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\(^4\) Royal Archives of Aragon, Parchments of Jaime I, No. 1178.

THE DATE OF WYCليف’S ATTACK ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Wyclíf’s first denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation is universally ascribed to the summer of 1881. The date rests on fair authority, as it is given explicitly in the narrative of the Fasciculi Zizaniorum, yet it has always been felt to present some difficulties.
The works of Wyclif written after he had begun his attack on this doctrine are so many and so voluminous that it is hard to believe they were all produced within three years and a half, during two of which he was a paralytic. This consideration alone would weigh little in disturbing the received chronology, but a more important difficulty is that the account as it stands in the Fasciculi Zizaniorum does not seem to allow time for the events that it records. The narrative stands thus: Wyclif began in the summer of 1381 to 'determine' on the sacrament of the altar,ebra and laid down twelve conclusions, in which his doctrine on the subject was fully stated. Later he laid down other conclusions of which three were afterwards condemned. This publication led to a formal condemnation of his doctrine by the chancellor, William Berton, assisted by twelve doctors, and the condemnation was publicly proclaimed in the school of the Austin friars, where Wyclif was lecturing. Wyclif refused submission and appealed to the king, and the duke of Lancaster coming down to Oxford imposed silence on him. In spite of this on 10 May he published a confession or statement of his doctrine.

Now, as Dr. Shirley remarks, in aestate must mean after Easter, which in 1381 fell on 14 April. 'Does this,' he asks, 'allow time for all that passed in the interim?' He is content to raise the doubt without attempting to resolve it, but it is felt so strongly by Mr. Poole, the latest writer on the subject, that he attempts to gain time by making the end of the proceedings later. 'I suspect,' he says, 'that the actual condemnation did not take place until the beginning of 1382.' This suggestion is based on the uncertainty of the dates of the chancellors, an uncertainty which, I think, can be cleared up. Among the petitions in the Rolls Office for the imprisonment of persons contumacious under excommunication, are many from the chancellor of Oxford, and among them I have noted petitions from Berton 21 Feb. 1380–1 and 6 April 1381; from Rygge 20 Nov. 1381, 1 March 1381–2, 10 Sept. 1382. The office of chancellor was then tenable for two years. The elections were held on the Thursday before Whitsunday, which Thursday in 1381 fell on May 30. On that day there can be no reasonable doubt that Berton left office.

It is, then, clearly impossible to make the proceedings last on into 1382, and we are again shut up into the narrow space between Easter and 10 May. But even this has to be got by putting a strain upon language. The natural interpretation of in aestate would seem to be in the summer term which began on the Wednes-


3 Wycliffe and Movements for Reform, p. 105, note.

day after Trinity Sunday, and in this case the commencement of the affair must be referred back to 1380. It is to be noticed that in the manuscript (Bodley, 703) which alone gives the date of Wyclif's confession, the date of the year has been altered by erasure from \textit{mccc\textsuperscript{4}lxxx\textsuperscript{5}} by erasing the \textit{i} so as to leave 1380. This would throw back the rise of the controversy to 1379. I should not object to the date in itself, but it is impossible to attach serious weight to such an alteration by an unknown hand.

I may support this contention for an earlier date by an inference from the text of the contemporary St. Albans chronicler. He gives us a chapter on the various opinions of men as to the causes of the rebellion of 1381. First among them he cites the laxity of the bishops who, knowing that Wyclif and his followers were spreading false doctrines concerning the sacrament of the altar far and wide among the people, did not chastise their perverse children. It was for this neglect above all that the archbishop was punished, and the lesson was pointed by his martyrdom taking place on the day after Corpus Christi (14 June). There is no reason to doubt that we have here an echo of talk that was common at the time. But the vengeance would be swift, not to say hasty, which smote the archbishop on 14 June for not repressing heresies first promulgated in that summer. Indeed, if we may trust the expressions of the chronicler, there had been time for the new opinions not merely to win a hasty condemnation from an old adversary at Oxford, but to spread themselves abroad through the country.

One must not lay too much stress on such an argument as this; but, with those already advanced, it is enough to overthrow the authority of the Fasciculi, especially when we remember that that volume was not compiled till half a century later, and that even the passages that appear to be written by a contemporary were not penned before 1392. After a dozen years even an eyewitness might easily confuse the date of the condemnation with that of the beginning of the controversy.

F. D. Matthew.

**THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.**

Aske's Narrative of the events of October and November 1536, addressed to the king, is in the Record Office, marked Chapter House Books A/2/28, in which it is the seventh paper, beginning on p. 47. On p. 69 is another version which does not differ materially from the first except at the end where some comments on Cromwell are omitted. Such differences will here be noted as

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