferyn and counforten þo peple for to worschip fals ymagis for wynnynge of offerynge, þai bene cursud heretikis. And if þai enfourmen not þo peple, þat þai offer not to þer pore neygheburis made to þo ymage and liknes of þo holy Trinite, but by blynde devocion drawen þer lyvelode away for þer wynnynge, þai ben cursud monquellers, and worschipen false goddis. If þai techen in worde or dede, þat hit is better and more plesus to God for to offer to dede stockys or stonys þen to pore men, þat God com-

maundis up payne of dampnacione, þai techen open heresie. If þai sayne in worde, þat hit is beste a man to do after his owne devocioun, þai sayne aȝeyne Crist and faylen foule in charite; for þai schulden preche openly þat it is beste þat iche man conformе his wille to Gods heste and counsaile, raþer þen after blynde devocioun, þat God never bad ne counseylid þerto. Þerfore Cristen men schulden honoure þo Trinite in verrey bileve wiþouten erroure, ande holy lyvynge wiþouten ypocrisie, and brennyng charite to frende ande enmye wiþouten cessyng, ever encresynge þerinne, ande worschippynge ande helpynge pore men made to Goddis ymage ande lickenys, wiþouten meyntenynge of nedeles beggars, þat stelen þo lyvelode of verrey nedy men and bedraden. And þis is ynowȝe to come to heven, wiþouten novelrie of covetous prestis and crafty payntouris, þat crien more on grete Dyan þen on Gods hestis.

Acts xix. 28.

POINT XXII.

22. That a priest may not set his office to hire.

Also prelatis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat hit is not leefful to a preste for to sette to hire his bysynes of werkis.

Here is þo sothe sparid, for soþely a preste may lawefully hire his wrytynge, his travaile, of techynge, byndynge of bokis, and mony oþer honeste traveylis, as Seint Poule, worþi many þowsandus prestis, gat his lyvelode wiþ a ful symple crafte, as holy writte wittenessis. But to þo poynt. Men seyne playnly, þat a preste may leeffully take a resonable lyvelode of gode man, or mony wiþ one wille, so þat he do trewly his office ordeyned of God. And if worldly covenant-makyng make þat he wille not do his office wiþouten worldely sikernes and worldly plee, charite and resoun of almes acorden not þerto. Ffor þis is fulle symonye, more chargyng muk þen spirituale office of presthod. Lete prestis lif wele, þat þai be lyȝt of worldly men by holy ensaumple, and sithen þai bene Goddus aungelis, do þei þeire message, techynge þo gospel, and be þai devoute in prayeris, desirynge and sekynge grace þat þei mowne be þo folowers of Crist, and God will not faile hem in nede. If þai done not wele her offices þat God ordeyned, but lyven viciously, þai ben

Jewis and manquellers, and not prestus of God, þow þai bene demed of þo worlde boþe wise and holy; as Seint Jon Crisostome wittenessys by techynge taken of Cristis apostilis.

POINT XXIII.

23. That the non-residence of bishops and priests is inexcusable.

Also bischopis curatis and freris putten on pore men þat þai sayne, þat no persone ne vicare ne prelate is excusud fro personele residense to be made in þer beneficys, in dwellynge in servycis of byschopis, or of archebyschopis, or of þo pope.

Here Cristen men sayne, þat none suche curate schulde be absent fro his gostly childryn for worldly pompe, wombe joy, and worldely bysynes in þo bischopis courtis. Ffor hit is more synne to a byschope to robbe pore paryschens of þer gostly leche, and oþer spirituale helpe þat þo curate is bounden to, þan to a worldly lord. And þere comynly is more ravayne ande glotonye hauntid þen in lordis courtis; more symonye on one day þen in some lordis courte al his lyve. Ande cursidnes wiþouten noumber in oure knowynge is done þere under colour of holynes, þat is nout so colourid in many lordys courtis. Hit were lesse harme þat mony of suche curatis weren heerdis or laboreris, for þer symonye and oþer cursudnessis, þen þat þai barkyden in bischopus howsis for to encres more synne, so þat gode prestis diden wele curatis offices to þer paryschys.

Yet the Court of Rome sanctions and perpetuates the practice.

Certis in þo popis courte regnys þo same cause and more, ledynge of gold out of oure rewme, wiþ mayntenynge of false plees and debatis among Cristen men. Ande if ony of þese curatus were trewe aungelis of God, techynge and witnessynge openly to povert of Crist, aȝeyne worldlynes and extorsiones ande werrys of proude prestis, þai myȝtten sone be tongide out of court. But fro þo moste to þo leste alle studyen aboute covetyse, ande iche preste mayntenys oþer þerinne, til scharpe vengeaunce come upon hem alle. What pope or bischop prayes ony trewe preste for to dwell in his court, for prechyng of þo gospelle and werkis of penaunce or gostly occupacioun, but raþer for hunndaunce [a] and prosperite of worldly wynnyng.

[a] So I read the word in the MS.; there seems to be an error of the scribe, for which I cannot suggest a correction.

And ever more þo pepul is robbid of gostly fode, and helpe of almes, and ensaumple of holy lyife, ande gostly counfort of þer curate. Þerfore it is fer gretter synne for þo pope to mayntene þis robrye þen in a lowere man, al be hit þat it is dedely synne who ever do hit.

POINT XXIV.

24. That parish priests who do not perform their duty ought to be removed.

Also prelatis and proude curatis and freris putten to pore men þat þai seyne, þat parsouns ande vicaris, not seying masse, ne mynystrynge sacramentus of holy Chirche, bene worþi for to be removed, and oþer for to be ordeynde in her stede, ffor þai bene unworþi and wasters of þo Chirche godis.

Here Cristen men sayne, when þo curatis bene not excusud by sekenys, but lyven in jolite of þo worlde, ande nouþer prechen þo gospel, ne devoutely prayen wiþ clere conscience, ne bisyen hem not to lerne þo gospel to lif þeraftur, worldely occupacione schal not excuse hem fro thefte ande raveyne ande sleynge of mennys soulis bifore Criste, juste domes man, if þai amenden hem not by tyme, siþen holy writte [seys][1] þat he þat travailys not schal nout ete. Þes þat done not curatis office schulde not have frutis þat longen to þo office, nomely when þai bene stronge of body, and lyvyn in ydulnes of worldely vanite. Ande þowe suche unable curatis, contynuyng in þer defautis openly, were putte oute, and holy prestis ordeynde in þer stede, ȝyvynge ensaumple of holy lyfe, trewly prechynge þo gospel, and mekely visitynge þo pore paryschens, and helpynge þam at þer myȝt, hit were no grete heresie aȝeyne holy writte; but it is cursid heresie for to mayntene hem in cursid lyfe, for to robbe þo peple of gostly fode and office of curate, and ȝit to waste þer godis in lecherye, glotonye, and fals pride, ande vanite of þo worlde.

POINT XXV.

25. That churchmen should renounce wealth and luxury, and preach Christ in poverty.

Also bischopis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat men of þo Chirche schulden not ride on so stronge horsys, ne use so mony jewelis, ne precius cloþis, or delicate metys,

[1] supplied conjecturally.

but renounce alle þingus and ȝyve hem to pore men, goynge on fete, and takynge stavys in hondis, receyvyng þo state of pore men, in ȝyvyng ensaumple of holynes by þer conversacion.

Here Cristen men thynken no grete heresie, þowe worldly prelatis, in amendement of symonye, ydolatrie, and sleynge of mennys bodies and soulis, renounce alle vanitees and waste godis, and selle þer fatte horsis and alle þer waste jewelis and waste clothis, delynge hem to pore men, and stoppe a taxe of sex or seven fro þo pore comyns, and go mekely on þer fete, and preche trewly þo gospel, as Criste ande his apostilis diden. Ande þis myȝt wele be done, þof þai laften grete pikid stavys, wiþ daggers in þo ende, for we redyn not þat Criste and his apostilis usiden suche stavys, ne weppyns of debate. Ande þow þey crieden oute on pride and glotony, ydelnes and lecherye, and extorsions þat þai have done and mayntenyd in oþer men, and do grete penaunce and travaile al þer lyfe, and ȝyven ensaumple of grete mekenys, paciens, povert, and charite, as Jesus Crist did and hys apostilis, hit were no grete heresie. Ande if one trewe byschope or moo, if God wole, writen þer open heresies, of symonye, of hyndryng of þo kyngus regal ande seculere lordschip, ande all grete synnus by whiche þai blyndiden þo pepul, as holy writte dos of errour of Seint Petur and of alle þo apostylys, and of þo open heresie of Seint Poule, wiþ David, Maudeleyne, and mony moo, hit were no grete heresie, for to brenne pore prestis þerfore. If pore men erriden in ony of þes sentences, or ony oþer, þai wolden ful fayne be amendid of trew clerkis, wele lyvyng and wele lernyng in holy writte. For oþer worldely clerkus, blyndid wiþ covetise pride and envie, and wlappid in seculere office, as þai leden hem selfe to helle, so þai wolen make lesyngus to oþer men, flaterynge hem to regne in þer lustus, and seyne þat gode is yvel and yvel is god. Ffor þo wyse man sais, Into an yvel-willed soule wysedame schale not enter, ne dwelle in a body soget to synne. Wisd. i. 4.

Þerfore Cristen men willen knowlache holy writte and þo lyvynge of Criste for þer rewle, and wolen do aftur ony man in als myche as þai knowen sickerly þat he acordus þerwithe, and no ferþer, for lyfe ne dethe, wiþ grace and helpe of þo holy Trinite. Christian men will take Scripture for their sole rule.

God for his grate mercy distroye errouris and heresies of Anticristis chyrche, and make knowen þo treuþis of holy Chirche, and encrese riȝtwysenys, pes, and charite, and lyȝte þo hertes of lordus, to know and distroye þo heresies of þo Chirche, þat pride of prestis lese not þis worlde.

Amen. Explicit.

PART III.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

XXX.

[CONCERNING THE EUCHARIST.]

No. I.

[The following short piece exists nowhere but in Knyghton's [a] *Chronicle*, bk. v., col. 2650. His account of it is, that after having been cited by the Pope—Gregory XI—to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury and sundry learned doctors in the church of the Black Friars, London, Wyclif appeared there on the day appointed, renounced all his errors in order to escape death, and made the confession 'I knowleche,' &c. Now, Knyghton's narrative of these transactions, as will more clearly appear when we come to consider the longer declaration concerning the Eucharist (No. 2), is confused and inaccurate; and as Walden, who is in every way a more trustworthy guide, in his detailed narrative of these very transactions, says nothing about *this* confession, but *does* give a much longer confession in Latin, beginning 'Saepe confessus sum et adhuc confiteor' (*Fasciculi*, p. 115), the first part of which agrees in its general drift with the short piece we have before us, I am forced to adopt the conclusion that the short piece before us is merely an abstract in English of the longer Latin *Confessio*. It is difficult to imagine for what purpose such an abstract would have been made. It would not have proceeded from the Lollards, for their practice was to give to any documents or manifestos which they might be handling, not a more, but a less, 'uncertain sound;' instead of circulating as Wyclif's an English abstract of his *Confessio*, which was absolutely inoffensive to the hierarchy, they would have been more likely, in translating it, to exaggerate the divergence from received tenets which that paper presents. I can only conceive that some zealous and orthodox priest or friar, perhaps, like Knyghton himself, an inhabitant of Leicester, might have made this abstract of the contents of the celebrated *Confessio*, (for that it was celebrated, the number of answers which it called forth, and which are found in the *Fasciculi*, demonstrates,) in order that, being shown about to the illiterate laity, it might convince them that Wyclif had been obliged or induced to abandon his novel views on the Eucharist. It would take too much space to quote passages from the *Confessio* confirmatory of the opinon given above; nor is it necessary, as the *Fasciculi* is a book

[a] On the question of the genuineness of Knyghton's Fifth Book, see Appendix.

generally accessible; but I think that a careful consideration of the two documents in connection with each other would induce most critics to take the same view.

The *Confessio* was written in the early summer of 1381 (*Fasciculi*, p. 115, note 1), William Barton being then Chancellor (Wood's *History and Antiquities of Oxford University*).

The text given here is not taken from the printed edition of Knyghton in the *Decem Scriptores*, but from the MSS. in the British Museum (Tiberius C. VII. and Claudius E. III.) from which Twysden originally printed the *Chronicle*.]

I KNOWLECHE þat þe sacrament of þe auter is verrey Goddus body in fourme of brede; but it is in anoþer maner Godus body þan it is in hevene. For in hevene it is sene fote[a] in fourme and figure of flesshe and blode. But in þe sacrament Goddus body is be myracle of God in fourme of brede, and is he nouþer of seven fote, ne in mannes figure. But as a man leeves for to þenk þe kynde of an ymage, wheþer it be of oke or of asshe, and settys his þouȝt in him of whom is þe ymage, so myche more schuld a man leve to þenk on þe kynde of brede, but þenk upon Crist; for his body is þe same brede þat is þe Sacrament of þe Autere; and wiþ alle clennes, alle devocion, and alle charite þat God wolde gif him, worschippe he Crist, and þan he receyves God gostly more medefully þan þe prist þat syngus the masse in lesse charite. Ffor þe bodely etyng ne profites nouth to soule, but in als mykul as þe soule is fedde with charite. Þis sentence is provyde be Crist þat may nouȝt lye. For, as þe gospel says, Crist, þat nyght þat he was betrayede of Judas Scarioth, he tok brede in hise hondes, and blesside it, brak it, and gaf it to hise disciplis to ete. Ffor he says and may not lye, Þis is my body.

[a] The use of this singular phrase, which, so far as I know, occurs nowhere else, appears to me to show clearly the connection between this piece and the Latin *Confessio*, which I have tried to establish in the prefatory notice. In the latter, the terms 'septipedalis' and 'septipedalitas' occur several times, apparently in the same sense as that which we now give to the words 'extended' and 'extension,' used as philosophical terms. This usage appears to have grown out of the belief mentioned by Dr. Shirley (*Fasciculi*, p. 558) that the place in the Holy Sepulchre where Christ's body was laid was seven feet long. The substitution of 'extended' for 'sene foot' or 'seven foot' would, I think, convey the precise meaning of the writer.

XXXI.

[CONCERNING THE EUCHARIST.]

No. II.

[Besides being given by Knyghton, the profession of faith which follows is found in one independent MS., Bodl. 647, with 'Johannes Wycliff' as a heading to it. It is also included in Bale's *Catalogue*.

The account which Knyghton gives of the circumstances under which this profession was made, seems at first sight to be straightforward enough, but when pressed, turns out to be a mass of inconsistencies. After entering in his *Chronicle* the short confession 'I knowleche,' &c. (see prefatory notice to No. 1), Knyghton gives, without a break, a copy of the twenty-four conclusions condemned as heretical or erroneous in the Council of May 1382. Archbishop Courtney, he proceeds to say, after examining these conclusions, appointed a day on which Wyclif was to appear before himself and six other bishops at Oxford, so that the business might be settled. He adds that on the day named Wyclif appeared, and gave in the statement 'We beleve as Crist,' &c., namely, this tract which follows; after which the archbishop considered the conclusions in Council, and condemned them. Now this last statement plainly refers to the proceedings of the Council of London, which took place therefore, according to Knyghton, *after* Wyclif had given in the statement in question. And yet the statement itself, speaking of 'þis counseil of freres at Londoun wiþ erþe-dyn,' affords decisive evidence that it was written after the Council had sat.

Knyghton's narrative, therefore, cannot be relied upon to establish the sequence of events; and all that we can say as to the date of the piece is, that it must have been written between June 1382 and Wyclif's death in 1384. The difference in tone between it and the short confession 'I knowleche,' is very marked; in that scarcely a trace of heterodoxy can be detected; in this, consubstantiation is broadly asserted.

The text is based on Bodl. 647, collated with the MSS. of Knyghton's *Chronicle* before referred to, namely, Tiberius C. VII. and Claudius E. III.]

JOHANNES WYCLIFF.

The Eucharistic bread is at the same time the true body of Christ and true bread.

I BILEVE[1], as Crist and his apostels have tauȝt us, þat þo sacrament of þo auter, whyte and rounde, and like to oþer bred, or oost sacred[2], is verrey Gods body in fourme of bred; and þof hit be broken in thre partyes, as þo Kirke uses, or elles in a thousande, evere ilk one of þese parties is þo same Gods body. And right as þo persoun of Crist is verrey God and mon — verrey godhed and verrey monhed — right so holy Kirke, mony hundred winters, haves trowed þo same sacrament is verrey Gods body and verrey bred, as hit is fourme of Gods body and fourme of bred, as teches Crist, and his apostels. And þerfore Seint Poul nemmes hit nevere, bot when he calles hit bred; and he by oure bileve toke in þis his witte of God. And þo argumentis[3] of heretikes ageyns þis sentense are light for to assoyle to a Cristen mon[4]. And right as hit is heresye *to trowe þat Crist is a spiryt and no body, so hit is heresye*[5] to trowe þat þis sacrament is Gods body and no bred; for hit is bothe togedir.

It is the worst heresy to believe that the sacrament is accident without subject.

Bot þo moste heresye þat God suffred cum[6] to his Chirche, is to trowe þat þis sacrament is accydent wiþouten subgett[7]; and may on no wyse be Gods body[8]. And if þou sey, by his[9] skil holy Kirke hafs ben in erroure mony hundred wynters, for Crist seis, by wittenesse of Jerome, þat þis bred is my body, soth hit is, specialy sithen þo fende was loused, þat was, by wittenesse of þo aungel to Jon þo Evangeliste, aftir a þousande wynters þat Crist was styed[10] to heven. Bot hit is to suppose þat mony seyntis, þat dyed in þo meene tyme, bifore hor deth were purged of þis errour. Ow! how gret diversyte is bytwene us þat trowen þat þis sacrament is verrey bred in his kynde, and bytwene heretikes þat tellen þat hit is an accydent wiþouten

[1] *We beleve*, HH. [2] *and lyke tyl oure brede or ost unsacrede*, HH. [3] *argument*, HH. [4] *lyth to a Cristene man for to assolve*, HH. [5] HH and H omit the words between asterisks. [6] *come*, HH. [7] *accident wiþ a substans*, HH. [8] Here HH and H insert the following sentence; *For Crist sayde, be witnesse of Johan, þat þis brede is my body.* The words *For Crist* occur also in W, but are scored through. [9] *þis*, HH; *this*, H. [10] *stevenyde*, HH.

sugett! For bifore þat þo fende, fadir of leesynges, was loused, was nevere þis gabbynge contreved[1]. And how gret diversite is bitwene us þat trowen þat þis sacrament in his kynde is verrey bred, and sacramentaly Gods body, and bytwene heretikes þat trowen and tellen þat þis sacrament may on no wyse be Gods body! For I dar surely sey, þat if þis were sothe, Crist and his seyntis dyed heretikes, and þo more partye of holy Kirke byleved[2] nowe heresye. And herfore devoute men supposen þat þis counseil of freris at[3] Londoun was wiþ erthe dyn[4]. For þei putt an heresye upon Crist and seyntis in heven; wherfore þo erthe trembled, faylande monnis voice answerande[5] for God, as hit did in tyme of his passioun, when he was dampned to bodily deth[a]. Matt. xxvii. 51.

Crist and his modir, þat in grounde have destryed alle heresies, kepe his Kirke in right byleve of þis sacrament. And move we[6] kyng and his reume to aske scharply of clerkes[7] þis office; þat alle possessioners, on peyne of leesynge of alle hor temporaltees, telle þo kyng and his rewme, wiþ sufficiaunt groundynge, what is þis sacrament; and alle þo ordiris of freris, in peyne of lesynge of alle hor legeaunce, telle þo kynge and his reume wiþ gode groundynge what is þis[8] sacrament. Ffor I am certen, for[9] þo thridde part of clergye þat deffendes þis sentence[10] þat is here seyde, þat þai wil deffende hit on peyne of losyng of hor lyve[11]. Amen[12]. Let the king demand of all the clergy what is their belief herein.

[1] *contryvede*, HH. [2] *belevyth*, HH. [3] *and*, HH. [4] *bery dene*, HH. [5] *ansueride*, HH. [6] *þe*, HH. [7] *his clerkus*, HH. [8] *þe*, HH. [9] *of*, HH. [10] *þise doutes*, HH; *thyse dowtes*, II. [11] *on payne of her lyf*, HH. [12] om. HH, II.

[a] As printed by Lewis and Dr. Vaughan, this passage makes mere nonsense; but if they had consulted the MSS. all difficulty would have vanished. Men think, says Wyclif, that it was for this reason that the late council in London was signalized by an earthquake, namely, because its members put a heresy upon Crist; the earth itself, in the absence of a protesting human voice, answering for God. Dr. Vaughan, in the attempt to amend Lewis' version, makes matters worse; he boldly writes, 'In truth, landman's voice answered for God.' (*Tracts and Treatises of Wyclyffe*, p. 302.)

XXXII.

[LETTER TO POPE URBAN.]

[There can be little doubt that the original of this letter was written in Latin, in the form preserved by Walden in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 341, and to be seen in a number of MSS. now at Vienna. The English version, as preserved in two MSS. (one at the Bodleian, the other at New College), is a heightened and amplified composition; probably it was prepared by Wyclif's followers chiefly with a view to home consumption. The differences between the two versions are indicated in the notes.

Of the authenticity of the letter there can be no doubt. Walden, in the *Fasciculi*, introduces it with the heading, 'Copia cujusdam literae magistri Johannis Wyclyff missae Papae Urbano VI. ad excusationem de non veniendo sibi ad citationem suam, A.D. MCCCLXXXIV.' It was written therefore in 1384, the last year of Wyclif's life, when he was affected by paralysis, and incapable of making the long journey to which the Pope invited him.

The text is founded on the Bodleian (647), collated with the New College MS. (W and Q in this edition). The latter I believe to be a copy of the former, so far at least as this letter is concerned.]

I HAVE joy fully to telle to alle treue men þo bileve þat I holde, and algatis to þo pope; for I suppose þat if my fayth be riȝtful and gyven of God, þo pope wil gladly[1] conferme hit; and if my fayth be errour, þo pope wil wisely amende hit.

I suppose over þis, þat þo gospel of Crist be hert of þo corps of Gods lawe[2]; ffor I byleve þat Jesus Crist, þat gaf in his owne persoun þis gospel, is verrey God and verrey mon, and be þis hert[3] passes alle oþer lawes.

I suppose over þis þat þo pope be moste oblischid to þo keping of þo gospel among alle men þat lyven here; for þo

[1] om. Q. [2] *be herte of Goddis lawe*, Q. [3] om. Q.

pope is hyeste vicar þat Crist has here in erthe. Ffor morenesse of Cristis vicar is not mesurid by worldly morenesse, bot bi þis, þat þis vicar sues more Crist by virtuous lyvyng[1]; for þus techis þo gospel, þat þis is þo sentence of Crist.

And of þis gospel I take as byleve, þat Crist, for tyme þat he walkid here, was moste pore mon of alle, boþe in spirit and in havyng; for Crist seis þat he had noȝt for to reste his hed on. And Poule seis þat he was made nedy for our love[a]. And more pore myȝt no mon be, nouþer bodily ne in spirit. And þus Crist putte fro hym al maner of worldly lordschip. Ffor þo gospel of Jon telliþ þat when þei wold have made Crist kyng, he fled and hid hym fro hem, for he wold non such worldly hynesse.

Matt. viii. 20.
2 Cor. viii. 9.

And over þis I take as byleve, þat no mon schuld sue þo pope, ne no[2] seynt þat now is in heven, bot in als myche as he sues Crist. For Jon and James errid when þei coveytid worldly hynesse; and Petir and Poule synned also when þei denyed and blasphemed in Crist; bot men schuld not sue hom in þis, for þen þei wente fro Jesus Crist[b]. Off[3] þis I take as hoolsome counseil, þat þo pope leeve his worldly lordschip to worldly lordis, as Crist gaf hom,—and move spedely alle his clerkis to do so. For þus did Crist, and tauȝt þus his disciplis, til þo fende had blyndid þis world. And hit semes to sum men, þat clerkis þat dwellen lastandly in þis error ageyns Gods lawe, and flees to sue Crist in þis, ben open heretikes, and hor fautours ben partyneris[c].

And if I erre in þis sentense, I wil mekely be amendid, ȝhe, by þo deth, if hit be skilful, for þat I hope were gude to me. And if I myȝt travel in myn owne persoun, I wold wiþ gode

[1] *in vertuous lif*, Q. [2] *any*, Q. [3] *And*, Q.

[a] In Walden's Latin version only the references to these texts are given. The two sentences which follow are not in Walden; probably they were inserted by the disciple who translated the letter. They are also omitted both by Lewis and Dr. Vaughan, although they are found in both the extant copies of the English version.

[b] Lewis, who is followed by Dr. Vaughan, cuts down this long sentence to —'for James and John errid, and Peter and Powl sinned.'

[c] This sentence is not in the Latin; it is also omitted by Lewis and Dr. Vaughan.

wille go to þo pope. Bot God[1] has nedid me to þo contrarye, and tauȝt me more obeche to God þen to mon[a]. And I suppose of oure pope þat he wil not be Anticrist, and reversen Crist in þis wirkynge, to þo contrarie of Cristis wille; for if he summone ageyns resoun, by him or by any of his, and pursue þis unskilful summonyng, he is an open Anticrist. And merciful entent excusid not Peter, þat ne Crist cleped hym Sathanas; so blynde entent and wicked counseil excuses not þo pope here; bot if he aske of trew prestis þat þei travel more þan þei may, he is not excusid by resoun of God þat ne he is Anticrist. For oure byleve techis us, þat oure blessid God suffris us not to be temptid more þan we may; how schulde a mon aske such servyce? And þerfore preye we to God for oure pope Urban þo sex[2], þat his olde holy entent be not quenchid by his enemyes. And Crist þat may not lye seis, þat þo enemyes of a mon ben specialy his homely meyneȝ; and þis is soth of men and fendis.

[1] supplied from Q; om. W. [2] *sixte*, Q.

[a] From this point to the end the English version bears only a distant resemblance to the Latin.

XXXIII.

[A PETITION TO THE KING AND PARLIAMENT.]

[Although Lewis in his *Life of Wyclif*, and Dr. Milman, following Lewis, have unhesitatingly assigned the following petition to Wyclif, and assumed as a fact that it was addressed to the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 6th of May, 1382, and although I am far from disputing either conclusion, yet it is necessary to show that the evidence on which they relied is extremely slight. For the authorship we have no other authority than that of Bale, who includes the piece in his *Catalogue*. Dr. Milman writes as if the articles of this petition were mentioned by Walsingham among the opinions which he states Wyclif to have laid before this Parliament, in which case we should have had the authority of Walsingham for ascribing them to Wyclif; but this is not the case,—although, by mixing up these articles with the opinions which Walsingham *does* ascribe to Wyclif, Dr. Milman (*Latin Christ.* viii. 192) makes it appear so. Only one of the opinions, the sixth, named in Walsingham's schedule (Rolls edition, II. 51) bears any resemblance to any of the four articles of the petition. However, among the 'Conclusiones Johannis Wycliffe,' which William Swinderby, one of Wyclif's followers, preached, according to Walsingham, at Leicester on the Palm Sunday and Good Friday of 1382, all the four articles, expressed in somewhat different language, may be found. It seems highly probable therefore that Wyclif did address such a petition to this Parliament; for, (1) he did not broach his sacramental doctrine, which is the subject of the fourth article, *before* 1381; (2) it is not likely that he would have presented his petition at the short session of the Parliament which met in November, 1381, and which was completely engrossed with the recently quelled rebellion; (3) *after* the Council of London (begun May 19, 1382) had sat, he would hardly have thought it worth while or prudent to urge upon Parliament the adoption of tenets which that Council had formally condemned.

Owing to an extraordinary blunder of the scribe who wrote the Corpus MS. (X), this petition, though twice before printed, has never yet appeared

in its genuine shape. How it occurred, it is now impossible to say; but the fact is certain, and may be verified by any one who carefully examines the MS., that the scribe has tacked on the conclusion of the tract *Of feyned contemplatif lyf*, &c. (Shirley, No. 26) to this petition, and transferred the genuine ending of the petition to the end of the tract. The MS. itself affords not the faintest trace of any consciousness on the part of the scribe that by this odd transposition he was making utter nonsense. The two passages where the breaks occur run as follows; I have indicated the place of each error by an obelus:—

'Lord! where þes worldly prestis wisere þan † distried. Þe false feiþ tauȝte of Antecrist and of his false cursede disciplis is þis, þat þe sacrament þat men seen wiþ bodely eiȝe,' &c. *Of feyned contemplatif lif*, p. 170 of MS.

'Þe fourþe article is þis; þat Cristis techinge and bileve of þe sacrament of his owne body . . . . . may be tauȝt openly in chirchis to Cristen puple, and þe contrarie techinge and fals bileve, brouȝt up by cursed ypocritis and heretikis and worldly prestis, unkunnynge in Goddis lawe † ben alle þe apostlis of Crist: it semeþ þat þei ben, or ellis fooles. Also Crist wolde not take þe kyngdom,' &c. *Complainte to King and Parliament*, p. 297 of MS.

Dr. James, however, in his edition of the *Complainte* published in 1608, 'skimmed o'er the ulcerous place' by taking liberties with the text; he makes it run thus: 'the contrarie teaching and false beleve *is* brought up by cursed hypocrits . . . . . unkunning in Gods law, *which seeme that they are apostles of Crist, but are fools.*' In Dr. James, writing in 1608, this might be pardonable; but it is difficult to understand how Dr. Vaughan, though he must have felt the utter incongruity of the last part of the fourth article with the commencement, could reprint Dr. James' text without thinking it necessary to consult the original MS. The error is so plain, that I have here restored the text to what there can be no doubt was its original state, by transferring the concluding portion of the tract *Of Feyned contemplatif lyf* to its proper place in the fourth article of the petition.

The text is founded on the copy contained in the Corpus volume so often referred to. There is another MS. at Dublin (C. III. 12), but it breaks off imperfect just at the place where the erroneous transposition occurs.]

A petition to the King and Parliament to accept and maintain certain articles:

Plese it to oure most noble and most worþi King Richard, kyng boþe of Englond and of Fraunce, and to þe noble Duk of Lancastre, and to oþere grete men of þe rewme, boþe to seculers and men of holi Chirche, þat ben gaderid in þe Parlement, to here, assent, and meyntene þe fewe articlis or poyntis þat ben seet wiþinne þis writing, and proved boþe by auctorite and resoun; þat Cristen feiþ and Cristene religioun ben encreessed, meyntened, and made stable, siþ oure Lord Jesus

Crist, verrey God and verray man, is heed and prelat of þis religioun, and shedde his precious herte blood and water out of his side on þe cros, to make þis religioun perfit and stable and clene, wiþoute errour.

1. That all members of religious orders may be allowed freely to leave them

Þe ffirste article is þis; þat alle persones of what kynne privat sectis, or singuler religioun, maad of sinful men, may freely, wiþouten eny lettinge or bodili peyne, leve þat privat reule or neue religioun founden of sinful men, and stably holde þe reule of Jesus Crist, taken and ȝoven by Crist to his apostelis, as far more perfit þan any sich newe religioun founden of sinful men.

Þe resoun of þis axinge is shewyd þus[1]. Þe reule of Jesus Crist ȝoven to apostlis, and kept of hem aftir Cristis ascencioun, is most perfit to be kept for staat of lyvinge in þis world; and eche reule of what kynne privat secte, or singuler religioun maad of sinneful men, is lesse perfit þan þe reule ȝoven of Crist of his endeles wisdom, and his endeles charitee to mankinde. Þerfore it is leveful to eche man or persone of þis singuler religioun and professioun to leve it, cleve faste to þe reule of Jesus Crist as more perfit. Þis resoun is pleyn to eche man of wit and discrecioun, and nameli to clerkes; siþ men of þe popes lawe witnesseþ pleynly, þat a man may lawfully, ȝee, aȝenst his soverains wille, go fro þe lasse perfit religioun to þe more perfit. Whi þanne may not a man of privat religioun forsake þat, and take Cristis clene religioun, wiþouten error of any sinful fool, as most perfit? And þat Cristis reule, in his owne clennesse and fredom, is most perfit, is shewid by þis skile. Ffor in as muche as a patron or a foundour is more perfit, more myȝty, and more witty, and more holy, and in more charite, þan is annoþer patroun or foundour, in so muche is þe firste patrouns reule betere and more perfit, þan is þe secounde patrones reule. But Jesus Crist, patroun of Cristene religioun ȝoven to apostelis, passeþ wiþouten mesure, in myȝtt, witt, and good wille, or charitee, þe perfeccioun of everi patroun of eny privat secte or singuler; þerfore his reule is most perfit.

and adhere to the rule and order of Christ,

Also, þat Cristis clene religioun, wiþoute cloutynge of sinfulle mennis errours, is mot perfit of alle, is schewyd by þis skille.

which are perfect, and exclude all others;

[1] *þis þus*, X.

Ffor oþere Crist myȝte ȝeve sich a reule most perfit for þis lif to be kept, and wolde not, and þanne he was envyous (as St. Austyn proveþ in oþere materes); or ellis Crist wolde ordeyne sich a reule and miȝte not, and þanne Crist was unmyȝty,—but it is heresie to afferme þat on Crist;—or ellis Crist miȝte and couþe, and wolde not[a], and þanne he was unwitty,—but þat is heresie no man shulde suffre to here. Þerfore[1] Crist boþe miȝte, and coude, and wolde ordeyne sich a reule most perfit, þat owt to be kept for staat of þis lif. And so Crist of his endeles wysdome and charite ordeynede siche a reule. And so on eche side men ben needid, up peyne of heresie and blasphemye, and of dampnynge in helle, to beleve and knowlech, þat here religioun of Jesus Crist [ȝoven][2] to apostilis, and kept of hem, in his owne fredom, wiþoute cloutinge of sinneful mennis errour, is most perfit of alle; and so to lette no man to forsake privat religioun, and kepe Cristis clene religioun, wiþoute newe wronge tradiciouns of synneful men, þat ofte erreden in her owne lif and techinge.

Also Crist, in makynge þe reule and ordre of apostils, was in þis tyme, and hevere bifore and evere aftir, al myȝty, al witty, and al ful of good wille and charite, to make perfit reule; þerfore he made not oonly a perfyt reule, but most perfit of alle. But eche patroun of privat reule was unmyȝtie and lettid, boþe in ȝiftis of kynde and grace, and not al wytty, but in comparisoun of Crist an[3] ydiot or fool, and not so well willinge to make so good and perfit as Crist. Þerfore he made a reule lesse good and lesse perfit; and herof it sueþ pleynly þat Cristis clene religioun is most perfit of alle.

and having been followed by the apostles ought to have been followed in the Church ever since;

Also apostiles and here folewers, kepinge þe reule ȝoven to hem of Crist, wonne most merit and þank of God in þis kepinge bifore alle oþere tymes. Þerfore ȝif alle Cristene men, boþe in old tyme and newe, hadden kept þe same reule of Crist in his owne clennesse and fredom, [þei][4] shulde have discerved most þank of God in degre possible to hem. Þerfore no newe secte

[1] *þat þerfore*, X. [2] supplied conjecturally. [3] corrected; *and* in MS. [4] supplied conjecturally.

[a] evidently it should be, 'miȝte and wolde, and couþe not.'

of religioun, straunge fro Cristis secte, shulde have begunne, but þat þat was first shulde have be kept in his clennesse, of siche newe finders up of novelries and patrouns. Also hit were now as good, and of as muche merit, to kepe þe reule of Jesus Crist, as it was at þe begynnynge; siþ Cristis reule is ynowȝ, and able for alle men on lyve, of whatevere complexioun or ag· þei ben of. But þis reule was kept of Jesus Crist and his apostilis, and here beste seweres, by fyve hundred ȝeer aftir his ascencioun, wiþouten eny finding of any siche newe plauntynge or religioun; in whiche time holi Chirch encressede and profitede most, ffor þanne almost alle men disposeden hem to martirdom at ensaumple of Crist. Þerfore it were now nott oonli meritorie or medful, butt moost medeful to þe Chirche, to lyve so, in alle þinggis and by alle þinggis.

nor is the Pope at liberty to dispense with them.

Also, boþe monks and chanouns forsaken þe reules of Benet and Austyn, and taken wiþouten eny dispensacioun þe reule of freres, as most perfit. But þe reule of apostelis is utterly and algatis most perfit. Þerfore men may forsake privat reules in religioun, maad of sinful men, and take þe clene religioun of apostelis, þat ys preched wiþ fredom of þe gospel, wiþoute dispensacioun of worldly clerkes, þat in caas [are][1] queke develes, as Crist Judas Scariot[2]. Also, þe pope may dispence wiþ þe reule of ech privat secte or religioun, and haþ dispensed and ȝitt doþ, but he may not dispense wiþ Cristis reule ȝoven to apostlis; þerfore þe reule of Crist ordeyned to apostlis is more perfit þan any reule of privat religioun, and most perfit of alle. And herof it sueþ openly þat men may lawefully forsake privat religioun, and kepe Cristis religioun in his clennesse, siþ it is most perfit, moost esy, and liȝt for to kepe, and most siker to bringe men to hevene, and to heiest degre of blisse.

If the friars' life be more perfect, why do they take offices which oblige them to mix with the world?

And ȝif oure adversaries of þis privat religioun stryve algatis, þat here reules ben more perfit þan þe reule of aposteles, whi þanne so manie persones, as who so saiþ, wiþoute noumbre? Of ech sich privat secte, by licence of þe pope, ben maad, some chapeleyns of houshold, summe chapeleyns of honour, summe bisshopis dowid wiþ seculer lordshipes, summe bisshopis among

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[2] text corrupt; omit *Crist*.

heþene men, and dore not come to her children. But [what][1] professioun a frere be of, anon, ȝif he be chosen þerto, he acceptiþ þe office of þe pope or cardinal, of patriark, of erchebisshop, of bisshop, and forsakiþ his owne staat. Siþ Crist saiþ in þe gospel, þat no man puttinge his hond to þe plouȝ, and lokynge bacward, is worþy to have þe kyngdom of God,—þat is, no man takyng perfit staat of poverte and mekenesse and penaunce, is able to be saved ȝif he turne aȝen to wordly lif, pompe and pride and covetise, and ese of body, and slouþe, and riot, and gay cloþinge and costy,—þerfore þei chaungen not þe more perfit for þe lesse perfit, for þan þei were apostatas, but þei purchasen þe more perfit for þe lasse perfit. Þerfore þe clene religioun and reule of presthod, by forme of þe gospel, is more perfyt þan any reule or religioun maad of sinful men. Also, noþing þat is abhominable and reproved of seyntis shulde not[2] be brouȝt in of oþere, by ony colour or cauteel. But þes newe sectes ben siche, þat ben of flessh, as Saint Poul saiþ in his pistel. Þerfore siche sectis shulde not be brouȝt in, to charginge of þe Chirche, but alle Cristen men shulde caste awey, and holde faste þe unite, fredom, and clennesse of þe reule of Jesus Crist.

1 Cor. iii. 3.

Paraventure þes ypocrites sayen, to exclude alle þes resouns and manie mo, þat þe reule to which þei make professioun is not straunge, ne diverse fro þe reule of apostilis þat Crist ordeynede, but it is utterly þe same, and non oþer. But þe contrarie of þis excusing is opinly shewyd bi foure þe laste resouns bifore said. Ffor ȝif þes newe reules weren alle on wiþ Cristis reule ȝoven to apostilis, [he][3] shulde have taught hem [boþe][4] and ensaumpled, boþe in his lif and spekinge and writing, wiþ sermons and ritis and customes þerof; but dide not þis, neiþer in his lif, in his deþ, ne aftir his resurreccioun, ne to his ascencioun. And ȝif þis excusinge were soþ, þe sectis of ffreres shulde not have begonnen aboute a þousand and tweyn hundrid ȝeer of Crist, siþ þei were bifore þe tyme, ȝe, as sone as þe reule of apostles. But þe contrarie is opin in croniclis. Hit sueþ also of þe same þat Cristis apostlis hadden boþe monkes, chanouns, and freris, ȝif men taken monkes chanouns and freris

[1] supplied to complete the sense. [2] dele *not*. [3] supplied conjecturally. [4] dele *boþe*.

for men þat professen sich privat sectes; but þis is opinli fals. Also, Cristis reule ȝoven to apostilis is lich and of o forme, to alle men þat maken professioun þerto, to speke of substaunce of þe reule. But reules of þes privat sectes beþ ful dyverse and contrarie, as to substaunce of þes reules; siþ summe of hem receyven dymes and dotaciouns, as don þes possessioners, but some forsaken alle siche tyþes and possessiouns, as freres mendinauntis.

If the rules of Orders are consistent with Christ's rule, they are superfluous; if inconsistent, pernicious.

But, to discende doun in specialte, fful mane articlis of reulis of siche sectes ben openly contrarie to þe apostlis reule; siþ it is leveful to eche trewe man of Cristene religioun to converte a man of wrong feiþ to Cristene, but þis is forboden in þe reule of frere menours; siþ oonly feiþ[1] to ministres, and non oþere, is licence grauntid to resceyve freris to here privat sectis, notwiþstondinge þat everemore freris don þe contrarie. And Crist receyvede penyes, but þei shulden not by here owene reule resceyve penyes, neiþer by hemself ne by mene persone. Also Crist, prechinge þe gospel, entrid into places boþe of wommen and men, as þe gospel of Luk telleþ. But [it][2] is forboden to freris to entren into abbeyes of wommen; but freris glosen þes reules to þe contrarie; but Fraunceis here foundour comaundid hem in article of his deþ þat þei shulde not resceyve gloses upon his reule. Also, ȝif Cristis reule, ȝoven to apostelis, and þe reule of privat sectis weren al on, wiþouten resoun men leven þe ffirste and professeden þe toþer, but ȝif it were to shewe here ypocrisie. Also, ȝif þis feynynge be soþ, it semeþ þat it is as perfit and medeful to kepen Cristis reule [as þe reule][3] of Ffraunceis or Dominik, or eny sich oþere man. Also, ȝif þes reules ben alle on, and in noþing diverse, þanne siche a reule shulde not be clepid reule of Fraunceis ne Dominik, ne ony sich oþere, but reule of Crist; for so it shulde be of more auctorite and more comendid[a]. And so þe gospel oweþ to be kept,

[1] dele *feiþ*. [2] supplied. [3] The scribe must have omitted these words, which are necessary to complete the sense.

[a] The reasoning here reminds one of the famous dilemma of the Caliph Omar, when consulted as to the preservation of the Alexandrian library. 'If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed.'—Gibbon, ch. li.

wiþouten ony foulinge, of alle Cristene men, wiþouten sich novelries, and putte no þing þerto and drawe no þing þerfro; and if þis þing were don, sich privat sectes shulde be superflue and waste, as flies lyvinge in þe eyr. And it was non nede þat Ffraunceis, Dominik, or eny sich oþer newe man bysiede him aboute makyng of þis reule of apostelis, þat freris feynen to be hern; ffor þat reule was maad of Crist, God and man, and kept of apostlis, and confermed by þe Holy Gost, and atte þe fulle declared by a þousand ȝeer and two hundrid bifore Ffraunceis, Dominik, or anye frere of such privat sect, were in to þis world.

2. That those are in error who dispute the king's right to deal with Church temporalities.

Þe secounde poynt or article ys þis; þat þo men þat unresonably and wrongfully han dampned [þe kyng][1] and al his counsail, be amendid of so gret errour, and þat here errour may be publisshid to men dwellinge in þe reume.

Þe resoun of þis axinge ys shewyd þus. Noþing oweþ to be dampned as errour and fals, but ȝif it savour errour or unriȝtwisnesse aȝens Goddis lawe. But neiþer þe kyng ne his counsayl deede unriȝtfully, for as muche as he took awey þe possessiouns of summe prelatis þat trespaceden, whoos contrarie freres han determined opinly. Þerfore resonably men shulden assente to þis axing. Ffor summe freris writen þus in Coventre [a], among articlis þat þei dampneden as heresye and error, þat it is errour to saye þat seculer lordis may levefully and medefully taken awey temporal goodis, ȝoven to men of þe Chirche [b]. But siþ oure kyng haþ don so, and oþere kynges his predecessoures han don so manie tymes, by laweful cause, as perteynynge to here regalie, and of comun lawe, by counsail of pieres of þe rewme, it sueþ þat not oonly oure kyng now present haþ errid, but also his predecessours, and generally al his counseillores, as lords and prelatis, and alle men of þe Parlement counceilinge þerto.

[1] supplied conjecturally.

[a] As Coventry was the native place of John Ball, one of the ringleaders in the insurrection of 1381, the friars there would be likely to take the lead in repudiating his tenets, and those of his friends, particularly after the insurrection was quelled.

[b] This is the seventeenth of the twenty-four conclusions condemned by the Council of London. See *Fasciculi Ziz.*, p. 280.

Also, ȝif þis be errour touching þe helþe of mannis soule, þanne it is aȝens holy writ; and þanne, ȝif a man susteyne or meynteyne þis error, he is an heretik. But ful manie kingis, lordis, prelatis, and oþere wise men han susteyned þis and meynteyned, and ȝut don, as perteynynge to þe kynggis regalie, and of comune lawe; þanne ben þes freris, alle kyngis, lordis, and prelatis, and alle wise men of oure reaume, ben [1] heretikes. Also, siþ þis is an old custome, þe whiche oure kyng, lordis, and prelatis ben sworen to susteyne and meynteyne, ȝif þis be error, as freris seyen opinly, it sueþ by freris þat alle þes ben forsworen and heretikes. Also, ȝif þis be errour as freris feynen, þat þouȝ an abbot and al his covent ben open traitours, conspiringe into deþ of þe king and quene and of oþere lordis, and enforce hem to distroie al þe reaume, þe kyng may not take fro hem an halfpeny ne ferþing worþ, siþ alle þes ben temporal goodis. Also, þouȝ oþere clerkes senden unto oure enemys alle þe rentis þat þei han in oure lond, and what evere þei may robbe or stele of þe kinggis legemen, ȝit may not oure kyng ponishe by oo ferþing ne ferþing worþ.

Monstrous and absurd consequences which flow from this doctrine.

Also by þis ground of freris, þouȝ monkes or freris or oþere clerkis, whatevere þei ben, slen lordis tenauntis, þe kynggis liegemen, and defoulen lordis wyves, ȝe, þe quene, þat God forbid, or þe empiresse, ȝit þe kyng may not ponische hem by oo ferþing [a]. Also hit sueþ pleynly þat men clepid men of holi Chirche may dwelle in þis lond at here likynge, and do what kynne sinne, what kynne tresoun, likeþ hem; and naþeles þe kyng may not ponische, neiþer in temporal goodis ne in here body; siþ, ȝif he may not ponisshe hem in þis lesse, he may not in þe more; and also, þouȝ þei maken on of hemself kyng. And so no seculer lord may lette hem to conquere alle seculer lordship in þis eorþe; and so þei may sle alle lordis and ladies, and here blod and affinite, wiþoute [2] any peyne in þis lif, or in body, or in catel. ȝee, lordis, seeþ and undirstondiþ, wiþ what ponisshinge þei deserve to be chastised, þat þus unwarly and wrongfully han dampnyd ȝou for heretikes, ffor as muche as ȝe don exe-

[1] dele *ben*, or else the preceding words *ben þes freris*. [2] corrected; *wiþ* X.

[a] See ante, p. 314.

The king is the chief lord over all temporalties, whether they belong to the laity or to the clergy.

cucioun of riȝtwisnesses, by Goddis lawe and mannys, and namely of þe kyngis regalie. For þe chief lordshipe in þis lond of alle temporalties, boþe of seculer men and religious, perteyneþ to þe kyng of his general governynge. Ffor ellis he were not kyng of alle Englond, but of a litel part þerof. Þerfore þe men þat bysyen hem to take awey þys lordshipe fro þe kyng, as don freris and here fautours, in þis poynt ben sharper enemys and traitours þan Ffrensshe men and alle oþere naciouns.

Also it perteyneþ to þe kyng, þe while a bishop or an abbotis see is voyde, to have in his hond al here temporaltees, and at his owne wille to ȝeve hem to prelatis. Þerfore þe kyng may take awey þes temporaltees from prelatis, whan laweful cause exitiþ. Also þe kyng owiþ graunte no man fredom to do synne or trespas, but to take away þe fredom. But men of þe Chirche had fre licence to trespace, ȝif þe king miȝte not bireve here temporaltees whanne þei synneden grevously. And so Seynt Poul techiþ þat eche man be sugett to here potestatis, for þer nis no power but of God, and þo þing þat ben of God ben ordeyned. And so þei þat wiþstondeþ power, wiþstondeþ Goddis ordynaunce; for whi? Princes ben not a dred of goode werkes, but of evele. But wiltouȝ not drede a power? do good, and þou shalt have preisinge þerof,—þat is, of him þat is ordeyned in þe hiȝe astat,—for he is Goddis ministre, or servaunt, to þe in goode. But ȝif þou have don evele, þanne drede; for he bereþ þe swerd not wiþoute cause; ffor he is Goddis servaunt, vengere in wraþþe to him þat doþ evele. And þerfore by nede, or of nede, be ȝe suget, or undurlout,—not oonly for wraþþe, but also of conscience. Al þis seiþ Seynte Poul, of whiche auctorite it is to knowen to alle men, þat clerkes owen to be suget of nede to þe kynggus power; ffor Seynte Poul, þat putteþ alle men in subjeccioun to kyngis, outtakeþ nevere on. And so seculer power oweþ and is bounden to ponisshe by just peyne of his swerd, þat is, worldly power, trynauntis rebellinge aȝens God and trespassing aȝens man by what kyn trespas; and, þat is more, to chastise his sugetis by peyne or turment of here body. And no drede muche more he may ponisshe hem by takynge awey of here temporaltees, þat is lasse þan bodily peyne. Þerfore seculer lordis don þis riȝtfully, siþ þis is don by comaunde-

ment of þe apostoile and by ordinaunce of God. Þerfore it is pleyn of þes resouns and auctoritees; and seculer lordis may levefully and medefully, in mony causes, taken awey temporal godis 3oven to men of þe Chirche.

3. That tithes and offerings ought to be given to or withheld from the clergy, according as they are or are not worthy recipients.

Þe þridde article is þis;—þat boþe tyþes and offringis ben 3oven and paied and receyved by þat entente, to whiche entente or ende boþe Goddis lawe and þe popis lawe ordeyned hem to be paied and resceyved; and þat þei be take awey by þe same entente and resoun, þat boþe Goddis lawe and þe popis lawe ordeynen þat þei shulden be wiþdrawen.

Þis axinge is resonable for manie skilles; for þe entente of þe makere in everi lawe shulde be kept, and most þe entente of God, þat may not erre. Soþly þus saiþ Goddis lawe, in þe Firste Book of Kyngis, þat þe synne of Levyes children was full gret bifore God, for þei wiþdrowen men fro sacrifise of God, taking by strengþe or violence þat part of þe sacrifise þat perteyned to þer post. And God seiþ aftirward, Y spekynge have spoken, þat þin hous and þi fadris hous shulde ministre and serve in my si3te evermore; but now God saiþ, by þat þing fer fro me; but whoevere shal worshipe me I shal glorifie him, but þei þat dispisen me, saiþ God, shul ben unnoble, or wiþoute honour. Of which auctorite it is pleyn and opin, þat þe þinggus þat ben duwe to prest shulde not be axed by strengþe or violence or cursinge, but be 3oven frely, wiþouten exaccioun or constreynynge. And 3if þe prest be reproved of God for his synnis, he shulde be put out of his office, and þere sacrifises shulden not be 3oven to him, but taken fro him, as God comaundeþ from þe hey3e prest Hely; and anoþer trewe man, walkinge in Goddis weyes as dide Samuel, schulde be ordeyned to resceyve siche sacrifices. Also in begynnynge of Tobie men finden þus:—Whan prestis of þe temple wenten to calveren of gold to honour hem for goddis, of Jeroboam kyng of Israel made, Tobie offride trewely alle his firste fruytes and tiþis, so þat in þe þridde 3eer Tobie ministred alle his tyþis to proselitis[1] and commelingis, or gestis, and wiþdrou3 hem holilich fro þe wickede preestis. And þe book saieþ þat þe litul child kepte þes þingis, and oþere siche,

1 Sam. ii. 17.

1 Sam. ii. 30.

Tobit i. 5.

Tobit i. 8.

[1] corrected; *persolitis*, X.

aftir þe lawe of God. Þerfore ȝif oure prelatis or oþere prestis, whatevere þei ben, ben opinly blecked by sacrifise of maumetrie, as wiþ covetise, þat is opinly sacrifise of fals goddys, and oþere grete sinnes, as pride, symonye, and man-quellinge, glotonye, dronkenesse, and lecherie, by þe same skil tyþis or offringis shulde be wiþdrawyn from hem by Goddis lawe, and be ȝoven to poeure nedy men, at ensaumple of riȝtful Tobie.

Testimonies from Scripture and the Fathers.

Also Seint Poul, spekinge to Tymothe, bisshop, saiþ þus;—Be we paied wiþ þes þingis, ȝif we han liflode and to be hiled wiþ. And Seint Bernard spekiþ þus in þis matere;—Whatevere þou takist to þe of þin outrage[1] þat is, dymes and offringis, beside simple liflode and streit cloþinge, it is not þyn, it is þefte, raveyne, and sacrilege[a]. Wherof hit sueþ pleynly, þat not oonly simple prestis and curatis, but also sovereyne curatis, as bisshopis, shulde not axe here sugetis by constreynyng more þan liflode and hilynge, whan þei don awey alle manere waast, boþe of money and worldly array. Also Crist wiþ his apostlis lyvede most povere lif, as it is knowen by alle þe processe of þe gospel, noþing chalenginge by exaccioun ne constreynynge, but lyvede simplely and scarly ynowȝ of almes, frely and wilfully ȝoven. Þerfore þo þat pretenden hem to ben principal folewers of Cristis steppis, shulde lyve and walke as Crist dide, and so lede ful povere lif, takinge of þingis frely ȝoven as miche as neede is for here gostly office and no more, and þerwiþ be apaied.

Also þe popis lawe comaundiþ, in þe beste part þerof, þat prestis, opyn lechours, taken no part of porcioun of goodis of þe Chirche; þerfore it is lefful to parisshenys to wiþholden here tiþes for opin fornicacioun of here curat, and turne hem into bettre use. And muche more þei may and owen to wiþdrawe here tyþis for grete synnis and opin,—as for symonie, þat is heresie,

[1] Probably written by mistake for *autrage*, altaragium, the offerings made by the people to the altar; see Ducange *sub voce*. The word 'autrage' does not appear to occur elsewhere; but that it was in use can hardly be doubted. Peter Langtoft in his Chronicle speaks of 'alterage,' changing the word but little, as was natural in a churchman and a man of letters, from the original Latin. But in the time of Chaucer and Wyclif the popular mode of pronouncing and writing 'altar' was *awter* or *auter*; alterage would therefore become *auterage* or *autrage*. The words of St. Bernard are 'Quicquid ex *altario retines*.'

[a] See ante, p. 473, *note*.

as þe popes lawe saiþ, and for covetise, þat is wurshipinge of false goddis, as holy writ seiþ; and for pride, envye, glotonie, and dronkenesse, siþ boþe by Goddis lawe and mannes lawe God curseþ siche mennis blissinge and preyingis. And Seint Austyn and Seynt Gregory techen þis in manie bokes, by holy writ and resoun.

Evils which arise from the appropriation of livings by convents.

Also comunly, whanne parische chirchis ben approprid to men of singuler religioun, such appropriacioun is mad by fals suggestioun, þat siche religious men han not ynow3 for liflode and heling; but in treuþe þei han over muche. Also comunly siche chirchis ben approprid by symonie, as þei witen betere hemself, payinge a gret summe of moneye for sich apropriacioun, 3if þe benefice be faat. But what man led by resoun and good conscience shulde paie to siche religious men tiþes and offringis, goten by falsnesse, lesyngis, and symonye? But suppose þat siche parische chirchis weren leeffully goten, 3it, siþ þei ben superflu to siche men, þe tiþes and offringis shulden ben 3ove to povere needy men, as Seynt Jerom and þe popis lawe techen. And þerfore þe trewe grete clerk, Robert Grosted, Bisshop of Lincolne, writeþ to þe pope, þat whan appropriacioun of parische chirchis is maad to men of religioun, of fourtene grete sinnes, or defautis, þat comen of evel curatis, is mad a perpetuacioun, þat is, endeles confirmacioun.

The duty of serving a parish well, and that of paying tithes, are reciprocal.

Also, by God and his lawe curatis ben muchel more bounden to techen here sugetis charitably þe gospel and Goddis hestis, boþe by opin prechinge and ensaumple of good lif, for to save here soulis, þanne here sugetis ben holden to paien hem tyþis and offringis. And of þis suen tweye þingis. Þe firste, 3if curatis don not here office in word and in ensaumple þat God comaundiþ, þanne here sugetis ben not bounden to paie hem tiþis and offringis. Siþ þe principal cause for whiche tiþes and offringis shulde be paied is awey, þe payinge of tiþes shulde cesse. Also, curatis ben more cursed in wiþdrawyng þis techinge in word and ensaumple, þan ben parischenys wiþdrawinge tiþes and offringis, þou3 curatis dudon wel here office.

A, Lord God, where þis be resoun, to constreyne þe pore puple to fynde a worldly preest, sumtyme unable boþe of lif and konnynge, in pompe and pride, coveitise and envye, glotonye

and dronkenesse and lecherie, in symonye and heresie, wiþ fatte hors, and jolye and gaye sadeles, and bridelis ryngynge be þe weye [a], and himself in costy cloþes and pelure, and to suffre here wyves and children and here pore neyȝboures perische for hunger þrist and cold, and oþere mischieves of þe world! A, Lord Jesus Crist! siþ wiþinne fewe ȝeeris men paiede here tiþis and offringis at here owen wille free, to goode men and able, to grete worschipe of God, to profit and fairnes of holi Chirche fiȝtinge in eorþe, where it were leveful and needful þat a worldly prest shulde distroie þis holy and approvid custome, constreynynge men to leve þis fredom, turnynge tiþes and offringes into wickede uses, or not so goode as þei weren don bifore tymes!

4. That Christ's teaching respecting the Eucharist may have free scope, and the contrary teaching be destroyed.

Þe fourþe article is þis,—þat Cristis techinge and bileve of þe sacrament of his owne body, þat is pleynly tauȝt by Crist and his apostelis in gospellis and pistillis, may be tauȝt opinly in chirchis to Cristen puple, and þe contrarie techinge and fals bileve, brouȝt up by cursed ypocritis and heretikis and worldly [b] prestis, unkunnynge in Goddis lawe [c], distried.

The teaching of the friars contrary to the ancient doctrine.

Þe false feiþ tauȝte of Anticrist and of his false cursede disciplis is þis, þat þe sacrament þat men seen wiþ bodely eiȝe bitwene þe prestis hondis is neþer bred ne Cristis body, but accidentis wiþoute suget, and þis is neiþer groundid in holy writt ne reson ne wit, ne tauȝte bi þe moste wiseste olde seyntis, but only by newe ypocritis and cursed heretikis, þat magnyfyen here owen fantasies and dremes, and feyned power and myraclis, more þan Cristis techynge and his apostlis, and Seynt Austyn and Seynt Jerom and Seynt Ambrose, and many moo, wiþ þe determinacion of þe trewe court of Rome, þat is sett in þe beste part of þe popis lawe. Þerfore be þis heresie exilid fer fro Cristene men.

The true belief.

Þe riȝtte feiþ of Cristene men is þis; þat þis worschipful sacrament is bred and Cristis body; as Jesus Crist is verrey God and verrey man. And þis feiþ is groundid in Cristis owen word, in þe gospel of Seynt Mattheu, Mark, Luk, and bi Seynt

[a] So Chaucer on the Monk:—

'Ful many a deynte hors hadde he in stable:
And whan he rood, men might his bridel heere
Gyngle in a whistlyng wynd so cleere,
And eek as lowde as doth the chapel belle.'
Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

[b] The Dublin MS. breaks off in the middle of this word.

[c] From this point the matter in the Corpus MS. belongs to a different tract; see Prefatory notice.

Poul, and pleynly in holy writt, and bi Austyn, Jerom, Ambrose, and most holy seyntis, and most kunnynge in holy writt. And herto accordeþ reson and witt at þe fulle. In þes gospellis is þe forme tauȝt of Crist, þat oure Lord Jesus Crist at þe soper toke bred in his hondis, and blissid it, and brak it, and ȝaf it to his disciplis, and seide, Ete ȝe alle of þis; þis is my body. And so of þe chalis; and comaundid hem to don þis sacrament in mynde of hym. And Seynt Poul, þat hadde his gospel not bi man but bi revelacion of Jesus Crist, seiþ þus in his firste pistel to þe Corynthеis, Ne is not þe bred þat we breken þe comunynge of oure Lordis body? And certis he undirstondiþ þat it is so, aftir þe speche of holi writt. Þerforu in þe same pistel to þe Corynthеis, aftir þe forme of consecracion he clepiþ þre tymes þis sacrament bred. And þe gospel of Seynt Luk seiþ, þat Cristis disciplis knewen him in brekynge of þe breed; and þis breed was þe sacrament of þe auter, as Seynt Austyn writiþ. And in Actibus Apostolorum is seid þus: And Cristene men weren dwellynge in techynge of apostlis, and in comunynge of brekynge of brede. Siþ Seynt Poul seiþ, Þe breed þat we breke is comunynge of Cristis body, axe þes heretikis where þis were sacrid breed or unsacrid; and þei moten seie þat it was sacrid, for ellis it were not comunynge of Cristis body. Þanne moten þes heretikes nedis seie þat þis sacrament is bred þat we breken. And siþ Crist may not lie, þis breed is his body, as he seiþ in þe gospel. Also in canon of þe masse, after þe consecracion, we clepen þis sacrament holy breed of everlastynge lif, and chalis of everlastynge helpe [a].

Also [in] [1] þe storie of þe feste of þis sacrament we clepen it þries breed, and seyn, bred of angelis is maade bred of man, and, hevenly bred ȝeveþ ende to figuris of þe olde lawe; and, in þe same, þis is verrey bred of children [b]. And in þis ympne of þe

The substances of the bread and wine are not changed in consecration.

[1] supplied.

[a] 'Panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et calicem salutis perpetuae.'

[b] 'Ecce panis Angelorum
Factus cibus viatorum,
Vere panis filiorum,
Non mittendus canibus.
In figuris praesignatur,
Cum Isaac immolatur,' &c.

From the sequence 'Lauda Sion,' sung on the festival of Corpus Christi.

feste we reden þus, Goddis sone man made verrey bred of his flech by vertue of his word, and wyn his blood[a]. And in þe secret of þe medil masse, on Cristismasse day, we preie þus, þat þis substaunce of herþe brynge to us þat þing þat is gostliche, þat is Cristis body[b]. Þanne þis substance schal not be turned to nouȝt, but be sacrid, and so dwelle after þe consecracion. And Seynt Austyn seiþ in a sermon þat is writen in þe popis lawe, þat þing þat is seyn is bred, and þat þing þat eiȝen schewen or tellen is þe chalis, but it is, as moche as þe feiþ axeþ to be lernyd, þe bred is Cristis body, and þe chalis, þat is, wyn in þe chalis, is Cristis blood[c].

Authorities for this view,

Also Austyn seiþ in a sermon, and is writen in þe popis lawe, ȝe schullen not ete þat body, ne[1] drynke þat blood, þe whiche blood þe men þat schullen do me on crois schulle schede out; forsoþe þe same and not þe same; þat same body and blood invisibily, and not þe same visibely. And ȝif it be nede þat þis sacrament be halwid visibely, nevereþeles it is nedeful þat it be understonden unvesibily. Also Jerom in a pistil þat he made to Elvidiam, seiþ þus, Here we þat þat brede þat Crist brak, and blissed, and ȝaf to his disciplis to ete, is þe body of oure Saveour. And in þe popis lawe, wiþ grete congregacion of bischopis and clerkis, and grete avisement, is writen þus; I bileve wiþ herte, and knowlech bi mouþ, þat þe bred and wyn þat ben putt in þe auter ben after þe consecracion, not only þe sacrament, but þe flesch and blood of Jesus Crist in treuþe.

which lay lords ought to support, and condemn the heretical view of the friars.

Þanne, siþ þes auctorites of Crist and his apostlis ben algatis soþe, and also auctorites of þes seyntis and clerkis, siþ þei accorden wiþ holy writt and reson, seie we þat þis sacrament is verrey bred, and also verrey Cristis body, and teche we þis treue bileve to Cristen men opynly; and late lordis meyntenen

[1] corrected; *þat*, X.

[a] 'Verbum caro panem verum
Verbo carnem efficit;
Fitque sanguis Christi merum.'

'The Word made flesh makes by his word real bread his flesh.' But Wyclif seems to have understood it, 'makes his flesh real bread.'

[b] Ut sicut homo genitus idem refulsit Deus, sic nobis haec terrena substantia conferat quod divinum est.' But as the secret is said *before* consecration, it is difficult to see how Wyclif could derive from these words any support for his views.

[c] For this reference, see ante. p. 484, *note*.

þis treuþe, as þei arn bounden up peyne of dampnacion, siþ it is opynly y-tauȝt in holy writt and bi reson and witt; and dampne we þis cursed heresie of Anticrist and his ypocritis and worldly prestis, seiynge þat þis sacrament is neiþer bred ne Cristis body, but accidentis wiþouten suget, and þerunder is Cristis body. For þis is not tauȝt in holy writt, but is fully aȝenst Seynt Austyn, and holy seyntis, and reson and witt. For Austyn seiþ in many bokis þat þer may non accident be wiþouten suget [a].

[a] See p. 409, *note*.

APPENDIX.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF KNYGHTON'S CHRONICLE[a].

ANY matter which affects the genuineness or authenticity of the original sources of our national history is so important, that I shall be excused for examining, with such minuteness as may be necessary, the opinion expressed by Dr. Shirley, in a note at p. 524 of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* and elsewhere, that what is commonly called the 'Fifth Book of Knyghton's Chronicle' proceeds from another and unknown hand.

In order that my reply to it may be intelligible, it is necessary to reproduce the chief portion of Dr. Shirley's note, which is as follows :—

'It is of some importance to the history of this time to correct the error by which this fragment has been ascribed to Knighton, who is a dry and comparatively worthless commentator on Higden's *Polychronicon*. The writer of the fifth book is a partizan of the Duke of Lancaster, and, as such, very valuable, as with the exception of some Lancastrian fragments, which Walsingham unconsciously embodies, he is the only writer of that day on the less popular side. It is in these words that Knighton concludes his preface:—"Insuper opus inceptum, videlicet a conquestu regni Angliae, in V partes protelare curavi, in quarum duabus primis XVII (read XVI) capitulorum numerum praecedentis libelli, seriem et ordinem literarum de vocabuli mei expressione sumptarum observando, perorare curavi. Tertiam vero partem et quartam, propter prolixitatem sermonis et eventuum inexplicabilem concursum et finis incepti operis inexpectabilem visionem, absque tali capitulorum ordine transcurrendo annotare lacessitus praeoccupavi. Sicque totum laborem praesentis operis in quinque partes sive libellos distinctos protelando orditus sum." It will be seen,

[a] See ante, p. 499.

I think, on a careful reading of this sentence that *quinque* has been substituted for *quatuor* by some one who was perplexed by finding five books, but who has fortunately not seen that it was necessary to recast the whole sentence in order to make the *quinque* suit. It was evidently Knighton's intention to make the fourth book contain the events of his own lifetime, as I have no doubt it does. And if we examine the Chronicle we shall see that each of the first two books contains sixteen chapters, the first letters of which form the acrostic Henricus Cnjtthon, Henricus Cnithonn, while the third book is only partially divided into chapters, the fourth not at all.'

It seems to me that Dr. Shirley has entirely misapprehended Knyghton's meaning, and that, owing to his not having read the sentence, nor examined the Chronicle itself, with sufficient care. He did not observe,—nor did John Selden, when he wrote for Twysden the critical introduction to the *Decem Scriptores*,—that not the first two, but the first *three* books of the Chronicle give in the initial letters of the chapters the acrostic of Knyghton's name. Yet this, if we read him carefully, Knyghton distinctly asserts. For the clause 'in quarum . . . . curavi,' may be translated as follows:—'In the first two of which [i.e. of the books treating of events *after* the Conquest] I have taken care to complete the number of seventeen [should be "sixteen"] chapters *of the preceding book*, by observing the succession and order of the letters which form my own name.' Now this is what he has actually done. The first two books after the Conquest, Books II. and III. of the entire Chronicle, do, in the number and initial letters of their chapters, conform to the 'preceding book,' Book I. of the entire Chronicle, which treats of events *before* the Conquest. In the third and fourth parts after the Conquest, Books IV. and V. of the Chronicle, he has been unable, for the good and sufficient reasons which he gives, to follow the same plan in the numbering and initialling of the chapters. This is exactly what we find to be the case with Books IV. and V; the initial letters are just what they may happen to be, and the number of chapters much exceeds that in the first three books. The only oversight which I can detect in the whole passage is the statement that the work 'videlicet a conquestu Angliae' was divided 'in V partes.' It should be 'in IV partes;' for

though the entire Chronicle has five parts or books, the portion 'a conquestu Angliae' has only four. With this slight alteration, the whole passage becomes consistent both with itself and with the actual condition of the Chronicle; and so far from furnishing any evidence against the authenticity of the Fifth Book, bears conclusive testimony in its favour.

I cannot myself detect any difference of moment between the tone in which church matters are spoken of in the Fifth Book, and that which prevails in the rest of the work. Nor can I trace any difference in respect of style or language.

GLOSSARY.

A.S. = Anglo-Saxon. W.V. = Glossary to *Wycliffite Versions of the Bible.* M. = Glossary to Morris' *Specimens of Early English.* Hall. = Halliwell's *Glossary of Archaic and Provincial Words.* Nares = Nares' *Glossary.* P.P. = Promptorium Parvulorum (Camd. Soc.) O.E. = Old English. Vulg. = Vulgate version of the Bible.

A.

Advoutre, avoutre, *adultery*, i. 71.
Affie, *to trust*, i. 59.
Aftir, *afterwards*, passim.
Agilte, *to incur guilt*, iii. 490.
Agregge, *to aggravate*, iii. 164.
Alardid, *larded*, ii. 52.
Alargen, *to enlarge*, i. 93, 316.
Aleis, *alleys, passages*, i. 110.
Alþer-fadir, i. 126. A.S. *ealdor*, chief, or prince; as in Eng. *alder-man.*
—— kyng, i. 289.
—— maistir.
Ancre, anker, *anchorite*, i. 167.
Anemptis, anentis, *concerning*, i. 33.
Apaied, apayde, *content, satisfied*, i. 237.
Apperynge, *impairing, deterioration*, iii. 152.
Aquestis, *questers, prosecutors*, i. 103.
Araile, *to fasten to rails*, i. 99.
Arette, *to reckon, to number*, iii. 481; W.V.
Arte, *to constrain*, iii. 360.
Artow, *art thou.*
As, *for instance*, passim.
Aseeþ, *satisfaction, compensation*, i. 17, 55. Fr. *assez.*
Asideli, *indirectly*, i. 324.
Askape, *to escape*, iii. 200.
Aspie, *snare, ambush*, ii. 363; W.V.
Assoyle, assoyve, *to absolve.*
Asterten, *to get away from, escape.*
At, *that*, iii. 417.
Atake, *to overtake*, ii. 278.
Atempre, *temperate*, iii. 14.
Attende, *to beware*, i. 223.
A twyn, atwynne, *apart, separately*, ii. 30, 46.
Aventid, *blown away*, i. 219.
Awȝe, *awe*, iii. 167.
Aȝenward, aȝeynward, *vice versa*, iii. 452, 468.

B.

Bagge, *to swerve*, i. 191.
Baily, bayle, *bailiff*, i. 24; iii. 414.
Bask, *bitter, acid*, iii. 42. A Westmoreland word acc. to Hall.
Batelouse, *pugnacious*, iii. 165.
Bayle; see Baily.
Bede, *to offer*, i. 60. Ger. *bieten.*
Bedraden, *bed-ridden*, iii. 372.
Bekenyng, *confession*, ii. 79. Ger. *bekennung.*
Ber-lepis, *carrying-baskets*, i. 17 *n.*
Besant, besaunt, *a piece of money*, i. 253; W.V.
Besem, besom, *broom*, i. 119. A.S. *besma.*
Betoke, perf. of beteche, *to recommend*, iii. 101.

Beuperis, bewperis, *god-fathers*, i. 299; ii. 381 *n.*
Biclippe, *to embrace*, ii. 30.
Biel, *boil*, iii. 91.
Bigge, *to buy*, ii. 44.
Bigginge, byging, *purchase, redemption*, i. 69; ii. 281.
Bi-hard, *hardly*, ii. 100.
Biheten, bihoten, *to promise*, i. 60, 99.
Birle, birlen, *to give to drink*, ii. 103; iii. 43. A.S. *byrlian*, and *byrle*, a cup-bearer.
Birþun, *burthen*, iii. 21.
Bise, *fine linen*, i. 1. Lat. *byssus*.
Bitake, *to recommend*, iii. 479.
Blabere, *to talk much or foolishly*.
Blec, blekke, *to spot* or *stain*, i. 147.
Bleckid, *stained*, iii. 200.
Blente, *blinded*, iii. 450.
Bleþeliche, *cheerfully*, i. 106.
Bleþeliest, *most blithely*, i. 277.
Boll, *bull*.
Bollun, *swollen*, ii. 261.
Bolue, *to swell out*, ii. 266.
Bonere, *kind, debonair*, iii. 193.
Bonernesse (derived from the foreg.), *kindness, affability*, ii. 351.
Bood, perf. of bide, *abode*, i. 99.
Boosen, *to stuff* or *puff out*, iii. 124.
Boot, buot, *boat*, i. 349.
Borowe, boru, *pledge, surety*, iii. 10; W.V.
Boruheed, *suretyship*, ib.
Bosis, *bosses*, iii. 124.
Bour-woman, *chamber-woman*, ii. 9. A.S. *bur*.
Bregge, *to abridge*, ii. 407; W.V.
Bretais, *battlement*, i. 191; britage in W.V.
Briteysing, *a battlemented parapet*, i. 191.
Brocage, *brokerage*, iii. 280.
Brollis, *children, brats*, iii. 195, 439.
Brotel, *brittle* (?), i. 268; W.V.
Bryge, *to catch* (?), iii. 416.
Brygge or bryke, *breach* (?), iii. 128.
Burioun, *burgeon, bud*, iii. 30.
Burioune, buriowne, *to burgeon* or *sprout*, i. 15; ii. 175.
Buxum, iii. 94; from A.S. *bugan*, to bend; Ger. *beugsam*, pliant.
Byheste, *promise*, i. 237.
Byknowe, *to confess*, ii. 243.

C.

Canel, *canal*, ii. 335.
Caste, *practice, proceeding*, iii. 95.
Catel, *chattels, property*, i. 184.
Caucioun, *a bill*, i. 22. Vulg. *cautio*.
Causel, *a clause*, iii. 406.
Cautellous, *crafty*, i. 223.
Cautil, *device, stratagem*, i. 96.
Caym, for *Cain*, iii. 241.
Chaffare, *to chaffer, bargain*, i. 286.
Chalenge, *accusation*, iii. 91.
Chapman, *a trader*, i. 153.
Chariouse, *of great charge, expensive*, iii. 170.
Chastyng, *chasing*, iii. 323.
Chauel, chawle, *jaw, jowl*, ii. 169; W.V.
Chaumbren, *to economize*, ii. 124.
Chaunsable, *changeable*, iii. 22.
Chepyng, *market-place*, i. 98.
Chesoun, *cause*, i. 128.
Chevely, *chiefly*, i. 14.
Cheveteynes, *chieftains*, i. 128.
Chulle, *to sole* or *patch* (?), ii. 280.
Cister, *sister*, iii. 121.
Clam, *pinching, binding*, iii. 29. A.S. *clam*.
Clammen, *to plaster*, ii. 93.
Clarifie, *to glorify*, i. 367.
Cleke, *to convey by stealth*, i. 300.
Clepe, *to call*.
Clergie, *learning*, iii. 54.
Clotire, *to cloister* (?), iii. 418.
Coffyne, *basket*, i. 121; from *cophinus*.
Commeling, *new comer, stranger*, iii. 514; W.V.
Compaṇage, *something eaten with bread*, i. 19.
Conceve, *to comprise*, iii. 442.
Conjourison, *conspiracy*, i. 302. Lat. *conjuratio*.
Conteke, *reviling*, i. 49; W.V. and *Cant. Tales*, l. 2005.
Coolis, *coals*, ii. 121.
Corde, *to agree*, i. 101.
Correpcioun, *reproof*, iii. 383; W.V.
Corserie, *horse-dealing*, so *roguery* (?), iii. 283; M.
Corve, *box, basket*, iii. 329; Hall.
Cos, cosse, *kiss*, iii. 138; W.V.
Countre, *to encounter, to meet*, i. 207.
Cover, *to recover*, ii. 289.

Coystily, *costly*, iii. 369.
Cratche, *a manger*, i. 317; W.V.
Creese, *to increase*.
Cristendom, *Christianity, baptism*, iii. 196, 285; W.V.
Croche, crocche, *to seize, to usurp*, i. 139. Fr. *accrocher*.
Croke, *to swerve, turn aside*, ii. 289.
Croude, *a fiddle*, ii. 73; Nares. Welsh *crwth*.
Croyserie, *a crusade*, i. 367.
Culver, culvyr, *dove*, i. 78. A.S. *culfre*.
Curleris, *vagrants* (?), iii. 199.
Currours, *couriers, messengers*, i. 229.

D.

Debletis, *little devils* (?), ii. 328.
Dedeyn, *indignation*.
Deel, deul, *mourning*, iii. 60, 230. Fr. *deuil*.
Defien, *to digest*, i. 89 and *n*.
Defoule, *defile*, i. 103.
Defyed, *voided, put forth*, i. 88.
Delve, dolven, *to dig, bury*, ii. 99.
Deme, *to judge*, iii. 448.
Dere, *to hurt*, iii. 324; M.
Dereworþe, *precious, beloved*, ii. 274; W.V.
Dever, devere, *duty*, ii. 399; iii. 418.
Devours, *divorce*, iii. 192.
Deynely, dignely, *with dignity*, ii. 62.
Deynte, *humble amazement*, ii. 9.
Dilavy, dislavy, *lavish, profuse*, iii. 388.
Dilavynesse, *looseness, copiousness*, ii. 298. Lat. *diluvium* (?).
Discrasid, *weakened, shattered*, ii. 215. Connected perhaps with the Fr. *écraser*.
Discrevynge, *discerning*, iii. 414.
Dispense, *expense*, i. 191.
Disquatte, *to break in pieces* (?), i. 246.
Disserve, *to be of service*, i. 333.
Diȝten, p.p. diȝt, *to equip, clothe*, ii. 387; W.V.
Dole, doole, *dealing, distribution*, iii. 423.
Doppen (for droppen ?), *to drop*, i. 246.
Doren, *to dare*, i. 242.
Do to, *to add*, iii. 70.
Dowynge, *endowment*, i. 96.
Dowfe, *dove*, i. 78.
Drecche, *to trouble*, i. 115; iii. 60. A.S. *drecan*.
Drede, in phrase 'no drede,' *without doubt*, i. 400.
Dreint, dreynt, *drowned*, i. 400.
Dritte, *dirt*, i. 89.
Drowȝ, *drew*, perf. of drawe, i. 393.
Drunkenlewe, *given to drink*, iii. 486; W.V.
Dwelling, *tarrying, delay*, i. 293.
Dwellinge, *permanent*, i. 304.
Dwyne, *to dwindle*, ii. 34.
Dytee, *ditty*, iii. 481.

E.

Eche, *each*.
Eerne, *eagle*, iii. 35.
Eft, afterwards, i. 51.
Eggyng, *sharpening, persecution*, iii. 20.
Eire, *heir*, i. 252.
Eke, *to increase* or *augment*, ii. 202.
Elde, *age*, i. 28.
Enchesoun, *cause, reason*, i. 8; W.V. Old Fr. *encheoir, enchaison*.
Encortif, *fatted* (?), iii. 36.
Ende, *a region* or *district*, as in Audley End, Dale End, &c., i. 10. Endekyn means *country-kinsfolk*.
Engleymed, *slimy*, iii. 150; Hall.
Enke, *ink*, ii. 2.
Enleven, *eleven*, i. 361.
Enpeche, *to prevent, hinder*, iii. 317.
Enplaster, *a plaster*, iii. 166; W.V.
Enporid, *impoverished*, ii. 278.
Ensegen, *to besiege*, ii. 155; W.V.
Ententif, *attentive*, iii. 36; W.V.
Enterlasen, *to interfere*, iii. 164.
Er, or, *ere, before that*, i. 284.
Erberis, *gardens of herbs*, i. 28.
Ernes, *pledge, earnest*, i. 142; ii. 277.
Erþe-dene, *earthquake*, i. 244.
Eten, etene, *a giant*, ii. 111. A.S. *eten*; Icel. *jötunn*.
Even, *own, fellow*, i. 31.
Even-worþi, *equivalent, comparable*, ii. 323.
Ey, *egg*, ii. 153.
Eyren, *heirs*, iii. 157; W.V.

F.

Fage, *to speak fair, to coax*, i. 44; ii. 6; W.V.
Fagynge, *plausible*, i. 56.
Faioure, *flatterer*, i. 72. From *fage* (?).
Fardel, *burden, baggage*, iii. 208.

Fayn, feyn, *to be glad*, i. 246.
Faytour, *impostor*, iii. 128; P. P.
Feele, fele, *many*, i. 64; iii. 415.
Feerdful, *terrible*, iii. 21.
Felnes, *cruelty*, i. 55.
Fenne, *dirt, dung*, iii. 16.
Feringis, *terrors, fearful sights*, i. 220.
Fermour, *farmer*, i. 23; W.V.
Ferour, ferrour, *farrier, a worker in iron*, i. 407.
Festu, *mote, straw*, iii. 289. Lat. *festuca*.
Feyre, *a beauty*, iii. 167.
Fleme, *to banish*, ii. 376; M. A.S. *flyman*.
Flete, *to float*, i. 290.
Flewȝh, *shunned*, iii. 412.
Flite, *to flee, flit*, ii. 404. Chaucer.
Flocce, *to drift* (?), iii. 252.
Floon, *bolt, dart*, i. 186. A.S. *flán*.
Folde, *to bend, to turn aside*, ii. 126; W.V.
Foltische, foltish, *foolish*, i. 309; W.V.
Forbarren, *to obstruct*, i. 279.
For-do, *to do away with, destroy*, i. 77; W.V.
Forfende, *to forbid, to hinder*, i. 241; W.V.
Forþerhed, furþerheed, *priority*, iii. 78.
For-þi, *on that account*, iii. 472.
Forþinken, *to repent*, i. 279.
Forþinking, *repentance*, ii. 201; W.V.
Forȝeve, *to remit*, iii. 253.
Founede, founyd, *foolish, infatuated*, i. 131. O.E. *fond*.
Fraytor, freytor, *a refectory*, i. 293 *n*.
Frentikes, *madmen*, i. 26.
Frushe, fruysche, *to crush*, i. 201. Fr. *froisser*.
Fuylen, *to foul*, i. 313.

G.

Gabbinge, *idle talk, lies*, i. 58.
Gar, *to make*, iii. 42 *n*.
Gegilotis, *wanton wenches*, ii. 233. O.E. *giglots*. Nares.
Geldren, gildren, gildrid, *to ensnare*, ii. 322. From 'gilder,' a North country word for snare; Hall.
Gendrure, *generation*, i. 391.
Gete, *goats*, ii. 281.
Gettere, iii. 281. See Jectour.
Gilour, *deceiver*, i. 129; iii. 127.
Girde, *to cut, smite*, i. 388; W.V.
Glat, glet, *mucus*, iii. 32.
Glavere, *to talk idly, to tattle*, i. 181. Compare Lowl. Scotch *clavers*.
Glose, *interpretation, explanation*, ii. 403.
Gnare, *a snare*, ii. 363; W.V.
Gnaren, *to snare*, i. 96.
Gnastinge, *gnashing*; W.V.
Gode, *I pray you*, iii. 130.
Grane, *snare, noose*, ii. 153; W.V.
Graunten, *to guarantee*, i. 23.
Greggen, *to heap up*; W.V.
Gre-hound, *greyhound*, ii. 359.
Greiþid, *prepared*, iii. 17; W.V.
Grenne, *to grin*, iii. 434.
Grete, *to lament*, i. 141.
Grucche, grutche, *to murmur*, iii. 434.
Gurle, *to growl, gurgle*, ii. 249.
Gylore; see Gilour.

H.

Haccis, *hatch, part of a door*, iii. 16.
Hanke, *to entangle*, iii. 28.
Hatte, *to be called*, i. 365; W.V.
Haunte, *to pursue, practise*, iii. 422; W.V.
Hayward; see Heyward.
Hedly, *principal, capital*, iii. 162.
Heendly, *courteously*, ii. 53; M.
Heerde, *a shepherd*.
Hegge, *hedge*, i. 29.
Heght, *promised*, iii. 128.
Heie, *to exalt*, i. 27.
Helde, *to pour*, i. 32; W.V.
Hele, *health, salvation*, iii. 28; W.V.
Hele, *whole*, iii. 439.
Helen, hele, *to cover*, iii. 418.
Hereberow, herberwe, *a harbour, lodging*, i. 172; iii. 371.
Hereliche, *early*, iii. 221.
Heris, hern, herne, *theirs*, ii. 261; W.V.
Herris, *hinges*, iii. 16; W.V.
Herye, *to praise, to glorify*, i. 107.
Heste, *commandment*, i. 38.
Heten, hiȝte, *to promise*, i. 101.
Heved, *head*, iii. 435.
Heynes, *highness, elevation*.
Heywardis, lit. *hedge-wardens*, i. 104. See note at p. 436, vol. iii.

Hidlis, *a secret place*, iii. 29; W.V.
Hidonsen, hydowse, *to be terrified at*, i. 269; W.V.
Hilden, *to flay*, iii. 331; W.V.
Hilynge, hillynge, *clothing, covering*, iii. 35, 126.
Hi3t, *is* or *was called*.
Ho, *she*, iii. 131.
Holes, holys, hulis, *peascods*, ii. 71.
Holet, *little hole* (?), ii. 281.
Holouris, *whoremongers*, iii. 199; Chaucer.
Hosteler, *innkeeper*, i. 32.
Hoten, *to promise, plight*, iii. 30.
Husebonde, *a householder*, i. 98.
Hy, *they*, iii. 105; M.
Hydowse; see Hidonsen.
Hynderheed, *posteriority*, iii. 78.
Hyne, *a hind, labourer*, i. 140; iii. 34; W.V.

I.

Ilche, *each*, iii. 431.
Iliche, yliche, *alike, similarly*, i. 47; ii. 49.
Inwittis, *mental faculties*, ii. 307; W.V.
Irrous, *angry*, i. 16.
I3en, *eyes*.

J.

Jape, jappe, *trick, gibe*, i. 410 *n.*
Jectour, *a braggart, boaster*, iii. 195; *gettour* in Hall. Lat. *jacto*.
Jeeste, *a gest* or *romantic story*, iii. 196.
Jurour, *swearer*, iii. 394.

K.

Kitte, *to cut*, i. 99, 104; W.V.
Knacke, *to knock, play*, iii. 482.
Knackyng, *knocking, strumming*, iii. 481.
Knave, *male, boy*, i. 345; W.V.
Knodyn, *kneaded*, i. 223.
Knoweliche, *to acknowledge*, i. 196; W.V.
Knytchis, *bundles*, i. 97; W.V.
Koud, *known*, ii. 246.
Kynde, *nature*, i. 104; W.V.
Kyndelis, *offspring, brood*, ii. 33; W.V.

L.

Largerly, *more largely*, i. 176.
Leepe, lepis, *basket*, i. 64; ii. 262.
Leeve, leve, *to be left, to remain over*, ii. 286; W.V.
Lef, leeff, *glad, ready*, ii. 298.
Lefe, *I pray you*, iii. 257, 414.
Leir, *mould, soil*, iii. 31. *Lair* in Hall.
Lei3e, ley3e, *to laugh*, i. 150; W.V.
Lemman, lemmon, *a lover*, i. 49.
Lendis, *loins*, i. 275.
Lerid, *learned*, iii. 152.
Lesar, *destroyer*, iii. 470.
Lese, lose, *to destroy, mar, hurt*, i. 327; W.V.
Leser, *destroyer*, iii. 31.
Lesewes, *meadow pastures*, ii. 254.
Lesyngis, lesingis, *lies*, i. 222.
Lettrure, *literary knowledge*, i. 221; W.V.
Leve; see Lefe.
Leytis, *lightning*, iii. 66.
Ligge, *to lie*, ii. 419; W.V.
Lippe, *to leap*, iii. 384; W.V.
Lite, *few*.
Li3t, *easy*.
Loore, *teaching, doctrine*, i. 214.
Loovynge, *praise*, i. 107; M.
Los, loos, *praise, fame*, ii. 271.
Loser, *destroyer*, iii. 459.
Losingerie, *deceit, flattery*, iii. 196.
Loste, i. 49. See Lese.
Louke, *to lock, shut up*, iii. 42.
Louten, *to bow down to, worship*, i. 377, 89; W.V.
Lyme, *limb*, i. 70.

M.

Magry his, maugre his, *in his despite*, iii. 263.
Make, *fellow, associate*, i. 277; iii. 192.
Manasse, *menace*, i. 103; W.V.
Mangery, *a meal, feast*, i. 4.
Marre, *to perplex*, ii. 29, 117.
Marw3, *marrow*, iii. 36; W.V.
Maugre, mawgrey, *in spite of*, i. 6; W.V.
Maundye, *the supper on Maundy Thursday*, iii. 415.
Mawmet, *an idol*, W.V.
Mawmetry, *idolatry*, W.V.

Maynè, i. 53. See Meyne.
Meblis, *furniture, movables*, i. 67.
Medle, *to mix*, i. 10; W.V.
Meefe, *to move*, iii. 407.
Menge, *to mix*, iii. 405; W.V.
Meritory, *meritorious*, i. 61.
Meselis, *lepers*, i. 71; W.V.
Meselrie, *leprosy*, i. 199.
Meshese, myschef, *uneasiness, discomfort*, i. 67. (Mysese in W.V.)
Mete, perf. mat, *to measure*, iii. 25.
Meynè, meyneȝ, *a company, retinue*, W.V. passim.
Moldwarp, molworp, *a mole*, i. 402; W.V.
Mone, *the moon*, i. 107.
Moneste, *to admonish*, ii. 270; W.V.
Morenesse, *increase, augmentation*, i. 386; ii. 64.
Morewnynge, *morning*, i. 266.
Morynge, *the making greater*, i. 65.
Morw ȝyve, morow-ȝyfe, *original endowment*, i. 142.
Mote, mut, *must*.
Mouȝþe, *a moth*, i. 373; W.V.
Mowe, *to be able*, i. 368 *n.*; W.V.
Mustre, *a muster or review*, ii. 360; W.V.
Mut-hall, *moot or meeting hall*, ii. 123.
Mychilnes, *muchness, greatness*, i. 319.
Myschif, *penury*, ii. 211.
Myster, *need*, iii. 162, 414; M.

N.

Neddir, neddur, *adder*, i. 187; iii. 463; W.V.
Neer, *nearer*, iii. 69.
Neer-hondis, *pretty nearly*, iii. 288.
Neet, *oxen*, iii. 36; W.V.
Neghtbors, *neighbours*, iii. 368.
Neghȝe; see Neiȝe.
Neische, *to soften*, iii. 68.
Neiȝe, *to draw near*, i. 281; W.V.
Nempnen, *to name*, i. 79; W.V.
Nentis; see Anentis.
Nevere-þe-lattir, *nevertheless*, iii. 27; W.V.
Nexte, *the last*, i. 14.
Neyȝe, *nigh*, i. 157.
Nolle, *the back of the head*, iii. 92; W.V.
Not = ne wot, *knows not*, ii. 263; W.V.
Not, nouȝt, *nothing*.
Noun, nowm-power, *want of power*, ii. 100; W.V.
Novelry, *novelty*, i. 20; Chaucer.
Noye, *to hurt or vex*, iii. 432; W.V.
Noyous, *annoying, vexatious*, i. 84; W.V.

O.

Occure, ocur, *to put to usury*, i. 259; W.V. See M.
Ofte-siþe, *often times*, iii. 32.
Oker, *usury*, i. 259.
Okyr; see Occure.
Oonhed, unhid, *unity*, i. 144; W.V.
Ourne, *to adorn*, iii. 193. Lat. *orno*.
Ouwher, owȝwhere, *anywhere, everywhere*, i. 262. A.S. *ægwhær*.
Overmeste, *uppermost*, i. 340.
Owe, *O!* iii. 404.

P.

Paas, *pace, step*, ii. 364; W.V.
Pagyn, *pageant*, i. 129.
Palis, *a palisade*, i. 25.
Panter, *drawing-net*, iii. 200.
Parischens, *parishioners*, iii. 374.
Parre, *to confine, shut up*, i. 25; Hall.
Paske, *Pascha, Easter, Passover*, W.V.
Past, paast, *paste*, ii. 286; W.V.
Paste, *to knead up*, ii. 195.
Payed; see Apaied.
Payren, peiren, *to degenerate*, iii. 418.
Peiren, *to impair*, i. 85; W.V.
Pelure, *fur dresses*, iii. 520.
Penaunt, *penitential*, i. 38.
Peys, *weight*, ii. 321. Fr. *poids*.
Philargis (?), i. 110.
Picche, *to fix*, i. 137; W.V.
Pike, *to scratch, scrape*, i. 103.
Pilen, *to pillage, strip*, ii. 419; W.V.
Pite, *piety*, iii. 193.
Platrowe, *platform*, i. 194.
Plee, *plea, pleading*, ii. 250; W.V.
Plete, *to plead*, i. 114.
Pleyne, *to complain*.
Pleynynge, *complaining*, iii. 412; W.V.
Point devys, *perfectly*, i. 122.
Pointel, poyntel, *a stylus*, i. 364; W.V.
Poot, *pot*, iii. 197.
Post, *placed, situated*, i. 242.
Pouste, *power*, iii. 44.

Powne, *to pound, crush*, i. 89 ; W.V.
Pows, *the pulse*, i. 151.
Prou, prowe, *advantage*, i. 95 ; ii. 206 ; Chaucer.
Provendereris, *prebendaries*, iii. 211 ; see *Promptorium Parvulorum*.
Pulment, *a relish eaten with bread*, i. 299. Lat. *pulmentum*.
Putis, *harlots*, i. 293. O. Fr. *pute*.

Q.

Queeme, qweem, *to please, suit*, iii. 37.
Queemely, *becomingly*, ii. 361. Ger. *bequemlich*.
Queemful, *pleasing*, iii. 9 ; W.V.
Queerne, *a mill*, ii. 408 ; W.V.
Queynt, *expert, skilful*, ii. 250.
Quienal, see vol. iii. 398 *n*.
Quyke, *lively, vigorous*, i. 109.
Quyter, *filth*, iii. 231 ; W.V.

R.

Rabul, *rabble*, iii. 466.
Refe, *to take violently*, iii. 423. A S. *rafan* ; Engl. *bereave*.
Refete, *to refresh*, i. 352.
Refute, *refuge*, iii. 316 ; W.V.
Rehetours, *a class of servants*, iii. 346 *n*.
Rekke, perf. rouȝt, *to reck, care for*, ii. 114 ; W.V.
Relif, releffe, relyfe, *remnant, scrap*, i. 17, 121 ; iii. 180.
Renaye, *to deny*, iii. 371.
Resoune, *to reckon with, call to account*, i. 55.
Ressett, *receptacle*, iii. 390 ; W.V.
Retenauntis, *retinue* (?), iii. 478.
Reume, rewme, *kingdom*, W.V.
Reve, *to sunder, tear away*, iii. 180.
Revelyng, *wrinkle*, iii. 194 ; W.V.
Rial, *royal*, i. 169.
Riȝtwisnesse, *righteousness, proportion*, i. 168 ; W.V.
Route, rowte, *to snore, to belch*, i. 209 ; Hall.
Route, *a mob, company*, i. 39.
Rownen, *to whisper*, i. 224.
Rownynge, *whispering*, ii. 87.
Rybawdery, *debauchery*.
Ryven, *to tear*, i. 103.

S.

Sachil, *a satchel or bag*, i. 177 ; W.V.
Saut, *an assault*, ii. 365 ; W.V.
Schende, shende, *to disgrace, ruin*, iii. 190 ; W.V.
Schir, *sheer*, iii. 36.
Schrapen, *to scrape*, ii. 27.
Sclaundrid, *offended, scandalised*, i. 71 ; W.V.
Scredynge, *shredding, chopping*, iii. 264.
Scripul, *a scruple*, ii. 201 ; W.V.
Scrowe, *a scroll*, ii. 61.
Scure, skoure, *to scour*, ii. 363.
Seketour, *an executor*, ii. 214.
Sene-fote, *seven-foot*, iii. 500 *n*.
Senevey, *mustard*, ii. 194 ; W.V.
Serkelis, *circles*, i. 33.
Sewe, sue, *to follow*.
Sewere, *follower*, iii. 511.
Shaggid, schoggyd, *tossed about*, i. 374 ; W.V.
Sharris, *plough-shares*, i. 321.
Sheete, *to shoot*, i. 410 ; W.V.
Shente, *shameful, ruinous*, ii. 109.
Shir Thursday, *Maundy Thursday*, i. 325 *n*.
Shrewis, *depraved or worthless persons*, i. 241 ; W.V.
Sibbe, *of kin, cognate*, iii. 86.
Sibberide, sybred, *kindred*, i. 376.
Sidir, sydre, *cider* ; from σίκερα, i. 363.
Sidnesse, sydenesse, *length on the side*, ii. 62.
Sikir, *secure, certain*, i. 157.
Siþ, adv. *afterwards, then*.
Siþis, *times*, ii. 323.
Sittinge, *fitting, seemly*, i. 80.
Siȝen, iii. 350. See Syen.
Skape, *to escape*, iii. 41.
Skilful, *rational, reasonable*, ii. 257.
Skillfulli, *rationally, purposely* ; W.V.
Skip, *a measure of corn*, i. 22 ; Hall.
Sle, slee, p. p. slawe, *to slay*, i. 224 ; W.V.
Sleuþi, *slothful*, iii. 34.
Slidir, *slippery*, ii. 4 ; W.V.
Smatche, smacche, *to smack of a thing*, i. 27.
Smytte, *to soil, make dirty*, iii. 164, 215. Ger. *schmutz*.
Snaperen, *to stumble*, ii. 367 ; W.V.
Snoken, *to sneak about*, ii. 83.

Snybbe, *to reprove, snub*, ii. 76; W.V.
Soffyme, *sophism*, iii. 226.
Soiþ, soþe, sothe, *true, truth*.
Soler, *throne*, iii. 16.
Sooþsawe, *a proverb*, iii. 6; W.V.
Sooude, soude, *pay, wages*, ii. 335; iii. 11; W.V.
Souel, souvil, sowvel, *pottage*, i. 63; ii. 137; W.V.
Souken, *to suck, drain*, i. 219; W.V.
Sounere, *sooner, nearer*, i. 235.
Soverain, *a superior*, iii. 509.
Sowcandely, *suddenly* (?), iii. 241.
Sowe, perf. sue, sewe, *to sow*, i. 259.
Sparlyveris, *calves of the leg*, iii. 92; W.V.
Spede, *success*, iii. 466.
Spotel, spotil, spotle, *spittle*, i. 30; W.V.
Sprengen, p. p. sprongen, *to sprinkle*, ii. 240; W.V.
Spreynd, *sprinkled*, ii. 287; W.V.
Squyeer, *squire*, iii. 152.
Stalworþe, *stalwart*, iii. 18; W.V.
Steffadris, *step-fathers* (?), iii. 335.
Stemne, *to put to silence*, i. 43. Stempne, meaning *voice, command*, is in Hall. Ger. *stimme*; O. E. *steven*.
Stien, stye, styȝen, *to ascend, climb*, i. 42, 261; W.V.
Stier, stiȝer, *mounter, climber*, iii. 18; W.V.
Stondis, *times*, iii. 27.
Stree, *straw*, iii. 428; W.V.
Streng, *string*, iii. 34.
Stronde, *stream*, ii. 338; W.V.
Sturblen, *to disturb, trouble*, ii. 99; W.V.
Sudarie, *napkin*, ii. 99; W.V.
Suen, sue, *to follow*; W.V.
Suynge, *suitable to, following*, i. 76, 375.
Suyngli, *accordingly*, ii. 106.
Swelewe, *to swallow*, i. 70.
Swiinge, *heat* (?), iii. 65.
Swolowhe, *slough* (?), iii. 390.
Syen, *to sift, strain out*, ii. 383. Dan. *sie*, a sieve.

T.

Tale-wiis, *talkative, gossipping*, ii. 9.
Taliage, *tax*, i. 57; W.V.
Tarien, *to impede, delay*, i. 96; iii. 126.
Tellen, *to count, make account of*, i. 51.
Teme, *theme*, ii. 16.
Temporaly, *mild*, ii. 326.
Tendre, *tinder*, iii. 102.
Tenten, *to give heed*, ii. 294.
Thar; see þar.
Thropis; see þrop.
Tiffynge, *adornment*, iii. 193; W.V.
Tillen, tollen, *to draw*, i. 139; ii. 322; M.
Tole, tolle; see Tillen.
To-tere, iii. 436.
Toun, *enclosed land, farm*, i. 22 *n.*; W.V.
Tour, *tower*, i. 191.
Traie, traye, *to betray, give over*, i. 306; W.V.
Tregettrye, *conjuring*, iii. 410; *tregetour* in W.V.
Trenchours, *trenchers, dishes*, i. 115.
Treryn, qu. terryn, *to excite, stir up* (?), iii. 488.
Triacle, *remedy, antidote*, i. 166. Gr. *θηριακή*.
Trinel, tryenale; see iii. 400 *n.*
Trowaunt, truaunt, *truant, vagabond*, i. 283, 293.
Trowe, *to trust, believe*, i. 368.
Trynauntis, *tyrants* (?), i. 97.
Turne, *jurisdiction, court*, i. 48.
Twynnen, *to separate*, iii. 34; W.V.

U.

Ugge, *to shrink from*, iii. 117.
Ugglynesse, *horror*, iii. 34.
Uggynge, *dismal, horrid*, iii. 34.
Umbre, *shade*, i. 355.
Underlout, *subject, submissive*, iii. 194; W.V.
Unholden = unbeholden, *under no obligation*, i. 309.
Unnayt, *vanity*, iii. 29; M. A.S. *unnet*.
Unneþe, unneþis, *with difficulty*; W.V.
Unnobley, *ignominy*, ii. 271; W.V.
Unordynel, *without order, chaotic*, i. 2.
Unpower, *inability*, i. 371.
Unþank, *ill-will, malice*, i. 256; Chaucer.
Up, *upon*, iii. 88.
Uplondishe, *inland*, i. 197.
Uttir, *outer*, i. 250.

V.

Vencusshe, *to vanquish.*
Veniable, *revengeful,* ii. 189.
Vigners, *vines,* iii. 30.
Viroun, in phrase in viroun, *all round,* ii. 311.
Viserde, *disguised as by a visor,* iii. 421.
Volatilis, *poultry,* i. 49 *n.*

W.

Wageringe, *wavering,* ii. 154; W.V.
Waltrid, *rolled,* ii. 204; W.V.
Wariede, waryed, *cursed,* iii. 17; W.V.
Wariynge, weriynge, *cursing,* ii. 326.
Warly, *warily,* i. 22, 53.
Warnesse, *circumspection,* i. 200; W.V.
Wawen, *to wave, shake,* i. 70, 72; W.V.
Wedde, *pledge,* iii. 423. A.S. *wed.*
Wedir, *weather,* i. 269.
Weelde, welde, *to overcome, rule over,* iii. 21, 23; W.V.
Welle, *to weld,* i. 321; W.V.
Wem, *a blemish,* i. 77; iii. 165; W.V.
Wene, *to think,* i. 83, 274.
Wermode, *wormwood,* i. 89; W.V.
Werre, *to war,* i. 115.
Wexinge, *growth, size,* i. 84.
Whilnesse, *turning,* ii. 297; W.V.
Wicknesse, *wickedness,* ii. 330; W.V.
Willard, *a wilful man,* iii. 295.
Wilne, *to will,* iii. 128; W.V.
Wite, *to know,* i. 168; W.V.
Wiþoutenforþ, *externally,* i. 81.
Wlappe, *to wrap,* i. 333; ii. 142; W.V.
Wlatinge, *loathing,* iii. 37; W.V.
Wlatsumnesse, *loathsomeness,* ii. 195; W.V.
Wode, wood, *mad, furious,* iii. 40; W.V.
Wonyen, *to dwell,* iii. 29; W.V.
Woniying, *a dwelling, abode,* iii. 21; W.V.
Woodnesse, *madness, rage,* i. 153; W.V.
Woot, wote, *knows,* i. 221; W.V.
Worschipe, *to glorify, ennoble,* i. 286.
Worþe, *to become,* i. 326; ii. 277.
Wortȝerd, *a vegetable garden,* i. 331; W.V.
Wraþþe, *to anger, provoke,* i. 371.
Wreþe, *wrath,* iii. 253.
Wroten, *to root up,* i. 406.

Y.

Ydel, *empty, vain,* i. 119; W.V.
Yliche; see Iliche.
Ympne, *hymn,* iii. 482.
Ynowȝ, *enough,* i. 311.

þ.

þar, dar, *need,* ii. 272, 323. Ger. *darf.*
þarve, *to be without, lack,* iii. 38.
þerfe, *unleavened,* ii. 287; W.V. A.S. *þeorf.*
þewes, *qualities, habits,* ii. 274; W.V.
þost, *excrement,* iii. 222; W.V. A.S. *þost.*
þouȝt, *thought,* i. 335.
þristen, *to thirst for,* iii. 22; W.V.
þrop, þorp, *village,* i. 66.
þurle, *to thrill, penetrate,* iii. 27.

ȝ.

ȝape; see Jape.
ȝate, *gate,* i. 349.
ȝee, ȝow, *ye, you.*
ȝeer, *year,* i. 327.
ȝeft, *gift,* iii. 452.
ȝelde, *to yield, repay,* iii. 43; W.V.
ȝete, *to pour, melt together,* ii. 147; W.V.
ȝeve, p.p. ȝoven, *to give.*
ȝhe, *yea.*
ȝicche, *itch,* iii. 91; W.V.
ȝift; see ȝeft.
ȝit, *yet, furthermore.*
ȝok, *yoke;* W.V.
ȝoldes, *guilds,* i. 67.
ȝool, *Yule,* ii. 301.
ȝoule, *to howl,* i. 200; W.V.
ȝowþe, ȝongþe, *youth.*
ȝoven, *given,* iii. 511.

INDEX

TO WYCLIF'S SERMONS AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

A.

A Petition to the King and Parliament, iii. 507.
A Short Rule of Life, iii. 204.
Absolution, effect of, conditional, i. 18, 35; ii. 100; bought and sold, *ib.*; its various kinds, 48; priestly, ii. 77, 100; plenary, 148; papal, iii. 355, 444.
Adder, deafness of the, i. 201.
Advent, the, of Christ; may be taken in four senses, i. 65.
Advocates, i. 383 *n.*
Ages, the six, of the world, i. 99; in the eighth the world ends, 101.
Anger, the sin of, iii. 134.
Antipope, the, ii. 43, 314, 316; partisans of, 192.
Apocalypse, visions of the, ii. 308.
Apostles, their threefold office, i. 170.
Appeals to Rome; evils of the system, iii. 397.
Apprentitii or barristers, i. 383 *n.*
Aquila, reference to, iii. 96 and *n.*
Aristotle, ii. 5; iii. 432.
Articles, put upon Lollards, iii. 455.
Athanasian Creed, the; translation and commentary, iii. 71 and *n.*
Atonement, definition of the, ii. 236, 275.
Attrition, iii. 254 *n.*
Augustinians, origin of the, iii. 353 *n.*
Avignon, the pope at, iii. 295.

B.

Baptism, infant, ii. 328.
Bartholomew, St., i. 385 *n.*; legend of, iii. 394 *n.*
Bede, the Venerable; his interpretation of a miracle, i. 35; his letter to Egbert, iii. 477.
Begging; forbidden in Scripture, iii. 370; exhausts the kingdom, 384; blasphemously defended by the friars, 410–417.
Belief, varieties of, ii. 325.
Benedicite, the; translation and commentary, iii. 62.
Benedict, St., iii. 371; his rule, 511.
Benedictus, the; translation and commentary, iii. 56.
Benets, or exorcists, iii. 285 *n.*
Bequests, pious, diverted to bad uses, ii. 213.
Bernard, St.; rebukes Eugenius III, iii. 250.
Bible, the, in English, i. 209; the rule of Christians, iii. 495.
Bishops, duties of, i. 288; meaning of the mitre, 289; warlike disposition of, ii. 120; excomunications by, 159; worldliness of, 281; ambition of, iii. 335.
Body, properties of the heavenly, ii. 234.
Bradwardine, Archbishop, i. 324 *n.*
Bretagne, ii. 243.
Brocardus, i. 347 *n.*
Bulls, papal, iii. 308.

C.

Cain's castles, iii. 348, 368.
Canon law, ii. 61, 419; on incontinent priests, iii. 224; on church music, 480.
Canonization, as practised at Rome, condemned, i. 329.

Canons, order of; injurious to the Church, i. 216; brought in after monks, iii. 345.
Canons, made by the pope; not binding, iii. 460.
Capped friars, iii. 376.
Carmelites, origin of the, iii. 353.
Celibacy of the clergy, i. 59; not authorized by Christ, 364; discussed, iii. 163, 190.
Ceremonies, superabundance of, in the Church, ii. 279.
Chanting; see Music.
Charity, obligation of, ii. 227; conditions of true, 266; disregarded by the friars, *ib.*
Christ; his baptism, i. 80; his rule, 84; iii. 510; his temptation, i. 109; sinless, 124; his divinity, 126; his glorified body, 142; union with, 166; his precept of love, 155, 172; his Conception, 311; his Nativity, 316–320; his preaching, ii. 16; his 'brothers,' 20; the bread of life, 82, 165; his Passion, 119; seven last words of, 128; his Resurrection, 132, 142, 145; his Godhead, 157; his redemption, 281; his Incarnation, 284; the light of the world, 149; sole head of the Church, iii. 342.
Church, the, must be reformed by the laity, i. 245; meaning of the word, ii. 209; law of the, 61, 240; overgovernment of, 279; invisible on earth, iii. 339, 395; early history of, 340; friars' doctrine of, 395; is not the clergy only, 447.
Church, the visible, definition of, iii. 395.
Church lands, increase of, iii. 302, 346.
Church property, confiscation of, justified, iii. 313.
Church Temporalities, iii. 213.
Clement VII, antipope, i. 11, 97; ii. 192; prayer indulgenced by him, 302.
Clementines, the, i. 205 *n.*
Clergy, the, are sellers of grace, i. 10; ought to preach in the language of the people, 79; their duties, 269; their salaries, 291 *n.*; errors of, ii. 29, 30, 49, 60, 89, 144, 154, 185, 229, 231, 370; oppressive ordinances of, 240; uselessness of several orders of, 421; possessions of, may be lawfully taxed, 200.
Cloistered orders, unprofitable to the Christian people, i. 273.
Comestor, Petrus, i. 328 *n.*
Commonalty, duties of the, iii. 147; prone to covetousness, 155; to gluttony, 159; to incontinence, 166.
Commune Sanctorum, offices of, i. 164.
Concerning the Eucharist, No. 1, iii. 499; No. 2, iii. 501.
Confession, as taught by Christ, i. 196, 351; private, ii. 87; iii. 255; of women, ii. 175; its evils, iii. 358; unnecessary, 461.
Conquest, title by, examined, iii. 139.
Consecration, superstitiously multiplied, iii. 481.
Consubstantiation, i. 125 *n.*, 248; ii. 421; affirmed as the true doctrine, iii. 409, 502.
Contemplative life, the, i. 383.
Contrition, iii. 254.
Council of London; see London.
Counsels of Christ, iii. 392; Christian, 451.
Court, the, appealed to by the friars, i. 247.
Courts, ecclesiastical, iii. 167, 299; of law and equity, iii. 215 *n.*
Covetousness, the sin of, iii. 150.
Crusade, the, to Flanders, i. 115, 116, 136; those that die in it no true martyrs, 257; ii. 166; against the antipope, iii. 246 *n.*, 329.
Crusading, not taught by Christ to Peter, i. 367; of Christians against each other, denounced, iii. 140, 308, 362, 458.
Cursing, proneness of the clergy to, iii. 336, 450; does not bind, 465.

D.

De Apostasia cleri, iii. 430.
De Blasphemia, &c., iii. 402.
De Pontificum Rom. Schismate, iii. 242.
De Precationibus Sacris, iii. 219.
De Stipendiis Ministrorum, iii. 202.

De Veritate Scripturae, reference to, i. 79 *n.*
Degeneracy, of the land and the population, iii. 400.
Despair, reflections against, i. 279.
Devil, loosing of the, i. 133 *n.*; iii. 503.
Dirige or dirge, iii. 374.
Disendowment, necessary and profitable to the Church, i. 26; should begin at Rome, 246.
Dispensation, papal, ii. 422; iii. 451; has its limits, 511.
Dominicans, or friars preachers, i. 76.
Double feasts, iii. 490 *n.*
Dreams, use of, by the friars, ii. 166; iii. 247.
Drunkenness, evils of, iii. 160.

E.

Empire, Holy Roman, enfeebled condition of, i. 316 *n.*
Encaenia, the, at Jerusalem, ii. 105.
Endowment of the Church, evils of, i. 308, 313; promoted by ladies, 389; protest against, ii. 411; bad results of, iii. 171, 433, 474; condemned in Scripture, 234 *seq.*; ought to cease, 358.
English language, plea for the use of, iii. 98, 100, 184.
English version of the Bible, i. 129; iii. 393; vilified by friars, 405.
Envy, the sin of; its forms, iii. 128–134.
Epiphany, sermon on the, i. 342.
Eucharist, Wyclif's doctrine concerning the, i. 125; the friars' doctrine novel, 133, 213; unnecessary to receive it fasting, 360; St. Ambrose upon, 379 *n.*; definition of, ii. 6, 82; controversies concerning, 91, 112, 169, 274; false view of friars, 396; discussed, iii. 106, 352, 378; blasphemy of friars respecting, 403–409; heresy on, 443; belief of Wycliffites concerning, 483, 500, 502.
Eugenius III, Pope, iii. 250.
Europe, distracted state of, ii. 401.
Exchange, commercial, benefits of, iii. 159.
Excommunication by bishops, ii. 159; should not be dreaded, iii. 218; form of the greater, 267.
Exemplar forms, i. 127.

F.

Fable of the envious man and the covetous man, iii. 129 and *n.*
Faith, failure in, of two kinds, i. 93.
Famine in England, i. 244 *n.*
Famulorum; a prayer so called, iii. 441.
Fear, three kinds of, i. 371.
Fees, extorted by the clergy, iii. 285.
Feet, washings of, ii. 118.
Festivals, of doubtful utility, i. 330; how far to be observed, iii. 489.
Fifty Heresies, &c., iii. 366.
Fighting, justified in the clergy by St. Peter's example, i. 123; this view refuted, *ib.*
Five questions on Love, iii. 183.
Flanders, expedition to, ii. 166; iii. 349, 386.
Forgiveness, duty of, ii. 199, 251, 255.
Founders of orders, estimate of, iii. 419.
Francis, St., iii. 375.
Franciscans, the, i. 76; iii. 448 *n.*; their property vested in the pope, 303; superstition about the habit, 382.
Freedom, Christian, destroyed, i. 363.
Friars, dangerous to the kingdom, i. 19–21; their proneness to hypocrisy, 57, 58, 76; desert the way of Christ, 73; herd together in crowds, 147; prevent good priests from preaching, 176; ought to work, 178; greedy of wealth, 202, 283; appeal to the king against the author's teaching, 247 *n.*; brought in by the devil, 274; prevent men from leaving them, 296; enclosure of, ii. 15, 299; persecutions by, 25, 205; arrogance of, 62; preaching of, 166, 173, 191; boasted poverty of, 180; errors of, 212, 226, 301, 327, 334, 379, 394, 404; prayers of, 215; uncharitable, 254; vain boasting of, 264; a useless expense to the country, 269; pride and covetous-

ness of, 288; worldliness of, 290; a scourge to the Church, 298; inhospitable, 303; pretensions of the new orders examined, 304; sin against the law of love, 314, 318; begging practices of, 320; final punishment of, 410; unlike John the Baptist, iii. 59, 60; their view of tithes, 175; their preaching disfigures the gospel, 180; modes of getting money, 199; persecute poor priests, 231; a pest to the country, 266; corrupt in the confessional, 299; general charge against, 348; divided between the two popes, 351; heretical on the Eucharist, 352; ought to be suppressed, 361, 437; fifty of their heresies and errors enumerated, 366–401; treasonable language of, 388; their lordly dwellings, 397; they impoverish the land, 416; dangerous to England, 445; burdensome to the Church, 512.

G.

Games, English, i. 410 *n.*
Genealogies of Christ, i. 391.
Gentlemen; their duties, iii. 145; sin through covetousness, 152; through gluttony, 158; through lust, 164.
Gluttony, the sin of, iii. 155.
Gregory the Great, i. 254.
Grossetete, Robert, i. 171; quotation from, iii. 60, 111; why not canonized, 467; sermon of, 470.
Guilds, i. 67 *n.*; their evil practices, iii. 333.

H.

Habakkuk, prayer of; translation and commentary, iii. 25.
Habit, friars' superstitious regard for their, iii. 389.
Hallowing of churches, i. 282.
Heathen, the, bishops for, iii. 512.
Heaven, the joys of, ii. 234.
Heresy, almost universal in the Church, iii. 438.
Heretics, burning of, ii. 126.
Hildegardis, St.; her prophecies, iii. 413.
Historia Scholastica, i. 328 *n.*
Holy Ghost, double procession of, i. 135, 146; a doubtful tenet, 152; descent of, ii. 303.

I.

Images, worship of, iii. 462.
Indulgences; may be futile, i. 60; given to crusaders, 136, 137; papal, 189; plenary, 210; foolishly granted, 236; one of two thousand years, 137, 354 *n.*; papal, iii. 113, 243; futility of, 256, 362; theory of, examined, 259–263.
Infallibility of the pope, a heresy, iii. 345, 407.
Innocent III; established private confession, iii. 255.
Inquisitorial proceedings, how to be met, iii. 426.
Interpretation of prophecy, ii. 375.
Ire, three kinds of it condemned by Christ, i. 16.
Isidore, reference to, i. 265 *n.*

J.

Jesselyn, a canonist, iii. 248.
Jesus, the name of, i. 336.
John the Baptist, an example to the new orders, ii. 3; his work, 4; likened to Elias, 176.
Judas, why chosen an apostle, i. 403; worst merchant, iii. 471.
Judgment, Day of, ii. 35, 48, 222, 230, 405; near at hand, iii. 172.

K.

Kings, their duties to the Church, i. 265; have power over the clergy, ii. 88; the three at Bethlehem, ii. 243.
Knights, an appeal to, iii. 231.

L.

Labourers, duties of, iii. 207.
Laity, the, should put down the friars, i. 212.
Lancaster, the duke of, iii. 508.

Languages, number of, i. 175.
Law, consistory and chapter, i. 15; evils of the canon and civil, 96; defects in, both secular and ecclesiastical, ii. 230, 231, 419; evils of appealing to, 250; freedom under the New, 277; Christ's fulfilment of the, 171.
Laws, new, enforced by the friars, ii. 80.
Lawyers, covetousness of, iii. 153; dishonesty of, 332.
Learning, secular, needless if we know God's law, i. 310; iii. 377.
Legenda Aurea, i. 326 *n.*; iii. 344.
Letter to Pope Urban, iii. 504.
Letters of fraternity, i. 67, 380; blasphemously granted by friars, iii. 420; should be abolished, 428.
Light, its properties, i. 268.
Limitours, iii. 376.
Lincolniensis, iii. 230.
London, council of, iii. 175, 233, 313, 503.
Lord's Prayer, the, commentary on, iii. 93; another commentary, 98; model of all prayer, 221; heresies against, 441.
Lords, duties of, ii. 15, 399; iii. 206; should control the clergy, 213, 240; and strip them of their wealth, 478.
Lordships, proper and improper, i. 36; disclaimed by Christ for his followers, 386.
Love, of God to man, ii. 313, 325.
Love-days, iii. 322 *n.*
Luke, St., i. 391 *n.*
Lust, the sin of, iii. 161.
Luxury, evils of, ii. 245.
Lyra, Nicholas de, his Commentary, i. 76 *n.*, 86 *n.*, 255, 335, 398; iii. 108.

M.

Magna Carta, iii. 306, 326.
Magnificat, the, translation and commentary, iii. 48.
Majorities, decisions by, ii. 414.
Marcial, St., i. 399 *n.*
Margaret, St., i. 187 *n.*
Marriage, sacredness of, ii. 216; its kinds, iii. 188; that of priests lawful, 190; fees extorted for, 284 *n.*
Martyrdom, the spirit of, wanting, i. 233; iii. 185.
Mary, the Virgin, ii. 9; her five joys, i. 353; is pleased by meekness, 356; her high privileges, 380; exempt from sin, 257; her Assumption, 345; her aid invoked, 246; her prerogatives, iii. 111–113.
Mary Magdalene, St., ii. 205.
Masses, private, iii. 473.
Matthias, St., his election, i. 351, 395.
Mendicancy, forbidden in the gospel, i. 200.
Merchants, iii. 334.
Miracles, sermons on the:—the loaves and fishes, i. 17, 62, 120; healing of the deaf and dumb man, 29; of the lepers, 34; raising of the widow's son, 38; healing of him that had the dropsy, 41; of the paralytic, 46; ii. 167; of the nobleman's son, i. 51; raising of Jairus' daughter, 59; conversion of water into wine, 86; healing of the leper, 89; of the centurion's servant, 90; of the blind man, 107; of the daughter of the Canaanitish woman, 113; casting out of the dumb devil, 116; cure of the deaf and dumb man, 251; of the blind man, ii. 14, 92; of the withered hand, 21; raising of Lazarus, 97; cure of Peter's mother-in-law, 65; stilling the tempest, 178; cure of the demoniac, 203.
Monasticism condemned, iii. 431.
Monks, injure the Church, i. 216; hypocrisy of, 299; idle and uncharitable, ii. 257; prone to gluttony, iii. 156; brought in late, 345; ought to be suppressed, 359, 437; adopt the rules of friars, 511.
Moon, changes of the, ii. 177.
Mortal sin, disqualifying effects of, iii. 485.
Mortuaries, iii. 285 *n.*
Moses, song of, translation and commentary, iii. 32.
Music, Church, modern system condemned, iii. 203, 228, 479.
Mystical interpretations of Scripture, i. 13, 18, 34, 39, 46, 69, 90, 100, 107, 114, 121, 254, 374; ii. 139.

N.

Non-residence, inexcusable, iii. 493.
Numbers, properties of, i. 290 *n.*, 320 *n.*
Nunc Dimittis, the, translation and commentary, iii. 61.

O.

Oaths, profane, iii. 332, 483.
Obedience, monastic, exaggerated, i. 82, 85.
Octo in quibus seducuntur, &c., iii. 447.
Odo, Cardinal, iii. 327.
Of Mynystris in the Chirche, ii. 393.
Of Weddid Men and Wifis, iii. 188.
On the Apostles' Creed, iii. 114.
On the Five Inner Wits, iii. 117.
On the Five Outer Wits, iii. 117.
On the Seven Deadly Sins, iii. 119.
On the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture, iii. 186.
On the Twenty-five Articles, iii. 454.
Order, that founded by Christ, i. 82, 84.
Orders, considered as a sacrament, i. 265.
Ordination, fees extorted at, iii. 283 *n.*
Oxford, the school of, i. 93.

P.

Papacy, wealth of the, ii. 395.
Parables, sermons on the:—Dives and Lazarus, i. 1; the bidden guests, 3; the lost sheep, 8; the unjust steward, 22; the Pharisee and Publican, 27; the good Samaritan, 31; the marriage of the king's son, 48; the indebted servant, 54; the tares, 95; ii. 196; the labourers in the vineyard, i. 98; the sower, 102; ii. 34; the good shepherd, i. 138; ii. 62; the true vine, i. 165; the unfinished tower, 190; the two kings, 192; the talents, 252; the ten pounds, 257; the hidden treasure, 285; the pearl of great price, 286; the net, 287; the ten virgins, 289; the two sons, ii. 27; the wicked husbandmen, 66; the prodigal son, 69; the importunate widow, 186; the rich man and his barns, 191; the grain of mustard seed, 194; the king's supper, 196; the barren fig-tree, 207.
Paradise Lost, i. 68 *n.*
Parochial system, injured by the friars, iii. 380.
Passion of Christ, the painfulness of, i. 130.
Pastors, their functions, i. 140.
Patronage, abuses of, iii. 277, 356, 357.
Patteshull, Peter, iii. 366 *n.*
Paul, St., epistles of, ii. 221 seq.; difficulties in interpreting his writings, 224; his visions and revelations, 263.
Pelagius, error of, i. 91.
Penance, necessity of, i. 306.
Perjury, of bishops and others, iii. 300.
Persecution, of Wyclif's followers, i. 100, 111, 153, 338, 398; by prelates and friars, 129; strangling and killing, 201 *n*; burning, 205; must not be resisted by force, 212.
Peter, St., Christ's promises to, i. 349; charge to, 367; original office of, ii. 412; denies Christ, 121; promises to, iii. 250; his powers, 354.
Peter's Pence, collected by the friars, ii. 61.
Pilgrimages, evils attending, i. 83.
Planets, their motions, &c., iii. 63.
Plato, ii. 5.
Play-going condemned, i. 250.
Points of belief ascribed to Lollards, iii. 457.
Poor priests, i. 63; have lawful mission, 177; may preach freely, 185; ii. 173; persecuted, 182; iii. 272, 375, 393; imprisoned, 231, 321; slandered, 293; by friars, 391.
Pope, the, his assumption of power, i. 40; compared to Antichrist, 138; harmful to the Church, 152; encroachments of, 225, 241; his authority when to be despised, 232; his appointments to benefices, 363; his boat, 375; arrogance of, ii. 229; his usurped authority, 281, 400; blasphemous claims of, 284; his gifts and indulgences, 297, 417; confirmations by, 323; his infallibility and impeccability denied,

387, 415; Antichrist, 394; pride and worldliness of, 395; the successor of Peter, 412; mode of electing, *ib.*; immense patronage of, 416; his oppressive government, 420; his dispensations, 422; Christ's enemy, iii. 278; the great plunderer, 318, 319; encourages war, 330; identified with Antichrist, 341; how far to be followed, 505.
Pope Joan, i. 241.
Porphyry, iii. 407.
Poverty, suitable for ecclesiastics, i. 313; iii. 495; chosen by Christ, i. 318; advantages of, ii. 211; beauty of, iii. 275.
Prayer, efficacy of, ii. 153, 186; iii. 219; general better than special, 425.
Prayers for the dead, ii. 213, 215; iii. 395.
Preachers, rules for, i. 282.
Preaching, the chief duty of priests, iii. 144, 464.
Prelates, compared to the Scribes, i. 7; worldliness of, 220; doom of false, ii. 409; worship false gods, iii. 37; might well be dispensed with, 433.
Pride, the sin of, its forms and remedies, iii. 121–128.
Priesthood, lawful and unlawful privileges of the, ii. 247.
Priests, dignity of their calling, iii. 143; duties of, 205; misdeeds of worldly, 304.
Property, the right to, invalidated by sin, i. 260 *n.*; community of, iii. 473.
Proprium Sanctorum, offices of, i. 295.
Purgatory, the sleep of, i. 101; iii. 53, 116, 339; a state of punishment, i. 321; the souls in, ii. 100; iii. 286.

Q.

Quienals, iii. 398 *n.*

R.

Regale of the English crown, iii. 391.
Religion, private, of the friars, i. 6.
Religious orders, their members should be allowed to leave them, i. 296.
Restitution, duty of, iii, 174.
Richard II, King, i. 354; iii. 508; appealed to, 503.
Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, iii. 281, 412, 416.
Riches, engender cowardice, i. 372.

S.

Sabbath, observance of the, ii. 57, 180.
Sacerdotal pretensions, iii. 297.
Sacraments, of priestly invention, i. 119.
Sacrilege, the curse against, iii. 325.
Saints, many of them now in hell, iii. 466 *n.*; compared, 419; worship of, 463.
Salaries of priests, i. 291 *n.*; iii. 286.
Salt, its properties, i. 267.
Sanctuary, abuses of the right of, iii. 294, 316 *n.*, 323.
Schism, in the papacy, i. 228; occasions war, 243; wrongly, 246; considered, ii. 192, 403; iii. 242.
Scholastic doubts, i. 181, 195, 323, 333, 376.
Scholastic speculations, i. 93; iii. 146.
Science without religion, the doom of, ii. 408.
Scripture, four modes of understanding, i. 30; its inner sense, 52; scornful language occurring in, 113; its paramount authority, 186; translated into English, 209; always self-consistent, 302.
Seas, properties of, iii, 67.
Sects, of monks, canons, and friars, founded in error, i. 28; their inordinate partizanship, 45.
Seed, of God, i. 104.
Sergius, the monk, iii. 245.
Sermon on the Mount, importance of, i. 406.
Seven Heresies against the Pater Noster, iii. 441.
Sextus, the (of canon law), i. 205 *n.*
Simonists and Apostates, iii. 211.
Simony, universality of, iii. 226, 488; forms of, 278–287.
Sin, mortal and venial, i. 61; iii. 452; the unpardonable, ii. 32; reproof of, a duty, 76; forgiveness of, 77; against the Holy Ghost, iii. 120.

Sins, the seven deadly, iii. 119.
Slander, the guilt of, ii. 183.
Sloth, the sin of, iii. 142.
Soul, the, when joined to the body, i. 369 *n.*
Spheres, the, iii. 64.
State, the, should be supreme, ii. 295; even over popes, 296.
Summoning, ecclesiastical, iii. 166 *n*, 320.
Super Cantica Sacra, iii. 1–81.
Supererogatory merits, doctrine of, assailed, iii. 101.
Swearing, to what extent lawful, iii. 483.
Swords, meaning of the two, iii. 263.
Sylvester, Pope, iii. 340.

T.

Te Deum, translation and commentary, iii. 52; origin of the, *ib. n.*
Temptation of Christ, i. 109.
The Ave Maria, iii. 111.
The Church and her Members, iii. 338.
The Great Sentence of Curse, iii. 267.
The Pater Noster (1) iii. 93.
„ „ (2) iii. 98.
The Seven corporal works of Mercy, iii. 168.
The Seven spiritual works of Mercy, iii. 177.
The Ten Commandments, iii. 82.
Thomas, St., the apostle, i. 153 *n.*
Thomas a Becket, St., i. 330.
Thunder, nature of, i. 186.
Tithes, sufficient for the clergy, i. 147, 199, 282; may be withheld in certain cases, iii. 176, 468; evils caused by appropriating them to convents, 215; cursing for, 309–313; not due under the gospel, 312.
Trentals, iii. 299, 374.
Trinity, doctrine of the, i. 158–162, 359; representations of the, iii. 491.

U.

Urban VI, pope, ii. 192, 319; iii. 506; the son of Antichrist, 455; letter to, 504.
Use of Sarum, or Salisbury, iii. 482.
Usury, the sin of, ii. 252; iii. 154.

V.

Vae Octuplex, ii. 379.
Vengeance, when lawful, iii. 136.
Virtues, inculcated in the gospel, i. 261.
Vita Sacerdotum, iii. 233.
Voluntary principle, the, advocated, iii. 360.
Vows, dispensation from, i. 81.

W.

War, opposed to Christianity, i. 148; its lawfulness discussed, iii. 137.
Water, properties of, iii. 67.
Wills, making of, ii. 212.
Works, salvation by, i. 350.
World, the, different meanings of the term, ii. 160.
Wyclif, John, disabled from travelling to the pope, iii. 506.