WYCLIF

SELECT ENGLISH WORKS
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

M DCCC LXXI

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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,
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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. i 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 shrift 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
INTRODUCTION.

'Single Sermons,' (No. 3). The first of these, 'Wycliffe'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 Vas 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
INTRODUCTION.

Abbotts, 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 εἶλα: 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.

* Rhet. ii. 4. b
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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 Haereticorum 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.

## LIST OF MSS. OF THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of MS.</th>
<th>Distinguishing Letter</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bodl. 288.</td>
<td>T.</td>
<td>A fine folio, double columned and well ornamented, containing, besides the 'Super Cantica Sacra,' nothing but Hampole's Psalter and Commentary, <em>inc.</em> 'Grete haboundance.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magd. Coll.</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>A small thick volume, containing exactly what is contained in Bodl. 288, of which I am inclined to think it a copy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford. 52.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodl. 789.</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>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,' &amp;c., and several meditations and prayers, taken from the works of St. Bernard and St. Bonaventure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodl. 647.</td>
<td>W.</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C C. C. Camb. 296.</td>
<td>X.</td>
<td>A small folio, full of clerical inaccuracies, and making no pretensions to textual splendour, but containing many treatises not found elsewhere. See Shirley's <em>Catalogus</em>, 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth 408.</td>
<td>Y.</td>
<td>This MS. I have not seen; it supplied the text for Tracts VI, VII, and VIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title of MS.</td>
<td>Distinguishing Letter</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douce 274.</td>
<td>Z.</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trin. Coll.</td>
<td>AA.</td>
<td>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. 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.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douce 275.</td>
<td>BB.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trin. Coll.</td>
<td>CC.</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harl. 2398.</td>
<td>DD.</td>
<td>I have not seen this MS. The text of IV is derived from an accurate transcript taken from it by Mr. Brock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corser MS.</td>
<td>EE.</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laud 174.</td>
<td>FF.</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harl. 2385.</td>
<td>GG.</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wyclif Literature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of MS.</th>
<th>Distinguishing Letter</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiberius C. VII.</td>
<td>HH.</td>
<td>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. Another Cottonian MS. The copy of Knyghton’s Chronicle which it contains is evidently transcribed from Tiberius C. VII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudius E. III.</td>
<td>II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Capgrave, John, Chronicle of England (Rolls Series).
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.
Foze, John, Acts and Monuments, 1583.
Gibson, Edmund, Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, 1713.
Harpesfield, Nicholas, Historia Wickefiana, Douay, 1622.
Huss, John, Opera, 1558.
James, Thomas, Bodley’s Librarian, An Apologia for John Wicliffe, shewing his conformity with the new Church of England, Oxford, 1608.
Knyghton, Henry, Compilatio de eventibus Anglicis; in Twysden’s Decem Scriptores. Le Bas, C. W., Life of Wyclif (No. 1 of Theological Library), 1832.

" " Collectanea, Oxford, 1715.

Lewis, Rev. John, Minister of Margate, Life of Dr. John Wyclif, Oxford, 1830.


Orthuinus Gratia, Fasciculus rerum, &c., 1535; re-edited by Brown, 1690.

Otterburn, Thomas, Chronicle, edited by T. Hearne, 1733.

Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici (in continuation of Baronius), Lucca, 1738.


Shirley, Dr. Walter W., Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif, 1865.

Tanner, Bishop, Bibliotheca Britanno-Hibernica, 1748.

Vaughan, Dr. Robert, Life and Opinions of Wycliffe, 1828.

" " Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe, 1845.

Walden, Thomas of, Doctorale Fidei Christianae, Venice, 1571.

" " Fasciculi Zizaniorum (Rolls Series).

Walsingham, Historia Anglicana (Rolls Series).

Wilkins, David, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, 1736.

Wood, Anthony, Athenae Oxonienses.

" " History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, edited by Gutch, 1786.

LIST OF ENGLISH WORKS AScribed TO Wyclif,
Distinguishing those probably genuine from doubtful or spurious works.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A Petition to the King and Parliament</td>
<td>XXXIII</td>
<td>Ad Regem et Parliamentum</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>39, Four Articles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A Short Rule of Life</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>.. ..</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>24, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Church Temporalties</td>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>Cogendos sacerdotes ad honestatem</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>35, For pre skilles lordis &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Concerning the Eucharist (1)</td>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>.. ..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>65, On the Eucharist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Concerning the Eucharist (2)</td>
<td>XXXI</td>
<td>De sida Eucharistiae</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>54, Of the Eucharist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>De Apostasia Cleri</td>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td>De Apostasia (?)</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>46, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>De Blasphemia</td>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>De Blasphemia contra fratres</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>52, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>De Confessione et Poenitentia</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>.. ..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>51, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>De Domino Divino</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>same title</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>58, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>De Pontificum Romanorum schismate</td>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>De Papa Romano, and De Pontificum Romanorum schismate</td>
<td>63, 147</td>
<td>59, De Schismate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>De Precationibus Sacratis</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>same title</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>22, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>De Sacramento Altarum</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>.. ..</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3 (§), same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>De Stipendiis Ministeriorum</td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>same title</td>
<td>53, 143</td>
<td>31, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fifty Heresies and Errors</td>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>De fratrum nequitiae</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>15, Objections of Freres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Letter to Pope Urban</td>
<td>XXXII</td>
<td>Excursiones ad Urbanum</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>55, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Lincolniensis</td>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>.. ..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Octo in quibus seducuntur</td>
<td>XXVIII</td>
<td>De episcoporum erroribus</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Of Faith, Hope, and Charity</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>.. ..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>41, same title.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
### ENGLISH WORKS ASCRIBED TO WYCLIF.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Genuine English Works of Wyclif</th>
<th>No. or place in this edition</th>
<th>Title in Bale’s Summarium</th>
<th>No. in Lewis’ list</th>
<th>No. and title in Shirley’s Catalogue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Of Mynystris in the Chirche</td>
<td>Vol. II</td>
<td>De Christo et Anticristo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>On the Apostles’ Creed</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>In symbolum fidei</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>11 § 4, Commentary on, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>On the Five Inner Wits</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 § 6, Of the Five, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>On the Five Outer Wits</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 § 5, Of the Five, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>On the Seven Deadly Sins</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>De peccatis fugiendis</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>44, Of the Seven, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>On the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture</td>
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## APPENDIX

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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 M.S. 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 yevel men of Lollardry,
And afterward hit has bene sene ympyd in wiþ esey.
They sseyden þen to lende foles, þat it shuld be all enter
A blesyd boke of hur scoles, of Richard Hampole þe Sauter.
Thus ho þei seyd to make þem leve on her scole thoro solite,
To bring hem in, so hem to greve, ageyn þe feyth in grete foþ;
And sclaundrid foule þis holy man wiþ her wykkið waryd 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 358.

In the Old Testament Canticles there is no agreement with either Wycliffe's 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.]
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

[ THE THANKSGIVING OF ISRAEL. ]

[ Isaiah, ch. xii. ]

Confiteor tibi, Domine, quia iratus es michi; oon-
versus est furor tuus, et consolatus es me: I schall schryve to þee, Lord, for þou art wrappéd to me; turnyd is þi breqh, and þou cumfortistid me.

Þat is, to þe heriung of þee I schall schryve my synnes; and þat I schal do, for þei displesen þee, and maken þee wrappid to me synnynge, and I may not preie þee, but if I fordo my synne. Þerfor verrý schrift is levynge of synne, þat turneþ þi breqh fro me; but þou turnyst eendelees peyne which I have disserved lyvynge, into schort penaunce of a sorful herte, absteynyng fro synne. And in þat, Lord, þou cumfortist me, þat þis sentence in dyverse stidis of þi lawe is approvd, not in newe writynge and newe confirmationoun, for noþing is, to trowe soþ, left out of þe sentence of þi lawe. þis cumfort bowþ into myn herte, knowynge of feelinge of þi love, delyverynge my conscience of alle byndinge errours. Ffor

 Ecce, Deus salvator meas, fiducialiter agam et non timebo: Loo, God is my saveour, tristfuli 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 biforn blyndide turnyd to þe world. Þerfor tristfully I schal worche, dreynde no man, seynge boldly þat he schal come to deeme, zeldynge to ech man aﬅer his deede. þe deedis of tiraunts and of ipocritis, hizd in þis world, ensaumplinge wickideneþ, schulen be lowid þorþ poreyne eendelees, whanne trewe meke men schulen have coroun of joie; and I schal not dreede to seyn it, þouþ I be
dispisid þoru suggestioun of my false briþen for my sop-fastnes. Whi?

Quia fortitudo mea et laus mea, et factus est mihi in saltem: For my strenkþe and myn heriing oure Lord, and maad he is to me in helpe.

My strenkþe of whom I am stalworþe is Crist, for of myslyf 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 heelpe, æþin Adam þat brouȝte me in seekenes of deep, and æþin hem þat in blindenes of malice pursuen me for my soþsawe. But þe þat wolen folowe þe fforme of þis conversacioun,

Hauriatis aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris, et dicetis in illa die, Confitemini domino et invocate nomen ejus: Þe schulen drawe watirs in joie of þe wellis of þe savour, and þe schulen sce þat day, schryveþ to þe Lord and incleþip his name.

Je schulen drawe þoru charite and mekenes watir of devo-çiou of hevenely desiris in joie, ðeldinge servise to God of þe wellis, þat is, of þe plenteuouse graceiouse þifis of Jesus Crist; and þe schulen sey to opere in þat day,—þat is, whanne þe drinken of so cler wellis of Cristis lawe þat purgþ alle þe vicis, and leven þe modi watirs of mannys lawe troubliþ wip coveitise and lustis,—Schryveþ to oure Lord þoure synnes, for he oonli þeveþ pardoun, and so inwardly incleþip his name, þat is, lyveþ so þat þoure liif schewe þe heriing of Jesus; and þat may not be but þe þoru charite inclepen his name to þou, makynge þou þoru mekenes his wonynghe stide. If þou do þus,

Notas facite in populis adinvenciones ejus, mementote quia excelsum est nomen ejus: Makþ known in þe folk þe fyndingis of him; bipherkinþ for his name is hiþ.

Here he monestiþ ech man to lyve wel, and prestis to make knowe opinly Cristis meedful werks. Makþ known, þat is, preþip among þe folk, what?—fre sop-fastnes, þat þei moun knowe his incarnacioun, þoru þe which he found oure heeleþ. And tellþ to hem alle fablis left, þat he is not founden but in

1 Vulg. laus mea Dominus.  * clause om. in U.
2 So in U; unbipherkinþ, T.
meke and wilful charyte ful worshipping; and beþinkip, þat is, holdip him evere in mynde, or in þinkinge, or in spekinge, or in worchinge, þat þe no tyme be founden out of his heriynge; for he failip no tyme, here in helpinge, ne in hevene of meedyngne. And, for his hiȝ name Jesus is above alle names, holdip þat in sore þouȝt, for it is of greet virtu in a clene soule; Þot þoru þe virtu þerof is ech soule clenysid of vicious filȝe. And if clenysid it kepip cleene, bowynge þereinne abundantly grace of parfiȝt knowyng of virtues, no deuel ne yvel man may noien þat soule, þouȝ þe body suffre peyne in which it restip peesibly. It is of so greet virtu þat blynde men covetyen to bere it on hem, but þe help of Jesus is not wip hem, to meede hem in hevene, þat beren it not in cleannes of lyvyngne, ne it failip not hem þat lyven wel, þouȝ þe herden nevere speke þerof. þe þat moun heere and seke to knowe Goddis wille, tristip in heringe of it in þoure hertis, not in schewingne þerof in þoure cloþinge, for it suffrip not þe love þerof fallen into pride ne covetise aȝens Goddis honour, as Lucifer and Adam diden.

*Cantate domino quia magnificæ egit, Anuntiaste heo in universa terra*: Syngip to oure Lord for worshipfully he dide, schewip þat in al þe erbe.

Je loviers of þe name of Jesus, syngip to oure Lord in contempleacioun, for þere is delitable cumfort. Perfore is it rîȝt clepid contempleacioun, for þe soule\(^1\) of a good man or womman in þis liif hâþ no cumfort but þereinne. Perfor þerwip wel worchinge honourip Jesus Crist, for worshipfully he dide þe heelþe of mankynde, diyynge þerfore, savynge synful wrecchis þat wolen leve synne. What þing is more bifoire God þan to þelde good aȝen yvel? þerfore schewip 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 wonying 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 contempleacioun 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 halowyng þee in his love, þat is verri Israel in trúpe, hope, and charite, seeynge þere þoru God.

[ PRECATIO EZECHLÆ. ]

[ Isaiah xxxviii. 10. ]

Égo dixi; In dimidio dieserum meorum vadam ad portarum inferi: I seyde, in half of my daies, I schal [go] to þe zatis of helle.

Ezechie þe king, aþer his siiknes, grauntynge of liif xv þeer over, herieþ God, and seip, I seide in myn herte, dispeiringe of liif, fro I hadde herd þe vois of deep of þe profetis mouþ, In half of my dayes, þat is, in unperfiþtnes of werkis not fulfillid, þe dayes in which I schulde have lyved, I schal go to þe zatis of helle; þat is, I þus unperfiþt, diþys, schal passe to helle, for þidir þeden alle men bifoþ þe comynge of Jesus Crist. And þerfore,

Quesivi residuum annorum meorum. Dixi, non videbo domum Domini in terra viventium: I souȝte þe leyng of my þeeris; I seide, I schal not se þe Lord in þe lond of leyng.

I souȝte, preiinge to God, þat I myȝte eende þe leyng of myn þeeris, þat is, þat I myȝt bringe my liif to perfiþtnes and fulnes of daies. For I seide in myself, if I now die wþouten child, I schal not se God-man in hevene; as who seie, I cam nevere þere. For he wiste þat God hadde hïþt, 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.

* 'Dominum Deum' in the Vulgate.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Non aspiciam hominem ultra, et habitatorum quietis: I schal not seen man over, and wondier of reste.

Pat is, if I die now, I schal not seen him pat is God and man born of my kynde, over, pat is, aftir pat I be deed; and so I schal not seen wonyer of reste, pat is, I schal not seen cum-
punyes of chosun men wonyngge in eendelees reste, ne won wip hem where is delitable reste. Ffor lo,

Generacio mea ablata est, et convoluta est a me quasi tabernaculum pastorum: My generacioun is rafi, and 

logidere lappid is fro me, as tabernacle of heerdis.

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

Precisa est velud a texente vita mea; dum adhuc ordiner, succidit me: Bfore schoren is as he wevyng my liif; 

whilis I was in wevyng he hit me down.

My liif is schoren awey, youpeheed bfore er I come to 
eelde, as of he wevyngge pat scherip doun pe web, er it be 

fully woven. And 3it while I began to lyven he scheri ph 
doun wip sikil of deep, for no sunner bigynne we to lyven 
pan we bigynnen to dien.

De mane usque ad vesperam finies me. Sperabam 
usque ad mane, quasi leo sic contrivit omnia essa mea: 
Fro morn to even pou schall eende me. I hopide to pe morn, as lioun so 

so I brak alle my boones.

Ipe spekip in a maner of a man pat liip in a strayt sever, pat 
fro pe morn to even abidiip, aftir passing of pe yvel or of pe deep. I hopide to pe morn, pat is, al nynt, to be releved 
or to dien. As lyoun pat nopip sparip, so God in my siiknes 
brak alle my boones, pat is, wastide al myn strenkipe.

De mane usque ad vesperam finies me. Sicut pullus 
yrundinis sic clamabo, meditabor sic ut columba: Fro 
morum to even pou schall eende me. As a bird of a swalowe, so 
I schal crie, I schal pinke as a dowve.

Pou schalt eende me, pat is, I abide myn eende fro morn to 
even. Pat he rehersip pis twies, he schewip pe greetnes of his
yvel, and þe worchinge, as þe maner of siik men is whanne þei fefen riȝt hard, and witen not what þei moun best seyn. As bird of swalowe þat gredily asky þe mete, so in siike, woundid in sorowe, and in noye of siiknes, schal I criþ to God my leche, þat I now fynde his hoolsam medicyn; and I schal þynke as a douwe, þat is, mekely, wipouten galle of grucching, ire, and wickid wille, stilly usynge sorowyng þe for my synne, cum-fortynge me in hope of God wip devout song of meditacion, not wip song of vanite. And in pis cry and þinkinge,

**Attenuati sunt oculi meis, suspicientes in excelsis**: Thynnyd ben myn iżen, uplokyngyn in hiȝ.

Myn iżen ben þinned, þat is, my þouȝt and myn entent ben purgid of vile lustis, and foule willís, and veine þouȝtis, and maad sotil and semely in þe love of Jesus Crist; and so þei ben uplokyngyn in heijte 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 reorim**: Lord, forse I suffre, answere for me what schal I seyn, or what schal I answe to me whanne I have do.

Lord, I suffre force, þat is, violence of siiknes and disesis above my myȝt; [þat is ²] answe to me, þat is, be boru of myn amendement; for my wille is, if þou wylt 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; þefore ech Cristen man þat þoru synne brekiþ his trúpe dispisiþ þe boroheed of Crist, þat witnessþiþ ech trewe manmys trúpe. But what schal I sey to God whanne I suffre riȝtwiȝsl þis peyne? or what schal God answe to me whanne I have synnyd grevousli in his siȝt, and he but as riȝtwiȝsl venger of synne puneschiþ it riȝtwiȝsli? 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 wipouten him; and I knewe þat I have ofte defoulid his werk wilfully, and he

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¹ be, U.
² These words are redundant.

* 'excelsum' in the Vulgate.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

as ofte hap recounsilid it; but now me schamen with myself, knowinge him for higgest Lord, and me for moost vile wrecche. How schulde I dore pinke to meve hym dus ofte to amende my wilful defaute? As who seie, pe best is in al angwische to take Goddis souude mekely, and preien him of mercy, pat dide as it was his wille. And perewip,

Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos in amaritudine anime mee: I schal pinke again to bee alle my yeres, in bittirnesse of my soule.

I schal pinke to bee, pat is, for pe heriynge of bee I schal bringe to my mynde alle my yeres, pat is, al my lyf pat is passid, in which I knowe me coupable; and pat in bittirnes of my soule, pat is, bittirnes of sorowe be in my soule for my synnes, and so I schal poru pi mercy waische me clene of alle filpis, lovynge pi name wipouten eende, more qwemynghe bee wip heriinge fan evere I displeside bee in synnynge.

Domine, si aevi vivitur, et in talibus vita spiritus mei, oorripies me, et vivificabis me. Eoce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima: Lord, if man so lyve and in siche pe liif of my spirit, pou schalt chastise me, and pou schalt quykene me. Lo, in pees my bittirnes bitterist.

Lord, if man so lyve, as who seie, it is a general rule pat man so lyve, pat is, poru verri penaunce,—and in siche, pat is, hatred of synne and in love of riȝtwisnes, is pe liif of my spirit,—ellis it is deed,—perfore pou schalt chastise me here as pou doost pi sones, pat I persche not wip sones of pis world wipouten eende. And chastisynghe pou schalt quykene me, pat is, pou schalt yeve to me perfiȝt heelp. For lo, in pees, pat is, in verri pacience, is my bittirnes, pat is, my siiknes; and tribulacioun pat pou sendist, of me is suffrid pacientli and in pees wipoute grucchinge, pouȝ it be seen bitteriste while oþere men ben in welpe.

Tu autem eruisti animam meam ut non perirest, proiecisti post tergum tuum omnia peccata mea: But pou delyveridist my soule pat i pereschide not, pou kestidest bihynde pi bak alle my synnes.

Pou ordeynedest me to pi love, and into pin heriynge; delyvere my soule of deep of synne, pat it peresche not wip pe soulis of
wickide men, which þou neiþer delyverist fro synne ne fro helle. þou castedist bihynde þi bak to foryeting alle my synnes, þat þou se hem not to ponesche, for whom þou hast poneischid sufficientli here, þou wolt not ponesche eft wipoute newe forfetynge.

Quia non infemus confitebitur tibi, neque mora laudabit te; non expectabunt qui descendunt in lacum veritatem tuam: For helle schal not schryve to þee, ne deep schal not herie þee; and þo þat liþen in þe lake wole not abide þi sofastes.

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 byndip his herte and his mouþ, þat he telle not his synne to þee wip wille to amende it. Ne deep, 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 liþen in þe lake of dampniacioun schulen not abide þi sofastes, þat is, þei han noon hope to be delyverid þoru Jesus Crist, bier of mankynde. But,

Vivens, vivens, ipse confitebitur tibi, siout et ego hodie; pater notam faciet filiis veritatem tuam: Lyvynge, lyvynge, he schal schryve to þee, as and I in þis day; fadir schal make known to sones þi sofastes.

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, affir þe foarme of trewe matrimonye, or after þe office of trewe preesthood, schal make knowne to hise sones þoru trewe teching þi sofastes, þat is, verri sofastesnesse of truþe in þe loore of Cristin mannys religioun. For wip wrong is he clepid fadir of whos fruyt God is not heried.

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

Lord, make me saaf of þe devels foundingys, and of alle opere yvelis wiþinne and wipoute, and we schulen syngge oure salmes,

1 corrected; T has suam; U om.
pat is, we schulen make solempne þin heriingis wiþ herte, moup, 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, þouþt of herte, ne salm of mouþ, ne werk of hondis, is not qweemeful to Jesus Crist.

[ THE SONG OF HANNAH. ]

[ I 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 hised in my God.

Helcana þat was fadir of Samuel hadde two wyves, Ffenenne 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, stiryngus us to þe heriingus of oure God þat haþ take us fro þe errours of heþen men. At þe bigynynge of her song sche schewiþ þat in God is her deliit, and seþ, as in figure of us, Myn herte gladide in my Lord, in þe fruit of good werk and of medeþful meditacioun, þat was sory for my bareynheid; and hised is myn horn, þat is, my goostli strenkþe, in þe which I putt aweye my scoorners, hoping in my God, not in myself, ne in vanye 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 helleþe.

Þat is, wilfully and wiþ gladnes I openede my mouþ in þe heriing of God, above my foos, þat is, moore þan þei þat schameden me and dispisiden me bifoþre; 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 pin heelpe, pat is, in Jesus, pat me hap hised 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 our Lord, for noon aper is out of pee, and noon is statworpe as is oure God.

Noon is hooly, pat is, fre of synne, as is oure Lord Jesus Crist, for noon opher is pat is holy out ofpee, for in pee and poru pee is ech man hooly. And noon is stalworpe to vengen yvele deedis as oure God is, pat yeldip to ech man aftir his yvel wille. Perfore pe\(^1\) scorners and pe\(^2\) dispisers of meke pore men, and honouriers\(^3\) of riche men,

Nolite multiplicare loqui sublimia gloriantes: Willip not multiplen to speke hige pingis gloriynge.

Willip no moore yeve to youre tunge leve to speke proudli, for pat ye ben hised of pis world, for pat myyt is but schame and sorowe to you, if ye coveiten hem, joyynge in richessis poru pride in youre delicis and lecchere. And if ye biquyten you wel, ye schulden have more sorowe pin joie, for ye yeten noon opher hevene, but if ye dispende hem at Goddis wille.

Recedant vetera de ore vestro, quia Deus scienciarum Dominus est, et ipsi preparantur cogitaciones: Olde pingis departip fro youre mouip, for God of sciencis is Lord; to him ben redied pouztis.

Olde pingis ben lesyngis, false ophis, cursingis, sclaundringis, backbityngis, and grucchingis aens Goddis wille and his sooude, whiche schewen pat ye dwellen in youre oold liif, but if yee wolen plese God, departe yo fro youre mouip pat ye use hem no more, but newe speche in newe liif; for God of sciencis pat al woot and al may is Lord, streitly deemynge youre oodel erreurs, and to him ben pouztis redyed, for he knowip wel al pat ye pinken, and wherein youre deliit is moost. Fyve pingis ben founden in a man,—pouzt, affeccioun, entent, werk, and speche. Pe pouzt schulde be devout and hooly, pe affeccioun cleene, pe entent riif, pe werk riitwiis, and pe speche atemple.

\(^1\) ye, U. \(^2\) om. U. \(^3\) So in U; bonouris, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Arous fortium superatus est et infirmi accincti sunt robore: De bowe of the staleworpe is overcomun, and the siike ben gird wiþ strenkpe.

De bowe of the staleworpe is the trist of riche men and cove-touse, pat pei beenden to wynne to the honour and lordschip of theis world, and pat is overcomun, for Crist haj damnyd it, and schal breken it, and casten it into the fier of helle. And siike men, pat is, meke men and feble in her owne iegen, wiþoute presumpcion and pride, ben gird wiþ strenkpe, pat is, wiþ goostli virtu; pei ben maad stable and lastinge in good pouȝt, to fiȝte aȝenis her goostli enemyes wiþ devoute preiers, and aȝein her bodiely enemyes wiþ meke suffrancce; for alle gode men han manye foos, while thei ben in theis liif.

Repleti prius, pro panibus se locaverunt, et famelici saturati sunt: Firste fillide for looves thei leyden hem, and the hungre fillid.

Who pat first werun fillid in erþeli lustis and boluended in looves, pat is, for fode of soule, thei leyden hem, pat is, thei yeven hem mekely to resseyve the loore of hevene; and so the hungry, pat is, desirynge riȝtwisnes and the word of liif, ben fillid in sweetnes or eendeles joie. And so longe schal theis goostli breed laste,

Doneo sterilis peperit plurimos, et que multis habebat filios infirmata est: Til he bareyn have boren manye, and siche pat hadde many sones be maad siik.

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

Dominus mortislovat et vivislovat, deducit ad inferos et reducit: The Lord sleep and he wakenep, he lediþ to helle, and he bringiþ aȝein.

Oure Lord sleep hem pat loven theis liif outrageousli, and wakenep hem pat forsaken theis world and dispisen theis liif for the liif eendeles. He lediþ to helle, pat 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 dedit, humiliat et sublevat: Oure Lord makip pore and he makip riche, he mekip and he upliftip.

Oure Lord mercifully makip a pore man riche of eendelees goodis, revynge his herte fro covetise and eripeli love; for he made him not riche þoru riȝtwisnes, but if he firste made him pore in herte þoru mersy. He mekip þe proude to peyne of devels, and upliftip þe meke to joie of angelas.

Susceptans de pulvere2 ogenum, et de stercore origens pauperem: Reisyng þe nedy out of dust, and out of fenne riȝtunge þe pore.

Reisinge wipinne þoru grace out of dust, þat is, fro yvel liif þat is stirid wip ech wynd of temptacioun, þe nedy, þat is, him þat knowþ his goostli nede, and perfer is he evere askyng 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 dispisip þe falsheed of þis world, makinge him þoru grace þe holy love of Jesus Crist.

Ut sedeat omn principibus, et solium gloriae teneat: þat he sitte wiþ príncis, 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 cárdenes terrae, et posuit super eos orbem: For þe lorde ben þe haccis3 of þe erke, and he sette on hem þe world.

Þe herris of erþe ben þe perþþt men of holy Chirche in truþe and charite, þoru whiche ópere 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 servabit4; impii et in tenebris conticescunt5, quia non in fortitudine sua roborabitur vir: Þe feet of his seyntis he schal kepe, and þe wickid in derknes schulen be stille, for not in his statuorþnes schal a man be strengþid.

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

1 corrected from Vulg.; dícat, T.
2 pulverem, T.
3 berres, U.
4 corrected from Vulg.; conticiscunt, T.
5 servabant, T.

Wyclif.
hise seyntis, þat is, of hem whiche he halowip and holdip cleene, he schal kepe fro fallung, for on þo feet þei goon to God. And wickide men wipouten pite of her owne soule, in derkenes of ignoraunce and yvele deedis, schulen be stille, þat þei heve not God to queebe, ne schryve her synnes verrily. For not in his stalworþnes is a man strenghid, þat is, holy men han no presumcioun of her owne virtu ne of strengeþe, as proude men han, which strenkþe is chesoun of her dampancioun.

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

Goddis enemies ben alle þat doon æsein riȝtwiþnes, or þat loven falsheed. And if þei wolen not now dreede wip her wille, þei schulen be maad to drede him æsein her wille, whanne he schal deeme; þanne he schal orribly þundir above hem his dreede, seeinge to hem, Go, þe wariede wiþis, into fier wipouten eende, þat is greþid to þe devel and his 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 þeve empire to his kynge, and he schal þis þe horn of his Crist.

Oure Lord schal deeme þe eendis of erþe, not þe bigyn-nyngis 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 þeve empire, þat is, alle chosun men þat lyveden in his com-aundementis, to his kynge, þat is, to Crist, þat is his sone king. And he schal hiþen þe horn of his Crist, þoru þe which he blew away al þe myþt of his enemy.

\[1\] lov not God, U.
[THE SONG OF MOSES AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL.]

[Ex. xv. 1—19.]

Cantemus Domino, gloriosae enim magnificatus est; equum et ascensorum dejectit in mare: Syngne we to oure Lord, for gloriosi he is worshipid; he hors and he stier he caste doun into he see.

We þat ben lad out of Egypt, þat is, out of þe derknes of vicis and out of þe affliccioun of erþeli bisynes, syngne we to oure Lord, þat is, herie we him, þankinge him wiþ al þe devocioun of oure herte, for gloriosi he is worshipid in sich delyveraunce, þat deep 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 beren, 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 deþyverid, syngne we to God and seie,

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

Þoru him we ben stalworþe to stonde, þoru him we schulen be heried, whanne oure enemys þat ben now heried schulen be dispisid; and he is maad to us into heelpé eendelee, and her stiger to hem to eendelee dampnacioun.

Iste Deus meus, et glorificabo eum, Deus patris mei, et exaltabo eum: He is my God and I schal glorifen him, God of my fadir, and I schal hizen him.

He, þis Jesus Crist, þever of grace, is my God; and þerfore I schal glorifen him. Þat is, I schal seke his joie and heriynge,
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

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; eururus Pharaonis et exercitum ejus project in mare: Þe Lord as a man ﬁghter, almiȝti his name; Þe cartis of Farao and his oost he caste into þe see.

Oure Lord is ﬁȝtir, for he betip out þe devel fro þe hertis of hise servauntis; Almiȝti is his name, for noþing may aȝen-stonde 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 knyþis, 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 wip þe devel, fadir of alle þe children of pride, into þe bittir peyne of helle wipouten eende.

Electi principes ejus submersei sunt in mari rubro. Abyssi operuerunt eoe; desoenderunt in profundum quasi lapis: Hise chozone princis ben drenchid in þe Reed see. Depnessis hilden hem; þei liȝtiden into þe depnes as a stoon.

Þe chozone princis of Sathan ben þe gloriose princis and prelatis, wip oþere lustful riche men of þe world, þat setten al her love and her likying 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 vanye; þei liȝtiden into þe ground of tormentis, as a stoon cast into þe ground comeþ nevere aȝen.

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

þat is,—Lord, þi Sone schewide strenkþe aȝeþin 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 eoe sicut stipulam;

\(^1\) So in U; T has terram.

C 2
in spiritu furoris tui congregate sunt aque: *Pou sentist bi wrappy bat et hem as stoble. In spirit of bi breep gaderid ben waatris.*

*Pou sentist bi wrapp, bat is, pou didist veniaunce on hem, pe which eet hem as fier waastip stoble; hard veniaunce is in fier. In spirit of bi breep, bat is, by spirit wrapptide, gaderid ben waatris of al turment to synful men.*

*Stett unda fluens; congregati sunt abyssy in medio maris: Pe flowynge waatir stood; gaderid ben depnessis in myddis of pe see.*

*Pe flowynge waatir stood, bat is, pe peyne of proude bolnyd malicious dampnyd men and wommen lastip wipouten eende. Gaderid ben depnessis of alle sorowis in myddis of pe see, bat is, in pe foulisi pitt of helie, bat pei ben ponschid peere eende-lees, bat ben depe here in malice and wickidnes. But first,—*

*Dixit inimicios, Perssequar et comprehendam, dividam spolias, implabitor anima mea: Pe enemy seyde, I schal folowe, and I schal take, and schal departe spoillis, my soule schal be fullilid.*

*Pe enemy pe devel seide, I schal folowe wiþ yvel eggyng Cristen men bat turnen out of Egypt and hasten into pe lond of hevene, and I schal pursue hem wiþ snaris of dyverse temptaciouns and manyfoold erreurs and fantums. I schal departe spoillis, bat is, whanne pei ben wiþdrawe fro clennes and charite, I schal putt hem in dyverse vicis and crueltees, and so my wille schal be fullilid in hem. For pe devel coveitip no moore but to han me out of charite, for þanne ben pei lost fro grace if pei dwellen in pride and malice. And if pei stonden aþein me,—*

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

*I schal outdrawe, pat is, aperfily I schal schewe before her iþen my swerd, pat is, venemouse lustis and likings of deedly synnes, and þoru þo my myst schal sle hem goostli. Manye he sleep but not alle, and al his malice schal pe wickider ben.*

*Flavit spiritus tuus, et operuit eos mare, submersai sunt quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus: *Pi spirit blew, and pe see hilide hem; drenchid þei ben as leed in grete waatris."*
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Thi Spirit blew, þat is, venciaunce passynghe of þi wille fel on hem; þe see hilde hem, þat is, þe devel wiþ alle þat he hap disseyved schulen be swolowid of helle, þat þei angre not aﬅir gode men. Drenchid þei ben hevy as leed, for birþun¹ of synnes, in grete watris, þat is, in grete turmentis þat nevere mou 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 staltworbes, Lord? who is þee liik, worschipful in holynes, feerdsful and preisable and doinge wondris?

Who is liik to oure Lord? as who sey, noon; for he doþ al þat he wole, and noþing is doon wiþouten his suffring and his wille. Þerfore is he worschipful in large of þiftis of grace to holy men, feerdsful in venciaunce of yvele men, and to herien in delyveringe of riȝtwise men, and doyng wondris in hijinge 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 strechidist þin hond, and þe erþe devoride hem. Leder þou were in þi mercy to þi folk þat þou bouȝtist.

Þow schewidist þi myȝt to þe venciaunce of hem þat were enen here wiþ erþelþi covetise, sleinge hem sodeinly, and putþinge 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 habitaoulum sanctum tuum: And þou heere him in þi strenkþe to þin holy wonþyng.

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

Asendunt populi et irati sunt; dolores optinuerunt habitatores Philistiiim: Þe folk stieden and were vorabhid; sorowis weelidden 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 birþun, U.
noyes to letten hem; and if þei moun not overcomen hem, þei waxen wroþe, and þoru her wraþe and indignacions, þe whiche þei han aþein rìghtwise men, þei ben endurid in her unskillful errour til endeleeles deþ weelde hem. And so þei ben liik to þe wonyers of Filistym, þat ben sallynge 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.

Tuno conturbati sunt principes Edom, robustos Moab obtinuit tremor, obrigerunt omnes habitatores Chanaan: Þanne ben troublid þe princis of Edom, tremblýnge weilýnge þe staltworþe of Moab, alle þe wonyers of Chanaín waxen starke.

Þe princis of Edom ben erþeli kyngis, þat of pride and tirauntrie þristen mennys blood wþ injuries; þese schulen be troublid whanne Crist deemeþ, þou þei ben now holden ful glorios. Þe staltworþe of Moab ben alle þe proude princis 1, prelatis, and prestis of þis world, þat maken hem stronge in getyng of richessis þat Crist and hishe forbeden to hem. Boostýnge of her power schulen tremble, for her dampnacioun may not be aþein-clepid, for stinkinge of her ypocrisie. Wonyers of Chanaán ben chaunsable men and unstable in good purpos, knowen definitis and amenden hem not, but for love of covetise, or for drede of noyes, 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 enemys schulen multiplie, and sewe doren holde þe truþe. But, for þou failist not in dayes of angwissh to þi loviers,

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

That is, make þin enemys in drede of þi doom so aþeerd for þee, þat þei have no myþ to distrouble þi servauntis in her weeþ.

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

1 proude men, U; rest of sentence om.
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quam possedisti: Maad be þei unstable as a stoon, til þat þi folk passe, Lord, til þi folk passe, þis is þe which þou hast wreadid.

Þat is, yvele men be holden in hardnes of obstynacioun, til þat þe folk þou hast chosun be groundid in stedefast bileve, 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 shall lede hem into þe lond, and þou schall sette hem in þe hil of þin herilage, 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 lyvyng, and setten hem an his 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,


In þat seynþuarius our Lord schal be kying, þat is, in all savyd men wiþouþt eende; and over, he seij, for he is biffre al þing, and over al þing,—biffre al þing as maker, biffre al þat is maad,—and over al þat is or schal be, for of him þei ben alle, and wiþouþt 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 his eyme gode men; but oure Lord bringiþ on him and alle hise þe peynes of helle.

Filiæ autem Israelí ambulaverunt per sæcum in medio ejus: But þe sones of Israel zeden bi drie, in myddis of it.

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

1 corrected from Vulg.; regnavit, T.
THE PRAYER OF HABAKKUK.

[THE PRAYER OF HABAKKUK.]

[DEB. iii. 2—19.]

Domine, audivi audicionem tuam, et timui: Lord,
I herde pin heeryng, and I dredde.
Lord, þoru þe pryvye of þin incarnacioun I knew þee verri
God, havyngyne of þin hondywerc, and I dredde; þat is,
þou þal my soule were glad, I helde me unworfi to heere sich
an heerynge.

Domine, opus tuum, in medio annorum vivifica illud:
Lord, þi werk, in myddis of þeeris, qwikene it.
Lord, þis woundyrful natvynte of þe Mayden is þi werk, not
werk of mannys kynde; in myddis of þeeris, þat is, in fulnes
of tyme, qwikene it, þat is, sende þi Sone to qwikene us.

In medio annorum notum facies. Cum iratus fueris,
mercioordise recordaberis: In myddis of þeeris þou shalt
make known. Whanne þou were wrappid, of merci þou shalt
bipinke.

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

Deus ab Austro veniet, et sanctus de monte Pharon:
God schal come of þe Souþ, and be holy of þe hil of Faron.
þat is, Jesus Crist shal come þoru truþe and love bi þe myþt
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 opere holy men as honorable cloþing, and so
he is heried þoru al holy Chirche, of hem þat weren þis cloþing,
and of noon oþir, þou þat he be in holy Chirche¹.

¹ U om. of bem—Chirche.
Splendor ejus ut lux erit, cornua in manibus ejus: 
De schynge of him schal be as liy, hornys in hise hondis.

Pat is, pe verri knowynge in his lawe makiþ alle men þat 
holden it briȝt and schinynge in his love, for it suffriþ not þe 
knowere to erre. He knowiþ it verrili þat fulfiþ it, not þat 
rediþ it or telliþ it, for so doon ipocritis, enemyes þerof; and 
hornys in hise hondis, þat is, hise hondis weren streccid 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 ensaumplers of tournyng fro virtues to vicis; 
for þe which distruscioun Crist dyede on þe cros. Ffor,

Thi abscondita est fortitudo ejus. Ante faciem ejus ibit 
mors: Þere is hizid his strengeþ. Bifore his face deep schal go.

There, þat is, in mekenes of þe cros, was hid in manheed þe 
strenkte of his Godheed; and þere deep wolde have fled his 
prescence, but it mynte not; for he diynge overtook deep and 
slouþ it, as he seip, Deep, I schal be þi deep, and helle, I schal 
be þi hitynge. He þat bitiþ a þing, he takþ a part þerof in his 
mouþ and anoþir part he leveþ wipoute; so dide Crist wiþ 
helle. Alle gode men he took wiþ him, and develis and yvele 
men he lefte þere.

Egregietur dysabolus ante pedes ejus. Sestit et mensus 
est terran: þe de vel schal goen out bifore hisse feet. He stood, 
and he mat 1 be erþe.

Ffor at þe comynge of Jesus Crist þe de vel yede out of manye 
bodies and soulis, and þanne Crist stood and mat þe erþe, þat 
is, chosun men he took as his owne, and þaf hem grace and 
joie after þe mesure of his eyving.

Aspexit et dissolvit gentes, et contriti sunt montes 
souli: He bihelde and he looside folkis, alto broken ben hillis 
of his 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 hignes, ben alto broken, þat is, þei weren 
þorou Cristis loore maad ful meke.

1 mete, U.
Incurvati sunt oelles mundi ab itineribus eternitatis ejus: Incrokid ben be hillis of be world fro be weyes of his eendeleesheed.

Dat is, lasse proude men crokiden hem to pe bowynge to Cristis comandementis; and sit fro dat sei knewen hise weyes, bi pe whiche he cleipi to eendelees joie.

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

Pe tentis of Ethiopie ben alle dat serven to pe devel, for sei ben blake and foule of synne; pe skynnes of Madyan ben alle dat dreeden not pe rigitwise doom of God, and al these pe pro-fete say be troublid in peyne and turamenti 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 tou art wrappid, or in flodis thi breep, or in thi see pin indignacion\(^2\)

Dat is, whepir thou schalt suffre alle to peresche, and al pis world to falle in veniounce. As who se, Nay, for thou art now he,—

Qui ascendis\(^3\) super equos tuos, et quadrigae tuae salvatio: That stiset on pin horsis, and thi charis salvacion.

Dat is, thou sittist in pe apostlis, and in alle holy tachers poru pe world, to werren asein pe devel; thi charis,—proprily dat ben pin evangelistis, for sei ben salvacion\(^3\) of men dat ben saaf poru pe holy evangeli.

Suscitans suscitabitis arorum tuum, juramenta tribubus que locutus es: Reisinge thou schalt reise thi bowe, oobis to kynredis whiche thou speke.

Dat is, thou reisinge holy writ in pe knowynge of pin apostillis schalt reise it in alle her meke folowers to worche pereafter, dat lay slepinge while men undirstoden it not, for pe oolde lawe was mysty til it was qwikenyd poru pe Spirit of Crist, and so thou schalt fulfille pe oobis dat thou madist to pe kynredis of Israele.

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\(^1\) So in U and Vulg.; T has nunquam.

\(^2\) So in U; salvacion, T.

\(^3\) So in U and Vulg.;
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Fluvio seindes terre; viderunt te [aque'], et doluerunt montes; gurgies aquarum transit: Streemys þou schalt schere to þe erþe, hillis seien and sorowden; þe dam of watres passide.

Dese streemys ben holy loore fadris, þe whiche Crist departip to dyverse stidis, þat men þoru hem moun take weetyng of hevenly deew to her drie hertis. Dese saien hillis, þat is, proude men reisid above ðepere for richessis and pride, and þei sorowden for her synnes, resseyvynghe holsum medicyns of her hevenly lechis. And so þe dam of watris, þat is, þe abundance of goostly loore, passip wondirfulli þoru þis fals world fro lovier to lovier of Crist. Ffor,

Dedit abysus voem suam, altitudo manus suas levavit: Depnessis zaf his nois, hiynnessis liftide hise hondis.

Þat is, þo þat were in þe ground of yvelis þeven her vois of ægein-þeing to sofepastnes, as oure prelatis wip her obediencee and her lyvynge dispisen þe mekenes and þe povert of Crist; and þe hiynes of þe world reisid power to distrie trewe Cristen men, adversaries to hem. And never-re-laþtir, 4 Sol et luna steterunt in habitaculo suo; in luce sagittarum tuarum ibunt, in splendore fulgurantis hastae tue: þe sunne and þe moone stoden in her wonyng; in lyft of þin arrowis þei schulen go, in schynynge of þi lyþnyng or gliteringe spere.

The sunne, Crist, and þe moone, oonheed of holy Chirche, stoden; þat is, lastingly þis oonheed, ground of al goodnes, stondip in riþwise men, for þei schulen go þoru lyft of þin arrowis, þat is, of þi þurlinge wordis, þoru londis and stondis, woundinge mennys hertis wip þe love of þi lawe; and in schynynge of miraclis of parþiþ lyvynge þei schulen make men afeerd as leiþynge doøþ, to dwelle in her synne.

In fremitu conculcabis terram, et in furore tuo obstupescies gentes: In gnastynghe þou schalt trede þe erþe, in þi wrapphe þou schalt stomye foliks.

In gnastynghe, þat is, drede of þi riþwise doom, þou schalt

1 Not in Vulg. 2 corrected from Vulg.; gurgies, T. 3 corrected from Vulg.; levabit, T. 4 nebeles, U. 5 corrected from Vulg.; bauste, T.
meke þe hertis of manye proude men and covetouse; and in ȝi wrappe, that is, in manaassingȝ of eendeles sier, þou schalt make maliciouse men stonyed for wo þat is comynge to hem.

Egressus es in salutem populi tui, in salutem cum Christo tuo: ȝou arl goon out in heelpe of þi folk, in heelpe wip þi Crist.

Þat is, þou schewiwest þee, and ȝit schalt to þe eende of þe world, þorþ trewe preching and lyvynge þereafter, to þe helþe of trewe Cristen men dwellinge in hele, wip þi Crist Jesus oure Lord, ensampler of al trewe preching and lyvynge.

Peroussiisti caput¹ de domo impii, donudasti fundamentum eius usque ad oolumn: ȝou smyte þe heed of þe hous of þe wickid, þou nakidist þe foundement of him to þe necke.

Ðe devel, þat is heed of alle þe sones of pride, þou smyte out of þe hertis of many wickide men in hour of þi deþ; and so it is to trewe þat þou schalt smyte þe heed of pride regnynge in hit þe princis and prelatis, þe whiche blenden þe peple bi pryve ipocrisie, and so þi loyvers schulen be stablid in þi trewe trouþe of þi lawe, aftir þe knowinge of þis ipocrisy. 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 eggip a man to yvel have double penaunce of him þat doþ yvel.

Maledixisti soeptris² ejus, capiti³ bellatorum ejus, venientibus ut turbo ad dispersendum me: ȝou cursidist to hise ceptris, to þe heed of hise fyzers, comynge as whirlewynd to scatere me.

Þe kyngis þerde and þe bishopis 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 ⁴ lastynge into tirauntrie and ipocrisie þoru pride and covetise, God schal dampne hem as wickide men in whiche þe devel haþ myst, regnynge in hem for her synne. And also

¹ corrected from Vulg.; capud, T. ² corrected from Vulg.; ceptris, capita, T. ³ corrected; turvd, T.
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...ou cursidist þe heedis of hise ðísters, for noon of þese híze princis or prelatis doon her deedis aloone by hemsílf, wíþouten assent of counceilers; þerfore he cursíþ her wickide counceileers, as hedis and capteyns of her bateils, fiþtinge æjens Jesus Crist in levynge of hise comaundementis, in lyvynge, in lustis and likyngis. For alle þese ben helpers to þe dėvel þat comeþ wíþ manye temptaciouns to waiste gode men as dust before wynd. But,

Exultatio eorum sicut ejus qui devorat pauperem in abscondito: þe gladnes of hem, as of hym þat devour þe pore in hidlis¹.

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 sope.

Viam fecisti in mari equis tuuis, 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 coveiſte of men, turnynge hem parfisṭli to þee, lovynge þee oonli for þi sílf, and noon opir 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 lípps.

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 lípps trembliden, þat is, I qwook for dreede of þe synne of my mouþ lílld in specche, and wonynges among folk þat háþ foule lípps, foulid wíþ vein specche and unnayt; as who seie, I dreede to telle holy wordis wíþ my soule mouþ, fillid wíþ 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 bifoþe was fillid þoru unfructuouse jangelingis.

¹ bidde, U.
Ingrediatur putredo in ossibus meis, et subter me soceat: Rotyng go in my bones, and undir me springe.

Dat is, my flesch rote to my boones, and undir me springe rotynge ful of wormes; pis beffalle me heer, Dat I may fle pe worse.

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

Dat I reste wiþ halowis in day of moost angwisch, Dat is, in pe day of doom, and þanne stie to pe cumpany of folk gird, Dat was so gird in pe love of Crist Dat pei souþten æsen alle yvele styrngis stalworþli for pe love of Crist. Pe profete assentþ not to pe love of ony creature Dat coveitþ Dat he rote above erþe, or he suffre peyne in pe topþir world. And siþen he Dat was so holy, for drede of peyne aſtr þis liþ, and for greet desier to be wiþ his love, Crist, coveitþde here to rote quyk if God wolde suffre it, what schulen we, Dat hoten grete avowis to voiden angus and siþnessis of þis liþ?

Flous enim non florebit, et non erit germen in vineis: For pe fige-tre schal floriscen not, and burioun schal not be in pe vynners.

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

Menoietur opus olive, et arva non afferent cibum: Pe werk of pe olwe schal liën, and seeldis schulen not bringe forþ mete.

Dat is, hiþe kyngis and prestis schulen faile fro mersey, oppressynge her sogetis by her statutis, and her feyned sensuris, more for her displesing þan for brekinge of Goddis biddyngis; and so þei liën to God, for þei doon not as þei hiþen. And seeldis, Dat ben her sogetis, myche for defaute of pilinge, schulen faile to þeve goostli fruyt to paie wiþ God; for how schulde Dat lond bere good fruyt Dat nedþ boþe tilinge and
dunynge and hap neijer? 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 þeve hem double ȝift, to norischen wiþ her bodies and save þerþiþ her soulis.

Abscondetur¹ de ovili pecus, et non erit armentum in praecepibus²: Awey schal be smyten beest of þe foold, and neet schal not be in þe cribbis.

Beest he cleip ȝech 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 liiþ; for neer-hond alle at regard schulen falle in to errour, and þe moost perel of alle schal be, þat þe greet multitude of yvelle men schulen grevousli pursue þe feew loviers of Crist.

Ego autem in Domino gaudabo, 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 persiche þerewiþ, but I schal joien in my Lord Jesus þoru swehtnes 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 oervorum³: God Lord my strenkhe, and he schal selle my feete as of hertis.

Yvelle mennes fete are sette⁴ as of weike⁵ assis, þat ben fastnyd as in myddis of depe leir; so yvelle mens affeccioun ben yvelle, for þei ben evere tackid wiþ sum love þat drawiþ hem fro Goddis love. But holy mennys affeccioun ben as of hertis, þat liȝtly lepen over all lettingis, and casten out fro her

¹ corrected from Vulg.; abcedetur, praecepibus, T. ² corrected from Vulg.; servorum, T. ³ So in U; T has yvelle men ben set. ⁴ wayke, U.
hertis al vile glat\(^1\) pat stoppiþ her breeþ. Ellis myȝten þei nevere verrili loven Jesus Crist.

Et super exoelsa mea deducet me victor in psalmis oanentem: Abouen myn hîȝe my victor schal lede me, in psalmes syngynge.

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

[ THE SONG OF MOSES. ]

[Deut. xxxii. 1—43.]

Audite, oeli, que loquar, audiat terra verba oris mei:
Hvenes, heree ye þat I schal speke, þe erþe heree þe wordis of my mouþ.

That is, ye men þat han þoure conversacioun in hevene, and þe þat ben in actif liif, undirstondiþ þat I schal seie; berþ witness þat I holde not stille þe wickines of my folk.

Conorescat ut pluvis doctrina mea, fluat ut ros eloquiaum meum: My loore growe in reyn, as deew renne my word.

That is, my loore make þe heerers of it to bere goostli fruyst 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 gra-mina. Quia nomen Domini invocabo: As reyn of gras, and as dropis of buriowynyngis, for þe name of oure Lord I schal incele.

My loore be to you as reyn in gras, þat is, make it to be greene in þe buriowynyngis of virtues; and seemyngเต it is þat I be herd, for I schal incele God into myn herte, heringe him overe alle þingis, in herte and mouþ and werk, not oonli honouré him wiþ my lippis, as riche men and fleschely doon. Þerfore,

\(^1\) glat, U.

WYCLIF.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Date magnificensiam deo nostro. Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes vis ejus judicia: {wod} worship to oure God. For of God ben parfiyt werkis, and alle he weies of him doomes.

That is, al pat he doiy he doiy wip doom, whepir he take us or he forsake us; he pat wole not erre leede him in alle pinpis, in trewe doom of discrecioun, kepinge him fro foly deemyngye.

Deus fidalis et abequeulla inquitate, justus et rectus. Peocaverunt ei, et non filii eius in sordibus: God is trewe and wiipoten ony wicchines riwtwisse; and riwt hei synneden to him, and not hise sones in filpis.

God is trewe in his heetynge, and he noiep to no man riwitwis in yeeldinge and in vengynge. Firste synneden to him oure former fadris, and sijen yvele sones in filpe of synne; as who seye, not oonli oure former fadris synneden to him, but no sone of her ospring is, pat ne he is taken in filpe of synne.

Generacio prava atque perversa. Haecocine 1 reddis domino, popula stulte et insipiens? Generatioun schrewid and weyward. Whebir pou zeldest to oure Lord yvel for good?

As who seye, is pat covenably doon, he servaunt to do to his Lord? perfore se, pore fool, what wrecchidnes pou art in and unwiis, pat wolt not wyte to how greet tumult pou goest for pi wiful foly.

Numquid non ipse est pater tuus qui possedit te, fecit, et creavit te? Whebir he is not pi fadir pat weeldip he, and made, and wronge Pee?

As who seie, him pou schuldest love as pi fadir pat made pee man and ordeynede pee to his heritage, if pou pisilf wilt.

Memento dierum antiquorum, cogita generationes singulares: Bi pinke of oolde dayes, pinke alle generaciouns.

How pat he deyverede his folk of dyverse perels, and how he echide encressingili hise servauntis among yvele men, not lesynge hem. If pou wolt wyte pat pis is sooip,

Interroga patrem tuum, et annuciabit tibi; majores

1 corrected from Vulg.; occine, T.

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tuos, et dicent tibi: Askè bi fadir and he schal schewe to pee, bi sovereyns, and bi shulen sey to pee.

What is al pat thou hastmade to cunne? Askè of bi prelat or of bi prest, for bi ben bounde to teche pee; and if bi failen in pis loore, wiþ wrong bi occupien heerdis office, for in pat is knownen a trewe heerde fro an hiyrid hyne, pat he leede hise scheep in hole pasturis and plentenuous.

Quando dividebat Altissimus gentes, quando separavit filios Adam: Whanne he hiyeste departhis folki, whanne he twynnede he sones of Adam.

Pis departyng was whanne men bigunnen to wone in alle parties of erpe.

Constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel: He sette he termys of he folk bysze he noumbrhe sones of Israel.

That is, folk schulen be dwellinge in pis world til he noumbrhe of Goddis sones be fullfild, pat is, til God have as manye as he hap ordeynd to be saaf.

Pars autem Domini populus ejus, Jacob funiculus hereditatis ejus: But he part of owre Lord his folk, Jacob streng of his heritage.

As who seye, myche folk of he world is, but Jacob oonli, pat is, wrastler aœgin vicis, is marke of his heritage, pat is, pis marke recchip no fîrpir 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-aœgin 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 horribi et vasta solitudinis: He found him in lond desert, in stide of uglynes and of waste wildernesse.

Pat is, him þat he hadde lost he found erringe in þe wrecchidnes of þis liif, and þe which is uggynge for drede and wo, and wast wildernes 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.

Cirrounduxit eum, et docuit, et custodivit quasi pu-
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

pillam oculi sui: He aboute ledde him, and he leride him, and he kepte as pe appyl of his yscale.

Lo, what kyndenes Crist schewiþ to his lovier! He ledde him aboute fro yvele mennys liif, þe nexte wey to hevene, and he tauþte 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 kepþ hise ðyen 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 cleþynge hise briddis to fleen and above hime fleinge.

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

The eerne, cleþynge his briddis to þe siþt of þe sunne, whanne he seeþ þat þei waxen wery fleinge, he holdþþ hem up wiþ hise wyngis; so Jesus Crist spredþþ two wyngis of charite, upberyngþ us in oure werynes, and leþynge us to virtues. And þoru his myþ þe raveschip oure hertis to hevene, þat we moun goostli se sunne þat nevere schal have settinge, whereþoru 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 onely was his ledde, and oþer God was not wiþ him.

Þfor he þat hæþ him to help oonli, nedþþ noon oþir, for he is hilyng fro al yvel.

Constituit eum super excelsam terram, ut comederet fructus agrorum: He selle þim on hiz lond þat he ete þe fruytis of feeldis.

Þat is, Crist settþþ his lover in holy Chirche in mekenes, to have deliþþ in abundance of goostli fruyt and holy, not in gredy gaderinge of money, but in heelþþ of mennis soulis.

Ut suggeret 3 mel de petra, oleumque de Saxo durissimo: þat he schulde souke hony of þe stoom, and oile of þe hardest rooche.

1 beras, U. 2 corrected from U and Vulg.; solens, T. 3 corrected from Vulg.; sugeret, T, U.

a A beautiful comment on the text.
Hony of þe stoon he soughþ, þat occupieþ him ententifly in þe lawe of Crist, for it is sweeter þan hony to him þat loveþ Crist. And he schal [not]1 erre in treue bileeve. Oyle of þe hardist roche is þe anoynynge of þe Holy Goost sent fro Crist glorified, and maad so hard in love þat he þat resseuyþ it may suffre in þis liif noon harmful peyne. þis hony and oyle schulden prestis resseyve, and fynde, if þei traveliden truly in Cristis vyneþeerd, in so greet plente þat þe swete odour þerof schulde flawme mennys þat comowneden wiþ hem.

Butirum de armente et lac de ovibus, omn adype agnorum et ariestum filiorum Basan: Butir of neet and mylk of scheep, wiþ grees of fatnes of lombis and of weþeris of þe sones of Basan.

Butir 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 followers han to hevene. þe sones of Basan ben lovers of þis world þe which ofte-sipe han lordschip overe gode men here to her owne dam磐cioun, for þe mysuse þerof, lyvyngge aftir þe fleþch, not after þe spirit.

Et hiroe omn médullæ tritici, et sanguinem uve bibeorrent meracissimum: And geet wiþ maruz of wheete, and þat þei drink schirist blood of grape.

Geet ben þo þat enfoormen us wiþ ensaumpl of penaunce, discreetly norischinge ourh hors as he may journeyen. In þese us owiþ to have deliþ wiþ marowþ of whete, þat is, wiþ þe body of Crist, for he is þe grape whos fleþch and blood trewe Cristen men in þe sacrament of þe auter in þe foorme of breed and wiþ worþiþ resseyven, þoru trewe bileewe her savacioun, and yvelle men and unclene her dam磐cioun.

Incresatus est dileatus et recalciوترavit; incresatus, impinguatus, dilatus: Encortif is þe loved, and kest up; he encortif, fattid, and enlargid.

Þat is, þe folk þat God loveþ, þeyvyngge plente of goodis, hæp cast up at God, dispisinge his maundementis, multiþeper þem 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 ensaumpole of alle opere above hem and bineþe hem, to dispisen þis world þat blyndþ þe men in covetise of multiplinge of richessis. Ffor ech sîch.

Dereliquit¹ Deus factorem suum, et reecessit a Deo salutari suo: He forsook God his makir, and he departide fro God his heelp.

Ffor ese and welþe drawþ men oftsipe to synne, and makaþ hem to forçete God and turne to þe devel.

Provoocaerunt eum in diis alienis, et in abhominacionibus suis ad iraoundiam concitaverunt²: þei stiryden bin in opere goddis, and in her wlatings þei moveden him to wrappe.

Þat þing ech creature makaþ his god, what þing he loveþ moost in his herte; þe wlatings ben glotenyge and leccherie wip covetise and pride, which God hatþ. And here moun men seen how prelatis hîge and lowe loven moore her owne exellence þan Cristis worship, and so þei worschipen false goddis, and ben unable ðerþoru to þeve or to take ony sacrament*. Whi?—

Immolaverunt demoniis et non Deo, diis quos ignorabunt: þei offriden to develis not to God; to goddis whiche þei kneuen not.

That is, þese Cristis enemyes qwemen not to God in her lyvynge, for þe avoutereis of alle vicis, in levynge of verri God and worschipinge deves, of whiche þe hadden nevere good.

Novi recentesque venerunt dii, quos non eoluerunt patres eorum: Neuþe and freisiche goddis camen, þe whiche her sadris worschipiden not.

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

¹ corrected from U and Vulg.; dereliquid, T. ² corrected from Vulg.; concit., T.

* This sentence, which has a Commentary, is omitted in the truly Wycliffite ring, with many Magd. Coll. MS. other passages in this part of the
God, and folowan þe lustis of þe world, lovynge moore vicis þan virtues, and so þei serven mawmetis, þe whiche trewe Cristen men biforn hem usiden not.

_Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti, oblitus es Domini₁ creatoris tui: God þat þee gat þow hast forsaken, þow hast forȝele God þi creator._

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

_Vidit Dominus, et ad iracundiam concitatus₂ est, quia provocaverunt sum filii sui et filie: _De Lord say, into wrappe he is stirid, for him moveden his some and dowyers._

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

_Et ait, Abscondam faciem meam₃ ab eis, et oonsiderabo 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 biholdeþ what wo schal falle hem in her eendyn. 

_Generatio enim perversa est et infidææ filii: _For it is a schrewid generacion and untrewe some._

Untrewe fadris geten often tymes untrewe some, for whanne a child is norischiþt among vicis, how schulde he be unfilid? Fadris and modris ben cause if þe child be vicious, for while it is jong, it cannot but love and drede not upon resoun; but of kynde it loveþ to ben fed and clad, and it dreyþ þe þerde of scouryng. 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 baptæm, but unkyndely,—

_Ipsi me provocaverunt in eo qui non erat Deus, et irritaverunt in vanitatiibus suis: _Pei me stiriden in him þat was no God, and moveden in her vanyeþes._

₁ corrected from Vulg.; _Deum, T._

₂ corrected from Vulg.; _con-_ticocatus, _ruam, T._
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

That is, ðei wrappiden me, lovyng þe þing as God þat was not God, and havyng moore delit in her vanytees þan in my servise, for al þat is loved wiþoute God is vanye. 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 genti stulta irritabo illos: And I schal stire hem in him þat is not peple, and in folke folk I schal stire hem.

As who seye, siþin I have doon for hem al þat ðei moun aske bi resoun, and ðei forȝeten to þanke me in lovyng me and hereyng me as her God, I schal forȝete hem as ðei werun no folk; but as ðei ben movynge to do her owne lustful wil contrarie to my biddynge, so I schal al biþine to ponesche hem wiþ eendeles peyne, contrarie to her heelpe. For alle proude men and dispiteous God schal so lowe bringe þor his riȝtwise veniaunce, þat ðei schulen not ben worþi to be likenyd to hem þat seemeden here foolis, and weren holde nouþ for Goddis sake. In þat maner þei schulden be stirid to envy and hatrede, þat her synne stirþ God to veniaunce.

Ignis succensus est in furore meo; et ardebit usque ad inferni novissima: Fier is hyndelid in my wrapphe, and it schal brenne to be laste of helhe.

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

Devorabitque terram cum germine suo, et monsium fundamenta comburet ²: And it schal devoure þe erþe wiþ his buriouwngyn, and þe groundis of helles he schal brenne.

Þat is, þe veniaunce of God, þat is eendeles peyne of helle, schal devoure wickide fadris and modris wiþ her ospring, for it schal svolowe 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 folle. ² corrected from Vulg.; comb., T.
That is, alle kyndis of turmentis schulen come on hem, þe whiche ben yvele and noisouse 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 aequos mortem amariissimo: þei schulen be distried wip hungir, and devoure hem schulen soulis in bitynge alþer bitteriste.

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

Dentes bestiarum mittam in eos, cum furore trahentium super terram atque serpencium: Teþ of beestis I schal sende into hem, wip woodnes of drawynge and serpeneis 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, wip woodnes of yvele men þat drawen and entisen to fleschli werks. As neddris þei schulen be slýtli brought 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, laetentem 1 cum homine sene: Wipouten schal waaste hem swerd, and wipinne drede, þe þonge man and mayden togifere, þe soukyng wip 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 wipouten eende; þat swerd schal waaste a þonge man, þat is, ech þat is bareyn of gode werks. Þonge man and mayden he setþi togifere in peyne of helle, for þei usen myche to be togifere in þis lif in synne. Soukyngne ben þei þat ben so bylyndid 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 eeldþi in synne þoru yvel custum, weenyngne

1 corrected from Vulg.; laetentem, T.
his liif glories þat is vicious. Þerfore dredeþ God, and loveþ him, amendinge þoure lyves; for þe moun wyte bi þis sentence þat God closiþ not fro helle ﬁer neþer man ne womman, zong ne oold, þat wilfully synpeþ and amendiþ it not here. For of al maner of men greet part goþ to helle.


I schal in my loyers 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.


Et diocerent, Manus nostra exoelsa et non Dominus facit 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 dilaiþ 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 distriþ hem; and so þei seyn þat God dide not alle, for hem þinken þat her myȝt halþ.

Gens abeque oonsilio est et sine prudencia. Utinam saperent et intelligerent ac novissima providerent: Folk is wipoute counseil and wipoute prudence. Wolde God þei saveriden and undirstoden and purveiden for þe laste.

The folk of alle unriȝtwise men is wipoute counseil of heelþe of soule, and wipoute prudence to þe 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 wipouten drede what schal fall at þe laste eende.

Quomodo prosequebatur unus mille, et duo fugarent

1 So in U; proißen, T.
Wyclif's Works.

deem milia: How om pursuede a housinde, and two gart* fle ten housinde?

How pis myste be he schewip, and seip,—

Nonne ideo quia Deus suus vendidit eos, et Dominus conclusit illos? Whethir not perfore her God soolde hem, and pe Lord hem loukide?^1

As who seye, perfore pei ben overcomun to her harme, for God aliendede hem fro him for synne of hem, and loukide hem in pe myst of her enemies.

Non enim est Deus nostre ut dii eorum, et inimici nostri sunt judices: For whi? Oure God is not as pe god is of hem, and our enemies ben domesmen.

Oure God is not as her god is, for pei han deliit in wickidnes, and oure God levep no synne unponeschid, and oure enemies ben domesmen, pat is, pei moun bere wives of pat ping, pat oure God dampnep and poneschip yvele deedis, for ofsthip he smytp yvele men in pis world.

De vines Sodomorum vinea eorum, et de suburbannis Gomore: De vyne of Sodomo be vyne of hem, and of pe suburbis of Gomorre.

Sodom is as myche to seye as dombe, and Gomorre is scharp, as who seye, oure hiue prelatis, if poru hem manye opere ben dombe to serve God in pe foorme of his servise, and pei ben scharp in vicis.

Uva eorum uva fallisi, et botrus amarissimus: Pe grape of hem pe grape of galle, and flower bitterist.

Her fruyt is turnyd into pride and covetise and ipocrisie, pe whiche ben bask or bittir synnes in Goddis knowyng; and pe flower pat is in hem is bittereste, for her fleschli love and covetise of erpe^2 is to hem eendees sorowe. But men seyn pei moun have goodis and love hem not, and soo ip it is; but whanne men seen pat office pat men ben holden to do to God is lettid for pe occupacioun of worldli goodis, po godis ben overmyche loved, whereof wole come eendees sorowe.

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^1 closed, U.
^2 So in U; fleschli and love of erpe li covetise, T.

* The use of this word proves that the writer was an inhabitant of the north of England. U reads chasid.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

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

Galle of dragouns is þe fel tresoun of babciters, þe which tresoun þei drinke wiþ deliit as wiþ, and birlen it to oþere men. For he þat babcitip his neþbore, in þat þat in him is techip him to whom he tellip his babciting 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 hiþnes; and if men snybbe hem, or chastise hem bi resoun, her malice waxip, and þei ben worse þan þei weren biþore. For he þat is defectif, and heerip 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 riþ bieleve.

*Nonne beo oonida sunt apud me, et signata in thesaures meis? Wheþir þes ben not hid anemptis me, and selid in my tresours?*

þat is, alle þes yvelis ben holden in Goddis mynde, and kepþ as undir seel, for to be put forþ in þe doom to schewe þe riþ-wisenes of Crist in dampnyng of wickide men. And in þe same tresours ben hid virtues of gode men, to schewe þat ðai to þe riþwiþnes of her corownyng, þat þei schulen take bi Goddis riþwiþ doom. ðanne 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 pees?* 1 *Myn is þe veniaunce, and I schal yelde hem in tyme, þat her foot slide.*

þat is, to ðe me, seþ God, fallip þe veniaunce of synful men, not to man woniynge in erþe, for it is not semely o broþer venge him on anopir, and unsemelynes schulde not be in Cristis Chirche in þe þeeris of grace, sipin it was forboden of God in þe þeeris of veniaunce. For I schal yelde hem aftir her yvel wille in tyme of doom, þouþ I abye a while. Be þou not to haastþ, for eþch 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.
Therefore thou mayst me bin enemye whanne thou sekest venience of ony peg but oonli of synne. Pat veniance sekip no bodili harm, if synne wiþouten pat may be amendid. And sipin I am God, pat no peg mai leve unponeschid, suffre yvele men lyven til I do her foot slippen, pat is, til I make al her pride and her busyte to fallen, pat berip hem to helle. For it schal breke sodeinli and tyme to nouyf, ffor,—

**Juxta est dies perditionis, et adesse testinant tempora:**

Biside, pat is, neer is the day in which alle yvele men schulen be lost fro þe cumpany of halowis, and tyme¹ of ðeldynge to yvele and gode haasten to ben² 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.

Pat is, Crist schal departe his lovers fro þe lovers of his world, and in his servauntis he schal ben seen merciful, here and in þe day of doom, and in alle opere riȝtwise venger of al wickidnes.

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

He schal se, pat is, he schal make to seen, þat alle þat³ yvele men doon is not sufficient to her salvacioun; for preier, almes-deede, and penaunce of him þat liþ in synne, and wole not amende him for Cristis love, is abominable offryng in Goddis siþ. 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 deþ.

**Et dioent, 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 haasten to be, U. ³ So in U; þe, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

pei setten her joie and her trist in hem, as pei schulden nevere have failid hem; havynge greet indignacioun to hem, pat for her soule hele reprehendiden her over bisy worldli lyvynge; seinghe, how schulde pe world opere weies be mayntenyd? But he is folily blyndid pat mayntenep his enemy to his owne harm. Pe world and oure owne flesch ben enemies to us, pe whiche moun not be mayntenyd over pe tyme pat God hap sett. Perfore foolis and idiotis, pat leften pe unfructuous bisynes of pis liif for Goddis love, schulen scorne wise mysti men of pis world, pat setten her trust and her joie in pat ping pat myyte not bfore God helpe hem.

De quorum viotimis oomedeabant adipes¹, et bibebant vinum libaminum? Of be offeringis of pe whiche pei eeten grecis, pei drunken pe wiin of offeringis.

Here pe prophete dampeñ covetise and likerousnes of prestis, for it is more abominable in hem pan in opere, si‡en pei schulden be mooste fleers perof in ensample to opere; seinghe, of pat ping pat was offrid to her unclennes, pei hadden deliit in greet abundance of gaderynge, and in lustful lyvynge, dispdenynge it to preisyng of pe world, pat was offrid to hem to lyve upon, and to deparate among pe pore and nedy peple. And so pei ben drunken in lustis and likyngis of er‡eli goodis, forgetinge pe povert of Jesus Crist. Perfore on domesday, pat wrecchidnes pat pe tristen on moore pan on God,—

Surgent et opitulentur nobis, et in necessitate nos protegant: Rise pei and helpe you, and in nude hile you.

Pis is but scooronyng pat gode men schulen have of wrecchis pat forgeten Crist for pe fallinge world; as who seie, 3oure goodis pat helden you in honour in er‡e, rise pei now and come pei to helpe you, if pei may. And si‡in pei moun do nouqt but skape, for pat schal be peynful schame to yvele men, to knowen and to have rehersid pe ping pat made hem to lese pe blis of Crist, perfore, pei pat ben yit on lyve,—

Videte quod ego sim² solus, et non sit alius Deus preter me: Seeõ pat I am oonli, and pat obir God is noon but I.

¹ corrected from Vulg.; adipes, T.
² corrected from Vulg.;
That is, ye þat wolen be wiþoute schame on domesday, wyþþþ þat God is oonli to tristen in, and he þat keþþ not hise biddingis, triste not in him to his heelþe. Perfore loveþ him as he lovede you, denynge for his love to triste in ony creature; for al þing þat þe loven wiþoute him lettþþ you of his love and disseyveþ you. Ffor,—

Ego ooccadam, et ego vivere faciam; peruciam, 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 deep, hem þat I love I schal smyte, chastisinge hem as a good fadir owip to doon his wel-loved sone. For it is not semely þat curteis Crist have an untaught child; perfore I schal make my children holde perþþy biddingis in þis liif, qwikenynge hem wiþ my grace, to lyve in mekenes vertuously, and I schal se her enemies whanne best tyme is. And if ony temptacioun or anoie hirte hem, if þei triste to me I schal hele hem. Perfore stondþþ bi me in love, þat I stonde wiþ you in needful tyme of help, for noon is þat may delyvere himself or oper of myn hond. For alle creaturis ben undir my myþþ, and to me fallþþ þe deemyng of alle.

Louvabo ad celium manum meam, et dicam, Vivo ego in eternum: I schal lifte to hevenes myn hond, and I schal seyn, I lyue wiþouten eende.

Þat is, I schal schewe me Lord Almyþti aboven al þing, and I schal seyn apertly, I lyve wiþouten eende. It isoure alþir-oþþ, and a vow to fulfile þis Lordis bidding.

Si sequero ut fulgur gladium meum, arripuerint judicium manus mea: If I schal scharpe as leþþynge my sword, and myn hondis schulen take doom.

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

Reddam ulcionem hostibus meis, et his qui odarunt me retribuam: I schal zeide veniaunce to myn enemyes, and to hem þat hatiden me I schal zeide.

1 from U; om.T. 2 corrected from Vulg.; biis, T.
I schal yele veniaunce of eendelees peyne to my foos; þat is, to alle þat I foon 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 yele woniynge in peynes eendelees wip orrible develis in helle. And þanne,—

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

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

De oruore occisorum et de captivitate nudati inimi-corum capitis: Of þe blood of slayn and of caitisfe and þe nakid heed of enemies.

Verrili ben þei slayn þat ben deede fro þe joie of God wip-outen eende, and of þe caitisfe of helle, of þe nakidheed fro al solace of hevene or of erþe, of enemies dampnyd. Nakidheed he seip 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, ye hebene, þe folk of him, for þe blood of hise servauntis he schal venge.

Jee synful men, þouz al þe wolen not folowe Cristis folk in virtu and goodnes, at þe laste holdþ alle worþi heriþng þat loven him in worchinge of vertues, and angriþ hem not in word ne deede. For if þe do, God wole vengen it; þfor,—

Et vindictam retribuet in hostes eorum, et propicius exit terre populi sui: And veniaunce he schal zeilden into her enemies, 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 trupe and in charite. Alle òpere wonen in þe lond of þe develis folk, to whom God schal be riþtwiis in veniaunce and poneschinge.
[MAGNIFICAT.]

[LUKE i.]

Magnificat anima mea Dominum: My soule worshippe be Lord.

Oure Lady Seynt Maraye, aftir þe grettinge of Gabriel, and þe consevynge 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 hiynes of þouȝt for vein glorie ne in bolynge of pride, dispisinge perfore opere, but in swetnes of herte and ful devout mekenes, þankinge God of al his goodnes, seiinge,—My soule, fillid of his grace, worshippe, þat is, heriȝ perfiȝtli þe Lord of hevene and erȝe, þat me þis grace haþ doon. As who seie, I holde not myself greet, but God I herie of alle his gaze þiftis in al myn herte. þat soule worshippe God perfiȝtli, þe whiche wickide þouȝtis greeven not, unclene delit filiþ not, uncovenable berynge hieþ 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 helpe.

Not oonly þis blessid maide and modir heriȝ God enterel, but also sche seiy þat hir gladnes and hir joie was in mynde of God, in love and likynge of whom al hir love sche sette. Sche joiede not in hirsifel, 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 devouti soulis of holy men and wommen worþiþi worshippe God, and wonderfulli ben joiiynge in Jesus, þis blessid mayden and modir, oure Lady Seynt Maraye, bifoare alle opere in privilegie of moost brenynge 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 delitablíst in þe melody þat

1 So in U; bis, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

schema¹ scemyp. Pat spirit now joieth in God, pe which is verrili
kyndelid wyf pe fier of pe Holy Goost, to pe which, for my-
chilnes of Cristis love, no passing þing paieþ, but al fleshli lust
and erþeli covetise loþþ and is viile to it. For al þe joie and
cumfort of it is in Crist, of whom it hopþþ liif and heele
eendeles.

Quia respexit humilitatem ancillæ sue, ecce enim ex
hoo bestam me dicent omnes generaciones: For he lokide
be mekenes of his hodmayden; 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 aþir settinge of þe sunne; but oure
Ladi Marye sette al her love and joie in God, offringe hersilf
holy to Goddis love; and þat for he lokide wyþ bliþe iþen of
grace þe mekenes of hir þat was ful of alle gode þewis, and
buxumer to his bidding þan ony hod-mayde in erþþ 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 siþt,
þerþere blisful me þei schulen seyn, alle generaciouns of trewe
Cristen men in þis world. And þat is worþþ,—

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

Grete þingis he dide to hir in quantite of grace, gretterere in
mynysteriation of þe angel, grettist, þoru wondir of Goddis vertu
in wombe he made parþþ hir halowyng. In vertu he þaf to
hir cleanness of liif, in vow first offringe of hir maydenheed,
and in alle þes þat moost seemþ deppist mekenes. þus he
dide to me þat is mþþþ, and whos name is holy halowyng
me; and alle þat hooþy ben, in his goodnes ben holy, not in
hir meryt.

Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timenti-
bus sum: 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: sicle, T.
kynrede of holy men into þe kynredis of synful men, for þere-
þoru oonli ben synful men maad riȝtwiþ; but þe merys of God
is oonli to þo þat dreden him, for wiþoute þe drede of God may
no man be maad riȝtwiþ.

Fecit potenciam in brachio, dispersat superbos mente
oordis sui: He dyde myȝt in his arm, he scateride þe proude fro
þe pouȝt of his herte.

God dide, þat is, he schewide þat myȝt is in his vertu, whanne
he sette þe help of hisse loviers in his Sone, doinge vertu or
myȝt in his arm to defenden him and hise fro alle her enemies.
And so he scateride, þat is, so he departide þe proude, þat is,
þo þat seken þe weye of hynes aboven opere, fro þe pouȝt of
her herte, þat þei myȝten not do in deede þe wickidnessis þat þei
covetiden, in consevynghe 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 clepiȝ þo þat joien in her myȝt, usinge it wrong-
fulli in wickidnes; þese he dide doun of seete of dignyte and
honour. For kyng Salmon putt doun vicioûse bischopis and
proude, and sette in her side meke men and vertuous. For
it falliȝ 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
defouilid of alle; knowynge hem vilre as erþe, and gruchen
aþein 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 wrappe for her owne
cause, þouȝ men sey hem yvel or do hem yvel.

Esurientes implevit bonis, et divites dimisit inanes:
Þe hungrynge he fillide wip goodis, and þe riche he leste empty.

Þe hungrynge Oure Lady clepiȝ hem þat greetli coveiten
riȝtwisnes, wisdom of God, grace and cumfort of þe Holy
Goost, þat evere stiriȝ her desier to coveiten moore and moore,
and contynuyn þerinne; for siche good fulfiliȝ of goostli
goodis, profitable, delitable, and honest. þe first, þat is, riȝ-

a The sentence suddenly breaks off in T, and is unfortunately absent
altogether from the Magdalen MS.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

wiiusnes, helpip to meryt; þe secunde, þat is, wisdom of God, drawip þe ȝernyng fro erpe to hevene; þe þridde, þat is, þe comforth in þe Holy Goost, makiþ a man parþiþ in vertuoouse werks. Þes goodis han swete savour to þe soule. Þe maner of hungry men þere ben, þe whiche God fillip not but wiþ peyne; as þo þat desiren þe pompe and þe pride of þis liif, and covetise of riches, and harmynge of her neiþbore. Þe first hungir is of bittirnes, þe toþir of avarice, þe þridde of bacbitinge. Þese men, wiþ alle opere þat ben wickid, þouþ þei han greet welþe and ese in þis liif, and ypocratitis þat leeten 1 as þei weren riche of goostli goodis, criynge her holynes in outwarde tokenys, he lefte empty of grace and joie, þouþ þei ben ful of savour of folk, and vile lustis priveli, and manye apertly; but in þe day of doom þei schulen synde nouþt but peyne.

Suscepit Israel puerum suum recordatus misericordie suæ: He resseyvede Israel his child, he pouyde of his mercy;

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

Þus schal þe lettre be joyned; he resseyvede Israel his child for mekenes and cllenes, and he spak to oure fadris, and þat he dide bi þouþt of his mercy, þe which he hiȝte to doon to Abraham and to his seed, þat is, to alle his folowers in true and riþtwisnes while þe world stondip. He resseyvede a Israel in kynde, in grace, in defendinge, in governynge. Þoru takinge of kynde he riþtid us out of deþ, and out of ire of God; Þoru takinge of grace he drouþ us out of synne; Þoru takinge of grace in defence, he delyverip us þat oure enemy have no myþt ne maistry of us; Þoru takinge in governynge, he ledip us out of perels of þis wey; Þoru takinge of blissfulheed, he bringip us out of al wrecchidnes of synne and sorowe, and settip us yn þe joye of hevene. Amen.

1 token, U.

* The Magd. MS. ends imperfect at this point.
[TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.]

Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum et oonfitemur: We herien bee God, we knowlechen bee Lord.

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

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

Here we seyen by partis þe heriynge of God; and first how alle men in erþe worshipen God þe Fadir, sif al þe Trynyte is fadir to men, for it made man of nouþ, and þerfore it is fadir. And so al þe Trinynote is fadir to man, but þe first persoone is Fadir to his Sone.

Tibi omnes angeli, tibi celí, et universe potestates. Tibi cherubyn et seraphyn incessabili voce procla-

mant:

Alle angels and hevenes, and alle powers in þis world, cherubyn and seraphyn, criën bi vois and unstyninge to þee.

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

* 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 seeing, þat kynde techiþ Goddis creaturis; but angels crien aser bi spiritual vois, and þei may not ceese herof, sif þei ben needly blessid.

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth;
Pleni sunt celii 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 bigynnyng of hise werkis, in kepinge, and eendynge. And as God is myche and glorious wþoute mesure, and in ech part of þis world, so it is soþli seid þat he fillid boþe heven and erþe; and al if he have in himsylf glorie of his magiste, in as myche as he is God, naþeleeles he schewiþ it out in mesure, noumbre, and weisþ, as him fallid for to do.

Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus: Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus: Te martirum oandidatus laudat exercitus: Þese þre cumpanyes of þe two testamentis herien þec God; and first, þe glorious cumpany of Cristis apostlis, sif, þe worschips ful noumbe of prophethis; and sif, þe oost of martirs maad wþiþ in her blood.

Sif Crist is heed of holy Chirche, and hise apostlis sueden him next, manye supposen þat þei ben in hevene bifoare opere. And, for fadris of þe oolde lawe weren grunde1 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 knowlech þee God, borw-out ale þe world.

And as þe Trinyte is heried, so holy Chirche haþ þre partis. þe hieste ben angels of hevene, þe secunde, seintis slepinge in purgatorie, þe þridde is folk þat schulen be saved, here fþinge in erþe. Of þese and noone opere 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 immensæ majestatis2: Venerandum tuum verum et unium Filium: Sanctum quoque paraelitum Spiritum. þis Chirche þat þus is scaterid in þe brode world,

1 corrected; U has gronde, T grounded.
2 So in U; majestatis, T.
knowlechǐp pe fadir of majeste wipouten eende, and knowlechǐp pe secunde persone, pi ooni vorbi verri sone; and it knowlechǐp pe tridde tyme, pe Holi Goost cumfortour; and alle pes prere personees ben o God in his kynde. And, as clerkis seyn, magiste acoordiç to pe Fadir, for he is in sum maner first of alle prere personees; wisdom acoordiç to pe Sone, siç he is wis- dom of pe Fadir, and made and bouȝte mankynde; pe Holy Goost is cumfortor, for he makiç a parfiçt eende of brennynge charite in alle pe seynsis pat he wolde have, boçe 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 devioto mortis aculeo apurrusiç credentibus regna colorum: 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 pe fadir. Þou, to take mankynde for to de-levere it, hidousist not pe virgyns wombe to be closid in it. Þou, for Þou overcamest pe scharpenes of deep, openedith to men bat bileveden in þe pe kyngdoms of hevenes. Þou, aþer þin assen-cioun, sittsi on Goddis riȝt side. And siç þou art God bi þi hiȝer kynde, and best man bi þi oþir kynde, þou art bileved to come for to juge at þe laste day.

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

Te ergo quesumus, famulis tuuis subveni, quœ preciosœ sanguine redemisti: Æterna fœo cum sanctis tuuis in gloria munerari: Salvum fœo populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hereditati¹ tuæ. Et regœ 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 wiȝþ þi precious blood. Do þis grace wiȝþ þi seintis, þat þei be rewardid in blis wiȝþ ever-

¹ corrected from U; bereditatis, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

lastinge glorìe. Lord, make þi peple saaf, and blesse to þin eritage; and governe hem here, and hige hem into þe blis wipouten eende.

Cristen men schulden take þe wordis of Goddis lawe, as Ambrose and Austin and opere bificre us han do, and drede not to graunte þat Crist was deed, and lesse þan his fadir, and herwif 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 his wordis bi her newe logyk, and but if þei holden þis auctor þei schulen not be saved.

Per singulos dies benedictum 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 seyen, þat we blesen him bi ech daiæ þat we lyven in þe world, and we herien his name bi lastynge of þis world and of þe loþir bope.

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 aþir. As þere ben two lastyns þat God þeveþ to þis world, oon is wipout-forþ, þat men clepen tyme, anoþir is wipinne, betere þan þis tyme, and þis is clepid ofte tymes world of world.

Dignare, Domine, die isto sine pecato nos custodire: Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri: Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te: In te, Domine, speravi, non oonnfundar 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 wipouten 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 wipoule eende.

In þese foure versis ben manye faire trupis. 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 techþ 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 seþ, 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 goop aweye. 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 hope in him, and moore may we not axe. In þe fouþe 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 seytinis 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 opere, and so þis is a grete grace to wante þis scheendynge 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 eeriþ; and certis ellis it profiþ not, for, as Austin knowlechiþ, he synneþ grevousli whanne evere þe song likiþ him more þan doþ þe witt of þe song.

[BENEDICTUS.]

[LUKAN i. 68.]

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia visitavit et fecit redempconem plebis suæ. Þis psalm is of moore auctorite þan þe song bifoer, for it is bleeve of þe gospel, as Seint Luk telliþ; and Zacharie, Baptisitis sadir, seide first þis salme aftir þat he was dombe, as Gabriel toold him. And as myracle was bifoer in dombnes and þeyngye of speche, so in seyinge of þis salm was more myracle, whanne God liþed þis profete and teeld him hid truþis. Þis profete bigynrneþ þus, and seip to hoły Chirche,—Blessed be þe Lord God of Israel, for he haþ visitable and maad biggyng of his peple.

EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

It is seid comounli þat þere ben þre salmes, maad of Marie and of Symeon and of þis Zacharie, and þei ben ordelyn of þe Chirche to be songun in tymes accordynge to þese personeis, and witt after whiche þei werten seid. Þis salme is songen in þe Chirche at þe eende of mateyns, for Joon Baptist was lan-tirne biforn þe sunne, to make redy to take þe liht of þis sunne, as þis salm is sungun biforn þe sunne rising. Þis profete knew in spirit þe grace þat God hadde maad here, and þerfor he beginneþ at þe heriynge of God, and cleipþ him first, Lord of alle men of þe world. He cleipþ 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 wip men þat camen of him; and it is takun comounli for seyntis in hevene. And first þei feelen hislordschip b 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 hâp maad biynge aþein of mankynde; for whanne Crist was maad man, þis priis was þovun of God, and whanne Cristis suffringe suede aftir, þis priis was in tellynge. And here he schewide him a profete in seyntge 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 hâp rerid þe horn of heelse to us, in þe hous of Daviþ his child.

Oft tymes an horn bitokeneþ bi manye propirtees a power schewide 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 õer liif of Daviþ figuride Jesus Crist.

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

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.'
secied fro bigynnyng of þe world, and also þese profetis weren
drawn 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: Heelpe of oure enemys, and of þe hond of alle
þes þat han hatid us.

Ffor þis hāþ God spoken bi profetis bifoire 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 hāþ bihiþt\(^1\) bi his
profetis bifoire, to do mercy wiþ oure fadiris, and have mynde of
his holy testament.

God hadde hiþt to Abraham in þe oold lawe, þat he schulde
multiplen his seed as sterris of hevene, and as gravel of þe see;
and many opere þingis God bihiþte to Abraham and opere 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 ẓat to him and to his seed, ðiguride
hem hevene, þat is clepid in Goddis lawe þe lond of men
lyvynge. And so it is of opere goodis þat weren bihiþt oure
fadirs, for God teeld de but litil of erþeli riches, for boþe it
felde to þis Lord and to his trewe children to ẓeve hevenli
goodis and reste in hevene.

Justurandum quod juravit ad Abraham patrem nos-
trum, daturum se nobis. Whanne Abraham schulde have
offrid Isaac, his owne some of his wiþ, he hadde a greet oop
to God, þat he swoor to him þat he schulde ẓeve him to us, for to
bigge mannys kynde.

Þe story is knowen how God temptide Abraham, and baad
him rise and take his owne some wiþ him þat he loveþ, Isaac,
and offre him on an hil. And Abraham dide þus as God baad
him do, and herfore God bihiþte him þat he schulde ẓeve himsylf
for þe worship of God and savynge of mankynde. And her-
fore 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 eorum ipsae omnibus diebus nostris. Pe eende whi pat God bouyte us so costly and so kyndely was pis,—pat we wiseoute drede, de-
lyverid oute of pe hond of oure enemies, 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 diide pis kyndenes for pis eende to mankynde, and it were so profita-
ble and honest to man, and nit man leveþ it, and goop a wrong wey, for drede of pe world or love of his fleisch, and so biconeþ servaunt to hem fro whom God haþ delyverid him. And so man forsakþ God, and takþ him to pe fend.

Et tu, puer, propheta Altissimi vocaberis; presebis
enim ante faciem Domini, parare vias ejus, ad dandam
scientiam salutis plebi ejus in remissione peccatorum
eorum. Here þe prophete turnep his speche to his sone, and
seiþ þese soþe wordis unto Joon Baptist: Þou, child, schalt be
clepid þe profete of alþer-hizest; and þerfore þou schalt go bifoere
þe face of þe Lord, for to make redy þe wæes of him, and for to
zeve kunnynge of healle unto his peple in forzisnes of her synnes.

And al þis was schewid in þe liif of Joon Baptist, for he
forsook þe world and chastiside his fleisch, and wente not to
scoole to bigile his neiþbore, but helde þe staat of innocense
in deseert placis. And oure religiouse a þat seien þei suen him,
gaderen hem in coventis, and lyven contrarie liif; for in þe stide
of innocence þei han chosun fleckis; 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 fleisch.
And where þei schulden forsake craftily bilyngis, þei chesen
housis and cloistris to hyde 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 nit þei fiȝnen falsi sumwhat of Crist and sumwhat of
Baptist to disseuye þe peple. But as in conjurisoune ben teeld
manye goddis names, to disseuye 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 heelp.

Per viscosa misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos, orien 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 hap, and cam from his heven to visyte his folk, þat he sende liȝt to us þat sitten in darknesse and in schadowe of deþ, for to dresse oure seel into þe wey of þees.

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 fyte wiþ oure enemies, ne to spoile þe peple, and gaderhe goodis to oure castels, ne bi þe craft of lesygis 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 whoþ children siche ben, and to whom þei maken redy. For king of alle þe children of pride, þat is Anticrist, leedþ siche cloisteris, and techþ hem siche cautelis. And herfore seyn sum men, as Lyncolne and oþere, þat þei ben dede careynes cropen of her sepulcre, wloopid in cloþis of deel\(^1\), and dryven of þe devel for to drecche men. And þus þei ben baggid wiþ signes of ipocrisy, þat it were lasse harme to men of Cristis scoole to dele wiþ a legioun of feendis of helle þan wiþ a liitil covent of siche qwike devels. For sum men þei robben, and sum men þei maken wode; and bi þer feyned ipocrisy 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 sevne biforn ben liȝtir. And ceertis þese religiouse þus bounden to þe fend passen wickide wommen, whoþ 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. Ú has dole.

* See the opening of the tract ‘Lincolniensis,’ infra, p. 230.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

[NUNC DIMITTIS.]

[Luke ii. 29.]

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

Nuno dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace; quia vidœrant oculos mei salutare tuum; quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum; lumen ad revelacionem gentium, et gloriæ plebis tue Israel: Lord, þou levest now þi servaunt in þees aþir þi word þat þou hast seid biforn, for now I am riip to dye; for myn iþen han seen þin owne sone Crist þat is þine owne heleþþ to men, þat þou hast maad redy to sette biforn þe face of alle folk þat schal be saved. þe which heelþþ is, ðiþ þer schewing of heþene men, and also to glorie of þi folk of Israel.

þis oold man was cumfortid in soule bi bileewe, for he trowide þat hevene schulde soone aþir be openyd, and Crist wiþ hise membris schulde entre into hevene; and þerfore he coveitide þanne to be deþ, and in haaste to be wiþ Crist, for þat he hopide truly, siþ he hadde answere of God þat was eernes herto. And þus ben manye men moved, þat wolde þat Cristis Chirche were sumwhat amendid after Cristis ordenaunce, þat þei schulden not dye biforn þat þis come, þat Crist were schewid sumwhat in his Temple, and biforn þat he were borun as a pore yong child. And þif þis venym of dowynge were sumwhat aslakid, þanne were þei riþe to dye to Crist; for þei hopen þat Crist is liþþ here unto schewe to hem his wille, as his lawe techþþ, 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 eremel, U.
even-song, ṭat is oure first hour, for sche was byginnynge of heelpe of mannys kynde. And ṭes ṭre salmes ben of even autorite, siplen ṭe ben alle ṭre ṭe feiḥ of ṭe gospel.

[THE SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.]

[DAN. iii. 57—88 a.]

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

졵 salme was maad aftir a myracle ṭat God dide in tyme of Nabugodnosor, whanne he savede ṭre Jews for stablenes of her bileve fro ṭe brennyng furneis, ṭat was hat to brenne hem. ṭese ṭre persoonyys ben of double name, by dyverse langagis; ṭei ben clepid Ananyas, Ažarias, and Myzael; and ṭei ben clepid on ṭeber maner, Sydrak, Mysaac, and Abednego. ṭis song heerij ṭ God, and spekiḥ to alle hise creaturis, and biddij hem love God, siplen alle ben maad for ṭis eende. And ṭus ṭe first vers biddij,—Je alle werkis of ṭe Lord, blesse ye to ṭe Lord, herie ye and overe-hise ye him in al tyme.

Ṭes ben ṭre wordis in ṭis vers ṭat schulden be ṭus undirstonden. Siplen ṭe creature seij kyndely ṭat God made it of nouįt, ech creature schulde by kinde blesse God; and soo if it do wel, servynge God as it schulde, ṭanne it seij wel to God, and graunįt ṭat God is blessid over al āng. And ṭis wel seinghe, ṭat is wel servynge, is blessing ṭat God spekiḥ of here; and ṭus alle āngis blesse God, but oonli yvele men and feendis. ṭe secunde word of ṭis vers seij ṭat āngis blesse to ṭe Lord, and ṭis word, Lord, by himsilf, is taken for God, Lord of Lordis. ṭe pridde tyme we schulden undirstonde, ṭat by maner of Grec speche, ṭat āng overhiŋ ąnoįr āng ṭat seij it passįt alle oĵere creaturis; and soo overhiŋinge, propirly, is lovynghe proprid to God. And ṭus ṭese ṭre āngis, blesse, and loove, and overhiŋe, bitokenen ṭe Trynyte, and ṭei ben oon in substaunce, ṭat is, heriŋe, apperinge to God.

1 bete, U; bat, Q.  
2 beriḥ, FF, U; beyes, Q.  
3 appropryd, Q.  
4 In the Vulgate version.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Benedicite angeli Domini Domino: Benedicite oeli Domino: *Ye angels of ye Lord blesse to ye Lord; ye hevenes blesse to ye Lord.*

*This verse bigynneth ye ordir of blessinge that creaturis schulden blesse to God. But there ben two maner of creaturis, spiritual and bodily. That best creature of God is good angel, that is namyd generali here. And thys these angels han a maner to blesse God bi witt and wille. And among bodily creaturis hevenes generali ben ye best.*

Benedicite aquae omnes, quae super celos sunt, Domino: Benedicite omnes virtutes Domini Domino: *Ye watris alle, pat ben above hevenes, blesse ye to ye Lord; ye alle vertues of ye Lord blesse to ye Lord.*

Here thynken men that bi these watris whiche ben above hevenes ben undirstonden alle partis of hevenes, above sunne, planetis, and sterris. For thes þre partis, for þe lyst, ben clepid hevenes comonly, and these oþere partis of hevenes þat ben cleer as watir ben clepid watris above hevenes, for in hem ben these 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 propriëes; for watris þat ben above þe moone ben stable and cleer and everlasting; but watris þat ben bineþe þe moone, remuyng, freele, and partable. And so watris þat ben above moune wel be preised, for þei ben sotil, but watris bynþe may be dyvyded, for þei ben boþe hevy and groos; and dyversyte of siche qualitees stondþ in substauence of o kynde. And vertues þat ben in hevenes ben powers þerof to rule þis erþe, as ech part þat is in hevene hap vertu to move erþeli þingis.

Benedicite sol et luna Domino: Benedicite stelle oeli Domino: *Ye sunne and ye moone blesse ye to ye Lord; ye starris of hevenes blesse ye to ye Lord.*

*Ye sunne and þe moone ben passinge liþtis, 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 sevne planetis of hevene, and stonden in þis ordir: Saturnus is þe hiþeste planeti, siþ Jubiter, and siþ Mars. But þe sunne is as a kyng, and stondþ in þe myddil of alle planetis, and hap*
pes pre above him, and opere pre bynephe him; pe whiche ben clepid of filosofris, Venus, Mercurius, and pe moone is lowiste planete, and takip list, wiip opere, of pe sunne. And alle pesse sevene ben erraunt sterris, for chaungeable movynge pat pei han, for pei ben sumtyme joyned togidere, and sumtyme oon aseain anooper. And pis fallip for pesse alle for propir movynge in her whelis, but above Saturnus ben sterris pat ben alle in o wheel, and pes ben evere iliche fer, and maken o figure in her wheel.

Benedicite ymber et ros Domino: Benedicite omnes spiritus Dei Domino: Reyn and dew bless ye to pe Lord; alle wyndis of God bless ye to pe Lord.

Here pes pre children of Jewis nemen creaturis bynephe pe moone, but pei nemen not pes fourre spersis bi pe ordir pat filosofris doon. Pei seyn pat undir pe moone is a sperre of sotil fier, and in pat is a sperre of pe eir, and in eiper sperre of pe watar, and in pe myddil of pe world and lowiste, sperre of pe erpe. Pis resoun moved pes clerkes to putte a sotil sperre of fier; pei seyn pe gros fier among us is bope hoot and drie and list, movynge upward; and al pis ping it doop bi kynde; and pus a cleene fier in his kynde mut be moore list hoot and drie. And alle pe spersis ben brokely, but so ben spersis above pe moone. Clerkis seyn pat reyn comeip pus; pe planetis, and algatis pe sunne, drawen up of pe watar and of opere moist placis a sotil body fier into pe eir; and in pe myddil of pe eir is it kyndely cooldid a-nystis, for pis matir is kyndely coold, and pere wantip heete of fier and list, and pus coold makip pis moist matir renne togidere in smale dropis, and pus pei geten heynes, and come doun in foorme of rein. But sumtyme pesse planetis of hevene, aseain pe tyme pat pe sunne goop doun, liftin up a sotil matir but a litil space fro pe erpe; and fro pe tyme pe sunne be hid, pe coold of pe nyst engrosip pis matir, and so it comeip doun anoon in moore sutil foorme than reyn. Pere lien manye wyndis here; as summe wyndis ben in beestis, and summe ben closid wipinne pe erpe, and summe blowen frely

1 So in Q and FF; T and U read pese. 2 lowest, Q, U; lowers, FF. 3 So in U; movyd, Q, FF; moveden, T. 4 brokel, U; brokeli, FF.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

bitwene pe erpe and sterris of hevene; and pis wynd is clepid here, spirit of God, for dyversyte of opere. Pis wynd is in his kynde eir mediid wiþ watir þat comeþ of pe erpe. And planetis, wiþ sterris of hevene, and hurlinge of cloudis moven pis wynd now to o place, now to anoþer, after þe chaungynge of þe mower.

Benedicite ignis et estus Domine: Benedicite frigus et estus Domine: Fier and swiinge blesse ye to þe Lord; coold and somer blesse ye 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 fãþþ açens man. Þus comeþ fier þat we useþ; and þe brennynge þerof heetþ men in coold tyme, and helpþ to diþe her mete and drinke. And þus coold in his tyme doð cumfort to mannys body, and heete of somer bringþ forþ fruyt, þat man schulde not lyve but if þis were.

Benedicite rores et pruina Domine: Benedicite gelu et frigus Domine: Dewis and hoor frost blesse ye to þe Lord; frost and coold blesse ye to þe Lord.

Summe ben dewis þat moisten þe erpe til forþ1 dayes2 in hoot tyme; and whanne þe coold hæþ frozen þis matir, panne it is clepid hoor frost. Frost is moore, and lastþ þengir; and coold is comoun to manye þingis. And as þese tempren mannis body, so þei tempren erþe and fruyt.

Benedicite glacies et nives Domine: Benedicite noctes et dieþ Domine: Fise and snow blesse ye to þe Lord; nyztis and dayes blesse ye to þe Lord.

No dreede yis helpþ manye men to passe overe watirs to manye cuntrees. Snow helpþ to tempre þe erþe; for a good snow is worþ a dungynge, for it holdþ heete wipinne þe erþe, þat it crepe not out bi smale holis; and so it qwikenþ þe roote of growinge þingis wipinne þe erþe. It is knowen þing to clerkis, þat snow is gendrid hiþ in þe eir, whanne watry matir mych in quantite to regard of þe stubaunse is frozen and so fallþ doun,

1 til forþ dayes, U; til forth dayes, Q; til fro þe dayes, FF.

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

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and hap whijtnes for cleer and stable matir. And sippin men mai not evere traveile, God hap ordeyned nyght and day, nyght for to reste, and day for to traveile; and no drede eir in pese tymes temperip hap erpe and qualitees. And alle pese pingis techen men bope of virtues, and of vicis, and of hevene, and of helle, to desire hap oon and drede pte topir.

Benedicite lumen et tenebrae Domino; Benedicite fulgur et nubes Domino: Liyt and derknes blesse ye to he Lord; leytes and cloudis blesse ye to he Lord.

Liyt cumfortip mannis siyt, and qweme⁵ bodies here in erpe, and maka⁴ hem ūnke on verri liyt, ūat is God he first liif. Derknessis doon good to siyt, and tempren mennys wittis, to take her reste, and figuren derknes of synne, and pereafir derknessis of helle. And derknes is Goddis creature, si⁴ God hap ordeyned it among opere; and so not ech creature is substaunce ūat may dwelle by himself. Clerkis knowen ūat cloudis hurtlyn and bringen forf fier of per partis; as whanne ṣei breken bi violence ūat werun fast togidere bifoſe, ūanne ṣei maken a greet noise, which noise men clepe ūat ūundir. And, for siyt is swiftir ūan heeryng, as liyt comep sonner⁷ ūan eir tremblip, perfore men seen liijtnyngg bifoſe and aſtir ūei heeren ūat ūundir of cloudis. And al ūis servep Cristen men to mysti comowynyngg of Cristis lawe.

Benedicat terra Domino, laudet et superexaltet eum in secula: Blesse he erpe to he Lord, herie and overhige it him for evere.

Ūat erpe servep wel to God whanne it holdip he myddil of he world, and gaderip plenteously liyt of hevene, and bringip forf fruyt as God biddip. And for pis cause hap God ordeyned erpe to be ūicke and stable, to turne aſein he liyt of hevene, and ūeede fruyt he growip pereinne. And for stablenes of ūat erpe, ūat schal laste after doomesday, and blesse God above tyme, seyen ūat pese childrin ūat he erpe blesse⁶ God.

Benedicite montes et collæs Domino: Benedicite universa germinacionis in terra Domino: apeake bope moore

¹ So in FF; sibe, T, U; for, Q. ⁸ leytes, U; leytes, FF.
² So in U; sunner, Q, FF; sunner, T. ⁴ So in U and Q;
³ seyn, FF; sipsin, T. ⁵ blessep, U; blessep, FF; blesse, Q.
and lasse, blesse to be Lord; alle pat burionen in erpe blesse ye to be Lord.

It is knowen ping pat hillis holden stoones and metal-oor, and bryngen forþ manye eerbis pat woldin not so wel growe in valeis. And, for cause pat þes pingis schal have no stide at doomesday, þerfore seþ Goddis lawe, þat hillis and valeis schulen be playned, and erþe schal take a round figure, and hevene and erþe and wair schulen reste.

**Benedicite fontes Domino:** Benedicite maris et fluminà Domino: Wellis blesse ye to be Lord; sees and floodis blesse ye to be Lord.

Men fynden opinly what good doon wellis to mannys kynde, for manye tymes men schuldin wante drinke, ne were þe servise þat þei take of wellis. And comounly in hoot somer wellis ben coold, and hoot in wyntir. It is knowen pingis to clerkis þat in poris deþe undir þe erþe is watriis gendrid and rennynge and springynge up at a place, so myche þat in manye placis where no wair seemþ to be, men moun so deþe hole þe erþe, þat good wair and plenteuous wole springe. And for þis wair rennþ in somer up cold erþe, whanne poris ben oþin, þerfore wair 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 bëfore is lettid to come out by smale holis. Þerfore þe wair þat comeþ bi siche poors haþ heete in wyntir, and smoke comeþ out and wellþ. For sich a cause eten men betere in coold tyme þan þei doon in hoot tyme, whanne heete is scaterid wipoute-forþ. Sees in dyverse cuntries han dyverse propirtees; as ourë sees of Ingeland flowþ twies in þe day and in þe nyȝt, for þe moone þat moveþ þes watriis lokþ so til ourë Brytyyn see, þat what bi riȝt liȝt and reflectid, in nyȝt and day, it moveþ it twies. Summe oþere sees flowen never, and summe but oones flowen in a moneþe, and aftir þat heven lokþ 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.

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1 So in U; of pingis, T.  
2 pooreþ, U.
And þerfore seij Davið in þe salme, þat men þat weenden to þe see, þei seen þere þe wondir werkis þat God hap maad in þis world; for no man suffisip in þis liif to telle fully þe kynde of fyschis. And þe see conseyveþ wiþ fischis manye ðopere presciouse þingis, as ben salt and maragitis, and manye ðopere presciouse 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 takip kyndele a savour þat men clepen saltines. And herfore in summe londis han men salt for gravel. And siþ þe see ebbip and flowip fro þe souþ into þe norþ, it is needful þat salt be medið wiþ manye sees, and not al oonli wiþ sees, but wiþ watris where þe see flowip. 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 saltines is founde in þes wellis, but þe see is comounly salt, for it takip moore þe liȝt of hevene; for it is moore, and neer hevene, and moore disposid to take liȝt; but bankis and manye ðopere causis leten floodis to take þus liȝt. Also, gravel of þe souþ see is neer þe sunne, and moore hoot, and þis is medið wiþ ðopere sees, and makiþ hem salt bi rubbinge; so þat ful cause of saltines 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 sicþ watir, medið wiþ erþe, mut nede be whiȝt in þe same kynde. But ßit men axen comounly, whi salt is dissolvd þus, but cristal and ðopere stoones ben not loosid as opper salt. Here seien clerkis þat dyverse bodies ben maad sad in dyverse degrees, and summe bodies may be dissolvd and summe not, as manye stoones. And of þe firste clerkis ðeven a rule, þat þo bodies þat ben hardid bi cooldé ben loosid by hoot, and hardid by hoot ben loosid bi coold. As iys and leed ben hardid bi coold, and þei ben neischid 1 ægin by hoot. But, for salt is hardid bi hoot and drie, þerfore it is kynedly neischid bi body of contrary qualite, as ben bodies coold and moist. And þus salt is hoot bi kynde, and hap hise virtues by þis ground.

1 neischid, U.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Benedicite oete et omnia qui movent in aqua Domino:
Benedicite omnes volucres oeli Domino: Whallis and alle pingis moved in watris, blesse ye to be Lord. Alle foulis of hevene blesse ye to be 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 fishe and scalid fisch, or of what kynde þat evere þei ben. Alle þei turnen to mannis help, and doon þe office þat God haþ ordeyneþ. And þus as beestis upon þe lond drawn in erþe to tempre her body, so fischis in þe flood drawn 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 þit þe first book of holy writþ þat men clepen Genesis, seþ þat boþe fischis and foulis comen of substaunce of þe watir. And þit God scheþ þis craft to putt hem so fer a twynne, for þis lord can ordeyne of alle þingis as him likþ. But watir is neer hevene in kynde þan is erþe, of which ben beestis; and þus boþe fisches and foulis kepþ sum propirte of watir.

Benedicite omnes bestis et peoora Domino: Benedicite filii hominum Domino: Alle kynde of beestis and swandringe beestis blesse ye to be Lord; and mennys sones blesse ye to be Lord.

Here may we wyte þat þes beestis weren werks 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 ﬁfte 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 drawn in þe plouþ, and helpen to bere men, as hors. And it is needful to teche men to blesse to God bi gode werks, as þese beestis taken lore of men, and serven to hem to mannis worship.

Benedicat Israel Domino: laudet et superexaltet eum in secula: þe folk of Israel blesse ye to be Lord; herie it and overhize 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 pese schulen
serve God moore hisky. And for pis servise stondip moore in
spirit, þerfore it lastip 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: Préstis of þe Lord, blesse ye to þe
Lord; servauntis of þe Lord, blesse ye to þe Lord.

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

Benedicite spiritus et animae justorum Domino: Bene-
dicite sancti et humiles corde Domino: Spiritus and soules
of just men blesse ye to þe Lord; Holy and meke men of herte
blesse ye to þe Lord.

In þis vers may þe 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 hâp ordeyned to blis ben here holy
and confermyd, and meke algatis of herte.

Benedicite Anania, Asaria, Missael Domino; laudate
et superexaltate eum in secula: Ananye, Asarie, Myzael,
blesse ye to þe Lord; herie ye and overhiyte ye him for evermore.

Þþin gode deedis, in Goddis myraclis, oblischen men moore
to serve God, þese þre children schulden specialy serve God
for hise þifis. 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 eum sancto spiritu;
laudemus et superexaltemus eum in secula: þe fadir
and þe sonne and þe holy goost herie we, and overhiyte we him
wiþoute eende.

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

* 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 ðris. For þis brennyng wiþ synne of soule is moore perelous þan þe toþir, and þerfore men schulden moore herie God for sawyng 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 coeli; laudabilis et gloriosus et excelsus in secula: Blessid artow Lord in þe firmament of hevene; and worbi to be heryd and glorious and overhizd for evermore._

Þis vers makþ 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 himself as myche as ony þing may be, and oure word and oure blessing may not alarge þis blessing of God; but by þis meke confession and joie of Goddis blessing we hopen þat God wole blesse us, boþe here and in hevene.

[QUICUNQUE VULT: COMMONLY CALLED THE ATHANASIAN CREED.]

_Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam fidem. It is seid comounly þat þere ben þre credis. þe first is Apostlis, þat men knownen comounly. þat opere is crede of þe Chirche þat declarþ 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.* Þis Salme_

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* 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-
telliȝ myche of þe Trynyte, and it is no rede ech man here to know it, siþ a man may be saved if þat he bileve in God, and hope þat God wole teche him afterward þat is needful. And so, as men seyn comonlyn, men bileeven in two maners. Summe bileeven expressly þat þer is but o God; and summe bileeven confessully, however God wole þat þei trowen; and if þei lyven on þer syde riȝtly, as God wole þat þei lyven, þei ben in good wey affter to come to blis. For our crede schulde be medelid wiþ love and bileve, so þat bileeve taughte oure witt how good þat oure God is, and siþ þe Holy Goost taughte how we schulden love oure God. And herfore seip þis 1 salm, whiche is lesse þan gospel, þat, Whoseowere wole be saaf, it is needful biforn alle ophere þingis þat he hoolde þe comoun bileve, 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 Payynms and manye out of þe bileve; siþ men seien comounli þat all han siche bileve. And so love and good liif ben needful to riȝt bileve. And God forbede þat men bileeven þat ech man þat schal be saaf mut trowe expressly ech word þat here is seid; for feue or noone ben in þat staat, or Grekis or Lateyns. And þit to us falliþ, Englisch to telle þat litil þat we bileeven; for bileve is of truþe, þat is biforn oure langagis;

1 So in U and Q; T has þe first salm.
and, as we seyn, God þeȝeþ bileewe boþe to children and to
men, alif þei ben not of power to lerne bileewe of her briþeren.

Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque serva-
verit, absque dubio in eternum peribit: Þis comyn feiþ
is of þis kynde, þat but if eþ man kepe it hool and unfilid, wip-
oute doue þe schal þerische wipouþen eende.

Þere ben summe þat tronen to oon article, and of anoþer
article þei tronen þat it is fals, as Jews and Paynyms tronen
to o bileewe, and tronen not to anoþir, and þerfore þei failen
in hool bileewe. And it is al oon a man to have noon4 armes5,
and to be woundid to þe deþ on oon hoole of hise armes.
And here may we se how bileewe is taken here for truþ þat
men bileeven, groundid in God. And on two oþere maners
men taken bileewe. Sum tymle bileewe is clepid a qualite, by
which a man is namyd a trewe man in God, and þis bileewe is
a manner of a trewe soulle. On þe þridde maner is bileewe take
for a pouȝt þat a man hæþ in deede of þe first bileewe. And
þus bileewe is liȝtist to falle fro a man. But we schulen undir-
stonde, þat manye men neden not to have opin knowleche of
alle pointis of bileewe, but þei moten nedis bileewe þat þer is o
God, and love him and serve him wipouþe synne dampnable.
And þus men tronen generaly al þat is to bileewe, and failen
in no poynþ, as doon untrewen men. Oþere þat have moore
witt of God, schulden trowe moore; and algatis eþ man
schulde kepe him fro fals bileewe, þat he trowe not contrarye
to oure feiþ.

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

Neque confundentes6 personas, neque substantiam
separantes. And þus schal we trowe, neþer medlyng þese þre
persoones, ne departing þe substance, of God in þese persoones.

1 So in U; none, Q; om, T. 4 armys, U. 5 So Q, U; con-
fundantes, T.
Dat is to seie, we schal not trowe dat pe Fadir mai be pe Sone, ne pe Sone pe Holy Goost, ne pe Holy Goost pe Fadir; but pes ben pe persoones, dat noon is anoþir, ne part of anoþir; and alle þese þre persoones, and ech hi himself, be þe same substauence, and so þe same God.

Alia est enim persona patria, alia filii, alia spiritus sancti; sed patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti una est divinitas, equalis gloria, coeterna majestas: Pere is oþir persoon of pe fadir, and oþir of pe sone, and anoþir of pe holy goost; but of þes þree persoones is o godheed, and evere glorie, and comyn magiste wiþouten eende.

We schal trowe dat pe Fadir is þis persoon of pe Fadir; and so þes oþere two persoones ben persoon of þe Sone and persoon of þe Holy Goost. So, alle if þese persoones ben oþere, and ech is oþir fro þe toþir, napelees 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 dat þis same glorie and magiste were of þree persoones, þei seiden sopli 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 evere 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-

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1 So Q, U; magestas, T.
oute bigynnyng and also wipouten eende; and so noon of þese þre persoones may be maad of nouȝt.

**Exegetical and Didactic.**

Immensus pater, immensus filius, immensus spiritus sanctus: Þe fadar is wipoute mesure myche, and ðe þe sone, wip ðe holy goost.

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

Eternus pater, starnus filius, eternus spiritus sanctus: Þe fadar is wipoute bigynnyng, and also wipoute eending, and so ben þe toþir two persoones.

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

Et tamen non trea eterni, sed unus eternus; siuit non trea increati, neo trea immens, sed unus increatus et unus immensus: And napeles, 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 wipouten eende; but alle þes þre persoones ben o God, þat is sich.

But here may men betere sey in Latein þe sotilte of þis materre, for articlis wip case, gendre, and noumbre helpen here for to speke. For alle þese þre persoones of God ben þus myche wipoute 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 trea omnipotentæs, sed unus omnipotens: Also almyȝti is þe fadar, almyȝti is þe sone, almyȝti is þe holy goost; and napeles not þre Goddis ben almyȝti, but o God-is almyȝti.

We schal bileeve ofoure God þat he is a sovereign spirit, o kynde and o substaunce, o God and o beinge; and he is wipout part, and fulli sich as we han seid; and þis God hap
power to knowe himself, and to willen himself. This power is
the first persone, this wisdom is the second persone, and this
wille is the third persone; and all these are ben o God. And
so these names, that moten nedis acoorde to al the Trinuty, ben
seid singularly of oure God wipouten part. And this these persons of God ben Almysti, and all God, sij ech of hem
is Almysti, but this same Almysti God. And clerks seyn that
God is Almysti, for if he wil that oujt be doon, he doop it in his
tyme, and this may no thing do but God, for angels wolen that
be ben made, but this these mai not make hemself. But all these
persones ben o kynde, that is such mystri as we han seid. And
these sij this 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 he
fadir is God, he sone is God, he holy goost is he same God; and
napeless per ben not pre goddis, but o God is all these he.
And so he he is Lord, he sone is Lord, and he holy goost is Lord;
and this these ben not pre lordis, but o Lord is ech of the.

And these roten resoun of men that foolish maken wipouten witt,
is not worthi to be teeld for the lewidnes perof; if these God be these
Fadir, and these same God be his Sone, the is these Fadir these
Sone, for o God is the bope. These foolish moten here filosofye,
and how many thiseis may be a comoun ping.

Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam Deum
ae Dominum coñfiteri Cristiana veritate compellimus,
ita tres deos aut dominos dicere Catholica religiones
prohibemur. And to these wit speik this crede, that we ben
nedid bi Cristen trouxe to graunte that ech of these these persons
is ful God and ful Lord, and he these same that ech oone is; and
that we ben forfendid of God to say that pere ben these goddis,
or that these these persons ben these lordis, bi general religioun.
For o God and o Lord is comowne to these these persons.

Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus. Wir
these sentence that is seid, is ordir bitwixe these persons. But
the Fadir is maad of noon, ne maad of noujt, ne bigeten; sij the
Fadir is the first persone, that may have no principle of his being.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Filius a patre solo est; nee factus, nee creatus, sed genitus: Pe sone is of pe oom fadir, not maad, ne maad of nouȝt, but borun.

And here clerkis mooten wake her wittis, and undirstonde two birþis. Pe first is not makynge of þing, but cause þerof wipouten eende; as, if þe sunne were nevere maad, as error of clerkis haþ seid ofte, ȝit þe sunne wolde cause his lijþ eþer wiþinne or wipoute. So þe first persoon of God bringþ forþ þe secunde persoon as God, for power to knowe himself knowþ himself fulli. And þis þing was wipoute 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 bringþ forþ anojir.

Spiritus sanctus a patre et filio; non factus, non creatus, nee genitus, sed procedens. And here moten men wake wel, to knowe how þis þridde persoon 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 princiþe of þis þridde persoon; 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 wipoute bigynnyng and eending, but it is a bringinge forþ wilful of two persoones. And þus þei may not be o fadir, ne þis þridde persoon her sone; but bileve techþ us, þat as God knowþ himself, for he may knowe himself, so for þese two þingis God restþ in his owne wille, sip God haj good wille to himself, 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 fadiris, o sone, not þre sones, oon holy goost, not þre holy goostis.

And þus þer ben but þre persoones wipinne in þe Godheed, al if manye ben wipoute.

1 So in U; brymgynge, Q; bring, T.
Et in haec trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus; sed tote tres persone oeterne sibi sunt et coequales: And in his trinity is none before me after, moore ne lese, but alle pre persoones ben evene unipoute digynnyng and eende, and evene in power and in godheed.

Here moten men knownen, for heretikis, how þere ben two furþerheedis and two hyndirhedis also, þat men speken of in bis matir. For þe first furþerheid is forþerheid¹ of comynge forþ, and þe toper forþerheid is forþerheid of kynde. And in þis trinitye is þe firste furþerheid þat here is spoken, siþ o persone comeþ of anoþir, and þere is ordir in þese persoones. þe secunde furþerheid 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 amendide hem in þis point, addynge þe Sone to þe Fadir, and seyn soþ þat þei ben o principle, bringynge forþ þe Holy Goost. But we fallen to Goddis Sone in suynge þe manheed of him.

Ita ut per omnia, siuit jam supra dictum est, et² unitas in trinitate, et trinitas in unitate veneranda sit. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate sanatis: And so we gaderen hem, as it is before seid, þat boþe oonheed in godheed, and trinyte in persoones, and trinyte in þis oonheed, be to be wor-shipeþ ovre ovre þingis. And whosoevere wolde be saaf, þus feel he of þe trinyte.

If he feelle not þus expressly, loke þat he feelle þus in comoun.

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

For Crist is giannt³ of two substauncis, of godheed and of manheed, and bigynnynge of ooure bileeve, of ooure heelp, 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 heelp
of manny's kynde. And it is hard to bileve þe Trinyte, but it is moore hard to manye to bileve 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 our bileve,—

Est  ergo fides recta ut credamus et confitemur, 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: Perfore it is riȝt bileve þat we bileve and knowe, þat oure Lord Jesus Crist, Goddis sone, is bope God and man. He is God of his fadris substantce, borne spiritually before þe world, and he is man of his modirs substantce, borne and maad man in þe world.

And so he is parfït God, as he was before þe world, and he is parfït man, maad of a resonable soule and of mannis fleisch. And so he is bocomen oure broþir, not maad of godheed and of fleisch, 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 opere 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 byrtaunþis 1 bigilen foolis in matir of þe Trinyte, so þei bigilen opere byrtaunþis 1 in þe incarnacioun of Jesus Crist. And herfore bileve 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 bope þes two togidere, and so, evne to þe fadir bi his godheed, and lese þan þe fadir bi his manheed.

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

1 truantes, U.
Crist is evene wij pe Fadir, and Crist is lesse tan pe Fadir, *sip Crist is bope pees kyndes; but si Crist were evene wij pe Fadir, and perwij lesse tan pe Fadir,*1 bi pe same kynd of Crist, tanne two contraries folowiden him. And tus grauntip Crist in pe gospel, wijoute cloutinge of ojere wordis, pat pe Fadir is moore tan he, and al pat pe Fadir hap is his. And if we graunten to his witt pat Crist is not evene wij pe Fadir, for his manheed is not evene, his is not contrarie to pe toper; as, sum man renne, sum man renne not.

Qui loet Deus sit et homo, non duo tainen, sed unus est Cristus: But if Crist be God and man, and so two kyndis, and bope of hem, hapeles Crist is not two persoone, but oon,

Pat is bope God and man, and his persoone is godheed, anderto it is manheed. And so schal we graunte of Crist wijouten drede, bi these two kyndis, bope pat pat fallip to his godheed, and perwij pat fallip to his manheed.

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

For Crist took manheed pat he bifoere was not, and leste not godheed pat he was evere. And hit godheed may not be manheed, akip pei ben o persoone.

* Unus autem 3, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate persoone: And tus, Crist is algatis oon, not by confusione of his substance, but bi oonheed of his persoone, pat is bope these two substauences.

And so Crist bigan to be his, but he bigan not to be persoone, as Crist was not twies persoone, ne* twies man by his deep. And so pe godheed of Crist is not medlid wij his manheed, ne neper of these kyndis turne into ophir, but these kindis ben hool in Crist.

Nam siout anima racionalis et caro unus est homo, its Deus et homo unus est Cristus: For whi as a resonable soule and flesch is bope o man, so in Crist bope 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. 3 Unus omnia, Q. 8 So U and Q; not, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

And so pis soule, pat is, pis man, is no part but al pis man, and pis soñli a man is spirit, and schal lyve aftir pat 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 suffridd for oure heellþe, wente doun into helle, and on þe þridde day roos fro deep. First he suffridd bi his flesch, and wente to helle by his soule, and roos boþe bi his Godhede and bi his manheede þat he quikenede. But Crist left nevere to be þis spirit, al if he left oonyz to be flesch. And þus he haph power to put his liif, and to take it aþen.

Ascendit ad coelos; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos: And þus Crist stiede to hevenes, sittip 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 manheede, þat was moved bi his godheede, 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 doom unkindeli aþens him.

Ad cuþus 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 yve resoun to Crist of her oune 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 wipouten eende, and þes men þat han doen yvelis schulen go to fier wipouten eende.

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

Heo est fides catholica, quam, nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvis esse non poterit: Þis is general bileave, þe which but if ech man trawe truly and stidefasily, he may not herewip be saaf.

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

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

WORKS. VOL. III.
II.

PE 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 574, 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 ðe comaundementis of God, for wiþouten holdyngye of hem may no man be savyd. And so ðe gospel tellip how oon askide Crist what he schulde do for to come to hevene. And Crist seide, ðif 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.
brouste þe out of servage, þere þou servedist men. ²ow schalt not have bisfore me alyen Goddis. ²ow 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 worschiphe hem, for I am þe Lord þi God, a stronge gelous lovere; I visite wickidnesse of fadris into þe sones, þe þridde and þe þerþe of hem þat haticden me, and I do merci unto þousandis of hem þat loven me and kepen myn hestis.

But, for manye men wen þat þei kepe þiise maundementis, and þit þei lyven þere-aþens, þerforo men schulden wite þat what maner þing þat a man loveþ moost, he makþ his god; and so, syþe al synne stondþ in love, everi heed synne is brekynge of þis heeste. And so þiise ten hestis ben as ten mirouris þat men may se hemsifl yinne. And siþen þei ben þre synnes, as Seynt Joon seþ, þat enwrappeþ alle opere, in þre maneris may a man breke þis maundement,—in þes þre, love of fleische, and love of eþe, and pride of liþ. And so gloutouns and lecchouris breken þis heeste; as Poul seþ, þat þes gloutouns makyn hire beli hire god. For God biddþ þe feede þe in mesure, and þit þou passist þis mesure for lust of þi beli; þi fleische stirþ þe moore to do þat þi fleische askþ; and so þou makist falsli þi beli þi god. And on þe same wise þe covetyous man makþ his mawmet þe temporal goodis, as Poul seþ þat averycye is service of mawmetis. And so þe proute man makþ 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 brokyne, boþe of preestis and of seculeres. And so in trust of ymagis manþ ben discyved, in hope of help or helpe in a maner neede, as þe olde lawe and þe newe witnyssen. þe Dedis of Apostlis, in þe seventenþe chapter, seþ 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 giþeþ unto alle liþ, and wynde enspirynge, and al oþir þing. And of oþir þinge he made al mankynde for to inhabite on al þe face of þe erþe, and tymes and termes, or habitatioun; for to
seeke here God. For in him we livien, and in him we stiren, and we ben also his kyn, as poetis seyn. And sifpe we ben þe kyn of God, us auge not suppose þat þat perteynþ unto God is like unto gold or silver or ston, of þe craft of gravenge, or of mannis bond-worchenge. For þat þing þat is hige to men, is abhominacioun biforne God. But, for we knowyn him litil, we loven him þe lesse. And þif 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 distractþ men to kepe hem riȝt. And þis is sumdeel þe resoun 1 of þe firste maundement.

2 Comaundement.

þe secounde maner maundement of God perteynþ to þe Sone. Pow schult not take þe name of þi Lord God in veyn, neþer in word neþer in lyvynge. Eche man takip Goddis name in veyn, þat swerþ bi his name more þan is need. Crist techip in þe gospel to have oure wordis þus, þhe, þhe, and nai, nay, wiþouten ony oþ. Þere he doublip his wordis, as if he wolde seie,—þif þe seie þhe in þoure soule, seie þhe wiþ þoure mouþ, and be þe trewe men. For God techip bi Jeremie þe prophete, wiþ þre condiciouns it is leeful 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 opis. For it is writen in Ecclesiasticus, þe þre and twenti chapitre, þere he seip þus; A man much sweringe schal be fullfille þe hous of him. But we schullen wite afterward, þat everi man berþ þe name of God printid in his soule, for ellis he miȝte not be, as Seynt Austyn seip;—in þre þingis, mynde, resoun, and wille, and alle ben o substaunce. And so þe gospel techip þat þou schuldist on þre maners worþipe þe name of þi God, þat þou hast wiþ þee. Pow schuldist love þi God of al þin herte, of al þi soule, and of al þi mynde.

1 corrected; Romana in Bodl. 789.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Danne 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 worship to þi God. þou lovost God of al þi soule, whanne þou ordeynest al þi lif to worship of þi God. Also þou lovost þi God of al þi mynde, whanne þou forgetist not þus to þenke on þi God; but þenkinge is in dede as it is in mynde. On þis wise schulde men worshipe þe Trinite. And whanne a man doþ þat he schulde not do, or leven þat he schulde do, he takip 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 biddip have mynde to halwe þin holiday. In sise daies þou misȝe 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 sise daies God made hevene and erpe, 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 sip þe moost servile werk is worchinge of synne, eche man schulde on þe holiday kepe him out of synne, sipþe Crist himsliȝ seip þat hosoovere doþ synne makip himsliȝ servaunt to synne. And no þinge is worser þan þe occasiou. For we schulden spende þe holiday in heriynge of God, and ellis we synnen greetli in faylinghe 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 techip. But be war þat þou kepe þiȝe four þeestis principalli, Christemasse and Estre, Ascension and Whitsountide, and þe Soneday þourþ þe þeer. For no þeest 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 deep to lyve, and on þe Sunday he sente þe Holi Goost; and, as clerks seyn, upon þe Sundai schal be þe laste jugement þat ever man schal have. And Cristene men schulde leerne
bi techinge of pristis, and bisie hem devoutli on þe holiday
to studie on virtues, and on þe ten comau dermentis, 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 III Comau dement.

þe fourþe comau dement is þis. þou schalt worshipe þi
fadir and þi moder, þat þou be longe lyved upon erþe, and þi
neþibore as þi self. And whoveere loveþ his neþibore, loveþ
his God, and dwellþ in God and God in him. And so þes
twei braunchis of charite mowe not be departid, as Seynt Joon
seip in his firste pistil. He þat loveþ not his broþir þat he seeþ
wiþ eþe, how loveþ he his God þat he seeþ not? So as God
hap more resoun of love, for he made þe of nouþ, and kepþ
þe, and medþ þe. And herfore seip Crist, He þat loveþ his
eldis moore þan him is not worþi of him. And he worschipþ
his fadir and moder as he schulde do, þat kepþ hem in nede,
boþe bodili and goostli. So schulde ech man understonde þis
worship as Poul techþ. Jif þei ben nedi, helpe hem in resoun,
but make not þi kyn riche to gete þe a name, if þei suffi ce to
fynde hemself 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 passions; and bileve
techþ us þat he dide al for þe betere. And so schulde we
serve him, jif we been his children, and love him moore þan
þe worlde or oure veyne name.

þe fifþe Comau dement.

þe fifþe comau dement of God biddþ, þow schalt not sle
þi broþir; and it is understonden 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
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Seynt Joon seip, he ūat hatip his broṣir is a mansleer, the, ofte tymes moore to blame þan he ūat sleeþ his bodi, for þe synne is moore. And bi þis skile a bac-bitere is a man-sleer. But, as clerkis seyen, upon sise maneris is þis consent doon, and men schulden wel knowe it. He consentiþ to þe yvel ūat wirchip wiþ þerto; he ūat defendiþ and conseilip þerto; he ūat bi whos auctorite is þe yvel don; or he ūat wiþdrawiþ his helpe or scharp reprevyng, whanne he miþte 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 þefore þe prophethis of þe olde lawe tolden men hire periles, til þei suffriden deþ; and in þis cause þe apostolis of Crist weren martrid, and we schulde, ʒif we were trewe men. But cowardise and de-faute of love of God makaþ us sterete abac, as traytours don. And what trowen we of þe Cherche, þat sellen men leve to synne, and þiven hem leve to last þerinne for an anuel rente bi þere? And personeþ þat leeven to traveile in here office, bi power of lوردis and þyvyng of money, ben suffrid to lyve þus wiþouten prechinge. And so ofte tymes ben priiþis irreguler, for þe multitude of soulis þat þei sleen þus; and þis irregulerite is moore for to drede þan irregulerite chargid of þe worlde. For ofte tyme hit falliþ þat bi a medeful dede men been maad irreguler þi þegment of þe world, but bi þis irregulerite ben priiþis damptned of God.

De VI Comaundement.

De 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 leecherie is moost for to charge, for no lecherie is synne but ʒif þis be þere. And syþen ech mannis soule schulde be Cristis spouse, what leechouþ þat synneþ þus synneþ in avouterie, for he brekiþ þe marriage þat schulde be bitwixe Crist and him. But bodili lecherie is hard for to vencuse or maistir, in men þat norschen 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 specially 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 brenþ wip þe fier of lust. And if þou wolt be Cristis clene child, fle as Godis coward þe cumpanye of wymmen. Þe secounde medicyne þat helpþ aëns þis synne were to kepe þi bodi fro lusti fode, for fleisch þat is yvel ðedde deliteþ þe lasse to þis synne. Þe pridde medecyne aëns þis synne were a man to be bisy in clene occupacioun, for such lust comeþ not but if þouþt go bifiore. And þerfore occupie þi þouþt 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 þif 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 neþebore, pryve ne speert. As comunes, bi false oþis in chaffarynge and in questis, up trust of absolucioun, or on feyned pardon, þat dewe restituicion þenkeþ nevere to þïde; and marchauntis bi usure, under colour of treuþe þat þei cleypn cheyysaunce, to blynde wip þe puple,—for þe devyl schameþ to speke of þis þefþe,—and lordis, þat bi extorsiouuns oppresse þe puple wip tyrauntrye and raveyne, aëns Goddis lawe, not dredynge him þat is Lord of alle. So eche man in his degree is boundoun to serve God. And þif he wante þis service, he is no lord of goodis bi no trewe title. For he þat stondþ in grace is verrey lord of þingis a; and whovere failþ by defaute of grace, he failþ riþt title of þing þat he occupieþ, and unablþ himsylf 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 nyþt þeves and dai þeves of simonie.

* See the prefatory notice.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

of benefices, and sillynge of sacramentis. And herefore seip Crist, herde of alle herdis, pat piise ben stronge peves and cursid of God. As Zacharie pe prophete seip, he sauy a book sleynge in pe eire, pat was of twenti cubitis longe and ten of breede; and he axide pe aungel of God what it miȝte be, and he seide, It is pe curse of God pat goþ to alle peves houses. And siþe piis was sent for worldli goodis, pese Anticristis clerkis auȝten sore to drede, pat þus lurken under lordis, as peves doon in wodis. Crist seip, pat may not lye, pat piise ben peves, siþen pei taken pe godis of Crist, wipouten his leeve pat is cheef Lord, if ony suche been.

Pe VIII Comaunderment.

In pe eisþe comaunderment Crist forbedip alle men to speke fals witnesse aþens here neiþeboris. And þis is needful to execute pe lawe; for Goddis lawe and mannis lawe axen witnesse, and of suche witnesse comþ jugement of man; and falshede of witnesse makþ fals jugement, and so error in witnesse streccþip ful fer. For many been diseritid and many been hangid by suche fals witnessis; and of þis spryngþ mani fals eyres. Whoso witnesseþ fals, he witnesseþ aþens treueþ; and siþe God hisilf is treueþ, he witnesseþ aþens God. And so, whanne he witnesseþ fals, he takþ God to witnesse þat þat þing þat he seip is trewe and of God; and siþe þat þing is fals, as muche as in him is he makþ his God fals, and bringþ him to nouþt; for God may not be, but þif he be trewe. And þus berþ noon fals witnesse but þif he reverse God. And alle þe seyntis in hevene and alle creaturis witnesse of here God aþens him þat lieþ. But her seyn wise men, bi witnesse of seintis, þat þe craft of liynge is evere moore unleeful, for it comþ 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 treueþ. And þeþor I dar seie, bi witnesse of hevene, þat noþ contrarieþ Crist moore þan doþ lesynge. So þat if a man miȝte bi a prive lesinge save al þis worlde þat ellis schulde perische, þit schulde he not lye for savynge of þis worlde.
Wyclif's Works.

De IX Comaundement.

In þe nynþe comaundement God forbedeþ þe to covete þi neiþebores hous, ne noon opere þingis þat ben unmoveable; as ben suche þingis as ben not on lyve, ne of power to meve hemself fro o place to anoþir. For no man haþ wrongli eny suche godis, but grounde of his havyng 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 seip Seynt Poul, þat þe roote of all yvelis is wickide coveitise in a mannys soule.

De X Comaundement.

De laste maundement of God is boden in þese wordis;—Þou schalt not desire þe wiif of þi neiþebores, ne his servaunt, ne his maide, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne no þing þat is his. And so in þís maundement is desire forboden, for ofte it fallip þat þe synne is moore groundid in yvel wille þan þe dede wipouteforp. And herfore Cristoure hevenli leche forsendip suche desire.

And þus þese ten maundementis ben lawe surest of alle, and moost of autorite, and eke of moost nede. And siþe þiise ten lawis techen al þe wille of oure Lord, þís lawe schulden be holden, and opere lawis despisid, but if it be groundid in þís, and declare þís lawe. And so, siþe lawe of þe emperoure, and lawe of þe pope, is worse bi a þousand part, þat letten knowynge and doynge of Goddis lawe, and many men þenken þat Goddis lawe itslf schulde be reddhe and learnid and sued in dede, for hope of hevenli mede and dreded of peyne to come, as þe prophetse seip.

If a þou kepe þiise maundementis þat God haþ bedyn þee, þe Lord schal make þe heijer 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.

What follows is an abridged translation of the twenty-eighth Wycliffite versions, 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 erpe, and þe fruyt of þi bestis. Blesside schullen be þi bernes and þi rekis; þou schalt be blessid in goynge and out-goynge; þin enemyes þat risen æzens þe schullen falle in þi siȝt. Bi o wei þei schullen come æzens þe, and bi sevëne 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 yve 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 comaundememtis, and bowist noþer to þe riȝt side, ne to þe left side, ne hast not folwïd alien goddis, ne heriede hem, ne worschipid hem. And þif þou kepist not þe comaundememtis 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 erpe, 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 severë, cold, and brenynge 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 of Êgypt in þe part of þi bodi bi which þou seendist out þi fiþeheved; scabbé forsoþe and þicche, so þou mowe not be helid. þe Lord schal Smyte þe wiþ maundesse, and blyndenesse, and woodnesse of þoþ; and þou schalt grope in myddai, as a blynde man in darknessis. In alle tyme wrong chalenge suþre þou, and be þou born doun wiþ violence, ne have þou þat delvyere þee. A wiþ take þou, and anþer man slepe wiþ þerþere; an hous biþe þou, and dwelle þou not in it. Plaunte þou a wynye, and kîte þou no grapis of it; þin oxe be slayn biþe þee, and et þou not of it; and alle þi opere

* Probably an error for relicis; the word in the Vulgate version being reliquiae. Land 544 has reliefes.

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

* The word in the Vulgate is prorigine.
beestis to pin enemyes. Þi sones and Þi doutheris be þei takyn of oþir puple; þe fruyt of þin erþe, and alle þi traveiðis, 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 sparlyveris1, and mowe þou not be helid fro þe sole of þe foot unto þe nolle1. And þi fadris and þou schullen serve to alien goddis, of tree and stoon. Muche seed þou schalt prowë into þe lond, and litil þou schalt gedre, for wormes schulen devoure alle þi fruytis. Þe Lord forsoþ þe schal þyve to þee a dreadfult herte and failynge eijen, and a soule wastid wiþ privye sorwe; þou schalt drede niȝt and day, and þou schalt not trowe to þi liif. Eerli þou schalt seie, Who þyveþ to me eeven? and at eeven, Who þyveþ to me eerlich? for drede of þin herte for þe þingis þat þou schalt see wiþ þin eijen. Ferpermore all þe veniauncis þat ben not wriþen in þe volym of þis lawe, þe Lord schal bringe upon þee, to þe tyme þat he have alto trodyn þee. And þe schulen leve fewe in noumbre, þat weren bifoþe as sterres of hevene for multituede, for þou berdist not þe word of þi Lord God.

1 The first Wycliffite version reads sparlyvers and not.
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 Orat. Dominica, &c. '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 taunte to alle Cristene men, passip ópere prayers in þese þre þingis; in auctorite, in sotilte, and profit to Cristis Cherche. It passip 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 techip. And heerfor þe Gospel of Mathew seip þat Crist baad us praiue þus. It passip also in sotilte,—for we schal understonde þat in þese seven askingis is 1 sotelli conteyneyed alle

\[1\text{ ar, Y.}\]
poyntis of þe worlde in whiche lieþ any witte; and so schortli to
comprehende so muche witte in pleyne wordis, is a solite of
God passynghe witte of men. Þe þridde, we schal suppose þat
no praier in þis world be moore profitable to man, sîþe Crist
himselſ hirip alle.

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 wórþi to be
herd moten be knyt togidere in charite and meeknesse of herte.
Sîþe alle þe holi Trinite is fadir of us alle, and holi Cherche is
oure moder, we schulden love ase breþeren. And sîþe God
is so hîþe in hevene above alle his angelis, and we ben so lowe
in erþe, wrappid wiþ many mischeues, 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 himsif,
so be his name halwid and stedefast in oure soule. For whanne
oure soule was maad to þe leeknesse of þe Trinite, Goddis
hîþe name was preentid þerinne.

Þe secunde askynge of þis praier stoondeþ in þese wordis;
þi rewme come to þee;
into þe blisse of hevene. And æþe firste askynge answeþiþ
to þe Fader, so þis secunde askynge answeþiþ to þe Sone. For
he is þat noble man þat cam doun unto þe erþe to gete him
a rewme, and aftir tournede ægen. Þe rewme of þis Fadir is
clepid holi Cherche, þat at þe day of doom schal go hennis
to hevene.

Þe þridde askynge seþ þus;
þi wille be doon; as it is fulli doon in hevene, so be it doon
and in erþe:

And þis þridde askynge answeþiþ to þe Holi Goost, for he
is good love of þe Fader and þe Sone. And al þif þese askyngis
moten needli be fulliþid, neþes mannis soule, lift up wiþ
charite, is wiþ desire hîþed 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 anglis. 3 lyknesse, Y. 5 om. Y.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

De secunde part of his praiser conteyne to foure askynge.
First we prayen oure fader,—
\ \ \To give us oure eche days breed to day:
\ \ \And his may be understanden wel on pre maneris togedre, as Seynt Austyn seip *, bi wit of God Almiști. First we asken oure bodili foode, for to serve oure fader; after we aske pre sacrament, to have mynde of oure fader; and after-we asken Goddis woord, to fede wip oure soule. And for we have neede of alle thes eche day, prefore Crist clepe them, oure eche days breed. And for we shulden be trewe and ete oure owene breed, and not wip wrong ete oure neiçeboris breed, prefores Crist techip us to aske of him oure breed. And for Crist wolde pat oure hope were fresshid in him, oure poçt and oure mynde and al oure desiri, prefor he biddip us aske his mete of him to day.

De secunde askynge of his part is seid in these wordis;
Forçif us oure dettis, as we forçive to oure dettours:
De dette 1 pat we owen to God ben service pat we owen to him; and as ofte tyme—as we faylen we rennen in dette of peynes; and but God forçive us his dette of oure synne, we be not worpi to have ouçt of oure fader. And, for God wole pat we loven oure breçzeren, he knyytp to a condicioun under whiche we asken his boone, pat he schulde forçive us oure dette as we forçen to oure dettours. So if we ben unmerciul to men pat are oure dettours, truste we to oure fader pat he wol punysche us; and so we prayen oure hiçe juge açens oure own heed. But understonde we wel, pat we may leeffulli aske of oure breçeren dette of erçeli þingis, but his askynge moot be in resoun and charite, and þanne it is for love and profit of oure neiçebore. And here mote we fle boçe rancour and hate and enyve to oure neiçebore, wip opere schrewid caste.

De pridde askynge of his part sueç in these wordis;
1 detty, Y.

* S. Aug. De Sermones Domini in Monte, lib. ii. cap. 7: "Panis quotidians aut pro his omnibus dictus est, quae huic vitae necessitatem sustentant, de quo clain praecipereet, ait, Nolite cogitar de crastino; ut ideo sit additum, Da nobis hodie: aut pro sacramento corporis Christi, quod quotidie accepimus: aut pro spiritali cibo, de quo idem Dominus dicit, Operamini escam quae non corrupitur."
Leed us not into temptacioun:

Soþ it is þat Crist was temptid, and God temptid man for love, but hard it is and grevous peyne to be lad into temptacioun. Whanne¹ a man of his folie falliþ into þe myre of synne, riþful 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.

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

But, gracious Fader, delyvere us from alle yvel:

Þe werste yvel of þis worlde is wickidnesse of synne, siþe a man for no þing schulde willen to synne, siþe for þis worlde, ne nouȝt þat is þerinne, schulde any man do synne. But siþe summe synnes ben moore worse² þan opere, in þis last askynge we prayen delyverement³ of þe worste. Þe werste is þe delenis synne, þat man diep ynne wipouten repentunce, þat evere schal be punysschid; and þis þe gospel clepiþ synne ægens þe Holi Gost. God for his grete merci kepe us fro þis yvel, and þanne schal we have everlastynge freedam.

In⁴ þe eende of þe Pater Noster, Amen is the signet of þe Lordis praiere, whiche word þe Ebru translatoure, Aquyla⁵, interpretid, 'and þe Lord confermede.' Ciprian⁶ on þe Pater Noster seeþ, whatevère opir wordis þe desire of him þat praiþe fourmeþ in biforn-goynge, þat it be cleer, opir addiþ afterwarde, þat it encreesce, we seie noon opir þinge þan þat is conteyned

¹ *for when, Y.* ² *moche worse, Y.* ³ *delyverance.

¹ All that follows, to the end of the tract, is wanting in the Lambeth MS.
² Aquila, concerning whose life all that we know is derived from the work of St. Epiphanius De Ponderibus et Memoribus, 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 Biographia Generalis.
³ There are no expressions in St. Cyprian's treatise De Oratione Dominica, 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 alta verba dicamus, quae affectus orantis vel praecedendo format ut clarerat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat, nihil alium dicimus quam quod in ista Dominica Oratione positum est, si recte et congruerent oramus.'

Wyclif.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

in pe prayer of his Lord, ȝif we praien riȝtli and covenabli. For whanne a man seij, Lord, be pow glorified in alle folki as pow ert glorified in us, what oþer þing seij he ſan þat, þi name be halwid? And whanne a man seij, Lord, schewe þi face to us, and we schulle be saaf, what oþer þinge seij he ſan þat, þi rewme come? Whanne a man seij, Lord, dresse my stepps up þi spechis, what oþir þing seij he ſan, þi wille be doun? Whanne a man seij, Lord, ȝif not povert ne richessis to me, what oþer þing seij he ſan þis, ȝif us to-day oure ech daies breed? Whanne a man seij, Lord, have mynde of David and of al his myldnesse, and, ȝif I have golde yvelis to hem þat golde yvelis to me, calle I voyde fro myn enemies, what oþer þing seij he ſan þis, Forȝive to us oure dettis, as we forȝyven to oure dettoures? Whanne a man seij, Lord, do away fro me þe coveitise of þe wombe, what oþir þing saij he ſan þis, Leed us not into temptacioun? Whanne a man seij, My God, delyvere me fro myn enemies, what oþir þing saij he ſan þis, Delyvere us from yvel? And ȝif þou rennest aboute bi alle þe wordis of holy praieriis, þou schalt fynde noþing whiche is not conteyned in þis praiier of þe Lord. Whoeveþe seij a þing þat may not perteyne to þis prayer of þe gospel, he praiete bodili and unjustli and unleeþfulli, as me þenkiþ. Whanne a man saij in his praiier, Lord, multiplie myn richesses, and encreese myn honouris, and seij þis, havynge þe coveitise of hem, and not purposyne þe profit of hem to men, to be bettiþ to Godward, I gesse þat he may not fynde it in þe Lordis praiier. þerfor be it schame to aske þo þingis, whiche is not leeþful to coveyte. If a man schameþ not of þis, but coveyte overcomeþ him, þis is askid, þat he delyvere fro þis yvel of coveyte, to whom we seyn, Delyvere us from yvel.

Here endþ þe Pater Noster.

WORKS. VOL. III. H
IV.

PE 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 West 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. Bodd and Mr. Furnivall, have come to light since the appearance of Dr. Shirley's Catalogue; one at the British Museum (Harl. 1398), 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.]

Sypphe pe Pater Noster is pe beste prayer þat is, for in it mot alle ðeþ prayeres be closed þif þey schulle graciouslye be hurde of God, þeþore scholde men kunne þis prayour, and studye þe wyt þerof. And sypphe þe treuþe of God stondeþ nouþt in one langage more þan in anoþer, bot whosoere lyveþ best, techeþ best, pleþeþ most God, of what langage evere he be, þeþore þis prayere, declared en Englyssche, may edifye þe lewede peple, as it dop clerkes in Latyn. And sypphe 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 nouþt 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
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resoun that it scholde nouȝt be wryte, it scholde nouȝt be
preched. Þis heresyke and blasphemoe scholde men putte ȝute
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 ye
þer be any sotilte lyȝtere þan òper, for to kunne a craftæ þat is
nedefol, he þat can þis sotilte and wol nouȝt teche þe lerner able
ȝerto, he is cause of his unknunyn, And so wrytyng of þe
gospel in Englyssche, and of goode 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 þurgh þe lore of hem
þejene folk to þis day beþ oute of here byleve. And þus þis
evele kynredene telleþ nouȝt hollyche þe truþe of þe gospel, for
þey leveþ contrarioulyche þerto [as her dedes shewen]; and
Crist byddeþ his children deme after þe werkes.

Leve we now þis mater, and speke we of þe Pater Nostra
þat Jesus Crist made. þis holy prayer is ful of wyt, and
conteyneþ vij axynges. þe þyrste axynges answereþ and per-
teyneþ to þe worscep of þe Godhede. þe þyrste perteyneþ to
þe Fader, to whom power is aþropried, of whom, as seyþ holy
wryt, is alle power in hevene and in erþe. And þe secundæ
answereþ to þe Sone, to þe whiche wysdom is aþropried; as
Seynt Poul seyþ, In him beþ alle tresoure of kunnyng and of
wysdomhuþ. þe þrydde answereþ to þe Holy Gost, to whom is
aþropried love; and þerfore seyþ Seynt Jon, God is charite,
and he þat dwelleþ in charite dwelleþ in God, and God in him.
And þe òper foure axynges perteyneþ to proþyþt and helþe
of mankynde, boþe gostlyche and bodylyche. And so þis
blessede prayer passeþ alle òpere in þre speciale poynþes, in

1 From EE; om. DD. 2 kynrede, EE. 3 From
EE; om. DD.
sauctorite, in sotylte, and proyset to Cristes Churche. In sauctorite it passep, for Crist, boce God and man, made it, and tauyte it his discipkes; and sy he is pe wysdom of pe Fader, men scholde hertelyche love pis prayer by cause of pe makere, and wynt conteynede 1 per-yynne. In sotylte it passep, for in so schort a prayer is conteyned so muche wyt pat no tonge of man may telle it al here in erbe. And sypphe a craft of gret sotylte is muche y-preysed of worldlyche men, muche more scholde pis sotylle gospel, pis worly prayer, be loved and preysed of Cristes dere chyldeyn. And passep oper prayers in prophyt to holy Churche, for al payng pat nedep to a man gostlyche and bodylyche, is conteyned in pis prayer. And sypphe it is so schort, and so muche medelyd per-yynne, to hem pat bep of goed wylle, none excusacioun is to man rekened in pis prayer.

Wherfore, whenne pe discipkes axede Crist how pay scholde praye, Crist seyde to hem, pey scholde nouȝt wylyne to speke muche as heȝene men dope; pey weneþ 2 to be yherde in here muche speche. Wille pe nouȝt per-fore, seyþ Crist, be lyche to suche men. Bot whanne pe schulle praye, seyeþ þus, Fader oure pa art in hevenys, whaitwed be þy name. And so he tauyte hem oute pis prayer; bot be þou syker, noþer in Latyn noþer in Fresche, bot in þe langage þat pey usede to speke, for þat pey knewe best. And here is a reule to Cristen men, of what langage evere pey be, þat it is an heye sacrifice to God to kunne here Pater Noster, þe gospel, and oþer poynetes of holy wyrt nedesful to here soules, and pey to do þer-after, wheþer it be ytold to him or wyrtyn in Latyn, or in Englyssche, or in Fresche, 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 goedene menþ þat pey myȝte, to make þe peple knowe þe treuþe. For þis was þe cause þat Jesus Crist bycam man, and suffrede dep on þe croys, so þat by kepyng of his lore þe peple myȝte ryse fro dep, and come to þe lyþ þat haþ none ende. And yf any clerke wolde contrarye þis, who schal be dumphned bot suche a quyke fende?

1 So in EE; þat conteynþ, DD.
2 The whiche weren, EE.
3 Debe, EE.
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\[\text{De firste askynge, pat is answeryng to ye Fader, is seyde on ye maner, Fader oure pat art in hevenes, whalwed be ye name. Of ye wytyt lore of Crist may be meved þre questions. De firste, why we seye oure Fader, and nouȝt my Fader. De seconde, why we seye, pat art in hevenes, raþer þan, in hevene. De þrydde, why we seye, halwed be ye name, seþ þe ye name of God in himself may nouȝt be appaired noþer amended.}

As to þe firste, we schulle ywyte þat Crist, whanne he tuaȝte ous to seye oure Fader, he betoke ous mekenesse, and bad ous飞翔 pryde, and þat we, so lowe and so synful wreches, whanne we hadde mynde of heynesse and þe power of oure God, and þerto of grete grace of þis rych Lord, we scholde love him þe more, and myldelyche aske of him, as þe childe of þe fader, þyngh þat ous nedeþ. For þe grettere þat a lord is, and þe more gracios þat he is to pore men, þe more he is to be loved. And þerfore seþe Crist, Lerneþ of me, for I am meke and myld of herte, and þe schulleþ fynde reste in youre soules. Wherefore we alle scholde be meke, and specialyche prestes, and nouȝt boste of here holynesse and gode dedys þat þey supposeþ þat þey have ydo, but wylne for to have of gode dedys of heare broþeryne, as heare broþeryne desyreþ to have part of herys, and so sulle þey nouȝt to oþere part of heare 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 seþ þus, Whanne þe have do alle þyngh wel, seþ þe, we be unprofeþable servaþþ. And þus knowynge oure owen wyckednesses meþelyche in þis prayer, we schulde clepe God oure Fader, and nouȝt my Fader, by stynkyngþ pryde holdyngh ous self worþyer to God þan oþer trewe men.

As to þe seconde poynþ, 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 wryþ seþ, beþ þe seeles of God. And so alle þylke þat schulleþ be in blysse aþer þe dome, ryþtwyslyche may be cleped.
holy Churche. But now holy Churche is seyd to be disposed on dyvers maners. First it fyght here in erpe, and resteth nouȝt clerlyche fro synne, bot ȝit by travaile and sorwe of herte desyreþ to come to blysse; wherefore it is ryȝtfullye yclepyd þe fyghtynge Churche. To þis Churche spekeþ Crist, and seþ, Beþ stronge in bataille, and fyghteþ wiþ þe olde serpent, þe devell, and þe schulle take everlastynge kyngdom. On þe secunde manere is þe Churche yseyd to be disposed, for þulke þat beþ passed out of þis worlde, and þit beþ nouȝt come to reste of lyf in blysse, bot resteth in purgatorie, and suffreþ peyne for synne, abyding þe mercy of God to delyvere hem out of peyne. And whanne þe Churche is þus disposed, it is ycleped þe restynge Churche; and her-of spekeþ Seynt Poul whanne he seþ þat fyr schal preve þe worke of everye. On þe pryde manere is holy Churche yseyd to be disposed, for þulke þat beþ passed fro sorwe and payne to joie everlastynge, have overcome þe synne and sorwe of þis worlde, and beþ passed payne, þat comeþ bot for synne, and have wonne þe reste of everlastynge blysse; and herefore it is ycleped þe Churche of overcomeynge. Of þis Churche spekeþ þe prophete and seþ, Seyntes schulle joye in glorie. And so al holy Churche schal be overcomeynge 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 ye he supposeþ nouȝt his broþer as goed as himself.

As to þe pryde question, how þe name of God [may be halowed, we shuln understonde þat þe name of God] in himself may nouȝt be holier þan it is, and þit it is seyd to be maad holy whenne Cristen mannes soule, 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 heete of þe sonne, and þanne maist þou wiþ tendre gete fyrre 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 caccche
hete, and brennyng love to þþ God, and þou schalt have lyct of
understondyng by þe techynge of his lawe, as muche as is nede-
ful to þe, and ensample of goode lyvyng to þþ neyzebores
bysyde. And ryct as þe berille-ston take nouȝt hete for to þeve
lyct 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 þeve lyct by þe sonne, ryct so
Crist techeþe ous nouȝt to praye þat his name be halwelwed,
for þat we scholde make him more holy in himself, bot
þat we þurghþe 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 tendre1 wex makeþ no
preynte in þe seel, bot þe seel makeþ a preynt in tendere wex.
Also þes proude clerkes, simonyours, silleres of pardoun and
indulgences, of confessiouys and oþer holy dedys, false law-
yours, wycked jurious2 and cursede advocay, disseyvable
notaries, and alle fals aquestis3, grete swerers, vengeable fendes,
proude men, and coveytous glotouns, and lecheours, bacbites,
and pursuers of Godes trewe servaint, and oþer suche lymes of
þe fende, may nouȝt medefullye seye, Fader oure þat art in
hevenes, yhalwed be þþ name, tylle þey amende hem of here
evel lyvyng. And þerfor seþ Crist in his gospel, Nowȝt every
man þat seþ to me, Lord, Lord, schal entre into þþ kyngdom of
hevenes, bot he þat Dop þþ will of my fader schal entre into þþ kyng-
dom of hevenes.

þe secunde part of þis worþy prayer, þat in a maner is
apropried to þe Sone, is seid in þes wordes, Come to þþ kyng
dom. Þe kyngdom of God in holy wryt is understonde on
dyvers maners; and so here it may ryȝtylyche be take for þþ
fysyng Churche, þe whiche wolde desyre to regne in blysse
wip 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 þþ blysse evere-
lastynge, for þat is muche betere. And syþe Crist is þat noble
man þat cam fro hevenes into þþ lowe erþe, to take ous for his

1 So in EE; undenende, DD.
2 jurours, EE.
3 aquestis, EE.
4 So in EE; fro þis, DD.
kyndom, þat before were y-lost þurghe Adamis synnes, and þat suffrede deþ on þe rode-tree, and bouȝte ous alle æsen to joye of þe Fader, for savacioun of mankynde, wel may þe trewe Cristen peple be clepyd Godys kyngdom. And rȝȝt as we þe þauȝt in þe fyrst axynge, to destroye pryde by verraye mekenesse, whanne we seyeþ, Fader oure þat art in hevenys, halewede be þy name, rȝȝt so we þe þauȝt in þys secunde axynge to destroye enyve æzens oure evene Cristen wiþ parfite charite, whanne we seyeþ, Come to þe þy kyngdom. And as it is nedeful in þe firste axynge specialyché to have parfyþ feþþ, þat God oure Fader is in hevenys, so it nedþþ specialyché 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.

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 þe þauȝt to have gode wille to oure even 1 Cristen, and to reule oure soules after þe Holy Goost, and nouȝt after þe luste of þe flesche; for þe spiryt coveyþ contrarious to þe flesche, and þe flesche to þe spiryt, as Seynt Poul telleþ. And rȝȝt as in þe firste axynge we þe þauȝt to have parfyþ feþþ, and in þe secunde gode hope, so in þe þrydde we þe þauȝt to have parfyþ charite to God and oure even Cristen. For þe most of þese þre vertues, as Seynt Poul tcheþ, is charite. For feþþ and hope schulle cesse in man whanne he comeþ to blysse. For instede of feþþ he schal have clerc syȝt in soule of þe godhede of Crist, and clerc bodyliche syȝt of 2 þe manhede of Crist; and instede of hope he schal be syker, and have parfyþ joye; and so feþþ and hope schulleþ be ychanged, and charite schal waxe more and more, and laste wiþoute ende. And þus seþþ Seynt Poul, þat now we seeþ God by myrrour and in fer syȝt, by Scripture and feþþ; 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. Noȝt 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, it greveþ þe soule, as Seynt
Poul telleþ. And þy we seye þat we have no synne, we de-
cveyþ ouþ self, and treueþ is noȝt in ouþ, as Seint Joon telleþ.
Þerfore, whyle we beþ in þis world, we may nat so parfytylyche
do þe wille of God as seintȝ in hevene, for corrupcioun of
bodyliche unstablenesse of lyþ. And þerfore Crist techeþ ouþ
utterlyche to praye, Be þy wille ydo in erþe as it is ydo in
hevene; bot noȝt so parfytylyche in erþe as it is in hevene.
And þus, as we beþ ytaȝt in þe ﬁrst and in þe secunde axynge
to destryanse pryde and envye wiþ mekenesse and charite, so we
beþ ytaȝt in þis þridde axynge to destryanse wraþþe wiþ verray
love of hefte. And þerfore seþ Crist, I yve þe a newe maund-
ment þat þe love togedere as I have loved you.

Þe secunde partie of þis Pater Noster is yordeyned of God
for þe inﬁrmite of man, as þe ﬁrst þereteþ te þe worschepe
of þe godhede; and it conteyneþ þe peticous, and þese, wiþ
þer fore, makeþ sevene axynges in þis holy prayer. Þe ﬁrst
of þes fore is seyd on þes wordes. Ouþ echedy breþ þef ouþ to
day. Þis peticous, as Seynt Austyn telleþ, ryþfulliche is un-
derstoneþe in þre maners. Fyrst þat þis breþ betokens þe
sustauunce, and alle òþer sustauunce, and alle òþer necessaries
nedeful to oure body. And for God made alle þynges to help
of mankynde, þerfore we scholde axe þe þynges of God as
wilfullyche for òþer as for ouþ self; and þus wiþ goode wille and
largenesse of herte we scholde desyre oure neþzebores proþyþ,
as we wolde þat hy desired oure. And þis is þe remedye
aþens þe cursed covetyse. And for man nedþe everye day
bodyliche sustauunce, þerfore þese necessaries may well be
cleped echue dayes breede. Also by þis breede, in þe secunde
manere, ys understonde þe lore of Godes worde. For ryþþ 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 be, EE.
5 om. EE.
soule in pe Holy Gost, and stronge to worche after pe lore þerof. And þis breed is more nedeful þan þat oper firste breed, as þe soule of man is worpyere þan his body. For whanne þe body lyþ stynkyng in þe grave, þanne þe soule is parfytylyche yclensed fro synne, and joyeþ in blisse of Jesus Crist here spouse. And þus yf, þurgh þe negligence of oure byschopes and prelahþ, and oper false techers þat beþ in holy Churche, þe trúþe of Godes word be nouȝt yswowe 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 trúþe of God. And he þat ensiryde þe prophetes wip kunnyng and wysdome, and tahte þe apostles þe weye of al trúþe, lyþe oure hertes wip unter-stondyng of his lore, and graunte ouþ grace to worche þerafter. And specialiche, for ouþ nedþe eche day þis breede, þerfore pray we mekelyche, Oure eche dayes breed yvyue ouþ to-day. On þe þrydde manere, by þis eche dayes breed is understond 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 delveren man fro payne and deþ wipþouten ende. And þerfore Seynt Austyn seþ þat yf we have resceyved oure Creatour dayes of oure lyþ, ouþ nedþe to have þis byleve, and so every day resceyve God, and þus every day to praye, Oure eche dayes breed yeþe owþ to day.

Þe seconde peticion of þis seconde part of þis Pater Noster is seþ on þes wordes, Forþeve ouþ oure dettes as we forþeve oure dettours. By þese wytty wordes of our 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 aþens God; and so everyche day ouþ nedþe to praye God forþevenesse of oure synnes. And Crist techeþ ous, þat we schulle praye God forþevenesse on þis condicion, þat we forþeve opere. And so, yf we praye God to forþeve ous oure synnes as we forþeve hem þat trespassþ aþens ous, and þerto holde malice in oure herte, we beþ oute of charite, and makeþ oure synnes more grevous byfore God, and axþeþ verray vengerauce to ous self of God þe hye Justice. And þerfore techeþ Crist and seþ þat yf þe wolde forþeve oper men þe trespass þat þey have trespassed
to sow, ne my Fader of hevene shal nouȝt forȝeve to sow youre synnes. Perfore God byddeþ ous to putte away al malice of oure hertes, þat we may be ysaved. Lo þe goodnesse of God how it ous to penaunce draweþ, and techeþ ous to fée slouþe for to turne to him. And þerfore techeþ þe bouke of Wysdom, 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 eyþe of ȝoure soules, and byholdeþ him þat no spot of synne was ȝynne, what payne he suffrede for synne of man. He swatte water and blood, to wassche þe of synne; he was ybounþe and ybete wip scourges, þe blod rennyng adoun by his sydes, þat pou scholdest kepe þy body clene in his service; he was corouneþ wip scharpe þornes, þat pou scholdest þenke on him and fée alle cursede malice; he was nayled to þe croys wip scharpe nayles þurȝhe bonden and feeþ, and ystonge to þe herte wipþe a scharpe sperre, þat alle þyne fyve wyttes scholde be yreuel after him, havynge mynde on þe fyve precious wounds þat he suffrede for man. And ȝȝt in al þis grete payne þis innocente pryde for his enimys to his Fader, and seyde, Fader, forȝeve hem þis gylt, for þey wyteþ nouȝt what þey doþ. Lat þis steryþ 1 ȝowre hertes to putte away slouþe, and to serve God wip verrey busynesse, to worche after his lawe, and so mekelyche praye oure Fader to forȝeve ous oure trespasses, as we forȝeveþ oure trespassesours.

Þe prydde peticioun of þe secunde part of þis holy praier ȝolweþ in þese worþes: And lede ous nouȝt into temptacion. By þese wyttþ worþes 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 2 to him into ryȝtwysnesse. Bot þe devel temptede Crist, to make him to synne in glotenye and veynglorie and coveytise. And so Crist techeþ ous nouȝt to praye þat we be nouȝt ytempted of þe fende, syþ þat temptacion of þe fende profyteþ muche, yf it be wipþonde. For, as Seynt Jame seþþ, þat man 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; bis, DD. 3 arettid, EE.
God hap beheyt to hem pat lovep him. And þus Seynt Poul was tempted of þe synne of lecherye, wherefore þyres he prayde God þat he myste be delyvered of his temptacioun. And God answerede him aþen, My grace sufficþ þe. And he himself knowelecheþ þat þis temptacioun was nedeful, laste he scholde have had vayn glorie of þe pryve syþtes þat he sawe, whanne he was ravysched into þe pryde hevene. Þerfore praye we nouþt God þat we be nouþt ytempted, syþpe it is so profytable, bot praye we God þat we be nouþt overcome, and þat he lede ous nouþt into temptacioun. Þat man is yseyde to be lad into temptacioun, þat þurgh his wyckeþed and unrepentant herte continueþ evere in his wyckeþed lyvyng, and so is overcome in temptacioun. And þus it is to be understonde þat God hardede Pharaois herte for þe mysbyeþe þat he hadde to God, and þe malice þat he wrouþte to Godes peple. And so, as we beþ ytaþt in þis oþer prayere and axyn to destroye sleþe in þe service of God in verray busynesse of herte, to knowe his lore and worche þerafter, so we beþ ytaþt in þis peticion to destroye glottenye and lecherye wiþ discrete abstinence and chastite of herte. And for þes two beþ synnas of þe flesche, and þat on noryscheþ þat oþer, is þe more perilous yf a man in him falle. Þerfore praye we oure Fader þat he lede us nouþt into temptacioun, ne suffre ous nouþt to be overcome in þes synnes, ne in none oþer. For yf we beþ, oure wyckeþed lyvyng and oure wyckeþed pouþtes beþ cause þerof, as God seþþ by Jeremye þe prophete.

Þe fourþe peticion 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 dop in þis worlde, and of yvel of payne þat wyckeþed men schulle have onelyche for synne. For payne comþ nevþer to man bot because of synne. And

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1 So in EE; conteynþ, DD.  
2 bit is, EE.  
3 So in EE; wordle, DD.

* 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 medieval 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
Crístes children to purge hem fro synne; and payne comeþ to
ójer men to schewe þat God hateth synne, and to kepe hem þer-
from; and payne comeþ to wyckede men to punysche hem
evere for synne. And so, as God is þe beste þyng in þe worlde,
sø synne is worse þan any ójer þyng; and þus men scholde
flee synne as al maner of yvel. But sithe1 synne aþens þe Holy
Gost is worst of alle ójer, for, as Crist seþ, þat schal nouȝt be
forþeþe in þis worlde ne in þat ójer worlde, þerfore specialiche
praye we God to delyvere ous from þis yvel. þat man synneþ
aþens þe Holy Gost, þat to his lyves ende is rebelle aþens God,
[and so dyþe in dispeir, and goþe to payne wiþouþen ende. And
he is rebel aþens God] ², þat is rebelle aþenst his lore. And þer-
fore seþe Crist³, whoso loveþ nouȝt me, he keþe nouȝt my word.
And þus everyche man þat loveþ nouȝt Cristes lore, he loveþ nouȝt
Jesus Crist, and þus, as Seynt Poul seþ, he is acursed of God.
And þerfore seþe Crist to þe Jewes þat were contrarie to his
lore, and pursuede him for truþe, þat þey scholde deye in here
synnes. And so þes men þat contrarieþ to þe gospel and to þe
epitkele, and wolde lette it to be yprecked, and pursuwe þe
trewe telleres þerof, loveþ nouȝt Crist, and þus þey schulle deye
in here synne, bot yf þey amende hem whyle þeþ haveþ tyme.

Wel we wyþeþ þat þeþ scribres and þe Pharyseyus and þe princes
of þe prestis, in Jesus Cristes tyme, were more contrarious to
his lore þan were ðeper commune peple; for þorghie⁴ entyssyng
of hem þe peple cryde, Do him on þe croos. þe scribres were
wyse men of þe lawe, and also þey were þe þerçie of þe Jewes.
þe Phariseus were men of religiouþ, þat made customs, and
keþe hem for þe lawe; and þus þey sette more by here lawes þat
þey hadde maade, þan þey dude by þe lawe þat God þaf to hem
and to þe peple, þat was sufficient to be reuled by⁵. Bot þus,
under colour of perfeccioun, þey were departed in customs, in
cloþyngis, and in many ðeper doyngis fro þe commune peple, as

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 ruled by hym.


\[\text{\textit{Wyclif's Works.}}\]

... the manner of religious is nowe. A Pharisee is as muche for to seye as departed in doynge; ... these ypcorites were most contrarie to Crist, and ... muche after here lore. And ... & therefore Crist, as ... ypcorites, eyhte tymes seyde wo to hem. And ... pe seye ... God is here fader, and his lawe ... of holynesse pursue Crist in his members, as ... & therefore Crist bodilyche. And ... yf pe seye ... God to hem and to ... pe pleple, for here feynede reule ... hy himself ordeyned. And ... yf these ypcorites seye ... pat byp ... reule and Godes lawe bope, bot ... byholde here dedis. For ... Jewes seye ... Jesus Crist, pat God was here fader; bot ... answerede hem azen, ... God hadde be here fader, ... scholde have yloved him. And ... yf these were trewe Cristene men, ... pe scholde nouzt pursue Cristes members for prechynge of ... & therefore Crist bydde ... to trewe to ... workes. And ... teche ... Seynt Johan, pat ... bryngep ... lore of Crist, ... schalt nouzt to him seye, Hayl, in confortyng of his synne, ne ... rescyeve him into ... houz, for ... pou do, ... art partyned of his synne. Praye we ... perchere ... seynt our ... synne azen ... Holy Gost, and yff our grace to love his lore in herte, and to werche ... peraftter in dede, ... we may come to him in blysse, and wonye wit ... him in joye witpoute ezy ende. Amen.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} the, EE.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2} om. EE.} \]
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

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. 113) 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 comynlioure Ladi, Goddis Moder, and we supposen þat þis gretyng saveþ many men. For we taken as bileve þat sche is blessid in hevene, and Crist wol do at hire praynge among alle ofere seytis: 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 foliili truste to suche praier.

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 Elizabetþ spak to hire, whanne sche seide;
Blessid be þow among wymmen, and blessid be þe fruyt of þi wombe:
Þe pride part haþ two wordis encresid, for devocioun. First men seien, Heil, Marie, þat Gabriel lefte in his gretynge, to teche us þat he was hoomli and knowen wiþ þis ladi, and þerfore wolde he not nemne þis name of Marie. Þe secounde word

* V has here 'And so mow men truste to be holpyn fully in suche prayer;' which completely alters the sense.
is Jesus, added to Elizabepis wordis; and þis word lefte þe gospeler, to teche þat Marie hadde but a¹ 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, reversþ þe name of Eva, to teche us þat oure Ladi contrariede Eve in lyvyngne. For as Adam and Eve weren cause of damnum of mankynde, so Jesus and Marie ben cause of mannis salvacioun. Þe secounde word of þe angel seip, oure Ladi was ful of grace. And man may be ful of grace on þre maneris bi Godis lawe. First of himselg, 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 þaf grace plentenousli boþe to opere men and wymmen. Seynt Stevene was ful of grace, þat suffrifice to his lyves eende for to bringe himsylf to blisse; and so ben manye opere seintes. And so God is wiþ alle creaturis, but speciali wiþ men þat schal be saved, but moore speciali wiþ þe chaumber of his manhood, þat was oure Ladi Marie. But boþe þe angel and Elizabep seyn þat oure Ladi is blessed amongs alle wymmen þat ben, for gendurte of such a child. And so þe bigynnynge and þe endynge schulde be blessed of Jesus, þat is fruyt of þe wombe of oure Ladi Seinte Marie.

Þe pridde part of þis greynge 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 seip þat men schulden not upon greet peyne adde unto Goddis word; it is seid þat þe pope giþep 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**, be it foure score dayes or moore. And as þe pope may giþe pardoun bi addinge of þes two wordis, so maye he adde opere mo, and wiþdrawe, as him liþ, 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 þeþor þenken many men þat þo wordis of þe gospel weren wiseli sette in þe gospel wiþouten

¹ om. Y. ² The words between asterisks are from Y; om. V.

³ From Y; om. V.

Wyclif
any variynge. And many men ſenken over,—if suche pardoun miȝte be grauntid liſtli wiþ lasse travail, hit schulde be grauntid generalli unto men ſat devouſli seiden ſes names. And so myȝte pardoun be geten, to seie eche day our Ladi sauter, ſhe, ten þousand þeeris in o þere\(^1\). Truste we unto wordis of þe gospel, and worshipe 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 the Lollard sentiments. The two other short pieces follow Tract VI. in the Lambeth MS. (V), but are otherwise, apparently, unknown. The text of all three is founded on a transcript from the Lambeth MS.]

VI.

[ON THE APOSTLES' CREED.]

Hyt ys soþ pat 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 Attansy, þat was a gret doctor. But of þe fyrste crede schulde Cristyn men speke, ﬂor yt is more comyn and more schortyr þan eny oþer. Ne bysy we us nat what þe¹ apostyl made, ne what party of þis holy crede, and whan þe apostelys gaderyd yt; ﬂor oure beleve techis us þat God ordeynyd hyt al, and bad þat men schuld cun hyt, and teche yt to oþer. And þif prelatys faylyn in þis, Christ seyde þat stony schulde cry; and secler lordys schuld, in deßawte 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; ﬂor soþ it is þat alle þese partyes ben conteynyd in þre. And herfore seyn þrys, þat þey trow in God. Fyrst þey trow in þe Ffadyr, for he ys fyrst persone; aþyr þe trow in Jesus Crist, be dyvers artyclys; and syþ þey trow in þe Holy Gost. And eche on of þese þre partyes contenys many partylys. 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; 
pat ys pe leste. Pat man levys in God, pat clevys to hym be 
charite; and hus eche man pat ys in hed synne is owt of 
his beleve. That man trowys to God, pat belevyp pat he is 
trewve and ryytful in al ynyge pat he seyp; and yus do unkende 
men, pat trow not in hym. Pat man trowys God, pat trowys 
pat he ys; and so do develys pat trow not in hym.

De fyrst part of pis crede conteynys pre articulis. Ffyrst pat 
men schulde trow in pe fyrst Person, pat ys pe Fadyr of hevyn 
and power of God. And so schulde men trowe pat he is 
almysty; so, if he wyl auyt be don, he dos hit whan hym lykys. 
And so pe pridded articule stONDys in pis, pat he made of noyt 
bope hevyn and erpe. And hit schul men trow pat Almysty ys 
comen to pre personys. Almysty ys pe Fadyr, almysty ys pe 
Sone, and almysty ys pe Holy Gost. Hit schul not men trowe 
pat pes e ben pre almysty goddys, but on God Almysty.

The secunde part of pis crede begynnys at Jesus Crist, and 
towchis xiiij articulis pat stondis in ordre. Ffyrst men schuld 
trow in Goddys word, or his Sone. Aftyr men schuld trow 
pat he becom man, stondynge his godhed, pat he myyt not lese. 
The pridded tyme we schuld trow, pat pe Fadyr of hevyn has but 
on suche sone, eyvn wiþ hym in kende, and pis ys Jesus oure 
Lord, be godhed and be manhed, sythen he made us of noyt, 
and bowyt us fro synne. The iiij articule of pis parte seys, pat 
Crist was conseyyvd of pe Holy Gost, nat as oyer men gete 
childryn be kynde; sethyn pis person ys no man, but pe Holy 
Gost, pe whyche ys lyf be sum propyrtte. And most tokyn of 
lyf pat God wold schewe to man was, pat he wold take oure 
kende, and become oure broper. And perfore we beleve pat oure 
Lord Jesus was conseyyvd of pe Holy Gost wiþowte manyns 
genderynge. The syfte tyme we schuld beleve, pat oure 
Lord Jesus was born of pe virgyn Marie, as of his owne modyr, pat 
was ever virgyn wiþowte knowynge of man, alþow Crist tok 
of hire mateere of hys body. And seþyn sche norischyd hym 
withynne, as oyer childyr ar norschid; but he went owt of here 
body be myracle, as he was formyd. The vj tyme we schul 
trowe, pat aftyr xxxiiij yer he suffrid hard passioun, undir Pounce 
Pilate, for to by mankynd and mayntene trewpe. And so he
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 beforne, and ros owt of þe sepulcre. And sethyn, whan he hadde eftes tyme schewyd to his discipulis his resurreccioun, he steyȝ up to hevyn as þey saw openly. And þer he sytys now, in best sete þat may acorde to man, an[ð] 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 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. Fyrst 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 wheþer þey ben partyes of holy Chirche, ffor þey schuld nat boste of heynes in here prelacy. But þey mot leve aftyr Crist ʒyf þey schul be savyd; ffor þus techisoure beleve, however Antecrist werke. And so þis Chirche has þre statys be processe of tyme. Fyrst he wandrys here in erþe, and sethen he sleyps 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 ʒif þey schul be savyd. þus techisoure beleve, however Antecrist grucchís. And schul we trowe so¹, þat eche parte of þis Chyrche commovys and helpis oþir, 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 eþyr lyve in blysse. Amen.

¹ read, so schul we trowe.
VII.

[ON THE FIVE OUTER WITS.]

Be be-hovys to know by fyve wyttyys, be uttyr and by ynnyr, and to spend hem in good use, and in be lovyng of God. Be fyrst ys syȝt of eye; be toþer heryngh of ere; be þyrð tasyt of mowþ; be serþe smellynge of nese; be fyste handlynge or towchyng of membris. Kepe so by syȝt, þat þou se noþyngh þat ys not leful to se, or may harme þy sowle. And kepe þy heryngh so þat þow here no eyyl speche, or þynge þat is nat honeste ne profitable. And kepe so þy tasyt, 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 sekenesse of þyn evyn Cristyn. And kepe so þy towchyng, þat þou wiþdraw þe fro schameful towchyng, or handlyng bare of man or of womman. Handyl þou not unhonestly þyself, ne noon œper, ne let non œper towche þe unhonestly. For yþ þy flesche neghþe ony towchinge unclene, þou may not þe dede eschewe.

VIII.

[ON THE FIVE INNER WITS.]

These ben also þy fyve inwyttys; Wyl, Resoun, Mynd, Ymagynacioun, 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 ymageynacioun be spedynghe in lovynghe 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 devotly on þe passion of Crist,

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 servauntyys 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, lyf.
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. 431.]

SYNNE IS FOR TO DREDE.¹

CAP. I.

Siþ byleve teches us þat everiche yvel is ouþer synne or comes of synne, synne schulde be fied, as al maner of yvel. And siþ no þing is fied 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 fylve maners comes peyne for synne. 
Peyne come to Crist for to bye synne, and peyne come to 
damned 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 best 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 wiþ- 
oute God, as Seynt Jon seis. So þat synne is clepid noght for 
þis enchesoun; Þfor 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, þe, liȝtly in his þoþt; 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 boþt 
bot by God and mon, þat is above aungel. If þou fleest deþ 
and oþer maner peynes, þe þou more synne, for hit is myche 
worse. For peyne is gode medycyne þat Crist hymself toke 
to heele mon of synne, for savynge of his right. Þfor rightwisenes 
of God may not suffer synne, but if he punysche hit, even aþter 
þo malice. And þis is cause þat þo peyne þat Crist sufferd for 
mon mot be þprincipal cause to make aþeþ 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 þerwip. 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.

If a mon synne ageyne þo Holy Gost, hit may not be for- 
gyven, 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 penance. Synne is calde dedly, for hit brings 
in deþ boþe to body and to soule wiþouten any ende; and 
synne is cald venyal, for Gods Son forgyses hit. Men schulden 
be war wiþ al synne, for perel þerof, siþ þei knowen not dedly
synne fro venyal, as þei witten nevere wheþer þis synne schal evere have ende, or þat þis mon schal be damnyd for hardyng in his synne.

**CAP. II.**

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 coverete ageynes Gods wil. 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 worlde; 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 brings in alle þo oþer cisters. Bot of þo synne of pride is first for to speke.

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, acodyng 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, but he covereted 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. Ffirrst for hyenesse þat he hafs of giftis of grace; as men þat ben ypocrisis hyen hom in holynes, 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 giftis, 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
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 condiçoun 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 neyhte by þe wyes of treuthe, and not for to gab to hym veynly by his falshed. And by þis sendes synne ben mony men disseyved.

**Cap. III.**

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 perfite þen crafft made of mon. And þitte 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 distourbyle 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 Gød; 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 þif he kepe his comaundementis; bot how schulde he
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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 þitte þese wrecchid craftis, for þei ben more wynnyng, maken men more proude in hit and in araye. But men þat schulden be professoure of science of God synnen many weies aboute þis science. As somme men hiden þis tresoure, and delen hit not aboute; and þette þo more þat hit is delid, þo more hit encries. And þis is myche more synne þen to hyde gold. Somme men þer ben, professoure of divinyte, þat feynen lesyngis by lawes of men, and whan þei schulden preche Gods lawe to þo puple, þei tellen lesynges, or oþer fables, þat ben unpertynent to þo lawe of God. And summe men done avoutrye wip þo lawe of God, and turnen hit oute of his kynde, to plese wip þo puple. And so wip beggyng, and pride of hor speche, þei sellen Gods worde, as who schulde selle an oxe. Nerepoles Crist teches, siþ þat his science is frely gyven to him, hit schulde be 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.

Bot as men ben proude for þifnis of grace, so þei ben proude of þifnis of kynde. As somme men ben proude of strenght of hor body, and boþe men and wyommen 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 þifnis. 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 before 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 pat thou has. And so soche men pat boosen hor brestis, or pynchen hor belyes, to make hom smale wastes, or streyuen hor hosis to schewe hor strong legges, semen to chalange God of giftes pat he hafs gyven hem, and amende hym in his craft as if he fayled perinne. And in pis pride synnen wymmen in makynge of hor bosis, and generaly in atyre of hor body; pat comynly, fro po hede to po fot, men deformen hor body by hor foule atyre, as pikes of schoone, and garlondes of hedes, and tatering of clothes, beren open wittenesse. Al maner of atyre pat comes to monnes body schulde be mesureyd by pis reule. If he wolde fille pride wip sorowe and mekenesse, reulid by resoun, schulde he loke what atyre wolde do profite to his body, and afitir pis ende gete hym his garnementis. Mon schulde penke how God made hym in po state of innocence wipouten any clothing, as angels or bestis; and bycause of his synne pis ape made hym clothing; and pis is no matir of pride bot of sorowe. And so in al pis atyre schulde resoun reule men, pat pei synned not in pride of quantite or qualite; as a clerke or a frere may synne by pride in valew of his clothis and large-nes of hom, and have als myche pride in leefing of hom as a knyght hafs in his straye garnement; and more harm pei done in waasting of Gods gode. And nerepoles we schulden witte, pat costily dispenses harmen unto pore men ageyn rightwisnes. And so al maner of pride harmes to Cristis Chirche. And if thou aske of proude men resoun of pis, dese apes seyn pat suche atire makes hom schapply, and pei mote conferme hom to po worlde, pat asken pis. But Lord! where is resoun of men pat speken pis! Ffor right as a laste schulde samule a schoo, so schappe of body, pat hafs God schapen mon, schulde samule his cleynge, als myche as hit helpes hym. And Seynt Poul biddles us fiel as folye to confourme us to po worlde, sip hit is oure enemy.

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1 boosen, BB. 2 boosus, BB. 3 garnentis, BB. 4 leesynge, BB.
5 leesynge, BB. 6 cleynge, BB.

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

Bot as anentis fairnes of a monnis body, hit is right veyne ping, if hit be wil soght, sith fayrnesse wil fade wip wynde and sonne, and nowther mon ne wommon schulde pryse hym of his bewte, if he peke wil how he schal be deed. Ffor mon when he is deed is mony weyes more foule þen any ðoper caryone of ðoper dede bestis. Lord, what schulde move þe to be pride of þis fairnesse, sith hit profites not to þo soule, and is of litel last-yng? And, as Seynt Bernardse seies*, a mon while he lyves is a seck ful of drytt, and þat is litel bewte; so if al þo filthe þat a mon haves wipinne were turned outwarde, hit were a grett peyne to be nye such a mon, bothe to hym and to ðoper. Herye we mekely þis Lord, þat hydis þis filthe.

And as anentis pride of monnis kynn, Adam was most gentil mon aftir Jesus Crist, and he come of erthe, as ourë byleve teches. And so iche mon, þe, Crist, was made of erthe, and so ben wormes and monny foule bestis. And so hit is a folye, a mon to be pride for nobley of his kynn, for alle we comen of erthe. And comynly gentil men and hye in þo worlde ben synful men as ðoper 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 pride of hor kynn? If we take hede to stories of men, lordses of þo worlde by trechorie and raveyne ben komen to hor lordschipps; and þis makes no gentil mon; and bondage to men, þif a mon be virtouse, 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 ilege 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 ertthly kyn; ffor þei were somtyme beggers or servauntes to foolis. And herfore Jesus Crist come bot of pore

1 So in BB; W has farness.  
2 sack, BB.

* The reference is perhaps to a sermon of St. Bernard's 'De triplici genere cogitationum nostrarum.'
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 nedders and wormes ben felowes to dampned men, as þei weren felowes to thefes lyvyng here in erthe. And so, if we take bede, 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.

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 robye, 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 accountes a mon aftir þat he is gode, not aftir þat a mon is riche is he gode to God; þfor þen Crist and his apostils were noping worth. And þat richesse of þis worlde be matir to be proude, witteneses experiencie, 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 worshippid, 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 comynex experiencie, 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 prestitis, þat þei schulden have fode and hillyng nedeful to hom, and herewip holde hom payed, Þfor more wolde tarye hom. And so richesse
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of pis worlde ben nedeful for pis weye; bot be men war for pride of hom, and mony ojer perils. Ffor, as Seynt Poul seis, riche men of pis worlde smaken 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 pat he is cloutid wip. Bot who schulde be proude of a nede cloth, pat be beris hevyly for a trespas pat he did? If mon had stonden in state of innocense, he schulde not have ben pis occupied wip richesse, sfor alle pinge schulde have ben comyne, as hit is in hevene; and iche mon schulde have had fre use of godes pat he wolde. What evyidence schulde mon have to be proude nowe in synne, for losse of pis fredome and hevynesse of erthe? And so ben we certeyn by Crist and his apostels, pat such habundance of godes makes us not better to God. And even aftar pat we ben gode to oure God, ben we onely gode to po worlde, or any ojer ping.

CAP. VII.

Sith po fende temptis first men to pride, he castis mony weyes hou he schal desseyve hom. And so he castis before hom mony maters of pride; if he fayle in one he takes in anojer, and if he take in mony he is po better payed. Bot we schal undirstonde pat pis fals gylor fayles in iche resoun pat he makes to mon; sfor as God is grounde of treuth, so he groundes falsshed. And herfore were hit gode to witte po cautelis of pis giloure; for iche mon loves treuth, and flees to be disseyved; ze, pof be lufts falshed, jitte he lufts treuth. Se we hou pis gyloure fayles in his resouns. He temptis men to ypocrisyse, to hyen hom of hor holynesse; and if pei done pis, hor holynesse flees fro hom, and so pei hyen hom falsy of ping pat pei have not. Pis is po love of po fende, fader of falshed. If po fende move men to pride of hor connyng, he makes hom foolish by pis fals pride; sfor iche mon here in erthe hafs more of unconnyng pen he hafs of connyng, if he loke wel. And so mon schulde lerne to knowe mekely, pat inalsmyche as he is proude of connyng, he drawes to hym unconnyng pat he wolde fayne fie. If po fende tempt men of bodily strenght, and pei falle in pride by movyng of pis giloure, pei ben made so myche unstronge in

1 smachen, BB.  
2 nedy, BB.
hor soule; and so þei losen more strengh for semyng of lesse strengh. And þus if men ben proude of bewte of hor body, þei losen als myche þo feynresse 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 childhed 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 worship him; bot he had not þat he hyght, for his first forfeture. And so, if a man falle in brygge, 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 virtouose mon schulde lerne þis scote 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 scote. 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 ageyene 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.

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 neibore, and if hit he fallen, he joyes hym þerof. And so, riȝt as pride, þo first of þese seuen, is unordynel wille of a monnis owene hyennesse, so envye, þo secunde cister of synne, is unordynel wille of mon to his neibore. 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 bryhte, BB.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Is harme to anopler; and so, as Gods children have likyng in gode ping, so po fende and his childer have likyng in harme. Ffor po fende hafs no profite of his felowship; ffor more felowship shewis more consense in hor yvel wille; and pat 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 sole, ffor hym penkes pat ping gode pat is yvel.

As men tellen in fablis of two men in a cyte; po first was envyous; po secounde was covetous. Po justise of po cyte ordeyned to make a cyre, pat wheper of pese two men asked oght of po juge, po secounde schuld have po double pat po first asked. Pese two men comen at tyme and po stede assigned, and stryven among homself, wheper schuld first aske. Pis envyouse mon poght pat if he asked first he schulde do myche gode to his first brother. Po covetouse mon poght pat if he asked first his broper schuldhe have po double to hym; and so hit was ordened pat pis elder broper schulde aske first what he wolde. And so pis envyous mon monstede stonde to pis decre; and he had sorowe to do profite to pis covetouse; and perfore he asked pat his eye schulde be put out, undirstonding pat by pis his broper schulde be pure blynde; and po juge of po cyte made parforme pis sentense.

Pis justise of pis cyte may be God Almyghty, pat puttes in monnis fredame to chese gode or yvel; and by his godely

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

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 La Fontaine'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 Gea 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\textsuperscript{1} ben his creatures. Bot þo enyvous mon, of þo cyte of þo fende, chesis to harme hymself to harme his neghtbore. Bot þis rijtwise juge by his trewe jugement jugis þis enyvous mon to be pure blynde; sfor he is juge of alle, and jugis men by hor wille. And so þo enyvous mon is blynde by bope his eyne, bothe by eyne of his body and eyne of his soule; sfor whatevere he sees in kynde, bodily or gostly, harmes to hymself to lyve þat evere schal laste. And þus enyvous 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 wipout resoun, and herfore resoun damnkes hom.

CAP. IX.

Bot, for to speke more of þis fendes synne, þo Chirche is divyded in þese thre partis;—in prechoures, and deffendoures, and þo pridde 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 wip colde armes of body, bot wip armes of charite, þat is Cristes gospel. And so he bad not leesynge ne fabis 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 wipouten 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.

Þo first part of þo Chirche schulde be next Crist, for hit schulde be next heven, and most ful of charite; bot þo\textsuperscript{2} part by þo fende travelles by enye. Þis part schulde be al of one religione, as prestis, and dekens lyvyng clerkes lif; bot þo fende hafs chaungid þis part in mony colours, as seculers and religiouse; and bothe have mony partis,—as popes and cardinals and bishops and archdekens, munkes and chanouns, hospiteleres and freris. And sith of þese ordires one lufs more his

\textsuperscript{1} om. BB.  
\textsuperscript{2} þis, BB.
broşer pen he lufs a mon of a strange ordire, and wil deyfende his ordir by personel afeccioun, hit is no wondir pat charite be put away, ffor hote humoure pat is partad wil souner waxe colde. And so Cristen men byleven, by ordynance of Crist, pat hit were better to clerkes to be alle of one sute 1, and pen myghten two ojer partis lif with hom in more charite. Ffor now may men se pat foure ordires of freris pat ben late founden by ordynance of men, kepen hem not in charite amonges homself; sith not onely one ordir hafs envye to ojer, but one persone in one ordir, for worschip or office, haves envye to his broşer for hor dyversite. And for pis cause one ordir wolde have anoşer aweye, bothe for hit harmes hym in name and in beggyng; and one begger is woo pat anoşer lettis hym. And pis hit is of ojer ordires of religioun. By ordynance of Crist prestis and bishops was 2 al one, bot effter pe emperouer departid hom, and made bishops lordis and prestis hor servauntis; and pis was cause of envye, and quenchid myche charite. Ffor ordynance of Crist stondis in mekenesse, in uyte, and charite; and variaunce of richesse, and hyenesse in statis, gendren envye, as comynly variaunce of worschip and richesse gendres envye amonage mony men. And so if possessioneris weren brought to pat state pat Crist ordeyned to his clerkes, pen schulden men have charite, bothe wiþ seculere clerkes, and also wiþ religiouse.

**CAP. X.**

Po seconde part of po Chirche is calde desfenderes, as lordes and knyghtis, and ojer men of armes. Envye regnes in hom for mony enchesouns. Ffor pei coveyten by pride worschip and richesse, and lordship of clerkes makes lordes to pore. Ffor we schal undirstone pat holy Chirche, as ho 8 is oure moder, so ho is a body; and hele of pis body stondes in pis, pat one part of hir answere to anoşer, aftir po same mesure pat Jesus Crist haves ordeyned hit. As in a monnis body, if humoure ben uneven, on ojer hole members comes sekenes anoon, or severes of body, or ojer straunge sekenesse. And jus hit mot be in body of po Chirche, ffor oure Lord Jesus Crist

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1. *note, BB.*
2. *bene, BB.*
3. *sece, BB.*

**K 2**
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 proportionaux\(^1\) of hir partis be broght ageyne by þis hevenly leche, and medycyne 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 un-kynedly\(^2\) 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 feght wip anoper, as Gods lawe telles; and clerkes office schulde be to drawe men to pees. Bot nowe þei moven unkynedly, bothe in worde and in dede, men for to werre ageyns Gods lawe. And so many principis 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 biddles þo contrarie, þat men schulden love hor enmyes, 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 oper partis; and specially synne of consense of clerkes, þat þei hiden Gods lawe fro oper 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 prechynge of treuth.

**CAP. XI.**

Þo þridde part of þe Chirche travels by envye for mony enchesouns, bot thre ben most comyne. One is defaute of prechynge in whoche þei schulden be taut more to telle by

\(^1\) So in BB; W has *proposituons*.  
\(^2\) So in BB; W destroys the sense of the passage by reading *ben nowe kynedly officys*, unless *nowe* is used for *no.*
charite pen any worldly gode. For pis lore sayles hom bothe in worde and dede, for more covetouse ben none pen ben pes prestis. Po secounde cause of envyse among po laboreres is pat pei ben to chargid and spoyllid in hor godes by two partis above pat schulden dethende hom, for freis, persouns, and ojer men pat robben po Chirche, maken hom to swete hor owne blode by hor ypocrisy. And siip seculer lordes schulen mayntene hom ayeyns pis, bothe these two partis spoyle these po puple. And right as light and virtu of heven comes fro above, so helpe of po puple schulde cum fro these two partis; sith ensample of gode lif, and gode techyng, and gode dedes, schulde cum fro these clerkes and seculer lordes. And po stomak of a mon schulde deffye his mete, and norische ojer members pat hongen on his body; so, as seynys seyn, schulden prestis be a stomak to deffye po gostly mete, and so norische po body of oure modir holy Chirche. Bot pis ofis saylis. And as eyne in po hed reulen al po body for to go right weyes and profitable to mon, so prelatis of po Chirche schulden lede hit in Gods wey. Bot Crist seys in his Gospel, pat if a blynde lede a blynde mon in po wey, pei fallen bothe in po dike. And pis po wey of charite, pat schulde be brood to alle men, is streyned by envyse, and lettis men to sue Crist. And so po fend haves cast a boon, and made these honndes to feght; and by a bal of talow lettis hom to berke.

And so uneven delyng of godes of pis worlde genderes myche envye among these worldly men. And so partis of pis comyne, and specialy marchauntis, moven to pis envye by desseyt of hor craft. And as lordes schulden be mendid by prechynge of hor bispopus, so lordes schulden amende marchauntis and ojer folk, pat in po jridde part of po Chirche sowen by hor envye seed of dissencioun, and synnes pat distourblen rewnes. For al po pore men of po comyne, for hor bisye travel, synnen lease in envye and in ojer synnes pen done men above hom pat travelen not pus, nerepoles for mony causis fallen pei in envye, for everiche synne brynges in anoper; and alle owre pre enmyes, and specialy po fende, worchen to iche synne, and one helpis onoper. And specialy if a mon be partid fro God, pat schulde be his foundement to ageystonde synne, he is a house upon gravel, pat is light for to move. And so, by lore of Seynt
Poule, iche membre of holy Chirche schulde be as membre of a
mon, and iche schulde helpe oper; for kyndely monnis hond
helpis his heved, and his eye helpis his foote, and his foote his
body; so pat membre of a mon pat ben more foul, ben more
helpynge to a monnis body, ne one membre lettis not anooper for
to worche, but raper helpes hit wipouten enyve, and ech one
dos his propir werke, and so stondis monnis body. And jus
schulde hit be in partis of po Chirche; bot departyngr fro po
stok lettis siche helpe, and somme men, as deede lymmes
departid by synne, helpen not po Chirche, bot rather don hit
harme. And jus done men pat ben departid fro po rote of
charite. And herfore membre of po Chirche drawen alle in
one yok, and ben alle of one wille, as po Chirche telles. And
herby may we suppose who ben of holy Chirche, and who
membres of po fende, and maken po wicked Chirche; sfor
charite is a cloth pat partis pat one Chirche fro partis of pat
ofer, as holy men seyn. And pese two gliches, of predestina-
cioun and of prescience of God, joynen pese two bodys. And
po token, pat po pupyle is jus partid in willes, teches pat jei ben
not of one Chirche. For Gods lawe schulde be ruel to schape
men of one wille, bot partyngr fro pis lawe departes men fro
charite, and so bit departis men fro membres of Gods body, and
so fro membres of holy Chirche, and jei ben jei fendiis.

CAP. XII.

Ire is po thridde cister approprid to po fende. Bot jei ben
two ired, gode ire ir 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 jus is God seide in his lawe bothe wroth
and wode; and jus weren holy prophetis medefuly wroth, as
Moyses was a meke man, and wroth on pis maner. Wrathe
pat is synne is by pride of mon, and principaly for monnis
cause, unskilful wille of vengeaunce. And alpo mony ypocrisit
excucen hom fro pis ire bi coloure of po firste ire, nerepoles po
juge above schal juge at po day of ire hou pat treuth stondes.
Envie and ire ben dyverse in maner; sfor envye stondes in yvel
joght, and schewes hym not forthward; and envye, modir of
ire, haves maner of po fende; bot ire distourblis monnis witte,
and moves his body, and neghes neer to vengeaunce of a monnis neibhore; as Caym was fadir of ire, sleeung his brojer. Bot ire þat is in God is al in oþer maner. Þfor by þo rele of Austyn, take awey movyng and distourblyng of witte, and al þinge þat is unperfect, and keppe wille of vengeaunce, as right-wisenes askes, and such ire is acordyng to God. When God takes gret vengeaunce, and hastily\(^1\) wiþal, þen is maner of wodenesse acordyng to hym; as here God by his ire snybbes his serverantis, bot at þo day of dome he dampes hom scharply. Þfor 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 fended childer. Þfor no man askes wysely þat God chastise hym not, but takes rather mekely þo peyne þat God sendes hym, Þfor elles he were unbuxum scoler to his mayster.

And þus þre harmes fallen of ire. Þfirst, a monnis witte is lettid in his worcynge, and mon is made by his folye like unto beestis. And þus movyng of spirite lettis oft men to berberow þo Holy Gost, þat lufs reste in soule. And soche men taken not bete of charite, as þo sonne makes not hoot watur þat remes hastily; and in figure of þis, Caymes heved tremblid, and despeyred for to have remysioun of his synne. Þfor 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 aspyng 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 wipouteforth. He þat sleeþ his brojer leesis hym a frende, sith Crist seide þat Scariot was a frende to hym. And not al onely lesi mon by ire frenschip of þat mon þat he sleeþ unjustly, but frenschip of his frendes, and lufe of God and aungels. And as a mon by suche ire leesi his strenght, so he leesi his catel for harme þat he dos. Þfor al þoþ 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 hastily takes vengeaunce.

\(^1\) bastiliche, BB.  
\(^2\) reprofe, BB.  
\(^3\) blamed, BB.
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 ethely prince is comynly proude, and wantis witte to teche when men schulden feght; and herfore it is likly 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 monked falles. And here may we se how þo fendes argument disseyves þo puple, and moves hom to feght. þo fende takes a soth, 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 leeful to fegyt* 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 feghten wip Gods enmyes, to venge Gods injurie, and by noone oþer cause; and nowþer schulden men now, if hor feghtynge be leveful. þo seconde circumstansce of leveful feghtynge askes þat by auctorite of God þo feghtynge 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 for no men. Bot fals stiren now to batel; ffor tyme is comen þat Ysaie spakes of Crist,—þat men schal welle hor swerde into plowgh-schares; and þo irne of hor spere into sythes or sikles. þo thridde cause þat men schulden holde in feghtynge and werryng, is þat þei schulden by charite do dedes of hor feghtynge, loovynge God and hor neightbore, þe, men þat

a The words between asterisks are omitted in W, evidently by a mistake of the copyist.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

pei feght wiþ. Ffor Seynt Poule biddles þat alle oure dedes be done in charite; and by Gods lawe we schulden huf 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 knownen 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 biddles þe, and elles holde þi pees, as Crist did wiþ his clerkes. And se þis apis argument, þat if men feght sumtyme, wiþ þese 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 serie, as iche mon schulde knowe. And so þo sende, sadir of ire, autorises þis feghtyng; and his lymmes suen hit, moved of hor mayster.

CAP. XIV.

Bot þitte argues Anticrist, to mayntene mennis feghtyng, þat kynde techis þat men schulden by strenght ageynstonde hor enimyes. Sith a nedder by hir kynde stynges a mon þat tredes on her, why schulde we not feght ageynes oure enimyes? for elles þei wolden destrye us, and dampne hor owne soules. And þus for huf we chastisen hom, as Gods lawe techis us. And so, sith oure enimyes 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.

Here me þenkes þat þo sende 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 þat ageynstonden us. Wil I wot þat aungels ageynstode fendes, and mony men by strenght of lawe ageynstonden hor enimyes; and þitte þei killen hom not, ne feghten not wiþ hom. And wise men of þo worlde holden hor strenghtes, and þus ven-cuschen hor enimyes wiþouten any strok; and men of þo gospel ven-cuschen by pacience, and eemen to reste and to pees by

1 senate, 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, þe, þof þei diden us more. Þese ben þo counsels of Crist. But here þo world gruches, and seis þat by þis wise weren rewmes destroyed. Bot here byleve techis us, sip Crist is oure God, þat þus schulden rewmes be stabild, and oure enmyes vencusched. Bot peraventure mony men schulden lese hor worldly richessis. Bot what harm were þereoff? 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 ensaunuples of pacience of bestis schulden teche us to suffre, for myche more gode. And a fendis conscience reulis hym þat brings of þis, þat if he were þus pacient his enmyes wolde kille hym. As if a mon wolde sey, þat if he keppid Cristis counsel þo fende wolde fordo hym, for he is more þen Crist. And if we feghten þus for luf, hit is not luf of charite; Þfor 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 wip þis sentense; and þei ben more to trow, for þei have more charite and better ben wip God. And disseyt of love is wip men þat feghten, as wip fendes of belle is feyned fals luf. Bot at Domesday schal men withe who feghtis þus for charite; Þfor hit semen no charite to ride ageyne þin enmye wil armed wip a scharpe spere, upon a strong courser; Þfor þitte þo cosse¹ of Scariot was more token of charite. And so Gods lawe techis men to cum bfore in dedes of charite and werkes of worschipp; bot I rede not in Gods lawe þat Cristen men schulden cum bfore in feghting or batel, bot in meke pacience. And þis were þo mene whereby we schulden have Gods pees.

Cap. XV.

Jitte þo fende argues þat men feghten wil; for by virtu of feghtyng men have grete name and honoureys and worschippis, þat ben mede of virtues. And titil of conquest is þo beste of alle; bot conquest may not be wipout gret feghtyng, and so

¹ lys, BB.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

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 breþer for default 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 feghtynge approved, why is hit not leveful? Bot here we answeren aftir þo first sentence, þat werres and feghtynge ben now unleveful. And to þo first resoun we answeren on þis wyse; þat name of þo worlde þat þo fende hafis hyed is a grete evydense þat batil is cursed. For mony men ben preysid now for fendas werkes, and honour and worship þat þo world gyves hom is comynly for vicis and not for virtues; for 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 kilen mony moo, and by more just titel, and so by vertue, and so schulden þei be preysid more þen soche knyghtis. And bochere of bestis dos oft tyme his ofis by right and by charite, and so he dos hit wil; bot bochere of his breþer by not so gret evydense sleeves men in charite, and so not so justly. Why schulde not þis bocher, for his better dede, be preysid more þen þis knyght þat þo world hyees? sith more virtuous dede is more for to pryse. And so hit were better to mon to bocher of bestis þen to bocher of his breþer, for þat is more unkyndely. Þo passioun of Crist is myche for to preyse, bot sleeying of his tormentoure is odiousse to God. Lord, siþ kynge of al þis world preyse so myche passioun, and hatis such accioun 1, why schulde not mon do so?

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 worldy godes, he may gif mon right to what þing þat he wil. And so, if rewme have forfeetid ageyns þis cheff 2 lord, in payne 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 four hundrid wynter synned 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 cheffe, BB.
have pis londe whoche pei schulden conquere. And peo thridde; if God gif hit hom, and move hom to conquest, peo titel is gode inoghe if pei contynuen in gode life. Bot hit is likly pe mony conquerours saylen in tyme of grace in mony of peese. Bot one ping I wit wil by lore of God's lawe, pat if a mon occupye a lordship unjusty, and his eyr afer hym be a just mon, God pat is cheeff Lord approves his lordschip; forf gift of God is best titel, ye, better peh heritage. And so just lif of eyres schulde clere hor conscience. And pus schulde no mon feght wip oper by titel of conquest, bot if God bad hym. And so, as Baptist telles, God approved knyghtis to defende his lawe by strenghth, al pof pei sike 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 pes ben two swerdes pat Crist seis ben inoghe.

**CAP. XVI.**

Bot jitte men replyen of pis new dede, pat pe pope approves particrlye, and to hym schulden men trowe. Herinne is seid pleynly in oper placis pat pe pope may synne, and clerkes pat ben to him ward. Ffor he is not more confermed pe Seynt Petre was; and he, afer he had taken pe Holy Gost, synned, as Poul seies. Why myght not Anticrist synne? He is Anticrist, pat by ypocrisie reversis Jesus Crist in his fals lyvyng. Crist forsoke to pe fende temporal lordschip; Anticrist gedris hit wip mony a fals titil. Crist was most servysable of any prest of erpe; Anticrist is most daungerouse, and closid in a castel, and comynes not wip men by forme of pe gospel more peh a spirit in cloos; how schulde he be Cristis vikere? Meke-nesse and servise and povert to pe worlde schewis pe fals feynyng of such an ypocrity. And in pis fals gabbyng is groundid mony oper,—as assyolyng of synne, and mony oper privlegies, bi whoche he bigyles pe folk. For pei may not se hom; and pei schulden trowe pat he seies, as he falsely feynes, as blaspheme falsehed, pat he makes medeful to sley Cristen men, and mayntene his lordschip, ye, more medeful, as he seis,
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And in consence of his 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 known by prestis dedes how þei consenten in þis. He consentis þat helpis to do a wickid dede, or deffenþis þis synne on o maner or onóþer; he þat counsells 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.

Po pope is stiortour\(^2\) of þis feght, and synnes more þen feghters,—as þo bishops of þo temple synned more þen Pilate, or knyþis þat slowen Crist, for prestis authorisiden 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 smytynge 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 denied 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 savynge 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 forsakynge of þing þat Crist biddes prestis forsake, he myght cees al þis stryve. Why is not he a fende? Po prestis þat feghiten in þis cause synnen foule in homycide; for if men-sleeyng in seculeres be odiousse to God, myche more in prestis þat schulden be Cristis vikers. And clerkes consenten in prechynge and mayntenynge 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 po 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 specialty in

\(^1\) stirtis, BB.  \(^2\) surrent, 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 wip mekenesse and wip prudence of God, and so schal we plesse hym.

CAP. XVII.

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 ydlenesse in servise of God norischis òper mony synnes, and þus plesis þo fende. And herfore seis þo Gospel, þat þo fende aspyes wheþer servaunteþ of a monnis house ben ydel and proude, and if he fynde þat hit be so, he dwells wip 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 blisfully serven hym. Mon in state of innocense schulde be kept fro ydlenesse, 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 ydlenesse, 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 comandement, and þen þo fende sees his tyme to move mon to serve hym. Ffor iche mon mot sumwhat do, as a sperre in pleyne place, moved in a grete wynde, mot nedes be moved sumwhyder; aftir þo movyng of þis wynde mot þo sperre take his weye. So iche monnis soule is a sperre 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.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Lord, if monkynede 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 ydelenesse have fallen fro þo state of innocense,—how schulde he be ydel now when peril is myche more?

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 anóper 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 anóper 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 ydelenesse. And so, if a mon synne, he falles in ydelenesse 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 vics in hor maner. And also hit sues þat iche mon is nedid to con his blyele, ffor a servaunt of a lord mot nede witte what he schulde do. And þus blyele of holy writte schulde teche men of hor state, hou þei schulden serve hor God, lest þei synned in ydelenesse; and þus blyele is nedeful to iche mon of þis worlde.

CAP. XVIII.

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 ydelenesse 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 stretyly 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 schulde cum to heven as lyne of holy Chirche.

And herfore Jesus Crist occupyéd hym mooste in þo werke of prechynge, and laift oþer werkes; and þus diiden his apostils, and herfore God loved hom. Also he dos better þat bettir kepís Gods heestis. Þo first heest of þo secounde table biddes us worship 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 prechynge 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 answarerid þat rather schulden þoo men be blessid, þat heren Gods worde and kepem hit in lyvyng. And þis schulden prechoure 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 ydnelesse in þis office hyndris most þo Chirche, and gendres moste þo sendes childer, and sendes hom to his court. Also þo servise is better þat haves a worse contrarie; bot contrarie of prechynge is worste of alle oþer; and herfore prechynge is þo best, if hit be wil done. And herfore Jesus Crist, when he steyghe to heven, enjoyed specialty to alle his apostils to preche þo gospel frely to iche mon. And also when Crist speake last wip Petir, he bad hym thryes uppon his love for to fede his schepe; and þis wolde not a wise birde do bot if he loved hit wel, ffor þo office of gostly herde stondes in þis. And, for þo bishops 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 bispas prechen not in hor persone, bot letten trew prestis to preche to hor schepe, þei ben in þo synne of bispas þat kildem Jesus. Praying is gode, but not so gode as prechynge; þfor no prest wot, þat dwelles wip us, wheþer his preyer be better þen preyer of þo puple. And þis is done herfore, for no prest schulde chaſfere wip his owne
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preyer and money of men. For a prest wol 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 wip hert, and gyvyng of sacramentis, and lernyng of Gods lawe, and gyvyng gode ensample 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 giftes þat he haves gyven hom, and specialty 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 wip strenght, þat þo Chirche myȝt profite aftir Gods lawe. Ffesting and werryng is non offis to þis part of þo Chirche, bot if God bidde hom for defence þerof; and þen schulden þei holde hom in mekenesse and mesure, as hor God techis hom. Justynyng and huntyng and hawkyng, wip oper pley þat may be done wipouten synne, þei schulden take in mesure, in als myche as þei helpen for to serve God. Bot if prestis leven hor offis lymytid unto hom, and usen chesse and tablis and hasarde or taverne, þei passeen unkyndely fro þe offis of prest. Ffor þei schulden hunte þo fende, and destrey synnes, and bisye hom in Gods lawe, and taste of his swettenes, ne take not þis state bot if þei wil holde þese boundes. Ffor covetise of wynnyng and ydelenesse of reste bryngen mony prestis to serve þo fende.

And as garmentis of pride schulden be fer fro knyghtis, so spoyling of pore men, al if þei ben hor tennauntis. Rightwisenesse of Gods lawe schulden þese knyghtis knowe, and mayntenene hit in hom and in oper bothe; for myghty defending of þo lawe of rightwisenesse falles to knyghtis, by a holy purpose for to serve God and mayntenene his lawe. If þere ben feble men, as clerkes or comynnes, þat stonden wip Gods lawe and

1 So in BB; om. in W.
have mony enmyes, hit longis to knykhtis to deffende hom fro pesen enmyes. And herfore seis Baptist to knykhtis of Rome, dat if pei wolden wyne heven, pei schulden holde hom in pese boundes. 'Oppresse pe not ȝoure breȝren, ne do hom non injurie; bot fe covetise of godis, and be payed wiþ ȝoure sowdes.' And for pei schulden passe comynes in knowynge of Gods lawe, pei schulden teche comynes to holde rightwisenes. And þis is þo cause why God approves þis state, and þis hom worldly worship wiþ powere and rentis; and if þei leven þis office, þei forseten ageyns God, and serven Gods enmye, and ben Gods traytoure. 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 luþe more mon þen mon schulde luf God, so lordes of hor godenese schulden luþe more hor servauntis þen hor tenauntis loven hom, for þis is Gods lawe. And, for luþ dos mony pinges, 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 vyneʒerd schulde helpe þo vynes, and kutt awey supeflu þat growes in hom; as unkynde braunches, þat growen in þo roote, schulden be kutte awey for profite of þo tree. And alþo þorges lordes schulden comynly do þus, nereþolles gretter lordes, and specialy kynes, ben more to blame if þei saylen in þis. Þfor as hor mede is more if þei don wel hor offis, so blame is more and peyne for defaute. þis schulden prestis tellere lordes, or elles þei ben to blame.

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, þfor even als myche as he is holden gifis he to mon. Lef, sið þe lordes ben vikers of godhed of Crist, lete hom sue godhed in maner of hor governyale.

† leove, siben, BB.

* The rendering of this passage does not agree with either Wycliffite version.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Cap. XX.

Moreover hit were to witte how comynes schulden fle his synne, and serve God and mon. By his lawe of God he schulden serve meke 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; sfor, as Seynt Poule seis, hei serven first to God, and God may not be aweye, ne noying hid fro hym. Je, by his lawe of Crist, if his lord be untrew mon and tyrant to his sogettis, hit schulden hei serve hym, sfor hei schulden serve to God in mekenesse and charite. I have not redde in Gods lawe pat sogettis schulden sght wij hor worldly soveraynes, and so gete hom pees; bot Crist taght us by paciense to vencusche eure enmyes, and wynne his blisse of heven, bot not wij opir stryving. O, if killyng of men be foule ping in knyghtis, more in hor sogettis, pat schulden be meke and pacyent. And so penken trew men pat no mon schulde take vengeunce bot if God bid hym, for to venge Gods wrong. His lawe schulden men teche his folk, and putte on bak his fynes lawe; and gen schulden men have pees, and stryves schulden slepe.

Alle we seyn we loven Crist and holdyng of his lawe; bot when he bad his apostils preche, he wente hymself to heven, sfor hei schulden at pat tyme have more mynde on his wordes fro he had reproved hom. He bad hom do his offis, go into al jo worlde, and preche to eche mon his gospel. He bad not wende to Jude and preche only here, ne to jo folk of Israel for hei were of his kyn, bot preche generaly bothe to state and mon. Bot hei schulden not preche cronyclis of jo world, as jo batel of Troye, ne opir nyse fablis, ne monnis lawes, founden to wynne hom jo money, sfor Crist biddles his clerkes preche jo gospel, and by pat hei wan jo world and scounstiden jo fende. For he pat troues his worde, and aftirward is cris-

1 Jude, BB.

The duties of the commonalty;

were they taught as they ought to be, there would be peace instead of strife.

contemporaries, of exciting the commons to contempt and hatred of their lords.

See the prefatory notice.
tened, and lastis in pis lore, schal be saaf in heven, and he þat trowes hit not schal be damned in helle. Bot helpe is fer fro þo trethe of þoo oper thre japes. And þus deaute 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 disserver of God; and synne þat is in comynate God ordeyns to be punischid by wickednesse of hor soverayn; 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 bises hym to sommen men, and curse hom, and pryve hom of her godes, and putte hom este in prisoun. And þis lawe is more taght and dred and executid, for þo fende and covetise hafs more mayystre 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.

Þe fift wyntynne of þese seven is cald covetishe, 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 desirise, wip 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 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; \[b\] S. Greggor. Moralia, lib. xxxi. cap. fables, and human laws. See preceding page.
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 lifitis not up his eye to hym, and knowes not hym lord of alle, to whom eche mon mot nede serve, and to worship 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 leffe on werk day. And so clerkes, þat schulden lif contemplatif lyve, ben worse þen mony men of þo world þat lyven actif liif. Ffor he þat serves treuly to God and his mayster, and kepes hym fro grete synnes, as mony servauntis done, līf better lyve to God þen þes hye prelatis þat ben negligent to serve God by his lawe. Ffor God curses soche prelatis as traytours to hym, and soche comyn lyvers loven God ful wil.

And so, if we loken avarice, hit saylls in mony wyse. Ffor whoovere is avarous, he is ydolatre, 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 paynysms, mony of us schulden be fled, for þei ben more perlous. And so covetous men ben aboute, as foolis, to turne þo ordynauanse of kynde þat God hymself has made; ffor God has 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 desouled under feet of men, to teche þat mennis affeciou 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 denied hym. Bot þo covetous mon dos al contrarye herto; and when

1 So BB: lyves, W.
he coveitis to be lord þus ageyns Gods wille, he forfeetis ageyren þo Lord of alle, and þus is made most pore mon. Ne vaughte herby haves he none oþer, bot by luf is drawen to helle, and þat is f erist þing fro heven. Ffor loved þing draws men to hit, as þo stoon of adamaunt drawes ime 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 vanye 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 * mon, evere þo more he haves of worldly gode, evere þo more he longes, ffor he is ferther fro his ende.

**Cap. XXII.**

Bot se we hou þis avarice marres þre partis of þo Chiche. Ffor þese prestis and þese clerkis, 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 stirynge 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 oþer perels of schepe; and if he be blynde in his soule for pouder of

* 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.

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 agyne 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 damnus hom ful grevisly. 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 syngyng or preyinge, or what ever þei do. And þus blynde hirdes and negligent done harme to þo Chirche. Lord, wheþer þo first juge, þat is welle of resoun, schal damnde þus for necgligence hyred hynes of his floc, and schal spare more thesis, 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 bishopis, erchdekenes, and officials and seruaunts to hom, þat clippen þo puple and spoylen hom. And þus somme hyrdes in hor entyre synnen sore in symonye, and in contynuaunce þerof grevesly agreggen hor synne, and maken þo fendes knott in hor dyng in þis synne. Lord, sith no puple schulde gif hor prestis by þo tilit 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 alsþof 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 benefices. Covetise is in frris, in sellyng of hor prechynge, in schryvyng, in biryng, and in hor fals counseyling; so þis semes þo worste synne þat is amonge men.
CAP. XXIII.

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 ynohte 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 lettiris 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 avantage þat þei have of suche symoneris is þat þei lasten in hor servise, and wasten pore mennis godes; and þus², 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 sithe[n] put hom in hor offis, and drawe hom fro Gods servise; sith servise þat þei schulden do is fedyng of þo Chirche, and feghtyng þo þe fende in defense 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 treuiler schulde hit be done, and moo gentil mennis childer, aftar hor eyris, schulden be helpid by þis offis, þat now ben in myschef. Lord, wheþer hit were worship 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, þøf þei clouten not on hom synne of hor servautis. And in þis same consence ben lerid and lewid, þat reproven not þis synne, bot helpen þerto,—bishops and prehouris,

² Read þis.
confessoures and counseyloures, pat schulden crye augeye pis, and defende Gods cause. Bot blyndenesse of Gods cause makes traytors unknown. Welle of pis traytorye is po popis court, and a streem herof ben courtis of bishops, and anoþer streem ben courtis of lordis. And pis synne flowes to possessioneres and freris; and so hit owverflowes al pis wyde worlde.

Pere is anoþer avarice appropird to lordes, pat comes of hor pride and hor grete costis, pat nedes hom to spoyle hor tenauntis and hor neghtboris, and to feght wiþ rewmes, wiþ whoche pei schulden have pees. Richees of pis world pat God hafs graunted lordes schulde be sufficient to hom, wiþ a litil prudence. Pei schulden þenke how pei 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 ordynen wisely hor godes, for day of dome schal cum when þei schal nedely acounte.

CAP. XXIV.

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 marchaundis, and chapmen, and vitelereis, synnen more in avarice þen done pore laboreres. And þis tokon herœof; 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*, 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 covanunt to mayntene hor wynnyng, þat þei schulden take no losse, bot þus selle hor wordeis. And, as Austyn seis, þei sellen hor righ-wisenes, and now þei sellen falsehed, and so þei sellen þo devel,

* 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.

And þis same marchaundise is wiþ thre oper. Bot usure is a comyn synne þat mony men usen; and þis is forsendid in þo olde lawe, and more in þo new lawe, when luþ schulde be more. Lord, what charite is wit hym þat leeves his neigbtore worldly godes for a tyme, and after askes þo same, or þing als 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 oper be bying and selling. He wil be certeyn of þat at he byes, and sumwhat he selles, or ellis hym sayles 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 neigbtore, and þat he may not; for God onely is Lord of tyme, and wil þat tyme be comyn 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 akses acontre, what þis mon haves profisit wit godes of God. If he have myche profitis, þo Lord is þo better payed, and al þo encrees þo Lord gifs hym, for þo Lord is riche inoghe, and dampnes ydelenesse. And everiche servaunt in erthe þat profitis not to hymself, þis is usure of luþ, 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 luþs

* Here ends the lacuna in the Douce MS.
more pen charite. Mony oper synnes ben more pen pis usure, bot for pis men cursen and haten hit more pen oper synne.

Bot oft tyme oper avarice is more synne pen pis. Hit is a myche synne to holde conyng of God, and profite not perwiþ to pin even Cristen. Oper comyne laboreres ben not wipouten avarice, when pei done injuries to hor even Cristen, not onely for wynnyng of pis worldly gode, bot pure for envye and veniaunse of hor broþer. And somme men pleten by costes and dispensis, and wynnyng geten pei 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.

Þo sixte synne of þese seven is called glotorye; and hit falles to þo flesche. Bot bothe þo fend and þo world tempent mon to þis synne, when þei suppsen victorrye; þfor 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. Fþor few men synnen in abstinence, þat have habundaunce of þis fode, and þitt 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. Fþor iche mon schulde be a knyþ, and ryde here in worldly travel; þfor by þis travel schulde a mon make blis to his soule and gete to hit þo joye of heven, for mede of his travel. Fþor, as þo gospel techis, mon is here as wommon þat travels of childe in anguysche and noyé. 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, þfor 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 prudente perwiþ, þo abstinence is medeful. And so, if God sende hym wantyng of þese godes, and he þenke al is
Wyclif's Works.

gods, and that he has myche more synned, than his abstinence is worthe, and that God in charite; his abstinence is gode and medeful to his mon. Lord, men abstenen in werre, with myche fastynge and peyne, to wynne worship of his worlde and to anoye her enmyes; but for to wynne his blis of heven and dis-counsite his fleshe, he will not gladly fast thus, for that fleshe is hor god. And herefore seis Seint Poule that gotoune ben oute of his feith, sith that maken hor wombe hor God, than he loven more than homself, and so more than trewe God, alpof be he above mon, whiche he schulde lief more than mon, for God is bettir than mon in kynde. And certis his is a foule sac and stynkyng his mon makes his god. And mon is more foule by synne when he hafs chosen hym suche a god, and forsaken our gode God than so myche hafs done for mon.

And here may we se that maner of glotorye. For glotorye is not onely in meete and drink, but in al oper ping that schulde norishe a mon; and so, as temperature of iche bodily ping schulde norishe a mon, distemperature herinne may be calde glotorye. So foole fastynge is glotorye, and so, sith excessis in mesure is calde glotorye, iche synne is glotorye or suyng perof; for he is a gotoun that travels oute of mesure to con mony pinges, that don his soule harme. And thus may we se that iche gotoun is a foole, as mon when he synnes travels in foly; as iche synful mon synnes for sum gode, and po contrarie falles that foole coveytis. As, that glotorous mon coveytis to haf lust, or elli to have strenght or beute of body, bot po contrarie falles of alle pes pinges, sith that gotoun by his synne schortis his lif, and makes hymself feble in strenght of his body, and a stinkyng caroun by resoun of his glotorye.

Cap. XXVI.

And thus are partis of that Chirche synne in glotorye, bot clerkes more schamely, for that schulden kepe more temperance. Upon fuyve maners synnen men in excesse of eatynge and drinkynge, and comynly clerkes. First when a mon eetis or drinkes byfro that tymé that resoun schulde aske; as gotoune of drinke wil drinke in þe morowe, and þat, as þe

1 So in BB; W has as.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

seyn, askes dronkenes owver even. Sum mon to hastily eetis or drinkes, and þat ageyne physik dos harme to his body. And somme men deynetherously norischen hor body, as spendyng Gods gode to costily in glororye. And sum mon to lustfully eetis or drinkes, and þat distemperes a mon in body and in soule. And somme men taken hom tyme to eete savely, and evere þo more þat þei wasten þo better ben þei payed; þe, þei holden hit a booste to eete myche or drinke þen profitis to hom. *Ffor, as mony men seyn, monkes haf grete kuppies, and purchascen pardoun to men þat drinken depe of hom*¹, and in hor bred and hor drinke asken þei a mesure, and stryven for defaute þerof more þen defaute of virtues. As þei asken noumbe and grettenesse of eyren, so þei asken large-nesse of flesche and of fische; and þus þei harmen homself in mortheryng of meete. And so þei synnen in excese of wak-yng and fastyng; and biddyng of hor psalmes, and forme of hor clothynge, and syngnes of hor silence, done homself harme, and occupyen hor wittes in lernyng of þese þinges. And al suche excesse smakes glororye.

Bot blessid be þo Lord þat askes of mon mesure and noumbe and weight of a clene luft! for virtues of God may no mon disuse; and herfore schulde iche mon covetye myche of hom. Bot bischops or abbotis or oþer grete prelatis holden a grete avaunt ² to be gode meete-gyveres, and coste myche of Gods godes in quantite of meete and in qualite þerof, by whiche þei passen hor nighthores; 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 leesynge, god of alle glotouns, is god of hom, to whom þei alle serven. Ffor he þat worships fals goddes mote nede have mony. And þus, if we taken hede to noumbe 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 vomni, 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 excessse. Hor chekis and hor body beren wittenesse of hor lif, hou þei lyven in glotorye of pore mennis part. Lord, sij 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 getynge 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 soulest, þfor þei sleen pore men, hor owne\(^1\) body and soule. Of þis serves dowynge, 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.**

Þo seconde 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 clothynge. Bot þei may passe resoun by pride of hor state; and herof comme 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 partynge of worldly richesse. Þo puple is childische, and takes more hede to suche þing þen þei done to virtues or richessis of þo soule, þfor gostily þingis þei seen not, and knowen hom to litil. Lordes by suche glotorye fallen oft 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.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Pen dos swerde. And on pis wyse glotounes ben mon-sleers; and when pei loven homself so litil, no wonder pes pei slean hor brether. Glotorye distourblis lordis to have hor hoole wittes. Ffor when poh body is undisposid, hit serves not wil poh soule; and pen pei reulen amyse homself and po peeple undir hom. And of pis springes lecchorye, and mony synnes after hit; and poh po fende by one synne bringes a mon to mony. And poh fro po brinke ben mony led into po grete see, and pere ben pei drenchid.

And lustis and defaute of reule is cause of pis synne. For mon schulde wil witte, pat ofte comyne meetis ben more holsum to men pen ben pese riche meetis wiþ hoot spices, and oft tymes comyne drinkes dos more gode pen pese hye drinkes, made costily by craffitis. And poh mony men supposen pat God hafs gyven to reumes bothe meete and drink pat is most acordyng to hom. So if po reume of Englond were reulid wil by resoun, ping pat comes forth in po lond wolde suffis hit to meete and drinke. Bot wil I wot pat God hafs ordeyned one lond to be plentifulus in one maner of ping, and one in anoþer, ffor cause pat pei schulden comyne in charite. Bot pis 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 ping in mesure. And so mony drinken wyne pat were better wiþ wiþ ale. We schulden trist and knowe of oure gode God, pat he wil pat his servauntis have gode mete and drinke, to remounte hom in hor body, and herby serve hym better; bot in al ping he askes mesure, as God is in al ping. And poh, by ensample of glotorye of lordes, apis pat ben lesse pen pei synnen mony weys, when pei ben to costily and to lustily in fode. Ffor prelatis and abbotis be ensample herof, passen lif of lordes, and wasten pore mennis meete. And pis makes po lordschip pat pei ben dowid wiþ; ffor herfore pei leeven prestis state, and taken lif of lordis.

CAP. XXVIII.

Po pridd part of po Chirche synnes to myche in glotorye, as men pat haf myche worldly gode, and þerwil ben to lustily; as

\[by, BB.\]
burgeois and Marchaundes and other rich comynes. Hom penke hit is a grete avaunt to spende myche in household, and make grete festis to lordes; and herof comes myche yvel; for by his ben parties made, and mony wrongis mayntened. Ffor þo synne of covetise bringis in þo synne of glotorye. And not onely rich 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 þerwip travelen fast, and now þei komen 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; for þis þing unables hom to serve God on holy day, and makes hom to feght as wode men, þe, more þen beestis done, ffor beestis kepem more mesure in etynge and drinkyng.

Hit were to long to telle þo hames þat komen of dronkenesse, ffor soche men, as beestis, serven þen not Crist,—ffor Crist is wisedome of þo Fader,—and þei saylen 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 tymen 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 coveyeten not monnis lordschip. Bot siþ men fallen by dronkenesse fro resoun worse þen beestis, who schulde not by pure skile fl be to dronken? And by þis skile al synne schulde algatis be fied, for synne makes a mon noght in þat þat he is synful. Ffor þitt a mon is sum þing in þat þat he is myche or litil, and so in þat þat he is wh4, slepynge, or restyng; bot no mon is oght worth in þat þat he synnes. And herfore, as Austyn seis, synne makes mon noght.  

* S. Aug. Enarratio in Ps. 143.  
1 Homo vanitati similis factus est. Peccando vanitati similis factus est. Nam quando est primum conditus, veritati similis factus est; sed quia peccavit, quia receptit digna, vanitati similis factus est.  

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And if you say that he spends a mon to be dronken ones in a moneth, for myche gode comes therof,—suppose we to phisi-sians that he taken soth, but will I want more gode comes of mennes synne; bot schulden men synne herfore? sith that Poule seis nay. If gode cum of synne hit is a grace of God, and men schulden not putt hom in pis caas to wynne al pis worlde, sfor in pis he tempten God, and witten not wheser his right-wisenes wil profyte mercyfully to mon when he synnes pis. And if you say, mon sallyng in dronkenesse ryse sone therof, and better is disposid for to do his werk, or what he schulde do, here you spekes as a foole, as alle proctoure of synne. For pou woste neveere wheser pou schalt dye in tyme of pis dronkenesse, and nere make asethe to God for synne that you fallis inne. Bot Gods lawe techis us to lyve evere in that state that we be redy to hym, what tyme that he calles us. And amonge ojer causes, herfore haves God ordeyned that tyme of deth be uncerteyne to men that dwellen here in erthe, ssor we schulden eovere be redy whenever God calles us to ende in his servise, and take of him pis blis of heven. Mony soche bluide-nessis colouren mennes synne and maken hom Gods foolis, for iche synne comes of folye. If p0 worlde holde men foolis for pis luif of Crist, hit is a gode token in men that lyve wel, for we schulden take as bilee that mon when he synnes dos hym harme, to body and to soule, to pis lif and to that ojer.

CAP. XXIX.

Pis sevent synne is lechorye, and stondis in pis ping, that mon mysusis lymes or powere of his body, that God haves ordeyned unto men for his kyndely gendrure. And under-stondes we by mon, bothe mon and wommon. And on fyve maners is pis synne done. Ffirst, when a sengle mon delis wip a sengle wommon, and pis p0 chapitre calles a symple fornic-cacion. As God hafs ordeyned instrumentis and powere to do pis dede, so he ordeynes mariage and feyth of wedded folk. And pis in iche lechorye is sum ping by kynde, and sum ping ageyns kynde; and eterinne stondes synne. Ffor synne is so feble and nost worth of hym, that hit myght not be bot if gode

"worthy," BB.
of kynde groundid hit. And he þat excusis synne, or preyasis 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 wip weddid, or weddid wip 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 seghtynge and disherityng, leesyng of godes and virtues, and þat is moste of al. Þo thridd maner of þis synne is lecchorye wip virgyns. Þfor he þat moves hom herto, ouþer mon or wommon, is bygynner of þis synne and mony ouþer þat folowen. Þo fourt maner of lecchorye is bytwene kyn, or ellis bytwene affinite, and þis is grett synne. Þfor everiche suche couplynge 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 wip þis lawe wynnes myche money. Weddying of fadir or modir wip hor owne childe is agens Gods lawe for resonable causes. Þo fiȝt maner of lecchorye is þo synne of Sodome, and is more unkyndely þen any ouþer lecchorye. And þis synne may mony weys falle unto men, or elles to wymmen, for mony kyns causes. And among ouþer synnes þis hatis God myche; and hit cryes unto God to have veniaunse þerfore.

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 synne; and more synne is none þen to breke þis spousched, for hit is most hye and most for kepe. And here asken prestis hou hor synne is calde 1; for hit semes þat hit is bot simple fornicacioun, and so þo lightist of ouþer maner lecchorye. But me þenkes þat þis synne of prestis is more grevousse; for as þei schulden be more hye in virtues þen ouþer men, so þei synnen most grevousse in brekyng of Gods spousehed, as lecchorie of a nowne is comynly more grevous þen simple fornicacioun of anoþer wommon. Trist we not to lightenesse of þis lecchorye, þfor hit is grevous for to dampe a mon, sith Seint Poule seis þat no

1 bodely, BB. 2 elegyd, BB.
maner lecchoure haft 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, alþo we synnen in þoukthe 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 þonge
men in dede.

CAP. XXX.

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 þoukthe of hom,
and state of complexioun, and hor fode and ydelenesse, wil dryve
hom to þis synne. And herfore men þat knowen hor dedis
seyð 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 wip 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 trewyly þo gospel,
bot bothe þese have prestis schamefully forsaken, and ben weddid
wip 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 aperty, by holdyng of hor lemmens and by getyng
of hor childer, as þei were weddid men. Lord, sith Seynt
Poule wolde nevere ete flesche bifoere he sclaundryd his brother,
hou may prestis for schame synne comynly wip wymmen, þe,
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 bileeve techis us þat þei harmen himself,
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 wipdrawe hor almes, when þei synnen more,
bothe by wastyng pore mennis godes by more falsehed and
lecchorie, and lesse servyng unto men, bothe bifoere God and

1 yowthe, BB.
mon. Bot, for streight 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 liþ 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 punyshing of God is more grevous þen monnis punyshyng. 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 ouþer 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.

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 lyþ by ouþers 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 mariag of cosyns, and dishonoure of faderes. Hou schulde rewme by soche beestis stonde in gode governayle? Ffor certis beestis wipouten witte gone not þus togeder. And of þis comes seghtyng, bothe wipinne and wipoute; ffor, as philosoforis seyn, bothe mon and
beestis ben pure batelouse in tyme of pis dede; and men bi pis fals luf ben made pure hardy to assayle hor enymes, by foly pat ledes hom; ne hit it is no nede to aske wheþer pis synne be costly, and bringes injurye bothe to God and mon. And herby is hit lesse excusid, pat comynly pese lecchoures have wifes of hor owne, fayrere þen þei synnen wiþ. Hou schulde God teche þese fools to holde his lawe and luf hit, sith soche fools ben wode and unable to holde Gods lore?

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 levynge 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 þe more sad in hit þen in any oþer þing; but þei schewen openly 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 lordeþ 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 lordeþ bynden hom by þis lawe to serve þo fende. And þus gostly lecchorie comes to men by false lawe.

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 bylewe 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 synne in monnis body, when hit hafs lordship þus on

1 pis is a, BB.
his soule, and so ageyns al augel kynde, for soule hafs kynde of augels. 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 bifoire 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 harnes grely to persone and to comynate.

CAP. XXXII.

Þo þridde part of þo Chirche is not clene of lecchorie, for þei gone togedir as bestis. And þis is knowen to bishop ¹ clerkis; for þei spoyle hom in chapiters, as who wolde speyle a thef; and by hor feyned sommenyng ² þei drawen hom fro hor laboure, to tyme þat þei have grauntid what silver þei schal paye; and þen by fyned cursyng þei maken hom paye þis robbyng. And by þo knott of leesyn þei schewen to whom þei serven. þei seyn, as þei mot ned, þat þis þei done by charite, and putten enplaster of cursyng for beele of monnis soule. Bot þis is open gabbyng, as men may wil knowe, sith be ³ streyt covenaunt þei sellen tymne 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 penance 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.
³ Chaucer’s Sompnour, whom the enforcing church discipline, will at energetic Archdeacon employed in once occur to the reader:—

'He had a sompnour resly to his hand,
A syer boy, was soon in Engeland;
Ful privly he had his espiale,
That toughte him wher he moshyt avayle.
He couthe spare of lecchours one or two,
To touchen him to four and twenty mo.

... ... ...

Without maundement, a lewed man
He couthe somme, up fronde of Cristes curt,
And they were glad to Alle mot his part,
And make him grete teristi atte tale.'

Freres Tale.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

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 biforn coveytise of þese clerkes be quenchid. Alþof comynes ben as beestis in doyng of þis synne, nereþoles by luf and drede þei may be drawn þerfro.

Hit is seide þat mony comynes wil chaffere in þo new seyre, and þus chaunghe hor wyfes and lye in avoutrie. Certis suche lecchorie schulden prestis better amende, or securer lorde, þen done clerkes of chapter. Hor persoouns 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 þerwip. Þo seconde medicyn ageyn þis synne is mon to chastise his flesche wiþ fastynge and wiþ travel, and oþer privey penaunce; ffor flesche þat is wel chastisid stires late to lust; and he lufts 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 will 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 levemently, 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[luf of God, to leve þis synne. And sith wiþ awye þenke, mon, hou þou hafs of God bothe powere and appetit, and þerwip kyndely instrumentis, to serve hym 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 syde. 3 So in BB; om. W.
X.

PE SEVEN WERKYS OF MERCY BODLY.

[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.]

31f a man were siker þat he schulde to morowe come biforn 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 troun þat we schal come biforn 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, wip fendis and þer angelis? þis schulde be oure seip, and siþen schulde we have hope, be oure gode lif after þe lawe of God, to be glad in charite, and so þe sentence þeven for us. But siþen oure bileve techiþ us þat Crist jugis for none but bi titíl of hys mercy, ne he hap no mercy but only on hem þat ben merciful, eche man schulde lerne for to be merciful. And herfore seip Crist in þe boke of hys gospel,—Blessid be mercyful men, for þey schal have mercy!

Þer ben seven werkis of bodily mercy, and oþere seve werkis of goостly mercie; and þes loveþ Crist more, as he loveþ þe
soule 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 sejþ, 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 riht honde, and gete þat schal be dampaÝyd schal be on hys left hond. And þanne schal he seie to þeise þat schal be sayyd, Come my blessid fadur childur, and take þe blisse of heven þat was ordeyned to you before þe world was made. And for cause of þis blis Crist tellþ þe ordre sixe werkis of mercy, whereby þei schul have blis. I hungred, he sejþ, and þanne þe fedde me in my menbris; I þristed, and þe þaf me drynde; and when I was a gest, þe herbert me in þoure house, and gedered me to rest. I was nakid and þe cled me, seke and þe visitide me, I was in prisoun and þen þe komen and visitid me. Þe seveng werke of mercy is seid in þe book of Thobie, biriynge of dede men þat han nede perto. 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 doÝþ for hys lymes.

CAP. II.

But here meven many men, wheþur it be werke of mercye to do þes dedes to hem þat schal be dampaÝd in helle, sîþen 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 heythe and agayn resoun, sîþen no man but God wote who schal be saved, ne who is ordeyned to blisse or ordeyned to be dampaÝd. 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 aþens Crist, and maynteþ lymes of þe fend to wieche aþens Crist, and þis is opyn traytorie, as iche man may see. And herfore iche Cristen man schulde have bisie descerecioun to whom he did þis almes, lest he reversid Crist; and so schulde he al only do
almes to suche, *at* he supposes by holy signes kepyn Goddis lawe, and is in sadde purpose to stonde þerfore. For if a man do þis almes to him *at* lyvþ yvvyl aþen þe lawe of hys God, and stondis wiþ þe fend, it is al on to norische hym, wiþynly or lickly, 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.

And herfore Crist askes two þinges of þin almes, þat þou do it in hys name, and also discretly. For many men may as ypocris aske in Cristis name, and in lyfynge or wirchinge do agens his lawe. As, *gf* freres by gabbingis blasfeme upon Crist, and in multitude and howsyne ben chariouse to þe peple, men schulde not do hem almes for to lyve þus, for þanne þei maytente enemye of Crist aþens him sylf. As, if þei seie þat all þese gode ben don to Cristis worschiphe, 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 worschiphe of God, mawgrethe hys wille. As, when þe fend temptid Crist, hys dedis were wickid, and *jit* it turned to worschiphe 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 hâþ lymyttid in hys lawe who schulde have suche almes,—pore men and blynde, pore men and lame, pore men and febel, *at* neden suche helpe. And so þes starke beggers be wronge to suche pore men; for ypocrisie, by Poule seyinge, is most privye synne *at* 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 desseyyved be fals novelies, ne þei schulde axe þof þat may no wey faile, ne to liȝtly yve þer godes, but be discrete in almes and founde hem in Goddis lawe, for þat may no weie fayle.

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*That is, knowingly or probably.*

*Here, and frequently, Wyclif uses 'as' in the sense of 'for instance.'*

*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.*
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

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 open erreoure. And þis may we see by ten lawes, þre of þe old lawe and seven of þe newe, þat tellen opynly how prestis shulde lye ne a pore lif, as men did in state of innocence,—wipouten superfluyte, as Crist him sylf lyved; wipouten beggyngne as freres, or dowynge as opere bishopis and monkes, and opere calde possessioners; al þis is unleful or Goddis lawe is false. If nobul-men be bishopis, let hem þenke on Crist, þat was most nobul man þat evere was in erthe, for his Fadir was God and his modur Marie, and boþe þese ben best in kynde, as Crist himself is. And sithen Crist, nobulest man þat may be in ertheþ, was pokest man of alle whan he chese to be bischope, opere shulde þis lordis kyn be pore as Crist was, or ellis holde hem in staat of lordis of þis worlde. And Y am certeyne, lordischipe þat God hap þeven lordes of þis world were ynowe to hem alle þif it were not yvel departid. And on þis resoun schulde men þenke, boþe lordes and þer kynd, and opere take mekely þe staat þat Crist chees, or ellis holde hem in þe worlde as her kynd does, and defend Goddis lawe, or ellis be þei false. And so þe staat of monkes schulde alle be pore men and so alle opur clerkes þat han possessionis. 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 bishopis, 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 bishopis; ne have more wast meyne, ne more wast dispence make of Cristis and pore mennis good. And so þes irreligious þat have possessionis, þei have comunly rede and fatt chekis, and fatt and greet belies. But Lord! what mede were it to feden and norisichen þus Anticrist martres! Men schulde þenke on Goddis worde seyde by Ezechiel, þat þes were

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 ydulnesse of travel. Lord, what devocioun were to grounde suche an ordre? For, as Goddis lawe seip, alle þes ben wickidnesse, and it is no devocioun to founde such wickidnes. And siþen þes foure were wickidnesse in secular men, muche more þei were wickidnesse in prestis, þat Crist forbedis to lyve suche lyf or þus have possessiouuns. And so, as it is seide, opere Goddis lawe is fals, or it is unleful prestis to lyve þus. And siþen God biddiþ a man to wircbe 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 scharpily moeve men to holde þe Olde Testament and þe ordynynce of God; and þes, wip opere 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.

But here men seyn þat it is soþe, when a peril is neyȝghe, þanne men drened it and seken helpe on many wyes. 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 mercifull, and we may myche plesa him before þat tyme come; whi schulde we þan drede it more þan opere men done, siþen helpe may come so lîstly? Well I wot þat þus men speken þat saveren þe worlde, and þese ben men out of þe seip 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 bilee 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 lîstly be put of, if God wil þat it be so, and þefore ben we uncertyyne. But we ben certeyne of oure seip

1 So in CC; by sy sidus, Q.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

But men here moeven comunly, of what maner pingè men schulde gif per almes to lymes of Crist. And it is no drede pingè ne men schulde knowe bisile pingè pes godes were justly geten of whiche þei do þer almes. For siþen iche almes þat men don þei ȝyven first to God, and God þankes not for suche godes

* 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.
pat ben not justly geten, it is open pat of just havyng schulde almes be don. For sip 3yvynge is not worpe but if God approve it, but God approves not unjuste havyng of jinge, yanne it is non almes to dele of suche catel. Lord, hou schulde God approve pat rou robbe Petur, and gif pis robbere to Poule in pe name of Crist a? Pou puttes here on Crist consense of mayntenynge of jefte. And if rou seist rou yrvest pis gode in pe name of God, pat makis more pi synne zif rou lokest wel, for here rou takest witnesse of God pat he approve ji doiyng. And bi pis skil pis robbere, pat seyn pi gatt pis godis in greet peryl and travel, spoken ageyne hem self, and accusen hem to God, and putten on him per wikidnes. But undirstonde pat many men don almes of per godes, and zit pi wan hem wickedly, but after pi amendid hem ; as sum wan justlye per godes, and sipen forfeeted azen God. And for tyme of pis forfeuture pi don schrewidly per almes, for God askes clennes of hert when men don per almes.

But here men dowten comunly to whom men schulde restore pe godes pat pi have geten wiþ wronge, sip pi schulde not do per almes of suche goten godes biore pi had restored per jefte to men pat schulde have hem, and make amendis to God by pe lawe pat he askes, and to him pat he is bounden to. But ofte tymes it may falle pat jese men ben dede, or ellus he knowes hem not, or pi dar not comme to him; how schulde he do almes pat is a riche robbere, and is wrappid in suche cases? it semes pat he may not be safe. And here freris gaderen myche gode of suche maner robberis; and bope pe yver and pe taker don wronge to per neistbone. And herfore many men supponen pat wrere of jise freris schal pe sunner fayle, for defaute of riȝt grounde. And so summe seyen pat jese freres serven of pis office, to be resett of robbers, and to susteyne wronges bytwix cuntreis and cuntreis, and not for to quenche hem.

But to pis doute may men answere by resoun of Goddes lawe, and sey pat suche robbers schulde first have contricioun,
and be in hole purpose never synne so after, and make restitu-
cioun to pese men pat pëi schulde. And, for pës is selden seen,
herfore pës synne is greet, and wrappes hem in gnaris of pëf
fend, of whom pëi kunne not delывer hem. But first, me þenke,
þei schulde restore men þat þei have robbid, or ellis neyzghe
neizbores þat hadde riȝt to pese 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 þit men douen comunly,
whelþur 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, þhe, to have life þovun 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. For as God wole þat þei
lyve, so he wole þat men ȝyve hem. And herfore techip Seynt
Poule þat Cristen men þat ben servauntes serve wel þer heþen
lords, by resoun of þer God. And so we graunt wel þat suche
resseyven unjustly and to þer damnacioun dettes þat men
payen hem, and þit þer dettoures medefully ȝyven þes godes.

CAP. VI.

But here mut men moeve sumdel of speche of þes freres, þat
in London, at þer counsell of tremblyngye of þe erpe *, seyde,
for to plese prelatis and persones, þat it is an errore to susteyne
þat dymes ben pure almes, and þat men þat ȝyven hem may
wipholde and ȝyve hem to opere pore men, for synne of þet 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 faynyge of
þe fendus childur, by lore of þer sadur; 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

* This allusion to the earthquake
which occurred during the sitting of
Archbishop Courtenay’s synod in
1381, on May 19 (Pass. Zissaniorum,
p. 274), fixes so far the date of this

On the friars’
dezyning, at the
late Council,
that these were
pure alms.
over almes; and so mëst freres be full fals, and aske þe puple þer almes be titil of custome, al þif þei were unworþi and traytours to rewmes. But trist we not to fals freris, ne sayle 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 ellis but almes. And so lyved Crist wiþ his 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 mooved 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 rulís 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 hafe diverse resones of diverse names, and þhitt 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 his apostlis were susteyned be suche. For, as Seynt Poule teches, We schulde be payed of fode and hylýnge, and aske no more þan nedes; and ðit Poule proves be Goddis lawe, if we serven treuly, þes godes ben dette over resoun of mannis lawe.

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 suffre 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 þe þeise uncrafi 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.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

speke we to þe purpose of matir þat is touchid. And certis me þenkes þat parischenes may in certeyne cases wipholde 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 dettures in forme of mannis lawe. But serve we trewyly 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.

Siþen we schulde serve our parischenes in spiritual almes, as þei serven us in bodily sustinance, 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 cowneþes anoþer as he schulde do, *whanne he moeveþ him to a weie þat ledþ surely to hevene. A man chastisiþ anoþer bi word or bi dede*1, or ellus bi wipdrawynge of bodily helpe, whan he helpus þat he leefes þe synne þat he was inne. A man cowmforþes anoþer whan he solaseþ hys sowle to drawe in Goddis ȝock, for hope of greet mede. A man forgysþeth anoþer trespass þat he did to him, whan he askes not veniaunce bi resoun of hys trespass, but helpus him to Godward, to turne to gode lyf; and þis may man do sumyme, and punische men by charite. But ofte tyme suche punischynge saverþ of pride or covetyse, and herfore it were nedeful to purge þis charite, and loke þat sixtene condiciouns suen it, as Poule tellþ. And þanne symonye of freres and covetise of lawers schulde be

1 The passage between asterisks, wanting in Q, is supplied from CC.

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exiled fro þe folke, and Goddus word schulde renne, and iche man schulde kepe charite to ðepær. And þe first condiciooun of charite is, a man to suffur. Be lawe of charite a man schulde suffur anopur, and muche more a prelate schulde wisely suffur hys sugettis. And syn a man schulde pray for helpinge of hys enemies, as Crist did, with Steven, and resoun nedis þerto, miche more schulde a prest preye for hys sugettis.

And as a mannis soule passes hys bodye, so þes seven goostly werkes passen þe seven ðeper. 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 goostly 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 þe 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 unperfittenesse þeperof. For siþen almes stondes in wille and profite to þi broþur, wherþer is better, wille schewid to bringe mannis soule to blis, or ellis 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 þeit tellen more bodily dette þan bi goostly dette. And meddelynge of þise two dettus confoundus 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 worsse doþ harme to þe better.

CAP. VIII.

We schulde beleve þat þese werkes passen ðeper werksis of charite, and defaute or fraude in hem harrmis 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
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mode; for now men loken after bodily jing, as bestis, and lefen pingus spirituale, for hem faylis feip. And herfore Crist preyses more heringe of Goddis word, and good kepynge of it, than beringe of hiis modur. And syn it was a holy jinge jus to bere Crist, and norische him in hiis jowthe by bodily fode, and ytt be witnessse of Crist it is miche more holy to here Goddis word and worply kepe it, and ytt more than is to preche wel Goddus word, thanne it semes that is most heye werke of ojer, and jus the mede of then werke passes ojer medes. And herfore sais Seynt Joon, I have no more grace of this, than to here my childur wandur in treuth of the gospel, for frute of such fadurhede schal be joye of heven, of childur that men geten to heven, and than passes al the joye of the worlde. And herfore men seyn that doctours han passynge corowyn in heven. But she fend, bi pride and coveytise of the worlde, lettis fruit of this sede by brynyngyne in of Anticrist. Alle these ben Anticristes, that chaleynge by tyl of Crist for to synne worldlyest and lustyest of ojer; suche on is a mydday fend, opun aënnns Crist. And so, as hirdes in heven have joye of the childur that thei have goten to heven be vertu of Goddis seed, so thei findes schal in helle have sorowe of ojer childer, that thei have brouȝt unto helle be lawe of the fend.

This schulde Cristen men defende as the feip of Crist, that the most holy werke, and most duwe to prelatis, were to sowe Cristis seed by charite among the peple, and so stonde for Cristis lawe to suffringer of dep. And herfore seis Crist that no man hadde more lufe than on this wise put hiis lyf for profit of hiis frendis. And so did Crist and Baptist, and opere Cristis martyres, that seid the treupe of Goddus lawe for Cristis love and hiis Chirche, and suffred dep with good will for kepynge of hiis lawe. And sypen this is the best werke that man may do in erçe, the most cursid werke that Anticrist haþ founden were to lette this sowynghe of Jesus Cristis worde. O ifoure prelates lettid trewe prestis to preche Cristis gospel and charge not the peple, and bringe in suche prechours that reversen Cristis lawe, and pylen her herers that Anticrist lawe, how opun kalendis it were of lordschipe of Anticrist! And alle these may be brouȝt inne

1 So in CC; bus berers, Q.

\[ N 2 \]
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by lyttul and lyttul, of lebynge of Cristis lawe and ypocrisie of þe fendus.

CAP. IX.

To þis travelen þeise newe sectus, be helpe of Anticrist, and forsên 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 tormentours faren wiþ þer clopis. For þei docken Goddis word, and tateren it bi þer rimes, þat þe fowrme þat Crist ʒaf it is hidde by ypocrisie. And so þes fendas prechen sultite 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 clopes, and use wiþ profite of hem schulde profit more to man, so þes ypocrisis of þe fende don more harme to þe Chirche þan dos þes tormentours þat þus defowrmen þer clopes. Ol siþen Seynt Petur techus, þat if a man speke ouþt he schulde schape him for to speke as he spake Goddis wordis, how miche more schulde þeise prechours hold þis rewal, and put away japes and lesynges in þer prechynge, 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 sedus men. And herfore Jon Baptist answered prestes and Pharisais, and prechid not hys heynesse, but þe worþinesse of Crist, and seid himself was a voyce criyng in wildrinesse, and grounded hius 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 hius 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
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by Anticristis lawes. But, for iche Cristen man schulde hy-
dowse 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 riyt 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.

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 felenesse of werkes of þe fendes,
to drawe sowles to helle; as he þat turnes Cristis lawe, and
richeþ' prestes to þe world, is seide to do hem almes, for he
contraries Crist and makes hem glorouse to þe worlde, þat
Crist forbede many weies. And þus ordynaunce of Crist is put
aback be þe fendes, 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 a pertly 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 enemies 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 assoylyngen 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 cursid but
if God cursid him for faylyng 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 lorde
begynne at hereþe, and amende þes errours þat regnen.

1 So in CC; ricbesse, Q.
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amonge þe peple, before þei go to straunge londes to werre wip þere ennymes. But certis men han non ennymes 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 ennymes þan hys frendes? or who wolde pricke to Cawnterburie, to fæt þer wip hys ennymes, whan he hadde in þe myddys þis lond moo ennymes alle aboute hym? And þus þe lawe of charite, and also þe werkis of mercy, schulde moeve men to chaunge þer ordre and sumdel trewe to Crist; for alle þe harme þat comes to men is for chawngynge of Cristis ordynaunce.

Lorde! glourious ware þi Churche if it stode clenly bi þe ordynaunce of Crist, wipowten fenest novelries! þan schulde men begynne to werre on ennymes neexst hem, as mede and nede and kynde tyches 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. Bâle mentions it under the title of 'Ad quinque quæstiones'; 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.]

A special frient in God axiþ bi charite þes fyve questiouns of a mek prest in God. First, what is love. Afterward, where is love. Þe þridd tyme he axiþ hou God schuld medefullly be loved. Þe foureþ 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 fiftþ tyme he axiþ, in wha staþ of þis lif a man may best love his God, and more medefullly to come to hevene. Allþ þes questiouns ben hard to telle hem trowly in Englisco, but þit charite dryveþ men to telle hem sumwhat in Englisco, so þat men may beste white bi þis Englisco what is Goddis willle.

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 Wolfe good to loved þing; and so love is in mannis herte, and man oþer maner in lovynge*. But to þe þrid questioun answerþ Crist in Jones gospel. Crist seip,—He þat hafþ my maunde-

* This, the reading of the only five MSS. at Vienna, (see Shirley's MS., appears to be corrupt. A Catalogue, p. 22) is much to be desired.
mentis and kepip hem in his lif, he is pat ilk pat lovep me. And pus he makip redy love to God, pat studiep wel Godis lawe, as pe first Psalme seip. As to pe fourpe questioun,—a man may wite bi himself wher he penkip on Goddis lawe and lovep it and kepip it, and panne Crist seip pat he lovep God. As anentis pe fifpe questioun,—it is knowun bi Goddis lawe, pat pe ben in pe Chirche pre statis pat God haje ordeyned; state of prestis, and state of kynytis, and pe pridd is staat of comunys. And to pes three ben pre opare, comyn and leeful bi Goddis lawe,—state of virgyns, and state of wedloke, and pe state of widewis. State of virgyns is pe hiest, bi witnesse of Crist and seynis in hevene. Sum state is here good for o man, and sum is good for anoiper; and God movep a man to his best state gif he lette not bi his synne.

But fourue statis, of pe emperour clerkis, of munkis, of chanouns, and of freris, semyn perelous, and not ordeyned of God, but suffrid for mannys synne. And perfore men schulden be war to take of pes fourue statis, for ope statis pat God haip ordeyned bringen men bettere to blis of hevene; and he is a miche fool pat leevep pe bettere andchesip pe worse. And pus it helpip heere to Cristen men, to studie pe gospel in pat tunge in whiche pei knowen best Cristis sentense. For our bileve techip us pat ech Cristen man is holdyn heere to sue Crist in maner of lyvynge, sum ferrer and sum nerrer, afir pat God yycip him grace; and he pat suep Crist most yycip lovep him most, and is most loyvj God. And sip lif and dedis of Crist, and his lore, ben in pe gospel, it is opyn to profit of men to studie pis bok, to love Crist.

But over pis axip pis frend of God, what wil Davip hadde in pes two versis pat he seip in pe Sauter,—and pei ben comynly known in Latyn,—O Lord, I confesse to pe pat I am (i) servaunt, in bodie, soule,—and I am son of pin hand-mayden, for Y am trewe child of holy Chirche. You hast brokyn my bondis, of synne, and bondis bi whiche my soule lovep my flesche; to pe I schal sacre an ost of heriying. And pus Y schal clepe inne to me pe name of pe Lord, to dwelle in me. And pes same wordis maie martris seie, pat loven so miche Goddis lawe, pat pei wole sufre payne of deepe, 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 enemys, a man schulde wisely putt him forþ to suffre now þus gloriously.

War, man, lette not for synne, 
Prest, knyþt, þemon, ne page,
þif þee 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 quaecit, and again as ‘De veritate scripturae,’ inc. diabolus quaecit multis modis. It is strange that it should never before have been printed.]

The fench sekib many weyes to marre men in bileve, and to stoppe bodily pis, yat no bookis ben bileve. For if you spekist of the Bible, canne seyen Antecristis clerkis, how provest you yat it is holy wryt more thanne annother writen book? Here we seyen, as Crist seith, that kynrede of hordom sekib signes. And perse men moten use cautels, and axe hem questiouns 33en, whether Crist lefte his gospellis here for to comforte his Chirche. And if thei seyen that he dide, axe hem whiche ben pes gospels, and hem we cleypn holy wryt. And bus we axen of oþir partis yat trewe men cleypn hooly wryt. But, for Cristen men schulde speke pleylly to Antecrist, we seyen that hooly wryt is taken on þree maneres comynly. On the firste manere Crist him sylf is clepid in the gospel holy wryt, whanne he sekib yat þe wrytnge may noȝt be fordon yat þe Fadir haþ halwid and sent into the world *. On the seconde manere holy wryt is clepid truþis yat ben conteyned and signyfied bi comyn bibliis, and þes truþis may noȝt faile. On þe þridde maner holy wryt is clepid bookis yat

* This mistranslation of John x. 35, 36, is found in the earlier Wycliffite versions, but is corrected in the later.
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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 lyt, is holy wryt, and God seip it, and þis we knownen by bileve. And as oure siȝt makeþ us certyn of þat þing þat we seen, so oure bileue makip 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 seip. 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.

Oure Lord God Almyȝty spekiȝ in his lawe of tweeie matri- moneys 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.

Of þe first matrimoyne spekiȝ God bi þe prophete Osie to holy Chirche; and to ech persone of holi Chirche God himself seip, I schal spouse þe, or wedde þe to me, in riȝtwisnesse, in dom, in mercy, and in feip; and I schal wedde þe wiȝpouten 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 brekyng of saad feip, and defaute of riȝtwis lyvynge. And herefore God seip
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oft be his prophetis, pat his peple dide fornicacioun and avoutrie, for p(e)i worschipen false goddis; and Seint Jame seip pat men pat loven pe world ben gostly avoutreris. For þus writh he; þee avoutreris, wite þe not pat frendischiphe of þis world is enemye of God? And þus alle men þat loven more worldly worschipo or goodis of þe world þan God and his lawe and trewe lif, ben avoutreris gostly, þìf þeí weren Cristene b afore; and þis is worse avoutrie þan brekynghe of ðeschly matrimonye.

Of þe secunde matrimoyne, þat is bodiyl, spekiþ God in þe firste bok of holy writ, whanne he maade matrimoyne bitwene Adam and Eve in Paradis in staat of innocence, before þat þei synned. 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 øere seyntis wissent. Also Jesus Crist was present in his owene persone wiþ his modir in bodiyl matrimoyne, to approve it, as þe gospel of Jon techiþ, whanne he turned waitr into wyn. Also þe Holy Gost warneþ Cristen men, hou in þe laste daies summe heretikis schullen departe fro seip of Goddis lawe, þevinge entente to spiritis of error, and to techynge of develis, spekynghe lesyngis in ypcrisie, forbedynge men and wommen to be weddiþ, and techynge men to abstene hem fro metis, þe whiche God haþ maad to be eten of trewe men, wiþ ðankyngis and heriyng of God. Also þis bodiyl matrimoyne is a sacrament and figure of þe gostly wedlok bitwene Christ and holy Chirche, as Seynt Poul seip. Also, þis wedlok is nedful to save mankynde bi generacioun to þe day of dom, and to restore and fulfille þe noumbre of angeliþ, damnèd for pride, and þe noumbre of seyntis in hevene, and to save men and wommen fro foryncacion. And þerfore he þat forbediþ or letiþ verrey matrimonye, is enemye of God and seyntis in hevene and alle mankynde. And herefore man ponischide foryncacion and avoutrie in þe olde lawe bi stonynghe to dép, and in þe lawe of grace bi dampirenghe in helle, but þìf men be verrey contrit þerfore.

And herefore, siþ fornicacioun is so perilous, and men and
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, neipre bi Crist ne bi his apostlis, but ræpere aprovede it. But now, bi ypocrisie of fendis and fals men, manye bynden hem to presthoth and chastite, and forsaken wifes bi Goddis lawe, and schenden maydenes and wifes, and fallen foulest of alle. For many ben prestis and religious, in doyng and oþere, for to have lustful lif and easy, jong and strong of complexion, and faren wel of mete and drynk, and wolen not traveile, neiþer in penaunce, ne studie of Goddis lawe, ne techyngne, ne labore wip here bondis; and herefore þei fallen into lecherie in dyverse degrees, and in synne æstenst kynde. For many gentil-mennis sonys and doutres ben maad religious æstenst here wille, whanne þei ben childre wipouten 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 flattenedge, 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, þou þei known hemself unable þerto. And hereof comeþ lecherie and sum tymne morþerynge of many men.

Neþes, þouþ matrimonye be good and gretily comendid of God, þit clene virgynite is moche betre,—and wedlok also, as Seynt Poul seip opynli b; for Jesus Crist, þat lyvede most perfuly, was evere clene virgine, and not weddid bodely, and so was his modir evere virgine, and Jon Evaungelist. Seynt Austyn and Jerom specially witnesseen wel þis in many bokis. Neþes virgynite is so heye and so noble þat Crist commaundid it not generaly, but saide, who may take, take he it. And þerefore Poul þaf no commaundement of virgynite, but þaf conseil to hem þat weren able þerto. And þis prestis þat kepyn clene chastite in bodi and sole doun best; but many taken þis charge not discretly, and sclaudiand hemselfe foule bifoþ Crist and his seynitis, for newe bondis maade nedeles of synful men. And þis is a grete disceit of þe send under colour of perfeccon and chastite. For he striþ men to heise poynit of perfeccon,

a I cannot understand this phrase.

b If the text is not corrupt, the reference must be to 2 Cor. xi. 2.
when he knowe or supposeth hem unable, not for here goode, but for to falle foulere and depere in more synne, as Seynt Austyn techeth. And þus þe sendeth Sathanas transfigureth or turneth hem falsly into an angel of liȝt, to discyve men bi colour of holynesse.

_Cap. II._

See now how þis wedlok oweth to be kept in botb sides. First þis wedlok shulde be maad wiþ ful consent of boþe partis, principaly to þe worschip of God, to lyve cleynly in þe ordre þat he made, and bringe forþ childre to fulfille þe chosen noumbe of seynsis in blisse, and not to have flescly lustis wipoute resoun and drede of God, as mulis and hors and swyn þat han no undirstondynge. For þe angel Raphael warned Tobie, þat þe sende haþ maistrie upon siche men þat ben weddeth, to have þus lustis of flesch as bestis wipoute resoun and drede of God. Also þis contract shulde not be maade bitwixe a þonge man and an olde bareyne widewe, passid child-beryng, 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 ynowþ. And it is a gret dispit to God to colore 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 dampancion; for þei ben maad comyn wymmen, whanne þei han lost here frendishipe, and kunynge 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 chydyng, and in bondage of synne to þe fendis of helle. Also summme myȝty men marien here children, where þat here herte consenteth not wilfully, but feynen for drede. For comynly þei loken alle aftir richesse and wor-
Wyclif’s Works.

Pinesse to þe world, and not after goodnesse of virtuous lif. And so God and his side is putte biynde, and þe devel and þe world and þe flesch han now here maistrie.

For þre skillis may a man knowe fleschly his rytful wif, 1 þe firste for to geten children, to fullile þe noumbre of men and wymmen þat schullen be savyd; þe secunde to kepe his wif fro lecherie of ðopere men; þe þridde is to kepe himself fro lecherie of ðopere wymmen. And no party may kepe him chaste fro þe dedis of wedlok wipouten assent of þe toþer comynly, for þe man haþ power of þe wifis body, and þe wif haþ power of þe manmys body, as Seynt Poul seþ. And þif þe partie desire 2 to be chast, suffre he wipowten 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 takþ reward to þe gode wille, and not onely to þe dede. Also men seyn, þif boþe parties assenten wilfully to perfite chastite, boþe of wille and dede, þat it is betre þan to use forþ þe dedis of matrimoyne; and þif þei assenten boþe parties at þe begynnynge to lyve evere chast, wipowten bodily knowynge, þat it is þe best kept matrimoyne of all ðopere, as didenoure Lady and Josep, whanne þei ben weddid. Loke þat eche partie lyve wel anentis God and þe world, and stire eche ðopere to charite, ríztwisnesse, 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 parte atwyn hem þat God haþ joyned; but only for avoutre þat part þat keþip him clene may be departid fro þe toþeris bed, and for noon ðoþer cause, as Crist seþ hymself. And þit þanne þe clene part myþt lyve chast evere while þe toþer lyvþp, or ellis be reconseled aþen to þe part. Neþeleþ þe clene may dwelle forþ wip þe toþer lyvþp þat forsetis 3, bi weie of charite. And men supposen þat þat weie is gret charite, gif þere be evydence þat þe toþer part wolde do wel afterward.

1 corrected: wille, X. 2 corrected: desere, X. 3 text corrupt; if lyvþp be struck out, the sense is restored.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

CAP. III.

See now how pe wif owep to be suget to pe housbonde, and he owip to reule his wif, and how pei bope owen to reule here children in Goddis lawe. Fyrst Seynt Petir biddip pat wifis be suget to here housbondis, in so moche pat ziif ony bileeve not bi word of prechynge, pat pei ben wonnen1 wipoute word of prechynge bi pe holy lyvynge of wymmen, whanne men biholden pe chast lyvynge of wymmen. And peis wymmen schulden not have wipouten fores tiffynge of her, ne garlondis of gold, ne over precios or curious clopynge, but pei schulden have a clene soule, peisible and meke and bonere, pe whiche is riche in pe siyte of God. And sumtyme holy wymmen, hopynge in God, honoureden hem in pis manere, and weren suget to here owene housbondis, as Sara, Abrahamys wif, obeischid to Abraham, clepynge hym lord; and wymmen wel doynge ben gostly doutrip of Sarra. Alle pis seip Seynt Petir. Also Seynt Poul spekip pis of housbondis et wifis; I wole pat men preie in eche place, liffynge up clene hondis, pat is, clene werkis, wipouten wrape and strif. Also I wolle pat wymmen ben in covenale abite, wip schamefastnesse et sobirnesse ournynge hem or makynge fair, not in wripen here, ne in gold, ne in margery stones, or perilis, ne in precious clop, but pat pat bicompe wymmen bihetyngne pite, bi goode werkis. A womman owep to lerne in silence, wip alle obedience et subjecioun. But Poul seip, I suffre not a womman to teche, pat is, openly in chirche, as Poul seip in a pistel to Corynthis, et I suffre not a womman to have lordischipe in here housbonde, but to be in silence et stillnesse. For, as Poul seip in many placis, pe housbonde is heed of pe wif; et Poul tellip pis skille, pat Adam was first formed et Eve afterward, et Adam was not disceyved in seip, but pe womman was disceyved in seip, in trespassynge azenst Goddis comaundement. Alle pis seip Poul in dyverse placis of holy writ. Also Poul biddip pat bishopis et prestis techen wifis to love here housbondis, to be prudent et chaste et sobre, et to have care of pe hous, et benynge et under-

1 corrected; X has wymmen.

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lont, or suget, to here housbondes,—pat þe word of God be not blasphemyd. And þat olde wymmen schullen be in holy abite, not puttyng fals cryme or synne to opere, ne suyngy 1 to moche wyn, and to be wel techynge, so þat þei teche prudence. Also Poul techip 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 worpi to be savyd. But as holy Chirche is suget to Crist, so be wymmen sugetis to here housbondis in alle þingis. Husbondis, loveþ youre wifs, riþt as Crist lovede holy Chirche, and toke himself wilfully to payne 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 ðeve þe Chirche glorious to himself, not havynge wem ne revelynge 2 ne ony siche filþe, but þat it be holy and wipouten spot opere wem. And housbondis owen to love here wifs as here owene bodies, for he þat loveþ his wif loveþ hymself. For no man hatid evere his bodi, but norischip and forþerip it, as Crist dop holy Chirche. For we ben membirs 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 twieyne in o flesch. Þis sacrament is greet, but I saye, seþ Poul, in Crist and in holy Chirche. But forþerþe, þe husbondis, eche by himself, love he his wif as hymself, and drede þe wif here housbonde. Þe children, obeschip to youre eldis, fadir and modir, in þe Lord, for þis þing is riþful. Worschipe þi fadir and þi modir,—þat is þe firste coamaundement in biheste; þat Crist be wel to þe, and þat þou 3 be longe lyvyngy upon erþe. And, þe fadris, nyle þe stire youre children to wrapþe, but norische hem and brynge hem forþ in disciplyne, or lore, and chastisynge of God. Alle þis seþ Seynt Poul togidre. Also Poul coamaundip þus in anoþer pistol; Wommen, be þe underlont to youre husbondis, as it bihoveþ in þe Lord. þe men, love youre wifs, and beþ not bitter to hem. Children, obieschip to youre eldis bi alle þingis, for þis is pleasaunt to þe Lord. þe fadris, stireþ not youre chil

1 corrected; sonyupe or sonyinge, X.  
2 ryueling in Wycl. Vers.  
3 supplied; not in X.
dren to indignacion, lest þei of litel witt offenden, or trespasen, azenst God or man a.

Here sturdy husbondis and cruel fiȝteris 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 fiȝten wiþ þer wif and meyne, as þei weren Sathanas brollis; and suffren neþer reste, pees, ne charite be among hem. But dere schalle þei abie þis bitternesse, for jif þei wolen have mercy of God þei moten have mercy of oþere men, þou þei hadden discervyd betynge,—amende hem in faire manere.

CAP. IV.

Of þis may weddid men and wifis knowen, hou þei owen lyve togedir, and teche here childre Goddis lawe. For at þe bigynyynge a childe may esily be taȝt, and goode þeþis and maneris, accordyng þip Goddis lawe, esily be prentid in his herte; and þanne he may esily holden hem forþe, and encresse in goodnesse. And þerfore Poul biddid þat þe fadir norische his children in þe lore and chastisyenge of God; and God com-aundid in þe olde lawe þat þe fadris schulden telle to herre children Goddis hestis, and þe woundris and myracleþ þat he dide in þe lond of Egip, 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 Trinete, and of Jesus Crist, howe he is verray God wiþouten bigynynge, 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 holde to teche hem Goddis hestis, and þe werks of mercy, and poyntis of charite, and to governe wel here fuye 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 jif þei trespasen

a corrected; bowen, X.

1 The foregoing passages from Scripture do not agree with either Wycliffite version.
2 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.
against Goddis hestis, þei owen to blamen hem þerfore scharply, and chastise hem a thousand fold more þan for dispit or un-kyndenesse don against here owene persone. And þis techynge and chastisynge schulden in fewe þeeris make goode Cristene men and wymmen, and namely goode ensaemple of holy lif of olde men and wymmen, for þat is best techynge to here children.

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 þeve hem good ensaemple bi here owene lif. For þou þei ben cristenyd, and knowen þe comyn poynitis of bilee, þit þei schullen not be savyd wipoute 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 rescveyved Cristendom, but þif þei enden trewely in Goddis comaundementis, as Seynt Petir techiþ pleylyn.

But summe techen here children jeestis of bataillis, and fals cronyclis not nedful to here soulis. Summe techen novelies of songis, to stire men to jolite and harlotrie. Summe setten hem to nedeles craftis, for pride and covetiise; and summe suffren hem in ydnelnesse and losengerie, to breden forþ strumpatis and þeves; and summe wip grett cost setten hem in lawe, for wynnynge and worldly worschip, and here to costen hugely in many weies. But in alle þis Goddis lawe is putt bihynke, and þerof spekiþ unneþis ony man a good word, to magnifye God and þat, and to save mennis soulis. Sumte techen here children to swere and stare and fiȝte, and schrewe alle men aboute, and of þis han gret joie in here herte. But certis þei ben Sathanas techeris, and procuratoris to lede hem to helle, bi here cursed ensaemple 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 of ἀντί Περὶ λα. 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, ye, more cruel þan þou 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 þou here bodies weren þus hackid nevere so smale, boþe bodi and soule schal be in blis of hevene, so þat þei kepen trewely Goddis comandemente. And of siche negligent fadris and modris, þat techen not here children Goddis lawe, and chastisen hem not whanne þei trespasen ægenst Goddis hestis, Seynt Poul spekþ a dredeful word. He þat hâþ not care of his owene, and most of his homly in houshod, hâþ rescveyved 1 þe feþþ, and he is worse þan a man out of Cristendom. And siche fadris and modris, þat meyntenen wiþyngli here children in synne, and techen hem schrewdnesse, ben worse þan þe cursed fadris þatkillen here children, and offr hem up to stockis, worschipynge false maunmetis. For þo children in here ȝouþ þe were dede and distried, and diden no more synne; but þes children of cursed fadris and modris, þat techen hem pride, þefte, lecherie, wrâþþe, covetise, and glotonye, and meyntenen hem þerinne, ben holden in long lif, and encresen in synne to more dampanicn of ech party. And þus litel wonder þou þe 2 take vengance on oure peple boþ old and ȝong, for alle comynly dispisen God, and han joie and myrþþe at his dispit and reprovynde. And God mot ponische þis synne for his rîþful majeste.

**CAP. V.**

But þouþ husbondis han þus power over his wifis bodi, neþþes 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 þeye hem to holynesse, wiþouten whiche no man schal se God; and abstynen hem fro fleschly desiris þat fytten ægenst þe soule, as Petir and Poulte techen bi auctorite of God hymself; and þenke on þis word of Seynt

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1 error of scribe; correct denyed.  
2 supplied; not in X.
Poule;—De tyme is schort; pe toper part is pat pei pat han wifes ben as havynge noon; pat is to seie, pat pei usen hem for and in drede of God, and mesure, not to fulfille here lustis, as bestis wiȝoute undirstondynge; and pat pei have mynde of pe dredful comynge of Crist to pe laste dom, hou pei schullen þanne anserwe 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 procurator schal be þere, but here owene gode lif to save hem, or cursed lif to dampe 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 seïp, pat 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 þeþþ ðym to overe moche likynge in fleschly lustis. And þerfore biddip Crist in þe gospel, þat we take hede þat oure hertis ben not chargid wiȝ glotonye and dronkenes and bassynes 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.

But ben wifis war þat pei stiren not here huvbondis to wrapþe, ne envy ægenst here neiþeboris, ne to falsnesse and overe moche bassynesse of þe world, to fynde to costy array. For þe wif was made to be an helpere lich to þe huvbondes, ech þat helpe ðoper in clenessse and holy lif, and trewe anentis God and man. But þif þe huvbonde be stired to vengaunce and pride and envy, þe wyf owþ to stire ðym to penaunce and pacience, mekenesse and charite, and alle good manere of Cristene lif. And whanne Goddis lawe biddip þe huvbonde and þe wif love eche ðoper, 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 þif it be in helpe to save þe soule, and kepe it in holy lif.

But þif þe grete deuautis fallen many tymes in weddid men and wydden. Þe ﬁrste deuaut is, as Seynt Jon wiþ þe gildene mouþ seïp, þat þei maken sorowe þif here children ben nakid or
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pore, but thou here children ben nakid fro virtues in soule, the temporal than the spiritual welfare of their children; and wij moche traveile and cost thei geten grete richessis and heiye statis and beneficis to here children, to thei more dampnacion ofte tymes, but thei wolen not gete here children goodis of grace and virtuous lif, ne suffre hem to rescuyve siche goodis, frely proprid of God, but letten it as moche as thei may; and seyn, jif here child drawe hym to mekenesse and povert, and flee covejitise and pride, for drede of synne and for to plese God, that he schal nevere be man, and nevere coste hem peny, and cursen hem, jif he lyve wel and teche opere men Goddis lawe, to save mennis soulis. For bi pis doynte the child geteth many enemyes to his eldris, and thei seyn that he sclaunderis alle here noble kyn, that evere were helde trewe men and worschipful.

The secunde defaute is, that wifis seve here husbandis goodis to stronge beggeris and riche, and opere curleris, to geten hem swete morselis, and sum tyme spende here husbandis goodis aboute holouris and lecherous, the while here husbandis traveilen fare in ferre contreis or grevous traveiles. And to holden holy and excuse pis wickidnesse, wifis many tymes don a litil almes opynly, and fynden ypocratis to seyn massis, and maken the sely husbandis to meyntene siche ypocratis in here falsnesse, to robbe the pore peple, and to lette trewe men to teche Goddis lawe, and to favoure false sclaunderis of here brepren. And jif wifis favouren and meyntenen siche ypocratis, and stiren here husbandis perto, for prive lecherie bitwen hemself, and for fals sykernesse that the ypocratis maken to hem, thou thei dwellen stille as swyn in synne, it is so mochel the worse.

The briddle defaute is pis; jif Almyty God, of his rihtwisnesse and mercy, take here children out of pis world bi fair deep, the riche wifis wipen, grucchen, and crien azenst God, as God schulde not do azenst her wille; and azen God whi he taki breere here children fro hem than pore mennis, si thei may betre fynde here children than may pore men heren. See now the woodnesse of pis grucchinge! It is grete mercy of God to take a child out of pis world; for jif it schal be saaf, it is

1 corrected; bawere, X. 2 dele sare.
delyverid out of wo into blisse, lest malice turnyd þe undir-
standynge of þe child to synne, and þat is gret mercy of God,
and herefor alle men schulden be glade. þif it schal be
dampnyd, þit it is mercy of God to take hym soone to dep,
reste it lyve lengere, and do more synne, and perfore be in more
peyne. And sîp þei grucchen þus ægenst Goddis riȝtful dom,
þei putten on God þat he is unrîȝtful,—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, weiard Anticristis, and
unkynde heretikis and; blasphemes. þPerfore be þei glade, and
þanke þei God for al his mercyes, and benefices, and riȝtful
domes. Amen ².

Also lîke þat ech parti enforce hymself to kepe þis ordre
maad of God, and breke it not for no temptacion ne likyenge 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 brekip it. And no defoulynge þerof may askape un-
peyned, for he knoweþ alle þingis, be þei nevere so preve; and
noþing, be it nevere so mysþty, may ægenstonde his ponys-
chyng. Also þenk hou soone þis stenkynge flesch, þat now
delitþ in lecherie, schal turne alle to aschis, and poudre, and
erþ, and wermes mete; and for so schort likyenge 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 wymmyn, schewed to God a grevous pleynyt,
whanne þis holy ordre is þus broken, and Cristene soulis,
templis of þe Holy Gost, ben þus wickidly bleckid wþ filþe of
synne, and maad liche to þe fendis of helle. And for þis skille,
men and wymmyn 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
abstynencynge of mete, and namely of hote drynkis and mysþty,

¹ dele and.
² The treatise seems to have originally ended at this point.
and visite here pore neijeboris pat ben bedrede, and clope hem, and herberwe hem, to gete remission of over moche likynge in fleschly dedis; and evere crie to God, wip gret desir and good lif, pat he graunte hem grace to kepe clenly pis 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 wipouten 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.

PENKIwisly, 3e men þat fynden prestis, þat 3e don þis almes for Goddis love, and helpe of þoure soulis, and helpe of Cristene men, and not for pride of þe world, to have hem occupied in worldly office and vanye, and þei criyngle in mennus eris. For 3if 3e don, it is for worldly pride; for to have a grete name of grete almes-doeris 3e lesen þoure mede, and money þat 3e spenden þus, and getten wrappe of God, as Crist seip opynly in þe gospel. And 3if 3e fynden hem for Goddis love, and helpe of þoure soulis, and gostly helpe of Cristene men, 3e schullen fynden hem to lerne Goddis lawe, to know hou þei schulde serve God in holy lif, and techen ðepere men þe gospel, to save here soulis þerbi. For þei neden to have bokis of holy writ, as þe bible and exponitouris on þe gospellis and pistelis, more þan Graielis and ðepere bokis of song; and ben more bounden to lerne holy writ, 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 maistros and alle Cristene men. And be

* 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.
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pes maistris āt fynden prestis wel i-war, āt āei suffren not
hem to lyve in synne and ydelenesse and vanyteee, and āt āei
meyntenen hem not āerinne. For ān āei meyntenen Goddis
enemys in dispisyng of God, and so bicomem Goddis traitours
hemsell; namely, whanne āei known āe opyn deaute of here
prestis, and may so soone amende hem, or ellis not fynde hem
forp. Īif āei don not āis, āei ben gilty and consentouris and
auctouris of here synnes. And loke āt āes maistris cherische
and meyntenere here prestis in goode lif and trewe techynge
and lernynge of holy writt, aegenst Anticristis 1 clerkis and here cruel
censuris. And āis schulde make Goddis prestis of holy lif and
trewe techynge encresse, and synne be dispisid and forsaken,
and vertues loyvd and hauntid, and goode Cristene peple drede
God and his lawe, and love hym before alle āingis, and āes
maistris to have moche āank of God and alle his halwes, and
costen no more āan āei don nowe, ne so moche, but lasse and
betre for bope partis, and for Cristene and hepeene.

God forbede āat 2 ony Cristene man understonde, āat āis here
synsynges a and crynges āat men use now b be āe beste servyce
of a prest, and most profitable to mannis soul. For Jesus
Crist and his apostlis useden it [not 7], ne chargeden prestis
þerto; but āei preiden devoutly and stilleliche, in nyghtis and
hillis, and precheden āe gospel opynly and frely, and dieden
þerfore. For, as Austyn c and Gregory witnesseen, preire is
betre don bi compunction and wepynghe and holy deser of rıtı-
wisnesse, āan bi grete cryynge and blowynge of mannis vois.
þerfore seynt Gregory ordynede āat prestis schulden 3eve
hem to prechynge of āe gospel, as āe cronycle of Sistrenpe d
tellep.

1 corrected; Auncrīstis, X. 2 corrected; Æan, X. 3 supplied
conjecturally.

a incensing.
b Compare the description of the
newe prīnyng bi grei cryynge and
heiy song in Tract XVIII of this
volume.

The passage in St. Augustine
referred to is perhaps the Enarratio
in Ps. xxxvii. § 14. That quoted
from St. Gregory may be the fol-
lowing 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.'

c 'Sistrenpe' must mean Cistren-
sis, i.e. Ranulf Higden; but I have
not been able to discover the pas-
sage here cited in the Polyebromicon.
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 SELF.

First, whanne þou risist or fulli wakist, þenk on þe goodnesse of God; Þfor his owne goodnesse and non ðer nede he made al þing of nouȝt, boþe angels and men, and alle ðer creatures good in her kynde. Þe seconde tym þenk on þe gret passion and wilful þep þat Crist suffrid for man-kynde. Whan no man miȝt make satisfaccion for þe gild of Adam and Eve, and ðer moo, ne non angel owe ne mulȝt make aseþ þefor, þan Crist of his endeles charite sufferid so gret passioun and peynful þep, þat no creature mulȝt suffre soo myche. And þenk þe þrid tym, how God haþ savyd þe fro deþ and ðer miscevis, and suffrid many þousyndis to be lost þat niȝt, sum in wataþ, sume in fier, sume bi sodetyn deþ, and sume to be damnyd wþouten ende. And for þeise goodnesis and mercies þanke þi God wþ al þin hert, and preye hym to þive 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 worschiþe; and in no þing forþete aȝenis his comaundementis, but redi¹ to performe werkis of merci, and to þive good ensample of holþ 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 drinke² in mesure, ne to costli ne to licorouse, and be not to corious þeraboute, but such as God sendip, 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, þeris, 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 worship; 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 dampyyd 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 holilli, passyng oþer in holy preyere and holy deseir and þenkynge, in holy spekyng counselynge and trewe techyng, and ever that Goodis hestis and his gospel be in þi mouþ, and evere dispice synne, to drawe men perfrø. And þat þi dedis ben so riȝtful, þat no

¹ corrected; red, FF. ² corrected; dringe, FF.
man schal blame hem wip reson, but þin opyn dedis be a trewe book to alle sogettis and lewid men, to serve God and do his hestis perbi. Ffor enssample of good¹, and opyn and lastyng, sterrij 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 drynk² and cloþes; and þe remenand þive 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, kepþ þe hestis of God, doyng þe werkis of mercy, reuling wel þi fwe wittis, and doyng reson and equite and good conscience to alle men. þe seconde tyne, governe wel þi wif, þi childryn, and þi homely meyne in Goddis lawe, and suffre no synne among hem, neþer in word ne in dede, up þi myȝt, þat þei may be enssample of holynesse and riȝtwisnesse to alle oper. For þou schalt be damnyd for here yvel liȝf and þin yvel suffrance, but if þou amende it up þi myȝt. þe þride tyne, governe wel þi tenantis, and maynteyne hem in riȝt and reson, and be merciful to hem in þer rentys and worldly merciments, 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 lyyyng, mor þan for rebelte agens þin owne cause or persone. And holde wip 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 miȝt³, 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 saylest 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 techynge, for blyndnesse and covetise and worldli frenċipp, and helpist to slaudere and pursue trewe men, þat techen Cristes gospel and þis lif. And warne þe pepul of here

¹ good lif, X.     ² corrected; dryng, FF. ³ So in X; myȝt, FF.
grete synes, and of fals prestis and ypocritis þat disceyvyn Cristen men, in feþ 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 ægens þe, ne scandere þi God ne Cristendom a. And serve not to Cristen lordis wìþ gruchyng, ne onli in here presens, but trewli and wilfully in here absens, not only for worldly drede ne worldly reward, but for drede of God and good conscience, and for warde in hevene. For þat God þat puttþ þe in suche service wìh what stat is best for þe, and wile rewarde þe more þan alle erþeli lordis may, if þou dost it trewli and wilfully for his ordinauence. And in alle þinges beware of gruchyng ægens God and his visitacion, in gret labour and long 1, and gret sikenesse, and oþer adversities, and beware of wræþe, of cursyng and waryyng, or banning, of man or of-best. And ever kepe pacience and mekenesse and charite, boþe to God and man. And þus eche man b in þes þre statis owþ þo 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 greatly in alle nacionys 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 þe forwaried wreichis, swey fro me, into þe everelastying fier of helle, ordeyned to þe devel and alle his angelis. Pere schal be weeping and gnashyng of teþ, as þe þat ben hatid of God and al his halewes.' And whan þe forcurсид schal see þat þei þus ben dampnyd, and knowyn þer is no helpe ne mersey to fynde, þen may þei seye þe wordes of Job—wþ syþyng ful sore; þat day mot periche þat I was born onne, and þat carful nis þat I was conceyvyd onne; þat ne I hadde be fed in my modir wombe. Wher-to, my...

1 So in X; FF om. in gret labour.
2 So in X; FF om. and þus eche man.

a 'Cristendom,' like Cristendom 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 authenticiy.
modir, settist þon me on þi knees, and weysche me, and rokkid me, and fed me on þi brest? Alas þat wyle! so myche synk sche looste, þat nor-chyd a brond to duelle in helle fyer! For requiem þat prestis synngyn, ne non ðer 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 þerior schel þei never have rest þe wyle God is in hevne. And as þei [founden]1 non ende of synne þe wyle þei lyvedyn here, þior schal þei never fynde ende of here peyne þere. Seynt Bernard berþ wittes þer-to, þere he þus seþ, þat synne þat wiþ penance is not here fordon, or wiþ sorwe of herte haþ not here amendid it, wipouten doute he schal periche wipouten ende. A For soppyle to þe ristwisdomous man it falliþ, þat þei ben never wipowtyne peyne whan þei been dede, þat here synne wolde never leve þe wile þe lyveden here. And þerior Jeremie seþ,—rist as a þeef is conffondid whan he is takyn, so schal be conffondid þe hous of synful men. Alas! what schame and repref schal be whan þe Kyng of kynggis schal sitte wiþ al hyss meyne of seynsis, and schal blame synful man, brynggyng in his nekke þe fardel of his wickidnesse in siþt of al þe world! And þerior, brebryn, leve we synne, and serve we God þe Fadir of our Lord Jesus Crist and oure Savyour, to whom be glorie, joie, worship, and honor, unto world of worldis wipouten ende. Amen.

1 supplied conjecturally.

* St. Bernard says (De Conversione, cap. iv.) 'Poenitentiam agere, remedium doloris est; . . . quisquis ante obitum carnis non redicerit ad se-ipsum, in se-ipso maneant necesse est in aeternum.' But I doubt whether this be the precise passage referred to.
PART II.

CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.
[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.]

...ben two maner of heretikis of whiche Englund schuld be purgid, and symonieris ben pe first. And alle siche ben symonieris peat occupien bi symonye pe patrimonye of Crist,—be pei popis, be pei bischopis, curatis, or provendereris. And lite prestis or none ben clene of pis symonye. For to spek generali of pis synne of symonye, it is unlesful chaffaringe wiþ spiritual goodis; and so boþe partis ben bleckid wiþ pis synne. Jif freis sellen her prechyng, her preying, and her schryvyng, pe symonye is pe worse in siche ypocrisis. If pes possessioners bien hem þus rentis, and propringe of chirchis, wiþ ðeþe privylegies, þei ben opyn heretekis to harm of þe Chirche. And þus jif seculer prestis, óþer 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 ðeþe þat mayntenen hem.

...seconde heretikis in þe Chirche ben apostataas 1, and ben

1 corrected; apostataas, 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 worship of þe world, or richesse þerof, þan for worship of Crist and profit of his Chirche, and for medeful lif to sue Crist in povert. Alle siche rotid in þis ben apostataas; and þif þei mayntenen þis errour ægens Goddis lawe, þei ben perelous heretikis to harm of Cristis Chirche. And siche wolen depart men fro God and hevenlie giftis, 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 before, to discryve hem bi Goddis lawe. For certis holy Chirche schal never be wiþoute debate, þe while siche heretikis ben so þick sowen. And siche men ben heretikis þat ben æzens Goddis lawe, or in word or in lif, alle þif þei holden wiþ mannus lawe; and jugement of prelatis makiff 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 heretikas, and unable her witnesse; as a þeif in a derknesse biddiff a trewe man stonde, for he wold þat no man spak æzens him. And heere we schulden levee mannus lawe and jugement of þe world, and holde hool Goddis lawe, and mak it oure juge. And men wenr traytours to God þif þei hidden þis sentence; siþ opyn weriks 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 weriks knowe heretikis, and arme hemself wiþ patiense, and above wiþ charite, and putte hem to perel of þeþ 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 has never 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.]

For þer skillis lordis schulden constreyne crellis to lyve in mekenesse, wilful povert, and discrete penance and gostly traveile.

Open techyng and Goddis lawe, old and newe, opyn esaunple of Cristis lif and his glorious apostlis, and love of God, drede of peynes and Goddis curs, and hope of grete reward in þe bliss of hevene schulde stire alle prestis and religious to lyve in gret mekenesse and wilful povert of þe gospel and discrete penance, and traveile to stoppe pride, coveite, 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 wiþout ende.

Þre þingis schulden meve lordis to compelle clerkis to þis holy lif of Crist and his apostlis. Þe fyrste is drede of Goddis curs and peynes, in þis world, in purgatorie, and helle; and desirynge of Goddis blissynge, and pees, and prosperite of
rewnes. De secunde is wynnynge of holy lif, bope of clerkis, lordis, and comyns. De pridde is strengpynge of rewnes, and distroynge of synnes in ech staat, and pe Chirche. First, kyngis and lordis schulden wite pat pei ben mynystris and vikeris of God, to venge synne and ponysche mysdoeris, and preise goode doeris, as Petir and Poul tetchen. And herefore techir Seynt Ysidre in pe lawe of pe Chirche, pat pis is office of kyngis and lordis, bi drede and bodely rigor [to] 1 constreyne men to holde Goddis lawe, whanne pei wolen not bi prechynge of prestis; and God schal axe rekenynge of worldly lordis, where holy Chirche encrese bi here governaille. Dann, si p prestis leven mekenesse, and taken worldly pride and bost, and forsaken wilful povert of pe gospel, and taken worldly lordischipis bi ypocrisie of veyn preieris, wi p brennynge coevitise, wrongis, exttorsions, and silynge of sacramentis, and leven discreet penance and gostly traveile, and lyven in glotonye, wastynge pore menny goodis, and in ydelenesse and vanyte of pis world, lordis ben in dette to amende pes synnes. For ellis, pei loven not God, for pei don not execution of Goddis hestis, and venge not wrong dispit of God; but pei venge wrongis don to hemself, and lok en pat here owene commaundemintis ben kep up grete payne. Also Poul seip, pat not only men doynge synne ben worji of depe, but also pei pat consenten to hem. Dann, si p lordis may amende pes grete synnes of pride, coevitise, and exttorsions, and symonye of clerkis, pei ben dampnable wi p pe synneris but, yif pei don; and pei pei ben cursed of God for brekyngne of his hestis, and for pei loven not Jesus Crist. And grete venganze comep for meyntenynge of synne, and brekyngne of Goddis hestis, as Goddis lawe schewi p in many placis. And si p adversities and werris kommen for synnys regnynge pat ben not amendid, lordis schulden have neiuer prosperite ne pees til pes synnes ben amendid. For no man wi pstondyngne þus Goddis lawe, schal have pees. För lordis han here lordischipis bi God to distroie

1 supplied.

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*a There is a passage to this effect in the *Decretum* of Gratian (*Pars II, Caesa 23*), quoted from S. Austin: but I cannot discover any dictum of Isidore on the subject.*
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

synne, and meyntene riȝtwisnesse and holy lif; þanne, þif þei pei paien not to God þis renæ, wite þei wel God mot ponsche hem, as he techiþ in his lawe. And certis, þif loris don wel þis office, þei schullen sikerly come to þe blisse of hevene.

CAP. II.

Þe seconde profit is wynnynge of holy lif on eche side. For nowe prelatis and grete religious possessioners ben so occupied aboute worldly lوردischipis and plea and bysinesse in herte, þat þei may not be in devotione of preiyng, and þouȝt of hevenely þingis, and of here owene synnys and oþere mennys, and studie and prechynge of þe gospel, and visitynge and con-forynge of pore men in here diocysis and lوردischipis. 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 þiftis of men of lawe, in alle contrees where here lوردischipis ben, and in riche clerkis of þe Chaucerie, of þe Comyn Benche and Kyngis Benche, and in þe Checher a, and of justicis and schereves and stiwardis and bailisis, þat litiþ or nouȝt comþ to hem, or here chyrchis and coventis, but name of þe world, and þouȝt and bisynesse and care and sorowe. And for drede of losse of þes temporalites, þe doren not reprove synne of lordis and myȝtty men, ne frely dampne coveitise in worldly men, ne in meyntynynge of fals pleÆ; for þei ben opynly smytted in alle þes synnys, and many moo. And þus is trewe techynge of Goddis lawe, and ensample of holy lif, wiþdrawen fro lordis and comynys for þes worldly lوردischipis of clerkis, and symonye, pride, extorsions, and alle manere synne and meyntynynge of synne is brouȝt in.

And þit þei have parische chyrchis aproprid to worldly riche bishopis and abbots þat¹ han many þousand mark more þan

¹ corrected; þan, X.

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.

Second reason: because the result would be increased holiness of life on both sides.

Mischief caused by wealth and pomp according to the Church.

Evils of the system of impropropriating parochial tithes to bishops and abbots.
ynowe. And þis appropyringe is geten bi fals suggestion maad to Anticrist, be lesyngis maade to lordis, and covetise and symyney, and wastynge of pore mennis goodis. And ȝit þei don not þe office of curatis, neiþer in techynge, ne prechynge, ne þeyngyen of sacramentis, ne rescéyvynge 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 fyndþ hym. And no tonge may telle in þis world what synne and wrong comeþ herby. For, as Robert Grossted seǐþ, whanne apropiacion of parische chirchis is made to siche religious, of alle ewelis þat comeþ bi weiard curatis is maad a perpetuacion. And þus þei han worldly lordschipis, and reulen not þe peple ne meytene þe kond as lordis. And whanne care of soulis and dymes and offryngys, and governé not þe peple in techynge and prechynge and sacramentis, as curatis, and han richessis and tresour more þan eny worldly man, and travellen not þerre as marchaunts and laboris. And, as Bernard seǐþ, þei taken þe wynynge and giftis of ech degré in þe Chirche, and travellen not þerre. And þerre þei shulden be where is noon ordre, but everelastynge errour and peyne. þis covetise, symonyne, and moo synnyis, schulden goo away fro clerkis ȝif þei hadden no secular lordschipis; and holy lif and povert schulde turne to hem, and newe techynge and good ensamplle to alle manere men.

**CAP. III.**

Þe þride profyit is stablynge of rewmes and distriyngye of synnyis. For parische chirchis appropyr þus schulden frely be þoven to clerkis able of kunnyngge and lif, and trewe techynge in word and dede. And þanne schulde þe clergie be strengere, and peple of betre lif. And secular lordschipis, þat clerkis han ful falsly aȝenst Goddis lawe, and spende hem so wickedly, schulden be þoven wisly bi þe kyng and witti lordis to pore

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*The reference is perhaps to a passage in a sermon by St. Bernard on the conversion of St. Paul (Opera, 1, 956, ed. Paris, 1690), where he says, speaking of bad priests, 'Nunc autem dati sunt sacri gradus in occasionem turpis luci, et quaestum aestimant pietatem.'*
gentilmen, that wolden justly governe the peple, and meyntene the lond avenst enemys; and than myste oure lond be strengere by many thousand men of armes then it is now, wiþouten ony newe cost of lordis, or talliage of the pore comyns, [and] be discharge of gret hevy renne, and wickid customes brouȝt up bi coveitouse clerkis, and of many talliagis and extorsions, bi whiche thei ben now cruely pillid and robbid. And þus bi restorynge of lordischipis to seculer men, as thei duwe bi holi writ, and bi brynynge of clerkis to mekenesse and wilful povert and bisy gostly traveile, as lyvelden Crist and his apostlis, schulden synne be distried in ech degree of the Chirche, and holy lif brouȝt in, and seculer lordis moche strengpid, and the 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, kunynge, and powere.

And þif worldly clerkis of the 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 magnysien 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 heïze prelatis and religious, avenst staat of apostlis and here owene profession, for gold, robis, and fees, þat þei taken of Anticristis clerkis. But wite lordis wel, pouȝ 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 *.

Almyȝty God, stire oure clerkis, oure lوردis, and our comyns, to meytene þe riȝtful orðynaunce þat Jesus Crist maade for clerkis, and to drede curs of God, and not curs of Anticrist, and to desire speedly þe honour of God and blisse of hevene, more þan here owene honour and worldly joie.

* 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 legi- time ac meritorie aufferre bona for- tune ab ecclesia delinquente." And with regard to the efficacy of church 'curses,' or excommunications, the ninth conclusion maintained,—"Non est possibile hominem excommuni- cari ad sui dampnum, nisi excom- municetur primo et principaliter a se ipso." The four following con- clusions are all in the same strain.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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 Wycliff 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 PRIERE OF GOOD MEN HELPI& MOCHE, AND PRIERE OF SYNFUL MEN DISPLESI& GOD, AND HARMED HEMSELF AND OPERE MEN.

Our Lord Jesus Crist techi& us to preie evermore, for alle nedful þingis boþe to body and soule. For in þe gospel of Seynt Luk, Crist sci& þat it is nede to preie evermore, and Seynt Poul biddiþ Cristene men preie wiþoute cessyne, or lettynde. And þis is understonden of preiere of charite, and not of preiere of mannis voys, as Seynt Austyn declarþ wel a; for ellis myþte no man fulfille þis heste, to preie evermore. For as longe as a man lyveþ just lif, kepynde Goddis hestis and charite, so longe he preieþ wel whatever he do b; and whomever lyveþ beste, he preieþ best. Also Seynt Jame sciþ, þat þe besy and lastynnge preiere of a riþful 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

a See the very beautiful passage here referred to in St. Augustine's
Enarratio in Ps. xxxvii. § 14.

b 'He pryseth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.'

Coleridge's Ancient Mariner.
overcomen, as þe secunde book of Holy Writt techip. 3if prestis dwellip in þe hill of hey gostly lif, and aspien disciteit of þe fende, and schewen hem to þe peple bi trewe prechyng, and holde up here hondis, þat is, opyn goode werkis, and lasten in hem, and preien bi brennyngge desir to performe riȝtwinis esse of Goddis lawe and ordynance, Cristene peple schal have victorie of þe fende of helle and cursed synne, and þan schal reste and pees and charite dwelle amongst hem. And 3if prestis cessen of þis holy lif and good ensaumple, and þis desir of riȝtwinis esse, Cristene peple schal moche be overcome bi synne, and have pestilence and werris and woo ynoun, and, but 3if God helpe, þe more endeles woo in helle. Also kynge Ezechie bi holy preiere and wepyngge and sorowe gat remission of his synnyes, and fiȝte þeer of his lif; and þe sonne wente abac, or turneð aȝen, ten lyynes in þe orologie, as Ysaies book witnessip. Also þe sonne and þe mone stonden stille al day, to þeve liȝt to pursue Goddis enemies, willynge to quenche Goddis name, his lawe, and his peple, bi þe holy preiere of þe noble duk Josue.

Perfore seip Crist to his disciplis,—3if þe axen my Fadir ony þing in my name he schal þeve 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 lastingly, bi saad seip, riȝtful hope, and lastynge charite. And whatevere we axen þus, we schullen have of þe Fadir of hevene. Also Crist seip þus in þe gospel, 3if þe, evele men, kunnyngge þeve goode þingis to ȝoure children, whiche goode þingis ben ȝoven to ȝow, how moche more schal ȝoure fadir of hevene þeve a good spirit to men þat axen him. Þanne, sip kynde techip synful men to þeve goodies to here children, how moche more wole Godde, auctor of goodnesse and charite, þeve to his children þat he loveþ so moche gostly goodis profitable to þe soule. Perfore 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Perfore Crist techip us pat whatsoever we preien and axen we schulde bielee and truste wipouten ony doute to have it, and it schal be don us. And ifs twoi or tpe of you consenten togedre of ony ping on erpe pat pei schulden axe, it schal be don to hem.

Perfore Crist tautge and comaundid us to preie pe Pater Noster, pat is best and ligett and most siker preiere of alle. For pat conteyne al nedful ping, and profitable for body and soule, and noon error ne singularite azenst 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 blamep men pat leven pis Pater-Noster, taugt and comaunded of God, and chesen sin- guler preieris maade of synful men. And herbi it is opyn, pat holy men, dwellynge in charite to God and alle men lyvynge in erpe, bope frendis and enemy, Cristene and hejene, profiten moche by devout preieres, but most bi holy lif, and brennynge desir of riptwisnesse.

CAP. II.

See now how wickid mennis preiere displiesip God, and harmep hemself and pe peple. God himself seip to evele men pat preien to hym in rede on pis manere: 'I have clepid and ze han forsaken, and han disipis alle my blamyngis, and I schal lieje in your perischynge, and schal scorne you whanne pat ping pat: ze han dred schal come to 30w. Panne pei schullen clepe, and I schal not here; pei schullen rise here-lyche, and pei schullen not fynde me; for pei hatiden disciplyne,' pat is, lernynge and chastisyng, 'and pus rescyveden not pe drede of pe Lord. And pei assentiden not to my conseile, and depraveden and mysedemen al my correccoun,' pat is, reprovyng wynynge and chastisyng of synne. And bi pe prophete Ysaie God seip pus to wickide men: 'Je princes of Sodom, here pe Lordis word; pe peple of Gomor, perseveye wip heris pe lawe of oure Lord God. oure encence is abhomynaciou to me; I schal not suffre youre neomye,' pat is a principal feste, 'and Sabaoth and

* A mistake of the scribe for second Wycliffite version at this 'neomenye,' which is found in the place.
opere festis; youre compayynes ben yvele; my soule hat hatid youre festis of calendis and solempnyties; pei ben made to me hevy and noiful. And whanne [3e 1] schulden holde forp youre hondis, I schal turne mya eijen awey fro you; and whanne pe schullen make many preieris, I schal not here, for youre hondis ben ful of blood, pat is, of wrong alynge of men, or soule synnes. Also God seip pat pe preiere of pat man pat turnep awey his ere, pat he here not pe lawe, is abominable or cursed. Also God seip bi pe prophete Malache: 'And now to you, prestis, is pis comaundement, zif you wolen here. And zif you wolen not putte on youre herte to yeve you goue glorye to my name, sielp pe Lord of compayynes, or hostis, I schal sende into you nedynesse and schal curse to youre blysterengis; and I schal curse to hem, for pe han not seet pis comaundement on oure herte. Loo, I schal caste to you pe armie, and sprede abrood upon youre face pe post, or dirt, of youresolempnyte.' Also bi pe same prophete seip God to prestis and mynistris of pe temple; 'Woo is among you, pat schal sitte, and encence myn auter wilfully and frely, wipouten mede?' as who seip, noon. 'Pe Lord of compayynes seip, per is no wille to me among you, and I schal rescyeve no zifis of sacrifice of youre hond.' And God seip bi pe same prophete to prestis, 'Ze han coverid pe auter of pe Lord wip teris and wepynges and mornynge, pat is of widewis and pore men pat [3e] oppressen, and discyeven, 'so pat I schal no more biholden to pe sacrifice, and I schal not rescyeve only pleasaunt ping of youre hond.' Perfore seip Davyd; 'Zif I have biholden wickidnesse in myn herte, pe Lord schal not here bi grace;' pat is, zif I wilfully and gladly do wickidnesse. And God seis to pe synful man, 'Whi tellist you my rihtwisnesse, and takist my testament bi pi moup?' And pe Holy Gost seip of Judas Scariot, 'His preiere be maad into synne.' And oure Lord Jesus seip, 'Pis peple worshipipe me wip lippis, but here herte is fere fro me. But pei techen loris and maundemensis of men, worshipen me wipouten cause,' pat is, siche men as techen and chargen mennis lawis and tradicions and comaundemensis, more pan holy writt and

1 not in X.  2 a mistake for seip.  3 should be youre.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Goddis hestis, veynly and falsy worschipen God. Also Jesus seip to wickid men; 'What seie ye to me, Lord, Lord, and don not ye pingis pat I comaundede?' For Jesus seip, 'Woo to yow, Scribis and Phariseis, ypocris, pat eten widewis houses, preiynge longe preieris; perfore ye schulle take grettere jugement.' And in ye gospel of Seynt Jon is writen yus: 'And ye witen pat God herip not synful men, but if ony man worshipip God and doip his wille, God herip hym.' And whanne a prest seip his masse out of good lif and charite, and makip ye sacrament, he etip and drykip his owen dampancion, not demynge wisly ye body of oure Lord, as Seynt Poul techip in holy writ. Perfore Crisostom seip on ye gospel of Mathew a; As a ping may be wiipute odour or savour, but odor may not be wiipute sum ping, so a good dede wiipute preiere is sumwhat, but preiere wiipute goode dede is noust. And Seynt Austyn seip on ye Sauter; if you passe mesure in mete and drynk, and lyve in glotonye and dronkenesse, whatevere heriyingis1 pi tonge speke, pi lif blasphemeip God b. Perfore Seynt Poul seip, Many men knowlichen pat pei knowen God, but porow3 here dedis pei denyen God. And Seynt Gregory writip yus in many bokis, A man seet in grevous synnys, perwhile he is overchargid wiip his owen, he dop not awey ojer mennis synnes. For it is knowen to alle men, pat whanne he pat dispiseip is sent forpe to preie, pe herte of him pat is worp is stired to more wrappe and venganuce. Soply it is writun, ye sacrafies of wickide men ben abhominable to ye Lord; ye vowis of sacrifices of just men ben pleasaut. For in ye dom of God Almynty, it is not souyt what is 3oven, but of whom. Perfore it is written in holy writ; ye Lord biheld to Abel and to his yfis. Whanne Moyses schulde seie pat ye Lord tok reward to yfis, bisily he sette bifore pat God biheld Abel; of whiche ping it is schewed opynly pat ye offerere plesiden of ye offerere or yeve. Forsoip ye heiste

1 supplied conjecturally; beraphgis, X.

* S. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. cxlvi: 'Si modum naturae debitum immo-
deratione voracitatis excedas, et violentia te ingurgites, quantas libet laudes Dei lingua tua sonet, vita blasphemat.'
God approvep not þe ȝiftis of wikkid men, ne biholdip in here offryngis, ne schal have mercy of synyns in þe multitude of here sacrifices. Also þe Lord is fer fro wikkide men, and he schal graciously here þe preieris of juste men. Al þis seip Seynt Gregory in þe popis lawe.

**CAP. III.**

Now see how streit is mannis lawe ægenst synful mennys preiere. þe pope comaundiþ in his lawe, þat no man here þe masse of þat prest, whanne he whot wipouten doute þat he hæþ a concubyne or lemmyn; and þis lawe is confermayd of þe holy Seyne under gret curs. Over þis seip þe Pope Alisaundre a; We comaunden and bidden þat no man heire þat prestis masse, whom he whot wipouten ony doute to have a lemmyn, or a womyn prively weddyd. Whereof also þe holy Seyne confermede þis lawe, and seip b, Whatevere man of prestis, of dekene, or sub-dekene 1, holde and wedde opynly a concubyne, or forsakip not þif he have weddyd here, after þe statut of Seynt Lionir þe pope, or Pope Nychoł, of chastite of clerkis, we comaunden on Goddis halve, and bi auctorite of Petir and Poul, and algatis ægen-seyn, þat he synge no masse, and rede ne gospel ne pistol at masse, and þat he dwelle not in þe quere at dyvyn service, wip hem þat ben obeischaut to þat constitucion of chastite; and þat he rescyeve not part of þe chirche. Also Pope Gregory seip þus: þif þer ben ony prestis, dekenys, or subdekenys, þat lyve in synne of fornycacioun, on Goddis halve, and bi auctorite of Seynt Petre, we forbidden hem þe entre of þe Chirche til þei don penaunce and ben amendid. But þif ony of hem have lever 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 witnessþ 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 Nychoł’ 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.

WYOLIF.
Malachie. I schal, seiþ God, curse to þoure blissingis. Soþly þei þat wolen not obeie to þis most holsum precept rennen into synne of ydolatrie, þat is, honouryng 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.

Also it is written þere þus; þif ony bishop, or prest, or dekene, fro hennys for þ take any womman, or forsake here not þif he have taken ony, falle he fro his own 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 þif ony bishop 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 dop more harm in þe Chirche þan he þat dop weywardly, and hav name of ordre of holynesse or prested. For no man presumeþ to reprove hym whanne he mysdop, and þe synne is drawen gretly into ensaemple, whanne a synful man is worschipid for reverence of ordre. And so þat bishop þat amendip not synne of siche men, is more worþi to be clepid an unchast hound þan a bispoch.

Nowe seiþ lecherie makiþ prestis unable to entre into holy Chirche, and seie masse, and have part of tipes 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, þeþe of Goddis word, and symonye, þat passip alle opere synnys. 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 bcome children of Bellial, as Goddis lawe, reson, and seyntis

1 and in the MS.

* This is a translation of an entire canon of Gregory VII; see Decretum, Pars I, dist. 81, can. 15.

WORKS. VOL. III.
techen. Covetisise and usure maken men forsake God of
treupe and riȝtwisnesse, and worschipen false goddis, as Seynt
Poul seip. Glotonye and dronkenesse makiȝ men to wor-
schipen false goddis, and forsake Almyȝty God in Trinylte,
þat is God of mesure and reson. For Poul seip, þat glotonyæ
maken here stynkynghe bely her God. And þisfe of Goddis
word, and evyl ensaumple to Cristene men, is worse þan bodily
synne of Sodom, as Goddis lawe and Grosted witenessen; as
Goddis word and mannis soule ben betre þan seed of mannis
body. And þus þeþfe and gostly lecherie of Sodom don curatis
and prestis, whanne þei techen not trewely bi word and goode
ensaumple holy writ, as þe wise clerk Grosted shewþ. Mans-
sleynge is not only bi dede of bondis, but also bi consent
and counsell and auctorite. And siȝ prestis þus consenten
to false werris, and many þousand deþis, þei ben cursed
manquelleris and irreguler, bi Goddis lawe and mannis, and
reson þerto.

Symonye is so gret heresie þat alle synnes ben countid for
nouȝt in comparison þerof, as þe lawe seip; insomoche þat ech
synful prest may seie masse, and make þe sacrament, þouþ he
do it to his dampnynghe; outaken¹ a prest comynghe to þis
ordre bi symonye. Þanne siȝ no man comeþ to þis ordre or
benefice wipouten symonye, almost man may drede of irre-
regularite, 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 whoovere comeþ
to presthod or benefice bi þisfe of money-worþ, bi preiere or
servyce, comeþ in by symonye, as Seynt Gregoir and þe lawe
teчиþ. And whoovere comeþ to þis ordre or benefice, mot bi
mekenesse seke Goddis worshiphe, and helpe of Cristene soulis,
and for devocioun to lyve in holynesse and þeve 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 is²] Goddis traitour and heretik til he amende
þis entente, and do wel þis gostly office, as Crist tawȝte. And
ful fewe ben clene to preie for þe peple, for gretteses of here

¹ should be out-taken.
² bis in X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

owene synnes in here entre, and evyl contenaunce, and meyn-
tenaunce, and excusynge of here synne, and oþere mennis
synne, for money and worldly rank, aþenst God in his riþful
dom, and for hard endurynge in here synnes.

CAP. IV.

But aþenst þes lawes, boþe Goddis and mannis, and resoun,
and scyntis, þe fend techiþ his disciplis a newe glose, to seie
þat þouþ men ben not worþi to be herd in preiynge for here
owene good lif, þit here preiere is herd in merit of holy Chirche,
for þei ben procurators of þe Chirche. Certis þis is a foul
soffyme, a foul and a solit discet of Anticristis clerks, 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 solit OE of wordis til þe fend was unbounden.
Whi schulde God here graciously sych a cursed mannis preiere,
for he dispisip God in his holy servyce, and falsy disceyveþ
Cristene men, and evyl takip þe honour of prested, aþenste
Goddis heste? For God comaundip bi Seynt Poul þat no man
take to hym honor but he þat is clepid of God, as Aaron. And
þe peple gesiþ to fynde a trewe servaunt of God, and clene
of lif, and devout, to helpe hem aþenste here synnis and com-
brance of þe fend; and þif he be not sych, he disceyveþ soule
Cristene peple. For God biddip þat his prestis ben holý, for
he is holý; and þat no prest havgynge notable filþe of his body
schal mynystre in þe peple, þat is, þat no presthe havgynge filþe
of orible synne in his soule presume to do þe holý office; for
þif he do it in þis cursed lif he getþ himself dampnacion, as
Seynt Poul seþ.

þes Anticristis sophistis schulden knowe wel, þat a cursed
man dop fully þe sacramentis, þouþ it be to his dampanynge, for
þei ben not autouris of þes sacramentis, but God kepiþ þat
dygnyte to hymself; but of preieris is al þe contrarie, as þes
autorities of holy writt and scyntis biþore seide scheven. For
þif cursed mennis preiere were þus herd of God, whi tellþ not

1 corrected; of bis and bodily, X.
God his poyn in his lawe? but he contrarie he tellip opynyly. Whi schulde than popis ponische men, and suspende hem fro masse whanne thei ben opyn lechoris? whi schulde God seie hat sich a synful mannis preiere is abominable, and hat God curseñ to here blissynge? The weiward y pocritis glosen þus expressly azenst Goddis word, ffor thei 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 cessþ, and þe peple wolde bisien hem to lywe wel, and do almes to pore nedir men, as Crist techþ, and not fynde siche y pocritis þat þus blasphememen God.

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 seþ in his confessions, As oft as þe song deliþ me more þan þat is songen, so oft I knowelche þat I trespassse grevously. Þerfore seþ Poul, I have levere lywe wordis in my wit þan ten þousand in tonge. Poulis Witt is in devocion and trewe undirstondynge; þe tonge is þat a man undirstondip not, and haþ no devocioun. O Pater Noster seynge wiþ devocion and goode understondynge, is beter þan many þousand wiþouten devocion und undirstondynge. And þis newe preiynge occupieþ men so moche þat þei han no space to studie holy writt and teche it. But Austyn aþþ, Who may þ 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 seþ in his Pastoralis, þei þat han þ plente of virtues and kunnynge of Goddis lawe, and gone into desert for reste of contemplacion, ben gilty of as many soulis, as þei myþten

1 The scribe at first wrote sebal; then added may in the margin, forgetting to draw his pen through the sebal.  
2 corrected; bat, X.

* S. Aug. Conf. Lib. x. cap. 33: poenaliter me peccare confiteor, et 'Cum mihi accidit ut me amplius tunc mallem non audire cantantem.'

cantus quam res quae cantitur moveat,
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, þe prestis, lyveþ wel, preieþ devoutly, and techþ 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. 21.) 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 fratem; talis, inquit, est cadaver mortuum de sepulcro egressum, pannis funebribus involutum, a diabolo inter homines agitatum.

Pere is, he seis, a deed caryone cropyun of his sepulcre, wrapped wiþ clothes de plague, and dryven wiþ po 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 sle Crist in his lymes. Bot his malice and his faderes is knowne by his werkes; alþof Crist let 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
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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 þan any freris ben, and suffred more reproves of his gode dedes, and þitte he suffred most melkey, 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 ypocrisye is noght but if hit be hid,—þei are wode when þei are reproved oght of hor vices; as a horse unrubbe 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 quytier of hor olde synnes, for þus dine Crist wiþ þo Pharisees.

And one þing I telle hom, þat hor nuee 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 wedynge to hor sygnes; þfor so did Crist and his apostels, lyvynge wiþ þo puple. And þerfore ﬁe ypocrisye, and be scolere of treuthe; and ouþer seme þat þou art, or be þat þou semes. Ouþer Gods lawe is fals, or þe reume of Englonde schal scharpely be punyschid for prisonynge of pore prestis. And when þo grounde is soughthe oute, þo cause of hor punyschyng stondes in two poynthes; 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, þat þo bref of þo auter is verrey Gods body, as þo gospel seis and comyne feithe holdes. And sothly a Sarasene or a hethen prelate wolden wolden not þus punysche Cristis prests for grauntynge of þo gospel. And one þing I sey boldely, certen of þo gospel; þat alle þo freris of þis lond, or ouþer blasphemes, connot disprove þis saythe þat we telle.

And þof alle Cristen men schulden be on Cristis side, and reverse Anticrist wiþ alle his disciplis, nereþoles knyghtes schulde more scharpely stonde in þis cause, þfor by titel of þis servise þei holden of Crist, and kepene þo ordire of knyght, in more perfeccioun þen þo ordire of freris or of munkes. Þerfore

* Namely, in the judgment passed by the Council of London in 1382 against Wyclif; which related chiefly to his opinions on the Eucharist.
WYCLIF’S WORKS.

The gospel approves hit by Seynt Jon Baptist. And suche a covent of freris, or of munkes oujer, was never in Cristendome as Mauris* and his felowes; and hit is likely that all pis private religioun makes not suche a legioun of seyntis in heven. On pis schulde knyghtes þenke, and do servise to Crist, for þere are none feller fendes þen are wickkid prestis, as schewes Cæphas and Scaryot, and mony soche oujer. Alle Cristen men schulden þenke on þis faythe of þe gospel, hou Crist schal cum at þe day of dome, and reprove dampened men for hor unkyndenesse, and when he was in prison þei visited hym not. Gedir we oure wittes, and knowe we wisely that hit is more [to] ¹ assent to unskillful prisorynge, þen for to absen 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 destroye. And so everiche Englische mon þat helpes not soche persouns is reproof 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 igno- rauce of prestis excuses not seculer lorde to autorise hor dedes. As knyghtes and alle Cristen men schal be dampened of God bot if þei do servise þat þei owe to hym, so prestes are damnenable, þat God schewes periles by whom he wil punysche þo puple, for hydnyge of hom, as þo prophete scis. And þis worlde neded prophetis to speke and drede no mon. Amen.

¹ supplied conjecturally.

* 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 Scismate.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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.

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 doyng shewes more þo sothe, telle we how freris* desseyved late oure rewme at Londen, in þo counseile; þei wolde disseyve oure bischopis, and so lordis and comynes þat dwelilen in þis rewme. þei seide as byleve þat þis is an heresye to sey, þat men of þo Chirche have temporal pos-

* 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.
sessionis is ageyns holy writte, whosoeuer affermes hit. Suppose we pe se 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 lyymes; as freris have nowe places and renentes and myche worldly gode geten of þo puple. Bot if þese freris schulden speke to þo purpose and plesyng of bischops, þei schulden meene þus;—

þat þis dowynge of þo Chirche in temporale lordechippe stondis in Gods lawe and meryt of þo Chirche; for if hit quenchio or forbid meryt, hit were a grett harme, and reversid Gods lawe, in which is al treuþe.

Nowe se we first wittenesse of þo olde lawe, when prestis schulde soneste 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 þe dwelle inne schal þe notþ have, ne þe 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 possessiou, for hor bisye servise þat þei served me in þo tabernacle, as I ordyned hom. Lord! if prestis by a worde of God taken grely hor tythes, why schulde þei not, by anoþer worde of God, kepe hom fro þo lordechippe?

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 offrynge I gif hom to eete, and none oþer þing schal þese prestes take of possessiou of hor breþren, as I myself bide; sfor I myself haf gyven me to be hor heritage. O if God so scharpily biddes þese negatis, and Crist hymself kept hom stratyely in his persoyn, who are more heretikes þen þese þat done hit ageynes hym?

Also þo prophete Ezechiel biddes þus in Gods persoyn,—
þere schal be none heritage gyven unto prestes, for I am hor heritage, better þen al erthe; and no possessiou þe schal þif hom, sfor I am possessiou to alle my prestis. Sfor sacrifices for synnes, and vowes þat men byheten, and þo first of bestis, wiþ offrynge of oyle, schal falle to prestis, as God hymself
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

biddles. O Lord! if prestis of ȝo Testament were so straytely bounden by ȝo biddynge of God to holde hom to hor scharpe part, when richesse was ȝus levesful, how myche more schulde we kepe ȝis nowe, when Crist, God and mon, lyved so porely! Here may we se how ȝese fals freris loken ofer Gods lawe, as scribes and Pharisées.

Also God in state of innocence putte [mon] ¹ in Paradise for to werke ȝerinne, and also for to kepe hit; hou schulde he make prestis lordes nowe, ageyns his owne ordynaunce? Bot servise ȝat God had or hafs lymtid to prestes wil fynde hom at ȝo fulle, ȝof ȝei ben no lordes. Bot hit semes to mony men ȝat freris passen ȝis state, and ȝat ȝo fadir of leesynge haves putte hom in rewmes to be ydel, and to begge, and to waste rewmes. O Lord! siȝ God putte mon to wirke in state of innocense, why schulde he not so nowe? Wil I wot ȝat ȝo Psalme seis of fendis childer, In mennis travel ben ȝei not, and herfore are ȝei proude. Also in iche lawe is ydelenesse forfendid, and no state of monnis lif, ungroundid in resoun, schulde be taken of ony mon, for drede of ȝo fende, bot if hit be fully groundid in servise of God. But sith bisynes of beggynge may not be groundid in ȝo lawe of God, how schulde hit ȝen grounde freris? And so fyeve barly lustes of scharpe barly bred schulde teche ȝese freris what ȝei schulden trowe, and not dampne as heretikes men for Gods lawe.

CAP. II.

For Crist made two festis, and fed ȝo comyn puple; and at ȝo seconde feste were ȝo seven lustes; perfore by seven wittenesses of ȝo newe lawe techen we ȝat prestes schulde not ȝus spoyle ȝo puple. Fîrst Crist seis by Seynt Luke, ȝat everiche preste ȝat renounes not alle þinge of whiche he haves possessioun, maie not be his disciple, ne so nyghe sue hym. And how God undirstondes þis renunysynge, teches he by lif of Crist and of his apostlis. Lord! siȝ Crist seis ȝat men of ȝo worlde may not be his disciplis, wheþer þis be nowe fals? Also, Crist teches

¹ supplied conjecturally.
pat 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!
weþer clerkes suen Crist in his large lordschipps!

Also, when þo apostils stroffhe whiche schulde seme more,
Crist of his grett wisedome declarid þis doute, and seide þere
ben two lordschippes, worldly and gostily. þe first fallas 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 mekel
serves. Lord! weþer 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 ravished
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!
weþer prestes of þis world passen þis reule! Also, Seynt
Petre, prince of apostils, biddes þat we be not lordes amonge
ercles, 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 maneras. Lord! how kepe þese freris þis, þat
studyen to be riche? Siþ everiche seculer lord schulde be
pore in soule, who gifs 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 forbodes prestis þus to be lordes? Somme men seyn þat
poudre of temporale godes makes þese freris to owverloke þo
lawe of hor God, as dogge lokes ofer towarde Lincolne, and
litel sees þerof a.

a A Lincolnshire proverb, I suppose.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

CAP. III.

His schulde be myn obedience; counseile these bishopes pat pei trowed not to these fals Anticrist clerkes a, for pei desseyve himself, and oyer pat delen wiþ hom. Bot as hor ordir hafs no grounde to be of Cristis Chirche, so hor wordes haf no grounde stable in treuthe. Pat may men see by heresy of freris pat pei sowen in þo Chirche, of þo sacred ooste.

Bot here pei reply lewedly ageyns men of treuthe, and seyn, by þis resoun devoicioun of lordes schulde be quenchid, and hor elders wante gostily helpe. Bot þese freris schulden knowe, þat hit is non almes to reverse Cristis ordynance, 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 tanauntes; and so comynes be charged more þen þei schulde. And so symful erroure of devoicioun of lordes schulde be quenchid, and þo lawe of Crist schulde be reysid. And if anyping schulde helpe lordes elders, þat schulde be quenchynge of erroures þat hor eldres founde; as no mon of witte wil seþ þat contynuauence of a symful dede is medeful to deede men; as no mon wil seþ, þat hit were medeful to breke Cristis ordynance, and putte þerfore an yvel; as no mon wil seþ þat ignoraunce of lordes, þat wenen þat þei done wil, schulde in þis excuse hom; siþ Poule by more coloure schulde be excused, and neverpeles hymself seþ þat he synned gretyly ageyns Crist and his Chirche, and was a foule blasfeme. We schal trowe in þis to þo ordynance of Crist; for he was al myghty, al witty, and wiþful; 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 ordynance 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 Fascicula, 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 ṣus byhoves ictie mon sey ṣat he holdes wip Crist, as freris wil confessē ṣat hit were non almes to dowhe hom as monkes, and charge hom wip mukke. Lord! hou were hit almes to destrye Cristis ordynance, better ṣen reule of freris, in his speciale prestis? And so ṣese blynde bosardes spekin ageynes homselfe, and ageyns bishopes and seculer lorde, and ageyns comyns, and al holy Chirche. Who schulde ṣonke ṣese fendes for suche procurynge? And if ṣou sey ṣat ṣo fende lufs lastynge in synne, and boostynge of errours ṣat elders have done, ṣis schulde move ṣe for to reverse ṣo fende, and trowe not unto freris, bot stonde on Cristis ordynance.

**CAP. IV.**

Bot ṣitte Belial brolles blabur for his syde, and seyn ṣat mony seyntis have suffred and approved suche dowynge of ṣe Chirche and worschepul dedes; hou comes ṣo witte in ṣat disproves hom? Here we answere to ṣo freris, certeyne of oure faythe, ṣat no custome in ṣo Chirche, confirmed of popes, ne done bi hor seyntis, is for to preyse, bot in als myche as Jesus Crist confermes hit. Bot siḥ Crist spake nevere ageyns hymself, and he ordeyned and bad his prestes to lif ṣus, al speche of men ṣat seyn ṣe contrarye is schewid opn folye by autorite of hym. And so ṣese seyntis ṣat ṣe alleggen synned ful feele sipe; and no mon schulde in ṣis sue hom in lyvynge, bot onely in als myche as ṣe sued Crist. Bot teche men ṣat ṣese seyntis in ṣis sued [not] ¹ Crist, bot rather diden ageyns Crist, and synned grevously; but ṣou may suppose forgvyvnesse of ṣis synne by hor gret contricioun, if ṣat ṣe like.

Bot ṣitte ṣese fals freris replyen for hor partye, and seyn ṣat clerkes done almes better ṣen hor patrouns wolde evere have done, or couthe, or myght; and wip al ṣis ṣe may lis pore lyve as beggers. Who wolde not preyse hom for hor gret charite, ṣat ṣe discharge ṣus lorde, and take on hom suche bisynes? And suche solemne servise as comes of suche dowynge may do myche gode, bot harme may hit none do. Bot ypocrītes spaken here as God were on slepe; ṣe ṣenken not on ṣo lawes

¹ supplied conjecturally.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

*pat God hymself gaf. Ffist þei take fals, and þerof þei grounde hom*, 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 frers 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. Đo apostlis þat weren taut 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 sole þat þus temptis God, and puttis hym to suche perel ageyns Cristis biddyng. And so God dispreyses hom for þis gret folye, as he dispreyses freris, al þof þei helpen þo worlde for to bryng forth childer on oþer mennis wyfes, to make hor owne childer afterwarde soche freris. And so þese freris knyten hor tale wiþ an opyn falsched, 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 Anticris 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 upsodoun e al Cristis ordynaunce. Bot certis þei ben bot bastarde braunches, cropun in by þo fende; and rekelesse hed of lordes and folye of clerkes schulden be cause, if þese freris springen on heght.

* The meaning is,—they interpret Scripture falsely, in that they ground their own practices concerning the receiving of alms on the commandment of Christ.
WYCLIF’S WORKS.

CAP. V.

Lord! sūp hit is Gods lawe þat prestes schulde līf þus, and þei schulde be meenes bitwix God and þo puple, what wondir is hit of werres and wikkednes God and þo worleþ? 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! sūp in monnis cause men travel so bisily, 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 biforn; sūp Crist teches us treuþe; ne oldeþesse, ne drede of moynyge of rewmes, schulde lette þes lordeþ to stonde in cause, sūp 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 childeþ haþ cowarded lordeþ. Bot sith men schulde counsell to pees, as Crist did, hit semes þat by his weye men schulde stable pees. And herfore spakes a clerke þus in þis matir; þat kynge and lordeþ myght esily do þis wip-outen gret coste or travel of hor body, þat þei conferme not þese erroreþ þat hor elders did; and sone þo ordynance of Crist schulde tourne ageyne.

Ow! whate confessoureþ have lordeþ þat tellen hom not þis perel; bot seyn hom þat devocioun and right of þo lawe schulde nede hom to conferme olde done erroreþ! Hit is no drede, whomever teches þis lore of þo fend, he is an opun heretike and Anticrist clerke. O sith oure blyve teches us, kynge of Eng-londe haves ofte in his honde, and oute of þe deede honde, þo lordschippe of Anticrist, what moves hym so folily to þif hit ageyne? Freris and prestis schulden preche þre poynetes. Ffirst, þat þes prestes schulde not be soche lordeþ; nowþer bishopes, ne religiouse, ne none ðer prestes; and owþer Gods lawe is fals, or þis is Gods wille. Aftirwarde, þei schulde tech þat whosoevere approves þis, confermes hit, or streynes hit, he synnes ageyns God; for he mayntenes erroreþ ageyns Gods ordynance. And so at þo laste schulde men sey oþunly, hou lordeþ schulde gete by processe of tyme hor owne lordschippe oute of þo fendes hondes. And right as fendes gate hit by sotil ypocrisy, not sodeynly bot by processe of tyme, so schulde
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

men soucandely wynne hit augeyne. And þen were þo puple on Gods halve discharched of noumbre and maners of prestis and freris. For a fewe prestes þat helde Gods lawe wolden more profite to rewmes þen noue 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 noue occuppied by þese newe ordires. In þis myght men se trewe clerkes to God, and profitabel to rewmes by iche part of hom. þen schulden Caymes castels of þo newe ordires be voydid fro sendes, as Crist taught in dede; and þen schulde temporal godes multiplye in rewmes as þei first did, to worschippe of God. Amen.
XXI.

DE PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM SCHISMATE.

[Bale enumerates among the writings of the reformer De Papa Romano, inc. 'pro eo quod haec insolita dissension,' 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 Dissensiones 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. 346.) 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.]

For pis unkoupe discencioun þat is bitwixe þes popes semeþ to signyfie þe perillous tyme þat Poul seip schuldle come in þes laste dayes, herfore schulde true men declare pis 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 worschippe and wynnynge of þis world, þat bi cautele of þe fende is knytted to þis office. Ffor þif þe pope hold clenly þat þat Crist þaf to Petir, he schulde have goodis of vertues, and traveylle wip povert, and noon of þis worldliche glorie, sij þat Crist forbeedd it. But who wolde þanen stryve þus ffor þe popis office? And so it were a medicine, þat men þat han power drow away þes branndes þat noriskeþ 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
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

was nouȝt leeful on neîper on nor þe oþer partye, siþpe hem wanted leeeve of God þe cheiþ Lord, and bi title of þis office þei holden. And ȝif þis matier of sryfe were þus take fro clerkis, boþe among hem and secularis schulde be pees and charite. And it semeþ þat þat man, be he pope or oþere, þat wolde noþt assente to þis chaunge, hatiþ Goddis lawe; ffor alle worldly goodis ben nouȝt so goode as charite. And God himself forbediþ such lordschipe in clerkis; and so, ȝif men wolde bygynne to distroye þis foul strije, þei schulde mayntene Goddis ordeynance; and þanne were it doun. And so, what clerk or secular wolde noþt sayn do þus, he is nouȝt in Goddis half, but servaunt to þe devyl. And so of þis it semeþ, þat what persoone or comunte traveyle to restore þe pope to þis worldly dignite, traveyllip 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 kepþe his apostolis. And of þis it semeþ þat Crist graunteide never assoylynge of synne and peyne for to do þis dede, siþpe it were aȝens his lawe, his wille, and his ordeynance; but mede þat God graunþe to men þat travailen þerinne, graunteþ he to suche men þat maynteyneþ his ordeynance. But bileve teche us, þat what þing is graunteide her is a false feynynge, but Crist graunte it. And herfore it semeþ þat men ben noþt holden to trowe þat it is trewe, whatever þe pope graunþe, ffor in þis he may erre, and varie fro Cristis jugement. But Crist graunþe never, ne ordeynype no þing, but ȝif it soune in resoun, in pears, 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 bisly serven to him. Ffor alle þes þat traveyllen to lette Cristis ordeynance 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 spoyleþ 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

*a meaning, except.

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men trowe lasse pis court, or þes freris, and axe goode ground of newe þingis þat þei telle men. And hereinne semþ þe peple, al þif we seen it noþt, þat men fallen inne to helle, and drawen oþer wiþ hem; and þis is mor perel þanne ony bodily deep. And of þis may trewe men se, þat riþt as þe fend bi o castynge in of a venemed boon, þat is, dowinge of clerkis ægenes 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 þif þei wele holde on his side ægenes Cristis ordynaunce, he haþ hight his clerkis alle rewmes of þe world. Ffor by spiritual power, þat men may noþt se, ne grounde it in bileve, ne prove it bi resoun, þe fend may lyþtteste 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 asoylle men fully þat helpen in his cause, and to curse all hem þat ægen-stondiþ it; and þus may he lyþþly gete lordschipe of alle þe world. But as þe fend byhiþte to Crist falsly al rewmes, so myþte falsehede walken in purchas of þis lordschipe. But by þis blyþde 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 apostolis conquered of the fendis hond many of his servauntis, and herfore he meved hem for to trowe þe Chirche. And ofte he tauþte his clerkis to feynen hem a power þat þei may asoylle men, howevere þei haue synned, and þeve 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 curses alle men þat meven to Cristis ordynaunce. And þif ony kyang lette his peple or his tresour to goo out of his rewme in Antecristis cause, he wele curse boþe þat kyang in his rewme, and aftir, whanne his children ben myȝty and willful, take to him þis rewme for his former cursyngye.

CAP. II.

Siþ þe fend is kyang of children of pruyde, he coveyþ in bateylle to have þe victorye, and herfore he temptþ hardest
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

...men in our of her deep, in hope to overcome hem at the laste ende. And herfore, siþ he knowiþ bi wordis of holy wryþ pat þe day of doom is nere þis tyme, al þif he know noþt evenly how longe haþ God ordeynede before þis day schal come, herfore more bisylyche he temptiþ Cristis Chirche. And as Seynt Poul seiþ, þe tymes is more perillous, and herfore schulde ech man make him sylf stronge, and kepe þat þe fend cast him noþt down; for þim þat he overcomþ, and holdþ him byneþen, he haþ a grete hope to vencusche hym for evere, and so aþþr his deep evere to dwell wþþ him. And herfore, siþe man is procurator 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 cleþ Crist men of newe sectis kynrede of hordom, þat sechtþ suche signes. And as Crist seiþ, wþþ Poule his apostle, þe synne of ypocrisie schulde regne wþþ suche men, siþ þei feyne holynesse by sensible sygnes, and covetise wþþ oþere synnes beþ huge in her soulis. And þis mevede þe fende, aþþr þe dowynge of þe Chirche, to use þe monk Sergyus *, and turne men of þe Chirche to all þe secte of Sareneses, þat is now ful large. And so it semþ 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 myþte. And Antecristis sect is more bi many ordris, so þat, aþþr Cristis speche, Goddis chosen schal be discyved her þif it may be, in reversynge of false Cristis. And so, as many men þenken, þe best remedy in þis wer to lyve holy lïþ, and trowe holly þe gospel, for boþe in noumbre and speche schal Antecristis clerkis passe trewe men.

1 supplied conjecturally.

* 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, for he be the picker i-sowe. But grope we wel her ground, whethir it be Goddis, or ellis provid bi resoun, and lefe we alle ojer.

And now in oure dayes, out of th' nest of Antecrist is come an hard maundement, and seip to men in sentence, pat hoso confermore Antecristis ordeynance in dowynge of th' Chirche, and lettip Cristis ordeynance, he is fully soyld, and wendiip stript to hevene wi'outen ony payne her or in purgatorie. And ho-every lettip pis decre, and holdip on Cristis side, he is deplyche cursid and pursued wi' Antecristis clerkis. For th' seie, hoso lettip decre of th' pope to pursue his adversarie, he is th' cursid; and hoso pursue that him and dowip th' toiper pope, ayens th' ordeynance of Crist, he is th' blessid. And aip th' Crist was maad man I herde nevere more blasfemye. Leve, wer he not traytour to God and to man, pat in absolute of God reversid his ordeynance, pat God him self haip maad for savynge and tenymeresse, for love of his spouse, and gabbed her on God, pat God haip yeve him leve to graunte her in erfe bope pardoun and blyssse to breke Goddis firste ordynance, and conferne th' ordynance pat th' fend tauyte th' emperour? And he were traytour to rewhes if he spoylede here peple and tresore of th' rewhes bi suche feynede lesyngis; for temporal goodis and spirytyual rebbed he fro th' rewhes. Certis, if th' world was maad th' fend feyned nevere more lesyngis to spoyle rewhes of tresore and peple pat maikip hem stronge, banne to seie pat ho-so lettip to take folke or tresore at wil of th' pope, to distrye his mennye, he is cursid of God and schulde be deed by man; and aftir sendip freris and ojer falce clerkis, to make th' peple to towe, and moveiip hem to pis sentence. O if Antecrist and his clerkis in her grene growyng overeyn th' rewhes,

1 corrected; confermore, AA.
and bigyliþ trewe men, what welleþ þei do whanne þei beþ fully
stablid? And þis is þe falseste conquest þat evere þe devyl hæp
cast, þfor þus myȝte he liȝtly þe þe rewmes to þis servauntis, and
make hem of nowun power to æsenstonde his cautels. And
þus is heresye of þe fend pupplischid in londis, þat he hæp
mæstrye overe Crist, and his servaunts overe trewe men. And
more falsenesse of þe fend here we nevere fynned. Stonde we
stablyche in feþ þat Cristis lawe techeþ, þfor it was nevere more
nede for cautels of þe fend. He fynþeþ false dremes\(^{\text{*}}\) of power
of Cristis vikir, þat Crist myȝte neveþ graunte to such a false
cause. And truste we in þe helpe of Crist in þis poynþ; þor
he hæþ bigunne to helpe us gracioþusly, in þat þat he hæþ cloþe
þe þe heved of Antecrist, and maad þe ton parte ðȝste æþen þe þoþer.
Ffor it is no drede þat synne of þe popes þat hæþ be longe con-
tynued, hæþ brouþþ to þis dyuisioun. And so, þif boþ þes
hevedis lastiþ, or þe ton bi him sylf, þanne schal þe laste errour
be worse þan þe þirste. And so emperour and þynge schulde
helpe in þis cause, to maynteyne Goddis lowe, and conquere
her heritage, and destroye þis foul synne, sayngne þe þe þerþes.
And þanne were þees founde, and symonye distroyed; for
while þis rote lastiþ, durþþ bataille and symonye. And þif þes
lordis loveþ God, þei loveþ Goddis lawe; and helpe him in
þis cause, þfor to hem it longiþ; and more glorious conquest
dude neveþ Cristene þynge.

**Cap. III.**

But fenyng of ypocrisie woþe stonde faste æþen, and criþ
to alle men þat æsenstondþ þis, [þe'j beþ heretikis and wickid
men, and fewe æsenst oþere. But counfort it is þat þes þe
resouns meveþ noþþ. þe þirste meveþ noþþ, sþþ Crist him sylf was
clepid blasfeme, þat is heretik most of alle oþer; and in a fend,
Belzabub, þei seide he dide his dedis, þfor servyce þat he dide
to þis prince of fendis. So whanne many wickid men defameþ

\(^{\text{*}}\) supplied conjecturally.

\(^{\text{See Vol. II, p. 166, where this matter of the dexterous use of dreams by the friars, in furtherance of the ends of the papal court, is mentioned more in detail.}}\)
a good man, and havep noon evyidence of his schrewid dedis, 
hit is a greet evyidence pat, for he schamep her synnes, pat pe 
accuse him falsely, al jif he be clene. And bi pis same answere 
we may avoyde pe seconde word; sippe pe Jewis seide pat 
Crist was nopt on Goddis halfe, ffir he dide myracles and 
helpid men on holy day; and perfere pei seide pat none men 
at koude good trowid to pis wickid man, but cursid and 
founde peple. Ffor, as pei seide, no Pharise ne prince of pe 
prestis trowid to pis false man, but pei pat knewe nopt pe lawe. 
And so han pei seid of Cristis trewe servantis. And to pis 
pride evyidence,—it is knoen ping, pat whanne pe world is 
peyred, and Antecrist haþ maystrie, þere beþ many fendis 
sones¹ aþens any trewe man; as in tyme of Hely was he nyye 
left aloone, aþens sevene hundrid prestis pat serveden to Baal. 

But take we more evyidence of schrewidnesse of pe toþer 
side. Ffor pei grounde nopt her speche in resoun ne in Goddis 
lawe, and feynen pat Jesselyn⁰ seip so, and neiþer Jerom ne 
Austyn. And certis Jesselyn knewe litil of remyssiou of 
synne, or ellis of spiritual suffragies, pat God him ony grauntis. 
How schulde men trowe Jesselyn in glosynge of pe popis lawe, 
sipþe pe toon pope fallip pe toþurs bullis? Also men schulde 
have suspect boþe pe popes dedis, sipþ pei beþ nopt grounded 
in pe lawe of God; but, as pei knewe no sovereyne, as Lucyfer 
here mayster, pei sechen veniaunce to him sifl, and leþip 
pacience and charite. And certis it is no love of God to 
maynteyne such prelatis, ffor wantyng of her charite seip þat 
pei beþ fendis, sipþe for lasse avarice Crist clepid Judas a fend; 
and it seemþ no wisdom to be ladde bi many Scariþis. And 
take heed to pe mynystris of þes prelatis; þei þeve leve to 
prestis, to monkis, and to freris, to travelye in her cause, al jif 
þei slee men, and suche þat have be comynly most viscouis 
men of opere. Lord! sipþe in þe oolde lawe, whanne it was 
lefe to fipþe, Goddis folke was vencuschid for synne of oon 

¹ corrected; synnes, AA.

⁰ This is Zenselinus (or Gen-
zelinus) de Cassanis, a doctor of 
laws, and, according to Pancirolo 
(De Claris Leg. Interpp.), a French-
man, author of the received com-
mentary on the 'Extravagantes' of 
Pope John XXII.
man, how schulde þei noȝt be venuscheid in þe newe lawe, for more synne of many men? Certis þere is no cause but ȝif God have forsake hym, and letiȝ hem serve depleyar her dampoynge in helle; as beestis þat beþ dispireyd, men bisyeþ noȝt to reule hem. Al sijþe kyng Daviȝ, þat was so just a man, was lettiþ to make a temple, but Salamon þat lovde pees was ordeyned of God to make þe temple of stoon, myche more schulde popis, and prestis her servauntis, schede noȝt Cristen mensen blood in her owne cause. And certis, sijþe þei han forsake pacience and charite, it semeþ þat God forsakip hem as for his owne children, for whos werks 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 þev leve and counseil to prestis to slee men? Hit semeþ þat suche dedis scheweþ whos beþ þes prelatis; for every man her mereþ, and specially prelatis, schewen bi her werks whos children þei beþ. For 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 enimyes to Crist. And herfore is Crist clepid peysible kyng, and þe fend kyng of alle þe children of pride. Al ȝif a man myȝte chese to holde Cristis biddinge, and forsake welþe of þe world and al worldly glorie, for to make pees bytwixe him and oþere men,— ȝif he lette 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 higenesse of þe world, and þis worldly richesse, as God him sif haþ beden hem, and þanne þis striþ schulde cesse bitwixe hem and oþere men. And ȝif þe fend lette hem by love of worldlyche þingis, ho dreþip þat ne þanne þei beþ þe fendis owne children? But lordis schulde compelle hem to leve þis fendis lesynge, for God biddip his servauntis compelle men to entre his weye. And ȝif þu seie þat no man schulde speke ægens þe pope, comun dedis techip us þat he may liȝty 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 here-
fore seyntis bifoire, wityngye þat he is noþt God, ne con-
fermyyd in vertues, as angels bëp in hevene, weren ful bisy bi Goddis
lore to reprove þe pope. As Poul repreved Petir for a list
trespass, Bernard repreved Eugeny for he was to worldly,
and left þe office of apostil, and took office of Antecrista.
Why schulde noþt men now reprove popes, þif þei don now
wërse? siþ alle men schal sue Crist, and stonde for þe truþe;
but Crist reprevyd Petir, and repreved ech yvel pope. And
at þe leste Cristis children schulle flee an yvel pope, and sue
him noþt but in as myche as he sewþ Crist, ne trowe him noþt
but in as myche as he spekþ Cristis lawe; and þif he do con-
trarie, flee we hym as Antecrist. For no resoun ne no lawe
nedip us to sue þe fend, ne forsake oure God, ne þe lawe þat he
haþ geven us. Wel we wytten by Goddis lawe, þat þe heyeþeste
in þis Chirche schulde nexte sue Crist, and moost flee þe
world; ffor so techþ Crist, þat þe moost in his Chirche schulde
be mooste meke, most pore, and moost servysable.

CAP. IV.

But here Antecristis clerkis wolde preve bi manye weyes, þat
þe pope, þat is vikir of Crist and of Petir, haþ power in þis
Chirche to do what he wolde, siþþe Crist biheþte to Petir þat
what he byndip in erþe schal be bounde in hevene, and so what
he unbyndip. Ho may denye þis bileve but þif he be an
heretik? But here schulde þe fendis children lerne here logyk
and her phylosophie, þat þei ben noþt heretikis in falce un-
dirstandinge of þe lawe of Crist. Soþ it is þat Crist hiþte to
Petir þis power, and to oþre apostulis, by suche manere of
words, 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 axþ, what is Cristis word sibbe to suche, a prest of

St. Bernard (Ep. CCLXVIII) reproved Pope Eugenius III, his
former friend and follower, for having promoted an unworthy per-
son 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 asser-
tion in the text.
Antecrist? Certis echec bettre prest, in whiche beþ þes con-
dicions, myreste bi more colour seye he is Petris successour;
for as Crist chargip more mennes dedis þanne her wordis, so
he chargip more vertues þanne worldlyche fame. Ne noon
eleccioun of man is worþi before God, but whanne it accordip
to chesynge of Crist. And herfore þe apostlis, whanne þei
were ful of God, chesen Mathy by sort, and noþt bi fals car-
dynars. And as sort may faille þif Crist reule it noþt, 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 ordeynance of God suche eleccioun of prestis, and wedde
hem noþt wiþ þis staat, and trowe more to her werkis þan to
chesynge of men; for þus Crist biddip men trowe to his
werkis, and þus took Clement þe office of Petir, and as soone
forsook it, whanne he myreste more profyte in an oþere office *.
And so schulde Cristis prestis do, or ellis þei leven Goddis
reule, þat biddip of two þingis þat men schulde chese þe better,
and more for Cristis Chirche; for ellis þei lyven ægens God,
þat ordeyned men þe bettir, and biddip men to chese it. And
þif mennes lawis reversip þis lawe of God, woo be to þes lawis,
and to men þat usen hem. For þus seip þe profete in text of
oure bileve. And so, þif mennes lawe or custom of þe Chirche
lettip resoun and lawe of God, woo be to it. And more harm
in þis mater þat fallip to prestis is, þat þei makip hem a lawe
aftir lawis of þe world, and þat þei kepe more bisylþ þan lawe
of þe gospel. And þif her dowyng or her staat nedip hem to
do þus, woo be to þis dowyng and such staat of þe world,
sipþe it nedip 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 awaye wiþ. Ffirste, þei schulde
tech þat þei suen wel þes heedis; and þif þei tech þis wel, þei
schulde noþt stryve for dygnitees, ne telle so mychel by hem

* 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 Jeru-
salem, that Clement immediately
succeeded St. Peter as Bishop of
Rome, with the statement of Ire-
naeus that Linus and Anacletus
both held the see before him.
as bi werkis of þe gospel; ðfor ȝif þei do, þei schewe in dede þat þei sue noþte þes heedis; and so of privylege þat Crist hæp grauntid unto Petir beþ þei noþt worþi to have part by such a false title. But suppose þat þei wer vikers of Petir, ȝit þer is anoþer þing þat þei schulde fulfille, þat in byndyne and losynge þei beþ conformed to Crist, ðfor ellis þei makþ 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; ðfor ellis þei gabbe on hem sylf, and doþ noþt as þei seyen. Her mayst þou se, how popes and opere prelatis mut argue in þis wise; what evere Petir byndip or losip, 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 byndip or losip by þe keye of Goddis kunynyge; þerfore it is bounde in hevene or losed, as he seip. 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 seip, ðfor 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 assoylyld of God and of his vikir, ȝif it be as we hope. And ȝif we faille in þis sorwe, or bigge noþt oure synne of God, we bygile oure sylf in speche of byndynge or losynge. And so þi confessour can nouþ wyte wheþer þou be bound or soyled, but bi supposynge þat he hæp of þi trowe speche, ðfor þere is no more heresie þan man to bisle þat he is assoyled ȝif he þeþe hym moneye, or ȝif he leye his hond on þin heed, and seie þat he assoylyþ þee. Ñfor þou moste by sorowe of herte make aseeþ to God, and ellis God assoylyþ þee noþt, and þanne assoylyþ noþt þi viker.

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, ðfor soþe it is þat assoylynge is propred unto God, and his viker in erþe telliþ his lord wille; and ȝif hym fayle kunynyge, 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,
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

That it is not bileue, that if a man seyde to be assoyled of the pope, the man he is assoyled so for the popes affermynge, for the pope may erre ofte in presumpcioun of his keyes. And God forbeede that if wer bileve to trowe of eche man, that his man is assoyled or cursid as the pope seyde; for the man bileve, that schulde be oon, were falce and diverse in many men; for the confessed and the confessour were cause of oure bileve. But God forbeede that hit were so, for the man seyde were uncerteyn. A man may make his owne hope, and confessour helpe to, but hope and bileve be full divers.

CAP. V.

Here grucchip Antecrist, and seyde that by his skyle the pope hadde no power to certifie men confessid of him, that be the assoyled of Crist, for he kan nouzt teche this, and so schulde perriche Petris keyes, groundid in Cristis graunte. And herfore men seyen comunly, that whom so ony prest assoyliip, he is assoyled of God by vertu of the keyes. Ne men schulde suffre no more penaunce than the prest enjoynip hem, for God hath yeve the prest power to deme aftir his owne wille, for ellis it were a needeles ping to schryve men to prestis. As anentis his, me spinip that men schulde trowe that be the nouzt assoyliid ne bounde of her synne, but in as myche as God him silf doip it. For sip God is lord of alle, agens whom is synne i-do, if ony man synnepe agens ony creature, his lord mut first forgeve his wrepe; and hit wer as unsemelyche man to forgeve ye wrepe of God, as if ye werest boy in his rewme forzaf ye kyngis wrepe, and specially sip God is more ouere ye pope and eche prelat her, thanne ye kynge of Ingelond is more thanne a boy; and God is neipe to ech soule more thanne ony man may be. And graunte in presence of his lord, wiiputen his autorite, [of1] trespace don unto him, were a foule presumpcioun. And so prestis be but servauntis to telle ye wille of God, that God forseve ye synne, if that men be worship. And his knowynge schulde prestis have, and knowe Goddis mercy, that if men make aseepe to God, God wole thanne assoyle hem. And errour

1 supplied conjecturally.
in pis bileve discyvep many men. And herby may we se,—
as power ȝeve to servauntis, is noȝt wittily ȝeve, but ȝif þei kunne here office, so God geveþ noȝt to men power for to
assoyle, but ȝif he ȝeve hem kunnynge þat fallþ to her office.
And so it may be ofte tymes, þat prelates feynþ hem power,
al ȝif þei have no such power, ffor þei beþ unabl. And siþ
God mute graunte þis power as prope to him siſf, and he may
noȝt erre in knowynge of unable prestis, herfore men may be
discyveyd 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 noȝt in mennes power.

But wel I woot þat pis bileve wynneþ noȝt us þe peny, ne
makiþ us noȝt to be worschipid, ne þe peple soget to us; but
pupplischinge of Goddis lawe schulde noȝt be lefte herfore. Bi
þis may men se answere to þis resoun,—þat no pope here in
erþe, but ȝif he have revelacioun, can telle men þat þei beþ as-
soyled of synne þat þei beþ schryven of, siþe he can noȝt telle
þat men haveþ contriciou. And as þe popis lawe seþ, in
grauntynge of his pryvylegie he grauntþ noȝt suche indulgence
but to contrit and confessid. þe, ȝif þe pope seie contrarie, or
freris, or seynnis in hevene, men schulde noȝt trowe to hem in
þis, siþe þei seie byside þe seþe. 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
wytþþ ne bileveþ þat her confessid beþ contrit, but ligtly sup-
pose þat þei seie soþe of hem siſf, and bi þis þei suppose þat
God him siſf assoyliþ hem, and þanne beþ þei wel assoyled.
And þei beþ Goddis bedels to telle truly his sentence, and oþir
wise may þei noȝt 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 semþ þat þe pope pre-
sumeþ to seie þat þes men haveþ contriciou. And certis þes
popis or cardinals can noȝt wyte of hem siſf, wheþer þei have
contriciou, but by a lîþ hope, siþe þei knowe noȝt difference
bytwixe attriciou and suſcientif contriciouna, þat God acceptþ

*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 seven-
teenth century, the Jesuits contend-
for synne. And so it samep ȝat ȝes wordis smachen presum-
ciocion, and beȝ noȝt groundid in ȝe lawe of God. And so sum
men ȝenkiȝ, ȝat al ȝis sacrament is noȝt fully groundid in al
holy wryt but in general wordis, and special beȝ unknowen;
and herfore men schulde noȝt graunte special ȝat ȝei knowe
noȝt. And her may men se ȝat Petris keyes schulde noȝt
perriche, but be furbusched and clensid of ȝe rust of heresie,
and blasphemye of confessouris schulde be leyd adoun, and
ȝis were profytiȝ to our Chirche and hatynge of blasfeme con-
Assors. For in her absoluciouns sayliȝ comunly Petris keyes,
and ȝei feyne ofte to assoyil, and ȝei assoyle noȝt.
And herfore many prestis ȝat drediȝ hem ȝfor to lye seieȝ
noȝt. I assoylle ȝee, but, God of hevene assoyil ȝee; and ȝif
ȝei seie ȝat ȝei assoyle, ȝei speke by reputacioun, and nouȝt bi
wytyngne ne bi trowyngne, ȝfor God chargiȝ hem noȝt herto. And
so ȝis confessioun ȝat is maad to man, haȝ ofte tyme be varied
in varylge of ȝe Chirche. For ȝirst men confessed to God
and to ȝe comun peple, and ȝis confessiouȝ was used in tyme of
apostlis. Siȝ men were confessed more specially to prestis, and
maad hem juges and counselfers of here synful lijȝ. But at ȝe
pridda tyme, siȝ ȝe fend waslosed, ordeyned pope Innocent
a lawe of confessioun *, ȝat ech man of discrecioun schulde ones
in ȝe ȝeere pryvyly be confessed of his propre prest, and addede
myche to ȝis lawe ȝat he kowde noȝt grondue. And ȝif ȝis
popis ordeynance do myche good to many men, neȝeles many
men ȝenken ȝat it harmeȝ ȝe Chirche. Hit doiȝ many men
good, for schame and drede of here schrifte drawiȝ hem fro
many synnes, and makiȝ hem drede so aȝt. And so ȝis

1 corrected; sibbe, AA.

2 corrected; is AA.

* Entres au ciel; remèdes de mes louanges,
Du besoin d'aimer Dieu éloigner les anges.

* The law enforcing private con-
Assion, which was established at the
fourth Council of the Lateran in
1313.
sacrament is nedful to synful men, but not so nedful as is confession mad to God, for that is evere nedeful if God schal assoylle men. He harne that come of his schritte is ful gret in his Church; for many prestis, bope more and lasse, blasfemep in here power, and failip in his keye of kunnynge in his feyned absolucioun, and fallip in heresie, prestis and her sogetis, but if prestis purge his keye of here kunnynge, and stondip in boundis of bileve. But his [is] open heresie that men taken of his sacrament, that men that bep confessid schal suffre evene that payne that her prest enjoynep hem, howere that havep synned. He prest hap no wite to taxe evene that payne afist that synne that men hap do aijens God, for no man in erpe, ne angel in hevene, but if God telle him specially, can taxe such a penaunce. And herfore bookis seyen that penaunce is arbitarie, now more and now lasse, after that prestis lykyn. So ofte tyme sum prestis for that lasse synne enjoynep more penaunce, and sum for that more synne lasse penaunce; but how evere that enjoynep, God he have juge, ajenst whom men synne, taxep evene that penaunce, that prestis knowep nouzt, as that knowep nouzt grevousnes of synne. But it semep generally, that men that schal be saved havep penaunce ordeyned of God, in his liif and in purgatorie, that he prest hap no wytt ne power to enjoyn men. And so men that schal be dampned bep nouzt fullyche assoyld of synnes that hei han be schryfen of, ffor that schal come aïen. And that faille in alle her dedis that hei do to God, and so that havep nouzt contrictcioun as men ordeyned to blisse, ffor those men bi her grace semep nouzt his dedelyche. But what pope or confessour wot bo hap suche synnes? And herfore [peis] blasfemans, assoilynge of payne and gil; and so many men schryvep hem ofte in veyn to her confessours; and cause of his vanyte bep prestis or confessid. But schryve that to God and laste in contryciou, and God may nouzt faille ne he wole assoylle that.

**CAP. VI.**

Off his may men se how perlessly men spekip, and wipoute fundement, that grauntip pleyn absolucioun of synne and of

1 supplied conjecturally.

2 Id.

**WYCLIF.**
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

peyne to alle men, confessid and verreylyche contrit of synne 
pat he havep don, whiche travayllip faste in cause pat he 
coveytep, be hit nevere so seculere and fer fro Goddis wille. 
Ffor pere is no cause more seculere in pis world, pan is to downe 
pe Chirche and maynteyne pe dowyng; and herfore pe popes 
grauentip pis pleyn absolucioun. But pe schulde penke how in 
pis graunt pe schulde charge pes pre pingis,—matere, and 
forme, and ende of her graunt. Her matere schulde be trupe 
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 pat Crist 
haþ ordeyned. Lord! siþ Crist is trewpe, as he himsylf seip, as 
trupe in pis world or bigynnynge pereof, and he himsylf techep, 
boþe in liif and word, pat 1 his prestit schulde be pore and have 
non suche lordschip, as it is schewed bi twelf lawis of God, 
Lord! wher he pat is God, pat may noþt be chaunged, haþ 
hereinne chaungid his purpos, and loveþ more prestit lords-
chipen þanne he loveþ onyþing þat he himsylf comaundid? 
Ffor wel I woot þat þis assoylyngynge is falce and ful of venym, 
but siþ Crist himsylf be autour pereof. And wel I woot, siþ God 
approved never biffer so large absoluciouns for nouþt þat he 
comaundid, siþ he approve þis assoyllinge, þe ping for whiche 
he assoylyllip plesip more to him þanne ony opir comaundement. 
And trowe þis ho evere wolde, ffor I may not trowe it; siþ Crist 
boþe in dede and word contraried þus þis dowyng, and wel 
I woot þat he is God, þat may noþt reverse himsylf. And siþ he 
hadde purposid so myche to downe his prestit, boþe þere were 
resoun þere, and he wolde have told it. Resoun may þere non 
be, but siþ a blaspheme seie, þat now in ende of þe world, 
whanne avarice is more, and Cristis Chirche haþ more nede of 
prestit þat fleþp more covetyse, Crist haþ ordeyned þe contrarie 
to his Chirch in his prestit. But it wer oone to seye þus and 
to seie þat Crist hymsylf is turned into Antecrist; but wher were 
more blasfemye?

But leve take heed to Cristis wordis, how he tellip of pis 
mater. In þe oolde lawe he biddip þat prestit schulde have 

1 corrected; and, AA.

WORKS. VOL. III.  s

Such grants are defective, x in matter.

S in form.
no part of heritage of þe peple, for God schulde be here part; þat is to seie, þat offryngis and dyymes þat beþ Goddis rentis schulde be þeve unto prestis for servyse þat þei serveþ God. Lord! ho wot noþ þat ne suche wordis, wiþ so scharpe negatyves, byndiþ evere and for evere, as we wytþ in þe maundemenþis? And in þe Newe Testament Crist seip, þat suche prestis may noþ 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 ÿif God wiþdraue his hond fro erþelyche fruytis? And þis semeþ a greet cause of barynnesse of erþe, ÿor sop it is þat no venjaunce sendiþ God to men, but ÿif 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 faile in mater. And herfore in oure dayes seip Antecristis clerkis, þat among alle lawes þat evere God suffride, beþ boþe his testaments falseste of alle ÿopere; and herfore men schulde glose hem aftir her owne wille, and þe wordis of þes glosatouris passiþ Goddis lawe.

As anenite þe þridde poynt, þat is, ende of Cristis clerkis, bileve techeþ us þat Crist wolde drawe his children to heveneward, by holy lyvynghe of his prestis aftir þe staat of innocence; so þat men þat beþ sett in worldliche liif and werks, schulde be ravychid herfro by word and liif of Cristis prestis. Lord! where þes þre þingis stere¹ prestis for to ÿhte, 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, þif prestis leveþ Cristis ordynaunce, and ÿevþ as seculer lordis, and ÿhte as tyrauntis of þe world, þei schal slee Crist in his membris and make an ende of þis liif, ÿor þis passiþ wickidnesse of prestis of þe oolde lawe. Ffor þanne þei myþte have wyfes, and ÿhte undir kyngis, but nowe 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 biþore for servyce þat þei servede

¹ corrected; strete, AA.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

him, for mayntenynge of pes prestis dedis, and seip pat it is Cristis bateyle and nost mennes cause, puttip heresie on Crist; and so pis is an opyn blasfemye, pat men schulde honrour for to here.

But her pes false freris florischen pis falsehede, and seyen pat Crist baad his apostlis celle here coottis and bie hem swerdis, and so it is leeful, in defense of Cristis riht, to Cristene men for to fishte, bope prestis and oipir men. But her schulde the freris teche to whom Crist spak thes wordis, and whepher he spak of cote and swerd bodily or goostly. Hit semeip, sip none of Cristis apostlis dide pis of bodily swerdis, but Crist forbede thei schulde fishte, or have swerdis mo than two, pat he mened nost of bodily swerd, but of swerd of the spirit, pat is Goddis word; and pis accordip wip Cristis dedis, and lore pat he tauyte bfore. And as Crist faute wip suche swerd, so schulde alle his prestis, and plese men wip meke speche, ye, if thei leese her cotis and al her temporal goodis, and specially her lordschipe. A1 sip freris, as thei seyen, suep most the lore of Crist, whi Wolfe thei nost bigge bodily swerdis, and fishte pis in Cristis cause?

But certis her wordis and her dedis teche pat the send is her fadir; for Crist wolde by pees and pacience pat his cause wer endid, and herfore he reprieved Petir for smytenge wip a swerd. Here may we se how pis cause is fully forged wip falsehede. And so pis mede pat is feyned is founde of the send her fadir, and is nost groundid on charite ne profyt of Cristis Chirche. And so freris schewip hem prooctours of the sendis cause, and traytours to God and his Chirche bi her bisynesse in pis cause.

CAP. VII.

But 3it Antecrist gruccheip, and seip pat pis is blasfemye, for it reveip fro prelatis power pat Crist 3af hem, and bi pis heresies our Chirche schulde persiche for defaute of helpe. For no prelat may assoylye, ne graunte hevenely suffragies; but doctouris seien pat the pope ha3 power grauntid of God of alle merits in hevene, more thanne nede was; and so, by the passioun of Crist and oipere seyntis merits, may the pope dele to

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1 corrected; spirit, AA.
2 corrected; caus, AA.
men as myche as he wole. Ho schulde be brent of pe pope but suche heretikis? Her me þenkþ þat Antecrist presumeþ above Crist and al þe holy Trynite, as Seynt Poul seþ. Ffor he seþ noþ oonly of truþ þat it is heresy, as bischopis putte on Crist þe Friday þat he diede on, but he seþ þat he forþeveþ 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 hþþ so gret maystrie overe his owne wille, þat no man may constrayne him to þeve if but hym like; and myche more þe wyle 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 hþþ graunted it. And so neþere God ne man may graunte anoþers good wil, but ȝif þe Lord of þis good will graunte it himself. And certis no synne is forþeve 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 hþþ God þeve prestis ffor þei schulde be more wise, and noþt to boste ne to lye on þe will of God; but riþ as prestis of þe oolde lawe hadde power and kunnynge to telle ho wer leprous and ho were clene of lepre, bi sygneþ þat God tauþe hem, so in þe newe lawe hþþ God tauþe his prestis by what spiritual sygne þei schulde knowe goostly lepre, and bi what sygne þei schulde seie þis lepre is forþeve, ȝif þe man confessid to prestis seie soþ of himself. 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 cleriks. And so þes prestis have power, but noþt evene wip God, ne þei graunte noþt forþevenesse of Goddis offence but as trewe mennis¹ bytwixe God and þe peple.

¹ should be mene

* St. Jerome on St. Matthew, ch. xvi. 19: 'Istum locum Episcopi et Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisaecorum assumunt supercilii; ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur; quum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quaeatur.' 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 solven-dus.'
And certis pe boost of Antecrist schulde be ceessid herby, pat he wot nost of himsylf, ne of his broper pat lyveb bi him, wheper God hap ordeyned him to helle or ellis unto blisse, for pe manere of pis laste ende pat he schal make to God. And certis, siif he schal be dampned, pe pope asoillip him nost of alle deedly synnnes pat he hap don azenst God, for one stykip wip him pat no man may asoille, siif Crist seip pat unkyndnesse do azenst pe Holy Goost, schal neiwer be forgeve her ne in pe toper world. On pis bileve schulde men penke, whanne pei blowe her boost pat pei asoille men of alle synnes pat pei have do. And siif pis feip were toold to popis and to cardynals, and prelatis undir hem, by pe grace of God her bargeyn of asoyllinge, and eke of cursyng, schulde bygile fewer folk, pat schulde hooly trist in Crist.

And herby may men se, pat in pe resoun pat is mad is falsenesse take of trewe men, pat pei bynemip prestis her power. But evene pe power pat Crist yaf to prestis, pat is toold to hem; and how pei schulde nost to mych gabbe on Goddis power, and take upon hem falslyche more power pat God hap graunted hem. And pis may men se pat holy Chirche schulde stonde stable siif men affiede hem in Crist, and stode mekely in her degree, and nost coveryted more power pat Cristis lawe lymyteb hem. Ffor nojying displesip God more panne suche blasfeme coverytise. Ffor among alle propretees pat fallip to our God, pis is oon principal, pat he forgeveb offence in him, siif every erylyche lord hap suche a prylene. And pis asoyllip God bifore, and his viker after, siif he acorde to Goddis will and telle truly Goddis sentence. And siif he coveryte for to graunte principally pe will of God, he coveryteb to be God, and is worse panne Lucifer; siif pe manhede of Crist coveryted neuere suche higinesse, but mekid him evere to his God, and herfore is he higed pis. Ne absolucioun maad to men is nost beter by suche pride, siif evene as God wole asoyle men, and no more bi pis presumpcion, be pei clensid of her synne; and proude prestis bep myche pe worse. And so schal we graunte, pat siif men makip aseeb to God, by contricicion of here herte, her synne is forgeve hem, siif pei speke wip non operere prest. For Cristis lawe is fre and schort. Trowe we, whanne Crist
forçaf synne òper to men or wommen, as Petir or Poul, or Mawdeleyn or Baptist, or òpere seyntis, þat he sente hem to òpere prestis to be assoylid, as we usen now? And we schulde trowe, þat þif Cristis lawe axed evere suche absolucioun, Crist wolde noȝt forȝete it, but fulfiȝde it, as he dide Moyses lawe; and herfore babde he lepros 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 pingis, and noȝt bileve, þat schal be comun.

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 wiȝouten ground. Ffor þanne eche pope schulde be lord of þis hevenly tresour, and so he schulde be lord of Crist and òpere seyntis in hevene, þe, þif he were a fend, as was Judas Schariot. Lord! whi schulde God of hevene make þis fend suche a lord? siȝt 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 is1 applicacoun or delynge of merit, presumed of þes popis, is proprid unto God, and so þis founed blasfemye [is]2 blabred wiȝouten grounde, [to]3 suppose þat eche pope be God, more myyster in his liȝf þanne he is in his deep, whanne oþir men beþ bettre. A! siȝt þes merites be wiȝouten ende, so þat, þif4 eche man were maad bi him a seynt, þe meritis þat leveþ schulde suffice for alle seyntis, what charite is in þe pope þif he dele hem noȝt largely, and make boþe him and his passynge seyntis in hevene? Certis þif ony of þes men be dampned in his tyme, hit semeþ him faillþ charite, and þanne he is a fend. Þif he hadde a lumpe of feiþ, and witt of Goddis lawe, he schulde schune suche feynyngis as open hereseye. Witte and charite lastiþ in hevene wiþ oþir glorius giftis, but meritis beþ passid4 in her kynde, but fruyt of hem lefeþ. And so it were lasse hereseye 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

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1. dele is. 2. supplied conjecturally. 3. corrected; þif þat, AA. 4. should be passynge?
to ophere men, for noþing may lette him. And so it semeþ þat þis tresore is better wiþouten mesur þanne alle þe worldly lord-shipe þat þe pope haþ of þe emperroure. Ffor þis he solde bere¹ penenorþ of þis goostly tresour, hit wolde come to more moneye þanne al þe world is worþe. Lord! how riche is þis man for havyngne of þis tresour! And þis þou seie he may noþ selle ne parte but as God lymyteþ, for eðell myþte 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 axþþ. So þis þe pope be deed, or falle in synne, he haþ noþing hereof. Lord! how helpeþ he his God to parte þis goostly doe?

CAP. VIII.

Off þis may men se, how falsely freris feynþ zihte of þis tresore to ech pope of Rome. Ffor certis God may noþ be acceptour of persoones, but evere þe betre man rewardþ he more. Ffor þe pope is noþ betre for he forsakþ Goddis hestís; 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 dispensþ schulde be lisse in his kynde, and he is yvel tresourer, but þis he take him sum þerof, and yvel mýnstreþ to his God, siþ God takþ fro him all, þee, every part of þis blisse þat he myþte kepe in his soule. Also, siþe þe pope myþte take þis blisse into his soule, and be most blisful fadir, as he assenteþ þat he be cleþid, no pope schal be damped, siþe blisse may nevere be lost; and so he is conferredd in þis liif more þan Petir or Poul, ffor certis þei hadde her a staat þat stood noþ wiþ her blisse. Lord! wheþer blisse be suche a ping þat may be take fro seyntes in heuene, and putt in souls of erþely men, as þe pope lykiþ? þis is þe lewedeste heresie þat evere was founde of freris.

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 witnessþ, he is an open

¹ this is the reading of AA; query bi þe

* The meaning of the latter part of this sentence is to me inscrutable.
heretik et expouned Goddis lawe to o dere witt gan God menep, freris schulde avise hem wel byfore et seid et Crist baad to his apostlis to bie hem swerdis, see, sist et seile here cotis perfore. For it is certeyn, sist Crist baad it, he dide it for greet resoun, and for cause et pes apostlis schulde use pes swerdis aifterward; for it were no wisdom to bie jus pingis et men schulde nogt use, but be combred perwiop; and it is nogt semely to feyne jis use of swerdis but for to fiyte wip hem, as Petir dide aifter. And so et semej et Crist baad his apostlis jus to fiyte; for kervynge of mete, or scredynge of trees, schulde not be pe ende et pei schulde now bigge hem swerdis. But sist Crist wolde et pei schulde fiyte wip swerdis, et pei schulde jus bigge, hit were wondir whi he blamed Petir, for he faust wip Malcus. For it is nogt likly et Crist blamed him for cowardise, for sip Crist helid Malcus ere, he wolde not pei he hadde hurt him were, ne his will ne his biddinge chaunged nogt so soone to pe contrarie. Also doinge of Crist is beste and liȝttest et men can divyse; but Crist myȝte liȝly have vencushid his enemies by word or bi aungels, alȝif he hadde nogt wounid hem; sist Crist hadde many lygiouns of aungels at his biddinge, and whanne Crist seide jis schort word, his enemies wenten aback and fell to pe erpe. Lord! what nedide et apostlis to jus have bore swerdis? Also, whanne Crist commaundip ouȝt, he wole peit it be don; and et pe dieversen it synnen in pe leynge. But et apostlis synned et nogt in leynge of yren swerdis; janne Crist spak etogt in veyn to bidde hem bie such swerdis. Ne pe pris was nogt covenable, apostel to jerve his kirtif for suche a bodilyche wepene to bete wip pe erpe; for, as Seynt Poul seip, suche fiȝtynge is in veyn. Also, Crist was nogt en lore contrarie to himself; but he tauȝte his apostlis to vencushe bi pacience, and in suche pacience pei schulde have peysible her liif; and jif a man wolde smyte on pe ton cheke, pei schulde jerve him pe tojere; and bo bynumpej hem her cootis, pei schulde jerve hem here mantil. Lord! whejper pei schulde fiȝte for bynemyng of suche swerdis! jis falce lore lerned nevere jes martirs as Antecrist hap now brouȝt in; sipe glorious knygtis, as Seynt Maurus a and his felawis, wolde nogt fiȝte for

* See note on page 232.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

her liif, but mekely suffrid deep. Lord! where pis heresy schulde meve kynstis for to fiʒte for lordschipe of Antecrist, pat Crist himself haʃ forbeden? Also, pis apostlis hadde nost synned ʒif ʃei hadden bouʒte suche iren swerdis, ʒif Crist hadde bede hem bie suche, for ʃei hadde do his biddyngę. But he seide, two is inow, pat he wist wel pat ʃei hadde. But it is open pat ʃei hadde synned to bigge more wepene ʃan inow. But sipe ʃei hadde suche swerdis inowęe, byfore pat Crist hadde seid şes wordis, hit semeʃ pat ʃei hadde nost medfully do, bigginge suche swerdis mo ʃan inowęe. And şus blasfemye of şes freris meneʃ pat Crist was a fool, and scornefullycye wiʃpouent cause he spaak şes wordis to mennes lore. But certis of1 Crist may nost be fool, ne speke wordis wiʃpouent greet witt, sipe he may nost be fool suffering freris be in his Chirche, alʃou ʃei meve bishopis to fiʒte and ʃerto spoyle ʃe pore peple wiʃ beggyngę of blasfemye lesynęe, openly prechide aʃenʃt ʃe gospel.

And so it semeʃ pat şes wordis of Crist meneʃ two juridicciouns, as spiritual and secular; sip Crist wolde nost pat secular fel to his apostlis, sipe ʃei clene use prechinge; but, as Seynt Poul techiʃ, pat Crist mened swerd of şe tunęe, pat is, spiritual swerdis and lyflyche word of oure God. A1 quyk is Cristis word, as Seynt Poul seiʃ, and scharper şan ony two-eged swerd. Sipe it piccheʃ to ʃe soule, şis swerd of Goddis word is nedeful apostlis for to have, whanne ʃei beʃ pursued to ʃe deep, as Crist ensamplid in his wordis. But sipe Crist myʃte nost fiʃte wiʃ swerd of yren, and he tauʃte nost lore to his apostlis pat he tauʃte nost do in dede, sip he bigan to do and teche, it is open pat he baad nost bie swerd of yren for to fiʃte, ne to boosting here enemies, boʃe for ʃe tyme was derk, and Crist lyvede nost by biggyngę pat myʃte be cause of fiʃtyngę to make pees amonge men, but mekenes and pacience was mene to Crist to make pees. And two swerdis beʃ inowęe, to fiʃte herwiʃ fendis children,—one to teche hem scharplye and boldlyche ʃe word of God, anñoʃir to telle hem mekelyche ʃe mede pat sueʃ of Goddis lawe. ʃe bookeler to ʃis goostly fiʃt is a man to holde his pees in tyme; and şus fauʃt Crist wiʃ boʃe his hondis whanne he was pursued to ʃe deep; and şis

¹ dele of.
lore is comyn to alle pat ben Cristis disciplis, and profytable and sotil whanne we beþ pursued of men.

And God þefe we cowde use þis lore whanne we speke wip wræþful men! þanne schulde Goddis lawe walke, and irous men be vencushed. But God þe þat þes bolde freris use noþt swerdis to þiþte wip mening, whanne þei telle hem Goddis lawe, and freris defautis æzens it; ffor þe compenye of freris myþte þanne conquer many londis, and seie þat þei have riþ of God to alle þe goodis þat beþ þerinne, but God þefe þat þei dide no worse, in false consence and fals counsell. Ọþir freris dremeþ lasse yvel, þat þes two swerdis were two fleisch knyves, wip whiche þei slowe þe Paskcal lombe, and aftir Petir faþt wip þe ton. But trowe noþt þis feynynge of freris, siþe it wantep 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 faillþiþ noþt, 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 noþt oonly of rewmes tresour and mennes bodies, but þei sendiþ soulis to helle, and doþ hemsilf aþir.
XXII.

THE GRETE SENTENCE OF CURS EXPOUNDED.

[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 Wycliff by any early writer; in fact, there is no external evidence whatever in support of its having been written by Wycliff 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 Wycliff's death. With regard to the style, opinions may differ; but it does not seem to me to be precisely that of Wycliff, but more appropriate to some fiery follower of his, who had reached a point of intense exasperation not exhibited in the undoubted works of Wycliff.

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—'Ist sunt generalis articuli majoris excommunicationis in lingua materna, et dicantur...
hoc modo.' I shall extract from what follows such portions as directly illustrate our text:—

'Godmen and wymmen, it is ordeyned by the counsell of all holi Chricle: First of our holy fader the pope of Rome, and his cardinalis, and all his coun-
sell, sithen of alle archebishopes 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 written 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 Sunday after Witsunday,
and the first Sunday 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 foremost, we denounce acurse, all tho that holy Chirche foilsli
depriuen of any right or proffyt, either by law written, or elles by good custorn
which ben holden and used of old tyme: and in this poynct falseth iii manner of folk: first all tho that steleth holy Chirche goodes in what place so
they ben don for to kepe: or elles that stele unhallowed thynge out of holy
place, or thinges that ben halowed out of place unhalowed, and all tho that
wytynge breke and destroye any poynct of froidom that longeth to holy Chirche:
and this is nought all onely understand of the ferdomes that longen generall to
all holy Chirche, but also of other special ferdomes, 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 denounced all tho acursed, that maliciously stel or destroye the
goodes, that longeth to manere, or to graunages of any men or women of reli-
gion, or of archebishop, of bishop, other of any other place of mennes of holy
Chirche, wythout special leve of them that 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 kyynne, by power, or by
counsell, by word or by werke: or elles by any way to berte or to compase hyse
deth, or any point of traytourie of hym or of his lond: and all tho that falsly
withholde his heretagyge 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 hervun and in erthe, that falsi 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 byрed, or mayntene them, or teche them, eyther by
word or werke, for to lettre trewe matrummyne, or lawfull herytage, or testament,
or ought elles that is treuly ordeyned: and also all the advokatis of lawe of holy

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Chirche, that in plee of matrimonye, or any other trewe cause make wytingly, and with any semed false exceptions for to destroye, or lettre, or tarie a trewe cause, that it may nought speedly 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 enchson, sclaunder falsi, or defame any man or woman, so that they be brought fro good fame unto wykked, wherefor that thee have nede to purge 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 payne of dedly synne nought alle onely be the ordenaunce of man, but first and foremost be the ordenaunce and the commandament of all myghty God them selfe, but in the olde lawe and also in the newe, for to paye trewyly to God and holy Chirche, the tenthe part of all maner of things that them have by yere; also weel the tenthe part of all maner encrese, that they winne trewyly by the grace of God, both with here traville and also with here craftes; also the tenthe part of al maner of fysaues and foules and bestes bothe wild and tame, and of al manere frutes that growe out of the erthe, wymettewel Seynt Austyn in his decret, as it is wryten in the lawe of holy Chirche. And what venuance that our Lorde God taket upon thys world, by enchson of them that with nought paye their tythes, and also for them that falsytyche, and in what manere that our Lorde God hath grantued iii things to all them that trewly tithe, telleth openly Seynt Jerome, in the same causse and question I seide ere, and also Seynt Austyn 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 wrot in many places in the lawe of holy Chirche.'—Cap. xvii.

Sanctuary.

'And also ye shall knowe wel that all tho ben acursed, that in vyolence drawe out any man or woman, that feth for help and Secure unto holy Chirche: or elles out of any other place that is halowed, but in certein poyntes that the lawe geveth leve. Or lettre them to have sustenancie ther while thei ben there, and all tho that gavez that ther to help or counsell.'—Cap. xxiii.

Wills.

'Also all tho ben acursed that lettre or procure to lettre the testament, and the laste wil of folk whan they deye, of thynge that ben ther owne, and that they maye skilfully bequeueth 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 одной of them that ben bounden, wher that it is ordeyned so by oide custome of the conte, 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 executors, and fulfille nought the dedes wil as ther charge azech.'—Cap. xiv.

Taxation of the clergy.

'Also all tho secular men whych that be reweleres and leaders of cytees, and of townes, yf they make any unleeful taxes, or talages, or any exactyonnes 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 jurisdiction of prelates of holy Chirche, but yf thee leve such doynge for evere, whych tyme that they be aconsted lawfully therto, elles they ben acursed in thys gret curs,
and may nought be assayed or thei have mad ful amends, 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 whiche chartre is written the freedon of this lond, that divers kynges have graunted to everi man: in the grete chartre ben xxxv pointes and the chartre of the forest comprehendidh xv pointes; and al archebishops and bishops that longen to Engeland have acuset all tho that breke wytingli any of all these pointes, the wych sentence of cursynge hath ben often conformed 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 falsi with holde chartre, or testametens, or any other maner letters, that longen til other men; wher for thei lese their heritage, or any right that thei shulde have by lawe. And all tho that use false wyghtes, false yerdes, or any other false measures for to deceiue 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 see them selve.'—Capp. i, iv.


Theft.

'Also we demounce acursed all open theves and robberses, and all that them receyve wytyngly, or gyve them help or counsell.'—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 poynes 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 BGYNNETH PE GRETE SENTENCE OF OURS EXPOUNDED.

CAP. I.

FIRST, alle heretikis aéenst pe feip of holy writ ben cursed solemnly fourte tymes in pe ʒer, and also moyntenouris and consentoris to heresie or heretikis in here error. Sip pen heresie is error moyntened aéenst holy writt, as Seynt Austyn and opere clerkis seyn, who evere moyntenep ony error aéenst Goddis lawe is an heretik, be he prest, be he lord, be he pore, be he riche, or of what evere degre. Ċanne ʒif oure clerkis þat lyven worldlyd, in pride, pompe and covetise, and ydelnesse fro gostly traveile, understonden þat þis is Goddis wille and his lawe, þei ben in open error aéenst holy writt; and ʒif þei witen þat þis lif is aéenst Goddis techynge and his ensaumle, and þit holden it for ʒ for lust and ese of body, and moynten in it in word or dede, þei ben expresse heretikis and cursed Anticristis, whom no man schulde rescEyeve in to his hous, ne grete hæm in þe weie.

Also, who evere understondþ holy writt oþer wise þan þe Holy Gost axip is an heretik, as Seynt Jerom a and opere seyntis witnesses. But oure worldly prelatis understonden wrongfully holy writt in mater of prechynge of Cristis gospel; þerfore þei ben cursed heretikis. For whanne Seynt Poul axip, hou men schulden preche but ʒif þei ben sent, þei understonden, but ʒif men ben sent of þe pope, or opere worldly prelatis, where Seynt Poul understonden sendynge of God; so þat ʒif worldly prelatis wolen þat [þei³] prechen not þe gospel wiþouten here licence, þei schullen not speke þe treupe of þe gospel to save Cristene soulis, þouʒ God stire hem nevere so moche þerto, bi wynyng of hevenely blisse ʒif þei don it wel, and bi everelastynge peyne ʒif þei don it not treuely and wilfully and

\[\text{corrected; frist in MS.}
\]

\[\text{supplied conjecturally.}
\]

\[\text{S. Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. v.: 'Quicunque igitur aliter Scripturam intelligit, quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat quo con-}
\]

\[\text{scripta est, licet de Ecclesià non recesserit, tamen haereticus appellari potest.'}
\]
frely, as Crist bad his disciplis. For if here understandyngue
suęp his open erroour, āpat 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 damnyd fend, as Judas was,
letēp Goddis biddynge mercy and charite, āperor āpat under-
stonden ās his sendyng ben in open heresie. For āe Holy
Gost understandiŋ noūt ās his part of holy writt as āe worldly
prelatis don, but evene āe contrarie. For certis a prest may
be sent of āis worldly prelatis wiþ here lettris and selis, and āit
be an heretik, bi symonye, bi lesyngis put on God to meyntene
his ypocrisie, and robbing of āe comyns, bi flateryng and beg-
gynge and āopere disceitís, and not sent of God but bi āe fend,
whois werkis he prechiŋ and dōp, and āperor cursed of God
and alle his trewe servanteis. Āperor sendyng of āes worldly
prelatis is not ynowy, wiþouten sendynghe of God, as Seynt Poul
meneŋ. And God axiŋ trewe⁠¹ lif aftir his lawe, and trewe
prechynge of āe gospel, wiþ clene entent, not for worldly name,
ne coveitise of worldly muk, ne bacbynghe of pore prestis and
hyndryng of Cristis ordynaunce, and meyntenynge of worldly
lif of clerkis, as false prophetis prechen now, but trewly to dis-
pise synne and teche vertues, for honour of God and helpyngue
of Cristene soulis to heveneward.

Also, our worldy clerkis lyven not only āgenst holy writt
in word and dede, but also meyntenen āer worldly lif bi ſypo-
crisie, bi fals excusacions and false expounyng of holy writt,
and hard perseucion of pore prestis āpat prechen Cristis meken-
nesse, his willful povert, and gostly bysynesse, and witnyssen
āpat prelatis schulden sue Crist in āes āe speacyal. For āes
pore prestis ben sclaundrid for heretikis, cursed and prisoner
wiþouten answere, for as moche as āei stonden for Cristis lif
and techemy, and meynenancia of āe kingis regale and power
of secuer lordis, and savynge of Cristene mennus soulis, āgenst
Anticristis tirauntrie, and ypocrisie of his weiward disciplis, āpat
envenymyn and distroien holy Chirche. And of āe discrivynge
of heresie may men se, how eche man āpat meyntenep [God]dis
comandemepis is a cursed heretyk, for in āpat be meyntenep

¹ corrected; trewpe, X.

Wyclif.
error agenst holy writ. And blyd entent, or blyd devo-
cion, excusip not pes worldly clerkis, wip here sautouris, no
more pan Petir was excused fro Sathanas, and Poul of blas-
phemye notwipstondynge here blyd entent, agenst Goddis
wille, for goodnesse and rijtwisnesse, as hem pouyte. Moch
e more worldly clerkis and here fautours schullen not be excused
agenst ye opyn meke and pore and travelouse lif of Crist and
his apostlis, for no sotel ypocrisie of Anticrist, and blynde
devocion of glotenouse manquelleris, for pride and covetise.

CAP. II.

Alle po ben cursed solemnely, pat spoilen and taken awey
ony rijt of holy Chirche, or defrauden1 holy Chirche of ony
dewe2. Here Cristene men, taut inn Goddis lawe, clepen
holy Chirche pe congregacion of juste men for whom Jesus
Crist schedde his blood, not for stones and tymbre and erpely
muk, pat Anticrist clerks magnysien more pan Goddis rijt-
wisnesse and Cristen souls. Pan po prelatis and curatis pat
wipdrawen pe rijful prechynge of Cristis gospel fro Cristene
men, pat ben holy Chirche, ben acursed of God and alle his
seyntys: for pis trewe techynge is most dewe to holy Chirche, and
is most chargid of God, and most profitip to Cristene men,
3if it be wel don. Peforpe, as moche as Goddis word and blisse
of hevene and Cristene souls ben betre pan erpely goodis, so
moche ben pes worldly prelatis, [pat3] wipdrawyn pis grete
dette of holy techynge, worse peves and curseden sacrelegires
pan bodily peves pat breken chirchis and stelen chalics, vestem-
tsiris, or nevere so moche gold out of hem. First, pei ben
grevously acursed of God for pis roberie of Cristene men,
whanne pei wipdrawen Cristis gospel fro pe eris of Cristene
peple. Pe secunde tyme pei ben more grevously acursed,
whanne pei letten and forbarren opere prestis to teche trewely
and frely Cristis gospel, whanne pei hemself kunnen not or
wolen not for here bodily ese, or may not for worldly occu-
pation. As whoso were, up peyne of hangyng and drawyng,
to fede many lege men of oure kyngge, and toke peforpe wagis

1 corrected; defraudren, X. 2 corrected; drawe, X. 3 supplied
conjecturally.

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ynowe, and wastide hem, and suffrde þe kyngis lege men die for hunger, or ðelde þe castel and hemself to þe kyngis enimys,—he were a cruel traitour and sleere of all þes men; and 3it more traitour, 3if he letteide ðopere knyȝttes\(^1\) of oure kyng to vtle þes men asegid, and rescowe hem of here enimyes. So it is of þis worldly prelatis and curatis, þat taken cure of soulis and tiþes and ofryngis to teche hem Goddis lawe, and purge hem of synnes þoruȝ preier and prechynge and good ensaumple, last þe devel þat evere ensegiʒ mannus soule cumbre hem in synne and bringe hem to helle. þe priddye tyme þes weïward prelatis ben most greuously cursed of God; for whanne þei kunnent not preche þe gospel, or may not, or wolent not, or letten ðopere pore prestis to helpe Cristene soulis bi techyng of Goddis word, þei graunten leve to false prechouris þat sowen lesyngis, and bi flateryng and ðopere veyn preieris norischen men in synne, and robben þe peple bi fals beggyng þat þei putten on Crist, seiyng þat he beggede as þei don. For þus þei wiðdrawen trewe prechynge of þe gospel fro Cristene men, and neden hem to ete and drynce venym of Anticristis lesyngis and flateryng, and to be robbid of here catel bi ypocrisy 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 ðopere þat wolden save þes men for pite, but over þis he nedide hym\(^2\) to be governed bi here enimys, and þei schulden have here goodis for to slee þes men in þe castel, in þis poynit were\(^3\) most opyn traitour to his kyng, so it fallip bi oure weïward prelatis, þat prechen not Cristis gospel, but letten ðopere pore prestis to teche trewely and frely Goddis word, and senden freris þat coloure þen open synne, and prechen fablis and lesyngis, and robben þe pore peple bi stronge beggyngye and nedles.

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 mirroure of here sugetis, to kepe Goddis hestis, and seyntis and reson witnessed. Þerfor Crist dide first in dede þat þing he

\(^1\) corrected; kynystis in MS.  
\(^2\) should be hem.  
\(^3\) corrected; be were in MS.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

TAUSE after bi word, and whanne Crist hadde waschyn his disciplis feest for mekenesse, he seide þus, I seve to þou ensample, þat þe do as I have don. But now inside of ensample of mekenesse and charite and holy devocion in Goddis servyce, þei þyven ensample of pride, wræpe, vengeauce, coveitise, ydelnesse, glotonye, leccherie, and opere vices, to wipdrawe fro holyynesse and devocion. And siþ teychyn in dede, doying and meytntenynge of open errour in lif, is as evyl teychyn or worse þan teychynge bi nakid word, certis þei ben opeyn heretikis, strongly meytntenynge here errour ægenst Goddis lawe, as he is worse þat betiþ me wrongfully, þan he þat manassip me or dispisiþ me only in word.

Also our worldy prelatis and prestis robben holy Chirche of þe tresour of wilful povert and mekenesse, and maken Cristene men bylyd wip pouder of worldly goodis, bi pride and coveitise, and robben seculer lordis of here heritage and temporal power, þat God þaf hem to meytnten his lawe and his ordynance in clerkis. And þis is don bi bylyd devocion of seculeris, þat knowen not Goddis lawe, and by ypocrisie of worldy clerkis and sillyng of here preiere. And where Crist maad his spouse, and namely of clerige, fair bi bryxt cloþes of wilful povert, schynyng to God betre þan dop any gold to men, þes worldly clerkis han alle to-bleckid Cristis spouse wip drit of erþely goodis, coveitise and pride and worldly pysynnesse, and robbed here pore of here clopis and goldynge of wilful povert, mekenesse and gostly bisynesses of studyng and teychyn of holy writ, and preiynge, and opere werkis of penaunce. And whanne þe kyng and seculer lordis perseyven wel þat clerkis wasten here auncetris almes in pompe and pride, glotonye and opere vanyeets, and þei wolde take ægenst þe superflyyte of temporal goodis, and helpe þe lond and himself and here tenaunte,—þes worldly clerkis crien faste þat þei ben cursed for entermetyng of holy Chirche goodis. As þif seculer lordis and þe comyns weren no part of holy Chirche, but only proude prestis, ful of coveitise symonye and extorsions and alle opere synnye. And þus Anticristis clerkis feren

1 corrected; berþely, X.

T. 2
Wyclif's Works.

The king and his council, that they do not mend the open feast of cursed clerks, misusing the alms of lords and temperance in simony, gluttony, and wrongful purchase of secular lordships, a heaven of God's law, not withstand the king, that the king is God's viceroy, to serve and wrong the done in his realm generally of misdeeds. But the sum of Anticrist's clerks say publicly, that the land shall be entered, and all men pernicious cursed, rather than they were brought to the mere state that Christ put them in. And rather they were rather baner against the king and his lords and counsels, than temporal lordships should turn to the king and his lords, and they on spiritual, as God ordained. And shortly to say, rather than the king and his lords and counsels should have Cristis ordination in his clergy, and destroy opus simony heresies and extorsions and robberies that Anticrist's clerks done in our land, these worldly priests were cursed and entered men and rewnes, and when open warre a heaven of our king and his cursed prelates and vejn religious.

Cap. III.

The worldly clerks and vejn religious were driven from holy Church in many manors. For where they often rent and lordships for to find certain number of priests and bede men in hospitalite, they have unneeded half, or they priddle part, they number of priests, and leven lustful life in costs metis and win; and in gluttony, drunkennesse, lecherie, and great festivities wasted per goodis, where they should have lived in abstemious and penance, and devote preiers for here goode doeris and comynete of Cristene men. And where they found in many poor men in meat and drink and herbore, and sumtyme clopis, they wasted poor menus lifode in great festivities of rich men, and robis and fees of men of lawe, and herboryng of rich lords, not for charite, but in hope of more winnynge of worldly goodis at they taste in here depe, and graunte of aproprynge of parische churches, and amortisyng of temporal lordships more than
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nedip. And alle þis is sotel marchaundise wip pore mennus lifode and holy Chirche goodis; and where in many abbeies schulden be, and sumtyne 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 yovyen to Crist and his disciplis to lyve þerby, so þes worldly clerkis and religiouse taken huge noumbre of temporal 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 rich men, and opere vanytees.

Also many bischopis and religiouse and seculer lordis wij-drawn riȝtful reulyng of Cristene soulis, bi makyng and presenting of unable curatis. For where þei myȝtten lyȝtly fynde many, able bope of kunnyng and good lyvyngne to teche Cristene men Goddis lawe, þei presenten and maken, for love of here kyn or servycye or worldly love, and sumtyne bi money takynge privel, many unable curatis, þat kunnen not þe ten comaundemtis, ne rede her sauter. And þit 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 strangle here parischenis soulis, bi dyverse synnes and harde customes, of veyn sweryng, lecherie, and alle opere vices. Also þif eche man þat wijdrawiþ ony riȝt of holy Chirche is þus acursed, þanne eche man þat wijdrawiþ fro1 ony good þouȝt or dede or confromt fro his breþeren, is acursed. For eche goode þouȝt, speche, and dede, and confromt of careful men, is dwe to God and holy Chirche, for þe prophete seip, I schal blisse God in eche tyme; his heryng schal everemore be in my mouȝ. But what holy man in þis lif scapiþ uncursed? siþ no man lyveþ but þif he faile sumtyne in þouȝt, word, and dede, or in confromt of men in disease. Þerfore it semep, þat covetise of worldly goodis hâþ mad worldly cursed clerkis to heie ajenst Goddis dom. Certis sum men understonden, þat þe cruel manquellere

1 dele fro.
of Rome, not Petris successour but Cristis enemye, and þe emperours maistir, and poison under colour of holynesse, makyþ most unable curatis, and so wijdrawþ most þe rjït is 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 brener of Cristis servanteis, to be well ground and roote of alle þe mysgovenyege of þe Chirche. And þit 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 holde þerto.

**CAP. IV.**

Also, alle symonyentis þat bien or silled spiritual þingis for temperal þingis unlesfull, ben cursed solempneli, boþe bi Goddis lawe and mannis. But þre degrees ben in symonyentis: summe ben symonyentis in ordre, summe symonyentis in benefiscis, and summe symonyentis in sacramentis. Of symonyentis in holy ordre ben þre degrees. Summe come to ordre of presthod, dekenhede, or oþere ordris hierre or lowere, by ȝeyynge 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 turnep into cursyng, and her preier into synne, as Seynt Gregory techep and þe lawe canoun. þerfore seip þe Chirche lawe in decretalis, þat every synful prest may seie a masse, out taken a symonyent, whom eche synful man may lefully acuse,

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... an hore may acuse him, þat he be remeyd from þe ordre þat he mystakiþ. For, as Seynt Ambrose seip, in þis caas curs is to þe severe and to þe takere*; for þat þat sich on seveþ is is gold or money, and þat þing þat he rescывĕ is lepre of synne, and curs to þe takere and to þe severe. Summe by symonye comen to siche ordris for preiere of lordis, or opere worldly frendis, not bi clene entent and worþinesse of kunnynge and lyvyng, but only bi favour of men, and þes in þe cursed heresie of symonye. And boþe þe severe and recseyvvere of ordris in þis caas schulden be degradid, for þei make marchaundise bi giftis of þe Holy Gost, and maken þe Holy Gost servaunt of synful men, and, in caas, of fenda, as moche as is in hem. Þerfore þei ben worse heretikis þan opere þat maden þe Holy Gost lesse þan þe Fadir and þe Sone, as the lawe of canoun witnesþ. Þe priddye tyme, summe comen to ordris bi symonye, bi servyce to lordis or prelatis or opere officeris, servyng 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 worþi to þes holy ordris bi kunnyng and goode lif. And þes fallen in þe same damnacion wiþ þe firste, for it is al on to gyve money and to serve þus for holy ordris, bfore 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 rejoișchen hem þerinne, and bisien hem not aboute Goddis lawe ne holy lif, but in lecherie and vanye and ydelnesse and worldly myrþe. And in þe riþful dom of God þei ben symonyentis, as was Symon Magus. For þei sille to sendis of helle here soule, here body, and tyme, and catel, for to have and use unworþiþe holy ordre of prest hod. And Þerfore Seynt Jon Crisostom seip, þat po prestis þat don not justly here office after Goddis lawe semen ordeyned of men and not of God, and anencitis God þei ben non prestis. And þis understonding he hadde of þe canoun of Cristis apostlis; for, as þis Seynt Jon seip, treuþe in lif, þat a man drede God, makþ a man a lewed man; and, as who seip, no clerk, but treuþe in lif and prudence, þat is, know-

* The reference is perhaps to St. Ambrose, Exp. in Luc., Lib. IV. § 53.
yng of creaturis bope erpely and gostly, and usyng of every in 
his degre, and wise techynge of Goddis lawe after pe nede of 
pe peple, makip a man to be a prest. Perfore seip Seynt Aus-
tyn, pat he pat disirep pe stat of bischop for to have worschip 
and reverence of men and worldly goodis, owep to understonde 
pat he is no bischop; and pe same sentence seip Seynt Gregory 
in his Pastoralis. And pe same reson semep of prestis; and 
perfore Seynt Austyn biddip, pat sich a sovereyn pat spekep not 
good cleenely for hymself, but worldly worschippe and temporal 
wynnyng, pat he schal not rikene him among Goddis serveaunts. 
For certis, as Crisostom, and Origene, and lawe canoun wit-
nessen, siche a weiard prest makip Goddis hous a den of 
peves.

CAP. V.

On pe maneres ben men symonyentis in beneficis, bi gift 
of money to pe patroun for presentacioun, or to prelat for 
collacion, or syevying institucion, or induction, or bi brocage 
aade to mene persone for to have ony beneficis of pe chirche. 
And pis is cursed heresie, for it presumep to sille pe Holy Gost, 
as pe lawe witnissip; siip it presumep to sille pe giftis of pe Holy 
Gost, pat schulden be joven frely to alle men, as Crist biddip. 
On pe secunde manere don many men symonye, whanne pe 
serve lوردis or prelatis undwe servyces longe tyme, for to have 
a benefice in pe ende of here servyce. And herefore pe biheten 
to serve lوردis and prelatis in worldly office on here owene cost, 
and dwellen in here courtis absent fro here chirchis; and pis is 
cursed marchaundise wip temporal servyce and benefices of pe 
Chirche. And oure Lord Jesus drof alle siche out of pe temple, 
in token pat pei ben not approved of him in pe Chirche, but 
schullen be dreven to helle bi jugement of God, zif pei lasten in 
pis synne to here dep. And perfore seip Seynt Gregory and pe 
lawe, pat pei pat don siche symonye schullen be dampnyd in 
everelestynge fier of helle, but zif pei resygnen here benefices, 
and in tyme of dep ben founden in scharpe penaunce.

On pe pridde manere don men symonye bi tunge, pat neiper 
seven gold ne servyce to lوردis, ne prelatis, ne mene persone, 
but bi flaterynge and preier of mystry men comen to benefices,
more than bi holynesse of lif and ablete to per office. For these comen not to these benefices bi Crist, pat is dore of holy Chirche, but bi per send, to whom per maken sacrifice for love of worldly heinesse and erpely muk, pat per seken more than Goddis honour, or profit of Cristene souls. Perfore pe Chirchis lawe witnessip, pat if a man come to benefice bi symonye, pe, don bi his frend, hym unwyttynghe, he mot rescime it, and ellis he may not be savyd. For, as Crist seip, he is a nynt pef and a day pef; and a pef may do no verrey penaunce, but if he restore pat ping pat he ha after takyn away, as Seynt Austyn seip; namely, if he be of power perto. And his symonyent is of power to rescime; and perfore he mote nedis rescime his benefice wilfully and frely, wipouten desiryn to have it azen, as Seynt Richard of Armawy techip. For bi rigour of pe lawe he schulde be degradid, for pe blashemye pat he dide to God in silyng pe Holy Gost; as moche as was in hym. And certis, howevore we speken of dispensacion of pe Bischop of Rome, pis symonyent mot do verey penaunce, and gete a newe riȝt or title, bi grace of God and ablete of kunnyng and wil to his office, wip open just lif and verrey techyng of his parischenis, and ellis he holde his benefice to his dampnacion; and namely if he waste pore mennes liflode, in pride and riche array, in glotonye and drounkennesse, and grete festis of riche men, as officeris of pe bischop, and getteris of countrie. And these menes of symonye ben wel groundid in holy writt and reson, and Seynt Gregory and Seynt Bede declaren hem wel, wip pe comyn lawe of pe Chirche. But what man come now to ony fat benefice or prelacie wipouten giȝte of money or servyce, or flateryng and preier bope of himself and oþere grete men of pe world? For now many lordis axen moche for presentacion, and longe worldly servyce of these clerkis, bifoare here benefices and afir; and of privy giȝtis and preieris is noon ende in mannus wit. Who getip any fat benefice of pe Bischop of Rome wipouten siche flateryng and preier, and gold for his dede lede, and pe first fruytis, and omage, and swerynge, oþer than Crist and his apostlis diden? And certis his takynge of pe first fruytis is no

* By the 'dede lede' is meant of course the lead of the seal attached to a papal bull.
lesse heresie þan takynge of lordis for ȝifte or presentynge of here benefices, but þat he dor 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 suteȝly wastip 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 aȝenstondip not þis cursed heresie bi his power, wipouten doubte he schal be pertener wip¹ þe first¹ fynderis of þis errour, as Seynt Gregory techip and þe lawe canoun.

CAP. VI

jit on þes þre maners don many men symonye in sacramentis, as ordris, masse synging, confession, and alle þe sevne sacramentis of holy Chirche. First in ordris; who evere þeveþ holy ordris for money to himself or his servauntis, or for preier of men, or þank of hem, þouþ he take no money, he dor symonye, and silleþ þe Holy Gost as moche as is in him, as witnessip Seynt Gregory, Seynt Bede, and òpere seyntis, wip lawe canoun. But Lord! who comeþ to ony holi ordris wipouten extorsion of money for barbour fees, and grete raussons for letteris? And sîþ 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 þeveþg but for cost of wrytyng and òpere officeris businesse, accusþ hem more þan excusþ. For þei taken for wrytyng and selynge of a litel scrowe, wip sixe or sevne lynes, twelve pens or two schillyngis; and certis þis is foul extorsion. For hem nedþ no lettre wip here seel bi Goddis lawe; but witnessynge of here felowis and òpere trewe men is ynowþ, hou þei weren ordrid at siche a tyme. And hem nedþ not many tymes to be schavyn, and sîþ it were nede, þei myghten be schavyn at a comyn barbour, and clippen² alle a þeer

¹ corrected; wip, frit, X. ² corrected; clipynge, X.
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for þe money þat here barbour takip 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, þouþ þei robben hem not ægens here wille, and maken hem to bie here ordis ægens þe gospel and comyn lawe expressly. Certis it semep, þat alle doyng in þis mater is cursed corserie of symonye, þevynge þe sygne of holy ordis for temperal drit. And so fast þei cleven þeronne, þat unneþes is ony lewid wrecche putt abak, ðif he wolde ȝeve moche drit; 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 schewip, for what ende þei ȝeven sygnes or holy ordis.

Hou confession and absolution is don for covetise and pride men may līʒly see. For in confession we seken more after tijes and oure temperal wynnyng þan after kepyng of Goddis hestis, or contricion for synne, or paying of detti to pore men, owe þei nevere so moche and ben in power to paye; and we enjonlyn penance as us likeþ, and namely to seie massis, and offre to þe heie auter, and certeynymages for oure wynnyng. But we spaken1 over litel for to visete, and offre to pore men, and maken broken briges and causeis where men and bestis and catel perisken ofte. And ðif men foolilyp avowen to go to Rome, or Jerusalem, Caunterbury, or oþere pilgrimagis, þat we chargen more þan þe grete avowe maad of oure Cristendom, to

1 corrected; speyng, X.

a If these petty extortions at the time of ordination were really of common occurrence when our author wrot, 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 scrooe' that the writer speaks of), and that nothing else shall be paid on any other account, either to marshals, porters, door-keepers, or borders. 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 Provisiuncia, art. De Consibus, and Gibson's Codex Iur. Eccl. Angl. Tit. vi. Cap. x.
kepe Goddis hestis, and forsake þe fend and alle his werkis. For þouȝ men breken þe hieste comaundements of God, þe lewidestes parische prest schal assoile anoon, but of þe founed vowis maad of oure owene heed, many time ægens Goddis wille, noman schal assoile but grete worldly bischopis, or þe most worldly prest of Rome, þe emperoure maister and Goddis felawe, or God of þe erpe. And þei wolen not dispense wip þes vowis, but þif þei han þe cost þat men schulden make, inward and outward a. Lord! why kuñnen not men of reson see, þat þis is open covetise, and colore under holynesse, and cursed symonye, and blaspheme heresie? It pasþ mannuȝ witt to telle what pride and covetise of prestis is norischid herby, and what synne, boþe lecherie, and extorsion, and heresie, and blasphemye, is brouȝt up herby. But neþeleþ confession maad to trewe prestis, and witti in Goddis lawe, dop moche good to synful men, so þat contricion for synnes before don come þerwþ, and good lif and keping Goddis hestis, and werkis of mercy don to pore men, sue after.

Hou þe sacrament of matrimonye is bouȝt and sold men may openly se. For no man schal be weddid but þif he paie sîxe pens on þe bok b, and a ryng for his wif, and sumtyne a peny for þe clerk, and covenaunt makyn 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 before þe banes be cried in þe chirche; and sumtyne it was don for good entent; but now it is turned into covetise and raveyn and symonye. But þe lewideste heresie þat evere Sathanas foond is putt forþ for excuseyn of þis olde roton synne. For prestis han many þeer seld þus þis sacrament, þerfore it is now lawe and privlegye

1 corrected; þis, 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 Wolfe, nóþing 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 anoyntryng, and sumtyme in biring, for many coveitouse prestis axen gredely money for þes doyngis, or ellis þei schullen not be cristened, ne oýtnd, ne biried wiþouten mortuarie a. And for al þis is neiþer Goddis lawe ne reson alleggid, but old totyng of wrongful taksynge of poore mennus goodis, aȝenst here wille and Goddis comaundememt expressly. And of confirmacion of children, and crowning of benetis b, renneþ þe same extorsion in summe placis. But whi þat pore prestis and lewd men, in tyme of nede, may lawefully baptise children, and not conferme hem, is gret won-der 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 Þif 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 þong child wiþ a rag and oyle? It semeþ þat bischopis holden þis

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. 383) 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 benetis are singled out by our author rather than the two inferior orders of Officarius and Lector, I have not been able to discover.
more worpi and nedful þan Cristis body and þe sacrament of baptym; þerfore to magnyfie here staat in pride and charyng of Cristene men, þei reseruen þis newe consermynge to himself, and putten þe more travaile, and more worpi and nedful sacramentis, on pore prestis. And in þis þei schewen her vanyte and worldly dignyte.

CAP. VII.

But now is nede to telle, hou prestis crien her masse for money, and silled þe sacrament, þat is Cristis fleisch and his blood. Alle þo þat ben maade prestis, more to lyve in wor-shipe of þe world, at gentlemennys staat, and for worldly myrpe and bodily welfare and ese, þan to lyve in devociion and profite to Cristene souls, to sue Crist in mekenesse and gostly traveile, in preiere and studyynge and techynge 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 worpi sacrament, whanne þei seyn masse for money, or name of holynesse, or bodily nede, more þan for devociion of Crist, of helping of souls in purgatorie, and of gostly love to make men vertuouse in lif, and namely in unyte in charite: For but þif 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, þouþ þei schullen worse serve God þere þan at þe first place, where men wolden þyven hem resonsable liflode, þe, 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, pleiying at þe tablis, chees, and oþere vanytees. And fewe drawen hem to scole, to lerne holy writt, and edifie himself and oþere Cristene peple. But who may seie þat þes prestis sellen not foule her masse? sip þei seken more grete salaries and lykyng of þe world þan to seie here masse in clennesse of lif, and brennyng devociion to Crist for his passion, in whos mynde þis holy sacrament was ordeyne

a See vol. i. p. 291, note a.
of Crist himself. Æs farþ 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 þifis, þan for devocation or compunccion of here synnes and her breþer 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 holynes and wynnyng of worldly muk, þan for clene love of God, and gostly helpe of Cristene soulis.

And ech þe prest deme wisly himself, whi he seþ his masse, and in what life; for þif þei ben not in clene lif, charite, and devocation, 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 vileyn þan diden Judas Scarioth and Jewis, þat nailed him on þe croos, and leiden him in a cold stone. For Seynt Poul seþ, Who þat rescyeþ þis sacrament unworþily, etþ and drynkþ þis dampnacion. And Seynt Joon Crisostom 1 seþ, We slen Crist in us, whanne we lesen feþ and charite of Crist. And Seynt Bede seþ, We sellen Crist whanne we forsaken treþe, and taken falsnesse and meytene it. And Seynt Austyn seþ, Pat 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 bifoere seid, for all symonyentis ben worþi to be forsaken of alle trewe men. And but þif þei amenden hem after good monestyng, þei schullen be chastised and brouȝte doun bi straung poweris, þat ben seculer lordis; for in comparison of þe heresie of symonye, alle synnes ben counted for nouþt, as þe lawe seþ expressly.

A l Lord, how 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 meytene 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; Crisostom, X.
 alle goodnesse and treuʒe after holy writ; namely siʃen oure prelatis lyven in open extorsion and Lucifers pride, and silleyn 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 palæis in Cristene mennys blood, and ben cloʃid and slepon 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 opere vanytees, þan þei eten and drynken pore mennus blood and her lif; for þei spendiden here blood for getynge 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 opere doctouris declarën pleynly, and certis þes weïward heretikis stiren God ræper to vengaunce þan mercy, as Seynt Gregory proveþ; and here blisying turneþ in to cursyng, and here preier in to synne. And Seint Poul seþ, 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 witnissen, wiþ þe comyn lawe of holy Chirche. Certis Jewis suffrïden Crist to be leid in a clene stoon after his deep; but þes vicious prestis, ful of pride coveïtise and heresie, putten his bodi in here soule, þat is fouler a payson fold þan ony stynkyngye privey in erþe. And siþen here foule soule is in þe develis possession, þei bitaken Cristis body into þe fendis power as moche as in hem is. But neþles, as seiyng of þe masse in unclene lif, and wiþouten devocion, and unworþi rescyesyng of þis blessed sacrament, ful moche and neer hondis, most displesiþ God, so seiyng of masse wiþ clennesse of holy lif and brennyng devo- cion, ful moche and neer hondis, most plesiþ God Almyʒtys, and profitiþ to Cristene soulis in purgatorie, and to men lyvynge in erþe, to wiþstonde temptacions of synne, and encrese þees and charite. Þerfore þenk þe, clene prestis, hou moche þe be holden to God, þat þaf þou power to sacre his owene precious
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body and blood of breed and wyn, whiche power he grauntid nevere to his owene modir ne aungel of hevene. Perfore wiþ alle your desir and reverence and devocion do your office and sacramentis.

CAP. VIII.

Of þis may men see hou perilous it is to coveite prelacie or gret benefice in þe Chirche, siþ no man almost comþ to hem wiþouten pride, veyn glorie, and symonye. Perfore seide Seynt Gregory and þe comyn lawe of þe Chirche, þat honour or prelacie schulde not be þoven to hem þat seken and coveiten it, but to siche men as fleen honouris and dignyte; and þe same seþ Seynt Austyn and Crisostom, wiþ opere doctoure. For Crist techþ us bi Seynt Poul, þat no man schal take honour to hym, but he þat is clepid of God, as Aaron was. Perfore Moyses and þe holy prophete Jeremye, Halewid in his moder wombe, excusiden hem mekely whanne God badde hem take þe ledynge 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 enfawmed wiþ Goddis science and charite. Perfore Seynt Gregory and Seynt Austyn fledden at al here power to be bishopis, but soußten to lyve in devocion and studie of holy writt and in lowe degre, and coveitenod not þe heynenesse of þe statis, but wiþ sorowe and gret drede of God, and for gretede nede of Cristene soulis, token þis staat, not of honour, but of traveile and bysynesse, as Austyn and Jerom witnesseen. Lord! what stireþ us foolish, ful of ignoraunce and moche synne, þat kunnen not governe o soule wel, to seke so bisily gretede statis where we schullen governe many þousand, and for þe leste of hem alle answere at domes day to þe blood of Jesus Crist,—gilli of schedyng þerof þif ony perische bi oure defeute. Where strong schampions and pileris of holy Chirche dreedden 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 seþ, wiþ lawe canoun, þat what clerk sekiþ or desireþ prelacie or primacie

1 corrected; to, X.

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in erpe, schal fynde confusion in hevene. And who wolde desire sich dignyte of pe 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, rytyful domesman? Certis, seþ pis seynt*, no man but he þat dredþ not Goddis harde dom. Perfore seþ Seynt Austyn and þe comyn lawe, þat no þing in þis world is more travelous, more harde, and more perilous þan þe office of bischop, prest or dekene, to do it wel as oure emperoure Crist comandþþ; and þif it be evyl don, no þing is more wrecchid ne more damnable in Goddis dom. But what was þe good reulyngge of þis staat he lernede neuer fro child-hod ne ful age of man. And þerefore Seynt Austyn criþ in þe story of his lif, þat he felide neuer God so moche wroþ ægenus hym, as whanne, in peyne of his synnes, he suffrede him take þe grete charge of bischopis staat. Perfore he fleþ 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 seþ 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 seþ in þe lawe, whanne a man comeþ to siche a staat as bringþ wiþ hym worschipe and ese, þif he come þerto of his owene desire, he fordoþ to himself þe vertue of obedience. And þerefore Moyses forsoke þe ledynge of þe peple as fer as durst for wraþþe of God. And wanné bodely traveile and disse is putt bi sovereyn on þe suþen, but þif he take it þanne of his owene desire, it is not pleasaunt to God. Þerefore Seynt Poul forsoke riches and honour of þe world as dritt, and wilfully putte him to traveil and peyne and martirdom. And in token 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."

obedience Crist sleyde awaye whanne þe peple wold have maad him kyng, as þe gospel of Jon witnesseþ; but he ofred hym self wilfully to Jerusalem, to suffre peyne, woundis, and disputous deþ for ōpere mennus rede and profit.

And certisoure worldly clerkis myȝtten longe ynowȝ be wipouten hem, bifore þat trewe prelates wolden prese on hem; and þif þei waren opyn trewe men in Goddis cause, þei schulden sunere¹ gete pursuyng cursing and prisionyng, or brennyng, of worldly coveitouse prelatis, þan fatte beneficiæ or grete dignytees. Perfore Seynt Gregory techiþ in his Pastoralis ², þat whanne bishoprichees weren pore, and bishopis weren þe first in martirdom for Cristene feip, þanne it was worþi grete preysynge to coveite a bishopriche. But now, siþ bishoprichees ben riche, and many worldly bysinesses knaytþ þerto, it is not do but dredeful to have bishoprichees. Perfore Seynt Bernard wroþ to Egenye ³ þe pope, þat he drede no vermyng so moche to come to þe pope as foul lust to be lord; and þit comynly in þat tyme popis weren poysond, for coveite of þe staat þat ōpere men hadden þerto. And to refreyne synful ydiotis fro siche statis and beneficiis, siþ lawe canoun, he þat paþiþ ōpere in honour or dygnite of þe Chirche, he is most foul of alle but þif he passe ōpere men in kunnynge and holynesse. Of þes few wordis may worldly fools see here pereles and sclaundris, and do no symonye for holy ordris ne beneficiæ ne sacramentis, bi feyned colour of dispensyng and privylegie, and customes of Anticristis weiard collegie and synagoge of Sathanas.

¹ corrected; sumere, X. ² read Eugenye.

³ There is nothing about the poverty of bishops in the passage from St. Gregory's Pastoralis here cited. He was considering the text, 'If any man desireth the office of a bishop he desirith a good work,' and observes.—'Quamvis notandum, quod illo in tempore hoc dicitur, quo quisquis plebibus praerat, primus ad martyrii tormenta duciebat. Tunc ergo laudabile fuit episcopatum quaeere, quando per hunc quemque dubium non erat ad supplicia graviora pervenire.' (Past. Pars I. cap. 8.)
Also alle þo þat putten sclaundre or évyl fame on ony men, for whiche hem nedip to be purged, whanne þei don þis mali-
ciously, ben solemnply acursed by Goddis lawe and mannys. Here worldly prestis, þat ben bounden to sue Crist and his apostlis in lýving prechyng and abstynence, as Seynt Jerom and here owene lawe witnessen, owayne to drede ful sore of þis riȝtful curs. For sippen in wordis and dedis, and rescuyng 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, þif 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 soule name of worldly lif and negligence 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 temporal lوردischip and goodis. Certis in þe olde lawe a blasphem 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 þif it be reasonable þat a man schal be hangid for stelyng of fourtene pens, moche more schulden þes blasphemeris of God, þat stelen so many lordischipis and temperal goodis from comynte of secularis, 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 feþ and myrrour of Cristis lif, þat is grond of alle rightful lif after.

Lev. xxiv. 16.
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For no seyntis lif is worp, but in as moche as it is acordyng wip Cristis lif; þerfore it is worse a þousand fold to robbe Cristene men of þis tresour, þan of alle erþely goodis þat evere were or schullen be.

Also worldly proude clerkis, ful of coveitise and ypocrisie, sclaundre pore prestis as heretiks, for þei techen holy writt, and namely þe gospel and þe pore lif of Crist and his apostlis, ægenis here worldly lif, to distroie synne and norische holy lyvynge in prestis lordis and comyneris; and seyn and meyn-tenen faste, in word and dede, þat heresie is ful seip of þe gospel, and saad treuþe of holy writt is heresie, for it is ægenst here proude worldly lif. And herefore þei fallen into Goddis curs and alle his seyntis, þat for þis sclaundir lordis and comyneris doren not here þe gospel and Goddis hestis prechid of pore prestis in Goddis name, but ben constreynd 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 ypocrisus is not esy to wise men to sette a terme, for witty men may not fully comprehende alle þes curses in þis lif.

Also þei sclaundren foule oure modir holy Chirche, þat is Cristis spouse, wip here coveitise and customes and priveleges. For whanne þei bryngen up newe sleþis of coveitise and jobbynge of lewede mennys goodis, þei seyn þat alle þis is for honour and devocion of God and holy Chirche; and zif ony man wipstonde hem in þis, þei feynen him accursed, and enemye of God and holy Chirche. As, zif a pore man have longe founden moche wex, brennynghe bi fore a rotyn stok, zif a trewe man teche þis pore man to paie his dettis, fynde his wif and children breed and cloþ, and zif he may streche ferþere, to do his almes to pore bedrede men, old and feble, crokid and blynd, as God biddþ, þei boþe ben holden cursed and enemyes of holy Chirche, for as moche as þei don Cristis biddying, and more mercy to here pore neþeboris, and leven unskillful devo- cion and blynde mawmete and foul ypocrisie of prestis. But certis God blissþ alle siche merciful men, and graunteþ hem þe blisse of hevene. And þes coveitouse prestis, ful of maw- metrie, crien faste Sathanas curs and tirauntrie ægenst Cristis
breðeren, eyris of hevene. Moreover þei criën faste, þif
coveïtouse prestis han be in possession of opere mennus goodis
fourty þeer or þrítì, wrongfully, ægenst Goddis bidding, þei may
not be taken from hem on no maner; for þe vertu of pre-
scription, bi long custom of synne, hæþe made hem lordis, and
holy Chirche approveþ þis, and curseþ alle men contrarie herto,
in wille word or dede.

Also þei chalengen fraunchise and privylegie in many grete
chirchis, þat wickid men, opyn þeves, mansleeris, þat han
borwed here neigeboris goodis and ben in power to païe and
make restitucon, þere schullen dwelle in seyntewarie, and
no man empeche hem bi processe of lawe, ne oor sworn on
Goddis body and used. And þei meyntenen stify þat þe kyng
mote conferme þis privylegie and reste of þeves and robberie
of þis rewe, ægenst Goddis hestes, riþtisnesse, and his opyn
oor, 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 fijte to meynten it
forþ, for wynnyng of worldly drit; but for to meyntenve privy-
legie of Cristis gospel, or Cristis mekenesse and povert, wolen
þei not coste a ferþing, but spende many þousand pound to
make it heresie, and curse¹ prisone and brene alle men þat
techen trewe 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 chaist to here laweful husbone; it is a þousand
fold more synne to sclaundre holy Chirche, Cristis spouse,
whiche Chirche, as Seynt Poul seþ, is a pilere and foundement
of trewþe, wiþ here cursed ypocrisie and robbing of Cristen
mennis goodis bi long custom of wrong and synne. Certis
alle Cristene men schulden crie out on þes cursed hetikis, þat
sclaundren Crist and holy Chirche his trewe spouse. For in
þis þei maken holy Chirche a bande of here synne, and res-
seitour of here raveyn, and sclaundren holy Chirche wiþ þe
cursed 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

CAP. X.

Also alle men that disturblen \footnote{corrected; distribulen, X.} pe pees of holy Chirche and pe kyng ben cursed solemnely bi Goddis lawe and mannys. Certis pees of Cristis Chirche stonde\footnote{cor.; oft, X.} in verrey sadnesse of fei\footnote{cor.; and, X.}p, hope, charite, mekenesse, and pacience, and holdyng of Cristis ordeynance, and verrey pes of pe kyng and his rewme, and verrey subjeccion, and riptful domes, and just ponyschyng of mysdoeris, and relevyng of pore men, faderles children and moderles, and pore widewis. And who evere do\footnote{By their up-holding of human laws and traditions, worldly priests disturb the peace of Church and State.} most a\footnote{most; against, X.}genst pe poynits, disturblip most pis verrey pees, and no man ellis. First, alle worldly clerkis that wolen not holde hem payed wi\footnote{and in particular by stirring up war, as these two popes at Rome and Avignost are doing.}p holy writt and pe ordynance 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\footnote{Cor. 9.} Cristen fei\footnote{Cor. 9.}p is it, that so many clerkis leven holy writt, and namely Cristis gospel, and studyen he\footnote{he; unless, X.}pene mennys lawis and worldly coveitouse prestis tradicions, maad of here owene willardis dom for here pride and coveitise, and charge hem more\footnote{Cor. 9.} an Goddis hestis! Si\footnote{Si; if, X.}p\footnote{Cor. 9.}en Goddis lawe is li\footnote{Cor. 9.}pt, swete, and esy, and best wole brynge men to hevene, and at pe fulle occupie alle prestis wittis in pe world til pe day of dom. And o\footnote{o; and, X.}pere tradicions of synful men ben ful of errour, and maken many snaris, or gnaris, to lette men in pe weie to hevene, that before was siker and pleyn, wi\footnote{Cor. 9.}poute ony lettid.

Lord! what charite is it for hem that schulden be most gostly prestis to make werre in alle Cristendom for here worldly cause and stynkyng lordischipe, a\footnote{Cor. 9.}genst Cristis biddyng and lif, and graunte ful absolucion and releasynge of alle peynes in purgatory, for to slee ech Cristene man o\footnote{Cor. 9.}per, as don pees proude prestis of Rome and Avynoun, wi\footnote{Cor. 9.}p here worldly clerkis on bo\footnote{Cor. 9.}pe sidis. Certis pei disturblen verry pees of al holy Chirche and alle Cristendom \footnote{Cor. 9.}erto. Lord! what mirrour of mekenesse is pis, that bishopis and prestis, monkis chanons and freriis, that schulden be meke and pacient and lambren among wolys bi
techyng of Crist, ben more proudly arrayed in armes and opere costis of weris, and more cruel in here owene cause þan ony opere lord or tiraunt, ye, hejene emperours! For þei wolen wipouten 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 ensaumle of pacience þeven þes worldly prestis and religiouste, þat schulden þeye alle here goodis and here bodely lif to kepe opere 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 myȝte soonere gete grace and riȝtwisnesse at þe kyng or emperour þan 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 shalt 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 writ, and myrroure of Cristis lif and his postulis, and alle men þat techen it.

And þus þei clepen reste and encresyng of þis cursed worldly lif, þe pees of holy Chirche. But certis Crist cam in to þis world to distroie þis fals pees, as he seij hym self, and to make pees bitwixe God and Cristene men bi seij and holy lif, and forsakyng of worldly muk and joie, and bi suffryng of peynes in body for trewe techynge, and holdynge of mekenesse and charite. But whoever wol be about to meyntene þis [pees of God, and distroie fals pees of þe fend, of þe worldly and fleschly temptationis, he schal be cursed pursued and slayn wipouten pite or open answere. And þus þei cursen Crist and alle his trewe servaunts, 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 coloure alle here cursed synnyss under name of Cristis spouse, and falsly sclaufard hir and oure Savyour Crist.

1 corrected; þat, X. 2 cor.; zham, X. 3 supplied conjecturally.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

CAP. XI.

"It worldly clerkis and seneed 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 juridiccioun ne power of here persones, ne goodis of holy Chirche. And þit Crist and his postlis weren most obediyaunt to kyngis and lordis, and taþten alle men to be suget to hem and serve hem, trewely and wilfully, in bodily werkis and tribut, and drede hem and worschipe hem bifoire alle oþere men. First þe wise kyng Salamon put don an heie bishop þat was fals to hym and his rewme, and exilide him, and ordeyned a good prest for him, as þe þridde bok of Kyngis tellip. And Jesus Crist paied tribut to emperour, and comaundid men to paie him tribute. And Seynt Petir comaundip in Goddis name Cristene men to be suget to every creature of man, eþer to kyng, as more hie þan oþere, eþer to deukis, as sent of him to þe vengaunce of mysdoeris, and preisyng of goode men. Also Seynt Poul comaundip 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 good and þou schalt have preisyng þerof, for he is Goddis mynystre to þe into good. Soply, þif þou hast doun evyle, drede þou, for he berip not þe swerd wiþpoute cause, for he is Goddis mynystre, vengere into wrappen to hym þat doph evyl. Perfore þorouþ rede be þe suget, not only for wrappen but for consciente. Paie to alle men dettis, boþe tribuýt 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 juridiccicon bi his clergie. And Seynt Poul proferide hym redy to suffre deþ bi dom of þe emperours justice, þif he were worþi to deþ, as Dedis of Apostlis techen. And Poul appelede to þe

1 corrected; to, X.

* He did not claim 'benefit of ecclesiastical rather than by a secular court.'
hepene emperour fro þe prestis of Jewis, for to be under his jurisdiccion and to save his lif. Lord! whoo hap maad oure worldly clerkis exempt from kyngis jurisdiccion and chastisynge, sipen God jeviþ kyngis þis office on alle mysooeris? Certis no man but Anticrist, Cristis enemye; sipen clerkis, and namely he prestis, schulden be most meke and obedient to lordis of þis world, as weren Crist and his apostlis, and teche þepere men boþe in word and dede to be myrrour of alle men, to þif þis mekenesse and obedience to þe kyng and his riȝtfuþ lawis. How stronge þeves and traitours ben þei now to kyngis and lordis, in ðenyng þis obedience, and in jevyng ensaemple to alle men in þe lond for to be rebel aþenis 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 aþenis þe kyng and oþere lordis. And þis semeþ wel bi here newe lawe of decretaulis, where þe proude clerkis have ordeyned þis,—þat oure clergie schal paie no subsidie ne taxe, ne helping of oure kyng and oure rewme, wijouten leve and assent of þe worldly prest of Rome; and þat many tymes þis proude worldly prest is enemye of oure lond, and prively meynteneþ oure enemyes, and weren aþenst us wij 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?

And comynly alle þe newe lawis þat clerkis han maad ben sutilly conjetid by ypocrisie, to bryngþ 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 hap 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 suffríþ his power to laste, to profite of goode men, and just ponyschyng of mys-

¹ read so.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

doeris; but þes worldly clerkis wolen nevere cesse þif þei may, 
til þei han fully distroyed kyngis and lordis, and here regalie 
and power.

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 prechynge; and 
þei doren not seie þe treuþe aȝenst þe worldly prestis of Rome, 
þouȝ he robbe nevere so foul houre lond bi symonye and false-
heed of perdon and privylegies, whanne þei knownen wel þe 
treuþe, for drede þat he wold take awey þes þre poynsis, þat is, 
prechynge, schryvyng, and biryng. And for esy penaunce of 
money þat þei enyoynen men, for trentalis 2 and masse pens, 
and makynge of gaie wyndowis and grete housis, þat þe world 
may see and preise, þe moste viciouse men, as avoutreis, 
extorsioneris, usureris, and open þeves, gon to þes ypocrisys, and 
forsaken here owene curatis þat wolden sumwhat telle hem þe 
perilis. And herefore of fals purchas, of wickid extorsion and 
robberie, comeþ nevere restitution for siche privey schriftis and 
penaunce of masse pens; and wher þei regnyn most in hous-
hold, prechynge 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 weiard and coveitous confessouris disturblen 
most þe pees of þe kyng and his rewme, siþen þei norischen 
moste synne bi fals prechynge of lesyngis, fabis, and veyn 
cronymcis,—bi sikernesse of letteris of fraternyte and synguler 
preieris, and disceyven men of þe treuþe of Goddis word, and

1 corrected; good, X.

* 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 pore bedrede and feble men to hemself, bi colour of ypocrisie. And for þis ende þe holy prophete Hely seide, þat kynge Acab disturbled 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 þif men taken regard\(^1\) to þe ground of holy writt, boþe þe Olde Testament and Newe, and to lyving 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 kynge and his rewe, and moste distroien pees of holy Chirche and Cristene londis.

**Cap. XII.**

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 perverte heþene men in placis of here bischoprichis, don not in dede pis office, but dwellen in Engelond, and bicomen riche bischopis suffragans, and pillen and robben oure peple for halowyng of chirches, chircheþerdis, auteris, and ornamentis of þe chirche. And þus þei ben þries forsworen; first, for þei levyn to converte heþen men to bîleve, 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 silden here sacramentis, and þingis þat perteynen to sacramentis, þat þei schulden do frely as Crist comaundip, and distroie synne bi here power, þat þei norischen now for money and favoure of worldly men. þe þride tyme, þei don not treuþe and profit to þe kynge and his lege men, as boþe þei and here maistris ben sworen, but falsy robben his lege men of here goodis for þevynge of spiritual þingis, and kepen moche of þis muk to hemself, and wasten it in gay mytris and ryngis and ðepere worldly vanytees; and bi þis doyng þei ben grete traitours to God, to here kynge, and to here maistris. Perforfe, as capital traitours and chef heretikis, þei schulden be hurlid out of oure rewe, but þif þei wolent treuvely make satisfaccion, and do trevely here office.

\(^1\) corrected; _reward_, X.

\(^2\) corrected; _and_, X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Also alle bischopis and possessioneris, sworn to be trewe and holy to þe kingis conseil and profite, 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 knowne to him, as þei ben sworn to þe pope. And of þis office serven freris, confessouris of grete lordis and ladies, and þis norischip hate and enyve and debates and werris myche in Cristene peple.

Also ouris bischopis ben sworn 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 conseils of gostly wilful povert, mekenesse, pacience, and charite, and to be seruauntis 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 fiȝtting, to sclaundre of God and alle his seruauntis.

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 constreyn hem bi manas to forswere hem, for enemyte þat þei han to a man, or for coveitise of wynnyng. 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 profite, gederen to hemself, robben þe tenauntis, and maken þe lordis pore. How men breken þe solempne op 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 opere, how þei kepen here profession of povert, chaste, and obedience, is no word to speke nowe, for alle ben forsworen 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 kepið it, but stryveð æzenst Goddis reule and here owene, and æzenst alle men þat traveilen to brynge hem to Cristis reule.

**Cap. XIII.**

Alle þo þat maken false eiris ben cursed greviously 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 lوردischipis, 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 dere of here lourdischip and tirauntrie. For þei holden it wel spendid and geten, al þat þei may purchase wiþ riȝt or wrong of secular mennis goodis, and holde it or bi many þeres, for þanne vertu of presciption, þat is, havynge of oþere mennis goodis bi long tyme, makeþ hem lordis of whatever þing þei wrongfully sette hond onne. But certis Crist, 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 lourdischip.

Also þes feyned religious, and oþere worldly clerkis, amortisen many grete lourdischipis 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 lourdischipis, and in his owene persone wolde noon have, ne his apostlis, but fledden it as venym, as al his lawe and here lif schewen. And bi þis amortysynge þei wolen nevere cesse, til alle þe secular lourdischip ofsure lond be in here hondis, clene away fro secular lordis. For þei seyn þat þei may lawfully have al þat men wolen ðeve hem, and alle þat þei may purchase by sotel mensis, bi preising of here preieris and oþere gostly helpe, and stelyn of chartris, and distreyng of yonge eiris; and no man may take ouȝt from hem, ne þei ðeve ne selle ony lourdischip 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 hāp alle þes lordischipis wel, whanne seculer men han hem and spenden hem wel, moche betere þan whanne Luciferis heretikis was ten hem in glottonye, 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 mys-creauntís. 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.

Also þes mendynauntis, Menours, falsy and sutely maken wrongful eirís; for þei maken þe worldly bishop of Rome, þat schulde þe most perfyt in gostly povert and mekenesse, and most forsake þe world, after Crist and Petir and Poul, to be cheff lord 1 of alle here goodis 2, prevey and apert. For þei may no lordischipe have of hem, for here heie perfyt povert, and of þis false makynge of lord and eier þei han bullis as privylegies. Wi ben not þes cursed traitours?

Also religious and grete colegies and cathedral chirchis maken many false eirís; for þei maken hemself, þat ben riche, un- kunnyng, and unable, to be successouris of Crist and his postlis, and cure of mennus soulis, and to be eyrís perrpetual of tipes and offryngis, þat schulden be pore mennus liflode. And alle þis is doun bi fals suggestion, symonye, and peiryng of govenaunce of holy Chirche, for þei ben riche at þe fulle, and [do] 3 not þe office of a curat neipier in techynge ne relevyng of parischenys and helpynge þe Chirche as þei schulden, but alle

1 corrected; lordis, X.
2 supplied conjecturally.

* The bull vesting all the pro-
erty, houses, church furniture, &c., of the Franciscan Order in the Holy See, reserving to them the usufruct only, was promulgated by Innocent IV (1248-1264), 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 (1298-1292), himself a Franciscan, a bull sanctioning the opinion that Christ practised an absolute poverty. A reaction ensued; and after John XXII (1316-1334) 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 Christiannity, vols. vi. and vii.
go journalists and to Anticristis covent. And certis it is not in manna's witt to telle alle þe harme þat cometh hereof, boþe bodely and gostly. And of hem þat geten false eiris of mennus wifes, bi privy schryvyng and òpere homly daliaunce, avyse ech man who ben siche.

CAP. XIV.

Alle þo þat letten þe juste wille of a dede man ben cursed solemnely 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 techyng of Goddis law, but ræhere pursuen pore men þat wolden teche it, and so maken were 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, mekennesse, gostly traveile, and dispisyng of worldly men for reprovynge of here synnes, and grete reward in hevene for here goode lif and trewe techyng, and wilful sofforyng of deþ. Perfore 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 seþ in þe gospel. And Seynt Petir was so pore þat he hadde neiþer silver ne gold to ðeve 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 lifode and his felowis, and suffride moche persecucion, and wakyng of gret þouþt for alle chirches in Cristendom, as he hymself witnesseþ in many placis of holy writ. And Seynt Bernard writþ 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 confirmynge þis testament seide to his apostlis after his rising fro deþ to life, My Fadir sente me and I sende yow,—þat is, to traveile, persecucion, and povert and hunger and martirdom in þis world,

WYCLIF.
and not to worldly as clerkis usen now. Bi þis it semeþ, þat alle þes worldly clerkis havyng seculer lordschipe, wip aray of worldly vanyte, ben hugely cursed of God and man, for þei doun aȝenst þe riȝtful testament of Crist and his postlis.

Also þei taken mynystracion of deede mennew goodis aȝenst here juste willle, under colour of holynesse, and turnen þe goodis to here kychynys and opere nedelis offices, and þat is worse, to here glotonye and drounkenesse, and festyng of riche men, and suffren deede mennis wifes and children and opere pore men fare ful harde and in gret myschief. Also þei taken deede mennis goodis for provyng of testamentis, aȝenst here juste willle, and aȝenst þe statute ofoure kyng, and sumtyme in fraude of þis statute, where þei schuldien take but eiȝte pens at þe moste. þei feynen hem pore to aconute for alle þe goodis, and þan for aquitaunce taken moche gold of þe deede mennis goodis; for ellis þei wolen make executours to coste moche bi somonyng fro place to place, þou3 þei ben reedy to aconute for alle þe testamente. And hit bi Goddis laue and manynys þei’ schulden not entermete hem þus of testamentis ne worldly occupacion. Perfore, aȝenst holy writ, þe popis laue, and kyngis statute and good conscience, þei robben comyns of ooure lond of many þousand pound; and al þis is doun bi ypocrisye of Anticrist under colour of holynesse. And bi so moche þei ben worse þan outlawis and comyn þeys, for þei doun þis robberie aperyly, and justifien it bi colour of holynesse, þat no man may aȝenstone hem wipouten open werre. And þei meynnten þis cursed þeþte boþe bi secular power and spiritual sword and colour of holynesse, bi feyned privlegies of holy Chirche, moche more þan doun opere comyn þeves and outlawis, and perfore þei ben cursed heretikis, worþi to have more peyne þan opere strong outlawis.

Also þes worldly clerkis and religious, dowid wip temporal rentis and londis, breken foule þe riȝtful wille of here deede founderis; for þei wasten moche here goodis in pride and grete festis and newe blydyngis, where here founderis wille was to

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1 Some such word as pompis or richesus has been omitted through error of the scribe.

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fynde many meke prestis, and devout in Goddis servyce, and hospitalite of pore nedy men of pe countre. And alle pis goodnesse is wiþdrawn bope of meke prestis and devout bedemen, and herboryng and fedying of nedy men; and proude worldly clerkis, pat han no savour in Goddis servyce, brouȝt up, and zit fewe in noumbre, þere þe founder ordeynede manye; and þei ben myrrour of pride, coveitise, slowpe, glotonye, and drounkennesse, and namely of lecherie and meyntenynig of synne, where here foundere wolde have hem mirrour of mekenesse, devocióne, 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 Cristene peple bi here veyn criying, whoos preier God curseþ, as he witnessþ bi þe prophete Malachie.

CAP. XV.

Alle þo þat falsen þe kyngis chartre and assenten þerto ben cursed solemnly of God and man, puppliched foure tymes in þe þeer. Sip þe kyng selþ in his chartre, þat he þeveþ þis maner or lond into siche an hous of prestis or religions, 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 þif þei denyen in dede goode condicions for whiche þe kyng þaf þes goodes. Moché more þei ben cursed þat falsen þe chartre of alle kyngis, þat is, holy writ, in whiche God chargþ 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 bishop of Rome, þat is chief manquellere in erþe and meyntenour þerof, to be chief worldly lord of alle goodis þat clerkis han in our rewme, and þat is almost 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, sip he clepiþ him-

1 For as perhaps we should read and, but the MS. is obscure at this point.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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 meynten bi hym.

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 peinyng of alle þe rewme, and norischyng of debate bitwixe clerkis and lordis and here tenauntis. And þit whanne þei geten leve to amortise twenti markis worþ lond bi a writ, ad quod dampnum, þei amortisem moche more þan þe kyngs grauntid hem leve þerto. And whanne many londis schulde falle into þe kyngis [hondis]\(^1\), bi eschet or opere juste menes, þes worldly clerkis and veyn religious meden gretly þe kyngis officeres and men of lawe, to forbarre þe kyngis riſt, and maken hemself lordis wrongfully. And þus bi þe kyngis goodis þei maken his officeres and lege men to forswere hem, and defraude here lege lord. But, Lord! where ben falsere and cursedere traitours in erpe? Also many worldly peyntid clerkis geten þe kyngis seel, hym out-wittyng, and senden to Rome for benefices moche gold; and whanne þe kyng sendip his privy seel for to avaunce goode clerkis, and able bope 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 aſenst Goddis honour and þe kyngis, and profit of Cristene peple, where þe kyng undirstondip to do wel bi here suggestion. And þerfore þe kyng haþ many cursed peynted clerkis aboute hym, þis he take hede to here lif, kunnyn, 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 bope to kyng and opere men, and namely prechouris, þat schulden warne men of þis peril.

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\(^1\) The word was evidently omitted by accident.
ALLE PO PAT FALSEN PE POPIS BULLE OR BISCHOPIS LETTERIS BEN CURSED GREVOSLY IN ALLE CHIRCIES FOURE TYMES IN PE GEER. LORD WHI WAS NOT CRISTIS GOSPEL PUTT IN PIS REVERENCE AMONG OURE WORLDLY CLERKIS? HERE IT SENEPE PEI MAGNYFEN PE POPIS BULLE MORE PAN PE GOSPEL; AND IN TOKEN ON PIS PEI PONY SCHEN MORE PO MEN PAT TRESPASSEN AGENST PE POPIS BULLE PAN PO PAT TRESPASSEN AGENST CRISTIS GOSPEL. AND HEREBY MEN OF PIS WORLD DREDEN MORE PE POPIS LEED, AND HIS COMAUDMENT, PANNE PE GOSPEL OF CRIST AND GODDIS HESTIS; AND PUS WRECCHIS OF PIS WORLD BEN BROWT OUT OF BILEVE, HOPE, AND CHARITE, AND ROTID IN HERESIE AND BLASPHEMYE, PE, WORSE PANNE BEN HEPENE BOUNDAS.

ALSO PENNE CLERKIS PAT KUNNEN NOT REDE AND UNDIRSTONDE A VERS OF PE SAUTER, NE TELLE GODDIS COMAUNDEMENTIS, BRYNGEN FORP A BULLE OF LEED WITNESSYNGE PAT PEI BEN ABLE TO GOVERNE MANY SOULIS, AGENST GODDIS DOM AND OPYN EXPERIENCE OF TRENPE; AND TO PURSUE PIS FALSE BULLE PEI COSTEN AND TRAVILEN AND FJTTEN MANY TYMES; AND FOR GETEN 1 OF PIS FALSE BULLE PEI GYVEN MYCHE GOLD OUT OF OURE REWME TO ALYENS AND ENEMYS, AND MANY PERSONES BEN DEDD HEREFOR IN OURE ENEMYS HONDIS, TO COMFORT OF HEM AND OURE CONFUSION.

ALSO PE PROUDE PREST OF ROME SETTIPE YMAGIS OF PETRE AND POUll AND HIS LEED, AND MAKIP CRISTENE MEN TO BILEVE PAT ALLE PAT HIS BULLIS SPEKEN OF IS DON BI HERE AUCTORITE AND CRISTIS; AND SO, IN AS MOCHE AS HE MAY, HE MAKIP PIS BULLE PAT IS FALSE TO BE PETRIS AND POULIS AND CRISTIS, AND IN PAT MAKEP HEM FALSE. AND BY PIS BLASPHEMYE HE ROBBIP CRISTENDOM OF BILEVE AND GOOD LIF AND WORLDLY GOODIS, AND MAKIP HEM TO SERVE ANTICRIST AND SYNNE, WHANNE PEI WEREN TO SERVE GOD AND CHARITE. AND OF PIS FALSINGY IS NOON ENDE IN MANNIS WITT, FOR IT ENCRESEP EVERSE MORE, IN NEWE FYNNGYS OF BLASPHEMYE, AND ROBBYNGE OF CRISTENDOM BOPE OF GOSTLY GOODIS AND WORLDLY, AND NAMELY WHANNE PEI BRYNGEN PE SEEL OR BANER OF CRIST ON PE CROOS, PAT IS TOKENE OF PEE, MERCY, AND CHARITE, FOR TO SLEE ALLE CRISTENE MEN FOR LOVE OF TWEIE FALSE PRESTIS PAT BEN OPYN ANTICRISTIS, FOR

\[1\] read geynge.
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to meyntene here worldly staat, to oppresse Cristendom worse \[ \text{pan Jewis weren, a\text{\textquoteright}enst holy writ and lif of Crist and his postis.} \]
And almost alle men in \[ \text{\textquoteright}is world assenten and meyntenen \text{\textquoteright}is false sleynge of Anticrist and his felowis; and \text{\textquoteright}if ony pore men telle \text{\textquoteright}e treue of holy writ a\text{\textquoteright}enst \text{\textquoteright}e tirauntrie of Anticrist and his officeris, nou\text{\textquoteright}t ellis but curse hem, prisone, brenne, and slee, wip\text{\textquoteright}outen answere. Nowe it seme\text{\textquoteright} \text{\textquoteright}at Jones prophecie and Apocalips is fulfilled, \text{\textquoteright}at no man schal be hardy to bye and sille wip\text{\textquoteright}outen token of \text{\textquoteright}e cursed beste, for no man schal now do ou\text{\textquoteright}t in \text{\textquoteright}e chirche wip\text{\textquoteright}outen false bullis of Anticrist, not takynge reward to worchynge of Crist and Holy Gost in mennus soulis, but alle to his dede bullis, bou\text{\textquoteright}t and seld for gold as men byen or silden oxen or bestis.

CAP. XVII.

\[ \text{\textquoteright}it, alle \text{\textquoteright}e \text{\textquoteright}at mysti\text{\textquoteright}en ony goodis ben cruely cursed foure tymes in \text{\textquoteright}e \text{\textquoteright}eer.} \] Here men wondren moche whi worldly pre\text{\textquoteright}latis and feyned clerkis cursen not for defaute of werchis of mercy doun to pore nedy men, as Crist techip; si\text{\textquoteright}en \text{\textquoteright}e gospel tellip \text{\textquoteright}at at domesday Jesus Crist schal reckene generally wip men for werkis of mercy; and \text{\textquoteright}if \text{\textquoteright}ei han not don hem \text{\textquoteright}ere as Crist biddip, \text{\textquoteright}ei schullen be dampnyd wip\text{\textquoteright}outen ende. But of ti\text{\textquoteright}es schal Crist speke \text{\textquoteright}anne no word, but \text{\textquoteright}if men graunten \text{\textquoteright}at ti\text{\textquoteright}es ben werkis of mercy and almes, as is fedyng and clo\text{\textquoteright}ng of pore men. Certis it seme\text{\textquoteright} alle \text{\textquoteright}is cursying is for here owene coveitise¹, not for synne of \text{\textquoteright}e peple and trespas a\text{\textquoteright}enst God, for \text{\textquoteright}anne \text{\textquoteright}ei schulden more curse \text{\textquoteright}ere where more synne and more dispit a\text{\textquoteright}enst God and his lawe; but \text{\textquoteright}is is not don, as alle witti men may opynly see; \text{\textquoteright}eperfor \text{\textquoteright}ei cursen wrongfully, and so cursen hemself, and enveny\text{\textquoteright}e peple \text{\textquoteright}at \text{\textquoteright}ei diden wip.

\[ \text{\textquoteright}e secunde tyme men wondren more whi worldly prestis cursen so faste \text{\textquoteright}e pore peple for \text{\textquoteright}ei paien not here ti\text{\textquoteright}es at here likyng, \text{\textquoteright}e while \text{\textquoteright}ei ben a tousandfolde more cursed of God, for \text{\textquoteright}ei don not here gostli office in trewe prechynge, and holy ensample of lyvyng, and mynystryng of sacramentis. And \text{\textquoteright}it God chargi\text{\textquoteright} a tousandfolde more \text{\textquoteright}es dettis of gostli dedis,

¹ corrected; \textit{coveitouse}, X.
\[\text{Wyclif's Works.}\]

\[\text{\textasciitilde} an alle \textasciitilde muk of \textasciitilde is world. And as men of lawe techen, he \textasciitilde is ri\textasciitildetfully cursed may not lawefully curse ano\textasciitilder man, si\textasciitildeen he is dede gostly, and out of holy Chirche.\]

\[\text{\textasciitilde}e tredde tyme men wondren most whi coveitouse prestis and worldly clerkis cursen so faste and cruelly in here owene cause and wynnyng, si\textasciitildeen \textasciitildei schulden schewe mekenes and pacience in here owene cause and wrong, as diden Crist and his apostlis. And si\textasciitilde Crist, verrest bishop of alle, cursed not for his ti\textasciitildees, ne whanne men \textasciitildeaven him ne\textasciitildeer mete ne drynk ne herbore; and he blamyde his cosyns and apostlis for \textasciitildei wolden have do vengauance on \textasciitildei peple; but Crist seide \textasciitildei mannis Sone cam not to lose mennus lyves and souls, but to save hem, as \textasciitilde gospel of Luk witenesse\textasciitilde, whi cursen oure weiard curettis so many mennus soulsis to helle, and bodies to prison, and loos of catel, and sumtyme to de\textasciitilde, for a litel muk, whanne \textasciitildei ben cursed of God for symonye don in here entre, and kevyn of prechyn and ensample of holy lif, and perfore \textasciitilde ti\textasciitildees ben not dewe to hem, but only peyne and helle? Many tymes \textasciitildei ben cruel tormentours, \textasciitildei slen a soule bout\textasciitilde Cristis precius blood, \textasciitildei is betre \textasciitilde an alle richessis of \textasciitildei world, for sixe pens or four. Salamon provyde bi witt \textasciitildeoven of God, \textasciitilde whanne twyene horis stryvede whos was \textasciitilde child \textasciitilde lyvede, \textasciitilde child was hern \textasciitilde wolde have it on lyve, and not hern \textasciitilde wolde have it deed. Moche more \textasciitildei ben not gostly fadris of Cristene soulsis, \textasciitildei wolen dampne hem to helle bi here cursyng for a litel rotyn drity. But \textasciitildei ben worse \textasciitildei ony tormentours of he\textasciitildeen houndes; for \textasciitildei tormentiden \textasciitilde body, and not \textasciitildei soule everemore; but \textasciitildei Sathanas children casten bi alle here power to slee \textasciitildei soule in everelastynge peyne. Certis \textasciitildei weiard curatis of Sathanas semen in \textasciitildei poynt worse \textasciitildei fendis of helle, \textasciitildei turmenten no soule in helle but only for everelastynge synne; and \textasciitildei Sathanas clerkis cursen soulsis to helle for a litel temperial dette, \textasciitildei wolen paye as soone as \textasciitildei may, and many tymes whanne it is not dette, but bi long errore and \textasciitildei and custom brou\textasciitildet up, a\textasciitildeenst Goddis commaundement and good reson and charite.\]
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

CAP. XVIII.

And yet pei cursed pore men for tipes, whanne pei may not paie for povert, and whanne curatis schulden yve hem of here owene goodis; and if beggynyng weren lifful, pei schulden begge at riche men for to releve here pore breperen, 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 pei schulden not resseyve offryngis and jisitis of men pat weren at debate and discord, as Goddis lawe and mannis witnessen, wyp declaryng of Seynt Jon Crisostom upon pe gospel of Matheu,—ne of usure and wrongful geten goodis, lest pei weren pertener of pe synne, but stire hem to make hem restitution, and leve here synne, and schewe in dede pat pei seken more profit and savyng of Cristene souls thanne here owene wynnyng or worchipe, as God dop bi his Godbed, and Jesus Crist bi his manhed, and alle his disciplis after him.

At pe laste men wonderen hugely whi curatis ben so chariouse to pe peple in takynge tipes, sypen Crist and his apostlis token no tipes as men doun nowe, and neiþer spaken of hem, to [be 7] paied þus, neiþer in gospel ne in pistel, in pe perfit lawe of fredom and grace, but Crist lyvede on almes of Marie Maude-leen and opere holy men and wymmen, as pe gospel tellip, and apostlis lyveden sumtyyme bi labour of here hondis, and sumtyyme taken pore lisfode and cloþ, 3ovyn of fre wille and devicion of pe peple, wypouten axing or constreyynyg. And to þis ende Crist seip to his postlis, þat pei schulden ete and drynke siche as men setten bifoare hem, and take neiþer gold ne silver for here prechynge and 3eyning of sacramentis. And Poul, 3eyng a general reule for prestis, seip þus, We havyng fode and cloþis to hile us, wyp þes þinges be we apayed. And Jesus Crist and Poul proveden, þat prestis prechynge trewely pe gospel schulden lyve bi or of pe gospel, and no more of þe tipes. Certis, as tipes were dewe prestis and dekenes in þe olde lawe, so þanne was bodily circumcision nedeful to alle men, but nowe in þe lawe of grace. And þit Crist was circumcidid,
but we reden not where he took typhes as we don, and we reden not in alle pe gospel where he paiede typhes to hie prestis or bad ony man do so, but bohe he paiede tribut to pe emperour for hym and his, and comaundide opere men to do so.

Lord! whi schullen oure worldly clerkis charge more Cristene peple wiþ typhes, 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 officeres of þe temple weren susteyned bi typhes and offryngis, and hadden noon opere lordischip; but now o worldly prest, þat is more unable þanne opere, bi vertu of Anticristis bullis hap alle þe typhes and offrynges to himself, and opere 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 þif typhes weren dewe bi Goddis comaundement, þanne every where in Cristendom schulde be o maner of tipynge. And þit men axyn now more typhes, of many þinges þat God spac not in þe olde lawe. Wolde God þat alle wise men and trewe men wolden enquire where it were betre for þo synде goode prestis bi fre almes of þe peple, and in a resonceable and pore lifode, to teche þe gospel in word and dede, as diden Crist and his postlis, þan to pae þus typhes to o worldly prest necligent and unkunnynge, as men ben now constreynd bi censure and bullis and newe ordynaunce of prestis. þif þis meke lif com aþen, symonye, coveitise, necligence and strif and plee and worldlynesse [of?] prestis schullen down, and trewe teychyn of Goddis word, and ensample of holy lif, and pees and charite, schullen regne in Cristendom. þif þis be betre þan þis newe ordynaunce of proude and coveitouse prestis, as men moten nedis graunte, for lyving and ensample of Crist and his apostlis, who maade Anticrist and worldly prestis so hardy to charge Cristene men wiþ þis newe ordynaunce þat [js?] more costly and profitable? Siþen Crist and alle his discipulis hadden nevere ony power but to encresyng of holy Chirche, and edifi-ynge of Cristene soulis to heveneward, who þaf Anticrist and his worldly prestis þis power to hyndre and peire þo goode

1 supplied.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

reulyng of holy Chirche bi so gret charge and cost? 3if þis first ordynaunce of Crist and his postlis come æsen into Cristendom, þan schal Cristene peple be fre to take her tiþes and offryngis fro weiard prest, and not meyntene hem in here synne, as þei ben now constreynd bi Anticristis power and censureis, and frely and wilfully ȝyve a resonable lîfâde to goode prestis: and þis were moche betere and esiere, boþe for prestis and comyns, boþe for þis world and þe toþer.

CAP. XIX.

Also þei cursen alle men þat beren out ony goodis of maneress or graunges of men of þe Chirche, æsenst þe will þe keperis. Here men wondren moche whi þei cursen not alle hem þat beren out ony þing of lordis placis and pore mennus houses, siþen þei ben many times more cursed of God þan þe firste. It semeþ þei reken nêvere of here neþeris harm so þat here last 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, æsenst þe will 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 tirantrie. And it semeþ þat þei understounden þis, how evere it be taken, wrongfully or justly, bi here newe dampnacion þat þei maden at London in þe erþe schakynge, where þei saiden þat it is errour to seie þat securer lordis may at here dom take temperal goodis fro þe Chirche, þat trespassisþ bi long custom*. 3if þis be errour, as þei seyn falsly, þanne þe kyng and securer lordis may take no ferþing ne ferþing-worþ fro a worldly clerk, þouþ he owe hym or his lege men nevere so moche good, and may wel paye it and woþe not. And þus þe kyng schal be cursed, 3if he do riþwisnesse in his rewme on his lege men, and brynge a Sathanas out of his olde synne and þeste, 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

* This, according to Walsingham (vol. ii. p. 59, Rolls edition), was the sixth of the conclusions con-demned as erroneous at the Council of London in 1382.
privylegie of þes goodis, moche more þe kyng hāþ 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 ʒoven of bischopis in þe erþe to don, wip good reson suen þes poynþis, þat ʒouþ a collegie of clerkis, or covent, or religious, ben open þeves, and robben and sleen þe kyngis lege men, ʒit þe kyng may take no ferþing-worp good fro hem, for alle worldly goodis ben temporal þingis, and, as þei seyn, noon seculer lordis may lawefully take temporal þingis fro þe Chirche þat trespassþ bi long custom.

Also, ʒouþ comynte of clerkis and religious sendale gold and goodis of þe rewme to aliens and enemyes wipoutensþorp, and resseten many þousand enemyes in here paleices and grete houses, stronge as castellis, to robbe slee and brenne alle men in oure lond, ʒit no man may take ony goodis fro hem bi þe same reson.

Also, ʒouþ an hous of monkes freris or clerkis ymagynen to poysone þe kyng, queene, and alle þe lordis of oure rewme, as þei han bifoþre þis tymc boþe popis emperours and kyngis, ʒit þe kyng wip alle his lordis mayn not ponsche hem in o ferþing-worp of good. Also, ʒouþ a frere monk or prest, bi comyn assent of þe covent, defoule quen bifoþre þe kyngis eyen, and moche more in privey chaumberis, ʒit þe kyng may not ponsche þe leste of hem in o ferþing-worp of good.

Also, ʒouþ þe clergie bi comyn assent caste þe kyngis dép, 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, ʒit þe kyng wip alle his lordis may not ponsche hym in o ferþing-worp of good. And siþen þe bodies of clerkis ben betere þan goodis of þis world, siþ þe kyng hāþ no power on here goodis þat ben lesse, he hāþ 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 meytene opyn þeves and mansleereis, and traitours of God and alle men, in here opyn cursed syne. And ʒouþ clerkis myȝtten lawefully have seculer lordeþipis, ʒit þei han justly forfetid hem alle, siþen bi comyn assent þei han conspired þus
against Goddis mageste, ye kyngis regalie, wel groundid in holy writt, and against here owene solempne op. 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, full of pride coveitise symonye heresie and blasphemye, and meyntening of opere mensus synnys, þit þe kyng takip not þes goodis evyle from holy Chirche, but justly takip þes goodis of holy Chirche, eyle occupied bi Sathanas clerkis, and restoreþ hem to holy Chirche. For þanne bi Goddis auctorite he takip þes goodis from Anticristis chircbe, 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 depertip hem wisly to just men, to helpe of pore men, and encresyng of vertouose lif boþe of prestis lordis and commeneris.

And in þis poyn þes worldly clerkis and feyned religious fallen into Luciferis pride, and into heresie against þe crede of Cristene men. For þei holden hemself men of holy Chirche and noon opere, where þe crede seip þer is on general holy Chirche of alle men and wymmen þat schullen be savyd, and of goode¹ 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 mynistride² þe ordre of bischopod, but was a devel of helle, as Crist seip in þe gospel, so, þif þes worldly clerkis schullen be dampned for here cursed synnes, as coveitise ypocrisye 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 dampyd in Goddis knowynge. Perfore þei schulden meke hem self boþe to God and man, and leve þis fendis pride and Anticristis tirauntrie, and open tresoun and blasfemye aþenst God and his viker þe kyng.

¹ corrected: goodis, X. ² corrected: mysurde, X.
WYCLIF'S WORKS.

CAP. XX.

Alle peves and alle þat reseten hem wyttyngly, and alle consentours to hem in synne, ben cursed of God, and foure tymes in þe þeer of men, in alle parische chyrches. First, alle clerkis of our lond semen cursed in þis poynt, for in eche parische chyrche a comyn þef and manseleere schal be resseyved fourty daies at þe lest, and no lawe passe on hym to make restituccion, þouȝ he be of power, and to ponsche him justly for chastisying of opere mysoedris; but after fourty daies he schal forswere þe kyngis lond, and þanne many tymes he robbep more and sleþ mo men, in trist of siche refute. And þis makþ many stronge peves and cursed manquelleris in oure lond; and to meynente þis resset and norischyng of peves, oure worldly clerkis wolen coste and traveile and lyve and die; and þerfore þei ben stronge schameles heretikis, to meynente þis opyn errour aȝenst Goddis lawe.

Also grete houses of religion, as Westmynstre, Beverle *, and

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 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 þe make I the, as hert may think or eȝen 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 freodom gibe ðe yer.
Swa hert may think or eȝen 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,
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opere, chalengen, usen, and meyntenen pis privylegie, pat what-
evere pe or felon come to pis holy hous of religion, he schal
dwelle pere alle his lif, and no man enpeche hym, pous he owe
pore men moche good and have ynow to paye it. And pous
he robbe and slee every nyxt many men out of pe fraunchise,
and every\(^1\) day come a\(\hat{e}\)en, he schal be meyntened perto bi
vertu of pis opyn heresie. And pese feyned clerkis crien faste,
pat pe kynge and alle pe lordis ben bounden bi vertu of here op,
in whiche pei sweren to meyntene holy Chirche and rjttis pepoch,
for to meyntenene pis open jfeite a\(\hat{e}\)enst Goddis heste and here
owene op, in whiche pei sweren to doo rjtwisnesse to eche
man and meyntenene eche man \(\hat{e}\)erinne. And pse pei maken
holy Chirche and her lege lord pe kynge patrons of here \(\hat{e}\)fe,
under colour of holynesse and devocion. But certis pse plcis
ben synagogis of Satanas, dennes of peves, and worse \(\hat{e}\)
Sodom and Gomor, as \(\hat{o}\) pat resceyven not Cristis word in pe
gospel; and pse ben cursed ypocritis, and weiward traitours to
God and here lege lord pe kynge and alle Cristendom, and pei
ben confermed in pis heresie, pat pei wolen lyve and die \(\hat{e}\)erfore.

Also alle curatis and prestis \(\hat{e}\)at comen not to pes stasis bi pe

\(^1\) corrected; euer, X.

within which fugitives from secular
justice were protected, was called
the Leuga, and is described in the
Domesday survey. A stone chair,
called the Fridd-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 ceremo-
nony of admission. The form of
oath, administered by the arch-
bishop’s bailliff to the suppliant, is
preserved in one of the Harlean
MSS. No. 4392, 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
shall be trew and feythful to my
lord Archbishop of York, lord off
this town, to the provest of the
same, to the chanons of this churc,
and all othr ministers thereof.

'Also ye shall bere gude hert to
the baillie and xil governers of this
town, to all burgesse and comyners
of the same.

'Also ye shall bere no poynted
wepen, dagge, knyfe, ne none othre
wepen a\(\hat{e}\)enst the kynge pece.

'Also ye shall 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 success
it.

'Also ye shall be redy at the obite
of Kynge Adelstan, at the Dirige
and the Messe, at such tyme as it is
done, at the waruyng of the bel-
man of the town, and do your
dewe in rynying, and for to offer
at the messe on the morne, so help
you God and thies holy evan-
gelists.'

And then gar hym kisse the book.
dore, þat is, Crist, þat is to see, bi mekenesse to seeke Goddis worship and savyng of menne soulis, but for pride coveitise and bodilys welfare, ben nyȝt þeves and day þeves, as Crist seip in þe gospel, and Seynt Austyn expouneth it so. And siþen alle ressetours and meynteneris of siche wityngly ben cursed, and þe pope ressetip hem and meyntenip 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 þeys. And parischens ben so constreyned bi Anticristis lawis to meyntene hem in here þeþte; for þou þei knownen þat here curat is a cursed þef, wiþdrawynge trewe prechynge and ensample of good lif, and dide grete symonyne in comyng to his benefice, þit 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 negligence or favo[u]r. But of alle þeys, þe pope makynge siche curatis bi his bullis for gold, and lordis and opere prelatis presentynge siche unable clerkys 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 seip, he þat haþ not cure of his owene, and most of his homely meynne, he haþ forsaken þe feip and is werse þan an unfeipful man þat never 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 kepynge of a fewe hoggis, and holde hem from her office of kepynge of hoggis, as þei doun a from kepynge of soulis; þerfore þei setten more pride bi a fewe hoggis þan bi many þousand soulis bouþe wiþ Cristis precious blood.

Also alle tyrantis and extorsions and conselours and consentours perito, fallen in þis grete curs, for alle þat þei han þus is þeþte, bi Goddis jugement and reson; and alle curatis and prelatis þat taken tyþes and osfryngis, and doun not here spirituall office, of God ordeyned 1 in his lawe, ben cursed þeys;

1 corrected; ordeynþ, X.

a That is, as the curates withhold themselves.
for þis hire is not ordeyned to hem but for doyng of þis spir-
ritual office. And þerfore Seynt Poul biddiþ, þat he þat werchip
not, ete not. Also alle þat mysusen here goodis in wast, pride,
glotonye, or opere 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 aþenst Goddis comaunderment, to harm of
hem and opere men, as Ambrose and Austyn witnesseen in many
placis. Alle þo þat mysusen þe myþtis 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 worschip, as moche as
in hem [is 1], and bi hem maken sacrificio to þe fend, in whos
servyce þei spenden hem.

3it alle þo þat disseyven here neiþeboris in ony chaffare or
servyce, bi false opis, false cautelis, and false weþtis or mesures,
ben stronge þevys, for alle þat þei getten þus þei geten falsly,
aþenst Goddis comaunderment, bi colour of holynesse and
equite; and þerfore þei lasten stille in her synne wiþouten
peyne of manmys lawe, comynly more þan don opere open
þevys. Also stronge beggeris, under colour of holynesse, rennen
faste in þis curs; for sotely bi many sleþtis expressly aþenst
Goddis comaunderment, þei robben þe pore peple fro moche
good, and bederede men from here liþode, and brynge þe
peple in hereisie many weies. For þei maken þe peple bileeve
þis, þat it is betre to þeve here almes to riche men and stronge
þan to pore men and nedy, as Crist comaunderþ. Þerfore of
alle þevys þes semen most cursed, for þei robben contynuely,
bope of temporal goodis, of mennuþ children, and of gostly
goodis, and sleen soules and bodies bope 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 þeþe woundeþ almost al Cristendom.

CAP. XXI.

Alle þo þat clippþ þe kyngis money, and þat kyttþ mennus
purses, ben solemnely cursed in parische chirches. Here it

1 supplied conjecturally.
semes þat þe proude worldly preste of Rome, and alle his fautours, ben most cursed of clipperis and purse-kerweris, for þei drawen oute of oure lond pore mennus liifode, and many þousande mark bi þere of þe kyngis money, for sacramentis and spiritual þingis. Þat is cursed heresie of symonne, and makþ al Cristendom assente and meyntene þis heresie. And certis þoug oure rewme hadde an huge hill of gold, and neveþ oþere man toke þeroþ, but only þis proude worldly prestis collectour, bi proces of tyme þis hil mooste be spendid, for he tåkiþ evere money oute of oure lond, and sendiþ nouþ aþen but Goddis curs for his symonye, and acursed Anticristis clerk to robb more þe lond, or wrongful privylegie, or ellis leve to do Goddis wille, þat men schullen not do wipouten his leed and biynge and silyng. But þoug oure kyng take taliage of þe peple as he may lawfully, for nedeful helpe of þe lond, þit þe money dwellþ stille in oure rewme, to profit þeroþ in manye pertis. 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 procurators or tresureris of pore men in takynge dymes and offryngeis, and as wel þei myþten take it out of here purses openly and devoure it, as þus to gete it bi extorsion, wrong customs, and Anticristis censursis, more þan þei schulden paye bi Goddis lawe and good conscience. For þif þei kittide þus openly here purses, þei schulden reckevere it bi comyn lawe, but of þis sotel kynging 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 travylene and hevenly lif.

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 weijtis, and in þis þei kitten boþe partis purses. And men of lawe contryven ofte newe sotel poynitis, to delaye just proces of lawe for money, and

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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 þif 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 eveþ after, bi trewe witnessyne of peyne dewe þerfore, þei asoilen wickid men liȝtfullþ, for to have pert of here þeþte, and hereby þei norischen evyle men in here wrongis and robbyn of þe þeþpeþle.

CAP. XXII.

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 on¹ God and holy Chirche, here gostly fadir and moder, whanne þei slaundren God and holy Chirche wip here worldy weiward lif, and dispisen him bi grete opis and false and nedeles, and opere grete synnes. For, as Seynt Austin seip on þe Sauter a, þes wickid men dispisen God more þan þe Jewis þat naileden him on þe cross, and in here wille þei cruci- fiþ Crist, whanne þei wolen not forsake here synne for his love ne drede. Also þei leyn hond violently on Crist, whanne þei slaundren and pursuen wrongfully ony membere of Crist, and namely for tellynge of treuþe and reprovyng of synne, as Crist and his postlis tauþte. Whanne þei crien þat alle men leýnge hond on a clerk bi violence be cursed, whi ben not alle oure worldly prelatis hugely cursed, þat violently and wipouten answere prisenen prestis, redy to be justified bi holy writt and reson, and to lyve after Cristis lif and his postlis, and helpe opere 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 slean Crist and his postlis, as Seynt Jon Crisostom witnesseþ b.

¹ corrected; þat in, X.

a S. Aug. Enarr. in Psalm lxvii, sermo ii. ¹ Minus enim peccaverunt Judaei crucifigentes in terrâ ambu- lantem, quam qui contemnunt in coelo sedentem.'

b S. Joan. Chrys. in Matt. v. ho- milia 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 fyrstten cursedly agenusoure moder holy Chirche; for in þat þei meyntenen Goddis enemys, to lese and dampe children of holy Chirche þoruþ false techyng and evyl ensaumpe.

Also alle þat taken and meyntenen false causes ben cursed greviously, as þei ben worþi, boþe of God and man. Here worldly clerks wip 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 lovedaiæs, and bi here lordischip meyntenenge þe fals pert, for money frendischip or favour, fallen opynly in þis curs, and so don men of lawe, wip alle false witnesses þat meyntenen falseness aȝenst treuþe, wytynghly or unwytynghly. For in alle þis fals meyntenynge þei holden wip þe fend aȝenst God, and as moche as is in hem, þei fordoun þe riȝtwisnesse of God, and so God himself, and magnysian Sathanas more þan God. And bi þis poynþ many þat semen ful holy and devout ben gretly acursed; for þouþ þei ben devout in preieris and siȝtte of men, ſit here meyne schal holde wrongis at lovedayes, and bere doun treuþe and pore men in here riȝt, bi colour of lordis knelynge in þe chapel. And þe colour of holynesse blundþ moche of þe peple, þat þei perseyven not þe treuþe but beren it doun, and holdþ wip falshed, and seyn þus,—þes grete lordis and wise men wolde not holde wip þis pert but þif þei knewen þat it were trewe, siþþ þei ben so devout in here preieris, and known Goddis lawe and mannis so fully. And bi þis doyng þes bie lordis and men of lawe ben maistris of errour, techyng it in

* In Titus Andronicus, act i. sc. 3, 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

word and dede, and constreynen pore men to holde forþ, bi manas of bodi and loos of catel and òpere persecucions, and ðerfore þei ben not only heretikis but princes of heretikis, as þei þat chefly meyntenen òpere men in synne and compelle hem þerto. Clerkis þat don evyl and meyntenene it bi sotilte of word ben sly or sotel heretikis, but þes lordis of prestis, þat ben bishopis, and òpere officeris þat meyntenen òpere men in synne, ben sotil maistras of errour and princis of heretikis. And worldly lordis þat don wrong, and constreynen pore men to asente to here wrong, ben rude or boistouse heretikis. And comynly alle mysdoeris fallen in þis curs, for þei meyntenen a fals quarele ægenst God and his seyntis.

CAP. XXIII.

Alle þat drawen men out of þe chirche or seintuarie, whanne þei fleen þeder for sukour after here manslaughtor or þèste, ben cursed hugely of oure prélatis, lesse and more. Here men wondren moche whi alle manquelleris schullen have þis fraunchise of þe sché, siþ God grauntide it only to hem þat sleen bi ignoraunce, or happily, not wilfully, and bi noon enemye; and alle siche as sleen a man wilfully bi enemyte, and bi chastynge and aspireyng bfore, schulden be drawen, þe, fro þe auter, to be deed bi Goddis comaundement. And Salamon þe wise kung dide þis in dede; but bi oure privylege, siþ a kung or seuler 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 bydding he fulflyþ. And þus þei cursen hem þat God blisseþ; þerfore þei ben cursed of God, and alle þat consenten to hem in þis poynť. But in alle Goddis lawe rede we neveere, 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 rescelyen 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 privylege; and also þei letten restitucion, þat is due bi Goddis biddyng.
Also þei cursen alle hem þat ben necligent to enprison
cursed men; but here þei cursen hem þat God blisseþ many
tymes, for ofte þei cursen wrongfully trewe men for prechynge
of þe gospel, and treuþis suyngþ þerof, aænst open synnes, for
þis prechynge is aænst here lust, and schewþ here soule 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 prisione hem for
wrongful comauondement of Anticrist and his clerkis. But
where ben foulerere 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 pur-
sue heretikis hardid in here errour, and to distroie [hem]¹,
and meynten Goddis worchip; and þus þei maken þe kyng
and grete lordis to become tormentours of Sathanas, and do
more malice and penny to Goddis servauntes þanne þe devel
dar do himself. For þouþ 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 bylyd pite, to
turmente his body as he were a strong þef, and caste him in a
dope prisione, to make ðeære men aferd to stonde wiþ Goddis
part aænst here heresie. And þus þei bitraien oure kyng and
lordis, and robben hem of riþ bileve and riþful dom and werkeis
of mercy, and stoppen Goddis word, and letten verrey pees of
Cristendom. Lord! where ben more cursed heretikis þan þes
weiward traitours? þat þus slean Crist and his postlis and
prophetis, and bitraien þe kyng and lordis to do wrong aænst God
and his servaunts, and robben Cristendom of feþ, hope, and
charite. Certis I wolde þat lordis wolden wisely prisione hem
þat ben cursed of God, for brekyng of his hestis, but þif þei
wolen leve here false swerenge and nedeles, and fraudes þat þei
usen ech to ðeære; for þis curs is evere riþful, and mannis

¹ supplied conjecturally.
curs is pe wrongful. Panne pe kynschulde synde how worldly clerkis, pat lyven in pride, glotonye, and lecherie, and don not here office, evynge ensaumple of holy lif and trewe prechynge of holy writt, ben comen in bi symonye, ben cursed heretikis, and he schulde prisone hem faste, but zif pei wolden amende here defautis bi pe lawe of God. And peis prisonyng moten pes clerkis graunte just, but zif pei setten more prise bi mannis wrongful curs pan bi pe riȝful curs of God Almyȝty. And peis were open heresie and blasphemye; and siche blasphemis bi pe olde lawe of God schulden be stoned to deþ bi pe comyn peple; and in pe lawe of grace alle men schulden scharply blame here synne, and but zif pei wolde leve it, holde hem as pupplicanis or hepen men, and not comune wiþ hem, as Crist taȝt and his posulis.

CAP. XXIV.

Alle pat don sacrilegie, pat taken holy ping oute of holy place, or unholy out of holy place, or holy ping oute of unholy place, ben greously cursed in pe chirche. Here men wondren of peis sentence, for comynly alle prestis beren holy ping out of pe chirche, as dymes and offryngis, pat pei clepen holy, and spenden hem sumtyme ful evele; and siche ben cursed bi peis sentence. And zif pei seyn pat pei have leve perto, seie pe God gevep no leve whanne pei don not here office perfore. And prestis spenden hem evele in worldly vanye, glotonye, and lecherie, and panne algatis ben pei riȝfully cursed of God on double manere; oon, for pei don not here office pat Crist chargiþ so moche,—anoþer, for pei wasten þus pore mennus goodis, aȝenst Goddis lawe and mannis. Pe secunde tyme men wondren of peis sentence; for zif alle ben cursed pat take unholy ping out of holy place, pan eche man pat dop out of dedly synne of his soule, halewid in baptym, is cursed; and namely zif he do ony venyal synne oute of his soule pat is in charite, for pan he dop unholy, pat is synne, out of his soule, pat is holy place; and panne Crist and alle his seynsis mosten be most cursed of alle men, for pei moste did þis unholy ping out of

1 corrected: senten, X. 2 dele of; the meaning is, 'driveth deadly sin out of his soul.'
mennum soulis, and autoriseden it. And ðif þei seyn þat þei understanden only of worldly goodis, seie þat smoke of erþely muk blyndþ hem so moche þat þei taken non hede to God and vertues, and where þei blaberen trewe or fals.

Þe pridde tyme men wondren most, sþ charite only schulde make men to curse for synne don aþenst Goddis hestis. Whi our clerkis cursen not hem þat taken lordis goodis of here maneres and places, and pore mennus goodis out of here houses and feldis? sþ þis is many tymes more synne, and disturblþ more pees of þe lond. It semþ þes clerkis loven not here neþeboris as hemself, and þat þei pursuen not þe synne in here curs, but only here owene wynnyng; and herefore þei forfeten aþenst alle þe maundements of God; for þei loven neiþer God ne here neþebore as þei schulden, and þanne utterly þei ben cursed of God and alle his seymtis.

Also our prelatis cursen alle hem þat don aþenst þe Grete Chartre ¹ and þe Chartre of forest. And alle þis is lawe cyvyl ², and þe pope forbedþ prestis to here lawe cyvyl, and putþ on hem grete peyne ðif þei don it. And þei may not knowe þes poynsis but ðif þei heren hem; þan þei ben nedid to faile blyndly in þis sentence. Perfore it were more profit boþe to body and soule þat our curatis lerneden and tauþten many of þe kyngis statutis, þan lawe of þe emperour. For our 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 soule wastid aboute bookis of þe emperours lawe, and studie aboute hem. And ðif our 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 ðif men seyn, þat studie aboute þe emperours lawe wþdrowþ 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 sop, and þe popis entent is good in þis.

¹ corrected; charite, X. ² corrected; cruel, X.
But pis lettyng of studie and knowyng of holy writ is more don bi þe popis lawe þan bi þe emperours, for it is lengere, and more stondiþ in singular wille of þe pope and his cardynalis þan in reson, oþerewise þan doþ þe emperours lawe. And mo clerkis drawen to þe popis lawe, and þerby leven holy writ, for wynnyng of worldly muk and veyn worshipe of þis world; and þe pope forþerþem in þes poyntis, and hindriþ men of dyvynyte, and techiþ alle men to don þe same bi his ensaumple. Þerfore þe Cardynal Odo* seip, þat þe popis law and þe emperours ben þe twyne calvys of gold þat lettiden Goddis peple worschipe him in Jerusalem; so þes twayne lawis drawen men fro studie and knowyng of holy writ, and dewe worschypynge of God. For evere as a man owiþ to worschipe God biore alle þingis, so owiþ eche man, and namely a prest, to studie and knowe holy writ biore alle oþere lawis. Þerfore prestis biheten to God þat þei schullen evere þenke of Goddis lawe; and Jesus seip in þe gospel, þif ony man love him, he schal kepe his words; and God comaundid in þe olde lawe þat þe kynge schulde studie in bokis of his lawe, and þat þis bok schulde not passe fro his eien. Þerfore Seynt Gregory witnessþ, þat evere as a man loveþ a kynge, so he loveþ his lawe. It semeþ þat curatis schulden ræþere 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 kynge and his riþful lawes, and not so to þe emperours; and þei myȝten wonder wel be savyd, þouȝ many lawes of þe pope hadden nevere be spoken, in þis world ne þe topere.

**Cap. XXV.**

Alle þo þat comuen wþ cursed men ben cursed bi oure prelatis, namely þif þei doun þis witynghly. Here it semþ þat God is cursed bi þis sentence, for no cursed man may be in þis

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* 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 *Provincialis* (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 wittingly comune wiȝ 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 before 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 wiȝ hem, and helpen hem, and don werkis of mercy to hem, ben blissed of God. For Crist seþ in þe gospel, Blissed be þe mercyful, for þei schullen have mercy. And þouþ men ben nevere so openly cursid, ȝit men may lawefully comynen wiȝ hem, for to drawe hem into good lif, and not to countforte hem in here synne; and þus boþe God and goode men may lawefully comynen wiȝ cursed men wittingly, in wrongful curs and riȝtful. But late worldly prestis anserwe here, where a man þat oweþ dette to a cursed man may wittingly comune wiȝ 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 wiȝ a cursed man. Þanne, bi here owene dom, siþ curatis and prelatis þat breken openly Goddis hestís ben riȝtfully cursed of God, sugetis schulden not comyne wiȝ hem, rasscevynge here sacramentis, ne tiþe ne ofre to hem ony goodis, for þan þei comynen wyttyngly wiȝ cursed men, þat þei schulden not do for alle þis worlde, bi here owene sentence. Also, siþ siche curatis don not here office in good lyvyng and trewe techynge, and comen not into here benefices bi þe dore, þat is, Crist, but symonye, pride, and coveitise, þei ben þevys, as Crist seþ in þe gospel, and cursed, for þei wiȝdrawen riȝtis of holy Chirche. Þanne here sugetis ben ressetours of þevys, and meyntenors of hem in here synne, and so cursed bi here owene sentence, and for consent to synne, as Seynt Poul seþ. And ȝif lawieris seyn þat þis were sop þif men weren þus cursed bi sentence ȝovyn openly of prelatis, certis myche more þis peyne renneþ whan God curseþ justly for brekyng of his hestís. And þe comynete of prelatis cursen in comyn lawe for symonye and wiȝdrawynge of holy Chirche riȝtís, 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 send, ðan bi ðe moste riȝtful curs þat God can þeve; but þis were al on and to drede a worldly cursed wrecche, and in cas a send of helle, more þan God Almȝytt and alle his sugetis, and magnyfie siche a frend more þan grete God of hevene and er þe, and alle creaturis. Perfore þis peyne mot renne for just cursyng of God, and not everemore for cursyng of worldly clerkis, for þei don ofte wrong.

CAP. XXVI.

Alle mensleeris and brenneris of houses and corves ben cursed opynly in parische chirches. Here men of armes, þat sleen and brennen in wronge werry, ben openly cursed boþe of God and man; and alle counseilours to wrongful werry ben in þe same peril, wiþ alle prechours þat stiren men and herten hem in þes werry, and alle penytaunceris þat tellen not to hem þe treuþe, but assolen over liȝtly, for money or worldly favour. And it semþ þat alle prelatis in oure lond þat consenten to þes werry, þe, þouþ þei ben riȝtful, ben irreguler bi here owene lawe. For siþ he is irreguler þat wriþþ a lettre of dom wherof o þef is dampned to deþ, or sittþ in place as associated wiþ þe domesman, moche more þes worldly prelatis þat sitten in Perleman, and conseilen þat oure gentelmen schullen goo out of oure lond to werre wiþ Cristene men, where many þousand ben slayn*, ben irreguler bi Goddis lawe and mannis. For be many resons þes worldly prelatis don werse in þis cas þan þif þei killeden sudenly many men bi here owene hondis. And siþþe pope and oþere clerkis, lesse and more, myghten soone fordo þes werry and make þees in Cristendom, and leven þis grete dede of charite for worldly wynnynge or frendischiphe or bodily desese, it semþ þat þei ben irreguler, and cause of alle þis werre. And eche man avyse hymself wel, þat þouþ men han nevere so grete riȝt bi worldly title, þit þe werre is wrongful bifoþe God, but þif 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

* 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 leesih charite.

And siþ Crist in þe gospel graunþip a hundridfold and ever-lastyngel lif in hevene to ech man þat forsakip 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 persecution paciently, as Crist tauþte 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 doph to alle men for to þȝtte and slee Cristene men, and to holpe þerto? Certis þis prest wiþ his fals prechours, þat ben princes of man-querleris and werris, ben openly contrarie to Crist and his postlis, and so open Anticristis, maistris of Sathanas. Jit weiward prelatis and curatis, þat techen not Goddis word to here sugetis, but suffren hem be strangild wiþ wolvsys 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 comunly of body and soule bi dep of synne, and everelastyngel dep of boþe in helle wipouten ende.

Alle worldly and opere sovereyns þat þeyyn evyl ensample of open synne to here sugetis and neiȝeboris, distroien and brennen Goddis hous and temple, þat is mannis soule, in as moche as [is] in hem. And oure Savyour Crist principaly curseþ siche men in þe gospel; for as moche as mannis soule is betre þan erþly muk, so moche ben þes gostly distroieris or brenneris worse 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 þit þe more þat a worldly clerk bi evyl ensample 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 meyn-tening of synne.

CAP. XXVII.

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 dred of God ne schame of þe world; and namely, þif he meyntene þopere men in evyl. Loke now wher þis bishop of Rome wip his court do þus in his wengis, boþe possessoris and religious and mendynauntis. First, bi his worldly [lif] ¹ he drawiþ þe comynte of clerkis from holy writt, and so distroieþ moche þe seþ of holy writt; boþe bi his worldly lif, and false expounynge of Cristis lif, for to colour his lif and his felowis, þat suen þis world and likgyn þerof. And he stireþ men bi grete perdon to breke opynly Goddis hestis, and he envenymeþ comynly alle Cristendom wip 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, privilegeis, indulgencis, and general perdon; and makiþ men triste more in his doyng þan in God Almyghty and his mercy. And certis of his comyn ² mysdoynge, 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 mercymensit, and newe customes and chargis, þat þei hilden pore men and leven hem half quyk. So God seþ bi his prophetis. But tirauntis of þe chirche, as hie prestis wip here officeris and ðopere 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 ðopere 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 sullen sacramentis, as ordis, and ðopere spiritualte, as halwynnym of auferis, of chirchis, and chircheýerdís; and compellen men to alle þis wip hok or crok. Jit þei taken moche money of open synful men, and norischen hem in open synne for annuel rente, [and] ³ so sullen Cristene soulis to Sathanas for

¹ supplied conjecturally. ² corrected; comynge, X. ³ supplied conjecturally.
here owene muk. And what trewe prest or pore man speketh openly aynst þis cursed marchaundise, he shal be sumonend, suspendid 1 fro prechynge and treuþe-seynge, or cursed, prisoned, or exilid.

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 suteles turnen þe cat in þe panne, and tarien pore men in here riȝt, þat it is beter to hem for to leve here owene good, þan to calenge it bi worldly dom. Jit þe kynge and opere lordis, wiþ comyn justicis, semen comyn mysdoeris; for þei suffren wickid tyrauntis oppresse pore men bi extorsions and opere 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 crokide, as Job was, as holy writtell. And þis negligence and consente of grete lordis makiþ hem ful gilty and cursed in þe dom of God. Also alle comyn swerers bi Goddis herte, bonys, nailis, and sidis, and opere membris a, and false and veyn swerers, wiþ lecchours, and alle opere þat comynly don aynst ony of Goddis hestis, for þei ben comyn mysdoeris, rennen fully in þis sentence.

**Cap. XXVIII.**

Alle false conspiratours ben cursed of God and man. Conspiratours ben po þat by comyn assent don wrong or ony falsenesse to here neȝeboþis. Here it semeþ openly þat alle freris, worldly clerkis, and possessioneris, ben openly cursed; for þei conspiren falsly aynst þe gospel and Cristis b pore prestis; and

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1 corrected; suspending, X.

a The use by the Host in the *Canterbury Tales* of the profane oaths 'for Goddis bones,' and 'by Goddis dignite,' elicits a remonstrance from the Parson:---

'What slieth the man, so stafely to swere?' To which the immediate reply of the Host is,—

8 corrected; Crist, X.

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'Slow 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

pei schullen not preche wiʒouten leve of pe bischopis, and pei wolen not suffre hem to preche fully pe treupe of holy writ, and warne pe peple of Anticristis tirauntrie, and of his clerkis ypocrisie, as God biddiʒ hem do. And whanne pei comen to pe purpos of here false ypocrisie, and stoppen trewe men fro prechyng of pe gospel, pei maken moche joie and gladnesse; and here pei schewen opynly þat þei serven to þe fend, fadir of falsnesse, and haten Jesus Crist, lord of treuþe and sopfastnesse.

Also alle newe fraternityes or gildis a maad of men samen openly to renne in þis curs. For þei conspiren many false errours aȝenst þe comyn fraternitye of Crist, þat alle Cristene b men token in here cristendom, and aȝenst comyn charite and comyn profit of Cristene men. And perþo þei conspiren to bere up eche oþer, þe, 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 owiʒ for to do bi comyn fraternitye of Cristendom, bi Goddis comaundement. And þei bryngen in moche pride vanye 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 pepe, and meyneten 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 þre masons and oþere, samen openly cursed bi þis sentence. For þei conspiren togidere þat no man of here craft schal take lesse on a day þat þei setten, þouʒ 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, þouʒ he myȝt profit his maistir twenti pound bi o daies werk bi leggyng on a wal, wiʒouten harm or penyng himself. See hou þis wickid peple

a corrected; Criste, X.

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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 ægenst treupe and charite, and comyn profit of þe lond, and ponyschip hem þat helpen frely here neiþeboris.

Also it semeþ þat marchauntes groceris and vitileris rennen in þe same curs fully. For þei conspiren wickidly togidre þat noon of hem schal bie over a certeyn pris, þouþ þe þing þat þei bien be moche more worþi, and þei knowen wel þis; and þat non of hem schal sille betere chepe a þan anoper, þouþ he may wel forþ it so, and it be not so moche worþ as anoper mannis chaffer; þus he schal be ponysched sore þif he do trewe and good conscience. Certis alle þis peple conspiþ cursedly ægenst treupe, charite, and comyn profit. Summe trewe men seyn, þat summe parische prestis conspiren togider to selle sacramentis for a certeyn pris, and to lette trewe men to preche þe gospel, for drede last þei tellen out here cursed ypocrisie and symonye and heresie. And þif it fare þus wiþ hierre penytancercis, boþe of bishopis and popis,—and sum men supposen þat þei don,—it is moche þe worse on alle ordin, for þanne þei ben cursed of God and man, and maken þe peple cursed þerto.

CAP. XXIX.

Alle þat wipholden unreasonably ony goodis axid þries in þe chirche, fallen into þe grete sentence of curs. Þis sentence of curs semeþ resonable to good understondynge, for Seynt Austyn seþ, þif þou fynde ouþt of ðopere mennus and quiteit it not, þou hast ravyschid þat þing, or stolen, or taken bi raveynþ b. Þan siþ Crist himself hæp axid solemnely, bi hie redyng of his gospel and ðopere placis of holy writt, generaly in churchis, ript feþp and good lyving and due reverence to him, þei þat wipholden þes goodis ben justly acursed of God himself, þat may not erre. Also, siþ God himself, and bi his prestis boþe hæp axid þus many þousand tymes þat prelatis and curatís, more and lesse, do treweþ 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 clxxxviii, § 9. 'Quod invenisti et non reddidisti, rapuisti.'
of the gospel and his commandments, with open example of here owene good life, to be myrrour to here sugetis, after him whereas goods be rightly cursed of God and all his seynis. And si GP God and trewe prestis han axed thus many tymes, pat curatis schulden lyve in mekenesse symplenesse and sobernesse, and spende al that leve over here resonable susteynance in releyng of pore men, after him whereas goods of holy Chirche, and spenden hem in pride glotonye lecherie and worldly vanye, ben openly cursed by this sentence, and many openly ful trewe and resonable.

Also, since God and his prestis han openly axed thus oft tymes in chirechis, pat prelatis and curatis ben not bisi in lordis courtis, in worldly officis, but be bisi on here gosly office, and resident at hom wiþ here sheep, after him whereas goods in here worldly servyce, for here gosly office, fallen fully in this riȝtful curs. But more this weyard steffadris of mennus souls, pat for coveitise of moo benefices, and gederyng of erþely dritt, procure this, and ryven moche money to be thus in worldly office; for after him procure faste to poisone here lordis, hemself, and this peple, wiþ Goddis curs and here owene. Oure bishopis pat pressen to be chauseler a and tresorer and governours of alle worldly officis in this rewme, to dreedeful sore¹, for after may not wel togidre do her gosly office and worldly, for Crist and alle his postis; wiþ alle here witt, kouden not and wolden not entermete wiþ worldly office, but fledden it as venym. And certis oþer þes bishopis ben wittier and myȝtier þan Jesus Crist and his postis, or ells after him open foolish cursed of God and man. For after moten nedis be traitours of God and his peple in this sovereyn medicyn of souls helpe, þe while after ben þus bisi aboute worldly occcupacion. 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 gosly lif of Crist and his postis.

Also, si GP God and his prechours han ofte axed in chirechis

¹ something seems omitted.

* 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.
solemnpnely, þat alle riche men do treuly and wisely [þeº] þe residue of here goodis, over her owene sustenance and ðoper nedis, in werkis of mercy to pore feble lame and blynde, þei þat wipholden þes goodis fro þes pore men, and wasten hem in pompe and glotonye and ðopere 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 wipholden þes sugetis from here parisch chirches, and her sacramentis þere, for here owene coveitise and pride, fallen fully in þis sentence. For þei wipdrawen ðopere mennus riȝtis to himself for coveitise, and maken discension, and disturburen pees and charite, and namely whanne þei taken almes of riche men, þat is sustenance of pore bedrede men, to himself bi sutele ypocrisie, as fals beggyng whanne it is no nede, and maken grete festis to riche men, and bilden wast housen², and namely he kechenes and grete chaumbris for lordis, ægenst here owene reule and profession; and to pursue trewe men þat prechen þe gospel ægenst comyn synnes, and so Crist himself, ægenst þe lawe of God expressly. Þus many men rennen in þis poynet of curs, and namely ðopere, whoso sekiþ wel.

Men wondren moche whi prelatis and curatis cursen so haste, 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 haste for here owene cause and worldly 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 ægenst Goddis honour and majeste, as bi fals and veyn oþis, and ribaudrie of lecherie, and ðopere filþe. Most men wondren whi worldly clerkis cursen so haste for brekyng of here owene statutis, privylegies, and weidward customes, more þan for open brekyng³ of Goddis comaundements; 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; bousynge, X. ³ corrected; breken, X.
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is blissed of God and schal come to hevene, but only he þat kepþ 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.

Perfore 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 þif þei amende hem in þis lif, and what blisse men schullen have for kepynge 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 blisseyng; and blisse to alle þat enden in riþ 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 Wycliffe, to be considerably the more accurate of the two.

The treatise is ascribed to Wyclif in Bale’s catalogue under the title ‘De Ecclesiae 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 Catholica.’ 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 ‘Caynes 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.]
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HERE BIGYNNE A TRETICE PAT TELLIP KNOWLECHE SUMWHAT OF PE CHIRCHE AND HIR MEMBRIS.

Cristis Chirche in his Spouse, that hap pree partis. Pe first part is in blis, wip Crist heod of pe Chirche, and conteneh angels and blessid men pat now ben in hevene. Pe secounde part of pis Chirche ben seintis in purgatorie; and pes synnen not of pe newe, but purgen peh olde synnes. And many errours fallen in preiynge for pes seintis; and sip peh alle been deed in bodi, Cristis wordis may be taken of hem,—sue we Crist, in oure lif, and late pe dede birie the dede. Pe pridde part of the Chirche ben trewe men pat here lyven, pat schulen be aftir saved in hevene, and lyven here Cristen mennis liif. Pe first part is clepid over-comynge; pe myddil is clepid slepyng; pe pridde is clepid fijtinge Chirche; and alle pes maken o Chirche. And heed of pis Chirche is Crist, bope God and man; and pis Chirche is modir to ech man pat shal be saaf, and conteyneh no membre but oonli men pat shal be saved. For, as Crist vouchiip-saaf to clepe pis Chirche his spouse, so he clepih curside men fendis, as was Scarioth. And fer be it fro Cristene men to graunte pat Crist hap weddid pe fend; sith Poul seip in oure bileve pat Crist comounep not wip Belial. And here we takun as bileve pat ech member of holi Churche shal be saved wip Crist, as ech member of pe fend is dampned; and so pe while we fijten here and witen not where we schal be saaf, we witen not where we ben membris of holi Churche. But as God wole of pe pingis, pat we knowun hem not in certein, so he wole for greet cause pat we witen not where we ben of pe Chirche. But as ech man shal hope pat he schal be saaf in blisse, so he shulde suppose pat he be lyme of holi Chirche; and peus he shulde love holi Chirche, and worchippe it as his modir.

And by pis hope, binepe bileve, shulden be two synnès fled; pride of men and coveitise, bi title pat pei ben men of holi Chirche. For no pope pat now lyveh woot where he be of pe Chirche, or where he be a lym of the fend, to be dampned wip Lucifer. And peus it is a blynd folie pat men shulden fijte for pe pope more pat pei fijten for bileve; for many siche fijten

Therefore no man, not the Pope himself, can tell while he lives whether he be a member of the Church or not.

Z 2
for þe fend. And take we þis as bileve, or treuþ þat is next bileve, þat no man þat lyveþ here woot wheþer he shal be saved or damned, al þif he hope byneþe bileve þat he shal be saved in heven. þif ony man be taþt of God þat he shal be saved in hevene, noon or fewe men ben siche; and asaye hem bi hem sylf, for þei schulden have noon 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 Godhede, and how he lyvede here by his manhede. And þus oure hope and bileve ben temperid in Cristen men.

CAP. II.

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 ynowþ wiþ his apostlis, aboute þree and þrítte þeer, 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 regnede ever þere wiþ his Fadir. And so þe first part of þe Chirche rengneþ þus in hevene with Crist; þe secounde part sleþ þit, as longe as Crist liþ þe þridde part of þe Chirche fystþ here aftir Crist, and takiþ ensample 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 doþ, 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 aþenstonden hem faste, and heþene men token him wiþ wille, and rescseyved 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 brouþte in a newe

^ omitted; CC.
gile, and moved þe emperour of Rome to dowe þis Chirche in þis preest. For, as the fend tauȝte þis kynge, 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 synned in þis dede. But bisie we us not where þei ben seintis, and how þei were þus moved of God; for als þis is byneȝe bileve, and men mai trowe it ȝif þei wolten.

Whan þis lif was þus changid, þe name of this preest was changid; he was not clepid Cristis apostle, ne þiȝ disciple of Crist, but he was clepid the pope, and heed of al hooli Chirche; and aftirward camen ðer names bi feynynge of y pocritis; as sum men scie, þat he is even wiþ the manheed of Crist, and hierste viker of Crist to do in er þere whatever him likþ; and summe florishen ðir names, and seien þat he is moost blissed fadir. But cause herof ben beneficiis þat þis preest ȝyveþ to men; for Symon Magus travallide nevere more in symonie þan þes preestis doon. And so God wolde suffre no lenger þe fend to regne oonli in oo sicke preest, but, for synne þat þei hadden do, made deviþoun amongst 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 deportid in manye; for þanne oon helpþ aȝen anoþir to confounde Anticrist.

And þis moveþ pore preestis to speke now herteli in þis mater. For whanne þat God wolþ helþ his Chirche, and men ben slowe and wole not worche, þis slouȝe is to be dampilnd for many causis in idil men. And myche more ben þei dampilnable, þat letten Goddis lawe to shyne. Þes men taken noo witnes of adversaries to þis pope, and ben Jewis and Sarayynes, 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 ðis moost of
opir, pat gilep man bi ypocrisy. For oon mai seie pat he aloone is Cristis viker here in erpe, and he haþ power singuler to taxe gracis as him likiþ, for so dide Petir, afir Crist, and many opir after Petir; and þus þer is oon emperour, and oon heed in a comuniæ. But here þenken trewe men þat þe fend failliþ here, and goþ 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 chesyns maad of man is fals signe, and incompleet for to make Cristis viker; but works 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 por- erste man of opir, and mekerst of opir men, and moost traveile in Cristis Chirche. But chesyn of cardinalis, and parting of benefices, and takynge of newe names, ben ful fer fro þis staþ. þus lyvede Petir, afir 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 afir Cristis lawe, and noon of hem hadde afir nede to come to Petir to be con- firmed. But oonhede on heed of holi Chirche is Jesus Crist here wiþ us, þat is ever in þe myddil of þee þat ben gedrid in his name. And þat man is out of resoun, þat trowiþ þat Cle- ment in Petris tyme was more þan Joon evangeliþ, or any apostle that lyvede wiþ him. And þif we trowen to croniclis here, hou þat Clement left his office and procuride opir to helpe him, as Poul helpide Petir, and Petre suffride mekle þat Poul snybbide him whanne he erride, we may 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 deen þat þei ben Anticristis; for Crist myȝte not take a name, but þif it were mekenes and treuþe.

And þif þou seie þat Cristis Chirche mut have an heed here in erpe, soþ 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 kyang mut be stretchid by al his rewme, myche more þe vertue of Crist is comuned wiþ al his
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children. And yif ye seie yat Crist mut nedis have sich a
viker here in erpe, denye yeou Cristis power, and make pis fend
above Crist. For bileve techiþ us, yat noo man mai grounde
pis viker oonly on Cristis lawe, but on presumpcioun of man;
and sich hyenesse of emperours haþ destried her empire; and,
yif yat God wole, þes popes shal destrie hemsif, þhe, here,—for
no drede þei ben distried in helle bi jugement of Crist. And
so whatever resoun men maken of Crist, of Petir, or oþer good
ground, it goþ opinli æzen sich a pope for þe grete diversite;
and so whanne þes men failen resoun, þei tristen to mannis
helpe, and feynten bi ipocrisie how myche good þei don æzen.
But God cursiþ by Jeremye hem that affien þus in man.

CAP. III.

Here men taken sumwhat soþ, and doon dremynge to þis
treuþe. þei seien soþli, yat Cristis Chrurch is his hous to kepe
his meyne;—and summe in þis hous ben sones, þat shulen ever
dwelle in hevener and take her faderis heritage, þhe, yif þei trespas-sen for a tyme,—and summe ben servaunts in þis hous,
al yif þei shulen aftir be dampned. And so it is greet diversite
to be in þis Chrurch; and of þis Chrurch þes wordis ben soþli
seid, and notabli to mannis kynede. 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 þaf
hem ful power herto bfore alle oþir preestis alyre. Here þis
dream takun amys turnep up so doun þe Chrurch. For Petir
was a trewe help wiþ Poul and Joon and oþir apostlis; but
noon of þes servaunts dremeden þat he was heed of hooli
Chrurch, 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 tauþt to strive
not herfore; for oþir apostlis in oþir maner loveden more Crist
þan dide Petir,—as Poul travelide more in þe Chruche,—and
Joon lovede Crist more hevenliche. For Joones love was in
quiet and clene, as seintes loven in heven. Which of þes is
more hiþ now is but foli us to dreme. Wel we witen þat Crist
wole taken, of what state ṭat him likiþ, a man, aftir ṭat he is
worþi, to more blis or more joie; but aftir bileve of hooli writ,
ṭat telliþ of Petre and oþir apostlis ṭat ṭei ben now blessid in
hevene,—for noon fel but Scarioth,—taken we bystand bileve of
many oþir, ṭat ṭei ben seintis, as of Clement and Laurence,
and oþir ṭat ṭe Legende spekiþ of. And of summe we han
more evidence, and of sum lasse, binþe bileve.

And summe þenken a greet evidence, ṭat if þe pope canonise
þis man, þanne he mut nedis be seint in hevene. But trowe
þei þis men þat wolten. 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 hemself as ypocris, 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 foliþ.
But we mai seie bi supposal, þat we gesse þat it is so; and
whoever haþ more evidence, his part shulde sunner be sup-
posid. But here ben þree grete heresies þat disseyven many
men. First, men supposer þat ech pope is þe moost blessid
fadir; but þis speche lastiþ but a while, til þat þe pope mai
avance men. But heere we seien soþly, þat þes men þat clepen
hem blessid, disseyven hem and flateren hem, for þei hopen to
have wynnyng of hem. For wheþir is þis pope moost blessid
in þis liþ or aftir þis liþ? He is not blessid in þis liþ, for blis
falliþ to þe toþir liþ, and þis liþ 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
makþ not bi himself man blessid, for ellis ech pope were blessid,
al ȝif he were falsly chosen of fendis; and Scarioth shulde be
bissed, for he was chosen of Crist himself. And it is no nede

* The Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine.
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To argue here for to disprove pis foli, for it is more fals in himself than out of that men shulen bringe herof.

Pe toþir heresie, pat comeþ of pis, disceyveþ many simple men; pat gif pe pope determine out, tanne it is soþ and to bileve. But Lord! where ech pope be more and better wiþ God tan was Petre? But he errede ofte, and synnede myche; she, aftir he hadde take pe Holi Goost. Lord! wher Crist clepid hym Sathanas, and bad him go aftir him, and yit þer was no cause of his errour, wherfore Crist clepid him þus? And so whanne Petre denyede Crist, and swore fals for a womans vois, he errede in þis foul synne; and þerfore he wepte aftir. Also, aftir takynge of þe Holi Goost, Petre errede, as Poul seþ, whanne he wolde not dele with Gentiles for tendrinesse 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 opir apostlis to erre in companye of Crist, and it were to fals a feynyng, to seie þat holi Chirche hangib on þes, for þis feynre 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 tan 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 makib hereties, and to assente wiþ suche falseheed bringib in ofte heresies; and Crist wole not assente wiþ þes, for þei mai not be soþ.

CAP. IV.

Se we ferþer how þis stiward may erre in ordenaunce of the Chirche; and bigynne we at þe freris, þe which ben brouþ last in. It is licly þat Cristis preestis, þat stoden til þat monkes comen, turneden to myche fro Cristis lawe, and monkes lyveden þan wel better. 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 biforn, þat þes newe ordris camen in. But as þes newe ordris changen in cloþis, in bokis1, wiþ oþer ritis, so þei varien

1 So in CC: bokis, A.
in Goddis office fro þat þat Crist bad his preestis do. So, þif apostlis were 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 ordis, stondinge alle þes olde ordis, 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 retours 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 faillþ in governaunce of þe Chirche, aþen 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 servautinis done amys, holdiþ stille, and bryngiþ in newe þat done werse bi litil tymye, faillþ foule in his office? And so servautinis upon servautinis weren charious to þis hous; and þif þer firste office was good, and þis is now al oþer, þe chaynynge of þes newe retours shulde do harm to þis hous. And þus it stondiþ in þe Chirche of þes newe servautinis þat ben brouȝt in.

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 faillþ. And siþ Petre hadde not þis power, ne Poul, ne ony oþir apostle, þis stiward of Anticrist mut nede come in bi þe fende. O siþ in þe olde lawe waren preestis and

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1 Several explanations have been proposed of this word, the general sense of which clearly is ‘servants,’ ‘menials.’ But since rebete and rebeteinge, in the sense of ‘refresh,’ are of frequent occurrence in Chaucer, the proposal of Dr. Todd to consider rebetours a noun of the agent formed from rebete, and to derive it from the old French word rebeter, rebeter, seems to me preferable to the ingenious solutions proposed by writers in ‘Notes and Queries.’ Host meant enjoyment, boister to enjoy oneself; therefore rebetours might mean lazy apolautic 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 sufficid to al þes officis, myche more in tyme of grace, whanne Goddis service is liȝter! And so, siþ ȝe tenþe part of þe fruyt sufficid 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 himselff ordeynede first, but ȝif we putten blasphemye on God þat he ordeynede solily. And herfore Cristis apostlis, and þere 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 seip shulde be ynowȝ. But now men seien þat preestis ben moost gredy purchasours in erpe, and han to hem þe fourþe part þat shulde be in þer breþerþen hondis; and þis þei seien is mortisied, and patrimonie of Crist þat was done on þe cros. And to defende þis patrimonie ben manye newe lawes ordeyned, and cursing for sacri-legie in whomever þat reveþ þis rente. And, for prestis han ynowȝ of suche goodis mortisied, þerfore þis styward chaﬀerþ wiþ appropyng of chirchis; and so þe puple dwelliþ untaught, and unlerned in goostli helpe. Who shulde be blamyd herfore but þis stiward, þat doīþ þis wiþouten leewe of þe lord, but opynli æzens his biddyngȝe? ȝif ony man shal be dampeed, þis styward shal be deeperste dampeed; and algatis for he feynþ power, and newe lawes þat God made never. And ȝit þis blas-pheme gabbiþ upon God, and seip þat al þis is Goddis werk; but in þe Olde Testament shuldenn siche blasfemes be stoned to dêþ. 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 apostlis dursten not do þis, and ȝit þei hadden more grace of God, and traveliden more bisili to growynge and profisting of þe Chirche. And no drede al þat þe pope hâþ over, more þan hadden apostlis of Crist, he shal streitly rekene þerfore, siþ Crist is Lord of alle lordis. And so it semep þat þe pope is more holden to Crist þan was Petre, bi as myche as he hâþ more of staat and worldly goodis. But
sum men seien, pat state in helle, and punisching for pis peste, moten maken aseep herfore, sip good service failip here. And so pe pope semep wood, and blyndid by pe send, whanne he takiip more charge upon him pan he nediip for to have, or here or in pe toper world, for ony state pat God hap ordeyned. And bus it semep pat he dispeirep of comyng of pe day of dome, as if he caste nevere to rekene wip God pat muste be heierste juge. And so, if men avise hem wel, but if pei han opir title pan ben bullis of pe pope, or graunt of him, pei shulen be dampned. And pis title of Crist oure God were ynow3 to Cristene men, as it was in Petris tyme, aliqua pe pope shewide not bus his power bi fals bullis of Petre and Poule, pat semen to be agens Cristis lordschip. Bus mai men see, pat pis styward doip more pan he hap leeve to do; and pes newe ordis, groundid on him, and not on grauntynge of Cristis lawe, ben a flock of pe fendis children, but if pei leeven pis mannis title.

CAP. V.

And here men noten many harmes pat freris don in pe Chirche. Pei spuylen pe puple many weies by ipocrisie and opere leesingis, and bi pis spuylung pei bilden Caymes Castelis*, to harme of cuntreis. Pei stelen pore mennis children, pat is worse pan stele an oxe; and pei stelen gladlich eires,—Y leeve to speke of stelyng of wymmen,—and bus pei maken londis bareyne for wipdrawyng of werkmen, not al oonli in defaute of cornes, but in beestis and opere good. For pei reversen Goddis ordenaunce in pre partis of pe Chirche; pei maken men to trowe fals of hem, and letten almes to be jovyen bi Goddis lawe; and bus pei letten bi gabbingis office and lif of trewe prestis, for pei letten hem for to preche, and speciali Cristis gospel. Pei moven londis to bateilis, and pesible persone to plete; pei maken many divorsis, and many matrimonyes, unleveful, bope

* Caymes Castelis.] Dr. Todd, in a note on this phrase, quotes a passage in lib. iv. cap. 33 of the Tri- alogus, 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).
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

bi lesingis maad to parties, and bi pryvelegies of þe court. Y leeve to speke of fȝting þat þei done in o lond and oþir, and of oþir bodili harms 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 Englîshemen maden into Flandres, spuyîlid oure rewme of men and money more þan þe freris han wiþ hem. And no drede to Englîshemen, þat ne þei han pro-curid þis journye, boþe in preching, and in gederiing, and in traveliing of þer owne persone. And freris þat semen uncouplable here, moten algatis graunte þer assent; for oo maner of consent is, whanne a man is stille and tellip not. And þif freris forsaken þis now, and seien þat þei assentiden not herto, þei usen þer olde craftes 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 þif þei ben þe betere to God, for holynesse of þer companye makaþ 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 ordis þan in hem. And sîþ þei witen not who is beterid by entryng into þes ordis, þei doon as a byld man castþ þis staf, to brynte ony to þer ordre. Crist seîþ þat Pharisées 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 sîþ coventis of freris ben shrewis, for þe more part or moche, no woundir þif þei en-venyme men þat comen þus unto hem. For þei moven men to olde erreurs þat þei han holde among hem, as þei tellen to greet avaunt þat þei ben charious to þe puple in þer sinful beggynge. And þif 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 brouþt in.

As Crist techiþ in his gospel, how þat men shulde snybbe þer

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* See the prefatory notice
bretheren bi þre tymes, and afterward forsake þer companye as venym, þes sectis han fordone þis gospel; for neiper þei doren þus snybbe þer bretheren, 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 forfendip men to do?

Also þes sectis inpungnen þe gospel, and also þe olde lawe, for þei chargen more per owne statute, alþif it be aþens 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 lettþ þes, but ȝif þei han þer priours leewe, alþif 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 errore reproveþ Crist in Pharisiseis, Þat sijen þe gnat, and sowolwen þe camele, for þei chargen lesse more harm. Also þes Pharisiseis chargen moche þer fastingis and ȝip 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 leevynge 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, aþens Cristis sentence, þei sewen an old cloute in newe cloþ. 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 ȝip þeris þat þei kepen, more þan biddings 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 chargþ more. And þus errores in þe world ben liȝtli mayntened bi freris, for wynnyng of worldli good or worldli worship þat þei coveiten, as lettris of fraternite 1. And

1 Some word appears to have dropped out.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

dowyng of oþir preestis, alþif it be ægens hemsif, is stifiþ susteynedy bi freris. And so men suffisen not to telle unsensible errors þat þei susteynen; and þit for privilegie of þe pope noon oþer man dar blame hem, for þei ben exempt fro Goddis lawe bi privilegyses 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*; for þei saluten ofte fendis, more þan þei doon Cristis children.

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 advantage of himsif, his synne makiþ disavauntage of þat þat he weneþ turne to good. As, þes two popis han now no more enemies, ne more hid, þan ben þes freris; for summe holden wiþ þe o pope and many and grete wiþ þe toþir; and þei enfermen þer countreis to holde stifiþ wiþ þer pope. And no drede, þif 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 faille and do harm, for al siche love is sinful.

Sij þes sectis ben so harmful to oure modir hooli Chirche, and, as bileeve techip us, þe Chirche may be purgid of þis, it were sumwhat for to speke of þis purging of þe Chirche. For alþif it shal not fulli be turned in þis lyf, but first in hevene, and þit it may be purgid in part, and in þis purginge stondþ mennis mede. And no man is excusid here of consenting to þis synne, but þif 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 ægens þe cautelis of þe fend.

* dele and.

* 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, bishopec, and freres, shulden helpe here to
purge hemself; for bleve techip us þat ech man is endettid to
God, as ech man is endettid to ðeir, to helpe him algatis goostli
and bodil. Dette is not to charge, but þif it turne to goostli
help; and þus spekþ Crist in þe gospel of dette in þe Pater
Noster, and also in o parable, bi which he moveþ men to
mercy. And þus seþ Poul, þat he is dettour to ech man, but
bi ordre. And þus prelatis shulden helpe þe Chirche, as þe
freres shulden helpe hemself. But more part of þis world erreþ
here, and cleþip harm helpe; but lawe of Crist shulde reule
men here, to wite how men shulden come to blis.

Men speken here of a lij helpe to which men ben comunli
holden, þat men shulden on þis maner comun e wip freres, and
ellis not. First, to seie þat þei putten not on freres þat þei ben
heretikes, for þanne men wolden not dele wip hem, ne nurishe
hem in worldli goodis; but men han hem suspect of heresie for
many causis. First, for þei varien þus in bleve of þe sacrif
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 jollour, tumbler
and harlot, wole not take of þe puple bifoþ þet þei han shewid
þer craft; and sþ freres craftes stondþ in þis, to teche þe puple
þer bleve, and þe puple trowþ comunli þat þis oost is Goddis
bodi, here freres shulden bigynne, and telle men where þis be
soþ. And þif þei seien þat þis oost in no maner is Goddis bodi,
flee þes freres as heretikes, for Crist and his Chirche seien þe
contrarie. þif þei seien þat it is Goddis bodi, and manye freres
seien þe contrarie, þis word techþ not þat ne þei gaben in
comune bleve of þe Chirche; and þerfore men shulden abide
witness of þer comune seel, and bifoþ dele not wip hem, but
have hem suspect of heresie. þif þei seien þat þis oost is an
accident wipouten suget, as colour and figure, and þus it is not
Goddis bodi, wel we witen þat olde bleve, groundid in þe wordis
of Crist, seþ þat it is Goddis bodi, as þe pope sumyme seide.
And it is not ynowþ þat freres erren in colour and figure of þer
abitis, to prove þat þis sacrif oost is colour and figure of breed.
And þis defamynghe shulde þe pope seke out wip greet traveile; for
þes sectis han sclaundrid him, as he and his headden errid in bleve.

Wyclif.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

And it is not ynow that ye is Goddis body, for beter ping 
pan Cristis body is everywhere for he godhede; and men axen 
not what is here, but what is pat pat men worshipen so. And 

git freris seien, pat pei trowun here as holi Chirche doip in pis 
mater. So seien Jewis and Sarasynes. But, frere, telle me how 
Y shulde trewe. And zif pei seien pis mater is sutil, and men 
mai not undirstonde it, wel we witen pat God bindip not men 
to bivele ony ping which pei mai not undirstonde,—as we seien 
of pe Trinite. And zif pei seien pat pis sacrament is Goddis 
bodi, as it is in hevene, pes freris spoken as idiotis. For we 
a xen of pis sacrid oost pat men seen bodili brekun and etun 
comuli, and it is moved as oper oostis. And pub, whatever a 
frere seip, trewe men shulden leeve hym here as suspect of 
heresie, bfore he have wel put pis of.

Aftir pis myyte a man axe, sip God tolde of newe sectis pat 
shulen come into pe Chirche, to charge and harm of pe Chirche, 
how groundip pis frere his ordre, and in what tyme it bigan. 
And sip o frere contrariep anoip in pis mater, and nowzt is 
proved, men shulden avoide pis frere til he hade here tauzt pe 
treupe. Pis strif is mater of gabbing and of synnyng among 
manie; and pub for profit of pe Chirche shulden freris worche 
to quenche pis strif. Carmes seien pat pei weren bfore pe 
tyme pat Crist was borna. Austyns seien pat pei weren many 
hundred wynters bfore oper freris. Prechouris and Menours 
seyn pe reverse. But noon groundip here his word, as noon of 
pes newe ordris groundip pat he cam in bi Crist; and but pis 
grounding be in dede, dremes and contermyngis ben nouzt. 
On pis maner shulden trewe men seke wisely pe sope, and purge 
soure modir of apostemes pat ben harmful in pe Chirche. To 
pis shulde pe pope helpe, for to pis dette weren apostlis bounden,

* The Carmelites pretended that 
their Order was founded by the pro- 
phet 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 cen- 
tury, concerning whose marvellous 
vision consult Alban Butler’s Lives 
of the Saints, May 16. The Augusti- 
nian 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 
early the beginning of the thirteenth 
century by SS. Dominic and Francis.

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and not to lordschippes of moneie, but in as myche as it helpide herto. And sip it letip comunli, popis shulden fle pe pis, as dide apostlis; for ellis pei seiden wip opere foolish, pat helpe were harm, and good were yvel.

CAP. VII.

Aftir pis shulden men wite of pe popis power in assoilinge, in graunting of indulgencis and opere privlegies, wip cursing. For riȝt as pe popis clerkis feynen pat pei done miraclis whanne evere pei syngen, moo and more woundurful pean ever dide Crist or his apostlis, so in assoiling and cursing pei feynen hem unknowun power; and in fablis of pis power pei blasfemen and harme pe Chirche. And þus comeþ in errore into þe Chirche, as it doip of þe sacrið oost; for noon mai comprehende pis power, sip it is wipbute noumbre, sip Crist þaf þis to Petre, and òþir popis þat camen aftir.

Here Cristene men bileven þat Petre and Poul and òþir apostlis token power of Crist, but not but for to edifie þe Chirche. And þus alle prestis þat ben Cristis knygþis han power of him to þis eende. Which of hem þap moost power, is ful veyne for us to trete; but we supposen of preestis dedis, þat he þat profistiþ more to þe Chirche haþ more power of Crist, and ellis þei ben ydil wip þer power. And þus bi power þat Crist þaf Petre mai no man prove þat þis preest, þe which is Bishop of Rome, haþ more power þan opere preestis. For siþ oure bileve seip, þat þer is noo power but of God, chesinge of þes cardinalis yveþ not sich power to þe pope. And it sueþ not þat God mut yve, whan þes cardinalis han þus chosen, but apostlis dedis þat popis doone shulden bere witnes of þer power; siþ fleyinge to hevene of assolid spiritis, and comynþ aþen, bereþ no witnesse. And wordis þat Crist seip in þe gosþel ben to liþli undirstonden. Crist seip to his apostlis; Y am wip you alle daies unto þe ende of þe world; but what maken þes wordis for þis pope? Þes wordis techen generali, þat Crist shal be wip his lymes þat he haþ ordeyned to blis riȝt to þe dai

* That is, sing the mass.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

of dome; but how shulden men wite þat þis pope is ony of hem þat Crist spekiþ to? Certis þis pope woot not himsylf, and haþ litil mater to hope it; for in goode werkis and suynge of Crist shulde þis pope grounde his hope. But þit in anoþir word þat Crist seide unto Petir, groundiþ þis pope his power, þat it is so myche over oþir; Crist bihiþte 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 takþ 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 þif he sue Crist and Petir in lyf. And suppose þat al þis be soþ; þit 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?

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 neþer in þe erþe, ne undir þe erþe, but evene after þe keies above; but þis wole he never teche biþore þat Gabriel blowe his horn. And þif he teche þat þe Chirche above byndiþ þus, or assoiliþ, at þe instaunc of hym, þit he proveþ not his grete power. And þus grounding of Goddis lawe failliþ shamefulli here, þat þif Crist seide to Petre, whatever he bonde above þe erþe is bounden in hevene, þanne it sueþ of þis pope, what þing he feynþ him for to binden, it is so bounden of God. But certis þe lewiderst man in þis world myþte shame of sichte a resoun. Ferþermore, þif we þyven þis pope siche power as he feynþ, þif men taken hede to his deþis, he shulde shame of siche power. For lawe of charite wolde teche, þat þif he hadde siche power, he shulde assoile alle his e gusþis fro peyne and fro trespass; for þanne he brouþte alle men to heven, and suffriþe no man go to helle. And siþ charite stondiþ in þifþis of God to þis eende, he were to slowe in Goddis service, and disuside þe þifþis of God, but þif he dide
here ... and were merciful to men. And if thou seist
that neither Christ nor Petir did heal this to all men, certis 
that he had not such power as his pope feyneth in him; and this Christ mayste
not assoile men, but after that he saw his Fadir vouchsafe.
Lord! if Christ assoilide not his, ne Petir, ne ony oþer apostle,
and his pope seeþ not in God that he Wolfe that it be so, what
spirit shulde move his pope to feyne sich asoilinge boþe fro
peyne and fro synne, and aftir chaffare þus þerwilþ? Sip he
toke freely his power, Crist biddid ... yve it; ... he assoliþ never his; but for friendship or wynnyng;
and he taketh noon hede to God, wher God Wolfe that it be so,
and where his man lyve an yvel lyf and be ordeyned to be
dampned. And certis noo pope oþer þan Crist can telle how
nedeful this dede is, or how unmedeful is anoþer; how shulde
he þanne assoile þis? For he may not asoile here of a litel
bodili peyne, as myþen Petir and oþer seintis; how shulde he
assoile soulis of þe peyne of purgatorié? Prove he his power
by þis lesse, and suspende assoiling of moneie. And sip þes
popis ben not assoið þus of peyne and trespas, for þanne þe
popis weren alle seintis, and conformed 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.

It were for to wite over þis, how popis þyven þes beneficis,
and confermen and acursen men whanne hem likþ and mys-
likþ men. And no drede, sip þei knowun not whanne God-
hede doþ þus, þei shulden not difyne here but gif God shewide
hem þis; for it is peril to gabe on God, and in matir of mennis
helpe. And so it is a greet peril to feyne siche power, but if
it be groundid. And sip þes popis ben not hardy as blynde
Bayard, þei moten seie þat þei speken ofte wip God, þat techid
hem þat it mut be þus, and so þes popis mai not erre. But
who herde ever more blasphemye? sip þei cunnen not telle
þingis to come, touching þer state and þer desire; for o pope
þeþens anoþir tellip opinli þer errour here.

1 Query, madeful.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

But, for yvyng of benefices makip hem bope greet and stronge, it were to wite of pis power, and of pe lawes pat pei usen. And si Crist uside not this power, but forsoke in juge-
ment lesse yvel; as pis power were in vein si pe Chirche were undowid, it is knowen to trewe men pat pis is not groundid of Crist; but pe pope, as he blasfeme, and seip pis dowyng is pe patrymonie of Crist, so he seyne newe lawes to teche to parte pes benefices. And pis lawe hap he maad, pat si two men ben of o date, whoever presentip first, shal be avaunsid biffore. And so he hap ordeyned many lawes,—how pat men shulen oones be schryven, and oones pe yeer be comuned of her propre preest, whomever he wole ordeyne. Bi pes two unfamous lawes mai men wite whiche ben ohir, for per is noo lawe but Goddis, or lawe groundid in Goddis lawe. First it semip, pat pis partyng of benefices is opyn folie. For whanne pe pope avansip a shrewe, he autorisip his shrewednesse, and speciali whanne per ben betere, pat wolden take siche an office; and pe pope hap noo witt, ne bidding of God, to take him pis. And pis oft, for preiynge and moneie, he avaunsp lymes of pe fend; for al pes ben his children; and he shal answere for pes soulis pat his children leesen to helle, and for ohir shrewed-
nessis pat pei done. Lord! when pe popis synne were not ynow to him, al siif he gete noon on ojer side? as, siif he bouste not for pe firste fruytis, or ohir frendshipe of pe world, synnes of ohir truauntis pat he avaunsp, and envenymip myche folk.

Ohir wordis pat here ben spoken excusen him not bifoire God, pat pe pope mai do no symonie, for alle benefics ben hise. For siif he were clene for a tyme, alle weren hise bi title of grace; siif for pis averouse pride shulde he leese al pes pingis. And no drede pis lawe of pe pope is opinli aens treupe, and so aens Jesus Crist, pat is bope God and man. It fallip oft bi pis lawe, pat a tryaunt and a fendis lyme is put bifoire a lyme

* 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 bifoer goede 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 agens Crist. For many prelatis by coveitise and symonie ben ofte fendis, and þei serven þer maistir, to wip-drawe men fro Cristis lawe. And no woundir þif men gone þikke to helle bi þe_leding of suche prelatis.

And as anentis þe secounde lawe, of shriftse, þat þe pope hæp made, no drede it doip myche harm, al þif it do to summe profite; and it fordoip 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 ordéynep ben sugettis nedid for to do; and þus freres and religious wymmen mai soone assente to leccerie. 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 hæp ordeyned þat Cristis weie sufficiþ not now, so þat mennis doing bi scole of Crist be dampned wipouten oþir synne, for þat þe pope hæp ordeyned him partener to forgeve synnes wip Crist? And in caas þat men ben martris in Cristis cause, [þei 1] shulden be dampned, for þei shulden rowne wip a preest, and for worse leeve þe betere. Shriftse to God is put bihynde, and shriftse more shamefull also; but privy shriftse newe founden is autorisid, as nedeful to soulis heele.

CAP. IX.

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 þif it were a trewe sentence, God myȝte move men hereafter, boþe lordis and cleriks, to drawe to þis sentence. And herfore we wolen seie opinli þe sentence þat we conseyen; and þif God wolte vouche-saaf, 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.
 CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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 consermede it wiþ his lyf, for to reule holi Chirche, and teche how þat men shulde lyve; and al þis mut passe al opir, sþ 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 fertere, how us þinkþ þat men shulden do. But we graunten at þe firste, þat if ony man wole shewe us þat we speken aþens Goddis lawe, or aþen good resoun, we wolen mekelie leee of, and holde Goddis part bi oure myþte. For we ben wiþholden wiþ treuþe, and wiþ Goddis grace shulen ever last þerinne. Us þinkþ 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 leee þis dowing and worldli glorie þat þei han, and neiþer lyve ne do ouþt, but þif it were groundid in Cristis lawe; for þat lawe is charite, and groundþ al þing þat is medeful. þif þat God wolde fouchie-safe to 3yve þes preestis of his grace, þat þei wolden mekelie leee þis, and lyve in Cristis poverte, þe miracle were þe more, and more wolde profite to þe Chirche.

Afterward men þenken þat al þes newe sectis or ordis, boþe possessioneres and beggeris, shulden ceese bi Cristis lawe. And þif þei wolden leee þes for charite, and lyve purely after Crist, þer merite were þe more, and þei myþte encreese þe Chirche; and þif þei wolden not do þus, þei shulden be honesti constreyned. Both worldi goodis and comunying shulde be wiseli drawun fro hem, and knyþis, wiþ lordis of þe world, shulden be confortid bi Cristis lawe to stonde and defende þis sentence, as þei diden after 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 myþte move summe of þes ordres to leee þer ritis, and take Cristes lawe, for þei hiden now ypocrisie, and ben ydil fro many goodo dedes. Lord! what stiward were he þat wolde ordeyne newe rehetors to ete mennes mete and do hem harm, aþens Cristis ordenaunce?
Pe pridde point, of curatis, us ānkīp shulde stonde āus. Pei shulden lyve on pe puple in good mesure as Poul biddiþ; but pe puple shulde not be artid to ȝyve hem dymes ne openh almes; but þer goode wishes shulden move to ȝyve 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. ȝif 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. ȝif þis be not doone anoon, þit it myȝte drawe to þe good; for Cristis lyf was þe beste, þat shulde en-sample alle oþir.

Here men arguen many weies ægens þis sentence þat here is seid, and speciali for þe pope, þat þanne were holi Chirche for-done, 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 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 ȝif 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 wolde, and many ben seintis wiþouten þis trouþe. Al oþer office of þe pope myȝte be done mekely, as myche as it wolde turne to worshiphe of Crist and profite of þe Chirche, by a trewe preest, as was bi apostlis, al ȝif þes bullis of leed slepeten. 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 aþir þat þe Chirche was dowid, no man hatiþ þis more þan þe pope; and þus he is not Cristis viker but raþir Anticrist him-

* and is used for an, in the sense of 'if.'
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silf. ³if 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 heede of Petre.

As anentis þes newe ordris, þei semen alle Anticristis proc-tours, to putte awey Cristis ordenaunce, and magneþie þer newe sectis; and þus hem nedþ to have an heed oþr 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 blowip, as ben suspendingis, enterditingis, cursingis, and reisingis of croiserie. But first Cristene men shulde byleve, þat alle suche feyned censure don noon harm a Cristene man, but ³if he do harm first to himsilf. Bi hem may his bodi be sleyn, and he be pursued many weies; but Crist seip, þat mai not lie,—Blessid be þe whanne men cursen þou, and whanne men pursuen þou, and seien al maner of yvel aȝens þou, 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 censureþ þat Anticrist can blowe aȝens þee; but as he meneþ to harm þee, he doip þee good mangree his. And as þe assoyling serveþ of nouþt, but as it acordþ wiþ Cristis keies, so þe cursyng noeþ not, but as Crist above cursþ. And herfore Crist tolde but litil bi cursingis of þe hie bishopis, but confortide his disciplis of þes cursingis and þes pursuyngis. For þei putti-den men out of chirche, and pursueden hem in Cristis tyme, but apostlis wolden not levee 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 ³if his wille lastþ, aftir, whanne Anticrist haþ slayn his bodi, in more blisse þan bifoire, as oure bileve techþ us. And þus drede we hem not for censures þat þei feynen, but drede we ever oure God, lest we syn-nen aȝens him. And so double drede fallþ 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
cursiç 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 hemself and þe puple. For þif þei cursen undiscrético, as þei don ever whanne þei cursen not for love of þe Chirche, or for love of ðer men to whom þei leien þis medecine, þanne þei cursen hemself first, al þif þei knowun not þis foly. And bi sich blyndenesse in cursing many curseris emblemysehen hemself, and þerwig þe comune peple. Such cursing is to drede; such drede passiç mannis lawe, and comë to lawe of charite, and axiç not curseris assoilinge, but Goddis purging, þif it wolde be.

As anentis suspendinge and enterdityng þat ben feyned, we trowen þat þei doon myche good, and noon harm but to foolish. For þif þei wolden suspende hemself fro alle þingis but Goddis lawe, it were a graciouse suspendinge, for hem and for ðer men; for þanne Goddis lawe myȝte freeli renne bi þe lymytis þat Crist haþ ordeyne. And he is a cursid man þat leeveþ to do þat God biddiç, and for siche feynynge of censuris,—3he, þif deþ sue aftir.

As anentis croiserie, summe of Cristis Chirche ben enformed how þei shulden not trowe to þe pope for ony bullis þat he sendiç, but þif 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*, but in as myche as þei grounden bi Goddis lawe þat men shulden trowe þus. For Crist lettëþ 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, þif þe pope assoile men a pena or a culpå, or whatever pardone he grauntiç for þing þat is not charite, forsake it as þe fendis bidding, þat is contrarie to love of Crist. Wel I woot þe fend

* There must surely be an error of the scribe here.
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mai feyne more pardone þan God wole graunte to ech man þat wole slee his broþir; but God þerforde þat we truwun þís, as þe pope may graunte to day, and to morowe perseyve his folye, and revoke þe formere errore. But who shulde bileve siche bullis? for wele we witen bi Goddis lawe, þat God þyveþ 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 Anti-crist 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 fíte for a persone, þat þei witen not where he be a fend, or tauþt of God to do þus? Síþ þei ben certein of medeful dedis, certis þat man were a fool þat wolde take þis uncerteine weie, and leeve þe certeyn witt and feþþ 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.

But here men dreen blasphemye, and òþir 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 æif he were god in erþe. And he, wiþ his part þat loveþ þe world, quenche men þat speken þis, and axen noon òþer 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 git. 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 zovun.

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, quenchþ þe love of Crist and of his religiouþ here. And þus men shulden stonde in þe mesure þat Crist haþ zovun of þes

1 corrected; Goddis, A.
two, bope of sectis and of lawis; for bringinge in of pes doip harm. And so marke pis as greet synne, whanne men passen in oyer of pes, aljie pe fende coloure it, and medle good wi pe yvel; for pus dide Machameite in his lawe, and pe fend doip pus comunly; and confermyng of men is nought but gif God conform bifice. And sip pis point is perelous, men shulden be seker pat God conferme. And pus gis reule failip now to weie love aftir pat it shulde be, so pat love pat shulde be more were more chargid in mannis soule. And pus, sip men shulden love more Cristis ordenaunce and his boundis pan ony pat come after, and Crist hap ordeyned^1 at pe fulle, men shulden leeve pes novelies as contrarie to Cristis ordenaunce, and love pe mesure pat Crist hap 3ovun, for so diden Cristis apostlis.

And wite we wel pat alle pes autours of pes novelies done harm to hemself and to pe Chirche, and to per neiboris. Also whi shulden not love of Crist move men to holde his boundis? And pus it seme to many men, pat pes newe ordis and per fautours failen over myche in charite, for in love of Crist and his Chirche, sip Cristis religion were algatis beter, perfitere, sekere, and liiter. For Crist autour passip in pes; and we shulden drede Poulis sentence, pat who pat lovep not Jesus Crist, he is cursid of God; and pis cursing is moost to drede. And generaly, worst ping is more costly and more hevy; and pus it lettip feble weie-goeres, to be taried wipe sich ping. And error in weiyng of pis love makip many fals weddingis; as men ben weddid wipe perek bisitis, and per custumes, and per singular maners, as gif pei weren Cristis commaundemtis; and at pei ben ful feble in kynde. And men blasfemen in pis point, for pei putten a reule of love to ordeyne an yvel ping to be more loved, azen pe ordenaunce of God. And pis is opin blasfemy, sip God approprip unto him to weie pingis, how pei shulden be loved, and to make hem oyer betere or worse. And pus auctours of accidentis hyen hem above Crist, as gif pei wolden maken a newe world, and change goodnesse of pingis. But pes goddis varien; as oon lovep o maner, and anopir lovep anopir, and hatip pe maner of his bropir; and pis techip wel

^1 corrected; ordeynep, A.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

ynowþ þat alle þes ben false goddis. And þus þe crafe of love of þingis is moost nedeful to al oþer; for no man mai come to blis but bi vertue of þis crafe; and no man mai synne but for errore in þis crafe, as blessid men doone Goddis ordeaunce, and dampeed men loven þe contrarie. And alle þes newe ordis ben dividid in þer love, as oon loveþ oon and anoþer anoþer, and so hatip his contrarie. But Crist, whanne he lovede hoollische his Chirche, wolde not make it faire wiþ þese ordis; and eche man is holden to love liche after þat Crist loveþ, and to hate þat he hatip, 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 Wycliff (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 Nequitias.' 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 Wycliff; but it is perhaps equally probable that it was written by one of his disciples. The language used in ch. xxiii 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 errors' (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.]
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

CAP. I.

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. For þei sey þat iche bischop and preste may lawfully leeve hor first dignyte, and after be a frere; but when he is oones a frere, he may in no maner leeve þat and lyve as a bischop or a preste, 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 þeroft is moste perfite, for he is verrey God and verrey mon, þat of moste witte and moste charite gas þis religion to his der-worpe frendis. Also þo reule þeroft is moste perfite, sith þo gospel in his fredome, wiȝtouen error of mon, is reule of þis religion. Also knyghtis of þis religion ben moste holy and moste perfite,—for Jesus Crist and his apostils ben chef knyghtis þeroft; and aftir hom holy martiris and confessors. Hit is moste esy and light, for Crist hymself seys þat his ysk is soffe, 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 þeroft. Hit is moste siker, for hit is conformed of God, and not of synful men; and no mon may distrie hit, or dispense þerageyns; bot if þo pope or any mon schal be saved, he mot be conformd þerby, and ellis he schal be dampned.

Bot men sey þat oþer newe ordiris and reulis ben noȝt worth, bot if þei ben conformed of þo pope, and oþir synful men; and þen þei ben not worth, bot if þei ben conformed 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 pro-
fite to Cristen mennis soulis, and not suffred to teche frely Gods 
lawe, ne kepe hit in homself. Ffor by þo first and moste com-
mandement of God, þei ben holden to love God of al hor hert, 
of al hor liif, of al hor mynde, and of alle hor strengthes, and 
hor neighbors 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 perfite þen Cristis re-
ligion, þen if freris kepyn wil hor religion, þei ben more perfite 
þen Cristis apostils; and ellis þei ben apostataas. And if men 
ben apostataas, þei leeven þo better ordir, and taken anóþer 
lesse perfite. And þo ordir of Crist in his clennesse and fre-
dome is moste perfite, and so hit semes þat alle þese freris ben 
apostataas.

CAP. II.

Also freris seyn prively þat hit is apostasie and herezie 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 cuntrye to cuntrye 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 pursue hym as apostata, and drawe hym to 
prisoun, and sey þat he is cursed for þis dede. Ffor þis fre 
goyynge 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 
shulden be nedid to leeve þis lyyynge 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 charageouse to þo puple, sith þei

\(^a\) See note on p. 348.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

connot occupye homself so wil in suche solitarie lif and contemptacioun, as couthen Crist and Jon Baptist. And to his same ende Crist ordeyned alle his apostils and disciplis to lyve an open gode lif, in mekenesse and willeful povert and discrete penance, to teche bisily his gospel to his puple, and not be closid in grete cloystres and coystly, as Caymes Castels. And hit seemes an open doyng of Anticrist to suffer not prestis to frely do his offis of Crist, bot nede hom, upon peyne of prisonynge, to be reulid in his after his wille of a symple ydiot, and, in caas, a dampened devel of helle. And so per seemes no meene to holde these sectis togedir, bot if hit be his blasphemye, to prisoun a mon for als myche as he dos aftir his wille of God. And his new professioun is harmeful for mony skilles, for hit is not ensaumpid of Crist, ne any of his apostils, and he tueht us al pat was nedeful and profitable.

Also his profession serves of noght bot if hit be to make foolis do more after his erroures of synful men, pen after his maundement of God. For by vertue of Cristis teching, iche mon is holden to do after iche o/per, in als myche as he techis Cristis comaunderment or counsel; and more may no mon bynde ano/per. Also Crist gaf his disciples power of iche werk pat turns to profite of hor soulis, and helpe of o/per men; and his fredome is letted by his 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 their persons, and brynge hom to pat lyvynge pat Crist ordeyned prestes to lyve inne, for pat is algatis his best, to his moste worship 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?

CAP. III.

Also freris seyn, if a mon be oones professid to hor religioun, he may nevere leeve hit and be saved, po he be nevere so unable perto, for al tyme of his lif. And so pei wil nede hym to lyve in suche a staate everemore, to whiche God makes hym evere unable, and so nede hym to be dampened. Alas! oute on suche heresie, pat monnis

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ordnaunce is holden strenger þen is þo ordnaunce of God! For if a mon enter into þo new religioun, ageyns monnis ordnaunce, he may lawfully forsake hit; but if he enter ageyns Gods ordnaunce, 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 wol 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 constreyn a mon unable by Gods dome to holde þis new sect, and suffer him not to cum to fredome of Cristis ordir.

CAP. IV.

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 obe- dience, be his sovereyne nevere so cursid mon of lif, and unconnyng of Gods lawe, and enemye to Cristen monnis soule, and, in caes, a foule devel of helle,—þof þis mon pro- fessid have resseyved of God nevere so myche connyng of Gods lawe, and power and wille to wurch a after þis connyng. And so þis mon schal nedis be damyped for mysspendynge of Gods tresoure; for 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, þhe, by ignoraunce. And þus to magnysie 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 nedis strongly to kepe more his lawes, and obeche more to hom, þen to Cristis commaundements evere rightful!

CAP. V.

Also freris seyn and mayntenen, þat begginge is leveful, þo whiche is damyped by God, bothe in þo Olde Testament and in þo New. For in þo syvyȝt boke of holy wrytt, God seis to his

\* So in X; W has the words transposed.
puple, Algatis a nedy mon and begger schal not be amonge yowe 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 beggyngnesse1, and richesse2, 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 meyneg 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 ensaumle 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 ydnellesse and curiuste, and not travel, schulde not eete.

Also Seynt Clement ordeyned þat Cristen men schulden not begg opunly. And, for to putt away þis beggyng, Seynt Austryne makes twoo bokes, hou munkis ooen to travel wiþ her hondis for her lyvelode b. And þo same techis Benett to his munkis, and Seynt Bernarde; and so does Frauncyes to freris. And Jerom seis þat munkis schulden travel wiþ hor hondis, not onely for nede, bot raþer to exclude ydnellesse and vanye. Ffor in state of innocense God ordeyned mon to travel, and afterward in þo state of synne God gaf þis labour to mon to his

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 Monacorum.
penaunse. Pen sith iche open beggynge is þus scharpily dampned in holy writ, hit is a foule errore to mayntene hit; but hit is more errore to say þat Crist was suche a begger, for þen he moste have ben contrarie to his owne lawe; but hit is moste errore 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.

Also freris seyn in dede, þat hit is medeful to leeve þo com-aundement of Crist, of gyvynge of almes to pore feble men, to pore croked men, to pore bylynde men, and to bedraden men, and gif þis almes to ypocrisis, þat feynen hom holy and nedy when þei ben strong in body and haven over myche richesse, bothe in grete waste housis, in precious clothis, in grete feestis, and mony jewels and tresoure. And þus þei sleen pore men with hor fals beggynge; sþ 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 sþ 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.

Also freris chargen more brekyng of hor owne tradiciouns þen brekyng of þo comauandementis of God. Ffor a frere schal more be punyshed 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 worchip more þen Gods; and þus þei taken to homself þo worchip þat is approprio to God; and so ben blasphemes and heretikis. And so þei chargen more hor bodily habemes þen charite and

¹ bedders, X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

oper vertues. For if a frere leese his bodily habite, to po whiche he is not bounden by Gods lawe, he is holden apostata and scharply pursued, sumtyme to prisoun, and sumtyme to po deth, po h he serve better God wioute his habite pen perinne. Bot po he trespas ageyns charite by impacience and fals lees-
ingis, or pride or coveitise, hit is litil or noxt charged, bot raper preyzed, if hit bringe hom worldly

1 mukke.

CAP. VIII.

Also freris feynen hom, as ypocritis, to kepe straytly po gospel and povert of Crist and his apostils; and ȝitt þei moste con-
trarien to Crist and his apostils in ypocrisie, pride, and coveitise. For þei schewen more holynes 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 coveitise þei con nevere make an ende, bot by beggyng, by byueethyng, by birying, by salarlys and rentals, and by schryvyngis, by absolu-
cions, and oþer fals meenes, cryen evere after worldly godis, where Crist usid none of alle þese. And þus for þis styngynge coveitise þei worschippen po fend as hor God.

CAP. IX.

Also freris drawen childre fro Cristis religiou into hor private ordir by ypocrisie, leesingis, and steelynge. For þei tullen 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 sadir and modir, sumtyme soche as ben unable to po ordir, and sumtyme soche as schulden susteyne hor sadir and modir by comaundement of God; and þus þei ben blasphemes, takyn upon hom ful counsell in doutous pinges, þat ben not expressly comaundid ne forbeden in holy writt, sith siche conseil is appropriad to po Holy gost. And

1 So in X; W has worldly.

2 quehinge, X.
Wycliffe's Works.

[The text is too small to transcribe.]
of hor sogetis, pei wil knowe hor lif; and freris seyn hit is no
nede, for pei haf more power pen po curat; and pus discencioun
and hate is made bytwix curatis and hor chider. And pride and
covetise of freris is cause of al pis, and mony oper synnes. And
pus, for pei maken discorde amonge Cristen men, pei ben hatid
and cursid of God Almyghty.

CAP. XI.

Also freris comen in under po name of seyntis, and forsaken
po seyntis reule and lyve, and putten hor owne errors to po
seyntis, and sclaundren both hom and God. For if men spoken
of Fraunceys, he usid and tauhte myche mekenesse, povert, and
pennaunce, and Menoures now usen po contrarei. For pei maken
statutis of hor owne wille, and hom pei kepen faste, and maken
men to wene pat Fraunceis made hom. Bot Prechour seyn
pat Dominyk foundid hom, and pen he kept Austyns reule, sith
he was a chanoun biforn; for elli he was apostata if Austyns
reule were gode. Bot Austyn wolde algatis sue po apostils
lyyyng, and Prechoures done even po contrarie. And frere
Austyns founden hom on Austyn po grete doctor; bot his reule
spekes noyt of freris; and so pei ben groundid on leesingis, for
pei have no patroun seynt. And of po Carmes knoen men
nouper founder ne reule. And so po freris pat haf founders
done ageyns her founders teching and Cristis also; and colouren
hor owne wicket lawes under name of pese seyntis; and so ben
groundid on leesingis, and sclaundren hor patrouns and Crist
also. And oper freris, pat have no patrouns, lyven aftir hom-
self, and putten hor errores, on seyntis, and so sclaundren hom
and Crist. And so ypocrisie regnes, and synne is mayntened
by colour of holynes.

CAP. XII.

Also freris pursuen treue prestis, and letten hom to preche
po gospel, notwitstondynge pat Crist enjoyned presmeth and
preching of po gospel. And so pei departen pat ping pat God
joyned togedir; and so, als myche as in hom is, pei fordone
Gods ordynaunce. And so pei harmen Cristen men more
cruely pen po Soudon of Sarayenes, for pei ben neer and more
malicious. For sith Crist charges alle his prestis to preche treuly þo gospel, and þei pursuen hom for þis dede, þe, 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 damped. And sith þo principal poynct 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 angels of Sathanas transformed into angel of light, and cruel traytoures of all men.

CAP. XIII.

Also capped friteris, 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 vanye þerof, to gete hym a cappe of maysterdome, by preyer of lordis, and grete giftis, and makynge of huge feestis of a hundrid and mony hundrid pounds, 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 leewe hor povert and symplesnesse þat he is bounden to, and devoure pore mennis almes in waste and feestynge of lordis and grete men, and so þif sclaundere to his breþer and oþer men, to lyve in pride and covetise, gloterie and ydfelnesse, and leewe þo servise of God as þof þei were exempt from alle godis. And þit forfendynge 3 of þese covetyouse foolis þat ben lymytoures, gos myche symonye, envye, and myche foule marchaundise; and who can beste robbe þo pore puple by fals beggynge and oþer disseytis, shal have þis Judas offis. And so a nest of Anticrist clerkis is mayntened by solit cautelis of þo fende.

CAP. XIV.

Also friteris schewen not to þo puple hor grete synnes stably as God biddes, and namely to myghty men of þo worlde, bot

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1 clepid, X.  
2 seidom, X.  
3 perhaps it should be for sneydynge.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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 ensaumle men may take, how freris suffren myghty men fro þeere to þeere lif in avowtrie, in covetise, in extorsions doyng, and mony oþer synnes. And when men ben hardid in soche grete synnes, and wil not amend he hom, freris schulden þe 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.

Also freris by lettiris 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 ypcocris, þat, in caas, ben dampned devels, þen in þe helpe of God, and in hor owne gode lyvyng. Comynly þese lettiris ben poudrid wiþ ypcrisy, covetise, symonye, blasphemye, and oþer leesinges. Wiþ ypcrisye,—for þerinne ben tóldi wiþouten ende 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 lettiris, 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 node, X.

a For some account of these letters of fraternity, see vol. i. p. 67.
pat unskilfully, for suche chafferynge or grauntinge of lettris
was nevere ensamplid of Crist ne his apostils, and ȝyte þei loved
best mennis soulis. Wiþ blasphemye,—for þes synful wrecchis
taken upon hom þo deelyng of gode dedis; but þis þing is
appropried 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 men-
cyoun, nouþer of contricioun ne schriuif, ne of meryt of Cristis
passioun, but onely of hor owne gode dedis. And so Crist
grauntes to no synful mon, contynuyng in his synne, suche
part; but freris graunten raper to cursid men, for worschippes or
wynnyng, 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 proprote. And þus þei techen þo puple þat hit is more
medeful to gif soche y pocritis bodily aimes, 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 lyvyng, for trist of þese fals
lettris.

CAP. XVI.

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 þat he brake and blessid is his body, þei sey hit is
an accident wþouten 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 acci-
dent wþouten sugett, and noght. And þus þei leeven holy
writ, and taken new heresie on Crist and his apostils, and on
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Austyn, Jerom, Ambrose, Isidore, and oher seyntis; and pe Court of Rome, and alle twe Cristen men pe holden pe feith of pe gospel. Ffor Crist seis pe, pis bred is my body; and Seynt Poule seis, po bred pe we breken is po comuncacioun of po Lordis body; and Seynt Austyn seis, pat pe ping pe we seen is bred. Bot as to faith fully tauyte po bred is Cristis body, Ambrose seis pe ping pe is bred schal be Cristis body. Jerom seis, pat pe bred po whiche Crist brac and gaf to his disciplis is po body of oure Saveour, ffor Crist seis, pis is my body. Berengarie, by approvynge of po Court of Rome, seis pus;—I knoweleche wip herte and wip mouthe pe po bred pe is leyd on po auter is not onely po sacrament, bot verrey Cristis body. O Lord! what hardy devel durste teche pese freris to denye pus openly holy writ, and alle pese seyntis, and po Court of Rome, and alle twe Cristen men, and to fynde pis heresie, pat pis sacrid oost is accident wipouten sugett, or noght? sith pis is not tauyte openly in holy writ, and resoun and witte is ageyns pis. And Austyn, in pre or foure grete bookis, seis expressly pat noon accident may be wipouten sugett, and alle wise philosoforis acorden here wip Austyn. Lord, what schulde move Crist Almyghty, ai-witty, and alle wel willynge, to hide pis byleve of freris by a thousande yeer, and nevere to teche his apostils and so many seyntis po right byleve, but to teche first pese ypocrites, pat comen nevere into po Chirche til po foule fende Sathanas was unbounden? Herby schulden alle Cristen men knowe po freris heresie, and not resseyve hom into hor housis byfore pat pei confessiden under hor general seel po right bileve of Cristen men, and had forsaken hor olde heresie.

1 So in X; om. W.
2 So in X; W has wil.

* Isidore.
* S. Ambr. De Sacramentis, lib. iv. cap. 5.
* The passage is in St. Jerome's Epistola ad Hedibiam, ch. ii.: 'Nos autem sudiamus panem, quem fregit Dominus, detigite discipulis suis, esse corpus Domini Salvatoris, ipso dicente ad eos, Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum.'
* 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.

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 comywe 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 prayer and sumtyme Gods hous, was made a den of thefis, for covetouse prechoures dwellden 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 deserts, and Baptist eke. And þefore Crist and his apostlis maden no grete chirchis ne cloystris, bot wenten fro cuntrye to cuntrye, preching þo gospel, and teching men to do hor almes to pore men, and not to waste housis. Ffor Crist tautþe men to preye in spirit and treuthe, þat is, in gode wille and devoicioun 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).
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Cap. XVIII.

Freris also destrien obedience of Gods lawe, and magnifyen singuler obedience made to synful men, and, in caas, to devels; whiche obedience Crist ensamplid nevere, noujer in hymself ne in his apostils. Ffor by teching of Seynt Poule iche mon owis to be sugett to ojer in jo drede of Crist, pat is, in als myche as he techis hym Gods wille; and no mon schulde obeeche more to any mon. And evere jo more pat a mon were, jo more schulde he pus meke hym self, as Crist did to alle his apostils. Bot freris tellen nocht by dis obedience, bot if pei maken singuler professioun to sinful foolish, pat mony tymes techen and comaunden hom ageyns Gods wille; and seyn, pat in suche jinges as ben not expressly comaundid ne forfendid in Gods lawe, pei schulden algatis do after hor sovereyns, 3he, pof hit be unwittingly ageyns Gods wille. And sith hit is approprid to jo Holy Gost to gif ful counsell in soche poyntes, pei maken hor synful prioures even wiip jo Holy Gost; and where pei schulden be governed in soche douty poyntes by jo Holy Gost, pei leeven his counsell and reulyng mony tymes, and taken hom to jo reulyng of a synful fool, and, in caas, a damnede fende in helle. And pus pei leeven obedience pat Crist tauyte and ensamplid, as unperfeite and not sufficient, and prysen more feyned obedience to synful foolish, pat pei taken of hor owne presumcioun, as if soche foolish hade founden perfiter obedience pen evere did Crist, God and mon.

Cap. XIX.

Also freris forsaken perfeccioun of hor ordir for worship of jo world and covetise, and ben not suffrid to take jo fredome of jo gospel, for to preche Gods worde to jo puple. Ffor freris ben made bischopis,—3he, mony tymes bi symonye, and sworne strongly to go and preche and convert hethen men; and leeven dis gostly offis, and ben suffragans in England, and robben men by extorciounis, as in pyningsch of synnne for money, and suffren men to lye in synne fro 3eer to 3eer for an annuel rente. And so in halowynge of chirchis and chirche-3erdis and
auters, and comynly alle oþer sacraments, for money. And þus þese freres, 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 envemyn¹ hit by mony cursinges. And so þei beren oute first þo golde of oure lond to aliens, and sumtyme to oure enemys, to gete of Anticrist þis fals exempcioun, and evere after lyven in robbynye of pore men, and mayntenen myche synne, cursinge, and symonye, þat is passing heresie. And oþer bischopis of hom þat have dioecesis in þis lond, forsaken povert and penauns 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, ydelenes, and spoiling 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 displeeese 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 comandement upon vertue of obedience; bot he schal no leeve have to go generaly aboute in þo worlde, and preche treuly þo gospel wipouten 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 worship of God and heele of monnis soule. And þus þei maken sacrisice to Lucifer, to mammon, and to hor owne stenkynghe bely.

CAP. XX.

Also freris pryzen more hor rooten habite þen þo worshipful 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, dampnyng 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

mouthe, and streygth fit to belle wijouten ende, and þo more be damned for þo yvel takynge of þis sacrament. Soche heretikis ben unable to be amonge Cristen men.

CAP. XXI.

Also freris beggen wijouten ned for hor owne rich secte, and not for pore bedraden men þat may not go, and have no mon to sende for hor lyvelode, bot raper drawen riche mennis almes fro soche pore men. And herfore charite is outelawed amonget hom, and so is God; and leesinges, covetise, and sendis, ben enhabited amonget hom. For þei disseyven men in hor almes, to make costily houis, not to herberow pore men, bot lordis and myghty men; and techen men to suffer Gods temple, þat ben pore men, to periche for defaute. And þus þei ben traytoures to God, and his riche puple, whom þei dissevyn in hor almes, and monquelleres of pore men, whose lyvelode þei awy taken fro hom by fals leesinges, and herfore þei ben irreguler bistrore 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.

Freris also kep en not correcpioun of þo gospel ageyns hor breþer þat trespassen, bot cruely done hom to peyneful prisoun. Bot þis is not þo meke suyynge of Jesus Crist, for he and his apostils priseneden 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 prisoun 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 oper mysdoers, and sum profite 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 sclauderouse, and
pat dos harme to per lege men, and profite of kynges ministris is awey. And when po potestatis of freris ben proude, covetousse, and syfnul, and haten po treuthe, pei wil soone prisoun trew men pat reproven hor synnes, and spare oher schrewes, pat pei may flater hom and mayntene hom in hor synne, and so, byside po kynges leeve, tormenten trew men, for pei wolden do Gods heestis. And sith po kyngis graunte is occasion herto, po kyng is holden to revoke and lette freris prisonyng, leste he be gyly of po synne pat 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 po kyng dar do, and maken po kyng þo sendis tormentour to prisounre trewe men, for pei seyn þo sothe. And so po kyng stoppis Gods lawe to be knownen 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-reuuld 1 aftir þo gospel, by symplenesse and holy lyvyngse.

CAP. XXIII.

Also freris maken oure lond lawelesse, for pei leeden clerkes, and namely reulen prelatis and lordis and laydies, and comynes also; and pei ben not reuiled by Gods lawe, ne lawes of þo Chirche, ne lawes of þo kyng. Ffor pei glosen Gods lawe as hom likes, and ben exempt fro bischopis and oþer ordinaries, and leeden po bischof of Rome as hom likes. And men seyn þei ben not lege men to þo kyngne ne sugett to his lawes; ffor þe 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 beggyng of sixty thousands mark by yeere, as men doute resonably, and þitte þei ben not punished herfore. And þus lawelesse freris, by hor fals reuylngse, maken our lond laweles, ffor þei letten clerkes, lordis, and comyns to knowe þo treuthe of holy writ, and maken hom to pursue trew men to þo deth, for þei techen þo comaundermentis of God, and crien to þo puple þo soule synnes of fals freris. And þus falsenesse

1 to be reuiled, X.

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CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

is mayntened, and fals men ben raysid to grete astatis, and
treuthis is putt on bac, and traw men ben pursued, he, to
prisonyng, to losse of alle hor godis, and to scharpe jugement,
for als myche as pei wolden destrie synne peat was openly and
cursidly done, and in poynf for to fordo oure lond. And of
bis ruling ben freris moste gulty, for pei leeden prelatis, lordis
and ladies, justisis and ojer men by confessioun, and tellen
hom not spedily hor synnes; for if pei tolden hom hor synnes,
and pei wolde not amende hom, po freris peat ben hor confess-
soures schulden leewe hom up, as Crist and Poul techen. Bot
pei done not pus, for pei schulden leese wynynyg and favor
of po worlde. And pus, for love of money and wilfare of hor
body, pei leeden oure lond oute of po lawe of God and al
rightwisenes.

CAP. XXIV.

Also freris ben irreguler procuratours of po fende, to make
and mayntene werris on Cristen men, and enemyes of pees and
charite. For freris counseilen and openly prechen, peat men
schulen sone to heven wipouten peyne if pei wolden goo and slee
in hor owne persone, or mayntene and fynde one at hor coste,
to slee Cristen men. And po ende was to make Cristis viker
moste riche to po worlde, po whiche viker schulde be moste
pore, suynge in pis moste hyely Crist and his apostlis. Bot
Crist dyed to make pees and charite; and if men myghten pus
frely graunte pardoun, pei schulden, he, to lese hor owne lif,
graunte pardoun to make pees. Jitte pei prechen no pardoun
ne mede to make pees and charite, and jitte pei ben bounden
of God to make men siker to have po blis of heven, if pei wil
treuly procure for pees and charite. Bot of po pardoun peat
men usen to day fro po Court of Rome, pei have no sikernesse
by holy write ne resoun, ne ensample of Crist or his apostils.
And so of ojer werris and debatis, pei freris myghten lette if
pei wolden. And sip pei done not, bot raper counseilen perto,
and counsorten men perrinne, and tellen not po periles of hom,
pei ben cause and procuratoures of alle werris, and specialy of

1 so X; W has of.

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... bis werre in Flaundris. For þei prechiden þat, and hadde hit forth, aȝeyns þo kyng, þo duke, 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 conquered 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.

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 counsel to werris, and norischinge and counfortinge men in synne, for lustis of hor fleche. Ffor, in pleesinge of bispopis and oþer men, þei prechen aȝeyns povert of Crist, and seyn þat prechours of þo gospel and Cristis lif ben heretikes, worthy to be brende. And so, for giftis of bispopis 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 helhe, when men by hor counseile taken fals werris and enden in hom, wenynge þat þei done wil, and þerfore dyen wipouten sorwe of hom. And for to hert men in þis cursid werringe, þei gone with hom into werre, and ben hor confes-

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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 Spen- cier 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

soures, and sumtyme sleen men in hor owne persone. And þus þei ben Anticristis martiris, and sleen to helle, to drawe oþer men þider after hom.

CAP. XXVI.

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 leewe 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, wip 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 confessoure, 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 wynnyng of stinkyng muck and lustis of hor owne bely, þat is foule wormes meete and a sack of dritt.

CAP. XXVII.

Also freris ben moste rebel ageyns þo techinge of Cristis gospel and moste out of patiense and pite, ffor þei ben moste unpacient ageyns reprovyng of synne and destryinge þerof. Ffor a lord wil mekelier suffer scharpe despisinge of his litel synne, þen þei wil suffer meke and softe reprovyng of hor grete heresies. Ffor þei ben wode þat mennes almes schulde be rightly departid amonget 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, wipouen spott anentis God þo Fadir, to visite fadirles and
modirles childre, and widows in hor tribulacioun, and to kepe a mon unfoulid fro pis worlde, pat is, fro pride, covetise, and vanytees. Bot freris done al po contrarie, for pei visiten riche men, and by ypocrisie geten falsely hor almes, and wi̊drawn hit fro pore men. Bot pei visiten riche widows for hor mucke, and maken hom to be biried at po freris; bot pore men comen not in pere. And wilful povert pei forsaken, and ben moste covetouse of alle men, and boosten more of hor holynesse, and ben moste dislayv 1 of hor veyn speche and worldly. And, as trewe men tellen, freris seyn apertely, if po kynge and lordis and oper men stonden pus ageyns hor fals beggyng, and wil not suffer freris to robbe hor tenauntis, bot gif hor almes to hor pore negehtoris, freris wil go out of po lond and cum ageyne wi̊ bright hedis a. And loke whe̊per pis be tresoun or noon.

**CAP. XXVIII.**

Also freris techen and mayntenen pat holy writ is fals, and so pei putten falsenes upon oure Lord Jesus Crist, and on po Holy Gost, and on al po blesssid TrinYTE. Ffor sith God Almyghty taunte, confermes, and mayntenes holy writte, if pis wryting be fals, pen God is fals, and maytenour of error and falsenesse; bot certis pen he is no God. 3itte knewen we nevere pat any sect wold sey pat lawes of hor God were fals, and þerwip byleve on po same God, bot pis despit done þese blasphemes to po holy TrinYTE. Alas! who may suffer þis blasphemye? þat Crist in whom is al tresoure of witte, wisedome, and treuthé, couthe not or wolde not sey trew wordis and sentence, bot synful folis haf trew maner of speking, contrarie to po speche of oure Lord Jesus Crist. Ffor if pis be sothe, synful folis, þe, in caas, deves 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 po wordis of God, þerfore pei ben fals. Bot þese heretikis schulden knowe þat hit sues of hor cursid grounde þat God is po falsest þing

1 *dilavy*, X.

a That is, with helmets on their heads.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

in erthe or heven or in helle. Why? for men falsely understonden moste falsenesse of hym; and þus myght iche Paynyme or Sarazen 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 treuth. As men seyn, a mon may so long be norischiid litel and litel by venym, þæt 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.

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 þeer, and sumtyme seven þeer, and, by comyn asent of hom bothe, by al hor lyve. Bot if a frere be oute of his roten habite, þe, 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 clopis, ffor Crist was thries on a day oute of his clothis, and þitt 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 takynge 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 neightboris, where þei schulden do hit by þo heest of God, and mayntenen freris in hor fals beggyng, ypocrisie, and oþer synnes mony.
CAP. XXX.

Also freres techen þat hit is not leveful to a prest or anoper mon to kepe þo gospel in his boundis and clennesse, wipouten error of synful men, bot if he have leve þerto of Anticrist. And þus þei seyn hit is not leveful to a Cristen mon to do Gods comaulement, bot if a fend gif hym leve þerto, as if þo leve and comaulement of God be not ynowh herto. For þei seyn þat a prest þat has bounden hymself to erroors of synful men by new professioun, may not go to þo fredome of þo gospel, and lif perafter as Crist tauȝte prestis, bot if þei have dispensacioun of þo pope. And I suppose þat he be Judas, and schal be damniéd; þen he is a devel, as Crist seis; and þen hit is pleyne, sith þis prest may not kepe þo gospel in his fredome wipouten his leve, and he is in þis caas a devel, þen a prest may not kepe þo comauementis of God wipouten leve of a fend. Bot for to gete þis leve is oure golde gyven to aliens, and sum-tyme oure enemeyes; and þitte þo prest schal be bounden comynly to þo roten habite, and be exempt fro godenesse, and boldid in synne.

CAP. XXXI.

Also freres ben ressett, and a swolwhe of symonye, of usure, of extorsiouns, of raveyns, and of theftis, and a nest or hoorde of mammons tresoures. Ffor þof men lyven in symonye, þei wil not counsell hom and charge hom in schrißte to resigne hor benefice, bot counforþen hom to holde hit stille, and bringe hom myche dritt þerof, and þei wil undertake for hor synne. And so of usurers, þei changen hom not spedely to make restituciou, bot raper colouren þis synne, to be partyner of þis wynnyng. And so of þoper robberie, þei resseyven hit privily, and so mayntenen and colouren theifes in theffe, where þoper 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 freres 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 raper leyen hit up in hor tresoure, to mayntene wronges ageyns hor curatis and oþer pore men, by fals płe at Rome, and marchaundise in Englond.

CAP. XXXII.

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 kynge and lordis owen to compelle hom þerto. And þus þei dampnen holy writ, and þo kyngis regalrie. Ffor sith pore prestis have taunte, 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 conformed by Cristis lif and his apostils, and freris seyn þat þis is heresie, þei dampnen openly holy writ. And sith þo kynge regalrie askes by olde statute þat þo kynge may in mony, in caas, take temporalties fro clerkis, and freris seyn þat þis takynig is error ageyns Gods lawe, þei dampnen þis rightful regalye. And so þei dampnen þo rightful regalie of oure kynge, and also oure kynge 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 kynge and lordis is to preys, rewarde, and mayntene gode and rightful men, and to chastiye scharpwycked men, and constreyne clerkis to holde þo state þat Crist putt hom inne, and algatis willeful povert, freris sey, if þo kynge and lordis done hor offis of Gods lawe, þat þei ben soule heretikes. Bot why schulde þo kynge mayntene in his lond soche traytoures bothe to God and hym, and cruel enemys of alle Cristen men?

CAP. XXXIII.

Also freris ben theves, bothe nyght thefis and day thefis, entryng into þo Chirche not by þo dore, þat is Crist; ffor wipouten autorite of God þei maken new religiouys of errours of synful men. And þitt þei maken worse reulis evere þo lenger þat þei lasten, and þei seken not mekely þo worship of God,

1 regalies, X.  
2 in many causes, X.
and profite of Cristen mennis soulis, and pis ping pei mosten do, if pei comen in by Crist. Bot pei chesen and fynden a new ordir, lesse perfite and profitable pen is pat pat Crist made hymself, and so pei maken dyvisioun in prestbed, ageyns po comauement of God. And sith pei ben not groundid on Crist and his lawe, pei moten nedis be drawn up, and po ordynance of Crist mot stonde in his clennesse and perfeccioun.

CAP. XXXIV.

Also freris by ypocrisyse bynden hom to impossible ping pat pei may not do; for pei bynden hom ouver po comauementis of God, as pei seyn homself; bot pei may do no more tan po comauement of God. For God biddes in his moste comauement, pat pou schalt luf po Lord pi God of al pi lif, of al pi mynde, and of alle pi strengthis and myghtis. Bot who may do more pen pis? No mon; pen pei bynden hom to more pen pei may do. And sith hit is not counsel of Crist to make synguler professioun to a synful ydiot, and, in caas, a devel, and pei bynden hom to siche oon, pat pei done over po counsel of Crist. Bot al pat is over po counsel of Crist is algatis yvel, sip Crist counsilx to iche gode ping. And pis many bynde foolis bynden hom to po hye counsilx of Crist, pat connot kepe po leest comauement. Bot se ypocrisyse of hom! sith iche counsilx of Crist is comauement for sumtyme and summe circumstausnis, hou bynden pei hom to more pen to comauementis? Not by po counsilx, for pei ben comauementis. Bot pei feynen pis to drawe yonge childe into hor roten habite, and ojer foolis, pat knoven not pe perfeccioun of Cristis ordir.

CAP. XXXV.

Freris also ben worse heretikis pen weren Jewis, pat wolden kepe cerymonyes of po olde lawe wip fredome of Cristis gospel. Ffor po Jewis kepten resonable lawes, made of God, and medeful for tyme pat God ordeyned hom; bot freris kepen now lawes feyned of eroures of men, moo pen God ordeyned in po olde lawe, and more uncerfeyne. For to day pis lawe is holden amonge hom, and to morwen destried, bot pis uncerfeyne was not Gods lawe. And pese lawes of freris ben more ageyns po
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

gospel; for to lawes of to Olde Testament were figure of Cristis conynge and passioun, and ledden men to to gospel; bot new lawes of friris ben not suche figure, and letten men to holde fredome of to gospel. O Lord, sith gode lawes, ordeyned of God, mosten nede ceeze for fredome of to gospel, myche more moten yvel lawes, ordeyned of errour of synful men and worldly, ceeze, and lette not men to kepe to gospel in his fredome.

CAP. XXXVI.

Also friris ben adversaries of Crist and disciplis of Sathanas, not yeldinge gode for yvel, as Gods lawe techis, ne gode for gode, as kynde and monnis lawe techen; bot yelding yvel for gode, as to fendis lawe techis. For to casten and ymagynen to deth of trew men pat desiren and travelen to delyver hom fro to fendis mouth and everlastinge deeth, and to bringe hom to pat staate in whiche Crist ordeyned prestis to lyve inne. And to proferen friris pis condicioun, if to wil teche by holy writ or resoun, pat friris ordir and lyvinge is beste for prestis, to wil gladly be professid to to friris ordir; and if prestis may teche, bothe by holy writ and resoun, pat hor ordir is better ben friris, sith Crist hymself made hor ordir, and not friris, to preyen friris for luf of God to take pat ordir, and to leeve hor singuler ordir, in als myche as hit drawes hom fro to fredome of to gospel. And pus to orproven prestis, for to reproven hor synnes as God biddes, bothe to brenne hom, and to gospels of Crist written in Englishe, to moost lernyng of oure nacioun. And pus, for to grete almes pat men gyven to friris, to letten men to con Gods lawe, and so letten hom to be saved, for to may not be saved wipouten conynge and kepyng of Gods lawe. And so friris neden oure lond to be d pimpned wip fendis in helle.

CAP. XXXVII.

Freris also ben worse enemyes and sleers of monnis soule pen is to cruel fende of helle by hymself. Ffor to, under to habite of holynesse, leden men and norischen hom in synne, and ben special helpers of to fende to strangle mennis soulis.
For þei han\(^1\) name of holynesse and of grete clerkis in repetacioun 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 littel 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 littel money by þeere, þof he be not in wille to make restituicioun 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\(^*\), 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 lettiris of fraternite, þof þei alle breken þo heestis of God and keepen not charite. And certayne þen is þo devel siker of bothe partyes.

CAP. XXXVIII.

Also freris leden and norischen oure prelatis, oure lordis and comys, 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 damned devel. Ffor þei callen þo curse of God þo lasse curse, and þo curse of synful mon þo more curse. Ffot 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 comys. Bot if a mon wipstone de onys þo cytacioun of a synful prelat, þe, after þo commaundement of God, þen he schal be cursid and prisouned after fourty dayes; and alle men schulen gow upon

\(^{*}\) 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

hym, þof þo mon be pursued for treuth 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, Þfor Crist is gostly weddid wip 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 comynyng ne consent to Crist and to Belial. And þen may þer no weddinge be bitwiexe hom. Bot þis general holy Chirche is þo congregacioun of Crist, þat is hed, and alle gode angels 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 persche, 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 wip hym. And sith iche part of Cristis gostly body, of whiche Austyn spekes as holy writt dos, schal regne wip hym in blis, þen no mon þat schal be dampned is part of Cristis gostly body, and so part of membre1 of holy Chirche. Bot freris seyen þus, for men schulden gyf hom myche money to preye for alle, bothe gode and yvel, and also to plese bischops and possessioneres.

CAP. XL.

Also freris seken bisily hor owne worldly worship, and putten þo worship of God byhynde, ageyns þo techinge of Jesus Crist and Seynt Poule. 3he, þat is worse, þei taken upon homself

1 part na membre, X.
glorie is appropriad to God, and so maken hom even wiþ God. For sei seken faste, by grete giftis and veyne costis, to be calde maysters of dyvynite, and speke before lordis, and sitte at po mete wiþ hom, and not to teche treuly po gospel to alle maner of men, by meke lif and frely, as Crist biddes. Also to be confessoureys of lordis and ladyes, and algatis to be myche tolde by, and fare wil, and not seke pore men, þof sei have more neðe. And so of oþer bisynesse of freris, whoso takes gode siȝt to hom. Ffor if a frere do wil litel, þat schal be preysið algatis, bot þof anþer mon do myche better, þat schal be lacked or despised. Also sei schulen swere by hym þat sei callen patroun of hor ordir, and lewe God b rhyme, and ÿtt sei done so for worschip of hor owne patroun and hor owne sect. And noþoles God techis to swere by hym in neðe, and not by his creaturis. Bot for hor proude sweringe and ydel, þei dispisen God and hor patroun also.

CAP. XLII.

Freris þitte hyen, ÿtt 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 commaunden 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 counsels, leste men, doynge after hor techyng, in þis do ageyns þo wille of God. Bot farewil þen þis new feyned obediense, wiþ þis new professioun.

CAP. XLII.

Also freris falsely enhansen homself above 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

curatis of hor ofis and gostly worship, and letten hom to knowe Gods lawe, by holdynge bokis fro hom, and wijdrawinge of hor vauntages, by whoche þei schulden have bokes and lerne. And also þei robben lordis of hor rentis; and sombe by more ypocrisyse taken fre annuel rentis of lordis cooferis; and þei robben þo comyns of hor lyvelode by ypocrisyse, and fals beg-gynge, 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; for where Crist had not to reste inne his heved, freris, feyned beggers, have lordly plasis, þat almoste þorw Englonde þei may iche nyght lye on hor owne.

CAP. XLIII.

Freris also of grete cautel bynden novycis to unknownen þing, for þei wil not suffre hom knowe hor privilees of hor reule and hor lif, til þat þei ben professis; 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 openly to þo world, and in hyddennesse noþing; and freris done here fully þo con-trarie. For firste þei schewen grete devocioun and swettenes of holy lif to þonde childre, til þei ben professis, and þen maystren hom by tyranntrie to do mony þinges ageyns hor conscience, and so neden hom to go to belle or to prisoun, and sumtyme to cruel deth.

CAP. XLIV.

Also freris ben wasteris of tresour of oure lond by mony blynde and unskiful maners. Ffor firste þei bynden 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, quenals, and oner veyne privilleges. And in al jis jis 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 jis schewed to oure enimyes. And God wot wher matrimonye be jis departid for money by soche freris, makynge fals suggestioun, and fals poursuyte after. Also hit semes nat in jis jei magnifiyen a synful caytif, and, in caas, a dampned fende, more jen God Almyghty. For jei dar not by fre graunt of God do a gode ping to pleese hym jerverip, but if jei haf leeve of suche a synful caytif. And if jei have leeve of suche an unwitty caytif, jei dar do, ageth Gods pleesinge, an unreasonoble ping, and synful, and sclaundrouse to alle Cristen men.

CAP. XLV.

Freris also by Lucifers pride hyen homself, and holden hom holier jen alle oner oute of hor sect, for as myche as jei bynden hom to new tradiciouns of synful men, jen whiche ben ful of error, over jen moste sufficient reule of Jesus Crist, jat leffe no profitable ne nedeful ping out of his reule. Ffor jen a prest or Bishop do nevere so treuly jen offis jen God bad prestis do, jitte jei seyn he is more holy if he cum to hor newe feyned reliogion and obedientse. Bot sip boostinge and rejoy sching of synne is one of jen grattest synnes of alle, and jese freris boosten so myche of hor synful errour, bou jei have founden a better reliogion jen Crist made for his apostils and prestis, hit semes jen ben moste synful and cursidly proude over alle oner wicked men. Ffor hit semes jat jen maken homself wiser jen Crist, more witty and more ful of charite, sip jen techen better wey to heven jen did Crist, as jen feynen.

CAP. XLVI.

Also freris settien more by stinkyng dritt of worldly godis jen jen done by virtues and godis of blis. Ffor if a Caymes Castel

*Quencial* seems to be a corruption of *quinquennales*, 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*.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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, Þitte þei seyn þat riche houz is better þen a pore houz 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.

Freris also schewen and wittenessen in homself Anticristis miraclis, right as Laþar, and oþer reysid by Crist, shewiden and wittenessen Cristis miraclis. Ffor as Laþar 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 soþil mayntenynge or colouringe of synne. Ffor þof men ben cursid avouteris, extorsioneris, and wrongeful mayntyneris of falsenesse and debatis, Þitte 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.

Also freris ben foule envenymed wip 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 gostly lecchorie by Gods worde, when þei prechen more hor owne fyndyngis, for worldly mucke, þen Cristis gospel for savyng 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.

Freris also ben moste privy and sotil procuratoures of symonye and foule wynynge, and biggyngye of beneficis, of indulgensis and trinels, pardouns, and veyne privileges. Ffor men seyn þei wil gete a grete þing of þo pope, or of cardinalis, in Englund 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, privileges, and þo firste fruytis of beneficis in, oure lond, and dymes and subsidiis, to werre on Cristen men for stinkynge worldly lordship, 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.

Þitte freris ben moste perilouse enemyes to holy Chirche and al oure lond, for þei letten curatis of hor offis, and spenden comynly and nedees sixty thousande mark by þeere, 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 þitte not two hundrid þeere agone þer was no frere; and þen was oure lond more plentuous of catel and men, and þei were þen strengere of complexion to labour þen now, and þen were clerkis ynowye. And now ben mony thousande of freris in Englund, and þo olde curatis stonden stille un-

1 tryenalys, X.  See note on quienal, p. 398.  

2 subsidiar, X.  

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amendid. And amonge alle synne is more encreesid, and po
puple chargid by sixty thousande mark by seere, and perfere
hit mot nedis fayle. And so freris suffren curatis to lyve in
synne, so patent may robbe po puple and lyve in hor lustis.
Ffor if curatis done wil hor offis, freris weren superflui, and owre
lond schulde be dischargid of mony thousande marke. And
pen po 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 po
grounde is sought, freris seyn pus in dede, Lete olde curatis
waxe rotien in synne, and lete hom not do hor offis by Gods
lawe, and we wil lyve in lustis so longe, and waste veyneliche
and needes sixty thousande marke by seere of po pore comyns
of po lond; and so at po laste make discencioun bytwene hom
and hor childre, for dymes and offringes patent 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,
extorcious, and oþer synnes, and po comyns in covetise,
lecchorie, and oþer disseytis, wiþ fals sweringe in mony giles;
and also po curatis in hor dampnacioun, for leevynge of hor
gostly offis; and so be procuratours of po fende for to drawe
alle men to helie. Pus pei done in dede, however pei seynen
in ypocrisie of pleesing of wordis. Off pei fifty heresies and
errors, and mony moo, if men wil seke hom wil out, pei may
knowe patent freris ben cause, bygynnyng, welle, and mayntenynge,
of perturbacioun in Cristendom, and of alle yvels of pis world.
And pei errors schulen nevere be amendid, til freris be brouȝt
to fredome of po gospel, and clene religioun of Jesus Crist.

God for his endeles mercy and charite make verrey pees,
unite, and charite, among Cristen men, and bringe alle prestis
to Cristis clene religioun, wiþouten errour of wronge by lawes.
Amen.

Conclusion.

WORKS. VOL. III.  D d
XXV.

DE BLASPHEMIA, CONTRA FRATRES.

[The only MS. of the following tract known to exist is contained in Bodl. 647 (W). In the Catalogus 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 Doctrinae, 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.]

Hie 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 wickednesse of þis vice, þo bischopis of þo temple putten blasphemye upon Crist, to do him to depos. For, as þo Psalme seis, and þo gospel beris witnesse, þei scharpid hor toungis and cried togedir, What kepe þe witnesse? þe have herde his blasphemye. Blasphemye is in a maner slaundring of God. And so in þre maners may mon blaspheme in God. Fyrst, when worþynesse appropriad to God is unworjibly putt to a pore creature. Þo seconde, when unperfecioun is putt upon God. Þo þridde, when divynyte is denied for God, þat mot acorde to hym for his grett

1 Some unlucky binder has cut away the greater part of the heading in the MS; it seems to have been ‘Pars Prima Blasphemie.’
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lordship. And if blasphemy be scaterid amonge mony men, nerepoles pis heresie is comynly wil freres. And wij thre blasphemyes pei blynden po puple. Po first is hor heresie of po sacrament of po auter. Po secounde is blasphemye of begglyng of Crist. Po priddle is hor blasphemye of graunt of gostily helpe to hem pat wil bye or pourchasse to be Anticristis broper.

As to po first, we seyn, siker of oure seyth, pat po whyte þing and rounde pat po prest sacris, like to po unsacrid oostis, and is broken and eeten, is verrely Gods body in po 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 pat alle blasphemyes in po world may not fals Crist. Bot here po fals blasphemes gropen after weyes, and seyn pat bi þis pei schewye Gods body and not pat bred. Bot witte pei wil by Cristen mennis bileyve, pat þes wordis of Crist ben not so naked of witte, to telle his apostils pat his body is his body, for pat knew þei first. Also, þof al Cristis shewyng were straunge to po bred, hou shulde þese blasphemes, by virtu of þese wordes, profye þat bred tournes to noþt, and accident leeves wipouten any sogett, or þat Gods body is newly þere? Also, as everiche Cristen mon moste graunt, Crist schewid wyn in po chalis, pat he cald his blode. Lord, why shulde he not shewye by po same skl bred, þat he toke in his honde and commaundid to eete hit?

For everiche Cristen mon may wel witte, þat Crist seide not pat þo metal was his blode; ne Crist undirstode not þat accidentis were his blode, ne he schewid not his blode wipinne his body, bothe for his wordis were þen wipouten 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 sop þat he seide, þis bred is my body.

And herfore Seynt Jerome, þat couthe more of holy writte þen alle þo men now on lyve, for he was lenger tauȝt, wrytes þus. Here we, he seis; þat bred þat Crist brake, and gaf his disciplis to eete, is his owne body, for he hymself seis þat þis

* S. Hieron. ad Hedibiam, § 2.

D d 2
is my body. And to dampne wordis or sentence of ṭis holy mon were a fools tourne, to scorne of ṭo dampner; as we shulden scorne ṭes heretikes, ṭat leven Cristis wordis, and feynen wordis or sentence wijouten auctorite. As somme seyn, ṭat is ṭo sentence of ṭo gospel, not ṭat ṭis bred is Cristis body, bot ṭat ṭis bred schal be Cristis body. Somme ben not payed of ṭis, but ṭat of ṭis bred shal be Cristis body. ṭo pride seis, ṭat Cristis body is not new made, ne getis not new mater ṭat was in ṭo bred; so ṭat not of ṭis bred is makid Gods body, but ṭat ṭes accidentis bitoken Gods body. Mony soche sentencis ben feyned of freris, by whom Anticristis clerkis verseren Cristis sentence. By ṭis mot we graunte ṭat ṭis bred ṭat Crist brak is verrely his body, or elles sey ṭat ṭis holy gospel is fals, or ellis uncrafful cloute to wordes of Crist. And sith everiche mon ṭat wijouten auctorite of Crist puttes witte to Cristis wordes ṭat God askes not, is an heretike, hit is open ṭat soche feyners ben alle blasphemes.

Bot ageynis ṭis grutches Anticrist, ṭat ṭis sacrament shulde togedir be bred and Gods body. Bot, as he feynes, when ṭat Gods body bygynnes to be ṭere, ṭen bred turnes to noṭ, and accident leeves. ṭes fools shulden undirstonde ṭat Baptiste, when he was naked, holly ceesid not to be Jon, ne non-opèr ṭing. And so ṭes blasphemes passen Juwes in foolly, for Juwes knowen ṭat hit is bred when ṭei kyndely eten hit; and so ṭese freris and Phariseees ben madder ṭen Juwes and falser ṭen Paynims, sip ṭei trowen nowþer ṭat hit is Gods body, ne bred, ne creature ṭat ever God made. Bot feythe of ᵈo gospel techis us to trowe ṭat ṭis is verey bred after ᵈo sacringe, for Crist hymself seis, ṭis bred is my body; bot what foole con not se ṭat ne ṭen hit is bred? Also ᵈo gospel techis Cristen men to preye aftir ᵈis iche day bred, or owne substaunce. And Austyn techis ṭat by ᵈis bred Crist undirstode ᵈis sacrament. Also ᵈo apostlis knewen Crist by brekyng of ᵈis bred; and ᵈis bred was ᵈo sacrament, as Austyn seis, wiþ ᵈo popis lawe. And Seynt Poule, ṭat owver opèr knew of Gods privytes, calles ᵈis sacrament, bred ṭat we breke.

Owe, wheþer we shal se Anticrist so myghty ṭat he shal dampne Cristen men for ṭei graunte ᵈo gospel! Wil I wot
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pat we may amonge Saracen's trowe and teche his gospel without any punyschynge; bot alle Cristen men shulden have freris suspecte, pat pei dar not put out her feyse to po puple, and putt hit by oure feythe, and stonde therby. And certis one of these treue jinges semes to meete hom,—pat ouer pei con not, or dar not, or pei travel by envye. God helpe us few Cristen men pat stonden in his feythe, for leesynge and flaterynge of freris spreden ful wyde. And, as Crist schewid bref before po sacriinge, and bad hem all eete perof, so he schewid aftir.

And as Anticrist marres men in hor wittis, so he destries virtues pat shulden cum of hom. Ffor amonge alle bodily wittis, moiste certeyne of alle are gropyng and tastynge, as philosophers seyn. Bot gropyng pei marren by hor foly sentence; for no bodily ping we knowen more certeynly pen hardenesse and sofftenesse of his 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 puse. Bot, as philosoferes seyn, hardenesse and sofftenesse, freenesse and towghnesse, with soche qualityes, may nowper qualite ne quantite sogetten. Ow, wheper God, pat is treufe, ordeyne Cristen men for to be marred in hor wittes in po sacrament of trewht, more pen Juwes or Paynims erren in hor feythe! And so po sacrament of po chalis may opinly shewe, first, swettenesse of wyne, and aftir sournesse, as prestis knowen wil. Lord, wheper swettenesse and sournesse ben sogettid in figure! And here mennis innwittis mot algatis erre in knowynge and jugynge of difference of substancie; as, if mony oostis, sacrif and unsacrid, were mengid togedir, a blaspheme pat knewe not po medelynge of hom, kouthe not knowe accident fro bred, ne telle what is pis more pen a beeste. And if tonnes of wyne were sacrif byzonde po see, nowper vyntyners of Englonde couthe taaste pis likoure, ne prestis myst syngye wiþ soche accidentis. And so pese fals men mot algatis dowte wheper alle soche men faylen in hor jugementis.

And after soche errours in kyndely wittes pei make men to erre in science and vertues, as pei mot curse gramaryens pat Englishen po gospel, pat po apostlis knewen Crist in brekyng.
of bred, for ðei myght make hor scolers to trowe ðat ðo sacra-
ment of ðo auter were bodily bred; as ðo gramarien were to
blame ðat taught ðus hir childer, ðat ðo hounde schynes aboven
ðo sonne*. For if gramariens shulden construe ðis ðus,—ðo
apostils knew Crist in brekynge of accydent wipouten suggett,
ðen nowþer ðei ne ðo puple wiste what ðei mente; as ðis were
erreoure in gramer to teche, for, ðis bred is nedeful to mon, ðat
þing is nedeful to mon. And here Anticristis clerkes ma ken
homself perplex; hit nedes not to suen. Owe! ðis blasphemye
pervertis boþe logik and science of kynde. Bot moste harm in
ðis mater stondes in ðis; ðat ðei perverte ðo feythre of ðo gospel.
For ðo gospel seis, ðat Crist toke bred in his hondes, blessid
hit, and brake hit, and gaf his disciplis, and bad hom ich one,
Eete ye of ðis; for, as he seide, ðis is my body. By ðo first
ðis, ðei sey ðat bred is shewed, and by ðo seconde ðis is al
anoþer þing. And so ðei blaspheme in Crist and mystaken his
worde. For as* everiche gode mon by resoun con se, ðat as
ðo wisdome of Crist shulde first schewe bred, so schulde he
aftir shewe ðo same bred; for elles ðis were a causel wipouten
any witte, Eetis alle of ðis, for ðis is my body.

And herfore lordis and comyns and alle trew men schulden
juge ðo blasphemes in hor wronge partye. Ffor so myche may
prelatis erre, ðat hit is worthy ðo puple to juge hom, as ðo
bischipis of ðo temple were nedid to forsake to juge Crist, ðat
is trewh of ðo gospel. And right as a blaspheme in ðo olde
lawe shulde be stoned of al ðo puple, so alle Cristen men
shulden gostily stone blasphemes. Bot who is a Cristen mon,
bot he ðat trowes ðat bred is Cristis body, as ðo gospel seies?
And so by erreoures ðat growen of ðes blasphemes is holy Chirche
lettid to profit in virtues. Ffor if mon trowid holly in ðo lawe
of ðo gospel, and durst not cloute þerto nor drawe þerfro, þen
shulden þei be mekely Cristis disciplis and ðe soche blasphemes,

* The friars impute to gram-
marians, who undertake the trans-
lation of the Bible, the desire, by
the way in which they render this
passage, to bring down the sacra-
ment 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 bothe vertues and vyses ben knyttid togedir, and þen shulde Cristis lawe be worshippid as hit is worthy, for hit suffices by hitself to reule Cristis Chirche, wip懂en þo popis lawe or any suche ðoper. And as men thar not renne to Rome, ne to any one, to secche 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 wipouten ðoper prelatis suffics to gif grace and al þat men neden. Mony þinges ben hidde here þat Cristen men may fynde, and witte wel þat of vanye sue more vanye.

Bot þitte ageyns þis sentence meeses Anticrist, and, as an heretik departid fro treuth, he wandris unwarily unto wronge wayes. Þo first is in derkenesse of resouns of scole. Þis wil we passe owver, certeyn of oure faythe þat þei shal nevere hirte oure sentence of þo gospel, biforn þei con Porfyry, wip Aristotils textis. Þo secounde wey þat þei walken is trist of new witneses. Þo first witnesesse 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 truchth. 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 lightyl er 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 conformed, 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 agh thundrid prestis on Baal syde were not so stronge in God as Hely hym one. And here may we se hou falselþo fend bigiles þo Chirche wip 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 wipouten sugette, neverþoles, for þei con not grounde hem on Gods lawe ne resoun, holy Chirche shulde not trowe hom, bot have hom suspect.
Lord, whether sith the gospel given to Christen men, the
whoche lastid the thousand yeare that Sathanas was bounden,
wolde not suffice nowe when Sathanas is lowsid! Fsaythe the
sith the gospel seis that heven and erke shal passe, and change fro
state to state, but the wordes of Crist schul not pise passe. Ow!
what wodenesse ten were hit, any Christen mon to leve the wordis
of Crist, the gospel, and trowe to fals wordis! Bot worschippid
be the lore of sothfastnesse that mevyd pis courte to confess pese
faythe, as schewes pope Nychol a. And ytte affir, when pis
courte was fer fro the trewthe, hit determined not pese fayned
sentence that men holde nowe, al the wode glosatoures had
wryten in thes mater more than the knew of, or elles couthen
grounde. And ytte alle thes freres that procur for Anticrist, mot
cloute to leesynge to textis and glosis. And so the fende haves
counseilde wip Anticrist his viker, and heght hym Gog and
Magog to bigyle the puple; and cometis thes fantasie,—that if
that maken men to denye hor wittes and Cristis wordis boke,
that thes sacrament is not verely bred, but pinge the knewen
not, he schuld make hom lightly to denye affir that thes were
Gods body, or what he wolde. And so mght he lightiere make
hom lye by wyfes, and disuse temporal godes, or do what the
wolde, and say the puple shulde not trowe soche jinges, bot
trowe the sawes that Anticrist lyes, for wittis the puple erren
ful ofte. For we may als opunly knowe that thes is bred, as we
may knowe the synnes of Anticrist. Bot one pinge lettis, that the
the mght not wynne the money of hor soggetis, that the knew
spoyle; and so, by hydnyge of synne that the knew selle, the
shulde not feble thes rewmes that the knew bygile. Ne alle Anti-
cristis clerkis con not telle the cause, why accydentis schulden
leve wipouten soggert, bot if hit were to sygnifie one of these
jinges,—oujer the soche men ben partid fro Crist, or elles that
blessynge of prelats are verely cursynge, or elles to make the
puple to trowe the the passe God. Ffor howevere the blaber
here wip hor lippes, hor soule may not understande what are

a The reference is, I think, to the
recantation of Berengarius, incorpo-
rated 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.
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ędse accydentis; ne God may not undirstonde an accydent wiȝoute a sugett. Bot anentis þo first of þese, Austyn seis þat as mon may not be wiȝouten his God, so an accydent may not be wiȝouten 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 wiȝouten myracle. And so þo first and þo laste ben falsely feyned, for al þof þei be partid fro God, nepole God fyndes hom, and puttes hom to payne.

God wolde þat Anticristis clerkes, þat perverten oure byleve, and chargen more wordes of Ambrose þen wordes of þo gospel, wolden þif 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 aftir principaly bred b. Ffor þis Ambrose seis 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 blesyng falsely feyned, hit is knownen þat Crist curside þo fige tre more mekely þen þese men feynen þat þei blesse þis bred. Ffor þitte aftir Cristis cursyng was þo tre dryed, and substaunce left, as þo gospel seis. Bot, as þes seyn, aftir hor blesyng leves nowþer matre, 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 blesynges of blaspemhe prestis! And sip noght þat was bfore 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 brought to noght, for þei ben not contraye. Lett we þese blaspemhes take hede, how Crist, bfore þo sacrynge, bad alle eete of þis bred; bot everiche blaspemhe schulde

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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.
b See vol. i. p. 379, note.
Wyclif's Works.

schame pat Crist shulde bidde hom do ping contrarye to his purpose, pat were not for to do. And herefore wipouten dowte Crist wolde pat pis bred were lastynge til it were his body, and aftir were eeten, for elles mot pei putt tregetrye and falsenes in Crist. And sith bodily eetyng was bidden of Crist, and pis bodily eetyng myst not be, bot if hit were bred, pen pis bred lastis aftir po sacrynge. And pei Seynt Poule and ojer apostils usiden suche eetynge; for gostily eetynge of Cristis owne body was not tauht by schewyng of bred, bot by brekyng of bred, as Seynt Poule seis. And ojer wittenes in pis mater is multitude of doctoures. Bot siip Seynt Austyn forbedes pat ony man trowe hym, bot if he grounde hym in resoun, or elles in Gods lawe, myche more of alle these doctors, sijen po fende was loused, no mon schulde trowe hom, bot pei grounde hom peus. And myche more of oure popis wip alle hor cardinals. And so, po we had an hundred of popis, and alle po freris in pis worlde were tourned unto cardinals, jitte schulde we more trowe po lawe of po gospel pen we schulde trowe al pis multitude.

II Pars Blasphemiae.

Po secounde blaspheme grounden pes freris, for pei feynen falsely beggyng in Crist; and hereby pei peyren po Chirche, and spoylen po pore puple. Pei supposen sothely pat Crist was pore, for Seynt Poule seis pat Crist was made boche pore and nedy, for po luf of mon. And pis we graunten hom, and more perto, pat Crist was a beggar, as po Salme seis. Bot, for to knowe fraudes and falsenesse of freris, moste we knowe what is beggyng, and maner of beggyng. No creature beggis bot mon-kynde one; ne nevere shulde have begged bot for his owne synne. And so begges a mon, pat askes purely, for Gods luf, helpe of any ping to releve him of his wreechidnes. And by dyversite of pingis pat we beggen of, and by maner of beggyng, may we knowe kyndes of beggyng. Everiche mon is neddid to begge of his God, for we asken of hym oure iche dayes bred, and in pat we begge of hym, as Austyn beres wittenes a. Bot speke we of beggyng of mon and beggyng of

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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 expressly hor owne myscheffe, for to be releved as þei shulde be, and such beggynghe 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 beggynghe 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 beggynghe forbeden*, 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 streght, by tendernesse of所得税, 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 beggynghe 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 un-kyndenesse of mon. And herfore men wischen þat yvel mot he spede þat begges on þis wyse, bot if he have nede; for sloute of coveytouse men, þat shulden gif biffer, and helpe þo pore men, is cause of þis beggynghe, or elles sloute in coveyse 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 powre to helpe homself as bestis; and he þat mysuses þis powere reversis Gods ordynauone. And herfore techis Austyn munkes to travel; and so algatis hit is synne a mon to begge þus; for if he willefully 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 beggynghe 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 ouþer better

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* The reference is to Deut. xv. 4; see p. 371, note a.
werkes; and of Crist lerned Seynt Poule to travel wip his hondis, and flowed suche beggynge, in hym and his folowers.

But, for Seynt Petre expownes þo prophete, þat Judas pursued Crist, mon nedy and begger, hit were for to witte hon Crist was a begger. Ffor hit semes þat Crist beggid, not onely in his members, bot in his owne persone, as he was pore and nedy; and so þo moste honeste beggyngy ordeyned of God, and likeste to þo state of innocense, acordid to Crist; and þat he seide in dide deuynta that he was inne, and asked in worde helpe for his myschef, not by almes of mon ne pleynynge to hom. And þis seyninge in dide, wipouten Cristis bisynes, was þo beggyngy 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 moutheth, not by mevyngynge of voyce, bot by erespe wyrdes; and þus menen men þat seyn þat Crist beggid not.

And sîþ freris beggen on þis wyse by autorite of Crist, hit semes þat þei consevyn þat Crist begge þus. Bot Seynt Richart of Armawehe proves on feir maner, þat were an heresye to put upon Crist suche maner of beggyngy, and mayntene hit stifty. For feyth nedes us to twowe, þat al þat Crist did, he did hit on þo beste maner wipouten deuynta; bot what nede of profite shulde mefe þis Lord, for to begge þus wipouten any cause? Nede drof him not þerto, sîþ Crist hungred neveare bot when he ches to hun grene so, and þif ensaumle of penance. Bot Lord! what profit were hit Crist to begge þus, sîþ he myght mefe men to gif hym when hym nedid, wipouten any bisynes of askyng of hom? And sîþ þis were algatis þo better to Crist and to þo puple, what shulde mefe þo blasphemes to lye þus on Crist? Also, sîþ Crist did ever more þo beste, what shulde mefe hym to ocuppye his mouthe wip suche beggyngy? Certis, sîþ Crist ches to be unchargeaunte to þo puple, ne gif non occasion of avarise to oþer, þei shulden fle þis doyng, and occuppye hom better,—specially sîþ he forfended to begge in his lawe. Also, sîþ freris seyn þat beggyngy groundes hom, and puttes hom in hyer
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degre of al pis Chirche, why wolde not Crist byfore po comynge of feris teche pis beggyngye, to profite of his spouse? Hit semes pat he shulde not bid, to lousyng of po fende. Bot, as Seynt Hildegar seis in hir prophese, pis beggyngye abode pis perilouse tyme, when fals ypocrisit disseyven po puple. Also, sip po gospel is ful of dedes of Crist, and suffycient in treuhte to governed Cristis Church, if pis beggyngye of feris were taken of Cristis lif, sumwhere in po gospel shulde hit be groundid. Bot po gospel leves hit, pat holds al treuhte. And so po blaspheme feris, to grounde hor ordir, putten Crist out of state of innocense, and putten folie in his werkes, sip he wrot unwarly. Mony fayre resoun makis pis holy bishop to convicte in pis falsness of feris.

Bot sip feris were heretikes and blasphemes in Crist, bot if pei groundid pis beggyngye in lawe of po gospel, pei bisien hom ful faste to seke hom a grounde. Po first and po myghtiest resoun of feris to prove beggyng in Crist, stondes in pis; Crist askid po womman watir to drinke, and sitte he was an alien, for he was a Samaritan; myche more wolde he be homely to his owne kyn. Bot here po blynde blasphemes mosten lerne hor logik. Pfor lewid men wot wel, pat hit sues not, po Lord aske of his owne pinga pat hym nedes, pei he moste begge pat ping of his servaunt. And so, if Crist bad po wommon gif hym a drinke, neverpoles he beggid not pis drinke of po wommon. And wolde God pat soche feris beggid noht bot water, or elles ojer elementis, pat by kynde shulden be comyne! And, for feris may not fayne ojer drinke bot water of po welle pat Crist shulde aske, pei fayne falsely pat Crist asked watir to drinke. Bot hit is not semely pat he wolde pen drinke watir, sip he sende his disciplis to towne to bye meete, and a fastynge mon lufts litel suche drinke. Also po

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a St. Hildegaris 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 virginiwm, Paris, 1513.
gospel telles not ðat Crist askid water, ne ðat he dranke water when ðat hit was drawen. And so it semes ðat feynyng of freris expownes ðis gospel as heretikes done. Bot hit is more semely, siþ ðo welle was depe, and Crist loved ðo womman in shewynge of myraclis, ðat he shulde make ðis water by myracle springe up, and sithen drinke þerof if he had nede. And herfore olde sentence is acordyng wip ðo gospel, ðat Crist spake here of spiritual eetynge and drinkynge; for when his disciplis bad him eete, he seyde he had mete ðo eete ðat þei knewen not. And so when ðis wommon by devocioun of feyth þaf Crist hir hert, þen he dranke wip hir. Lord, wheþer God begge of mon when he askes his wille, or Crist beggid of ðis wommon when he mevid hir hert, and gaf hir water of lif, and filled hir for evere!

Bot þitte þo freris fablen of beggyng of Crist, and seyn he beggid of Zachee boþe meete and house. Bot here þo ydiotics faylen in discrevyng of beggyng. Ffor if a bayle aske rent to þo lord, he begges not þis rent of þo lordis teneunte. 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 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 thow mercy. And lefe loke þo wordes þat Crist seyde to Zachee, wheþer þei sowned beggyng or lordship in Crist. Zachee, byinge cum doun of þo tre, for I mot þis day dwelle in þin house. A riche mon wolde þenne spyte of a begger, þat bad him hastily cum doun 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, þitte myghtes þou aske wheþer þat I wolde. Bot þo gospel techis þat Crist did mercy unto þis riche mon, and begged not of hym.

þitte 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 blynedenesse of þo blasphemes gos þo same waye, ffor þei blabur heresy þat God asked not. And

Replies to other similar arguments of the friars.

an error probably for lordship.
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şi pere is no beggynge of soche comyne bestis, ȝo freris shulden schame to forge suche beggynge; specialy ȝi ȝo Lord bad his disciplis, ȝat if ony mon seide owght unto hom, ȝei schulden sey ȝat ȝo Lord had myster of hom. ȝei schulden lerne, ȝat 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, ðerfore he bad ȝat ȝei schulde calle him Lorde. Bot ȝitte ȝo freris casten out ðer blynde resouns, ȝat Crist beggid a house, to eete inne his maundyte, ðor, as ȝo gospel seis, he had none of his owne, and so he toke almes bothe of men and of wymmm; why schulde we not sey ȝat ne Crist was a begger? Bot here we seyn to freris, as ȝo Psalme seis, ȝat Crist was to geder bothe riche and pore, and ðerfore he ordeyned ȝo apostils to sey ȝat he was Lord of alle lordes; and ȝitte had he myster. And so Crist was moste pore mon ȝat evere was ȝote, and ðerto most riche mon, and also moste curtseyse. And so in al his povert he beggid not by voyce, bot meved folk to gif him, for more mede of hom. And so, ȝof Crist toke bodily almes, nevereppoles he gaf better ageyne gostily almes, and beggid nevere on þis maner ȝat ȝo freris feynen. And so he bad, as verrey Lord, to go to ȝo cyte, and sey to sum myghty mon by þis token, ȝat, ȝo mayster seis, I make Paske wiþ ȝe. And at þis lordely worde of þis maister, þis burgeys of ȝo 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.

Bot se we wheþer þes newe sectis seyn sop upon Crist, ȝat ȝei suen hym in lif bifore alle ðer men; bot hit semes nay. Þfirst, when ȝei sey ȝat ȝei ben pore as Crist, ȝo fend hafs clothid hom in a cope to bringe in more deceyte. Certis ȝei have feele rentis, bot Crist had nevere one. Crist was herberowid in symple houses of ðer comyne men; þese freris have in propur houses of coste. Crist ȝat was al wyse had bot twelve disciplis; þese founed freris rekken nevere how

1 corrected; Þw, W.

* As their own.
mony þei have. And, for Crist chees his disciplis, and gedrid hom of mony, þo freris steelen lesse childer wipoute discrcioun; herfore þei have Scarioths moo þen apostils. Bot loke how þese freris kepæ 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 propurtes of charite, þat hit sekes not his owne gode, but godes of comynes, or elles þese freris reversen þo rewles of charite.

I rede not þat Crist wip alle his apostils 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 zaf þo puple was wipouten mesure better þen hor giftes. If freris, in more spense of housyng and mete, in clothyng, in juwels, chargen more þo puple þen Crist wip 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 lþip Seynt Richarde, bishop of Armawh, proves ageyne freris by mony feyre resouns þat þei faylen openly fro Cristis religion; and harten 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 haryng of þo puple may we sone se; sþip heven lokes lesse to fruyt of þo erthe, monnes strength is lesse, here lyve is shortere, þo tyme is lesse sesounable, and charite withdrawn.

What shulde mese 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 lorde. And al þinge acoutnd, þei gyven nowe to þo ordiris wel nyhe als myche as þei did to hor lorde. And so frutis of worldes godes faylen in þo grounde. And sþip yvel partynge of soche godes is cause of discencioun, þo fende hafs caste þis snare for to bryge men, sþor charite is exiled, and envye is kyndelid. And þis semes þo caste of þo fende of helle, þat he

*Wyclif's Works.*
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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.

Þo secounde waye þat þei go fro Crist and his lawe is wed-dyng of hor newe ordiris, and dyersen fro Cristis lawe. Men may openly se hou freris tellen more by hor newe ordir and hor ordynanuse, þen þei do by Cristis lawe, or profit of his Chirche. Ffor þis þei suen scharpelyr, and punyschen herfore; and þis privy 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 con-trarye; for he þat sues þis gospel is holdun sclaurderer of his breþeren, destroyer of hor house, and of hor newe religioun. Ffor oft sithe he shulde telle apertely þo fautes of his brother, and oft fel 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 sithe 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.

Bot þitte 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, bifoþer 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 maytene his enemies. And þus bigan Anticrist to reverse Crist, not mending deautes þat were in Cristis ordir, bot makynge 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 bastardre braunchis of þo newe ordiris spronge in wipoute auctorite of God. Ow! what wise mon
wolde make a hye house, and putte tymbre bynethe, and stoories aboven? or elles above more hevye pinga pen 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 ordy- naunce 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 autore of God. Bot Seynt Poule techis þat soche schulde not be hevye to þo pule þat þei techen, bot lyve on litel, as foules. Bot þese raveyners robben þo pule, and done not hor devere. And so resoun wolde aske þat noumbræ of prestis schulden stonde in mesure, and travel in hor offis; and if þei were ydel, or elles to monye, withdrawe of hor sustynance, and spende on oþer maner þo tresor of God, and not norischie his enemyes. Bot howeover þese blasphemes bosten þat þei travel more to profite of þo Chirche þen done oþer prestis, one pinga men knowen, þat sith þei comen in hafs þo Chirche payred in everiche membre.

How blessidful were þo Chirche to renne afur Crist, if it were onely payed of þo ordynance of hym, and broght up no newe lawes, ne no newe sectis, bot amendid mysoferis 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 stoirblid Cristis Chirche, ne pervertid his ordir. Ffor chaunouns, munkes, and freris schulden nöþ 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 un- worshipped; þe, and seintes in heven, patroons of þo ordiris, schulden be sclaundrid of hor moste gloriusse werkes. Bot wolde God þat Anticrist wolde gedir his wittes, and witte þat hit were better to hye Cristis ordenaunce, þen ordenaunce 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
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

in Crist. Here may we se þat þei take fals, for þus þo Chirche schulde be saved and Crist more worshippid, þo sendes host owvercomen, and Cristendome confortid. For multitude of cowardes harnes Cristis batel, ffor þei knowen nowþer his armes, ne his feghtyng. As aneyntis þo patrouns schulde we wil trowe, þat þei did not poynþ devyse as oure Jesus did; and herfore erreoure in secte of hom brynges men to more. Ne bere not to heavye þat þo seynis errid. Ffor Seynt Jon seis þat if we seyn we synnen not, we deceyve ourselv, and passen oute of treuth. And so, siþ þoo seynis diden not þo beste in foundyng of þoo ordiris, bot synned venyaly, hit were a gret folye to sue hom in þis erreoure, and leve þo ordynaunce of Crist þat may not be amendid. And herfore Poul durste not, ne none of þer 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 seynis wolde not þat hor sect were weddid wiþ hor tradiciouns, and laft Cristis lawe. And þo þridde we supposen, þat þo seynis sorowed in tyme of hor deth, ffor alle soche erreoures. And so, for þer godes þat þei did ofte, suppose we þat þei ben nowe in heven, and so we dampnen not þo seynis, but putt Crist byfore.

Lord, siþ Poulle presumed not to founde ¹ soche sectis, why schulde foles and ydites take þis upon hom? Specialey 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 desautes, and passynge fro hor ordiris. And so al þof þese newe ordiris profiten to Cristis Chirche, neverpoles not so myche as sendes in helle. Ffor þei made meryte of Crist, and mony þer 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.

¹ corrected; founded, W.
III PARS.—OF LETTRIS OF FFRATERNITE.

Nowe of ṭo thriddle blaspheme is for to speke, for freris founden hor ordieres fully in leesynge. ṭei feynen first, ṭat Crist beggid as ṭei, and herby ṭei lyve by leesynge upon leesynge; and for to spoyle more ṭo puple, ṭei feynen hom a powere to graunt men gostily helpe more ṭen ṭei have of Gods lawe, or elles may ṭei helpe homself. ṭei graunten letters of bretherhed under hor comyne seele, ṭat hor breȝer schal have part of alle hor gode dedes, bothe in lif and in deth, and rekkenen mony werkes. Bot first may men se, hou ṭis maner of doynge savers heresyne in proude ypocrites. For ṭes gostily suffrages ṭei sellen in a maner, sippets ṭei grauntent not comynly, bot ṭere ṭei hope wynnynge. And more booste of ṭo fende herde we nevere, sith quantite of merytes is hydde fro seyntis, and chaffers wiþ soche þinges, unknowen to ṭo partyes, were presomptuose foly upon bothe sides. Also, sith ṭei supposen ṭat hor naked graunte is als myche worthow as graunte wiþ hor lettres, ṭen hor lettres serven of noght bot for to jape ṭo pepul. And in ṭis ṭei suen not Crist, as ṭei falsely feynen, for he grauntid nevere soche lettres of þing þat he gaf; and þus ṭei passen ṭo apostels, bot in ypocrisyye. Also ṭis charite of freris schulde streccche to alle gode men; and sippets hit is als myche worthow 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 wrynynge. 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 ṭo gospel schulden do prively hor aymes, so þat hor lift honde wiste not what hor right honde did. Bot þese freris seyn þat þis is a passynge gostily aymes; þen þei schulde do hit prively, and not conferm hit opunly by hor charteres. And mony penken þat þes two þinges mefen hom; first to feyne hor holynesse, makynge trompe bifoer hom, as ypocrities done, and spoylen
pore mennes godes by maner of rentis, and to be confedrid with hom as wip hor owne breþer. Also hit were inoght to freris to have breþered of þo puple, þat ben comynly better þen þo freris, þof þei come not unkyndely to spoyle hor breþren; þfor 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 wolde 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 presumcioun to selle þus hor merytes þat þei knouen noþt, þfor þo gospel biddes, þat as þei take frely, so schulde þei frely gif to oþer. Þfor hit were no kyndenesse þus to venyme hor gift, as þo Pharisee venymde his dedes, for a privy 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 deceythe his broþer in bodily chaffer; myche more þes freris shulde not deceythe þo puple of þing þat þei knouen not.

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 worse worde to grounde þes freris. For bi þis resoun iche mon shulde suppose þat he schulde cum to heven withouten helpe of freris. Also Hildegar seis, þat þes cursed sectis schal be destroyed and dampend in helle, for hor y pocrisie 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 suppos þat soche y pocrites ben deppere in helle þen any oþer men. And if men schulde holde hor þees in þing þat [þei]¹ knowen not, why boost þese freris so boldly of privettes of God? Also þes founden 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 graunte al þis upon condicion, þen þei siker not hor breþeren of partynge of hor merytes, more þen þei myþt siker Sathanas of þo blis of heven. Ffor wil we wot, if God wil, þus shal hit be, þof alle þes freris were dampeed in helle.

Also no mon shulde þif 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 neglighent 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 wherwþ 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 wþþ 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.

Owe l wolde God þat þese freris, þat ben so bolde to graunte by letter and comyne seele þinges þat þei knownen 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 suget, 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 groundyng, þei stonde stille as foles, or tellen straunge tales noþt to þo purpose; as wyches feyned of dede men þat þei myght not quicken, [þat þei] 2 were translate to felowschippe and dwellynge wþþ gods. Bot þo craffe of hor leesynge moste þei nede haunte, for elles þei myght not be mayntened wþþin holy Chirche. But wolde God þat þei lyed not þus upon Crist, and feyned hym to do

1 corrected; salvacioun, W.  
2 supplied.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

miracles of hor accidentis þat he never did, ne profiten to men, ne no mon may se hom, ne where þei ben groundid.

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 throte. Ffor herby þei myght bye mennis synnes, and laye hor soules in wedde, þat þeper mennis soules shulde be saved, þe, þof God wil þo reverse. Bot for to falle to þo answere. Byleve techis us þat no mon may levesfully chaunge any godes, bot if he have leve of þo cheff lorde. Nevereþoles 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 þitte go we nerre to þese ypocrityes, and telle hom þat merytes and delynge of merytis ben dyverse in hor kynde, as þei con knowe hit. Ffor as gyvyng of vertues and gyvyng of grace ben appropred to God, so delynge of merytes; for in þo same mesure þat God approves merytes, deles þe þo merytes to whom þat hym likes. Bot merytes of men ben dedis or lyves, þat God of his grace acceptis to mede. Bot þitte þes blasphemes blabur hereageyne; and seyntes in heven gyven foure maner of mede, and so ethely men schulden dele hor merytes. Bot certis þes apis travelen in veyne as þei did ever, for seynis in heven gyven hor blis, as none of us in erthe hafs powere to gyve. And þitte suche gyvyng and delynge dyverse; for seyntes gyfen accydentaly blisse, when þei be objectis to glade þeper 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.

þitte forpermore, þese ydieties 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 Proper desertis? Bot loke
now þat þese ypocrisys wolden here passe popis. For popis graunten no pardoun to men bot if þei be byfore verrely contritte, bot þese freris in hor lettres spen 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 whoch 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 confirmed to þo Chirche aboven.

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 bifoare. Bot who wot þat by ordynaunce of God þus myche penance is done for his synne? or þat þus myche pardoun is ordeyned of God? or þat þus longe tyme shal cum bifoare 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; ßfor 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 noþt in byndynge ne lesynge of men fro þa right jugyng þe þo Chirche aboven. Lord, wheþer þis be byleve, þat þis pope dos go amonge alle þo articles of þo trowhte 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 right wysenes of oure owne werkes, and laste we in þo faythe of þo lawe of Crist, for al suche fals fynynge moste.

* See vol. i. p. 136, note b.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

nedely perische. Bot as þo witte of þis word,—þis is my body,—is mony wyes 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 an-oper techis—þat Poule undirstode bodily fode, so worldly lif of emperoure prelatis techen þat þei ben not þo same þat Crist spake to.

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*), to schewe hor ypocrisye to þo lewdek folke; and herby men seyn þat one frere takes mony grete salaryes of dyverse men togider for one tyme, bot hom unwittynghe, ffor hor speciale preyeris þat þei slepen inne ben, as þei sey, better þen oþer comyne preyers; bot herfore thowr defaute of right byleve þo fende deceyves þo Chirche by soche fals procurators)—We shulde understonde, þat whoso lifs beter, he preyes more profitably to iche Cristen mon. And þus Seynt Poule biddes men preye wipouten lettynghe. And so þat prest þat lyves better synges better masse; for masse and þo ooste ben dyverse pinges, sīp ellis freris myght not feyne of hor massis þat þei ben better þen masse of a fende. Scarioth was a fende, as Crist hyme self seis, and, as freris seyn, soche prestis syngen right. And herbi may we se what prestes singes beste; for Crist songe beste of alle by generale preyer; and certis þo beste helpe þat men myghte gete by preyere were to dresse Cristis Chirche aftir his owne ordenance. And þus specialte of preyere bylyndes mony men. Ffor generale preyer is better þan speciale, sīp it comes of more large charite, and is abowte better and more comyne profite.

And herfore Crist taught us moste generaly to preye. 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 strauenge mon had more mede of foundynghe of abbyeyes and chauntryes þen he þat haves founded hom, for he is more

* 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 no ping 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 principally 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 sacrif 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.

And here knowe we mony þinges, byneþe 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 wheþer 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 evyndence,—as, if I had evyndence þat þo prest were not sacrifed of God, or þat God wolde not wirke wiþ hym for his yvel lyynyng. 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 medesfylly do, and have more medesfullly mynde on þo body of Crist, schulde he do, and in caas leye heryng of masse. Bot for þo more þart, heryng of masses scharpes men, and moves men to haf medesful mynye of Crist. And so if þo pope asked me wheþer I were ordeyned to be saved, or predestynate, I wolde seþ þat I hoped so, but I wolde not swere hit, ne ferme hit wiþouten condicioun, þof he gretty punyscht me; ne denye hit, ne doute hit, wolde I no wey.

And so, if prelates opposed me, what were þo sacrament of þo auter in his kynde,—I wolde seþ þat hit were bred, þo same þat was byfore; þfor þus teches þo gospel þat we shulden blyve. And if þou aske forþer, wheþer 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
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sith 1 patent I supposid or reputid patent hit is so. And patent prelatis patent wolde wrynge oute anoper absolute answere, faylen bothe in logik and divinyte, and schewen hom unable to examyne of heresye. Ffor it falles to soche men to teche yow bileve by sufficyent foundynge, and eschewe erroures. As, for no mon con grounde accydent wipouten sugette, no mon schulde aferme patent pis were yow sacrament. And, for fewe prelates knownen accydentis and sugettis, men schulden bywar to bringe pis in Cristen mennis byleve. Bot accydente wipouten sugette now-per knowes mon ne God, as Austin teches and resoun proves. Bot yow fende haves blyndid yow Anticrist in pis matir, patent he contraries to hymself, and knowes not hyss erroure; as he seis patent pis sacrament is an accydente withouten sugette, or elles patent in pis sacrament is suche an accydente. And yitte he contraries hymself, patent quantite and qualite sugetten oper accydentis, and everiche part yereof. Also iche part of pis accydente hafs Crist and Cristis body, and so none of yese accydentis is wipouten sugette.

And so, if yese thre poynes of blaspheme and thre kyndes of heresye were fully declared, nouoper prelates ne freris patent nowe bisye hom yow schulde clerely excuse hom, patent ne yei bene suche. Ffor yei undirstonde omys pis pointe of yow gospel,—When yow art cald to heven reste in yow laste place, and kepe yow in mekenesse wipouten ypocrisy. And so hit is likely patent alle yow bishopes of Rome yow thre hundred 3ere and more were fully heretikes, ffor yei undirstonden not pis patent Poule teches, When we have fode and hyllynge, be we payed of yow. Yere ben mony heresyes of folis in pis mater, and folis wordis shulden be laste, and not to longe tretid. Make we an ende of pis mater, and speke we of oper pinges. Ffor somme folis per be patent will be payrid in ywel, and neping amendid, by devout wordes. Bot geder we yese yere partyes of pis synne of blaspheme, and make we yese faytours of pis grett synne, and make hom as blasphemes in Crist and his seyntes. And as anentis yow first, patent is, yow sacred ooste, no mon schulde here hom, ne grete hom, ne suffer hom patent denye yow gospel, in pis or in oper

1 perhaps we should read sey.
matir. And, for freris and opher religious ben suspect in pis heresy, men schulden not comyne wij hom biforn pei schewid po fayth by suffycient witeneses, and with a wyse asker. Ow I sith everiche parishe chirche hafs mony sacred oostis as mediciyne to po soule for seke parischens, he were a schrewid leche pat wolde not telle his sugettis of what kinde were po medycyne pat he gyves hom. And so, if we loved oure fayth and Cristis lawe, as we schulden luf if we wil be saved, we schulde not slepe tus in pis cause, bot warly wake. Bot negligence of Gods cause shewes pat we hate God. And cautels of blasphemes pat perverten oure fayth schulden be schaken awey by scharp dyvynes. For pes folis leeven po letter of po gospel, and seyn pat we schulde not aske what ping pat is, bot trowe pat mere is verey Gods body. Bot po gospel telles not what ping is mere, but seis pat pis brede is Cristis owne body. For wil we witten pat in iche knotte of a stree is better ping pen Gods body, for po holy Trinyte. And si we worschippen not soche sensible strees, and worschippen pis sacrament, resoun schulde dryve us pat hit is better ping pen opher comyne bodies. Bot wil I wot pat freris seyn pat hit is worse pen venyme. Alle men schulden thriste oute pis roten of oure faythe.

As to po secounde blaspheme, of beggyng of pes freris, everiche Cristen mon pat lufs Jesus Crist schulde crye out on hom pat seyn Crist begged tus, sip pat hit is blasphemy ageyns oure God. Alle we sey pat we luf Crist moste of alle ping, bot negligense in oure dedes witenes po contrayre. And I am certayne, at po day of dome schal po sothe be proved. Who wolde not sey pat he were fals to his ethly lord, pat herde him be sclaundred and opunly despised, and hitte wolde nowþer reverse hit, ne have sorowe in his hert? Ow! how shal men be saved, pat loven better ethhely ping pen pei luf oure God and oure Lord Jesus Crist?

And to po priddie blaspheme, of lettres of freris, he love nowþer God ne his even Cristen pat ageynestondes not pis heresy. For pei blaspheme in God, and desseyven po puple, and haren homself where pei myght ellis be gode. Bot sith we schulde sue Crist in maner of oure lyvynge, and Crist spake scharpely ageyns pes 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, bbefore þei schewid wrytten þat Crist begged so; for ellis þei are suspect of opun blasphemy. And siþ no mon schulde gif þo freris gode, bbefore þis cause were descided bytwene wyse men, God schulde ordyne 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 wipoute any nowmbre in sacrige 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*; 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 seynis; bot I suppose þat þei did mony folowe werkes by blynde- nesse of yprocrisy, and after were purgid, and so þei ben now in heven, as God voucheasse. And so iche Cristen mon, if he wil be saved, most hold stifly wiþ þo lawe of Criste.

* In Acts iv. 13, the Vulgate has idiotus, 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 Theologica (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.

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 heresy. But al þif knynts and alle men shulden be religiose, neverþeles spek we of apostasye of prests.

Þre maner of prestis fallen in þis synne. Þe firste is peple of privat religiou, þe secunde is þe multitude of emperours pre-latis, þe þridde is prestis wipoute 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
shewip of þe apostasie. And þif apostasie is stondynge biynede,
hou myche stondip biynede ilche siche þat shal be dampned?
mor þan Goddis derlyng þat shal afterward be saved wisiliche,
al þif he semeþ grevousiliche unkynde for þe tyme. Fferþermor
we shal suppose þat bodyliche abye, or wantyng þeþof, makin
not men religiouse neþer apostataes, al þif þey semen siche bi
jugement of men; for ooniliche charite þat sewip it makin
men religiouse, or of Cristis ordre. But it is knowne bi lawe of our
God, þat alle þes bodyliche signes ben straungliche fro charite; for
charite stondip in soule, and not in siche signes. But Lord! wheþer
weddyng wiþ siche signes helpip to holde religioune of
Crist, and love hym of hert? siþ it is certeyn þat Cristis reli-
gioune stondip 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 perpetually. For þey
needen a man to take heede to sensibyle þing, but heede to
sensibyle þing wiþdrawip fro God. Also oblishyng of men un-
freeþ hem to God; but it is greet oblishyng to be bonde to per-
petual kepyng of siche maner signes, siþ it fallþ ofte þat Goddis
lawe askip to do dedis þat Crist biddip, and leve siche signes;
and so byndyng to siche signes lettip fredom of Crist. Also,
siþ Crist is al wittie, as our feþe techip us, and he þaf us not siche
signes, but raþer reprooveþ hem, it semeþ þat þis ordre askip not
siche signes. And herfor it semeþ þat Crist seþ, þat kynrede of
hoordom sekip siche signes; and þis is a cause whi signes of
þe old lawe shulen cese, 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.

And herfore it semeþ þat privat religiouse ben hyndred bi her
ordris to kepe Cristis lawe; alþif it falleþ þat somme men ben
beterid bi bynding to þise chargis, þat ellis wolden be wylde.
But al þif it falleþ profyte to summe men to be bounde to a
stake, or chargid wiþ stones, neverþeles religioun þat wisdom
haþ yven us byndip us not to kepe siche rewlis, for, as to þe
mor part, it falliç pať resoun of Goddis law shulde occupie men betere. And so, ȝif observaunce in lyves of fadris profytede to many men pať brouȝte hem to hevene, neverȝeles 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 paþ same þing to noye for anoþer; and ofte to pe same man somþing wer good for a tyme, and somtyme to hymsilf wold paþ þing noye. And þerfor he haþ giuen witt and resoun wiþ his lawe to man, to chese what wer good for hym; ne it may not be paþ ȝif man sayne not to God, paþ pe spirit of God sayne hym, to shewe hym what he shulde do, betere þan þese \(^1\) ordris can. And so men paþ 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 * soylis an argument, bi whiche it myȝte seme to folis þat kynde failiç to man, siþ it ordeyned armor and defence to bestis, and to man it ordeyned noon siche þing. Þis philosophie assoyliç þis folye bi þis, þat kynde haþ ordeyned to man boþe wit and hondis, bi þe whiche he may take when he wolde, and leve when he wolde, armor and oþer help þat is meche betere. O, wheþer Crist knewe not clerliche þe profyt þat comep of privat religions, siþ he left hem! It semeþ þat al siche religion smackiç blasfeme in shadowe of pride, for it reversiç in a maner þe ordynaunce of Crist. And ȝif 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 makiç litel feþ; but it myȝte make feþ to þem þat knewen his revelacion; for þe popis autorite makiç not seynts in hevene. And so martirdom, wiþ hooli lyf after Cristis lawe, makiç mor evyndence þat þis is a seynt. But siþ we shal suppose þat many holí confessors han ben in þise ordris, þat nowe ben in hevene, two þingis ben to seye of liȝt 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 newe sects shulden kepe mor Cristis reli-

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\(^1\) corrected; þis, CC.

* Aristot. De partibus Animal., lib. iv. cap. 10. (Dr. Todd's note).

Wyclif.
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De Dotacione Ecclesie.

Cap. II.

As to these possessiouns and dowynge of clerkis, bileeeve shulde teche us pat it doy hem harm to kepe Cristis religioun, and harm to lewid men; for Crist seyp pate noo man may be his discipul but yif he renunce alle siche pingis. And hou he shulde renunce, Cristis lijf techi, and lif of hisse apostlis pat com in after hym; and ensample of siche deds exponep best Cristis lawe. And yus bi process of tyme is pe Chirche peyred, bi turnynge fro Cristis lawe, and bi love of pe worlde. And herfor seyp Poul, pat coveytise is roote of all yvelis pat comen to Goddis Chirche. And comynge inne of freris pat shulden quenche pis synne maki it mor fervent, as watir fier of smyphis. And si pate ben apostataes pat gon abac in Cristis ordre, few or none of siche prestis ben clene of pis heresy. For pei forsaken Crist in kepyng of his lawe, and Crist seyp pat man mot kepe it yif he love hym. But si love of worldliche pingis drawip fro love of Crist, hou myche is love of prestis drawe now fro God! Wantynge of workis of pe gospel, and werkis of pe world, dampnep our prestis in deafaut of pis love. And yif pei poudren blasphemye in among pis apostasye, for pei seyen pat pei haven mor power of Crist pan ever he wolde give to Petre or Poul. For in spiritual power pei ben even wiip him, and in worldliche power pey passen hem; siip Petre seip he havede nep er silver ne gold, and Poul laborede wiip hise hondis; and so her power, gederid togeder, in so myche passip power of Petre.

And yif ony man seyp pat our prestis haven not so myche spiritual power as Petre, pey wolen curse hym and dampne

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hym, and use siche power þat neþer 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 seþ, and þise men reversen God. as her liif shewiþ, summe men may trowe þat hem failiþ power, and þat þei feyne 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 not-wiþstondynge þis, Cristis Chirche shulde live, ið alle siche prelats wanteden þerinne; for whoever trowiþ in Crist, and lastiþ to his lyves ende in þis feþ, 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 felowiþ, and ilche oon suffisede to converte þe peple in þe name of Crist, wiþout auritute borewiþ of ðoper. But God forbede þat lordschip þyven of þe emperor shulde chaunge or destrie þis lawe of Crist; for Cristis lawe, al þif it be contrarie to þis dow-yng, is mor myste and groundid in resoun. And so in þis poynþ ben heretiks many in þe world. For Petre was cheveteþn of ðoper apostlis for his mekenesse and service þat he dide to ðoper, and not for his lordship ne his sterne power.

**CAP. III.**

But her grucchip þe world, and grenneþ on trewe men, and seiþ þat þei ben heretiks, and casten destrie al holy Chirche and feþ þeriane. Also þei seyen þat seculer lordschipis asken degrees; for þif alle weren oon, þer weren noon ordre, but ilche man myste ylyche commaunde to ðoper, and so seculer lordship wer fully destroyed. Also þei seyen, þif 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 perilsh makyng of presteþ and doiþng of sacraments, as holy Chirche usip. 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 his werkis.
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As to the first grucchyng, shall Antecrist greenne at the day of dom, and bete togedre wiþ hise teþ, for his sharp reprovyng of sentence of the gospel. For penne wo shall be to alle siche, þat clepen good yvel and yvel good. And Zebedeus sones traveled in þis foly, as we alle done; and askeden bi her modir heynnes of þe world, þat þe oon myȝte sitte on þe oon side of Crist, and þe oþer on þe oþer syde, in his kynghdome. But Crist, willyng al good, ordeynede hem to suffre anoyes in þis world, and bi þis to come to heynnesse in hevene. And þis 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 þif Crist com in his owne persone, and tauþte and comaundede þis stat to be holde, he shulde be holde a fool and fals heretik; and þif he travelede herto he shulde be persewed; for so doþ Antecrist aþen his membris, þat over softliche seyen his sentence. And siþ al bileeve is in þe gospel, and we travelen and worchen þat þís gospel wer knowe and kept, it is openne þat we wolden destrue but heresies, for we wolden destrue errours contrarie to þe gospel.

As to the second, 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 empyre of Rome. Crist þat 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 yve þe emperor þat was hise; and to destrue lordship of prestis of þe temple, for seculer lordship shulde be holde bi hymself. And Crist norishede þe tenuants of seculer lordis; he helede hem and fedde hem, and pleted hem not; so þat he þat hem mor bi myracle of his godhede, þen he took of þe world wiþ alle hise apostlis. And for þise sixe kyndenessis, bysydde goostliche suffrages, 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 forside his

1 corrected; reverte, CC.

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ordynance, and made he his bishopis haywardis a of þe world, and took fro hem þe kepyng of Crists sheep. And so þe last offiss þat Crist þaf to Peter, and bad hym þries up his love performe þis offiss, took þe emperor fro hym þat þey þe he is Petris viker, and made hym perpetuel hayward of his drit. But, for it is to hard to kyke azen þe spore, wite þee, seculer lordis, þat þis harmþþ you. For it takiþ away help of soul fro 3ou and fro 3our peple, and to-terþþ your lordship þat þee tellen myche by, and evere shal mor and more, til þise unkyndeneness ben somdel amendid. And wite þee wel þat your folye, bi whiche þee wenent to plese God, shal not excuse you to God at þe day of dom, for Crist and hisse lawe shal witnesse azen 30u. And sîþ Poul was not excusid bi þe olde lawe of persweyng of Crist in hisse þonge membris, meche mor þe emperor, þat bi mannes lawe persewede þe soule of Crist in his tendr. embris, shal not be excusid, sîþ he drawiþ hem to helle.

But ferþer we shulde knowe, þat seculer lordship þat clerkis hanne nou smacchip imperfeccioun on many maner, and comen not to þe perfectioun of þe ordre of Crist; as seculer lorshipis asken worldliche degrees, and so heynesse in worldliche goodis, but Cristis lordship askiþ goostliche degrees, and heynesse in vertues, þat God oonliche þiveþ. And herfor, when stryf of þis was in mong þe apostlis, Crist determynede þe cause bi word and bi dede. Crist puttede a þong man in myddil of hem, þat was meke in many vertues, and seyde,—Whoever mekiþ hym as þis þong man, he shal be holden mor to þe jugement of God. But þis world haþ put awaye þe sentence of Crist; for alle prestis and seculers seken her owen goods, and þat is azen þe charite of Poul. And, for þe world knowiþ not heynesse in vertues, God hymsiþ shulde clepe hisse servaunts as he wolde, and leve þe worldis maner of sensible pingis. And so þe rewale of religioun of Crist biddiþ, þat ilche man obeshe to oper, not for þe world, ne for worldliche maundements, but in as myche as biddiþ Goddis wille. And þif a best bad a man do siche, he

"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 [bais], a hedge, and Garde, custody."
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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*. And herby we may see an answer to þe þridde resoun. Sequestre we al mannes lawe, supposyne Cristys ordynance; al þe drede of florishyng of men of þe world; and þanne it sewiþ þat we shal graunte, þat alle degrees of emporor cleriþis, alle þise religions of monkis, chanouns, and freris, shal slepe as þei diden in tym of þe apostlis. For alle þise semen to smacche worldliche heynesse, and men ben clepid to degre þat God clepede not, and þis is error and synne on ilche syde. But neverþelees þe ordre of Crist shulde be þenne mor perfiz þan it is noon, by meddlyng of mannes ordynance; and prests shulden have betere ordre in ministryng of sacraments, for Crist wolde leve in goode prests power þat holy Chirche needip. And, as þe pope feyneþ, he byndþ to-day and louþ to-mowere; and so in byndynge and lowsynge ben many fals gabynggis. And þenne wyndis of treuþis shulden blowe awey þe hereses, and cler þe eyr of holi Chirche, þat is now ful treble. Þenne shulde lyf of grace come doun fro God, and lyþe 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 depardit of hym, how evere he wolde sille it in mong hise suggets, þat nouþ may be wipoute 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 needip not þe help of þis cursid prelat; for Crist may not of his riȝtwisnes þus accepþe persones. And þenne shulde grace come to men, as hevene scaterþ reyn; but now cast þe Antecrist to hepe hise disciplis, so þat ilche may strengþe oþer in her malice; as Þif hevene of oon cloude sende gushyng of watir, and overflowede som erþe, and som wer left drye. Þus

* It must have been such expres-
sions as these which originated the charge against Wyclif, contained in the sixth of the twenty-four articles condemned at the Council of Lon-
don, that he maintained 'Quod Deus debeat obedire Diabolo.'
Crist sente hise apostlis, when þei weren ryte, to diverse londis, to sowe wateris of wisdom, and closeide hem not in cloysteris as Antecrist doip. So þif we taken heede to apostasye þat goip
evene æzen þe ordre of Crist, þer ben fewe bisshipis, poses-
sioners, or frers, þat þei ne ben apostataes, al þif þei holden her
sygnes. For take we heede to þe lyf þat men first ledden, and
to ðe lyf þat men leden now; and we shal fynde þat alle þise
ben gon abac. And sôþ 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 muche1 of Cristis ordre. And þus, þif all
eis bisshipis possesserions and frersis weren wislyche examyned
wheþer þey weren heretiks,—þif þey sedyen nay, wipoute releva-
ciouc 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 heretiks wolen bleþeliche dampne
ðere men of heresyes, for here witt is blyndid.

CAP. IV.

Bi þis may we see how þikke groweyn eretikis in þe rewme of
Englond, and in ðer londis, þat men clepen Cristen men. For
þif alle symonyents weren markid out of Cristendom, and alle
apostataes, wip alle blasfemes, þe multitude of heretiks wer mor
þan þise ðoper. For þer ben fewe prelats now in þe Chirche, ne
fewe ðer men, þat þei ne ben heretiks; sôþ assent to heresie
makiþ an heretik. And þerfor we supposen þat God movede
men to speke now of heretiks, to make hem mor knownen; for
noon man doip mor harm in batel of Crist. For þei stonden
bihynde, and ðyþen not wip þe fend, ne wip þe world, ne wip
her flesh, as Poul seyp; and þis is cause whi þe world peyreþ,
and charite of many cooldiþ. Þe ground of þis malicþ stondiþ
in prestis, þat ben þus cooldid wip temporal goods. For þey
shulden be capteynes in batele of Crist, but now þei ben cheve-
teyns on Antecrists syde, and letten bi yapcriyse ðer to ðyþe.
And þif fewe trewe men wolden worche or speke æzen þis traterie
þat is in Goddis enymes, þey quenchen hem as heretiks, bi

1 corrected; moode, 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, Þif a greet lord shulde be susteyned wiþ herbis þat groweden in a orchard, and weren nyþ rype, þat man þat come into þis orchard, and kyttede þise herbis, and destriede þe rodis, dide to myche harm to peyr- yng of þis lord; and specialliche þif þer hele sustynaunce stood in þise herbes. Goode Cristen men þat holden Cristis lawe ben siche herbis to sfolc þat þei dwellen wiþ; herfor Antecrist lettíþ siche seed be sowen or growe in mong Cristen men. And to performe þís malice, Antecrist haþ cast to be knyttid wiþ kyngis and use her power; and þus veneméþ hymself þe lordeis and þe peple. But he grundip not in Cristis lawe þe ded þat he doip, but øjer in mennes lawe, or glorsyng of freris. And þit blynd- nesse of þe peple norishþ þer enmyes; for ðove of God is quenched bi blyndyng of þe world, and þise fewe Cristen men þat haveden som lyft of God, ben drawen abac bi þise apo- stataes. And certen þei ben cowards and of to lytel feþþ, for Þif þei loveden Crist mor þen her owen liþ, as þe gospel techþ hem, þei shulden putte her liþ for þe lawe of Crist; and þanne wolde Crist helpe his Chirche, and putte siche knyþs to worship in hevene, and glorishe her body deed for Cristis love. But defeute of billeve lettþ þis profyt, and specialliche of freris, for þei procuren hisiliche 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 abowe 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 bïfor Cristis lawe be worshipid, and Antecristis lawe despisid as heresie.

Lord! siþ Cristis lawe sufficiþ of itsel, hon lytil shulden men recche of Antecristis lawe, but despise persones and brollis þat holden þerwiþ! Þif pow wolt wite which is Antecristis lawe, loke you what lettþ Cristis lawe to be holde in worship, and to be performed hisiliche 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 letttyng 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 þis houndis to berke, and lede Cristis sheep aftir his lawe? Certis it seþe þat dowynge of þe Chirche, and too myche worshipyng of Antecristis lawe; for a lumpe of talowe strangliþ þe houndis a, and lettiþ hem boþe to berke and to byte; and occupying of men in Antecristis lawes, þat spoken oonliche of worldliche goods, drawiþ fro Goddis lawe, and makiþ to love þe world. But siþ bileve techiþ us, þat at þe day of dom þe book shall be opened, and ilche of us shall wite wheþer we han loved Crist mor þen ony oþer þing, and þerfore be jugid to hevene or to helle, hou shall we þenne onswer to askynge of our juge? Wel ðiþ woot þat Crist haþ ordeynyd men to live in his lawe, and þen be knownen bifor many juges, wheþer þei haven favered þor Cristis lawe or þe worldis. Worldliche excusacioun shall not þenne assoyye, ne onswer by procuratorye, ne sutiþte of werkis; but þiþ we ben coupable we shall þenne be domb, ne alle þes newe habitis shall not þenne proffyte; but þiþ we have þenne bryde cloþis, we shall for evere be damyned. þiþe cloþis ben of charite þat evere more shall last: and her is an ende.

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* This strange expression occurs also in the Sermons. See vol. i. p. 247.
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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 HERESIS CONTRA SEPTEM PETICIONES.

For fals men multiplen 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 freer 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 prayere þat a false man hade contreved to hym, þen þe generale prayere þat he hym

* The Harleian MS. commences aﬅer continued of false prestis aȝen thus:—'Here ben seveene heresies þe Pater Noster.' Þ 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 generale of þis preyere lettes not oure Lord God to here syngulere personys, aftur þei ben wórpi.

SECUNDA HERESIS.

Þe secundé heresie of þe secundé askyng sais, þat þese prelatis are hedes of Gods rewme, for þei ben hedy of holy Chirche by vertue of prelacie. Ande þese freres bene men of holy Chirche, þat wole here be gladiere hedes of holy Chirche þen oþer comyne men. Lord! siþen God and iche membre of his Chirche bene weddid togedre, as oure bileyve sais, wheþer ony of þese prestus schul be damnep in helle? Wele I wote þat none schal be damnep but devellis; ande if ony of þese devellis were captyne of his Chirche, þen God and þe devell were weddid togedre. But as oure bileyve sais þat þer is no comynynge wip Crist and Belial, þen þai ben not weddid. Herfore schal we trowe, as holy men tauþt of two thousande þere byfore þat Sathanas was bounden, þat holy Chirche is of þoo þat God has ordeyne to dwelle wip hym in blisse, of what state so þai be, prestes or seculeres, lordis or comyners, ladis 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 feþettes here in erthe. But at þe day of dome schulle alle be gedrid togedir, and regne in heven wip hor spouse, oure Lord Jesus Crist. So if þat prelatis or freris or seculeres sewe þat Cristis in manere of hor lyvyng, þai were never Cristis spouse, ne membris of his Chirche.

TERTIA HERESIS.

Þe thrid heresie of þe thridd askyng sais, þat þai knowe þe wille of oure Lord God to bringe a soule to heven by manere of hor preyng. But certis we schul trowe, þat God may not be moved but as he has ordeyne bifoþe þe worlde was made;
and after a man deserves while he lyves here schal he be rewardid after his lyfye, ouer in blisse ofeyr in peyne, notwithstandinge oure preyere. But wel I wote pat God may helpe souls in purgatorie, and make hom scorliere to dwelle peninne, after pat pei have made hom worthi for pe tyme pat pei have lyved here. But we schal understonde pat God acceptis pe lyfe pat men lyven here wele, ande approves hit for souls, ande peraltur hit is medefulle for souls pat bene in purgatorie. Ande if we knowe not pe privete of God, sit neverpoles we wote pat hit is fully riȝtwyseenes, pat prayer of a man pat God hath ordeyned to blisse is more worthye pen a thowsande of hom pat schal be damned. Ffor pe furst is Gods childe, and ordeyned to have his blis, pe secund is the fendas childe. And pray he never so muche, he getes not pe blisse of heven, for he makes hym not worthi. Ande pis fathe shulde move men not to selle hor prayers, but iche man lye bisili, iche after pe lawe of God; ffor after pat a man deserves in his owne persoyn schal he be rewardid, in heven or in helle. But gode lyve of a man may helpe hym pat lyves wiþ hym, to amende his owne lyfe, and so come to blisse. And so private almes done synugulerlyche, pat Crist hymself tauȝt not, dos littel gode or none to donor of siche almes for to come to heven.

QUARTA HERESIS.

Pe ferthe heresie of pe ferthe askynge says, pat pe sacrid ooste is no maner of brede, but ouer nouȝt, or accident wiþouten ony sogett, and so worse pen stones or ony oþer body. And when ony suche men asken pe sacrid ooste, pai synen hom worse pen stones, as pai falsly feynen. Ffor pis were aȝeynes holy writte, as Crist hymself sais. Lordus and prelat us con not distroye pis heresie, ouer for hor negligence, or for po wiles of Anticrist. Lord! if pese grete lordus wold ȝif pese prestis no gode, ne freris, bifoire pai schewid her bileve in pis poyn, and groundid hit in Gods law! and so pai myȝt come to bileve, and knowe pese fals heretikis. We have oft tymes saide * pat pis sacrid ooste is verrey Goddis body and verrey breede, for so sais holy writte, and seyntus of Crist thowsandis.

* See prefatory notice.
QUINTA HERESIS.

The fift heresy claims for the Pope and his clery powers of absolution which belong to God alone.

Wyclif’s Works.

Sexta Heresis.

The sixth heresy claims for friars an extraordinary exemption from temptation.

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seemes pat suche gone prively til helle, and so be led in to fendus temptacioun, for pai ben hardid in erour of hor private ordis. And herfore clepid Crist Nichodeme fro pe ordre of Phariseus, savyng hym and destroyng of hit. Wipouten doute po ordynaunce pat Crist hym selfe ordeyned, if hit were holden clene, hit were pe beste of oper; sfor herby in ilke degre mystiche man be saved. For pe wolde charite growe more, and envie be more distroyed. Thre membris of pe chirche, as prestis, knygtts, and laborers, wolden be sufficient wipouten more diversite. God kepe his Chirche. Amen.

SEPTIMA HERESIS.

Pe sevent heresie and po last, pat is contened of pe sevent askyng, sais, pat if we wirke by counsel of pese newe ordis pat leven pe ordynaunce of Criste, we schal nedely be saved. And herby bene men lad in to fendus temptacioun, and wrappid wip synne ageyne pe Holy Goste; and pis is pe werste synne pat ever may falle to ony man. Wele I wote pat freris wold not here pis publischt in pe pepul, for fallynge of hor ordre. But sithen it is not groundid in bileyve, he is not on Gods halve pat lettis hit for freris. Ande we schulde trow pat foundyng of abbays and frerus and 1 lettys mon pat ne pai mowe falle in pe last synne. And herfore alle maner of men schuld know Cristis ordynaunce, and travaile perfore pat hit were clenly kept; for hit is moste light, most profitable, and moste medeful. O Lord! if al pe peple in Yngelonde traveyled in alle cuntryes, and falsed pe kyngis wille, movyng to discordis ageynes pe pes of pe rewme, who wolde not say pat suche a peple were perilous in Yngelonde? mykel more if newe religious be skaterud in Cristendame, and gabben on pe wille of Criste pat is our kyngge, and moven not to pes and acorde as Crist and his apostilles did. What wonder is hit, pow batellis and oper perellus come, pat Crist has bifoire saide? God kep his Chirche fro fals yppocrites and ungroundid newe statis, not

1 something appears to be omitted.
foundid in Crystes lawe. Wele I wote þat many¹ say þat monye of hom are seyntus; but nowþer is þis bileve, ne groundid in resone². 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.

² The words 'groundid in resone'

b The purport of this explicit has are immediately followed in the Harleian MS. by 'ut patet per Wyclif,' written in the same hand.
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.]

DEBE ben eiste þingis bi whiche simple Cristene men ben discyevyd, þat ben þes eiste; holy Chirche, lawe, religion, obedience, cursynge, þe goodis or riȝt of holy Chirche, maundement and conseil, dedly synne and venyal.

Fyrst, whanne men spoken of holy Chirche, þei undirstonden anoon prelatis and prestis, monkis and chanouns and freris, and alle men þat han crownes, 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 eneden in perfect charite. But nepæles alle þat schullen be sawyd in blisse of hevene ben membris of holy Chirche, and ne, moo. And Crist seiþ, and Austyn, and Cry-sostom, and many moo seyntis, for non of alle þes schal perische wiȝouten ende, as Crist himself seiþ. And so comynly

* That is, all men that have the tonsure.
\[ \text{2. By law, people understand human laws, not the law of God.} \]

\[ \text{3. By religion, they understand the rules of monastic orders. Not the pure religion of Christ.} \]

\[ \text{po \( \overset{\text{a}}{\text{pat}} \) ben clepid men of holy Chirche ben enemyes \( \overset{\text{b}}{\text{perof}}, \) and synagoge of Sathanas, and po \( \overset{\text{c}}{\text{pat}} \) ben membris of holy Chirche, as ben good Cristene men \( \overset{\text{d}}{\text{pat}} \) kepen Goddis hestis, ben not holde men of holy Chirche, but aliens \( \overset{\text{e}}{\text{perfro}}. \) And \( \overset{\text{f}}{\text{bus} \overset{\text{g}}{\text{we}} \overset{\text{h}}{\text{demen foliliche more bi signes \( \overset{\text{i}}{\text{pat}} \overset{\text{j}}{\text{1}} \) men han maade, who ben men of holy Chirche, \( \overset{\text{k}}{\text{pan} \overset{\text{l}}{\text{bi goode \( \overset{\text{m}}{\text{lif and endeles lastynge in charite, bi whiche God biddi\( \overset{\text{n}}{\text{p}} \) us deme wisly and ri\( \overset{\text{o}}{\text{ftully}}. \) }}\]

Also, whanne men speken of lawe, anoon men taken it of mannis lawe, and not of Goddis lawe, as \( \overset{\text{p}}{\text{3if mannis lawe were more wor\( \overset{\text{q}}{\text{p}} \) and more principal \( \overset{\text{r}}{\text{pan} \overset{\text{s}}{\text{Goddis lawe. And \( \overset{\text{t}}{\text{pis fordo\( \overset{\text{u}}{\text{o}} \) muche \( \overset{\text{v}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{w}}{\text{reverence and studiynge of Goddis lawe. For herefore, and for worldly wynnyenge and worschippe, men lerne mannis lawis, as \( \overset{\text{x}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{y}}{\text{popis and emperouris and kyngis, and studyen not Goddis lawis, \( \overset{\text{z}}{\text{pat} \overset{\text{aa}}{\text{techin virtues, and to suffren myschiefis and dispitis, and to wynne \( \overset{\text{ab}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{ac}}{\text{blisse of hevene. And herfo\( \overset{\text{ad}}{\text{re God and his lawe and virtuous lif ben unknounen and dispisid, and synne and cursednesse norisched and meyntened, and many men renne to helle, and fewe gon to hevene.}}\]

Also, whanne men speke of religion, anoon \( \overset{\text{ae}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{af}}{\text{i undirstonden religion maad of synful men \( \overset{\text{ag}}{\text{wip} \overset{\text{ah}}{\text{many erroruis, and not of \( \overset{\text{ai}}{\text{pat} \overset{\text{aj}}{\text{holy religion \( \overset{\text{ak}}{\text{pat} \overset{\text{al}}{\text{Criste, God and man, made hymself for his apestils and prestis; alle and \( \overset{\text{am}}{\text{3if} \overset{\text{an}}{\text{a} religion founde of synful men, \( \overset{\text{ao}}{\text{wip} \overset{\text{ap}}{\text{pride and ypopcrisie, were betre \( \overset{\text{aq}}{\text{pan} \overset{\text{ar}}{\text{pe clene religion in his clene fredo\( \overset{\text{as pat Crist made, And \( \overset{\text{asj}}{\text{bus} \overset{\text{at}}{\text{holden Cristis clene religion, as prestis, wipouten cloutynge to of erroruis of foolish and synful men, ben holden seculer men, or seculer prestis, \( \overset{\text{asaj}}{\text{ou\( \overset{\text{asak}}{\text{z} \overset{\text{a}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{at}}{\text{kepen nevere so wel \( \overset{\text{asak}}{\text{a} \overset{\text{al}}{\text{gospel, and techef it frely and trewly, as Crist and his apestils diden. But \( \overset{\text{asb}}{\text{3if \overset{\text{as}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{at}}{\text{han a newe habite, founden of mannis folye, and have maad singuler profession to synful men, and, in cas, to fendis, pei ben holden men of religion, \( \overset{\text{aso}}{\text{ou\( \overset{\text{aso}}{\text{z \overset{\text{as}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{at}}{\text{kepen nevere so proude, coveitous, enyous, lecherous, or o\( \overset{\text{as}}{\text{pe synnes, And \( \overset{\text{as}}{\text{bus, for pride and ypopcrisie, pe\( \overset{\text{as}}{\text{es} \overset{\text{as}}{\text{newe religion founde \( \overset{\text{as}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{at}}{\text{reverence and pe name of Cristis clene religion, and maken \( \overset{\text{as}}{\text{pe} \overset{\text{at}}{\text{it is holden for noon, as \( \overset{\text{as}}{\text{a3if} \overset{\text{as}}{\text{foolis or synful men wolden founde Goddis}}\]

\[ \overset{\text{a}}{\text{1 corrected from \( \overset{\text{a}}{\text{pat}} \overset{\text{a}}{\text{in the MS.}}\]

\[ \overset{\text{a}}{\text{2 Meaning 'as if.'}}\]

\[ \overset{\text{a}}{\text{Wyclif.}}\]

\[ \overset{\text{a}}{\text{Digitized by Google}}\]
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makyng. And so þei seyn privelty, þat synful men ben more myttty, more witty, and fullere of charite, þan ne was Jesus Crist, to tache a perfitere weie to hevene þan evere Crist dide himself. For síp Crist was endeles myttty, endeles witty, and endeles ful of charite to save mennis soulis, what schulde lete him to tache þe best religion of prestis, síp in hem hangîp moche þe good lif and techynge of þe peple? Wheþer Crist bi a þou-sand þer and more tauþe neverse to his apostils and òþere prestis þe beste religion, to serve him inne and to plese him, but to kepe þis til now, wiþinne þese two hundrid þere*; whanne Sathanas was unbounden, as Seynt Jon seip in þe Apocalips, and þit telde neverse in þe law of grace who schulde bigynne þes newe perfit religion, ne whanne it schulde come. Of þis may men see, þat òþer Crist was unmyttty, unwyttty, or not ful of charite to þeve þe best religion to apostils and òþere prestis; or ellis þes newe religious ben foolis, takyng þe worse religion maade bi errors of synful men, and levyng þe beste religion and most perfit and most liȝt and most siker, made of Jesus Crist.

Also whanne men spaken of obedience, anoone it is take for obedience maad to man ful of synne and unknynge, and not for obedience to do Goddis hestis; as þif obedience don to þe conseil or biddynge of a synful creature, were more worþi þan obedience don to comauendment or conseil of God. And þus new ypocrisy seyn þat it is more mediful, astir unknynge pro-fession, 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 ypocrisy wiþ here newe obedience distroien obedience of Goddis lawe, and comyn lawe of men, and chargen only here owen obedience founden of himself. For bi Goddis lawe eche man owiþ obeisiche to òþer, in as moche as he techeþ him Goddis wille and good lif; and specialy to bispohis, 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 bispohis and òþere men, þat schulden distroie here synnes

* The Franciscan Order was 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 perfet, for þei forsaken alle good perfection.

Also, whanne men spaken of curs, anoon it is taken for mannis curs, and not for Goddis curs, as ȝif manhiss 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 Almyþty. And herbi folis dremen more mannis curs, þat is onristful, and, in cas, of devyl in helle, þan þe moste riȝtful curs of God Almyþty, for trespassyng ægenst his comandements. And herefore folis ben so blente, þat for dreme of mannis curs þei leven Goddis hestis, and done þe contrarie of hem, and so rennen into Goddis curs. And þei dremen more a synful man, and, in cas, quyk devel, þanne Almyþty God in Trinythe. For þei leveþ þe hestis of God undon, for dreme of mannis curs, and don a wrong heste of man, and, in cas, of a devel, to plesse him; and þus þei fallen fro bileve and hope and charite. For Crist techeþ in þe gospel, whanne men ben cursid wrongfully for the treþe of God, þan God himself bessip, and þan mannis curs, þat is onristful, doþ moche good to him þat suffreþ it mekely and pacently. And þei loven not God of alle herte, þat wolen not suffre for his treþe 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 treþe of mekenesse pacience and charite.

Also, whanne men spaken of goodis of holy Chirche, or riȝt þero, 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 discetics, for to kepe vertuous lif, þat is betre þan al þis world; as ȝif stynkynges

1 corrected; the MS. has and ȝif as.

* See the introductory notice to 'The Grete Sentence of Curs,' page 267 of this volume.
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muk, or drit, or worldly goodis, were betre þan pacience charite and ðopere virtues. And so yopcrïs clepen þe worldly lورد-ischipis þat prelatis han, ægenst Goddis lawe, boþe old and newe, and ægenst Cristis lif and his apostillis, þe patrymonye of Jesus Crist don on þe cros, for to fere secular lordis to taken ægen here owen goodis, and governe hem riȝtfully, and to brynge clerkis to Cristis owene ordynaunce. And þit þat bryngynge ægen is nedeul boþe to lordis and clerkis, for ellis þei ben boþe out of charite, þif 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 magnyfied overmoche and falsy, and riȝt of virtues and grace and virtuous lif is not set bi, as þif 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 coveitiše and ðopere synnes, and most settiþ bi worldly muk and pride, ægenst Crist and his apostillis.

Also whanne men spoken, ægenst prelatis and religiouns, of Cristis povert, mekenesse, and ðopere virtues, þei seyn þat þo ben conseillis of Crist, and not comandementis. And þerfore þe bishop 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 þit may vel a don it in dede, þei ben not holden to fulfille it, whanne Crist ðeþeþ hem þerto myȝt, wit, wille, and grace,—for Anticrist haþ feyned to dispense, ægenst Goddis wille, and ægenst 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 apostillis; for þis dispensynge mot be fro þe lasse perfeccion to þe more perfit lif, for ellis þei weren þeired ægenst God, and þerto hade nevere creature undere God power ne leve. And over þis newe religious seyn, þat þei ben more perfit þan ðopere prestis, þat kepen presthod wiþ fredom of þe gospel, as Crist ordeynede it, for þei kepen boþe Goddis hestis and conseillis. But certis, howevere þei bynden hem to þe conseillis, þei kepen

* vel must be for wel. ‘And in addition carry out their vow well in practice.’
ewele þe commaundementis, and, in cas, kunnem hem not. And it is grete folye to bynden hem to þe more, whanne þei kunnem not and kepen not þe lasse.

But it sameþ þat it is yponceis þat þei seyn, for every conseil of Crist is to sum man and sum tyme a precept. As, whanne God þeþ 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 òpere, 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 myȝtis. But many han þe name of religious, for worldly pride and sikernes of welfare to þe body, and not for devocation of holy lif and peyneful. And summe ben diseved in þongþe bi þefis and false bihestis, and grucchen evere afterward; and þes kepen neiþer preceptis ne conseilliis; but þif þat symonye be wel souȝt, þei ben heretikis in þe bigynynge, in þe mydþil, and þe ende of here lif. For whovere entreþ into religion more for worldly pride or covei[tise, or lustful lif of his body, þan for holynesse of lif, to sue Crist and his apostilliis in penance and wilful povert, he doþ symonye, and þan he is an heretik.

Also whanne men speken aȝenst synne, anoon þei seyn, þouȝ þis be synne, þit it is venyal, and not dedly, and venyals ben waschen awey wiþ preieris of a Pater-noster, wiþ hali watur, wiþ pardon, wiþ bischopis blissyngye, and many òpere liȝte weies, as men feynen. But trewe men seyn, þat þei knowen not in þis lif wiþ revelaciun 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 algiþis after mannis dom in þis materie. 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 coreþ 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 òpere 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 biforn that ony venyal ben forsoven; and syp no man wot where hymself be out of dedly synne, it is a pre-
sumpcion to seie that his synne is but venyal. And as to par-
dons, and haly walter, and blyssyngs of bishopis, it is a feyned
jing, for pride of statis and covetise of worldly muk, and to
blynde pe peple, and to make hem over litel to drede synne.
Perfore do eche man his bisynes, to fée 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 pe foulnesse of synne, and on Cristis passioun, deþ, and
mercy, to forseve synnes for verrey repentaunce. And putte
eh man his fulle trust in Goddis mercy, and in his owen goode
lif; and not in false pardons, ne vanytees, that men graunten
after mennys deþ, for love of money. For sich japis availen
not, but discyven men that trusten in hem for evere. As a
man is in charite, kepynge pe hestis of God, so Crist ȝevep
hym part of alle goode dedis as he is worþi, and neiþer more ne
lesse schal he have, for no creature undere God.
[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 dicit 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 Catalogus 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 *Pass. 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.]

Deere beme þo poynytus þat worldly prelatis at þo sug-gestiones of freris putton on pore Cristen men, and what þai grauntene ande what þai denyen.

1. Po firste, þat þis pope Urban þe sixte bereþ not þe strenght of Seint Petur in erþe, but þai afferen hym to be son of Anticriste, and þat no verrey pope was fro þo tyme of Silvester pope.

2. Also byschopus ande freris putton on pore men þat þei seyne, þat þo pope may not graunte ony indulgencis, ne ony oþer bischopis, ande þat alle men tristyngae in sooche indulgencis ben cursid.

3. Also prelatis ande freris putton on pore men þat þei seyne, þat þo pope may not make canons, þat is, reulis, or decretalis, or constitucions; ande if he make ony, no man is holdeyn for to kepe hem.

4. Also bischopis ande freris putton on pore men þat þei seyne, þat of onely contrincione of hert al synne is done awey, wipouten schriff of mouþe; ne þat schriff of mouþe is nedeful, þe, where plenty or leyser of a preste may be hadde.

5. Also bischopis ande freris putton 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 [be¹] worschipid, but þat alle men worschypynge in ony manere þoo ymages, or ony peyntyngus, synnen ande done ydolatrie; and þat God dose not ony myracle by hem; and þat alle men goynge pilgrimage to hem, or manere worschippynge, or putting lightis or ony devociones bifoþ þoo ymages, 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 sevnt tyme, prelatis and frerus beren upon symple men þat þei seyne, þat nouþer cursynges of pope ne of byschop byndus.

8. Also prelatis and frerus beren upon symple men þat þei seyne, þat hit is not to besech to seytis for to pray for lyvynge men, ne þo Letany is not to be seid. Soþely þei affernen þat God may do alle þingis wipoute 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*. . . . . . . ne men owen not for to byleve ne stonde to þo canonusyng 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 worschip-pid, fygurid, fourmed, ne peyntid, in þat fourme by whiche comynly hit is peyntid, by al þo Chirche of God.

22. Also prelatis and frerus putten to pore men þat þei seyne, þat hit is not leefull 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 archeby瘠opis, or of þo pope.

24. Also prelatis ande prowde curatis and freris putten to pore men þat þai seyne, þat persone and vicars, not seyyng masse, ne mynystryngse sacramentis of holy Chirche, bene worþi for to be removed and ðeer for to be ordeyned in hor stede; for þai bene unworþi, and wasters of þo Chirchis godis.

* A leaf is wanting in the MS. here, containing the points or heads from the ninth to the twentieuth. 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.
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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, receyvyng þo state of pore men, in 3yvyng ensaumle 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 denied; makynge þis protestacione, þat if þei erren in ony poynt of þeire onsywerynge, þei submyttyn hem to be correctid openly to þo kynge and his chivalrye and þo cleryge and comyns, þe, by deþe, if hit be justly demed lawfulle.

POINT I.

Furste, þat þis pope Urban þo sixte beres not strenght of Seint Petur in erþe, but þai affermen hym to be þo son of Anti-criste, ande þat no verrey pope was siþ þo tyme of Silvester pope.

Here Cristen men seyne pleynly, þat whatever pope or oper prest, in maner of lyvyng 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 þe Cristen pepul, þo meke life of Jesus Crist, pore and symple to þo worlde, and ful of brennyng charite, and puttyng hym selfe to penaunce and travayle in prechynge and prayinge, and willeful schedyng of his precious blode, for to make pes and charite and for to save mennes soules. Ande sees þe 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, barbot, leden openly, as men sayne, þer bridelis, 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

* Such a scene took place at tweem the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III.
wysche his disciplis feete, and coome not for to be served
but to serve oþer men, and to gif hys lyfise for redempcioum
of mony. And he coome not to seche his owne glorie by
manhed, but in alle pingus to do þo wille of his Fadir of heven.

Þo secunde tyme, See, þe Cristen peple, þo willeful poverete
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 þe wisely, wheþer oure popis, makynge
stronge palayces wip pone memnes lyvelodis, wip al þer glorie
of richesses and jewelis, acorden wip þis porennes of Criste.

Þo thrid tyme, See, þee 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
moste bisy in delynge of benefiscis 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 Þowasande poundis, by manyschynge
of suspendyng and enterdytynge of londis. Where Criste
mekely travelid wip grete penauncce upon his fete for to preche
þo gospel, þese popes, more þen emperoures, resten in palaycis
chargid wip 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 magnyfic 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 maytenys
werre þoroweout Cristendame, for to hold þer worldly state,
moste contrarie aȝeyn Crist and his apostlis, ande herto
spenden þo almes of kyngis, and oppressen Cristen rewmes by
newe subsidies. And, þat is werst, þai senden indulgenciis,
foundid as þai saynen on Cristis charite and his dethe, to sle
alle men contrarie to þeire lustis*. Certis þis semes contra-

* 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.
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rious to Crist and his lovers. Seynt Robert Grosthede sais pat pis court is cause, welde, and begynnynge of destruccione of Cristendame, and loser of al po worlde. Ande trewly, if pai be pus contrary to Crist in lyvynge and techyng, as per open dedis and po world crien, pai ben cursid heretikis, manquellars bodily and gostly, Anticristis, and Sathanas transfigurid into angelis [of1] list. Ande, as pis worpi clerk Grosthede proves, ande certis no man is verrey pope but in als myche as he sevis Crist; and in so myche Cristen men wole do after hym, ande no more, for alle bulles and censuris, for no creature of God.

POINT II.

Also bishopis ans freres putten on pore men pat pai sayne, pat po pope may not grant ony indulgencis, ne ony opor bishopis, ande pat alle men tristyng in suche indulgencis ben cursid.

Cristen men seyne pat pese indulgencis, by maner as pai bene tied in wrytyng, done mykel harme to Cristen soulis and sownen erroure ageynes po gospel. Ffor Crist ne his apotlis never usid suche, ande hit pai tausten al pat was nedeful for salvaciuon of mennes soulis. Also pese indulgencis maken men for to blyve not to peir crede, fior if pai bileveden po comunyng of seintus, pat is, pat iche man in charite has part of Cristis passione and of alle po meritis of ilk seint, as po crede techis, pai wolden not coste so muche aboute dede lede, and suffer per pore neyghbouris in so open mesieif, and renne to Rome wiþ pore mennus lyvelode. Also po pepul bileveþ more to suche dede bullis þen to Cristis gospel, for pai bileven to have more þonke of God for spendyng of þer money at þo ordynauence of þo pope, þen to spende hit on pore men as Crist biddis in þo gospel.

Hit pese indulgencis bene fals, for so mony þowsand of þeris as pai speken of schul never be biore þo day of dome, and after pai serven of nouȝt. Also a synneful man in þese indulgencis presumes more þen Crist and his apotlis wroþten in erthe, and maken hem heþer þen God. Ffor God gyves none

1 supplied conjecturally. 2 dele ande.
indulgencis from everlastyng peyne, no but til hym āt fynaly endis in charite; and ās synful man, graunter of ās pardoun, grauntis to mony opher by his owen techynge. By ās bullis riche men drede nout to synne, ande miche wynnynge and worldly glory is goten to worldly prelatis by hem. Ande āse pardouns bene not grauntid generally for fullillyng 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 martir-dame of seintis, and over holy werkes. Perfore iche man do verye pennaunce for his synnes, kepe Goddis hestis, ande do werkis of charite; ande ē se schul lave parte of alle Gods dedis in al holy Chirche, als myche as Gods mercye and riȝtwisevenes wille, āllof alle popis ande her bullis were fynally laide to slepe. Ande more ēn a man dissipers by gode lyif ending in charite schal he never have, for alle āpo bullis in erthe.

POINT III.

Also prelatis and freis putten on pore men āt āi sayne, āt āpo pope may not make canouns, āt is, rewlis, or decretalis, or constitucionis; ande if he make ony, no man is holden for to kepe hem.

Here Cristen men seyne, āt no pope may make lawfully ony lawe contrary to āpo gospel, ne superflué, ne by his lawes withdraue men fro studiying ne kepynghe holy writte, ne sette more bisynes ne prys by suche newe lawis ēn by āpo gospel of Jhesu Criste. If he do ageynes ēse, he is cursid of God ande of alle his seintis. Ande no man schulde receyve suche lawes, nouþer for lyve ne dethe. Ande sithen ē se 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 destroynghe of obediens of prestis to lordis, āt God commaundid ful myche, Cristen lordis schulden perfore avysye of ēse lawes, āt venyme coome not in under coloure of holynes, lest āpo ordynaunce of Crist in holy lyvynge, trewe techynge, and gostly occupacioun, be destroyed or hyndrid, ande Anticristis ordynaunce, and
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worldly pompe, and worldly occupacioun of his proude prestis, and robbynge of comyns by fals statutis and customys, be magnified into destruccione of Cristis religione. And siçen mennen wittis bene febler þen elder seintis wittis, and oure lyve myche schorter, and holy writte so depe of understandyng, 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 poyn of þese newe statutis made of covetouse men, þai schal be more punischid þerfore þen for brekyng of alle Goddis hestis. Siçen mony of þese newe lawis of worldly prestis bene contrary to Gods willle, and lewd men witten not whiche þai bene, ande also þai done away þo fredame of Cristis gospel, ande oppresen Cristen men wrongefull, 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 commandmentis, to werks of mercy, and iche man do treuth and charite iche one til oþer.

POINT IV.

Also biscopis 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, þe, where plenty or leyser of a preste may be hade.

Here Cristen men seyne boldily, þat verrey contricione of hert, þat is never wiþouten speciale grace of God and charite, does away alle synnes bfore 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 treuth of Gods dome, dos muche gode, and to suche hit spedis þat men schewe hor lyf. Ande certis confessione made to a vicious preste, unknowynge holy writte, haunting 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 mennen lyvelode,
ande cursid man-quellers for defaute of trewe prechyng, sechyng
peir worldly glory more yen salvacion of Cristen souls, pat is
ful perilouse to constrayne lewde men to sewe per counseile,
and leewe cunnyng prestis and clene of lyf, doyng per office
aftur po heste of Crist als fer as mannes dome stretchis; sithen
he pat slee hysmefte has no charite of ojer.
Ande pis poyn comys ofte by per newe decretalis, aseyne po
olde decre made of Seint Austenn, and grounde of holy writte
and resoun. Certis, as holy prestis of lyvynge, and cunnyng
of holy writte, han keyes of heven, and bene vicars of Jesus
Crist, so viciouse prestis, unkonnyng 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 pese new lawus of confessioun done
away po liberte of Cristis gospel and resoun, and bene horde of
synne, and mayntenynge of alle pride and cursidnes bofe of
clerkis andew lewid men, hit is nede pat men do verrey penaunce
for her synnes, and triste to Cristis presthode pat never may
faile, and seke trewe prestis andew witty of Gods wille, and do
aftur hem in als muche as pat teche Goddis dome, and no
ferper for no creature.

POINT V.

Also bischopis ande freris putten to pore Cristen men pat pai
syne, pat ymagis of Cristis crosse, of po crucixe, of po blessid
Vergyne Mary, and of ojer seintus, in no maner bene worpi to
be worshchipid, but pat alle men worschipynge in ony manere
yf po ymagis or any payntyngus, synnen ande done ydolatry, and
pat God dose not ony myracle by hem, and pat alle men doynge
pilgrimage to hem, or ony manere hem worschipynge, or put-
yntyng lightts or ony devociions bifoire po ymagis, bene cursid.

Here Cristen men seyne, po ymagis myssien be suferid for
lewid men, in defaute of prechyng pat prestis schulden do,
nopoles ymagis pat representen pompe and glorie of po worlde,
—as if Criste hade bene crucisid wip golden clopis ande golden
schone, and as hys pore apostilis hade lyved in worlde glory,
and ojer seintes also, and herinne hadden plesid God,—bene
false ymagys and bokis of heresye worpi to be destroyed,
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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, notwipstondynge þat þat same serpant was made by Moyses at Gods biddynge, myche more þese false ymagis made of synnefull men, siþen nouþer God, ne Crist by his monhede, gafe never commaundement to make þese, ne counsell, ne his apostilis in al holy writte. Þerfore Cristen men schulden worship þo holy Trinite and seintis, ande not þese ymagis, as Seint Gregorie techis in his registre a.

A l grete blynedenes 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 damppacióne, 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 hymselfe, but maken sacrifiç to Sathanas by glotony, lecherye, pride, sloute, enviue, and many oþer synnes. For þai ben verreyly wode, if ony trewe man teche þo hestis of God and werkis of mercy to ony neddy man, for defaut of whiche werkis men schul be dampped wipouten ende. Certis, þese ymagis of himselfe may do nouþer gode ne yvel to mennis souls, 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 forsakyng 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 stoneys, 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 re-proves those who broke them, apprehending such adoration. He speaks of them as the books of the unlearned.
bischopis munkis and riche preistis, 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 yмагes of þo holy Trinite be worschipid and holpen.

POINT VI.

Also prelatis and freris beren upon pore men þat þai seyne, þat alle preistis ande dekenys bene holden for to preche þo gospel openly, by resoun of order taken, þof þai have not pepul ne cure of soulsus.

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 worldly savour and wynynge of muck, but princapally for þonke of God and love of savynge of Cristen soulsis, þof al he do no symony for a benefice upon synneful mennes deportyng. 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 dispencyng in charite, his cunning syn þyngh se for to do his office, þof a worldly preste cry ȝyte aȝynes 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 Almyȝty and his riȝtful commandement of charite. In þo olde law dekenys crieden þo commandementus 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 preistis, aungelis of God by þer office, as God seis by þo prophete Malachie, schulde prech 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

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have þat ðer. 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 witnesseen. Also Seint Gregore techis in his Pastoralis a, and in þo comune lawe, þat who ever comes to prestehode takis þo voyce of a crier for to crye before þo dome, and ellis he stiris þo wrath of God ægeynus 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 chas- tysynge, if þo charite of God be in hym. Ande to þis acorden Crisostome ande mony ðer. Lo! worldly prestis for þeire pride ande covetise willen nout suffer Gods angellis to do his mes- sage, leste þeire heresie, symony, and cursidnes were knownen, but raþer willen make alle men dampen in þat þat in hem is, for mayntenynge of þer heresie.

POINT VII.

Also prelatis ande freris beren upon symple men þat þai sayne, þat nouþer cursynge of pope ne of bishop byndes.

Here Cristen men witnesseen 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 Almyȝty 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 sovereyyn glory, ande blis wipouten ende. Over þis we seyne, þat no man schuld bere fals wittenessynge ægeynus his broþer, seyynge hym cursid whom God and alle his angellis blessen, by evyidence 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-

a S. Greg. Reg. Pastoralis, Pars I, cap. 4. 'Praeconis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium clamando gradatur.'

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ful Cristen man may wipdrawe charitable commynyng and helpe in Gods cause for blaspheme lettres of covetouse prelatis, when he knowis no notable defaute in his broçer, but perceyves pleyne treuth and gode resoun, þat his broçer speks 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.

Also prelatis and freris beren upon pore symple men þat þei seyne, þat hit is not to beseche to seintis for to pray for lyvyng 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.

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 proffe of holy Chirche, is bettr 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 knowe wele þat no seint in heven may graunte ony þinge, ne spedes, ne but as God grauntis hit furst. Ande nouþer God ne alle his seintis willen heren men for no rabul of wordis, ne curiose florischynge in ryme, ne but aftur þer holy desire and charite ande gode lyve, for þer aftur God lokys. Ande sitheþ God is moste myȝty 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

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* 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 Mendiscant orders, but that, as they had probably repented before their death, they might charitably be supposed to have got to heaven.
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If we directen oure prayers to God onely, as Crist and his modur diden, and his apostils, and taughten us to do so; for onely God may do alle yringe without hem, and pai mot nedis pray for us, so pat we serve God trewly, for alle hyngus in hym. And no doute Cristen men myghten be saved by pat feith pat Criste taught in kepyng of his hestis, for pai be not chargid iche se re wiþ newe articlis of bileve and newe servyce, for po olde pat God ordeyned is ynoȝhe. Ande a thousand þowsandis bene moo seintis in heven þen we kanonysen in þo kalender; and siþen popis and prelatis, as þer dedis openly schewen, ben unconnynge in holy writte and holy lyfe, prouedly lyvyngge, fulle of fleschly affeccions and covetise, by fals witenessiþ pai moone sone be decayved in canonysynge of sum riche man. Ffor comynly, if ony trewe man wille impugne or contrary þeire worldly life, ande telle out þeire cursidines to þo pepul as God biddis, pai wil not canonysse hym þow he dye in þis poiyn, ande be never so fervent in charite, as hit felle of Robert Grosthede A. How gloribuse a cause he had, ande pleyne treuth, and comynes profite of holy Chirche, and what gloribuse bokis he wrote, more þen any oþer grete seintis of þis londe, to comyne profite of al Cristendame!

Certis, þis court wil enforce hit to dampne by cursynge or privelie murthur trewe men þat tellen þo treuth of prestehode, groundynge hem upon Criste ande his lawis, schewynge þo state of kyngis ande lordis, how falsely hit is borne dounu by ypocrisy and blaspemey power of Anticristis clerks. Perfore 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 pai han evyndence. Ffor þese worldly

¹ 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 cano-
nization by the court of Rome to Robert Grosthede, and the marvelous 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 damñed, 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, symplunnes, charite, and gostily travaille 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 cronyclys schewen þat þat one pope canonlyses, anoþer dampnes, and aþeynward; ande holy writte wittenessis þat Anticrist schal deceife by false myraclis hem þat hadde no charite ande tewthe. Þerfore hit is no poynt of bileve þat, if þai done or seyne ony þinge, þat God approves hit.

POINT IX.

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 offrynys, ne devociouns of money owen to be made in purfyngis 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 lesynyngus. Wherfore Cristen men seyne pleyndly, þat if hit be knownet þat persouns comen to þer benefices by symony, or lyven in notary fornicacione, or done not þer offices by ensaumpul of holy lyfse in trewe prechynge, but couchen in lordis courtis wrappid wiþ seculere offices, ande contynuen openly in þese cursednessis, men schulden not receyve hem for persouns, ne gif to hem tythis, lest 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 forbeden 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*, wiþ gode

* See ante, p. 224.
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resoun and grounde of holy writte. And if pay lyven proudly, wiþdrawyn techynge of Gods worde, wrappynge hem in seculere offices, pay bene cursud and manslears ande thesis ande ravnouris, as Goddes lawe ande mannes ande resoun witnessem; as Seynt Austyne, Gregore, and mony moo proven. Ffor if he is cursud pay wiþholdis ony dewte of holy Chirche pay God commaundis, muche more pay bene cursid pay wiþdrawen ensample of holy lyfe ande trewe techyng, siþen pis is moste dewte, ande moste medeful and nedeful, and beste meene to helpe holy Chirche. Mony bokis boþe of Gregore and Austen seyne playnely, pay þe schepard slees Cristen soulis, when he is stille and cries not ageyne her synnes. Ande Ysaie sais, pay suche bene doumbe houndus pay may not berken. And Seint Austeyne in þo comyne lawe sais, pay suche a bishop is ræper an unschamefest dogge þen a bishop. Cristen men schulden have fredome in al þer doyngu nowe to offer or leve, wheþer þeire conscience reulid by Goddis lawe ande resoun thynkis beste; and pay schulden not be constrayned for a blynde devocioun or worldly schame, for to bringe money to hem þat pay knowen for to have no nede, ande for to waste pore mennys lyvelode in tavernys and rybawder, and suffer þer neyghburis in myche meschefe, and þai himself endette hem for siche offrynge.

POINT X.

And prelatis and freris putten to symple men þat þai seyne, þat þo pope, cardynalis, archebishops, bishopis, archedekynys, denys, ande 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, ravyne of pore mennys godis, leyving of prechynge, and for lechere, glotony, and cursid lesynge, 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 perto, and best may, but also for he makis unable curatis, pat bene lesars of po worlde. Also po pope pursues more cruely Jesus Crist in his membris pen kyng Herode and Jewis, pat diden nayle hym on po crosse. Also po pope settis more pris by temporale dritte pen by mannys soulis, ande by seculere freneschipe and favoure of fleschely love pen by po blode and deth of Goddis Son, pat was rannisome for mannes soules. And he techis alle seculere lordis, and alle po world, for to do po same cursidnes. And curatis pat prechen not po gospel, wiʒ cleene lyvyng and for love of mannes soules, bene dede in hemself, slears of mannys soulis, Antecristis heretikis, and Sathanas transfigurid into an aungel of ly3t, and pat pai bene more abomynable to God and to po court of heven pen po cursudde synne of So-dome, pat for hidouse synne sanke into helle. Pis clerk proved playnly alle pese scharpe poynst, ande mony moo; ande al po popis court couth not say nay by holy writte and resoun; and if hit be nowe worse pen hit was pen in his tyme, so myche pai bene more cursud. Ayvyse hem wele how hidouslye God by his prophet cursis wayward curatis, and how playnly Seint Jerome, Gregore, and Austyne, and nomely Seint Bernarde and Grosthede, crien out on her open heresies, and deme pai pen hem-selfe whepher pai bene cursid or nay. Hit semes playnly pae Judas was not so cursid as pai, for rayvayne of pore manmys lifelode done under colour of holynes passis po crueltie of alle robbers, as Seint Jerome wittenessis in his epistilis, and Bernard also; and for pai betrayen mony powsandis of soulis to fendys of helle, for to be devourd 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 po same sermone. And Judas knowlachid his trespas, and restorid po money falsly taken; but pese prelatis contynuen in her heresies and blasphemyes, and restoren not to pore men her godis taken by extorsioun. And if ony trewe man for Gods sake crie aʒeynes pese heresies, pai pursuen hym to dethe by lesyngis, and murtheren hym wipouten open onswere, lest po pepul conceyve po trouthe of Gods lawe and amende hem. Pis cursidnes did not Judas, ne Nero, ne
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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 deeper dampned þen Judas Scarioth, as hit semes by mony resouns. Wherfore now Judas may wele fourme a pleyn of dishertyng of his riht and possessione ægeynes worldly prelatis. Ffor a þowsand þere ande more Judas was in possessione of þis name, Judas werst marchaunt a; but as þai done more traytory, and undur colour of more frendschip, after moo beneficis receyved of God, so þai bene werse marchaundis. Perfore, lest þai feytten in helle wiþ Judas ande alle develis, ande þai wiþ hem ægeyneswarde, hit semes by sum skille þat þese symonynes bene warse þen Lucifer if þai amenden hem not, for þai bene warnyd by his peyne, þat he was not bifoire. 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 forgyye 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 likenys, þat we never rede of aungel. Also þese symonynes drawen moo soulis to synne ande to helle by þer cursud lyfe, ande felle censuris, and sotele tiraunty, 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 tourmentynge of Cristus children.

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.

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 gyvyng 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 feyst ageynes þo treuthe of Jesus Crist. But not forþ 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 wrongdoing goedis 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 myþt, raþer þen one breke ony commandement of God, or ellis he loves not God over alle þinge. Seculere men may have worldly gods ynowe wipouten noumber to us a, so þat þai gete hem trewly, and spende hem to Gods honoure and furtherynge of treuth and helpe of þer Cristen breþur, and þat þai suffre not Anti-crístus clerkis to distroyen secular lordschipis, and rob þer ternauntis by feyned jurisdicción of Anticrist. But prestis moten lyf in symplenes, and forsake þo worlde, and trewly têche Cristes gospel, ande knowleche hem servauntis of alle men, and lyve in grete travaile, penaunce, and holy devocione, and do satisfaccone for þer owne synnes and þo peple boþe, if þai schal come to heven. But þai wolde algatis be lordis of þis worlde, æseyne Criste and his lawe, and drawe alle men for to holde æseyne Gods treuthe, lest þai be brouȝt to þo meke and pore and charitable lyvynge of Crist and his apostulis. But no drede Anticrist and his proude clerkis schal downe wip 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.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

POINT XII.

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, bo þai and þo preste so receyvynge 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 açe þer 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, yve hym frely what hym nedis upon þi state, and if þou se þat hym nedis not, or be aaurus schrewre, dele þi peny to a pore man þat has nede, and occupie þe in forþinkyng of þi wickyd lyf, havynge mynde of þo stronge þeynus of helle, wiþ þo gretenes of Goddis mercy and þo lyfe blis of heven. And turne þe clenly to Goddis heestis, werkus of mercy wiþ poynsis 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.

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 þinges þat clerkis have bene pore mennes godis, and þo clerkis ben not lordis of hem but procuraturis, as Gods lawe and manns law wittenessen. Ande clerkis schulden holde hem apayde wiþ fode ande helyng, as Seint Poul sais. Seint Bernarde sais, 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, þee bischoppis, what dos golde in þoure bridel? hit dryves not away cold; þoure bestis gone honourid wiþ gemmyns, precius stonyis, and jewelis, ande oure sidis bene nakid, seyne pore men. þai bene oure godis þat þee

S. Bern. Epid. 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 þytelis comen þeroff. We sufferen myche meschefe, ande in ȝoure wast ȝe sleen us, and ȝe, doyng vanite, peryschon þerfore, as Seynt Jerome sais; ﬂor to receyve þinge for to ȝyve to pore men, and ony þinge wiþdræwe þeroff, passis þo cruelte of alle robbers. See ȝee þerfore, prelatis and abobitis, þat han mony godis of ȝoure founders for to spend in hospitalite of pore men, and wastynge hem in pomye and glotynye and feestus of riche men, how strongly ȝe bene acursud of God and of alle his seintus, and träsenturis to ȝoure founders, and robbers and monquellers of Cristen men. How hidously schal pore men crye ȝeȝynnys ȝow at domesday for ȝoure cursid synnes! þerfore make ȝe nowe alle ȝoure godis comyne to pore men in nede, and lyve in peneunce, prayer, ande holy teching in dede and worde, leste Crist dampne ȝowe for träsenturis and monquellers and scheders of his blode for ȝoure unpityuousnes.

POINT XIV.

Also byschopis and freris beren symple men on hande þat þai sayne, þat hit is ȝeȝynes holy writte þat clerkis have temporale possessiones.

Here Cristen men tellen only holy writte, and autorites of grete seintus, wiþ sum maner of reson. In þo iij boke of holy writte God seis þus to Aaron and òþer 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 sonny of Israel. Soȝely to þo sonnys of Levy I gafe alle þo tithys of þo sonnys of Israel into possessione, for þo seruycye by which þai serven to me into þo tabernacle of þo bond of pes. Ande aþur hit sewys, Þai schal welden, or have in possessione, none òþer þinge, but be apайд wiþ offrynge of tithes, which I have departid into þo uses of hem, and necessaries. 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 òþer men of Israel, þat is, wiþ princtis and comyns, for þai schal eete sacrifises of þo Lord ande offrynghus
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

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,—

Soþe heritage schal none be to hem, I þo heritage of hem; and þe schal not þyve 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. 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 Almyþty; sithen Crist, God ande man, and alle his apostilys kept hem fro seculere lordschip, as þo gospel sais. Crist, God and man, sees 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, Perfore so ech of ȝow þat schal not renounce alle þingus þat he has in possessioun may not be my disciple. And how þis renounysynge schal be done, þo pore lyfe of Crist and of his apostilis schewis pleynly. Lord! sithen Petur and his felawis myttten not be apostilis of Criste til þai haden forsaken nettis and botys; þe, 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 riches¹ londe of Yngelonde.

Seint Poule, ravyschid to þo thrid heven, ȝyves a generale rewle to prestus, saying þus ægynus covetise of þo worlde, We, havyngye fode and wiþ what þingus we be hiled, be we apayde. Lorde! sithen Crist and alle his apostilis, so wele doyng þer offices, haden moreover 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 prechynge and spirituale occupaciouns. No wonder þerfore if þo rewme be yvul governynd, siþen þo chefe governouris ben symonyens,

¹ So BB; read richesste.
heretikis, cursid of God and of alle holy Chirch wiþouten cesyng. Seint Petur seis to alle prestis, Fede ºe folke of God þat is amonçe 30we, not by constreyynge but willefully, for cause of love of soule-wynnyng, not as beyng lordis in clerky, but be þe made fourme or ensample 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 forbëd prestis for to be lordys in þo clerkye. Whi bene þese hye apostotaas clepid generally, My lorde of Caunturbury, of Yorke, and oþer? Lorde! siþen men bene acursid doyng þe æȝynys þo popis lawe, as his symonyens blaberen, how cursid ben þese Luciferys children, so openly doyng æȝyn just lawe of Crist chef pope, and of Seint Petur, and of Cristen bïleve! 3it, when stryfe was made amonge Cristis disciplys who of hem schuld be sene for to be more, Jesus saide to hem, Kyngis of folkses lordshipen, or bene lordis of hem, and þai þat have powere on hem bene clepid wel-doyng, or þyvyng benefitis. For sothe þe not so, but he þat is more in 3owe be he made as þonger, and he þat is biforegoar be he as a servaunt. And by Mathewe Crist seis þus, Þe witten for princis of folkses lordshipen, 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 þoure mynystyr, and who ever schal willen to bene furste amonge 3owe be he þoure servaunte; as þo Son of man come nout to be served but for to serve, and þyve his lyfe redempcioun for mony a.

Allas! how durne worldly prestis take so grete lordschip upon hem, siþen Crist so playnly forbëdus 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, æȝyne þo gospel and lyvyng of Crist. 3it Seint Jerome wrîtes expressly, ande hit is sette in decrese b, þat clerkis schulden be taken fro worldly officis. And in tokyn of doyngy away alle temporalties, clerkis bene schaven þo hede, and schul have no þinge but dymus and of-

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*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 havyng þe temporale possessione schal nout have Goddis part. And þo grete clerk Origene and Seint Jon Chryso stom holden þo same way. Seint Bede says in a pistil to ðenberthe archebyschop of þorke, þat þo cyfistus of kyngus, þyng temporattees to prestis, were moste foltische. An angele 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 riþtis 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; si þen Crist commandus in þo gospel, þelde þe 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 his heresie of possessions havyng by þis, þat Jesus Crist was a kyng, as þo prophet and þo gospel wittenessen; for Crist was kyng of alle creaturs by his godhede, and by his manhed gostly kyng for to governe soulis ande virtues, ande never worldly kyng. 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-havyng by his ypocrisie, þat þai bene not lordis of þer godis, but onely procuratoris; 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 hab] joyned. 
Ande no worldly preste, &c.

2 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 sittyngge in parlement
above grete lordis, seyyenge þat no parlement may be holden
wipouten hem, wheþer þis be feyned ypocrisie or treuth. Lorde I
sipen 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,
(þat hit 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? sipen þer wittes ben
pinne, 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 spiritualle office togedir, þat one
of þes is an open folle and a cursid! Loke þe lordis who hit
is, sipen þe schullen recken of þo governaile of þo Chirche.

jît, sipen Cristis apostulis, freschly fulfîllid 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 þave hem to prechynge of Gods worde and prayere,
as holy writte wittenessis, what blyndenes of covetise stiris þese
ydiotis, unmyȝtty and þer lower in charite, to marre hem wiþ
so myche drit, more þen alle Cristis apostulis dursten? Wheþer
of þese two bene folis and wode, byhold wisely, þe lordis, for þe
beren þo swerde princepaly for to distroye errorris 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 lordeschiphe, ñeyne his
owne techynge. What spirite dryves þes Anticristis to seculere
office, ande to wlappe hem in seculere nedis, ande leve þer spiritu-
ale 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, þee lordus, lest God take
vengeaunce on þow and þoure pepul, for süssenge and maynten-
ynge of þese heresies; sipen God has þyven þowe þo swerde for
to mayntene his lawe, and bitaken his Chirche to þoure powere,
and grete kyndenes schewid to þowe in groundyng, worschip-
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

pyng, and confering 3oure state, and made alle men, prestis
ande ³per, sogett ³pero. He schal aske strayte reckenyng of
3owe, how 3e have governyd his Chirche. ³Perfore, as 3e wil be
sawed biffer God, distroyes Anticristis tirauntry in his ypocris,
and mayntene 3oure state in ³pat fourme ³pat God made hit, ande
bringis prestus to ³po meke ordynance of Jesus Criste, and
helpe 3oure selfe and 3oure pore tenauntis wiþ ³po waste godis
to whichee heretikis, havyng ³po nome of prelatis and prestis,
makyn sacrifise to Belial, by pride, covetise, glotony, leccherie,
symonye, and alle cursidnessis. Ande if 3e wil nout do ³pis
riȝtwisenes purely for ³po love of Crist, ³pat has done to 3ow so
mony benefetys, 3oure londe and 3oure pepul schal be conquerid
of enmyes, ande ³see 3oure self dampned wiþouten ende. And
³if ³e wille for pure love do ³pis riȝtwysenes, 3e schal gete pleyne
remysion of alle 3oure synnus, so ³pat ³e kepe 3ow clene aftur.
And for ³pis mercy doynge schall come to 3ow proppertere of lorde-
schip, and pes and riches in erthe, and at ³po furrest in heven,
wiþouten ende. Ande if ³e dyen in ³pis poynte, stondynge clene
entente to Goddes honoure and comyne amendyng of Cristen-
dame, wiþ paciens and charite bitaking all to governaunce, and
³e doynge 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.

POINTE XV.

Also prelatis prestis and freris putten upon pore men ³pat ³pai
sayne, ³pat Goddis office or servyse ben not to be songun wiþ
note, and ³pat God deleytes not in suche manere songe.

Here Cristen men sayne pleynly, ³pat Criste and his apostilis
prayden devoutly wiþouten siche songe, and ³pai never taughter
in worde ne dede, ne openly counselled in holy wripte to ³pis
songe, ande myche more ³pai never chargid man herwiþ in al
holy wripte. ³Perfore prestis schulden bisyte hem to cuyne ande
teche holy wripte in worde and dede, ande be in devoute prayere
in spirit and treethe, as Crist and his apostilis diden, and not
fulfille ³po eeris of hem and of ³po pepul wiþ cryynge of ³inge ³pat
nouþer ³pai ne ³po pepul understoden, as ³yf jayes and pyes
chatiriden; and ³it ³pai understonden iche one ³per in ³peire
kynde. Lorde! wheper þis songe dispose men for to under-
stande þo sentence of holy writte, and for to mourne for þer
synnus, or ellis to pride, vanite, daunsyng and lecchery, wiþ
wayne spendyng 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 hor-
ribly. Loke þe lordus, þat schulden lif justely ande devotely,
sechynge grace of God to reule 30we and 3oure pepul aftur þis
lawe, wheper þes proude, ful of covetise and envie, ben in þis
case or nay. Loke wheper þai lyven in glotonye, drunkennes,
and lecherie, for jolite of þer chaunteyne; ande þen what ever
heriynge 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 Epheseyans, as þo lawe wittenessis c, seys þis, Here
þis þinge, songe 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; neþer þrotis ne chekys bene
to be anoynitid wiþ medycyne, in manere of soule songis, þat
swete notis of spectaclis or tavernye songis be herde in þo
Chirche. Þerfore, as Seint Gregore techis in þo lawe, dekenys
and mynystris of þo auter schullen not chaunte ne syng but rede
þo gospel; and if ony man do þeraþeyns, Gregori cursus hym.
Hit semes þo dekenys and prestus han als much nede in oþer
chirchis for to do kepe clene lyfe, 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 lyfe and prechyng, and almes dedis
þat God biddis.

3it Seint Jon Crisostome on Mathew d, where Criste biddus

dorum modum guttur et fauces dulci
medicamine liniendae sunt, ut in
ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur
et cantica.'

a See above, p. 328, note.
b See above, p. 323, note b.
c Decretum, Pars I, Dist. 92, Can. r.
  'Audiant haec adolescentuli; audi-
ant ii, quibus psallendi in ecclesia
officium est; Deo, non voce, sed
corde cantandum; nec in tragoe-

Wyclif.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Matt. vi. 7.


Lam. ii. 6.

...at we shul not speke much in prayer as heven men done,—soeley ... that God is present in iche place, and siche crie lettis ooper men fro prayer, and ... spedis. Lord! whethe ... us to pray wiþ suche mournyng, ande ... maken ... to moste compuncionne for synnes, and to most devocione for hyzene of ... touchid in Sanctus, and bitter passione ... enmyes, fundus of helle, seynge our ... knackyng, ... fillus ... onse soalus fro virtues, wiþ ... false ophis, scorne us.

Ande al ßo court of heven has abhomacion of oure lewed halowynge; sfor we halowen to oure wombe ydelnes and Sathanas, and done werste werkis of synne in dispysynge of Almytty God and alle his lovers. Lordel siþen we be so seble of witte, febul of bodily mynte, and of ful schort tyme, ande holy writ so harde, and plentynouse of swete sentences to whichee God byndus us sore, what resoun is hit to bynde us to

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 patere-tur,’ for in it the word ‘Patrem’ occurs.

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newe songe and newe serymonyes of dyverse uses al day, \( \text{pat} \) we never mowe do bo\( \text{c} \)e togedur? Ande s\( \text{i} \)\( \text{p} \)\( \text{e} \)n synne is so playne, and more encresid herby, and we bounden upon payne of dampnacioun for to preche ande crye holy writte \\( \text{a} \text{ȝ} \text{e} \text{ynes} \) \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) fendis ooste, when a drunken preste, in luste ande weithe of \( \text{p} \)\( \text{i} \)\( \text{s} \) lyife, has syngulere affeccion to a man or a cause for temporale dritte, all prestis in \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \) diocise schul be gnanid \( \text{w} \text{i} \) a newe \\( \text{y} \text{o} \text{c} \) or cerymony ever more; and none ende is made of suche serymonyes, \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \) tarien mennys conscience, and letten hem fro better occupacione.

\( \text{J} \)\( \text{i} \)t, \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \)w Salisburye use may sumtyme occupie wele summe slowe wrecchis, hit is no reson to bynde alle prestis \( \text{p} \)\( \text{e} \)rto, or to suche ano\( \text{p} \)er, when God sturis hym to studye and teche holy writte, \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)t is muche better, or for to mourne for \( \text{p} \)\( \text{e} \)r synne, ande hertly occupie hem \( \text{w} \text{i} \)p \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) Pater Noster. For God seis not \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)t he is blessid \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)t syngus or knackus swete notis, ne \( \text{p} \)\( \text{k} \)\( \text{e} \)pis \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) ordynale of \( \text{p} \)\( \text{i} \)s cerymonye or \( \text{p} \)\( \text{i} \)s, but he is blessid \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)t ny\( \text{t} \)t and day \( \text{p} \)\( \text{i} \)\( \text{n} \)\( \text{k} \)\( \text{i} \)s in \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) lawe of God, \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)t is, for to understonde hit and lif \( \text{p} \)\( \text{e} \)r aftur, and teche hit trewly, and willefully suffer tribulacione for \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) gospel in savynges of mennus soulis, as Criste and his apostilis diden. Lorde! whe\( \text{p} \)r a congregacione of drunken prestis, in lustis of \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) worlde and of \( \text{p} \)\( \text{e} \)r balyes, con \( \text{y} \text{y} \)ve a better reule of occupacione to prestis \( \text{p} \)\( \text{e} \)n Criste and his apostilis diden? or ellis wille \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)i charge hem \( \text{w} \text{i} \)p so myche chauntynge ande so mony cerymonyes, \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)t prestis mowe not fulfille \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) charge and office of Crist, \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)t is beste, moste esye, ande moste siker for prestis and alle lewed peple? \( \text{P} \)efore synge we in hert by holy desire, seyyng psalmus by clene werkis and herryngus and ympnus to God for his large \( \text{j} \)\( \text{i} \)\( \text{f} \)\( \text{u} \)\( \text{s} \) of mercy, \( \text{w} \text{i} \)p brennynghe charite in studyngye understondynge and techynghe holy writte, ande receyve we resonable customs made of men in als miches as \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)i helpen us to \( \text{p} \)\( \text{i} \)s grete gode, and encres\( \text{e} \)n\( \text{e} \) oure love to God and oure bre\( \text{p} \)erin. And \( \text{y} \text{i} \)f \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)i letten us fro better doynghe, and encres\( \text{e} \)nye of Gods worschipe, and helpe of Cristen soulus, for \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)t yrne suspende alle suche cerymonyes, lest\( \text{e} \) \( \text{p} \)\( \text{a} \)i take \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) grace of God in vayne, leefynge \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) better ande chesynge \( \text{p} \)\( \text{o} \) worse.

\( ^{1} \) corrected; encres\( \text{e} \)nyge, BB.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

POINT XVI.

Also bischoppis and freris putten to pore men ṭat ṭai sayne, hit ys not leefull for to swere in ony manere.

Trewly here is ḁo sothe sparid, as in mony wrytyngus and prechynge hit is openly knowen. But here Cristen men sayne, ḁat hit is not leeful to swere by creaturis, ne by Goddus bonys, sydus, naylus, ne armus, or by ony membre of Cristis body, as ḁo moste dele of men usen, ffor ḁis is aȝeynus holy writte, holy doctouris, and comyn lawe, and grete peyne sette ḁeruppon.

Hit is nout leeful for to swere needeles for a veyne thing, as mony men usen, ne for yvelle wille to harme oþer men, for ḁis is aȝeynes ḁo 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 ḁis false swerynge schulden kyngus punysch by þer office, ane suffer not suche false men in þer londis, as Seint Austyne sais. ʒit, no man schulde swere, nouþer for life ne deth, no but wip 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, wip declarynge of Seint Austen, Crisostom, Jerom, and mony moo.

POINT XVII.

Also prelatis ande frerus putten to pore men ṭat ṭai schulde say, ṭat ṭat ilke þinge ṭat was brede biforn 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.

Certiis here is openly schewed þo malice of freris, wrongfully accusynge pore men. Noþoles þese wordys of freris ben nout craftily sette; ande ʒit 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

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1 corrected; be om by, BB.

1 1 2

26. That it is unlawful to swear at all.
Charge untrue; we only blame profane and unnecessary swearing.

Jer. iv. 2

27. That the consecrated bread is not Christ's body.
Charge untrue; we say it to, but that it does not cease to be bread.
folowars of scole, seyne þat þat ilke þinge þat was brede bifoře þo consecracione, is turned into nouȝt, þat þai clepen adnichilat*, or brouȝt to nouȝt; ande þo sacrament þat men sene wiþ bodi.ly een, is not Cristis body, but accident wiþouten sogett, or nouȝt, as þai han playly saicd 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 wolfe no ferþer þen holy writte ande olde seintus techere, for no newe knackynge of sotile cavellaciones, or multitude of synneful wrecchis. Crist toke brede in his hondus, blessid, brake hit, and þave hit to his disciplis, seyynge, þis is my body; þus Cristen men bileven fully. Ande Seynte Poule seis in holy writte, þat þis sacrament is bređ 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 Anti-cristis clerkis, þat þai schullen not graunte þo wordis of God and Cristen bileve! sipen Seynt Austyne seis, as þo comyne lawe wittenessis b, þat þat þinge þat is sene is bred, þat, soþeþy, þat þo seitha askis; þenne brede is Goddes body. Seint Jerome sais in his pistiles, þat þo ilke brede þat Criste blessid, brake, and þafe 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 sipen holy writte spekis not of accident wiþouten sogett, ne resone schewis, ne philosophurs tellen hit, ne revelacion of

¹ supplied conjecturally.

* omnibilatum.

b Decretum, Pars III, Dist. 2, cap. 58. ‘Quod videtur, panis est, et calix, quod etiam oculi reuuentiant. 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 wyset of alle doctouris holden siþen þo apostilis weren, þat¹ seis in mony bokis þat none accident may be wipouten soget, 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; þfor, þorow Goddis grace, noþer for lyfe ne dethe þai wille no ferþer, but crien oute on þo open synnus ande heresies of Anticriste and his faytours.

POINT XVIII.

Also bishopis prestis and frerus putten to pore men þat þai seyn, þat a preste byng in dedely synne nouþer makis þo sacrament of þo auter, ne cristynes, ne þyves ony sacrament.

Sikerly here is feyned þinge putte on pore men, wipouten evydence of þer seyynge. But Cristen men sayne, þat a preste bynge in dedely synne may make and þyve 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 dampancion, 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 unworthy, he receyvus dampancion 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.

* 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 pynne, nomely of open fornificacione, open covetyse and raveynne of pore mennus lyvelode, þat is mawmety, 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 Epistle, If ony man come to sow and bringe not þis doctrine of þo gospell, nyl þee receyve hym in to þoure howsis, ne say þee 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 knownen in open grete synnes biforesaide; for þerinne, als mucche as in hem is, þai crucifien Jesus Criste and approven his deth. Þerfore Cristen men schulden bisye hem for to here reverently and devotely Goddis worde, and receyve sacramentis at prestis of clene life, and amende vicius prestes by gode counselnyng and ensample of gode lyfe, 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.

Also byschopis ande frerus putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat men owen not raper 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 treuth, þat is, wiþ wille and devocioun and clennes of lyvynge. Crist says; Tyme comys when nouþer in þis hiile ne in Jerusalem men schulden worschipen, but hit byboves for to worschip God in spirite and treuth; þat is, þat þo hert by clen desire, and al þo man, be kepynge of Gods heste, worschip God trewly; ellis wil Criste say to hem, What say þee to me, Lord, Lord, and do not þo þinge þat I say; ande esfe, þis pepul honouris me wiþ þer lippis, soþely þer hert is fer fro me. Forsoþe þai worschipen
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me wipouten 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, wipouten 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 covenaut-making is ræper cursid þen halowed. Crist sayde of þo temple of Jerusalem, Myn hows schal be clepud a hows of prayere, sopely ye have made it a den of thefis. If als open symony, extorsioun, fals opis, 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 desoules þo londe in whiche hit dwellis, as God wittennessis 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 opis, 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 gretelie polutid and cursud of God, nomely for sellynge of leccerie, and fals swering upon bokus. Siþen þo churchis ben densus of thefis and habitationis of fendiis, hit is gode þat Cristen men bere no false wittennessynge, 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 wipinne yowe, ande Seint Poule seis, þat Cristen men ben þo temple of þo Holy Goste, consent þee 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, wip þo comyn lawe, whatever þai blessen God cursis.

¹ supplied.
Efte men mowe say þer Pater noster medefull under þo cope of heven, as Crist dide in þo hille in nyȝtus, ande þo apostilus in prisone and oþer placis, þof þai do symonye for halowynghe chirchis and þer þerdis and aþeris. For now comynly none is halowyng wipouten symonye of fals suffrygans, forsworn mony wayes. Be þe not made thrallys to heretikis and fendus, by ypocrisyse of þes neeþles halowyngus, þat comynly is verrey cursynge, but pray þe whereven ande when God ȝyves þow moste devocioun ande fervour of charite. Crist scis, When þou schalt pray, entre into þi couche, and þi dore scytte, pray þi Fadr in hydde place. Seint Austyne sais, What þou to bysechynge :od sechst 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.

Sôþely here God heris graciusly where he dwells. Þus Cristen men willen devoutely comyn to þo chirche, where prestis bene gode and clene, and Gods word wele tawt, ande sacra-mentis frely mynistrid, not solde for money; and where symony regnus openly, wiþ fals opus, ravyn, pride, and mayntenynge of leccherye and oþer synnus for money, þai will fle þennes, leste þai consent to open mawmetry and oþer cursyned. Ffor þo hoore-hows is not so cursid as mony suche templis bene; ffor more cursid syne regnus in hem, and lesse schameles, undur coloure of holynes ande riȝtwysesen, þen at þo hoore-hows þat alle men known is nouȝt; þow popis and bishopis halowen horedame by recceyvyng of money, and bene partyners þeroff, wers þen þai þat done it in dede. For þo suffrynghe of lecchery is expressly æseynus Goddis commandement, ande recceyvyng of þis money is mayntenynge þeroff, for whiche þo bishopec, by Goddis lawe and comyne lawe of þo Chirche, schulden be degradid, for hit is open mayntenynge of open erroure æseyne Cristen menus bileve. And so no doute oure byschopis, mayntenynge hit openly and stedfastly, ben cursid heretikis and treyyn 1 God to vengeaunce.

1 This is all that I can make out of the strangely abbreviated word in the MS.
POINT XX.

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 worshippid ne bene to be halowid, for þat men wote not, as þai sayne, wheþer þai bene dampped or saved; ne men owen not to byleve ne stonde to þo canonsysng 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. þitt þat he is a gloriusse martire, ande trewly prechid, boþe of þo Olde Testament ande þo Newe, when he was onely deken, which men sayne nowe is æseyne þo lawe and dewe obedience, and in þis þai distroyen his martirdame, or ellys þai sayne nowe open falshed, þat dekenys owen not to preche. Of Seint Laurence, Seint Nicholas, Seint Kateryne, and Seynt Margarete, virgynes, Cristen men dowten nóþinge þat þai bene glorious seyntis, but supposen hit sothe, and not as article of þo bïleve þat iche man mot bïleve upon payne of damncioun. But of oþer þat lyveden late, and bene clepid seyntis, and seen grete heresies of open tiraunty of worldly prelatis, ande tolden nout þo treuth and suffriden 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 synaly wipouten satisfaccioun for þer synnus, ande endid in charite. Ande if þai haden bene open trewe men, as Grosthede was, in withstondyng 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 wondryyn, ffurst what þo holy Trinite has trespassid æseyne þes worldly prelatis, þat his

1 supplied conjecturally.
Sonenday may nouȝt be dowlbe feste, as wele as þo festes of mony oþer þat littel profiten to holy Chirche, and han dowlbe festis one or two; ande whi Seint Poule, þo solemne clerk and apostle of alle þo apostilis, þat travelid more þen alle oþer, has no dowlbe feste ne haliday by hymselfe in þo provyncie of Cauterbury, nou þer Conversion ne Passione. And þit 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 agilitid 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 solemnitiþ þen alle Cristis apostilis and disciplis. What have alle þo foure doctouris of holy Chirche trespasid, þat þei alle haven not one haliday amonge lewid men, as wele as mony confessourus of synghere bischoperiches? Hit semys þat syn gulere affeccione, and accepynge of persons æȝynes Godus lawe, ande lesse worschip of great seyntis, wyrchys mysche þat is done in þis halowyng. What has Seint Jon Baptiste trespas, þat his day of martirdame is not halowid dowlbe feste, as wele as martirdame and translacioun of Seint Thomas? Wheþer Baptiste hade worse, and was lesse holy þen Thomas?

Mony Cristen men wonderyn whi prelatis chargen more bodily werk done on a lyȝt haliday, þen cursid pride, open blasphemere of God by fals swerynge, done on a Sonenday, wiþ glotony, leccherie, drunkennes, open marchaundyse, fals covetise, chydynge and feyȝtyngye, ande wronge schedyngye of manyns blode, wiþ usure and false extorsiouns. Men proposen not þo lewed pepul schulde be chargid wiþ moo halidynges, ne wiþ alle þese, but for to schewe þat muche of þis halowyng gose aftur luste and accepting of persones, and nouþer aftur resoun ne charite. For if þo pepul, laboreris, halowiden wele þo Sonendayes, and kephe hem upon þer myȝt fro open synnes,

* 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 ynowge þòf þai hadden no moo gnaris.

POINT XXI.

Also bishcopis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat þò holy Trinite in no manere schulde be worschipid, fygyrid, fourmed, ne payntid, in þat fourme by whiche comynly it is peyntid by alle þò Chirche of God.

Here Cristen men supposen þat þese prelatis menyn of þis þinge, where a þinge is payntud as if þò Fadir of heven were an olde hore man, þò secunde persoun a man crucifid, þò þrid persone a white culvyr. Of þis paynting men supposen, þat hit bringus symple men of cunynge into grete erroure, fôr by þis þò Fadir moote be eldur þen þò Son if þis payntynge be trewe, and þai paynten þò Trinite, þat is spirite and no creature. þai make þò godhede of þò Trinite a man, and þat þò secunde persone by his godhede is man, and whenever þò Trinite was, þò secunde persone was man. God kepe men fro þis foule heresie! By þis payntynge þò Holy Goste is not like to God þò Fadur, ne to God þò Son, whiche erroure be ser fro Cristen mennys soulys. Ne men supposen þat alle Cristen chirchis have þis payntynge, as þese prelatis and freris seyne. Ffôr 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 expressly commaundis in holy writte, þou schalt nout make to þe a graven ymage, þat is of þò godhede, ne echere lickenes in heven aboven and þat is in erthe bynethe, ne of þoo þingis þat bene in watür under erthe, ne þou schalt worschip hem in erthe. þis commaundement is ever in stryngthe, ande if prestis sufferyn and conforten þò peple for to worschip fals ymagis for wynynge of offerynge, þai bene cursud heretikis. And if þai enfourmen not þò peple, þat þai offer not to þer pore neyghheburis made to þò ymage and liknes of þò holy Trinite, but by blynde devocion drawen þer lyvelode away for þer wynynge, 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 stony 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 
edvoicioun, þai sayne æseyne Crist and faylen foule in charite; 
for þai schulden preche openly þat it is beste þat iche man con-
fourme his wille to Gods heste and counsaile, raper þen after 
blynde devocioun, þat God never bad ne couseyly þerto. 
Þerfore Cristen men schulden honoure þo Trinite in verrey 
bileve wipouten erroure, ande holy lyvynge wipouten ypocrisyse, 
and brennyng charite to frende ande emyme wipouten cessyng, 
ever encresynge þerinne, ande worschippyng ande helpynge pore 
men made to Goddis ymage ande lickenys, wipouten meynten-
ynge of needes beggars, þat stelen þo lyvelode of verrey nedy 
men and bedraden. And þis is ynowye to come to heven, 
wipouten novelrie of covetous prestis and crafty payntours, þat 
crien more on grete Dyan þen on Gods hestis.

POINT XXII.

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 lawfully 
hire his wrytyng, his travaile, of techynge, byndynge of bokis, 
and mony óper honeste traveylis, as Seint Poule, worþi many 
þowsandsus prestis, gat his lyvelode wip a ful symple crafte, as 
holy writte wittenessis. But to þo poynþ. Men seyne playnly, 
þat a preste may leeþuþly take a resonable lyvelode of gode man, 
or mony wip one wille, so þat he do trewly his office ordyned 
of God. And if worldly covenant-makyng make þat he wille not 
do his office wipouten worldly sikernes and worldly ple, cha-
rite and resoun of almes acorden not þerto. Ffor þis is fulle 
symoyne, more chargyng muk þen spirituale office of presthod. 
Lete prestis lif wele, þat þai be ly yt of worldly men by holy en-
saemple, and sithen þai bene Goddis aungelis, do þei þeire 
message, techynge þo gospel, and be þai devoute in prayeris, 
desiryngse and sekyngse 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 viciousely, þai ben
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Jewis and manquellers, and not prestus of God, þow þai bene demed of þo worlde boþe wise and holy; as Seint Jon Crisostome writtenessys by techyne taken of Cristis apostilis.

POINT XXIII.

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 worldly bysynes in þo bischopis courtis. Þfor 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 ravyne ande glotonye hauntid þen in lordis courtis; more symonye on one day þen in some lordis courte al his lyve. Ande cursidnes wiþouten noumbre 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 heerdys 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.

Certis in þo popis courte regnys þo same cause and more, ledynghe of gold out of oure rewme, wiþ mayntenynge of false plees and debatis among Cristen men. Ande if ony of þese curatus were trewe angelis of God, techyne and writtenes-yngge openly to povert of Crist, ægynne worldlynes and extorsiones ande werry of proude prestis, þai myȝten sone be tongide out of court. But fro þo moste to þo lest alle studeyn aboute covetyse, ande iche preste mayntenys oþer þerinne, til scharpe vegenaunce come upon hem alle. What pope or bischop prayes ony trewe presti for to dwell in his court, for prechynge 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 ʒo pepul is robbid of gostly fode, and helpe of almes, and ensample of holy lyife, ande gostly counfort of ʃer curate. ʃerfore it is ʃer gretter synne for ʃo pope to mayntene ʃis robrye ʃen in a lowere man, al be hit ʃat it is dedely synne who ever do hit.

POINT XXIV.

Also prelatis and proude curatis and freris putten to pore men ʃat ʃai seyne, ʃat parsouns ande vicaris, not seying masse, ne mynystrynge sacramentus of holy Chirche, bene worpi for to be removed, and oʃer for to be ordeynde in her stede, ʃʃor ʃai bene unworpi and wasters of ʃo Chirche godis.

Here Cristen men sayne, when ʃo curatis bene not excusud by sekenys, but lyven in jolite of ʃo worlde, ande nouʃer prechen ʃo gospel, ne devoutely prayen wiʃ clere conscience, ne bisyen hem not to lerne ʃo gospel to lif ʃerafter, worldely ocupacione schal not excuse hem fro thefte ande raveyne ande sleynge of mennys soulsis bfore Criste, juste domes man, if ʃai amenden hem not by tyme, siʃen holy writte [ʃeys] ¹ ʃat he ʃat travaylys not schal nout ete. ʃes ʃat done not curatis office schulde not have frutis ʃat longen to ʃo office, namely when ʃai bene stronge of body, and byvyn in ydulnes of worlde vanite. Ande ʃowe suche unable curatis, continuyng in ʃer deautis openly, were putte oute, and holy prestis ordeynde in ʃer stede, ʒyyvynge ensample of holy lyfe, trewly prechyng ʃo gospel, and mekely visitynge ʃo pore paryschens, and helpynge ʃam at ʃer myȝt, hit were no grete heresie æʃeyn ʃoly writte; but it is cursid heresie for to mayntene hem in cursid lyfe, for to robbe ʃo peple of gostly fode and office of curate, and ʒit to waste ʃer godis in lecherye, glotonye, and fals pride, ande vanite of ʃo worlde.

POINT XXV.

Also bishaps and freris putten to pore men ʃat ʃai sayne, ʃat men of ʃo 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 þyve hem to pore men, goynge on fete, and takynge stavys in hondis, receyvyng þo state of pore men, in þyvyng ensaumple of holynes by þer conversacion.

Here Cristen men thynken no grete heresie, powe worldly prelatis, in amendement of symonye, ydolatrie, and sleyng 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 apostillis diden. Ande þis myst wele be done, þof þai laften grete pikid stavys, wip daggers in þo ende, for we redyn not þat Criste and his apostillis usiden suche stavys, ne weppyns of debate. Ande pow þey crieden oute on pride and glotony, ydelnes and lycherye, and extorsions þat þai have done and mayntenyd in oþer men, and do grete penance and travaile al þel lyfe, and þyven ensaumple of grete mekenys, paciens, povert, and charite, as Jesus Crist did and hys apostillis, 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 lordship, ande all grete synnus by whiche þai blyndiden þo pepul, as holy writte dos of errour of Seint Petur and of alle þo apostylis, and of þo open heresie of Seint Poule, wip 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 lyvying and wele lernying in holy writte. For oþer worldly clerkis, blyndid wip covetise pride and envie, and wlappid in seculere office, as þai leden hem selve to helle, so þai wolen make lesyngus to oþer men, flaternge 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.

þerfore Cristen men willen knowlache holy writte and þo lyvyinge of Criste for þer rewle, and wolen do aftar ony man in als myche as þai knowen sickerly þat he acordus þerwithe, and no ferþer, for lyfe ne dethe, wip grace and helpe of þo holy Trinite.
God for his grate mercy distroye errouris and heresies of Anticristis chyrche, and make knowne þo treuþis of holy Chirche, and encrese riȝtwysenys, peþa, and charite, and lyȝte þo herþes of lordus, to know and distroye þo herþes 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 *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 opinion given above; nor is it necessary, as the *Fasciculi* is a book

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* 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 Anti-
quities 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 Goddus body
þan it is in hevene. For in hevene it is sene fote in fourme
and figure of fleshe 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
leeyes for to þenk þe kynde of an ymage, wheþer it be of oke
or of asshle, and settyps his þoug 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 wip alle clennes, alle devo-
cion, and alle charite þat God wolde gif him, worschippe he
Crist, and þan he receyves God gostly more medefull þan þe
prist þat syngus the masse in lesse charite. Ffor þe bodely
eyng 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.

* The use of this singular phrase, which, so far as I know, occurs
nowhere else, appears to me to show clearly the connection be-
tween this piece and the Latin Con-
RESS, 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 Chronicles 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 believe 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 'his counseil of freres at Londoun wip erbe-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.]
I BILIEVE, as Crist and his apostels have taught us, that the sacrament of the auter, whyte and rounde, and like to oper bred, or oost sacred, is verrey Gods body in fourme of bred; and of hit be broken in thre partyes, as the Kirke uses, or elles in a thousand, ever ilk one of these parties is the same Gods body. And right as the persoun of Crist is verrey God and mon—verrey godhed and verrey monhed—right so holy Kirke, mony hundred winters, haves trowed the 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 perchore Seint Poul nemmes hit nevere, bot when he calles hit bred; and he by oure bileve toke in pis his witte of God. And of heretikes ageyns pis sentense are light for to assoyle to a Cristen mon. And right as hit is heresye to trowe that Crist is a spiryt and no body, so hit is heresye to trowe that pis sacrament is Gods body and no bred; for hit is bothe togedir.

Bot that moste heresye that God suffred cum to his Chirche, is to trowe that pis sacrament is accydent wipouten substeynt; and may on no wysse be Gods body. And if pou sey, by his skil holy Kirke hafs ben in errore mony hundred wynters, for Crist sey, by wittenesse of Jerome, that his bred is my body, soth hit is, specialy sithen that the was loused, that was, by wittenesse of the aungel to Jon that Evangeliste, aftr a thousand wynters that Crist was steyned to heven. Bot hit is to suppose that mony seyntis, that dyed in pis meane tyme, before deth were purged of pis errore. Ow! how gret diversyte is wytwene us that trowen that pis sacrament is verrey bred in his kynde, and wytwene heretikes that tellen that hit is an accydent wipouten

1 We believe, HH. 2 and lyke tyll oure bredes or oost unsacred, HH. 3 argument, HH. 4 lyth to a Cristene man for to assolve, HH. 5 HH and II omit the words between asterisks. 6 come, HH. 7 accident wip a subtane, HH. 8 Here HH and II insert the following sentence; For Crist sayde, be witeness of Joban, that his brede is my body. The words For Crist occur also in W, but are scored through. 9 pis, HH; this, II. 10 stowones, HH.
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suggest! For before that heende, fadir of leesynge, was loused, was neuer pis gabbynge controved. And how gret diversite is bitwene us that trowen that pis sacrament in his kynde is verrey bred, and sacramentaly Gods body, and bytwene heretikes that trowen and telle that pis sacrament may on no wyse be Gods body! For I dar surely sey, that if pis were sothe, Crist and his seynis dyed heretikes, and po more partye of holy Kirke bylevede nowe heresy. And herfore devoute men supposen that pis counsell of freres at Londoun was wip erthe dyn. For pei putt an heresy upon Crist and seynis in heven; wherfore po erthe trembled, byaylande monnis voice answerande for God, as hit did in tyme of his passioun, when he was damned to bodily deth.

Crist and his modir, that in grounde have destroyed alle heresies, repe his Kirke in right byleve of pis sacrament. And move we kynge and his reume to aske scharpely of clerkes pis office; that alle possessioners, on payne of leesynge of alle hor temperal tees, tell that kynge and his reume, wip sifficant groundyng, what is pis sacrament; and alle po ordiris of freres, in payne of leesynge of alle hor legeance, telle po kynge and his reume wip gode groundyng what is pis sacrament. Ffor I am certen, for po thridde part of clergey that defendes pis sentence that is here seyde, that pai wil defend hit on payne of losyng of hor lyve. Amen.

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1 controvede, HH. 2 beleyth, HH. 3 and, HH. 4 bery dene, HH. 5 answeride, HH. 6 pe, HH. 7 his clerkes, HH. 8 pe, HH. 9 of, HH. 10 pis doute, HH; these doute, II. 11 on payne of her lyf, HH. 12 om. HH, II.

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 Wycliffe, 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 Ziziniorum, p. 345, 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 Wycliff missae Papae Urbano VI. ad excusationem de non veniendo sibi ad citationem suam, A.D. MCCCLXXIV.' 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 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; for I byleve þat Jesus Crist, þat gaf in his owne persoun þis gospel, is verrey God and verrey mon, and be þis hert 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 lawes, Q. 3 om. Q.
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Pope is hyeste vicar that Crist has here in ethere. For more-
ness of Cristis vicar is not mesured by worldly moreness, but
bis, that bis vicar sues more Crist by virtuous livelyng 1; for
jis techis jo gospel, that jis is jo sentence of Crist.

And of jis gospel I take as byleve, that Crist, for tyrne that he
walked here, was moste pore mon of alle, bope in spirit and in
havyng; for Crist seis that he had noyt for to reste his hed on.
And Poule seis that he was made nedy for our love 2. And
more pore myyt no mon be, noon bodily ne in spirit. And
jis Crist putte fro hym al maner of worldly lordschip. For jo
gospel of Jon tellip that when jei wold have made Crist kyng,
he fled and hid hym fro hem, for he wold non such worldly
hynesse.

And over jis I take as byleve, that no mon schuld sue jo
pope, ne no 4 seynt that now is in heven, bot in als myche as he
suets Crist. For Jon and James errid when jei coveytid worldly
hynesse; and Petir and Poule synned also when jei denyed
and blasphested in Crist; bot men schuld not sue hom in jis,
for jen jei wente fro Jesus Crist b. Off jis I take as hool-
some counsell, that jo pope leeve his worldly lordschip to worldly
lordis, as Crist gaf hom,—and move spedely alle his clerkis
to do so. For jis did Crist, and taust jis his discipis, til jo
fende had blyndid jis world. And hit semes to sum men, that
clerkis that dwellen lastandly in jis error ageyns Gods lawe, and
flees to sue Crist in jis, ben open heretikes, and hor fautours
ben partyneris c.

And if I erre in jis sentence, I wil mekely be amendid, the,
by jo deth, if hit be skilful, for that I hope were gude to me.
And if I myst travel in myn owne persoun, I wold wiip gode

1 in vertuous lif, Q. 2 any, Q. 3 And, Q.

* 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.

* Lewis, who is followed by Dr.
Vaughan, cuts down this long sen-
tence to—"for James and John errid,
and Peter and Powl sinned."

* This sentence is not in the
Latin; it is also omitted by Lewis
and Dr. Vaughan.
wille go to þo pope. Bot God¹ has nedid me to þo contrarye, and tuestos me more obeche to God þen to mon². And I suppose of oure pope þat he wil not be Anticrist, and reversen Crist in þis wirkynghe, to þo contrarie of Cristis wille; for if he summone ageyns resoun, by him or by any of his, and pursue þis unskillful summonyng, he is an open Anticrist. And merciful entent excusid not Peter, þat ne Crist cleped hym Sathanas; so blynde entent and wicked counsel excuses not þo pope here; bot if he aske of trewh prestis þat þei travel more þan þei may, he is not excusid by resoun of God þat ne h.: 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 sex³, þat his olde holy entent be not quenchid by his enemies. And Crist þat may not lye seis, þat þo enemies of a mon ben specialty his homely meyne³; and þis is soth of men and fendsis.

¹ supplied from Q; om. W.  
² sexte, Q.
³ 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. 193) 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 I where þes worldly prestis wisere þan þ distressed. þe false feip taynte of Anticrist and of his false cursede disciplis is þis, þat þe sacrament þat men seen wiþ bodely eye," &c. Of feyned contemplatif lyf, p. 170 of MS.

"þe fourþe article is þis; þat Cristis techinge and bileve of þe sacrament of his owne body . . . . . may be taynt openly in chichis to Cristen peuple, and þe contrarie techinge and fals bileve, brouȝt up by cursed ypocrisys and heretikys and worldly prestis, unknynnye in Godis lawe þ ben alle þe apostlys of Crist: it seme þat þei ben, or ellis fooles. Also Crist wolde not take þe kyngdom," &c. Complaints to King and Parliament, p. 297 of MS.

Dr. James, however, in his edition of the Complaints 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 believe is brought up by cursed hypocrits . . . . . unkown 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. 13), but it breaks off imperfect just at the place where the erroneous transposition occurs.

Plese it to oure most noble and most worõ King Richard, kyng boþe of Englonde and of Fraunce, and to þe noble Duk of Lancastre, and to oþere grete men of þe rewme, boþe to seculars and men of holi Chirche, þat ben gaderid in þe Parlement, to here, asent, and meyntene þe seue articlis or poynitis þat ben seet wiþinne þis writing, and proved boþe by auctorite and resoun; þat Cristen feip and Cristene religiouen ben encreesed, meyntened, and made stable, siþ oure Lord Jesus
LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

Crist, verrey God and verry man, is heed and prelat of his religiou, and shedde his precious herte blood and water out of his side on pe cros, to make pis religiou perfitt and stable and clene, wipout errour.

De firste article is pis; pat alle persones of what kynne privat sectis, or singular religioun, maad of sinful men, may freely, wipouten eny lettringe or bodili peyne, leve pat privat reule or neue religioun founden of sinful men, and stably holde pe reule of Jesus Crist, taken and yoven by Crist to his apostelis, as far more perfitt pan any sich newe religioun founden of sinful men.

De resoun of pis axinge is shewyd pis. De reule of Jesus Crist yoven to apostlis, and kept of hem aftir Cristis ascencioun, is most perfitt to be kept for staat of lyvinge in pis world; and eche reule of what kynne privat secte, or singular religioun maad of sinneful men, is lesse perfitt pan pe reule yoven of Crist of his endeles wisdom, and his endeles charitee to mankinde. Perfore it is levenful to eche man or persone of pis singular religiou and profession to leve it, cleve faste to pe reule of Jesus Crist as more perfitt. Pis resoun is pleyn to eche man of wit and discricioun, and nameli to clerkes; sip men of pe popes lawe witsesse pleynly, pat a man may lawfully, see, azenst his soverains wille, go fro pe lasse perfitt religioun to pe more perfitt. Whi panne may not a man of privat religioun forsake pat, and take Cristis clene religioun, wipouten error of any sinful fool, as most perfitt? And pat Cristis reule, in his owne clennesse and fredom, is most perfitt, is shewid by pis skile. Ffor in as muche as a patron or a foundour is more perfitt, more myghty, and more witty, and more holy, and in more charite, pan is annooper patroun or foundour, in so muche is pe firste patrouns reule betere and more perfitt, pan is pe secounde patrones reule. But Jesus Crist, patroun of Cristene religioun yoven to apostelis, passe wipouten mesure, in myytt, witt, and good wille, or charitee, pe perfeccioun of everi patroun of eny privat secte or singular; perfore his reule is most perfitt.

Also, pat Cristis clene religioun, wipoute cloutynge of sinfulle mennis errors, is mot perfitt of alle, is schewyd by pis skille.

1 pis is, X.
For oére Crist myste 3eve sich a reule most perfít for pís lif to be kept, and wolde not, and ðanne he was enveyous (as St. Austyn proveº in oére materes); or ells Crist wolde ordeyne sich a reule and miyte not, and ðanne Crist was unmysty,—but it is heresie to afferme þat on Crist;—or ells Crist miȝte and coupe, and wolde not, and ðanne he was unwitty,—but þat is heresie no man shulde sufre to here. Þerfore ¹ Crist bôpe miȝte, and coude, and wolde ordeyne sich a reule most perfít, 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 damptynge in helle, to beleve and knowlech, þat here religioun of Jesus Crist [joven] ² to apostilis, and kept of hem, in his owne fredom, wiþoute cloutinge of sinneful mennis errour, is most perfít of alle; and so to lettre no man to forsake privat religioun, and kepe Cristis clene religioun, wiþoute newe wronge tradiþouns of synneful men, þat ofte ered in her owne lif and tech. ³ e.

Also Crist, in makyng þe reule and ordre of apostils, was in þis tyme, and hevere bfore and evere aftir, al myȝty, al witti, and al ful of good wille and charite, to make perfít reule; Þerfore he made not oonly a perfyt reule, but most perfít of alle. But eche patroun of privat reule was unmystie and lettid, bôpe in ȝiftis of kynde and grace, and not al wytt, but in comparison of Crist an ⁴ ydiot or fool, and not so well willinge to make so good and perfít as Crist. Þerfore he made a reule lesse good and lesse perfít; and herof it sueþ pleyly þat Cristis clene religioun is most perfít o’ alle.

Also apostiles and here foliweres, kepinge þe reule jowen to hem of Crist, wonne most merit and þank of God in þis kepinge bfore alle oére tymes. Þerfore þiþ alle Cristene men, bôpe in old tyme and newe, hadden kepet þe same reule of Crist in his owne clennesse and fredom, [pei] ⁴ shulde have discerved most þank of God in degre possible to hem. Þerfore no newe secte

¹ þer þerfore, X. ² supplied conjecturally. ³ corrected; and in MS. ⁴ supplied conjecturally.

⁵ evidently it should be, ‘miȝte and wolde, and coupe 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 ynowþ, and able for alle men on lyue, of whatere complexiou or ag. þei ben ðf. But þis reule was kepþ of Jesus Crist and his apostulis, and here beste seweres, by fýve hundred þeer aftir his ascen- cioun, wiþouten eny finding of any siche newe plauntoynge or religioun; in whiche time holþ Chirch encressede and profiteþe most, flor þanne almost alle men disposeden hem to martirdom at ensample of Crist. Þerforþ it were now nottoml meritori or medful, but moost medeful to þe Chirche, to lyue so, in alle þinggis and by alle þinggis.

Also, boþe monks and chanouns forsaken þe reules of Benet and Austyn, and taken wiþouten eny dispensacioun þe reule of freres, as most perfitt. But þe reule of apostelis is utterly and algatis most perfitt. Þerforþ 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 þitt dop, but he may not dispence wiþ Cristis reule þoven to apostulis; þerfore þe reule of Crist ordeyned to apostulis is more perfitt þan any reule of privat religioun, and most perfitt of alle. And herof it sueþ openly þat men may lawefully forsake privat religioun, and kepe Cristis religioun in his clennesse, siþ it is moþ perfitt, moost esy, and liht for to kepe, and most siker to bringe men to hevene, and to heiest dege of blisse.

And þif oure adversaries of þis privat religioun sryve algatis, þat here reules ben more perfitt þan þe reule of aposteles, whi þanne so manie personeþ, as who so saþ, wiþoute noumbeþ? Of ech sich privat secte, by licence of þe pope, ben maad, some chapelayns of houshold, summe chapelayns of honour, summe bisshopis dowid wiþ seculer lordshipes, summe bisshopis among

1 supplied conjecturally. 2 text corrupt; omit Crist.
WYCLIF'S WORKS.

...hepene men, and dare not come to her children. But [what] 1 professioun a frere be of, anon, if he be chosen 2 eerto, he accept 3 phe office of phe pope or cardinal, of patriark, of erche-bishop, of bishop, and forsak 4 phe owne staat. Si phe Crist sai 5 in phe gospel, þat no man putinge his bond to þe plow, and lokynge bacward, is worþy to have þe kyngdom of God,—þat is, no man takynge perfit staat of povertæ and mekenesse and pen-ounce, is able to be saved if he turne aßen to wordly lif, pompe and pride and covetine, and ese of body, and sloupe, 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 purchase þe more perfit for þe lasse perfit. þerfore þe clene reliquist and reule of prestod, by forme of þe gospel, is more perfty þan any reule or religioun maad of sinful men. Also, nöþing þat is abhominable and reproved of seyntis shulde not 2 be brouȝt in of opere, 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 clenness of þe reule of Jesus Crist.

Paraventure þes ypocrates 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 ordynede, but it is utterly þe same, and non oþer. But þe contrarie of þis excusing is opinly shewyd bi foure þe laste resouns biforn saide. Ffor yf þes newe reules weren alle on wiþ Cristis reule yoven 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 costumes þerof; but dyd not þis, neiþer in his lif, in his deþ, ne aþer his resurreccioun, ne to his ascencioun. And yf þis excusinge were soþ, þe sectis of þereres shulde not have begunen aboute a þousand and tweyn hundrid þeer of Crist, siþ þei were biforn þe tyme, þe, as sone as þe reule of apostles. But þe contrarie is opin in croniclis. Hit sueþ also of þe same þat Cristis apostilis hadden boþe monkes, chanouns, and freris, yf men taken monkes chanouns and freris

1 supplied to complete the sense.  2 dele not.  3 supplied conjecturally.  4 dele boþe.
for men pat professen sich privat sectes; but pis is opinli fals. Also, Cristis reule ȝoven to apostilis is lich and of o forme, to alle men pat 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 possiounis, as freres mendinauntis.

But, to discende doun in specialte, sful 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 feþ to Cristene, but þis is forbeden in þe reule of frere menours; siþ oonly feþ1 to ministres, and non oþere, is licence grauntid to rescyeve freris to here privat sectis, notwþ- stondinge þat everemore freris don þe contrarie. And Crist receyvede penyes, but þei shulden not by here owene reule rescyeve penyes, neiþer by hemself ne by mene persone. Also Crist, prechinge þe gospel, entríd into places boþe of wommen and men, as þe gospel of Luk telleþ. But [it]2 is forbeden to freris to entren into abbeyes of wommen; but freris glosen þes reules to þe contrarie; but Frauncis here foundour comaundid hem in article of his deþ þat þei shulde not rescyeve 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 fîrstte and professeden þe toþer, but ȝif it were to shewe here ypocrisie. Also, ȝif þis feynynge be sôþ, it semeþ þat it is as perfit and medeful to kepen Cristis reule [as þe reule]3 of Ffrauncis 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 Frauncis 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 feþ.
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.

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Wipouten ony foulinge, of alle Cristene men, wipouten 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 makynge of þis reule of apostelis, þat freris feynen to be hern; sfor þat reule was maad of Crist, God and man, and kept of apostelis, and confermode by þe Holy Gost, and atte þe fulle declared by a þousand þeer and two hundrid biforn Ffraunceis, Dominik, or anye frere of such privat sect, were in to þis world.

Þe secounde poynyt or artyce ys þis; þat þo men þat unreasonably and wrongfully han damnep [þe kyng] \(^1\) and al his counsayl, 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 shewayd þis. Nòping oweþ to be damnep as errour and fals, but yf it savour errour or unriþ-wisnesse aþens Goddis lawe. But neiþer þe kyng ne þis counsayl deede unriþfuly, for as muche as he took awey þe possessions of summe prelatis þat trespaceden, whoos contrarie freres han determined opinly. Þerfore resonably men shulden assente to þis axing. Ffor summe freris writen þis in Coventre, among articlis þat þei dampneden as heresye and errour, þat it is errour to saye þat seculer lordis may levefully and medefully taken awey temporal goodis, yoven to men of þe Chirche.\(^b\). But siþ ooure kyng hæþ don so, and oþere kynges his predecessoure han don so manie tymes, by laweful cause, as pertynyngge to here regalie, and of comun lawe, by counsayl of piere of þe rewme, it sueþ þat not oonly ooure kyng now present hæþ errid, but also his predecessours, and generally al his counseillores, as lords and prelatis, and alle men of þe Parlement counseilinge þerto.

\(^a\) As Coventry was the native place of John Ball, one of the ring-leaders 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. 180.
Also, ȝif ȝis be errour touching þe helþe of mannis soule, þanne it is aþens 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 opinily, it swef þe freris þat alle þes ben forsworen and heretikes. Also, ȝif þis be errour as freris seyen, þat þouȝ an abbot and al his covent ben open traitors, conspiringe into ðe 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 seþing worp, siþ alle þes ben temporal goodis. Also, þouȝ oþere clerkes senden unto oure emynys alle þe rentis þat þei han in oure lond, and what evere þei may robbie or stel þe kynggis legemen, þit may not oure kyng ponishe by oo seþing ne seþing worp.

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, þe, þe quene, þat God forbid, or þe empressesse, þit þe kyng may not ponische hem by oo seþing a. Also hit swef pleylyn 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 napeles þe kyng may not ponische, neþer 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 sê alle lordis and ladies, and here blod and affinite, wipoute a any peyne in þis lif, or in body, or in catel. ȝee, lordis, seeþ and undirstondþ, wip what ponissesþinge þei deserve to be chastised, þat þus unwarly and wrongfully han dimplyd þou for heretikes, ffor as muche as þe don exe-

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1 dele ben, or else the preceding words ben þes freris.

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a See ante, p. 314.
cucioun of riȝtwisnesses, by Goddis lawe and mannys, and namely of pe kyngis regalie. For pe chief lordshippe in pis lond of alle temporalities, bope of securer men and religious, perteyney to pe kyng of his general governynge. For ellis he were not kyng of alle Englund, but of a litel part porof. Perfore pe men þat bysyen hem to take away þys lordshiphe fro pe kyng, as don freris and here fautours, in þis poynt ben sharper enemys and traitours þan Frensshe men and alle oþere naciouns.

Also it perteyney to pe kyng, þe while a bishop or an abbotis see is voyde, to have in his hond al here temporalees, and at his owne wille to geve hem to prelatis. Perfore pe kyng may take away þes temporalees from preiatis, whan laweful cause exitþ. Also þe kyng owip graunte no man fredom to do synne or trespass, but to take away þe fredom. But men of þe Chirche had fre licence to trespass, þif þe king miþte not bireve here temporalites whanne þei synnaden greviously. And so Seynt Poul techip þat echþ 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 ordynauce; for whi? Princes ben not a dred of goode werkis, but of evele. But wilitouþ not dred a power? do good, and þou shalt have preisinge þerof,—þat is, of him þat is ordeyned in þe hiþe astat,—for he is Goddis ministre, or servaunt, to þe in goode. But þif þou have don evele, þanne dredre; for he bereþ þe swerd not wiþoute cause; þfor he is Goddis servaunt, vengere in wrappe to him þat dop evele. And perfore by nede, or of nede, be þe suget, or undurlout,—not oonly for wrappe, but also of conscience. Al þis seip Seynte Poul, of whiche auctorite it is to knowen to alle men, þat clerkes owen to be suget of nede to þe kynggus power; þfor Seynte Poul, þat putteþ alle men in subjeccioun to kyngis, outtakeþ nevere on. And so securer power owep and is bounden to ponisshe by just peyne of his swerd, þat is, worldly power, trynauntes rebelliinge ægens God and trespassing ægens man by what kyn trespas; and, þat is more, to chastise his sugetis by peyne or turment of here body. And no dredre mucho more he may ponisshe hem by takynge away of here temporaltees, þat is lasse þan bodily peyne. Perfore securer lordis don þis riȝtfulli, siþ þis is don by comaunde-
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ment of pe apostole and by ordinaunce of God. Perfore it is pleyn of pes resouns and auctoritees; and seculer lordis may levefully and medefully, in mony causes, taken awey temporal godis 30ven to men of pe Chirche.

Pe pridde article is pis;—pat bope ty pes and offeringes ben 30ven and paised and receyved by pat entente, to whiche entente or ende bope Goddis lawe and pe popis lawe ordeyned hem to be paised and receyved; and pat pei be take awey by pe same entente and resoun, pat bope Goddis lawe and pe popis lawe ordeynen pat pei shulden be wiipdrawen.

Dis axinge is resonable for manie skilles; for pe entente of pe makere in every lawe shulde be kept, and most pe entente of God, pat may not erre. Sophia pis sai pe Goddis lawe, in pe Firste Book of Kyngis, pat pe synne of Leveys children was full gret biore God, for pei wiipdrowen men fro sacrifise of God, taking by strenghe or violence pat part of pe sacrifise pat perteyned to pei post. And God sai pei afteiward, Y spekynge have spoken, pat pin hous and pi fadris hous shulde ministre and serve in my sige evermore; but now God sai j, by pat ping fer fro me; but whoevere shal worshippe me I shal glorifise him, but pei pat dispisen me, sai pe God, shul ben unnoble, or wiipoute honour. Of which auctorite it is pleyn and opin, pat pe pinggus pat ben duwe to prest shulde not be axed by strenghe or violence or cursinge, but be 30ven frely, wiipouten exaccioun or constreyntyng. And pis pe prest be repreved of God for his synnis, he shulde be put out of his office, and pei sacrifises shulden not be 30ven to him, but taken fro him, as God commaundep from pe heyz pe prest Hely; and anothe trewe man, walkinge in Goddis weyes as dide Samuel, schulde be ordeyned to receyve siche sacrifises. Also in begynnynge of Tobie men finden pis:—Whan prestis of pe 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 tipis, so pat in pe pridde 3eer Tobie ministred alle his tybis to proselitis and commelingis, or gestis, and wiipdrou3 hem holilich fro pe wicked pe Prestis. And pe book sai j pi pat pe litul child kepe pes pingis, and opere siche,

1 corrected: persolitis, X.
after ye lawe of God. Forfore if oure prelatis or opere prestis, whateve er pei ben, ben openly blecked by sacrifise of maumetrie, as wiþ covetise, þat is opiny sacrifise of fals goddyss, and opere grete sinnes, as pride, symonye, and man-quellinge, goltonye, dronkenesse, and lecherie, by þe same skil tyþis or offringis shulde be wiþdrawyn from hem by Goddis lawe, and be þoven to poeure ned y men, at ensaumple of riþful Tobie.

Also Seint Poul, spekinge to Tymothe, bisschop, saiþ þus;—
Be we paied wiþ þis þingis, þif we han liffode and to be hiled wiþ. And Seint Bernard spekiþ þus in þis materie;—Whatever þou takist to þe of þin outrage 1 þat is, dymes and offringis, beside simple lffode and streit cloþinge, it is not þyn, it is þeþe, raveyne, and sacrilege. Wheroif hit sueþ plelynþ, þat not oonly simple prestis and curatis, but also soveryne curatis, as bisschopis, shulde not axe here sugetis by constreyning more þan lffode and hilynge, whan þei don awey alle manere waasst, boþe of money and worldly array. Also Crist wiþ his apostlis lyvede most povere lif, as it is known by alle þe prossesse of þe gospell, noþing chalenginge by exaccioun ne constreynyng, but lyvede simplely and scarly ynowþ of almes, freyly and wilfully þoven. Forfore þo þat pretenden hem to ben principal folowers of Cristis steppis, shulde lyve and walke as Crist dide, and so lede ful povere lif, takinge of þingis freyly þoven as miche as neede is for here gostly office and no more, and þerwip be apaied.

Also þe popis lawe commaundþ, 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 tipes for opin forniccion 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 outrage, altaragium, the offerings made by the people to the altar; see Ducange sub voce. The word 'outrage' 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 outere or outere; alterage would therefore become outrage or outrage. The words of St. Bernard are 'Quicquid . . .
ex altario reiun.'

* See ante, p. 473, note.
as þe popes lawe saiþ, and for covetise, þat is worshipinge of false goddis, as holy writ saiþ; and for pride, envy, glotonye, and drunkenesse, sip 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.

Also comunly, whanne parische chirchis ben approprid to men of singuler religioun, such appropracioun is mad by fals suggestioun, þat siche religious men han not ynowþ for lifode and heling; but in trewe 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 apropracioun, zif þe benefice be faþt. But what man led by resoun and good conscience shulde paie to siche religious men tíþes and offringis, goten by falsnesse, lesyngis, and symonye? But suppose þat siche parische chirchis-weren leefullly goten, zit, sip þei ben superflu to siche men, þe tíþes and offringis shulden ben 30ve to povere needy men, as Seynt Jerom and þe popis lawe techen. And þerfore þe trewe grete clerk, Robert Grosted, Bisshop of Lincolne, writþ to þe pope, þat when appropracioun 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.

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 ensaumle of good lif, for to save here soulis, þanne here sugetis ben holden to païen hem tíþis and offringis. And of þis suen tweye þingis. Þe ﬁrste, zif curatis don not here office in word and in ensaumle þat God comandþ, þanne here sugetis ben not bounden to païen hem tíþis and offringis. Sip þe principal cause for whiche tíþes and offringis shulde be paiied is awey, þe payinge of tíþes shulde cesse. Also, curatis ben more cursed in wiþdrawyng þis techinge in word and ensaumle, þan ben parischenys wiþdrawinge tíþes and offringis, þouz curatis dudon wel here ofﬁce.

A, Lord God, where þis be resoun, to constreyne þe pore puple to fynde a worldly preest, sumtyme unble boþe of lif and konnyng, in pompe and pride, coveitise and envye, glotonye
and dronkenesse and lecherie, in symonye and heresie, wip fatte hors, and jolye and gaye sadeles, and bridelis ryngynge be þe weye, and himself in costy cloþes and pelure, and to suffre here wyves and children and here pore neþboures perische for hunger þrist and cold, and oþere mischieves of þe world! A, Lord Jesus Crist! sýp wipinne fewe þeeris men paiede here tíþes and offringis at here owen wille free, to goode men and able, to grete worschip of God, to profit and faîrnes of holi Chirche fiþtinge in eorþe, where it were leweful and needful þat a worldly prest shulde distroie þis holy and approvid custome, constreyynge men to leve þis fredom, turnynge tíþes and offringes into wicked uses, or not so goode as þei weren don biforn tymes!

Þe fourþe article is þis,—þat Cristis techinge and bïleve of þe sacrament of his owene body, þat is pleynly tauþt by Crist and his apostelis in gospelis and pistillis, may be tauþt opinly in chirchis to Cristen puple, and þe contrarie techinge and fals bïleve, brouþt up by cursed ypocrisis and heretikis and worldly þe prestis, unkonnynge in Goddis lawe, distried.

Þe false feþ tauþte of Anticrist and of his false cursede disciplis is þis, þat þe sacrament þat men seen wip bodely eþe bitwene þe prestis hondis is neþer bred ne Cristis body, but accidentis wipoute suget, and þis is neþer groundid in holy writt ne reson ne wit, ne tauþte bi þe moste wiseste olde seytis, but only by newe ypocrisis and cursed heretikis, þat magnifyen here owen fantasies and dremes, and feyned power and myraclis, more þan Cristis teychinge and his apostlis, and Seynt Austyn and Seynt Jerom and Seynt Ambrose, and many moo, wip 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.

Þe riþte feþ of Cristene men is þis; þat þis worschipful sacrament is bred and Cristis body; as Jesus Crist is verrý God and verrý man. And þis feþ is groundid in Cristis owen word, in þe gospel of Seynt Mattheu, Mark, Luk, and bi Seynt

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* So Chaucer on the Monk —

A. That Christ's teaching respecting the Eucharist may have free scope, and the contrary teaching be destroyed.

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.
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Poul, and pleyly in holy writ, and bi Austyn, Jerom, Ambrose, and most holy seyntis, and most kunynge in holy writt. And herto accordeþ reson and witt at þe fulle. In þes gospellis is þe forme taunt of Crist, þat oure Lord Jesus Crist at þe sover toke bred in his hondis, and blissid it, and brak it, and þaf it to his disciplis, and seide, Ête þe alle of þis; þis is my body. And so of þe chalis; and comandid 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, seip þus in his firste pistol to þe Coryntheis, Ne is not þe bred þat we breken þe comunynge of oure Lordis body? And certis he undirstondid þat it is so, aftir þe speche of holi writt. Perfur in þe same pistol to þe Coryntheis, aftir þe forme of consecracion he clepiþ þre tymes þis sacrament bred. And þe gospel of Seynt Luk seip, þat Cristis disciplis knewen him in brekynge of þe breed; and þis breed was þe sacrament of þe auter, as Seynt Austyn writþ. 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 seip, þe breed þat we breke is comunynge of Cristis body, axe þes heretikis where þis were sacrif breed or unsacrif; and þei moten seie þat it was sacrif, for ellis it were not comunynge of Cristis body. Danne 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 seip 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.

Also [in] ¹ þe storie of þe feste of þis sacrament we clepen it pries breed, and seyn, bred of angelis is maade breed of man, and, hevenly bred þeveþ ende to figuris of þe olde lawe; and, in þe same, þis is verrey breed of children. ² And in þis ympne of þe

¹ 'Panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et calicem salutis perpetuae.'
² 'Ecce panis Angelorum
Factus cibus viatorum,
Vere panis gloriorum,
Nog 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 flesh by vertue of his word, and wyn his blood. And in þe secret of þe medil masse, on Cristismasse day, we preie þus, þat þis substauence of herþe brynge to us þat þing þat is gostliche, þat is Cristis body. Þanne þis substance schal not be turned to nouþ, but be sacrif, and so dwelle after þe consecracion. And Seynt Austyn seþ in a sermon þat is writen in þe popis lawe, þat þing þat is seyn is bred, and þat þing þat eis en schewen or tellen is þe chalis, but it is, as moche as þe seþ æþþ to be lernyd, þe bred is Cristis body, and þe chalis, þat is, wyn in þe chalis, is Cristis blood.

Also Austyn seþ in a sermon, and is writen in þe popis lawe, þe schullen not ete þat body, ne drynke þat blood, þe whiche blood þe men þat schullen do me on crois schule schede out; forsoþe þe same and not þe same; þat same body and blood invisibly, and not þe same visibely. And ðif it be ned þat þis sacrament be halwid visibely, neverþeþes it is nedefull þat it be understonden invisibily. Also Jerom in a pistil þat he made to Elvidiam, seþ þus, Here we þat þat brede þat Crist brak, and blissed, and þat to his disciplis to ete, is þe body of our Saveour. And in þe popis lawe, wþþ grete congregacion of bischopis and clerkis, and grete avisement, is writen þus; I blyve wþþ herte, and knowleþ 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 treþþ.

Panne, siþ þes auctorites of Crist and his apostlis ben algatis soþþes, and also auctorites of þes seynis and clerkis, siþ þe accorden wþþ holy writ and reson, seie we þat þis sacrament is verrey bred, and also verrey Cristis body, and teche we þis treue blyve to Cristen men opynly; and late lordis meyntenen

1 corrected; þat, X.
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pis treuȝe, 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 wipouten 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 seip in many bokis þat þer may non accident be wipouten suget.

* See p. 409, note.
APPENDIX.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF KNYGHTON’S CHRONICLE.

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 Zinzaniorum 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 Anglie, in V partes proteles curavi, in quorum duabus primis XVII (read XVI) capitulorum numerum praeeeditis 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 transcurrando annotare laccisitus praeoccupavi. Sicque totum laborem praesentis operis in quique partes sive libellos distinctos protelesando orditus sum.” It will be seen,

* See ante, p. 499.
I think, on a careful reading of this sentence that quinque has been substituted for quinuor 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 Cnjitthon, Henricus Cnithonm, 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 Knighton’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 Knighton’s name. Yet this, if we read him carefully, Knighton 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 Angliæ’ was divided ‘in V partes.’ It should be ‘in IV partes;’ for
APPENDIX.

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.

Advoutre, avoutre, adultery, l. 71.
Affie, to trust, i. 59.
Aftir, afterwards, passim.
Agilte, to incur guilt, iii. 490.
Agregge, to aggravate, iii. 164.
Alard, larded, ii. 52.
Alargen, to enlarge, i. 93, 316.
Ales, alleys, passages, i. 110.
Alper-fadir, i. 136. A.S. eaudor, chief, or prince; as in Eng. alderman.
—kyng, i. 289.
—maistir.
Ancre, anker, anchorite, l. 167.
Anemptis, anentis, concerning, l. 33.
Apaide, 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.
Aseepe, satisfaction, compensation, l. 17, 55. Fr. aseu.
Asideli, indirectly, i. 324.
Askape, to escape, iii. 200.
Aspie, narre, ambush, ii. 363; W.V.
Assoyle, assoyve, to absolver.

Asterten, to get away from, escape.
At, that, iii. 417.
Atake, to overtake, ii. 278.
Atempre, temperate, iii. 14.
Attendre, to beware, l. 223.
A twyn, atwynne, apart, separately, ii. 30, 46.
Aventid, blown away, i. 319.
Aw3e, aue, iii. 167.
Azenward, aseyward, vice versa, iii. 452, 468.

B.

Bagge, to savor, i. 191.
Bailly, bayle, bailiff, i. 24; iii. 414.
Bask, bitter, acid, iii. 42. A Westmoreland word acc. to Hall.
Batelouse, pingnacious, iii. 165.
Bayle; see Baily.
Bede, to offer, i. 60. Ger. bieten.
Bedraden, bed-ridden, iii. 372.
Bekenying, confession, ii. 79. Ger. bekennung.
Ber-lipis, 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.
GLOSSARY.

Beuperis, bewperis, god-fathers, i. 299; ii. 381.
Bichippe, to embrace, ii. 30.
Biel, boil, iii. 91.
Bigge, to buy, ii. 44.
Bigginge, bygging, purchase, redemption, i. 69; ii. 281.
Bl-hard, baltry, ii. 100.
Biheten, bihoten, to promise, i. 60, 99.
Birle, birlen, to give to drink, ii. 103; iii. 43. A.S. byrlian, and byre, a cup-bearer.
Birpyn, 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.
Blepeliche, cheerfully, i. 106.
Blepeliest, most blithely, i. 277.
Boll, bell.
Bollun, swollen, ii. 261.
Bolue, to swell out, ii. 266.
Bonere, kind, debonair, iii. 193.
Bonernessee (derived from the foreg.), kindness, affability, ii. 351.
Bood, perf. of bide, abode, i. 99.
Boosen, to stuff or puff out, iii. 124.
Boot, boat, i. 349.
Borowe, boru, pledge, surety, iii. 10; W.V.
Boruheed, suretschip, ib.
Bosis, bosset, iii. 124.
Bour-woman, chamber-woman, ii. 9.
A.S. bier.
Bregge, to abridge, ii. 407; W.V.
Bretais, battlement, i. 191; britage in W.V.
Briteyisg, a battlemented parapet, i. 191.
Brocaige, brokeridge, i. 280.
Brolis, children, brats, iii. 195, 439.
Brotel, bristle (?), i. 268; W.V.
Bryge, to catch (?), iii. 416.
Brygge or bryke, breach (?), iii. 128.
Burioun, burgeon, bud, iii. 30.
Burioune, burioune, to burgeon or sprout, i. 15; ii. 175.
Buxum, iii. 94; from A.S. bugan, to bend; Ger. bensgam, plant.
Byheste, promise, i. 337.
Byknewe, to confess, ii. 243.

C.

Canel, canal, ii. 335.
Caste, practice, proceeding, iii. 95.
Catel, chattels, property, i. 184.
Caucioun, a bill, ii. 22. Vulg. cautio.
Causel, a clause, iii. 406.
Cauntellous, 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, chawe, jow, 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.
Chevetyenes, chieftains, i. 128.
Chulle, to sole or pateb (?), 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.
Coffyn, basket, i. 121; from copphinus.
Cmeling, new comer, stranger, iii. 514; W.V.
Companage, something eaten with bread, i. 19.
Conceve, to comprise, iii. 442.
Conjournise, conspiracy, i. 303. Lat. conjuratio.
Contekte, reviling, i. 49; W.V. and Cant. Tales, l. 2005.
Cools, coals, ii. 121.
Corde, to agree, i. 101.
Correpicoun, reprofe, iii. 383; W.V.
Corserie, borse-dealing, ro roguey (?), iii. 283; M.
Corve, box, basket, iii. 329; Hall.
Cos, cosse, kist, iii. 138; W.V.
Country, to encounter, to meet, i. 207.
Cover, to recover, ii. 289.
GLOSSARY.

Coystily, costly, iii. 369.
Crachte, 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. acrocher.
Croke, to seuer, turn aside, ii. 289.
Croude, a fiddle, ii. 73; Nares. Welsh croth.
Croyserie, a crusade, i. 367.
Culver, culyer, 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. devil.
Defien, to digest, i. 89 and n.
Defoule, defile, i. 103.
Defyed, voided, put forth, i. 88.
Deyle, dolven, to dig, bury, ii. 99.
Deme, to judge, iii. 448.
Dere, to hurt, iii. 324; M.
Dereworpe, 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, dislave, lavish, profuse, iii. 388.
Dilavynesse, loseness, copiousness, ii. 298. Lat. diluvium (?).
Discrasid, weakened, shattered, ii. 215.
Connected perhaps with the Fr. eroser.

Discrevynge, discerning, iii. 414.
Dispense, expense, i. 191.
Disquatte, to break in pieces (?), i. 246.
Disserue, to be of service, i. 333.
Dijten, p.p. dijit, to equip, clothe, i. 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.
Downyng, endowment, i. 96.
Dowfe, dove, i. 78.
Drecche, to trouble, i. 115; iii. 60. A.S. dreccan.

Drede, in phrase 'no dred,' without doubt, i. 400.
Dreint, dreynt, drowned, i. 400.
Dritte, dirt, i. 89.
Drowz, drew, perf. of drawe, l. 393.
Drunkenlewre, 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.
Egyngyng, iambenning, persecution, iii. 20.
Eire, beir, i. 253.
Eke, to increase or augment, ii. 202.
Elde, age, i. 28.
Enchesoun, cause, reason, i. 8; W.V.
Old Fr. encebeir, enchain.
Encortif, fatted (?), iii. 36.
Ende, a region or district, as in Audley End, Dale End, &c., i. 10. Ende-
kyne means country-kinsfolk.
Engleymed, slimy, iii. 150; Hall.
Enke, ink, ii. 2.
Enleven, eleven, i. 361.
Enpeche, to prevent, binder, iii. 317.
Enplaster, a plaster, iii. 166; W.V.
Enporid, impoverished, ii. 278.
Ensegen, to besiege, i. 155; W.V.
Ententif, attentive, iii. 36; W.V.
Enterlasen, to interedere, iii. 164.
Er, or, ere, before betat, i. 284.
Erberis, gardens of herbs, i. 28.
Ernes, pledge, earnest, i. 142; ii. 277.
Erpe-dene, earthquake, i. 244.
Eten, etene, a giant, ii. 111. A.S. eten; Icel. jòttum.
Even, owen, fellow, i. 31.
Even-worpl, equivalent, comparable, ii. 323.
Ey, egg, ii. 153.
Eyren, beirs, iii. 157; W.V.

F.
Fage, to speak fair, to coax, i. 44; ii. 6; W.V.
Fagyngel, plausible, i. 56.
Faioure, flatterer, i. 72. From fage (?).
Fardel, burden, baggage, iii. 208.
GLOSSARY.

Fayn, feyn, to be glad, i. 246.  
Faytouer, impostor, iii. 188; P. P.  
Feele, fele, many, i. 64; iii. 415.  
Feerdful, terrible, iii. 21.  
Felines, cruelty, i. 55.  
Fenne, dirt, dung, iii. 16.  
Feringis, terrors, fearful sights, i. 220.  
Fernour, farmer, i. 23; W. V.  
Ferour, ferour, farrier, a worker in iron, i. 407.  
Festu, mote, straw, iii. 289. Lat. festeua.  
Feyre, a beauty, iii. 167.  
Fleme, to banish, ii. 376; M. A.S. flyman.  
Flete, to float, i. 290.  
Flewsh, shunned, iii. 412.  
Flite, to flee, flit, ii. 404. Chaucer.  
Flocce, to drift (?), iii. 292.  
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.  
Forlende, to forbid, to binder, i. 241; W. V.  
Forperhed, furberheed, priority, iii. 78.  
For-pli, on that account, iii. 472.  
Forpinkel, to repent, i. 279.  
Forpinking, repentance, ii. 201; W. V.  
Forjeve, to remit, iii. 253.  
Founede, found, foolish, infatuated, i. 131. O. E. fond.  
Fraytor, freytor, a refectory, i. 293 n.  
Frentikes, madmen, i. 26.  
Frushe, frusche, to crush, i. 301. Fr. frayer.  
Fuylen, to soul, i. 313.  

G.  
Gabbinge, idle talk, lies, i. 58.  
Gar, to make, iii. 42 n.  
Geldren, gildren, gildrid, to ensnare, ii. 322. From 'gilder,' a North country word for snare; Hall.  
Gendrure, generation, i. 391.  
Gete, goats, ii. 281.  
Getere, iii. 281. See Jectour.  
Gifulour, deceiver, i. 129; iii. 127.  
Girde, to cut, smite, i. 388; W. V.  
Glat, glet, mucus, iii. 32.  
Glaver, 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, gnasbing; W. V.  
Gode, I pray you, iii. 130.  
Grane, snare, noise, ii. 153; W. V.  
Granten, to guarantee, i. 23.  
Greggen, to leap up; W. V.  
Gre-hound, greyhound, ii. 359.  
Greipid, prepared, iii. 17; W. V.  
Grenne, to grin, iii. 434.  
Grete, to lament, i. 141.  
Gruche, grutche, to murmur, iii. 434.  
Gurle, to growl, gurgle, ii. 249.  
Gylow; see Gylour.  

H.  
Haccis, batch, 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, suble, iii. 439.  
Helen, hele, to cover, iii. 418.  
Hereberow, herberwe, a barbour, lodging, i. 172; iii. 371.  
Hereliche, early, iii. 221.  
Heris, hern, herne, theirs, ii. 261; W. V.  
Herris, binges, iii. 16; W. V.  
Herye, to praise, to glorify, i. 107.  
Heste, commandment, i. 38.  
Heten, hishe, to promise, i. 101.  
Heved, bead, iii. 435.  
Heynes, bigness, elevation.  
Heywardis, lit. hedge-wardens, i. 104. See note at p. 436, vol. iii.
GLOSSARY

Hidlis, a secret place, iii. 29; W.V.
Hidousen, hydowse, to be terrified at, i. 269; W.V.
Hilden, to play, iii. 331; W.V.
Hilynge, hillynge, clothing, covering, iii. 35, 246.
Hjst, is or was called.
Ho, she, iii. 131.
Holes, holys, hulis, peascods, ii. 71.
Holet, little hole (?), ii. 281.
Holours, aboremengers, 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 Hidousen.
Hynderheed, posteriority, iii. 78.
Hyne, a kind, labourer, i. 140; iii. 34; W.V.

I.
Ilche, each, iii. 431.
Illiche, yliche, alike, similarly, i. 47; ii. 49.
Inwittis, mental faculties, ii. 307; W.V.
Irrous, angry, i. 16.
Izen, eyes.

J.
Jape, jappe, trick, gibe, i. 410 n.
Jectour, a braggart, boaster, iii. 195; gettorn in Hall. Lat. jacto.
Jeeste, a jest 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.
Knaytchis, 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.
Leeper, 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.
Leje, ley3e, to laugh, i. 150; W.V.
Lemmam, lemmom, a lover, i. 49.
Lendis, joins, 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, lesngis, lies, i. 232.
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.
Losser, destroyer, iii. 459.
Losingerie, deceit, flattery, iii. 196.
Loste, i. 49. See Lese.
Louke, to lock, sbut 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. 261.
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.
Maundy, the supper on Maundy Thursday, iii. 415.
Mawmet, an idol, W.V.
Mawmetry, idolatry, W.V.
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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.
Meshe, myself, uneasiness, discomfort, i. 67. (Mysese in W.V.)
Met, perf. mat, to measure, iii. 25.
Meynè, meynes, 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 3yve, morow-yufe, original endowment, i. 142.
Mote, mut, must.
Moushe, a moth, i. 373; W.V.
Mowe, to be able, i. 368 n.; W.V.
Mustre, a muster or review, ii. 360;
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Mut-hall, moot or meeting ball, ii. 123.
Mychnines, 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.
Neightbors, neighbours, iii. 368.
Nephse; see Neisse.
Neische, to soften, iii. 68.
Neisse, to draw near, i. 281; W.V.
Nemppen, to name, i. 79; W.V.
Nentis; see Anentis.
Nevere-be-lattir, nevertheless, iii. 27;
W.V.
Nexte, the last, i. 14.
Neyse, night, i. 157.
Nolle, the back of the head, iii. 92;
W.V.
Not = ne wot, knows not, ii. 263; W.V.
Not, nouzt, nothing.
Noun, noun-power, avant of power, ii. 100; W.V.
Novelty, novelty, i. 20; Chaucer.
Noye, to burst or vex, iii. 432; W.V.
Noyous, annoying, vexations, i. 84; W.V.

O.
Occure, occur, to put to usury, i. 259; W.V. See M.
Ofte-sipe, often times, iii. 32.
Okyr, usury, i. 259.
Okyr; see Occure.
Oonhed, unhid, unity, i. 144; W.V.
Ourne, to adorn, iii. 193. Lat. orno.
Ouwher, ow3where, anywhere, everywhere, i. 262. A.S. aerwher.
Overmeste, uppermost, i. 340.
Owe, O/ iii. 404.

P.
Paas, pace, step, ii. 364; W.V.
Pagyn, pageant, i. 129.
Palis, a pale or fence, i. 25.
Panter, drawing-net, iii. 200.
Parischens, parishioners, iii. 374.
Parre, to confine, shunt up, i. 95; Hall.
Paske, Pascha, Easter, Passover, W.V.
Past, paast, paste, ii. 286; W.V.
Paste, to knead up, ii. 195.
Payed; see Apaid.
Payren, peiren, to degenerate, iii. 418.
Peiren, to impair, i. 85; W.V.
Pelure, for dresses, iii. 530.
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, piteux, iii. 193.
Platrowe, platform, i. 194.
Plea, plea, pleading, ii. 230; W.V.
Plete, to plead, i. 114.
Pleyne, to complain.
Pleyne, complaining, iii. 412; W.V.
Point devys, perfectly, i. 122.
Pointel, poynel, a stylus, i. 364; W.V.
Post, pot, iii. 197.
Post, placed, situated, i. 242.
Pouste, power, iii. 44.
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Powne, to pound, crush, i. 89; W.V.
Pows, the pulse, i. 151.
P Rowe, prowe, advantage, ii. 95; ii. 206;
Chaucer.
Provenderis, prebendaries, iii. 211;
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Pulment, a relish eaten with bread, i.
299. Lat. pulmentum.
Putis, barlots, i. 293. O. Fr. pute.

Q.
Queeme, queem, to please, suit, iii. 37.
Queemely, becomingly, ii. 361. Ger.
bequemlich.
Queemful, pleasing, iii. 9; W.V.
Querere, a mill, ii. 408; W.V.
Quynt, expert, skifful, ii. 250.
Quienal, see vol. iii. 398 n.
Quyke, lively, vigorous, i. 109.
Quyter, fitth, ii. 231; W.V.

R.
Rabul, rabble, iii. 466.
Refre, to take violently, iii. 423. A.s.
regem. Engel. bereueve.
Refete, to refresh, i. 352.
Refute, refuge, iii. 316; W.V.
Rehentours, a class of servants, iii.
346 n.
Rekke, perf. rout, to reck, care for, ii.
114; W.V.
Relif, relefe, relyfe, remnant, scrap,
i. 17, 121; iii. 180.
Renaye, to deny, iii. 371.
Resoure, to reckon with, call to account,
i. 55.
Ressett, receptacle, iii. 390; W.V.
Retenauntis, retinue (?), iii. 478.
Reume, rewe, kingdom, W.V.
Reve, to sunder, tear away, iii. 180.
Revelyng, wrinkle, iii. 194; W.V.
Rial, royal, i. 169.
Rigtwisnesse, righteousness, proportion,
i. 168; W.V.
Route, routwne, to snerwe, to selch, i. 209;
Hall.
Route, a mob, company, i. 39.
Rownen, to subispe, i. 224.
Rowynge, whispering, ii. 87.
Rybawdery, debawderie.
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, sbear, iii. 36.
Schrapen, to scrape, ii. 27.
Sclaundrid, offended, scandalised, i. 71;
W.V.
Scredynge, sredding, chopping, iii. 264.
Scripul, a scruple, ii. 201; W.V.
Srowe, a scroll, ii. 61.
Scury, skoure, to scour, ii. 363.
Seketour, an executor, ii. 214.
Sene-fote, seven-foot, iii. 500 n.
Senevev, 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 sboot, i. 410; W.V.
Shente, sbameful, ruinous, ii. 109.
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Shrewis, depraved or worthless persons,
i. 241; W.V.
Sibbe, of kin, cognate, iii. 86.
Sibberide, sybred, kindred, l. 376.
Sidry, sydre, cider; from cinspa, i. 363.
Sidnesse, sydnesse, length on the side,
ii. 62.
Sikir, secure, certain, i. 157.
Sip, adv. afterwards, thence.
Sipis, times, ii. 323.
Sittinge, sitting, seemly, i. 80.
Sigen, iii. 350. See Syen.
Skape, to escape, iii. 41.
Skillful, rational, reasonable, ii. 257.
Skillfuli, rationally, purposely; W.V.
Skip, a measure of corn, i. 22; Hall.
Sle, see, p.p. slawe, to slay, i. 224;
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Sleupi, slothful, iii. 34.
Slidir, slippery, ii. 44; W.V.
Smatchet, smacche, to smack of a thing,
i. 27.
Smytte, to soil, make dirty, iii. 164, 215.
Ger. schmutz.
Snapere, to stumble, ii. 367; W.V.
Snoken, to sneek about, ii. 83.
Snybbe, to reproove, snub, ii. 76; W.V.
Softyne, sophism, ill. 326.
Soij, soje, sothe, true, truth.
Soler, thronc, ii. 16.
Soopsawe, a proverb, iii. 6; W.V.
Soude, soude, pay, wages, ii. 335; ill. 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, ill. 509.
Soresandely, suddenly (?), ill. 241.
Sowe, perf. sue, sewe, to sow, i. 359.
Sparylyveris, calves of the leg, ill. 92; W.V.
Spede, success, iii. 466.
Spotel, spotil, spotle, spittle, i. 30; W.V.
Sprengen, p. p. sprongen, to sprinkle, ii. 242; W.V.
Spreyned, sprinkled, ii. 287; W.V.
Squyeer, squire, ill. 152.
Stalworpe, stalwart, ill. 18; W.V.
Steffadris, step-fathers (?), ill. 335.
Stemme, to put to silence, l. 43.
Stempne, meaning voice, command, is in Hall. Ger. stimme; O.E. steven.
Stien, styke, styzen, to ascend, climb, i. 42, 261; W.V.
Stier, stiger, mounter, climber, ill. 18; W.V.
Stondis, times, ill. 27.
Stree, straw, ill. 428; W.V.
Streng, string, ill. 34.
Stronde, stream, ill. 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, beat (?), ill. 65.
Swolowhe, slough (?), ill. 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, l. 96; ill. 126.
Tellen, to count, make account of, i. 51.
Teme, thyme, ii. 16.
Temporaly, mild, ii. 326.
Tendre, tender, ill. 102.
Tenent, to give heed, ii. 294.
Thar; see þar.
Thropis; see prop.
Tiffynge, adoration, iii. 193; W.V.
Tillen, tollen, to draw, i. 139; ii. 322; M.
Tole, tolle; see Tillen.
To-tere, ill. 436.
Toun, enclosed land, farm, i. 22 n.; W.V.
Tour, tower, i. 191.
Trale, traye, to betray, give over, i. 306; W.V.
Treffertye, connecting, iii. 410; tre-getour in W.V.
Trenchours, trenchers, dishes, i. 115.
Trerlyn, qu. terryn, to excite, stir up (?), ill. 488.
Triacle, remedy, antidote, i. 166. Gr. θηραπεία.
Trinel, trynale; see iii. 400 n.
Trowaunt, trauant, truant, vagabond, i. 283, 293.
Trowe, to trust, believe, i. 368.
Trynauntis, tyrants (?), i. 97.
Turne, jurisdiction, court, i. 48.
Twynnen, to separate, ill. 34; W.V.

U.
Ugge, to shrink from, iii. 117.
Ugglynesse, horror, iii. 34.
Uggynge, dismal, borrid, ill. 34.
Umbrre, shade, i. 355.
Underlout, subject, submissive, iii. 194; W.V.
Unholden = unbeholden, under no obligation, i. 309.
Unnayt, vanity, iii. 29; M. A.S. unmet.
Unnepe, unnepe, with difficulty; W.V.
Unnobley, ignominia, ii. 271; W.V.
Unordynel, without order, chaotic, l. 2.
Unpower, inability, l. 371.
Unpank, ill - will, malice, i. 256; Chaucer.
Up, upon, iii. 88.
Uploondishe, inland, i. 197.
Uttir, outer, i. 250.
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V.

Vencusche, to vanquish.

Veniable, revengeful, ii. 189.

Vigners, vines, iii. 30.

Viroun, in phrase in viroun, all round, ii. 312.

Viserde, disguised as by a visor, iii. 431.

Volutilis, poultry, l. 49 n.

W.

Wageringe, waverering, ii. 154; W.V.

Walterd, rolled, ii. 204; W.V.

Wariede, waryed, cursed, iii. 17; W.V.

Warynge, warynge, curying, ii. 336.

Warly, waryly, i. 22, 53.

Warnesse, circumspection, i. 200; W.V.

Waven, to wave, ibake, i. 70, 72; W.V.

Wedde, pledge, iii. 433. A.S. wed.

Wedir, weather, l. 269.

Weelde, welde, to overcome, rule over, iii. 21, 23; W.V.

Welle, to weld, l. 321; W.V.

Wem, a blemish, i. 77; iii. 165; W.V.

Wene, to think, i. 83, 274.

Wermode, wormwood, l. 89; W.V.

Werre, to war, i. 115.

Wexinge, growth, size, l. 84.

Whinesse, 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.

Wijpoutenforp, externally, l. 81.

Wlappe, to wrap, l. 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, knowes, i. 231; W.V.

Worschipe, to glorify, ennable, i. 286.

Worpe, to become, i. 326; ii. 277.

Wortzerd, a vegetable garden, i. 331; W.V.

Wrape, to anger, provoke, i. 371.

Wrape, wrath, iii. 253.

Wroten, to root up, i. 406.

Y.

Ydel, empty, vain, i. 119; W.V.

Yliche; see Liche.

Ympne, hymn, iii. 482.

Ynow, enough, l. 311.

D.

Dar, dar, need, ii. 273, 323. Ger. darf.

Darve, to be without, lack, iii. 38.

Defe, unleavened, i. 287; W.V. A.S. deurf.

Defwes, qualities, habits, ii. 274; W.V.

Def, excrement, iii. 322; W.V. A.S. past.

Defw, thought, i. 335.

Pristen, to thirst for, iii. 22; W.V.

Prop, porp, village, l. 66.

Purle, to thrill, penetrate, iii. 27.

J.

Jape; see Jape.

Jate, gate, l. 349.

Jee, 3ow, ye, you.

Jeer, year, l. 327.

Jest, gift, iii. 452.

Jelde, to yield, repay, iii. 43; W.V.

Jete, to pour, melt together, ii. 147; W.V.

Jave, p.p. joven, to give.

She, see.

Jicche, itch, iii. 91; W.V.

Jift; see Ieft.

Jit, yet, furtheremore.

Joke, yoke; W.V.

Joldes, guilds, i. 67.

Jool, Jule, ii. 301.

Joule, to bowl, i. 200; W.V.

Jowpe, jonghe, youth.

Joven, given, iii. 511.
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