po pat men amendes ye done not for oure poule oure. He is not done wote de pat done yuel pynge. but and de pat consente to ye. dol. He sople ale po consente pat done not hely power to amendes oure de."-Fosle. And if ye no more may put an on hym de bisdis pat pat is put. ye whiche is est ab. Capitur I. y.

Fosle of a pinge. I pray you here: put ye sorne you not. All pone. fayreste not hithe pe mati. de ow. de his pustenances and pat. j. whiche keith, pat nay tryued open in to his kynge. plane. whye god hym of. pat had put it. se, when nust was. pe kondis of his emynes. whye to
The English Works
of
Wyclif
Sitherto Unprinted.

EDITED BY
F. D. MATTHEW.

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LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS.

Most of the MSS. from which this volume is taken have been used by Mr. Arnold for his Select English Works of Wyclif, and I have thought it best to keep to the distinguishing letters assigned by him in his lists (I. xvii. and III. xiii.).

A. Bodleian, 788.
I have not seen this MS., which Mr. Arnold describes as "a small thick folio . . . on good but thin parchment, sparingly ornamented with blue and red flourishes and head-letters." He assigns it to the last decade of the fourteenth century. He has printed, I believe, all its contents except the one short tract which it has furnished to this volume, No. XXV.

This MS. consists of 148 leaves of vellum, 4½ × 7, written in a hand of the fifteenth century. It has a subscription, "Johannes Wy—-," and contains only sermons and tracts by Wyclif. All except that here given (No. XXIV.) were printed by Mr. Arnold.

X. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 290.
A small folio on vellum of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. It is well and clearly written, but by a careless scribe, who evidently thought little of the meaning of the words he copied. The text of tracts I. to XX. is founded on this MS.

AA. Trinity College, Dublin, C. III. 12.
A MS. on vellum, about 8 × 6, 219 leaves. It seems to be a copy from the same original as X., but is imperfect. The handwriting is irregular; sometimes formal, and at others straggling, as if the writer were hurried or weary. In contrast to X. the copyist seems to have been interested in his work, and I suspect him of occasionally strengthening expressions to relieve his own mind. (See, for example, the various readings in the tract on Curates, from chap. xv. onwards, p. 132.) From leaf 188 a new handwriting begins, and it is probable that the two halves of the volume owe their connexion only to a similarity of subject and the favour of the printer. (See Shirley's Catalogue, xii.) It is from the second half that the tract on Dominion (our No. XXI.) is taken.
LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS.

CC. Trinity College, Dublin, C. V. 6.
A MS. on vellum, about 6½ × 4½ inches, in a neat handwriting of the first part of the fifteenth century. It contains some tracts which are not Wyclif's, but has also several which are certainly his. Some of these are in Mr. Arnold's third volume, and it has furnished us with our Nos. XXII., XXIII.

LL. Lambeth, 551.
A MS. on vellum of 59 leaves, 5½ × 4 inches, written without ornament, but clearly and carefully. Dr. Todd classed it in his catalogue of the Lambeth Library as of the fourteenth century, but the best opinions I could obtain assign it to the middle of the fifteenth. The facsimile which serves as frontispiece will give judges an opportunity of deciding for themselves.

On the fly-leaf is written: "I take this to bee on of the scoles of Raynolde pecocke who wrote in K Henry the 6 tyme abute an° 1457." Below is: "Jon wicklyfe was in the beginning of Richard ye seconds tyme an° 1377;" and below this again, in the hand of Dr. James, is: "this booke is Wickelyfes and is called De questionibus cariss contra clerum." The volume contains nothing beyond the tract printed here, No. XXVI.

MM. Ashburnham XXVII.
A MS. on vellum, about 6½ × 4½, written legibly, but without any attempt at adornment, in a charter hand of the fifteenth century. The copyist has gone through his work and corrected it. The MS. contains only three English tracts, one of which, our No. XXIII., is also in CC. The other two (our Nos. XXVII., XXVIII.) are printed from this, the only known copy of them. The rest of the volume is occupied with Latin works, from which I have given some quotations in the Notes.

SS. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, A, 4, 12.
I have used this MS. only for the collation of Tract No. XX., and unfortunately failed to notice that it had been entered in Mr. Arnold's list as N. He describes it in his Introduction to the first volume, pp. xiv. and xx.

Besides these MSS., which have furnished my text, I have been favoured with the use of the great MS. belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 16, 2, which, besides the philosophical treatise de Ente, contains the Opus Evangelicum, and a complete set of the Latin sermons. A few (28) of these, part of the 40 sermons "compositi dum statit in scolis," are in the Lambeth MS. 23. The only other MS. of Wyclif's works which I have been able to reach is the De Mandatis Divinis in the University Library at Cambridge (Ll. 5. 13), and I have read only a few chapters of this.
INTRODUCTION.

The date and place of Wyclif's birth are alike uncertain. Of the date all we know is that he died in 1384, and that he was then an old man, since two years before he speaks of himself as "in fine vitæ."¹ We may place it somewhere about 1320. As to the place, the only information we have is from Leland, who, writing two centuries after the event, tells us that he was born at Spreswell,² and elsewhere says that he sprang from the village of Wycliff-on-Tees.³ No such village as Spreswell exists,⁴ and we may content ourselves with supposing that he belonged to the family which held the manor of Wycliff, and that his birthplace was not very far away from the parent house.

We have no record of his early life, and can only guess that in the fourth decade of the century he went to Oxford, where

¹ See Fasciculi Zirianiorum, p. xii.
² They say that John Wyclif hereticus was born at Spreswell, a poore village, a good myle from Richemont.—Itinerarium, v. 99.
³ Unde Wyclif hereticus originem duxit.—Collectanea, ii. 329.
⁴ Two different attempts have been made to account for Spreswell. Whitaker suggested that the village meant was Hipswell, and this is made more probable by Mr. Walbran's discovery that in an old MS. of extracts from Leland the name is given as Ipreswell (Harleian 842, ff. 76). Dr. Vaughan on the other hand gives an explanation which would be most satisfactory if we could accept it. In a letter to the Athenæum of April 20, 1861, he writes, "Spreswell, or Speswell, stood close to the river Tees, half a mile from Wycliffe, and on the same side of the river." His authority for this statement is "John Chapman, a gentleman of respectable position in Gainsford," whose great-grandfather was the last person married in a chapel which stood there till, soon after his marriage, it fell down. To the objection that this Spreswell would be at least ten miles from Richmond, Dr. Vaughan replies that there is a spot about three miles below Wycliffe marked in the local maps as Old Richmond. The existence of a Richmond older than that which takes its name from the Castle founded by Alan of Brittany is impossible, and the name is probably an antiquary's guess as to the ruined village of Barford. It makes its first appearance, as far as I can discover, on a map of 1770. No trace of this Spreswell, which is not "within a good mile of Richmond," can be found to support Mr. Chapman's statement. I have gone into detail on this point, because Dr. Lochler has, very naturally, treated Dr. Vaughan's statement as conclusive.
doubtless he followed with assiduity and success the regular course of study. What this was we may learn from the laws published by Mr. Anstey. Four years were passed in verbal studies—grammar, rhetoric, and logic—before the student could determine and be admitted a bachelor; three full years must be given to science—arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy—before inception as a Master.\(^1\) These seven years' labours won but the Leah of an Arts degree; he who would attain to the Rachel of theology had to pass through another and longer service. Seven years were needed before, as a Bachelor of Theology, he could lecture on the Sentences; and, lastly, he must study the Bible "biblicum" for three years and lecture on one of the Canonical books before he could come forth in his full glory as a Master or Doctor of Theology.\(^3\) Thus the full course required at least seventeen years, and might be delayed indefinitely by absence from the University.

The special bent of Wyclif's studies we have to divine from hints scattered through his works. These show that he had devoted some time to the acquisition of such physical science as was to be gained in the Oxford of that day, where Grossetête's name was held in honour, and where men were probably still living who had known Roger Bacon. "It is well worth notice," says Dr. Lechler, "how often and with what predilection Wyclif refers to this domain of knowledge. At one time it is arithmetic or geometry which furnishes him with illustrations of some truth or relation; at another he uses physical or chemical laws, facts of optics or acoustics, to explain moral or religious truths."\(^4\) Wyclif tells us expressly that he had studied optics in his youth.

\(^1\) *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Series), pp. 410, 416. The list of books to be read for the Master's degree is given on p. 414. This double course of studies, the Trivium and Quadrivium, is summed up in the line "Lingua, tropus, ratio; numerus, tonus, angulus, astra."

\(^2\) Id. pp. 389, 391.

\(^3\) Lechler, Johann von Wiclif, i. 280.

\(^4\) Quando fui junior et in delectacione vaga magis sollicitus, collegi diffuse proprietates lucis ex codicibus perspective et alias veritates mathematicas, quas secundum consideracionem ad finem moralem concepti in Scriptura intelligi.—*Sermones*, ii. 58, M3. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, 2265. In the same sermon he notices the experiment of making a coin visible by covering it with water to show refraction.
In another direction Lewis claims for him a knowledge of Civil and Canon Law and of our own municipal laws. Some acquaintance with the Canon Law was needful to a theologian, and was not wanting to Wyclif; but it would be hard to show that he had made a special study of Civil Law, or that he knew more of the Common Law of England than might be expected from the active part which he took in University life and in State affairs.

One would like to know who were his teachers, but, in spite of numerous quotations, his writings give us no hint of personal relations with the men from whom he learned most. He probably took his doctrine of Predestination from Bradwardine, and his theory of Dominion from Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh; while he may have caught from William of Ockham, the bold defender of the Empire against the Pope, his strong belief that it is the duty of priests to live in poverty. Any or all of these he may have known, and he must almost certainly have been brought into contact with Fitzralph. I do not know whom we are to look to as his master in philosophy. Dr. Lorimer, relying on Wood's statement that the Northerners held with Scotus and the Southerners with Ockham, suggests that his birthplace determined his philosophical opinions and made him a Realist.

Happily we may now cease from speculating on what may have been, as we arrive at the first certain fact recorded concerning Wyclif, that in 1360 he was Master of Balliol College. The next year the College presented him to the living of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire, and shortly afterwards he resigned his mastership. His acceptance of this cure does not seem to have kept him long away from Oxford. He had already written most if not all of the logical and metaphysical treatises which won for him the reputation, recorded by an unfriendly chronicler, that "he was second to none in philosophy, and without peer in the

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1 Lewis, p. 2.
2 Lechler, English Translation, i. 150. (Additional note by translator.)
3 On May 18th, 1361, Wyclif was summoned in the Court of Common Pleas as Master of le Bailiolhalle.—Hist. Man. Commission, Report, iv. p. 448. It seems as if Balliol were the family college of the Wyclifs. See Fasc. Ziz. xi, note 1.
4 On February 3rd, 1362, Stephen de Cornwall was Master.—H.M.C. iv. 450.
learning of the schools,"¹ whilst his energy and practical sagacity had made him a man of mark and influence in the University. In 1365 he was appointed Warden of Canterbury Hall. This college, which has since been absorbed in Christchurch, had been founded two years before by Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury. The foundation was originally for eleven scholars, eight seculars and three monks, under a warden who was to be a monk chosen by the Archbishop from three presentees of Christchurch Convent.² This mixed constitution worked ill, and in 1365 the Archbishop removed the monks and made the college entirely secular, under Wyclif as its new warden. The chapter-convent resented this infringement of its rights, and when, after Islip's death, a monk, Simon Langham, was appointed Archbishop, little time was lost in replacing the monks and the original warden. Wyclif appealed to the Pope, but the influence of Archbishop and Convent was powerful, and the decision, after three years' litigation, was against him.³

There are always persons who can believe in no motive that is not selfish, and there were enemies of Wyclif who imputed his reforming zeal to his disappointment in this affair. Such charges may sometimes be useful as giving the measure of those who bring them. We may well believe, however, that Wyclif's experience during this lawsuit may have brought home to him the corruptions of the Court of Avignon, and may have led him to use sharper language than he had hitherto employed concerning ecclesiastical abuses.

The office of Warden of Canterbury cannot for its own sake have been of great importance. Its income, which we cannot suppose to have been great, can have had little attraction for one whose habits were ascetic,⁴ and whose worst enemies never

¹ Knighton, 2644.
² It will be remembered that Canterbury was a monastic cathedral, and the chapter consisted of the Christchurch monks.
³ There has been much dispute as to whether the John Wyclif of Canterbury Hall were the reformer or his contemporary namesake, who was vicar of Mayfield. I do not think we can resist the direct evidence of Woodford (quoted F. Z. 517) and the Chronicon Anglie (p. 115), strengthened as they are by the passage from the De Ecclesia cited by Dr. Lechler (ii. 574).
⁴ Fasc. Ziz. xlvii.
ventured to accuse him of greed. Nor did he need the honour which such a position might give, for his fame had spread beyond Oxford, and at the time when Langham deprived him of his mastership he was high in the King’s favour and held some office, probably a royal chaplaincy, at the court.\footnote{He describes himself as “peculiaris regis clericus” (Lewis, p. 349), and is taunted by his opponent Cunningham with being of the house of Herod.—Fasc. Ziz. p. 14.} This appears from a paper printed by Lewis,\footnote{Life of Wyclif, p. 349. Lewis’s text is very bad; “the fault of his MS.”, says Dr. Shirley. There is a copy at Lambeth (No. 537), in the handwriting of Dr. James, which is very much better, and I have corrected my quotations from this.} which forms one step in a controversy between Wyclif and some unknown monk on the right of kings to exact fines and forfeitures from delinquent priests. The monk tried to cut the ground from under Wyclif’s feet by asserting that the King had lost his right to rule in England, since he had failed to pay the Pope the annual rent of 700 marks by which the realm was held according to the terms of John’s submission. To this, as a clinching argument, he demanded a direct answer. Wyclif knew, or at least suspected, that his opponent was trying to entrap him into utterances which could be used to his disadvantage. He declares himself surprised that his opponent should press him to answer an argument which does not concern him more than any other speculative theologian or legist. “But,” he says, “three reasons have been given me why he acts thus: first, that I may be ill-spoken of at the Roman Court, and be deprived by heavy censures of ecclesiastical benefices. Secondly, that hence the favour of the Roman Court may be reflected upon him and his. And, thirdly, that our Lord the Pope having freer rule in England, civil possessions may be more plentifully heaped upon the abbeys without the check of fraternal rebuke.”\footnote{Et miror quam plurimum quare cum tanta instantia expetunt [? expetivit] solutionem hujus racionis et tractatum istius materias, et specialiter cum tantum sit ipse mihi et rationibus meis indifferentis sicut cunctaque speculativo theologo vel legiste. Et pepigimus quod non querendo diverticulas alienas, peripismata fructus que colimus, vel ambages procedet directe ad improbandum questionem quam principaliter pepigit impugnare. Sed tector causa dicas sunt michi cur hoc facit; primo ut personas meas sit ad Romanam Curiam diffamata et aggravatis censuris ab ecclesiasticis beneficis sit privata. Secundo, ut exhibe sibi et suis benevolentia Romanae Curiae sit reportata. Et tertia causa, ut, dominante Domino Papa regno Anglie librorum, copiosis et voluptuosis sine freno correctionis fraternae sint Abbasibus civilia dominia cumulata.—Lewis, 361.} Accordingly
Wyclif refuses to pronounce upon the question, but contents himself with setting out the answers which he has heard given in a certain council of lay lords. Now there can be little doubt as to the occasion referred to by Wyclif. In 1366 Urban V. claimed the arrears of tribute due under John's vassalage. Edward referred the claim to Parliament, which rejected it without hesitation, on the ground that John had no power to bind the realm without its assent; and the lay lords offered further that if the Pope should make any attempt to enforce his claim, they would resist it with all their might.¹ We have then in this paper of Wyclif's what purports to be a partial report of the debate on this occasion, and it is accepted as such alike by Dr. Lechler and Dr. Shirley.² I confess to much doubt on this point. I can believe that some, and even most, of the arguments given in the tract were used in the Council-room; but the speeches recorded are curiously Wyclifite in their tone, and the parliaments of Edward the Third's time must have been singularly unlike those that have succeeded them if each speaker confined himself to urging one definite and distinct point as in this report. Whatever the lords really said, their chief use here is to act as mouthpieces for opinions which Wyclif wished to support, and from this point of view the tract is important, as showing how many of his characteristic tenets he had already arrived at. Thus from the speech of the second lord we see that Wyclif already held that voluntary poverty was incumbent on the clergy. The third lord treats the Pope with a roughness which Wyclif, speaking in his own person, would hardly have ventured on until later in his career. He argues that tribute can only be due to the servant of the servants of God³ in return for service, and "we know by

¹ Rot. Parl. II. 290a.
² Lechler, i. 330; Shirley, F. Z. xix. Dr. Shirley is mistaken in saying, "We know that it set the question at rest for ever." Gregory XI. repeated the demand in 1374, and we have a curious account of the way in which it was met and refused in the continuation of the Elogium Historiarum, iii. 337. We might fancy that this was a misplaced narrative of what took place in 1366 but for the prominent part played by the Prince of Wales, who was out of England in that year. We assign Wyclif's tract to the earlier occasion, on the ground that the phrase about "ecclesiastical benefits" refers probably to the Canterbury Hall Wardenship.
³ Servus servorum Dei, the title generally used by the Pope of himself in bulls and formal letters.
experience that we get neither bodily nor spiritual help from Pope or Cardinals." 1 Passing by the rest we must note the sixth lord's speech. "Since," he says, "Christ is the chief lord, and the Pope is a sinner who, according to the theologians, if in mortal sin lacks dominion, and cannot consequently transmit to the English any right to the kingdom, all we need for a true dominion over the realm is to keep ourselves from mortal sin and give of our wealth rightly to the poor, and so hold our kingdom, as hitherto, immediately from Christ, since he is the chief lord, giving of himself full and sufficient authority to all dominion of the creature." Here we have clearly laid down the famous doctrine of dominion as founded in grace, of which more must be said presently. Meanwhile the tone of the tract shows that Wyclif was actively engaged in political life. "If," says he, "I had such things to assert against my king, they would have been brought forward before now in the parliament of the lords of England," 2 and this remark gives some colour to Dr. Lechler's supposition that Wyclif had a seat in Parliament. 3 Dr. Lechler even goes further, and takes the description "peculiaris regis clericus" to mean that Wyclif was summoned to the Parliament of 1366 as a clerical expert, or, in modern phrase, as a Government Commissioner. The clerks of Parliament were, I believe, appointed by the House, and I doubt if any one else was admitted to the sittings besides the elected members, but it is possible that Wyclif may have been summoned to the Great Council. 4

Whatever the official position which Wyclif occupied, he was not at this time a solitary advocate of novel ideas, but a

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1 Cum non edificat regnum nostrum, nec spiritualiter nec corporaliter, sed defalcando temporalia per se et suos, confortat pecunia, favor et consilii inimica, videtur quod debemus premissam pensionem subtrahere.—Lewis, 352. I should find no difficulty in believing that such language as this was used in the debate; it is characteristic of the temper of the time.

2 Lewis, 350.

3 Lechler, i. 331 et seq. It must, however, be remarked that the taunt conveyed here would be more effective if it meant that his opponent had a seat in Parliament, but wanted courage to speak out there.

4 See Stubbs' Const. Hist. ii. 269, 260. There are at least two other occasions on which Wyclif speaks of having heard something in Parliament. See Shirley, F. Z. xxi. and Lechler, i. 332.
prominent supporter of views which were popular in the country. The laity, and especially the gentry, were straitened in their means. The wealth, which in the earlier and more brilliant years of the French war poured in from plunder and ransoms, had been wasted, and the heavy taxation aroused a jealousy of the clergy, who seemed in comparison but lightly burdened. Englishmen were also jealous of the power wielded by the Papal Court, now seated at Avignon, and in too close relations with their French enemies. In 1371 this jealousy of the clergy found vent in a petition from the Commons that the great offices of state should be taken from the bishops who held them and entrusted to lay hands. 1 In the same year the taxation of the clergy was made heavier, and special attention was directed to lands held by the Religious which, having come into mortmain since 1291, were subject to pay their share of a lay subsidy. 2 A passage quoted by Dr. Shirley 3 from Wyclif's treatise on Civil Dominion makes it appear that the confiscation of endowments to support the war was spoken of seriously in Parliament.

In the following year distrust of Avignon was roused anew by the advent of a papal collector, one Arnold Guarnerius. He was compelled to take an oath to be true and loyal to the King, to keep the Council informed as to all letters, papal or others, that he received, and neither to send money out of the realm, nor to leave it himself without special licence. 4 Still more significant of the temper of the Commons is a petition of this year praying the King to deprive any beneficed priest or curate who lives openly with a concubine, if after six months the Ordinary has failed to do so. 5 Evidently the times were changed since Becket carried the popular voice with him in claiming freedom from the lay courts for clergymen even when guilty of crime.

While the nation was thus ill-disposed towards the whole ecclesiastical system, its disgust and indignation were specially directed against the Papal Court, and against the provisions by which the French Pope was able to bestow rich English benefices

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1 Rot. Parl. ii. 304.  
2 Stubbe, Const. Hist. ii. 423.  
4 Rymer, iii. p. ii. 938.  
5 Rot. Parl. ii. 314.
on foreigners who never came near their cure.\textsuperscript{1} Year after year the Parliament renewed its complaints, until, in 1374, a mission was sent to Bruges to treat with the Pope's representatives on this matter. Wyclif was one of the Commissioners, and his name was put prominently forward; but even then the trick was known of putting a popular man on a commission, and neutralizing his efforts by associating him with obstructives. The King and the Pope had their jealousies and their quarrels, but they could often work together to mutual profit, and the system was practically left untouched, to be a cause of remonstrance to many more parliaments. Within a few months the law against provisions was repealed, and a papal provision translated the head of the Commission, Gilbert, Bishop of Bangor, to the richer see of Hereford.

We may well suppose, with Dr. Lechler, that this embassy, however fruitless as to its main object, was not without effect on Wyclif himself. As far as we know it was the first time he had been out of England, and his stay in Bruges\textsuperscript{2} brought him into contact with leading ecclesiastics—Spanish, French, and Italian—and gave him an insight into the ways and motives of the Papal Court. There is another manner in which it may have influenced his career. John of Gaunt was at Bruges, engaged in negotiations with France, and is likely to have come into closer relation with Wyclif than before.

The time was coming when Wyclif would need a protector. In 1377 the first attempt was made to call him to account. He had been snarling at the Church for some time, we are told, in revenge for his deprivation of the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall, and had begun to promulgate false opinions such as, in


\textsuperscript{2} He was away from July 7th to September 14th.
spite of their emptiness, tickled the ears of those who listened to him. Of his false doctrines only a few are specified, and those not the worst. They are—that the Pope has no power in binding and loosing more than other priests; that endowments cannot be given in perpetuity, since it will always be right to withdraw them from unworthy holders; and that temporal lords, if in need, may seize the possessions of the endowed clergy. He gained many followers of high rank, among whom were the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Henry Percy, and relying on their support preached his heresies boldly in London, and attracted many of the citizens. At last the Bishops (Courtenay probably the most active among them) stirred up the Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, who but for the pressure put on him would have preferred a quiet life, and Wyclif was summoned to appear at St. Paul's on February 23. He obeyed the summons, but not after the fashion of one who has to humble himself before men in authority. He was accompanied by Lord Henry Percy and the Duke. They forced their way violently through the crowd assembled in the Cathedral, in spite of the rebuke of the Bishop of London, who declared he would have refused them entrance had he expected such behaviour. Having reached the Lady Chapel, where the Court was to be held, the Duke and Barons took their place beside the Bishop, and Lord Henry Percy bade Wyclif be seated. "He had need of a soft seat since he had many things to answer." Courtenay not unreasonably insisted on his standing while his cause was being tried. This led to a quarrel, in which the Duke joined; but in strong language the Bishop was a match for the two. Some hasty words of the Duke's caused an excitement among the

1 Chronicon Anglie, 115. My narrative here is mainly an abridgment of that in the Chronicon.

2 These charges seem to be fairly stated, with the reservation that by "temporal lords" must be understood the government of the state, acting for public purposes.

3 Wyclif's strongest supporters seem to have been among the gentry. "Oo comfort is of knyghtis," he says, "bat bei savoren mych te gospel and han wille to rode in Englishe "te gospel of Cristis liff."—Sermon Lxvi. (S. K. W. i. 209.) Until he sent out his poor preachers, he could only appeal to those who had wealth to get books and education to read them.
crowd of citizens, and in the tumult the Court broke up without having accomplished anything. 1

Dr. Shirley attributes all these proceedings to the Bishops’ wish to strike at John of Gaunt through his client, and this may well have been one among several motives that urged them to action. Yet apart from this they had reasons enough for desiring to silence Wyclif. To say nothing of the hatred that greedy men bear to those who threaten their gains (and there was much greed among the higher clergy), we cannot doubt that the mass of churchmen, then as always, wished to see the Church increasing in wealth, honour, and worldly influence. 2 How could they but be shocked at a priest who aimed at stripping the Church of endowments, and reducing its prelates from the magnificence, in which they vied with the greatest nobles, to a simple life, where the only rivalry should be in poverty and humility? If the Bishops were slow to act, it was probably because they knew how strongly Wyclif was supported, and dreaded the storm which they were sure to arouse; and it may even be true, as Walsingham tells us, that it needed the Pope’s command to goad them into activity. In any case this first move had failed. It may have had the result of making Lancaster more unpopular, but it left Wyclif’s position at least as strong as before he was attacked.

News must soon have reached Rome 3 that the heretic had baffled the attempt to silence him, and that the assault must be renewed in a more formal and deliberate manner. Nineteen conclusions attributed to Wyclif were selected, and condemned as erroneous or heretical. 4 It is probably to the time when this

1 Walsingham, whose account is much shorter than that in the Chronicon, differs materially on two points. He says that the prosecution was due to the orders of the Pope, and that the result of the Council was that the Archbishop imposed silence on Wyclif.—Wals. i. 325.

2 A good example of such feeling in an honest churchman is Land’s exultation at the appointment of Juxon as treasurer, “and now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more.”—Quoted by Mr. Gardiner, Personal Government of Charles I., ii. 246.

3 Gregory had arrived there from Avignon in January.

4 These were picked out from a list of about fifty which had been sent to the Curia. —Appendix to Chron. Anglie, p. 396. It is to be regretted that due honour has not been done to the senders. One of the most interesting and most hopeless problems in this matter is, whence came the first impulse to a prosecution.
tlist was being prepared, and when the Bishops, smarting under defeat, were looking forward to their revenge, that we must assign an outburst of the Bishop of Rochester, who told Wyclif in Parliament that his conclusions had been condemned by the Curia. The Roman Court had evidently determined that the work should be done effectively this time. A series of bulls was sent over to England. One was addressed to the University of Oxford, and ordered that Wyclif should not under any pretense be allowed to defend his evil teaching, but should at once be arrested and delivered to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. To these two prelates came three other bulls; one enjoining them to warn the King and nobles against Wyclif’s errors; another commanding them to secure Wyclif at once, and examine him as to the doctrines of which he was accused, to send to Rome a report of the examination, and keep him in chains until the Pope’s pleasure was made known. In case they should be unable to carry out these instructions, the third bull instructed them to summon Wyclif to appear in the Papal Court for judgment within three months. A fifth bull was addressed to the King, praying him to facilitate the execution of the others.

The bulls do not seem to have met with an eager welcome. The Bishops were probably disheartened by their recent failure, and saw that the times were unpropitious, for the King was on his death-bed and Lancaster was the chief power in the State, so they lay by for awhile and made no attempt to execute their commission. True, soon after Richard’s coronation, Lancaster withdrew from public life for a short period; but the government was not more favourable to Rome than before. At this very time, when Wyclif was under the shadow of the papal condemnation, the Great Council asked for his judgment on the question whether they could rightly refuse to allow money to be carried out of the realm in spite of the Pope’s demands. His

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1 Unde episcopus Rossensis dixit mihi in publico parliamento stomachando spiritu, quod conclusiones meae sunt damnate, sicut testificatum est sibi de curia per Instrumentum notarii.—De Ecclesia, c. 15; quoted by Lechler, i. 332.
2 The bulls are in Walsingham, i. 345, and Chron. Angliae, 174.
3 The bulls were dated May 22nd. Edward III. died June 21.
answer is uncompromising. 1 He does not merely allow that they may refuse, he insists that they are bound to do so. As to the dangers attending such a course, it is not likely, he says, that the Pope will lay an interdict on England; and "even if the disciple of Antichrist should break forth into such madness, one comfort is that such pretended censures are not binding before God." 2 He goes on to urge that the superfluous wealth of the clergy should be withdrawn from them, and what is left so used as to establish true peace in the Church. This indirect challenge was bold enough; and soon afterwards, at the meeting of Parliament, Wyclif laid before it a pamphlet in which he enumerated the charges brought against him, and defended himself on each. 3 To the public he appealed in another tract, written anonymously, specially directed against the validity of unjust excommunication, which if allowed, he says, would set the Pope above God, and ruin the Christian Church. 4 Seven months after the date of the bulls the Commissaries plucked up courage to proceed. On December 18th they sent down a letter to the University, inclosing the Pope's bulls, and ordering their execution. The University was to gather all possible information concerning the conclusions and send it on to the Bishops, while Wyclif was to be cited to appear before them after thirty days. 5 Immediately on the receipt of the letter, a congregation was held to consider what course should be taken. Wyclif and his friends maintained that to imprison him at the Pope's request would be to allow the Pope's rule in England. On the other hand, it was generally felt that the papal command could not be entirely disregarded, and the Vice-Chancellor (a monk)

2 Sed supposito quod Antichristi discipulus prorumpet in tantam vesaniam, unum solamen est quod tales praetensa censure non obligant quoad Deum.—F.Z. 265. This is a reaffirmation of the doctrines condemned in Conclusions Nos. 8, 15.
3 De Condemnatione XIX Conclusionum.—Fas. Ziz. 481, etc. To these tracts of defence and counter attack we may add one on the oath taken by the Papal Collector in 1372 (see above, p. viii), where Wyclif urges that the Collector should be looked after more strictly and made to keep his oath. We cannot fix an exact date to this tract, but it belongs to the beginning of Richard's reign. Printed in Lechler, ii. 576.
4 The letter is in Lewis, Appendix No. 17, p. 314.
ordered Wyclif to remain a prisoner in Black Hall.¹ The conclusions were then submitted to the regent masters in Theology, and these gave in their opinions to the Chancellor, who determined on their behalf that the conclusions were true, but likely to cause scandal.² The writer to whom we owe this account goes on to say that Wyclif proved the truth of the conclusions before the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, who requested him to cease from discussing the subject of them.³ We may doubt whether his unaided arguments would have been so convincing, but he was strongly supported. The London populace, which had now rallied to his support, broke into the chapel at Lambeth and interrupted the proceedings. What was of far more weight, the Princess Joan sent a message forbidding any decision against Wyclif, which struck such terror into the Bishops that they became as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs.⁴ And, as if this interference had not sufficiently indicated the leanings of the Court, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford was called to account for his partial obedience to the Pope’s commands, was thrown into prison for a time, and compelled to resign his office.⁵ Soon afterwards the Pope died, and no further action was taken upon the bulls.

It may be supposed that Wyclif was not cowed by this prosecution. He drew up a summary of his opinions in thirty-three conclusions, which he circulated in Latin and English, and which were in some way forwarded to the Roman Court. Yet he had to be careful for his personal safety, and did not appear when cited again, for he had been told that the Archbishop had applied to him the text, “a little while and ye shall see him, and again a little while and ye shall not see him.” He adds that many are taught (he knows not by whom) that it

¹ The imprisonment was evidently merely formal, and it seems likely that Wyclif lodged at Black Hall. There may have been two Halls of that name, as in Muna. Acad. (p. 240) we find mention of a “little Black Hall.”
² Eas versus esse sed male sonare in auribus auditorum.—Eulogium Historiarum (continuation), iii. 347.
³ The paper presented in his defence is in Chron. Angliae, 184, Wals. i. 357.
⁴ Chron. Angliae, 183. Wals. i. 356.
⁵ Eulogium Historiarum, iii. 348.
would be a work of charity to put him out of the way by burning or otherwise.\(^1\)

A novel ferment was now introduced into Wycliff's active mind. Urban VI. had been Pope only a few months when the Cardinals, alienated by his fierce temper and desirous to return to Avignon, elected an Antipope, Clement VII. The rivals at once began to contend by force of arms for the spiritual fatherhood of Christendom. Each proclaimed a crusade, offering unheard-of indulgences to all who supported him, and pardon-mongers spread abroad through Europe, vaunting their wares with a cynicism unsurpassed by Tetzel.\(^2\) No wonder that Wycliff was deeply moved, and that we may now mark a new departure in his teaching. Hitherto, however severely he spoke of the Pope and the Curia, he had acknowledged the primacy of the Roman See; now he began to proclaim that the Church would be better without a Pope. Nor is the change in him confined to an alteration in his views as to the constitution of the Church. Hitherto we have seen him mixed up with practical politics, taking part in them from the ecclesiastical side and for religious purposes, but as councillor or pamphleteer urging, supporting or defending the policy carried out by lay statesmen. Henceforth he withdraws into the purely religious domain, and contents himself with striving by personal influence and writing to purge the Church of abuses, and induce his countrymen to purer and more spiritual views of religion. We must not, however, exaggerate the change in him, which was probably unconscious. In relating the middle period of Wycliff's life, the biographer necessarily dwells on the moments when his subject comes out into full light and shows himself engaged in action, and passes over the unrecorded private life, and that quiet work of influencing friends and disciples, which may have been the most important of activities. In the lives of most men of letters the years are marked by the succession of books, but

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\(^1\) See the quotation from the De Veritate Sanctae Scripturae in Fasc. Ziz. xxxiv.

\(^2\) Dioecesatur enim quod quidam de Commissariis suis asserebant quod ad eorum preceptum angeli de caelo descendenter et animas in purgatorius locis postas de poenis eripereunt et ad caelos absque mora deducterent.—Knighton, 2671. Compare the account of the proceedings of the Cardinal of St. Praxed.—Wals. i. 452.
although the mass of Wyclif's work shows that his literary production was unceasing, we are still unacquainted with the details of it. We cannot date with certainty any of his books written before 1378, and until his works are printed we cannot hope to range them even approximately in order, or to trace their relation to his active life. But in spite of all difficulty as to dates, we cannot doubt that by this time he had set his hand to two great tasks of a purely religious character—the training of his poor priests, and the translation of the Bible.

Wyclif's aim in instituting the poor priests was to supply the defects of the existing parsons, who too often, after collecting their tithes and dues, held the saying of services to be their only duty, and left their flock without preaching or spiritual instruction. The want had long been felt, and the mendicant orders were founded in the attempt to meet it. Preaching had been the distinctive work of the Dominicans, while the Franciscans had settled in the worst and most neglected parts of the towns and had laboured assiduously among the poor. But societies which lived by begging were always tempted to win popular favour in unworthy ways, and before the end of the fourteenth century the friars had won an unenviable reputation, which may be read in every story-book or satire of the time. The task that they had failed in was yet to be done, and Wyclif tried to train men to do it. "To be poor without mendicancy," says Dr. Shirley, "to combine the flexible unity, the swift obedience of an order, with free and constant mingling among the poor, such was the ideal of Wyclif's simple priests." 1 And he goes on to suggest that, if Wyclif had died before his denial of transubstantiation, "his name might have come down to us in another form, and miracles have been wrought at the tomb of their founder by the brothers preachers of St. John Wyclif." In this last suggestion Dr. Shirley scarcely does justice to Wyclif's practical insight. The tendency of all human things to crystallize into set forms might have made the poor priests into an order, but if so the spirit and intention of their founder would have been lost. No formal initiation, no irrevocable

1 Fasc. Ziz. xl.
vow, indeed no vows at all, seem to have been required from these disciples of his. He set before them his ideal of the Christian ministry—voluntary poverty and faithful preaching—and urged them to act upon it. Their itinerancy was but an accident of the time, a means of meeting the difficulties that they were to encounter; and to bind them by vows or special obsevances would have been directly contrary to the freedom of the gospel as Wyclif preached it. It must be noticed that Wyclif's views on this point are quite as important from the practical side as from the ideal. If you look upon an order or the rule of life as higher and more holy than others, you will naturally wish to attract men to it, and dread to injure them by exclusion; you will attempt to fortify them by vows and all other safeguards against falling back into a lower state; and in consequence you will be burdened with a number of adherents who have no real vocation, and are constantly seeking to adapt the rule to their requirements, instead of trying to live up to it. Wyclif had before him the history of all the religious orders as a warning against this danger, and he seems specially to have shunned this rock which had been so fatal to them. I take it that in the poor priests we are not to see the attempted foundation of a new order, but an effort to excite and utilize the energies of individuals who had come under Wyclif's influence.

Of his other religious task, the translation of the Bible, I need say little; its consequence to English religion and the English tongue is generally recognized. We have but to look at the long list of MSS. given at the beginning of Forshall and Madden's great edition, and to remember that these are but

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1 See the tract, Why poor priests have no benefices, No. XVI., especially the close, and the De Officis Pastorali, No. XXVII.
2 "And his is a grete discorges of ye fend under colour of perfeccion and chastite. For he stieth men to hiȝe poynatys of perfeccion when he knowiȝ or supposiȝ hom unable."—S. E. W. iii. 190.
3 "It is licyly þat Cristis preestis, þat stoden til þat monkes come, turneden to myche fro Cristis lawes and monkes lyveden þan wel beter. But þes monkes stoden awhile, and turneden sooner to covitise; and aftir monkes camen þes chanoys; and after chanoys camen freres. And so greet defaute was in preestis before þat þes newe ordris came in. But as þes newe ordris chanen in cloþis, in bokis, wip oþer reþis, so þei varien in Goddis office fro þat þat Crist bad his preestis do."—The Church and Her Members, S. E. W. iii. 345.
4 There are 170 numbers.
the gleanings, after time, neglect, and the zeal of the inquisitor have gathered in their harvests, and we see how widely the translation was disseminated; how eagerly men caught at the opportunity of reading the Bible in their mother-tongue.

These labours, even without the further evidence supplied by his books, are enough to show that when most engaged in politics Wycliff's aim was religious reform, and that he was not merely an ecclesiastical agitator. Many causes may have combined to withdraw him from the political arena. Dr. Shirley suggests that Urban's removal from Avignon, and still more his quarrel with the King of France, had restored the popularity of the Papacy, and that Wycliff was no longer supported against Rome by the national feeling; but the strong petition against provisions and Urban's abuse of them in the parliament of January, 1380,\(^1\) shows that the English jealousy of the Curia was not overpast. Probably as Wycliff became more and more involved in theological controversies, his eagerness as to public affairs decreased; while the passions which he had roused against him made him less valuable as an ally or an agent. We shall presently see cause to believe that he had not forfeited the favour of his powerful protectors.

The immediate effect of the Great Schism, and the quarrels which accompanied it, was to bring Wycliff into undisguised opposition to the Papacy as an institution; and once fairly started in his campaign, he directed his assault against the whole line of the Church system then existing. The luxurious and worldly lives of monks and prelates; the prevalence of unworthy influence and simony in the presentation to benefices; the gross abuses of the bishops' and archdeacons' courts, especially the practice of exacting fines for incontinence and other sins instead of requiring amendment; all these gave wide scope for denunciation. Even the most orthodox reckoned such things wrong, and men who were canonized saints had inveighed against them as bitterly as Wycliff; but there was this novelty in his method that, instead of laying all blame on individuals, he looked for the root of the evil in the authorized constitution and

\(^1\) Rot. Parl. iii. 82.
practices of the Church. Thus when he attacked the luxury of
the prelates, he did not content himself with lamenting that his
contemporaries had fallen so far from the apostolic standard, but
denounced the principle of endowment, introduced as he be-
lieved by Constantine, and urged the rulers of the State to take
away the riches which corrupted the Church. He found another
weapon against the dominant hierarchy in appealing to the pres-
byterian constitution of the primitive Church, in which bishops
and priests were the same.¹ The bishops, he says, have reserved
to themselves confirmation, ordination, and the consecration of
places, but such reservations hinder and do not profit the Church.³
Against the grossly superstitious customs of the day Wyclif's
method was the same. The root of almost all these was a belief
in the unlimited effect of the priest's absolution, and in the
power of the Church to grant indulgences. Without this the
pardon-mongers would have gone away empty; the shrines
would have remained unvisited; no throng of pilgrims would
have poured money into the Roman treasury; no gold and
jewels would have been lavished at Walsingham and Can-
terbury. Wyclif declared that only true penitence and confession to
God were needed to gain his pardon, and that the enforcement
of private confession was a mischievous practice of late intro-
duction. He scorned as a fiction the doctrine of saints' merits
laid up in reserve at the disposal of the Pope.³ All merit, he

¹ Sed unum sanctctor esse ro, quod in primitiva ecclesia ut tempore Pauli suffecerunt
duo ordinis clericorum sacerdotum atque diaconorum. Secundo dico quod in tempore
apostolici fuit idem presbyter atque episcopus . . . . . ; tunc enim non fuit adinventum
distinctio paepi et cardinalum, patriarcharum et archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et
archidioconorum, officialium et decanorum cum ceteris officiariis et religionibus pri-
vatis quorum non est numerus neque ordo.—Trial. lib. iv. cap. 15, p. 298.
² Itaque omnes operaciones concernentes sacerdotes cesarios, in quantum tales, non
proficient directe ad beatitudinem, sed impedient vel retardant. Et etsi est de tribus
dignitatisibus sive officiis que episcopus sibi servat; que sunt juvenum confirmatio,
clericorum ordinatio et locorum consecratio.—Dialogus, c. 24, M8. Ashburnham, 1116.
³ And so his eonned fantaery of spirital trezour in hevene, yat ech pope is mase
dispensour of pis trezour at his owne will, pis is a liyt word, dreuned wipouten ground.
For þanne ech pope schulde be lord of pis hevenly trezour, and so he schulde be lord
of Crist and ofere sayntis in hevene, ye, þif he were a fend, as was Judas Schariot.
Lord! whi schulde God of hevene make pis fend such a lord? siþ it is propre unto
God to dele such meritis, and alle meritis þat bët in hevene þët fully rewarded, so
þat none is ydil, but nedlyche mut be do.—De Pontificum Romanorum Schismate,
§, R. W. iii. 262.
TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

says, is in the hands of God, who keeps to himself the distribution of it. Not only so, but the Pope cannot know the real state of a man, and may grant pardon to one who is in mortal sin, and unable to profit by the gift.¹ With indulgences went all the cognate practices: letters of fraternity, special prayers, masses for particular souls. That these things were widely abused was evident to all, and many a parish priest and prelate would have been glad to see some check placed upon the friars, who were the worst offenders. The evils might have been partially restrained by stricter discipline and the withdrawal of exemptions; but they could be ended only by uprooting the doctrines of which they were the outgrowth. Wyclif seems to have grasped this fact, and to have worked more strenuously against the various forms of indulgence and assigned merit than against any other tenets of the Church. His sagacity was vindicated when, after a century and a half, during which the orthodox reformers had proved their impotence, Luther selected the same point for his first and deadliest assault.

It is not necessary to discuss the minor points in which Wyclif departed from Church tradition, and we may pass on to the great development which marked his last years—his attack on the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Here he was upon new and dangerous ground. Hitherto he had been able to appeal to the moral sense of the laity, and had sometimes been supported by their prejudices and passions. They might care little for the doctrine of Dominion in its scholastic form, but they welcomed eagerly the bold assailant of the outrageous claims and exactions of the Papacy; and this all the more when the Pope was French and an enemy. The magnificence and worldliness of the prelates, the extortions and abuses of the ecclesiastical courts, evidently wanted reform, and there was no need to look closely into the grounds on which reform was urged. Even when Wyclif ventured into a more dogmatic region; when he questioned the priestly power of absolution and the Pope's

¹ Nee indulgentiis debemus credere, sicut nec papa vel sua curia, cum nescit si ista persona cui concedit dictam indulgentiam sit dampnandus; sicut nec se sit voluntatis dei concedere quod ipse annuit sic in bullis.—Dialogus, c. 13, M.S. Ashb. H. 1896.
authority in purgatory; when he struck at indulgences, special masses, and the numberless devices for making money do the work of goodness and setting future blessedness up to sale, he had still on his side the spiritual instincts of his audience; he was in many cases censuring abuses which were against the authoritative teaching of the Church, although supported by almost all her officers.

In the campaign on which he now entered no such appeal to the interests of morality could serve his turn. The doctrine which he impugned was the result of a constant and instinctive desire on the part of the Christian Church to heighten the dignity of its central act of worship, combined with an unshrinking intellectual analysis. It had been, the business of the schoolmen to find a rational and logical theory corresponding to the highest utterances of mystical devotion. The popular mind, intolerant of subtleties, knew nothing of substance or accidents, and when Wyclif raised a question as to the nature of the consecrated bread, his opponents accused him of denying Christ’s presence in the host, while his followers fancied that they settled the question by saying that any one could see the host was bread, and the very mice knew it for such.1

This simple appeal to the senses may have attracted some partisans, but the publication of novel ideas on such a point was certain to give offence to many devout persons, who felt as if the dignity of the sacrament was attacked. One is naturally led to ask what motives impelled Wyclif to this course, and the inquiry is of equal interest whether he be regarded as an earnest reformer or a hunter after popular favour. Perhaps the simplest and most direct way of getting at the truth is to take his own account of the matter: “Of all heresies that have ever sprung up in the Church, I think none was ever more cunningly brought in by hypocrites or cheats the people in more ways than this; for it robs the people, it makes them commit idolatry, it denies the faith of Scripture, and in consequence by unbelief provokes

1 Wyclif himself throws this as a taunt against his opponents, “Mures autem habent servatam notitiam de panis substantia sicut primo, sed istic infidelibus istud desert, etc.”—Trial. iv. 5, p. 260.
the Truth in many ways to anger."¹ This vehement denunciation, when translated into plain fact, seems to mean that the current doctrine led the people into an excessive and superstitious reverence for the elements of the Sacrament, and that this superstition was made the means of increasing the power and gain of the priesthood. It may be supposed that this is only the moral colouring which a controversialist tries to throw over a cause adopted for other and lower reasons. The decision on this point must depend on the bias of the judge; but in support of Wyclif's statement it may be noted that his opponent Tys- sington allows that the language used by controversialists might, if spoken before the people, lead them to heathenish notions.² I believe that if we look back to Wyclif's earlier utterances on this subject, made before he had come into collision with the orthodox opinion, we may trace the gradual development which led him to heresy. In a sermon preached, I believe, in 1367, he speaks of various errors relating to the host, and goes on: "It seems enough for the Christian to believe that the body of Christ is in some spiritual and sacramental manner at every point of the consecrated host, and that next after God honour is to be chiefly rendered to that body, and in the third place to that sensible sacrament, as to an image or tomb of Christ."³ This passage, as indeed the whole of the sermon in which it occurs, shows a disposition to dwell upon the spiritual side in preference to the logical or dogmatic account of the Sacra- ment. Such a disposition, not in itself incompatible with ortho- doxy, was likely to be strengthened in him by a philosophical

¹ Trialogus, iv. 2, p. 248.
² "Non tamen vulgariter et coram laicis conceditur communiter videri aut sentiri, nisi cum hac determinacione in forma et specie panis; ne populus prorus ad idolatriam, neciens distinguiere inter sensibile in se et sensibile in alio, credat speciem panis, aut alium quod immediate et in se sentitur, esse corpus Christi; et sic, ut dictum est, turpiter paganizent."—Pasc. Ziz. 173.
³ Multi ex dicto isto capient occasionem errores, putantes hii quod panis est corpus Christi, hii quod panis est corpus Christi, hii quod panis conversetur in corpus Christi per desicionem (sic) panis secundum quamlibet ejus partem, et sic de multis ficticis ex quibus infideles despicentiam fidem nostram. Videtur igitur satis esse Christiano credere quod corpus Christi sit quodam modo spirituali [et] sacramentali ad omne punctum hostie consecrate, et quod illi corpori sit post deo honor principaliter tribuendus, et terci loco illi sacramento sensibili tamquam ymagini vel sepulcro Christi.—Early Sermons, No. XX. MS. Lambeth, 23.
difficulty in satisfying himself as to any theory of transubstantiation. On this point there is a connexion between his earliest and latest doctrines, which seems hitherto to have escaped the notice of his biographers. In one of his early works, 'De Ente,' a treatise of 350 closely-written folio pages, the last four chapters bear the sub-title 'De Adnichilacione,' and are devoted to proving that it is not in the power of God (i.e. is not in accordance with his nature) to annihilate anything. Here, however, the orthodox doctrine of the Host has to be dealt with as an exception. If, as was generally held, the substance of the bread ceased to be at consecration, annihilation was taking place daily, and the denial of it was an open heresy. For a time Wyclif got over the difficulty by saying that 'the substance of the bread is not annihilated, since its accidents remain, although it is changed as to its whole form.' Such subtle distinctions were not likely to disarm his adversaries, or to continue to satisfy his own inquisitive and logical mind. A curious account of the changes in his opinions is given by his opponent Woodford, writing after his death: 'While the said Master John,' he says, 'was a sententiary at Oxford, and even a responding bachelor, he held publicly and in the schools that, although the sacramental accidents were in a subject, yet that the bread ceased to exist at consecration. And being much questioned as to what was the subject of those accidents, for a considerable time he replied that it was a mathematical body. Afterwards, when this position had been much argued against, he answered that he did not know what the subject of the accidents was, yet he asserted clearly that they had a subject. Now in these

1 I have tried to read these four chapters, but have to confess that the double crabbedness of contractions and scholastic reasoning make me unable to follow a good deal of them. Dr. Shirley has given some quotations from them in the preface to the Fasciculi Zizaniorum.

2 Substantia panis in eucharistia non annihilatur, propter remanentiam accidentium licet ipsa corruptur secundum totam formam.—F. Z. lvi.

3 Among a list of heresies 'quas primo jactavit in aera' is 'Quod Deus non potest annihilare creaturam.'—F. Z. 2. Dr. Shirley says that this doctrine had been actually condemned by Archbishop Langham (F. Z. xxvii), but he quotes no authority, and I have not yet met with the statement elsewhere.

4 A student who had reached the period when he might lecture on the sentences, after which he might take his degree of B.D.

5 A B.D. of two years' standing.
articles and in his confession he lays down expressly that the bread remains after consecration and is the subject of the accidents."¹ This account is no doubt substantially correct. Wofford's view of Wyclif is that of a heretic cunningly preparing his way and gradually increasing in audacity. A more sympathetic observer will see in the same facts the signs of a gradual and irresistible change, due to logical necessities which he shunned facing as long as possible. Had he been a solitary student he might have shunned them all his life; but, exposed to the conflict of the Schools, he was driven to find an explanation, and was too honest to maintain any which did not satisfy his own mind. When pressed he could not but see that to speak of a mathematical body as a substance was a scholastic figment; and not less artificial was the explanation that the substance in which the accidents of the host existed was a quality or a quantity.² Arrived so far, the next step was to fall back on the language of the Bible, and assert that since the bread was said to be Christ's body, the host was both bread and the body of Christ. This, however, was but the original statement of which the Church dogma was the explanation; the inevitable question was how the host could be both at once. Wyclif's reply came in short to this, that the presence was sacramental; that in some special way, which he could not define but which was not dimensional or corporal, Christ was present according to his promise. He threw on his opponents the charge that they denied the host to be either bread or Christ's body. Not bread, for its substance was gone, and all that remained was whiteness, roundness, etc.; not Christ's body, for, though they said that the body was at every point of the consecrated wafer, they did not admit that it was the wafer, or that the visible whiteness and roundness were accidents of the body.

It seems probable that Wyclif began to maintain these views publicly at Oxford in 1380. He was at this time in the thick of

¹ F. Z. xv. note 4.
² Fratres autem prudenciores sustinent quod icta hostia consecrata sit nichil in forma nichili. Nichil quidem est, quia vel est quantitas ut dicant predicatore, vel qualitas ut dicunt minores, vel aggregatio ex eisdem.—De Sermones Domini in Monte, c. 29, M.S. T.C.C. 364d.
a controversy on the lawfulness of the religious orders, on sturdy begging, and on the duty of monks, imposed even by their rule, to labour with their hands.¹ Doubtless his opponents were glad to draw him upon ground where they were the champions of Church doctrine rather than of their own practice. He soon formulated his opinions and committed himself to three conclusions,² which afterwards formed the base of the Archbishop's condemnation. The Chancellor of the University, William Berton, was an old adversary,³ and seized his opportunity. He called together some doctors of theology and civil law, who unanimously condemned the novel teaching as heretical, and issued an order forbidding any one to maintain these assertions either in or out of the Schools. The condemnation was published in the School of the Augustines at the very moment when Wyclif was lecturing in support of his theses. He declared that neither the Chancellor nor any of those in league with him could alter his opinion, and appealed to the King.⁴ In reply, John of Gaunt came down to Oxford and ordered him to speak no more on the subject. Wyclif, instead of obeying, issued his Confession, in which he stated his position clearly.⁵ The University was in high excitement and a storm of pamphlets followed.

The Chancellor had forwarded a copy of his condemnation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, doubtless expecting him and the Bishops to take action in the matter; but in little more than a month Sudbury's head was struck off by the rebels on Tower Hill, and the see was vacant until November. Meanwhile within the University the controversy took a turn favourable to Wyclif. Probably this was due to the old-standing jealousy between the Seculars and the Religious. The quarrel, as we have seen, began with a discussion about the Orders, and the activity of the Monks and Friars may have driven their rivals to the side of

¹ Compare the account of controversies in F. Z. 239-241 with a poem printed in Wright's Political Poems, i. 253. A better text is given by Dr. Lechler, ii. 621.
² F. Z. 106.
³ F. Z. 241.
⁴ F. Z. 114. The writer blames him for appealing to the King instead of to "pope, bishop or ordinary." By the Statutes of the University his choice lay between King and Pope, all appeals to lower authorities being forbidden.—Munimenta Acad. 232.
⁵ Printed in F. Z. 116.
Wyclif. Moreover Berton’s action in inviting the interference of the Archbishop may have roused the ready jealousy of episcopal meddling. From these or other motives the elections for the next year were favourable to the Wycliffite party, and returned a Chancellor and proctors in their interest.

Things were not going so well outside, at least among the governing classes, who found much to perplex them. The itinerant preachers were going their rounds as usual, regardless of the Bishops’ prohibitions, declaiming against the friars, who were not slow to reply. The people threw themselves into the quarrel, and every sermon was an occasion for debate if not for actual fighting. At the same time a wave of reaction, due to the rebellion of the previous year, was passing through the gentry, leading them into a fierce repression of disorder. Still there was a strong body among the Commons who charged the late disturbances on the Friars, and it was probably in reliance on the support of this party that Wyclif when Parliament met laid before it seven propositions. In these he asserted that the King did not owe obedience to the Pope, that money ought not to be sent out of the realm to Rome, that cardinals and others should not be allowed to hold benefices without rendering due service, and that it was the King’s duty to confiscate the temporals of delinquent bishops or clerics. Beyond this he maintained that since Church endowment is the property of the poor, it might be used for State needs to prevent excessive taxation. Lastly, that the King ought not to employ bishops or curates in secular work.

1 Of twelve doctors consulted by Berton, six were friars and two monks.
2 Vix aliquis eorum predicaret, quin ad pugnam inter se audientes provocarentur, et schismata in villis fiscerent.—F. Z. 272. So too: “Hoc anno (1382) fratum eleemosyne subtrahuntur, mendicantes laborari jubentur, predicare non sinuntur, denarium predicatorem et dominorum penetratores vocantur.”—Eulogium Hist. (cont.) p. 355. See the letter of the Mendicant Orders to the Duke of Lancaster.—F. Z. 292. Jack Straw was reported to have confessed that the rebels meant to destroy all the endowed clergy, and leave only the friars alive.—Wals. ii. 10. As a countercheck to this John Ball was said to have described himself as a disciple of Wyclif.—F. Z. 273.
3 "Scribit ad dominos et magnates."—Wals. ii. 51. This may only mean that the propositions were circulated as a broadsheet or pamphlet among such of the nobles and gentry as were inclined to the Wycliffites.
COUNCIL AT THE BLACKFRIARS.

Such a manifesto was sure to incense the orthodox party, and, if we may believe the writer of the Fasciculi, the Parliament pressed the Archbishop to make an end of these heresies.¹ Courtenay, nothing loath, summoned a Council to deliberate upon them. It met for business on May 21st² at the Dominican Convent (which stood where the Times Office now is, and left its name of Blackfriars to the neighbourhood), and unanimously condemned 24 conclusions as heretical or erroneous. Of ten denounced as heretical, the first three relate to the Eucharist, the remainder to Church government or endowment. The fourteen classed as erroneous deal with the power of prelates to excommunicate, the duty of preaching, and the uselessness of special prayers and religious orders. It will be seen that, as far as doctrine was concerned, the net was spread wide; since all the leading opinions for which Wyclif was notorious are enumerated and condemned. There is however no attack on him by name.

Meanwhile his supporters were busy at Oxford. On Ascension Day (May 15) Nicholas Herford preached a sermon in his defence, and another Wyclifite, Philip Repyndon, was appointed to preach on Corpus Christi Day at St. Frideswide. The orthodox party begged that this fresh scandal might be prevented, and the Archbishop sent down Peter Stokes, a

¹ "Militæ et alii qui congregati sunt ex parte regni et parliamenti requirebant archiepiscopum cum suis suffragancis ut finem facerent de talibus erroribus et heresi-bus."—F. Z. 272. There is some reason to suspect that the author's wishes have coloured his narrative. Parliament met on the 7th, and the Council was summoned for the 17th, which shows rather an excess of promptitude in acting on the pressure of the members. But there is a stronger reason against accepting this version. To the acts of this Parliament on the Official Roll was appended one ordering the Sheriffs and other officers to arrest all wandering preachers at the request of the Bishop (Rot. Parl. III. 1246.). As soon as parliament met again at Michaelmas, the Commons prayed that this statute, to which they had not assented, might be cancelled. We may suppose that this entry was made by influential persons of the Church party to override opposition in the Commons. Courtenay needed no pressure to make him attack an old adversary.

² Dr. Lechler says May 19th, following Netter's narrative (F. Z. 272); but in the acts of the Council we find May 21, both in F. Z. (p. 288) and in the Lambeth Register. The same date is given in Walsingham for the earthquake which took place while the Council was sitting.—Wals. ii. 66.
Carmelite and a headstrong opponent of Wyclif. He arrived on the eve of the feast (June 4th) and presented his letters to the Chancellor. Next morning he was to proclaim the condemnation from the pulpit of St. Frideswide, and went to execute his commission, but he found Reypndon already in possession. The Chancellor was present in state, with the mayor of the town and an armed guard, while in the Church were some twenty men with arms concealed under their robes. Stokes, conscious that many errors remained for him to confute, did not yet desire martyrdom, so he sat trembling till the Chancellor and Reypndon had gone off together, and then slunk away. Next day he called on the Chancellor to verify his powers, and received an assurance that he should be helped in his task if the University would allow it. Stokes placed no faith in fair words. What would be done he could not tell, but he knew he was in danger of his life, and besought the Archbishop with tears not to allow him to perish. A few days later (Tuesday, June 10) he mustered courage to dispute in the Schools in opposition to Reypndon, but even then he saw or fancied a dozen opponents with hidden weapons, and expected to have been slain before he could leave his chair. It must have been a relief to the timid inquisitor to receive, on the same day, letters recalling him to the Archbishop. Rigge, the Chancellor, was already in London, and at the second meeting of the Council he was called upon to justify himself. There is no reason to suppose that he really held Wyclifite opinions. He was one of the twelve Oxford doctors who condemned Wyclif's doctrines on the Eucharist when they were first broached, and

1 The Lollard poet gives a description of him—

Tunc accessit alius, Stokis nominatus,
rufus naturaliter et veste deambatus,
omnibus impatiens et nimis elatus
et contra veridicos dirigens consatus.
with an O and an I sub tam rubra pelle
animus non habitat nisi mixtus felle.—Loehler, ii. 631.

2 Unum autem venerabili paternitati vestrae, si placet, notifico; quod in hac causa nihil ulteriorius audem facere metu mortis. Unde et debiliter vestrum imploro presidium ne occasione hujus causae vel ego, vel socii mei, jacturam patiamur corporis atque vitae.—Letter from Stokes to the Archbishop, F. Z. 301.

3 F. Z. 113.
his recent support of the Reformers, in which he was evidently backed by the University, was probably due to the corporate jealousy of the friars and bishops. In the present case the University could count on support from neither King nor Pope and resistance to the hierarchy was unavailing. Rigge gave way at once. At the intercession of the Bishop of Winchester he was pardoned, and enjoined to prevent Wyclif and his followers from preaching or performing any scholastic act until they had purged themselves of the charges hanging over them. He pleaded that he was afraid to execute the commission forced upon him, but his excuses were not allowed. His publication of the condemnation excited a storm of anger on the part of the seculars, who declared that the religious wished to ruin the University. The anger however was helpless, the corporate resistance of the University was crushed, and it remained only to deal with the individual offenders, who appealed in vain to the Duke of Lancaster, and were left to struggle hopelessly against the whole force of Church and State. In a few months all the Oxford leaders except Wyclif had been dealt with. Strangely enough, we have no account of Wyclif during all this time. Knighton indeed says that he appeared before the bishops in Oxford and recanted, but the text of the recantation, as given by Knighton, is a strong assertion of the original heresy; while the records of the Council which tell us all about the other heretics are silent as to Wyclif. It is to be

1 The Lambeth Register gives a curious proof of the intensity of this jealousy. After Repyndon and Aston had recanted publicly before the Convocation which met at Oxford in November, Rigge, as Chancellor, accused Peter Stokes and two other friars of heresy. Their defence was that they had supported the false propositions only as a scholastic exercise. The Archbishop, "videns gravem discordiam inter Universitatem et religiosos exortam fecit eos licet cum difficultate concordes, et dimissim eos in pace."

2 Wyclif, Herford, Repyndon, Aston, and Bedeman are mentioned by name.—F. Z. 310.

3 Bedeman recanted Oct. 18th, Repyndon Oct. 23rd, Aston Nov. 20th. Herford disappeared, and most probably went to Rome and was imprisoned there by the Pope.

4 Höfler, Anna v. Luxemburg, p. 81, says that we may take the positive assertion of Knighton as to the recantation, and suppose that a wrong document was copied by mistake. One must have made up one's mind which way the facts ought to be to assert them on such authority.
noticed that throughout these transactions of 1382 he had been in the background, and it is possible that he had already retired to Lutterworth, but this alone would not have saved him at a time when his followers were hiding to avoid arrest. He once makes an allusion, which may possibly refer to this time: "I have pledged myself," he says, "not to use out of the Schools the term substance of material bread and wine." This sounds as if he had been called to account, and had been dismissed on undertaking some formal conditions as to future controversy. But the form is not suitable to a man who was prohibited from all scholastic acts, and the passage may allude to the silence enjoined at an earlier period by the Duke of Lancaster.

Why Wyclif was allowed to escape so easily is a puzzling question, and I cannot think that Dr. Lechler has accounted for it by the supposition that public feeling was favourable to him and prevented severe measures. More probably he had still powerful protection at Court, but if so it is curious that no chronicler makes any complaint of interference on his behalf. One last supposition is that he was already attacked by the paralysis which first struck him about two years before his death. Whatever was the cause of his impunity, it seems that the condemnation of his doctrines had no direct effect upon him, except perhaps in driving him from Oxford. Evidently neither actual nor threatened evils made him bate one jot of heart or hope. His doctrines had been condemned, his friends scattered and silenced, and he was worn with age and palsied, yet in the prosecution of his work neither courage nor energy failed him, and his literary activity during this last period of his life would have been wonderful even in a man of full strength. Tracts, Latin and English, came in quick succession from his pen, and, as if these were not enough to occupy him,

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1 We learn nothing of his doings from the narrative in F. Z. 272-333, and Repyndon and Herford are the heroes of the Latin poem already quoted.
2 Trial. iv. 36, p. 375.
3 F. Z. 114, see above p. xxx.
4 "Iste Wycliff fuit paralyticus per duos annos ante mortem suam, etc." This passage comes from an account of Wyclif's death, given by Gascoigne on the authority of John Horn, who had been Wyclif's curate for two years.—Printed in Lewis, 338.
he gave in the Trialogus a complete and orderly summary of his doctrine, starting from the highest topics of abstract theology and coming down to details of doctrine and Church government. In his retirement at his quiet rectory of Lutterworth he could no longer exercise any immediate influence on the rulers of the country, but he watched with interest the course of events, and was strongly moved to indignation by Bishop Spencer's Flanders Crusade in 1383, an expedition as blundering in its management as it was immoral in the purpose and method of its undertaking. He recurs to it again and again, with an iteration which now at least is wearisome, sometimes dwelling only on the evils it had caused directly, more often on the scandalous traffic in indulgences by which money had been raised for its support. This enables us to date many of his later works, but otherwise there is little change to be noticed in him unless it be a more fixed and fervent conviction of the corruption of the Church and of the need of reform.

Outwardly his life was uneventful, but one doubt still hangs over the close of his career. It is commonly said that the summons to Rome, which fell through with the death of Gregory XI., was renewed by Urban, and that mortal sickness alone saved him from having to make his appearance before the Pope. A paper is extant which has always been taken for a letter to the Pope in answer to the summons.¹ Dr. Lechler remarks that this is not a letter, and is not addressed to the Pope, and that consequently we must reject the story of the summons.² I think he is clearly right in his premises; the form in which the paper is cast is certainly not such as would be adopted in a letter to the Pope; but I cannot follow him to his conclusion. The title given to the document in the Fasciculi shows that Walden believed Wyclif to have been summoned, and the letter itself reads to me like a justification of disobedience to the Pope's mandate, written for circulation in England. I incline to believe that Wyclif was summoned, and

¹ The English version is in S. E. W. iii. 504; the Latin in Fasc. Ziz. 341, with the title, "Copia cujusdam littere magistri Johannis Wyclyff missae Papæ Urbano VI. ad excusationem de non veniendo sibi ad citationem suas, A.D. 1384."
² Lechler, i. 713 (English ed. ii. 394.)
further that he excused himself on the ground of illness, and received some support and protection from the King.\textsuperscript{1} If the summons was issued about the time of the Council, it might partly account for Wyclif’s escape from prosecution, since the bishops would not be concerned to judge one who was before a higher tribunal. Yet they would probably, as in 1377, be charged with the duty of sending him to Rome, and we should expect to find some notice of their attempting to execute their commission. On the whole it is most likely that a citation was issued in 1384. If so, the Pope had but little time to insist upon obedience. On Innocent’s Day, 1384, Wyclif was a second time struck with paralysis, while hearing mass in his church at Lutterworth. He lingered speechless for three days and died on Dec. 31st. His enemies saw a special judgment in his death on the feast of St. Sylvestre, the Pope whom he had so often blamed as the first corrupter of the primitive Church.

In this sketch of Wyclif’s life I have reserved one or two points for a more extended notice. First among these is his teaching as to “Dominion,” important from the weight that he attached to it, and still more as having been the subject of more attack and misunderstanding than any other of his doctrines. His contemporaries accused him of using it to incite the populace to revolt and pillage, and the charge is still from time to time brought against him. Before attempting his defence I will try to make clear what the theory was, and in what form he upheld it.

The source and limit of Dominion was a question much discussed in the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{2} The claims of the papacy had been growing as its hold on the consciences of men was loosened. It was mainly upon religious and moral grounds that Gregory VII. rested in his quarrel with Henry IV.; his right of

\textsuperscript{1} One of my chief grounds for this belief is Wyclif’s tone in speaking of citations, which seems to me that of a man personally interested. To give my readers an opportunity of judging for themselves I have printed as an Appendix passages from two tracts in the Ashburnham MS.

\textsuperscript{2} Es war die Eigenthumsfrage die brennende Frage der Zeit, die in tausendfacher Abwechslung immer von Neuem wiederkehrte, gerade den scharfsinnigen wie auf die Besserung der Zeit gerichteten Mann unwiderstehlich anzog, sich mit ihr zu beschäf-

tigen.—Constantin Hüfler, Anna von Luxemburg, p. 20.
interference was based upon the crimes of the individual emperor rather than upon the general political supremacy of the Pope. No lofty moral or spiritual purpose could be ascribed to Clement VI. in his quarrel with Lewis of Bavaria, and the chief aim of the conditions imposed upon the prostrate Emperor was to secure a public acknowledgment of the subjection of the Empire to the Holy See. Nor were the claims of the Popes confined to the Empire, where a long quarrel might well have led to exaggerated demands. The secular lordship, which even in the eleventh century they had asserted over Spain, Corsica and Hungary, was now extended over a great part of Europe. However shadowy their authority in these lands might be, the claim challenged criticism, and criticism had not been refused. The study of the Civil law had raised up a body of lawyers, who in scholarship and self-confidence held no unequal rivalry with the theologians. While Lewis of Bavaria was struggling with the Pope, a band of publicists, Marsilio of Padua, John of Jaudun, and William of Ockham, had maintained boldly and aggressively the divine origin and the independence of secular government. They found the Pope pretending to an authority over all Christians which, spiritual in its source and defended on spiritual grounds, was in practice constantly extended to worldly matters; and in reply they marked out jealously the limits of the spiritual power, they declared that lay rule was not only independent but also supreme in its own province, and that the property and persons of the clergy ought to be subject to its laws.

To these men, who wrote as avowed defenders of the Empire, the Emperor was the head and source of all secular government, and to him in their system accrued all the rights which they strove to wrest from ecclesiastical hands. But the Emperor was ill-fitted to bear the honour they laid upon him. He exercised only a nominal supremacy and that within comparatively narrow limits; while in a country that, like England, had

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1 On this point see Milman's Latin Christianity, B. xi. c. 7 (vol. vii. p. 13 of the 3rd edition). See also Dr. C. Höfler's Die Avignonesischen Päpste (Vienna, 1871) where it is strongly brought out.
never acknowledged subjection to him, discussions as to the translation of the Empire from East to West were futile. Yet some one must take his place; if not as the guardian of the world's peace, at least as the chief lord from whom all property must be held. Fitzralph,1 if none before him, cut the knot by maintaining that God himself was the chief lord of all possessions, from Him every man held as far as any true rights of ownership were concerned, and to Him must do service. If he failed in this service, that is, if he fell into mortal sin, he forfeited his rights.2 This is the doctrine of Dominion which Wyclif upheld, and which he is sometimes believed to have invented. Once received, it cuts short the old quarrel between Pope and Emperor, since it does away with the need of either as a fountain of secular authority. All rulers and owners hold direct from God as their dominus capitalis, who has delegated his powers to no vicegerent.

I have sketched the growth of this theory because it is only thus that we can see the object of those who first developed it. Whatever use the weapon might be put to later, it was forged to defend lay authority against the Pope. But it does not need much consideration to discover that, stated baldly, it might be employed to dangerous ends. When Wyclif says: "For he that standeth in grace is very lord of things, and whoever faileth by default of grace, he faileth right title of the thing that he occupieth and unbleth himself to have the gifts of God,"3 his language easily lends itself to the malicious gloss of Rohrbacher: "Comme les partisans de Wyclif se donnaient pour des saints, et leurs adversaires pour des méchants, l'application était facile." Wyclif and his true disciples drew no such

1 Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh. Wyclif looked up to him as a teacher, and often speaks of him with respect (see Trialogus, pp. 158 and 285). In the tract on Clerks Possessors, p. 128 of this volume, he is called St. Richard, but I need hardly say that he never received the honour of formal canonization.

2 Omnis inobediens justis imperii domini sui, in his quae contingunt domini sui debitam servitutem, jus perdit omnium pro debito servitio a suo domino imperiusum, et in illa foresfacit: sed homin receptum dominium a deo pro prestando sibi debito obseqvio: ergo inobediendo justis imperii dei, mortaliter peccando, perdit dominium a deo sibi imponenum, et foresfacit illud. Quoted from Fitzralph by Woodford, in his treatise against Wyclif (Brown's Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum, i. 237).

3 S. E. W. iii. 88.
conclusion from it. In the first place, as Dr. Shirley has pointed out, he does not look upon dominion as a power, but as a habit or relation of the natural man. "There are," he says, "two titles by which a man holds temporal goods; the title of original justice and that of earthly justice. By the title of original justice Christ possessed all worldly goods, as Augustine often says; by that title—the title of grace—all things belong to the just; but civil possession has little to do with that title. Wherefore Christ and his disciples despised civil rule and possession, and contented themselves with holding only according to the first title." Here we see that Wyclif brings civil possession into contrast with true dominion. It is with the latter, as an ideal, that he meets the ideal which ascribes to the Pope, as God's vicar on earth, the right of control over all earthly things, secular as well as spiritual.

From another side the doctrine had an ethical attraction for him, since it gave to the owner of property a higher sanction and motive for action than he could draw from merely human law. Thus he remarks that the King's right to rule does not allow him to follow only his own pleasure, since he is bound to observe the law of his chief lord, to the profit and advancement of his kingdom. In the artificial constitution of society in the fourteenth century no tie was reckoned as more binding than that of the feudal tenant to his lord. The doctrine of Dominion set up a similar obligation to God.

We see then the main drift of the doctrine and its value to Wyclif. It cut at the root of the Pope's usurped power and gave to the layman freedom with increased responsibility. "But," it may be asked, "did not Wyclif go on to draw from it other and harmful corollaries when, after the full development

1 F. Z. lxiii.
2 Trial. iv. 17, p. 306.
3 Sed revera de rege, ut procuratore citra Christum, non sequitur: ipse dominatur his temporalibus, ergo licet sibi consumere ipse quomodocumque voluerit: quia cum sit vere (?) peccabilius, habens super se capiitalem dominum, oportet quod observet in experdendo sua temporalia legem capitalis domini ad augmentum et commodum regni sui, ut patet ex lege humana.—De Mandatis, cap. 25, M.S. Univ. Camb. Ll. 5, 13.
4 Dicitur quod ratione sui proprii et vari dominii verum est quod [Deus] non eget nostro servicio, sed nos econtra egemus ut serviamus pro habendo suo dominio.—Early Sermons, No. 19, M.S. Lambeth.
of his opinions, he found Church and State united against him? When he appealed to the people in his tracts, did he not hold out to his followers the bait of a temporal reign of the saints?" He neither did nor could. Beside the distinction which, as we have seen, carried his theory into the ideal region, he put a practical obstacle in the way of those "too hasty heads for ordering worlds" who might have tried to make an ill use of it. While he taught that the man in mortal sin forfeited his dominion, he also taught that no one could tell what sin was mortal. For he did not, like the Roman Casuists, divide sin into the categories of mortal and venial according to the nature of each act; for him the only mortal sin was that of which the sinner was finally impenitent. The predestinate cannot sin thus; the reprobate (or, as he prefers to call them, the fore-known) will do so. But since his doctrine of predestination is not supplemented by one of assurance there can be no separation of sheep and goats in this life, where no man can know even what is his own state; much less what is that of others. "If the pope asked me," he says, "whether I were ordained to be saved or predestinate, I would say that I hoped so, but I would not swear it, nor affirm it without condition, though he greatly punished me; nor deny it, nor doubt it, would I no way."  

Those who know how thoroughly Wyclif's doctrines are interwoven so as to form a consistent whole will see that there was no fear of his using this theory of dominion as a dangerous solvent of society, but we are not left to mere inference in this matter. Wyclif constantly asserted the duty of obedience even to wicked rulers, and it is curious that one paradoxical phrase in which he expressed this truth was brought against him as a heresy. "Item quod Deus debet obedire diabolo" was the seventh proposition condemned in the Council of London. The words sound strangely and are marked by the exaggeration of the Schools; but if we take obedience to mean the rendering of fit service, we shall see that it is only an emphatic way of saying that we must give to every one his due.  

1 S. E. W. iii. 426.  
2 See S. E. W. iii. 437.
to Iscariot, when he was a devil, and he submitted himself to Satan to be tempted. It follows that the Christian must subject himself to those who by God’s ordinance and allowance are placed over him.

If we turn from principles to the manner in which Wyclif enforced them we shall find him perfectly consistent. So far as my knowledge of his works goes, there is only one passage which is open to misinterpretation on this point. It occurs in a sermon on the parable of the talents. “If thou ask who shall take away goods from these unjust men, since they be commonly mighty and no man dare take from them, Christ answers here and may not lie; this just man to whom God giveth heaven taketh from this unjust man that that him seemeth to have; and not by his own authority, nor by strength of himself, but by authority of God and by virtue of his law.”¹ Taken by itself this quotation might seem to justify the good in depriving the wicked, but on reference to the context it is clear that Wyclif is insisting upon the ideal or spiritual possession, since he goes on to say: “And some men that shall be safe although they seem now poor, nevertheless they have now heaven and all goods of this world; but this having is now hid and yet unknown to man; for God’s right is not yet put in possession.”

The theory of Dominion is developed most in the Latin works, and finds little place in the popular tracts, but the latter contain many assertions of the duty of obedience to wicked men. I will content myself with one quotation, which is specially directed against those who misused the doctrine of Dominion. “But yet men doubt commonly whether men should pay their debts to these men that they know live in wicked life. And it seems nay, by reason of God, for such men ben unworthy to have any goods; yea to have life given of their God; how be they worthy to receive their debts? since they have lost title of all righteousness. But here men think by God’s law that men should stir such shrews to serve truly their God both by word and deed, and pay them their debts and hope for their

¹ S. E. W. i. 260.
amendment. For as God wills that they live, so he wills that men give (i.e. pay) them. And therefore teaches St. Paul, that Christian men that be servants serve well their heathen lords, by reason of their God. And so we grant well that such receive unjustly and to their damnation debts that men pay them, and yet their debtors meritoriously give these goods.\textsuperscript{1} The latter part of this passage sums up very shortly Wyclif’s belief. The wicked receive wrongfully, yet it is right we should yield them their worldly dues. The question of forfeiture is one to be settled with their chief lord, God, who will exact a strict account, and we have nothing to do with it.

I now pass to another characteristic doctrine of the Reformer, the sinfulness of endowments for the clergy. This, although distinct from the theory of Dominion, was closely connected with it. God, from whom all earthly lordship is derived, gives it all in fee to lay rulers and forbids the clergy to have any share in it. Wyclif appealed to the precedent of the Jewish law by which the priests were to have no inheritance in the land, and urged the example of Christ and his apostles who lived in voluntary poverty. It is a favourite saying of his, borrowed from Augustine, that as lay lords represent the Godhead of Christ in exercising the power which he has entrusted to them, so priests represent his manhood and are bound to follow his humility. There was nothing new in this, since it had been maintained long before by the imperialist writers. Moreover it was only a consistent application of ideas which were dominant throughout Christendom. The Church did not insist on poverty in her ministers, but accounted it a note of the higher life, a part of the vow of every regular. The monk’s rule allowed him nothing of his own,\textsuperscript{2} the friar was for-

\textsuperscript{1} S. E. W. iii. 175. See too the tract on Servants and Lords in this volume, especially p. 229, also S. E. W. iii. 147, “Moreover it were to wit, etc.” Among the Latin works where the duty is enforced may be mentioned the De Sex Jugis, printed in Dr. Lechler’s Appendix (ii. 601). This deserves notice because it is a tract compiled as an instruction to the poor priests.

\textsuperscript{2} Precipue hoc vitium peculiare radicatissimum est de monasteriis, ne quis presumat aliquid dare aut accipere sine jussione abbatis, neque aliquid habere proprium, nullam omnino rem, neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque graphium, sed nihil omnino. —Rule of St. Benedict, xxxiii.
bidden a share even in corporate possession.¹ Wyclif would acknowledge no select higher life. Christ’s rule was binding and was better than any that men could lay down, and since he taught poverty both by precept and example, the clergy was bound to follow his bidding and live on the free-will offerings of the people. In short Wyclif advocated a purely voluntary system, denouncing not merely state subsidies but all endowments. Like Dante² he traced the ills of the Church to the donation of Constantine, which Sylvester had sinned in accepting and which had since spread corruption through Christendom. The laity, who have sinned in heaping these fatal gifts upon the Church, are bound to withdraw them by wise and gradual means.³ The support appointed by God for the clergy is the tithe, and the payment of it is a duty so binding that it may be enforced by excommunication, always on the condition that the discipline is exercised for the good of the sinner and not for the greed of the priest. On the other hand if the pastor fails in his service, his flock should punish him by withdrawal of tithes, but this may only be done by orderly consent of the parishioners and not by individual caprice.

I can safely leave to others the task of criticizing Wyclif’s plan for enforcing “wilful poverty,” but I may be allowed to remark that on this subject there was much excuse for extravagance. The wealth of the Church was the occasion, if not the cause, of such scandals as we now find it hard to imagine. Pluralists who held benefices by the hundred, Popes who sold their patronage openly, and prelates who knew nothing of their offices but their net yield, were the rulers of the Church.⁴

¹ See Rule and Testament of St. Francis (below, pp. 42 and 48).
² Inf. ix. 116. Par. xx. 55.
³ Wyclif’s scheme, which provides some protection for vested interests, is to be found in the Trialogus, iv. 19 (p. 313).
⁴ See Nicolaus de Clamencii, De corrupto Ecclesiae Status in Brown’s Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum, vol. ii. p. 556, etc. Here is his account of the pluralism of the Cardinals: “Quantae illud aviditatis est, quod tantum multitudinem beneficiorum invicem repugnantium tenant? quod Monachi simul et Canonici sunt regulares et seculares? quod sub eodem habitu omnia religionum, ordinum, professionum, jura et officia beneficiaque possident. Non quidem duo vel tria, decem vel viginti, sed centena et ducentena, et interdum multis ad quadragesimam vel quingentas aut amplius: Nec parva vel tenuissim aut omnium pinguesimae et optima,” etc. (p. 569). In another place he says that no one nowadays in taking a cure of souls inquires into anything
What wonder if an earnest reformer longed to clear away the riches which seemed to be choking all spiritual life? I do not wish however to defend Wyclif's views but to explain them, and I am only trying to show that he does not step beyond the reasonable bounds of ecclesiastical politics. It is only by disingenuous devices of controversy that his advocacy of disendowment has been confused with his theories as to Dominion in order to represent him as a socialist and a leveller.\(^1\)

I have dwelt at some length upon these questions relating to property, because until they have been studied it is impossible to understand Wyclif's real position. Had his teaching been as dangerous and subversive as some writers represent it, we cannot suppose that he would have found favour and support with the statesmen of his time, and that not merely with one or two prominent men or at one particular crisis, but during twenty years of active life. Paradoxical as it may seem, I venture to say that one of Wyclif's most marked characteristics is his essential moderation. Even when his language is most vehement the thought and purpose beneath it are sane and reasonable. He indulges himself in heaping charges upon the prelates or friars who are for the moment the objects of his invective; they are spiritual manslayers, they are necromancers, they are ghostly adulterers and Sodomites; and as each fresh sin is added to the list, the accusation is justified with more or less logical ingenuity. These "ornaments to debate" are partly due to habits of paradox acquired in the Schools, and partly they are outlets for his fervid indignation. But if we go down to the kernel of thought, we find no wildness. Whether the question in hand be one of doctrine or discipline, Wyclif has considered it carefully both in principle and in its practical bearings. It is this characteristic that entitles him to his

\(^1\) On the difference between endowments and lay property, see the tract On Servants and Lords, p. 229.
eminence as the first of the Reformers. Long before his time there had been heated sectaries who had denounced the whole system of the Church, but Wyclif was the first to submit it to a searching proof, to examine the prevalent practices and ask how it was they bent away from the ideal at which they ought to aim. In his conclusions he forestalled in many points the judgments of the more moderate reformers of the sixteenth century.

The note of a fanatic is that he cannot see that there is some soul of goodness in things evil; the institution or person that offends him is bad and must be swept away, and he would think it waste of time to inquire what accidental good it may do or to what use it was originally designed. Now it is a favourite practice of Wyclif to look back to the origin of the practice that he is discussing, and even in the act of condemnation he is ready to recognize occasional merits. Take for example this account of the ordinance of confession: “This confession that is made to man hath oft-times been varied in varying of the Church. For first men confessed to God and to the common people, and this confession was used in the time of the apostles. Afterwards men were confessed more specially to priests and made them judges and counsellors of their sinful life. But in the third time, since the fiend was loosed, Pope Innocent ordained a law of confession that each man of discretion should once in the year be privily confessed of his own priest, and added much to this law that he could not ground. And although this Pope’s ordinance do much good to many men, nevertheless many men think that it harmeth the Church.”

It is not enough to say that this passage is not fanatical; it shows a temper which is fundamentally opposed to fanaticism, and this is the more noticeable because it comes from a tract of late date and vehement tone. Again, on the subject of image-

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1 S. E. W. iii. 255. This is from a tract written about 1382. Compare the following passage “Nam quacumque hora quis pecaverit debet confiteri, et in tantum quo sibi proderit . . . habita sacerdotum copia confiteri” (Early Sermons, No. I. MS. Lambeth). I give this passage, written when his views were less advanced, as showing the same principle and the same temper of setting the spiritual advantages above the formal rule.
worship and the adoration of saints, Wyclif, while opposing himself to the prevalent uses of the Church, spoke with reason and moderation. He denounced the waste of treasure on "dead stocks,"¹ but allowed that images were not forbidden to Christians, who may use them to excite devotion, and must always be careful not to adore the sign in place of the thing signified. If devotion is once paid to the image itself, or miraculous powers are attributed to it, it becomes an evil instead of a benefit, and thus the setting of one image above another is an act of idolatry.² Here we see how he tries to find a principle to judge by, and does not content himself with vague invective.

In treating of the adoration of saints, he shows the same spirit. No devotions to saints, he says, can be of any avail except so far as they honour Christ or excite men to love him, and since all gifts can be obtained only through his mediation, it seems to many that it would be better to pray directly to him.³ In accordance with this, we may notice that in the tract on the Ave Maria printed in this volume there is nothing said of invoking the help of the Virgin, although her example is insisted on, as might be expected from one who believed her to be sinless. Yet although he thus prefers prayer to Christ, he can scarcely be said to discourage those who find devotion to the saints profitable; but there is no indecision in his language as to the abuses which clustered round the worship of the saints; the treasure wasted on their shrines, the time thrown away on pilgrimage, the superstitious regard for relics.⁴ Most likely it was

¹ Below, pages 7 and 210.
² Et sic uni ymagini plus affecti quam alteri adorant ymagines, quod indulbie est idolatria.—De Mandatis Divinis, cap. 15, MS. Univ. Camb. II. 6. 13.
³ Trial. iii. 30 (p. 236). So too in the Dialogus, c. 14: Et videtur multis nulla oracio porsclct sancto Christi est laudabilis, nisi de quanto acut devociorem in Christum, sic quod si omnes intenciones et omnes oraciones uniri possent in Christum, . . . . cest utilis Christiano omnes oraciones specialiter Christo porrige.—MS. Ashburnham, f. 104b.
⁴ It is to be noticed that even while he still upheld prayers to the saints, his views on these matters were decided. In a sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, on the festival of the Assumption, in which he says that all human beings need to ask Mary's aid, he supposes that God may have removed her body, like those of Moses and St. John, to prevent the harm which would have come from worshipping it.—Early Sermons, XXVI. MS. Lambeth.
indignation against these abuses that led him to question the doctrines on which they depended.

These examples are enough to show Wyclif's temper and method, and it would be tedious and unprofitable to discuss in detail every point on which he differed from the dominant opinion of his time. Everywhere we find the same habit of judging forms and rites by their tendency to promote moral and spiritual aims; and since the Church of his time had become a mass of formalism, it was inevitable that he should find himself in opposition to its most cherished practices.

There remains yet one matter which I cannot pass over; Wyclif's opposition to the friars. Until lately it was supposed that his first public action was in opposition to the mendicant orders, that he threw himself into the lists against them at Oxford in succession to Fitzralph. Dr. Shirley first showed this to be an error, and Dr. Lechler has given quotations from some of Wyclif's earlier works which express respect for the friars, as following the life of poverty incumbent on all priests. If we could rely on the authority of his antagonist Woodford, we should believe that it was only the opposition of the friars to his doctrine of the Eucharist which led him to attack them. This view has been accepted by Dr. Lechler, who dates Wyclif's first assault upon the friars in 1381, and thus throws the whole of the controversy with the Mendicants into the last three years of his life. There is considerable authority for this view. Besides the statement of Woodford we have the information from a contemporary chronicler that in 1377 Wyclif, in disputing at Oxford against the possessions of the clergy, gave much praise to the Franciscan rule. In spite of this I cannot put the beginning of the quarrel so late. To go no further than the present volume, the tract De Officio Pastorali, as I have shown in the head-note, is not later than 1378, and yet the friars are attacked in it without mercy. The use of the cant phrase

1 Lechler, i. 588.

2 In the English translation Dr. Lechler modifies this statement slightly. He says: "From 1378 we date a period of a few years in which Wyclif began to attack the Mendicants upon single points of error and abuse."—Vol. ii. 143.

3 Eulogium Historiarum (continuation), p. 345.
CAUSE OF QUARREL WITH THE FRIARS.

"cayms castels" for the friars' houses is enough to show that the quarrel was already bitter.¹ We must not assume that any tract which does not refer to Wyclif's sacramental doctrine was written before that doctrine was developed, but it is safe to say that, if the strife between him and the friars had been first or chiefly aroused by the Eucharistic controversy, it would have been mentioned in any long tract specially directed against them, yet we find no notice of it in the De Pseudosfreris (our No. XXII.). The same is the case in some of the Latin tracts² while in one, the De Contrarietate Duorum Dominorum,³ there is a very marked instance, since in the course of a fierce attack upon the friars Wyclif gives a list of seven heresies of which they are guilty, in which there occurs no mention of the Host. These considerations support the view which I have already expressed on other grounds,⁴ that at the time when Wyclif first declared his heresy as to the Sacrament he was in the thick of a controversy with the friars. I may add that the antagonism is not disproved by showing that Wyclif spoke with respect of the founders of the Mendicant orders. As we may see by the tract on the Rule of St. Francis (our No. III.), while he objected to all separate orders, what made him most wrathful with the friars was that they professed the poverty which was his own ideal but were untrue to their rule; nor is there any reasonable doubt that there were scandals enough among them to account for his hostility. If I may trust the impression made by reading a great deal of his invective, I should say that the abuses which most stirred his wrath were those connected with the various forms of indulgence and absolution; the sale of pardons and letters of fraternity, the offer of special prayers, and the claims of holiness for all admitted to the habit, even in the death agony. When and how his earlier good opinion was changed into dislike can only be a matter of conjecture, but such an effect may well

¹ This is found also in the Latin version of the tract, which Dr. Lechler assigns to 1378.
² e.g. De Servitate Civili (Shirley, 68) and de Nova Prevaricantia Mandatorum. (Shirley, 79).
³ No. 33 in Shirley's Catalogus.
⁴ See above, p. xiv.
have been produced by his experience as a parish priest. Nothing can have been more trying to a parson who was doing his best to keep alive the flame of spiritual religion in his flock than the visit of one of these vagrant friars, preaching a catch-penny sermon, shriving men of sins which they were ashamed to confess to their own pastor, and generally encouraging the belief that a few easy benefactions to the convent would take the place of penitence and good life. I would not for a moment suggest that friars were always or even mostly of such a type, but very many such were to be seen in the villages. Jealousy once aroused was likely to be increased by the reports of Wyclif’s poor priests, between whom and the friars there was a constant rivalry which often came to open quarrelling. If we take into account besides the permanent antagonism between regulars and seculars at the University, from the influence of which Wyclif can scarcely have escaped, we shall find both public and personal causes enough to set him against the friars long before they led the attack on his sacramental doctrines.

We have now passed in review the most distinctive points in Wyclif’s teaching, of which the main lines are clear even with our present materials, although many details cannot be settled until more of his Latin works are published. A natural curiosity leads us to turn from doctrines and opinions, and ask what the man was like. Portraits exist which are said to represent him, but of too recent a date to allow us to rely on their authenticity. From verbal description all we know is that he was thin and worn, and most innocent of conversation, and that he had a charm of manner which led men of the highest rank to delight in his society. Judging from his works it is rather difficult to discern in what the charm consisted. They are marked by learning and earnestness, and are occasionally relieved by touches of witty or humorous sarcasm, but they lack the strong personal stamp which wins our regard for Luther in spite of all his faults. Of Wyclif’s own feelings, his inward struggles, his doubts and hesitations, we learn nothing; even

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1 We may trace it in his complaint that the friars monopolise books (pp. 128 and 221), which was made also by Fitzralph in his Defensio Curatorum.
when he tells us how he has changed an opinion it is in a quiet unimpassioned way as a simple relation of fact. Nor do we find in him what may be called the religious genius; the deep insight into spiritual things, the vivid sense of the invisible presences, which at times carries Luther, as it does St. Bernard or St. Theresa, into mystical rapture. Wyclif's piety is fervent and unfeigned, but never lifts him out of himself; his distinction is moral and intellectual—a moral energy which could not be satisfied with anything short of an ideal, fearless intellectual activity which proved all things, and shrank from no conclusions in an honest and devout search after truth. This preponderance of the intellectual and moral sides of his nature over the emotional accounts in some degree for the sense of hardness which we are conscious of in reading his works. When angered by a mischievous doctrine or an evil practice, he is apt to express and justify his indignation so freely that even his positive teaching seems to be tinged with polemic harshness. He was conscious of the defect, and tells us that he strove and prayed against it,¹ but it was to the end of his life too strong for him. Yet, whatever were his faults of temper, he must have possessed a singular attractiveness. No mere reputation for learning and intellect could have made him the adviser of the King, the companion of nobles, the head of a party at Oxford, and the adored leader of a band of faithful friends and disciples there and at Lutterworth. Not even the rancour of his enemies could impugn the blamelessness of his life, and the only sins they charged against him were pride of intellect and desire of distinction, accusations which no one can hope to escape who sets himself against the prevailing beliefs and customs of his time. He has however been blamed for cowardice by those who have accepted Knighton's very suspicious story of

¹ See a passage from the De Veritate quoted by Dr. Shirley, F. Z. xliv. Dr. Shirley speaks of 'a quick temper,' but what Wyclif acknowledges is that something of vindictiveness was apt to be mingled with his righteous anger. Another characteristic avowal is this: "Omnes enim cogitamus superius, quomodo vindicator seperetur de hostibus Christi aetate ecclesiae, et putius cogitamus imprecando istam vindictam quam alia media misericordiae, quae sic inuriantibus sederent ad salutem."—De Sex Jugis, Lechler (Appendix), ii. 603.
his recantation at Oxford.\footnote{Höfler tries to back up the accusation by the following quotation from the tract de Apostasia: "Sed protestor publice in his scriptis quod si aliqua persona ecclesiae, etiam Robertus Gibbonensis (the Antipope Clement VII.) vel aliquis de suis complicitibus, et multo magis si papa noxter Urbanus VI. vel alius Catholicus de sibi fideliter adhaerentibus docuerit aliquam partem hujus sententiae esse falsam, volo paratissime revocare."—Anna von Luxemburg, p. 81. Höfler treats this as a profession of obedience, put on to shield himself from the charge of pertinacious heresy and leave a way open to recant. Was there ever a reformer or innovator who did not express his willingness to recant if any one would teach him better?} Even apart from this he is said to have been shifty; speaking out his opinions vehemently and fully before his disciples and the crowd, denying, veiling, or minimizing them before authority. I do not think he is fairly open to censure on this point. No doubt, when put upon his trial, he explained away some of the charges brought against him. In his defence handed in to the Bishops in 1378 he says that some of the charges were founded on the reports of youths who had heard him lecture,\footnote{"Et quia per pueros reportata est sententia fidel, quam dixi in scholis et alibi, ac magis, per pueros etiam usque ad Romanam curiam transportata," etc.—Wals. I. 337.} and even if the delators had by a singular chance been accurate, yet sentences detached from their context must sometimes have needed qualification. Yet any one who looks through his defence will see that in many cases he substantially upholds his original theses, and that so clearly that the Bishops would certainly have condemned him if they had been free to act. The pertinacity with which during the last years of his life he reiterated his most heterodox doctrines in all ways, in tracts and sermons as well as in formal treatises, shows that he did not shrink from braving the authorities of the Church. If we bear in mind how solitary he then was, without any party to encourage him by their applause or nerve him by their expectations, we shall wonder at his constancy rather than accuse him of faint-heartedness.

I need say little as to the character of the tracts which are printed here. In the short head-notes that I have prefixed to each I have tried to call attention to the salient points of interest, and to give my best judgment as to authenticity. I may however remark that while the book has been going through the press I have been permitted to use the volume of Latin Sermons in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and have
read the Latin tracts in the Ashburnham MS., and the result of this increased knowledge of Wyclif's unquestioned works is to make me lean more to the side of genuineness than when most of the head-notes were written. A critic must have much more faith in his verifying faculty than I possess if he can hope always to decide with certainty whether a given tract was written by Wyclif or by one of his intimate associates, but I can safely affirm that the contents of this volume are Wyclifite if not Wyclif's; that they represent the views which he maintained, rarely if ever coloured by the exaggerations of the later and more violent Lollards.

It cannot be denied that there is a certain sameness which makes these tracts rather tiresome to read continually. Yet any one who does so will be rewarded now and then by touches which depict, sometimes humorously, the manners of the time. The bad side of the friar is shown to us under many aspects; as a pardoner with stolen bulls and false relics (p. 154), as a pedlar carrying ornaments or pet dogs as presents to ladies who were sure to return his gifts with interest (p. 12), or, as he was more generally seen upon his rounds, accompanied by an "Iscariot" into whose bag was poured the produce of his sturdy begging, while he evaded the rule which forbade him to touch coin by counting it with a stick or wearing gloves (p. 49); or, lastly, he is presented to us as an interloping preacher, crying down the parish priest and tickling the ears of the people in the hope of a good collection (pp. 443-445). Elsewhere we catch a glimpse of the frivolous crowd that hung about the great prelates (as about other noblemen), dressed in the most extravagant fashions of the day, and swearing curious and profane oaths unmeet for the ears of their patrons (p. 38). Or coming to the parish priests we may see by the vices of which they are accused—drunkenness, lewdness, and gambling—that the prevailing standard of morals among them was low, since otherwise such reproaches would have been absurd and ineffective. It may perhaps be well to add that we must not look here for a fair picture of friars or secular clergy. Men like Wyclif whose mission is to make the crooked straight;
preachers, reformers, prophets, do not supply us with an impartial sketch of manners. The evils against which they strive engross their attention, and we can no more trust to their declinations than to those of a satirist, yet they are full of instruction to one who knows how to read them with due allowance. ¹

Even on matters that are not ecclesiastical we have some notices of interest. The complaints of jury-packing (p. 182), and perversion of justice (p. 247), of extortionate taxation and seizure of goods in exchange for worthless tally sticks, of serfdom enforced unjustly (pp. 233, 234); all these show us how the weak had to suffer, and how much food was daily given to that fire of indignation which after long smouldering broke forth in the wild rebellion of the peasants.

I have yet to say a few words as to the purpose and plan of this volume. My object has been to complete the publication of Wyclif's English works. With this view I have printed all the tracts enumerated in Dr. Shirley's Catalogue that were omitted by Mr. Arnold, except when there is a strong balance of evidence against their authenticity. The exceptions are:—

No. 1. A collection of sermons ascribed to Wyclif only by a guess of Dr. Vaughan; ² Nos. 6-9. Commentaries on the Gospels and the Apocalypse, which are by a later writer; ³ No. 11, parts 1 and 7, which are shown by Mr. Arnold to be by another author. ⁴ With regard to No. 48, I think, with Mr. Arnold, that it is not Wyclif's, and I have left it out with less hesitation since it has been printed by Dr. Todd. ⁵

Of the pieces that are printed here, "De Officio Pastorali" and "De Papa" (Shirley 61 and 62) are undoubtedly genuine, but were out of Mr. Arnold's reach at the time his book was brought out. The rest of the volume consists of his leavings. On questions

¹ I am setting down truisms, but Mr. Arnold is so severe upon Wyclif for his onesidedness that I feel bound to apologise lest I incur the same condemnation.—S. E. W. iii. ix.
² See note in Shirley's Catalogue and S. E. W. i. p. iii.
³ S. E. W. i. p. iv. and Lechler, i. 440 (l. 334 English edition).
⁴ S. E. W. iii. p. vi. There are bits inserted, which may probably be by Wyclif. The piece will be edited for this Society by Canon Simmons among his Lay Folks' Catechisms.
⁵ Three treatises by John Wycklyffe, D.D., Dublin 1861.
of genuineness and interest, which have to be determined by internal evidence, it is impossible that any two students should be exactly in accord, and it is not for me to complain that the gleanings left for me are scarcely less worth than the harvest which Mr. Arnold gathered. Some of these tracts, e.g. "On Feigned Contemplative Life" (No. X.), and "On Servants and Lords" (No. XV.), seem to me to be above the average even of his third volume in interest.

As to the method pursued in editing, several tracts are from unique copies, and required only careful transcription and correction of the press. Where two or more MSS. gave me the opportunity of collation, I have not attempted to note mere differences of spelling, lest I should encumber the page with footnotes and references to an intolerable degree. Whenever it was possible I have kept the reading of the MS. which has served as groundwork, giving the alternatives in the note, and have corrected the text only where I thought there could be no doubt it was faulty. I have given in the margin the references for texts quoted by Wyclif, but I have not tried to trace home his many quotations from the Fathers, etc.

In the notes I have adduced some parallel passages from the Latin works. It would have been easy to add many from the English sermons and tracts already published; but as my object was to show the resemblance of the text to Wyclif's authentic writings, I have drawn by preference from the Latin, as their genuineness is unquestionable. An additional motive for this course is that the Latin works are for the most part less readily available than the English, and for a similar reason I have taken as much as possible from MSS., in the hope that if my quotations should not seem to the point, their insertion may be excused by their intrinsic interest.

I must not omit to acknowledge the kindness which has made my work possible. For the loan of MSS. I have to thank His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Right Hon. the Earl of

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1 When the verse number is in brackets, e.g. Luke x. [7], the reference to the chapter is given in the MS.
Ashburnham. The use of the Ashburnham MS. has been doubly valuable to me, both as enabling me to add two important and authentic tracts, and as giving me an opportunity of studying the Latin tracts contained in it, many of them unique. The strict regulations binding on the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, do not allow of the loan of MSS., but I have much reason to be grateful to Mr. Lewis, the Librarian, for affording the utmost facility in the use of the MS. from which most of the tracts in this volume are copied.

I have also to thank Professor Atkinson of Trinity College, Dublin, and Mr. S. J. Herrtage for generous assistance, and especially my thanks are due to Mr. Furnivall, without whose encouragement my task would not have been undertaken, and whose ready helpfulness has been most useful to me throughout.
CORRECTIONS.

Page 8, l. 33 for takis read talis.
P. 21, l. 1 ,, with ,, with.
P. 22, l. 19 ,, pat ,, pat.
P. 30, l. 14 ,, critti ,, critti.
P. 46, l. 25 ,, ṭertyneḥ ,, pertyneḥ.
P. 80, l. 19 ,, Pou ,, Pou.
P. 129, l. 1 ,, leuyng ,, lenyng.
P. 218, l. 11, margin ,, Eccles ,, Ecclus.
P. 224, l. 28 ,, ṭart ,, part.
P. 286, margin ,, Jod x. 9 ,, Job x. 4.
P. 334, l. 5 ,, disceyeud ,, disceyued.
P. 350, l. 13, dels full stop after hope.
P. 400, l. 8, insert comma after vermis.
P. 425, l. 33, dels full stop after deye.

P. 497. Note on undren. Canon Simmons has kindly sent me some quotations from “The Seven Canonical Hours of Prayer in the Anglo-Saxon Church,” 1715, which show that undren originally meant tierce, however loosely it was used later. The word was growing antiquated in Wyclif’s time. It occurs four times in the first version of the Bible, but is always omitted in the second.
WYCLIF'S ENGLISH TRACTS.

I.

OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES.

With regard to this tract, as with many that follow, I can give no decided opinion as to authorship. I find it monotonous and poor in style, but in substance it contains nothing that may not be Wyclif's, while there is so much of his characteristic teaching that it must be by one of his intimate disciples if not by himself. The reference to Bishop Spencer's crusade (p. 8) shows that it was written about 1383. In some parts it very much resembles the Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars, printed by Mr. Arnold, No. xxiv. Compare especially pp. 14, 15, with Chapter xvii. of the Fifty Heresies (S. E. W. III. 280).

There is a lively description in Chap. iii. of the tricks of the friars, which agrees well with Chaucer's description of his friar, whose

typet was aye farsed full of kynyes
And pynnes for to give faire wyfes.

The touch about their making friends with women by giving them pet dogs (p. 12) is, so far as I know, peculiar to this tract.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X., and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

I. Christ commands us to flee the leaven of Pharisees, who belonged to a singular religion. The Religious of these days are like them.

II. Proofs of hypocrisy. Their pride, envy, persecution of true preachers, covetousness, self-indulgence, and unchastity.

III. How they offend against each of the Ten Commandments.

IV. How they do the contrary of the works of bodily mercy.

V. How they do the contrary of the works of spiritual mercy.

VI. How they fail in Faith, Hope, and Charity.

VII. The duty of exposing their wickedness.

VIII. Cowardice and falseness prevalent among all classes. Faults of priests.

IX. Faults of Lords.

X. Faults of Commons.

XI. The faults of the Religious are much the worst.
OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES. [CHAP. I.

Attendite a fermento phariseorum quod est ypocrisis
Lucæ, 12°.

Capitulum primum.

Christ's command to his disciplis and to allr cristene men to
vndirstondë & fise þe sowrdow of pharisees, þe wiche is
ypocrisie. First pharisees been men of synguler religiou
fonden of synful men, biaide þe ordynaunce of god þat is
tanþ in holi writ. And þy cristes tyne þere weren þre
sectes of ordres founded of mannys ordinaunaces, as pharisees,
saduces and esсеis. of two þe firste matthew spekeþ in his
gospel. And of þe þridde spekeþ þe maister of stories. The
ﬁrste two weren grete men of name and bauyng, and weren
stronge enemies to crist & his lawe, and disceyueden þe peple
by ypocrisie, & weren ful cousious. And þerfore Seint
Joon baptist & crist clepede hem ypocrisit & serpentes and
addir kyndles, & þhu cursede hem ofte, þee eiþte tyms, as þe
gospel seip. But crist louede & saude þame gode men of
hem, as nicodemë & poul, & brouȝte hem out of her ordris
to fredom of þe gospel & distroyed þese ordris, as holi writ
seip. And þif oure newe religious ben in þese same synnych,
as ful of cousitise & ypocrisie, & stryuen aþens þe fredom of
þe gospel & cristis lif & his apostlis, þei ben cursid of god ;
and þei shullen be brouȝt out of here ordris maad of synful
men & brouȝt clenery to þe gospel & fredom of cristis ordre,
for it is most perfït & most esi to wynne heuene by & most
sikir, for þe most myþt, most wisdom, & most charite of þhu
crist þat made it and made nouȝt þise neuþe ordris. And þif
þei hadden be needful or proïstable he wolde hane maad hem
by hym self or by his apostelis, or teld in holi writ bi what
man & what tyne þei shulden hane come in; but nouȝt of al
þis is founded in holi writ, in wich is al nedful and proïstable
ordynaunce of holi chyrohe ; & þerfore al þis nouerlie of
ordris is suspect of ypocrisie & luciferis pride and blasfémye
OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES.

of antecristis ypocrie. last men doon įs nouelrie for vein glorie & for getynge more plentifouli of wordli godis bi abite & ōp̄er sygnes of holinesse; sīpp̄e įs ei mȳsten lyue as pleasan deli to god & as moche profit to holi chirohe, and fulli ocupie al įs mȳtis bōhe of soules & body be ṭat cleene religioun ṭat crist made hym self to his disciplis & prestis as bi įsse nouelries maad of ydiotis & synful wrecchis of lucifers pride; for įs ben taken as holier men & holden hem self more wor̄pi for įsse newe ordnaunces of her owen fennyd heuedis, ṭat letten hem from įs better ocupacioun, * įs an for clenessse of cristīs ordre, įoũ įs seruen* neuer so perfitly crist in holy lyuyng and trewe techyng wijpoute įs newe proffessions and ceremonyes, ľe whiche crist and his apostlis diden neuer ne taũt̄en in al holy writ. It is a fendis pride a synful creature to putte defautte in ĭe ordynaunce of crist, seiyīng in word or dede ĭat crist taū̄t̄e not his disciplis and his prestes ĭe beste ordre and religioun, but lefte ĭe beste ordre bihylene a ōounsand ņeer and more til sathanas was vn-bouns̄den to deseçyne men bi lesyngis and ypocrisīe, and sīp̄en crist made and taū̄t̄e ĭe beste religioun, it is a stynkynḡe pride of luciferis children to leue ĭe betre, and constreyne men to leue ĭe betere, and take and nede men to holde for̄pe ĭe worse. Of blasphemye, for ĭes newe religious seyn in word or dede ĭat crist mȳt̄ not, coude not, ĵ or wolde not teche cristen men ĭe beste religioun to wynnes heunene by ; and ĵif Įs be sȭ crist was not god, for ĭanne he was oute of charite. And in ĭis same ĭe seyn priuicley ĭat a synful ydiot was more ĵ wis and fullere of charite ĭan inu crist, sīp̄ bi hem Įis synful ydiot ĭaf̄ and vsed a betere religioun ĭan euer̄e dide crist god almȳty. ypocrisīe is a fals seynyng of holynes when it is not in trew̄pe biore god, and so ypocrisīe is fully contrarie to crist, ĭaf̄ is trew̄pe as ĭe gospel techēp̄, and it is comunely ĭe mooste perylous synne of alle. For comunely an ypocrīte dȭ neuer verrey penaunce, for trist ĭaf̄ he has

They pride themselves more on keeping their ceremonies than on serving Christ. *(p. 2 MS. Corp.)*

They imply that Christ's teaching was defective.

1 Up to this point is copied from AA, as the text in X is illegible from damp.
2 suwen AA.
3 omitted X.
4 omitted X.
in his own holy feyned lif and for likynge of veyne glorie and for wynynge of worldly goodis; and ypocrisis ben most cursed before al oþer þeues, for þei ben þeues of goodis of grace and dysceyuen oþer men in goodis of vertu, þat ben betore þan goodis of fortune or goodis of kynde, and as a þing is betore so þe mysusyn þer-of is more damnable, as lyncolne and oþer clerkis prouen; and þerfore crist in þe gospel cursid so ofte ypocrisis more þan oþere synful men.

Capitulum 2m.

See now wheþer oure religious þis day ben ypocrisis.

jif þei bynden hem self bi herte, word and sygnes to moste mekenesse after crist and his apostels, and fit ben most proude of worldly goodes, of beaute, of welsch, of strengþe of body, of conynge, of worldly and fleischly freschipe, of kyn, and of holynes of here singuler religion, þan ben þei most cursed and synful ypocrisis.

jif þei maken hem self in siote of peple more holie 1 þan oþere men and bosten þerof in owtward signes or wordes, as mornynge abite, lettris of fraternite, þat crien here holynes and synguler deuocations bifor men, and bihynde ceesen of; and do þis for worldly wynnyng and veyn glorie, and preisen more here owen longe preiery þan oþer mennes, 2 þei ben þan foule ypocrisis.

jif þei bynden hem to most charite and þer wiþ þen in gret enuye amongst hem self, and han dispitt and indignacion of good lyf and tretwe techyng of cristis gospel þat symple men don out of here ordre, þes ben perilous ypocrisis and cursed of god for defaute of charite.

jif þei ben glad of here enemys myslynyng or techyng, to lette þer-by men to teche frelichre goddis lawe, þei ben cursed ypocrisis.

jif þei bynden hem to most pacience and mercy and þer

1 omitted X.

2 The M.S. contraction-mark is that for -es, though ‘mennes’ occurs on p. 30, l. 22, and in the first two sheets at least, all the other noun flexions, except this ‘mennes’ (or ‘mennes’) are in ‘is,’ ‘ye’ or ‘es.’
wyf haten and ben woode wrof with men hat trewly dispisen
synne and reprouen her hypocrisie, and pursuen hem cruely
and woth out mercy hat frely and sadly teychyn þe gospel and
þe comauadements of god wheryby her symonye and hypocrisie
is more knowen of þe peple, þanne þei ben cruel ypocrisit.

ȝif þei pursuen trwe men for teychyn of þe gospel, and seyn
þere wip þat þei pursuen hem for errors þat þei seyn openly
þe peple when þei liæn & falsely sauanedren trewe men,
but þe pursuyt is mæd for prestes teychyn men where þei
schullen do heres almes to heres moste nedey neibores after þe
gospel; þan þei be cursed ypocrisit.

ȝif þei maken prelatis and lordis, bi heres fals flaterynge
and lesynge in confessions and preuei conseiles, to lette prestis
to preche goddis lawe and to lette þe peple to knowe and to
kepe þe comauadements of god, lest frenis ypocrisie and
wynny[n]g be stoppid and þe peuples almes betere spendid,
þanne þei be cursed ypocrisit.

ȝif þei come in to þe chirehe to holde and meyntene þe
pouert of crist and his apostelis and bynden hem þer to, and
þer wib þen most counetouse abouen worldely goodis, summe
covetousness aboute temporal almes nedles and summe aboute worldely
lordyschype, bi ypocrisie and lesynge and flaterynge, þei ben
þan trecherous ypocrisit and perilous enemys of crist and his
chirche.

ȝif þei maken profession to most hev pouert and to be *[p. 4 MS.]
deed to þe world and worldely þingis, and wif þis stryuen
cyþ and day who of hem may bile gaiest wast housie and
building of gay costly places, as chirchis or castelis to herberwen lordis ise
houses, and ladyes, and beggen of pore men þer-to þat han nouþ to
lyuen by ne here children, þei ben perilous ypocrisit and
dysceyuen rich and poore.

ȝif þei ordeynen ydiotis to ben lymytours þat best kuanyn
begge, and holde goode men and kuanyn in holy writt fro
prechynge, and dysceyuen men bi pardons, lettris of fraternite
and priuest preieris for to geten worldely muk more þan
deceyving men soule helpe, þanne þei be fals ypocrisit and worschipen
false maunametis.
OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES.  [CHAP. II.

| luxury in houses, vessels and food, |
| neglect of preaching, |
| studying law instead of holy writ, |
| indulgence in rich food, |

Phil. iii. 19.

encouraging lords in oppressing their tenants,

fornication and adultery,

[p. 5 MS.]
sodomy.

The devil brings together such "lumps" of

1 omitted X.

2 Aristotle AA.

¶ Jif pei bynden hem to trauail faste and techyng of pe gospel frely, as crist and his apostelis diden, and her-wiþ ordyynen costly chamberis and beddis and siluerene vessel and gay clothes and costly mete and drink, as knyhtis, barouns or erlis, and prechyn1 not but onys or þries in pe þeer bi-
fore grete lordis and comustees for veyn glorie or worldely wynnyng, þei be þanne ypocrisit at þe fulle.

¶ Jif þei trauilen faste in aristole2 and newe sophymes to ben clepyd maistres, and þan trauilen not in holy writt but veyn pleies & corioustees, and excusen hem her-bi fro preiyngge and rysynge at mydnyt, þei ben ypocrisit; for þei dor not goddis seruyce in hem selve but drawen opere men þer-fro.

¶ Jif þei bynden hem to grete penance and abstynence of mete and drynk and þer-of bosten to þe peple, and her-wiþ seken lustys of costly metis and drynkis, and bien hem derrere þan lordis don, and dwellen in courtis wiþ lordes and ladies to feden herz bely fast, and leuen herz devotions of cloiste, þei ben foul ypocrisit, for þei maken her stynkyngge bely herz false god as seynt poule seip.

¶ Jif þei plesen lordes and ladies in synne and comsorten hem to don extorcionis to here pore tenaustes and to meyn-
tene false causes for to haue lykyngis of herz foule wombe; þei ben wickid ypocrisit and robberis of poore men and traitours to lordes and ladyes.

¶ Jif þei bynde hem selve to clene chastite boþe of body and soule and of dede and wille, and her-wiþ don fornycaciouns and auoutrie wiþ wyynes and nonnes, and alen wommen þat wiþ-stonden *hem in þis synne; þei ben foule ypocrisit.

¶ Jif þei don þe cursed synne of sodom wiþ hem selve, and seyn to nyse wyammen þat it is lesse synne to trespase wiþ hem þan wiþ opere weddid men, and vndir taken for þe synne of þe wommen, and norischen ryche men and wyammen in lecherie and in auoutrie for monye and to haue here owne lustis; þei ben cursid ypocrisit and distroien cristendom.

It semþ þe deuyl gedreþ siche lumpis of yonge men, fatte
and lykynge and ydyl, and byndip hem fro wyues, hat men young men to in-
myten hauie bi goddis lawe, to maken false heiris and to-
for-do pe kynde of men and so make pe erpe cursed of god
and alle his seyntis. And pus pei ben ypocrisit moste damp-
nable bi-for god.

If pei seyn hat pei ben most holy and best men of
religion, and pei wip lyuen is most pride, most enuye and
wrape, in most coucitise and ydilnesse, in most glitone,
dronkennessse, or surfet and sexcherie.¹

Capitulm 3m.

See now where pei breken falsly alle pe comausdementis of god. If pei chesyn to be reulid more after pe ordynance of synful men and ydiotis pan after pe clene ordynance of crist, and seyn hat synful menues ordynance is betere and sikere for men and more perfitt pan is pe clene ordynance of crist; pei worschipen false goddis and ben heretikys and blasphemes; and so pei breken pe first mausdement of god. If pei dreden more and ponyschen more for brekyng of synful menues contradicions pan for comausdementis of god cursedly broken, and studien and louen more here priuat reulis pan pe hestis of god, pei worschepen, louen and dreden more synful men, and in caas damnyd develis, pan god almytti. For as austyn seip a man makiþ hat ping his god Austyn.
pe whiche he dredip most or loueþ most.

If pei chargen men more to seke blynde stockys or ymagis and to offre to hem more pan to pore bedrede men and more pan to charge goddis hestis; pei worschepen false goddis, for pou; a man breke goddis hestis pei wolde soone and lijtly assoile him, but if he make a vow to a blynd pylumgymage or Pilgrimages. to sende his offryngge to siche a stok; hat schal not be dispensid wip but reserved to a grettere satrap. And in pis pei chargen more pe brekyngge of a folie a-vow of synful men pan pe brekynge of goddis *hestis; but wherere is more ydolatrie? [p. 6 MS.]

¹ Probably there should follow "pei ben cursed ypocrisit," unless the preceding clause is to be taken as part of the sentence. But in both MSS. it is distinctly marked off.
II. They swear falsely to draw children to their order.

If yei sweren in yein and many false opis to bigile jonge children to here yein religion, sweryng þat it is þe beste; who takip þe name of god in more ydelnesse and more dispitt? Þif þei taken þe charge to ben trewe vikeris or seruants of crist and þer-wip taken upon hem falsly þat þinge þat isreserved to god only, as to make men partyners of here medeful dedis, and to graunte hem þe blisse of heuen and pardon to ale cristen men for to meyntene worldely lordship and cœuitise of þat prist þat schulde be most meke, most pore, most redy to dye for cristen mennes soulis; who takip more cursidly þe name of god in yein?

If þei vndirtaken to brynge souls out of purgatorie bi heres preiers and here to recceyuen myche gold or rentis, and þer-wip lyuen in pride, enuye and oþere grete synnes; who takip more goddis name in yein, and more cursidly disceynþ cristen men? ¶ For crist seip to siche men in þe gospel of seynt luke: What seie þee to me lord! lord! and don not my comaundementis; and in þe gospel of matheu seip crist þat siche ypoeritis worshipeñ him wiþ outing cause; and by salomones bok seip god þat his preiere is cursed and abhomynable þat turnep a wey his eris þat he here not goddis lawe; and also bi þe prophete ysaie and malachie and austin and gregory and many moo.

Luke vi. 46.

Matth. xv. 8.

Prov. xxviii. [9.]

Isiaish i. [15.]

Mal. i. [10.]

III. They use the holiday to preach fables and to beg.

¶ If þei maken hem beai on þe holy day to preche fablis and leyngis to þe peple and not þe gospel, and gon fro place to place and fro man to man to begge of pore men for here false leyngis, and letten men fro here denocious; þei kepen not wel here holiday. ¶ If þei drawen þe peple in þe holiday by coryste of gaye wyndownes and colours and peyntyngis and babwynrie fro compusion of here synnes and fro mynde of heuenely þinges, and fede riche men wiþ pore mennes goodis, wiþ costly metis and wynes and wast spicerie to glotonye, dronkenesse, lecherie, and weiard takis, and suffren pore men hungry and þristi and in gret mischef; þei kepen enyl here holyday and letten oþere men to kepen it. ¶ If þei studien on þe holy day aboute experymentis or
wiche craft ye vn songis and knackyng and harpyng, ye gi
terneyng & daunsyng & oprne veyn trislis to geten be
stynkyng loye of damyselies, and steare hem to worldly
vynte and synnes; be breken foule be per holyday and ben
 procurators of be fend.

¶ Jif be worshipe gretly here singular patroon and dis-
pisen god be trynte and ihü crist ours goode fader, when
be putten his lawe and his ordynace bihynde; be
worshipen not here fader after goode lawe. ¶if be louen
more here singuler conregacion þan be oomynte of cristen
men, þei worshipen not but dispisen owre modirs holy
chiroche. ¶if þei drawen parishones fro obedience and loue
& sacramentis of her gostely fadris for hers owne wynnyng,
as in confessious and beriynge & herynge of massis for
offyrng; how worshipen þei and techen oprne to worshipe
here gostli fadris? ¶if þei drawen children fro fadir and
modir and maken hem of here singulers religions, þat þei
may not susteyne here heldris lif be þei neuer so feble and
pore; how worshipen þei god and techen childre to leve þe
manulement of god and to suffere fadirs and modir to perishe
for feyned obedience to synful mannus tradicionus? certis
þis ilke fals religious is gilty of þeste and manquellyng
also, sif he is cause of þe old pore mannus deþ.

¶ Jif þei haten and sloaundren with fals leyynes trewe men
to techen frely holy writt and reproyen synne, and namely
ypoorcisie, and falsly pursuen hem to be deþ, þei alen hem,
and ioon þe eunangelist seif as to here dampanacion. ¶if þei
conforten men to alee here breþren in false werris, by open
prechyng or preuei conselnyng, or yndirtakynge for false
domesmen þat alen innocent men for conceiynse or enmyte
whanne men þuen hem myche tresours; þei ben false
menquelleris and most gyltif of alla.

¶ Jif þei letten curatis and pore prestis to techen men goddis
lawe bi solit yppoorcisie and aleïtis of antoristis lawe, for

1.1 omitted X. 2 omitted X. 3 omitted X.
dred est here ypoorzie be parceyued and here wynnynge
and so commit
soul-murder.

VI. They preach
for praise and
advantage, and
so are ghostly
adulterers.
[p. 6 MS.]

They set philo-
osophy above
Holy Writ.

Under colour of
physic they com-
mit adultery.

They visit wives
when the hus-
bands are away.

VII. They steal
children to re-
cruit their order.

OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES. [CHAP. III.

¶ "If þei prechen principaly for worldeli muk or veyn
glorie, and so prechen here owne sotiltes to be preised of
men, and not *symply and pleynly þe gospel of Crist for his
glorie and sauyng of mennes souls; þei don gostely lecherie
bi goddis word as poul seip.

¶ "If þei seyn and meyntenen in scole and ópere placis þat
þe wordis of holy writt ben false and manere of spekyng of
newe idiotics is trewe, þei don gostly anoutrie and putten
falenesse and blasphemye vpon god; for in þat þei seyn þat an
heþene philosophe or a newe synful cañif is wittiere and
trewe þan almyhti god, þe þat god is fals and a folie and þes
heþene blasphemes and newe dremeris ben trewe and witti.

¶ "If þei feynen hem sotil of fisik and knowyng of wym-
menys complexxion and preuyte, seynge þat siche sikenesse
or deþ schal com to hem in absence of hers housbondis but
if þei haue mannese helpe, and þus desoulen on and oper;
þei breken foule þis commansement þat biddip men do no
lecherie; and in þis poyn þen droden þat þes pharisises
geten hem moo holderis vp for hers putrie þan for here
trewe prechyng or holy lyf.

¶ Whanne lordis ben fro hom in werris, in iustis and par-
lemenis and in dyurse lordschipis, and whanne marchaunstis
ben out of lond or in fer custrees for hers marchaundise, and
whanne plowmen ben al day in þe feld at hers plowy crere
medes; þan þes pharisises presen faste to hers wyues vnder
colour of holynesse.

¶ "If þei stelen mennes children, boþe gentyl mennes and
pore, to make hem of hers synguler orde þat is maad of
synful men and coneymyd, & in cas of* deuulis and not of
god; þei don cursed þeste azenst þe seue[n] þe maundement of

* omitted X.
OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES.

God. for many men ben drawn, bi lesynge and jifitis and so by symonye, fro þe betere ordre to þe werce and maad more cursed and depper dampyyd in helle. For þou; children ben brouȝt be lesynge, symonye and fals bihestis in-to þis feyned ordre biforn tyme of discretion and ben not able þer-to, þit þei schulle be nedid bi payne of dampanynge in helle, as þei seyn, and bi drede of bodely deþ to holde forþ þis feyned religion crenæt here conscience and freedom of þe gospel. and he þat most stelip children to þes priuatis ordris is most preised of þes cursed congregacion, and þat is a cursed reward. For he þat stelip an oxe or a cowe is a þef and gretil þepyned bi mannesc lawe; myche more owip *[p. 9 MS.] he to be ponschid boþe of god and man þat stelip his owne child, þat is betere þan alle worldly goodis; and here-bi ben gentil mannesc heiris distrocied, and so lordis and also laboreris and sustyme trewe prestis and curatis ben made beggeris and lesyngmongeris to destruction of londis. Þif þei techen wyues, prentis, servausatis and children to stele fro here housbondis, maistris and fadir and modir and yeuen it to þes pharisæes, as hildegar seilÞ, þei ben perilous þeuys Hildegar, to make discencious among manye. Þif þei feynen hem nedy and pore whanne þei ben ryche and proude, and beggen of þe pore peple, and maken men to wene þat þei schulden have more þank of god to þeue here almes to riche possessioners or oþer ryche pharisæes þan to yeuen it to here pore niþbores as crist biddyþ; þei ben soule þeues, for þei robben þe almes and so rob the þeuer boþe of seilþ, of worldlyd catel, and pore bedrede men of here lifode.

¶ Þif þei putten on here pore breþren þat lyuen weal and reproouen hem of here synnes þat þei wolde distrocie holy religion, and here-fore discosisen hem and putten hem in prison, and sustyme morþere hem aþent goddis lawe and þe kyngys; þei beren false wyttennesse aþent here neiþeþore, and ben cursed manquelleris. ¶ Þif þei beren on pore prestis þat techen þe trewþ of þe gospel and þe goodenesse of cristis ordynausce þat þei wolde distrocie holi chirche, and here-fore and holy church.
pursue him to be deq and makes prelatys lordis and comunes to do alse; be beren false wittenesse, and ben manquelleris and irreguleris before god and traitours to god and alle holi chirohe. if be pursuen to be deq pore freris serabitis, bat kepem fraudaeris reule and testement to be rihte yndrystondynge and wille of fraudaeris wip outen glose of antecristis clerkis; be beren false wyttenesse aeyns hers patron and ben aeyns brefre pat killyd his brothre fore his goode luyngen. if be seyn pat cristis lawe is not ynow; and be beste to reule holy chirohe, but lawis of proude coniouse and worldly clerkis ben nedful and betore, and stryuen aeyn goode men pat techen be goodnesse and excellence of cristis lawe and his oryndausse and declare pat falsenesse and yppocrisie of worldly prestis newe lawis; be beren false witnesse and ben traitours to god and stynkyngye blasphemese.

they persecute friars who keep the rule,
and so bear false witness against francis.

[p. 10 Ms.]
ix. They covet lands and endowments.

x. They seduce wives and maidens.

* * * if be coveiten vnreasonabiliche be housis, pat ben goodis vnmeble of here neijeboris as londis or rentis, or perpetual almes of coffris, siq be bynden hem to pouert of crist and his apostelis, be breken be neynge maundement of god.

if be ledem a-wei menna wyues or wenches in here newe habitis, to do lecherie bi hem as hem liste, be breken be laste comandement. if be maken wyues and opere wymmen hure sistris bi lettris of fraternite or opere iapes, and geten children vpon hem to make hem freris or nusnes to holde vp here veyn sectis bi lordischipe, be coveiten euyle here neijebores wyues and wenches; namely, if be waiten hem in feldis alone or gardyns and spleen hem per by keruynge to moche vseqne of lecherie. if be become pedderis berynge knyues, pursis, pynnys and girdlis and spices and sylk and precious pallure and forrouris for wymmen, and perto smale gentil hondis, to gete loue of hem and to haune many grete giftis for litil good or noust; be coveiten euyle here neijeboris goodis.

if be ben made wafreris, seynyng lorde, ladies and riche men a fewe peris, appelis or nottis to haune huge giftis to
pe couent, euyl pei coueiten hire negeboris goodis. jif pei meyneten men in extortiuncs, in robberie, in false sweryng They maintain men in oppression to sille ouer dere pe marchausadise and bie to grete cheep of pore men, and in lecherie and grete synnes, vndirtakynge for pe cursed men at domes day for part of wynnyng; pei coueiten euyle hire negeboris goodis; for pei dyeseyuen hire soulis herfore to euere dampnyngse in helle. and jif pei braken pis, and worse alle pe comausdementis of god; pei ben peuilous ypocrisis and dyeseyuen foule cresten men to meynetene goddis traitors principaly. jif pei geten hem worldly offis in lordis courtis, summe to ben stiwardis of halle, summe to ben kecheene clerkis, summe to ben lordis anyneris, and summe to ben conseilours and reuleris of werris, and also to bein chamberleyns to lordes and ladies, and putten out pore gentil men of here office, and forsaken here clostres and other devotiones for to hauke lykyngse of mete and drynk and cloc and worldly worschipe, and to sende a grett quantite to here couent pat pore bedrede men schulden hauie; *p.m*. pei ben ypocrisis, eneymes of pore gentil men and traitours of pore men and of lordes and ladies.

Capitulum 4m.

See now where pe religious don asenst pe werkis of mercy They offend against the works of mercy bope bodili and gostely. jif pei wasten delicat metis and drynkis and seuen nouyt to pore men of here owene secte no, oher pat ben in gret nede, but drawen pore mennus almes and lifode to here owne couent pat hap to moche of worldly goodis, to make festis huge to lordis and ladies and riche men of contres; pei feden not pore men but robben hem of here lifode, and so ben manquelleris bfore god.

jif pei seynen hem to be men of abstynence and grete They drink ale and wine, penance, and per wi chip drynkylyn dilicious ale and spisid and heije wyynes, and boggan of pe comune peple to holden vp

1-1 omitted X. 2 omitted X.
OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES.

...and leave the poor to perish of thirst.

They have rich clothes, and do not share them with the poor.

They have great houses and entertain lords and ladies, but give no shelter to the poor.

They get the means to build by encouraging rich men in sin.

Use of the big churches.

Decay of parish churches.

And if ye see that great churches ben worshipful to god and lykynge for ye peple to serve god inwine, axe hem what charite it is to laten parische chirohis fallen down for defaute, where ye peple schulde heere goodis worde, goddis servuyce, and rescuyne here sacramentis, and to maken newe chirohis as castelis wiþ outen node; and wheror crist preied most in

*[p. 12 MS.]*
ch. nyst in hillis, as pe gospel seid, and taunte mychel pe peple in desert and in pe wilde felde, and seide pat pe heije temple schulde be distroised for pe synne of prestis pat weren þer-imne. And seyn þat lucifer and adaman seruoden not god in heuene ne paradis as þei schulden, but iob seruende wel god in þe donge hille and adaman also in þe valey of wepynge, and so dide crist in þe hillis, and þe prophete danyel in þe deen of lyonys. And þou men suffreden resoonable cost of chirchis whi schulde þei suffre so grete cost of kechenes and pate housis and wast chambris for lordin and ladie and riche men, and a frere to haue a chambre for an erl or duk or a kyng whanne he is bounden to þe pouert of crist, siþ þis cost is geten bi beggen of pore men and disceit of riche mennes almes. If þei visiten not pore men in prison for charite of god and sauynge of soulis, but riche men is here prosperous to han þart of here worldily goodis, how don þei werkis of mercy? for sumtyme for enuye and hate ful trewe men ben sett in prison, and þanne it were most nede to conforte hem in bodi and soule ænæst defaute of mete and drynk and cloth and grucchyng ænæst god or dispair; but it is worse if þei be ypocrisie and false beggynges reuen fro pore prisoneris þe almes þat þei schulden elles haue.

If þei visiten not pore men in here sikenesse but riche men wiþ preue massis and placebos and dirige, þou; pore men ben neuere so deuout and han neuere so myche nede to ben amendid of heres lif, hou seken þei þei helpe of soule? but only or principaly worldly muk or anauntage. Where helpen þei sike men of bodely almes, þou; þei hem selþ han *[p. 13 ms.] neuere so muche wast of mete and drynk, but rapere in siche tymne þei gedren fro sike men al þat þei may.

If þei ben faste aboute to haue riche men biried in here housis for wynnynge and offrynge and worldly meyntenansse and forsaken pore men to be biried þere, þei ben false ypocrisie, trauelynyge in coucitise and pride and þepe, for þei drawen riche men fro her gostly faradris and here owne

1 helpe AA.
parischenys, and so departen in tyme of deþ curatis and here gostly children.

They persecute poor priests,

\[ \text{¶ If þei pursuen pore prestis to prison and bodily deþ, as hangeþeg, drawenge or brennynge, for þei techen treweþly and frefly þe goseþal of ihþ crist and techen men wiche ben false prophætis and ypœoritis, siþ holt wyrt spekiþ of siche and biddiþ crysten men knowe hem bi here opyn werkis and fée fro hem; ðanne ben þei perilous ypœoritis and heretikis æsenst goddis worischip and sauynge of crystene soulis.} \]

and put true men in prison.

They bring up poor men to judgment for not giving what they promised.

\[ \text{¶ If þei drawen pore huebodemen to dom for þe bi-heþen þem almes suaytyme and now ben tauþ to þeuen here almes to pore neiþeboris aþer þe goseþal, or þat may not now paie so gret almes for pouerte and myschif þat þei ben isane, hou don þei þe werkis of mercy? siþ þei don opynly æsenst charite.} \]

Capitulum 5m.

See now where þei failen in werkis of gostly mercy. 

Failure in works of spiritual mercy.

first siþ þei techen opynly fablys, cronkylis and lesyngis and leuene crystis goseþal and þe maundementis of god, and siþ don þei þis principaly for worldly wynnynge, frendaschiphe or veyn name þei don æsenst þe chifwerk of gostly mercy; nameliche siþ þei techen þat here singular preiäre is betere þan þe pater noþte þat crist made him self, and þat preiynge bi lippis is pleausst to god þou; mennus liþ þat preiën be cursed of god for brekynghe of his heestis and deñante of charite.

They preach fables instead of Christ’s gospel.

put special prayers above the Paternoster.

teach men to care for wealth.

¶ If þei couselen men to be baysi a-boute worldliche richesse more þan a-boute here soule helþe and þe blisse of heuene, and couselen men more to taken vengansaþe bi open werre of here breþren þan to suffren paciently wrongys and
hane mercy on opor neijeboris; þei don foule *ajenst þe *[p. 14 MS.] seconnde werk of gostly mercy, to dampacnac of many men boþ of body and soule. 3if þei conseilen men to leue þe fredom of cristis orde and take here singuler orde maad of synful men, seiyng þat it is þe beste for hem vp peril of here soule; þei don ajenst þe charite for loue of here owne worschipe or wynnynge and blasphemen ajenst god, makynge hem self as witti as þe holy gost. siþ it is reseruyd only to þe holy gost to seuen ful conseil of þinges þat [ben] not expressly comanyd ne defendid in holy writt, and þei taken þis þinge vpon hem whasne þei ensuren to men þat it is best for hem to be men of priuat religion. and also þei conseilen suyntyme euene ajenst þe sterynge of þe holy gost, and maken men dispeire dampnyd for schrewidnesse of þis orde and of men þer-isne, for þer-by þei lasten more and ben more hardid is synne and y pocrise.

¶ 3if þei chastisen not here breþen for grete synnes, so þat þei be preue, but ourescharply ponyschen hem for smale synnes þat ben open and make hem some vnholly to þe world; þei failen foule in werkis of charite and ben false y pocritis. and 3if þei chastisen not here breþen for opyn sweryng veynly and pride and inpaicence and false coueitynge of þer neijeboris goodis, but for litil trespasynge ajenst here owne statutis or customys; þei failen in dwe chastisyng of synne, punish more wins against the order for þei chargen not dispit or trespas don ajenst god, but ajenst here owen worldly worschipe and name of holynesse.

¶ 3if þei conforten not pore men in here myschif boþe of soule and body but suffren hem perishe for dispier or defaute of bodily goodis, but rapere visiten hem in here prosperite for worldly muk; þei failen fully in werkis of charite and mercy to here breþen. ¶ 3if þei gon gladly and faste to lordis housis and ladies þat ben gloriously araied, and deynten not to come in pore mennas houses for stykynk and opere filpe; hon suen þei charite? siþ crist sparid not to visyte pore men in a foul stymkynge stable and cold, and in þe colde greue and in helle, and in many foule weis in þis world, boþe in
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qu, 3 if they wolen not for some litel trespace don aenst hem self or feyned seyntis of here singular secte but moste cruelly pursuen men forsoyre; 3 i forsaken paciencye and mekenesse and ensaumle of cristis lif. and men dreden that enuye, rancour and eyl will de dwellij longest amongst hem of alle ophere men, be 3i lordis, be 3i prestis, pou, 3i ben mes of armys; but where is falsere holynesse, and so foulere ypoorisis? for pou; a man speke aenst a lord, clerk or prelat he schal sonere be reconsilid be weie of mekenesse han to newe feyned religions; for 3i wolen pursue to de or open schame, and sit vndir colour of holynesse.

qu 3if they soone leseen pacience and bringyn men out of paciencye that speken aenst here ypoorisis and eyl dedis; hou don 3i werkis of mercy, si 3i schulde be here mekenesse and paciencye bryngyn ophere in-to reste and pees of body and soule. 3j if 3i profren gentil men and ophere to fiðte wiþ hem whasne 3i reproisen hem of here opyn wyckyd dedis, hou ben 3i ensaumle of crist and his apostelis to saue ophere men in reste and charite? it seme 3i ben fendis children to stryue aenst 3e treuþe, and meyntene syn and bryngye oþe men to helde bi procurynge of fiþt and leaynge of paciencye and charite.

qu 3if 3i cursen and warien and pursuen here enemyes and aen vengauence of god aenst hem; hou suen 3i charite of crist that biddij men to loure here enemyes, and don good to men that haten vs, and to preie for hem that falsly chalengen vs and falsly and wickidly pursuen vs? 3if 3i don bus and weller worse aenst that hestis of god and werkis of mercy boþe bodily and gostly, 3i ben foule ypoorisis and not worþi but to be putt out fro cristien men and desouflid, and not worþi to be putt in ære, that is to haue 3e leste office in 3e chirche.
**Capitulum 6**

See now whosoever he be faile in fei, hope and charite. 1If Their failure in faith, hope, and charity.

*If o part holde with o pope and *If toper with o nophone, Some support one pope, some another, yet they communicate together.

pope, and ech partie seie and techi as bileue that pis pope is verray and noon opere, and alle that bileuen not so ben cursed heretikis out of bileue; *If ben alle out of bileue and bryngen alle opere out of bileue; and *If es communen togidere bothe parties as christen men, and so *If seyn o *If and don *If contraire as ful false men. *If *If techen openely and meyntene *If *If bileue that christ and his apostelle. tausten is not *If best and ynow to bryngen men to heuene, but lawis maade of worldly prestis ben nedful and betere to reule holy chirche bi; *If eren foule in *If fei and *If[16 MS.] blasphemen crist god and man. *If *If seyn, written and techen openely that opere sacrament of that men seen bitwen that prestis bondis is accidentis wijt-outen suget and neiper bred ne cristis body; *If holy writt seip that it is breede and cristis precious body, *If ben cursed heretikis. *If *If putten on Crist that he beggid as *If don fro toms to touns and fro hous to hous wij open cryeng; *If eren foule in *If fei and putten error upon crist. *If *If discyeun men in fei bi fals pardons, bi mannes preiere, bi letteris of fraternyte and bi here feyned roten abite; *If ben false prophetis hauynge that lickenes of holy religion and dis-troien cristis religion, as poul seip. and so of signes of anticrist, of fiftene tokenes before domes-day, and of veyn nouvelries wijt-outen noumbre as to men.

*If *If hopen to plese god more bi kepynge of here owne tradicions and singuler obedience and profession to synful wrecchis, and maken opere more sicyrly to hopen pis, Janne gospel. for kepynge of cristis gospel and treswe obedience, ech man to opere in *If drede of crist as crist and his apostelis diden, *If failen foule in good hope.

1 here X. 2 of X. 3 omitted. 4 more is inserted in AA by a corrector. 5 degré X.
They seek their own praise more than the praise of God.

They make false divorces.

Luke xii. 2.

Christ bids us speak the truth boldly.

Luke xii. 4.

And [Christ] saith that he is no king keuerid that he it schal be schewid, and that is no king hid so priue that it ne schal be wist and knowen. For that he is he han seyd in derknessis schullen be seid in liit, and that he is he han spoken in yours couchis or smale beddis schal be panchid in he roof of housis. Here crist men that men schulden be war and oppynly telle he trewpe against his ypoorsie: for he it be now hid it schal be schewid at he laste at his day of dom. ¶ And also cowardise of cristis disciplis, that he spare for bodyli payne and dep to telle openly he trewpe of goddis lawe. And after telli Crist after to his disciplis that he schuldes drede god and no king ellis souereynly.

Sofli saith: I sei to you, my frendis, that he ben not agast of hem that seen he body and haue no king more to do after those kinges; but I schal schewe you whom he owin to drede. drede he hym souereynly, pat after he he hath slayn

1 omitted X. 2 omitted X. 3 omitted X.
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And herefore seip Crist affirward to conforte his discipulis bi reson: ne be not fyue sparynw sold for an halpeny, and on of hem is not forserwyn 1 Luke xii. 8. before god; but also alle ye heris of your heuyd ben noumbrid, forfore nyle ye drede; ye ben of more pris than many sparwis. as ye Crist menede and made his reson: siþ god almystty takyn so gret kopyng of smale briddis pat2 on3 of hem, xe ye4 leste, is not forseten, how myche more schal god kepen sow; siþ he is almystty, alwytti, and al ful of good wille, & here may no ping come with uten his wityng and his ordynaunce, and it is al for ye beste. 5 And no ping may sjenstund, so pat men takyt paciently and tanke hem forfore; and whanne ye heris of oure heuyd ben countid pat ye may not be lost, where we may be lost operes in bodi or soule, siþe ech of vs is betre than ye heris of oure hed. as ye Crist seide pat no ping of vs, nere of bodi ne of soule, may perishe ne suffre peyne to oure harim, so pat we kepen pacience and charite. at ye laste word crist makeþ vs siker to dye for his lawe bi reward of he blisse of heuene, whanne he seip þus, pat eche who sere knowleschiþ me bi-for men, Luke xii. 8. and manuus sone schal knowlesche hym bi-for ye angels of god. here Crist cleipþ hym self manuus sone, for he is þe sone of þe vergyne marie, and so a persone of mankynde, þat is clepyd a man bi speche of holy writ. and knowleschyng he How we must acknowledge Christ. is seid here fore verrat knowleschyng of crist, boþe in herte bi saad seip þat he is verrat god and verrat man with uten synne, & alle degrees, in þouþ and speche and dede and alle circumstancis þer of, and witnesseyng is word þe treuþe of

1 forseyen X. 2 þan. 3 or X. 4 omitted X. 5 omitted X. 6 omitted X.
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be gospel, hou crist lyuede most mekely and most porely and most vertuously bi-forn alle opere men as be gospel teche; and knowlechyng is lif, lyuyng after be lawe of god and is *wille to die ber-fore; if it be nede; pis verrei knowlechyng schal make men to ben approved of crist at be day of dome, biform alle pe compayne of angelis and seyntis and good creaturis and euyle, hou pei were verrei wittenesse of crist in erpe biforme men, and is fulwille to suffre sclawdris puruynges and bodili deß for be loun of ihů crist and his lawe.

Capitulum 8m.

Here may men touche be cowardise and fal[s]nesse of prestis, lordis, marchautis and alle opere men pat failen in charite anemtis god and his lawe. where ben be prestis pat maken hem so biay aboute grete benefices, wordilly worchips and stynkynges muk or drit of worldeli richesee, pat pei wolen travaile1 gladly nyât and day in lordis courtis, in worldely offis, for litel cost takynge of pe lord is hope of benefiscis; and so bisily pat vnnepis may pei at reste seie metenes or masse with deuocioun. opere prestis rennen out of oure lond ouer grete sees and poru; londes of enemyses in peril of here lif, in gret cold, hungur, prist, stormes and tempestis, pat it is woundir hou pei may lyue; but hou bisai maken pei hem self and opere to lerne, kepe and teche goddis lawe? certis but signe more bisily lerne bi grete trauaille and studie holy writt, and kepen it trewly in here lyuynges, and openly to sete good ensaumples to alle men, and prœchen it sadly and trewly with as myche trauaille and more, and sit it be nede ben wilful to die ber-fore, pei may drede ful sore pat pei ben out of charite and out of feið, but signe it be ded feið as fendis han; for pei trauailen more for worldily worschipes and stynkynges drit pei for loun of god and helpe of mannuus soule.

1 omitted X.
sumtyme it comip to our enemies and per-bi þei ben strengyed ægenst vs, and bi takynge of prisoneris of our nation, and sumtyme our enemies killen many of our land þorouþ siche truenele for benefices to gret reprof of our rewe. And if þe gold¹ come to rome, per-bi ben benefices of þe churches bouȝt and sold. ¶ For who so may most gold brynge sumnest schal be sped to gret benefices, þouþ þe be vnable boþe of kunynge and lif, and able men of kunynge and lif ben putt bihynde; summe for þei willen not chaffare by symonye, and summe bi bissinesse of studie and techynge of holy writ, for þei² wollen neyþer dwelle is lordis courtis ne reene to rome wiþ þe kyngis gold. And if gooddis lawe and mannes and resen ben wel souȝt þis chaffarynge wiþ suche benefyces and gold is symonye on boþe partis; and so heresie, as þes lawereris written openly in here owene lawe. And þus þes rome renneris beren þe kyngys gold out of our land & bryngen ægen deed leed and heresie and symonye and goddis curse. and comunly whanne þes heretikis come bi symonye to gret benefices þei ben not bisi to lerne þe gospel & teche it ðristen men, but þeue hem to hustynge and hauk[y]nge and veyn pleise, and hanten taurynys of wyn and ale, aboute strumpetis and gretes festes, riche cloþing and gay squyeris and opere geteris, þat al most noon schal be so nyse and worldly proude as þes stynkynge heretikis. and if ony poore prestis wolde come to here churcis and treuyly dispise synne and frely teche goddis lawe, þe gospel of ȝhis crist, and comaundementis of god, þes consituous symonyentis welen be þe firste to lette hem with þis gret colour þat suche prechoris ben heretikis; and þis þei seyn for þei ben ful of heresie and wolden þat no man spoke ægenst here cursed lif. þus þei techen not hem self but ensaumple of pride, lecherie and opere synnes, and letten opere trewe prestis to techen goddis lawe. and þis is on of þe most vengauce þat god takip on synful men, to suffre suche ypocrisi to reule þe peple & drawe hem to helle bi wiþ-drawyng of goddis word

¹ god X. ² omitted X.
OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES.  

They have made compact with the devil.

Also lordis fallen foule in ypporisis and in defaute of charite, for þei ben redi to holde vp here worldly name, lordchip and meyntene here courtis wiþ gret cost, sendyng of men boþe of lawe and of armes, & prikyng bi here own þersones for to plede, for to fîtte and for to lyue & dye þer-fore, and to be vengid on men þat don aȝent here wille, worschip, or proffit; but for to meyntene goddis lawe and stond for his worschip, þat þei ben holden to vp peyne of lesyng of here lordischip & anemtis god, and lesyng of bodi and soule and helle wiþ-outen hende, who is þat lord þat wolle treuli speke, coste, trauels, and suffre meklely dispit, pursuyng and deþ in tyme of nede. þes lordis own to quake aȝent domes day and tyne of here deþ, þat more bisi li trauceil to meynetenen here litle worldly lordshipes and to seke here own worschip & drit of þis world þanne þei trauceil to meyntene þe most riȝtful lawe & ordeynance of ihû crist in his chirche, & to procure, norishe & meyntene cristen soulis in good gouernaile and holy lif. certis jîf þei don þus and cœuaten þer-bi to be holden gooð cristen lordis, here pride, ypporisis and false cœueteis wolde brynge hem to euere-lastynge peyne in helle. ¶ Also marchaustis and riche men of þis wikked world fallen is

1 omitted X.  
2 omitted X.  
3 worschip X.
moche ypocrise; for þei traveilen nyȝt & day, bi watir & lond is cold, & is hete, bi false sotilitis and cautelis & grete sweri[n]ges nodles & false, for to gete muche drit or muk of þis world, to gete riche wyyes, & purchase londis & rentis, & dewelle in pore mennus dette after þat þei han desclyued hem is byyne of here catel; & þit ben so biai is þounst & speche in goyng and rydyng abouten þis muk þat vaneþe may þei onys þenke on god & han mynde of here false robberie þat þei vsen bi false wottes & mesures to amende hem. ȝif alle here bisinesse & loute goo þus wrongly to þe world & nouȝt or to litel to heuene and heuenely þingis, þei failen foule of holy lif; & þit holden hem self holy & coueiten to ben holden holy of ðoper men, & ben wode ȝif men spoken treuly aȝenst here cursed synnes; but cœtes þis is ypocrisie.

Capitulum 10a.

Generaly ypocrisie regneþ among alle statis of cristens men; for whaþne men ben cristened þei forsaken þe deuyl, al his pride & al his werkis, þat ben werkis of synne; and þat þei turnen to synne as an hound to his spuynig and here-wip holden hem goode cristens men. but summe don vorrey penance for þes synnes, & summe dwelle euere stille per-isne & rennen to helle, as crist seþ in þe gospel & is þe bok of iob; & many men don bodily penance, as fastynge and goyng barfote, but þei fasten not fro pride ne euuye ne coueitise, but preien for wrongful vengauce of ðoper enemies aȝenst charite, and þis is foule ypocrisie to make men holden hem holy whaþne þei stynken biforn god for old endured synne. For god seþ be ysaye þat a man to turmente his hed and peyne his bodi only is not þat fast þe whiche god chees, 'but þis is þe fast þat god cheþ; a man to breke þe bondis of synne & do werkis of mercy to poore men & niedi. ȝif. But vpon þe text of þis gospel bi ordre of seynt matheu Ion with þe gildene John Chry-

1 1 omitted X.
OF THE LEAVEN OF PHARISEES. [CHAP. XI.

moup seip pat a prest is in dette to teche openly and treuly be treufe of goddis lawe, and ellis he is traitour to be treufe of holy writt. 1 So a lewyd man is boundyn to mayntene be treufe 1 of holy writt, and ellis he is traitour to god & to his lawe and his peple. & here-fore riche men owen to drede of treson and traitre aṣenst god & his lawe whasne beī meyntene not be treufe of be gospel, but ben aboute to stoppe it & techeris per-of bi sotil cautelis & false leuynges for flesehli loue or coneitise. for as iudas dide beī aillen be treufe, and so crīst pat is treufe, *for money or* flesehli loue. And siī beī aillen treufe pat is a spiritual good for money or worldly byng 2 beī ben cursed symonyentis & so heretikis. moche owen beī to quake, siī crīst seīp in be gospel pat who euere dispisip crīstis disciplis, is pat he dispisip crīst; and at be day of dom beīr schal be lesse payne to sodom & gomor, pat waren distroied for synne, pran to be men pat wolenn not rescyue crīstis disciplis and his gospel, ne lye after be techyng of crīstis gospel. principaly siīp suche men ailen crīst as moche as in hem is, and dryuen beī holy gost out of his temple & beī holy trynite; & siī beī taken beī office to meyntene goddis lawe and techeris per-of, & vpon his aeryoeis beī han beī heīs statis & lordischipis. but certoī it is foul ypocrisyse þus to suffre synne regne, siī lordis and men of grete statis, as maires, ben so muche bigholde to destroie it, & mowne welle don it in dede, & to lette trewe preχhoris of þe gospel, & meyntene preχhors of leuyngis, fablis & cronyclys for monye & worldly frendschipe.

Capitulum 11.

But þit ypocrisyse of phariseis is most cursed & perilous of alle opere; for whasne þei han discseyued crīstendom þis hundrid þeer & more bi ypocrisyse & false preχhynges of fablis & erroreis & heresies, magnifyenge synful meynne ordenaunce

1,1 omitted X. 3 of X. 3 omitted X.
4 This is headed Chap. XII. in X. In AA Chap. IX. and X. are run together, and this is marked Chap. X.
abouen goddis lawe & ordenaunce, & drawen pore mennus
almes & lisleode to proude beggeris to make grete wast houses,
and desceuye men bi fals assailyng, bi fals1 pardon, bi veyne
preiers & synguler or specyal, & letteris of fraternite,
puttynges open beggynges & clamours on ihs crist, þseane þei
orien fast þat poore prestis treuli & frely prechynge þe gospel
as crist biddip, techynge men to do verray penaunce for here
synnes & not trusten ouermoche to false pardons & cursed
preiers of ypoecritis, & to do here almes to pore feble men
crokid & blynde, as crist seip him self; þat þei ben cause of
alle þe2 perturbacion of þe rewme; but þei lyen falsly &
openly to ech trewe man. for síþ synne is cause of pertur-
bacion, & þes prestis vpon here kunynge þat god þeuer hem
of holy writt & þer-wip bisien hem nyþ & day to distroye
synne, þei ben aboute to make pees betwixe god & man.
& þei þat meyneten synne bi false confessionys & veyn
special preieres & pardons ben most cause of discencion &
werria. but here þei suen þe fadir of lesyngis þat stirede
þe heiye prestis & pharisees in cristis tyme to pute on
hym & his disciplis þat þei disturbleden þe lond of inde &
wolde distroie it, for crist and his disciplis reproueden
þe couetise, ypoecritis & falsenesses of þe heiye prestis &
false pharisees. so þe deuyl steriþ now false newe pharisees
of synguler religion wij-oute cristis ordynaunce, þat ben
more solt in malice & lesyngis and ypoecrisie þan3 þe
firste, to stoppe pore prestis fro prechynge of þe gospel &
repreouynge of synne, for bi þis ofis of crist don treuly
here synnes of lesyngis and ypoecrisie schulde be knownen and
distroied and goddis lawe knownen and kept and synne chasid
out of lond. but false ypoecritis stryuen aþenst þis profet of
cristen men, & clepen techynge of þe gospel & goddis hestis
newe techynge, & techynge of verrey penaunce doyng & of
rijtful þeyynge & of almes and open prechynge aþenst synne
error aþenst charite. God kepe cristen men fro ypoecrisie &
false lesyngis of pharisees and here meynテンeris. Amen.

1 omitted X. 2 omitted X. 3 þat X.
II.

HOW MEN OUGHT TO OBEY PRELATES.

I do not think this tract is by Wyclif. Its tone is not that of a man who has known the Court and been engaged in political affairs, but rather of some poor clergyman, who felt the burdens laid upon him by the bad government of the Church, and spoke from the bitterness of his personal experience. The extravagant expression, 'two or three thousand miles' (p. 30), points in the same direction. On the other hand, the text, 1 Cor. v. 5, is used here in the same way as in Prelates, No. IV. in this volume, and the warning against misusing the freedom given by God (p. 32) recalls a fine passage in the tract on Feigned Contemplative Life (No. X.).

Copied from the Corpus MS. X, and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. Prelates charge poor priests and those who believe with them that they disobey their superiors, that they make light of excommunication, and break the law. They are willing to obey as far as they may in accordance with God's commandments. But there is a hardship in men being summoned to distant places for no good purpose. It hinders men from doing the duties which God commands. Wickedness of prelates—their simony and other sins. If prelates will do their duty, poor priests will obey them.

II. As to excommunication, poor priests say that they will not incur God's curse for anything in heaven or earth, but they would rather be wrongfully cursed by man than break God's law. Excommunication often inflicted from spite. Curates ought not to execute letters of excommunication which they know to be ill-grounded.

III. As to law, true men will obey man's law so far as it agrees with God's. Laws are often made only to support the pride and pomp of prelates, and are an undue burden.
Hou men owen obesche to prelatis drede curs & kepe lawe.

Capitulum primum.

Prelatis sclaundren pore prestis & opere cristen men pat bei wolen not obesche to here souereynes ne dreden curs, ne drede ne kepe þe lawe, but dispise alle þing þat is aegenst here likyng. And herfore þei ben warfare þan iweis or paynymes, and alle lordis & prelatis & myðti men schulden distroie hem, for ellis þei wolen distroie holy chirche & make ech man to lyue as hym likþ; and no þing may more distroie cristendom.

But herfore poore prestis & trewe men mekely wolen and wilfully obesche to god & holy chirche, & to ech man in erþe as myche as he techþ treuly goddis conaundements & profitable treuþe for here soulsis, and no more owþ ony man to obesche to crist god & man, ne to ony apostle. and þif ony worldly prelat axe more obedience he his anticroist & luciferis maister, for ihþ crist is god of rþtwisnesse & treuþe & of pees & charite, and may not do aegenst rþtwisnesse ne treuþe ne helþe of mennus soulsis ne charite, stþ he may not lyþ ne denyþ his self. hon þanne schulde or myþte ony synfult prelat charge men and constreyne to do aegenst rþtwisnesse & helþe of soulsis and good conscience; for John v. 19. crist seiþ in þe gospel of seynt ion þat þe sone may not do but þat þing he hþþ seyn his fadir don; & þerfore crist conaundid to alle men þat þei schulde not bilene to him John x. 37. but þif he dide þe werkis of þe fadir of heuene. where cristen men schullen be constreynde be anticroistis clerksis to don after here conaundement whanne þei don not werkis of god but werkis of þe fend? & þus crist spekþ to þe iweis John viii. [40]. & axeþ hem whi þei bileuem not to hym þif he seiþe treuþe; as who seiþ, þif he seide nouþ treuþe þei schulde nouþ.

1 in X. 2 omitted X.
bileue to hym. and per-for crist seip to þe iewis who of þou schal repreue me of synne, & he wold þat eche man hadde do so þif he myȝt treuly. þerfore in tyme of his passion crist seide to þe bishopis seruaunt whanne he smote him in þe face: *þif I haue spoken euyl, here þou witnesse of euyl. & siþ prelatis ben vikeris of crist, þei owen to suen to hym in þis obedience & axe no more of ony man. ¶ But here is þe sore in þis obedience; prelatis axen þat prestis & ðoðre sugetis schulden come for here souereyns wipher enere hem likid, at þe ferþeste place of here diocese, þou; prelatis kuynyn not holy writt ne kep? it, but don opynly þer aȝenst many weis; & þis is wrong for many skillis. first, siþ crist god & man souhte manus soule lost þoru; synne bi þriti yeer and more wip grete traueli, werynesse & many peynes, bi many þousand myles vpon his feet, in gret cold and stormes & tempestis, prelatis schulden not couche in castellis & suffre þe fende to denour[e] cristene soulis, & þanne make a pore man to renne two or þre þousand myles & yeue hem þere ensaumple of pride & ðoðre synnes. siþ þei han so myche tresour & grete hors, & ben heiȝe vikeris of crist to seue his lif in mekenesse and pouerte and harde traueli to saue mennes soulis, and siþ þei ben holden to spende here catel and lese here bodiȝ lif for sauynge of cristen soulis as did crist & his apostelis, myche more owe þei to spende a litle traueli and money to seke & visyte synful men & esen hem in body & soule. And not maken hem nedlis to spende here litter catel and be inpaicent & grucchynge aȝenst god & man & out of charite. for we reden not in al þe lawe of grace þat crist or ony of his disciplis vsede þis symonynge or axid þis obedience of ony synful man riche or pore. lord whi schulde a synful ydiot axe more obedience þan* diden crist & his apostelis? & we rede not in þe lawe of grace þat crist apperid comasly biforn þe heij þe prestis and pharissee fore here symonynge ne his apostelis after sendyng he þe holy goste, But þif þei weren constreyned

1 omitted X.  
2 þat X.
bi violence or ellis if hei weren in place where criste tawte in pe temple. \[ Also orist techy in the gospel that a man owij to leue pe lase good & do pe more; si he comauuid a man to leue pe beriynge of his fadir and go preche pe Matthew viii. 21. gospel. Pase a prest schulde not leue prechynge of the gospel & renne to uncerteyn placis for biddynge of worldly prelatis, enemyes to god & his servuaustis, si prechynge of pe gospel is betere han bodely rennynge so to ferre placis, for peril of enemyes, for wastynge of pore mennus goodis, and for drede of rebelte asemn god. for seynt ierom seij in pe popis lawe that he leue pe more good or putte it behynde pe lease good synneb not menely but greuounly. si siche *semonynge of prelatis is not groundid in cristis lif *[p. 24 M8.] ne his apostelis ne reson, but in antiesristis power bi dowynge of clerkis wib secular lordischiphe asemn holy writt. and pus insteade of cristis mekeness & pouert and charite and trewe techynge of pe gospel is bronst in worldly pride of prelatis and coneitise & enuye and discencion in cristis peple, & bodily turmentynge bi prestis, as hei were worldly lordis of pe kyngis lege men bope of bodi & of catel, & chargynge of soulis with grete chargis asemn pe fredom of goddis lawe and the help of soulis her-bi bronst in; for pe worldly prelatis chargen men to speke not asemn here pride and coneitise ne brynge hem to pe ordynansee of crist, but raiper to lyue hem self in pride and falsnesse of pis world han to turne to pe mekenesse and trewe lif and to penke on here dep day, for bi pis goode lif of secularis pe lif of worldly prelatis schulde be knowen for ypocrisie and curesnednesse. and pus bi pis feyned power of somonynge and cursynge worldly prelatis ben maad cruell turmentours of cristis servuaustis, and schewen hem self & make, but falaly, lordis of mennus bodies & catel & soulis also, to stoppe & lette good lif of cristene men, pe holy trynyte may not do for his rjtwisnesse & charite; but where ben falsere antiesristis, perilousere heretikis, & cursedher blasphemeres. \[ Also no man owij to putte by-hyne goddis
HOW MEN OUGHT TO OBEY PRELATES. [CHAP. I.

biddynge and þe byddyng of a synful man biforn; & god biddip eche man vp peyne of damnacion þat hap wif & children & meyne to gouerne hem wel is goddis lawe. þasne no weddid man owip to leue his wife & children & meyne vngouerne, & goo many hundred myles in drede of þeues & enemyes, & wast his goddis & suffre his folk to perishe in soule or in body. and myche more no curat owip to leue his schepe vnkept among þe wolues of helle, & ride with grete coost to ferre placis for pride, enuye or coueitise of worldly clerkis. & þis reson makiþ sikernesse for prestis to dewelle with goddis peple & profite to hem, & for children to take cure of here heldris, & not ride ne renne aboute & leue þis heste of god vndon for somonyng of worldly prelatis. Also crist seip in þe gospel þat þif þe blünde lede þei blünde þei fallen boþe into þe lake. þasne siþe worldly prelatis ben blünde in goddis lawe, boþe in kunnyng þer-of & liþ þer-after, no man schulde be led bi hem in kepyng of his soule, for drede lest þei falle boþe in-to þe helle. For siþe þei ledyn hemself to helle-ward for ignorance of holy writ or coueitise of worldeli worshippe, heþe states & worldly muk, þei wolne lede oþer men þe same weie. & þus þei ben cursed of god, for þat þat is good & goddis lawe þei dampnen for euyl & errore, * & * þat þat is errour & euyl ænent goddis lawe þei chesen & techen for good and profyte; & þus þei dampnen hemself & alle þat ben led bi hem. Also bi reson & mannes lawe þif a man be somonyd to-gidre to þe heþere iuge & a lasse he schal be excused fro þe lasse bi þe vertue of þe heijere iuge; but eche man is somoned first of god to worschipe hym in all his witt & alle his myȝt, biforn þat a worldly prelat somone hym to renne aboute, is whiche rennyng his witt & his myȝt schullen be perid; þasne bi vertue of þis cheef domesman he owip to be excused fro þis somonyng of worldly prelat. but be þe suget ware of feynyng here, þat he waste not ne myvsves þe gifis of god vnder colour.

1 omitted X. 2 omitted X. 3 & X. 4 omitted X.
of his freedome; for god wole have recknynge of eche dede, of eche word, & of eche souxt, & of eche jiste, & eche tyme, & moment. And be he worldly prelat ward of blasphemye here, bat he compelle not for his pride his suget to putte bhynde he betre worshippyng of god and vnder colour of obedience make hym to myspende he tyme & goddis jistis. ¶ Also men of lawe & reson seyn it is worst of alle to take1 dom vndir a suspect domesman; but he worldly prelatis ben suspect domesmen anemtis goddis seruantis, for he been enemys to he persone of cristi seruantis & also to he cause of god. for comusly he come to here statis bi symonye & so ben heretikis, as he popis lawe seip, & contynen2 in pride, coueitise, extorciones,3 & meyntenynge of here synne & opere mennys for annual rente, & haten & pursuenc bope cristi lawe & his seruantis pat speken azenst here synne, to amende hem per-of & alle pat ben vnkuanyge in goddis lawe; how schulde a treue man be demyd bi suspect inges. & siche vnkuanyge & euyl leuynge prelatis ben most hardy to daphne trewe 'treuthis of holi writ & pursue trewe4 men to prison & dep pat meyntenen holy writ & trewpe azenst here coueitise, pride, symonye & lustis. ¶ And newe religious assessours of he vnkuanyge worldly prelatis ben more suspect pan only opere; for he grounden hem in his, pat holy writ is fals but here owen doctours & glosse ben trewe. And so he putten falanesse & defaute of witt in god, & seyn pat a synful ydiot & in ca as a deuyl of helie is trewere, wittiere & more ful of charite & myxt to teche men trewe peanne is he trinyte & ihh crist god & man. & he haten more cristis seruantis pat stonden for he treupe of holy writt & ihh cristis leuynge & reprouen here ypocrisie & schewen here falanesse to he peple; and he ben more sotil in malice, & dysceyuen more lordis & ladies & he comunes in seip & charite, & maken hem to triste pat it is almes

1 make AA. 3 conteynen X. 5 omitted X.
4 omitted X. 6 omitted X.

These prelates are suspected judges.
Prelates mostly come to their position by alimony.
The assessors whom the prelates take from religious orders are unfit to judge.
to distroye trewe men þat stonden * for goddis lawe & trewe lyuyngue. & þus þe damnable ignorance of goddis lawe & cursed lif of þis worldly prelate & stronge meyntenynge of here owen synne & ðere mennes ben cause whi pore prestis & cristien men han hem suspect of heresie & enemuye boþe of goddis cause & his servauntes; & þer-fore þe ðlen fro hem as anticrist & heretykes, as ico þe euangelist techip in his epistilis. ¶ But lete prelatis studie bisili & treuly holy¹ writt & lyuen opyn wel þer-afir, & distroie opyn synne of ðere men be here witt & myȝt, & pore prestis & cristene men wiþ-outen ony somonyenge wolen wiþ grete treuene & cost & wille, þee bi londe & bi water, meklely come to hem & don hem obedience & reuerence, as þei wolden to petir & poul & cristis apostlis. deme þe world wheþer þis dyuision belong on worldly prelatis vnkuynynge & cursed of lif, or on pore prestis & trewe men þat ðayn desiren myȝt & day to knowe goddis wille & worschipe & do it bifoðe alle ðere þingis.

Capitulum 2m.

As to cursynge, cristien men seyn trewely þat þei dremen it so moche þat þei wollen not wilfully & wityngly disserue goddis curse, neiþ þer for good in erþe ne in heuene; ne mannes curse in as myche as it acordiþ wiþ þe riȝtful curs of god; but þei wolde wiþ grete ioie of soule raþere sufre mannes wrongful curs þan wityngly & wilfully breke ony oomauedement of god for to wynne þer-bi alle worschipia of þis world, and to kephe here body in alle likynge neþere so longe; & raþere to sufﬁre salauadryng & baobityng & prisonyng & exilid, hangyng, drawyng, quarteryng & brennyng wiþ helpe & grace of god þan to forsake þe treuþe of holy writt & lif of crist, for ellis þei weren not in charite ne in weie of salvacion. but anticristis clerkis magyniþen so myche mannes curs þat þei taken noon hede to þe dredeful curs of god; as þif

¹ omitted X.
men were more mystry & rihtful þan is almystrate god is 
trynyte. for þou; men breken opyny alle þe comande-
mentsis of god & lyuen in pride, cœusite, enuye, glotonye
and ofer synnes, but þif it be lecherie, þere renæþ no
mannes curs; ne for lecherie þif men wolen pae rente bi
þære & dwelle stil þer-insane als longe as þem lyste; so al þe
drede is turned to mannæ curs and no þing to goddis curs.

But þif a man trespass litel or nouȝt aȝenst a prelæt
or aȝenst þe wynnyng of clerksis, he schal be cursed &
pursued þat al þe ende of his kyn may haue sorowe þerfore;
þee, þou; a treuþe of holy writ & reæson be seid * bi charite
aȝenst þe pride, cœusite & open wrong þat prelætis don
to here neïþboris, boþe in here gostly offis & also worldly
wrongis; and here-bi þei ponyschen more for here owen
dispit or wrong þan for dispit of god almystrate. But here
men musen1 whi prelætis ben so redy to curse in here owen
cause, sib þer teçhij oristen men to blisse & not no werie
ne curse; & god biddij vs louseoure enemies & don good
Matt v. [44.]
to hem þat haten vs, and to preie for men þat falsly
pursuen vs. sib he þat cu[r]seþ anþer man for his owne
vengeanœce or worldly catel more þasne for to venge synne
don aȝenst god & for þe helpï of þe cursed mannæ soule
cursï hím-self, for he doij aȝenst charite, as gregori teçhi
in þe popis lawe. cœtes men drenen þat þes prelætis ben
ful of goddis curse for here symonye in2 here entre, &
sillynge of sacramentsis & gostly offis, as ordres þeunynge for
money, & halwynge of chirchis & auteris, & for extorçions
of pore men, & meyntenyng of synful men in here synne
for money, þat þei han no part of goddis blissynge and
þerfore cursed fruyt sprynghi out of a cursed tree.

Lord, whi schulde curatīs pronounseen here bræðer a
cursed for nakid lettris of syche cœusitous prelætis, enemies
of criþ & his æræuanțis, when þei knowe no cause bi-for
god where-for þei be cursed of hym but han eyuïndence bi
spekyng & open lif of here neïþboris þat þei ben in good

1 mowe sen X.  2 & X.
lif & in charite. Siþ crist seip is þe gospel þat he þat seip to his broþer: þou fool! wiþ-out sufficiente cause, & he þat seip to his broþer þat hap þe holie goest wiþ good lif & charite þat he is voide & wiþ-oute kunynge, schal be gilit of helle, wheþer þis be charite to curse a man for sexe pans when he may vnneþis lyue be al his traveile, & for he traveleþ not at here som[on]ynge an hundrid myle or moo or lesse & leueþ not his wif & children vngoverned. for þif a preste pronoussé siahe a man a cursed þat is blissee of god he liþeþ vpon his broþer & berþ fals witenesse aþen goddis dom. for þou; he aþere not at here somonyng to þeuen hem mony at here wille, he may ben excused aþen god & man for many skillis. þerfor þis nakid lettre of cueseitouse prelates is no sykyrnesse aþenmis god to pronoussé a cristen man for cursed, & noon obedience schulde constrayne a preþt to wittenesse a falschede aþen his broþer and aþen his conscience but þif it be anti-cristis obedience, for cortis god wol not constrayne a man to þis false obedience. Lord, where anti-crist & his clerkis schullen. þif prelates knowen þat þis man were cursed of god for brekyng of his hustis þei mysten pronoussé þis to þe peple to make ðe þere men to fíce his companye as an heirere manys. But comuall þei knowe not þis so wel as ðeþere pore men, *þor þei taken no reward to þe hustis of god, but al to here owen lawes & customes. þe apostelis haddeþ þis power when a synful man was rebel aþen goddis lawe to þeue þe fend power of his body to traveilen it, so þat þe soule were saaf. But owre prelates han not þis power, þerfore þei seynen þat þei sleeþ þe soule bi þor cursynge wasne þe bodi is neuere þe worse, & þasne þei techen lordis to enprisone þe bodi aftir fourti daies a cursynge, þou; þe man be cursed1 for holdynge goddis hustis; & maken lordis to ben turmentowris of cristene men, wasne þe fendis doren not touche hem for drede of god. þis cursynge schulde be suspendid for peril on alle sidis, and trewe techynge of

1 blessed A.A.
HOW MEN ought to OBEY PRELATES.

Cristis gospel & holy ensawplis of prelatis lif & manasyghe of paragororie & helle and confortynghe of þe blisse of heuene schulde be schewed & regne among cristene peple; and þes foure schulden maken men to flee synne & lyue wel & ende in perfit charite, & þis were best for alle parties.

Capitulum 3m.

As to lawe, trewe men seyn þat þei willen mekely & wilfully drede & kep goddys lawe vp here kusynge & myȝt, & ech lawe of masnes mazynghe in as myche as þei witen þat it acordþ wiþ goddys lawe & resoun & good conscience & to þe riȝtful execution þer-of; & god him self may bynde man no more to his owen lawe for his endeles riȝtwisnesse & charite þat he haþ to masnes soule. lord, where synful men þat ben antiristis, & in caes deuelis in fleisch & blood, may bynde men more to here wickid lawis & wrong execucions of hem þawne god wille bynde hem to his most riȝtful lawe & profitable. cristen men knowen wel of saþ þat neiþer petir me poule ne ony creature may do ouȝt lawefully aȝenst þe treweþe of holî writt ne aȝenst þe edificacion of holy chyrche, þat is good teychynge & gouernynge & amendynge of cristene soulis. what power han þan worldly prelatis to make so many wickid lawes? siþ god curseþ hem þat maken wickid lawes, & comandþ þat no man schal add to his wordis ne drawe fro hem vp payne of grete cursonge of god & damousynge in helle. þat is to seie þat no man adde false sentence ne false glose to holy writt, for þan, as ierom seþ, he is an heretik; & þat no man drawe ony treuþe fro goddis wordis, for þei enclosen alle nedesful treuþe & profitable for manys soule. & to þis entente siþ poule in his pistols þat jif ony man, þee apostil or angel of Gal.1.8. heuene, prache oþer þing þan is taȝte of crist & his apostelis he is cursid. And Seint Jon seþe,1 in þe ende of þe Rev. xii. 18. apocalips, þat jif ony man adde þus to goddis wordis, god schal bryngþe vpon hym alle þe vengauces wryten in þe

1-1 omitted X.
apocalips, & if ony man wijdrawe þus fro goddis wordis. * god schal don hym out of þe bok of liff. ¶ Lord, sif goddis lawe is so myche & so hard to vnderstande, as aestyn & ðære seyntis techen, þat þou; eche man hadde neuere so gret witt & myȝte lyne hool & sond in bodi & wittis til þe day of dome, he schulde euere haue ynow; to lerne and occupie him þeine at þe fulle, whi schulle wordly oueratis & þrelinis make so many bokis of here newe lawis for to meyntene here pride & couetise & wordly array? sif men be nowe of lesse wittis & schortere tymes & febler of complexioun. certis þe chargen men ouer myȝt & maken hem bysy to kusen wrongful tradiusiouns of synful folis makynge & to leue holy wriȝt vnstudied, vnkound & vnkept; & þis is a sotil cautel of þe fend to for-do goddis lawe & knowyngy & lone of oure goode god. And þeore crist pleyney of þis peple, bi þe prophete yesie, & in þe gospel also, þat is peple worshipped him in lippis but here herte is fer fro god, & þei worschipeyn hym with-outen cause, for þei techen þe loris of men & here maundementis. ðat seyntis in þe popis lawe reprouen eyle lawis vngruosid in holy wriȝt & resoun, & hem þat maken hem also, & seyn þat we ouen to take hede what crist seip, & to no man ellis but is als myche as he acordip wiȝ crist, & he his false þat seip or techeþ ony þing þat is not euylently groundad in goddis lawe. & þeore seynt petyr comaundip if ony speke, loke he speke as goddis wordis. þus worldly þrelinis drawen ouren men fro holy wriȝt þat is þe beste lawe & constreyne men to here owes lawis ful of erroour, maad to couloure here caussed pride & couetise; for þei ponsche men soerre for breken of here owen lawis þan for brekynge of goddis lawe, & lonen & chirishing men of here lawe and dispise & putten abac men of goddis lawe. Late worldly þrelinis ceessë to schlausadre pore men, seynge þat þei wolen not obesche to here souereynys & dreden not curs but dispise lawe. for in alle þes þre þei ben clere bifiore god & man þif riȝt & resoun & charite be wel souȝt.

1 X. inserts and.
III.

THE RULE AND TESTAMENT OF ST. FRANCIS.

This tract is distinguished among the many directed against the friars by its method of attack. The first and longer part consists merely in a translation of the rule by which the Franciscans admitted themselves bound, and the comment confines itself to pointing out how completely that rule was disregarded or evaded. The peculiar interest of the tract lies in its bringing before us how nearly in its idea the Franciscan order approached the body of poor priests, whom Wyclif sent out to preach. When the writer complains that at Rome "false menours" persecute those who would keep Francis' rule to the letter, we have an expression of the sympathy which we might have divined between the Lollards and the Spiritual Franciscans. (Cf. the Tract on the Leaven of Pharisees.) But before we have read to the end we find the author true to the "freedom of the gospel," which Wyclif consistently preached, declaring that no other order than Christ's is needed, since those who can carry out the highest and best life have that duty laid upon them by Christ's order to serve God with all their heart and all their strength. We may compare with this the saying (S. E. W. III. 452), "Every counsel of Crist is to sum man and sum tyme a precept."

I think that the author is Wyclif. The tract, Fifty Heresies of Friars, printed by Mr. Arnold (No. 24), seems like an amplification of this; and it is probably of later date, as the doctrine of transubstantiation is attacked there, but not mentioned here.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X, and collated with the Dublin MS. AA; and with the Oxford MS. W. All through W. has þo for þe; hor for her; hom for hem; and has the third person singular in ȝ.

SUMMARY.

The greater part of this tract is simply a translation from the Latin of the law laid down for the Franciscans by their founder. To this is added a short comment, pointing out—

1st. That the testament is binding upon Franciscans;
2nd. That the Franciscans keep neither rule nor testament, failing in obedience, in poverty, and in charity.

After this general statement of their faults comes an account of various ways in which they evade the letter of the rule. The tract ends with a declaration that no rule is of use except so far as it agrees with that laid down by Christ.
RULE OF ST. FRANCIS.

[CHAP. I.

Dis his be reule of seynt fraunseis.

Capitulum primum.

Pe reule and pe lyuynges of frere menours is pis: to kep\[i] the holy gospel of oure lord ihu orist, lyuynges in obedience, wi\[j] outen propre, and in chastite. Frere fraunseis bi\[h]i obedience and renuerence to pe lord pe pope honorie, and to his succesouris, pe whiche entren bi general and holy eleccion, and to pe chirche of rome, and be opere freris holden to obesche\[a] to frere fraunseis and to his succesouris.

Of hem pat wolen take pis lif, hou bei schullen be rescuyued.

Capitulum 2m.\[3]

Any one desiring to enter the Order is to be examened by the provincial minister.

\[p. 30 M8.\]

He must have no wife or must dispose of her property.

Must give away all his possessions.

Is to have a year of probation.

\[1\] behetis W. \[2\] obesae X. \[3\] In W. this is reckoned as part of Chapter I.

\[4\] for X. \[5\] levee W. \[6\] unpropri X.; inspiraverit Lat. \[7\] omitted X. \[8\] two W.
be leffel to hem to goo out of his ordre vp 1 be comanadement of his lord he pope, for aftir he holy gospel no man sendynge his hond to be plow; and lokenge a-ten is able to be order.
kyngdom of god. & hane pei pat han bihipt obedience cotis or kirtlis 2 wip an hond and an oper wipouten 3 hood; pei pat wilien haue schon & be nedid per-to may bere hem.

And be alle freris clopid wip foule clopis, & pei may pese hem ajen or cloute hem of sacchis & operes pecis wip be blissying of god. And I moneste & stire pei freris pat pei dispise not and deme not pei men whom pei seen clopid wip softe clopis & colourid, & vse delicat metis & drynkius, but more ech of hem deme & dispise him self.

Of goddis seruyce & fastyngys, & hou freris schullen go bi pe world.

'Capitulum 3m. 4'

Do clerkis deyn officis 5 after pe ordre of pe 6 holy chirche of rome, out taken pe sautir, of whiche pei may hau breuyaries, pat is smale sauteris or abregrass; but late lewidi freris selie four & twenti pater nostris for matynes, for laudis fyue, for prime, tiere, vn dre & noon, for ech of hem seuene pater nostris, & for euensong twelue, & for complexyn seuene.

And preie pei for dede men. and faste pei 8 fro pe faste of alle hawen til pe natuyte of crist, & pe 9 holy lenten pat 10 [p. 31 MR.] bygynne fro pe twelve day of cristemasse to be fulle fourtie daires, pei whiche lenten oure lord halwid wip pei holy fast, be pei blased of pe lord pat 8 fasten wilfully pis lenten; & be pei not constreyne pes wilen not, but faste pei anocher lenten til pe resurrectios pei lord, but in operes tymes ben pei not holden to faste but on pe fraday; but in tymes of opyn nede ben pei freris not bouden to bodily fast. but I conseille, amonest, and stire my freris in oure lord iht crist pat 10 whasane pei gon bi pe world pat pei chide not and stryue not bi wordis, & pat pei iuge not operes men, but pat pei ben mylde, peisible and manerly, howaly & meke, spekynges of al hingas as it is semely. & pat pei schullen not ride but if pei ben nedid for opyn nede or siknesse. In to what enere hou pei schullen entre seie pei first, pees be to peis hous, & aftir pei holy gospel be it lefful to hem to ete of alle metis pat ben set to hem, as I haue seid.

1 upon W. 2 cotes or kirtel W. 3 wiw an out X. and AA. 4 capm. jm. W.; omitted X. 5 office W. 6 omitted X. and AA. 7 halowe W. 8 omitted X. and AA. 9 & X. 10 jan X.
Pat Freris rescuyuen no money.

Capitulm 4m.1

I comande stedfastly to alle freris that is no manere pei rescuyue no money or pens; neiuer bi hem sef ne mene, persone putt bitwixte. nepeles for pe ned of sike men & to clope oher freris bi gosly frendis only, pe mynsystys & custodis schullen bere bisy cure, vpe placis & tymes & colde regiones or contres; as pei schulle see peit it is spedy to here nedy. Pat pis ping be euermore saif, pat as it is seid pei rescuyue no pens ne money.

Of pe manere of trauayle of freria.

Capitulm 5m.3

Oure freris to whom god hap nouen grace to trauaille, labore pei treuly & deoultly so pat ydelnesse enemy of soule be excluidid or putt awaye. And pei queene not pe spirit of holy devotion and preire to whiche oher spiritual ping schullen serve. But of pe hire of labore rescuyue pei necessaries for hem self & here brethren wiþ-outen pens or mony, and pat mekely, as it is semynge to seruaustis of god foloweris of pe moste holy pouert.

Pat freris apropre no ping to hem self, & hou pei schulles axe almes, & of sike freria.

Capitulm 6m.4

Frisch schulle no ping apropre to hem self neiuer hous ne place ne ony oher ping, but as pilgrims & gestis or come-lyngyns in pis world, in pouert & mekenesse seruynge to pe lord, goo pei tristilce for almes, and hem nedip not to be a-schamyd, for oure 'lord made hymself pore in pis world' for vs. pis is pe heynesse of pe moste hey; pouert, pat makip you my brethern heiris & kyngis of pe kyngdom of heuenys; pis hap maad you pore in pingis & enhaussed you in vertues. be pis vousr portion, or deel, pat bryngip perfetly to be lord of lyuynge men. to pe whiche pouert pe most loued brethren, hooliche cleuyngge for pe reverence of oure lord ihu crist, wile pe nooping haue lastinge pe world vnder heuen. And where euere freris ben & fynden hem to-gidre schewe pei hem homly bitwixte hem self, & sikyrly schewe eche to oher his nede. for ij a modir norscep & lounp here fleshly child, wiþ hou mychel more diligence schal on loun

1 capm. iiim. W.
2 none X. 3 4m. W.
4 So in all MSS. The Latin has 'temporalia.' 5 vms. W. 6.8 omitted X.
& norische his gostly brother, & if any of hem falle in-to sickenesse of freres freris schullen serue hym as pei wolden be servyd.

Of penance to be putt to freris for synnes.

Capitulum 7m.1

If ony of freris bi tisyng of pe enyme happen to synne deedly pe synnes of whiche it is ordeyned among freris pei rennen to here monystryship provencial, pe same freris ben holden to renne to hem also sone as pei may wip-outen dwellyng. & po monystryship pei ben prestis schullen wip mercy enyonye hen penance, & if pei ben noone prestis make pei to be enyonyed to hem bi oher freris of pe ordre, as it seme to spede most aftir god. & pei schullen be war pei be not waprid and disturblid for pe synne of ony, for wrafe & disturblynge letten charite in hem & oher.

Of pe chesynge of pe general monysteres &2 of pe provencial chapitris of pe ordre.

Capitulum 8m.3

Be alle freris holden to hane euermore on of pe freris of chos of the his religion a general monystre & servaunt of al pe brethered, & be pei holden to obliche stedfaastly to hym. & whasene he diep pe chesynge of his successour be maad 4 of monystryship provincial & custodis in pe chapitre of witsontide, in whiche holding of chapitre be pe5 monystryship provencial holden euermore to come to-gidre, where euermore it hap6 ben ordeyned of pe general monystre; & onys in bye yeer, or at anorphere termes lasse or more as it is ordeyned of pe forseide monystre. & if it seme ony tymes to pe generale of monystryship provencial & custodis pe forseide monystrer is not suffisent to pe servyce & comune profite of freris, be pe forseide freris7 holden, to whom pe chesynge is pour, to choos hem anepe in pe name of god to here kepere. Aftir pe chapitre of witsunday pe monystre & custodis may eche bi hem selfe, if pei wilen & it seme to hem speful, in pe same yeer in here custodies onys clepe7 to-gidre here brethren to chapitre.

Of prechours to pe puple.

Capitulum 9m.4

Preche not freris in pe bishopriche of ony bishop whanne pe bishop aen seip hym, & noon of freris be hardy in ony manere to preche to pe peple but if he be examyned & aproyd of pe monystre of his fraternity, & pei pe office

1 vii m. W.  2 omitted X.  3 vii m. W.  4 omitted X.
5 his has W.  6 omitted X.  7 calles W.  8 vii m. W.
RULE OF ST. FRANCIS.

Chapter IX.

Of procyng be graunted to hym of *mynystre. Also I
moonest & stire *same freris *pat in procyng *pat *pei
maken here spechis be examyned as chaet & to proufit & to
edificacion of pe peple. Schewynges to hem yices & vertuus,
peyne & glorie, wiþ shoortnesse of sermon. for *pei lord haj
maad abreggíd word vpon *pei erje.

Of *pei monestynge & of correccioun.

Capitulum 10m.

Freris *pat ben mynystris & seruauantis of opere freris schulles
visite and moneste here breçon mekely & charitably, &
*pei schulles correcte, not commandynge to hem ony ping
*pat be asent here soule & oure reule. And freris *pat
ben soget owen to *penke *pat for god *pei han forsaken here
owen willis; wnder I comauade stedfastly to hem *pat
*pei oboche to here mynystris in alle pinge *pei han
behiyt to oure lord to kepe, & noon contrarie pinge to here
soul & to oure reule. & where euere ben ony freris *pat wisten
or knewen *pei may not kepe gostly *pei reule *pei may &
owen to renne to here mynystris, & *pei mynystris owe to
recyue hem benynguely & bi charite, and haue *pei so muche
famularite, or homlynesse, aboute hem *pei may seie to
hem & do as lordis to here seruauantis. for whi so it schal be,
*pei mynystris be seruauantis of alle freris. I amoneste & stire
in oure lord ihu crist *pei freris ben war & fise fro alle pride,
fro vevn glorie, enuye and coeitise, & cure & bisynesse of
pis world, fro detracción & grucchyng. & recke not *pei
*pei ben vnkuwne to lerne letteris, but vnderisntonde *pei
*pei aboue alle thingis *pei owen to desire to haue *pei spirit of
*pei lord & his holy wercynghe, and euere preie to god wiþ
clene herte, & haue makenesse & pacience in pursuyt & in
infirmyte, and to loue hem *pei pursuen vs & reprouen &
disipen vs. for oure lord seij: loue ye youre enemies, &
preien for hem *pei pursuen you, and for men *pei falsly
challengen you. blissed be *pei *pei suffren persecucion for
riçtwanesse, for here is *pei kyngdom of heuenys; & who euere
lastij in-to *pei ende he schal be saaf.

*pat freris entre not in-to abbeies of nusnes.

Capitulum 11m.

I comauade stably to freris *pei haue not suspect com-
panyes or conseillis of wymmen, & *pei entrent not *pei abbeies
of nusnes, out take *po to whom fro *po see of apostaille is

1 haad X. 2 ixm. W. 3 hor W. 4 *po W. 5 see X.; ut dicere possint Lat. 6 omitted X. 7 ixm. W.
licence graminitid; and be ðei not maad godfadris of men, nor to act as last bi ðis occasion among freris & of freris be gendrid solauadre.

Of ðe manere of goynge among sarasyns & ðeere men out of bileue.

Capitulum 12m.1

Who ense of freris bi inspiracioen of god wilne goon among sarasyns & ðeere vnbelesful, axe ðei lene þerof of here mynnistris prouynoyal, and þeue þes mynnistris to noon lene to go but to hem whom þei seen ablee to be sent to þis þing. I enyoyne to mynnistris bi obedience þat þei axe of þe lord þe pope on of þe cardynaales of þe *chirche of p[p. 84 MS.] rome, þat þe be gouernour, meyntenour, and correctour of þis fraternyte, þat we be ense suget to be feet of þe same holy chirche, and stable in general feit of cristene men, & þat we kepe pouert & mekenesse & þe holy gospel of oure lord ihü crist, þe whiche we han stedefastly bi-hiit or awowid bi profession.

Here endþ þe reule of seynt fraunseis, & here bigysenþ þe testameat of seynt fraunseis.

Capitulum 13m.3


Houre lord hat souen to me fraunseis to bigyne to do penausce; & whasne I was is ouere myche synnes it semyd to me bittre to see leprous men, and þe same lord brouyte me among hem and I dede mercy wip hem. & whasne I departed fro hem þat þing þat was semynge bitter to me was turned to me in-to sweetees of soule & bodi. & afterward I stood a litel and wente out of þe world, & oure lord þat me sych feip in chirchis þat I schulde preie þus sympli & seie: we worschipen þe, lord ihü crist; at alle þe chirschis þe wiche ben in al þe world, and we blissen to þe for by þyn holy crois þu hast ajen boute þe world.

¶ Afterward þe lord þat to me & þeueþ so myche feip þat His respect for þe aðlises, I wille renne to þe preistis þat lyuen aftir þe forme of þe chirche of rome for þe ordeynynge of hem, alþou þei diden to me perssecucion. & þou; I hadde as myche wisdom as hadde salamon & I founde litel pore preistis of þis world þat dwelles in parichis I wille not prose he ajenst here wille. and Iþ wille honouro alle preistis as my lordis, & I wille not biholda is hem ony synne, fore is hem I

1 xém. W. 2 Testamentum francisci W. 3 omitted X. and AA.
from whom he receives Christ in the sacrament.

How the Order was formed.

Friars to receive nothing; not even churches nor dwelling-places.

Friars are on no account to get letters from the court of Rome.

Any friar who breaks the Rule or is a heretic.

take bi discretion goddis son & pei ben my lordis. & here-fore I do sit I see noo bodily ping in this world of hym, pe heiest goddis sone, but his holiest bodi & blood pei receyuen & pei only mynystre to opere. & I wile abouen alle pingis honoure pei holiest proveytes or mysteries, & putte pei holiest names in most precious places, & where enere I fynde his wordis writen in vnleeful placis I wile gode & preie pei ben godrid & kepte in an honeste place. & we schal worshipen in herte & word alle clerkis of dyuynyte pei mynystre to vs most holy wordis as hem pei mynystre to vs pe holy goyt & lif. And after pe lord hadde jouen to me of freris no man schewid to me what I schulde do, but he pei is hieest schewid to me pei I schulde lyue after pe forme of pe gospel: & I in fewe wordis & sympliche maade to write it, & pe lord pope confermyd it to me. And summe commen to taken pis lif, & pei jouen to pore men alle pinges pei myysten. And pei weren spedeed wip o cote or kirtul wyt-ynne forbe & wight-oute forb & wolde not hame more. clerkis schulden seie here officis aftir clerkis, but lewed freris schulde seie pater noster. & we dwelten to-gidre in chirchis, & waren idioticis, & vnderloute to ale men. & I traveyled wip my hondis & wile traveylle, & I wile pei alle operes freris traveylle is labour pe whiche pertynen to honeste, & pei pei kunne not, lerne pei; not for cousiteitse to take hire, but for ensample to putte awy idelesse; & whanne men jouen vs nouȝt renne we to pe bore of pe lord, axynge almes fro dore to dore.

Q God schewid to me pis salutacion pei schulde seie, pe lord juga pees to pe, perfor be freris war pei receyue not in no manere, neither chirchis, ne placis to dwelten onne, ne ony oper pingis pei ben biledt for hem, but as it sames holy pouert, pe whiche we han bi-fore seid in pe reule, euer-more dwellynge here as gestis & comeylngis & pilgymys. I comaunde sadly to alle freris be obedience pei where so enere pei ben be pei not charge to exe ony lettre in pe court of rome, neither be hem self ne by men persone put bitwyxe, wip pe blissynge of god. And I wile pei freris obeche to pe general mynystre of pis fraternyte whom it pleuse to me to joue esto, and I wile pei I be so taken in his hondis pei I may not goo or do aspast his obedience & his wille, for he is my lord. & peou I be simpul & sik nepeles I wile enere haue a clerk pei splach do me dyuynye office after pe reule. And pei pei ben founden pei don not be office after pe reule & wilen varie on oper manere & be not
of ryset cristien seipp, be alle freres holden bi obedience where euer be ben pat, where euer be schulle fynde ony of poo, be schullen presenten hym to be nexte custode of pat place where euer be fynden syechon. and be pat custode holde sadly bi obedience to kepe hym strongly as a man in bondis day & nyzt, so pat he may not be deleyuerid of his hand til he represente hym in his owen persone in be hondis of his mynystre, and be be mynystre holden sadly bi obedience to holde hym bi freris pat kepe men nyzt & day as in bondis til pat he represente hym to be cardynal hostien, pat is lord, governour, meyntenour & rectorour of alle be fraternyte.

And seie not, freris, pat pis is another rule: for it is a remembransaue, amonestyng, a reproyungs, and my testament be whiche I frere fraunsaes, litel, make to my blissed bretheren, pat for pis we kepe bettere be reule be whiche we han biipt to be lord. & be general mynystre & alle opere mynystris & custodes ben holden bi obedyence to adde no ping to pes wordis ne drawe be fro & rede be pes wordis.

And I commaunde bi obedience to alle my bretheren, bope clerkis & lewd, pat be putte not glosis vnto be reule, ne seynge wip be pes wordis: "so be wil be vndirstonden," but as be lord pat to me sympliche and purelyche to seie & to write be reule; and vndirstonde be pes wordis so symplely and cleely with-out glosse & kepe see hem in to be ende wip holy werchyngge. and who euer kepi be be he fulfillid in heuene wip be blissynge of be helyest fadird, and be he fulfillid in erbe wip be blissynge of his louyd sone, wip be holiest gost confortour, & wip alle vertues of heuene and wip alle seynis; and I frere fraunsaes, sore litel and sore servaunt, conforme to you how euer myche I may wip-in & wip-outen be moshe holy blisysng. Amen.

Here endi be testament of seynt fraunsaeis. 3

[Comment.]

But here be menours seyn pat be pope discharjip hem of his testament & seipp pat be ben not holden ber-to, for a man hat not lordschipne he iurisdiiccion vpon his pere, & seipp be pope was more be fraunsaeis he mytte not bynde be pope pat he ne mytte dispense & reprove what he wolde. ¶ But to his trewe men seyn þus, pat freris ben bounden to his testament for many skillis: first fraunsaeis seipp pat god scheuied hym to this.

1 omitted W.  2 omitted X. and AA.  3 Finis testamenti W.
COMMENT ON THE TESTAMENT OF ST. FRANCIS.

This profession came in only when Satan was unbound.

They forsake the obedience of God, and obey a sinful idiot.

As to the substance of the reule pei forsaken obedience of god and obesehen to a synful idiot biddynghe pei contrarie of goddis wille, pe whiche synful ydiot is in cas a dampynd deynl, & so for pleynge of pe world or lustis of heere flech pei leuen pei commaundementeis of god & don vriystul commaundemente of pei fend, & magnyfien more obedience to synful men, & in cas to fendid, pei obedience *to crist pei is enermore medeful; & so pei seyen pei a good ping doon after pei commaundemente of god is not of sot gret merijt as a ping don after pei commaundemente of a synful ydiot, & in cas a dep deyul in helle. But pei newe profession was not vesed of crist & his apostelis but in pei time pei sathanas was vnbounden, as pe apcalips tellip; & so it semip pei pei newe ordris distroiwe obedience of cristis lawe (bi whiche echhe man is holde obecke to oper in pei drede of crist, pei is in as myche as ony techip a noher to don pei wille of god) & magnyfie obedience to synful men, see ajenst pe preceptis of god. and so as myche as is in hem pei maken a synful idiot & is cas a dampynd deynl in helle more than alyysi

1 deuel W.  2 ordeyed W.
COMMENT ON THE TESTAMENT OF ST. FRANCIS.

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god is trinity, for hei don more after his false commandement than after com Audience of almighty God.

† To be consecrated part of his reule wiþ-utes properete of worldly goodis; siþ proper þing stondiþ most in wille & hei traveilen more for proper worshippe or wynnyng þan for common profit of christen men, it seem þei don alle ajenst his reule; for hei han grete houis preprid to hem self, many costly bokis, & myche hid tresetur biried in here houses fro þe comuste of christen men lyuyng in þe world bi gret labor, as god enyoyned adam; & þis tresetur is kept proprely to idel men or fendis, siþen it is geten by false lesings, false beggyng, & fals meynentynge of foule synnes. † Also o strong beggere or flatere covering a chamber for a lord, erl or duke wiþ many preciouste uellis, & anoter frere hai nakid sitis & many other mysses þou; he be worþ sique a pouns preior before god. † As to chastite dome men of here bodily chastite, but of gostly chastite it seem þat þei ben alle avouteris, for þei halde religious þat is mead of synful men bettre þan religion mead of oristine hym self, & þei chargen more tradicions or customes mead of here owen errsouris þan þe iust lawis & heste mead of almyty God, & þes is gostely matrmonyne bitwixxe oristine mennesse soulis broken, siþ it stondiþ in riþfulnesse & mercye & feiþ.

† But see now hou freris don openly ajenst þis reule & testament. also in takynge money many weies; for þei leden wiþ hem a scavioth stolen fro is eldris by þeþe to robbe pore men bi beggyng dampnyd of goddis lawe. & seen more ypocrisyse of hem: þei wolen telle gold and money & touche it wiþ a sticke or wiþ gloues & a grete cuppe of gold or pece of siluer worþ many markis to drynke noble wyn of, but þei wilen not touche an halpeney or ferþing wiþ þe coyne & armes of þe croe & of the kyng, & þis seemþ for dispit of þe croe or of þe kyng, for a weeg of siluer¹ or a *cuppe of gold þei wolen handil faste, and þe money þat 

¹ gold W.
They wear rich vndir here beddis hed at nyxt. & so of cloþing þei don against þis reule in many maneres; for men seen þat þe kyng or þe emperour myȝte wijþ worshippe were a garnement of a frere for goodnesse of þe cloþ, & namely of suche freris as schulden most kepe powre of cryst & his apostelis, as ben clepid maistris of diuynyte, but verrely maistris of errow boþe in techyne & in ensaumple, & summe oone haþ wast cloþis & costi, and a noþer symple frere þat nys not so gret flaterere nakid or to rent. ¶ As to propre þingis freris seyn þat þe pope is lord worldly of housis, bokis, iewelis and al þat þei han, but her semyþ myche venym: first þe eygl children putten in-to here fadir þe pope þe venym of worldly lordschipe siþ þei may not haue it for distroyng of here perfecciouns, & yit þei seyn þat þe pope mot be most holy & perfyþ & nexte sue crist in alle manere vertues, & þus þei putten a veyn þorn in his feet. As to here kyng þei ben vnkynde & vntrewe, for wijþ-outen his leewe¹ or is conseil þei alien in-to straunge² rewmes, & in caes to our enemies, al þat þei may gete bi robberie of pore men³ & flaterynge & óþere false menes in þe lond þat þei dwellþ isane; & so, yif þe pope ben enmye to oure lond & sende enemies to oure lond, he haþ many stronge houses as caaestelis; & yit þei ben his riþfully oure kyng may not warne ne lette his hoste to reste in þo places, & þanne is oure lond in gret peril. ¶ As anemtis prychynge, men knowen wel þat freris wile flaterre & spare to reproue scharpty synnes of grete men for drede of los of worldly goodis or freundischipe or fauour; & so for lone of here syrkyntyng bely þei laten þe send strangle manþe soûlis, and yit dispisen and letten óþere men to preche the treuþe of goddis lawe, laste here synne were knowen & here pride & worldly wynnyngle leid a doun. ¶ And yit þei talen not schortly ne plenerly⁴ þe gospel, & viços & vertues, & peynes and icône, but maken longe talis of fablis, or cronylcis, or comenden here owen nouchries. ¶ As anemtis

¹ love X. ² stronge X. and AA. ³ omitted X. and AA. ⁴ memnus W. ⁵ playnely W.
COMMENT ON THE TESTAMENT OF ST. FRANCIS.

true hate of freres it is knowne howe be gon ydel from contre to contre, & from town to town, & from house to house, beggen of pore men, teyngen to opere to ben idel, & stelen mennow children of his ydlenesse, where be ben tau't to lyue in swet of here body bi comausdemment of god and be here owen reule & by ensaemple of petir and poule; whanne petir factor after cristis ascencion, & poul trueilid * wij [p. 39 MS.]

his hondis after cristis ascencion; and seynt autoyn teyhiu

muskis to labore wip here hondis, & so do wp seynt benet & seynt bernard. ¶ Also bisiden romes fre menours bi false name pursuen trewe pore freres to deij for as myche as be

wolden kep frauseis reule to he letters in pouert & mekeness & in grete penaunce, & por-forde, pou; be haue name of frauseis freis, be ben enemys of crist & frauseis & cruel man-scleris. ¶ Also, if frauseis take only be gospel and no ping addiij of his owne por-to, it schulde not be clepid frauseis reule but reule of crist or of be gospel; & if he putte to be gospel of his owne syndyng, whi schulde he make for-of a newe ordre, siij be ordre hat crist made him self is most perfit & most lijt & most aiker to geten heuene by, & God's order bids us do every good thing we can.

what goode dede ony man may doo he is holden to don it bi his most comausdemment of god: "hou schaull longe bi lord bi god of ale bi herte, of al lii, of al bi pou'itis, & of al bi stenghes or mystis." what nede is it byane to make anothor religion, siij hat crist made is inow; at be fulle; & so siij noone apostle of crist ne angel of heuene has any power but if it be to edificacion & profit of holy chirche, be pope has no power to dispense azenst frauseis testament & his reule, siij be ben al on, but if it be to profit of holy chirche hat men kep men neipor his reule ne his testament. Of his reule & errorry myyte men speke ful myche. But god for his mercy brynge clerkis to cristis clene religion, siij it is be beste on alle weies & most profitable to alle parties. Amen.

1 addij X. 2 calde W. 3 omitted X. and AA. 4 trewe X. and AA.
IV.

OF PRELATES.

This tract is less orderly in arrangement and fuller of repetition than is usual in Wyclif's work, but some parts of it are worthy of him, and it contains no opinions that are not to be found in his genuine writings. There is a great resemblance between this and the tract on the office of Curates, No. VII. Both have references to the Crusade in Flanders, and are therefore late works of Wyclif, if his at all; while both of them are silent as to his doctrine of the Eucharist, and are comparatively mild in their language as to the Friars, who are not treated as at all worse than the monks. This would be natural enough in Wyclif's earlier years, but is not in accordance with his usual tone after 1380. I incline to think that they were written by an intimate disciple rather than by the master.

As to evidence of date, I have little doubt that the mention of "anticristes bullis to maken cristene men to werre with each othere" (p. 73), and of pardons granted "to make discensioun & werris" (p. 82) refer to Spencer's Crusade, although it is just possible that they may point to one of the other occasions on which popes have encouraged bloodshed.

The tone as to persecution is uncertain. The passage (p. 87) "prisonen hem and slen hem algates in ville" looks as if the infliction of death for heresy was not yet allowed. There is stronger language in the Sermons and the Trialogus. Yet we are told on p. 79, that lords who support poor priests are cursed and taken to prison "if thei stonden sadde in goddis cause." This may have happened in Wyclif's time, merely as the result of excommunication, but I know no instance of it. Were the tract written much after his death, its tone would probably be fiercer.

I cannot identify the "litel harlot" who "dispiseth the pope and stroith his lordship," p. 83.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

A leaf is wanting in AA. from end of Chapter xli. to the early part of Chapter xlii. "for his entier sorwe of syne."

Summary.

Chap. I. Prelates are bound to preach, since they take the place of apostles whom Christ ordered to preach. Examples and warnings from Scripture. Wickedness of neglect. Prelates more bound to preach than the people to pay tithes. Duty of making them amend.
CHAP. II. Prelates will not allow priests to preach without their licence. They permit the new religious to go about preaching lies and fables, but it is on condition that they do not preach against the sins of prelates, and that they pay largely from the money which they extort.

III. Prelates are heretics, for by their life they set an example of living against Christ's law. Their pomp, litigiousness, luxury and covetousness.

IV. Prelates rob the king's lieges by taking money for licences to sin. They bribe nobles and jurors to support them, but curse all who try to correct them.


VI. Prelates think more of the consecration of churches and ornaments than of consecrating the sacrament of the altar, which they leave to every priest, while they keep the others for themselves. They use these offices as a means of extortion.

VII. Prelates teach man's law, but hinder preaching of the gospel. Prayer to God to give courage to his servants, and understanding to lords.

VIII. Prelates care more for money than for men's souls. Witness the sins.

IX. Prelates live in lechery and lead others into sin. They raise money from poor men, who want it to live on. They publish bulls to encourage wars. They allow friars to go about begging. Thus they kill men's souls.

X. Prelates lay more stress on their own curse than on God's. They enforce their excommunication by imprisonment. For real sins they sell absolution, but they put true preachers under curse, and condemn them by false witness.

XI. Prelates deceive men by their false prayers and singing. Prayer without good life useless. God only knows the worth of each man's prayer. Prayers of wicked men are not made useful by the virtue of the Church. If they cannot pray effectively for themselves, neither can they for others.

XII. Prelates frighten men by their excommunications; forbid true preachers, and persecute those who would support them.

XIII. Prelates deceive men by indulgences, which have no authority from Christ, and are useless except as a means of extortion. Pardon is wholly in God's hands.

XIV. Prelates make the way to heaven harder by their new laws. They add also new points to the Creed; as the headship of the pope.

XV. Prelates exalt themselves above Christ; for he told men to judge him by his deeds, and they say their subjects should not judge them.

XVI. Prelates stop men from doing God's will, as in saying mass and preaching. They pretend it is to stop heresy, but they are not true judges of heresy, for they neither know nor keep God's law.

XVII. Prelates refuse obedience and taxes to secular lords. Christ paid tribute to the Emperor. Much more should they who are rich help the land. They set example of rebellion.

XVIII. Prelates worse than Jews, for they persecute Christ in his members and take blood-money.
CHAP. XIX. Avarice of prelates, their litigiousness, oppression; their pomp and war-like ways.

XX. Prelates teach other men to maintain them in their sins and to persecute poor priests.

XXI. Prelates set more store by their own laws than by the gospel.

XXII. Prelates teach that nothing in the church is lawful that is not confirmed by the pope, who is commonly the worst of prelates and antichrist.

XXIII. Prelates are enemies of peace, counselling war to divert attention from their own sins. Besides advising it, they take part in it.

XXIV. The worldly and pompous life of prelates an ill example.

XXV. Money sent out of the realm to bring prelatures and to maintain suits at Rome.

XXVI. Prelates by their invention of new laws declare Christ’s laws to be insufficient, and so slander Christ.

XXVII. Prelates make men assent to their false teaching, and deceive lords so as to make them imprison true men.

XXVIII. Prelates make men study new laws, and keep them from studying Holy Writ.

XXIX. Prelates make lords imprison any one who has been under curse for forty days. Lords should make sure that the curse is rightful.

XXX. Prelates’ arguments for their claims to obedience and power are like the arguments of apes and gluttons.

XXXI. Prelates despoil all classes of men in different ways.

XXXII. Prelates think more of their parks being broken than of breaking of God’s laws.

XXXIII. Prelates take upon them the state of the apostles, and live contrary to it, so deceiving men like enemies who mount false arms.

XXXIV. Prelates compel priests to fight in person.

XXXV. Evils caused by celibacy of priests.

XXXVI. Prelates silence those who would rebuke them, lest their hypocrisy be known, and they lose their endowments.

XXXVII. Prelates maintain vicious men in their retinue.

XXXVIII. Prelates deceive men as to pilgrimages and pardons, and teach them to care more for vows than for God’s laws.

XXXIX. Prelates rob the lower clergy in assessment of taxes.

XL. Prelates are dumb dogs, who do not warn the flock committed to them, but give it to Satan in exchange for wealth.

XLI. Prelates crucify Christ and slay his apostles spiritually, and so are worse than Jews.

XLII. Prelates blaspheme the Holy Ghost by preventing true preaching.

XLIII. Prelates claim the power of absolution, which God has reserved to himself. They have only power to act as messengers. Yet they lay more stress on their absolution than on God’s forgiveness.
Here it telleth of prelatis.

Capitulum Primum.

*Pat prelatis lenen prechynge of þe gospel & ben gostly manquelleris of mennys soulis, And sathanas transfigurid in-to an angel of liyt, & ben gostly sodomytis worse þan bodily sodomytis of sodom and gomor. first, crist seip in þe gospel of seyn ion þat he was boren & cam in-to þe world for þis ende, to1 bere witnesse to treuþe; also crist cam in-to þis world to seke and to saue mankynde, þe whiche was perischid. & cortis crist sauyd mannus soule Lake xix. 10. bi trewe lyuynge in his owen persone, & trewe & opyn & fre prechynge of þe gospel, & wilful passion & deþ for He preached and suffered death for preaching, & werk crist ordeyned alle his apostlis & disciplis, boþo and ordered his apostles to preach. bi-forn his deþ & after his resurreccion, to preche þus þe gospel to alle men. þasne, sif prelatis & prestis ordeyned of good comen in þe stede of postlis & disciplis, þei ben alle bounden bi ihu crist god & man to preche þus þe gospel. ¶ Also crist biddþ pries to petir þat þif peter loue crist þat he fede his sheep; þat ben cristen soulis; & first fede bi enseamuple of good lif, þe secunde tyme bi trewe tychynge of þe gospel, and þe pridde tyme bi wilful suffrynge of deþ, to make men stable in þe gospel & in hope of blisse:

& here-to crist comaundered his disciples to preche opynly þe [Matt. x. 27, 28.] treuþe þat þei herden priuely, & drede not men þat turmenten & alen þe bodi, but drede hym þat may putte body & soule in-to helle wij-uten ende. ¶ Of þes two gospels it is clere þat prelatis þat prechen not þus þe gospel louen not crist, but don fully venst his heste, whasne þei leuen for drede of men to teche þe gospel; & þus þe hepe prestis Warning from Eul.

ely was dede for he taunþe not his children goddis lawe and reproved not at þe fullhe here synnes, & þe arke1 or conere of god was conquerid in-to enemyes hondis, & goddis

1 betere inserted X. 2 "whiche" both MSS.
OF PRELATES.

[1 Sam. iv.] peple overseeen, and many thousandis alayn in bataile as he first bok of kyngis telleth. ¶ And herefore he holy prophete ysaie crieth hat woo is to hym, for hat he was stille and dwelle among synful peple, & telle hem not here synnes, sip his is offis of a prophete. also god seeth to prelate bi

[Isaiah vi. 5.] eyechiel, hat if a synful man die in his synne & he prelate telle him not his peyne for synne, god schal seke he synful mannus bloode, hat is his synne, of he prelate hondis. ¶ And here-for seith poul hat woo is to hym, hat is everlastynge damspacion, but if he preche he gospel; & sip cristen men may not lyue gostly but bi goddis word, *prelatis hat withdrawen hus goddis word fro here sugetis ben cause of depe of here soulis, hat is a thousand folde worse han is depe of body, & so he be worse man-sleers han hei hat only aleen he body. ¶ And sip petir was sathanas for he wolde haue lettid cristis depe & saluacion of mannus soule, him wnylyngge; moche more he prelatis ben sathanas, hat hus myche contrarien cristis wille & sauynge of mannus soulis heur; prechynge of he gospel, & hei ben turned in-to an angell of lust, for hei feynen hem in he stede of apostlis & worche wip he fend to suffre mannus soulis go to helle; & sip goddis word, bi whiche men schulden gostly be gendrid goddis sones, is betere han bodely seed of man bi whiche he body of man schulde be gendred, & hes prelatis mysusen his betere seed, pasne hei don more synne han diden he.

Prelates that withdraw it are murderers.

[1 Cor. ix. 18.] Man cannot live spiritually but by God's word. *[p. 66 MS.]

They are Satanas transformed into an angel of light.

[Matt. xvi. 23.] They are spiritual Sodomites.

[Gregory.] They are spiritual Sodomites.

[Grossetete.]
chirobe þan he þat hæþ þe name of ordre & holynesse and þer-wiþ lyueth euele, for comunely no man reprouþ hym, & men taken gretily ensaumple of his synne; & þerfore crist purgïd þe temple with his own hondis, as þe gospel tellþ, in 1 tokene þat þif prestis weren good þe peple schulde some be amendid. & for þis skille trewe men seyn þat prestis ben more bounden to preche trewely þe gospel þan þes sugetis ben holden to paiþ here dyymes, for god chargiþ þat more, and þat is more profitable to boþe partes & more eey. And þerfore prestis ben more cursed to cesse of þis prechynge þanne þe sugetis þif þei cessen to paye tipes; þæ, whanne here prestis don wel here ofís. 2 Also prestis ben more bounden to þis prechynge, for þat is commaundement of crist biforn his deþ & eke aftir, þan to seie matynes, masse, euen song, or placebo, for þat is mannus ordynaunce; þanne þif prestis ben not worþi to haue dyymes & offrynges þif þei don not matynes, masse & ðer mannes ordeynynges, moche more þif þei don not þis heþe ordynaunce of god; & here-fore seþ crist, þif þe salt be fonomyd it is not worthi ouer þis, but þif it be to be cast out & be defouled of men; þat is þif prestis failen of good lif & techyng, þei moten be þus seruyd of men, for þif men vnder hem knowe þis defaute & may amenden it & don not, þei consenten & mayntenes hem in þis grete synne.

Capitulum 2m.

*Also prestis letten men to do goddis wille & commaundemest, & so þei neden hem to be dampynd, & letten many to here goddis lawe; for prestis letten & forboden prestis to preche þe gospel in here iuridiccion or bischope-riche, but þif þei han leue & letteris of hem; & þat god commaundeþ & chargiþ alle his 2 prestis to preche freely the gospel. for alle cristis apostlis & disciplis weren chargid to preche þe gospel, All priests are charged by God & alle prestis ordeyned of god comen ðer in staat of apostlis or disciplis of crist, as bede & þe popis lawe seþ; þanne [Beda.]

1 & X. 2 þes X.
alle pretestis ben chargid to preche þe gospel. Also god seij be þe prophete, þat lippis of a pretest kepyn kunynge of goddis lawe, & men seken the lawe of his mouþ, for he is an auangel of þe lord of compaynes. an auangel is a messager, þasne siþ þe pretest genrally is a messager of god he mot schewe his message, þat is þe gospel, in whiche is perfittly held goddis wille; and gregory vpon þe gospel þrouþ wel þat eche pretest mot preche, haue he litel kunynge or moche.

† Also gregory seij in þe popis lawe, þat who esere comeþ to prestod takij þe office of a bedale or criere to goþ bi-fore þe dreadful doom¹ of god; and² as in þe olde lawe þo pretest schulde die þif he ne entrid in-to a sanctuarie wiþ-outen noyse, so in þe lawe of grace þif a prest be doumb of þe prechynge he stereþ goddis wratþe vpon hym. & siþ men ben gretyly cursid þat don aȝenst þe popis lawe, as men seyn, & þis is a grete popis lawe, grousdid on goddis lawe & reson & charite, moche more ben þei cursed þat don aȝenst þis lawe.

¶ Also ierom seij þat pretestis owen to preche before bishopis, & þei owen to be glad þerof for þat is here worschipe. ¶ Also austyn is a sermon seij þat eche man is holden to teche þe good þat he can; þe, þou; he kuane litel. ¶ Also it is a grete werk of mercy to teche men þe riȝtte weie to heuene, & eche man is holden bi comaunderment of god to do werkis of mercy; þan is eche prest holden to teche þe gospel, þat is þe riȝt weie to heuene. ¶ Also in þe holde lawe a man is holde to brynge þe beste of his enyme in-to þe ryȝtte weie; moche more is a man holden to brynge his broþeres soulis out of synne in-to good weie to heuene ward. And bi þis reson alle cristi enymeis wener stoppid to speke aȝenst him whaone he helid a sik man vpon þe sabast day, as þe gospel tellij. ¶ Also þat riche man is out of charite þat helpiþ not his broþer in bodely nede, þif he may wel, as icom þe euangeliþ seij; myche more is a man nedid bi charite to releue his broþeres soule out of myschif of synne, þif he haue kunynge of goddis lawe. ¶ Also men demen* it a grete

¹ omitted X.
² omitted X.
charite to saue a mannes bodi fro deþ or drynchynge; it is moche more charite to saue mennus soulsi fro deþ of synne & of helle bi trewe prochyng of goddis lawe. ¶ A lord, what deuelis blyndnesse and cursednesse is pis, whanne þe prelat or curat is chargid of god, vp payne of his owen dumphacion, to teche þe gospel & comauadementis of god to alle his sugetis, & here-wip can not teche þus, or may not for worldly bisynesse, or wole not for idelnesse or negligence, þan to lette ðe ðe proche frely þe gospel of crist & saue mennus souls; but þasne þei senden ðore, þat tellen lesyngis, fable, & cronyles, & robben þe peple bi fals beggynge, & dore not telle hem here grete synnes & auoutrie 1lest þei 1 leen wynnynge or frendischipe. ¶ Certis he were a cruel fadir þat myȝte not þeue his owene children bred þouþ þei perischeden for hunger, & þit wolde not suffre anþer man to helpe þese children bi weie of mercy; but moche more cruel ben þes prelatis & curatis, þat kusen not or may not or wolen not þeue here gostly children gostly bred of þe gospel, þouþ here souls ben in neuere so gret myscheþ, & þit forbeden & cursen ðore men jif þei wolen for mercy þeue here breþer techyng of goddis lawe, boþe treuly & frely, with-outen beggynge as crist biddþ. ¶ It semþ þat ðyche prelatis & newe religious ben a-ferd of cristis gospel, for it approueþ not but distroisþ worldly lordschipe of prelatis & feyned holynesse of newe religious; sþ cristis religion þat he made for prelatis is þe beste, most perfyt, most esy, & most siker. And oure ihú wolde haue no worse religion in prelatis þan þat þat he made himself. ¶ Also it semþ þat sich iuridicion of prelatis, þat þus letten cristis gospel, dryuen awey god fro manus soule, & vertuous lif þ charite, & bryngþ þe fend in, and cherishþ hym & synnes & debatis & werris. noþeles men supposen þat newe religious han leue of worldly prelatis to proche here fableis and lesyngis & to robbe þe pore peple bi beggynge, vpon this condicion, þat þei proche not spedily aþenst symonye, extorsions & ðore orible synnes of false

1-1 omitted X.
prelates, & pat heis yeus heis worldly prelates gold in great quantite, pat heis robben of pore men. ¶ And heis worldly prelates dampen hem self heis newe religious, hem self, & also oper prestat heis wolden preche he gospel treweyly & frely as moche as in hem is, & he peple also; sip heis sullen not he peple to here goddis word frely, but lesynge, fablis, & herto to be robbid, & heis prelat ben procurators of he fend, enemies of crist, & traitours to his peple.

Capitulum 3.

Prelates teach against Christ and his apostles, 
both in word and example.

Luxury and pomp of their life,

Also commonly prelates ben false prophetis & heretikis, for heis in dede seyn heresie & techen azenst ihū crist & his apostlis; for azenst cristis willful pouert he techen in dede worldly conceitise & moche wast in worldly goodis, & azenst cristis mekenesse he techen in-dede pompe & pride of he world & of here statis, and azen cristis bysynesse in prestyng & prelyng & trauiele bi contrees he techen in-dede vanyte & idelenesse, & ben yeuen to glotonye & worldly bisynesse, & hausten courtis of lوردis & worldly plees, & ben doumb fro he gospel & tellen here Owen lawis to magnyfie here power & pride & conceitise, & counchen in castelis as lوردis; & wip all his heis seyn pat cristis & his apostulis lif & here proude lif acorden, & seyn pat heis lyuen as crist & his apostulis didnen.

¶ A lord! sip prelates oomen in stede of apostlis, hou may heis for schame lyue so contrariouly azenst here pore lif, in wast seruauntis, in grete fatte hors & nedles, in shynynge vessel, in grete aray of clopis; je, more þan many grete lوردis. certis in ensample of here lif he techen errour azenst crist & his apostlis, sip heis seyn pat heis suen crist & apostlis in manere of lyynge. O lord! what tokene of mekenesse & forsakynge of worldly richesses is his; a prelat as an abott or a priour, pat is ded to þe world & pride & vanyte þer-of, to ride wip foure score hors, wip harneis of siluer & gold, & many raggid & fittrid squeryis & òere men swerynge herte & bonys & nalis & òere membris of crist, & to spende

1 omitted X.  
2 of X.
wip erlis & barons & here pore tenaustis bope thousand markis their lawsuits.
& poudes to meynthen a false plea of he world, & forbarre men of here rjst. & it he pyocritis seyn hit hit is worschiphe of holy chircbe, but certis hei lien, but if hei clepen be contrarie name hei deuolis chirche to be holy chirche, as hei clepen hem self men of religion & hit hei forsaken he world; but certis hei distroien holy religion & magnyfien veyn religion, of whiche seyn Iames spekif, & forsaken trauiele & peyne & disesse of he world, & han lordschipis, rentis, gaie houses & oosty, & welfare of mete & drynk, here hei myyten vnnehe before haue bene-bred & watir or feble ale. he, wip moche care & trauiele now vnnehe ony mete or wyn may serue & plese hem, but likerousnesse & lustis of her bely han now alle he bisinessis, and deucucion & holynesse & penausce litel or rjst noust. Of his veyn pride of religious it semep wel hei ben not bok of oristis pouer & holynesse, as hei seye in here wordis, but bok of pride, coueitise, vanyte & opere synnes, to discet of goddis peple & distroiynghe of his lawe. [harde criep seyn bernard ajenst pompous prelatis & axehe hem bus: see prelatis, what dop gold in your brideis & opere araises, where it kepe hem fro cold; we perischen for huager & cold, seyn pore men, oure goodis hei ben hat [p. 70 ms.] ze wasten from vs, hei ben drawen cruelly ajenst mercy, & bus see don tweie cuele jingis, on for your pride & wast of pore menns goodis ze gon to helle. And we pore men perischen in his world for your vanyte & pride. & siif he lif of prelatis is bok & ensaumple of sugetis, as grosted seif wip many moo, & hei lyuen so opysly in pride, coueitise & idelinesse, passynge alle opere, hei ben open heretikis & stronge, hat han no scheme of here heresie, for heresie in fals lif meyntened is worse pan heresie only in herte or wordis, and for sclaunderhe hat hei seuen to opere men bi here cursed lif god him self cursehe hem in he gospel & seif bus: who to hat man bi whom comehe a sclaunderhe, hat is ensaumple to do synne, it spedhe to him hat a mylstenst of

1 nite X. 2 dissect X. 3 pe X. 4 pei X.
assis be hangid in his necke, & þat he be dreynt in-to depnesse of þe see. þat is, seip gregory, it spedip to euyl prelatis þat þeuen ensaumpele of synne to here sugetis þat þei weren in lowere staat of worldly labour & þer-wip þer dampnyd to depe helle; for þan þei schulden haue lesse peyne þan to lyue 1 euele in þe heþe staat & teche opere men do synne, for þei ben worþi as many depeþ as þei þeuen euyle ensaumpleþ of synne to here sugetis. But lord, who is nowe so conueitous abouten worldly lordschips & temporal goodis as oore prelatis, for comunly alle here visitacion, alle here sacramentis and ordris þeuyng & halwynge of placis & vestimentos & blissynge is don 2 for conueite & worldly pride & dignyte; alle here preue spekyng & prochynge & techynge in scolis is for conueite & magnyfynghe of here worldly staat: who is more idel in goddis seruyce, more in glotonye & wastynge of pore mennes goodis in schynynghe vessells & opere costis? & if þei preien, þat is wip-outen deuocioun to plese þe peple, & comunly for offrynge, & cotidian distribucion, & stynkyng lif of lecherie, robberie, pride, conueite, glotonye; þat þei raþere stiren god to wraþe & venganace þan to mercy & pite, as goddis lawe, austyn & gregory & opere seyntis witnesseen. But, lord, siþ heresie stondip most in cursed lif, were ben more heretikes, siþ þei ben most synful in opyn & preuy cursed lyuyng; but where schal ony be deppere dampnyd in helle?

Capitulum 4th.

Prelatis also robben þe pore lige men of þe king bi fals extorisions taken bi colour of holy correccion, & þeuen men leue to dwellen in synne fro þer to þer, fro seuen þer to seuen þer, & comunaly al here lif, siþ þei paien bi þere twenti shillyngis or more or lesse, and þus bi suilte of sathanas þei han *founeþe newe peynes orible & schameful to make men paye a gret raunsson, to þeue gold & bape hem in lustis of synne as swyn in feen. And men seyn þat suumme bishopis

1 love X. 2 ben X.
getip in o yer two thousand mark or poundis; & if he laste twenty yeer bishop wip his robberie, It wole come to sixti thousand mark bat he robbip of his kingis lige men. ¶ And þus þes wickedé prolateis sullen cristene mennus soulis to sathanas for money, for whiche soulis crist schede his precious herte blod vpon þe cros. And herefore þei ben worse þan iudas for many skillis, for þei sullen crist in a manere as iudas dide wip more dispit & more stynkyngc coseitise, & þit þei hiren They bribe lords lordis to meyntene hem in þis cursednesse, & þeue pore mennus goodis to hem for þis ende, & hiren also iurouris & and jarors.  

d and are worse than Judas.

þe bok & not to putten hem vp for extorsioneris & þeues; & whasane þei schulden be principal dukis in crist oost to fijtte & teche ðe men bi here ensaumple to fijtte agenst synnes, as false traitouris þei turnen þe bak & techene cristene men to ofre hem redy to þe deusely sacrifice. a pore man þei constreynem to synne bi manas, chydyng & losse of catel & sclaunderynge, but þif he wolen consente to hem & faoure hem in here wrong lif; & þif he wol do so, þanne he is an holy sone, & hæp þifitis & worldly frendischipe & faour & anticiristis false blisseyng & goddis trewe curs. And þei flatren lordis whasane þei meyntenen þes anticiristis prolateis to robbe here tenaustis, & seyn þei worchipen þanne god & hole chirche, & þeues lordis grete jifitis of gold & iuelis & pardons, & licence to synge in oratories & ðeveyn þingis, and þif lordis wolen distroie þes synnes of robberie & sathanas marchaundise, þeane anticiristis prolateis wolens sclaunderen hem, curse hem, & entirdite hem & here londia.¹ And þus alle men ben conquerid to þe fend almost, & þus þes cursed pilatis not prolateis ben verray anticiristis, procurators of sathanas, & traitours of ihü crist & his peple.

¹ here lordis X.
Capitulum 5°.

Prelates usually enter upon their benefices by simony.

Gregory.

Simony is of three kinds:
coming to a benefice (a) by gift of money,
(b) by favour of others rather than by merit,
(p. 72 MS.)
(c) by worldly service done to others.

They do their office neither in good life nor preaching;
they do not even comply with the pope's law.

Title of grace needful to them.

At their death they are not fully contrite,
or they would make restitution;
but this happens seldom or never.

Also prelatis comusaly ben symonyentis is here entre, in processe of here benefis, & in þe ende of here lif, & þanne is alle þes tymes þei ben heretikis, so þat alle ðe popis synnes ben holden for nouȝt in comparison of þis symonye, as þe beste part of þe popis lawe seïp. for, as gregory & þe popis lawe seïp, in þre maneris is symonye don. First whanne a man comeþ to a benefis of þe chirche bi þifte of money or worldly goodis bi hym self or bi ðe popis menes.

¶ þe secunde tyme whanne a man comeþ þor-to bi preiere of lordis or ladies or ðe popis men more than for busynye of goddis lawe & holy lif. ¶ þe pride tyme whanne a man comeþ þor-to bi worldly soruyce of lordis & ladies, of prelatis, or ðe popis myȝty men more þanne for good lif and kunynge; but who comeþ heyllis to prelacie? & in processe þei muespenden pore mennus, goodis, in wast metis & festis of ryche men & pride of þis world, & don not here office comusaly neþere in good lif ne trewe þeschynge, & resignen not here benefis goten þus by symonye; & þat þei moten algatis do þif þei schullen be saaf vp þe popis lawe, & neuere is wille to hauen it aȝen but þif it be bi riȝt title, & algatis confirmation of god bi titel of grace is nedeful to hem. And þat comeþ not but bi verray repenteaunce of synne don bi-for, & bi trewe lif & techynge & meytenynge of goddis lawe vpþon here kunynge & myȝt, & in here endyng þei han not comusaly ful contricion for here synnes, as for myspendynge of pore mennus goodis, for false extorsions, for silyng of sacramentis, for norischynge & meytenynge of ðe popis men in synne, as pride, foeuïtise, & glotonye & alle ðe popis: for þif þei hadden þanne contricion þei schulden restore þes wickid extorsions vp here myȝt, & warne ðe popis men of þe synnes in whiche þei hadden norischeden hem; but þis comeþ seldom or neuere, & þorfor it semþ þat þei dien heretikis but þif god helpe more in the laste poynct of partyng of þe soule & body, & ellis þei dien dampnyd
feandis of helle. ¶ But lordis & ladies here moosten ben wele
war, for if pei yeuen benefis to clerkis fors here worldly
servuye, principali as for kechene clerkis & countyngge or
dannysynge, for palfreis or keuerheris, gold or othor worldly
servuye, it is foule symonye & cursed on bothe partys, as
goddis lawe & pe chyrche & holy seynis techen. ¶ And
also if pei yeuen a benefis for men ben of here kyn, or for
fleschly lone, or worldly frendishipe, or ellis for pe clerk1
is manly to pe lord in gey clopinge, in grete festis, grete
archerie, or ony othor yeyn iapis more yan for pe worsyhipe
of god & profit of mannes soule, it is styknyynge symonye
bi-fore god, as lawes and seynys techen. ¶ And here ben pe
poyntis of treson to god & his peple; pe first is pat lordes
& ladies ben tratours pat holden curatis in worldly offices
fro pe soulis pat pei han cure of; for god yeue hym lorida-
schips & presentynge of chirohis to moyntene goddis lawe
& help trewe pratis to teche his peple pe gospel & mannde-
mentis of god, & if pei holden wip goddis tresour curatis
in here worldly servuye or chapellis, & letten hem to kepe
cristene soulis, pe whiche crist bouxt wip his precious blod,
pei ben foule traitours to *ihü crist & to pe peple pat pei2
[2r. 79 MS.]
disseyeuen þus; but if more treson is in clerkis pat couyit
& taken þis worldly office wip3 cure of cristene soulis and
may not do hem to-gedere, for pei schulden teche pe lordis
þe treuþe of goddis lawe & also þe peril in þis poynt, & don
moyst, for ope of grettes beneffees or for flateryngge of here
lorderschipe; but the moost tratourie of alle stondiþ in fals
confessouris, þat schulden telle þe treuþe of goddis lawe &
don not for lesynge of worldly lorderschipe, frendeschipe,
sauow or worldly wyanyng, boþe of þe lord & his meyne
& of þe false curat þer-to; & þus þe lord or the lady hireþ
costly a fals iudas to his confessour, þat suffriþ him & lediþ
him þe heise weie to helle. ¶ Also prelimis ben ful of symonye
whanne þei mynystren here sacramentis or ony gostly office
for money or þank or preiyngge of men of þe world or for

1 clerke X. 2 omitted X.
They are bound to give freely as they have received.

Simony of the court of Rome is most harmful.

All people run thither,

Some die by the way.

They take much treasure out of the land to pay for balls.

The money paid to Rome is supposed to be more than three-fifteenths, in return for which we get a little load and much mischief.

It is simony to pay the fruits for the gift of a church.

The coin is lost to the realm.

To take money for pardons is simony.

Any worldly aethereum. For crist bidde hem see al his frely as he taken it freely of god, & he prophete seith he is blissed that kepeth his hondis clene fro alle manere jiste, & he is cursed that doth he werk of god wip negligence or fraude. ¶ And it is a foul fraude to [do] his gostly office for worldly reward or for tanke or presynge of synful men, whanne he schulden do it for goddis worchiphe frely & helpe of mannes soul.

¶ But it symonye of his court of Rome doth most harm, for it is most comune & vnder most colour of holynesse, & robbeth most oure lond of men & tresour; for alle nacions of this cristendom renneth thiser as to welle of trwpe and gostly helpe, & he ben most discayed, for he weneth heere is no symonye for holynesse of his court of Rome. & many kumynge men & able ben dede bi his weie, what wip trasuile & cold & oter myscheels & enemys, & ofte raumseyd, & beren out of his lond moche gold to raumson, to spende bi his weie; he to spende at roome many raria & daies, to paie for selis or bullis, to plede for benefices, ooffryngus, dymes, & many mo causes, to paie his pope his first froytys, & cardynals & bribouris to spedere here sedis, & for pardons, quyenes, priuylegies, for aooilyngis of wowea, & many feyned iapis, pat men supposen alle his passen his fifteene; & alle goth out of oure lond comusly is-to enemys hondia, & for al his comeh a little ded lode, & maytenynge of false plece, & strif, & goddis curs, & symonye, & heresie. For if it be symonye a clerk to serve a lord for a benefice & his lord to rescue his fore gold or gold worpl, bi his same skil it is symonye to serve his pope is sikh a straunge trauile and contre, & his hym gold for his lode, & his frystefruytes for jiste of a chirche; & whanne a lord haph his gold for his presentynge his gold dwellip stille is our lond, but whanne his pope haph his furste fruytes his gold goth out & cometh neuere asem. And so for pardons, if he ben outhe worpl he be most be free, & to take money for hem is to selle goddis grace and so symonye, & tan bope partes ben cursed of god & man; & so antichrist haph forbard his fredom of goddis lawe in schriftis, masse,
syngynge, & opere devotions & takip gold of men to brynge hom sum del to his fredom, & so robben hem bi ypoories as if it were not lefal to do profit to1 mennes souls wiib-out dispensynge of anticrist. But now to schewe ifi malice & cursednesse of symonye; first, almyßty god dampee it in his olde lawe, crist in his gospel, & is apostlis after his sendynge of his holy gest; first, whasne ifi wickid kyng ieroboam made false maunsetis & stockis & worschipide hem for almyßty god, bi-cause he selde he prest-hode of his false goddis for worldly giftis god almyßty distroied hym & alle his seed. also, for giesy toke money & clophis of naaman whanne helise he prophete his maistir hadde helid hym, he leper of naaman cleuyd to hym & his generation euere aftir, in tokene he gostly lepre, he is heresie,2 schulde dwelle wiib alle sych as taken *money or *money worp for gostly offices; he, wiib-outen couenant makyng. also god seip bi he prophete malachie to he iewis he his wille is not to hem: "For her nys noon he shitii frely he doris of he temple." Janne god chargip more he betre offis as makyng of sacramentis & seunyng of ordris, he men plese hym not but if hei don hem frely. 3 Also crist is he gospel drof out of he temple hem hei senden & buoyten her-isne, see wiib his owen hondis, hei we reden not of many opere synful men he tok so moche venganse in his firste comynge, in tokene hei he scharpliest schal ponsche hem hei don symonye. Also petir seyde to symon magus; hei money be wiib he in-to loos of dampanacion, for hei gessedest to hane goddis pissee porouz money. 4 Also symonye is contrarie to al he hole trynyte & to ech persone her-of; first to he fadir; for whanne god wole not and may not brynge vnable men in-to benefices of he chirche for his riitwysnesse & vnablete of hem self, hei presumen to comen in bi symonye; as if he peny & falsnesse of he fend were more hei mytt of fathers will. he fadir of heuene. also ihu crist is done bi whiche men Cristis the door, schulde entre in-to offices & benefices of he chirche, &

1 of X. 2 omitted X. 3 here ne, in both MSS. 4 omitted X.
OF PRELATES.  [CHAP. V.

but simoniae enter another way.

*{p. 75 MS.}
Simoniacs sell the Holy Ghost.

Arians.

Pope's law ordains horrible penalties against simoniae.

Prevalence of simony.

Friars forsake Christ's poverty.

and allure young children by simony.

Curates.

Simony reigns in all states of the church.

symonyentis wolen come in bi anoph weie of falsnesse, as ÿf ÿe wolden putte awaye ihû críst, & be more maistries & more witty þan he. Also symonyentis as *myche as in hem is sellen þe holy gost, & maken him þral or bounden to synful men & fendiþ, whasse þe silled & biggen þus his giftis; & þerforþ þi ben worse heretikis þan þe cursed heretik arrian & his secte þat made þe holy gost lesse in myst þan þe fadir & þe sone, & servant to hem boþe as þe lawe seip. For as þe synne of sodom was moost æsenst kynde & so most synne in þo olde lawe, so is symonye as doctours seyn most æsenst grace & most synne in þe lawe of grace. And þer-forþ is þe popis lawe decrees & decreals symony is generaly clepid heresie, & orible peynes ordeyned æsenst men þat don symonye on ony manere bi hem self or ðere mene persone, bi here will & consent, & in sum cas hem vnwyttynge. ÞAlso generaly prelates regnen in symonye, as bishopis, muskis, & chanouns, & freris curatis; for bishopis, muskis & chanouns silleyn þe perfecce of cristis pouert & his apostlis, & also trewe prechyngyn for a litil stynkyng muk or drit, & worldli lordschipe, & wome boþe and idelnesse, & freris forsaken þe perfitt pouert of crist and his apostlis for pride of þe worldly staatis & flaterynge þer-to and ypocrisie & beggyngyn to geten esely & plentenuously catel of lordis & ladies & comunis, & to geten þonge children to here feyned ordre by symonye, as aplis, purses & ðere iapes & false bihestis, & bi false stelyng æsenst here frendis will, and æsenst goddis comauedement. And lesse curatis forsaken holy lif & trewe prechyngyn of crist & his apostlis for bisynesse & worschipe of þe world & for glotonye & drunkenesse & lecherie; & ofte bi open symonye comen to here benefices, & dwellem stille in hem whanne þei ben vnable to teche goddis lawe in word & dede; & þus symonye regneþ in alle staatis of þe chirche, boþe in statis groundid of crist & in ðere groundid of foolis as ÿf þei weren statis of holy chirche, but þei ben statis of þe wicked chirche brouȝte in by lesyngeis & ypocrisie.
And sij pe kyng & lorde ben chargid of god to distroie and king and
his synne & oper, & mowen don it & don it not, pei ben to t.
consenteris & fauntoris per-of.

Capitulum 6m.

Also prelates halden pe halwynge of dede stony or dede erbe & oper ornamentiis of pe chirohe, as vestymenstis, clobis, chalis, & oile, & crem, more worpi pe halwynge and blissynge of pe sacramentis of pe auter, pat is verray cristis flech & his blood; & so it samep pat pei holden dede stony & dede erbe & roten clobis more worpi pean cristis owen precious body & his blood. ¶ For pei holden to hem self halwynge of auter stony, chirohe & chirohe yerdeis & oper clobis of pe chirohe as more worpi & precious, & suffren pore prestis, be pei neure so vnkuamynge & vicious [p. 76 MS.] anemtis god so pat pei speke not ajenst pe synne of prelates, to make pe sacrament of pe auter ech day, as jif pat were lesse worpi & lesse precious. ¶ Also pei wolen suffre an auter vnhalwedid, or a chirohe or a chirohe yerde suspendid & no messe sayd per-inne, pe fourtene nyxt, pe a monep, pe longe ynowp, jif fourty pens ben bihynden of ten mark or ten pound; & alle peis pei taken bi extorsions, bi pesfe & symonye, & hauen no mercy, be pe peple neure so poer, neure so nedy, & neure so deouent to here goddis word or servuyce; but where ben worse tiraustis & heretikis? & pe is alle here dedis of gostly offices pei cursen hem self & pe peple also, for pei don not pat pat longip to here office for stynkyng symonye, & maken pe peple to consente & meyteyne here synne of symonye & heresie, for pei don many soliil menya, simony in this matter, as grauenten parndon & here feyned blissynge to halwynge of chirohe, to make pe peple willful to bere hem vp in here synne. ¶ And jif ony man for drede of god & his conscience prelates persecute those, who oppose their simony.

1 omitted X. 2-3 omitted X.
his body to prison or to death, and sustaine be in hate, in strife
and enuie, and ful of his wretched life. And if he consente willfully
to his soule symonye, he is dede in synne, as poule saith, and if he azenstonde it, what bi cautelis of antichrist &
malice of his fend, he schal be tormentid bi wrathe &
vnapacience & truely & payne of his body & loes of his
cael, pas wynepis schal he be sayyd but nedid to be
dampnyd; and pat it semep pat pei pat schulden be most
principal helperis to cristene mennes souls pei ben most
principal procurators of pei fend to encombre hem in synne.
and sit it semep pat our good god kepeth pes veyn offices
& feyned sacraments fro his pore prestis pat pei gon not
be brode weie to helle for mysusynge of hem.

Capitulum 7m.

Prelasis also setten more pris bi a litel styngynge1 dritt
of worldly goodis than bi pe moeste holy gospel of
ihu crist; for pe grete brysnesse pat pei han abouten worldly
goodis & pe litel traueste & studyyng abouten christis gospel
prouen weel pat pei louen more than worldly muk than pe
pe golpe of ihu crist; for pe dede doyne is prof of loue,
as gregory saith, and here fore pei prisen & techyn mennes
lawis & here owen tradicions to gete pe peny by, but pei
leuen & dispisen pei golpe & letten it to be preschid, for pe
gospel techip pei holy lif of crist & his apeltis & dampoline
pe cursed lif of pei worldly prestis, & pei commanden
pat no man schal preche pei gospel but at here wille &
lymmytacion, & forbeden men to here pei gospel vp peyne of
pei grete curs. But sathanas in his owene person fortune
dure do so myche dispit to crist & his gospel, for he aleid
holy writ to crist & wolde haue prooued his entente peh-bi.
& sip it is cristis conseil & commandement to prestis generaly
to preche pei gospel, and pei moten not do wip-outes
leue of pei prestis, pat in cas ben fendis of helle, peanne

1 styngynge AA.
præstis may not do cristis conseilis & hestit wiþ-outen leue of fendis. A, lord ihú! for þes synful folis, & in cas fendis of helle, ben more myþti & witti þan þou, þat trewe men may not do þe wille wiþ-outen auctorite of siche fendis. ¶ A, lord god almyþty, al witti & alle ful of charite, hou longe wilt þou sufre þes antícristis to dispise þe in þyn holy gospel & lette þe helpe of cristene menmys soulis? Endees riþful lord, þis þou suffredest for synne generaly regnyng of þe peple, but endees mercyful & goode lord, helpe þi pore wrecchide præstis & seruanstis to fore þi peple to hauue loue, drede & rewersenc to þi gospel, & lette not to do þi worshiipe & wille for fals ferynge of antícristis & fendis of helle. ¶ Almyþti lord god and mercyful & endees witty, siþ þou suffredest petir & alle apostilis 1 to hauue so grete drede & cowardise in tyme of þi passion þat þei flowen alle awey for drede of deþ. And for a litle pore wommanowe vois, and afterward by confort of þe holy gost madist hem so stronge þat þei weren afferd of no man, no peyne ne deþ; helpe nowe bi þeftis of þe same holy gost þi pore seruantaþit þat al þor lif han ben cowardis, & make hem stronge & bolde in þe cause to meyntene þi gospel ænent antícristis & tirantis of þis world. & graunte grace to oure lordin alle to meyntene þi gospel & þin ordynance, & specialy to seke þi worschip & myþtily distrois synne; for to þis office þou hast ordeyned lordin. ¶ Almyþti lord, it semþ nowe to 2 folis of this world þat þi cause is oure-Comen and antícrist hæþ þe victorie, & pore men, lord, doren not abide þi ærůyc; but now lord, for glorie of þin owe name, & for saunynge of cristene soulis whom þou bouyttest wiþ þin precious herte blood, & for distroynge of boost & pride of antícrist & his þat now ben so heip & myþty, graunte þi seruantaþes grace to laste trewe in þe gospel & preche it trewelie in word & dede; & þi lordis to meyntene it styfli ænent antícristis clerkis; & þi comunes, lordes, to kepe þin hestitis & knowe antícristis

1 omitted X.  
2 omitted X.
OF PRELATES. [CHAP. VII.

discern, & clenly take þi gospel in reuenerce & lette not for false drede of antierist & operre fendis. so be it, lord.

Capitulum 8th.

Also pralatis setten more pris bi þe roten peny þasne þei don bi þe precius blood of ihú crist, for þe ende of stedynge of * crisist bloode was to saue manns soulis & it was pris for hem; þasne as þei louen more þe roten peny þasne þe sauynge of cristene soulis, so þei louen more þe roten peny þan þe blood of ihú crist, & in tokene þor-of þei ben besy boþe nyþ & day to gete þe þeny wip falsnesse, cautelis & tirauntrie, but of mennus soulis is left care; jif þe peny fayle þei ben woode for wrappe & sorowe, jif mennus soulis gon to helle bi brekyng of goddis comauadementis no warde, so þat þe peny come faste to fille here hondis & coffris. & herefore men seyn þei maken marcharadise wip money & menyys soulis to satanas, for þei seuen men licence to dwelle in synne for annuall rence as longe as hem likþ, & þus satanas getþ soulis to helle for þe roten peny; for men seyn þat cayphas bischopis ben sory whasne men forsaken here olde synnes and paiten nomore here annuall rence. ¶ And seyn þat þei may not holde good hous bi siche men, as þou; þei wolde sende þousande soulis to satanas for to haue moche roten money & a proude name in þe world of greth housholdung.

Capitulum 9th.

Also pralatis killen men gostly, þeuyng þeuyng ays ensampler & discetyuyng pore men of here aimes, & wip-drawyng goddis word bi whiche þei schulden lyue gostly, for ensampler of pride, cousette, wrappe, vumercy, vanye, glotonye & lecherie þei seuen to alle men aboute; & manye of þes synnes ben so open þat it nedip no more to declare hem, but of lecherie men seyn þat þe pralatis ben ful þor-of & of þe moste cursed spicis þor-of, þat it is schame to written it but more to done it in deode; & lowere curatis taken ensampler at hem
& seyn, whi may not we have leawmannas sij þe bishop haþ so manys? & sugetas taken ensemple at here curatis, boþe and laymen. weddid men & sengle. & þus prelatis bi þis cursed ensemple sleen in als mychel as is hem is alle manere men, for þei dorn not for schame of her owen synne sadly amende opere synful, ne wiþ-stonde wronges of souereynes þat þei don to pore men. ¶ And here-wiþ prelatis disceyuen pore men of here almes, for bi fals pardœn þei maken men to þeue here nedi liñode to here cathedral chircbes þat han no nede, & make þe pore men to hope of more þank of goddis mercy to don here almes to riche houses & riche men more þan to don it to here pore neiþbœcoris þat ben bedrede, febil, & crokid & byld, & þor-wiþ han nouñt of here owen. And certis þis is worse þoste þan to robbe hem as an owtlawe doþ. For he takij comusly gold or siluer, but þer prelates taken boþe of s(p. 79 MS.) pore men & discyeuen hem in feij, hope & charite, & also þei suffren opere false pardoneris discyeuen þe peple for a lital money, & lesse curatis hausten þis false craft. ¶ Also þes prelates bi extorsions and maiestrie taken þe litel good þat þei schulden lyue bi þat þei geten bi gret swoot of here body, & þus, as god seij of tyrantis, þei taken here skyn Misah iii. 2. fro þe bak, & sten & drynkyn mensus blood, whasne þei be rauciñe & ypocrisie discyeuen hem of here goodis bi whiche here bodely lif schulde be susteyned, & whiche goodis þei gaten bi hard tranœle & wastynge of flech & blood; & þus þei ben manquelleris & irreguler bi-fore god & his auangelis. ¶Also þei prochen not cristis gospel in word & dede bi whiche cristene men schuld lyue holy lif in charite, but blaberen forþe antîcrisist bullis to maken cristene men to werre eche wip opere is hope to wynne heuene bi siche werres, & þit þei letten trewe men to teche treuli & frely cristis gospel & his comausdemestis, but þei senden newe ypocrisie to preche fablis & lesyngis & to flateren men in synne, & to robbe þe pore peple bi fals beggynges dampnyd of goddis lawes, & þit þei maken þe peple to erre in bileue & to trewe

1 discyeuen X.
Thus they kill men's souls.

Prelates lay more weight on their own curses than on God's.

Curses enforced by imprisonment.

Absolution may be bought.

True teachers of God's law put under curse.

Unjust rules of evidence.

Thus they kill men's souls.

Owre þis prelatis charges more here Owen cursyng, þat is many tymys fale, þan þe moste rijtful curse of god almytty. And here-bi þei menen & schewen is dede but falaly þat þei ben more þan almytty god in trinyte. ¶ For þif a man be acursed of prelatis, þe wrongly, a-noon alle men ben tauþ bi hem to ﬂee him as a iew or a sarayn, & þif he dwelle fourty daies in here curs he schal be taken to prison. But þo þat ben cursed of god for bregynghe of his heatis, as proude men, enuyous, couteous, glotons & lecheroues, ben not ponyschid þus, but holde vertuous & worþi & manly men; & so goddis curs is seyt at nouþ but wrongful mannes curs is chargd aboue þe cloudis. And þit þou; a man be cursed of god & of a prelat also trewly, þif he wolde seue gold or money at a false mannis wille he schal be asoold as anemtis men, þou; he dwelle in his synne & þasne in goddis curs. ¶ But see now þe mysusyng of mannis curs; þif a trewe man displese a worldly prelat for techenye & meyntenynge of goddis lawe, he schal be sclauadrid for a cursed man & forbidden to teche cristis gospel, & þe peple chargid vp þeyne of þe grete curs to ﬂee & not heren s[í]ch a man for to saue here Owen soulis; & þis schal be don vnder colour of holynesse; for þei wolene seie þat siche a man techiþ heresie & brynge many false witnesses & notaries in his absence, & in presence spoke no word, & þei feynen þis false lawe, þif þre or þour false witnesses hirid bi money seye sich a þing aſent a trewe man, þan he schal not be herd, þou; he wolde proue þe contrarie bi two hundrid or þre; & þes false men seye in here doyng þat crist was lafully don to þe deþ, & susanne also, for bi sich witnessis
pei weren dampnyd, but cristene men bileue techip be contrarie. & bi pis false lawe pei may proue heretikis whom by such rules euere pei wolen; ye, crist & alle his apostlis & alle his martirs & trewe men in pis world, & proue eche kyng in cristendom foreworm & no kyng; but certis god techip in his lawe pat o trewe man, as danyel dede, schal conyucte two false pretis; & pe prophete haly conyucte eipte hundrid 1 Kings xviii. & mo of false pretis & prophetis of baal. & peis prelatis wolen distroie al goddis lawe pat techip hon false witnesse schullen be ponyschid, for pei wolen not haue hem conyucted of here falsnesse bi mo trewe men; & it whasne a man is falsy cursed of a prelat, ye pou; pe prelat be a devyl of helle, he schal not be asoillid til pat he awere to stonde to here dom pou it be ajenst goddis lawe & his conscience. & peis pei ben fully contrarie to goddis dom & rytwisnesse, for jif a man hane terespasaid neuere so ajenst god he wole asoille his for verray contrecion wiþ-outen siche sweryng or chargeyng of vnreasonable pingis, but pei falsy enhaunsen hem aboue god almytti. \pupu it stondiþ of manuæ curs; apostlis of crist hadden power to take mennys bodies to sathanas to trasuislen hem whanne pei weren rebelle ajenst goddis hestit til pei weren meke ajen for peyne & for woo, & so to saue pe soule; but newe anticristis clerkis cursen pe soule in-to helle as pei feynen, but pe body is neuere pe more tranesild. & certis peis ben cruel fadris pat pus violently cursen here children in-to helle, not for rebelte ajenst god ne his lawe, but for cristene men wiþ-stonden pe prelatis coueitise or his pride, or for pei tehon & meyntenen pe gospel of ihu crist. \pupu whasne pei cursen for here coueitise & here owen vengauance pei cursen hem self, as pe lawe seip, for pei bent out of charite ajenst god & man. \pupu whasne pei cursen a man pat meyntenep goddis lawe patiently & stably god blisseþ ajenst here cursyng, but pei blynden so pe peple pat goddis blissyng is sett at nouþ, but here false curs is drode more than god almytty. Also whasne pei blissen a man pat meyntenep hem in here 1 Cor. v. 5. Christis apostles gave men's bodies to Satan to save their souls Antichrist's clerks curse the soul. They curse them-selves really.
Prelates deceive men by vain prayers and new song, do not fulfill their duties, but live in luxury and pomp.

Prayer consists chiefly in good life, and in desire to do God's will, and in word.

Prove. xxviii. 9.

Also preiere stondip principally in good lif, & of pis preiere spekip crist whasne he seip in pe gospel pat we mosten suere preie; for austyn & opere seynis seyn as longe as a man dwellep in charite so longe he preiep wel. ¶ Also preiere stondip in holy desir to do goddis wille, & of pis spekip goddis lawe & seynis ful myche.

¶ Also preiere stondip in word, as comusly men spoken, & pis is noust worp but if it be don wiyp de noucic & clenness & holynees of lif. ¶ For holy wript seip pat his prsyngi is abhomynable pat tyndip awey & herip noust pe lawe; pat is to seie, pat fulallip not goddis lawe in his lif. And of siche vikede men seip god bi his prophete: whasne pe schulle multiplie ioure preieris y schal not here you. ¶ And god seip bi pe prophete to suche men: y schal warrie or curse to ioure blisseynge, & god seip bi salamon pat pe sacrifis of wicked men ben abhomynable, & austyn seip in mani placis pat if you lyuest in glotonye & dronkenesse, what suere pe tonge

Capitulum 11.

Also prelatis disceyuen lordis & alle cristene men bi veyn preieris of moup, & veyn knackyng of newe song & costy, for bi title of preire pei han many worldly lordschipis & many parische chirchis approprid to hem, & don neiþer office of prelatis as cristis disciplis diden, neiþer office of lordis as pei oewn to do bi goddis lawe, neiþer pe office of persones ne vekersis to here parishes; but lyuem in pomo & pride, coueitise, & in wraþpe, alouþe & in ydelenesse, & stenkynge lecherie, glotonye & droukennesse, & gret ypoorise, & so techen pe fendi armys of synne & distrois pe clenness of cristis lif as moche as pei may. preiere stondip principally in good lif, & of pis preiere spekip crist whasne he seip in pe gospel pat we mosten suere preie; for austyn & opere seynis seyn as longe as a man dwellep in charite so longe he preiep wel. ¶ Also preiere stondip in holy desir to do goddis wille, & of pis spekip goddis lawe & seynis ful myche.

¶ Also preiere stondip in word, as comusly men spoken, & pis is noust worp but if it be don wiyp de noucic & clenness & holynees of lif. ¶ For holy wript seip pat his prsyngi is abhomynable pat tyndip awey & herip noust pe lawe; pat is to seie, pat fulallip not goddis lawe in his lif. And of siche vikede men seip god bi his prophete: whasne pe schulle multiplie ioure preieris y schal not here you. ¶ And god seip bi pe prophete to suche men: y schal warrie or curse to ioure blisseynge, & god seip bi salamon pat pe sacrifis of wicked men ben abhomynable, & austyn seip in mani placis pat if you lyuest in glotonye & dronkenesse, what suere pe tonge

1 lyuem X.
OF PRELATES.

soufn, bi lif blaspheme god; & gregory seip whasne he Gregory.
prayer of wicked men abominable.

what displese is sent for to preie, wiþ-outen doute he herte of him what is wroþ is stirid to worse wrapphe. A lord, sij
prelat is ben so fer fro goddis laws what he wolen not preche
hem-self ne suffre opere men to preche what gospel trewely &
frely, hou abominable is here preire bi-fore god almyþty.
lord, sij prelat is witte not where here preiere be acceptable
or damnable, whi magnysien bi it so moche & sullen it so
dere? for a lewid mannes preiere what schal be sauyd is wiþ-
outen mesure betre what pat prelat what schal be dampyyd, &
sij no prelat whot where he schal be dampyyd, whi sij 
he his cursed preiere to be lewid man so dere? ❏ And pre-fore
worth of prayer known only to
God kepþ to his owne knowynge what worþyneesse of mannes
preiere, for men schulden not vse marchaundise of symonye
þerby; for god techiþ vs be seynt poul þif a man rescuyye
vnworþyly þe sacrament of þe auter what man rescuyneþ his
damnacion. And sij prelat is hondis ben ful of blood, boþe
of quellyng of men wiþ here owen hondis sumtyme, & bi
wille & fals conseilynge to wronge werris, & ful of synne, as
symonye, extorsions & robberie, & of meynstynge in synne
for þer to þer for money, hou schal god here hem? sij he seip
nay hym-self bi þe prophete; foule ben cure lوردis blent to
meynstenen open traitours of god, bi gret cost of rentis &
lordischipis & jyfte of grete benefices, for here stynkynge &
abhomynable blastis & lowd criyng; for bi þer grete criyng
fanciful musick
of song, as deschaunt, countre note & orgene, þei ben lettid
fro studyng & prechyng of þe gospel; & here owene hindern them
from preaching the gospel.

newe song, þei clepen it goddis seruyce, & magnysien it at
þe fulle, but good liff & techyng of þe gospel þei settin at
nuþt. And þit crist comawdiþ þat most of alle þingis in
þis world; & þus þei penken it ynow, to kepe here owene
fyndynge & to travoilen aboute hem, þou þei leven þe
ordynaunce of god & studyng of his lawe, & þus it is
verreyed, but on an euyl manere, þat seynt poul seip:
whasne þe preesthod is translatid, it is ned þat þe lawe be
Hebrews vii. 12.
translatid; for whanne presthod stod in holy prestis of lif & studiouse & kunnynghe, panne was holy writt ynow; to hem & studied & kept in deode wij gret reuereuce; but nowe, whanwe presthod stonde in peny clerkis & stewardis of lordis houses & ladies & ydiotis & symonyentis & proude wrecche ful of all manere synne, it is nedye to haue newe lawes maad of synful foolis to colouren his synne by and to gedre greedly tiþes whanwe þei don not here office; for goddis lawe helpeþ hem not her-to but dampaþ here pride, symonye, coueytise & oþre synnes. ¶ And þat antichristis clerkis feynen þat þou; synful prelatis & cursed ben not herd is here preiere for here owen holynesse, þit preiere of siche is herd in vertu of holy chirche; but þis dreymyngs yns not grounded in ony place of holy writt, for god seþ generaly þat þis preiere is abominable þat turneþ aweye & here þat not goddis lawe; & comunely suche cursed prelatis ben no part of holy chirche, in cas þat þei sullen be dampaþ; also sycþe cursed prestis dispisen god in his face, hou schulde god here hem þasne, siþ in cas þei ben fendis *of helle? ¶ Also god herþ not siche cursed men for hem self, hou schulde he þasne here hem for oþre men, whanwe charite schulde bigyne at hem-self. ¶ Also in þe olde lawe god tok gret vengance of hem þat ofreden oþer fier þan god ordeyned in his sacrifice, & þis fire was token of charite, þat who euere dede ony sacrifice to god wij-outen charite schulde not ben acceptid, but vengance schulde come on him oþer gostly or bodily; but þe send blundyþ men bi sycþe false colour to tristen in ypocrisis preieris, & sumtyme in preieris of fendis, & not to amende hem of here synne but raþere to meyntenem hem þerisane; & þus is ours peple disceyned bi veyn preieris of synful ypocrisis, & holy writt not knownen ne kept, but vanyeþ, pride & oþre synnes ben meyntenened, & holi lif of prestis & oþre men is dispisen.

1 omitted X. 2 omitted X.
Capitulum 12th.

Prelatis also boren cristene men bi here false censure, as suspendyng, cursyng, and enterdityng, þat þei kepe not goddis lawe & his ordynance; for whasne prestis wolden gladly lyne wel aftir þe gospel, & preche goddis lawe & dispise & distroie synne, þannes worldly prelates, for drede of here owen symonye & extorsions of pore men, comaundemen prestis to preche not wip-outen here leue, & þannes prestis schullen neuere gete leue or ellis swere þat þei schal not preche ażenst þe grete synnes of prelates. And þif prestis prechen trewe & frely þe gospel of crist & reprouen generally synne, þes emperours clerkis þat strouen ażenst cristis lyuynge wolen somone hem fro conre to conre; & þif þei dwellen wip cristenes peple & techen hem goddis lawe & don not aftir here wrong heest, ð þei wolen suspenden pore prestis fro masse & prechynge & alle goddis servyce, & curse hem & prisone hem bi þe kingis power; & so trewe prestis schullen be cursed & prisoned for þei don frely werks of mercy & charite & comaundement of god, & leuen þe contrarie comaundement of a synful fool & in cas of a maistir deuyl of helle. ¶ And þif lordis wolen helpe pore prestis in riȝt of goddis lawe, & brynge proude worldly clerkis to mekenesse & pouer, as god comaundis hem in his lawe, þei schullen be suspendid from alle goddis servyce and here londis entirditid & þei cursed & taken to prison þif þei stonden sadde in goddis cause, & þes fyned þeues seruen of þis, to forbede men to do goddis servyce & his comaundement & profit of here soulis for fyned drede of anticrist & so maken men more to droden anticrist & his peynes, & in cas synful foolis & devylys of helle, þan *almytty god in trinitye & his offense, & to lese þe blisse of heuene; & þus anticristis prelates don more harm to cristene men & maken hem more to breke goddis hestis þan þe deuelis in helle, þat neuere werem men. but ażenst þes fyned censure, men schulden ben armed wip feþ of þe

1 techem X. 2 dredre X.
OF PRELATES.

Sures in God's behalf. The gospel, that he more that he for brother men do goddis wille, he more strong schulden he be to do it; & drede not here cures, for thane god blisse & hem; & against bodely peyne be armed wiþ pacience & charite & hope of heuene blisse; & than antichristis power schulde soone be brouȝt douȝ & holy writ knoven & kept & meynented; but goddis lawe is pis, that prelatis preche to synful men be foulnesse of here gretete synnys and horrible peynes of helle, & hou soone he may geten mercy of god in he blisse of heuene for verrey contricion. And jif he wolen not leue here opyn synnes for al pis, thane lordis schulden ponysche here bodies in prison or by loos of catel, for pis is lordis office as petir & poul techen. Sumtyme men weren forbidden of trewe prestis to vse & do sacramentis in open cursed lif, & that is trewe suspendyng. But nowe good men ben suspendid fro doyng of goddis hestis til that he paien a gret tribuyt to antichrist or his officeris. But po; a man be neuer so openly cursed of god he schal be suffred jif he wil pai a rente to antichrist or hise, pou; he neuer so foule dispipe god & dempe his owne soule & dysceyue pe peple. & pis alle he feyned censures ben antichristis panter & armes, to lette trewe men fro he seruyce of god almytity and to make men to forsake god in his lawe for drede of antichrist and fendis of helle.

Capitulum 13m.

Indulgences. Also prelatis disceyuen foule cristene men by fyned indulgences or pardons & robben hem cursedly of here money; for he techen men hat for staciones of rome & for yeuynge of almes affir synful mennes wille he schullen have poussadis of pesis of pardon, & also pardon wiþ-ouþen noumbre to mansys vndirstondynge. & pis pardon is外科uenesse or remysyon of peynes whanne men ben verreyly contrit of alle here synnes bi vertue of cristis passion & martirdom, & holy meritis of cysntis hat he dioten more than was nedful

1 omitted X.
for here owene blisse. but bis crist tauté neuere is al be not taught by
Gospel & neuere vsed it, neiwer petir ne poul or ony oper
apostle of Crist; & sit bei myxten, couden, & were in
most charite to teche & vse his pardon if ber had ben any
siche, for in Crist was alle manere of good lore & good lif
& charite, & most aftir in his apostlis; & siþ crist fond &
tautë *al þat is nedful & profitable & he tautë not þis
[
þr. 85 MS.]
pardon, þan þis pardon nys neiwer nedful ne profitable.

Also alle men þat ben in charite ben partyneres of cristis
passion, & of alle goode dedis fro þe bigynnyng of þe
world til þe last ende þer-of, bi þe most ryȝtful delyng of
ihu crist as moche as it is ryȝtful, & more schal no man
haue for no grant of ony creature of god; þan for þis popis
grauset or bischopis neuere þe more of pardon. þanne men
ben grete foolis þat bien þes bulles of pardon so dere, &
makes hem more biaþ to geten hem þan to kepe þe hostis of
god & to þeue here almes to þe most pore & nedi neiþeberi;
for it semþ þat þei ben out of feþþ, hope & charite; for
þei tristen to haue more þank to do here almes aftir synful
menus wille & techyng, þe to ryche houses or ryche men
þat han no nede, þan for to do here almes aftir cristis
techyng & to most nedye men. Also if þe day of doom
come bi-fore þes thouand yeer of pardon come out, þanne
þes pardons ben false, for affir þe dom schal be no purga-
torie; but no man wot hoc soone þe doom schal come;
neþeleþ þe pope & his officeris in þes indulgences presumen
to ben euene wip god in knowinge certeynly þe comynge
of þe dom & in departynge of meritis to whom þat hem
liþþ. But boþ þes ben enpropried to god, & þan it is
blasphemeye for any creature to take þis to hym as doþ þe
pope wip his meyne. Also it semþ þat þe pope & his ben
out of charite þif þere dwelle ony soule in purgatorie, for
he may wip ful herte wip-uten ony oper cost deluyere
hem out of purgatorie, & þei ben able to rescuyue suche
helpe siþ þei ben in grace; þan siþ he deluyere hem not out

1 no X.; but corrected in margin.
of purgatorie him lacketh charite, & if he have not power to delyuere alle þan is he out of charite & disceynure of manne soule, s þe techiþ þat his gosly tresour es endles meche, & is neuere þe lesse þou; he partid it generaly among alle.

Also it passeþ mannes knowynge what is goddis dom to suche soulis, þasne it semeþ a gret pride for a synful man to make hym certeyn & maistire of goddis dom þat he knowþ not.

Also þes pardons gon not for charite but for worldly drit as it semeþ, for þif pardon schulde be graunted it schulde be graunted for to make pees & charite, & not for to make discencion & werris, & o cristene man to alen his broþer; & for to stire men to kepe goddis hestia, not to do aþir singular wille or worldly profyt of synful men þat seken here owene worships or worldly wynnynghe more þan sauyng of cristene soulis; & for to seie þe pater noster þat crist made hym self, & not for singular presiers made of vs self þe for loue of an erþely kyng; but in al þis is þe contrarie don as men seyn in dede, wherfore it is al out of charite & þan it is nouþ work. Also þif þis pardon be an heemene þiþte & gosly it schulde be þeuen frely as crist techiþ in þe gospel, & not for money ne worldly goodis ne feþle me fouour; but þif a riche man wol bie dere þe bulle, he schal hane a bulle of pardons wiþ þousand þeis þou; he be cursed of god for his synful lif, & a pore bedere ne man þat haþ no money & may not trauele to rome or to suche anoþer place, he schal hane no pardon of þe pope, þou; he be holy & ful of charite: þan siþ þis pardon schulde be frely þeuen; þif þor ony suche be, it is þeþte [&] roberis to take þus myche gold þer-fore; but here ypooritias seyn þat teken no þing for pardon but for þe bulle þat is sellis: certis a litel deed leod costiþ many þousand pond bi þere tooure pore lond, siþe þe disceynue þe peple & iapen hem, for þei sullen a faþ goþ for litel or nouþt, but þe garlek costiþ many shillyngeis. Also þis seyn pardon disceynueþ many men, for riche men tristen to flee to heene þer-bi wiþ-outen peyne & þer-fore dreden synne þe lesse, & of verrey contricion & leuynges of synne & of doynges almes to.
most nedy men is lytil spoken of, for if it were so pyl teld pis pardon schulde be sette at noujt. gret falanesse is pis to magnifie he popis power so mychil in purgatorie pst no man here can teche bi holy writt ne reson, sip we seen in pis world pst a lital harlot dispise yp pope & stroiep his Pope's weakness on earth.

lordsichepe, & pst he dop al his myst, alle his witt, & alle his wille, to be vengid vpon siche a pore harlot. pane it semep for many skillis pst pis Feyned pardons is a solit marchaundis of anticristis clerkis, to magnifie her Feyned power & to geten worldly goodis, & to make men drede not synne, but sikirly to walwe por-isme as hogges; & merusile it is pst synful foleis doren graunte ony ping of meritis of seyns; for al pst eure ony seyn t dide may not brynge o soule to heuenene wip-outen grace & myst of cristis passion, & alle meritis, pst ben medeful dedes, of alle seyns but only cristis ben not euene worp to he ioe of heuenene, as poul seip; & sip god graustip to ech e man part of alle medeful God grants merit to men without regard to bulls. dedis als mochel as it is worp, no man schal haue more part of ges dis for alle ges bulles, & neure ye lasse poun, no man grauste siche part ne siche bullis; & ges Feyned pardons makes men to tristen more in graustynge of a synful man, & in cas of a deyl of helle, pan in ye rihteyleste graust of houre lord ihu crist. almy:ty god for his eneles mercy distroiep pis pride, coueitise, ypocrisie & heresie of p. 87 M8. pis Feyned pardon, & make men bisi to kepe his hestis & sette fully here triste is ihu crist. Amen.

Capitulum 14.

Prelatis also maken ye weie to heuenene hardere ye crist Prelates make hard the way to heaven, made it, & so letten men to go to heuenene & por-fore ben cursed of god. For yei entren not hem self into ye kyngeon Mat. xxii. 13. of heuenene & letten hem pst wolden, as crist seip in ye gospel, for yei make many newe lawes of hem self, & by new laws of their own chargen men to studie hem & kepe hem more yei ye gospel; making, & sip yei gospel & holy writt is occupacion ynow; for men
in his life, he more at men be occupied abouten many causes; they are expounded not of gospel, they be drawn from gospel and so loosely known, but and worse kept it.

Also prelates make many new points of bileue, and seyn that it is not now to bileue in ihu christ and to be christened, as christ seip in his gospel of mark, but if a man bileue that he bishop of rome be heuyd of holy churche. And certis be apostles of ihu christ constreynenden neuere any man to bileue pis of hem self, and sit he were coreten of here saunynge in henene; how schulde pan ony synful wreche, pat wot neuere where he schall be damnyd or saudyd, constreynen men to bileue that he is heuyd of holy churche? certis be constreynen men sumtyme to bileue that a deuyd of helle is heuyd of holy churche, whanne he bishop of rome schall be damnyd for his cursed endyng in synne.

Capitulum 15mo.

Also prelates magnyfien hem self abouen ihu christ god and man. For ihu christ commaundid & taunte opynly pat men schulden not seue credence to hym but if he dede he weriks of he fadir of henene. But oure prelatis chalengan pat we seue credence to hem, where hei don wel or euyl. Also crist seip to he iewis of his self pat hei schullen deme a riytful doom & not after he face. And in his passion tyme crist bade a synful harlot & cursed to bere wittenesse of euyle in cas if crist had seid eny euyle. But oure prelatis pat don euyle bope in dede, speche & poust, crien kenenly pat sugetis schullen not deme hem, pou; hei don opynly ajenst charite. also poul biddip pat his sugetis demen pat ping pat he seip after pat he was rausyschid in-to pat pridde henene; but oure prelatis wolen not pat we deme here seynge, pou; it be contrarie to goddis lawe opynly, & certis pis is he deuyd cast of helle to distrois pe treupe of holy writ & he lif of ihu crist & his apostlis, and to colour pride & conuitise.

1 omitted X. 2 omitted X. 3 omitted X.
& synomye & extorsions as moche as euere þei wolen, for bi here cast men schullen not reprove hem þer-of, what synne euere þei don.

Capitulum 16m.

Prelates also constreynen men to *ceese & do not þe will ye & heastis of god, but þif þei han leue of goddis enemys, & in cas of deuelis of helle. For þif þeþtis wolen seie here masse & techen þe gospel in a bispochis dioceise, a noon he schal be forboden but þif he haue leue of þat bispoch, & he schal paiue comusly for þat leue myche money or ellis awere þat he schal not speke aȝenst grete synnes of þat bispoch & opere þreþtis & here falsnesse. And þit it is a grete werk of charite & mercy to teche men þe rijtte weie to heuene, & þes men schullen nouȝt doo wiȝ-outen leue of þe bispoch, þou; he be neuere so proud, neuere so coueteous & cursed for symonye & extorsions, & many tymes siche a bispoch schal be dampnyd, & þanne, as crist seip, he is a deuyl. þan it is vereyled þat a cristene man schal not do þe will of god wiȝ-outen leue of goddis enemys, & of a fend of helle; as þif þe leue & þe comauandement of god were not ynow; to don his will, but þif a man haue leue of siche a cursed creature. And þif siche a cursed creature & seie nay, goddis wille schal ben vndon & his lawe & wille vknownen and not kept. And þis is don for dreade of loos of here worldly pride & coueteise, & of worldly lordischipis þat þei han aȝenst cristi lawe & his techenye & his owen lif and his apostlis; but þis forbedyng is colourid by holynesse, for, as þeþtis feyñen, pore þeþtis wolden teche heresie for þei knownen not goddis lawe; but cortis þeþe þreþtis demen heresie alle þat is aȝenst here lykyng & lustis of here flech; & þei ben ful vnable to teche þe treuþe of goddis lawe, for þei studien not þer aboute & lyuen contrario synly þer-to; wherefore þe holy gost tehiþ hem not al soþe, but þe spirit of lesyngis ster þem to lette knowy[n]ge of goddis lawe & sanynge of soulis vnder colour

1 omitted X. 2 omitted X.
of holynesse, for þei demen bi-fore þat men wolen techte heresie; as þif þei weren euene wip god knowynge mennys hertis. And þif pore men seyn þe so þe þat no man may æsen seie, þan prelatis seyn þat it is 1 seyd for euyl entent & so byndren þe treuþe & taken vp hem þe dom þat is 2 reseruyd to god him self, & þerfore þei ben blaspheymes.

Capitulum 17m.

Also prelatis distroien most þe obedience & mekenesse of goddis lawe, for þei seie þat þei owen not to be suget to secular lordis to paien hem taxis in helpe of þe comunyes, & owen not to be amendid bi here sugetis of þere opyn synnes, but only of þe pope þat is here souereyn; & he of no man in herþe for he is greteste of alle. for our lord ihū crist was suget to þe heþene emperowr & paide him tribute for hym & his chirche, & þit he hadde no secular lordischipe ne plente of dymes, moche more schulden * þes riche prestis, þat han secular lordischipe æsenst goddis lawe & grete Iuelis & plente of worldly goodis, helpe þe kyng & þe lond to meyntene pore men in reste & charite. & þif crist was most meke & most obediente to al men, And þes prelatis ben vikeris of crist to þeue ensasample of mekenesse, þei owen to be most meke & obediente to alle here sugetis; for bi goddis lawe ech man owep to be suget & obediente echte to þeore in þe drede of crist. Also in dede þei schwen men most rebelte æsenst god & cristene men, lyuynge in pride, coneitise, idelnesse, extasions, lecherie, glotyne & wastynge of pore mennes gooddis, & þus þei ben lik to lucifer & ben anticristis, holdynge hem self more worþþi þan euere was ihū crist god & man. And it semþ þat þei techen here sugetis heresie bi here false open lif, for here lif schulde be bokis of 3 opere sugetis vnder hem, & as bokes ben false þat techen heresie, so ben þes prelatis heretikis þat techen & meyntenen synne bi here cursed ensasample þeyuynges.

1 omitted X. 
2 omitted X.
3-3 This is added at the bottom of the page in a later hand, and sugetis is written sugenes.
Capitulum 18

Prelatis also ben worse þan iewis þat nailede þrist on þe cros, for þei pursuen þrist in his membris for þei seyn þe treuþe æstenst here cursed lif, & sclaudeþen hem wiþ lesingis, & erson hem & þriniþes hem & alen hem, alægis in wille. And, as þrist seip, it is all on to dispise & pursue on þat seip þe treuþe of þrist & to pursue þrist god & man. And þis newe pursynge of prelatis is don bi more sutil ypocrisie & after more beneþce rescyned of þristis passion, & whanne it were most nede to haue helpe in goddis cause æstenst anticroistis clerkis1 þat destroyen þe treuþe of þristis lif & his apostlis in word & dece; & þit prelatis rescyned & axen greedly þat ilke money for whiche iust blood is spilt, þat þe iewis wolden not do; & ouer þis prelatis allen cristene soulis to sathanas for money, & so in manere defoulen cristis blood & setten it at nouþt; & bisen hem nyþt & day hon þei may bi anticroistis iurdiscon & feyned censures stoppe prelatis, þat þei preþhen not þe gospel to delyuere soulis out of þe deuelis bondis.

Capitulum 19

Prelatis also makes hem self most vnable to kepe þe gospel of þrist bi here grete bysньnese abouten roten goodis, & bi pompe & bost of þis world, for þei ben most bisi of alle men in þe world to geten worldly goodis bi purcaþe, & to holden hem bi false pleþ, & disdeyne to see a pore man þus ryt & worche after good conscience, but þif ony man kaþe to helpe pore men in here ryt æstenst grete prelatis he schal haue here enemyte, & be sclaemdríd to þe kyng & grete lordis, & pursued bi false cautelis til he be vndon, þif þei may bi ony lesyn. so þat whanne þei schulden ben most wilful pore & preþe þe gospel *of cristis pouert & his apostlis, þei may not *[p. 90 ms.] for schame, for sclaudeþryng of hem self, and lest þei maken here owen ypocrisie knowen to þe pleþe; & herefore þei Are ashamed to preach the truth lest it reflect on them.

1 omitted X.
hiden cristis pouer fro þe peple, & liuen vpon hym cursedly to coloure here worldly lif; for here þouȝt, speche, cost & trasueile is more aboute worldly goodis þan goddis lawes in studynge & techyng & holy lif of hem self & þe peple. And is worldly array & wast meyne & grete corseris & clopis of gold & worldly armure þei passen erlis, & atteynen to kyngis array in bataile to alee cristene men wiþ here owen cruel & cursed hondis; but hou may þei presche þe gospel of pacience, meknesse, pees and charite in þis cursed vengauæce takynge? certis þei ben sathanas knyȝtys, turned in-to angelis of lið bi name of prestod and religion, to discyuyre cristene peple in feip, hope & charite. but woo to suche antiscristis prelatis, þus blasphemyng crist & sclausdrynge cristene men.

Capitulum 20m.

Also prelatis techen & hire lordis & comunes & clerkis to blaspem he god & dispise his lawe & ordynauæce; for þei techen lordis & alle opere men to meyntene hem in worldly lordshipis, pompe & pride, coueitise, extorsions, piliyng & robbynge of þe peple vnder colour of holy correccion. & notwipstondyng þat goddis lawe & ensample of cristis pore life dampnen. seculer lordschipis in clerkis & coueitise & worldly lif, þit þei graunten pardon wiþ-outen mesure & þouen grete benefices & huge tresowr of gold & worldly fauour & sathanas blisyng to lordis, clerkis & comineris, for to meyntene antiscristis worldly clerkis in þes synnes aȝenst god & his halwen, & for to pursue & sclausdre & enprisone & alee & brene pore prestis þat techen holy writt & cristis gospel of pouer & mekenesse aȝenst here worldly lif. & to þis ende þes wikid ydolatrours, worschiperis of false goddis, grausten to þes manquelleris out of bileue & charite pardon, part of massis & opere preieris, þe to fle to heuene bi-fore þe bodi be cold, & þus blynde antiscristis prelatis leden blynde lordis, clerkis & comunes to helle for coueitise & brekyng of goddis comandementis.

1 dampnen X.
Capitulum 21m.

Prelatis also settin more pris bi her own tradiciones, maade for to meyntene her pride & worldly wynnynge, þan bi þe gospel of ihû crist; for þei studien faste & techen here owene constitucions, & ponyschen men1 sore jif þei don out against hem or kusmen hem not, but þei studien litel or nouȝt cristis gospel & lese techen it, & recken lest þou; men kusmen not þe gospel ne kepen it not; but faste þei techen þe nede & þe aunaustage & tewþe of her own lawis, & seyn þat *holy writ is hard, not so nedful as her own lawes, but it is false to þe lettere, & men wityþ nenere what it meneþ. & þus þei seyn in dede þat newe lawes, maade in tyme þat sathanas is vnbounden of worldly Prelatis ful of cousenise symonye & heresie, ben betere & trewere þan lawe of þe gospel, maad ȝauȝt of ihû crist god & man; & on þis ypcorite manore þei seyn pruely þat sonnyd worldly heretikes ben wiser & trewere þan þe holy gost, þan crist & his apostlis; þe þat þes worldly clerkys ben wise & trewe & in grete charite, & god þe trinyte & ihû crist & his apostlis ben foolis, false & out of charite;2 siþ þes worldly moldwarpis ful of symonye & heresie maken so open lawis so profyteable & so trewe, & god wiþ his helperis makeþ derke lawis vnprofitable and vntrewe.

Capitulum 22m.

Also Prelatis techen þat þer nys no þing lefus is holy chirche in erþe wiþ-outen leue & cofmerynyge of anticiȝrist, & maken all þe chirche suget to hym; for þei seyn openly þat þer is no þing leffal among cristene men wiþ-outen leue of þe bischop of rome, þou; he be anticiȝrist ful of symonye & heresie; for comysal of alle prestis he is most contrarie to crist boþe in lif & techynge, & he meynteneþ most synne bi prenyleges, exempcions & longe plees, & he is most

1 more X. 2 & X. AA.
proud aænst cristis mekenesse, most coueitous of worldly goodis & lordschipis aænst pe pouert of crist & his apostlis, & most idel in gostly werkis & occupied in worldly causes aænst crist besy trauoyle & his apostlis in prechynge of pe gospel, & most principale sillere of benefces & veyn indulguncis & sacramentis where crist comasdep men to ÿue frely alle gostli1 pingis as pei han frely rescuyued hem of god. & þit þes worldly prelatis feynen þat it is not leffal to a prest to teche cristis gospel frely wiþ-outen licence of hym or his prelatis vnder hym, þou; god comasdeþ prestis, bi open techyng & his lawe and opyn ensample of cristis lif, to teche þis; & so þei menen þat þif þis proude prest & contrarie to crist & his lawe sende not a cristene man 2 bi witnesse of his bullis or letteris of his lowere prelatis he may not fulfiþ pe hestis of god ne werkis of mercy; & so þif þis principal enemy of crist & his coueitouz clerkis wolent lette a cristene man to kepe goddis hestis & poynis of charite, he mot leue goddis comasdeament vndon & obiche to hem at here wille, & þus þei menen þis ende þat cristene men may not come to heuene bi kepynghe & holdynghe of trewe feiþ & charite but þif antiorist & his worldly clerkis, ful of coueitise, symonye & heresie, ben meyntenend in here olde pride & cursednesse aænst treuþe of god almyþty; for ellis, as þei feynen, þer may be no bishop no prest * ne cristendom ne sacramentis; but certis þis is foule hereasie & blasphemye, for herby cristene men ben suget to antiorist & his symonye & feyned censuris & to sathanas more þan to ihu crist & his lawe.

Capitulum 23m.

Prelatis sit up ware

Prelatis also ben enemys of pees, conseilouris & meyn-tenouris of werris, & irruguler anemtis god, & here preieris ben cursed; for þei dreden þif lordis weren in reste & pees þat þei schulden perceyue þe cursednesse of here symonye,
OF PRELATES.

ypocrisie, coeitise, & robberie of here pore tenaustis, & suffre not prelatis be worldly lordis & tirausstis, as jpe ben now, & per-fore jpe casten to occupie lordis in werris, and conseilen per-to vnder colour of wisdom & charite jpat jpe may regne in here lustis & coeitise as hem lykep. for jif jpe weren trewe procuratouris of pees, jpe schulden gladly & ioefully coste alle here worldly lordshipis & here fleisch & blood & bodily lif to make pees & charite amongis cristene men, & techen lordis and comunes in open sermons and confession & priue conseilhyng jpe peryl of werris, & namely of wrongful werris, & hou harde it is to fitten in charite, & tallen openly & priuely jpe goodnesse & profit of pees & reste, & hou men schulden not haue verryay pees but bi holy lif & meyntenynge of treupe & ristwisnessse & distroiynge of wrong & synnes. but now jpes worldly prelates ben cheef conseilours to werris for but are chief counsellors to war, and fight in person.

They ought to preach peace.

They are cursed of God.

They are cursed.

They do their services not mockely but with handful singing and rich ornaments.

So the poor have naked sides, and dead walls have much gold.

They are cursed.

They do their services not mockely but with handful singing and rich ornaments.

1 prestis X. 2 omitted X.
Capitulum 24

Also prelatis distreien þe ordre & lif of crist & his apostlis bi here worldly lif & array & bost & pride, & bryngen þe peple in-to heresie of cristis pore lif; for þei leuen not as pore prestis aftir crist & his apostlis, but as lordis, þee kyngis or emperours, in shynynge vessel & delicat metis & wynes, *in fatte hors & precios pellure & ryche cloþis & proude & lecherous aqyeries & meyne, & þes vanytes wasten pore mennus goods & suffren hem goe daile awhanne þei han nedis to pursue. & wiþ alle þis þei seyn þat þei lyuen in þe staat of cristis apostlis & ben here vikeris & successouris, & maken þe comune peple bileue þat crist & his apostlis lyuuden þus; & siþ þe lif of prelatis is book & in ensample to opere sugetis, as lyncolne seþ, þes prelates ben heretikes & maistris of heresie, þat þei techen to þe comunes bi here owen wicked lif þat is a bok to here sugetis, & þus for cristis pore lif & meke & trauelous is tauþ a lordly lif, proud & veyn occupacion of worldlynesse & vanyte of þis world.

Capitulum 25

Prelatis onwer þis robbenoure lond of mochil tresour, & senden it to aliens & enemys ofoure rewme & bryngen ajen goddis curs & heresie; for þei don not here spiritual offis aftir goddis lawe, & siþ greedly gedren dyme & offrynge & procurasies, & senden moche gold coine for þe firste fruytis, & to purchase & apropre to hem moo benefics, provyloges & indulgences; & þis is þe þefte & symonye; if goddis lawe & manuw & resoun be souþ, & þe sillere of benefics & spiritual þingis & þe þeuer of gold for hem ben cursed of god & man & þe court of rome his worldly aduersarie to oure lond, & namely in favoure of oure enemys; but more harme is of gostly enemyte, whanne þei enemymen oure peple wiþ cursed symonye and meyn-tenynge & consent of synne bi blynde obedience. for siþ

1 senden moche gold to Rome AA.
ony worldly prælat wole do ony wrong æsenst riȝt & reson, he schal geten a priuisleighe or exemption or sentence of curs for his gold sent & spendid at Rome, & moche gold goþ out of oure lond bi longe pledynge at Rome, & riȝt born a doun, & synne contyned & meyneted, þat vnnejðis dar ony man speke þeraþenst; and þus is oure lond robbid of gold, & curs & heresie brouȝt in, and synne longe meynented, & riȝtwisnesse stoppid.

\[Capitulum 26^m.\]

Also prælatis seyn þat holy writt is not sufficient to reule holy chirohe, & techeris þer-of ben not profitable to þe peple, but here owen statutis maade of synful foolis ben most nedful & techeris þer-of, And meynetenours of chydynges & strif ben most nedful & profitable to þe peple. for þif holy writt were ynow for gouernyng of þe chirche, it were veyn & vnresonable to occupie men wiþ moo lawis, siþ men ben now of feblere complexion & lasse wytti & of schortere lif þan men weren in olde tyme. & it is luciferis pride & more to seie þat techeris of mannys tradicions maade of synful foolis ben more profitable & nedeful to cristene peple þan techeris of þe gospel & goddis comauedementis; but þer is o cursed cause of alle þis seiyng; þei loue more here owen worldly wynnyngs & pride & lustis þan wynnyngs of soulis to blisse by mekenesse & holy lif. And here owen lawes and techeris þer-of meyneten & procuren þis cœuitise & lustis, & holy writt & trewe prehous þer-of dampnen al þis, & techen wilful pouȝt & mekenesse & gret trauële & penausce of clerkis; & þer-fore þei comenden here owen lawes & here techeris, & putten goddis lawe & treue prehouriþ þer-of bi-hynde. & heere þei putten on crist boþe deaute of witt & charite; for siþ cõrist maade not the beste lawe for holy chirche, as þei feynen, & talde not whanne & of whom it schulde be maad, his lackid witt & charite, but cœtit þis his foule heresie put on crist priuely for to meynete here owen cœuitise & pride.

\(^1\) contyned X.
Capitulum 27m.

Prelates compelle men to assent to their errors by evil teachers and by threats.

They deceive lords to make them imprison true men.

Prelates constreynen men of symple understondynge to renne in-to errouris & to blaspheme god; for þei constreynen suche symple men to assente to here dampancie of treuþes of goddis lawe, bi multitude of worldly clerkis blynde þorou; coueitise & pride, & bi manas & drede of prisonynge and brennynge, & suffren not men to resiten in holy wrett & in þingis þat þei may understande, but constreynem hem to assente to newelries of newe doctours, þat leuen holy wrett & reson & feyuen drymes & myraelis to plesse coueituous clerkis & to gress veyn glorie for here witt, & þus þei bileuen blyndly in many poynitis aseen goddis doom. And þit þes prelatis deseyuen lordis & maken hem pursue & prysone trewe men þat wolen not assente to errouris our holy wrett and reson. And þus þes prelatis ben anticristis turmentours of sathanas for to pursue & se trewe prestis in goddis lawe, & maken lordis turmentours of þe fend to ponysche cristene men, for þei holden þe bouns of holy wrett & meyntenen þe treuþes of cristis lif aseen worldly prelatis ful of coueitise & heresie.

Capitulum 28m.

Also prelatis closen or stoppen þe weie to þe blisse of heuene & open þe brode weie to helle; for þei stoppen & letten men fro kusynynge & kepyngge & techynge of holy wrett, þat is entre & riht weie to þe blisse of heuene, & neden men to bisen hem aboute studyynge & kepyngge & techynge of synful mennys tradicions ful of errour, þat ben maad for pride & coueitise, & also to lerne pride & coueitise & worldly lif & to haunte & * meyntene suche wrecchid worldly lif of clerkys, & þis is þe brode weie to helle. Sumtyme men hadde tresuisse & werke at þe ful to studie & kepe & teche goddis lawe bi-fore þat þes newe lawes of worldly clerkis weren brouȝt vp, & nowe men ben occupied aboute
lernynge & techyng of hem in alle here lif, pat vnnepe may þei loke & sanoure holy writt in here laste days; & he þat can not þes worldly statutis maed for singuler wille and coueitise is hoolden but a fool and vnable to teche & reule cristene pepe, þou; he kuswe and kepe & teche neure so wel cristis gospel & goddis comausdementis. & to þis ende þes worldly moldwerpis taken keies of helle in stede of keies of þe kyngdom of heuenes, for þei taken ypoorisyie & worldly tiranstrie & bestful worldly lif, & moyntenynge of synne bi fals pardon & fals absolution & cursed preieris, & leuen kusynge & techyng of holy writt & edefynge of cristene soules to heuen by good ensample of here holy lif.

Capitulum 29m.

Prelatis also maken lordis tormentouris of sathanas to prisone cristene men for þei holden goddis lawe; for þei maken lordis to enprisone men whaswe þei dwellen fourti dais in sentence of curs, & here owene lawe techyip opynly þat men schullen dwelle in curs bi al here lif vp peyne of dampnacion, has whaswe a man haj pervedid a woman sibbe to him in degree of consangvynyte or kyn wiche1 degree is forboeden in holy writt, & haj not witnesse ynowe to proue þis in maannes dom, þou; he knowe it neure so covertynly, he schal be cursed in constorie & may not ryse out of þis curs, for þanne he shulde do wyttyngly æsenst goddis heatis & his conscience, & þus þis man schal euere in þis lif be cursed for he wil not wyttyngly do æsenst goddis comausdementis & his riht conscience. ¶ lord, what charite ist it to prisone sich a man, & þit þes ant ocurstis clerkis cursen men al day for money for techyng of goddis lawe & for werkis of merci & riþwisnesse, & for þat þei wolen not assente to errorris æsenst holy writt expressly & æsenst resen. ¶ Lord god, hou schullen ant ocurstis mynystris of riþwisnesse be

1 omitted X.
Lords should make sure that the curse is just, and imprison till amendment, not for fines.

Also prelatis disceyuen cristene men bi licknesse of apis & bi argumentis of glotones til pe peple brake goddis hestis & meytenen hem in here cursed lustis. For apis whanne pei seen a man don ony þing bi hem wolen assaie to don þe same dedis til þei ben perisched for defaute of crafte or kusnynge; & glotones arguen þus, siþ it is good to me to ete or drynk þus moche, And more mete & drynk is betere, þan it is betere to me to ete & drynk þus moche more; & bi þis colour þei cessen not til þei heten & drynyge her legges & hondis out of myȝt & here heuyd out of witt & ben as dede hoggis. þus faren þe worldly prelatis. Þei seyn, siþ þe peple schulden worschipe gregorii, petir & poule, & ðere trewe apostlis of orist, & þei comen in þe staat of apostlis, þasme þe peple schulden worschipen hem þus moche. But þei taken no rewarde hou þes apostlis comen to þis staat, bi ordeynynge & chesynge of god & for holy lif & trewe ærnuynge þat þei diden to cristene peple, in trewe teychynge of þe holy gospel boþe in word & dede; & hou þei comen to here staat by symonye, bi chesynge of worldly clerkis, & in cas quyke deudis in flech & blood, & don not here office but lyuen in pride, cousitise, robberie of þe peple, & in fleschly lustis þat cristis apostelis deden not. Also þei arguen þus, siþ petir & poule & ðere apostlis of orist hadden keies of heuene & power to bynde & vbbynde synnes, whiche doyng was conformed in heuene, & we ben in þe staat &
successouris of hem, þan we han þe same power; but þei loken litel þat mannes eleccion makip hem not in sich staat, but chesynge of god & kunynge of holy writt, & souereyn trauenl & holy liff, & techynge & meyntenynge of þe gospel, & breNNyNge charite to deþe for goddis loue, & saunyNge of cristene soulis; & comuNly þei ben fer fro alle þes goodnesse & wlappid in pride & coueiteise & moo synnes. Also þes worldly moldwarpis arguen þus as glotonis; siþ it is good to þrestis to haue worldly goodis for here necessarie liffode & helynge, as poul techip & reson, & þanne þe more þe betre; til þei ben smyten in coueiteise & ocupacion of þis world, þat þei saunore þou of gostly þingis, but riôt & pride & roten muk of þis world. & siþ it be good to haue holy writt & þresthode and knyþhode and laboreris to serue god & reule þe peple; þan it is betre to make moo newe lawis & moo ordris in þe chirche, til þe lawe of god be forseten & newe tradicions in exerceice & newe ordris magnysied more þanne þe clene ordre þat críst made himself; & bi þes iapis þei disceyuen þe peple, & gedren to hem*self þe goodis of þis world & magnysien hemself, here ordris, & here lawes more þan críst & his lawis, & maken þe peple to holden vp þis ypocrisie & heresie.

Capitulum 31

Prelates also spoilen lordis of here rentis bi dowynge of þe chirche, & lowe curatis bi approprynge of parische chirchis & bi pencions & cost of here officeris, & þei robben þe pore peple bi veyn priuelegies & feyned halwynge of chirches, aiteris and chirchejerdis, & opere sacramentis seld for money and by annuel rentis for lecherie & opere synnes; & herefore þei may be wel liued to swolwis of þe see & helle, þat rescceyuen al þat þei may & selden not aþen; & þus þei þat schulden most forsake þe worlde & worldly coueiteise & vanyte ben most sette in þe worlde & leste coueiten heuene

1 omitted X.
& costly goodis; & þei þat schulden most lede þe peple to heuene, bi trewe techyng of holy writ & ensample of wilful pouert & mekenesse & bisy trauyle in praieris & denocions & penuewe, leden þe peple to helle bi here worldly lawis, coniectis, pride & queyntise of þe world, & ydelnesse & glotonye & fleschly lustis; & hou þei robbe þes partis it is open ynow; þerfor we moten tale of more ypocrisie lesee knowne.

Capitulum 32m.

Also prelatis chargen more here park & brekyng þe of þes goddis heistis & brekyng of hem. ¶ For þei pursuen more & cruelliere for brekyng of here parkis þas for brekyng of goddis comausdemestis to same here soulis bi spiritual medecyne; & þei ben more bisy to loke þat here park be wel kepote þasne to loke þat goddis heistis1 ben kepote goddis peple; & þei receruen assimilynge for brekyng of here park to hem self, but þei þeuen assimylunge for brekyng of goddis heistis to eche parische prest or curat. For þei holden here park more derworþi to hem þas þe comausdemestis of god, & seken more bisily here owen worldly worshipes and 2 coniect þan honoure of god & sauyng of cristene soulis; & here is ydolatrie & heresie open ynow, & blasphemye of god among worldly & heisen men.

Capitulum 33m.

Prelatis also entren vnder colour & studie of cristis apostlis & lyuen & teche contrariousely to hem & don most harm to cristendom, þe more þan ony soudon or sarsyn or oþer men of wrong bileue. ¶ For sip þis stat is most wortþi in þe chirche, & þei lyuen so worldly & synfully þer-insize & turnen it vsodon, þei distroien most þe goode lif of cristendom & techen most perilyous heresy. And herefore þei

1 omitted X. 2 þan X
bicomem þe deuelis iogelours to blynde mennes gostly eijen; becom devils jugglers.

þei maken meu wene þat here worldly lif & cursed ys þe holy lif of cristis apostlis, & þus bryngen in errour & heresie in þe peple, & ben sathanas transfigurid in-to an angwil of lij, & verserien þis word of holy writ, þat þei ben made a spectacle to angelis & men, but on eyyl manere, where þei schulden ben *a spectacle of angelis & men to loken owne *[p. 38 ms.]

with ioe for here stronge fiptynge ajenst enemies of soule bi mekenesse, wilful pouert, & grete trueseile in techynge of þe gospel, & suffrynge of peynes & dep. Perfore in ensaumple of cristene men to see hem in þes poyntis þei ben a spectacle to angelis & men to wonder on here cursed pride, couetisise & ydelnesse in gostly trueseile, & cowardise in cristis bataile, & letter charite of cristene men bi here eyyl ensaumple, & þus in stede of cristis apostlis ben comen in viserid deuelis, to disceyuen men in good lif & bryngen hem to sathanas here maister, & in1 þis manere þei pleien þe pagyn of scottis; for as scottis token þe2 skochen of armes of seynjt george & here-bi traieden englischemen, so þes antieristis prelatis takes name & staat of cristis apostlis, as þif þei wolden helpe & lede cristene men þe rístte weie to henene as þei diden, but here-bi þei betrubien cristene men in-to synne by suynge of here techynge & cursed lif, & leden hem faste þe weie to helle.

**Capitulum 34m**.

Also prelatis consotreynen prestis to lese charite & blaspheme crist & disceyue his peple; for þei neden prestis to fijtte & werre in here owen persone ajenst cristene men, & here abouten spedde pore menys liflode for to hauen a veyn name of hardynesse & þank of lordis þat kunnen neiwer witt ne reason; for þei senden opyn comissions to alle curatis vndir here deuelis iuridicions bi vartue of mahoudis obedience & bi manas of þe kyngis power to make hem

1 omitted X. 2 omitted X.
redi wiþ armure to werre iolily aṣenst cristene men. ¶ And here-by is armure of pacience and charite and holi preiäre & trist in god putt away, & þe deuselis lawe of cruelte, enemyte & veyn trist in mannyis myþt brouȝt in. But goddis curs renneþ many þousand tyme wiþ al þis. & here-bi ben half deede men confortid to fytte & alee cristene men & renne in to helle hedly, & so þes worldly prelatis ben cheif capteyns & arraiouris of satanas bataulis to exile good lif & charite, but certis no tonge in þis lif may telle how many soulis gon to helle bi þes cursede capteyns & anticiristis iuridiction & censures.

Capitulum 35m.

Prelatis also ben weyward yppocrisy, blynde ledere, swolwynge þe grete camele al hool & siynge or clensynge a lītel gnatte; for þei rescyeuen & purchasen bi grete yppocrisy seculer lordinshipis, aṣenst goddis lawe olde & newe & en-saumple of cristis lif & his apostlis, as leffal, profytale & nedeful; & forsaken as venym matrimonye, þat is leffal bi holy writt, til newe vowis of contynense of worldly clerkis weren brouȝt in bi disceit of þe fend. For many preṭis now kepeth neiþer matrimonye ne charite, but defoulent wynes, maideynes, widewes & nouxes in eche manere of lecherie, & children ben morþerid, & synne aṣenst kynde is not *olene fleed. For satanas caste to purchase worldly honour & plente of worldly goodis & welfare & ydelnesse to þonge preṭis, & dalliaunce wiþ wommen & priue rownyng; & is redy nyþ & day to stère boþe partis to lecherie, & sumtyme to hyden here synne bi fals opis & morþeryng of children, & sumtyme hausten it opynly & schamen not þer-þ; & her-bi heιe prelatis wynnen many þousand pondis in fewe þeris & holden grete houšholde as lordis, & þus bi þis yppocrisy is boþe poyntis ben lordís & preṭis & communes encombrid, & goddis lawe dispisid & broken, & synnes gedrid in grete hordis.
Capitulum 36º.

Also prelatis bi sotil ypocrisyie horden & meyntenen here synne & opere mensys; for þei seyn þat in here absence men may not speke aженst here open cursed synnes for synne of babcitynge & schlausdrynge; & þei ben so malicious & myʃti in worldly power þat þei wolen suffre no man to speke aʃenst her synnes in here presence; & so þei wolden bi ypocrisyie haue þis ende, þat no man schulde speke opynli & sadly aженst here cursednesse in no manere, but suffre hem weye roten in here lustis & robbe þe peple & discyue cristendom wiʃ-outes ony letting; but certis þes antícrisistis clerkis liʃn falsy aʃenst cristiʃe lore & proife of cristene men. For cristi & his apostlis reþroueden pharisees & heroude & heretikis in here absence & to þe peple, as gospilis & pistles witnesse, to oure ensamus ple to do so with charite & discreetio, & þei ben schlausdrid bi-ʃore god & his angelis & goode men in erþe bi here opyn cursed lif; & þo men þat reþrouen bi charite & discreetio here opyn synnes helpeʃ to amenden here synnes & don awei here sclausdre; but of sclausdre anemptis god & his angelis recken þei not, but alle here care is last here ypocrisyie bi knownen to lordis & myʃty men, for drde of takyng away of here temporal lordischipis þat ben cause of here synful lyf. & þus þei ben cursed of god; for þat þing þat is verrey sclausdre þei clepen & reckenen as no sclausdre, & þat þing þat is no sclausdre but remedie þer aʃenst þei crien & clepen sclausdre; but alle þis is for þei wolden dwelle stille in robbying of þe peple & here cursed lustis & sclausdre, & discyue cristen men is good techyng & ensamus ple of holy lif.

Capitulum 37º.

Prelatis also blasphemem god & techen opere men to don þe same; for þei lyuem hem self in pride & conceitise & louen & norischen & meyntenen suche vicious folis, & haten Prelates live in pomp and maintain vicious men.
& dispisen mekenesse & wilfull pouert, & so pei don vertuous men & oppresen hem; & þus pei conspiren aȝenst crist \(^1\) & his vertuous lif & his make seruauntis, & ben sathanas procuratouris to meyntene synful men in his seuyce. For certis pei ben cursed of god jif pei meyntenen wityngly & wilfully *proude lordis & lecherous of here owne mynyne in here housholde; for jif pei loueden god & þe soulis of here seruauntis pei schulden amende þis cursed lif or ellig putten hem out of here companye; but now for pride of hem self & wynnyng of drit pei holden for þuse cursed meyne to sclaude dre opere men. ¶ But as crist and poul witnesse, suche prelatis ben cursed, & forsaken cristiis feij, & ben worse þan heþen men þat neuer rescuyedens cristendom.

Capitulum 38n.

Also prelatis disceyuen cristene men in feij, hope & charite bi here nouelerie of massis at rome, at scalæ celli, & newe pardons & pilgrimages; for pei maken þe peple to bilene or triste þat jif a þrest seye a masse at scalæ celli for a soule it schal onoon ben out of purgatorie, þou; god of his riȝtwisnesse ordeyne þat soule to abide þere fourty þere or mo, & þou; þe þrest be cursed for symonye & pride; for as þei feynen falsy þe masse may not be peirid. certis þe sacrament may not be paired for synne of þe þrest; but þe preiers of cursed prestis in þe masse ben cursed of god & his angelis, & certis a þrest may be so cursed & in heresie þat he makij not þe sacrament. & god only knowij whasne his synne is in þat degr & whasne in leesse, but eueri it is harmful to him þat makeþ þe sacrament vnworpiyl. & bi þes feyned pardons þe peple lunij to do here almesse to pore nedy men enprisoned bi god hiszelf & dô þit to ryche men & wasteris, & hopij to have more þank of god þer-by þan to do it aifter cristiis owne techyng; & þes prelatis chargen more folye

\(^1\) omitted X.
avowys of siche pilgrimagis & brekynge of hem, þan þe strong comauadmementis of god & brekynge of hem, & þus þe peple dredij more to breke þis folie avowys maad of here owen errour þan to breke goddis comauadmementis, & louen more here folye avowys to fulfille hem þan to fulfille goddis hestis; & þus þei ben discseyued bi þes nouelries in feip, hope & charite bi þes antciristis prelatis.

Capitulum 39m.

Prelatis also ben malicious forxis & raunyschynge wolues, oppressyng pore curatis & annual prestis in here iuridicion; for whasne þe kyng & lordis axedon of grete prelatis subsidies & dymes for here temperatæ þei grausten hem so þat pore curatis & annuelleris may be taxid at here settyng; & so alle þe charge fallij on here pore curatis, & oþre & þe riche prestis gon free or hellis wynnen a porcion to hem self of goodis of here pore curatis. & þus whasne þei han robbid lordis bi ypoorçilæ of here temperal lordischipis sotyply & wrongfulþ þei raunyschen þe goodis of pore prestis vnder hem; & þus þei don wrong to lordis, wrong to pore curatis, & to pore comunæ also; & bi þes seculær lordischipis þat þei han be ypoorçis þei ben þe emperours & tirauntis of oþre [p. 101 MS.] prestis. & þit þei owen to be most meke of alle oþre, and most bisi in studiyng & techynge of holy writt & enaunspl of alle gode manære of lif, bote to cristene men & to heçene; but alle þes goestly goodis ben raunysched & stolen from holy chirche, & contrariæ synnes brouȝt in in stede of hem bi þis dowynge of prestis wiþ seculær lordischipis; & þis is weirse þan raunyschynge & stelyng of alle worldli goodis & aleyng of many þousand of manæs bodies, as soulis & vertues ben bëtre þan roten drıt.

1 drawij X.
Capitulum 40m.

Also prelatis ben doumbe houndis pat may not berke in tyme of most nede but ben traitours to god & his peple; for þei ben so chokid wiþ talow of worldly goodis and occupacion abouten hem, pat þei may not preche þe gospel & warne þe peple of þe deuelis deceitis; & siþ þei taken þe charge & ofis to lede þe peple bi so perilous weis & enemies bi trewe prechynge of þe gospel & ensampl of here owne holy lif, & suffren cristene soulis be stranglid wiþ woluy of helle þorou; here doumbnesse & occupiynge aboute þe world, þei ben cursed traitours to god & his peple; & siþ to fulfille þe fendiþ crueltie þei pursuen & cursen siþ þif ony pore prest Wolfe preche freli cristis gospel & delyuere cristene soulis oute of þe fendiþ hondis & leden hem þe riȝtte weie to heuen. alle cristene men schulden crie out on þis false treson & fendiþ malice &; as crist siþ in þe gospel, casten hem out of cristene mens companye for here olde heresies & cursed deceit of cristene soulis; for þei han maad a prue couenant wiþ sathanas here maister, þat he schal hane soulis of here feyned iurdiacion so þat þei hane here worldly pride & coneiþis & ydelnesse & fleschly lustis at here wille: but woo to suche traitours of cristene peple.

Capitulum 41m.

þit worldly prelatis gostly don crist on þe cros & sleen his prophetis & his apostlis; for þei don cristis holy lif & techyunge, & so is a maner crist hym self, on þe cros of leysngis & bitraien him to heþene men whanne þei þuen cure of soulis to worldly foolis, verse þan ben heþene houndis. And so þei don crist on þe cros of vnkyndenesse & dispit, And hereby dispisen hym more þan diden iewis nailynge crist on bodili cros. and seynt ion criœstom, or wiþ þe gildene monþ, & seynt austyn witnesen plenerly þis sentenœ; & bernard seiþ þat a man þat synneþ opynly
ajeast goddis hostis & seuè cursed ensaumple to opere men dispisij more god & dop more wrong to hym þan iewis whanne þei naileden him bodely on þe croes. For crist louede more cristene men souls þan his owen bodily lif; & þis cursed man drawij fro crist alle souls als moche as is him is, & þe iewis drowyn fro him his bodily lif þat he louede lasse; & þei alen his prophetis & apostlis, whanne þei do cursedly ajenst here techynge & maken it fals as moche as þei know: þis sentence witnessed ion crisostom vpon þe gospel of seynt matheu; & þus þei silden crist & bitraien hym for money whanne þei forsaken þe treupe of holy writ & holy lif for worldly honowr & cousitise, & ambrose & bede witnessen þis poynyt.

And do more wrong to him than did the Jews.

[For 102 MS.] They slay apostles, etc., when they do against their teaching.

Crisostom.

Ambrose.
Bede.

Capitulum 42.

Prelatis blasphemem ajenst þe holy gost; for þei quenchen his jifitis & suffren not cristene men to teche goddis peple wip siche jifitis, but maken hem to waste þes precios jifitis; and so as to here entent & to here dampnacion þei quenchen þe holy gost. For is here wille þei distroien his werkis, & þe synne is demed bi þe entent, þou; þe ende come not forþ but be lettid bi goddis myȝt. For whanne þei ben vnable bi ignoranwe & wickid lif to teche cristene peple goddis lawe, þei wollen not suffre trewe men teche frely cristis gospel wip-outen here leue & lettris, þou; trewe men ben neuere so mochil charged & stired of god to præche his gospel. but þei don þis for þei wolden haue money for here lettris & swerynge þat men not præche ajenst here synnes, þou; þei ben neuere so opyn cursed traitours of god & his peple; as men gessen þat veyn religious don to haue leue of þes goddis traitours to sewe fablis, cronyclis, & lesyngis for to robbe þe pore peple aftir-ward bi clamouse beggynge, dampnyd bi goddis lawe; & þus þei seuen leue to sathanas præchoers for to præche fablis & flaterynge & lesyngis, & to

1 dispesij X. 2 omitted AA.
OF PRELATES.

[CHAP. XLII.

discayue þe peple in feip & good lif & robbe hem of here worldly goodis, & to putten blasphemye vpon crist bi here opyn beggyng & letten cristis proue to proche frely þe gospel þat wole not flatere but seyn þe sop to ecohe man & eche staat affir goddis lawe. but bi suche ypoceisie þei letten þus prochyng of cristis gospel, last lordis & comunis perceuyen here falsnesse, þei forbeden not ytterly þat men schuelden not proche þe gospel, but þat men schuelden not proche wip-ouen here leue; & siþ þei ben ful of coueitise, symonye, pride, extorsions & opere falsmesse, þei wolen yeue to no man leue þat þei supposen wole seie þe sop & not spare, & so in entente & dede þei comaunden þat no trewe man schal proche þe gospel. & bi þis þei casten to ende in here coueitise, symonye & robberie & meyntenynge of antiochristis chirohe, & it is to drede last þei enden in þis blasphemye aþenst þe holy gost.

Capitulum 43m.

It worldly prelatis blasphemes aȝenst god þe fadir of heuene; for þei taken vpon hem power þat is speacyly & onely reserved to god; þat is assoylinge of synnes & ful remission of hem; for þei taken on hem principal assoylinge of synnes & maken þe peple to bileue so; whasme þei haue only assoyclinge as *vikeris or massageris to witnesse to þe peple þat god assoiliþ for contricion, & ellis neipær angele ne man ne god hym self assoiliþ but siþ þemynere be contrit; þat is fully haue sorowe for his synnes, & haue wille ræpere to suffre los of catel & worldly frendischiphe & honour & bodely deþ þan to do wityngly aȝenst goddis comaunderment & wille; & þei chargen more here owen assoylinge þan assoyling of god, for siþ a man come to here schrifte & sacramentis þei assoilenn hym & maken siker þou; þe man lye vpon hym self & be not assoilid of god; & þou a man be neure so treuly assoilid of god for his entre sorwe of synne & charite þat he hop now to god, þei seyn þat he his
dampnable but if he be asoild of hem if he have space
per-to, pou; pei ben cursed heretiks & enemyes of crist &
his peple. & þis þei takes litel reward to god whasne he
seif, what euere tyme a synful man hap so enteirs sorowe
for his synnes he schal be saaf. þes prelatis schulden præche
þis contriccion & mercy of god & ioies of heuene, & þe peril
of schrísts wiþ-outen repentansce, & foulnesse of synnes,
& grete pyne of helle, & riþtwissnesse of god to make þe
þe peple to fíe synne & kepe trewly goddis comandements,
& not disçeyuen hem bi here owene power of assoileynge,
ne bi fals pardon ne fals preieris & ðe ðe nouelries bi side
goddis lawe. of þes þre & fourty errouris & heresies may
men see hon euclé prelatis disçeyuen cristendom. For of
hem & non ðe ðe is þis speche, & hon þei ben cause of
werris & euclë lif in þe peple, and of here damnnacion.
God for his endles myt; and mercy amende þes errouris and
þe ðe, þif it be his wille. Amen.
V.

SPECULUM DE ANTICHRISTO.

I have little doubt that this tract is by Wyclif; it seems to me to bear the stamp of genuineness in style as in matter. The assertion of free-will on p. 110 may surprise some who know how prominent a place was held by predestination in Wyclif’s theological system, but it will be seen that in dealing with the next point of Antichrist and his clerks, predestination is treated as a recognized truth. This double-sided assertion of doctrine is usual with Wyclif, who declares in plain terms Cum predestinatone et praescientia stat libertas arbitrii (see Lechler, I. 509).

The tract seems to be early in date, belonging to a time when the poor priests were already causing scandal, but when no violent measures had been taken to repress them. It must have been written before Wyclif developed his doctrine of the Eucharist, or he could hardly have mentioned the mass as he does on p. 112, without any reference to the falsity of transubstantiation.

I have retained the title, though not found in either MS., for the sake of distinction from No. XVII.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

Antichrist and his clerks object to preaching—

I. That it causes dissension, and that Christian men should seek peace and charity.
   To which true men say that Christ has bidden them to preach, and that preaching does more good than harm.

II. That preaching is against charity, because it hardens enemies. It is better to pray for them.
   True men cite Christ’s example. Some men are saved through preaching; others made better for a time. Besides in all assemblies there are some good men who profit.

III. That preaching can do nothing for men who are ordained by God either to perish or be saved.
   True men say that God ordains men to be saved through preaching; that men have free will, and God will give them grace if they desire it.

IV. That prayer is more profitable than preaching.
   True men say that preaching is better than praying by mouth. Christ commanded preaching, but not matins or evensong. It is uncharitable for a man to wrap himself in contemplation when he might be teaching others. Yet priests are to pray devoutly.
Speculum de Antichristo.

Hou antistorist & his clerkis feren trewe prestis fro prechynge of cristis gospel bi foure discisation.

First þei seyn þat prechynge of þe gospel makij disucasion & enemyte, & siþ cristene men schulde make pees & charite, as þe gospel seij, þei schulden ceesse of prechynge, siþ þer comeþ more harm þan good þer-of. Here trewe men seyn þat crist cam in-to þis world not to make pees of synful men to lyuen in here feschly lustis & worldly iois at here lykynge, but to departe hem fro synful lif bi þe gospel, þat is clepid swerd of þe holy gost. & þou; luciferis children ben wode & aen hem self bi sterynge of here fadir for enemyte & here oen auler hertis, þit cristene men schullen yet Christians must fulfi God's orders, not ceesse to do þe comauandement & honour of god & poynthis of charite to here breþren; for crist & his apostlis leften not prechynge of þe gospel, & þit þe deuelis lyms maden dis-cencion & gruuchynge & fiþtyngye ajenst hem And goode men reseeyynge cristis gospel, to þeue vs ensaunple to laste trewe in prechynge þou; antistorisit cleris groduch. & þus cristene mens schulde make verrey *pees bitwene god & cristene soulis bi trewe kopynge of his hestis, & distroie fals pees of cursed men and don here trauiile to amende hem for ellis þei failleden in charite. For bi þis, sotil ypocrisit antistor wolde quenche & owtlaufe holy writt & make alle men dampnyd; for he wolde heuere stire summe of his seruants & stryue & debate for prechynge of goddis word, & þus schulde no man knowe goddis word bi prechynge.

And certis jif ony man preche in grace þer comeþ more good if a man preach in grace it does good, þer-of þan alle fendi lymes may don harm, þou; many þousand sathanas children ben deppere dampnyd for here rebelte ajenst god & his gracious techynge.

1 do parte X. 2 omitted AA.
Secondly, Anti-
christ's clerks
say that men
should cease
from preaching
lest they harden
their enemies.

Ezekiel iii. 33.

Matthew viii. 6.

We ought to pray
for our enemies
as Christ did on
the cross and
St. Stephen,

who suffered
willingly to give
us example.

Through preaching
more are
saved and fewer
damned.

Sometimes men
are led to amend
for a while,

and they do good
works by nature
which will lessen
their pain in hell.

In a gathering of
people there are
generally some
good.

1 Pe secular tyne 1 pei seyn pat men schulden ceese of
præchyng for charite of here enemies. For bi præchyng here
enemies be stirred to hate & manseleynge of holy præzous &
not amesid. For þere ben many þousand þat schullen ben
dampnyd & not leue here synne for ony præchyng, but more
dampnyd for þei heren goddis word & don not þer-affir. And
for þis charite seip god to þe præphete þat he schal make
his tonge cleue faste to þe roof of his mouþ, for þe peple is
þus hard agenst god & his techyng. And þus comaundep
crist þat men schullen not þeue holy þingis to hondis &
putten precious perlis to hoggis, & god biddeþ to his præzhou
þat he speke not þere goddis word where is noon herynge.

2 þere trewe men seyn þat þei schulden loun more god &
cristene soulis þan here owene temporal lif, And þerfore
techîp goddis lawe to here enemies & preie for hem hertly
til þei weren dede, as crist dide on þe crois & his apostlis to
here dep & namely seynt steune. And þit þei weren corteyn
þat here enemies schulden slen hem, þerfore, to teche vs þat,
þei suffreden willfully to þeue vs ensample to seu hem in
þis. & þou men schulles algatis be dampnyd þit it helpiþ
hems þat goddis word is præchit, for þer-by moo men ben
sanyd & fewere dampnyd & so lesse peyne to hem algatis.

3 And þit sumtyne þei han compucacion & leuen here synnes
long tyne & ben in grace & charite for a tyne, þat is betre
ðan alle þis world, þe to hem; & god þeþ to eche man a
free wille to chesse good or enyl & god is redi to þeue hem
grace þit þei wolen rescyeuen it; & þit þei done here-by
many goode dedis of kynde & for hem schullen haue moche
reward in þis world at þe laste & lesse peyne in helle, and
it 3 is gret vengace of god whenne he wip-drawiþ præchyng
fro a comynalte. For þei ben not worþi to here goddis word
& þerfore þei schullen be deppere dampnyed; and where a
gedryng of peple is summe comynly ben goode, & for hem
principaly men præchen goddis word & not for housdis þat
berken aþenst god & his lawis, ne for swyn þat bajen hem is

1 omitted AA.  2 omitted AA.  3 þit AA.
synne & wolde neuer leuene hem for drede of peye ne hope of blisse. And if prechours * were cernyn þat alle a comynalte wolden not here goddis word þei wolden not preche þere but goo to oþer peple, as crist biddih, for þei schullen not fayle in o place or oþere of susme good men til þe day of dome come.

† De þride tyme þei seyn þat gode men schulden be sauyd þou; no prechyng be, for þei may not periache, as god seip. And susme wickid men schullen neuer come to blisse for no prechynges in erþe. ‡ Here seyn trewe men þat as god haþ ordeyned gode men to blisse, so god haþ ordeyned hem to come to blisse bi prechynges & kepyng of goddis word; and so as þei schulles nedis come to blisse, so þei moten nedis here & kepe goddis hestis, & herof æresþ þreprechyng to hem; and susme wickid men now schullen be conuertid bi goddis grace & herynge of his word. And who knoweþ þe mesure of goddis mercy, to whom herynge of goddis word schal þus profite? eche man schal hope to come to heuene & enforce hym to here & fullisse goddis word, for eþþ eche man haþ a free wille & cheyng of good & enyl, no man schal be sauyd but he þat willefully hereþ and endeles kepþ goddis hestis, and no man schal be damnyd but he þat wilfully & endeles brekyþ goddis comauedementis, & forsakþ þus & blasphomeþ god. & herynge of goddis word & grace to kepen it, frely suyn of god to man but þif he wilfully dispise it, is riþ weie to sakape þis peril & come to endeles blisse; & herefore synful* men owen wiþ alle manere mekenesse & reuerence & denocion heren goddis word & gruchoen not ne stryue aȝent prechynges of cristiis gospel.

¶ De fiþe tyme þei seyn þat men schulden cesse of prechynges & seuen hem & to holy prayers & contemptacion for þat helþþ more cristene men & is betre. ¶ Trewe men seyn boldly þat trewe prechynges is betre þan preiynge bi mouþe, þe þou; it come of herte & clene denocioun, & it edifiþþ more þe peple; & þerfore crist comaunide specialy

1 op v. corrected into 'hope' by a later hand. 2 omitted X. 3 omitted AA. 4 omitted X.
his apostlis & discipulis to proche þe gospel, & not to close hem in cloistris ne chirchis ne stones to preie þus. And þefore ysia seied woo is to me for I was stille. And poul seip: woo is to me; if I proche not þe gospel. & god seip to þe prophete, if he schew not to þe synful man his synys he schal be dampynd þer-fore. Jerom seip as myche as isnocent lif proftip bi merit & holynesse, so moche it harmep; if it azenstond neouþ wicked enemys of goddis lawe. And gregori seip, þat men of grete kusynge & vertuous lif þat chosen stílnesse & desert for loue of contemplacion ben gilitif of as many soulis as þei mytten saue bi techynge & dweyllynge in þe world; & þus prochyngye is algatis best. neþes desout preiere of men of good lif is god in corstyn tyme, but it is azenst charite for prestis to preie euere more and no tyme to proche; siþ oрист chargip prestis more for to proche þe gospel þan to seie masse or matynes, for he ne spekip not of matynes ne euensong opynly, *ne manere of masse now veed, but only of þe sacrament; but he comauadip to prestis for to proche þe gospel bi-fore his deþ and aifter. And þer-fore þe grete clerk lyncolm proweþ þat trewe prochyngye of þe gospel passþ alle ðære goode werkis þat man deþ in erþe; & newe doctours, þe of messynes lawe, seyn þat prochyngye passþ þe masse in nyne profiteþ. & þus seip, poul þat god sent hym for to proche þe gospel & not to oristene men; and ion þe ewangelist seip, if a man see his broþer haue nede & close his mercy fro him hap not charite. moche more; if men ben in nede of soule þer is no charite is prestis but; if þei techen hem goddis comauademestis þif þei han kusynge & leiser þer-to; & ihu seip þat men schullen be dampynd þif þei failen in bodily werkis of mercy, þat is prochyngye, ordeyned to hem. & þus prestis may not oesse of prochyngye for suche preiynge, for þan þei leften þe betre þing, & to hem grettare comauademest, & deden þe leesse & leesse worþi, & þus þei were out of charite; & þasne here preieris schullen not ben acceptable to god, for þei sueden

1 omitted X.  2 omitted X.  3 omitted X.  4 omitted X.
not crist pat cam from heuene to saue soulis bi prochyng of 
be gospel. lord, what charite is it to a kusynyng man to 
chese his owene contemplacion in reste, & suffre ohere men 
goo to helle for bregyne of goddis bestis, whanne he may 
lytly teche hem & gete more panke of god in litil techyng 
pan bi longe tyme in suche praiseris. Perfore prosti schulden 
studie holy writt & kepe it in here Owen lif, & teche it ohere 
men trewely & frely, & pat is best & most charite. And in 
certeyn tymes preie most 1 deucoutly & have sorowe for here 
synnes & ohere meynys. And pan be schullen be as be 
firmament ouer lital sterris in comparison of ohere seyntis in 
heuene. God brynge vs alle to pat glorious blisse for his 
endeles mercy. Amen.

1 omitted AA.
VI.

OF CLERKS POSSESSIONERS.

I hesitate to pronounce an opinion as to the authorship of this tract. In expression it often resembles IV. and VII., but it has points of likeness to others which I cannot assign to the same hand. The mention of the voice heard at the first endowment of the Church (Chap. ix.), and the reference to the parallel between the three estates and the persons of the Trinity (see opening of Chapters xxxi., xxxii., xxxiii.), connect it with No. XXVI.

There are touches of irony (e.g. Chap. viii.) which are like Wyclif, and the phrase "Antichrist's martyrs" (Chap. x.) is applied to the "irreligious that have possessions," in a tract on the Seven Works of Mercy, which is probably genuine (S. E. W., III. 171).

If the tract be Wyclif's, we may date it rather before 1380. The friars are already a bad set who "bear the banner" for subtlety and sham poverty, but they are not yet the habitual adversaries whom Wyclif cannot refrain from attacking.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. Clerks possessioners destroy priesthood, knighthood, and the commonalty. Priesthood, by giving themselves to worldly business, by appropriation and its consequences, by luxurious life and neglect of preaching. Knighthood, by taking into amortissement lands which should sustain knights to govern the people. The commons by depriving them of the services of priests and knights, by oppression in rents and fines, and by wasteful expenditure.

II. They say by their deeds that Christ's example is insufficient.

III. They disobey God, and teach that lords may not amend them, nor commons withdraw their tithes.

IV. They set their rules above Christ's, and punish breaking them more severely than idle swearing.

V. They shelter themselves under the names of saints, but live wickedly.

VI. They tell lies about saints to colour their own worldly life.

VII. They get goods under pretence of spending them in alms and spend them on pomp.

VIII. They take upon themselves heavier burdens than did Christ, since they add worldly lordship to the duties of the priesthood; and of these conflicting calls they attend most to the unworthy.

IX. Secular lordships in the church lead to simony, and wealth of the orders brings men to them for ease and luxurious life.

X. The possessioners are Antichrist's martyrs, dead to holiness, who will spend money and life to maintain their worldly possessions.
CHAP. XI. They preach seldom, and then for show, and hinder those who would truly preach the gospel.

XII. Monks and canons profess a rule of community of goods, yet they hold property.

XIII. They hold rules made by sinful men more perfect than those made by Christ, letting a monk become a friar, while he may not become a simple priest.

XIV. They care more for the praise of men than for the praise of God.

XV. They bind themselves to contradictories, to be dead to the world, and to do worldly business at command of the abbot.

XVI. They set the worse above the better, man's rule above Christ's; and if any will leave their order for a better life, they persecute him.

XVII. Their wasteful use of goods belonging to the poor, in dress that is too costly and much too large and loose.

XVIII. They engross to themselves all the good books, and will neither lend nor use them.

XIX. They give hospitality only to the rich and oppress the poor.

XX. They visit widows and orphans, but only to get their property.

XXI. They mislead lords into persecuting God's servants.

XXII. They claim licence to commit crime, by denying the right of the civil power to deprive them of property.

XXIII. They make men leave the study of holy things to attend to worldly business.

XXIV. They are insatiable, trying to get all property into their dead hands.

XXV. They are quick to plead in the courts, and, beside, are ready to damn those who deny their demands.

XXVI. They incite to war and so slay men.

XXVII. They oppress the meek and uphold the proud.

XXVIII. They pretend to watch, but sleep more than other men.

XXIX. They inveigle young children into their orders.

XXX. Their deserts as to special prayer.

XXXI. They persecute Christ in the persons of his true disciples.

XXXII. They blaspheme against the Holy Ghost by stopping preaching.

XXXIII. They blaspheme the Father by preventing lords from maintaining God's ordinance as to the clergy.

XXXIV. They do away with the rule, on which they are founded, of abstinence, poverty and labour.

XXXV. They are strong thieves who rob the church of the spiritual goods of poverty, simplicity, and meekness.

XXXVI. They mislead lords, interpreting the oath to maintain the church as upholding them in their possessions even if wrongful.

XXXVII. They are heretics, but they bring charges of heresy against true preachers to blind the people.

XXXVIII. They accuse true preachers of stirring up strife, but it is themselves who are in fault.

XXXIX. They care more that respect should be paid to them than to God, and, like the Jews, persecute for fear of losing their possessions and honour.

XL. They get all lordships into their hands, but will not pay taxes.
Dis is of clerkis possessionis.

Capitulum primum.

*Clerkis possessionis fordon presthod, knythod & comineris; for þei taken þe ordre of presthod & bynden hem to kepe his ordre & holi lif & techyne of goddis peple aftir cristis lif & his apostlis, & specialy is verrey mekenesse & wilful pouert & bisi traveile in techyne of goddis lawe & wilful dep suffrynge þer-fore. But bi þes worldly possessions and lordisipis þei ben turned to pompe & pride & coueitise & grete bisynesse of worldly pleas & worldly festis & secular lawis, þat deuocion & holy meditacion & studyynges & techynge of cristis holy gospel is foræten, & descencion among cristene men brouȝt in, & meyntenynge of wrongis & oppressynge of pore men bi here worldly power & cautelis holden vp. also þei taken benefices wþ cure bi appropiacion, þat is maad bi fals suggestion & symonye, & techen not þe parischenes goddis lawe ne mynystre hem sacramentis ne releuen pore men wþ residue of tipes & offrynges. But settin þer a viker or a parische prest for litel cost, þou he be vnable bope of kunnynge and lif to reule his owene soule, & for pouert of benefis he may not go to scote, ne lerne at hom for bisynesse of newe synynges & gedrynge of tipes & mynystringes of sacramentis & opere occupacions. & þus wise clerkis ben putt out fro benefices þat mynten, couden and wolden teche þe peple þe gospel & goddis hestis, & blynde ledaris ful of coueitise, lecherie & opere synnes brouȝt in; & almes doynge to pore men of þe parische & hospitalite & fyndynge of pore children to scote & so clergie afterward ben outlawid. also þei taken þe ordre of presthod to seie massis for money, & whanne þei schulden be gostly lit of þe world bi opyn ensaunple of holy lif & trewe techynge of holy writt, as crist comaundid to alle his apostlis & disciplis, þei hiden hem self in gay cloistris & lyuen in lustis of flech & glotonye,

1 his X. 2 is AA.
OF CLERKS POSSESSIONERS.

1 omitted X.  2 omitted X.  3 omitted AA.
Lords had better hire them not to say mass.

Austyn.
Gregory.
Jerome.

'Seynt' bede.

Austyn's example

Possessioners destroy the commons by preventing good teaching and good government;

* [p. 109 MS.]

by oppression in collecting rents and fines;

by wrongful litigation;

and by waste in pomp and gluttony.

Also these possessioners seyn in dede that Cristis lif & en-
sanctpel a per of is insufficient & lif sikere er bi worldly lawes
is betre; for pei forsaken pore lif & meke aftir crist & his

1 omitted X.  2 omitted X.  3 seip X.  4 sikere X.
chap. iii.] of clerks possessioners.

apostlise, & taken worldly sykernesse for þe betre; & her 1 þei blasphemene crist & ben out of riȝt feip. And siþ þei written þat cristis lyf 2 and trewe 3 lif of clerkis ensaunspild þor-aftir is best & most esy & most siker for þe soule, þei ben oute of charite to forsake þe best tauȝt [ & ] ensaunspild of crist, and to take a lif ordeyned of synful foolis & coseitouse of worldly pride & name & auer; & siþ þei meyntenen stifly þis errore þei ben stronge heretikis.

capitulum 3m

Proude possessioners ben traitours of god, of lordis & of þe comune peple. þei ben traitours of god, for þei distroien his ordynaunce þat he made for clerkis, & in stede of mekenessee & wilful pouert & discrete penaunce brengen in coseitise, pride & wombe ioie and ydelnesse. & þei bryngen lordis 4 in þis errore of bileue, þat þei ben in dette to meyntenen hem in þis worldly lif, & þat lordis may not mayntenæ cristis ordynaunce in clerkis for dred of antecristis curs & brekyng of here oþ bi whiche þei ben sworne to meyntenene holy chirche; for þat þat is þe fendis chyrche[he], þat ben proude clerkis & coseitouse, þei clepen holy chirche to turnen alle þing vpsodoun as antecristis disciplis. & þat þat is holy chirche, þat ben trewe techeris of cristis mekenessee, wilful pouert & gosly trauelle & meyntenours of cristis ordynaunce, þei clepen heretikis & pursuen hem to þe deþ worse þan don hejene men, for no man schulde be hardy to teche & meyntenæ holy writt aȝenst here cursed lif. & þei bryngen comunes in þis errore, þat siþ þei taken ony þing preuely or aȝertly fro antecristis chirche & his clerkis þei schullen be cursed & prisoned & dampnyd in halle; þe, þou; þes worldly coseitouse clerkis lyuen neuere so opynly aȝenst goddis lawe, & techen opynly cursed hereaie. & þei techen þe comune peple þat þei schullen hane goddis blisseyng & blisse of heuene siþ þei paien treuly here tîbes & offryngis to hem, whasne þei lyuen in opyn lecherie & coseitise & don no þing here

1 per AA. 2 omitted X. 3 treule X. 4 omitted X. 5 omitted X.
gostly office, but bi word & enaunce of uny lif liden pe peple to helle.

Capitulum 4th.

Also þes possessioners setten more pris bi reulis of synful men þan bi reulis of ihû Crist god & man; for þei taken reulis of synful men as benetis & opere popis and holden hem more perfite þan þe cleane reule of Crist. & þei cha[r]gen more to breke suche tradiciones *maad of synful men þan to breke þe comandementis of god & poyntis of charite; & for to prone þis, loke where a prest or monk schal ben hardere ponyschid for brekynge of þe popis lawre or of benetis reule, þe, for brekynge of here owene statutis, þas for ydel sweryng of herte & bonys of Crist & brekynge of þe holy day; & here-bi may mees see where þes possessioners louen & droden more goddis heestis or synful meanys tradicionis.

Capitulum 5th.

þit þes possessioners entren vnder colour of seyntis & lyuen alle aßent þes seyntis; for þei comen in vnder colour of seynt benet & seynt autyn to lyue in mekenesse & pouert & bi labour of here hondis for her lifode, and bi ypocrisie þei rennen in-to pride, couetisse, worldly worschip & welfare & idelenesse, & ben wode whanne men tellen þe sohe of cristis gospel & his pore lif & þe sohe of here owene reule & profession; for bi þis teychynge here ypocrisie and lesynge schulde be knowen, & þei be turnd to here first ground or ellis forsaken al. & þis wheren grete payne for pride men & delicat; & þerfore þei maken a schald of ypocrisie & worldly frendischip aßent þis treupe.

Capitulum 6th.

Also þes proude possessioners liuen on seyntis & sclaudren hem wip worldly lif to coloure þer-by here owene false pride; for þei writen þat þis is benetis lif & thomas of canterburies,
whan he lyueden & endeuen in contrary manere. And he bryngen forth poyntis of here worldllynese whan he diden aseen holy lif & techynghe of crist, & hiden here grete sorowe & peneuose pat he diden for s[i]ch wildenes; & alle pis is for he wolden coloure here owene synne bi hes seynis & makes he peple wene pat he seynis camen to heuene bi pis mirpe of worldly leyynge & likeynghe of here flesch; & his he brangen cristene* peple in errore aseen pat feip bi leysynge putt on seynis.

Capitulum 7°.

Pis pride possessioners ben feues & heretikis; for he comen bi false meny as ypoorisie & leysynge to hes grete lordischipes & bi colour to spende hem in almes of pore men, but hei wasten hem in goloyne & poymp & pride & worldlly gaynesse, as pelure & costelewe* clopis & proude alitterede squerys & haukis & hondis & mynstralis & ryoche men; & bi colour pat crist was his worldly lord, perfore hei schulden haue his seculer lordischipes bi heritage of crist as his most worpi seuerauanties; but crist seip in his gospel of seyniot pat his kyngdom is not of his world, & hadde not bi worldlly lordischipis where onne to resten his owene hed; perfore it is heresie to putten his seculer lordischipe on crist, & herbi dysecuyen cristene men in feip & worldlly goodis, & maken hem to meyntenen clerkis is here heresie.

Capitulum 8°.

Also his ypoorit is possessionerschargen hem self more his crist *and his apostolis wolden or myttten, & wittynge take he weree & lenen he betre. For bi als moche as hei haue seculer possessiones more his crist & his apostolis hadden hei ben bi pat boueden he more, & hei ben boueden to holy lif & trewe techynghe bi presthod is as mochil as hei may perfore; & hei taken bisynesse of his world & lenen studiynge & *his X (corrected by a later hand).
OF CLERKS POSSESSIONERS.

[Chap. VIII.

techyng of holy writ & denocious in preiure & pinkynge
of heueneley swettenesse; & pei chesen ra póre to lyue vnder
synguler obedience & profession mad to worldly foolish þas
to lyue bi forne of þe gospel in þat fredom þat crist þat to
prostit. & þerfore þei ben many times nedid & bi ypoorisie
disceyued to leue goddis hestis vndon & to perforn þe
workful biddyng of anticitrist; & bi þis fyned obedience
is striþ & eny se brouȝt in and pride & worldly lordischipe
meyntened in dede men; & þus þei risen fro vertue to
synne, fro mekenesse to pride, fro wilful pouer to coueitise
& lordischipe, fro grote penaunse & gostlyy trauile to glotonye
& ydelnesse.

Capitulum 9o.

 þes secular lordshipis in clerkis bryngeþ in symonye,
coueitise & glotonye & ydolatrye, þat is worschipynge of false
goddis; for bi cause of þis lordshipis men comen to grete
prelacies & opere degrees of þe chirche bi money & worldly
sovor & pledynge & fiȝtyng, where þei schulden come to
hem bi mekenesse and holy lif & bisy trauile in studeiyng
& techyng of goddis lawe; & fyned religious possessioners
comen to þes ordris for sikernesse of worldly welfare & pride
& eise of body, where þe schulden come to hem to be dede
to þe world & to lyuen in penaunse & streit pouer as cristis
apistis, & þus þei suen þis holy staat of pouer & penaunse
for worldly richease & wome ioie. And herfore þei ben ful
of symonye & heresie, as resen & lawe techen, & þei wasten
moche good in ryot & glotonye & pledynge & meytynge
of wrongis aȝenst pore gentil men & comedes. And siþ al
þes wastid goddis ben pore mennus liȝfode, as ierom & lawe
techen, & he þat defraudeþ pore men þer-of is a man of blood
spilid, þes possessioners ben manaleeris & irregular & cursed
of god; & siþ coueitise & glotonye ben seurage of maummetrie,
as poul seþ, þes possessioners honoure false goddis. for þes
skilis & many mo þe angel seyd ful sophe wahan þe chirche

1 brenygynne X. 2 of X.
was dowid þat þis day is venyn sched in-to þe chirohe; for church was first endowed. þei þat schulden be most make & wilful pore & in most deuncion & myrrow of alle vortues to worldly men ben now turned in-to luciferis pride & satanas cousitiae & antiochis ypocrisy & ydelnesse, & ben myrrow of alle synnes, & no tongue in þis lif can telle þe harms har-of.

Capitulum 10th.

*fit þees proude possessioners ben antiochis martiris, for þei ben reised bi hym fro deþ of worldynesse and vanyte to lif of lordis and weris & falsnesse; for in here profession þei ben holden dede to þe world & vanyte & likynge þer-of. They should be ded to the world, But in desirynge & holdynge seculer lordischipis & worldly honour & delicat mots & drynk & gaye clopis þei schewen in dede þat þei ben rjst freisch in bodely lif, but I suppose þat þei ben dede to holynesse & penausce & profitynge to opere men; & namely þei schewen þis reisynge in pledynge & werrynge in here owene persones, & in counseilynge opere men to werre on cristene men for worldly goode; for þat þei don more cruelly þan worldly lordis, as men knownen of plestyng & counseilynge to werris. þerefore it seneþ to summe men þat þei fynen hem dede to gete pray of worldly lordischipis & richesse; as þe faynþ hym dede til breddis comen to his tounge, & þasne he schewiþ hym on lyne deuncyrnyge & swelwynge of hem; & þus þei ben dede to profitynge of opere men & here temporaltrees ben mortesid, þat is consermyd in þis deþ, for þei comen neuere to seculer men þif þei may, þou; þei ben getyn bi neuere so fals title & ajenst conscience; for þei wolen not see mennys rjst, ne worsche aftir good conscience, but bosten of þosand markis They boast how much they will & þosand poundis þat þei wolen ooste in plee bi-fore þat þei leen ony fote of lond; & of suche religious wrecchis seiph Robert grostred þat siche on is a dede careyne gon out of his Grostred. sepulcre wlapid with clopis of mornyng, dryuen & stirid

1 or X. 2 of X. 3 to X. 4 omitted X. 5 mornyng X.
They will spend money and life to maintain their worldly life, but will do nothing to maintain Christ's truth.

Romans viii. 13.

Capitulum 11m.

They stop true men from preaching the gospel.

They are so occupied with the world and with their new customs, that they preach seldom.

and then stories and poetry to get credit for cleverness, but nothing of Christ's gospel.

and hinder those that would preach it by baits and persecution, [p. 113 MS.]

from fear that Christ's example and their departure from it should be known.

1 feyningsis AA. 2 possessers X. 3 and X. 4 and X.
Capitulum 12m.

Des pride possessioners ben rodit in leyngis azenst crist & his trewe, for as seynt bernard & anselme seyn monkis & chanons ben bouden to pe same lif pat pore men of ierusalem helden after sendyng doun of pe holy gost. And pei selden 1 her possessiones & putten pe pris to alle cristene in comyn conuertid & per was no nedy man amongis hem. For it was pouen to eche man as 2 it was nede, & non of hem seide pat ony ping was his owene; but alle pingis weren in comune to hem. but monkis & chanons appropren alle pingis to hem self & not to comunete of cristene men; & pei possessioners seyn in word pat alle pingis ben comune, but is dede pei han proprete & stryuen & pleden perfore; sit seynt ierom & anselm seyn pat pe crowne of clerkis criep 3 pouert, & here clopinge cripe honeste, holynes & foresakyng of pe world, & helles here signes ben false & pei ben leyng- mongeris & leyngye in it-self. but now pei ben riche & proude & coueteous & ful of enuye & glotonye, & ben pe fendis children for pei louen pus leyngis, as seynt ambrose seip, & pus pei disceyuen pe peple bi ypocrisie.

Capitulum 13m.

Possessioners holden pat religion pat crist made lesse perfit, pat is religiouns founeden of a synful man, for pei holden a reule maade not of seyntis but of here owene worldly hedis. more perfit pat religion of presthod pat crist 4 made in his fredom; for pei holden here owene tradicions more perfit pat reulis pat crist made in pe gospel. for jif reulis of presthod maad in pe gospel were more perfit pei reules of newe monkis, it were laweful for a preist to leue here reules & gon to reulis of presthod as crist made hym in pe gospel, for it is laweful to passe fro pe lasse perfit to pe more perfit, but monkis wole not suffre for no reson, but pei

1 senden X. 2 omitted X. 3 treith (?), may be creith X. 4 omitted X.
yet they will let w[olen] suffre a monk goo to beggeris ordre whanne he axij leue, jous; hee gete it neuere; & þus þei holden þe ordre of beggeris maad of synful men more perfitt þan religion of presthod maad of ihû crist god & man.

Capitulum 14°.

Also þes possessioners drede more lesyng of here temporaltees þan loos of goodis of vertye & of charite, & chargen more name & presyngynge of men þan preisyngynge & þank of god; for þei drede more to displesse lordis & myysty men, bi seynge & meyntenynge of a proftable truþe, for loos of here temporaltees þan to displesse god bi suffryngynge of opyn synne & domnynesse, for whiche þei ben *dampnable, as seynt poul seþ; & þei chargen more kepyngynge of here veyn sygynys & customes, for to hawe presyngynge of men þat þei holden wele here religion, þes kepyngynge of goddis hestis & poyntis of charite & discreet penaunce for preisyngynge & þank of god; & here is 1 foule ypocrisie & cursed blaspheme & forsakyngynge of god as seynt poul witnesseþ plenerly in holy writt.

Capitulum 15°.

Þes possessioners bynden hem self to contradiccion & þing þat is impossible; for þei bynden hem self to be dede to þe world & forsaken it & byssynesse, & on þe toþer side þei bynden hem to obedience for to take worldli bisynesse aþir biddyngynge 2 of a worldly & synful & coueitous & vnynyngynge abbot or priour, & þis þei moten do bi vertye of þis obedience, þou; god stire hem to be betre occupied aboute studyngynge & techynge of holy writt, & þus manuus commaundement is performyd bi blyndynesse & ypocrisie & goddis commaundement & more perfitt of cristene soules is putte bihynde. But it seemþ þei forsaken hunger & þurst 2 & penaunce & travaile to be lordis & riche & lyue in bodyli ayse on alle sidis; & þus þe fend bi his worldly clerkis discetyueþ men by colour

1 his X. 2 byndynge X. 3 prest X.
of holynesse, & bryngiþ hem to worldly lyuynghe whan ne þei wenen to come out þer-of, & þus castiþ hem bi here owene turn.

Capitulum 16m.

It religious possessioners ben groundid & holden forbiþ bi blasphemye & heresie; for þei ben groundid on þis, þat statutis maad of a synful fool ben betere in here dom þas þe lawis þat crist ordeynede for prestis & clerkis, for ellis þei wittyngh forsoken1 þe betre & token2 þe worse & holden3 it forþ, & weren out of charite. And þif þei meyn- tenen an errore ægæst charite þei ben heretikis; & þif þei seyn þat here reulis ben betre þan cristis reulis þuyen to prestis & clerkis, þei blasphemen ægæst god, & so at þe begynnynge þei ben blasphemye on alle sides or at þe lest knowen not cristene bisleue; & in holdynge forbiþ comynly þei ben blasphemye, for þei letten a prest to lyue & teche as crist comausdid in þe gospel, & þei letten a cristene man to sernhe his god in þe beste manere. For þif a prest of her feyned ordre wolde lyue poreli & iustly & goo freli aboute & teche frely goddis lawes, þei holden him apostata & prisonen hym, & holden hym cursed for þis prestis lif comausdid, ensausnplid of crist & his apostlis; & so þif a cristene man wole forsake a wicked worldly conuent ful of pride, ypocrisie, cowiteis & symonye, after snybbynge as crist tachep in þe gospel, þei pursuen him4 as apostata & cursed man, for he doþ as crist & his apostelis techen; & þis is cursed blasphemye of god. & ne were þis prison & sclausdrynge fewe goode men or none schulden dwelle amonge suche couentiis for dreed of consenytynge to þo here synnes.

Capitulum 17m.

*Also þes possessioners wasten bi ypocrisie nedeles many p. 115 MS. pore mennyis goodis, for seculer possessioneris han many precious cloþis & costy & riche peluris; & alle þis is wast Their rich cloth-

1 forsaken X. 2 taken X. 3 holden X. 4 hem X. 5 consenynce of X.
of pore mennys goodis, siþ bi here owen lawe what ensa
er clerkis han is pore mennys, & þei schulde tesc to 
risten men bope in word & ensaump of here owene dedis þe 
pouert & symplenesse of Crist & his apostlis. Also religious 
possessioneris wasten pore mennys goodis in wide clopis & 
precious, þat foure or fyue nedy men myȝten welle be cloþed 
wiþ o cope & þa hood of a monke, & þat large cloþ serueþ to 
gidre wynd & lette him to go & do his dedis; & þit þei ben 
brouȝt in-to chirche to reise vp cristis pouert & his apostlis 
& lyuen in mornynges and penaunce and to be deed to þe 
world; but by yppocrisie al þis is turned vpsodoun, what in 
wast meyne and provde and his houses and goltonie and 
ydulnesse. And so in enseample and dede þey techen heresie 
and blynden þe people in faith and lyf of crist and his 
apostles to þe contrarie as cursed disciples of antecrist.

**Capitulum 18.**

þyt þes possessioners ben þeues and so striers of clergye 
and of good liþ in the people, for þei han manie bokes, 
and namely of holy writ, Summe by byggynge and some by 
þite and tmasteris and some bi þe discetiis and sulteeis, 
and hyden hem from seceler clerkis & suffren þes noble bokes 
waxe roten in here libraries, & neþer wolen sullen hem ne 
leuen hem to þe clerkis þat wolden profiten bi studiynge 
in hem & techen cristene peple þe weie to heune. & in 
þis defaute ben religious mendynauntis as principal þeuyys 
& forgoeis of antecrist, þat seceleris & curatis may almost 
gete no bok of value, and herby, as seynt Richard primat of 
irland witnesseþ, þei casten to distroie clergie of seceleris 
and trewe techynge of þe peple. lord-siþ þes bokis ben 
more nedeful to mannys good liþ þan gold or siluer, & he is 
out of charite þat seeþ his broþer haue nede of worldly 
sustenance & helpþ him not whene he may esely; hou 
moche more ben þes religious out of charite, þat helpen not

1 world X. 2 omitted X. 3 worldly AA. 4 byuden X. 5 omitted X. 6 omitted X. 7 clergise AA. 8 omitted X.
seculer clerkis & curatis of þes bokis neijer be jifte ne leuyng ne silyng for no1 money.

**Capitulum 19m.**

Clerkis possessioners ben foule out of charite & blynden foule þe peple; for þou; þei han many grete houses, costewe & wasty, & alle þat þei han ouer here streote2 lifloes is pore mennys, as here owen seyntis & lawis seyn, þit pore men may not be herberwerid amongis hem in here grete castalis or paleis, but lordis, & ladies namely, schullen soiourne3 amongis hem many þeris. lord, hou schulde þes traitours ben excused at domesday, siþ orist seip þo men þat not herberwid suche pore herberweles schullen be dampynd, where ypoorisis & worldli pride & *couseitise & lecherie schullen make him *[p. 116 MS.] exempt fro dedis of mercy & comauement of god; for a bayli, stiward & riche men of lawe schullen haue festis & robis & mynystralis, riche clopis & huge jiftis, but pore men schullen stonde with oute & goo dailes but þif þei geten knockis & reproynge & wrong extorsions & euyl paynge of here hire; & þit þes mendynastis passen alle ohere posses-sioners is þis ypoorisis & deautte of pite for to gete worldly þank & grete wynnynge.

**Capitulum 20m.**

*Peis possessioners ben foule ypooritis vnder name of religion & cursed of orist for here disceteis bi whiche þei disseynen oristene peple; for whasme seyn iame techij þat þis is cleene religion James 1. 27. anemtis god, to visite fadirles children & moderles & wedewis in here tribulacion, & to kepe hym4 self vnblekkid or defoulid fro þis world; þei visiten riche men, & namely wydewis, for to haue here goodis to caymes castel, & sikeren hem of so many massis & preieris durynge þe world; & þit þei witte not where here preiere turne to here owene5 dampanacion, & be cursed of god, & stire god of holynesse & treupe to venganoe
1 omitted X. 2 streyte AA. 3 soiornen AA. 4 hem AA. 5 men X.
for here owene wickid lif & ypoocrisie. 

Perfore crist_currup scribis & pharisees, ypoocrisit, hat eten\(^1\) widewis houses bi suche longe preiers. & pei visiten not fadirles children & moderles and widewis to releue hem bi almes preynge, but enqueren siche children & widewis; if pei may dyceyue hem in purchasynge of here rentis & opere goodis bi flaterynge wordis & sikernesse of gozty helpe; & is his ypoocrisie pes mendynaustis beren pe baner for svtilte & feyned powert.

**Capitulum 21**

\[\text{fit his possessioners blyden lordis & mystty men to turmenten goddis aernauastis, bi prisonynge & opere bodily peyne, whasne pei forsaken proude & counitouse men endurid in here synnes & seruen god in pe beste manere after here power & kundayge bi freedom of pe gospel; & bus pei dissoyuen lordis in fei, hope & charite, & maken lordis pe deylyis turmentours wasane pei hopen to plese god in meyn-tenynge of holy religion.}\]

**Capitulum 22**

Also his possessioners, wih helpe of false freris, setil ypocritis, & cursed heretikis, dampanen holy writ, pe kyngis regalie & wise men ofoure lond, for to meynentene here false geten possessions & worldly lif; for pei crien hat it is heresie or errorr aenat goddis lawe hat seculer lordis may take temporal goodis fro clerkis trespayynge bi longe custome; & certis if seculer lordis may not take temporal goodis fro clerkis, pasne pou clerkis trespassen neuere so moche, pe in traiterie, conspirynge pe kyngis dep & quenys & alle pe lordis & ladies & comunes ofoure lond, pe kyng may not ponymous hem bi o ferping worp, & pasne is goddis lawe fals hat seu\(p\) power to kyngis & seculer *lordes to ponymous generaly, outaki\(p\) no mas; & many mo orible conclusions suen of his dampaunye, as men han writen in many placis.

\(^1\) hesen X. 
\(^2\) desel X.
Chapter XXIV.

OF CLERKS POSSESSIONERS.

Capitulum 23m.

Possessioners also constreynen præstis to leue studynge of holy writt & devotion & praechynge, & neden hem bi vertue of obedience & peyne of prisonyng, & dampnacion as bei feynen, to bisien hem nedles nyj & day wiþ worldly occupacn, azenst cristis reule & here owene professione, for ellis bei seyn here couent schulde parissche & here religion goo down; & jis bi obedience maad to synful man, & in cas to sordia, bei fordon obedience to god lord of al jingis. & jif a synful ydiont bidde hem do bei lese goode, & god bidde hem do bei more goode, bei schullen leue bei more good & sterynge of crist & bei holy gost for jis feyned obedience to a synful caufit; & jis whasen bei bynden hem to forsake bei world & be dede per-to, bei ben quekenyd bi anticristis obedience & maade more worldly jan ony of soere men.

Capitulum 24m.

Also jis possessioners ben neure ful of worldly goodis & seculer lordischipis, but euere purchasen, be it rjst be it wrong, bi gold, be ypocrisie of preiere & bi pardons; for bei cowitouse man schal not be fullillid wiþ money, as god seij; & si bei breken bei reule of crist taunt & comauadid bi scint poul to alle præstis: we hawynghe lifode & cowerynge be we I. Tim. vi. 8. speied wiþ jis jinges; & jis is ieromyes prophecie fullillid Jer. vi. 12. jet fro bei leste to be moste bei studien to coweitise. & si jis may not gowrne wel bei peple as lordis schulden, bei wolle not cesse til alle be conquerid in-to here dede hondis to distrue lordis & comunes & holy lif of præstis; & certis oþer bei ben of more myjt & witt to do boþe temporal office & spiritual to-gidre jan weren crist & his apostilies, or elles bei ben foolsisc disesyned bi pride & coweitise of jis world; for crist & his apostilies couden not or myjt not or wolde not do jis offices to-gidre, but weren fully occupyd wiþ spiritual office; & jis jis possessioners sclaunder cristis lif & ben out of feij, hope & charite, & harde rotid in heresie.

1 jis AA. 2 omitted X. 3 to X. corrected by a later hand.

They at home for priests to leave study of holy things, and to busy themselves with worldly affairs.

Truly they are always getting goods and lordships.

Exclus. xiv. 9.

They must be more able than Christ and his apostles, who found spiritual office full occupation; thus they are rooted in heresy.
Capitulum 25

These forakers of the world are ready to plead in court; besides that, they will curse for goods worth a great.

They should be willing to give up all their goods to save one soul.

St. Bernard.

*p. 118 MS.*

In many cases it is lawful to refuse tithes;

Yet even in such cases they take a man’s goods, hurt his body and damn his soul.

These tithes should be poor man’s livelihood.

Capitulum 26

Also these possessors ben counsellours to many thousand mennes dep for to meyntene here possessions & worldly lif; for pei counselen lordis to werre vpon cristene men for to kepe here lordshipis & worldly lif in reste; & sib fittiere & conseilere per-to ben manalleirs bi goddis lawe & mannys, alle these possessors ben manquelleris & irregular, & as

1 omitted X. 2 caes X. 3 stonde X.
yeaye seip, for here hondis ben ful of blode god schal not Isaiah I. 11.
here hem in proieris; but as god seip be pe prophete malechie Malachi II. 2.
god schal curse to here blysngis; & whaswe eiche men gon
wiþ ora pro nobis in procession 1 pei blasphemen god & stiren
him to venganse, as austyn & gregori techen pleynly.

Capitulum 27m.

│These possessiones ben apocaly cristis enimys & anticristis, They despise the
│for pei dispisen & sclaundren & pursuen meke men & pore, meek
│& enhaunsen & proisen & sauoren proude men & disolute; and support the
│for if pe be ony among hem pat drawe hem to ponsert proud.
│& deuocion & reproue here pride & ypocrisie, he schal
│be clepid ypocrite, distroier of holy chirche, & sumtyme
│prisoned, pat it were betre to him dwellen among heþene
│man in suche congregacions; & he pat is glorious to pe world
│& sotil to gete worldly muk or drit of worldly fresdischipe,
│hu; he lene his deuociun & goddis servyce, he is a noble
│man & wole meyntene holy chirche; & þus pei ben cursed
│of god, for pei seyn pat good is euyl & euyl good.

Capitulum 28m.

│It þese possessioners disceuyen men by ypocrisie & wastes, They pretend to
│moche good in veyn; for pei seyn hem to rise at mydnyt, rise at midnight,
│& speaden lift & öpere costis maken, & bi day alepen moche, so they waste
│more þerfore, þat alle þingis accountid þei han moche more candles and take
│tyme to alepe þan ony öpere commen men. & þus þei faren more sleep by day
│as þeues, alepyng on þe day & wagyng in þe 4 nyȝt to robbe
│men of here catel by ypocrisie of þis wakyng & preiynge, than they lose by
│& herbi þei turnen þe nyȝt in-to day & day in-to nyȝt & night.
│makes moche wast.

Capitulum 29m.

Also þese possessioners makes goddis houses a deen of They make God's
þeues; *for þey maken here chirches placis of marchaundise house a den of
for wynynge and bryngenge in þonge children in-to here thieves.
*p. 119 M8.] using it to in-

1 profession X. 2 omitted X. 3 omitted AA. 4 omitted AA.
OF CLERKS POSSESSIONERS.

Capitulum 30m.

Their deceits as to special prayers. Ἰτ ἣς possessioners discyuen lordis bi feynyng 1 of special preieris; for ἢı makeyn lordis to bileue ἢat here special preiere, as famularum & benefactorum, schal turne to lordis aftir grantynge & lymytyng of synful foliau, & more principaly to hem for here worldly goodis; eyynge ἢan to ἢo̧ere men ἢat ben in more charite; & ἢus ἢat riȝtful delyng of god for ἢe gode lif of men is forȝetyn, & delyng of synful foliau ἢat knouen not ἢe ablenesse of men & riȝtful dom of god is holdeν forþ; & herby myȝty men ben brouȝt out of bileue to tристe more in special proyng & aplynyng of synful men ἢan in ἢe riȝtful partyng of god & riȝtwisnesse of here owene lif, & bi trist of suche special preieris lordis ynderstonden ἢat ἢei schulden be excussed ἢou; ἢei don euyl is here owen lif. lorde! sìp none of alle ἢes religious whot where his preieres turne to his owene damnacion, hou doren ἢei chauffaren ἢus wiȝt worldly possessions & rentis for here preieris; sìp ἢei owen to wyten ἢat here preieris ben cursed & abominable to god, for ἢei breken cristis hestis in holdynge ἢus seculer lordischipis, & lyuen in pride, cousitise, y pocrisie, glotonye & ydlenesse, ἢat drawen hem to synne of sodom & maken hem worchiperis 3 of false goddis.

Capitulum 31m.

Clerkis possessioners pursuuen crist to deþ & bitreien him for stynkyng drit; for ἢei solauadren, cursen & pursuuen falsly to deþ trewe techeris of cristis lif & goddis hestis ἢat

1 fyninge X. 2 worchiperis X.
wilden saue meatys soulis bi trewe & free prechynge of þe gospel wiþ-outhen glosynge & beggyng; & þei suffren, helpen & meyntenen false prechouris, gloserry, to robbe þe peple bi fals beggyng, bi symonyme & ypocrisyie & blasphemye putt vpon crist; so þat1 possessioners may holden for þe here secular lordechips & worldli lif aþenst goddis lawe, in distroiyng & blasphemyng of cristis lif and cristene seip, in distroiyng of secular lordis & opere prestis & curatis & of commones also, as it is seid before; & as crist seip þis false slaundryng & pursuyng of cristis disciplis for þis ende is pursuyng of crist & of þe holy trinitye.

Capitulum 32m.

Þit þes possessioners blasphemen aþenst þe holy gost; for þei wolen not suffre men to fulfille his wille ne his þiftis & saue meatys soulis bi trewe techyng of goddis hestis & poynitis of charite, *but constreynen men bi gret violence & torment to leue goddis stiryng & goddis lawe & wille vndon. For þei seynen þat men schulden not teche goddis lawe wiþ-outen here leue. And þei wolen þeue no leue whanne men wolen utterly teche þe pouert & mekenese & bisy trueule of crist & his apostlis & prechynge þe gospel, & dampnen here couetisse & pride & worldly lif & ydleness & ypocrisyie; & þus as moche as is in hem þei distroien þe holy gost & þe holy trinitye; & *specialy bi þis ypocrisyie þat no man schul preche wiþ-outhen here leue. for siþ þei ben ennemyes of crist & his lawe, as it is schewid bi here opyn euy lif, & in caas denelis of helle, þei casten þat no man schal teche trewely cristis lawe wiþ-outhen leue of cristis traitour & of denelis in helle; & so prestis ben constreyneyd bi bodily peynes & deþ to leue goddis wille & precept for contrarie commandeement of goddis traitour, & is caas a deuy lif in flech, as ihu crist seip of iudas scariop. John vi. 70.

1 X inserts þe. 2 surynge X. 3 special al AA.
Capitulum 33.

They blaspHEME against the Father,
in that they prevent lords from maintaining God’s ordinance as to the clergy,

and so magnify themselves above God.

Proud possessioners blame their kyng of the fader; for by here worldly power & solites & malice letten lordis power, pat pei may not meyntene goddis ordynanace in pe clergie & saue here owene soulis & gouerne wel here1 tenaustis & comunes; & bi pei same cautel pei letten pretis to teche treuely & freely goddis lawe & his ordynanace bi power grasaund of god, last here pride & worldly worschipe be brougt doun, & mkenesse & holynesse ensaunplid of crist and his apostlis known & kept, & ypocrisye & opere synnes aspied2 & distroied; & so as antichrist pei magniﬁyen hem self & here power more than god & his power.

Capitulum 34.

\[\text{They profess abstinence, but turn to gluttony; poverty, but turn to covetousness; labour, but turn to sale of prayers and idleness.}\]

\[\text{They say that he for pei affermen who enow taketh any temporal goodis fro holy chirche, pat is pe comynyte of clerkis affir here dom, he is a peef & cursed in dede; panne si p pei taken awaye pe noble gostly good of wilful pouert & sympleness & mkenesse, in}\]

1 omitted AA. 2 aspice X. 3 and AA. 4 monye X. 5 comutiste X. 6 peef X.
whiche vertus crist groundid holy chirche, þei ben stronge þeues & antioristis disciplis. & sij þei meyntenen se harde þis wickid þeefte, & robben holy chirche fro þis noble tresor of pouert & mekenesse, & desoulen it wiþ drit of worldly lordischipis ægæt þe *wille of ihð crist here spouse, þei ben [*p. 1318 X.*] cursed heretikis & here meyntenours also, & þus þei ben antioristis peruyntyng cristendom.

Capitulum 36m.

†it þes possessioners bryngen lordis out of bileue, & makes hem bi blynde swerynge meyntenene þe coseitiis & worldly lif of antioristis clerkis, whasane bi vertue of here ob þei sculden distroie þe false coseitiis & pride of worldly clerkis: for þes lordis sweren to meyntenene þe1 priuylegyes & fredomes & riüties of holy chirche; & bi þis ob þei moten nedis meyntenen þe pefrit fredom of holy lif, of mekenesse & pouert & other good vertus þat crist ordeyned to þe chirche; but antioristis clerkis chalengen2 bi þis ob þat lordis owen to meyntenene here false lordischipis, pride & coseitiis, & wrong customs of prescripccion ægæt goddis lawe3 & good cons.- and wrong cus- science; for †if þes antioristis clerkis han holden wrongfully a cristene mannys good lond other rentis4 or other goodis bi pritti þeer or fourty wiþ-outen ony axynge, þei seyn þis synful possession so longe contynued makip hem worldly lordis of þis good; & þus þei maken lordis to meyntenene fraudis & falsnesse ægæt goddis hestis, whasane lordis wenen to meyntenene riüful lawes for worschippe of god; but ærtis here is mochæ þeefte, moche treson & moche harm of soulis on eche side meyntenene bi þis blynde swerynge.

Capitulum 37m.

Also þes possessiouns dampnes trewe men techynge frely & trewel þe gospel & goddis hestis for heretikis, for to coloure here owen worldly5 lif, but þei hem self ben foule

1 per X. 2 chalagen X. 3 omitted X. 4 trentis AA. 5 omitted X.
while they are heretics, heretikis for here cursed pride, conuiitise & enuye pat pei dwellen isne & meyntenen strongly; but of his verry heresie & most perilous wolen pei not penke ne speke, ne sufre opere trewe men to speke azenst it for to saue here soulis & helpe opere men out of synne. & hus pei faren wip christene men & holy writt as diden scribis & pharisseis wip crist & his apostlis & his gospel, & whasne pei pharissees, scribis & hiye pristes weren ful of heresie & blasphemye pei putten alle pe synnes on crist & his apostlis to blynde pe comune peple, & so pe possessioners don now bi more ypocrisie & more sotilte & more cruelte.

**Capitulum 38**

Pea proud possessioners disclausedren trewe prechours of pe gospel & cristis lif for makeris of discencion & debate among neieboris in pe lond; whasne pei hem self wip here cursed lif & confederacie wip tiraustis for here gold ben cause of discencion & enemyte. for wip pore mennew liffode pei hiren myystty men to stryue & plede azenst goddis techynge, & helpe & releuynge & encrossyng of secular lordis, & helpe & releuynge of pore comunes; & hus as cursed pharissees & scribis & hiye pristes pei putten here owen cursed synnes vpon trewe men to lette goddis lawe to be knowen, & hiden & coloure & 1 *meyntenen here olde synnes and traitere bi strong pursuynge to deph of alle trewe men as moche as pei may, & herbi pei ben manquelleris & pursueris of crist & endurid in 2 old heresie.

**Capitulum 39**

Also pea possessioners magnifiyen hem self more pean ihū crist, & seken more here owene name & honour pean honour of god & helpe of christene soulis; for pei axen & coueiten name of holynesse & reuence wip his proude worldly lif, & peat schal no man reprove hem of here opyn ypocrisie, symonye & coueytise: & ihū crist myystte not kepe holynesse

1 omitted AA.  
2 X inserts "he."
wip suche worldly lif & axe such worldly reverence as þes possessioners don. And ihū crist was redy to be reproued of his enemyes þif þei myȝtten fynde ony defaute in him. but þit 1 þes possessioners ben ful of synne, & þou; þei ben most bounaden to pacience, mekenesse & charite þit þei ben wode whaene men wolen amende here cursed lif bi techynge of þe gospel; & þif men dispisen hem or don not worldly reverence to hem þei ben wode wroþ & wolen be vengid vp al here myȝt; but þou; men dispisen god in here presence bi cursed sweryng or opere synnes þei chargen not, & þit þou; here owene semanastis do, þat is worse to hem, þei chargen it 2 not, but as þe iewis diden crist to dep for drede of lesyng of here lordischip & worldly name & honour, so þes possessioners don here power to do alle trewe men to dep þat techen cristis gospel & mekenesse & pouert ajenst here false newe lawis & pride & coueitise, & hou þei enuennyn cristendom bi word & dede.

Capitulun 40°.

 jit þes ypocritis possessioners ben traitouris to god, to lordis, & to comunnes also; for þei han almost þe tresor of þe land & worldly lordischip, ajenst goddis lawe; & whaene þe kyng haj nede of a taxe, þei wolen not paie for pore men, not wipstondyng þat þei ben procuratouris of pore men, & al þat þei han 3 ouer here owen symple lifode is pore mennes good, as goddis lawe & mannes techen opynly, but for to plede & meynten wrongis & putten men out of here lord & meyntenen false praeleges ajenst charite & good coscience þei han þousand markis & poundsis; & here þei chalangen aboue crist & alle his apostlis þat þou; þei han almost alle 4 lordischipis amorteised to hem, jit þei wolen not paieinent tributen ne taxe 5 to þe kyng for meyntenausce of þe rewyme & sauynge of pore mennes lif; & þit crist paide for him & his disciplis tribute to þe emperoure, þou; he hadde

1 omitted AA.  2 omitted X.  3 omitted X.  4 alle is added in X. by a later hand.  5 axe AA.
They challenge this exemption by Antichrist's power.

non such temperaltees. & his exemption be challenge to antiquities power & not bi god almytt, for he constreyne\textsuperscript{\textit{a}} clerkis to be suget to secular lordis & to lyue a iust lif & symple & pore wij-outen worldly lordschipe * & opyn beggyng in a\textsuperscript{1} vertuous mene. god almytt stire\textsuperscript{\textit{a}} pratis, lordis & comunes to knowe ypoorisie, heresie & treson of antiquities worldly clerkis, & known & meyntenen pe ri\textsuperscript{\textit{a}}ful ordynance of god & pe perfit fredom of pe gospel. Amen.

\textsuperscript{1} omitted AA.
VII.

HOW THE OFFICE OF CURATES IS ORDAINED OF GOD.

I have already said (in the Preface to No. IV.) that I think this tract to be by another hand than Wyclif's, but the tone of thought is very like his. The date of it is evidently after 1383, as Bishop Spenser's crusade in Flanders is mentioned as a thing of the past (Chapter xvi.).

When we read the complaint (Chap. xxii.) of the clergy who leave their parishes and go to school (that is, of course, to the University), in order to lead a loose life there, we are not suppose that the writer had any dislike to the Universities. Oxford was a chief centre of Wyclifite influence, and Wyclif himself, in 1368, received from his bishop two years' leave of absence from his living (Fillingham) to study at Oxford, where, our tract tells us, "good priests travelen faste to lerne goddis lawe." Its author had rubbed shoulders with the men who went to study "Civil and Canon," and did little good thereat, or at most learned to "crack a little Latin in Consistories." The scholar is as indignant against fast men who degrade the seat of learning, as the reformer against priests who neglect their parishes. We may suppose the writer to be one of Wyclif's Oxford friends—perhaps Herford or Purvey.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. Curates care too much for worldly goods.
II. Men run about after benefices and buy them. The money thus spent would be better employed in reducing taxation.
III. Wayward curates are Satans transformed into angels of light—angels not of God but of the devil.
IV. Curates study law books instead of the Bible.
V. They go to law for trifles of tithe, bringing heavy charges on their subjects, or curving and imprisoning them.
VI. They set their parishioners an example of worldliness.
CHAP. VII. They teach men to war; they despise the poor and flatter the rich.

VIII. They will not teach Holy Writ nor let others teach it.

IX. They waste the money of the poor in pomp and luxury.

X. They serve lords in worldly business and neglect God's work.

XI. They welcome cheating pardoneurs, but hinder true preachers.

XII. They neglect God's command to preach.

XIII. They excommunicate for not paying tithes, but not for sin.

XIV. They waste the money of the poor in hawking and hunting.

XV. They haunt taverns, play games of chance, and get drunk.

XVI. Refuse the sacrament to those who do not pay tithes, or will not contribute to wars such as Spenser's crusade.

XVII. They take benefices without knowing the gospel, and teach the people evil.

XVIII. They relate chronicles and stories of false miracles to mislead the people.

XIX. They go shares with pardoneurs, who deceive the people.

XX. They hate good priests and love bad ones.

XXI. Wicked curates take refuge in lords' courts, and use the protection of lords to avoid discipline.

XXII. They go under pretence of study to the Universities, and lead a riotous life there.

XXIII. The more learned of them use the Civil and Canon Law to annoy the poor, and neither have nor care for knowledge of the Bible.

XXIV. They let worldly clerks condemn God's law, and stop true preachers; while they preach the traditions of Antichrist.

XXV. They study Civil and Canon Law and neglect God's law.

XXVI. They forbid the people to judge their words or deeds.

XXVII. They forbid laymen to read the Gospel in their mother-tongue.

XXVIII. They deceive men as to absolution, leading them to trust in shift and gifts rather than in contrition and amendment.

XXIX. They rob people by their pitiless excommunications.

XXX. They take tithes according to neither Testament, but according to sinful laws.

XXXI. They get benefices by simony, and neglect them afterwards.

XXXII. Under pretence of liberties of the Church they make the people maintain bad priests in their evil ways.

XXXIII. They say that if these bad ways are maintained, priests' prayers will bring reward, but any attempt to reform priests is cursed. Final apostrophe to curates.
Hou pe office of curatis is ordeyned of god.
In dei nomine. Amen.

[Capitulum 1.]

For pe office of curatis is ordeyned of god & sewe don it wele & many ful eyle, perfore telle we summe defautis to amende hem withe goddis helpe. First pei ben more bisie aboute worldly goodis pan vertues & goode kepyage of menmys soulis; for he pat can best geten richesses of his world to-gidre & holde grete houshold & worldly aray, he is holden a worpi man of holy chirehe, pou; he conn not pe leste point of pe gospel; & such on is praised & born vp of pe bishop & here officeris at pe fulle; but pat curat pat sueb him to studie holy writt & teche his paryshenys to same here soulis, & lyueb in mekenesse, penaunse & bisie truebile a boute gostly pingis, & reckib not of worldly worshiphe & richesse, is holden a fool & distroiere of holy chirehe, & is disposed & pursued of hiue prestis & pralatis & here officeris, & hatid of opere curatis in contrre; & pis makin many curatis to be neigligent in here gostly cure & sue hem to occupacion & hisynessee of worldly goodis. pes neigligent curatis penken fuil litel hou dere crist boute manmys soule withe his precios blood & dey, & hou harde rekenyuge schal he make at domes day for pes soulis. certis it semey pat pei ben out of cristene mennys feib; for pei Negligentcurates are out of the maken hem not redy to come pedir & answere wel hou pei feith, camen in-to here benefices & hou pei lyuended & tausten & spendides pore mennys goodis; for if pei hadden pis feib or they would live better.

1 defauts AA. 2 beast X. 3 is X. 4 omitted X. 5 omitted AA.
Capitulum 2

De secunde deaute. Pei rennen feste bi lond & watir in grete perillis of bodi & soule for to geten fatte benefices, but pei wolen not gud communaly a myle for to præche pe gospel, pought cristene men rennen to helle for deaute of knowynge & kepynge of goddis lawe. & certis here pei schewen in dede bat pei ben foule blend 1 with cœnitise, & worschipen false 2 goddis, as seynt poul seip, siþ pe[i] louen so moche worldly richesses & so moche traveilen pefore nyȝt & day in pouth & dede, & so litel traveilen for goddis worschip & sauynge of cristene soullis. but who may excuse pei cœnitouse Clarkis fro symonye & heresie in his poynt? neiper goddis lawe ne mannyes, ne resoun, ne good conscience. & hou myche gold goþ out of oure lond for purchasynge of benefices in-to 3 aliens hondis, & hou moche is jonew priuely to men in þe lond, late þe kyng & hys witti conseil enquere, & þei schal fynde many 10000 poundis: & late alle þat helpe þei comunes in þis grete taliage, & late alle clerkis be warnyd & charged 4 by þe kyng 5 & lorde of þe rewme 4 þat þei don no more symonye for benefices, vp peyne of lesyng of here benefices & prison- ynges & exilynges; siþ þis symonye makþ hem chef heretikis as here owene lawe seip plenerly, & þat þei may not be sauyd but þif þei forsakke þe benefice geten bi symonye, and alle here fautours & consentours to þis symonye rennen in þe same dampnacion as goddis lawe & mannyas witnesse.

Capitulum 3

Pe pridde deaute of weyward curatis þat þei ben angeli of helle & ben sathanas transfigurid in-to an angeli of lyht to 6 lede men queyntely to helle; for in-stede of trewe techyng of cristis gospel þei ben douwde, or elles telles lesyngis of meanys tradiciones for pride & cœnitise of worldly goddis; & for ensaumple of good lif þei sclauadren here parischenys

1 blent AA. 2 falsr X. 3-8 omitted X. 4-4 omitted AA. 8 and AA.
THE OFFICE OF CURATES.

many weies bi ensaumple of pride, enuye, coueitise & vnre-set bad examples; sonable vengauce, so cruelly cursynge for tipes & eyyl curse for tithes, customes; & for ensaumple of holy deuocion & deuot praiere & werkis of mercy þei techen in-dede ydelenesse, glotonye, drenkenesse & lecherie, & meyntenynge of þes synnes & many moo. For siþ prestis ben clepid ausgelis in holy writt, & þes Malachi vii. 7. curatis bryngen not message of god but of þe fend, as here wickid lif scewip,1 þei ben not ausgelis of god but ausgelis of þe fend; & þe trewe clerk robert grosted writip to þe pope Grooted. þat curatis ben sathanas transfigurid in-to ausgel of lift for þei prechen2 not cristiis gospel bi word & good lif, þou; þei diden no more synne3; and siþ seynt petir was clepid sathanas St. Peter called Satan. Matt. xvi. 23. wille & saunourid not heenely þingis, wel ben þes euele curatis clepid sathanas, siþ þei ben more contrarie to goddis wille & saunoren less gostly þingis & saunynge of cristene soulis.

Capitulum 4m.

Þe forþþe error; þat þei chargen more statutis of synful men þas þe moste reasonable lawe of god almytty; for þei dредen more þe popis lawe & statutis maad of bishopis & of offere4 officeris þan þe noble lawe of the gospel, & herfore þei han many grete bokes & costy of manuas lawe & studien hem faste. But fewe curatis han þe bible & exposicioins5 of þe gospelis, 6 & litel studien on hem 7 & lesse done after hem. But wolde god þat everi parische chiche in þis6 lond hadde a good bible & good expositouris on þe gospelsis, & þat þe prestis studiende7 hom wel & taunten trevely þe *gospel. & *[p. 125 ms.] goddis heatis to þe peple; for þanne schulde good lif regne, & reste & pees & charite; & synne & falsenesse putt a bak. god bynyge þis ende to his peple. amen.10

1 schewip AA. 2 tochen AA. 3 omitted X. 4 in X.
5 her AA. 6 expositours X. 7 omit. omitted AA.
8 AA. inserts werld. 9 studien AA. 10 omitted X.
Capitulum 5m.

De fyuepe defaute; hat pei haunten1 strif & plee & gendren enuye & hate amoung lewed men for tyypes, whasse pei don not here office azenward; for now pei leuen prochyngge of pe gospel & crien faste affir tyypes, & somonen men to chapitre & bi fors taken here goodis, & ellis cursen hem seuen fote aboue pe erpe & seuen fote wiip-imne pe herpe & seuen fote on eche side; & efterward drawen men to prison, as pei weren kyngis & emperours of mennes bodies & catel, & forgeten olenly pe mekenesse & pe pacience of crist & his apostlis, hou pei curseden not for tyypes whasse men wolden neiþer yeue hem mete ne drynk ne herbwre. But crist blamyd his apostlis whasse pei wolden axe suche vengancce, as pe gospel of seynt luk techeþ, & seynt petir bidijd blisse opere men, je here enemis, & not haue wille to curse, & poul techeþ hat we schulden not do euale for euyl, But ouer come an euyl dede bi good doynge azen. Lord, hou louen pe curatis here sugetis souls pei wolen for foure pens bitake hem bodi & soule to pe fend, ye, whasse pei may not paie for verray2 pouert, & whasse pei don not here gostly office; & peanne pe curatis ben more cursed of god for wiipdrawynge of techyngge in word, in3 dede, in good en-saumple peanne pe sugetis wiipdrawynge tiþes & offryngis whasse pei don wel here gostly office. & wold god hat4 pe peple wolde axe as faste of pe curatis gostly office, hat pei ben more holden to paie, as pe curatis axen dymes & offryngis, & pe curat loueþ more his owene worldly good pean his sugetis souls5 peat wole brynge his parischen out of cheritye & pacience & ceste ten mark or twenti for a cause of þre pens or foure.

Capitulum 6m.

De sixtey defeaute; hat pei techen here parischens bi here dedis & lif; hat is a bok to here sugetis, to loue & seke

1 AA inserts is. 3 omitted X. 4 omitted AA. 5 X inserts &.
worldly glorye & to reckon nouȝt¹ of heuenele pingis; for þei maken hem self bisy niȝt & day to geten worldly avaunementis & here owene worschipes & dignyte in þis world and² pledes & st[r]yuen þerfore, & heden³ it grete riȝtwisnesse to holden forþ & meyntene a moynt of worldly They strive for worldly privyleges, but aboute gostly dignite & his dege of heuene blisse þei wolen not st[r]yue aȝenst gostly ennemys; for þei stryue not who schal be most meke & most wilful pore & most bisi is opyn prechynges & priuyn counseilynges hou men schal conquere heuene, as dide crist & his apositles, but resten as mold-warpis in wrotyng of They are like moles, worldly worschipes & eryply goodis, as þou; þere were no lit but only in þis wrecchid world, & þus where þei schulden lede here parischenys to heuene bi trewe techynges & holy ensaunples & gret desir of heuenele þynges, þei leden hem to helle ward bi curshed ensaunple of pride, couetise & euyl techynges *to sette here lykynges endeles in iois & worschipes of "[p. 126 Ms.] þis wrecchid world.

Capitulum 7m.

þe seuen þe errore; þat þei techen synful men to bie helle ful dere & not to come to heuene þat is profred hem for lital cost; for þei techen cristen men to sufre moche cold, hungyr & þrist & moche wakynges & dispisynges & betynge for to gete worldly honour & a lital drit bi fals werrynges out of charite; & þif þei bryngen hem moche gold þei assoilen hem liȝly & maken hem siker bi here preieris & graunten hem goddis blissynge, but þei techen not hou here parischenys instead of how to schulden dispose hem to rescuyn þeis of þe holy gost & kepe condicions of charite, doynge trewþe & good conscience to echeman boþe pore & riche; & þif þei ben pore bi aduen-ture of þe world or wilfully bi drede of synne, þei dispisen Despise the poor, hem & setten hem at nouȝt and seyn þei ben cursed for þei han not moche muk; & þif þei han mochet worldly cætel and flatter the rich.

¹ omitted X. ² in X. ³ hordon X.

Capitulum 8m.

They shut up the kingdom of heaven against men.
Matt. xxiii. 13.

They will not teach holy writ, nor let others teach it.

They make the people follow their statutes, and lead them to hell.

Capitulum 9m.

They waste poor men's goods in pomp and luxury.
Pe ney[n]be errour; pei waster pore mennes goode in
ryche pellure & costy clopis & worldly aray, as festis of
ryche men & glotonye & dronkenesse & lecherie suystymes,
for pei pasen grete men in here gaye pellure & precious
clopis & wost festis & tatrde sqweyeres & opere mayne, pei
samen raper turmentours pan cristene men; & he pei
wast2 most of pore mennes liflode is holden most worbi
without thinking of the labour by which they were earned.
*[p. 127 M8.]

1-1 omitted AA. 2 omitted X. 3 wasteb AA.
bernard criep: what ensere ping curatis holden of pe auterage Bernard.
ouer a symple liflod & clopinge it nys not here but opere
menunus, & it is pette & raueyne & sacrilage; & hou euyl it
is to suffre pore men perishe for hungire & priste & cold, &
here curatis han fatte hors with gaye sadlis & bridelis. hou
reasonable is pis paynt hat pe procurator of pore men schal
haue so riche palure & esy fare of body, bof of mete & drynk
& reste, & pore men whos pes goddis ben schulles haue so
moche peyne & payn defaute.

Capitulum 10m.

Pe tenpe defaute; pat pei hausten lordis courtis & ben
occupied in worldly office & don not here cure to here
parischenys, & hit pei taken mo worldly goodis herfore pan
crist & his apostlis. And certis his is gret traitere, for what
man druste vndertake to kepe men bissegd in a feble castal
wi many stronge enemys, & panne fie in-to an hogherdis
office & letes enemys take his castel & distroie it?1 were not
his opyn treason, and his kepere gilty of pe castel leynge
& alle men her-isme? So it is of pes curatis & cristene
soulis of whiche pei taken cure, pat ben bisegid wi-findis,
whanne pei leuen hem vnkept & bisen hem in worldly office
& lordis courtis. whi ben not pes lordis pat his holden
curatis his are in here courtis & worldly offices traitors to god
almytty, sih pei drewen awey his cheff knyttis fro here
gostly bataile whanne & where pei were most nedful. for
his servuye pat lordis han of curatis abouten worldly office
cristene soulis ben vntauft, & woluys of helle stranglen hem
& encombren hem in endles dipeir.

Capitulum 11m.

Pe eleuenpe errore; pat pei chargen more wrongful Care more for
manesdementis of synful men pes pe most riȝtful commaunde-
mentis of god; for sit pe pope or bischop sende a letter

1 omitted X. 2 bi AA.
They welcome for to rescuyse a pardonere to discuyse he peple bi graunt of many thousand yer to pardone, he schal be sped algatis; but if he come ony trewe man to preche frely & trewely he gospel, he schal be lettid for wrongful comauundement of a synful man. & þus he drenen more synful men þan god almyþty, si þe putten goddis comauundement & his riþful wille bihynde & putten a synful mannes wille & wrong comauundement before. & þus for here owene worldly profit & bodely ayse he stoppen here parischenys fro herynge of goddis lawe, þat is fode of soule, & leden hem biyndly to helle; & þe ben euele fadris þat þus cruellly enfamyen her sugetis soulis & drynes hem to dawncacion for loue of worldly muk or bodily ayse, or for drede of wrecchid antiecrisitie þat ben goddis traitours & his peplis.

Capitulum 12e.

 þe twelpe errore; þat þei dispise þe principal office comauandid of *god to curatis, & bisen hem aboute novelries maad of synful men; for comunly þei kusen not proche þe gospel, & þei wolten lerne bisily meenes tradicions for worldly wynnyng, but not þe gospel þat erist god & man taunts & comauandid curatis to techen þat to lif & deþ; & certis as þei louen to studie, kepe & teche þe word of synful men bifoire the word of god, so þei louen synful men or pride or worldly dritt þat comeq of meenes lawe more þan almyþty god & þe blisse of heuene; & certis herfore þei ben traitours of god & cheuenteynes in þe fandis hoost to lede men into helle.

Capitulum 13e.

 þe brettene errore; þei curseþ here gostly children more for loue of worldly catel þan for brekyng of goddis heystis. For þou& a man breke opynly þe heystis of god, lyuyng ye

1 omitted X. 2 omitted X. 3 world X.
pride, is false swerynge, is opyn brekynge of þe holy day, he schal not be somployed ne ponyshed ne cursed bi hem. But if a man be bihynde of típes & ópere offryngis & cust[u]mes maad of synful men, he schal be somployed, ponyshed & cursed, þe þou; he may not lyue out of ópere mensus dette & fynde his wif & his children bi goddis comaundement; & þus þei seken more þere owene worschipe & wynnyng þas þe worshippe of god & sauynges of cristene soulis; & þus þei worshipen false goddis for here false coneitise. wonder it is þat þes curatis curseden so sore for here owene cause where þei schulden be pacient as crist was & hise apostlis; & so litel reckon of dispit don to god where þei schulden taken al resonable vengeaunce.

Capitulum 14th.

Þe fourtenþe; þei taken here worldly myrþe, haukynges & huntynges & ópere vanyte doynges, & suffren woluys of helle strangen mensus soulis bi many cursed synnes. þei schulden drawe men fro worldly vanyte & techen hem þe perilis of þis lif & to þenke on here deþ day, & be myrrower to hem to morne for here synnes & ópere mensus & for longe tarynge of heueneley blisse, & laste is holy preieris & trewe techyng of þe gospel and aspynges þe fendis cautelis, & warne cristene men of hem. But now þe more þat a curat haj of pore mennys goodis, þe more comusly he wastip in costy fedynges of houndis & haukis, & suffre pore men haue grete desante of mete & drynk & cloþ; but hon schullen þei answere to crist at þe dreadful day of dom, þat þus holde pore mensus lifode fro hem & wasten it is such worldly vanyte? certis þei schullen be dæspnyd for manaleeris boþe of body & soule, & for aleeris of crist wiþ þe wickid iewis þat nayleden him on þe cros.

1 swerynge X.  2 here AA.  3 omitted X.  4 In AA this last clause runs “and where þat þei schulden take suche unreasonable vengeaunce.”
Capitulum 15th.

They haunt taverns,

play at tables, chess and hazards,

get drunk.

He that goes most to taverns is most praised for liberality.

Capitulum 16th.

Will not communicate those who have not paid tithes, or have not contributed to the crusade.

Pe sixtene; pe wolen not seu pe sacramentis of pe aiter, pat is cristis body, to here paryschenys, but if pe paiied here tipes & offryngis, & but if pe han paiied money to a worldly prest to alee cristene men. & if men doute of his, late hem enquere pe sope hou it was whanne pe bishop of norwich went in-to flaundris, & killed hem bi many poussandis & made hem oure enimys. litel recken pes curatis in what deuocion & charite here parischenys rescammen cristis body, whasane pei openly taken hem vp fro goddis bord, & stiren hem to vnpacience & enuye & hate for a litel muk pat pei chalengen to hem self.

1. omitted X. 2. added by a later hand in X.
3. These words, omitted in X, are added as a correction in AA. 4. omitted AA.
Capitulum 17m.

De seuentenpe: pe ben blynde lederis ledynge pe blynde\textsuperscript{1} peple to synne bi here euyl ensaumple & fals disect in
techynge, & at pe laste in-to helle; for \textit{tuou}; pei kuanen not
o poynht of pe gospel ne whiten what pei reden, \textit{it} pei wolen
take a fat benefice wip cure of mannus soule; & neiper
kuanen reule here owene soule ne \textit{opere} mennys, ne wolen
spedly lerne ne suffre \textit{opere} men to teche here parischenys
trewly & freely pe gospel & goddis hestis. And \textit{it} pei crien
fast \textit{pat} pe peple schal doo after hem, whensne pei knowe not
\textit{pe riptte} weie to heuene; & so pei leden pe symple peple in
error & synne whassne pe peple wene\textsuperscript{2} for\textsuperscript{3} to do wel, &
maken pe peple to demen good euyl & euyl good, & to wende
pe weie to helle whassne pei wenen to goo to heuene.

Capitulum 18m.

De ei\textit{nten}; pei ben fals prophetis, techynge fals oronycles &
fables to colour here worldly lif \textit{perby}, & leuen \textit{pe trewe}
gospel of ih\textit{u} crist; for pei louen welle to telle hon \textit{his} seynt
\textit{or} \textit{his}\textsuperscript{4} lynede is gay & costly clo\textit{pis} & worldly aray, \textit{4} & \textit{it}
is a grete seynt.\textsuperscript{4} But pei leuen to teche \textit{pe} grete penanunce
& sorow \textit{pat} pei diden after ward, for which pei\textsuperscript{5} pleseden
god & not for here worldly lif, & \textit{hus} pei make \textit{pe} peple to
wene \textit{pat} worldly lif of \textit{prestis} & veyn cost of hem & waste
of pore mennus goodis plesip god & is\textsuperscript{6} \textit{vertonus} lif, ajenst
cristis lif & his techynge & his apostlis also; & \textit{pe} techen
also hon for curs of a synful man \textit{pe} creature of god, as a
loof, \textit{pat} traspasid not, was mowlid & fordon, & make \textit{pe}
peple bileue \textit{pat} \textit{pat} a goode cristene man kepynge welle goddis \textit{[p. 130 MS.]}
hestis schal be dampnyd for a wrongful curs of a worldly
\textit{prest}, \textit{pat} in caess is a dampnyd send, & \textit{hus} pei bryngen \textit{pe}

\textsuperscript{1} omitted \textit{X}.
\textsuperscript{2} omitted \textit{X}.
\textsuperscript{3} omitted \textit{AA}.
\textsuperscript{4} X reads & \textit{it} is a grete synne.
\textsuperscript{5} cut away from margin in \textit{X}.
\textsuperscript{6} omitted \textit{X}.
\textsuperscript{7} his \textit{X}. 

They will take benefices without knowing the gospel, and stop other men from preaching.

They tell chronicles and fables when they preach, libelling the saints.

They relate false miracles.

They teach that a good man may be damned by ex-communication.
THE OFFICE OF CURATES.

peple out of 1 cristene feiþ bi here false cryonclis & 2 here sotele 2 fableis. For crist seip þat men schullen be blissed of god whasne men schullen curse hem & pursue hem & seie alle euyl ajenst hem falsly for þe lone of crist & his trewþe. And þe peple bileeþ þe contrarie of þis techynge of crist bi þis fableis & seyntis dedis, or leseyngis put on seyntis.

Capitulum 19m.

They go share  with pardoners, who deceive the people. 

But they bring the law to bear against an honest priest.

The pardoners get 1 money out of poor people, and send it abroad.

The people are made bold to remain in sin.

1 omitted X. 2-3 omitted X. 4 omitted X. 5-6 omitted X. 7 omitted AA.
Capitulum 20m.

De twentiè; hat a prest of good lif & denouf & treuwe prechour of goddis lawe is disposed, hatid & pursued of worldly curatis, & a fals prest of worldly lif & array hat suffren men wexe roten in here cursed synne is lounyd, preised & cherisched among 'such synful folis;' for þei seyn þat such a good prest is 'an ydiot and' an ypocrite & sclausadri þ men of holy chirche & letti þ men to do here deuociou to holy chirche; & bi here dom a prest þat lineþ comyn worldly lif & striþ no men to wrap þ biþ reprouyng he hem of here opyn synnes dop moche worchiphe to holy chirche & encresþeþ mennes deuociou; & þus for here coueitise & pride trewe prestis ben put abak & disposed, & ydel prestis & worldly be preised & cherischeid, & þis makiþ many men slowe in good lif & prechynges and manye *to loue worldly lif & ydelenesse 4 & 5[p. 131 MS.] vanyte.6

Capitulum 21m.

De on and twenteþ; þei hiden & myntenen her synnes & Vicious curates hide their sins opere menesþ bi proteccion & helpe of lordis, þat here soureyns may not correcte hem ne compelle hem to resi- dence, for whasne þer is 4 a vicious curat of lecherie or of 5 vnkusynge he wol heue lettris of kyng & lordis to dwelle in here courtis in worldly offices & be absent fro his cure; þat his soureyn schal not dore correcte him for drede of his temperaltees & wrapþ þe of lordis; & þus lordis ben made schildis of synne for a lital money or worldly seruyce of wiksid curatis, þat riþtwianesse may not forþ 7 in her vertuouse lyuyng.
THE OFFICE OF CURATES. [CHAP. XXII.

worldly presstis, & lyuen in ydelenesse, glotonye, dronkenesse & lecherie, & ben euere þe lenger þe more vnable. For when benefted, whanne þei han grete benefices, peraunture by symonye, & connen not teche here agyestis to suane here soulis, & doren not holden here lemmannys at home for clamour of men, þei gon to soule & fares wel of mete & drenk & reste & studyen with þe cuppe & strumpetis; where goode presstis transilen faste to lerne goddis lawe, þei gon for þe manere to cyuyle or canon, & don litel good þer at 3 as trewe men þinken; & þus þei wasten pore mennus lifode in hordom & glotonye, & lernen l oresliphe, & to curse oristene men for here goddis, & ȝeuuen to here agyestis ensaumle of pride & coueitise & glotonye & lecherie & ydelenesse.

Capitulum 23.  

Pe þre & twentiþ þe more kusynyng mens of hem myspenden here witt & kusynyng in meynentenaunce of synne, as of pride & coueitise of clerkis & oppressyng of pore parischenys bi wrong customes for drede of plee & censuris, & meynentynge false cauis in constories for gold; & taken pensions of lecherous mens & woomen for 4 to helpe hem to bape hem in here synne as swyn in þe fen. & herby he þat can cracke a litle latyn in constories of heþene mennus lawe & worldly presstis lawe & can helpe to anoie a pore man bi knacksis or chapitris, is holden a noble clerk & redy & wys, þou; he kusane not rede wel a vers in his sauter ne understonden a comune auctorite of holy writ; & siche knacksis ben as proude of here veyn kusynyng as lucifer, & setten not bi pore mennus kusynyng in goddis lawe, but disipen hem & goddis lawe as þou; it were no lawe, & comenden here owene lawe & hem self more þan holy writt & ihû orist & his apostlis 5 þat so blessidly lyueden ; & þis makij synne & falsnesse to regne, & feij & treuje & charite be defoulid & quenchid.

1 AA inserts here vicious.
2 In X the heading of this chapter is omitted.
3 omitted X.
4 omitted X.
5 omitted X.
Capitulum 24.  

Pe foure & twentijpe; pei pei maken pe clene lawe of god under pe feet of antichrist & his clerkis, & treue pe gospel be dampnyd for error & ignoraoe of worldly clerkis; for pees worldly clerkis pei lyuen in glotonye & studien to drynke heije wyne & base fisik wiþ strumpetis presume pei here pride to be domes men of sotil & heije mysterijs & priue articolis of holy writ, & blyndly dampen treue pe cristis gospel, for pei bes agethe here worldly lif & fleshly lustis; & pe blynde bosardis wolen dampen trewe men pei techen trewely & frely holy writ agethe here synnes to be heretikis, For no man schulde here goddis lawe tauw; bi suche trewe men, & pei hem self wole preche here owne tradicions & not pe gospel; & so holy writ schal be owlawid or oppressid bi wronge statutis of synful mennys makynge; but corts alle cristene men schal crie out on pe deuallis blasphemies & cursed heresies of antichrist & his worldly fonnaed clerkis.

Capitulum 25.  

Pe fyue & twintijpe error; pei chosen newe lawis mad of synful men & worldly & coueytise prestis & clerkis to reule pe peple bi hem as most nedful & best lawis, & forsaken pe perfiteste lawe of pe gospel & pistlis of crist & his apostlis, as not perfit ne fully yno; ne trewe; for now hejene mennus lawis and worldly clerkis statutis ben red in vnyuersitees, & curatis lernen hem faste wiþ grete desir, studie & cost, but pe lawe of god is litel studied, litel costid pei aboute, & leesse kept & tau; but pe olde testament for wyngnyng of tyues & offryngis is sumwhat practise; & pe gospel pei teche; cristis mekenesse & wiulf wil ouer & bisi trecule; in prechynge to saue cristene soulis, for it constreyne preistis to his holy lif, is litel loued & studied & tau but raper dispise & hyndrid & maade fals bi speche of antieristis clerkis. & in his pei

1 23 X.  2 with wyne AA.  3 mynysters X.  4 24 X.  5 omitted X.  6 teochid X.  7 AA inserts pe uicioues.
Thus they say that Christ gave an insufficient law.

Christians should reject these laws when not founded on the gospel.

Gal. i. 8.

They bid their subjects not judge the clergy either for works or words.

Christ bids men judge him.

John vii. 24.

John x. 38.

[p. 153 Ms.]

John xviii. 23.

1 Cor. x. 15.

seyn þat crist is vnwytty, out of charite & treuþe, siþ he þaf not a sufficient lawe & þe beste for reuelynghe of his peple, & þat worldly fonned clerkis of sathanas & anticrist ben wittiere, trewere & in more charite þan ihû crist, siþ here lawes ben betre & more nedful for cristene men þan þo ne lawis þat crist himself made. But on this blasphemye heresie schullen alle cristene men crien out & take fully þe gospel to here reule & helpe, & not sette bi þes newe lawis ‘maad of synful wrecchis’ but in also moche as þei ben groundid in holy writt expressly or good rexon & trewe conscience & charite; for as god bi seynt poul techiþ, who eure techiþ ofre lawes he is cursed of god; þe, þou; he were an angil of heuene; for god may not make ofre lawis ajenst his gospel & charite, whi schulde anticrist & his clerkis?

Capitulum 26.×

Þe sise and twentiþe; þei magnyfyen hem self abouen crist god & man; for þei comausden here sugetis þat þei owen not to iuge clerkis, ne here opyn werkis ne here techynge, But do aftir here techynge, be it trewe be it fals. But our lord ihû crist comausdid his enemyis to deme of hym a rijtful dom & not aftir þe face. Also our lord ihû bad his enemyis bileue to his werkis þou; þei wolden not bileue to him, & bad þat þem schulden not bileue to hym þif he dide not þe werkis of his fadir. ¶Also crist bad to his enemyis þat þei schulde bere witnesses of euyl þif he had spoken euyle, & seynt poul biddiþ his hereris deme þat þat þe seide, where þes worldly foolis wolen be anticristis more maistris þas crist god & man, Siþ þei wolen not be demyd & amendid bi cristis peple vnder hem of here opyn werkis ajenst goddis hestis ne of here fals lesyngis þat þei techen in stede of cristis gospel. certis a more blasphemye ground castid neuere sathanas to norishe synne of clerkis & fals disceit in techynge, & to lede bylynd cristene soulis to helle.

1 þe X. 2 omitted X. 3 omitted X. 4 omitted X. 5 omitted X. 6 omitted X. 7 he X. 8 omitted X. 9 cristene AA.
Capitulum 27. 1

Pe seuene and twentiþe; þei ben anticristis lettynge cristene men to kusane here bileue & speken of holy writt; for þei crien opynly þat secular men schullen not entirmeten hem of þe gospel to rede it in heir modir tonge, but heere her costly fadris preche & do after hem in alle þingis; but þis is expressly azenst goddis techynge. For god comandadþ generaly to eche lewid man þat he schal hau goddis hestis bi-fore hym & toche hem to his children & also to hise meyne, & þe wise man biddiþ every cristene man þat alle his tellynge be in þe hestis of god altherhijest, & þat he haua euere more in mynde þe comandementis of god. And seynt petir biddiþ cristene men be redi to þeue reson of oure feiþ & ope to toche eche man þat axit it, & god comandad his prestit to preche þe gospel to eche man, & þe skille is for alle men schulden kusane it and reule here lif þer after. lord, whi schulde worldly prestit forbede secular men to speke of þe gospel & goddis hestis, sip god þeueþ hem gret witt of kynde & gret desir to knowen god & louen him. for þe more goodnesse þat þei knowen of god þe more þei schullen loue god. where worldly prestit schullen for here owene vnkuשניynge & aleþe & ydelenesse & pride stoppe cristene men to knowe god & serue hym vp þe jiftis þat god þeueþ hym. hegere scole of anticrist to distroe cristene mennys bileue & charite herde neuer creature fro makyng of þe world þan is þis blasphemye heresie, þat lewid men schulden not entirmeten hem of þe gospel.

Capitulum 28m. 7

Pe eiþe & twentiþe; þei diseceyuen cristene men in doynges of verray peneunce; for þei doren not telle þe sôpe hou nedis þei moesent forsake alle falsnesse in craftis, in opinis, & alle synne vp here kusnyng & power, & for no good in erþe wityngly & wilfully do azenst goddis hestis, neiper for luare ne drede ne bodily deþ, & allis it is not verray contricion, & *(p. 134 MS.)

1 26 X.  2 omitted X.  3 omitted X.  4 & 5 omitted X.  6 altherhijest X.  7 X inserts.  8 27 X.
ellis god wole not asoile hem for no confession of mone\th, ne for assoilynge of prestis, ne bullis of pardon, ne lettris of fraternyte, ne massis, ne preieris of ony creatur\t in er\th or in \th be blis of\th heuene; but \th be spoken mochil of tipes \& offryngis in his confesseion, \& litel of restitution \& doyngne of almes to pore bedrede\th men, But of masse pens \& chiroche gaynesse.

& herby \th pe plepe is brou\th out of bileue, tristynge \th here synne is forpoue for here prestis assoilynge, \thou\th \th pe don not verrey penaunce as god teche\th hym self. And herby \th magny\then more here owene assoilyng\th pas assoilyng of god for verrey contrie, whanne god him self se\th 4 in what kynne hour a synnere ha\th inwardly\th sorowe for his synnyes he schal be saue, \th wolen make \th word 6 fals, seynge \th he schal not be saf be he neuer so contrib wi\thout schrifes of mou\th maad to hem,\th pat ben in\th cas \th fendis procuratours to disceyuen men is here soulis helpe for here vnkussenye \& pride \& couetise.

Capitulum 29\t\th

\th pe neyne \& twenti\th; \th robben cristene peple of goodis of fortune, of goodis of kynde \& goodis of grace bi feyned censuris of here owen lawis; for \th curson so dispitusly si\th men paie not monye at here lykyng\th, \th pei chalengen bi synful manus lawis \& newe customes \& deuocions \& not of goddis lawe, \th no man dar wi\th-seie hem in herrong for drede of curs, prisonyng\th, \& lesyngis of pacience \& charite; \& herbi \th pei maken cristene men as bestis holde for\th here wrong customes \& manus lawes, \& not knowe goddis lawe \& \th rije teie to heuene. certis it were lase cruelte to suspende men fro bodily mete \& drynk \& make hem dede bodily \th an to suspende hem fro herynge of \th gospel \& goddis hestis, \th is lif of \th soule. lord, hou cursed anticristis ben \th worldly prelatis \& curatis \th cursen trewe men for prestyng\th \& herynge of holy writt.

\t1 curature X. 2\th\t omitted X. 3 bedere X. 
\t ommmited X. 4 in worldly X. 6 lord AA. 
\tsynful men AA. 7 28 X.
Capitulum 30m.

Pet prittie; pet taken not dymes & ofrnyngis bi forme of
olde testament & partyn hem in comyn to alle prestis &
mynystris nedful in chrihe, ne bi forme of gospel
takyng a symple lifode jouen of free deuocion of pe pleple
wip-outen constreynynge & cursynge, as crist & his apostlis
diden. but bi pet newe lawe of synful men o prest chauncyp
him self alle tipes of a gret contre bi worldly ple & newe
censures; & neiher lyuep as a good prest, ne techyp as a curat,
ne delip pet residue to pore men as a good cristene man.
*But wastyp hem in pompe & glotonye & opere synnes, & *[p. 155 MS.]
letyp trewe prestis to do pet office enyyned to hem bi god
almyttyt. certis it semyp pet ben not prestis after goddis
lawe but after synful menne ordynaunce, to be maiestris of
god & lordis of cristene pleple, siyp pet holden neuer neiher
lawe of god in dymes takyng, & taken hem bi vyolence &
stronge curses ajenst menne good wille, & maken pet pleple
out of pacience & charite bi here pleyynge, & don not wel
here gostly office.

Capitulum 31m.

Pet on & prittie; pat at ensaunple of serpestis pet serven
bislly to lordis in seculer offices for nouxt as who seip, & in
pet ende poisenen pet lordis wip venym of symonye pat is
worse han ony bodily poisons. & whasme pet han a beneficce
wip cure of menno soulis soule wip dwellen stille in worldly office
of lordis, & spenden pore menno lifode in riot & wombe ioie,
& suffren cristene men persche in body & soule for de saute of
techynge & werke of mercy. how cursed serpents ben pis
weiard curatis pet bus enuemyn hym self, pet lordis &
comunes wip venym of symonye, of pride & glotonye & alle
manere of synne.

1 AA. inserts synful.

2 & X.
Capitulm 32m.

They make lords and commons bad priests, under pretense of maintaining the liberties of the Church.

So Antichrist's priests are maintained.

De two & pritihe; bei maken lوردis & comunes bi blynnd deuocioun & yperciasie to meyntenen worldly clerkis in pride, coueitise & ydelnesse & false techynge of antíoricistis errores vndir colour of fredom & worschipynge of holy chirche & goddis lawe. For bei crien faste pat lordis & comunes moten meyntenen goddis servaustis in his servyce & pe lawis & pe libertes of holy chirche, & maken newe servyce likyng to worldly mennus eris & newe lawis & customes for here owene wynnyng & pride, & leuen pat servyce & clene lawe pat god made to prestis for most profit on eche side. & pus whasne lordis & comyns wenen to meyntenen goddis prestis & his lawe, bei meyntenen antíoricistis prestis and here lawis & wrong customes & pride & oper syynes in-stode of mekenesse & oper vertues, & mavisfynge of mennus lawis & dispisyng of goddis lawis.

Capitulm 33m.

De þre & pritihe; bei teohen cristene men to blaspheme god & holde werre aventure hym; for bei techen cristene men to meyntenen mennys lawis & ordynauces for betere & more nedful pas þe clene lawe of crist & his witty ordynauce; & crien faste, þif cristene men meyntenen þe multitude of worldly clerkis in here newe lawis & customes & libertes þei schulles haue goddis blissyng & prosperite & pees & reste, bi so many denout prestis secular & religious preyngynge, redynge & syngynge nyct & day; & þif þei wolden brynge prestis out of þis glorious lif & new song to mekenesse & gostly pouert & bis traucele in lernynge & preschynge of þe gospel, as crist & his apostis diden, þei schullen be cursed & haue werre & myschif, boþe in þis *world & þe tober; & þis makeþ þe blynde peple to werre aventure god & his ordynauce & pursuuen his techesis as heretikis. ¶O þe curatis, seeþ þes heresies &

1 omitted AA.
2 in X.
3 pat oþer AA.
4 AA inserts hopen.
blasphemyes & many moo suynge of youre wickid lif & weiward techyngge, & forsake hem for drede of helle, & turne to good lif & trewe techyngge of ye gospel & ordynauce of god, as crist & his apostlis diden, for reward of heuene ly bliis, & in confessions & opportune spechis charge ye more brekenge of goddis hestis yeane brekyngge of foly bihestis of newe pylgrymagis & offryngis; & teche cristene men to turne suche sonnyd a-vowis in-to betre almes, as crist techip in ye gospel. Almystty god brynge curatis in-to holy lif & trewe techyngge after crist & his apostlis. Amen.
VIII.

THE ORDER OF PRIESTHOOD.

Of this tract I can only say that it may be by Wyclif. If so it must be one of the earliest of his English tracts, written before his order of poor priests had been fully organized. It may be taken to express that strong sense of the faults prevalent among the clergy which led him to institute his order of preachers.

The writer was certainly a zealous lover of his University, as may be seen from his complaint (Chapter xxxiii.) that the clergy stir rich men to support chaplains and chantry priests rather than poor scholars.

Chapter xxxii. deserves notice for its attack on priests who excite the people to war by processions and public prayers. (Cf. p. 170, l. 3.) Is this utterance due only to a personal horror of bloodshed, or does it point to the existence of a peace party?

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. Priests commit simony in using influence and bribes to be ordained.

II. Priests sell their masses, and offer a share in the mass to those who pay them.

III. Priests are so ignorant that they cannot read the service properly.

IV. Priests live idle and luxurious lives, haunting taverns, etc.

V. Priests neglect their duties and take secular office with lords.

VI. Priests take money to say prayers and by evil life make their prayers vain.

VII. Priests care chiefly for new song, which sets people dancing, but hides the words of Holy Writ.

VIII. Priests care more to keep the Ordinal of Salisbury than God's commandments.

IX. Priests take rash vows of chastity and do not keep them.

X. Priests fear to reprove vice in their patrons.

XI. Priests who preach falsely are Satans transformed etc.

XII. Worldly priests seek their own gain more than the good of souls.
Chap. XIII. Priests carry on business as maltsters and cattle-dealers.

XIV. They care more for forms of service than for following God's commands.

XV. Covetousness of worldly priests.

XVI. Too many men become priests, because the life is an easy one.

XVII. The excuses priests make for sin.

XVIII. Priests do not try to keep their patrons from sin.

XIX. Many priests poison their masters' minds against true teachers.

XX. Priests claim falsely the power of restricting and assigning the benefit of their prayers.

XXI. They teach men to give money to friars instead of doing good to their poor neighbours.

XXII. They excite the people to unjust wars.

XXIII. They get rich men to waste their gifts on mass-priests and law-students.

XXIV. They get men to found chantries for useless priests.

XXV. They lead men to trust to their prayers more than to good life.

XXVI. They persecute God's servants and slander his law.

XXVII. Priests break God's law from fear of the bishops.

XXVIII. They cease to obey God by preaching, etc., because the bishop suspends them.

XXIX. Nobleness of priest's office and exhortation to priests and nobles.
Dis is for þe ordre of presthod.

Capitulum primum.

For þe ordre of presthod is ordeyned of god bope in þe olde lawe & þe newe, And many prestis kepyn it ful euele, telle we summe errours of prestis to amende hem wip goddis grace. First, comynly þei comen to here ordris by symonye many weies, for þei ben more maad prestis for worldly honour & aisy lif & welfare of body þan for deuocation to lyue is clenesse & holynesse & penausce, & gret gostly travaile in preieris & studiynge & techynge of goddis lawe, & to suffre percesucion & sclandre & prisionynge þerfore; & so þei aillen is manere þe spirityal lif of oristis ß apostilis & disciplis for a litel drit & wosome ioie, & þis is cursed gostly symonye & heresie before god. & what lettris & preieris þei maken for to ben ordrid prestis whasne þei ben vnable bope of lif & kusynge men may knowes opynly, & þis is stynkyngge ³ heresie of symonye; & hit þei ðeven a gret raeson to bishopis officers for lettris & veyn customes or þei may be ordrid & do execucion of here offce; & þou þrelatis & here officeris ben grettore heretikis for sillynyge of þes ordis & þis extorcion doyndge, þepes þes prestis ne be þ not alle excused for þei consenten þer-to ræfere þan þei wolyn be harde examynd & lettid of here ordris. sumtyme holy men & kusynge is-scheweden ³ to be prestis for heipnesse of þe ordre. But now þone childre vnble bope of lif & kusynge preesn faste to be prestis in name ß not is dede, & aftirward wolyn not bisen hem to lerne, But beþ stretis vp & doun & synge & pleie as mynystralis, & vse vanytees & ydelnesse.

Capitulum 2o.

Will not say mass except for money. Also þei lyuen comynly in symonye, sillynge here massis & þe sacrament of oristis body for worldly muk & wombe

¹ orist X. ³ stynkyngge AA. ³ eschewen AA. ¹inserts not in name &.
ioie; for comynyly þei wolen sille here masse for annuel salarie, & elli not dwellen wiþ a man but where þei may most wynne, & seyn more þe masse for lone of þe peny þan for deuocion or charite to crist e & cristene soulls. *for be þe *[p. 137 MS.] masse seide is herynge of þe peple schortly & vndewoutly, litle sauour of holynesee schal men fyndes wiþ hem, but nysete & pleye & goynge to þe tauerne & opere vanytes. it semþ resonaþble þat a goode þrest haue resonaþble lifode to serve god of wifful ailmes of þe peple, & not bi lonynges & bodynges as who wold selle a worldly þing; for þe þrest may not make his 1 maister lord ne partyner of his masse, but only god for his goode lif & 2 charite; but many þrestis don þe masse more for money & bodly welfare þan for deuocion & worshipe of god, & woluen not don þe masse but for hope of worldly wynnynges; & certis alle þes sellen criste as iudas dide, & worse, for he is nowe knowen for god & glorified is his mashehe, & nowe haþ schewid mo benefices to mankynde þan he hadde do in iudas tyymes, & alle þes condiciones aggreggen þis cursed sillynges of cristis body.

Capitulum 3°.

Also þei sclaundsren & defoulen þe holy ordre of þrestod bi worldly lif & ignoraunce *of holy writ*; for sumtyme god seide bi his prophete in reprof of worldly þrestis þat þe þrest is as þe peple. But nowe, as seynt bernard seij, þrestis ben Bernard. more worldly & viciouþ þan þe comune peple, þat bi hem þe peple takþ ensaumple & boldnesse 4 is synne; & þei ben so vnuusynge þat men soernen hem is seynge of here servyce, & 5 redynge of here pistil & gospel. but god seij to such a þrest: þou hast caste a weie kunynge of my lawe & I schal. Hoses iv. 6. caste þe aweiþ þat þou be not sette in þrestod to me. & þat ignoraunce of good lif & goddis hestis is worse þan ignoraunce of latyn or of any oþer langage; þerfore þrestis schulden don here bisynesse to lywe wel & vnderstonde & knowe goddis

1 is X. 2 in AA. 3 & holy X. 4 blodnesse X. 5 in X.
THE ORDER OF PRIESTHOOD.

wille & teche it in word & dede, & be myrrour of holynesse to the peple, & goddis angelas, as god seij bi the prophete.

Capitulum 4m.

Prestis also sclerosis the peple bi ensaumple of ydelenesse & waustoumonnesse; for comynly thei chouchen in softe beddis whasne the re men risen to here labour, & blabren out matynys & masse as hunteris wip-outen deuccion & contempلاقi, & hien haste to mete richely & costly arrayed of the beste, & han to alepe; & soone a-noon to tablis & chees & tauerne & betynge of panement, & than spoken of lecherie, of despayynge of goode men, the wolen not sue here company; & thane come dronkenesse, chidyng & fittynge & many tymes manaleyng, & bi the prest is here wantownesse moche peple is brouc to lecherie, glotonye, ydelenesse & thefte.

Capitulum 5m.

Also prestis occupien hem ont moche in worldly occupacions & seculer offices asent holy writt for pleysynge of lordis & hope of benefices; for comynly prestis ben stiwardis & clerkis of kechene & resceyournis & rente gedereris & hunteris, & leuen here gostly office vndon, & han more wakyng & rekenynge & twayne for a litel worshipe & muk han haue many trewe seruants of god for alle here doynge, & the endis ben ful dyuerse. for the first bisynesse & care, but if god helpe the more, bryngyn euerlastynge care & peyne of helle; & the toper list twayne & ioiful bryngyn euer-

Capitulum 6m.

Prestis also diseasure cristien men bi here veyn preieris & abomimable to god for here lecherie & the re synnes; for thei taken ful mochil hire for to seie here matynes & masse &

1 by AA.  2 couchen AA.  3 omitted X.  4 pat other AA.
THE ORDER OF PRIESTHOOD.

Chap. VII.]

Ohere deuociouns, & her-wiþ bes foul leechouris, 1 ful of pride & eoucitise, glotonys & ydelsense; & makes he peple wene þat here praieries ben acceptable to god, & þit god seif bi his prophete þat he curseþ suche wickid menþus blissynge, and 2 Mal. II. 2, þat manþus praire is abominable & cursed þat turneþ a wey Prov. xxvii. 9. his here & harþ not goddis lawe; & god seif bi þe prophete ysaie to suche wickid men þat he wol not here hem whasne Isaiah I. 18. þei maken many praieries; for who lyueþ 3 best preieþ best, Good life the best prayer. & no man preiþ wel but jif he leue wel, as austyn & oþre Austyn. doctours techen pleynly, þanne is here a gret discet of euyl prestis. For when men purposen to fynde trewe seuauntings to god, þei fynden his enemys & traitours, & here praieries cursed of god for here synful lif.

Capitulum 7m.

Also þei magnyiſen more newe songe founded of synful men þan þe gospel of ihü crist, þat is cristene menþus salvacion; for þei bisien hem fastere to kusane & do & teche þis newe song þan to kusane & kepe & teche cristis gospel; & þis is merueile, for þis song distractþ þe syngere fro deuocioun & lettiþ men fro conscieynyng of þe sentence; & as austyn & gregory techen wel, praiere is betre herd of god bi compusacion & wepyng & stille devocioun, as moyseþ & ihü crist diden, þan bi gret criynge & ioly chaustynge þat stirþ men & wommen to daussynge & lettiþ mes fro þe sentence of holy writ, as Magnificat, sanctus & agnus dei, þat is so broken bi newe knackyng. it semeþ þat god seif bi þes newe singeris as he dice in þe gospel to phariséeþ, “þis peple honoureþ me wip lippis but here herte is fer fro me, þei worschipen me wip-outen cause, techynge lore & comausements of men.” moyseþ & ihü crist & his apostlis preiden bi nyzt stillely in hilles, wip clonnesse of lif & gret desir of riþtwisnesse & breynnynge charite to frende & enemys, & here fore god herde hym graciously, but now newe men crien

1 lecherous X. 2 omitted X. 3 leueth X.
THE ORDER OF PRIESTHOOD.

hiȝe to mennus eris wiþ stynckynges lecherie, pride, oucuitise & opere synces, & is wille to meynctene synful mennus ordynance contrarie to goddis ordynance, & desiren cruel vengance on here enemies; & herefore we axen oure owene damnacion in þis priere, & þif god suffre vs haue oure desire, þat is vengance of god to haue oure wille to grettere peynes of *velle, for god hatiþ vs.

Capitulum 8m.

Thy care more for the Salisbury Ordinal than for Christian life.

*fit þei chargen more þe ordynal of salusbury þan þe hestis of god; for þif a prest faile a poynct of his ordynal, þat is no poynct of cristene mennus feiþ, he schal be reproued scharply & openly anon & of manye. But þou, a prest faile opynly æsnet goddis hestis bi veyn swerynge, bi pride, bi oucuitise & vanye & ydelnesse nomas almost chargiþ þat, but lieþ & iapiþ & helpiþ hym þor-to. ful vnable ben þes foolis to mynystre sacramentis & to be mediatours bitwixe god & synful man.²

Capitulum 9m.x

Also many prestis vnwisly taken a wow of chastite & defoulen wyues, widewis & maydens; For þei taken prestthod for to lyuen essely & fare wel, & take no reward to here heijhe hoot complexon, but norischen it in welfare of mete & drynk of þe beste & riche cloþis & softe beddis, & traveilen not, & ben þonge & idel & liþ chered & wordid & han³ dalianonce wiþ nyce wommen; & alle þis bryngeþ many brondis of lecherie; & siþ seynyt poul chasitised his flech wiþ so gret traveile & peyne & abstynence, & þit vnneþis myþte he ouercone lustis of lecherie, hou may þes þonge foolish clene be kept fro þis synne wiþ þis⁴ lusty lif & idel & dalianuces of wommen.

¹ men AA.
² In AA the numbering of this chapter is omitted, so that all which follow it are numbered one less than they should be.
³ omitted X.
⁴ omitted X.
Capitulum 10.

Also ēi doren not reprove men of here opyn synnes bi forme of ē gospel for displeisyng of here maistris & leesynge of here salari; for many of hem seyn þus: "I wole not displeise him of whom I haue my lyuynge." a, ē blynde foolis, drede ēe more to lese a morsel of mete þan o poynyt of charite? drede ēe more to offende an erþely wrecche þan god almyþty? lone ēe more wombe ioie & worldly myrþe þan þank of god & ioye of heuene? sette ēe more prise bi þoure stynkynge bely þan bi þoure lord? þe reueren god & worschipen false goddis many weies & ben hugely cursed of þe holy trinitye & alle his angelys. hou doren ēe, cursed wrecchis, seie þoure masse in þis lif to þoure dampnacion, 1 Cor. xi. 29. as god seīþ bi seynyt poul, & ofte þe reden it.

Capitulum 11.

Also for gostly list of good ensaemple & trewe techynge ēi hilden out foul derkenesse of many synnyss; for siþ god seīþ bi his prophete þat a præst is ausgal of god, þat is a Mal. ii. 7. messager to telle goddis wille to þe peple, & þei leuen þis & tellen lesyngis & wrecchidnesse of synnyss, þei ben angeles of sathanas transfigurid into 1 angelys of list; for þei han name of holynesse & of goddis trewe servauntis & ben not so is dede. & siþ erist seīþ in þe gospel þat prestis owen to be Matt. v. 13, 14. salt of þe erþe & list of þe world, þat is myrrour & ensaemple to make men bareynge fro synne & bi list of trewe techynge brynge heþene men to eristene seīþ, hou ben þei not traitours to god & þe procuratouris of sathanas whasne þei leuen þus *[p. 140 MS.] gostly lif & trewe prochynge of the gospel & þeuen ensaemple of synne & boldnesse þer-isne?

Capitulum 12.

Also worldly prestis ben anticristis discipulis, sekynge here seek earthly gain more than to win owene worldly honour 2 & wynnyng more þan goddis, & souls.

1 & to X. 2 hous X.
THE ORDER OF PRIESTHOOD.

[CHAP. XII.

helpe of mennys soulis; for þei trusteilen faste aboute here owene worldly honower and lucre & ben wode ÿf ony man speke æıenat hem, but of goddis worshipe & helpe of cristene soulis chargen þei ful litel; & þat someþ wel bi here lif, studys & spekynge, for it is aboute worldly goodis & not aboute studie & techynge of holy writt; & ion þe euangelisst seip & seyn austyn declariþ þat þo men þat þus denyen ihü ben antiristis, & setip ensaumple of forswoen men, of lechouris & coueitouse men & vsureris¹ & many moo; & seynyt ysedor þe & ierom accorden þer-to.

Capitulum 13m.

Prestis also ben machaustis,² as comunly as³ worldly men & more solte & falsere, & leuen here gostly office; for þei ben corseris & makers of malt, & bien shcep & neet & sellen hem for wynnyage, & beten marketis, & entemen hem of lounedaiæ, holdynge wiþ for of armes, þat þei ben myrrour of coueitise & worldly lif & pride & of discencion amonge cristene peple, for of alle wicked men weiward prestis ben chiff whasne þei þærne to cursednesse, for þei ben solte & han reste & þe fend is more maistir is hem for brekyng of þe holy ordre.

Capitulum 14m.

Also þei ben foule ypocritis, clensynge þe guatte & swolwyng þe g[r]ete camaille alhooll; for if þei failen is maner of here song & opere newe sygnes founden of synful men þei chargen þat as a grousous synne for to be dampnyd in helle þerfore, but þou; þei failen foule in prochynge of cristis gospel & holdynge of goddis hestis þei chargen not a straw, but reþere letten, dispisen & pursuuen falsy þo prestis þat bisen hem to do þis grete poyn of charite; & þit⁴ þes ypocritis feynen hem ful holy is siute of þe peple, & knalynge

¹ murs X. ² marchauntis AA. ³ omitted X. ⁴ þit added in X by a later hand.
& knockynge on here brest &  

\[ \text{Capitulum 15.} \]

3it þes worldly prestis ben lik to helle, neuer ful of Covetousness of Proverbs xxi. 20. 

couenise in no degree; for þei connen not be a-paid wiþ a 

covetousness of prisets. 

resonable liffode ne resonable cloþinge, but euere redy to take 

Take all they can 
of alte men þou; þei han no node, & euene dispenden it & 

and pay only in 

quten not aþen but stykynge presire bfore god, & lyuen 

bad prayers. 

forþ in ydalnesse & pride & operé vanites; for here herte is 

1 Tim. vi. 10. 

ouermoche on worldly goodis & 1 veyn statis, what euere þe 

ouer the rote 
tonge sch[e]wiþ wiþ-outen forþ. & this is a venymous rote 

þat makþ here servyce & presieris not acceptable to god & 

þat makþ 
helpeful to cristene peple as þei schulden be. 

þat makþ he 

þe þeorie in empe to xiþe of alle prestis, as grond of alle 

theorie in 
synnes as poul seþ.

\[ \text{Capitulum 16.} \]

Also þei ben þeues, robbynge pore men of here sustenancce 

1 omitted AA. 

bi colour of holynesse; for þei hijn faste to be prestis mo 

2 omitted X. 

þan ben nedful for þe peple, for to haue esy lif & welfare & 

3 of X. 

han 2 þe almes þat god ordeyned to pore nedy men þat han 

4 plowman X. 

not of here owene & may not labore for sikenesse or 3 elde; 

& al is demyd holynesse for helpe of here preierys, & 3it þe 

The best prayer 

beste of hem wot not what his preiery is worþe & where 

is that of the 
it turne to his owene dampnacion or saluacion. & cortis þat 

man þat lounþ best god preiþ best, not for o man only 

The best prayer 

but for alle men þat ben able to haue part þor-of, be he 

is that of the 
schepe[r]de or ploughman. 4 þorþere prestis owen to lyuen 

man who loves 

wel & wasten not pore mennus liffode in pride, glotonye & 

God best. 

opere vanites.
Capitulum 17\textsuperscript{a}.

Prestis weyard of lif turnen vpsodous cristis techynge bi lesyngeis & ypocrisie; for þei colourein pride wip honeste & clenenesses, wrapphe & vengauwe bi manlynesse & riȝtwisnesse, enuye bi prudence & wisdom, concoitise bi riȝt travëile & wis kepynge of goodis to do almes in nede & pursuyenge of riȝt, sleuþe bi sauynge of mañnes body & worþinesse, glotonye bilargeness & fedynge of pore men & helpynge of viteliris & òpere men of craftis, drokenessse bi good felaweschippe & gendryngye of charite & solasynge of mennus wittis, lecherie bi helpynge forþ of þe world & kyndely dede; & þis þei don to excuse here owene synne, & norisken òpere men þer-iane for þank & worldly wynnynge; but certis þes ben antworistis & perilous heretikis.

Capitulum 18\textsuperscript{a}.

Also þei ben foule ypocrisit & setten more prise be an oxe, hors or asse þan bi þe soule of here maistir þat costip mychil on hem; for þif þei seen vnreasonabyl bestis of here maistris ouþer mennus fallen in a perilous lake þei wolen travëile & helpe & crien to men aboute til þe vnreasonabyl beste be out of perils; but þou; here maistris\textsuperscript{1} soule be in þe foule lake of old custumable synne, & body & soule is poynt to be dampned wip-coute ende, þei schullen not helpe to brynge hem out of þis peril, neiper bi trewe conseilynge ne trewe prechynge ne stirynge of gostly frewdis to þis helpe; & her-by þei schewen þat here herte is seet to lue his muk & not is soule. but where ben falsere trairouris þan þes prestis þat wol not help here maistris\textsuperscript{2} out of þis moste peril, but rþere norische hem & conseile hem þer-iane for to haue here owene lustis & welfare.

Capitulum 19\textsuperscript{a}.

Many of hem poisonen\textsuperscript{3} gostily here maistris for þe benefices þat þei recoyuen of hem; for þei conseilen here maistris faste

\begin{itemize}
  \item maistir X.
  \item þis maistre X.
  \item poisen X.
\end{itemize}
Chapter XXI.

The Order of Priesthood.

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That he tristen not to pore prestis & witty clerkis trewely
techynge he gospel & commaundementis of God & where men
owe to do here almes, but lynes forþ after *olde erroirs &
lesynge & antoristis procheouris pat prechen for here
wynnyng & fablis & newe seteltes for veyn name of clergie,
& bidde hem do as here fadris diden, pat many tyme lynede
is falsmesse to gete goodis of his world & myspenden hem
in pride & glotonye, & heir witen neuere where heir dieuden
out of charite & ben dampened in helie; & bus he conseilen
here maistrys to lyue forþ in here owrseide synne & not to
amende hem.

Capitulum 20m.

Also he discewyn he peple in feip of cristendom; for he
maken he peple ween he schulles not haue part of here
preiers, hou; he ben in charite, but if he paen moche money
to a prest he is ydel & vicious. for if men wisten he schulden
haue part of alle goode preiers bi mores of God as
moche as is riuftul, he wolden do here almes to here pore
neiþeroris as crist biddiþ, & not fynde so many worldly
preistis he kunnen no goode & non wolen lerne, ne teche
oper men to lynes wel ne lynes wel hem self. but he he
makes hem maistrys & lordis of goode preiers & silen hem to
men hem likiþ for money, & taken not reward to partynge
of god, hon he is chief lord & gruuntiþ pert of good preiers
to every goode man he is in grace as moche as is riuftul.

Capitulum 21m.

Wyked he prestis also disceuyen cristene men in hope; for
he techen he men schulles haue more pank of god to do here
almes to riche freris & false pardoners & to make grete waste
housyne, þenne helpe here pore neiþeroris in cloþinge &
housyne & out of dette & prison, & parisiche chirchis

1 myspenden X. 2.3 omitted X.

Thevยกhine falselie
to be able to re-
strict and assign
the benefit of
their prayers to
those who pay
for them.

God gives to
every good man
a share in all good
prayers.

Teach men to
give alms to friars
and pardoners
instead of to the
poor.
THE ORDER OF PRIESTHOOD.

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vplond; & certis pis is antctoristis techyng, for men ernen & geten moche wrappe of god is doynge syche nouelries for worldly name & ignoraunce, ¢e whiche nouelries god biddiç not, & in leuynghe werkis of mercy where god commaundgi hem to be don, for bi pis techyngs ñe wenen ñat it is almes to myspenden1 here goodis & leuen goddis commaundement vndo.

that is, to mis-
spend their goods

Capitulum 22m.

They encourage war by offering pardons, etc., and by crying Ora pro nobis about the street.

It would be better to pray for recon-
ciliation.

Also ñei discyeyuen cristene men in charite; for ñei conforten hem to ñette aësent cristene men in false werris for pride & conuictis bi sikernes in here veyn preieris ñat ben cersed of god; & hereto ñei wolen crie ora pro nobis abouten ñe grete stretis ñat god distroye here cristene breferen & ñeue hem shHORT li, euyl sped & wicked ende; & here-bi ñei axen here oweñ dampasacion, as god seij ñat ñe pater noster & ñeue placis of ñe gospel. in were betre to crie faste ñat ñe peple amendid here li, & ñat god helpe vs & oure enemys aësent ñe fend & make us frendis in crist.

Capitulum 23m.

They encourage rich men to support mass priests instead of supporting children at school. *p. 145 M8.*

They get support also for law students, who do mischief, but do not lead men to support good preachers.

jìt ñei worldly prestis discyeyuen riche men in here almes; for ñei wolen not stire riche men to fynde pore children able of witt & lyuyngge to scole for to lerne, but to fynde proude prestis at hom to crie faste is ñe chirche in ñette of ñe world, & helpe2 to serue hem at ñe mete & ñe pro worldlys ofïces; & jìt ñei stiren hem to fynde summe prestis to lawe, ñat maken false dynorsis & holden false causes & dispisen ñe pro symple prestis ñat lyuen in mekenesse & deucion & medlen not of syche pedyngge, but ñei stiren not riche men to fynde a good deout prest able of witt & wille to lerne holy writyt & præche it freely to ñe peple to saue here souls; & ñis makiç moche ñat holy writyt is not knownen ne kept, ne tauçt trewely & frely as it schulde be.

1 myspenden xe. 2 hope xe.
Capitulum 24m.

Also þei maken riche men & tirauntis to holde werre agenst god after here day; for whanne þes riche marchaunstis & tirauntis dien & mowen no lengere meyntene syne in þis world bi here owen persone, þan þei fynden many worldly & synful prestis, bi goodis falaly geten þat schulden be restorid to pore men, not to lerne & teche holy writt as Crist comaundidþ but dwelle at o place & crie on hey wip new song þat lettiþ deucucion & þe sentence to be vnderstonden; & þes worldly prestis letten most opere prestis þat lyuen wel & techen wel, last here synne be aspied & here wynnynge & bodily syse ceese.

They make rich men found chantries, where they keep up useless chanting.

Capitulum 25m.

Also þei discuyuen þe peple to holde forþ here olde cursed lif & synne; for þei seyn þat þei wolen preie for hem, & þei schullen ben excuse id to-sore god for þe almes þat þei don in fyndynge hem to seie masse & matynes & euensong & placebo & dirige; & herbi þe peple is bolder to dwelle in synne. but þes prestis schulden witnesse opynly þat alle þe seyntis in heuene may not bryng a man to heuene wip-outen his owen goode lif, kepynge þe hestis of God, & endyng in charite.

They lead men to trust in masses, etc., instead of leading a good life.

All the saints cannot bring a bad man to heaven.

Capitulum 26m.

Also þes suele prestis pursuen crist in his membris & nailen hym on þe croos of lesynes & vnkyndeness; for þei sclausdren cristis seruauntis wip lesynes & haten hem, & helpe to lette hem fro trewe prechyng bi suspendyng, symonyng & cursyng & mannes iuridicious, & seyn þat it was god world be for þat prestis precheden & sþ haþ ben discension & wetris & pestilencis; & alle þis is to lette goddis word þat it be not knowen & kept & opynly tauþt. & þei sclausdren goddis lawe wip many errouris & makes it vnswory to worldly men, for as moche as þei wolden þat it

They persecute Christ's servants and try to stop preaching.

They slander God's law.

1 somenyng AA.
THE ORDER OF PRIESTHOOD.

were not know[n] lesse 1 þei were lettid of here 2 oneitise & bodily welfare & aise, & it is al on to pursue þus cristis seruauntis & to pursue crist, as he seip in þe gospel, & to lie þus on his lawe & to liien on him self as ion crisostom & austyn & ambrose witnesse.

Capitulum 27m.

Also þei dreden more synful men & in cas fendis of helle þan almytty god in trinyte; for þou; god comandid hem to proche 3 goddis lawe in word & ensample, & fanoure trewe men & helpe hem & proche þe gospel, þis doren þei not done ne 4 helpe opere þor-to for drede of a wrongful maundment 5 of a bischop or his officeris; for þanwe 6 þei schulden be somonod & traneyled & dispised & suspendid of here masse as þei dreden, and alle þis were medful þif þei wolden take it paciently. but þei dreden onere litel þe grete peyne of helle to whiche god schal sende hem for defaute of charite 7 & doynge his wilde before alle opere þingis; & þus þei dreden more þe bischopis lettre þan þe gospel of crist, & so þe bischop more þan oure lord god almytty, & þis is foule blasphemye.

Capitulum 28m.

þit þei leuen ñoruyce of god vndon for a cursed sathanas & anticrist biddip hem ceesse; for whasne þe bischop or his mynystris somonen hem & þei comen not but ben betre occupied to serue god in deuocion & clennesse of lif & to helpe cristene soulis to heuene, a noon þei schullen be suspendid fro seynge of masse & prechysge of þe gospel; & þus þei leuen goddis ñoruyce & comauedere his vndon for þe comauedere of anticrist & sathanas; & þus bischopis officeris & curatis & prestis fallen oute of bileue & renne in into blasphemye & heresie & drawen þe comyn peple after hem is-to errour.

1 last AA.  2 here not in X. through the margin being cut away.  3 teche AA.  4 omitted X.  5 omitted X.  6 in AA.
Capitulum 29m.

But goode prestis, pat lyuen wel in clenessse in pouȝt Noblenesse of priest's office.
& speche & dede & good ensaumple to pe peple, & techen goddis lawe vp here kunynyge, & trueile fast nyȝt & day to lerne betre & teche opynly & lastyngly, ben verrey prophetis of god & holy angelis of god & gostly liȝt of pe world, as god seyþ bi his prophetis & ihu crist in pe gospel, & seyntis declaren it wel bi auctorite & reson. je prestis jenke on his noble office & worþi, & döþ it wilfully vpon youre kunynyge & power. jenke,² je lordis & myȝty men pat fynden prestis, and lords, hou dredeful it is to meyntene worldly prestis in here lustis, pat neiþer kunnen goode ne wolen lerne ne lyuen holiliche in his noble orde. for je may liȝtly amend hem wiþ-outen who can amend evil.

coste or trueile, tellyng hem pat je wolen not fynde hem but jif jei don here besynese to lyue wel & lerne & proche pe gospel, & cœrtis þan þei wolden don it in dede. A, jenke je, grete men, pat þis were a þousand fold betre þan to conquere al þe world, & her-by schulde be no more cost to you ne trueile ne deisese, but worschipe to god & endeles good to youre³ self, to prestis & to alle cristendom. god for his endeles mercy & charite brynge þis holy ende. Amen.

¹ in AA. ² jenke X. ³ jow AA.
IX.

THREE THINGS DESTROY THIS WORLD.

There is nothing in this tract which can give us any certainty as to authorship or date. It should be noticed that the false confessors are friars; and that the lawyers, who are charged with gross hypocrisy, are priests.

The complaints of packing and bribing juries are worth notice.
Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

False confessors are the chief cause of sin, since they excuse sins on condition of gifts to religious houses. They waste money in luxurious living, and get dispensation from their rule p. 181

Wicked lawyers encourage quarrels, suborn perjury, pack juries, oppress the poor. They pretend to be religious 182

Ecclesiastical lawyers worst of all. They uphold the Civil Law above God's Law. They make divorces, and raise quarrels between man and wife 184

False merchants cheat, and teach their apprentices and servants to cheat. They are usurers 185

False confessors worst of all, since they encourage the rest 186
THREE THINGS DESTROY THIS WORLD.

De þingis distroien þis world, false confessoures, false men of lawe, & false marchauntis.

*False confessouris ben cause of alle þe synne þat regneþ among clerkis, among lordis, amonge commones; for þei taken þe charge to hele alle men of synne, & don not here power þer-to, but meyntenen & conforten hem þer-isne for worldly wynnynge, frendishipe & worschipe. for þei schulden teche hem here grete synnes þe pynnes for hem, & but þif men wolden leue here synnes & taken goddis word in reverence, þei schulden leue here companye, & go to ðepere to whom þei myظن profite more, as crist tauþte his apostlis. & þat is worse, þei seyn þat þei wolen answere for men at domes day for to excuse hem þif þei wolen ðese hem or here house to make gaye wyndowis or veyn housynge & nedles moche gold or siluer; & so þat þat schulde be delid among most nedy men bi comauundement of god þei wasten in veyn & nedles houses, & þat þing þat schulde be restorid men, for it was taken of hem bi extorsion & wronge meny, þei taken to himself to maken festis to riche men. *lordis þei rescuyeuen to here housynge, & letten osteleris of here offices & wynnynge, & maken iubilees þat we reden not of, of kyngis ne emperouris, to be þanne excused of risynte at mydnyt & ðepere deuociouns in whiche as þei seyn stondiþ perceccion of here ordre. & þus whasne þei schulden be most perfet þei leuen here perceccion & maken veyn cost & gret, ðat not to *fede pore men *(p. 161 MS.) but lordis þat han no nede, to forsake þat þat suntyme was perceccion. & þif þe potestatis of here ordre dispissen with hem lawefully, þan þei maken hem more perfet in lif þan þei weren bifoere, for ellis þei don hem harm in soule & peieren hem to godward, þat no creature may lessefully do; þan et were more perceccion to leue here singuler obedience & observaucis, as þei don now in most perceccion, & ellis þei.
THREE THINGS DESTROY THIS WORLD.

Ben cursed alle þat approuen siche jubiles & dispensacions. And sîþ þis dispensacion is wel don as þei seyn, þan god approueþ it for certeyn cause, but oþere cause is þer noone but þat þis man schal betere serue god wiþ-outen þes observaunceþ þan to holden hem forþ; þanne what man fieere or munk schal betere serue god wiþ-outes siche observaueþis of freres or muskis þan wiþ hem, god approueþ þat þat friere or monk leue here observaueþis & þerne to fredom of cristis gospel. But it semþ whasne lordis heren¹ a false confessour þei hiren an anticrist to ledem hem to helle. And þus false confessouris ben þe fendis norisses² to norisse mennes soulis in synne & to brynghe him to sathanaþ; & þus is a maner þei sullen soulis to sathanaþ for a litel stynkynge drit or wombe ioie or pride & worldi worshipe, & þus þei ben traiteouris to god almyþty, to clerkis, lordis & comeneris, & dampnen hem self.

Also false men of lawe disceynen moche þis world, for þei tellen not sadly & trewely hou þe lawe stondith. But norisken pledyng & debate among men for to hae a veyn name & wynnen hem a litel worldi stynkynge muk wiþ godes curs, & wittingly meyntenen³ þe fals partis bi cauelacions, & forbarien⁴ pore men of rjit, þat þou; a pore man han neuer so muche⁵ rjit þit þei wolde make many doseen to forsweren hem on þe book to get hem self þank or wynynge. but þes ben false procuratoris of sathanaþ to dryue menne mourns soulis to helle; for þif þer be a trewe man in a comte he schal not come on his queste þif he may deuoyde hym, & þif he seie þe soþe he schal hane his⁶ hate, sclauedrynghe, loos of his catel or of his lif in þis⁷ world; & þes laweieris þanken & flatern & meyntenen fals men & helpen him⁸ what þei may; & þus þei ben special procurators & false knyþttis or champions of þe denuyl to meyntenen falsenesse, & distroïen treueþ & knyþttis of treueþ, equyte & charite; & herby þei geten¹⁰ hem gold¹⁰ & purchasen rentis & londis of lordis &

¹ hiren AA. ³ norisses, a later hand in X. ⁸ in meyntenen AA.
⁴ forbarren AA. ⁶ opyn AA. ⁸ to AA.
⁵ is X. ⁷ AA insertis wrecchid. ⁹ omitted X. ¹⁰,... omitted X.
Three Things Destroy This World.

Distroien verrey heieris, & pis distroieb moche¹ ours lond.

For hou schulde riȝt be among suche men, pat pis day han but here penye & anoon purchasen rentis & londis to be peris wip knyttis or barons. Certis falsmesse avanuseb hem, & perforre pei maken sacrifice to be fende. Lord, hon schal god here hem is here moste nede, sip pei wolen not here a pore man, haue *he neuere so grete riȝt. Certis sip men schullen be dampnyd for defaute of werkis of mercy, moche more pei pat wolen not opene here mouþ to speke o word for treuþe & goddis loue; but moche more schullen pei be dampnyd for extorcions & false plees pat pei meyntenen wittingly, or whasne pei owe to witte it, aȝenst trewe partie; but most pei schullen be depe dampnyd for here grete ypocrisie, for pei maken it so holy bophe in word & signes, as knockynge on here brest, knelynge & seynghe of matynges & euensong, & herynge of massis, & many oþre denocions to colour here falsmesse, pat symple men supposen no more riȝtwisnesse is ony man pat leueth in herþe. but sit iurouria is questis wolen forweren hem wittingly for here dyner & a noble, & pat so custumableice pat þou; a man haue neuere so opyn riȝt to a lordischiphe anemptis mannis lawe & also goddis, pat many questis wolen wittingly swere pat it is not his for a lital money; & so pei sille crist pat is treuþe, as iudas dide, for a lital money, & pei ben so easly assoiled, but falsly of false confessouris for a lital part here wicked estel, pat pei maken no conscience for pis cursed perjurie but ben endurid or hardid per-inne as fendis of helle. & þus lordis & oþre men ben nedid for pis falsmesse to holden hem at fees & oþre grete costis, for ellis wip here wiles & falsmesse pei wolen dryne lordis & gentil men out of here houis, heritage & alle here goddis; & bi þis falsmesse a fewe pore wrecobis myþten² conqueren in-to here owene hondis³ in schort tyme almost al þe lordischiphe þat may be sold on ony⁴ resonable manere. & þou; it be bouȝt opynly aȝenst þe lawe, sit bi canellacions þes lawieris holden it forþ, þat þe riȝtfull heir may as wel bien a strange⁵ lordischiphe as geten his

¹ AA inserts of. ² omitted X. ³ houis AA. ⁴ only X. ⁵ stronge X.
owene. ¶ Also false laweieris maken lordis & other men to myntenen false causis & do wrongis to here neijsboris, whasne he lordis wenien hat it is so, & so prieuely maken lordis1 damnable for here wrong myntenynge.

But of laweiris of he consistorie or chapitris is more synne & ypoarisie to schewe. for he tarien men in here courtis hou; he rist neuere so pleyn, hat men ben ful [weary] of here pyneful lif so he ben hurild abouten; for if a trewe man be falsy slaundrider & come among hem it is liistenere to make a syn for moche money han to purge hym, be it neuere so opyn known; for ellis he schal be hurild fro contre to contre, fro day to day, hat he schal be cotumax & cursed, & pannes stondes at here wilde, or ellis for trueneil & cost be ful [weary] of his lif. ¶ And hou; a man be neuere so cursed, if he wole paie an annuell rente to he lawieris & to *he cursed court or to bishopis almes, he schal baxe hym in his synne as longe as he wole hys paie; & if here be ony good bishopp hat wole chaue he fendis of lecherie or vsurie & siche moo, anoon coueitouz laweieris wip here gnackis & iapis, delasies, excusacions & fals appelis, letten he bishopp to ponysche his synne. & cursednesse of his synne regnde forbi a zeer, haunyte he apel in he heisere court, & sumtyme as long as his cursed man lyue; & also whasne a trewe prest wolde bi goode conscience & bi forme of he gospel distroie synne, han lawieris makes procees bi sotilte & cauyllacias of lawe cyuyle, hat is moche hejene mennus lawe, & not accepten the forme of he gospel, as if he gospel were not so good as paynymes lawe. & hus he seyn he gospel is not ynow; to reule holy chirche by, but synful mennus lawis ful of error ben more nedful han he gospel per-to. & hus he seyn in dede hat crist was a fool & out of charite; for sih he tauhte not he beste lawe for to reule cristene mennys soules bi, as he seyn, he was out of charite; for he myttte & coude seue he beste, & sih he demyd hat he gospel was he beste, & it is not he beste as he seyn,

1 Some pages are wanting here in AA, containing all the rest of the tract except six lines at the end.
THREE THINGS DESTROY THIS WORLD.

... a fool. & so putten gospel biynye & dispisen it & magnifyen payymes lawes & opere synful mennys lawes for the beste, & seyn in dede pat payymes & opere synful men, pat is caes be dampnyd deuulia, weren wisere & betre pan ihū crist, si p i euen betre lawes & more nedful for holy chirshe pan euere dide ihū crist; & herefore he reulyn clerkis bi the worldlye wronge lawis, & maken oure clerkis worldly & to forsake holy writt, for it dampnyd pride & coucitise clerkis & techeh mekenesse & to flee coucitise & opere synnes. But payymes lawe & worldly clerkis lawe meynente pride, coucitise, extorciens & opere synnes, & her-for he ben studied of worldly clerkis, & goddis owene wordis ben dispised. ¶ Also he makes men to forsweren hem & norisohen hem herisane, & maken men to charge more he peny pan he trewe conscience & maundementis of god, & her-to maken dyuors bi false witnesse & opere cautelis, & so reisen debatis & enemites bitwene weddid men & here wiwes bi many priue menys of anti-erist. & si he fend techeh hem to make orible paynes of here owene wille for smale synnys, to make men for fre to paye moche money to hem; & riche men & mystt ben not ponschid bi here lawis, be here synne neure so open, but pore men ben ponschid, he pou; he ben trewe & clene, but si he paien to anti-erist aftir his wille. & hes *hes courtis ben courtis of [p. 164 MS.] wrong & falsnesse & not eristis but he fends, to exile treupe & charite & holy writt & to meynente falsnesse & synne & magnifien synful menys lawis more han he gospel.

¶ Also false marchauntis bryngen vp & susteynen moche synne to distroie he world; for he luyen comynly bi falsnesse as bi fals swerynge, false mesure & false weitis, & techen his falsnesse to songe prontis, & preisen hym most pat foulest rayneh alle he membris of erist falaly, & most sotilly bigilen pe peple, & si ony servaunt of heere wole do treupe & drede synne he is holden but a fool & vnprifity & sohal neure be man; & si the false marchauntis bien gret chep & silen out of cours dere & bringen fro heynene men, & opere

Make divorces by false witness.
Cause quarrels between men and their wives.

False merchants cheat, and teach their apprentices and servants to cheat and lie.
THREE THINGS DESTROY THIS WORLD.

cursed men that han name of cristene men, many newe gies of pride & worldly vanye, & magnyfien hem aboue the cloudis; wherefore the lordis & othere men ben drawen fro pinkynge of god & heuene lyngis, & setten here wittis & likyngis in thes newe vanyeetes & fantom of worldly glorie. & the moste of here wynnyng stondip in fals veure, so moche that thei han enuenymed almost alle clerkis, alle lordis, & alle othere men wip his cursed veure; summe bi doynge of veure, summe bi consentynge per-to & for meyntenynge per-of, & so thei bringen cursynge to alle men comynly of oure lond. & sit thei lyuen in glotonye, dronkenesse & lecherie as hoggis, & in couetise, ydelnesse, pride, ennuye & wrappe as fendi; & his cursed lif thei techen in word & dede to othere pore men as sathanas procuratouris & cursed heretikis. but sit false confessouris bath ledem hem & reulen hem in his cursed lif, & wolen not tellen hem the sope for drede of lesynge of here frendischipe & worldly wynnynghe but conforten hem in his synful lif & vndertaken for here synne at domes day, don most cursed synne of alle. for thei techen thes foolish to make gret cost of wast houses of frereis or of othere veyn religion, or to holde proude & worldly prestis, or to fouunde a college of worldly clerkis or religious ajenst goddis lawe, & per-bi to be sayyd. thei dwellen stille in here synne & maken no restitucion to men that thei han discyued, & thou thei don not here almes to pore men & nedy bath ben bedered & movre not helpe hem self, but suffren hem to perische for myschief. & thes lordis & riche men hiren false confessouris wip grete spensis bath ledem hem feste to helle; & the commone peple is constreyued bi anistocrisit lawis to meynten wip tipis & offryngis false curatis & confessouris, bath disceyued hem in techynges of goddis lawe & norisken hem in synne & so ledem hem to helle. And thes bi thes men falsnesse regne)y, & trewe & vertuous lif ben distroied, & so thes pre fals men distroien his world bope in soule & in worldly goodis.

1 many X. 2 omitted X.
X.

OF FEIGNED CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE.

I think this is an early work of Wyclif's. It is certainly higher in tone and better in style than many in this volume. Especially to be noticed is the passage on p. 193, where the author, after inveighing against the heavy burden of ritual ordinances laid upon priests, returns upon himself with the warning that men must not abuse the freedom to which he exhorts them by making it an excuse for sloth, for that is the devil's snare. So, too, the complaint (p. 194) that priests lead a lower life than their conscience dictates, for fear of hurting the sick conscience of their brethren, is a touch finer than is common in these polemical papers. How often may Wyclif's impetuous exhortations to revolt have been parried by such considerations as these?

The scribe who wrote the Corpus MS. (X.) made a curious blunder with this tract, as has been pointed out by Mr. Arnold, S. E. W. III. 507. Owing most likely to the displacement of some leaves in the MS. from which he copied, he transferred the last part of this tract to the end of "A Petition to the King and Parliament," while bringing the last part of the Petition to the end of this. As is often the case with him, he passed over the junction in happy unconsciousness that he was writing nonsense.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

Summary.

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The devil prevents men from preaching by diverting their attention to singing in a tricky and artificial way .......................................................... 191
In a large choir a few sing and the rest stand dumb ............................................................... 192
The Ordinal of Salisbury interferes with preaching, for it burdens men with so many rites that they have no time for good works ......................................................... 192
Men who know better waste their time on services for fear of giving offence .......................... 194
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Christ and his Apostles preached and did not administer alms ............................................. 195
Of feyned contemplatif lif, of song, of þe ordynal of salisbury, & of bodely almes & worldly bysynesse of prestis; hou bi þe foure þe fend lettiþ hem fro prechynge of þe gospel.

*First whanne trewe men techen bi goddis lawe wit & reson þat eche preest owiþ to do his myȝt, his 1 wit & his wille to preche cristiis gospel, þe fend 2 blyndiþ ypocrisis to excuse hem by feyned contemplatif lif, & to seie þat siþ it is þe beste & þei may not do boþe to-gãdre, þei ben nedid for charite of god to leue þe prechynge of þe gospel & lyuen in contemplacióñ. See nowe þe ypocrisie of þis false seyng; crist taut 3 & dide þe beste lif for prestis, as oure feþiþ techiþ, siþ he was god & myȝte not erre; but crist preched þe gospel & charged alle his apostlis & disciplis to goo & preche þe gospel to alle men: þan it is þe beste lif for prestis in þis world to preche 4 & teche 5 þe gospel. ¶Also god in þe olde lawe techiþ þat þe ofiice of a prophete is to schewe to þe peple here foule synynyse; but eche preest is a prophete bi his ordre, as gregory seþiþ vpun þe gospellis, þanne it is þe ofiice of eche preest to preche & telle þe synynys of þe peple, & in þis maner schal eche preest be an angeli of god as holy writt seþiþ. ¶Also Crist & ion baptist lefteu desert & precheden þe gospel to here deþ þerfore, & þia was most charite, for ellis þei weren out of charite or peierid in charite, þat myȝte not be in hem boþe, siþ þe ton was god, & no man after crist was holyere þan baptist & he synned not for þis prechynge. ¶ Also þe holy prophete Jeromyse halwid in his moder wombe myȝte not be excursion fro prechynge bi his contemplacion, but chargin of god to preche þe synnes of þe peple & suffre hard 6 peyne þerfore, & so weren alle þe prophethis of god. ¶A lord, siþ crist and ion baptist & alle þe prophethis of god weren nedid bi charite to come out of desert

1 and AA.  2 fendis X.  3–5 omitted X.  6 omitted X.
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to preche to þe peple & leue here solitarie\(^1\) preiere, hou done we fonnyd heretikys seie þat it is betre to be stille & preie oure owen fonnyd ordynanca þan to preche cristis gospel? Lord, what cursed spirit of lesyngis stiriþ prestitis to close hem in stonyys or wallis for al here lif, siþ crist comauðiþ to alle his apostlis & prestitis to goo in-to alle þe world & preche þe gospel. certis þei ben opyn foolis & don pleynly aþenst cristis gospel &. siþ þei meyntenen þis error, þei ben cursed of god\(^3\) & ben perilous ypoocrisis & heretikis also; & siþ men ben holden heretikis þat done aþenst þe popis lawe,\(^8\) & þe beste part of þe popis lawe\(^*\) siþ pleynly þat eche þat coméþ to preseath takiþ þe office of a bedele or criere to goo biforn domesday \* to criere to þe peple here synnes & vengance of god. \*[p. 166 MS.] whi ben not þo prestitis heretikis þat leuen to preche cristis gospel, & compelle ðe ære treue men to leue prechynge of þe gospel, siþ þis lawe is seynt gregoryes lawe, grousdid opynly in Gregory. goddis lawe & resen & charite, & ðe ære lawes of þe peple ben contrarie to holy writyt & resen & charite for to meyntene pride & cocitise of antîcristis worldly clerkis. but ypoocrisis allegen þe gospel, þat magdaleyne chees to herselyf þe beste part whanne she saat bisiden cristis feet & herde his word; soþ \* it is þat þis meke sittyng & deount herynge of cristis wordis was best to magdaleyne, for she hadde not office of prechynge as prestitis han, siþ eche was a womman þat hadde not auctorite of goddis lawe to teche & preche opynly. but what is þis dede to prestitis þat han expresse þe comauðement of god & men to preche þe gospel? where þei wolen alle be wommen in ydnelnesse, & sensual not iðu crist in lif & prechynge þe gospel þat he comauðiþ hym self boþe in þo olde lawe and newe. ÞÞ Also þis peisible\(^*\) herynge of cristis word & brennynghe loue þat magdaleyne hadde was þe beste part, for it schal be ende in heuene of good lif in þis world; but in þis world \* þe beste lif for prestitis is holy lif in kepynge goddis hestis & trewe prechynge of þe gospel, as crist dide &

\(_1\) solarie X. \(_2\) omitted X. \(_3\) omitted X. \(_4\) siþ AA. \(_5\) possible X. \(_6\) lif X.
OF FEIGNED CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE.

These hypocrites take dreaming for contemplation.

1 Thess. v. 17.

"Pray without ceasing," is not said of spoken prayer.

Austyn.

Prov. xxviii. 9.

Possessioners

[p. 167 MS.]

ought to learn what contemplative life is.

These hypocritescharged alle his præstis to do 'pe same; & þes ypcoritis
wenen þat here dremys & fantasies of hem-self ben contem-
placion, & þat prechynge of þe gospel be actif lif, & so þei
menen þat críst tok þe worse lif for þis world, & nedid alle
præstis to leue þe betre & take the worse lif; & þus þes fonnýd
ypcoritis putten error in ihu crist. But who ben more
heretikis? ¶ Also þes blynde ypcoritis allegen þat críst biddiþ
vs preie euermore, & poul biddiþ þat we preie wip-oute
lettynge, & þan we præstis may not preche as þei seynen
falsly. but here þes ypcoritis schullen wite þat críst & poul
vnderstonden of preiere of holy lif, þat eche man doþ as
longe as he dwelliþ in charite; & not of babelynge of
lippis þat no man may euere do wip-outen cessenye, for eillis
no man in þis world myste fulfille þe comausdemment of críst;
& þis techiþ austyn & opere seyntis. & aþ men þat fulfilen
not goddis lawe & ben out of charite ben not acceptid in here
preiynge of lippis, for here preiere in lippis is abhominable,
as holy writt seþ bi salomon, þes præstis þat prechen not þe
gospel as críst biddiþ ben not able to preie god for mercy,
but dißeuyen hemsely & þe peple & dispisen god & stires
hym towrppe & vengauæse, as austyn & gregory & opere
seyntis techen; & principally þes ypcoritis þat han rentes &
worldly lordischipes & parische chirchis approprid to hem,
asenst holy writt boþe *old & newe by symonye & lesyngeis on
criþ & his apostelis for stynkyng gronymgys & a-bite of
holynesse & for * distroynge of goddis ordynance & for
singular profession maide to foolis & in cas to fendis of helle.
þes foolis schullen lerne what is actif lif & contemplatif
bi goddis lawe, & þanne þei mytten wite þat þei han neipre
þe ton ne þe toþer, aþ þei chargen more veyn statutis of
synful men, & in cas of * deuelys, þan þei chargen þe neste of
god & werkis of mercy & poyntis of charite. & þe fende
blyndiþ hem so moche þat þei seyn in-deþe þat þei moten

1-1 omitted X.
2 omitted X.
3 & X.
4 fro X.
5 & X.
6 omitted X.
neuere preie to pleasynge of god, sij be vnable hen self to do ye office of prestis bi goddis lawe & purposen to ende in here feyned deuocioun pat is blasphemye to god.

¶ Also bi song be fend lettiþ men to studie & proche ye gospel; singing for sij mannyes wittis ben of corteyn mesure & myst, be more pat be ocuppied aboute siche mannus song be lisse moten bei be sette aboute goddis lawe; for his stirip men to pride & iolite & lecherie & opere synys, & so vnableþ hem many gatis to vnderstonde & kepe holy wriþt pat teeþ mkenesse, mornynge foroure synys & opere menys, & stable lif & charite. & sit god is all ye lawe of grace chargiþ not siche song but deuocioun in herte, trewe techynge & holy spekyngge is tonge, & goode werksis & holy lastynge is charite & mkenesse; but mannus foly & pride stiriþ vp euere more & more in pis veyn nouelrie. First men ordeyned songe of mornynge whasne bei weren is prison, for techynge of ye gospel, as ambrose & men seyn, to Ambrose. putte away ydelnesse & to be not vnoccupied in goode manere for ye tyme; & pat songe & oure acordiþ not, for oure stiriþ to iolite & pride, & here stiriþ to mornynge & to dwelle lenger is wordis of goddis lawe. Pat were matynys & masse & euen song, placebo & dirige & comendacion & matynes of oure lady ordeyned of synful men, to be songen wiþ heþe criynges to lette men fro þe sentence & vnderstondynge of þat þat was þus songen, & to maken men wery & vndisposid to studie goddis lawe for akynge of hedis: & of short tyme þanne weren more veyn iapis founeden; deschaunt, countre note & orgon & smale brekyngge, þat stiriþ veyn men to daunysyne more þan to a mornynge, & here-fore ben many proude & lecherous lorenis founeden & dowid wiþ tempor & worldly lordechipis & gret cost. but þes foolish schulden drede þe scharpe wordis of austyn, þat seiþ: as oft as þe song likiþ me Austyn. more þan doph þe sentence þat is songen, so oft I confess þat I synne greuously. ¶ And sif þes knackeris excusehen hem bi song is þe olde lawe; seie þat orist, þat best kepte þe olde lawe as it schulde *be afterward, taut not ne chargid vs wiþ *[P. 109 MS.]

1 praisynge X. 2 as AA. 3 opere X. 4 omitted AA. 5 omitted X. 6 omitted X.
sich bodely song ne ony of his apostlis, but wip deuocioun is
herte & holy lif & trewe prechynge, & þat is ynowþ; & þe
beste. but who schulde þasne charge vs wip more ouer þe
frodom and liynnesse of cristis lawe? & jif þei seyn þat
angelis heryen god bi song in hauen; seie þat we kunnem not
þat song, but þei ben in ful victorie of here enemys & we
ben in perilous bataile,1 & in þe valeyes of wepynge & morynge;
& oure song lettiþ vs fro betre occupacion & stiriþ vs to many
grete synnys & to forsete vs self. but oure fleischly peple haþ
more lykynge in here bodely eris in sich knakynge &
taterynge þan in herynge of godis lawe, & spekynge
of þe blisse of hauen, for þei wolen hire proude prestis &
þere lecherous lorelis þus to knacke notis for many markis &
poundis; but þei wolen not þene here almes to prestis &
children to lerne & to2 teche godis lawe; & þus bi þis
nouelrie of song is godis lawe vnstudied & not kepte, &
pride & þere grete synnys meyntenyd. & þes sonnyd lوردis
& peple gessen to haue more þank of god & to3 worschipe
hym more in halynge vp of here owen nouelries wip grete
cost þan in lernynge & techynge & meyntenynge of his lawe
& his æræwastis & his ordynaunce. but where is more
diseit in seip, hope & charite? for whanne þer ben forty or
fyfty in a queere þre or foure proude & lecherous lorellis
schullen knacke þe most douout æruyoce þat noman schal here
þe sentence, & alle ðe schullen be doumbæ & loken on hem
as foolis. & þasne strumpatis & þeys preisem sire iacke
or hobbe & williæ þe proude clerk, hou smale þei knacken
here notis; & seyn þat þei æræuen wel god & holy chirche,
whanne þei dispisen god in his face, & letten ðe cristene
mens of here deuociun & compuscon, & stiren hem to worldly
vanyto; & þus trewe æruyoce of god is lettid & þis voy
knackynge for oure iolite & pride is preised abouen þe mone.

1. Also þe ordynalle of salisbury lettiþ moche prechynge of þe
gospel; for folis chargen þat more þan þe maundemenstis of
god & to studie & teche cristis gospel; for jif a man faile in

1. baistale X. 2. omitted X.
his ordynale men holden that grete synne & reprowen hym for of faste, but if a preste breke that hestis of god men chargen that litel or noust; & so if prestis seyn here matynes, masse & enensong aftir salisbury vese, pei hem self & opere men demen it is ynow; pou; pei neiper preche ne teche that hestis of god & that gospel. & that pei wenen that it is ynow; to fulfille synful mennuus ordynaunce & to leue that ristfulleste ordynaunce of god that he chargid prestis to performe. but, lord, what was prestis office ordeyned bi god before that salisbury vese was maad of proude prestis, couteitous, lecherous * & dronkelewe? *[p. 169 MS.] where god that dampe that alle ydelnesse chargen I hem not at that full wij that beste occupacion for hem self & opere men? hou doren synful folis chargen cristis prestis wij so moche Burden of so many rules; nouelrie, & euermore cloute more to, that pei may not frely do goddis ordynaunce? for that lieu in that olde lawe hadn not so manye seremonyes of sacrificces ordeyned bi god as prestis han now ristis & reulis maade of synful men. And that that olde lawe in that charious customes mesten nedes cesse for fredom of cristis gospel; but that fredom is more don awei bi that nouelrie that bi customes of that olde lawe; & that many grete axen where a prest may wij-outen dedly synne seie his masse wij-outen matynys; & pei demen it dedly synne, a prest to fulfille that ordynaunce of god in his fredom wij-oute nouelrie of synful men, that lettiij prestis fro that betre occupacion, as if pei demen it dedly synne to leue that worse king & take that betre whoame pei may not do bope to-gidre. & that, lord, that owen ordynaunce that pou madist for that prestis is holden erroor & distroiid for that fonyyd nouelrie of synful foolis, & in cas of fendis is helle. ¶ But here men moste be war that vnder colour of that fredom pei ben betre occupied in that lawe of god to studie & teche it, & not slou, ne ydel in ouermoche sleep & vanyte & opere synnes, for that is that fendis pantre. ¶ See now that blyndnesse of that foolis; pei seyn that a prest may be excused fro seiyng of masse that god comandid him self

1 chargen X. 2 teching AA.
to be substance per-of, so hat he here on. But he schal not be excused but if he seie matynes et euensong him self hat synful men han ordeyned, & þus þei chargen more here owene fyndynge þan eristis comaulement. A lord, if alle þe studie et travaille þat men han now abowte salisbury vs wip multitude of newe costy portoe, antifenes, gruails, et alle oþere bokis weren turned in-to makyng of bibliis & in studiyng et techynge per-of, how moche schulde goddis lawe be forpered et known et kep, & now is so moche it is hyndrid, vnsstudied et vnkept. lord, how schulden riche men ben excused þat oosten so moche in grete schapellis et costy bokis of mannus ordynauue for fame et nobleis of þe world, et wolen not spende so moche aboute bokis of goddis lawe et for to studie hem et teche hem, sib þis were wip-outte comparison betre on alle siddis et lyþtter et sykerere. but it men þat known þe freedom of goddis ordynauue for prestis to be þe beste wip grete sorow of herte seyn here matynes, masse et euensong, whanne þei schulden ellis be betre occupied, last þei sclauadren þe sike conscience of here breþeren þat þit knownet not goddis lawe. god bryng þes prestis to þe freedom to studie holy writt, et lyue þer-after, et teche it oþer men frely, et to preie as long et as moche as god meue þem þer-to, et ellis turne to oþere medeful werkis, as erist et þis apostis diden; et þat þei ben not constreyned to blabre alle day wip tonge et grete oþynge, as pies et iaiet, þing þat þei knownet not et to peiere here owen soule for default of wis deuociun et charite.

Also bysynesse of worldly ocupacion of prestis letþþ prechynge of þe gospel, for þei ben so bessy þer* aboute et namely is herte, þat þei þenklen litel on goddis lawe et han no sauour þer-to. And seyn þat þei don þus for hospitalite et to releue pore men wip dedis of charite; but, hou euere men speken, it his for here owen couetise, et lustful lif in mete et drynk et precious clopis, et for name of þe world in fedyngþ of riche men, et litel et nouþt comeþ frely

1 & X. 2 omitted X.
to pore men but han most ende. But preis prestis schulden sue Crist in manere of lif & trewe teychnge; but Crist lefte sich occupation, and his apostlis also, & weren betre occupied in holy preire & trewe teychnge of pe gospel; & pis determi-
nacion & ful sentence was joun of alle pe apostlis to-gidre whanne pei hadden resceyned pe plentuous pittis of pe holy gost. Lord! where pe worldy prestis ben wisere than ben alle pe apostlis of Crist? it semeth pei ben or ellis pei ben 1 fooles. also Crist wolde not take pe kyngdom when pe puple wolde hane mad him kyng, as iones gospel calleth; but if it haade be a prestis 3 office to dele aboute peus bodily 2 almes, Crist pe coude best have do pis office wolde hane take pe tempereal goodis to dele hem among poesere men; but he wolde not do peus, but fey and took no man of pe apostles with him, so faste he hiede. lord, where worldy prestis kusen bettere don pis partinge of worldly goodis then 4 ihū Crist? And if pei seyn pat crist sedde pe puple in desert with bodily almes manye thousand, as pe gospel saiþ; pat dide crist by miracle to shewe his godhede and to toche prestes hou; pei schulden fede gostly cristene men by goddis word; for so dide cristis apostles and hadde not where-of to do bodily almes, when pei miten haue had tresour and iuelis y-nowe of kynggis & lordis. Also petor saiþ in dedis of Acts iii 6, apostlis to a pore man pat to him neifier was gold ne siluer, and it he performede wel pe office of a trewe prest; but oure prestis ben so bysey aboute worldly occupacioun pat pei semen bettere bailynes or renes han gostly prestis of ihū Crist. For what man is so bysey aboute marchawadise and other worldly doyngis as ben preostes, pat shulden ben lyt of heuenely lif to alle men aboutem hem? but certes pei shulde he as bysey aboute studyinge of goddys lawe and holy prayer, not of famularum but of holy desires and clee meditacion of god; and trewe techinge of pe gospel, as ben laboreris aboute worldly labour for here sustenaunce; and muche more bysie

1 omitted X.  2 apostlis AA.  3 bodi X.  4 of X.
OF FEIGNED CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE.

Of to lyue wel and ensaample of holy lif to pe people is holden to yue hem dymes or offringis or ony bodily almes; and perfors prestis shulde not leue ensaample of good lif & studyinge of holi writ & trewe techinge of no bodily almes, ne for worldly goodis, ne for sauynge of here bodily lif. and as crist sauede pe world by writynge & techinge of four Euaungelists, so pe fend castetb to dampne pe world and prestis for lettynge to preche pe gospel by pes four; by feyned contemplacious, by song, by salisbury vse, & by worldly bysynes of prestis. God for his mercy styre pes prestis to preche pe gospel in word, in lif, and bewar of satanas disceitis. Amen.

1 omitted X. 2 ne X.
XI.

THE PATERNOSTER.

This tract should be compared with that printed by Mr. Arnold (S. E. W. III. 98), to which it has many points of likeness.

It is not improbable that Wyclif should have written more than one tract in explanation and praise of the Lord's Prayer, since he was never tired of opposing its excellence to the vanity of the church prayers of his day. There is nothing here which enables us to fix either date or authorship with certainty, but I take the tract to be genuine from its close connexion with that which follows, as to which I have scarcely any doubt.

The tract is found only in X. from which it has been copied.

SUMMARY.

The prayer is taken by petitions, each of which is explained, and to each is assigned some special virtue. Finally comes a praise of the prayer and of Christ's goodness in giving it to us.
Oure fadir \( \hat{p} \) art \( \hat{p} \) ir heuenes, halwid be \( \hat{p} \)i name. \( \hat{p} \)i reume or kyngdom come to \( \hat{p} \). be \( \hat{p} \)i wille don in her\( \hat{p} \)e as it is doun in heuene. \( \hat{p} \)ene to vs to-day oure ech e dayes bred. & for\( \hat{p} \)ene to vs oure dettis, \( \hat{p} \)at is oure synny, as we for\( \hat{p} \)uen ooure dettours, \( \hat{p} \)at is to men \( \hat{p} \)at han synned in vs. & lede vs not in-to temptacion, but delyuere vs from euyl. amen, so be it. Whasne we seyn, oure fadir \( \hat{p} \)at art in heuenes, we ben taunt to loue ech e \( \hat{o} \)here as bre\( \hat{p} \)ren of oure fadir & o moder bodily, & moche more, si\( \hat{p} \) god is oure fadir \( \hat{p} \at made vs of nou\( \hat{p} \)t; & we ben taunt to lyuen in mekenesse ech e to \( \hat{o} \)here, & to desire heuenly \( \hat{p} \)ings, as \( \hat{v} \)ertues \& holy lif, & don alle oure dedis preuyly \& apte for \( \hat{p} \)e honoure of god & \( \hat{p} \)e bliyse of heuenes; & so oure lif ow\( \hat{p} \) to be in heuenys be holy desir & lastynge. & \( \hat{p} \at at \( \hat{p} \)at bigynnynge we moten be meke \& in charite to alle men, bope cristene \& he\( \hat{p} \)ene, & frendis \& enemys, \& ellis we ben not wor\( \hat{p} \)i to preie \( \hat{p} \)is pater noster. whasne we seyn, halwid be \( \hat{p} \)i name, we preien \( \hat{p} \at we ben maad holy \& stable in \( \hat{v} \)ertues bi \( \hat{p} \)e holy name of god \& his grace \& his \( \hat{v} \)ertue; \( \hat{p} \at we ben holy bi grace as oure fadir god is holy of hym self. in \( \hat{p} \)is word we axen deuoutly sadnesse of fei\( \hat{p} \), wi\( \hat{p} \)-oute whiche fei\( \hat{p} \) we may not plese god; & we preien \( \hat{p} \at alle manere of pride, bope in pou\( \hat{p} \)t & spekyynge & dede \& alle manere berynyg & conteneu-nunce, be putt awey fro vs, for suche pride maki\( \hat{p} \) men luciferis children; \( \hat{p} \at alle manere verre menkeseness be grounded in vs a\( \hat{p} \)enat \( \hat{p} \)is pride, for verrey mekenesse maki\( \hat{p} \) vs goddis children. \( \hat{p} \at whasne we seyn \( \hat{p} \)at kyngdom or reume come to \( \hat{p} \), we preien \( \hat{p} \at alle men \& wommen lyuyng in \( \hat{p} \)is world \( \hat{p} \at schullen be sauyd, \& alle \( \hat{p} \at ben departed come \( \hat{p} \)e Bliyse of Heuene as soone as god wol, to see \( \hat{p} \)ere oure bliyse blissed spoue ih\( \hat{p} \) crist, \& haue endeles ioie wi\( \hat{p} \) his \& his angelis \& seyntis. for alle angelis \& men \& wommen \( \hat{p} \at schullen be sauyd ben goddis kyngdom \& holy chirche; &
oure lord ihū is kyng of his reume & heed of his holy chyrche; & alle þo þat schullen be dampaignd in helle ben deuelis chyrche or synagoge, & þe deuel is here false prince & kyng, but repere her tirant. & here we axen trewe hope we pray for hope & lastynge to haue þe blisse of heuene, be mercy ofoure god & bi oure goode lif & endynge in perfet charite. in þis word and chariti.
we preien þat alle cursed enuye & hate be putt awye from vs, & þat alle brenynge charite to god & oure euene cristene be so sadly rotyd in vs þat it faile neuere in þis lif for no þing þat may be. ¶ Whasane we seyn, þei wille be don in erþe 3rd petition. riþ as it is in heuene, we preien þat we don þe wille of god wiþ-outen any errour & wiþ-outen any cessynge, as blissed ausgelis don euere in heuene, & þat we don þis wille of god wiþ riþ fulle wnderstondynge, & wiþ grete desir & ioie & likynge, & not wiþ heuynesse & gruychynge. ¶ In þis word we axen þat is alle þingis oure wille be conformed to goddis wille, þat no þing may departe oure wille & our loue fro god, þat is eneles good & riþful. ¶ And here we preien algatis to geten þe hese vertue of charite, wiþ-outen whiche alle opere þingis ben not worþi to vs to brynge vs to heuene. & here we preien þat god kepe vs fro wickid conceitise of worldly goodis, þat we offenden not goddis comauedementis and to be kept from breaking God's commandments.
worldly goodis; for þat bi brekyng of goddis hestis, as bi false sweryngis, false measure or weijtis, or ouy sleijtte, getiþ or holdiþ his neiþeboris goodis, doþ not goddis wille, but is þat & traitour of god & his neiþeboris bi goddis lawe. ¶ Whasane we seyn, þeue vs to-dayoure sothe dayes breed, we 4th petition. preien for nedeful sustenance of oure body, & for to haue We pray for bodily sustenance vnderstondynge & kepynge of goddis word, & namely of his hestis þat ben gostly sustenaunce of oure soule, & þat we han þis sustenaunce trewely geten, not by raueyne ne extoraion ne honestly got, falsenesse, but þat it be speawd in servuyce of god & his drede;
¶ In þis word we preien to haue þe vertue of prudence to knowe whicohe and for prudence.
THE PATERNOSTER.

sustenancy is needful & resonable to vs, & what we owen to
do for to god, & is what meure we schullen take it, to
putte away alle manere glotonye & dronkenesse & corioustie
& wast of metis & drynkis; for pis glotonye & dronkenesse
maken men to loue more here bely & here golet þan god
almyßty; *for þei maken here wombe here false god, as seynt
poule seiy. Whasne we seyn, & for-þeue vsoure dettis, þat
is our synnes, as we forȝen to houre dettouris, þat is to
men þat han trespassed æsenst vs, we¹ preien þat god haue
mercy on vs as we han mercy on hem þat han wræþpid vs.
certis; if we han no mercy on hem þat trespasen æsenst vs,
we preien god æsenst our owene heed þat he dawpne vs for
oure synyns. but here men moten forȝene þe rancour, hate
& eny wille of here herte to here neigebors, but þei may
lawefull pursu worldly dette, so þat þei do þis bi inuste
menes, & kepe pacience & charite; & þif men ben pore &
iust of lif & wolden fayn paie, & treuete bialy þerfore in
trenþe, & ben not wastouris of here litle god, þasne þis
preiere wolet þat siche² pore ben not prisonyd ne peyned, but bi
pacience & mercy suffer til þei may paie. In þis word³ we
preien to haue þe vertue of riȝtwinnesse to putten out
unresonable wræþpe & vengance, & holde vs sadde in
þerrey mercy & pacience æsenst malencolie & puttynge away
of reson, so þat reson & mercy reule welle alle oure stiryngeis
of herte & speche & doynge. Whasne we seyn, & ne lede
vs not in-to temptacion, we preien þat god suffre vs not bi
wiþdrawynge of his grace & helpe be ouercomen in tempta-
tions of þe deuyl, of þe world, & of þe fleschly lustis or soule
delectacious. for it is profitable to be temptid & wiþ-stonde
þe temptacies bi helpe of god & his angelis, for þere isoure
mede & ioie restorid; but it is euyl to ben ouercomen in þis
temptacion, & þat schal not be but be oure owene negligence
& alouste & fals likynge in synne. þerfore in þis word we
preien to haue þe vertue of gostly strengþe, to be strong bi

¹ MS. he. ² MS. which. ³ MS. world.
helpe of the holy gost a-pris alle temptaciones, & hat we ben not hardid in synne, but hat we waken in holy preieris &
good occupacion, & haue saad mynde of the schortnesse of
lykyng in synne, & on the bittre peyne of purgatorie & helle;
& if we wolen, bi the mynde & occupacion siy goodis grace
& helpe is redy, we schullen ovessomen alle alle temptaciones
& gete ovre corone in heuene wiþ-outen ende. ¶ Whanne we
seyn, but delyuere vs fro enyl, we preien hat god delyuere
8th petition.
vs from alle enyl of synne & peyne bope of body & soule in
his lif & in purgatorie & namely fro peyne of helle, & hat
we falle not in-to dispeir of goddis mercy for olde rotynge &
custome is synne. In his word we preien to have the vertue
of temperance, to take so worldly goodis & myrpe hat we
forstten not god is heuene lyblise, & hat we tempore so he
styrnggis of ovre fleische hat we delen not fleischly wiþ
any woman but if it be is verrey & laweful *matrimonye; & is *[p. 175 MS.]
drede of god, & not as bestis wiþ-outen reson, hat ben alle
seit abouten here lustis & forstten god & alle his werkis.
for the archangel raphael tawte tobie hat he deyl hav power
Tobit. VI. 17.
ouer aiche men hat þus desoulen he ordre of matrimonye &
don al for here lustis & forstten god & his drede & don as
bestis wiþ-outen discresicion. ¶ God delyuere vs from alle enyl of
synne preuy & apert, & namely fro enduryng synne &
dispeir of goddis mercy, & fro bodaly werris & vengawse &
peynes, bope is his lif & purgatorie & helle; & graunt vs bi
riht feil trewe & perfet charite to gete heueneblis. se be it
ihū for þi gret mercy. ¶ Certis theis pater noster passiþ alle
opere preieris is auctorite, in sotilte & perfet bope of soule &
body. It is of most auctorite; for oure lord ihū orist, god &
man, made it & comaued cristene men to seie it; but opere
preieris ben made bi men, & enclosed noon opere sentence
han dop þis pater noster, but if it be errore. þerfore as ihū
orist is more worþi þan opere synful men, so þis pater noster
is of more auctorite þan is preiere maad of opere men, þou;
here preiere be good. þis pater noster is more sotil þan

1 Scored through in MS.
The Paternoster.

īpere preieris; for it is maad of endeles wisdom & charite of Crist, & enclosep alle ḷinkyngis ᵇat ben nedful bope for body & soule in ᵇis world & ᵇe toper; & oure lord ihū made it in schorte wordis & moche witt, for men schulden not be heuy ne excusen hem fro kunynge & seynge perch-of. it is of most profit, for if a man seie it wel he ne schal faile no ūping ᵇat is nedful & proffitable for bodily lif & virtuous, to brynge men to heuene & haue blisse in body & soule wip-outen ende. lord, hop moche ben ᵇei to blame ᵇat bisien hem aboute preieris maade of synful men & leuen ᵇis pater nošer ᵇat is best & most hesy of alle, & comprehendip alle goodis for body & soule. blissed be ᵇis endeles gode lord, ᵇat of his endeles wisdom & charite taupte ᵇis schorte preiere. Amen.
XII.

THE AVE MARIA.

I have no doubt of the genuineness of this tract. The tone and manner are Wyclif's, and the invective against the frivolity of the gentry suits better a man who had lived at court than one of the obscure poor preachers. Besides the general style there is one passage which bears a special mark of Wyclif. On page 208 we are told, "God the Trinity is with each creature ... to keep it; for else it should turn to naught." The belief of the immanence of God in all created things is one which Wyclif held firmly. (Cf. Cum ergo in qualibet creature est Trinitas increata.—*Trial*, iv. 27.) The doctrine was brought into popular use in his latest controversies on the Eucharist, but used as it is here, in a different connexion and incidentally, it is a sign of the hand of the master rather than one of his pupils.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the MS. A, 4. 12., at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, which I have distinguished in the notes as SS.

**Summary.**

- How this invocation is made up, and the lesson from it. p. 204
- The evil of women who are given to vanity. 204
- Prevalence of frivolity among gentlefolk. 205
- Gross amusements at Christmas. 206
- The bad spirit prevalent in courts. 207
- How God was with Mary and is in men. 208
Hail thou, marie, ful of grace, sir lord is wiþ he. blissed be thou among wyssmen, & blissed be he fruyt of þi wombe, ihú crist. amen. so be it. þe arcangel gabriel sent of god grette oure ladie seynte marie wiþ þes wordis, heil. be þou ful of grace. þe lord is wiþ þe. blissed be þou among wyssmen. & he seide no moo wordis, as þe firste gospel of seynt luk techip, but elizabeth, þe modir of seynt ion baptist, seide þes wordes to oure lady whanne sche hadde conseyned crist; blissed be þou among wyssmen & blissed be he fruyt of þi wombe. as þe same gospel techip;* but cristene men for deocucion adden to þes tweie wordis, marie & ihú crist; * & men seyn þat popis graunte moche pardón þerfore, but hou euere it be of pardón, þis addyng to is trewe, for þe gospel techip vs þes names & þei stiren men to deocucion. ¶ Here men & wyssmen, & namely gentil wyssmen, schulden lerne mekenesse, chastite, charite, sobirmesse & schamefastenesse, to be aschamyd of eche euyl speche, & namely of lecherie & euyl contenance of synne & ribaudrie & vilonye & lerne holy deocucion, & þanne þei worschipen wel ihú here gostly spouse & seynt marie his modir; & þif þei lyuen is pride of harte for nobeleie of blood or kyn & rentis & richessis of þe world, & han isdignacion & dispit of oþere pore men or wyssmen; 10 & deylent hem is lecherie in ony degree; or in hate & enuye or glotonye & dronkenesse & boldnesse is synne, & colouren & meyntenen it and lyuen is riot, daunysyne & lepyng is nyttis & alepen out of reson on þe morwe, & forgeten god & his drede & deocucion of prairies; what enøre here tonge blabre, here euyl lif blasphemþ & dispisþ boþe ihú here noble spouse & his modir marie, tresour of cleanness & deocucion. ¶ And þif þei
THE AVE MARIA.

maken hem more bisi in herte & dede to be 1 gaie and costelewe of array 1 of clophis & kenearche & perlis & ribanys, or siche vanytes, to maken here body fresch and 2 likynge to mennew eijen to couseiten hem, than to gete vertues is here soule to make it fair to þe holy trinity & to ihú here worpistede spouse, þei ben out of charite, & þe deuelis pantar, to kasche men in-to synne of lecherie & many moo synnes 3 & holde hem þor-inne, til sathanas drawe hem boþe in 2-to helle; & what euere nobleie or digyte þat þei han in þis world, be þei gentil men or wymmen, for þis cursed lif þei ben cherlis or bonde wymmen of synne, & fendis of helle, & gently spouse brekeris or a vuotreries, & lemmans of foule sathanas þat is foulere þan ony mesel or leprons in þis world. & but þif þei amenden hem in þis world 4 þei schullen be of hem þat god spekij of in iobis bok. 5 | þei laden, seip god, here daies is lustful goodis & myrifis of þis world & in a poyn of tyme fallen down in-to helle. suimtyme curtesie & genterie was vertouse 6 lif & honest in word & dede & alle manere of good 7 berynge, & suster of holynesse; but now it is turned in-to vanye & nysete & knackis & iapis & is sate of synne, of pride, of rebaudiure, sleuphe, couseitise, glotonye, dronkenesse & lecherie & meyntenynge of synne & hordam, 8 of wrappe & enuye & bost & cursed swerynge & wast of goodis & robbynge of pore men 9 & distroiynge of londis & good cristendom. 10

7-8 gentil wymmen, þenkiþ hou noble wommen & clene & stedefast han be forre you, as oure lady seynt marie, marie magdaleyne, susanne, katerine, margare, annys, 10 cicile 9 & 10 (p. 177 MS.) many moo, & take what goodes enssample þe may of here mekenesse & holynesse; for whanne wymmen ben turnyd fully to goodnesse ful 11 hard it is þat ony man passe hem in goodnesse. And as 12 hard it 13 is þat ony man passe hem in synne whanne þei ben turnyd to pride & lecherie & dronke-

1-1 gaie in costelewe array X. 2 in X. 3 omitted X. 4 lyfe SS. 5 þe bok of iob SS. 6 vertues X. 7 omitted X. 8 hord X. 9-9 omitted SS. 10 margarete, agnes SS. 11 omitted X. 12 omitted X.
nesse. I gesse wel pât sone wyssmen may sustyme daunsen in mesure to haue recreacion and liytynesse, so pât pêi haue pê more pounst on myrfe in heuene & drede more & loute more god pêr-by, & synge honeste songis of cristis incarnacion, passion, resureexion & ascencion, & of pê ioies of our ladi, & to dispise synne & preise vertus in alle here doynges; but nowe he pât kan best pleie a pagyn of pê deuyl, synyngynge songis of lecherie, of bataiis and of leysngis, & crie as a wood man & dispise goddis maistre & swere bi herte, bonys & alle membris of crist, is holden most merie mon & schal haue most pânk of pore & riche; & pê is clepid worshippe of pê grete solempnyte of cristismasse; & pês for pê grete kyndenesse & goodnesse pê crist die to men in his incarnacion we dispisen hym more in outrage of pride, of glotonys, lecherie & alle manere harlotrie. & bi pês doynges pê fend bryngep in iolite of body & myrfe & likynge & newe fynynge vp of synne, in-stede of holynesse & gostly ioie & herynge of god for his endeles charite, mercy, mekenesse & kyndenesse. lord, where is pê man or wyssmen pêt makiȝ hym so bisi to make his soule fair is vertues to goddis siȝtte as he makiȝ hym bisi aboute atr of body for pê siȝtte of men? Alas, pêt so gret cost & bisynesse is sette abouten pê roten body, pêt is wormes mete & a sak of drit & dust & aschis; but aboute pê soule made to pê ymage of pê trinity, & pê whiche soule crist bonȝe so dere wij, his precious herte blood, is no bisynesse to clenese it out of synne but to brynge it in-to more synne boþ nyȝt & day. litel penk pês woode men & wyssmen on cristis pouȝt & cold & pouȝt of his modir & what lif he lyuede is pês world is so gret penauce & dispit & wepynge for our synnyys & what shameful dep he suffrid at pê laste. pês lordis & ladys schulden suffre in here presence & courtis no dispisyngye of god bi wood swerynge, bi wordis of lecherie, nyȝe opere rebandrie and vreasonable

1 playen hem SS.
2 synyng SS.
3 pagent SS.
4 omitted X.
5 carnacion X.
6 vertuose X.
7 ones SS.
8 oyes SS.
9 be X.
THE AVE MARIA.

specche; for if ye suffreden any of here seruauntis to dispise ooure er jel kynge moche ponschynge schulde come to hem & ye be ben holden false & traitour to be kynge. o hou moche more traitours & false ben these worldly lordis to crist kynge of alle heuene & alle erpe & helle, whanne ye be heren sich dispit don to his maieste & refrynen not here seruauntis per-of.
coris ensample of clennesse, honeste & holynesse cam sum-
tyme * fro lordis courtis to be comyns, & ye was holy lif in [p. 178 MS.]
worschipe among pore & riche. But now come the ensample of
pride, glotonye, lecherie & hal harlotrie fro lordis courtis to be
comyns. And here-fore regne synne in alle manere peple
wij-ouent schame. *bus ye send blyndi men to elepe his
cursed hauntynges of arlotrie & synne gret worschipe of god,
& to elepe devocion of preziers & sade mynde of cristis powert,
penaunce & depe & of ye day of dome ypocrisie & folie; &
suche men ben men not worpi to dwelle in lordis courtis, laste ye
dryuen away ye deyuyl & his scold of synne & vanyte to
dispensynge of songe, nyce folis, & bryngen in crist in-to
oristenn mensus soulis & his scold of vertues & honeste in
joust, worde & dede, to plseynges of god & sauynge of
mensus soulis. ¶ Heil marie, pat is wel be to ye, marie; or
ioie be to ye. for bi pat wooman eue cam scrowe, peyne &
woo to mannyande for sche tristed not sadly to goddis word
but tristed to ye fendis gabyngue & oueouit ouermoche
knysnyng & disgnyte; but bi sad bileue & mekenesse &
charite of marie cam ioie & saluacion to mannyande, for her
bi sche conseynede crist as ye gospel seip. *perfore flee
lesynge & pride & holde sadly bileue of goddis word with
mekenesse & charite & hou schalt haue part of maries ioie &
blisse of heuene eneresmore. marie cristis modir was ful of
grace. seynyt steuene was ful of grace, as holy writt seip, Acts vi. 8.
but lasse ye banoure lady, & oure swete lord ihu was ful of
grace aboue steuene & oure ladi per-to. & so ye ben tre

1-1 omitted X.  3 as false traitours SS.
4 dispisyng SS.  6 omitted X.
5 omitted X.  7 in X.  8-8 omitted X.
6 mem SS.  8-8 blosyng & ye SS.
degrees of plente of grace. he leste of his plente was is steuene, he mydil is oure lady, but he most is oure lord ihū crist. ¶ God he triynte is wiþ ech creature bi myst, wisdom & goodnesse to kepe it, for ellis it schulde turne to noþt; but god is wiþ gode men of vertuous lif bi grace to approune & accepte here doyngis & helpe hem þer-ins, to rewarde hem in blisse þerfor, & dwellþ in here soulis as his owen temple, & makþ hem ioifully dwelle in his seruyce & suffre gladly alle dispitis & persecucion for his name; but god is in angelis & seyntis in heuene bi dier schewynge of his godhed to heus & makyng hem to knowe alle þingis & haue alle þat enære þei desieren wiþ-outen ony anoye or peyne. ¶ Blissed be þou among wyssmen; þat is more þan ony oþer womman, for noon oþer was so sad in bilee ne so make ne so chast ne so goode in alle manere holynesse & namely is brennyng charite. þif þou wilt haue part of maries blisse & goddis blissynge sue marie in þis holy lif & namely in þes seuene, feþ, hope, & charite, & mekenesse, chastite, soburnesse, & brynnyng desir of riȝtwisnesse. And blissed be þe fruyt of þi womþ: þat is ihū, for bi his mercy & grace comeþ alle goodnesse, & namely bi his trewe techynge & wilful deþ & endeles myst, be whiche he schal reise alle men at domes day & þif blisse of heuene is bodi & soule to þo þat ende is perfet charite. god þeue vs grace to þenke on cristis mercy & riȝtwisnesse & maries sadnesse in bilee, & mekenesse to make ende in perfet charite. Amen.

¹ suffriþ X. ³ in X.
XIII.

HOW SATAN AND HIS CHILDREN, ETC.

The tiresome series of antitheses between Christ and the fiend with which this tract begins are in Wyclif's worst manner, if indeed they are his.

The characteristic point of this tract is its insistence on the hardships of imprisonment for debt, on the cruelty of those who inflict it unjustly, (pp. 211 and 214), and on the folly of those who fall into it through drunkenness (p. 217). I do not remember any other tract in which this point is pressed so much.

Whoever the author was, he knew the poor and felt for them; notice, among other things, his description of the bed-rid poor as couching on muck or dust (p. 211), and his complaint that the aged poor had to drink water and fell into fevers. (Did he look upon wine as a febrifuge?)

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA., where the first chapter and part of the second are wanting.

Summary.

Chap. I. The works of bodily mercy are enumerated, and the perversions of them prevalent among bad priests, etc. p. 210

II. Contains a similar list of contrasts as to the works of spiritual mercy 212

III. The temptations offered us by the five senses are enumerated and contrasted with the right use of the senses. 216
Hou sathanas & his children turnen werkis of mercy vpsodom & disceyuen men þer-inne & in here fyue wittis.

Capitulum primum.

First crist comaundij men of power to fede hungrí pore men; þe fend & his techen to make costy festis & waste many goodis on lordis & riche men & to suffre pore men sterue & þerische for hunger & òhere myscheuys; þe, men þat feynen hem ful of charite & religion gadren propr goodis to hem seluen & festen delicatly lordis & ladies & riche men & suffre here pore breþren begge for meschef & fare ful harde. crist comaundij to þeue drynk to þrusty men & wymmen; þe fend & his techen to puruyey heþ wyn & spised ale & strong for riche men & lordis to make hem drunken & chide & fijte & forȝete god & his lawe, & to suffre pore þat han nouȝt of here owene & may not labore for febilnesse or sikenesse & blyndenesse drynkne water & falle in feneris or ellis þerische. crist comaundij to cloþe nakyd men & wymmen whanne þei han nouȝt of here owene; þer-to þe fend & his techen to þeue costly cloþis & manye to riche men & mynstralis or shaualdours for worldly namy, & suffre pore men hane nakid sidis & schakynge lippis & hondis for cold þat woo is hem wip þe lif. þe, þeue þeris & men of singuler religion, þat taken þe charge to ben procuratouris & dispenderis of pore mennes lifiode, cloþen fatte horsis & gais saldis & bridlis & mytris & croceris wip golde & siluer & precious stonis & suffren pore men & children þerische for cold; & þit þes þeue þeris & newe religious comen in staat of cristis pouer & his apostlis, & techen & crien þat what euere þei han is pore mennes goode. þit riche men cloþen1 dede stockis & stonis wip precious cloþis, wip golde & siluer & perlis & gaynesse to þe world, & suffren pore men goo sore a cold & at moche meschefe. Crist techiþ to herbewre pore men þat han non houses ne peny to þeye for here innys; þe

1 closed MS.
fend & his techen to herberwe riche men & lordis wip gret cost & deyritte for worldly worships, & suffre pore men wander is stormys & slepe wip þe swyn, & many tymes suffre not hem come wip-isane here þatis, & to fynde many excusacions & coloure þis doyng. þe, ypocritis of priuat religion maken grete houses & costy & gaely peyntid *more *{p. 180 MS.} þan kyngis & lordis bi sotil beggynge & confessions & trentalis & meynetenynge of synne, [and] herberewe lordis & riche men & namely ladies, & suffre pore men lie wip-outhen of geten houselewth at pore men or ellis porische for wedris & cold. ¶ Crist techeth to visite sikre men & counsforthe hem & helpe hem of sustenaunce; þe fend & his techen to visiten riche men, lordis & ladies is here prosperite & lykynghe to be holden kynde & curteis, & to counsforthe ech eþer is synne & to haue Inlustis of glotonye, lecherie & òpere schrewidnessis, but of pore men þat ben beddrede & couchen is muk or dust is litél þouȝt on or naȝt. ¶jit ypocritis of feyned religion visiten not fadirles children & modirles & widewis in here tribulacion & kepe not hem self vnbleckid fro þis world, as seynst iame techeth: but visete oft riche men & wymmen, & namely riche widewis, for to gete worldly muk by false discetics & carien it home to caymes castellis & antíchristis couent & sathanas children & marteris of gloytoneye. ¶ Crist techeth to visite men in prison & helpe to delynere hem in good manere & counsforthe hem bi almes þeuynghe; þe fend & his presonen pore men for dette whanne þei ben not at power to pai, & traveile nyȝt & day & lyuen ful harde, & to lyue wip trowþþe & susteynen¹ wif & children, & on hem is no mercy. þit feyned religious men pursuyn pore prestis to prison & to breynynge bi many cursed leynysis & sclaundrynge priue & apert, for as molecel as þei prechen trewly & frely cристis gospel & goddis heatis & reprouen here ypoðrisie, symonye, conetisse & òpere discetics; & þit þes ypocritis blenden lordis & prelatis to enprison siche pore prestis techynge þe trenoþe bi commande-ment & ensaumpel of crist & his apostlis, not-wipstondynge

¹ susteynem MS.
 HOW SATAN AND HIS CHILDREN, ETC.  [CHAP. I.

Burial of the dead.

Religious fight for the "carrion" of rich men, but will make no room for the poor.

[p. 181 MS]

Christ says we should teach God's commandments;

the devil teaches tricks of money-getting,

and stirs up patrons to give cures to men who are foolish and worldly.

A poor wretch of a curate looks after the parish,

Werkis of mercy ben worse turned vposdous. Crist sel īt i is a souereyn werk of mercy & charite to teche vnlernyd men þe riȝte weie to huenene, þast is þe gospel & goddis commandememtesis; þe fend & his seyn it is grete charite to teche þonge men & oþere soþil craftis & nedelis & queynte sleȝtis to diceyue scepische men of worldly goddis & make hem self riche & bestful & proude. & þe fend bi soþil menys of ypocrisie & symonye stireþ lordis & mystty men to make an ydiot & fool curature of cristene soulis, þast neiphe may ne kan ne woole, for his opyn synne & worldly lif & iognoransse of holy writt & nelegiscence & worldly vanye & drede of worldly shame & loos, teche hem goddis lawe, ne suffre oþere to teche hem frely & trewely wiþ-outen flaterynge for drede last his owene falsnesse be knowen; & þit þes cursed auansynge is clepid charite to helpe þus a pore man. But an ydiot & a lecherous wrecche schal be sett to kepe þe soulis for litel pris, & þe more lorel goo on hankynge & husytynge,
& servce in lordis courtis, in worldly offices, & pe deuyl drawip
t with his helpis alle pat he may to helle & his is clepid mercy
& charite; but his deuelis charite puttip oute charite & lonne
of god & bryngip is lonne of money & synne & hate of vertues
& cristene soulis. Crist seip it is werk of mercy to conseile at
porti hou a man schal best lyue in pis or pis special poynct.

Puell & his seyn it is mercy & charite to conseile men to
holde forp craftis pat pei vseen ajenst here conscience &
excusen hem bi almes, as masse syngynge & makynge of
needles houses & costly. & whasene clerkes schullen conseile
lordis & opere men hou pei may best servce god & saue here
souls in here a-staat, pis conseil is turned in-to worldly
wisdom as bldynge of castellis & arraiynge of housholde in
lond of pees & of werre. & whasene it [is] reserved to pe
holy gost to rome vterly conseil in special poynctis pat ben not
expressly comaundid ne forbidden in holy writ, worldly clerkis
ful of pride, symonye, coueitise & opere synyns; seuen fulbut
conseil ajenst pe holy gost & ajenst pe helpe of pe soule for
here owene pride & coueitise; & pis conseil of pe holy gost
& profit of souls¹ is putty hynde & conseil of pe world &
pe fleisch & of satanaas is putty forp. God biddip pe lordis &
souereyns schullen in resonable manere chastise here sugetis,
servauantis & children whasene pei trespaasen opynly in word
or dede ajenst goddis comaundementis; pe fend & his techen
pat sugettis & servauantis ben cruelly beten, pyned, prisioned
& sumtyme hangid & drawen for worldly trespas & defaute
of here *servuyce doynge, & vnreuerence ajenst worldly *[p. 182 MS.]
souereyns, but of trespas & dispit of god & his lawe no
charge but mirle³ & liynge & iapyng. worldy prelatis of
antioch seyn pat lordis schullen chastise here sugetis of
worldly causes, but not of lecherie ne pride ne foreswerynge,
be it neuer so opyn, for pat longe to iuridicion of prelatis;
nepeles si pei han money of pes lecherous peues pei schullen
lie is here cursed synne fro peer to peer, pe be al here lif si fyn rentis.

¹ AA begins here, the first part of the tract being lost. ² my pe X.
pei paien moche & redily. clerkis seyn þat lordis ben cursed
þif þei chastisen hem, þou; þei ben neuere so foule lecherous
& neuere so cursed heretikis, for symonye & coueitise &
meyntenynge of synne & robbynge1 pore tenaustis bi extor-
cions for antioristis correccions & veyn halwynge of chirchis
& auteris & operis iapis. 2lord, soone & esely schulde synne
be hurild oute of lond þif lordis wolden in al here wille, al
here witt & power dispise synne & synful wrocchis, & preise
& meyntenene vertue & vertuous men; & certis þei ben holden
her-to v p payne of dampancion, for ellis þei failen in mercy
& charite. god techip it is mercy to cousorten men fallen in
myschif & diseese. þe2 fend & his tochen þat it is almes to
pursuen men3 to prisonynge & exilynge whanne þei ben
brouht doune bi sodeyne loos, as breynnynge & robbynge, for
riche men beren hem on honde þat it is for here synne &
mysreulynge of hem self, & ellis operis broplelis wolden renne
away wip riche mennus good, & þer-flore þei schulden be seet
in strong prison til þei perische for hungur & myschef &
dispeiren & grucchen ãñestr god; & þus for loue of rotyn dritt
þei don þat is in hem to dampne many soulis. þit worldly
clerkis curseñ for dymes & offrynge, þou; men ben ful pore &
þei don no þing here offis, & veyn religious cessen not to begge
& crane of pore men, þou; here rente be bihynde & here
werk4 bestis in distresse & wif & childe hungry & nakyd, &
so þei bryngen hem in-to more myschif & cousorten hem not
but bi lesyngis & falsely grauntynge of gostly helpe, þat is not
in here power but only in goddis5 denynge. þGod techip
þat it is mercy to forseue trespasis & wrongis don ãñestr men
hem self & algatis rancor & ewil wille of herte; þe fend &
his seyn þat it is manlynesse & rjtwisnesse & almes to betyn
gadlyngis & be vengid on hem þat don hem wrong, for ellis
þeues & lorellis wolden ouerrenne hem & here sugetis wolden
not drede hem; but comynly þis chastysynge is don bi pride,
couveitise & out of charite. & þou; lordis & grete men wynnen

1 robben AA.
2 omitted X.
3 omitted X.
4 wrek X.
5 omitted X.
6 of X.
7 goode X.
herby worldly name & temporal goodis, þei lesen charite & here soule þat ben worþi a thousand *fold betre þan alle erþely *(p. 183 MS.) tresour. ¶ God seip it is mercy & charite to suffre men mekely & wisly whanne þei ben out of resone as wroþ & malencolious; þe fend & his seyn þat þis is1 cowardis & leesynge of worldly name & boldynge of eynyl doeris; & þerefore for o schrewed word a man mot quyte anþer or moþ, & so of eynyl dedis comeþ hate & strif, & siþtynghe & pleynghe be reised & witt & resone & charite exilid, & many men perischid in bodi & soule. god commaundip vs to loue oure enemys of oure herte & doo good to men þat hatip2 vs & preie for men þat pursuen vs wrongfully & falsly; þe deuyl & his seyn þat it is riþful to hate oure enemys & don heuyl & harm to hem þat haten vs & falsy pursuen vs, & axe vengausse of oure enemys & fals pursueris, for allis we schulles norische oure enemys in here syane & ouerrenne vs & distroie vs, oure wiþis & children & goodis, & þerefore we willen defende vs þe while þat we may. trewe men seyn to þe fend & his disciplis þat þif we kepen goddis hestis oure god wole fijten for vs & maken oure enemys afferd, & bi oure goode pacience & charite & herti þreynghe for oure enemys3 þei schulden be goddis grace ceese of here wrong & turne to pees & charite; & þis is liþtere & betere þan to conquere al þe erþe bi dynt of swerid. & þif oure enemys ben endurid in synne, as was pharaoo, oure godde wolde ordeyne þe beste for vs boþe for body & soule þif we kepen mekenesse, pacience & charite; & siþ werris comen to men for synnys let men leue here carwed synne & god of mercy & pees wole þene vs reste & pees of alle erþely enemyes. bi þes cautelis & many moþ the fend & his disciplis distroien werkis of mercy & fallen in-to loos of þingis þat þei coucitn mochel & in-to endelis myscheifes þat þei wolen to askape, for þei wolen not be reulid bi goddis lawe & resone but bi hire wille, & þerefore alle þingis schal turne a þenst hem at þe laste.

1 omitted X. 2 haten AA. 3 synnys AA.
Capitulum 3^

The devil makes our five senses means of sin.

Sight is used by the devil to stir up lust.

Covetousness.

[p. 184 MS.]

Hearing leads them to lust, slander, and vain swearing.

Smelling leads to luxurious eating and drinking.

Lust is good gouernale of men: first he² stirip men to seen vanye of his world & setten here herte þer-onne & forgaten god & his werks; also he stirip men to see faire wymmen, & bryngiþ mynde of hem & greet likynge of lecherie in-to menynus hertis til þei consenten to synne & fulfillen it in dede. \[Also whasne men seen lordischipis of his world & precious iueis & gold & siluer, faire hors & sheep & opere goodis, þe fend stirip hem to desire hem vnskilfully & sette more here herte on hem þan on vertues & blisse of heuene; \[þasne þei fallen in-to pride & couetise & opere synynys, but men schulden see *goddis werks, as heuene & erfe, \[goddis creaturis & herbi knowen þe myþ, þe wytt & goodnesse of þe lord þat made alle þinges of not, \[þat drede hys over alle þinges & loue him over alle creaturis. \[Whasne men schulden here goddis comauandematis & poynatis of charite & riȝtwisnesse & treuþe, þe fend stirip hem to heren foul speche of lecherie, of bacbytynge of neþebores & lesynys for to haue mynde & likynge of synne & to stir men to hate & enuye & pleydnyge & fiȝtynge, so þat meke-

nesse & pacienc & charite schulben be lost & cursednesse of synne regneþ, þat vnneþe can ony man kepe his toȝge fro fals & veyn swerynge & schrewid spekynge boþe of lecherie & false spekynge. \[Whasne men schulben is spirit smelle þe swettenesse & þe holynesse of ihú crist & his lif, & smelle bi bodiliwitt þe swettenesse & good odour of herbis & spicis & trees & opere creaturis, to loue god & serue god & herie hym for his goodnesse, þe fend stirip men to sette here lust in smellynge of lekerous metis & drynkis & to take over-mochil of hem, til þei lesen here wittis & forgaten god & his seruyce & fallen in lecherie & alepen as hooggis, & chiden & ñytten as woode hounds, & sweren herte & bonys, & curen

¹ in X. ² þei X. ³ omitted X.
& warien & prechen opynly cursed lesyngis, & seuen en-
example of synne as cruel fendis of helle. for bi pis doyngs
bei blasphemmen god & styres men to synne more spedyly ban
don many poussand fendis bi hem self. whasne men schulden
taste & take mete & drynk in reasable mesure to sustene Taste
here lif & labore, & por-fore banck god & servy hym mekely
& wilfully & loue hym hertly, þe fend stiriþ men to sewe
here owene lustis of flesch, to walwe in glotonye & drouskenes-
ness as swyn in þe feen, þat þer is neiþer witt ne reson in
hem, ne myst to goo on þe erþe sustyme; & to fulfix þis
stynkyng geotonomye & dronkenes þei seken many streitis
& taunnes to seke lekerous morselis & swete drynkis, &
borrowen oþer mennus catel & payen not æsen many tymes;
for hereby þei wasten here owene goodis & oþer mennus
& comen to pouert & ben casten in prison til þei steruen. &
bi þis glotonye & dronkenesse þei wasten here owen bodi &
wittis & fallen in-to sikenesse on many maneris & lesen
worldly catel & mytis of þe soule, as vnderstondyngis,
mynde & reson, & geten peynes of heil in bodi & soule, but
þif þei amende hem trewely in þis world. & þe fend techip
glotonya & dronkelewwe men to excuse þis wast on þis
manere: “God made alle goode mete & drynk couenable
for men schulden spende it & lyue þer-by;” but þei taken
non hede of þe mesure ne hou falaly þei lyuen æsenet goddis
lawe, & hou crist & his seytis tauent & veeden abstynence
& penausce, & hou cristene men schulden conquere heuene
bi brekyng þe of fleschly lustis, as crist techip in þe gospel, &
hou crist & poul & petir commaundis vs þat we schullen not
fille þe desiris of oure flesch, but as gestis or comelyngis &
pilgrimes absteynem hem fro fleschly desires þat fittten æsenet
þe soule. & certis þe lesse þat a man spende boþe of mete &
drynk & cloþe & alle oþere necessaries, so þat he be strong
to servy god & do his labour aftir þe staat þat god settip him

1 drynkenseness AA.
2 In AA. “hem” has been cancelled by underdotting. It should have
been corrected to “us.”
isane, so moche þe betre boþe for body & soule & alle opere men. but hou enure we excusen vs we wasted nedees moche gode boþe in mete & drynk & cloþis, werbi pore men schulden be helpen & we betre ærue god & lesse bisi aboute þe body & more bisy aboute god & helþe of oure soulis bi lesse cost & spendynge þif we holde orn good mesure. [De fend discayeþ men & wyssmen bi touchyng of membri ordeyned for genderure of mankynde, & bi kissyng & clippynge is þe fier of lecherie kyndlid & norischid in herte til þe dede sue, & many tymes long custome in¹ þis cursed synne. þerfore seþ þe wise man, he þat handliþ pich schal be fould þer-of: þat is men handlyng wyssmen & kyssyng hem schullen be blikkid wiþ lust of lecherie, opere in herte oper in body or ellis in boþe. þerfore ierom & seynþis seyn þat sleyinge fro suche companye & abstynence & saad traucile is best medecyne æsenst lecherie; but þis weiward dailiaunce wiþ wyssmen is so comyn þat vonþe can ony man kepe hym clene, or sengle or weddid or men of ordre of² religion. And þus it is verrifyted þat god seþ by Jeromye; dei heþ entríd by þoure wyndowis, þat ben fylene wittes. bi þes queynites & many moo þe fend discayeþ men & of instrumentis or³ menys & armu[r]e of vertue he makie instrumentis or menys & armour of synne. God graunte vs grace to haue mynde on þe peynes þat crist suffrede in his⁴ herte, in his hondis & feet, in his heed, in his siþte, & herynge, spekyng, smellynge, & tastynge, & is eche place of his bodi fro þe heued to þe sole of þe foot, & to spende alle þe myyttis of soule & bodi & oure fuye wittis trewely in his seruyce, to seke his worschipe in⁵ alle pingis & distroie synne & falsnesse boþe in oure self & opere men, & to holde & meyntene vertuous lif & riytwisnesse & pees & charite. Amen.

¹ & X. ² and AA. ³ of X. ⁴ omitted X. ⁵ & X.
XIV.

HOW RELIGIOUS MEN SHOULD KEEP CERTAIN ARTICLES.

I see nothing in this tract to give us any certainty as to its authorship. It is simply an enumeration of the faults charged against the religious orders, thrown into the form of a wish that they may be avoided.

The special points for notice are the mention of astronomy among the subjects taught in the religious schools (No. 39), and the complaint that the friars were “too homely with gentlewomen by colour of physic” (No. 38), (cf. Prof. Brewer’s preface to Monumenta Franciscana, pp. xliii-xlvi). The same charge is made in the tract Of the Leaven of Pharisees. The abuse of bishoprics in partibus infidelium conferred on men who only desire episcopal orders for the profit to be made of them at home (No. 40) is, I think, mentioned nowhere else in this volume. It is attacked in the Great Sentence of Curse (S.E.W. III. 300).

We may see from No. 42 the kind of retort made by the friars on the poor preachers.

The only indication of date is in No. 26, where we learn that one of the points of the poor preachers was the application of the prophecies of Antichrist to the Pope. The preachers are not likely to have begun with arguments of this kind. Still we cannot lay much stress on this argument; such use of prophecy had long been familiar to the Fraticelli.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

I have omitted the usual summary as useless with a mere list like this.
HOW RELIGIOUS MEN SHOULD, ETC.

How religious men shoulde kepe certayne Articles.¹

Cristene men preien mekely & deuoutly to almyghty god þat he graunte his grace for his hendeles mercy tooure religious, hope possessioneris & mendynauntis, þat þei assenten to his fewe treuþis. ¶First, þat þei lounen more heuenly þingis þan worldly þat soone schullen passe. þe secunde, þat þei setten more pris & deynne bi goddis commaundementis þan bi tradicions maad *of here owene synful hedis.³ ¶þe þridde, þat þei holden in herte, in word, & dede þat þe noble religion maad of ihu⁴ crist for preþis in here clennessse & fredom is more þerit þan ony newe⁤ religion maad of synful men þat ofte erreden in þoust, word & dede. ¶þe þefte, þat þei chargen more sïxtene condicionis of charite þan here bodely abite. ¶þe þísse, þat þei loue more pouert of þe gospel, to whiche þei ben bounden bi here owene reule & profession, þan richesse of þe world, þat þei þenep þat þei louen more þe treuþe of holy writþ þan sworðisie & leysynge of þe fend. ¶þe eþte, þat þei loue more þe honoure of god & saluaþion of mennus souls þan here owen worldly pride & veyn glorie & singuler profit. ¶þe þeyneþ, þat þei settene more prise þe þei þost riþful & most proffitable ordynance *of god,* boþe for clerksis, lordis & comunys, þan bi þe wrongful & vnwitty ordynance of synful men þat harnen alle þes þre. ¶þe þeþte, þat þei lounen more & kepun betre þe þost witti reulis of ihu⁵ crist þan þe

¹ The title in AA. is "Hou men of priuat religious schulden loue more þe gospel, goddis heste & his ordynance þan ony newe lawis, newe reulis & customes & ordynance of synful men." The title given above is inserted in X by a later hand; having been omitted by the scribe. I have left the shorter title for its greater convenience.
² The numbers at the side are only in AA.
³ dedis X.
⁴ omitted X.
⁵ rewe X.
HOW RELIGIOUS MEN SHOULD, ETC.

vuwitti constituciones of synful & worldly men. ¹pe ellenenpe, xi.
³pat ³pei magnyfiën more obedience maad to god in cristendom
takyynge biforme of ³pe gospel ³pan newe obedience maad
singerly to a synful man, ³pat is not commeñid of god
neïper ensaumplid of ihũ crist & his apostlis but don of here
owene synguler ordynaunce. ²pe twelpe, ³pat noman be xii.
dispised ne ponyschid for good lyuynge in suynge ihũ cristis
steppis bi forme of ³pe gospel. ³pe brittenpe, ³pat ³pei studie xiii.
& kepe more ³pe fredom & priulegies grauntid of ihũ crist
is ³pe gospel ³pan wrongful priulegies grauntid of synful
men, bi whiche bože pride & counsitise & bofte & wrongis
ben meynntened many tymes. ³pe fourtenpe, ³pat ³pei ben
verreyly dede to pompe & pride & counsitise of ³pe world & to
glotonye & to fleschly synnes, & not ded fro nedful треуile
& profitenge to ὁψε men vp ³pe ³ψιτις ³pat god ³ha þouen
hym. ³pe fiftenpe, ³pat ³pei ben not goddis maistris, to dwelle xv.
uewermore in o place & o manere of lif at here owene lust,
but frely & wilfully aftir goddis ³ψιτις треуilen & dwelle ἓρ
³pat it³ is most worschipful to god & most nedful & profitable
to cristene soulis. ³pe seesntenpe, ³pat ³pei ben verrey bokis & xvi.
myrrowes of mekenesse, wilful pouët & of besi треуil in
goddis cause & holynesse to alle men in ³pe world, & not bok
or myrrowe of *pride, of counsitise, of ydelsenesse & worldly lif *[p. 187 MS.]
to drawe worldly men² in-to counsitise & ὁψε synnye & at
here laste to helle. ³pe seeuenntenpe, ³pat ³pei drawes not noble xvii.
bokis of holy writt & holy doctouris & ὁψε nedeful sciencis
fro curatis & clerkis in-to here owene cloistris, ³pat ben as
castellis or palecis of kyngis & emperouris, & suffre hem be Not to monopo-
losed ᾿ερε & waxe rotyn, & neïper ᾿ενε hem ne lene hem
ne selle hem to curatis & clerkis, ᾿pat myßten, couden &
walden lerne holy writt & teche it frely for loun of mennus
soulis. ³pe eïstenpe, ³pat ³pei louen more comyn profit of cristene xviii.
men, bože gostly & bodily, ³pan here synguler worldly profit
& here owene bodily ayse & welfare. ³pe neyntenpe, ³pat ³pei xix.

¹ omitted X. ² omitted X. ³ omitted X.
make not dissencion ne gendre strif ne enuye among cristene

men bi multipliyng of newe sectis, newe abitis & newe bi-

lawis. But drawe to vnyte & charite, as þer is o god, o

bileue, & o cristendom. þe twentiþe, þat þei suffre not pore

men to be oppresaid bi taxis & opere chargis more þan þei

may wel bere, þe while þat þei han plente of richesses &
wast iuelis to purchase londis & lordischipis & bilde grete
waste houses, siþ alle here goodis ben pore mennus goodis,
& þei ben but spenders or keperis of þe goodis & procu-
ratoris of pore men, as seynt ierom & þe lawe of þe chirche
witnesseen. þe on and twentiþe, þat þei comforten not riche
men in here false lif, & stoppe not restitution to be maad to
pore men bi sikyreses of here perpetual preyere, whanne þei
witten not where here preyere be worþ o ferþing. þe two
& twentiþe, þat þei make not comyns so pore bi sotil
ypocrisie of gredy beggyng & trentalis, to make grete festis
& waste hounsyng, þat þe comyns may not forþe to paie here
tribut to þe kyng & rentis to lordis & dymes & offyrnges to
curatis. þe þre & twenþe, þat is alle þingis þei ben bisi to
seke goddis worschipe & loue hym & his lawe & holde no
custome ne tradicion þat hyndriþ hem¹ to serve god, but take
goode customes as moche as þei helpen hem to kepe goddis
hestis & no more, for lif ne for deþ. god bryngþ hem to þis
charite. þe foure & twentiþe, þat þei hiren not grete men
bi gold fees & robes & false gostly helpe to be goddis
traitouri, holdyng þe his lawe & his ordynaunce to
magnifye anticerístis clerkis & synful mennus ordynaunce.
þe fyue & twentiþe, þat þei quenche not þe þiftis of god &
so þe holy gost as moche as is in hem, lettyng þew trewe
prechynge of þe gospel, laste here pride, coweitiþ & ypocrisie
be knowen. þe sise² & twentiþe, þat þei pursuen not cris
in his membris for trewe prechynge of holy writt & trewe
schewynge of synne to þe peple, & of anticerist & his clerkis,
bi prophecie of ihu cris & his apostlis, pleynly tuaþ &

¹ hym X. ² sije X.
HOW RELIGIOUS MEN SHOULD, ETC.

commandid of god to be taut trewely & opynly to his peple.
ße seuene & twentiphe, þat þei blysadyn not þe kyng & lordis XXVII.
bi ypocrisie & false lesyngis to meyntene wrong ordynaunce
of synful men for pride & conseitise, aṣenst goddis lawe & here
owene profit & helpe of þe comyns. þe eiȝte & twentiphe, XXVIII.
þat þei approprien not parische chirchis to ouer riche houses
bi false sugestions & symonye, & puttæ þere an ydit, &
þeuen hym to litél lifode & taken alle þe profitæ to hem self,
& lettæ goodo curatis of here lifode & trewe techynge of
cristene peple & helpe of pore men in parischis & goddis
soruyce & holdynge vp of þe chirchis in hilynge & bokis &
opere ornamentis. þe nyne and twentiphe, þat þei procuren not XXX.
children to here religion bi sikyrnesse of worldly lordischip
& wombe iosie & ydelnesse, & þaswe make hem bi profession
bynde hem to gret pouert & to be dede to worldly myrþe &
likynge; sip þo þat comen more to þes religious for pride,
couveitise, sikyrnesse of bodily welfare þan for loue of meke-
nesse to lyue in pouert & discret abstynence & penauence, ben
cursed & symonyentia in þe entre. þe prittiphe, þat þes XXX.
meædyanutis diœseyuen not children bi lesyngis & ypocrisie
& bihesto of worldly honoure & welfare as wel as gret prelatis
& bischopis to come & lyue herby in here priuæt secte,
presiȝye it more þan þe noble & free religion maed & kep
of ihú crist & his apostlis. þe on & prittiphe, þat þei stelen
not riche mennæs children & pore, & leden hem to ferre
contreis fro here frendis & holde hem cloes til þei ben professid
aṣenst here wille, & þan suffre hem not to goo out þou; þei
ben vnable to kepe þis religion; sip þei silleyn in a manere
þes children to þis priuæt ordre for worshipes & worldly
wynnyng & comstreyne hem to here dampnacion. þe two XXXII.
& prittiphe, þat þei sende not gold out of þe rewme in-to
aliens hondis for to gete priuælogies & dispensaciones aṣenst
þe2 poynitis of here reule ſif it be resonable & proffitable, &
ſif it be vnresonable & vnproffitable late no man bynde hym

1 & X. 2 omitted AA.
XXXIII.
That they should be subject to the bishops and the law.
XXXIV.
Nor buy exemptions from the pope.

* [p. 189 MS.]

Grosted.
XXXV.
That they should be made to keep their founder’s will.

XXXVI.
Not to make quarrels between curates and their parishioners.
XXXVII.

XXXVIII.
Not to get into ladies’ company under pretence of doctoring.

þer-to; But lyue frely under clene religion þat orist maade in whiche may noon errow be. þe þre & þrititpe, þat, siþ þei preisen so mochil obedience maad to man, þat þei ben not exempt fro obedience to bischopis & to þe cymyn lawe bope of þe chirche & of þe lond. þe soure & þrititpe, þat þei seuen not a pencion of moche gold to þe pope for to be exempt fro visitacionis of bischopis & iust correccion, siþ þei holden *mannus obedience so medful, last herby þei waxen rotyn in synne & þe ordynaries doren not amende hem bi forme of þe gospel for þes weiard exempcions, siþ robert grosted cleipþ siche exempcion þe deuelli nettis. Þe fyue & þrititpe, siþ it is a grete sentence of þe chirche þat who euere dop æyenst þe riþful wille of a dede man is cursed, late it be enquired where þes religious, myspendynghe here goodis in pompe & worldly plees & newe purchasynge, & leuyng þe noumbre of prestis & helpynghe of pore men, æyenst here foundouris wille, & getynge priuylegies & dispensynge æyenst here reulis maad of holy men as þei seyn, where þei ben cursed or not; & þif þei ben late alle men helpe & make hem kepe þe friste riþful wille of here¹ foundour & patron. þe sixe & þrititpe, þat þei make not enuye, striþ & pleþ bitwixe curatis & hem and² bitwixe curatis & here sugetis for here priuilegyis of confession & sepulture & mortuaries & false lesyngis makynghe. þe seuene & þrititpe, þat þei norisken not men & wommen in lecherie, in wrong disceit of fals chaflarynghe & extorcion doynghe, lettynghe verrey restoration of eyl goten goodis & þe schame of grete synneris þif þei were schryue at here owene curatis, for to haue þart of þis³ robberie, & make worldly festis & wast houses æyenst here pouert & profession, bi colour of trentalis & longe preieris in siþte of men. þe eipþe & þrititpe, þat þei ben not in lordis courtis reuleris of here householdis & worldly officis, & to homly wip gentil wyssmen bi colour of fisik, for drede of selaudrynghe & mysdoynge, siþ þei lyuen in reste &

¹ omitted X.
² omitted X.
³ his X.
welfare of body & ben yonge & stronge of complexion, & sathanas is redi to tempte hem. ¶he nyne & pritihe, bat XXXIIX. 
bei studien baiily holy writ & techen it more þan veyn To study holy writ rather than 
sophistrie & astronomye & more þan þe popis decretalis & astronomy. 
fablis & cronylie; sþ þat it 1 is best & most nedeful & þei 
han grete wittes of kynde & grete leiser to studien þus. þe 
fortihe, þat þei ben not maad bishopis of heþene men & XL. 
sweren to ggo þider & cosuerte hem, & þasne meyntened Bishops & 
to be suffragans & sellen sacramentis & robben þe peple 
& maken hem hau goddis curs for here money. þe on & XLI. 
feurtihe, þat þe neue religious blasphemens not god is 
holdynge a prest of here ordre apostata & cursed þif he lyue 
among cristene peple where he haþ reasonable euendyce to 
profitt most bly god ensampl of holy lif & trewe & free 
prechynge wip-oute flatyrgye & beggyrgye & leyyngis 
sewynge. ¶he two & fourtihe, þat þei blasphemens not god. 
 ATKYNGE VP-ON EM SELL KNOWGYNGE APPROPRIAD TO GOD, þAT þIS 
prest couseitiþ fredom of þe *gospel for his esse & lustis in 
sympne of bodi; þat þis child schal betre ærue God in þis 
newe ordre than in clene ordre þat crist maade; þat it is 
betre to begge of pore men & do affir o foolis styrynge þan 
do mercy to cristene soulis affir styrynge of god. þe þre & 
XLIII: 
fourtipe, þat þei praise not more obedience to synful men bi 
Synguler profession, not ensaumpild 2 of crist & his apostlis, 
þan medful obedience of children to fadir & modir & of 
særauntis to here lordis & maistris; sþ God techip & com- 
sunde þis obedience & þe merit þer-of, last mannes folie be 
heised more þan goddis ordynaunce. þe laste, þat alle clerkis XLIV. 
of religion & oþere examynen wel whiche is þe beste ordre 
for prestis, where it be possessioneris ordre or mendynauntis 
or ellis þe mene þat crist made & kepte & his apostlis alle; 
þat is presthod bi fredom & clemesse of cristiis reule in þe 
gospel. & late alle prestis kepe þe beste & leue þe lesse profit. 
god for his 3 endeles mercy brynge alle prestis her-to & make 
lordis & comyns to constreyne hem to þis. Amen.

1 omitted AA.  2 ensaumpis in both MSS.  3 omitted X.
XV.

OF SERVANTS AND LORDS.

I have little doubt of the authenticity of this tract, or of the date to which we ought to assign it. It was written soon after the Wat Tyler riots, when Wyclif and his followers were discredited by a supposed complicity with John Ball (cf. Wal. II. 33). The indignant disclaiming of Socialist doctrine is fearlessly combined with denunciation of the oppressions committed by the rich. The complaint that "lords strive with their tenants to bring them into thralldom more than they should by reason and charity" (p. 234), is a proof, if one were needed, of the kind of injustice which led to the revolt. The author had lived among the poor and been an eye-witness of oppression, or he would not have insisted with such force on the need of the lord's presence to control the extortions of his steward (p. 240), nor should we have had the touch of the white (tally) sticks, which the poor were made to accept for their goods (p. 233).

The distinction between refusing tithes to wicked priests and withholding dues from wicked lords or creditors, is clearly stated on pp. 229-230.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

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OF SERVANTS AND LORDS.

227

Of servuauntis & lordis hou eche schal kepe his degree.

First, servuauntis schullen trewely & gladly serve to here Duty of servants.
lordis or maistris & not be fals ne ide ne grucchyng ne
heney in here servuyne doynge, but holde hem paisd of he
staat of servuauntis, in whiche god haþ ordeyned hem for here
beste to holde hem in mekenesse alesen pride, & besi traeule
alesnt ydelenesse & aloufe. For seynt poul biddip þat &if þou I Cor. vii. [31.]
be clepid a servuaunt, recke þou not þer-of; þat is to seie be
not grucchyng ne heney þerfore. [ Also poul techþ þus: "Je Ephes. vi. [5.
servuauntis obeische to fleschly lordis wip drede & quakynge
or tremlynyng, in symplynesse of þoure herte, as to crist; not
servuyng at þe eie, as plesynge to men, but as servuauntis of
crist, doynge þe wille of god of herte, wip goode wille
servuyng as to þe lord of alle lordis & not to men; wittynge
þat eche man what euere good þing he do schal reseceyue þat
of þe lord, be he servuaunt or bonde or free man;" þat is to
seie reward of god for þat good doynge. [ Also poul techþ
Col. iii. [22.]
þus servuauntis; "oche, þe servuauntis, bi alle þingis to fleschly
lordis. what þing euere þe don worche þe of herte, þat is
wisdom & wille, as to þe lord & not to men, wittynge þat of
þe lord þe schulle take retribucion, þat is mede or reward,
of heritage in heuene. serve þe to þe lord crist; for who þat
dop wrong or iniurye schal reseceyue þat þing þat he haþ
wickydly doen, & anemptis god is not acception or takyng
of personys." þat is o man schal not be sparid in goddis dom
for his richessis or lordchips or heþ blood, & a pore man
be ponschid for a litel trespas, as men don in his wickid
world, but eche man schal be ponschid after his owene gilte,
& eche man rewardid after his owene gode lif. but here þe
[p. 191 MS.] send monyeþ summe men to seie þat cristene men schullen not
be servuauntis or þrallis to heþene lordis, siþ þei ben false to
god & lasse worþy þan cristene men; neþer to cristene lordis,
for þei ben breþer in kynde, & ihû crist bouþte cristene

he X.  omitted X.
OF SERVANTS AND LORDS.

men on þe crois & made hem fre; but a þenst þis herezie poul writþ þus in 1 goddis lawe: "what kyssæ servaunstis ben vnder Ȝook of servage deme þei here lordis worþi alle manere honour or worschipe, þat þe name & techynge of þe lord be not blasphemyd," þat is, holden wrongful & dispised; & þis word is vndirstonden of heþene lordis. "but þe servaunstis þat han trewe or cristene lordis, dispise þei not to servæ hem for þat þei ben breþeren boþe in kynde & in feþþ, but more servæ þei for þe lordis ben cristene & louyd, þe whiche ben partyneris of good dede. tecche þou þes þingis," seþ poul to bishop thymothe, "boþe to men þat ben vnlearned, And stire men þat ben lerned & neglecten in doynte. Þif ony man techþ oþer wise, & accordiþ not to þe hoole wordis of oure lord iþú crist & to þat lore þat is after pitee, he is proude, no þing kuþynge, but weyynge or languyshynge aboute questiouæs & fiþtyngæ of wordis, of whiche ben gendred enyuæs 2 st[r]yues & blasphemæs, þat ben dispisyngis of god, euyl suspescions & fiþtyngis to-gedere of men þat ben corupt in herte or soule, þat ben priued fro treuþe." 3 Þat þeþþ þat generaly cristene men & wyven men schullen be so hory of lif, þat men out of bilene be aschamed & haue noon euyl to seie of cristene men, & charginþ servaunstis to be suget, or vnderlout, 3 to here lordis, & plesynge in alle þingis, & not äsen seyynge, not doynge fraude, but in alle þingis schewynge good feþþ or fidelite or treuþþ, to worschipe, or to make fair in alle þingis þe techynge of god oure suneour.

1 Peter iii. [16.] And þerfore techþ þetir þat cristene men schullen haue so good conscience & so good lif þat enemies of oure feþþ þat bakbiten or myspeken of vs ben confounded, & also þei þat falsly chalengen oure gode lif in crist be stoppéd; & þetir spekiþ more pleynly of þis matir, & comaundþþ cristene men to haue gode lyuyngæ amonge heþene men, þat in þat þing þat þei myspeken of vs, as of mysdoeris, þat þei beholden & see vs of oure gode werkis, & glorifie god in þe tyme of

1 & X.  
3 enyuæs X.  
2 under lout X.
visitacion.  But sit summe men pat ben out of charite
slaundres pore pristis wip pis error, pat avernaustis or
tenaustis may lawfully wipholde rentis & servuye1 fro here
lordis whase lordis ben opynly wickid is here lyuynge. &
pei maken pis false lesyngis vpon pore pristis to make lordis
* [P. 193 MS.]
to hate hem, & not to meyntene treupe of goddis lawe pat
pei techen opynly for worchiphe of god & profit of2 pe reume
and stablynges of pe kyngis pouer &3 distroynges of synne.
for pe pore pristis distroien most bi goddis lawe rebelte of
avernaustis agenst lordis, & charge avernaustis to be suget pou;
lordis bi tirauntis, for seynt petir techif was: “Be ye a-
unaustis suget to lordis in alle manere of4 drede, not only to
goodis lordis & bonere,5 but also to tirauntis, or siche pat
drawn fro goddis scolie.” for, as seynt pouli seif, ech
man owip to be suget to heijere potestatis, pat is to men
of heij power, for per is no power but of god; & so he pat
agenstondip power, stondip agenst pe ordynaunce of god;
but pei pat agenstonden geten to hem self dampanion. &
perfore pouli biddip pat we be suget to princes bi nede, & not
only for wrappe but also for conscience; & perfore we paien
tributis to princis, for pei ben mynystris of god; & pouli
biddip vs paien detteis to alle men, tribut to hym pat we owen
tribut, & so of taliage for pingis boren aboute in lond, & so
drede & also worchiphe or honour. & pus avernaustis schulden
trewely & wilfully averuen lordis & here maistris, & lyue in
reste, pees & charite, & stire lordis, pou; pei weren heijene
lordis, to good eristene feip & holy lif bi here pacience &
opyn trewe lif & make. & pis is a feyned word of antiscristis
clerkis pat, jif sugetis may leffully wijdrawe tipes & offryngis
fro curatis pat openly lyuen in lecherie or grete opere synnes
& don not here office, pus avernaustis & tenaustis may wij-
drawe here servuye & rentis fro here lordis pat lyuen opynly
a cursed lif. for to pe first sugetis han pe suctorite of
goddis lawe & mannus lawe also, but not to wijdrawe

1 servyces AA.  2 on X.  3 in X.  4 omitted AA.  5 honourse X.
SERVANTS AND LORDS.

saureye & rentis fro wicked lordis; but ben chargid of god bi petir & poul to be þus suget to wicked lordis; & þerfore crist paiode for hym & his apostlis tribut to þe hejene emperour. & we reden not þat he or ony apostle paiode tipes to þe wicked hejene prestis after tyme þat he begun to preche.

Also lordis han power of mennus bodies & catel in resonable maner, & temperale swerd & worldly power bi goddis lawe to compelle men to do here saureye & paie rentis, but bi þe gospel & cristis lif & his apostlis, prestis han not siche power to constreyne men to paie hem dymes, & principaly whanne þei don not here gostly office, but harmen here sugetis in fals techynges & euyl enamaule of lif. but þou þei deden wele here office & men wolden not paie dymes, þei schulden suffren mekely & not curse, as ihu crist dide.

See we now hou lordis schulden lyue in here asteat. first, þei *schulden knowe goddis lawe & studie it & meyntene it, & distroie wrong & meyntene pore men in here riȝt to lyue in rest, pees & charite, & suffre no† men vnder colour of hem to do extorcions, bete men, & holde pore men out of riȝt bi strengle of lordischipis. ¶ For þus spekiþ holy writ in þe fifta 2 bok of goddis lawe; "whanne þe kyng is ordeyned bi þe cheynesge of god & of his peple, he schal not multiplie to hym self many hors, he schal not haue many wyues to drewe his herte to lustis, & he schal not haue oute of mesure grete weigðis of siluer & gold, but after þat he schal sitte in sege of his regne, he schal writte to him þe bok of goddis lawes is a volym, takynge ensaupleis of prestis of þe kynrede of leuy, & haue it wiþ him, & he schal rede þat alle þe daies of his lif, þat he kusane drede þe lord his god & kepe his wordis, þe whiche ben comaundid in þe lawe, & his herte schal ne be lif vp in-to pride vpon his bre-Token, & he schal not croke in-to þe riȝte side ne in-to þe left side, þat he & his children regne long tyme vpon Israel." ¶ Also kyngis &

To seek wisdom, lordis schulde axe of god, bi gret desir & holy lif, wisdom of

1 not X. 2 first AA.
heuenely pingis & kusnyage of erpely pingis to reule goddis peple bi, & not richessis, ne worldly substaunces, ne worldly glorie, ne vrenosable vengancess of here enemyes, ne long lif in his world, as kyng samon dede, & perfore god saf his wisdom of heuenely pingis & of erpely pingis & richessis & substaunces & glorie, pat neure kyng bi-fore hadde so moche ne affer. ¶ Also so kyngis & lordis schulden be clojid wiþ Job xxix. [14, etc.]
rihtwisnesse & rihtful dom as wiþ a diademe, & be sije to a blynd man & foot to þe crokid or haltynge, & be fadir of pore men, & wiþ most diligence sike þe cause þat þei knowe not, & desoule & distroie þe power of a wickid man, & take a-wei þe prey out of his teep; & whasne þei sitten as kyngis & compayynes stonden aboute þei schulden [be] confortours of mornynge men & men ful of mycheyf, & delynere pore men criyng, & fadirles children & moderles þat hon noon helpe, & so haue blysseyng of him þat was in poyn to perishe, & conforte þe widwis herte. þes goodnessis & many moo vsed þe holy kyng iob, & ben ia holy writt for ensampl of kyngis & lordis. Also god him self seip bi ieromye þat Jerem. xxii. 3, 5. he schal take vengancee on hem þat demeden not rihtfully þe cause of widwe, þe cause of fadirles & modirles, & þe cause of pore men. Also god hym self seip by ysaie, þat princes Isaiah 1. [18.] schullen cesse to don euile & lerne to do wel, & seke dom, & helpe men oppresed wrongly, & þeue dom to fadirles & modirles, & meyntene þe widwe, & come & reprove him; þat is to seie, but jif he þan helpe hem. & perfore seip holy writt Prov. xx. [29.] þat mercey & trowpe kept of kyngis, & his trone is maade strong bi mekenesse & mercey, & þe kyng þat sittip in se of dom distroieþ alle euy! in his lokynge, & so it pleisip more to god to do mercey & dom þan to do sacriffces; & þus salamon Prov. xxxv. 5. seip, þat þei þat don wickedly ben abhominable to þe kyng, for his seþe is maade stable bi rihtwisnesse; & þus seip dauid, Psalm xcix. 4. þat þe honour of þe kyng loueþ dom; & for þe rihtful & witti dom þat salamon dide bitwixen tweie comys wymmen, alle

1 substanaunces X. 2 salamon AA. 3 omitted X. 4 lyngis X. 5 omitted X. 6 omitted X.
Rom. xiii. [3.]  
je lord of israel drede hym. & ʃerfore techiʃ poul ħat princes ben not to drede of good werk but of eyyl, & a man sette in grete power beriʃ not wiʃ-oute grete cause ħat swerd, ħat is worldly power, for he is a mynystre of god to do vengance to him ħat dop ħuyle. & seynyt petir techiʃ generally oristene men to be suget to eche man for god, & to ħe kyng as to souereyn before opere, & to dukis as seynyt of ħe kyng to vengance of mysdodicis or mysdorecis & to preisynge of goode dedis or goode doeris. ʃ Also poul techiʃ lordis þus: “je lordis, yeuo to æruœnæstis þat þing þat is riʃtful & equite & enene, wityngæ þat þe also han a lord in heuene.”

Col. iv. [1.]  
Ephesians vi. [9.] also poul seip in a-pistol of ephesyna: “& je lordis, do to æruœnæstis þe same þingis, þat is goode riʃtwiseñesse & equyte of herte, & wiʃ goode wille, forœnængæ manæse; wityngæ þat boʃe þoure lord & hern is in heuene, & ʃ acepcion of personæ is not ænempcis god;” þat is, god sparet not for richesse ne lordischipe ne worldly frendischipe to ponysche synnes, & sparet not for pouœte to rewarde goode lyuyngæ of pore æruœnæstis.

Siʃ þis is þe office of kyngis & lordis, to venge þus synynys & to preise & rewarde goode dedis, ʃif lordis leuen þis office, & meynœn synful men & wrong doeris, & helpen not pore men in here riʃt, þei may drede þat here kyngedom & lordischipe schulles be translated in-to anœer folk, as þe wyse men seip: “a kyngdom is translated from o peple in-to anœer for vnriʃtwiseñesse, & isiuries or wrongis, & kontekis or debatris, & for dyuœœse giles or disœœis.” for meœ dreden þat vnriʃtwiseñesse ænejt god regneœ in ourœ lond; for meœ dreden more to displeœe an erœœely dedly wreccœ for lesynœ of worldly frendischipe þan to displeœe god almyœty & to leœe his moste blisse frendischipe; & louœ more to perfœme a wrong comœndœment of prouœ luciferis children þan to perfœme þe moste riʃtful comœndœment of god, þat is esy & sikereœ; & louœ more a lœœ lœœ stynkyngœ drit of worldly goodis þan þei louœ þe blisse of

1 lyng X.  
2 preiynge X.  
3 in X.  
4 excepcion X.  
5 omitted AA.  
6 dredem X.
OF SERVANTS AND LORDS.

heuene; for many men maken hem more biay to geten worldly muuk þan to geten vertues & holy lif, & maken more sorowe whasne þei fallen fro worldly catel in-to pouerte þas whasne þei fallyn fro grace & charite & opere vertues in-to many orble1 synyns. Also men *louen more to venge wronggis & disputes don to here owene personys or lordischipis þas to venge wronggis or dispitis don aȝenst þe mageste of god almy;ty; as þif a man speke a word of litel reprof or vilonye of a lord or a grete man of þis world he schal be pursued & peyned þor-fore þat alle þe world or many men schullen wondere vpon hym, but þif men speken falsenesse bi oure god, seiyng þat crist beggede2 as man don now nedles, or dispisen Frieres. his name bi cureid swerynge, or spoken vilonye of lecherie swearing, or of opere foule synyns to foule oristene soules þerbei, þei ben not pursed ne hurlid out, but chirsichid & holde goode felawis, & summe þit ben holden holy men, for goddis lawe is not knowne & here ypocrisy is þit hid, & þus virji twinesse regneþ vpon many sidos.

inuuries or wrongis ben done to pore men many wise; Wrongis of poor

for prestatis techen hem not treuely goddis lawe,.neipor in word ne easaumple of holy lif, & þit þei cursen faste for here dymes & offryngis of pore men, whasne þei schulden raþere þue hem worldly goodis þan take of hem; for prestatis wasen in pride, glotonys,3 worldly plees Wickedness of prestatis, & grete festis of lordis and riche men þe tresor of pore men, þe while þei ben in moche peyne & wrecchidnesse in bodi & soule; & þit prestatis wolen not do sacramentis & here gostly office to here sugetis, as halwyenge of chirsich and auteris & chircheȝerdis & opere ornementis, but4 þif men bien hem for moche money; & þasne comynly þe biere & þe sellere ben cursed of god. also lordis many tymes don Lords do wrong

wrongis to pore men bi extorsions & vnresonable mercy-

mentis & vnresonable taxis, & taken pore mennis goodis Take their goods

& paieyn not þerfore but white stickis, & dispisen hem & and pay them with tally-sticks.

1 orrible AA.
2 begge X.
3 gloterie AA. and so generally through the tract.
4 omitted X.
manases hem & sumtyme beten hem whasne pei axen here
dey. & pus lordis deouren pore mennus goodis in glotonye
& wast & pride, & pei perisches for myschief, &
hungwr & pirst & colde, & pei children also; & iti here rente be not
redily paied here bestis ben stressd & pei pursuad wipouten
mercy, peous; pei be neuere so pore & nedi & ouerchargd wip
age, febilnesse & loos of catel & wip many children. &
it lordis wolen not mekely here a pore mannes cause &
helpe hym in his rijt, but suffre sisouris of contre to distroie
hym, but rapere wypholde pore men here hire, for whiche
pei han spendid here fledsch & here blood. & so in a manere
pei eten & dryken pore mennes fledsch & blood & ben
manquelleris, as god pleynebi his prophetics. where-fore

Isaiah 1. [15. 32.]
god seib bi pe prophete ysais,Has siche lordis ben falawis of
peiys & here hondis ben ful of blood, & persfore whasne pei
preien many preieris bi moub & holden vp *here hondis, god
wole not here hem ne resceeyue here offryngis Has ben wrong-
fully geten of pore mennus goodis bi extorscionis & raueyne
& robberie. & it men of lawe, Has schulden distroie siche
falsnesse bi here offices & don ech man rijd & reson,5 meynt-
tenen wrong for money & fees & robias, & forberen pore men fro
here rijd, Has it is betre to hem to pursue not for here rijd, be it
neuere so opyn, Has to pursue & lese more catel for diseitics of
delaies and canellacions & suele willis4 Has pei vsm; & pus
wrong is meyntened & trewpe & rijd outlawid in many statis.

† Also stryues, contekis & debatis ben vset in oure lond,
for lordis stryuen wi þe here tenaustis to brynge6 hem in
þraldom more þan þei schulden bi reson & charite; & þei
graccen ajen, & cursen & warien nyût & day, & grete men
of þis world7 debaten, & meyntenen debatis at louedaies;
& who so may be strengere wil haue his willie don, be it
wrong be it rijd, & ellis make debate among many hundrid
& housand men & sumtyme many countres, & by7 sich
debatynge many men holden grete houses & grete araias &

1 as X. 2 X inserts &. 3 for X. 4 willis X. 5 brynke X. 6 worldly A.A. 7 omitted X.
OF SERVANTS AND LORDS.

Some lords maintain wrong by force.

Some lords maintain wrong by force.

True clerks strive for Holy Writ.

Hypocrites study man's law.

True clerks maintain Christ's order.

Hypocrites say new religion is better.

grete costis. & summe lordis, some þei neuer so holy & devout in here preieres, wolen to meyntene name of here lordischip beuten men of contre, & meyntenen oþre mysoeris þer-to, þou; men pursuen riþ & reson in good manere, & þis is for falsenesse of a liere & courteous & worldly pride. & clerks strive for holy writ & seyn þat it is most trewe & best to reule cristene mennus soulis bi, but ypopcritis seyn þat holy writ is fals, & newe lawis mad of worldy clerks ben betre for cristene men þan holy writ, & þerfore þei studien mannus lawis & techen hem to colour bi here pride & courteous; & leuen þe gospel & goddis lawe, for it dampneþ pride & courteous of clerks, & techiþ mesenesse & wilful pouer & bisynesse in preiere & gostly occupacion. trewe clerks seyn þat þat religion & ordre þat crist, god & man, maade is most perfet, most liþ & most sicher for myst, wisdom & charite of þe lord; but ypopcritis seyn þat newe religion, founden of synful men & gadi of many erruriis, of foolis & worldly, proude & courteous wrecchis, is best; & þerfore þei leuen cristis religion in his owene fredom, & bynden¹ hem bi singular profession to synful foolis. & þit crist & his apostlis tauten neuer ne veeden siche profession. & herfore many children ben brougþ to siche newe religion for loue of worldy pride & welfare of body more þan for holy lif to ærue god in penaunce & clennesse of soule, & sum ben stolen þeþly fro here frendis, & summe bi false lesyngis & false bihestitis brougþ þer-to, & forþynke it after, & be not suffred to turne to cristis clene religion, þou; þei ben vnable to þis newe religions maade of synful mennus *ordynaunce; & so is [p. 197 M.] summe manere þei ben nedid to be dampnyd for ypoprisie & grucchyng of conscience, & leuynge of betre þing & holdynge forþ of þe worse wytyngly. ¶ Trewe clerkis seyn also þat cristis lyuynghe & his apostlis in wilful pouert, wip-outen fals & nedeles beggyng & wip-outen worldly lordschipis, is most perfet in itself & best for alle clerks, siþ crist god & man chees þis² lif for þe beste; & he myßte not erre neiþer in

¹ byndem X.
² omitted X.
pouyt ne in word ne dode, but summe ypcorisit seyn aynest 
his is worde or dode or bope, pat it his best to fynye holy 
pouert aftir crist & his apostlis, & pew-wip lyuen is lustis of 
worldly gaynesse, of costy housynge & grete more pan lordis 
don, & is costy cloyng for ony lord, & is cost of mete or 
drynke & makyng of grete festis of riche men. & his lif be 
holden vp bi fals beggyngge of pore men, pat may not wel 
pale here rentis to lordis & here dymes & offrynge to curatis 
& meyntene here wif & children & leue out of dette, trauisle 
be neure so besily nytt & day. & be be neure so pore & 
in grete dette ses ypcorisit ceessen not to robbe hem bi fals 
beggyngge, dammed of goddis lawe. ophre ypcorisit seyn in 
conde pat it is betre for clerkes to haue worldly rentis &
lordischipis dowid to hem & parische chirchis appropried to 
hem bi symonye & lesyngis pan to lyue in wilful & honest 
pouert as crist & his apostlis diden. & sit be reulen not 
wele be pe pelle, as lordis schulden, but seyn pat be ben dede 
to be world; & techen not be pe pelle goddis lawe is word & 
ensample as prestis schulden, but seyn ifalle not to hem 
to preche; & be trauisle not for here lifode, as god enyoyned 
adam for his pennaunc, & poul trauislede wip his hondis in 
nede for his sustenaunce, but be lyuen omynly in ydelnesse 
& glotonye & enyu & many oph synnye, & feynen holy-
nesse in syngynge, in preynge of mouj & customes maad of 
munne errore, more pan in lyynge after cristik gospel. & 
whanne trewe clerckis meyntenen here trewe part bi holy 
writt & reson & ensample of cristik lif & his apostlis, &
newe ypcorisit meyntenen here fals part bi ground of synful 
men & bi ypcorisie & worldly power & siftis of money & 
censure, as suspenseynge, cursynge & prysynge, & panne is 
debat & strif reised at pe fulle. for many lordis & grete 
men ben discyued bi pe multitudes of ypcorisit, & many 
blente bi siftis of money & worldly profitis pat be geten of 
bes ypcorisit, & summe bi fleshly loue & worldly frendis-
schipe, & for pat fewe stonden wip be trewe & but fewe

1 costly X.  
2 omitted X.  
3 omitted X.
lوردі or riche cristene men stonden bi goddis lawe & profit
of cristene mennes soulis for to wynne þe blise of heuuene;
& þerfore pore clerkis ben solaunadrid for heretikis, for þei
seyn þe treuþe of holy writt, & hurlid & cursid & prisoryd
& lettid to proche þe gospel, for drede laste þei warne þe
peple after cristis techynge of þe *false discetics of anticrist & "[p. 198 MB.]
his worldly & pronde & coueitouse clerkis. & þus str[ì]ues
& debattis ben reised & meyntened in oure lond.

† Also diuerse gillis or discetics & falsenesse rengnen moche
is oure lond; for prelatis hidden þe gile of here symonye &
ypocrisie, þat vnñþis comex ony to ony grete benefice
wiþouten symonye, priuy or aport; & þus alle prestitis &
lordis & comyns also ben enuenuymed wiþ heresie of cursid
symonye, & prelatis þat schulden distrois synne & chasse it¹
out of londe wolen meyntenene men in synne of leocherie &
ophere fro þeer to þeer for a pencion bi þere, & clepen þis holy
correction; & þei ben wode if ony lord or ophere mystty man
lette hem of þis correction, þe whiche is roberie & extorsion.
In confessouris regneþ moche gile for þei conforten &
norischen grete men of þis world is here synnys for to gete
a benefice, worldly wynnyngge or frendischiphe or lustis of²
here stynkyngge bely, & vnnder colour of holynesse leden men
to þe yatis of helle & sellen soulis to sathanas for drit of
worldly goodis & wombe ioie for a while; for þei doren not
telle hem þe soþe & gretnesse of here foule synnys & horblite
of peynes of helle, & forsake here companye whasane þei
wolen dwelle stille is here synne, lesta þei lese worldly³
worschipe & lustis þat þei seken more þan to saue cristene
soulis. In men of lawe regneþ moche gile, for þei meyntenenes⁴
falsenes for wynnyngge & maken lordis to ' meyntenene wrognis
& don wrognis whasane lordis hopen to do rjft & pluse god, &
bi here coueitise & falsenesse þei purchasen londis & rentis
ynowe and don many extorsions & beren don þe rjft boþe of
pore & riche, & ÿt þei maken it so⁵ holy in signes outward,

¹ omitted X. ⁶ omitted X. ⁷ omitted X.
¹⁺ omitted X. ⁶ omitted X. ⁷ omitted X.
OF SERVANTS AND LORDS.

as if þei weren angelis of heuene, to colour here falsenesse, & blinde þe pe pleple þerby. ¶ In marchaustia regneþ gile in ful grete plente, for þei sweren falsly be alle grete membris of Crist & bi alle mystïy god in trinyte þat here shaffere cost so moche & is so trewe & profitable, to bigile þe peple & to teche þonge prentis þis cursed craft, & prisen hym most þat most bigileþ þe peple, & hiden here vsure & colouren it bi sotil cautelis of þe send þat fewe men may proye þis vsure & amende hem þer-of bi-fore þe day of dom. ¶ In sœranaustis regneþ gile, for þei trasuilen faste awhile in presence of here maister, & in absence ben ydel & iapen & don litel good, & sweren faste þat þei may not labore trewelie & bisilie þan þei don. & þit generallie is clerkis regneþ most gile, for þei discueyen men bi here veyn preiers & pardons & indulgencis, for þei knowen not þe goodnessse of here preiers ne abilinesse of men þat þei preien fore, but þei owen to drede sore þat þei stiren god to veneauce for here owene wickid lif; & þer comeþ no pardon but of god for good lyuyng & endyng in charite, & þis schal not be boust ne solde as prelatis chafferen þes dayes; for who is in most charite is beste herde of god, be he schepeherde or lewied man, or in þe chirche or in þe feld; & who kepiþ wel þe heatis of god schal have pardon & þe blisse of heuene, & noon opere for creature undor god. & þus gile regneþ in many statis & persons þat oure lond may drede sore a conquest, But þif synne & gile be chasid out & treuþe & charite myentened soon.

but nowe be lordis wel war þat þei don mercey & charite & good conscience to her sœranaustis, for ellis þei schulle gete no mercey ne loue of god, for wrong oppressynge of pore men axiþ vennaunce of god, as doþ wrong manaleyngye; & loke lordis þat þei reule wel sœranaustis & tenaustis, þat þei drede god & his wraþþe þe more, & fle synnys & lyue virtuounally & in treuþe anemtis god & man; for lordis owen to þeue holy ensaunple of lif to sœranaustis & sugetis, & ponysche hem for here wickid lif anemtis god more þan for falsenesse of dispit. 

Duties of lords.

They should set good example.
OF SERVANTS AND LORDS.

Don senst here owene persone or worldly profit; & to preise, cherische & loue & reward hem for here holy lif & treuhte more pæn for pleisyng of here owene persone or for doyng of here worldly anawstage or profit. & þus schullen lordis þat ben vertuous in hem self norische vertuous seruanstis & trewe to god & man, & reprobe & ponysche wickid trechohurs & cursed of lif; & þus schulde synne among hem & þere be hurlid out & treuhte & vertuous lif meyntened & cherischid. Not to use bad laws for the oppression of their servants.

Also lordis schullen don non extorsions to here pore seruanstis bi ne worldly lawes ne customes, for alle þes lawes & customes ben nôping worþ but þif þei ben reulid bi charite & good conscience; & lordis owen to procure good & reste & þees to ordletheirofficers do wrong.

Here seruanstis as goode fadris & helperis, & suffre not here stiwardis or ony officiers to don hem wrong. for siþ þei may distroie þís wrong & don not, þei ben fautoris & meynentors of þís wrong, & schulle be ponyschid as þe doeris, as seynt Rom. i. 32. poul seþ, & is many cas more scharply, for here meynentynge doþ more harm & wrong þan þe wickid stiwardis bi hem-self; 1 Timothy v. 3 for seynt poul seþ pleynly þat he þat haph not cure or kepyng of his owene, & most of his owene homly meyne, þap forsaken þe seþ & is worse þan an heþene man. of þís it semþ opynly þat þat lord þat chargþ not what wrong or extorsions his officiers don vnder hym forsakþ þe riþte seþ & is worse þan an heþene man; for he doþ more harm to a cristene man, & distroþ more cristene religion, & makiþ hate & grucehynges & disco ncion bitwixxe pore & riche, & anemtis god; for þei myeten soone enquere of trewe men of þe contre þe falsnesse of here officiers & amesde hem, þif þei loueden treuhte of god * & riþtful helpe of pore men as moche as þei * [p. 300 Ms.] lounen helþe of here body & holsumnese of here bodily mete; & but þif þei don þus þei fallen out of charite as it semþ, for þei lounen more ellis here bely & hem self þan þe honour of crist & riþtful gouernaile of goddis peple. & lordis schulden warne here officiers þat þif þei don wrong to here pore

1 chirch X. 2 trechohurs X. 3 omitted X.
4 omitted AA. 5 chargid X.
tensanatis pei schulden be put out of here offices & lese here frendischiphe & lordischipe, & panne wolden officeris of lordis ben war of extorsions & wrong meyntenasuce. & lordis ben foule discuelyd to dwelle att home is lustis of glotonye & lecherie & ydelnesse, & to seie here matynes & opere devoctions in monj & not is herte ne dede, & to suffre pore men distroied bi euyl officeris; for god seij bi salamon it is betre to do mercy & riȝtful dom pan to offre sacrifys. for pe presence of pe riȝtful lord schulde more distroie wrongis & euyl meyntenasuce pan many letteris sent to euyl officeris, for pei charge not to do riȝt after pei letteris, for pei is no more pursuet don after pei deed lettre. ¶ What is it wory a lord to crie bi word to god, whasne pore men axen riȝtfully veוגשuce aitizen him for extorsions & wrongis pe he & his officeris don or suffren to be don in his name, whasne he may lettren hem; for pei he is consentowe or auctor of siche wrongis. for god wolre sonere here many pore riȝtfully oriyng veוגשuce pan a lord & many ypostris axynge vriȝtfully helpe & wynnynge of worldly goodis; for god seij pei he wolre not here syuful men oriyng to him in tymne of here nede whasne pei wolen not here pore men & helpe hem in here wrongis & myscheues pei ben iyne. ¶ Also a grete vriȝtwisnesse regnej among lordis whasne pei wolen not distroie pride, coueitise & worldly lif of clerkis pei harmen so moche cristene peple. for sij lordis wolden dispise pe pride of coueisouse clerkis & not conferme hem ne meyntene here worldly lordischipe & symonye, pei is opnyly damnyd bi holy writt & cristis lyuynghe, pei proude worldly clerkis full of coueitise & lecherie & opere synnes schulden sone ben abatid, & holy lif & trewe techinghe schulde be broȝt azen. but here rennej moche gile & ypocrisie of antecrist & his clerkis, for pei seyn pei seculer lordis han no power vpon clerkis, but sij prelatis alepen hem to chastise clerkis whasne pei ben rebel & wolen not ben amendid bi here prelatis. for

\[1\] suffre\(X\). \[2\] no X.
salamon putte adoun on heī; proestis & ordeyned anoher is his 1 Kings u. [27.] Example of Solomon.
place, & owtlawid þe frste wiþ-outen axynge helpe of clerkis for traiterie don to salamon & his peple; & treson aþenst crīst & his lawe & his peple is more þan treson aþenst an erþely kynge & more schulde be ponyschid. & as petir & poule techen, lordis ben ordeyned of god to venge mysedis and mysoeris & to preise goode dedis & goode doeris; þasne þe more þat * a *[p. 201 MS.]
syne is, þe more howen lordis to ponysche it; but þe synne of clerkis is more þan þe synne of ðe þere lewid men, þasne lordis owen more to ponysche synne of clerkis þasne þe synne of ðe þere men. & it is more synne & perilous to goddis peple whasne lowere clerkis meyntenen here synne & grete prelatis suffren hem þer-inne, & consenten þer-to for neglichence or coueitise, þas whasne prelatis don here bisynesse to distroie synne & pursue wickid clerkis. þer-fore lordis owen to ponysche more wickid clerkis whasne prelatis slepen & fanouren hem in synne for monye,1 for ellis myþten kynge-
domes ben conquerid for1 neglichence of coueitouse prelatis, as it was in þe lond of israel. & herefore whasne crīst was preised of þe peple, he wente in-to þe temple & wiþ his hondis droof out symonyestis, to þeue ensamiple to lordis to do þe same; & þer-fore petir & poul outaken not clerkis fro ponyschynge of lordis. þasne siþ goddis lawe þeueþ general power to seculer lordis for to ponysche mysoeris, whi schulden þei not ponysche enyl clerkis, þat most drawen opere men to synne & so to disturblynge of rewmes? siþ crīst suffred paciently wrongful þe þat was a seculer iustise, moche more schulden clerkis suffren rijtful ponyschinge of here synnyis bi seculer lordis; for poul forsok Acts xxv. 11.
not to take þe of seculer dome men þit he hadde deserued it, & also appelid to þe heþene emperour of rome; & þus it semeþ þat þo clerkis þat wolen not be amended bi secular lordis dom ben out of mekenesse & pacience & charite, & hiþen himself aboue crīst & his apostlis aþenst goddis ordy-
naunce bi luciferis pride, & ben cursed anticristis. & þit

1 money X. 2 to X.
lords don gret wrong & gile, for þei anaunsen lewde men of
kunynge & lyuynge to benefices wip care of many souls, &
taken to hem self þe profit of þe grete benefices for many
þeris, & holden many beneficyed men in here chapellis for
nouelrie of newe song, & makes summe prestis stiwardis of
here houshalde, & summe prestis clerkis of here kechene, &
summe prestis here auditours, & summe prestis tresoreris,
& summe aumeneris, & summe stiwardis of here courtis, &
summe conseileris & reuleris of here worldly plees, arrayes &
worldly dedes, as þou; no man coude worldly office but þei;
& wolen not suffre hem goo teche þe soulsis for whiche þe
schullen answere at domes day, & for whiche crist schedde
his precious herte blood, but suffren & meyntenen þe wolunes
of helde to ale cristene mennes soulsis bi synne, & letten
almes dede boþe gostly & bodily, & so þei ben cursed traitors
to god & to his prestis & his pore peple. & more traitorie of
god & his peple is in þese prestis þat wilfully & costly procure
to haue þis worldly offices & dwellen þor-isane & leuen here
gostly office vndon, but most traiterie of god & his peple is
is fals confessouris þat schulden telle lordis þe grete peril of
þis synne & open, & wolen not for drede of loos of worldly
frendeschip & lوردischip & worldly worschipe & wynynge;
for þei sette more bi a litel stynkyngge drtit of þis world þan
bi helpe of cristene soulsis & frendeschip of god & þe blisse
of heuene. Also many letteris of contra þat wolen make
hem self gentel men & han litel or nouþ to lyue onne, &
opere lordis also wolen preise a worldly prelat or curat & bere
his vp, þou; he be neuere so vicious in lecherie, pride &
couveitise & open synnes, so þat þis worldly curat makyp hem
grete festis & wastip pore meanus almes is þifis of wyn &
vanites; þe, þou; he be a market betere, a marchaunt, a
meyntenour of wrongis at lonedaisis, a fals suere, a man-
quellere & inreguler. but þif þe be a gostly curat or prest
þat lyueþ a good lif in mekenesse & doynge almes to pore

1 meynys AA. 2 lecherie X. 3 omitted X. 4 undir AA. 8 omitted X.
OF SERVANTS AND LORDS.

men, & not wastynge pore mennes almes is veyn feste or suche getteris, but holde hym in his priegeris deuoutly & in techynge of goddis lawe trewely & in his trewe stondynge of holy writt, he schal be holde a nyggard, an hound, or an hoog, an ypocrite & an heretik; namely if he reproue hem of here wickid lif & teche hem he beste weise to heuene hope is word & dede, & so be hurlid & pursued priuely or apertly, & so hatid amonge hem he he schal be fayn to sette his chirche to ferme to suche a gettere nerehonde for nouȝt, or ellis for fals selaundre putt on him lese his chirche, or for schame or anoy fleue he contre, & bi his wrong ben many men lettid fro goddissweruyce & trewe techyng. And if lordis don many wrongis & gles in here offices, for he wasten here tyme is sloupe & ydelnesse, & wasten here goodis is best & pride & glotonye; & he he best can do his is holden of worldly men best lord & most worshipful, principaly if he meynten his men to bete pore men & do wrongis bi lone daies, holdyng & meyntenynge of causes he rïst & lawe may not haue his cours, & he whanne hei schulden have houshold of riȝtwise men & vertuous of lif, hei meyntenen proude luciferis children, extorsioneris, robberis, & reuers, to distroie here pore neiȝbores & maken here hous a den of þene, & ben procouratoris of he fend to holde vp falsnesse & opere synnes, & to putte dous goddis lawe & his servaustis. for lordis schulden traveile als feste to kusne holy writt, & do treuþ & equyte, & meynten riȝt of pore men * & reste & pees *[p. 203 M.S.] vp here kusnyuge & power, as pore men ben bisi to labore for here owene liſ gode & to paye here rentis to lordis; for god seij bi dauyd: "& now, þe kyngis, vnderstonde; be þe Psalms ii. 10. lere þat demen þe erþe; serue þe to þe lord wiþ drede of herte, & enycoþ þe to hym wiþ quakyng." & þe wise man Wisdom vi. 5. seij þat þe most hard dom schal ben to hem þat ben aboue opere, & ihú seij þat to whom is moche bitokene, of hym schal Luke xii. 48. moche ben axid. god stireþ lordsis to distroie synne & norische vertues & holy lif of clerkis & alle opere sugetis. Amen.

1 omitted X. 2 stire AA. 3 þere AA.
XVI.

WHY POOR PRIESTS HAVE NO BENEFICE.

This tract, whoever may be its author, is vigorously written. It has a special interest as a full statement and defence of the motives which led Wyclif to institute his order or company of poor priests.

As evidence in favour of Wyclif's authorship, we may notice the phrase "moo sacraments than Christ used and his apostles." In the Trialogus we find complaints that sacraments are multiplied so as to be a burden to the Church, and Confirmation and Extreme Unction are said not to have enough ground in Scripture to be necessary to salvation (Trial, book iv. chapters xi., xiv., xxv.). His doctrine of dominion is brought in on p. 247. Perhaps we may see a touch of personal feeling in the statement that a curate cannot get leave of absence to study God's law without payment. Had Wyclif found it necessary to buy leave to absent himself from Fillingham in 1368?

On the other hand, the tone of several passages would lead us to attribute them to one of the poor priests rather than to Wyclif. It seems unlikely that the rector of Lutterworth would speak of a man who accepted a cure as binding himself "to o synguler place as a tey dogge," p. 252.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

Summary.

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WHY POOR PRIESTS HAVE NO BENEFICE.

WHI PORE PRESTIS HAN NONE BENEFICE.

Capitulum primum.

Summe causes meuen summe pore prestis to rescuyue not benefices; þe friste for drede of symonye, þe secunde for drede of myspendynges pore mennus goodis, þe þridde for drede of lettynges of bettre ocupacion þat is more liht or eisay, more certeyn, & more profitable on euere side. for þif men schulde come to benefices be þift of pralatis þer is drede of symonye; for comynly þei taken the friste fruytis or opere pensions, or holde curatis in office in here courtis or chapelis or opere veyn offices, fer fro prestis lif tanþt & ensaumplid of orist & his apostolis; so þat comusly siche benefices comen not frely, as orist comaudip, but ræpere for worldy wynnyng or flaterynge or preisyng & þank of myðty men & lordis, & not for abilnesse of knynynge of goddis lawe & þewte techynges of þe gospel & ensaumple of holy lif. & here-føre comynly þes pralatis & rescuyeris ben foulid wip symonye, þat is cursed heresie as goddis lawe & mannus lawe techen opynly & many seyntis. & grete merueile it is now þat, siþ seynt gregory seþ þe pleyn lawe of þe chirche & opere bokis Gregory. þat siche men as desiren benefices schulden not haue hem, but men þat feen hem for drede of vnabilnesse of hemself & grete charge, as dide moyyses, ieromys, austyn, gregory & holy seyntis; & now who can faste renne to rome & bere gold out Benefices bought of þe lond & paie it for deed leed & a litil writynges, & stryye & plede & curse for tîpes & opere temporel profitis, þat ben clepid wip antieristis clerkis rittis of holy chirche, schal haue grete benefices of cure of many þousand souls; þou; he be vnable of knynyngs of holy writ, not in wille to teche & preche his sugetis, but of cursed lif & wickid ensaumple of pride, of couesitise, glotonye, lecherie & opere grete synnye. but þere be ony symple man þat desireþ to lyue wel & teche

1 omitted X.
2 þei X.
True priests persecuted. *[p. 304 MS.]

Lords keep curates in their own service.

Indirect bribery.

Bad influence of some ladies.

Treuely goddis lawe & dispise pride & opere synnyes, bope of prelatis & opere men, he schal ben holden an ypoocrate, a neweotechere, an heretik, & not suffred to come *to any benefice. but jif he have ony litel pore place to lyuen a pore lif onne, he schal be so pursed & scualrid that he schal be putt oute bi wiles, cautelis, fraudis & worldly violence, & enprisionad, disgratid or brent; jif anticristis clerkis may for ony gold & cursed lesyngis. ¶ And jif lordis schullen presente clerkis to benefices pei wolen haue comynly gold in grett quantite, & holden peis curatis in here worldly office, & suffren pe wolues of helle to stranglen mennes soulis, so pei haue moche gold & here office don for noujt, & here chapellis holden vp for veyn glorie or ypoocrisie; & jif pei wolen not presente a clerk able of kusynyge & of good lif & holy ensample to pe peple, but a keoch clerk or a penne clerk or wis of bildyng of castelis or worldly doyng, pou; he kwnne not rede wel his sauter & knowe not pe comausdementis of god ne sacramentis of holy chirche. & jif summe lordis to colouren here symonye wole not take for hem self, but keuer-chiefs for pe lady, or a palfrey, or a tonne of wyn; & whanne summe lordis wolden presente a goode man & able for loue of god & cristene soulis, pas summe ladies ben meny to haue a dausere, a trippere on tapitis, or hustere or haukere, or a wilde pleiere of someres gamenes for flaterynge & jifis goynge bitwixe, & jif it be for dausynge is bedde so moche pe worse. & pus it seme jif bope prelatis & lordis comynly maken a cursed anticrist & a quyk fend to be maister of cristis peple, for to leden hem to helle, to sathanas here maistir, & suffre not cristis disciplis to teche cristis gospel to his children for to saue here soulis; & so pei trauelen to exile crist & his lawe out of his heritage, jif is cristene soulis, pas he bouste not wip roten gold ne siluer but wip his precious herte blood pas he schodde on pe crois bi most brennynge charite. but in his presenteynge of euyl curatis and holdynge

1 omitted AA.  2 omitted X.  3 omitted X.  4 omitted X.  5 omitted X.
WHY POOR PRIESTS HAVE NO BENEFICE

of curatis in worldly office, lettynge hem fro here gostlye cure, ben pre deegres of traiterie agenst god & his peple. [De friste is in prelatis & lordis pat pus holden curatis in here worldly office; for pei han here heipse statis in pe churche & lordischipis for to purrie treue curatis to pe peple, & to meyntene hem in goddis lawe & ponyschen hem; if pei failen is here gostlye cure, & bi pis pei holden here lordischipis of god. Pan if pei maken euyl curatis & holden hem in here worldly office, & letten hem to lede goddis peple pe rihtful weie to heuene, but helpen hem & constraynen hem to lede pe peple to helle ward bi wij-drawynge of goddis word & bi euyl ensaumple yeuynghe, pei ben weiward traitours to god & his peple, & vikeris & procuratours of sathanas. Fit more traiterie is in false curatis pat peuen mede or hire to comen in-to siche worldly offices, for to spare here muck & leie it in tresor, & to gete lordischipe & maustenauosse agenst ordynaries, pat pei dore not olepen hem to residence & saue here soulis, but couden in lordis courtis, in lustis & aise of here flech for to gete moo fatte benefices, & purpousen not spedly to do here gostlye office. Woo is to po lordis pat ben leed wij suche cursed heretikis & antiochistes, traitours of god & his peple, & namely traitours to lordis hem selfe, where lordis myttten not fynde in alle here lordischipe trewe worldly men to reule here houshold & worldly offices, but if pei taken por-to curatis pat ben opynly false traitours to god & his peple? where lordis ben so bynyddid pat pei perceyuen not pat siche traitours, pat opynly ben false to god, pat pei wolen moche more ben false to hem? but pe most traiterie is in fals confessours, pat schulden bi here office warne prelatis & lordis of pis grete peril, & clerkis also, pat pei holden none siche curatis in here worldly offices; for pei don not pis last pei losen lordischipe & frendidischipe & sifitis & welfare of here stynkynghe bely; & so pei sullen cristen soulis to sathanas for to haue lykyngis of here stynkynghe bely, & makes prelatis &

1 & X. 2 omitted X. 3 bynydd AA.

Three degrees of treachery.
1. Lords who keep the clergy in secular office.
2. Curates who buy offices, to gain exemption from the ordinary.
3. False confessors.
lordis & curatis to lyue in synne & traiterie aegenst god & his peple. & so aegenst he hire pat lordis yeune here confessouris pei discyuen hem in here soulis helpe, & meyntenen hem in cursed traiterie of god & his peple, & pus almost al he world gopter to helle for his cursed symonye & false confesserous. for comynly preslatis, lordis & curatis ben enuened wip his heresie of symonye, & neuerere don verrey repentaunce & satisfaction pserfore; for whasne hei han a fat benefice geten by symonye hei forsaken it not, as hei ben bouden bi here owene lawe, but wittynngly vse for pater symonye, & lyuen in riot, couetisse, pride, & don not here office neijer in good ensaunple ne trewe techynge. & pus anticeris clerixis, enemies of crist & his peple, bi money & flatteryg & flaschly loue gedrynge to hem ledynge of he peple, & forbarre trewe prestis to teche hem goddis lawe; & pserfore he blynde ledip he blynde & bohe partis rennen in-to synne, & ful many to helle. & it is huge wonder pat god of his riptwisnesse districep not he housis of preslatis & lordis & curatis, as sodom & gomor, for his heresie, extorsions & opere cursednesses pat hei hausten, & for drede of his synne & many moo summe pore wrecchis rescyeue no benefices in his world.

Capitulum 2m.

Poor priests fear to take benefices lest they should waste the goods of the poor.

* [p. 306 MS.]
1 Tim. vi. [8].

Jerome.

Induction fees.

\[ \text{fit bouz pore prestis myehten frely geten presentacion of lordis to hauue benefices wip cure of soulis, pei dreden for mys spendyng of poore mennus goode; & his is more dreden pan *pe first as anemtis here owene persons. for prestis owen to holde hem paied wip fode & hilynge, as seynt poul techip; & if hei han more it is pore mennus goode, as here owene lawe & ierom & goddis lawe seyn, & hei ben kepers pserof & procurators of pore men. But for institucion & inducion he schal yeue moche of his god pat is pore mennus to bishopis officers, archdekenes & officialis pat ben to riche,}

1 aboute has been inserted in X. but crossed out. 2 of X. 3 omitted X.
& not frely comen þer-to. And wæsne bishopis & here 
officeris comen & feynen to visite, þou; þei norischen men in 
open synne for samuel renne, & don not here office but sullen 
souls to sathanas for money, wrecchen curatis ben nedid to 
festen hem richely & þue procuracie & synage; þe, aȝenst 
goddis lawe & manne & reson & aȝenst here conscience. & 
also þei schulles not be suffrid to teche treuly goddis lawe 
to here owene sugetis & warne hem of false prophetis, & 
diseyuen hem bope in bileue & techyng & good lif & erþely 
goodis, as Crist doþe in þe gospel, & comauð þe curatis to do 
þe same vp peyne of here dappunacion; for þasne þei mosten 
crie to þe peple þe grete synnys of prelatis & ðepere newe 
feyned religious, as god biddip; but þei demen þat siche 
sadde reprouyngis of synne is enuye, sclaudrynge of prelatis, 
& distroiynges of holy chirche. & þei schullegen not be suffrid 
to do scharp executio of goddis lawe aȝenst here sugetis, ben 
þei neuer so oþynly cursed of god & sclaudris of cristene 
religion, jif þe heije clerkis of antycrist han ÿfis & pensions 
bi þere to suffre cursed men in opyn avoutrie & ðepere synnys. 
for wæsne þei ben falsly amendid bi officialis & denes no man 
be hardy to waken hem out of here lustis of synne, for þat 
schulde distrioie iuiccionis & wyanyng & of prelatis, & þis 
cursed extorsion is clepid bi ypcoris þe grete almes of anty-
cristis clerkis; but here-by þei maken large kechenes, 
holden fatte hors & houdis & hauksi & strompetis gaiely 
arraied, & suffren pore men to sterue for myschief, & jif 
suffren & councreinen hem to goo þe brode weie to helle. 

¶ Also many tymes here patrons & ðepere getteris of countre & 
ydel schaueldouris willes loke to be festid of siche curatis, & 
ellis maken hem les þat litel þing þat þei & pore men 
schulden lyue bi; so þat þei schullegen not spende þe dymes 
& offryngis after good conscience & goddis lawe but waste

¹ of X.  
² disseyuen AA. Perhaps it should be disseruen. If not we must read 
“that” for “and” just before.  
³ for X.  
⁴ omitted X.
WHY POOR PRIESTS HAVE NO BENEFICE. 

hem on suche mytty & riche men & ydel, & ellis, for træneile, cost & enemyte & dispisynghe þat þei schullen suffe & on þe toþer side for drede of conscience, hem is betre to forskae al þan to holde it forp. ¶Also ech good day comynly þes amale curatís schullen haue letterís fro þere ordynaries to ssumonë* & to curse pore men for nonþ but for conjitise of antícristís clerkís; & but þif þei somonen & cursen-hem, þouþ þei knowe no cause whi anemtís god & his lawe, þei ben hurrid & somnyd fro day to day, fro far place to ferþere, or cured þe lese here benefices or profitís þer-of; for alles as prelatís feynen þei bi þere rebelte schulden soone distrois prelatís jurisdiccion, power & wyssynge. ¶Also whasem pore prelatís first holy of lif & devout is here preiers ben benefised, but þif þei ben worldly & bisy aboute þe world to make grete festis to riche persoñys & vikeris & riche men & costly & gaily arraied, as here staat axiþ bi fals dom of þe world, þei schullen be hatid & hayned doune as houndís, & ech man redi to peiere hem is name & worldly goodís. & so many cursed discetís hap antícrist brouȝt vp bi his worldly clerkís to make curatís to myspende pore mennœ goodís & not don trewe þere oﬃce, or ellis to forskane al & late antícristís clerkís, as lordís of þis world, þe more cruðly þan ðe reñor tiraðtís, robb þe pore peple bi feyned sensures & teche þe fendid lore boþe bi open prochynge & ensampl of here ðswaid lif. ¶Also þif siche curatís ben stired to gone lerne goddis lawe & teche here parisches þe gospel, comynly þei schullen gete no leue of bischopis but for gold; & whasem þei schulled most profite is here lernynge þan schulle þei be clepid hom at þe prelatís wille, & þif þei schullen haue ony heisse sacramentís or poynþis of þe heisse prelatís, comynly þei schulle bie hem wip pore mennœ goodís wip hook or wip crok; & so þere is ful gret peril of euyl spendynghe of þos goodís, boþe aȝenst heisse prelatís, anemtís riche men of contre, as patrone, persones & ðe reñor gettoûris of contre, & here owene kyn for fame of þe

*omitted AA.  
4 omitted X.
world & for schame & enyl demynge of men. & certis it is
gret wonder þat god suffriþ so longe þis synne viponyschid
opynyly, namely of prelatis courtis þat ben dennys of þeues &
larderis of halle; & so of here officeris þat ben sotil in malice
& eoucitise; & of lordis & myþtly men, þat schulden distroie
þis wrong & òpere & meyntenen treuþe & goddis sauautis,
& now meyntenen antþristis falsenesse & his clerkis for part
of þe wynnyage. & hou symple prestitis durren take siche
benefices, but þif þei weren myþtly of kusnyage & goode lif &
herty to æsenstonde þes wrongis & moo þan¹ we may now
touche for þe multitude of hem & sotil colouryage bi ypoorisse.
but certis god suffriþ siche ypooritis & tirauntis to have name
of prelatis for grete synnys of þe peple & vnworþinesse þor-of,
þat eche part lede òpere² to helle bi blundyres of þe fend; &
þis is a þousand fold more vengauuse þan þif god distroie
bodely boþe partis & alle here goodis * & erþe þer-wip, as he "[p. 208 MS.]
dide bi sodom & gomor; for þe lengere þat þei lyuen þus in
synne, þe grettære peyne schullen þei haue in helle but þif
þei amenden hem. & þis drede & many moo maken summe
pore prestitis to rescuyuen non benefices.

Capitulum 3º.

But þit þou; pore prestis myþtten haue frely presentation of
lordis, & ben holpen bi meyntenynge of kyngis & helpe of
goode comyns fro extorsions of prelatis & òpere myspendynge
of þes goodes, þat is ful hard in þis grete regnynge of anti-
ристis clerkis; þit þei dreden sore þat bi þis singuler cure
ordeyned of synful men þei schulden be lettid fro betre
ocupacion & fro more proft of holy chirohe, & þis is þe moste
drede of alle as anemtis here personys. for þei han cure &
charge at þe fulle of god to helpe here breþeren to heune
ward, boþe bi techynge, preiynge & ensamplen þeuynge; & it
semed þat þei schullen most esily fulsille þis bi general cure
of charite, as dide crist & his apostlis, þou; þei bynden hem They can do

¹ þat X. ² open X.
more good when not chained to one place.

Matthew x. 23.
Can escape persecution.

They live by alms, which is more Christlike than taking tithes.

Thus men would give alms more freely,

there would be fewer lawsuits.

Benefices lead priests into worldly business.

* [P. 200 MB ]

not to o synguler place as a tey dogge, & bi þis þei may most sikirly saue hem self & helpe here breðeren; for now þei ben free to fée fro o cite to a noþer whasne þei ben pursued of anticristis clerkis, as biddeþ crist in þe gospel. Also nowe þei may best wijd-oute chalyngynge of men goo & dwalle among þe peple where þei schullen most profite, & is couenable tyme come & goo aftir stirynge of þe holy gost, & not be bounden bi synful menuus iuridicion fro þe betre doynte.

Also now þei suen crist & his apostlis neer, is þus takynge almes wilfully & frely of þe peple þat þei techen, þasne in takynge dymes & offryngis bi customes þat synful men ordynen & vsen now in þe tyme of grace. Also þis is more medeful in boþe sidis as þei understonden bi cristis lif & his apostlis; for þus þe peple þeneþ hem almes more wilfully & denoutly, & þei taken it more mekely & ben more besy to lerne, kepe & teche goddis lawe, & so it is þe betre for boþe sidis. Also bi þis manere myttete & schulde þe peple þene frely here almes to trewe prestis þat trewely kepten here ordre & frely & opynly taþten þe gospel, & wijd-drawen it fro wickedes prestis, & not be constreynd to paie here tipes & offringis to open cured men & myntene hem in here opyn cursednesse; & þus schulde symonye, coueitise & ydelnesse of worldly clerkis be leið dow, & holynesse & trewe techynge & knowynge of goddis lawe be brouȝt in, boþe in clerkis & lewid men. Also þus schulde stryuyngene, pleyngene & cursynge for dymes & offryngis & hate & discord among prestis & lewid men be endid, & vnte, pees & charite meynten & kept.

Also þes benefices bi þis cours þat men vsen nowe bryngþ þe worldlynesse & nedeles bisynesse aboute worldly officis, þat crist & his apostlis wolden neuere *take vpon hem; & þit þei weren more myttty, more witti, & more brennynge is charite to god & to þe peple, boþe to lyue þe best manere is hem self & to teche oþere men. Also coueitise & worldly bisynesse of clerkis & occasion of coueitise & worldylnesse of þe peple.

1 X inserts not. 2 omitted AA. 3 sikirnesse X.
schulden be don awey, & cristis pueret & his apostlis bi ensample of pore lif of clerkis & triste in god & desirynge of heuenely bliss schulde regne in cristene peple. ¶Also þan schulde prestis studie holy writ & be deuout in here prestis, & not be taried wip newe offices, as newe songis & moo sacraments þan¹ crist vsede & his apostlis, þat taupten vs New sacraments, alle treuþe & spedly saunynge of cristene peple. ¶Also mochil blasphemye of prestis & òhere men of feyned obedience & nedles sweryngis maad to worldly prestis schulden þan Needless oaths. cessen, & souereyn obedience to god & his lawe & eschewynge of nedles òpes & forsweryngschulde regne among cristene men. ¶Also þan schulde men eschewe comynly alle þe perilians Summary of the whole. seid bfore in þe first chapitre & þe secuade & many þousand mo, & lyue in clennesse & sikernesse of conscience. ¶Also þan schulde prestis be bisy to syke² goddis worschipe & saunynge of mennu soulis, & not here owene worldly glory & wynynge of worldly drit. ¶Also þan schulden prestis lyue lich to angels,³ as þei ben angelis of offices, where þei lyuen now as swyn in fleschly lustis, & turnen òsen to here formere synnes as houndis to here sp[e]wynge, for habuðausse of worldly goodis & ydelnesse in here gostly office & ouere moche bisynesse atte þis wrecchid lif. for þes dreedes & many þousand mo, & for to be more lich to cristis lif & his apostlis, & for to profite more to here owene soules & òhere mennus, summe pore prestis þenken wip goddis helpe⁴ to traveile aboute where þei schulden most profiten by euydence þat god þeueþ hem, þe while þei han tyme & litel bodily strengfe & þouþe. neþeles þei dampnen not curatis þat don wel here office, so þat þei kepen liberte of þe gospel, & dwellen where þei schullen most profite, & þat þei techen trewly & stabely goddis lawe òsenst false prophesis & cursed fendis lymes. Crist for his endeles merey helpe his prestis & comyn peple to be war of antischristis diœcitis, & goo euene þe rijtte weie to heuene. Amen, iþu for þin endeles charite.

¹ þat X. ² seke AA. ³ an angel X. ⁴ omitted X.
XVII.

HOW ANTICHRIST AND HIS CLERKS TRAVAIL TO DESTROY HOLY WRIT.

This tract should be compared with a short fly-leaf printed by Mr. Arnold, S. E. W. III. 186.

I cannot pretend to any sure judgment as to the authorship, but there is nothing in it at variance with Wyclif's teaching. It seems to have been written when the controversy with the poor priests had been carried on some time, and when they found it necessary to justify their constant appeals to God's law (Talem enim habeabant terminum in omnibus suis dictis, semper pretendendo legem Dei; Goddis lawe, Knighton 2664.) It is possible that the need of such a justification would be soon felt even among the popular preachers, as it must certainly have been discovered very early in the schools. We need not, therefore, assign a very late date to this composition.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

Chap. I. As Christ ordained four Gospels, so Satan has four devices to set men's authority above that of the Gospel. These devices are specially used by friars for the glory of their orders 255

II. The first false pretence is that the Church is of more authority than the Gospel, since it decreed which gospels should be received 256

III. The second, that Austin says he would not believe the Gospel, unless the Church told him 259

Austin's meaning is misrepresented 258

Duty of maintaining the truth 259

IV. The third, that men only know the Gospel by the Church 259

The true ground of faith is Christ himself 260

V. The fourth, that men believe the Gospel without knowing why 260

Faith is given by God; its power 261
Hou antichrist & his clerkis traveilen to distroie holy
writt & to make cristene men vnstable in pe seip
& to sette here ground in deuallis of helle.

Capitulum primum.

As houre lord ihu orist ordeynede to make his gospel sadly
knowen & meynented aenst heretikis & men out of bileue bi
writteynge of his foure evangeliastis, so pe deuel satanias
castip bi antichrist & his worldlye false clerkis to distroie holy
*writt & cristene mennus bileue bi foure cursed weies or fals
reasons. ¶ Pe first, pat pe chirche is of more auctorite & more
credence pan is ony gospel. ¶ Pe seconade, pat aystyn seip pat
he wolde not bileue to pe gospel but sif pe chirche tauhte hym
so. ¶ Pe pride, pat no man now on lyue wote whiche is pe
gospel but sif it be bi approuyng of pe chirche. ¶ Pe fourphe,
sif men seyn pat pei bileuen pat pis is pe gospel of matheu or
ion, pei axen, whi bileuest pou pat pis is pe gospel; as who
seip, pe is no cause but for pe chirche conforme it & teche it
so. Pe foore euyses & many moo maked pe fend to
blynde men in bileue, pat pei schulden not knowe whiche is
synne, which is vertu, which is treupe, which is felsonese,
which is good, which is euyl, & which is goddis heste, &
which is leyngye of pe fend for to brynge alle men blyedly to
helle. & Pe newee religious & principaly freiris preches pes
euyses & sowen hem among lewd men 'in contres to
stoppe pore prestitis & lewd men,' pat pei ben not hardy to
speke of pe gospel & holy writt & goddis comaundementis &
ioes of heuene & of synnes & peynes of purgatorie & of
helle, lest pei stieren men to rise out of synnye for drede of
peynes, & to lyfe in vertuous lif for to haue pe bliss of
heuene. & pis disceit in bileue is maed & conieced of pes
cursed pharisees for to magnyfie here newe seyned ordres,
founden of synful men, not only wip oristis clene religion but

¹-¹ omitted X.  * omitted X.
more than any part of holy writ; and for he will not be conuyct of here pride & ypcorie & forsake here coneitise & lustis of here bely & here propre wille. Perfore he wil renne to helle fullire, & drawe alle men after hem heedly bi distroiynge of cristene feip, to come to cristis clene religion wiþ fredam of he gospel he is ordeyned of god of endeles wisdom wiþ-outen error of any synful man; for he mosten knowe here falsenesse & ypcorie, bi he whiche he disceyueden cristene men fro he bigynge of here nouelries til his tyme. But luciferis pride & coneitise of worldly muk & of heij astatis & worldly worships may not suffre his mekenes, as men drenen ful sore, for old enuye of sathanas & hard rotynge in syne.

Capitulum 2

See we now heu he bryngen in he first cursed ground, hat he chirche is of more autorite & credence than is he gospel. Hei seyn hat nychoumed & many moo written he gospelis of cristis lif & his techynge, & he chirche putte hem away & approued his foure gosspellis of matheu, mark, luk & ion. Pan he chirche myste as wel haue put out his foure & approued his toworkspace gosspellis; siþ it was in free wille & power of he *chirche to reprowe & dampe whiche hei wolden & approue & accepte whiche heim lykede; & perfore men schulden bilene more to he chirche than to any gospel. ¶First he scastyng he heretikis understanden bi he chirhe he pope of rome & his cardynalis, & he multitude of worldly clerkis asentynge to his symonye & worldly lordechip above alle kyngis & emperours of his world; for ellis it were not to here purpos to magnyfye he chirche as hei now don. Panne trewe men seyn hat he clerige hat first was kunynge & holy of lif was stirid bi he holy gozt to take he gospelis & charge not cristene peple wiþ mo; siþ he ben ynowe &

1 herfore X. 3 fulbere AA. 5 of X.
4 omitted AA. 6 our X.
profitable at be fulle, & ben figured in many prophesies of goddis lawe; & these fourt wise witnesses weren acceptid of he holy gost to his writynge for many skillis that we may not telle now; but certes he chiche mytte not haue putt awaye these gospellis & acceptid he opere. for the it hadde don aynst he dom of god & aynst he treupe of ihu crist & aynst charite of he holy gost, for to putte awaye these witnesses that knewen more of goddis prynyte & weren holier of lif, & to take witnessis not so kunynge of goddis dom ne so holy of lif ne meke ne so stable in fey & in loun of ihu crist. but these herdikis treuileyn nye & day to ensample these multitude of worldly clerkes, that ben ful of symonye, pride, couteis, glotonye, lecherie & opere synnes, abone ihu crist & his gospel, for to haue here worldly lif, pride & lustis meynten, that no man schulde lette hem in here worldly glorie ne disturbule hem of here lustis, pou; be wolen make here cursed lif & heresies to be gospel & bileue of cristene men; but where ben more cursed traitouris to god & his lawe & more perilous & false prophetic to cristene peple? for god com- These heretics try to set the authority of a worldly clergy above that of Christ. 

audij vp peyne of his gret cure & deep dampanye in helle that no man schal wip-drawe fro his lawe ony poynct of treupe, ne adde fer-to ony nouvelre that is not approved of he trinyte, & ihu crist sey that his gospel is euerlastynge testament. But these wolen for-don it wip a stynkynge blast of anticristis cursed mouf. lord, how dore cristene men meyntenene siche heretikis, aynst goddis techyne & pees of cristene peple? siche weyward heretikis ben ful vnable to reule pralatis & lordis & comyns is schritte, in prechynghe & prynge & opere poynitis of here soule helpe, for these disceyuen hem in fey & good lif, for to haue here owene pride & couteis & lustis born vp, & so drawen alle men to helle that ben reulid bi suche false confessours, false prechours & false conseilours.

1 perfyt AA. 2 on AA.
Capitulum 3

See now pe secunde wheel in pis deuelis wayn; pei bere vpon austyn pat he seip bus, *pat he wolde not bileue to pe gospel but jif pe chyrche seide it. so trewe men answeren bus: suppose *pat austyn seip pis word, he seide to pis entente, *pat but jif criest, heuyd of holy chyrche, & seynstis in heuene & pe apostlis of criest, pat ben holy chyrche, seiden & approueden pis gospel, ellis he wolde not bileue per-to; & pis vnderstondynge is ful trewe & resonable & accordynge to pe lettres of austyn. but pei vnderstonde bus, but jif pe multitude of cursed worldly clerkis approue pis for pe gospel, ellis austyn wolde not bileue to pe gospel of ihu criest; & sih austyn was & is so gret a doctor of holy chyrche, no ma schulde bileue to pe gospel but jif pe chyrche of pis prelatis confermen pat pis is pe gospel of criest. Hanne *jif pe multitude of anticristis clerkis approuen not pe gospel ne treupe of holy writt, no man schulde holde *pe gospel ne ony comausdement of god, ne meytentere ony treupe azenst anticrist & his worldely prelatis. but what heresie myȝtte soonere distroie cristene mennus bileue? & god forbede pat austyn were in pis *perilous heresie, or ony cristene man. Perfore it is cursed lesynge to sclannd[r]e seynt austyn wiþ pis cursed errour, to *colourere here owene false vnderstondynge & heresie bi pis holy doctor. for bi pis cursed wheel, if anticristis clerkis dampe cristene mennus feip & pe comausdementis of god & poynsis of charite, & bryngen in here owen weyard lawis to holden vp here pride & coueitise, & to curse men for pei don werkis of charite, men moten vp peyne of dampnacion receyne here cursed dedis as bileue, & forsake pe gospel of ihu criest, & take fendis lesynis in stede of goddis lore; & moo cursednesse to distroie cristene feip pan wolde sue of pis cursed vnderstondynge may no man ne fend ymagey til pe day of dom. Perfore cristen men *schulden stonde to pe deþ
for meyntenynge of cristis gospel, & trewe vnnderstondyngse
fro of geten bi holy lif & gret studie, & not sette here seip
ne trieste in synful prelatis & here cursed clerkis, ne in here
vnnderstondyngse of holy writt, for sei ben vnable wiþ his
worldly lif ful of pride, coueitise, glotonye & ydelnesse, as ¹
haukyngse & hauustyngse, & pleiynge at sei chees & tablis, &
riot & daunestyng, & festis makynge, dronkenesse & lecherie,
to percyue sei treuþe of holy writt & heije prouytees of god.
for crist seiþ in sei gospel sei þat sei fadir of heuene hidiþ þes
Matt. xi. 25.
treuþes fro worldly wise men & queynte, & schewiþ hem to
meke men as weren cristis disciplis. & sei wise man seiþ sei
Prov. ix. 10.
þe wisdom schal not entre ia to an euyl willid man, for sei
drede of god is bigynnyngse & plente of wisdom, & sei han
not þis drede; þan sei han not þis wisdom. þerfore it is
luciferis pride, & passeþ it, to constrayne men to take vnnder-
stondyngse of holy writt after sei witt & dom of siche
worldly *clerkis, þat ben enemys of crist & his lawe & his
[212b MS.]
aeruanntis, for sei ben blynde in goddis lawe & good lif, &
leden blynde men to helle, as crist seiþ in sei gospel; for in
steed of keies of heuene, þat ben kunnyngse of holy writt &
power to distroie synne & sane cristene soulis bi trewe
technyngse & good ensaunple, sei han ignoraunce of goddis
lawe, & no wil ² to studie & lyue þor-aftir, but kunnyngse &
praktisyngse in here owene wickede lawis for pride & coueitise,
& feynten hem power of tiraustrike to stoppe treue men fro
prechyngse of sei gospel, & þif sei prechen aþenst here wille to
curse hem & prisme hem & brenne hem ³; & certis þes ben
keies of helle.

Capitulum 4th

See now sei þridde wheel of sathanas chaar. Þes cautelous
clerkis & religious of lucifer seyn þat no man wot whiche is
the gospel but bi approuynge & consermyngse of þe chircbe.
but trewe men seyn þat to here vnnderstondyngse þis is ful of

¹ & X. ² wel X. ³ omitted AA.
HOW ANTICHRIST AND HIS CLERKS. [CHAP. IV.

but Christians have this certainty given by Christ.

falsed; for cristene men ben certeyn of bileue, bi gracious righteous gift of ihū crist, pat his treūpe taut bid krist & his apostlis is pe gospel, pou; alle anticristis clerkis crien neure so faste pe contradicte vp peyne of curs & prisoynge & brennyng. & his bileue is not groundid on pe pope & his cardinalis, for pasne it moste faile & ben vndon, as pe failen & ben sustyme destroied, but on ihū crist, god & man, & on pe holy trinyte; & so it may neure faile but in defauete of him pat schulde loste god & servir him & failip in pe ther two poynis, for almyhty god & his treūpes ben foundement of cristene manus feip. And as poul seip, foundement may no man sette beside pat pat is sette, pat is ihū crist. Perfore pou; anticrist & alle pes worldly clerkis ben biried depe in halle for here cursed symonye, pride, & coucitise & opere synynys, sit cristene feip failip not; for pei ben not ground per-of but ihū crist is ground per-of. for he is ore god & ore beste maistre, euere ready to teche trewe men alle pinges pat is profitable & nedful to here soules; & he may not faile in his techyne but for vnablete of him pat schulde rescuye his techyne.

Capitulum 5m.

The fourth wheel of Belial's cart.

pe fourpe whel of belialis carte is his: iif cristene men seyn pei knowen bi bileue pat his is cristis gospel, pes malicious heretikis axen whi pei bileuen pat his is gospel. but trewe men axen of hem aenward whi pei bileuen pat god is god; & iif pei tellen a good sufficient cause, telle we pe same cause whi we bileuen pat his is cristis gospel. but pes heretikis wolden haue his cause: for pes prlatis techen pat his is cristis gospel; & hanne pes wolden haue of his cause alle here false purpos, pat what euere pes prlatis techen opynly & meyntenen stedfastly, were of as gret autorte or more han is cristis gospel; & so pei wolden distroie holy writ & cristene feip, & meyntenen pat what-euere pei don were no synne. but cristene men taken here feip of god bi his

1 his X.

*p. 212e MS.*

2 omitted X.
gracious gift, whanne he sene to hem knowyng & under
stondynge of trewtes nedful for to saue mens soules bi, &
grace to asente in here herte to such trewtes; & his men
clepen feip. & of his feip oristene men ben more certeyn than
What faith is.
ony man is of ony worldly ping bi ony bodily witt; & 
fore orist reproue: most deaute of bileue, bope in he iewe & 
in his discipis, & fororfe oristis apostlis priseden: most to 
haue stabilesse se feip; for it is unpoosible pat ony man plese 
god wiþ-outen feip, & so orist preide principaly pat feip of 
pat & opere discipis schulden not faile endeles; & goddis 
lawe tellip hou bi feip seyntis wrousten alle here grote wondris 
& merualis pat pei diden. & if antorist seie here pat eche 
man maye: feyne pat he hap riis feip & goode understondynge 
of holy writt pouyn of god whanne he is in error, late a 
man seke is alle pingis trewely he honour of god & lyue iustly 
to god & man, & pasne god wole not faile to his; in ony ping 
pat is nedful to hym, neiper in feip ne understondynge ne in 
answere agenst his enemyes. & for feip is scheld of oristene 
men agenst alle tempsaciones of pe fond & ground of alle 
vertues, forfore sathanas ordeyned pes newe sectis to be so 
manye & haue name of kynnyng & holynesse bifore alle 
opere, & groundly is hem pride, enuye, conceite, glutonye, 
lecherie & ypocrisie to walwe among pe peple & stire hem bi 
word & ensample to be vunstable in pe feip; & stire pei 
worldly pralatis to be faourable to hem & meyntenen hem is 
his ypocrisie to colour here owene synne per-bi, & to lette 
treue men to preche pleynly & frely oristis gospel & pe hestis 
of god for sauynge of mens soule. & here-bi & [bi] many 
moo diaceticis schulden oristene men knowe how pes newe 
religious ben fals prophethis & cursed sectis, of whiche orist 
& his apostlis praphecieden bifore, & tausten men to knowe 
hem bi here werkis, pat ben ypocrisie, conceite & meyntenynge of synne bi fals prechynge, flaterynge, fals conseilynge 
& sclaunderynge of trewe men, & makynge men siker of

1 only X.  2 priseden X.  3 omitted X.  4 clerkis ΔΔ.  5 omitted X.  6 maken X.
Letters of fraternity.
2 John 10.

2 Thess. iii. 14.

Gostly helpe bi fals letteris of fraterytye & many ophere nouel-ries broyste vp bi ypocrisyse & couseitise. & as ion þe euangelist comauþiþ, Cristene men schulden not resceyue hem in-to here houses ne seie to hem, heil. & poul biddiþ þat men schulden not comune wiþ hem, þat þei ben confoundid & schamed of here false heresie & turne to Cristis clene religion wiþ-outen erroor of synful meunus tradicione. God almyñty strengþe his litil flok 1 æsenst þes foure whelis of sathanas chaar, æsenst antícrístis clerkis & helperis, & make hem strengþe in riþful feiþ, hope & charite, to seke trewely þe worschipe of iñu crist & sauynge of meunus soulis; to dispise antícrístis bost & feynd power; & wilfully & iocelyfully suffre peyne & reproue* in þe world for þe name 3 of iñu & his gospel, to þeue sade ensample to ophere for to folowe & conquere þe heije blisse of heuene bi glorious martírdom as ophere seintis diden biforn. Iñu for þin endeles mysþ, endeles wisdom, endeles goodnesse & charite, graunte to vs synful wrecchis þis bone. Amen.

1 folk X. 2 reprof AA. 3 þanne AA.
XVIII.

HOW SATAN AND HIS PRIESTS, ETC.

I see no reason to deny the authenticity of this tract. In complaining of the manner in which Scripture was wrested to all ends by setting aside its literal sense, Wyclif was insisting on a favourite topic. It is curious, however, to find him maintaining the right of preaching against wicked men by name, since, so far as I know, there is no personal attack in any of his works; the nearest approach to it being his allusions to Spencer's action in heading the Flanders Crusade. It is possible, having regard to the context, to suppose that he means only class names (such as 'prelates,' 'friars,' etc.). He may have been taxed with want of charity in attacking special classes, instead of confining himself to a general denunciation of sin. It seems that in any case his attacks were returned.

Copied from the Corpus MS. X. and collated with the Dublin MS. AA.

SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. Three heresies prevalent: 1. That holy writ is false. 2. That it is lawful to lie. 3. That it is uncharitable to denounce sins of great men .... .... .... .... .... .... p. 264

The first two are upheld in schools of divinity; the third by prelates and great men .... .... .... .... .... .... 265

II. They say that holy writ is false, since against both testaments they maintain that the clergy may hold secular lordship .... .... .... .... .... .... 265

They advocate a false mode of interpretation, refusing the literal sense .... .... .... .... .... .... 266

Reasons for such advocacy .... .... .... .... .... .... 267

III. Lies are brought in, because prelates and new religions are false, having forsaken the way in which they are bound to live .... .... .... .... .... .... 268

Abuses of the orders; child-stealing, etc. .... .... .... .... .... .... 269

Lying in act has led to lying in word .... .... .... .... .... .... 270

IV. Prelates and false religions say that it is against charity to expose their sins .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 271

It is a priest's duty to warn men of their sins .... .... .... .... .... .... 271

Prelates and religious attack other men in their sermons .... .... .... .... .... .... 273

But they wish to shut the mouths of reprovers, lest they should lose influence and wealth .... .... .... .... .... .... 273
Hou sathanas & his prestis & his fayned religious casten bi þre cursed heresies to distrois alle good lyuyng & mayntene⁠¹ alle manere of synne.

Capitulum primum.

As almytty god in trinity ordeyneþ men to come to þe bliss of heuene bi þre groundis, bi knowynge of þe trinitye bi sad seiþ, bi treue kepynge of goddis hestis, & bi perfite charite & endeles, so sathanas & his worldly clerkis & his fayned religious ful of sotil ypporisia casten to distrois alle vertuous lif & iustise, & mayntene alle manere of synne bi þes þre cursed groundes.  Þe first is þat holy writ is fals; þe secunde þat it is lefful & medful to lie; þe pridde þat it is aßenst charite to cri þe opynly aßen pralisis synnes & ðer mytty mennys.  Þo þei seyn þis is baabitynge or devocation & sclaundrynge, to brynge men out of deuotion to god & holy chirche, & make men of religion of euyl name where þei weren before holden goode & holy; & þis preschynge stirs lordis & ðeore men to wipdrawe worldly goode fro men of holy chirche, & so hyndriþ goddis aseyynce & preseris for þe pees & maken⁠² discencion & enuye.  For þif holy writ be fals men may haue noon autorite þer-bi to reproue synne & þaise vertues & vertuous lif.  Þe þif it be leffel & meritori to leie, þan no man haþ ground to stire men fro synne bi grete peynes bihiþe or kristis word, ne stire men to vertues bi grete icies of heuene.  Þo þif it is medful to lie, as þei seyn, krist þe medful þis medful craft at þe fulle, & no man may þasne write in whiche autorite he seide sop & is whiche he leijede.  Þe þif it be aßenst charite to preche & cri þe opnly aßenst synne of pralisis & men of þe chirche & ðeore mytty men, þan eystis lif & his techynge & his apostlis & propheteis þe þe old lawe & his comaundementis to his prophethis wereu aßenst charite,

Three heresies:
1. That holy writ is fals.
2. That it is lawful to lie.
3. That it is against charity to denounce sins of great men.  
Conclusions from these opinions.

¹ meynentynge X.
² omitted X.
³ sic in both MSS.
ful of detracion & sclaudrynge. but what heresies mystte more blaspheme god, more distroie holy writ & virtuous lif, & more norishe synne & cursed men in here lustis? & certis wiph-inne pis seune yeer worldly coueitouse clerkis & feyned religious" meynedene in scolis of dyuynite two pe firste heresies, & sit holden it a noble dode to susteyne hem; "& pe" pridde heresie regned" tan & sit dep more & more among prelatis, feyned religious & lordis & comyns for pe more part. hou stiren suche heretikis & blasphemes god of treupe to mercy bi here preiieris, si" god cursep to here blyseyngis, as he seip bi prophete malechie, & here preiier is abominable & cursed, for pe turnen awey & heren not goddis lawe & fullen it in dode. hou" meyneden lordis pe treupe of pe gospel & holy writ, si" pe meyneden siche blaspheme heretikis to be dowid in seculer lordischippe aenst goddis comausmede & esample of cristis lif & his apostlies? hou doun prestitis here office pe schulde witnesse pe treupe of goddis lawe to sufere peyne & dep perfere? hou doun commons here trewe seruyce to god, pe meyneden siche heretikis & worshipen hem in word & dode whanne pei owen to knowen here opyn falsenesse? it is grett mervaille pei god of his endles rihtwisnesse" distroiep not alle pis cursed peple to helhe for pei cursed blasphemyes & eresies & wickid meynenynge; but certis pe lengere pei he sparep bi mercy, pe sorere schal pe venguosome be but ifi men amenden hem.

Capitulum 2m.

See now hou pei cursed heretikis bryngen in pe firste blasphemys. first pei seyn & meyneden pei clerkis may leffuly haue seculer lordischipis & lyue in pompe & worldly welfare as lordis. & holy writt old & newe & cristis lif & his apostlies dampnen pis pride & wreccheduesse in clerkis. & neden hem to mekenesse & wilful transile & pouert. &

1 omitted X. 2 regnep X. 3 and AA. 4 mercy X. 5 heretikis X. 6 crist X.
many men aleggen faste holy writt aṣenst þe worldly lif of clerkis; þerfore þei seyn þat holy writt is fals, for trewe men schulden hane noon auctorite aṣenst here cursed lif. þe secunde tyme þei fyanden vp a newe manere of speche or logik, þat is contrarie to þe speche of holy writt; & for þei wolen meyntenen here owen fyndynge as good & trewe, þerfore þei seyn þat þe speche of holy writt is fals þat reuersip ¹ here owene fannydnesse. & here þei maken god a fool & fals, is as moche is in hem is, & schewen hem self wise men & trewe; & algatis feynen hem self wisere & treuer þan god almyȝty. þe þridde tyme þei coueten name of wisdom & worschip of þis world & here owene excellence more þanne goddis honour, & þerfore þei disdeynen to sue mekely þe speche of goddis lawe & þe lif of cristi & his apostlis, but maken newe lawis & logik þat maken holy writt derk & fals to þe comyn vnderstondynge of hem & here folweris. & þit þei schame sumdel to seie to cristene lordis þat holy writt is fals, but þei don worse bi sotel ypocrisie þat holy writt is fals to þe wordis but þe vnderstondynge þer-of is trewe; & þis vnderstondynge hangip in determination of worldly prelatis, þat kunnen not holy writt & ben not able to hane inspiracion of þe holy gost bi here holy lif, for þei ben comynly ful of symonye, pride, couesitise, glotonye, lecherie, manquellynge & ðepere synnyys, & open heretikis & enmyes of cristi & his lawe & þis trewe sœruamantia. & ihū cristi seif þat siche ben blynde & leden blynde men in-to þe lake of synne & at þe laste to helle; for þif þei han money & gold at here lykynges bi extorsion & robberie, þei recken not of cristene soulis hou foul deuelis deouren hem. & þe holy gost dwellip not in siche proude & coueitouse clerkis, for þei ben templis of þe fend & þei worschipen fals goddis & dwellen in ydolatrye, hou schulde god teche hem þe precius trypeys of his lawe? but certis bi þis ypocrisie þei wolen brynge in what here sie þat hem likip & meynte it for good trupe & profitable.

¹ rescowyeth X. ² omitted X.
for \( \text{fi} \) seyn \( \text{hat} \) here sentence & dom is understonde of holy writ; & \( \text{he} \) worldly praelis wolen make a congregacion of hem self & clerkis assentynge to hem, summe for worldly drede & worldly fanour, summe for gold & hope of benefis, & summe for drede of curs, priuyng of benefis & salounsred & prisonyng & brennyng. but se now \( \text{he} \) wodnesse of \( \text{his} \) blasphemye. first \( \text{fi} \) holy writ be fals, certis god autur \( \text{her-of} \) is fals, & \( \text{si} \) \( \text{he} \) graunte \( \text{he} \) frie error, \( \text{he} \) moten graunte al \( \text{hat} \) sueh \( \text{her-of} \). also \( \text{he} \) feyne \( \text{hat} \) a fool & a cursed deuyl is wisere & trewere \( \text{han} \) ih\( \text{u} \) crist god & man, \( \text{si} \) here specie is wittiere & trewere \( \text{han} \) \( \text{he} \) specie of god in holi writ, & \( \text{he} \) reson is pleyn. suppose \( \text{hat} \) \( \text{his} \) clerk wryntynge or techynge contrarie specie to holy writ schal be dampnyd, for \( \text{han} \) he is a deuyl as crist seïf of iudas, & as \( \text{he} \) feyne his wryntyng & techynge is wittiere & trewere \( \text{han} \) techynge & wryntyng of god almy\( \text{t} \)ty; \( \text{han} \) it sueh opynly \( \text{hat} \) a fool & a cursed deuyl is wittiere & trewere \( \text{han} \) ih\( \text{u} \) crist, kyng of wisdom & treupe. Lord, \( \text{si} \) \( \text{he} \) holy gost is autour & welle of witt & treupe, whethër he tauhte not goddis prophetis & cristis apostlis to write & speke treupe; whethër \( \text{he} \) fend saðanas techi\( \text{p} \) proude & conceitouse clerkis, ful of symonye & ohere synny, more witt & treupe \( \text{han} \) \( \text{he} \) holy gost techere of alle treupe tauhte cristis apostlis & euangelistis, \( \text{hat} \) weren sad in bileue & charite & holy & trewe in lif & techynge. & whanne al \( \text{he} \) ground is sou\( \text{t} \) of \( \text{his} \) heresie it stondis in \( \text{his} \) poynyt, \( \text{hat} \) holy writ, goddis owene word, is fals for \( \text{his} \) cursed heretik mysvnderstondih it, or for it dispesëp \( \text{his} \) heretik & reproue\( \text{p} \) \( \text{his} \) synne. but certis bi \( \text{his} \) skille he\( \text{p} \)ene men & fendis maken god most fals of alle hingis, for \( \text{he} \) vnderstonden \( \text{hat} \) god is most fals & wrongful & dampne\( \text{p} \) hem most for here synny. but it fari\( \text{j} \) bi holy writt & cursed clerkis & foolis as it fari\( \text{j} \) bi drouksen men & \( \text{he} \) mone. And candel; \( \text{he} \) denem of o mone or candel to be two, for \( \text{he} \) ben vndisposid to deme & knowe \( \text{he} \) treupe because of here

1 auturite \( \text{AAA} \).
droskenesse, so þes foolis, bi here pride, coueitise & ðepere synyns, ben vnable to conseyyue ¹ þe heisie trelwþis of goddis word; & þeþfore þei seyn þat it is fals, for þei han not witt ne grace to trœuile aboute trewe vnderstondynge þer-of for worldly occupacion & ydelnesse.

Capitulum 3o.

Now see whi meyntenynge of lesyngis is brouȝt in. god seþ þat no þing plesyþ to a fool but folie; so no þing plesyþ comynly to a false man but falsenesse; & for þese worldly prelatis & newe pharisees ben grundid in lesyngis, þerfor þei comenden lesyngis & meyntenen hem. for prelatis comen in þe staat of cristis apostlis to lyue in pouert, mekenesse & trœuyle of þe gospel as þei deden, but þei ben turned to coueitise, worldly lordechipis, pride, ydelnesse & vanytæ, & turnen cristis lif and ² techynge vpsodom: Also newe religious ben brouȝt in-to þe chirche to reise up cristis mekenesse, pouert & penaunce, & to ben a bok of þis pouert & dispisynge of þe world to alle men to loken on, & þei ben turned to ypocrisie, pride, coueitise, gletonye & alouþe & bisynes ³ of þe world more þan ðepere worldly men, & ben fals bokis ful of synne & heresie; þat, as iarome & ansemil ⁴ witnesseen, here crowne, here tounere, here abitis ben ful of lesyngis & þei ben but feyned & peyntid men of religion, & not only lesyngmongeris but pure lesyngis. & sþ god seþ in þe sauty þat alle þat speken lesyngis schullen ben lost, hou moche more schullen þei ben lost þat ben pure lesyngis. þe secunde tyme, crist seþ to þe iewis, þif þe weren abrahames children þe schulden do werkis of abraham; & þer-fore seþ austyn wiþ opere seyntis þat þou art his soone whoos werkis þou dost. þan sþ þe fond is fadir of lesyngis, as crist seþ, þes worldly clerkis, & namely feyned religions, comenden lesyngis, for to witnesse is word & dede þat þei ben

¹ conceyyue AA.
² "in" in both MS.
³ lesyngis AA.
⁴ sic in both MS.
be fendis children. for if be were cristis children be
schulden holde treupe in word & wille & dede & meyntenen
bat, and dispisen alle mane of lesyngis & falsenesse & synne
vp here kunynge & power; & as ion be euangelist seip, be
schulden willfully putte hem to dep for to distroie lesyngis,
siþ lesyngis stondip more in false dedis þan in wordis, as1
holy writt, ambrose & opere seyntis wittessen pleynly. ¶ De
þride tyme, þes newe ordris & flaterynge myttte not be
susteyned wiþ-oute lesyngis, boþe in word & dede, in his
manere as þei now ben; & for to achewe * þat þis veyn religious2
louen more here owene isuenvions & here owene lustis3 þan
þe4 clene religion of cristis ordynanunce & gret pouert &
peynful lif after crist & his apostlis, þei preisen lesyngis for
to beren vp þes veyn nouvelies & haunte here lustis. for þif
cristis owene ordre & ensaumle of his lif & his apostlis ben
betere & þosyter þan ony newe maad of synful men, it is a
foul lesyng to chese wityngly & meyntenæ þe lesse þosyter,6 &
forsake þe liȝterere, sikere & þosyterere. ¶ Also it is a cursed
lesyng to drawe children, þat han but lilit discretion, to þes
newe feyned religious bi þeþis & bi beheþis5 of worldly
lordischippe, honour & sikernes of bodily welfare, more þan
to holde wiþful pouert & penaunce & dispit & forsakyng of
alle worldly þing, for al þis is symonye & heresæ if it be wel
souþ; but it is a cursedere lesyng to stele þonge children fro
here frendis & bi false diseitis make hem to be professed,
sumtyme æsenst here wille, & suffre hem not to gon out of þis
veyn ordre, þou þei knowen hem self vnable þer-to. ¶ For
sumtyme þes children frendis fallen in mornynge to dep; &
sumtyme bi myschef ben dede where here children þus stolent
schulden ellis helpe hem; & sumtyme þes children schulden
be goode techeris & reuleris of þe þeþe, & now ben cursed
ypoeritis, ful of coueilis, lecherie, enuye & gruchnynge
æsenst god; & now þei ben nedid to rob þe pore þeþe bi fals
beggyngyn, & sclauadren crist wiþ þis clamose beggyngyn

1 of X. 2 both MSS. repeat “more” here. 3 omitted X. 4 proft X. 5 beheþis AA.
HOW SATAN AND HIS PRIESTS.

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damned of goddis lawe, & it þes open þeþte is stifly meyn
tened aȝenst goddis lawe, resen & charite bi sotil ypcrisie, &
no chaстиyynge don þer-onne. for men wenen þat þes stronge
þeues ben vnder no kyngis lawe ne prolatis lawe is oure lond.
for men vnderstonden þat fewe men of discrecion comen to
þes nouelries but siche þonge bi stelynge or diecyuyng, or
ellis bi coueitise of worldly honour & sikernesse of wombe
ioie. & herefore þes veyn religious preisen lesyngis, dampnyd
bi holy writt old & newe, for cristis treuþe. & þe deuel is
lesyngis fadin & diecyued mankynde bi lesyng & brouȝt it
in-to sorowe & peyne, as þe gospel & 1 þe first part of holy
writt schewip; & þerfore seip ambrose þat alle men þat louen
lesynges ben þe deuelis children. ion þe euangelist seip þat 2
no lesyng is of god; þanne it is of þe deuyl siþ he is fadin of
lesyngis. þerfore þe wise man seip þat þe mouþ þat leip sleeþ
þe soule; & a þef is more worþi to be suﬀrid þan þe lastyng
of a lesyngmongere; & dauid seip þat god 3 schal dampne alle
men þat speken lesyngis, & þe prophete zacharie seip þat
goddis curs cometh *to þe hous of lieris, & seynt austyn declareþ
in many bokis þat of 4 eþte manere lesyngis þe leste is synne,
& who euere techiþ þe contradrie diecyueþ þe peple. but for
þes veyn religious forsaken 5 þe techynges & lif of crist, mene
person in trinitye, þerfore þei kúnnen no mene bitwixe
seiynges soþe in ech tyme & bitwixe lesyng. sumtyme it
harmeþ men to seie þe 6 soþe out of couenable tyme & euere
it harmeþ to lie, but sumtyme it proﬁtþ to be stille & abide
a couenable tyme to speke, as diðe crist & his apostlis, & þif
þes veyn religious knownen þis þei schulde haue no colour
to make lesyngis. but þer is o gret cause whi þei comenden so
lesyngis. þei maken profession to lyue bi labour of here
hondis, bi benetis roulis & fraunseis & austynes, & to be deed
to þe world, & to be ensaumple & bok of willful pouert,
mekenesse & grete penausce & 7 abstenynce; & now þei ben
turned to alle manere of schrewdnesse, harlotrie & synne; &

1 of X. 2 omitted X. 3 omitted X. 4 omitted X. 5 omitted X.
6 forsakyng X. 7 omitted AA. 8 omitted X.
Chap. IV.] HOW SATAN AND HIS PRIESTS. 271

Before besie forsaken oristis scule of ¹ treue & magnifien þe
deuelis scule of leysngis; as þei first token leysng of lif, so
þei meyntenen now leysng is word to coloure þer-bi here olde
cursed lif, þat no man may bryngen hem out þer-of.

Capitulum 4a.

See nowe þe pridde heresie þat may hoold of olde synyns.⁴
Þes worldly pralatis & peyttid religious, beried in here olde
synne,⁵ symonye, coueitise & pride & robberie, seen þat it is
agenst charite to crie opyny here cursed discetics to lordis &
comyn peple, & namely in here absence. but see þe waiward-
nesse & cursednesse of þes deuelis ypporisis & sheld of synne.
Almyt thy god, ful of charite, comausdiþ to þe prophete ysaiæ
Isaiah lviii. 1. to crie & cesse not, & to schewe to his peple here grete
synnes. synne of comyns is grete, synne of lordis & myttyn
ten & wise is more, but synne of pralatis is most, & most
blynde þe peple. þan treue men ben holden bi goddis
heste to crie most agenst þis synne of pralatis, siþ it is most &
harmeþ most þe peple. Also orist seþ who⁶ to hym þat Luke xvii. 1.
slausndriþ a litel child of hem þat ben oristene. but pralatis
of þe world & peyttid foolish of religion, bi here opyn pride,
couveitise, goltonye, lecherie, extorsions & meyntenynge of
synne, slausndren most þe peple; for her-bi þei ben bolde to
walwe in synne prene & apert; þanne agenst þis synne
schulden trewe men crie most. ¶ Also god seþ bi þe prophete
Ezechiel þat siþ a synful man lie in synne & þe prophete
Ezekiel iii. 18. schewe hym not þe poril of his synne ne vengaunce of god,
þer-forþ þei synful man schal die in his synne & þe prophete
schal answere for hym, & so boþe schullen be damnyd. &
siþ ech þest is an angel & prophete bi his prestbod, *as [p. 219 MS.]
seyn gregory seþ, ech þest is in dette to telle synful men
Gregory. here synnes þat þei may amende hem. ¶ Also god seþ bi þe

¹ & AA.
² AA reads þat map hoord of olde synnes. I suspect both readings are
corrupt.
³ omitted AA.
⁴ wo AA.
prophete ezechiel hab god hab jouen a prest to be a spie to aspie be solit diseitis of he fend & warne he peple of hem; but among alle he helpis of he fend a wickid prelat or a fals religious is he moste. Panne a trewe prest owip most to warne he peple of hem. & perfors gregory seip 1 & lawe of he chirche hab no man harmep more cristene peple panne he hab name of ordre or holynesse & per-wip lyuep wickidly; for his synne is taken to ensample of opore. & perfors seip gregory in 2 his pastoralis hab prelatis ben worpi to haue as many depes as he senden ensamples of synne to here suegetis & to men hab comen after hem. and ysidre & he lawe seip hab he hab consentip & fauoure a man in synne schal be reproved bi most greuous reprofe. & austyn seip in he lawe, hab a bishop hab consentip to opere mensus synnes schulde rapere be clepd an enchastised hound hab a bishop. & in token of his crist purged he temple & noon opere place bi vengauese bodly take in his owene persone. & gregory & opere seynis seyn hab euele prestis ben cause of synne of he peple. Perfore men schulden most ponsche his most synne of prelatis & religious hab is cause of opore & of distruction of rewmes. Also croist seip in he gospel hab fals prophetis & fals croisistis schullen ryse & disceyue manye, & biddip vs bewar of hem & flée hem & knowe hem bi here werkis, & tellip what condi- cions & werkis hab he schullen haue. Panne if prestis knownen hab fals antecroistis & fals prophetis bi tokenes of goddis lawe & warne not he peple of hem, he ben gilif of loos of cristene soulis. Also ion he eusangelist seip: if ony man see his broper haue nede & schitte his pur & mercy fro hym, charite dwelliip not in hym; moche more if prestis knownen hab mensus soulis ben in myschief of fals bileue broust in bi antecroistis clerkis, he ben out of charite but if he helpen hem out of his myschief, sif his 3 is most myschief in his world. & perfors croist seip 4 in he gospel if it be mercy to helpe a beste sall in he lake, moche more mercy is

1 omitted X.  
2 X.  
3 omitted X.  
4 omitted AA.
it to drawe menss souls out of errour & peril of soule; lat is discet in bileue brouxt in bi ouesitouse clerkis & luciferis children. but anticristis prelatis & veyn religious seyn lat it is ajenst charite to nemme hem bi name is open sermon & is here absence. trewe men seyn here lat ihu crist reproued scribias & pharisseeis bi name & is here absence, as pe gospel witnessiph in many places, & eihte tymes bi name cursed hem & cleped hem ypoprisis, & telde to pe comune peple here
*false couesitise, ypoprisie & pride. & ihu clepid herode a fox [p. 220 MS.]
luke xii. 32.
in his absence & in his presence spak no word to him, as luke xii. 8, 9.
diverse gospelis seyn. & hit anticristis clerkis tellen false lesyngis is open sermons vpon certeyn personys & is here absence, so pei don openly ajenst here owene tachynge; but anticrist wolde hawe his ende, lat in absence of his cursed worldly prelatis & heretikis men schulden not reproue here cursed synnes for drede of lesyngis of charite & for bacytynge. & anticrist make hem so mystty lat is in here presence no man dar speke ajenst here opyn synnes but jif he wolde be dede anoon. And so anticrist wolde lat no man schulde speke anticrist would

antichrist would saim shut his re-provers' mouths.

peple & brynge in heresies & distroie christen-dom. But o principal cause is whi pey say hys; jif it be charite to crie hys ajenst synnyes of worldly prelatis & veyn religious, sih many of hem ben kuynynge & reulen lordis & prelatis & mystty men in confusion, pei mosten warne hem lat clerkis schulden lyue in pouert & mekenesse, & not in worldly lordischipis ne in pompe & vanye as pei now don; & warne lordis lat pei amende wickid clerkis of here opyn synmyne & robbynge of here tenaustis; & warne lordis & comyna hou god curseh to blisynyes & preeris of men of cursed lif, & lat here preiere turne in-to synne, as god hym self & gregory & pe lawe witnesseen, & hou prestis & religious lat ben out of charite & lyuen ajenst goddis comandementis, as in glotynes, dronkenesse & enemyte & pride, stiren god bi here veyn

1 telle X. 2 omitted X.
preynge to vengauce ra[e]re þan mercy, & as austyn seip, 
whateuer heryngis of god here tounge blabere here lif 
blasphem[e]g god; & as god seip him self here preynge is 
cursed & abhymynable. & certis þanne schulde lordis knowe 
ypocrisie, heresie & disseit of worldly prælati & seyned 
religious; & þanne schulden cristene men wite þat who euere 
lyneþ best preieþ best; & a symple pater noster of a plousman 
þat his in charite is bete þan a thousand massis of coueitouse 
prælati & veyn religious ful\(^1\) of coueitise & pride & fals 
flaterynge & norischynge of synne. And for þes anticristis 
clerkis louen more here owene heynesse & pride & worldly 
ioie & welfare þan cristis honour & vertuous lif of cristene 
peple, þer-fore þei ratellen þat it is aȝenst charite to tellen 
opynly here cursed disseitie & synnes; last lordis & comyns 
taken fro hem here wast worldly goodis, & constreynen hem 
to kepe mekenesse & pouert & penance, as god techiþ & 
here owene profession. Þus almyþty *god is trinyte distroieþ 
þes þre nestis of anticrist & his clerkis, & stireþ alle manere 
of men to meyntene þe treuþe of holy writ & distroie leasyngis 
& openly preche aȝenst ypocrisie, heresie & coueitise, boþe in 
word & depe, of alle euyl prælati & presti & peyntid reli-
gious; for þan schal goode lif & treuþe & pees & charite 
regne among cristene men. Þese crist for þin endeles mercy 
graunte vs þis ende. Amen.

\(^1\) omitted AA.
XIX.

OF POOR PREACHING PRIESTS.

I give this title for want of a better, but the tract has no heading in the MS. It is a summary of the wishes of the writer as to reform in Church and State; the first thirteen points of the poor priests relating to the clergy, and the eighteen which follow (and which might almost be taken as a separate tract), having reference to the duties of secular rulers.

I am inclined to date it 1377. The first year of a new reign would be a suitable time for the issue of a programme such as this; and there is a stronger ground for the supposition in the correspondence of several 'points' with petitions of the Commons in Richard's first Parliament. The tract certainly belongs to the fourteenth century. The desire that no priest or religious should be imprisoned without open doom (p. 279) marks a time when no Act of Parliament had sanctioned the burning of heretics, but when the bishops, alarmed at the spread of heresy, were taking the law into their own hands.

I can give no decided opinion as authorship, but all the points are within the scope of Wyclif's teaching.

The tract is to be found only in the Corpus MS. X.
OF POOR PREACHING PRIESTS.

Of poor preaching Priests.


1. That Christians and the clergy should set holy writ above all human authorities.
2. That all classes live in their own state of life as Christ ordained.
3. That the order of priesthood be set above all new orders.
4. That simony be destroyed.
5. That the extortions of prelates be stopped.
6. That curates hold no secular offices.

* Pe first general point of poor preists pat præchen in engelond is his; pat pe lawe of god be wel knownen, tauft, meytnten, magnified. Y pe secunde pat pe grete opyn synne pat regnep in diverse statis be distroyed, & also heresse & ypoorisie of antieristis & his folwersis. Y pe tridde pat verrey pees, prosperite & brennynge charite be encrees in cristendom, & namely in pe rewme of engeland, for to bryngge [men] redily to pe blisse of heuene. Y pe first special point is his, pat cristene men, & namely clerkis of scole & curatis, studie, kepe, teche, & meytnten holy writt more pan newe statutis, customes & er jymonies maad of synful men. Y pe secunde, pat pe ordynance of ihu crist be stedfastly *kept in alle degrees, so pat alle clerkis lyue cleynly on spiritualte, as crist & his apostlis deden, & yeuynge ensauple of mekenesse, pacience & heuynly lif & charite; & pat alle seculer lordischipis turne clene to seculer lordis, as god biddip in pe olde testament & newe, & pat pei don ristwisnesse, mercy & pite, & risty gouerne pe comouns in reste, pees & charite, iustte customes, [ ] resonsable rentis to here lordis & maistris; & pat pe comyns wilfully, mekely & treweley do here servyce. Y pe tridde, pat pe ordre of presthod wip clennest reulis of cristis gospel be holden [ ] meytnten bope perifter & easier & sikerer pan ony newe [ordre] 1 or secte wip bilawis, customes, observauncis founded of synful men, pat ofte arreden in pouyt, worde & dede. Y pe firpe, pat cursed heresie of symonye is pe clerchie be distroyed bope in benefices, ordris, sacramentis & pardons.

* Pe fifte, pat pe raueyne & extorcion of prestatis & here officers, pat pei don vnder colour of iuridicon & almes in meytntenynge of synne for annuel rente, wialy & treweley be stoppid, & pat pei be wel chastised for robbynge of pe kyngis lege men. Y pe sixte, pat curatis ben not occupied in worldly

1 Not in MS., but some such word is evidently wanted.
OF POOR PREACHING PRIESTS.

office is lordis courtis, leuynge cristene soules vngouerned & vntauft, for bothe he lord & he clerk don grete traiterie to god & his peple; & hat fals confesssours hat norisched men is synne for worldly worshipe, worldly wynnyage, welfare & ees, be hurled out of office & courtis for drede of schedyng of worldly venyme. ¶ Pe seuenpe, hat clerkis be meke & obeschaust to worldly lordis, as crist & his apostlis weren, & be not norischid in grete synne by anticristis exempcion, lest cristene rewmes be distroied for suffrauce & meynetenyage of cursed synnes. ¶ Pe eiȝtepe, hat cristene men drede more pe riȝful cawsynge of god for brekyng of his hestis pen wrongful cawsynge of synful men, hat cures man for trewe prochynge of pe gospel & fulfilynge of pe werkis of mercy; for god blisse where pei cursen. ¶ Pe niȝtepe, hat pore men of pe rewe be not robbid for synnye of pe firste fruytis bi pe bishop of rome, ne bi pe bisehepis at hom for halowynde of chirchis & auteris, & prouyng of testamenteis & aquisitaincis. ¶ Pe tenpe, hat cristene men yeue more credence to cristis gospel & his lif than to ony bullis of synful bishopis of pis world, or ellis pei forsaken crist and taken anticrist & sathanas for here chief gouernour. ¶ Pe eleuenpe, hat he sotil sure of riche clerkis & marchoawdes be hurled out of lond, & borwyng & lynyngge be frely don to pore men for goddis sake. ¶ Pe twelvpe, hat no lege man of oure kyng be prisoned for wrongful cawsynge of prestis, pe while he is redy to be iustifiied bi holy writt & trewely don his office. ¶ Pe prittenpe, hat who euere doth most synnye & meynenep most synne be demed, knowen & tretid most heretik, most aduersarie of ihu crist & principal anticrist. ¶ If ony man kan proue bi holy writt or resow hat pes poynitis ben false, pore prestis wolen mekely ben amendid, & hertely preien alle goode men to helpe hem in here trewe cause for worshipe of god, helpe of here soulis, & saluacion of cristene rewmes.

¶ Pes ben eiȝtepe poynitis to distroie grete wrongis & synnes & strenghe pe pees & charite in oure lond, jif he kyng, lordis & comynes wolen praustis hem wel.

1. That theology be subject to the lay rulers.
2. That men care more for God's curse than for excommunication.
3. That first fruits and wrongful fees be no more paid.
4. That credence to Christ's gospel be held above bulls.
5. That usury be stopped.
6. That men be not imprisoned merely for being excommunicate.
7. That simony be held as heresy.
8. Eighteen points by which the land would be strengthened.
1. Swearing to be repressed.

2. False witnesses, and those who suborn them, to be punished.

3. Maintaining of false causes to be repressed.

4. Kidnapping of children by friars to be punished.

5. Friars not to be allowed to beg.

6. Disguised amortisement of land to be inquired into.

Pat he grete blasphemye of goddis name in veyn & fals swerynge & vnlefully creaturis, as bi cristis wounde, nayles & opre membri, be refreynd bi drede of peynes sett bi he kynge, lordis & comoute of cristene peple, lest god take grete vengane on our peple, bohe in his wor[l]d & in he toper. Pat falsae witnesse in assises & opre causes, pat foreswen hem for coneitise, loue or drede or hate; & alle pat procure hem per-to, ben opynly ponyschid in enseampl of opre; for ellis schal no man meytene his heritage, goodis or lif for multitud of false questis. Pat meynetenous of false causes bi strenghe or lوردishipe or bi sotol cauillacias feyned on he lawe be wisyly refreynd & scharply ponyschid in oure lond; for ellis no pore man schal ben hardy to chalenge his owene goodis, neðer riche man but þif he wole make opyn debate or werre; or ellis treuhe, pees & charite schullen be exild, & wrong & manslayng, þe þe & werre be hauntid, til oure lond be conquerid bi enemys or heþene men, as it hþ ofte ben bi-fore þis tyme. Pat he open þeþte of mennes children þat feyned religious vse vnder colour of holynesse be scharply ponyschid & forbeden, for bi þis many children ben deppere damyped þan þei schulden ellis; & þei may not worschipe here elders as god biddþ ne vse þe fredom of cristis gospol; for whan þei beþ stolen away fro here elders, þe wip-iwne age of discrecion, þei schul not forsaþ þe habit of freris for drede of prconomyge & depþ, þou; it be agens here wille & conscience; & þou her frendis seke neuere so faste þei schullen not fynde hem, se þei schul be led fro place to place. Pat pore resiuntis of oure lond be not robbid bi þe gresdy & nedles beggeris of sotol ypoorit hayyne þe name of religione men, & þat ihu crist be not sclaundred her by afferynge þat he beggede nedely fro hous to hous, as feyned religiouse vse noue; siþ holy writt forbedþþ siche beggyng, þou; summe beggen mynte be suffrid in tyme of grete nede. Pat þe solit amorsyngge of seculer lوردischipis þat is don bi menene hondis in fraude of
OF POOR PREACHING PRIESTS. 279

be kyngis statute be visely 1 enquyred, & be goodis turned in helpe of be rewme in sparynge of be pore comons of taxes. ¶ Pat be almes of lordis jouen to prelatis & religious, vp certeyn condicions to fede certeyn pore men & oper hospitalite & certeyn numbour of good prestis, be wialy amendid bi he kyng & lordis whanne be goodis bep turned in-to pompe, glotonye & lecherie & meyntenynge false purchases; for he kyng & lordis ben patrons & meyntenours of many synses to distruction of be lond. ¶ Pat be pore comons be not chargid wip taxis, be while clerkis, & namely religionse, han superfluys of riches of gold & siluer & riche vesselis & opere ieweles; si alle be goodis ben pore mennus goodis, & clerkis ben not lordis of hem but proctours, to spende hem trewely in pore mennus nedis, as goddis lawe & mannys witnesse. ¶ Pat he wast tresour hanged on stockis & stones be wialy spendid in defence of be rewme, & releuyng of be pore comouns; pat be peple of owe lond be not brouyt to manemetrie, ne feste, ne lecherie meyntenened vnder siche pilgrimage, ne almes drawen fro pore nedys men bount wip cristis precious blood. ¶ Pat be clerige of owe londe be refreynd stro pride, glorious array & worldly occupacion, & namely owe prelatis & curatis; arn 2 chargid bi he kyng & lordis to teche wel here sugetis bi ensaumple of good lif & opyn & trewe prechynge of he gospel, as bisily & redily as he asken here tipes. ¶ Pat non of be clerige be lettid to kepe trewely & frely he gospel of ihu crist in good luyynes & trewe techynge, for no feyned privelegie or tradicions founden vp of synful wrecchis. ¶ Pat no prest or religious in owe lond be prisoned wip-otten opyn dom & trewe cause, fully knowne to owe kyng or his trewe conseil; for ellis worldly prestis & feyned religious may stoppe trewe men from prechynge of holy writ & magnysynge of he kyngis regalie, & murpere he kyngis lege men wip-otten answere. ¶ Pat be obedience of children to fader & to modir & of servaustis & tenaustis to here lordis & maistris, he whiche

1 ? bisily; or, perhaps, for avisely = carefully. 2 ? and
obedience crist vse & tautte & commaundid it 1 be magnyfied & prechid more pan ony newe feyned obedience founden of synful men, pe whiche obedience neipcr crist ne his apostlis deden ne tautten ne commaunden ne conseilden opynly per-to.

¶ Pat chepyng, & namely feiris, be not vse on pe halidaires, & algatis on pe sunday & in holy chirche, for pat is expressly ajenst goddis commaundement & comone lawe of holy chirche.

¶ Pat open lecherie & avontrie be not suffrid in grete placis in oure rewme, ne meyntened for annual rente, for pat is vterly ajenst goddis biddyngye. ¶ Pat jeffe & raneynen & manaleyng & robberie be not meyntened in seyntiwary e vnder colour of priuylégie; sip kyng & cristene men ben sworn to meynten eche man in his rijt & distroie wrong & falsenesse. ¶ Pat worldly clerkis & feyned religious veurpen not pe kyngis regalie, ne stelle fro hym his holy power graunted of god for no criyng or ypooris; sip pei ben sworn to trewe to pe kyng & furere his worshipe & profit of his lond. ¶ Pat pe kyng & lordis gouern hem self in here staat as god ordyned it, in gret wisdom, myst of men & sufficient riches to aen-stonde wrong & mysdoeris, & helpe pore men, fadirles & modirles & widewes & aliens in here lordischipe & worshipe, & rewarde trewe men, to reule clerkis in mekenesse, wilful pouert & bisynessey of gostly travelle for helpe of manys soule, as crist & his apostlis diden, and suffre hem not to haunten ansiestis ypoorisie & tirauntrie of pe comones bi feyned censures, iurisdiction & power of prisonyng. & pat pei reule here seruaustis & tenaustis in rijt mercy, pces & charite, & suffre no man hardy to breke goddis hestis in here1 presence, ne ony man don wrong or dispit to opere, but is alle is worschip of eche opere in vnyte, pces & charite.

1 MS. inserts to. Perhaps the sentence should be corrected by repeating “be magnyfied & prechid.”

2 herte MS.
Augustinus. Arguam te nescis.

The holy doctor says this in his wise: I shall reproach thee, and I shall examine thee in his wisdom. I shall not hold thee before my judgment, I shall reproach thee. What shall I do to thee? I shall set before thee before thee, when I shall not be seen by thee. Thou shalt reprove the folk, thou shalt lookest at thee and see art good, for thou wilt not see in thyself. Thou shalt put the folk before thee, thou puttest in thyself behind thee, but when I shall reproach thee I shall do to thee contrary. I take thee from thee, put the folk before thee, thou puttest in thyself, thou shalt look on thyself and thou shalt bewail thyself and thou shalt repent of thy manners. Thou shalt despise now, the time of mercy, the time of judgment came; for thou hast sung to me in holy chiroe these words: Misericordiam et Iudicium cantabo tibi domine etc. Lord I shall sing to thee of mercy, and of judgment out of our mouth, and of christ his chiroe proclaimeth eure where christ is mercy and eke his judgment. Now is the time of mercy to amend vs. It is not come the time of judgment. We have space, we have place, we doth synne, eke amend we our guilt.
Of Dominion.

Dr. Shirley retains Bale's title of this tract, "De Dominio Divino," while saying "it is certainly erroneous." I have preferred to keep near to the old name, which after all is not very wrong. It is true that the chief subject of the tract is the wrongfulness of Church endowments, and of the clergy's exemption from secular jurisdiction, but the ground of the argument is that dominion (whether possession or jurisdiction) is set by God in the hand of lay rulers, who may not alienate it without his leave. We see here how the doctrine of dominion bore on that of the unlawfulness of endowments.

I fancy that I see here signs of translation from the Latin. However this may be, I do not doubt that the tract is substantially Wyclif's. I can find no evidence as to date.

Copied from the Dublin MS. AA., where only it is found.

Summary.

CHAP. I. It was ordained in the old law that priests should live of tithes and offerings. It is said that this law has passed away, and that lords would not be free if they might not give away their property in endowment... p. 284

God is chief lord of all property, which therefore cannot be alienated without his leave, and he has forbidden in both testaments the endowment of the clergy... 284

This prohibition is moral, and has not been repealed, having as much sanction as the command to give tithes to the priesthood, which the clergy enforce... 285

Evils which follow the reversal of God's law. Lay lords are bound to amend these evils, and their confessors should urge them to do so... 286

II. The commands of Scripture clear. Examples set by Christ and his Apostles... 286

The advocates of endowments appeal to charters, which can have no weight against God's law... 287

The Pope's cursing not to be regarded. This thunder curseth the well that it comes from... 288
Miracles and the example of saints are insufficient sanctions. Miracles may be the devil's work, and all are not saints that are called so. p. 288

God's law is the only safe guide, and this forbids possession to the clergy, who should be near to Christ in poverty. 289

CHAP. III. Antichrist's clerks say that the clergy should be judged only by ecclesiastical judges; but every man must judge his neighbour, and the only judgment that God forbids is foolish judgment. 289

Judgment may be foolish, as ignorant, hasty, or founded on wrong principles. 290

God has given men their senses and their conscience to judge with, and if they do not use these they are no better than beasts; but the devil would like to make them judge blindfold, as the Jews did with Christ. 291

IV. The devil says that God forbids men to judge their brethren. 291

Christ bade the Jews judge him, which he would not have done if laymen might not judge clerks. 291

Prelates should be thankful to those that reprove them. 292

Duty of bearing God's chastisements. 293
[Of Dominion.]

Capitulum primum.

*Si* many falce gloseris maken goddis lawe derk & letten seculers men to susteyne it & kepem it; of siche falce gloseris schulde ech man be war. It is seid ofte tyme, in þe oolde lawe, þat prestis & clerkis schulde lyue on goddis part; þat is to seeie, on dymes & offeryngis, & haue noon oþer heritage among here briþeren. But aduersarie of goddis lawe seip here bi his glose, þat þis schulde be kept in þe oolde testament, & is no neede to be kept in þe tyme of grace, for partys of þe oolde lawe ben now passid; & but þif lordis myyte þeue here heritage to clerkis, as bischoppis & abbotis & oþer holy housis, þei were vnfree to helpe here soulis & here fadris, & so þei were noþ ful lordis of here owne goddis. But here we schal sup-pose as Cristen mennes bileue, þat god is cheef lord of eche þing of þis world. And so, al þif kyngis & oþere han free lordschipe, neþeles god is more free lord of þat same þing, ne it is nought leeful to seculere lordis, to alyenem his lordschipe wibouten leue of god; as in mannes lordschipe a litil lord hap no leue to alyenem his heritage but bi leue of þe cheif lord, & þis lawe hap more resoun in þe lordschipe of god. Here may we se, siþ lordis of þis world hadde noþt leue of god þus to dowe his clerkis, here fool þifte schulde noþt stonde bi skile; siþ god may noþt be contrarie to his sile. But god ofte tyme in his two testamentis forbediþ his clerkis to þus dowid; & so þis gile, þat cam bi cautel of þe fend, schulde be now broken for deoute of ground. ne grucche noþt herfore þat god is cheif lord, for it falliþ to his godhed to be lord of eche þing, & more curteys lord may no man haue, ne more profitable lawis to lede a man by resoun. For þis lord suffriþ þee nouþt to leese good but bi resoun, *ne he aþiþ þee no rente but for þis owne profite; & þus þe strengþe of goddis lawe axeþ aþen þis lordschipe, & fillynge of goddis lawe þat sueþ grace...
chap. I.]

OF DOMINION.

285

& pees. and se pis lewidges of pis resoun, bat pes lawis
han no strenghe for pei bes of pe oolde lawe, bat myche is
went away. certis so ben pe ten comandements of pe
oolde lawe, bat ech man mote kepe if he wolde be saued; and
so sermonyalis of pe oolde lawe & suumse iudycialis bynden
nowt now, but moralis bynden euere, sip pei stondes in
vertue. And so forsakynge of worldly richess scholde bi
more skile be kept now pesne in pe oolde lawe. And herfore
crist & his apostlis keptes pis ful stretyly, & pei telden beste
how pe lawe schulde be kept. more-uer men may se pat
sippe pes same lawis ben scharpily holden in ping bat touthip
wyseynge, as in dyymes & offryngis, by pe same skile pei
schulden be kept is lordschipe; or ellis we weren to myche
chargid & mut leeue seruese of crist, pat he haj orderneyd vs
to do. Also crist & his apostlis teches vs to lyue beter pesne
pes patrones of pes newe ordis; & pei leyuenes pore liif, &
fielde lordschipe as venym. lord, whi schulde not we do so
aftir pesse holy patrones? & whanne pou seist pat goddis
lawe maki pes lordis vnfree to helpe hem withe here owne
goodis, bope in body & soule, it is knowen pinge pat contrarie
fallip, bi pat lordis reueresn pe ordeynansse of crist, & thus
for lordis foole fallen many harmes bope to lordis, clerkis &
comunes. lordis ben maked pore & eke fewe in nowambre, &
ofte tymes pei ben nedid to spoyle here tenaustis, & bi
grucehing aseya pei disturblyn pe pees; & pes nedid nolt to
falle if lordis of pis world hadden al pis lordschipe of pis
world in heres hond & ordeyned wel after. more riche
clerkis passen lordis in housholde & meyne, in glorie of pis
[p. 189 MS.]
world, in power & richessia. And so it may falle pat pei
taken fro lordis werres & powres a-proprid unto lordis, for one
harme is goddis lawe bryngip in ohir. Also clerkis bi
symonye envenemyn hem siff, & if pei stode in pouert pei fel
nolt in pis perel. Also goodis of pis rewme ben yuel disendid
in hondis of pes clerkis & uegoen vnto false men, bope vnto
alienes & men of pis lond; & so goodis of pis rewme ben
yuel distrysted. Also pes clerkis ben herbi vnabled to preie &

Falsity of the
ideas that these
laws are no
longer in force.
The moral com-
mandments of
the old law are
still binding.
The laws are
sharply kept
as to exacting
tithes, they ought
equally to be
kept in refusing
ownership.

Christ and his
apostles the best
teachers, and
they lived in
poverty.

Lords reverse
the ordinance of
Christ, and harm
follows.
The clergy take
upon them the
work of lords.
to serve God as he commandeth; and this is he moste harme agens God & man, for his nedeth rewmes to lyues in warres. for job seith in his book, & resoune approue, that no man renuers god but if he hane wapes; and so this dowynge agens goddis lawe doth harme to lordis & clerks & comunys, bothe bodily harme & harme to here soules, & negligenst of lordis in amendement here-of is a manner of consense & greggi here synne; & it harmeth here elderis pat bigan pis errour, ne good doþ it noon; but moue lordis to pride pat here kyn haþ þus foundid housis of religious. and siþ god in his lawe curseth men pat breketh it, it semyth pat boþe ben cursid, lordis & clerks, and herfore confessours & alle pat ben on goddis half schulde moue & maynteyne pis lawe of ours god. & siþ he moste vnfredom is vnfredom of synne, for pat maketh a man servaus to nouþt & servaus to þe send, & dampaþ him in heile, coueytise of fredom schulde moue men her-to, and so synne bi his manere bryngiþ his dores into þe same myre þat he escheuiþ.

Capitulum 2m.

The servene lawis of þe newe testament ben so open, & hereto conformed wiþ þe liif of crist & of his apostlis, þat it is no nede to reuere þes gloses þat feynþ to þes lawis a false vnderstandinge, & techen clerkis to lyue on worldly manere. but þes religious * & seculere prestis, & so many clerkis, bi brekyinge of þis lawe, ben cursid of god & venemy cristendome. for crist him sylf teche þi word of seynt poul þat he is cursid of god þat loueþ noþ crist; but siþ he onely loueþ crist þat keþ his wordis, who enere brekiþ cristis lawe is cursid of god, and he þat sauoriþ þis part or assentiþ here-wiþ; & his cursyng is more þan cursyng of þe pope, or ony oþere sensuris þat he kan feyne; & so clerkis of þis land semen irregulere, for þei haþ so longe leyen in so gret cursinge. Also in þe tyme of grace crist for-bede his apostlis þat þei
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schulde noust bers in þe weye þat wolde lette hem to preche; myche more clerkis Schulde noušt bers in þe weye þat wolde lette hem to preche; Christ forbade his apostles to take anything that could hin- þat wolde lette more to preche & to serue god; siþ clerkis ben der them from preaching. now more pore of þiftis of god & more bisþ aboute þe world, þaþe to bere staues or kotis or hoosis or gretynge of folke þat crist forbeed his apostlis. Also we schulden have mynde Luke x. 4. on þe passiouþ of crist, hou dere he bouȝte his lawe whasme he was deed herfore, for al þat he suffride & kyndenesse þat he dide was to comende his lawe to men þat comes afte him. O, how vnkynde ben þei þat dispisen þis lawe, or for to breken it or to putte ðepere byfore it. certis þei ben cursid, as þe salme seþ, and suche ben vnable to þreie or to þeue ony sacramentis. and þif þat heresie were wel knownen, þes clerkis were heretikis more þasne ony ðepere; for þei defenden here part aþenes goddis lawe bi falce lawis & cautels to hers luyes ende. But þit antecristis clerkis prouen bi here resouns þat þe kynge & þe rewme mote nedæ maynteynen hem, siþ þei ben swornen to þe grete charite. reply: The Authors of the Bible. But here we schal suppose Magna Carta. as cristen meenes bileue, þat no meenes lawis ne chartirs Charters vold if maad of men han strengþe but is as myche as goddis lawe confermeþ hem; for what is ony chartre or ony lawe worþ, But þif god conferne it by his n-lawe? & so þis grete chartre é[p. 120 MS.] wolde moue bi goddis wytt, þat kyngis & hers rewmes schulde Kings should maintain the maynteyne þe chirche by þe ordeynance of god, & distroie þe contrarie. and þif we taken hede boþe kyngis & rewmes þat þei han founden were to chalenge þe kynge to maynteyne alle here chartres & alle here newe lawis þat þei han founden were to chalenge þe kynge as þe fendis seruanst; and þere were ouere myche dispit to here lyge lord. and þif þou seie þat cursyngis purchased of þe pope and ouere felle sensuris pontured ouere til england schulde fer ouere rewme to do siche þingis; Here we schal suppose as

1 Sic in M.S. for chartir.
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CHAP. II.

Oure bileue that no mannese cursyne hæp ony strenghe but in as myche as god himself cursip; and so ofte tymye cursip þe fendis mynystries, & god him silf blisseip and þe fend cursip; & þif þou seie þat moo men stonden wicþ siche cursyne þasne wicþ blissynge of god, & hem schulde we trowe; here our bileue techip vs þat goddis lawe is trewe & mote stonde, al þif þere be mo fendis þas trewe men, and triste to no man in þis mater but to goddis lawe; for þat seip god himself, þat may neuer be false. 1 O how hardye be we maad to werren on oure birecen, & how foule cowardis to stonde in goddis cause, & certis all þis is maad bi þe fendis craft. drede we noujt þis þondir, for it turnep æsen & cursip þe welle þat it come fro. for men stable in bileue ben a pick walle to turnew æsen þis þondir þat it 2 perse nef. But þif þou seist þat oure rewme stood in myche ioye whasne þe chiche was put & mayntenend in þis staat, & so it were ful dredeful *to distrie þis staat. But certis þis is a fendis skile to makew vs dredew in feip; but we schal vndirstonde, as goddis lawe techip us, þat ofte tymes fendis children passen here in welþe þe children of god þat aftir schal haue blisse. & so it is a feble skile: þif oure rewme hadde suche welþe whasne þei did & maynteyned suche staat to þe chiche, þasne þei dien wel & plesanly to god. make goddis lawe þi iuge, for þat mote nedis be, & þis iuge may noþ folde ne faille in riytwisnesse; & as þe gospel seip þis iuge is auedsarie to ech man in erþe þat holdip noþ goddis lawe. But þou seist þat myraclis & lyues of holy men approuen þis dowynyng of þe chiche, & god wip his seyntis; who schulde be so hardye to breke siche an ordehynaunce? But here schulde we wyte þat many suche sygnes komen ofte of þe fend for meanese firste synne; so, as seynt poul seip, þe fend hæp power for to figuren him in-til an uangel of liht; & so he is vntrewes man þat trouþ to siche signes as myche as he trouþ to þe seip of goddis lawe. & so it is no bileue þat alle þes men ben seyntis þat ben hirid of þe pope to ben holden siche; and fewe men woot how þes wondris comen þat we

1 falle MS.

2 is MS.
Olepy nyraulis, what of good or yuel; for well we wyten that he fend doeth ofte myche good. stonde we stable in oure bilene, for that may neure faile. But he fend repylep azenst his trupe, and seip, that king's graunt bi his owne chartre & bullis of he pope confrmed his dowynge, how schulde men denye his or distroie it. But if hei reuerzen al he ordynaunce of his rewme? Here I woot that men of lawe ben moued bi siche resouns. But professouris of goddis lawe schulde stonde by here bileue, and putt abac maunes lawe, but if goddis lawe ap*proue it; & so if chartris of men ben contrarie to goddis lawe, hes chartres schulde be wayschen and goddis lawe schulde stonde; and so if hes possessionris toke fre his in here lond and allegede here chartris, and trewe men goddis lawe, ewise schulde men se whiche were goddis children & whiche he fendis children by maynteyn[y]ge of hes lawis; and so he fend can nouȝt do but if he ouere do, whanne he arguep hua, that if a rewme were purgid of errouris in goddis lawe, ewise were his rewme distryst. wele I woot that goddis lawe ewise seculer lordshipis to seculer lordis & forbodip hem to clerkis. he laboureris of cristis chiroche han leffuly rentis & worldly possessions opere han clerkis han, sfor hei ben hiere in degree and neer to crist in pouerte; & bohe hei pingis to gidre may hei nouȝt haue.

Capitulum 3m.

But azenst his blaberen antecristis clerkis, and alleggen goddis lawe, but to false sentense, that seculer men schulde noȝt ige of clerkis, how enere hei don; for hei han propre uges, as popis & bischopis & opere uges vndir hem; & her-to hei leggen but lewdly goddis lawe. Here schal we wite that here ben many iugementis, as iugement bi goddis lawe and iugement by maunes lawe, & in bohe hea lawis ben many manere iugementis; and schal we trawe that ech man of discretion schal ige of his neibore, be he more or lesse, be he prest or clerk, lord or ellis pore man, and so to al he speche that in goddis lawe alooney fool iugement is here-inne for-

God's law is the only safe guide.

The devill pleaseth buis and charters, and says the laws of this realm will be overthrown.

No laws or charters should weigh against God's law.

God's law forbids possessions to clergy.

whose distinction should be that they are near Christ's poverty.

Antichrist's clerks say that the clergy should be judged only by their proper judges.

Different kinds of judgment.

Foolish judgment the only one forbidden.
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i.e. judging ignorantly.

*f. 191v MS.*

Rom. xiv. 4.

or hastily, on too little evidence,

or on too great reliance on authority,

(thus men are deceived by popes),

or in laying down false principles.

*Kings should have the justice of bulls examined.*

*f. 192v MS.*

*f. 193v MS.*

fendid; & man may iuge folily upon many maneris; as if a man iuge of ping þat he knowiþ noþ, as many men presumen to iuge a man to heuene, or ellis iuge him to helle bi heres feyned cursynge, & so prelatis *ofte tymes blasfemes in god, &\*\* taken on hem ingement & knowynge of god; & þis ingement dampped poul, for prelatis schulde noþ iuge seruantsis of god in þat þei knowe nouþ. þe secounde foly of ingement stondiþ is þis, þat men iugen to liȝly & bi liitil euydence to good or to yuel, þat sueþ noþ þor-of; as if a man iuge for fame of his broþer or for autorite of name, þat what euere he seye [is] soþe, & sekiþ noþ þe resouþ of ping þat he seip; & þus bes men disceyued in ingement of popis and of oþer prelatis & of oþere comyntes, & ofte tymes on þis wise bes men disceyued of ingement of myraclis, & many oþer signes, and þus mennes ingementis bes ofte ful of erroris whasne þei iugen by mannes entent bi euere liȝt euydence. mes schal euere suppose þe good, but if open euydence teche þe contrarie, of þingis þat men þenken on. the pridde manere of errour þat falliþ in mannes ingement is falscheed of heres prynciple þat þei groundem hem on; as fals wytnesse þat gone on a quest gabben in here witnessis, þei maken þe-iuge erre and pupplische a sentence contrarie to trewþe. & riȝt þus multitud of antecristis disciplis may moue men to leue cristiis lore; but blessed be god, þat in euery chirche hap ordeyned masse bookis to witnesse his gospel. And þus schulde kyngiþ bi worschip of here staþt, constreyne heres lyge freris & here oþere clerkis, vp payne of here leggeaunce, to telle treweþ of þes bullis & of þes oþere novelries, wheþer þei ben of biliue, & grounde hem in resouþ or in goddis lawe, & examyne heres poures wheþer þei ben trewe men. and þus schulde þe rewme be reueld bi riȝt, and fals men distroyed þat venemen þe rewme; & þus schulde men iuge þat ben goddis seruantsis, al þif þei stirte noþ vp in pilatis chaier. and so eech ingement þat is *noþt groundid in god schulde be fleed of men as disceyt of þe fend. for god him silf is treweþe, as þe 1 euere MS.
gospel seiþ, and þe fend is fadir of lesyngis. and so sum good 
jugement is of mennes out-wittis, as þei iugen whiche mete is 
good & whiche mete is yuel, & sum men jugement is of 
mennes wit wiþiâne, as men iugen how þei schal do, by lawe 
of conscience; as cristen men schal iuge to whom þei don here 
salmes, and þat þei feden nouþt fendis children among here 
owne heed.¹ & it were al on to reue fro worldy men þis 
jugement, & to seie þat þei þat þis.bestis damplnable for heres 
solye. And þus þe fend may hide menennes wittis & bobbe hem 
is heres resoun, as þe iewis diden wiþ crist, & leden hem to 
helle as bylynd avocatis of þe fend. þis blynde boffetyng 
schulde worldly men eschewe, for it helpiþ nouþt to þis world 
ne to þe toþer world. And wite wel þes lordis þat god hap 
þuen hem resoun for to seruen him, and loken heres owne 
profis; for þis lord of his curtseye axeþ no scrusye of man, 
but þif it turne to his profyt & noþt to þe profyte of god. and 
þus it were al on antecrist to teche þat men schulde noþt iuge 
of dedis of his clerkis, & to seie þat he is lorde aboue ihesu crist.

Capitulum 4m.

Aþeynes þis þe fend grucchiþ bi many blynde resouns, and seiþ 
þat god forbeediþ his men to iuge of heres briþeren. But we 
schulde trowe to wordis þat god putiþ in his lawe. & for God 
biddiþ þat a man schulde assaye him sif, and so eke of þe 
breed þat is þe sacrif oost. & for he þat etiþ unworþiþy etiþ 
his owne jugement, & for he iugÝ noþt wisely þe worþinesse of 
goddis body. & þe holy salme seiþ: “vnderstond, þe kyngiþ; Psalm ii. 10. 
and schaak of þou rudenesse, þe þat jugen londia.” Sum tyme 
jugement god graustid to kyngis, as davide & salomon & many 
opere kyngis. & þif þou seiþ þat popis lawe spekiþ oþer wise 
of þe jugement, haue þe popis lawe more suspette; þif goddis 
lawe spekiþ þus, & þus crist biddiþ þe iewis to iuge of 
him ript jugement. Lord, wether þes clerkis ben more 
hije ouere seculeris þan was our lord ihesu crist ouere þes 
falice iewis? & for trewe men ben certeyn þat crist bed hem

¹ ? herd.
not juge of him but if it were leeful to lewid men to iuge of clerkis; and so it were al on to denye siche iugement and denye regalye þat falliþ to þe kyng. Lord, wheþer þe lawe of ynglond schal be now distried bi fablis of heretikis con-
trarie to goddis lawe? Wel I woot þat men were wont bi iugement of ynglond to rampne prestis and clerkis for robberie & þoste, and also for trayterie and oþer smale trespas; and if þei now denye þis þei denye þe regalye. And þus see to antecrist þat crist bad men iuge of him boþe þi his godhede and eke by his manheed. Lord, wheþer antecristis clerkis ben more þasane was crist? Also seynt poul ingîþ of petris syynes, and aþen-stoode him for he was reprouable. Lord, wheþer prelatis now ben more conformed in grace þasane was seynt petir þasane aftir sonde of þe holy goost? Also ech maþ schulde bi þe lawe of þe gospel vndrynyme ech broþer þat synneþ aþens him. But comunly þes prelatis synnen aþens lewid men; þasane lewid men by here feþ schulde vndrynyme þes prelatis. And so it is al on to oute-take þes prelatis fro suche snybbinge of þe peple & make hem more þan crist; for if crist myþte haue synan he wolde þus han be blamed.

Reproof is a duty of charity.

Also by þe lawe of charite ech man schulde loue ech oþere; and siþ god haþ þeuen men wit to se þat prelatis don yuel, bi þe lawe of charite þei schulde moue hem to good. & so it were al on to take prelatis fro þis iugement and see þat þei ben fendis þat may nonþ be amendid. also bi goddis lawe a man schulde for charite drawe þis enemeþe beste oute of þe lake; but god haþ more reward of men þasane of beestis, þasane myche more schulde a man helpe men oute of sywane. also siþ ech of vs schuld knowe him sifl symful and be glaad of sewene goostli werkis of mercy, he schulde haue ioye þat men reproved him of his sywane; and certis so wele ech man but þe quyk deuel; þor he for his pride wele not be blamyd of god. And herfore seith þe wise man þat he þat hatþ blamynge is sutere of þe fend, rebell aþens god. And salamon seþ: "he þat dispisþ his blamere schal be sodenly distried & noþ helid of his sywane." And herfore techeþ seynt poul to
reprove siche ful harde. For þus dide cristoure alþere maystir reprouynge þes pharisees, and so he dide to peple Matt. xxiii. clepyrge him sathanas, and so charite chacchiph men to þis iust jugeement. For goddis lawe techiþ vs to don to opere Matt. vii. [12.] men as we schulden willen þat þei diden to vs. But who led bi resoun putt in greet perel wolde noþt be glaad to haue helpe þere of? But siþe eech man by synne is in an huge perel, he schulde be glaad of eche þing þat warneþ him of his perelle, Þif it be neuer so lowe & worse þan man in kynde. For ellis men‘ is obedient as þe firste apostata. Wel I rede in goddis lawe þat god was obedient unto voys of man as to his owne Josh x. [12.] instrument. And so siþe eech creature þat telliþ a man a truþe is instrument of god to schewe him þis truþe, it were con to dispise þis instrument in þis and to dispise þe truþe of þe lord þat he schewiþ. But he were outh of resoun þat were smytten in feueria or ellis in a frenesye or ony ðer siknesse þat wolde noþt take his medicine or reule of anoþer man, al Þif it were displeyynge to him for a tyme. Thus meke men & trewe men blamen noþt þe creature þat telliþ hem a truþe in name of god, siþe þe lord moeueþ hem for profyt *of men to *[p. 1928 MS.] tellen hem goddis wille, in him schulde þei heren. and so Þif we can se clerkis schulde wiþ ioye suffre temporal lord. schipis be taken away from hem. For wel we wyten þat þis were noþt æzens goddis lawe ne hyndrid hem noþt to gete hie setis in heuene; but ðerere dispose hem to come to myche blisse and þus schulde eech man willen as god him sif biddiþ hem.

And so take heede what god biddiþ þee do & do þat and noon ðer, for al ðerere is synne. & loke to alle þingis þat comes to þee to suffre and suffre it mekely, siþ god nedþ þee porto & sendiþ it for þe beste, al Þif þou kanst noþt so it; as a child is ofte betyn for his owne profyte and þit he grucchiþ þeræzens, for he seeþ noþt þe resoun. and þis moweþ many men mekely to suffre whateuere comeþ to hem, for so biddiþ charite.

1 weren probably omitted.
XXII.

TRACTATUS DE PSEUDO-FRERIS.

I regard this tract as almost certainly Wyclif's, and in this I am supported by Mr. Arnold's opinion, who omitted it only because he had printed so much invective against the Friars. It has an interest as showing that Wyclif felt it necessary to justify his attacks upon the Mendicants, though it must be owned that the apology takes the form of a renewal of the offence. But we must not disregard the 'pseudo' which forms part of the title, and is not forgotten in the text. What Wyclif inveighed against is the evil which followed from admitting and binding to an order men who did not live in the spirit of its founder. With a true follower of St. Francis Wyclif would have had much in common. Even as it was, he admits there were good men among them: as Paul and Nicodemus were among the Pharisees, to whom he delighted to liken them.

This higher temper may be noticed in his dealing with the practice of midnight prayers (p. 317). Such rising to pray he says may be good, or it may be a hindrance to a man whom God calls to some better occupation, and it is presumptuous to make a binding rule on the subject. So in his Latin sermons he says, "Non observant omnia que Christiana religio precipit et observat, cum non observant mensuram" (MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. fo. 195). Of his rougher humour there is a good specimen on p. 319, where he likens friars between whom there is ill-feeling to dogs in a sack.

Among the marks of authenticity we may note the incidental use of the doctrine of Dominion (p. 316) and of Wyclif's favourite point that it is impossible to tell of any man whether he will be saved or damned (p. 317). Another characteristic passage is that on p. 312: "We graunten mekeliche that . . . we saylen in the heyghnesse of charite." Wyclif knew that his besetting fault was intemperance in attack. In a passage quoted by Dr. Shirley (F. Z. xlv. note) he tells us that he was accused of vindictiveness and spite; and in the tract De Sex Jugis (Lechler ii. 603) he says: "Omnes enim cogitamus superflue, quomodo vindicta caperetur de hostibus Christi atque ecclesiae, et potius cogitamus impereando istam vindictam quam alia media misericordia, qua sic injuriabantibus oederent ad salutem."

I must not omit to notice that this sharp attack on the Friars contains no mention of the Eucharist, but I cannot on that account disregard the weighty reasons in favour of its genuineness.

Copied from the only MS., Dublin, C. v. 6. [CC.].
SUMMARY.

CHAP. I. Many people cannot bear to hear friars spoken of as false, but we must do as God's law bids. We are bid to reprove sin; and as Christ reproved Pharisees we must reprove these new orders, which are Pharisees from Christians p. 296
We must not blame untruly, hastily, or on false principles; nor from envy, but from love. 297
Wrongfulness of trying to stop such language, since it is used by Paul 298

II. There is good and evil in the orders. Some friars leave the convent and get better employment; yet they encourage the others who remain 298
Their observances are superfluous. Christ's rebuke to Pharisees 299
The New Testament forbids sects, but these orders make sects 299
Covetousness of prelates and friars, who ought to take little and return much 300

III. A sect is a new order, with a new patron and rule 301
Christ's sect does not insist on clothes 301
St. Peter's prophecies of the new sects and their evils 302
How St. Paul speaks of them 303

IV. See whether St. James spoke of these friars. He speaks of two religions: one pure, the other vain. The pure religion is that of Christ. Not kept by friars. Their various faults 304

V. St. Jude prophesies of apostates and his warnings in their details correspond to the ways of friars 306

VI. St. John's warnings against the friars 309
His writings, like all other authors of the New Testament, teach us to reprove friars. They attribute ill-will to their reprovers, but God is the judge of intent 311

VII. The fiend's clergy say that in reproving them we make ourselves equal with God, whereas we are sinful. We acknowledge our sins, but believe that we are Christ's servants, and that we speak as he bids us 312
Christ's example. Need of reproof 313

VIII. The fiend gives six reasons to love these orders—
I. Their dress. But it is wasteful 315
II. Abstinence. Not true of all of them, and, if true, not necessarily good 316
III. The excellence of their prayers. They do not know that they will be saved. Their selling prayers shows a bad conscience 317
Their rules are presumptuous 318
IV. The holiness of the society. They are not all holy, nor is their united prayer necessarily powerful 318
Good life the best prayer, and the cloister is often not the best life 319
V. Their special prayers. Their prayers are not so good as the Paternoster, or Christ would have taught them 320
VI. Their handsome churches and appointments. These they ought to grieve for, since they are got by robbery, spoiling the poor, and injuring parish churches 321
Christ warns us against these sects. We are bound to withstand them 323
If we are shown to err, we will turn to the truth 324
Tractatus de Pseudo-freris.

Capitulum primum.

*For many beren heuy pat freris ben clepid pseudo or
ypocritis, antecristis or fendis, or ony siche name, it were
telle what goddis lawe seyp here, & bi lore of goddis lawe
men shulden stonde stily. First men taken of biseue pat
pei shulden reprove synne; sip crist techip pat if hym broper
synne in bee, pou shalt pries reprove hym; & fro pe
bigynnyng of pe world til pis tyme was it vaid pat mes
shulden reprove synne for louse & worship of god. For it were
al oon to lette pis & to lette men to be goddis children, &
to forsake crist god & take men fulliche to pe fend, & so forsake
 cristis maundementis, & bi-come pe fendis seruaunt. But for
siche an heresy seomme mes shulden suffre martirdom, &
somme men make resouns, & somme men vsen her worldliche
strenghe; sip crist, heued of martris, deyede to destrie
pis heresy, & alle hise martris aftir deyeden in pe same
cause; & hey; prestis of pe temple wi phariesees pat crist
reproveu were more and beters groundid pen ben pe sectis
of pise freris. Aftirwa[r]d mes supposen pat pise freris may
lythlyche erre; & bi dedis pat fame tellip, pei synnes &
harmes meche pe pple. Sip crist well of religions hers
ces to hym tualwe aposediis, & pit oon of hem was Sarioth,
whom it was leueful to reprove — what vertu hauce pise
newe ordris, pat ben cropes in wiþ-oute ground, pat men shal
not reprove hem, harmes pey neure se myche pe chirche? hit
were al oon to grauete pis, & giue it yp to pe fend, &
fyte no more in goddis cause, but assest to pe fend what
euere he do; & it is al oon to reprove synne, & to reprove
persones pat synnes. Lord, sip freris synnes ofte, why
shulden not men reprove hem, & if al pe secte assestæ,
spek we sharpliche ænæ pe secte; þus spak crist sharpliche
ænæ pe secte of phariesees, as matheu tellip in eyhte woes þat
orist spak ażen hem, & jif orist louede persone of hem, as were poul and nychodeme. Lorde, sif pise newe ordis ben pharisees fro cristem men, whi shulden not men by ensaumple of orist speke sharpliche ażen hers synne? but in ilce werk ggod askip ordes, & so in blamyng of freris. *Two ſtíngis.**{p. 81b Ms.} ben in his ordes jif oristem men shulden holde; first jif men jat blames hem shulden holdre treuāe & not gabbe on hem; for al jif pise ordis væm jif craft, jif þei don hers amy, for craft of lyyng is not leneful, sif it is openliche ażen treuāe, & so it is ażen orist, þe whiche is þe first treuāe. & þus men may lenefulliche, but of hard, fyte, plete & soorne, but þe craft of lyyng is dampened generalliche, & þus cristem men shulden be war to putte falaliche blame on freris; & herfo many men spaken g[e]neralliche of hers synne, & leuen to descende to persone lest þei medlen fals wip soþ. & þus þei spaken bi condiocious, or supposyng, or gesyng, þat jif freris don þus cristem men schulden be war wip hem. neuerþeles we witen bi þe cours of goddis lawe þat þise men þat bens disposid & knowen defaute in certeyn persone shulden but personal reproof may be a reproue hem in here beerd, but euere by mekenesse & loue. þus baptist reprouede heroude of his open synne. & officials John Baptist. and freris haunte ofte þis craft amy, when þei louen mor monée or ordis þes þei don heeleþ of hers soules, & ofte þei punysshem men bi peyne þat ggod approueþ not. þe opor condiocious of blamyng þat cristem men shulden holde is þat þei shulden blame no men bi ensuye or couetyse, but algatis bi charite þat þei hauen to ggod & to his chirohe; þe, to þo persone þat þei nynben, al jif þei shal be dampened aftir, & þus noon man shulde curse an opor but for loue þat he hap to hym, as ggod dampeneth neuer his servaunt but for mercy & for loue. & þus in speche ažen freris men casten to holde þise two, and jif þei saylen in ouþer of hem þei cryen on ggod mercy & help; for wo is vs jif we ben stille, & speken not ažen hers synnes, weene we witen þat þei synnen openliche ažen bileue, & loden many soulis aftir hem by wrong waye as fendis don. & þus men supposes of freris þat somme
of hem shall be damned, & jene we witen bi þe gospel þat
pei bes quike fendis. lord, who shulde lette men to speke
here as crist doþ? siþ bi siche commune speche þis lawe
shulde be betere knownes, but as we witen not of þis freres
wheþer he shall be damned, so we kepe vs in orses speche
þat we clepem not þis freres a fend. but aþæ errours þat þey
sowen men shulden speke hertliche; & bi siche reprouyngis
god may turne þise freris to goode, & kepe sugetis in goddis
weye, þat ellis wolden go the weye to helle. & as amentis
fals freris, resoun techijþ þat þise ben fals, & poule spekijþ þat
perile is in fals freris. lord, whi shuldes men be lettid to
speke þus, siþ goddis lawe seij so? dampe þou þis holi
writ, & lette þou men to rede it, & relese heres oblishynge
bi commune vse þat god approunþ, & þesne þer is som colour
to blame men þat van þis word, but freris ben oblishid of
god & bi here rewale to seye þis word, & as þei seyes freris
weren þenne & longe biforn, & somme false, what shulde lette
þe holi goost to speke of fals freris bi poule.

Capitulum 2m.

ñit cristien men shulden be war in here speche aþæ freris,
& for somme ben goode and somme euene, men shulden
specifie þise euene, & not reprov good wiþ euene lest þei
erreden in blamyng heres þreþere, & herfor cristien men han
declarad herou men shulden knowe a pseudo-freres & what is good
in here ordes & what in here ordes is euene, as so myche of here
ordes is good is seid in goddis lawe, & as myche of here ordes
is euene as discordijþ fro goddis lawe; but many þingis may
be wel don, & þit þei ben euene knyttad to-gedres; as tyme
& ðepor circumstanse þat limiten payne for a dede ben aþæ
þe fredom þat crist wolde hawe in his lawe. & þus þise goode
men of freris drawen hem fro heres priuat rewedis & fro heres
lyuyng in commune, lest it neede hem to breke goddis lawe;
as somme freris procuren to be bishopis, somme to be lystris
and liue out of communes, & somme to be wiþ lordis or laydis,
& somme freris to bi wiþ bishopis; but þat þat þei seyn is best, as obedience to herc soureyn & risyng at myd-nyȝt
whip kepyng of herc priuat reulis & seowyng of herc chapitris,
jise ben warliche put abac wiþ þe moost witty of freris.
But sif þer ben ouer-many cœwurdis & foolis stondysi in þis
fredom, sif þey dar not reproue herc comunes in kepyng of
herc obseruauncis, but dwellen in herc naked habitis in tokene
þat þei wolen turene aȝen. & certis in þis is noon wisdom,
but errore on many sydys; for siche kepyng of þise habitis
techiþ þat þei lasten in þis synne, & consenten to þe first
errores, as yprocritis aȝen god. and þerfore many men
wolden consele þat þei casteden a-wey þise habitis & sich fool
which they should cast
oblyseahyg, and token fredom of cristis lawe; & þus techiþ
away.
ilche word of crist, þat reproue þise newe sectis, for herc
newe obseruauncis to whiche þey oblishen hem so myche
smaschen som weye yprocrisie, or ellis þey ben superflu, and
oblishen men wiþ-oute chesoum aȝen þe fredom of cristis lawe.
& þerfore crist clepiþ so ofte pharisises yprocritis, & seyþ: "þhe
Luke xii, [1.]
þeg fro sourdou of pharisises, þat is yprocrisye, for þei ben
• blaenschid wiþ-oute as sepuleris, and wiþ-inne ful of fylþe.
Wo be to you, pharisises," seyth crist, "þat ben hud monu-
mentis; and men wandryng on hem knowen on þe filþe
Luke xi. [44.]
wiþiane. oon of þe wyse men of lawe onsuered to crist, and
seyde þus: mayster, seyng þise þingis, þus makest to vs greet
strif. and crist seyde to þis man: & wo to you, wise men of
lawe, þat chargeþ men wiþ birþins þat þei may not bere, and
þe wiþ þoure oon fynger toouches not þoure makid birþins."
& here men takes of cristis wordis þat men shuldes not lette
to speke for god, al sif þei suſfren harm for herc speche; for
crist tolde more sharpliche þis wo, when þis lawers hadde
tolde þis peril. & men may see of þe same word þat
consenteris to siche yprocritis ben in þe same damnungous.
sif crist seyþ: "and to you be wo." Also bi þe newe lawe ben
sectis ofte reproued, & noon drede þise newe ordis make
of dower sectis, & so bi our bilene þise ordis ben reproued. "I
woot, seyþ poul, þat aftir myr diocess wolues of raneyþ ahal

These orders
make divers
sects.
St. Paul's warn-
ing.
Acts xx. [29.]

To paralel the conversion of Greek and Hebrew texts into Latin, the lost passage could have been something like:

"[p. 233 M.] yet they encour-
age those who remain to keep
the rule, and themselvess wear the habit,
"
come in to be chirche, and be shall not spars be floe: & of you sylf shall rise wicked men, spekyng pe pervers ipyngis, so pat be leded disciplis aftir hem. & herfors wake ye, & penke onno hou bi pre yeer nyxt & day y eeesede not bi teris monestyng ileche of you; & now y comme unde you to god and to word of his grace, whiche is mysy to edyfye & sune heritage in alle halewidy. but siluer and gold or clop of non of you coueytide I, as ye youre self witen, for to neede of pingis pat i hauede and to hem pat weren wip me ministredes pise hondis, bi truel pat i me self dide. alle pise pingis haue i shevided to you, for men pat truelen pus moten take sike men & helpe hem wip siche goodis, & haue mynde of be word of be lord iheu, for he seyde pat it is more blissid more to sune pen to take." Pise wordis of holi writt, sip be ben feyf of cristen men, ben more to prayse pen alle propre rewel of pise newe ordris; for here autours weren lesse worp, & hauen neede pat be pope conderme hem. for poul was betere & myhtyres pen alle be patrouses of pise new ordris; & non pope conderme poul hold writt, sip it is first condermed of god. & noo drede pou tellip hers a rewele bet cristen men shulden holde, & first men may see hers hou poul prophesiede sop of comynig of be newe sectis in-to be chirche, bope oon & ope, & hou be shall be wolues of raueyn & not spars be floe pat be ben inne; for what prelat or religioso sparip to pile be comune peple, but coueytis gold & siluer & clop, sars be peple neuere so euene. as freris when be begges of men penken not hou be ben ryche be be pors men pat be begges of, pat hauen great neede for hem & heoris to hyng pat freris tillen of hem, and certis pis sopylyng is falsere pen open raueyn of dai beues. But poul tauce aftir hou he laborede, to sune ensamiple to men aftir pat be shulden not bilde hem castels & liue oon pors men bi beggerye. for it is bope needeful to men to sune & to take of here brethoren; but be first condicioons is betere, & herfors crist & poul usedes it. and prelatis pat hauen oure of soulis loken hou scarcely be may liue, & wip hou luitil of siche almes
pei needes to charge pe peple, & hou largeliohe pei peuem ajen lore and ensample of holynesse. Pis rewire si it is bileue *shulde be studied of alle pis sectis, & not take an ober lesse good but sij pat pis relewe faylede; & herfore poul f Cor. 1. (14) and heriede god pat he browste not in siche sectis, but by clene lorc pat crist taunte poul liuede & taunte ober. studiwyse Let wise men study these words of Paul, and see if these sects are spoken ajen sharpliche. & herfore sey poul to conforte men, houn pei shuldes haue mysde of cristis word, & hou crist shal jiuve to men pat louen hym word & grace to reproue hem, & pis word monep summe men to speke ajen pis new ordris.

Capitulum 3m.

It were to wite ouer pis what goddis lawe meneb bi pis sectis; & it semeb to many men pat a secte is a newe ordrsi bi newe patrouz & newe lawe, as was pe secte of cristen men, and crist haueb ful autorite to make siche a blessid secte for hym & hise pat comes aftir to pe ende of pe world. jif a cristen man haue a custom pat profiteb to hym for a tyme, but he haueb now patrouz ne relewe but crist & lorc pat he whichmen should haeb jiuve, he makib not a newe secte ober ben secte of cristen men. & jif benet or dominic or fraucess or bernard or angel of heuene make a newe secte upon cristi secte, he is herfore but keep it free from change.

Mahomet's sect takes much of meche of cristi secte, but it varieb in som relewe & in clopi & in patrouz, & so don sectis of ours newe ordris, & of bope pise propheciep poul. Crist gronguede not his secte in sich changing of clopi, but in relewe of vertues pat ben vnsensible to men, & tolden nouj bi siche abitis, but in as meche as pei helpeden to vertues, & pus men shulden not be weddid wij hem, but change hem lest here lone errs. & pus seyen summe pat these freris habitis to whiche freris ben pus oblishid, pat as the friars do. ben pus large & varianst as were habitis of pharisees, *sorui *[p. 94 MLs.]
Hire religion takes now on an habit, now another: as he did on Good Friday.

Habitas a pretense of holiness.

[2] Peter ii. [1.]

Let people judge if these sects do not love their patron better than Paul, and if their order does not make them love Christ's rule less.

Is he not a fool who changes a good order for one grievous and imperfect.

[3 Peter ii. 3.]

To love their orders more than Christ's
*p. 546 MS.*
is spiritual lechery.

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He fend to putte in lesyngus & to destrie pore menmes goodis. Cristis religion telli blyt bi siche sensible habitis, but now taki oon & now an oter, as dide crist on good fryday. for pise habitis crien to pise folc holynes & stablesnes, pat god wole have hid to hym, & *pse* pei ben ofte false signes & garnements of ypocries, as crist clepi ofte pharisees. And *pse* seip petre in his book, *pat* is aboue alle pise patrouns, Sopeliche *per* weren fals prophesis in *pe* peple, as skal be in *yon* mastris of lesyngis, *pat* shal bryngge in sectis of los, bope of religious & soul, as men mai openliche see now, & *pei* denye *pat* lord *pat* hab bouxt hem, ihan crist. for when *pei* louen cristis secte, or louen it lasse for *pise* newe sectis, *pei* slakes in *pis* hers loue to crist, & *pse* pei ben cursid of hym. & ige *pe* peple whepe *per* pise sectoris louenes hers patrouns betere *ben* poule or opey seyntis, *pat* weren betere to-fors god *pe* pise patrouns, & louen lesse *pe* rewele of crist & cristis ordainance for hers ordris, & hers dedis wolen openliche shewe *pe* pei don *pse* wip-oute cause. whi shulden not pise sectis be reproued? si *pe* ben *pse* sectis of lesyng; not of lesyng of worldliche worship ne worldliche vaunstage, as we may see, but of lesyng of vertues & of blisse for hers vnkysdenesse. And herfors seip petre affir, *pat* pise sectis leder vp-on hem hasty lesynge of vertues & blisse bi hers chargying wip newe ordris. who wolde seie *pat* he ne were a fool pat hauede a good ordre *pat* mysle not faile, & si bryngiip in a newe ordre *pat* is bope heuy & vnpersett, & lettij *pe* first parfyt ordre bope to be loued & holden. Iuge *pe* peple wheper pise freiris bi hers newennesse *pe* pei han founedes brekes ofte cristis ordre, bope to hem & to *pe* peple. And *pse* seip petre affir, *pat* many skal sewe her lecheryes, bi whom pe weye of treuepe shall be blasemed. It is knoweles byng now *pat* many louen more pise newe ordris *pe* pei louen *pe* ordres of crist, & dom more worship to hem, & *pis* is gostliche lecherie fro crist *pe* spouse of *pe* chirche, *&* pis

1 propheris MS.
is opone blasfemye sip roten ordinaunce of men is more worshipid & more told bi þen þe ordinaunce of crist. Petre tellijh affir of þe frut þat comij of siche newe ordris: In [2 Peter ii. 3.] coneytise wip feyned wordis þei shal chaffare of þou. It is knowen hon þe pope wip his court chaffarij wip simple men in beneficis & ass colore, & certis þis is a newe secte founde over þe secte of crist; & þus chaffaren possessioners bi auarice wip secular men; & þise freris chaffaren now, & silles custrees to begge; & is alle þise wordis ben feyned of gostliche suffrage wip-oute grounde. þus regneth chaffaryng of prestis and lewid men by auarice. But petre tellijh affir to what ende þise sectis bryngyn men: "To þise sectis ceesseij not þe ingement þat is now & biform tymes, & here leesing nappij not." Noo man derei þat hauiej witt þat petre ne reprouede here þise sectis. what cristens man shulde not speke aþen hem bi autorite of crist & petre? sif petre prophesyede not þise sectis, telle þei what þe wordis of Petre's prophecy is clearly of these sects.

And of þise sectis spekiþ poul to his disciple tymothe: "þe holi gost seij openliche þat in þe last tymes [1] Tim. iv. [1.] summe shal depart fro bileene, takynge hede to spiritis of errour & to loris of fendis, þe wiche fendis speken leysing in ypocrisy; hauynge her conscience brest wip hoot yren of couetise; & forfenden to wedde, & abstenen fro mete, þat god haþ ordeyned to trewe men to take wip þankynys of god, & to hem þat han knowe trewe." Here ilche man on goddís half shulde trowe þise wordis of poul, sij god seyþ hem openliche to hym. & þus it semeiþ þat poule wolde menne þat Paul's words refer to these orders.

in tymes of þise ordris men departen fro bileene þat þei shulden haue of cristis ordre, & many takens over-mecho hede to gostliche men of þise ordris, þat erren as ypocrisy & magsifien her owen ordris. & now drede siche seniours ben fendis þat speken lying in ypocrisy, & þei hauen her conscience brest wip fier of couetise, for al þat þei may gete to here ordre, of men or of worldliche goodis, þei þenken þei geten newe to god, þat god is wel payed þerwij, & þus þise ypocrisy *letten to wedde boþe of prestis & of nuppes, & bi e[2] p. 35 Ms.]
pis pei fallen in foul leacherie, leuyng peat peat god hap grauntid; & tus pise freris forberen flesh peat crist veede & graustede to ete. & tus pe newe observaunclis don harm to pe chirohe many weyres. & pis appliep poul to sectis peat hauen licesse of pitee, but pei denyes pe vertu per-of; for pei hauen non conscience to robbe pore men to magnifie here new ordris, & to fordo cristis ordinaunse; but hou denyeves not pise men pe vertu of pitee to god and man?

Capitulum 4m.

See we what James seip peat wroet to tuelue kyvredeis, & so to alle cristis men, wheter he speke out of freris. but if god spanel hore of freris, certis pei ben not wip hym, & crist seip: “who peat is not wip me, he mot neede be aven me.”

Brian. [30.]

James I. [27.]

James telli of two religiuns; pe first is cleene wit-oute wem, & tus mot nebe of cristis religioun, bope for pe patroun & pe rewewe; pe secounde is veyn religioun, & pe hauen ope patroun and rewewe. James seip peat cleene religioun & wipoute wem bifore god & pe fader is pis, to visite moderlees children & widewis in her tribulacion, & kepe hym siif wip-outu wem fro foulyng of his world. James speki of heers of pe ordris peat holden here castels or linya as ankeria, but of pe religioun peat crist hap ordneyned to fishe wip pe world & profite to needi men, as crist dice wip his apostaia. And jif you see peat freris visiten modirlees children & widewis; sopleche pe fend visiti of men, but to decesyue hem & harma hem; & tus pise freris visiten men, but riche men in heers welfare. And cristis ordre biddi of men to kepe hem vnsoyid fro pe world, but freris seldem or neuree but when cousesyse fouli of hem; for when pei visiten pore men or widewis, pei don to gete goodus of hem, as corn, monee, chese or somwhat peat nedie more hem pen pe freris; & tus pei helpes hem not in tribulacions, but to decesyue her bodi & soule. & herfors seip iames aftir, pat rewle or wisdom of pis ordris is worldliche, beestliche, & fendliche, & pis is veyn religioun.
The eight conditions of the rule of pure religion were not kept by the friars. The friars strive to prevent the truth being known.

This is the vain religion of which James speaks.

The friars are dumb when they should speak.

1 tratatable MS.
2 assento MS.
but ready to tell lies.

[James ii. 9.]

Friars are accusers of persons.

They speak by God's law, but do the reverse;

covet to be masters,

James v. [1-8.]

and to heap up riches.

But friars, for the meat they have of lords, feed their souls with fables. Their habits cannot hide sins from God,

* [p. 363 MS.] since they will be away at the judgment day.

but be ben dilany in heers tungs in gabbyngis & other iapis pat sounen not to charite: Juge men whether any freris ben siche pat haues sich veys religion. James telliþ aftir bi cristís rewèle pat men shulden not accepte persones; but men seyen pat freris don, boþe of here breþeren & oþer men, for þif a frere be a maister or a riche frere in mong his breþeren, he shal be loutid þis worshipid more þen cristís lawe teçhip; & þus frerís worshipen secular lordis, to gote worldliche help of hem. & þus frerís spoken bi goddis lawe, but þei don suen þe reuers, as crist seip of pharissee, þat þei seyen but þei don not. þus frerís reden in goddis lawe, þat þei shal not be makid maystri, & þis þei cousyten wiþ þe synne, wherfor þis maystriship is forfendid. & þus iames forbediþ cristes men to be riche hers, for rust & wormes destrien hers richesse, & þat doþ harm to þe comunes; but þit þise freris gederen monée & oþer goodis to hem self, & þes propres in heers hauynge aþes þe rewle of charite, & but þif þis wordis of iames don for þise ordris, I am certeyn þat non word of iames approue þis newe religions.

Capitulum 5a.

Se we ouer þis what iude seip of apostataes of þis ordris, hon þei weren first punyshid of god in tym of þe old lawe. for cristís religious lastiþ euor, boþe to þe dai of dom & aftir, & alle þis newe religious moten haue ende þeþne or bifors. Iude seip þat þis apostataes ben in heers metis filþis, þat feedes men wiþ-oute drede, feedynge hemself; & þus freris, for heers metis þei hauen of lordis &bishopis, feeden heers soulis aþes bi fablis, & ben a-boute to hyde heers synnes, but certeis largenesse of heers abites hydiþ not synnes fro god. þei mai blynde men for a tym of hers feyned absolucions, but whenne men shal rekene bifoare oriste in day of his last iugement, þere þis habitis shal be a weye, þis rewelis & þis religious, & religion of cristís lawe shal shyne þen-ne for kepyng þor-of; for ypocrisis shal be deepere_dampned of alle þe fendis þat shal be in helle. Jude seip
aftir, bat pise men ben cloudis wip-oute watir, bat ben boren cloud without water aboute wip wyndis; & pis a-cordiα to fals prestis, for philosophia seyn bi resous bat it is eir of pestilence when it pestentiall, seμερ to reyne & reyneη not, as it falliβ bi siche cloudis, for ben letten τε λιπ την υμνεν & temperεμ not τε ερεβ τη reyn.

& puse it falliβ gostliche bi men bat shulden preche goddis lawe, & letten to teche τησ την lawe, & occupying siche prelatis state bi gabbyng & fagyngia, & not bi reyn of goddis word;

& pis is a perilose tyme of pestilence of massnes soule. Jude seib aftir bat pise ben heruest trees wipoute fruyt, twyes deed, & τε τησ τη τους drawes up; & puse τε τησ τησ hydous trees.

Pis word shulde be dred of prelatis, siβ τε τησ τησ trees in pis world; & τε τησ τησ shulden bers gostliche fruyt as don τε τησ trees is heruest, but ben wipouhte fruyt, as was τε τησ fyge tree pature cursed, for neper in prechynge ne good lyf τε τησ pretes το τη perplis soule. And puse τε τησ twyes deede, deed body & soule, deed in pis world & in τε τησ, deed in heers owen person, deed in profityng το τησ oper men. And heers rootis ben turned up; for here loun shulde be hid, & bi growynge of pis roote τε τησ shulden pretis το τη massnes souleis; but τε τηs loun be flocchid on worldliche pingis more τε τησ on heuesliche pingis, τε τησ is turned up, & τε τησ drye, wipoute fruyt. Weheβer τε τησ freris or τε τησ men fallen puse in heers office, iude prophycyde of hem, al τε τησ weres not in his tyme; for as petre seib, "τε τε τησ apostis ταιταινcluding τε τησ spirit to prophecie." [2 Peter 1. 19(1)]

And pise men ben boren aboute bi wyndis of vnstablenesse, & heyhid to grete statis, now here & now υπερ, for hem wantiβ τε τησ of loun τε τησ shulde be flocchid in goddis lawe, & τε τησ wyndus moneα not τε τησ trees to grawe stabelische in τε τηs chirche. Jude seib aftir, τε τησ ben foldis of τε τησ wood see, Floors of the raging see short-

*It is known τε τησ holi-

chirche is a ship in τε τησ see, & ping τε τησ moost noyeβ τε τησ ship ben felle foldis of τε τησ world; & τε τησ freris hauet τε τησ two, noo dreed, god vnndrstood hem here, & τε τησ frøben bi irose fisege

*mes men τε τησ tellen hem treuje, noo dreed τε τησ frosen heers owen confusion, & makes heers malice more known. & but such are friars that are angry with those who tell them truth.
The false friars, come unto Jude's
description; murmurers, etc.

Wandering stars.

Nature of comets, they betoken
pestilence; such are wicked priests.

Enoch's prophecy.

Their begging is a complaint of
poverty.

They wander after their own
lusts.
Lustis, & chessen to ete wip riche men where pei may fare lustfulliche, & haue heers daliaunce wip wymmen for her seccheroes lyues; who drediþ þat god ne spak here bi iude of þise freris? And þif pei speken proudliche to men of heers ordris & of heres persones; hou pei passen ðepe ordris & ðepe persones biforn hem in holynesse & in witt; & þus glosen persones woundiful, boþe of heers ordris & wip-outes, bi cause of heers wynnyng, who drediþ þat god ne spak here of siche freris þat don þus? And iude moueþ cristen men astir to be war & reproûe siche men: "But þee, ful dere bregûen, haue mynde of þe wordis þat weren seyd byfors of þe aposlís of oure lord iææu crist, þat han seyd to þou, þat in þe laste tymes skal come gilours wandering astir heers desyris, not in good religioun. þise ben þei þat departen hem eilf bestial, & hauen not þe holy goost." Juge men wheþer freris ben siche; & certis þenne god spak here of hem, for god woot aþ þing þat is to come, & warnþ þis chirc he of perillis of it. þif þise freris ben gylours boþe of men & of children, bi þe holynesse þat þei biheeten to robbe men of heers goodis, & wandren in custrees astir heers desyris, to placis & persones where þei hopen to fare astir lustis of heers sleah, þenne god spak heers freris. And þif freris departen heers duellyng fro ðepe men, boþe lerid & lewed, & wandren not as crist or hisa aposlís, more to edifie þe peple þen for lust or worldliche wynnyng, þenne god spak here of hem. liue þe freris bi goddis lawe & teche þei men þat þei ben not siche.

Capitulum 6m.

*Jon eausangelist spak sharpliche of þis materæ, boþe in epistel *[p. 88 MS.]* of his wisdom & in his book of priuetee; but for he spekiþ þere John in his mystiliary, & fewe wolen þere approue his sentence,† þerfor leue we þis book, & speke we a word of his epistilis. Ion seip in his book hou alle men shulden kepe charite, & so men shulden

† setence M.S.
Men should love things according to their goodness, but they love according to the order.

But herepenkes somme pat freris failen openliche, for bi granate of hem self operse ordis ben betere ben heeren, & hit ben louen more here owen ben pei don ben betere ordis. as jif mes asekden of pie fours sectis whefer alle pie ordis ben euene goode, &i bolen seye anon: “nay, but oon is betere ben an oper;” & pus bi here owen speche pely tellen pat pely leues pely betere and louen persones of here ordis not euene affer pat pei ben goode, & so pisis diuision of freris bi pie ordis pat ben not groundid makip a prince esuye and putrip out loue of god; but certis benne pei ben masealeers & of pe fendis religion, for ion seip pat ilche man pat hatip his broper is masealeer. & pus it seme of heers lyues, pat many of hem ben irregular; & pus in travel of pie freris. When pei wasdres aboute to preche, it seme pat pei loues more worldliche goodis ben heelpe of soulis pat pei visiten; & who dredi pie siche ordis ne ben broust in bi pe fend? pei leues to proue bi goddis lawe heymeses of pings is pat pei prayen so; but bi talis.ynpe byleune, & bi bull of pe pope pei prouen heymeses of heers patrons & holyneses of here ordis. & pus seip ion soxeliche pat ben now many makid antecristis; for alle pie men pat ben aopen crist in here loue, louen ben not moost crist of alle pings pat ben. but pie men louedon more crist, jif pei haueden oonliche crist here patrons; for vnordynel love of here patrons departip hem fro hool loue of crist; & pus pei haued not god here fadir, but somme patrons bynepe god; & benne pei ben antecristis and fendis children, as ion seyp. & pus seip ion, pat ilche spirit pat louip ihesu is not of god *but antecrist, & pus per ben pseudo-prophetis now in pis laste hour broust in.

Men may loue ihesu crist on many maneresc aopen god, as he pat trowip not of crist pat he is bope god & man, but trowip he oon not he other, louip crist aopen bileune. and pie men louesen crist pat makes his membris heers special patrons, & leuen to hau crist oonliche heers patrons, werbi pei loues lasse crist. & pie men louesen crist pat, bi heers proychyng or heers lif, makes pat crist is vnstableliche in meanes hertis.
where he was bifoire. & bope freres and oper pretis lounen orist on many maneres, & pus men haues of holy writ pe names pat pei putten oon freris. Ion tellip in his second epistle hou men shulden leue siche antecristis, & not recuyne hem in-to heers housis ne gretes hem in pe wele; & in mosg alle pe remedies pat god spak aen siche men, pis is a special remedie of god, to which ilche man is holden. for ion seip 2 John [11.]

pat what man seip heyl to siche antecristis shal hane part of heers werkis for assent pat he piuep. & meche more Bit a man norisse hem wip his goodis, or defende hem in worde & dede, for pesne he defensi Cristis emmenes; & certis bi lawe pat men. vesen pesne he is traitour to crist; & pis perile shulden men flee more perele of manmes lawe. & herfors biddip ion pat "men shulden assaye siche priuus men, whever pei ben on goddis side," for mony siche ben antecristis. & bi certeyn rewole of ion, if ony siche louse crist, he is pat ilke pat men shulden fle, bope in speche & in lyf. & pus pis if it were wel studied ouer, mony of pis newe ordris shulden be pis fled as antecristis for diuision pat pei makes; & pus bi alle pe autours pat ben in pe newe lawe men shulden speke pis aen freris, when pei don pis aen crist. & it were al oon to men to lette pis in word or dede & to destrie bileseue pat god hap siues in pe newe lawe. but as it is seyd bifoire men shulden kepe hem in goddis boundis & kepe treupe & good entent; & pus for charite of pe chirche & of freris speke pis wordis; * & certis pis wordis ben sope, & ilche man shulde *[p. 88 MS.] grannte hem. But oon euroir is in pis materes when freris continuas in heers syane, & iugem to what entent oper men seien pis treuipis to hem. But here pis wordis ben suspect for many resoun of goddis lawe. It is prope to god to iuge entent pat man hanep; what fendis ben pei pat taken on hem to what entent a man spekip. Certis alle pe fendis is helle kussen not see a mannes entent, & men shulden not in pis hye hem aboue fendis but if god hadde beden hem pis. & pus men shewen hem nakid of resoun; when pat noon of hem kan proue pat pis sentence pat men seyen is fals bi goddis
The friars are like lawe, but trewe & sewynge of bileue, pey shewen ferrer hou pei ben disciplis of fals pharisees, pe whiche hauedem pis maner when pei mysten not denye cristis dedis, pei ne weren goode in hem self & ful of myracleis & grace of god, pei deprauedem pe maner of doyng, & pus crist in hise dedis. Pei seyden som tyme pat crist was not on goddis syde, but wip pe fend, for he kepte not his holiday in doyng of siche myracleis. Others seyden pat crist dide pise wondris in pe vertu of beelzebub. & pus pei castedes to depraue crist when pei mysten not forsake pe treupe; & pus pei shewen hem luciferis children pat wolen not amende hem self, but studien hou pei may depraeue men pat tellen hem treupe to hers good.

Capitulum 7m.

But here grucchen pe fendis Clarkis pat pus acusen men, & seyn pat pei ben clene of pis. But we ben coupable in pis synne; for we makes vs euene wip crist, & trowen oure wordis while we are sin-ful.

We acknowledge our sin,

but believe our- selves Christ's servants,

and what we say profitable to the Church.

* [p. 566 MS.]

synneful seurausis, & is vertu & worship of hym we seyen pe trewpe pat he hap taujt; & ofte we erren in entent & deyres veniausce is ranour, but we ben war pat we seyn sop & profitable to cristis chirche; & when pat god puef vs grace we leuen error of pis entent, & witen pat we shulden not leue hers for crepyng in of siche synnes, si we shulden synne more leynysge to speke sharpliche pis. & pus bi process of tyme we trowen pat god wole clenesse ours entent, & pus when we ben in quieste we don pis moost for goddis worship, & also for profit of his chirche, & for good pat freris mai hane. Wel we wites of ours bileene pat we shulden sewe crist, but he reprouede men sharpliche pat dides pus azen god; whi
ahulden not we do so, siþ we graunte, vs cristis disciplis? Petre saf consel to crist þat he shulde not þus suffre deþ, as Crist tolde bifore þat he wolde; but crist seyde aþen to petre, for charite þat he hauede to hym: "Go bihynde me, Sathanas; for þou sauert not þe treuve of god." Heres may we see openliche hou crist lettede not for loue of petre to reproue hym sharpliche; whi may not men do so to ferries, siþ þei trespasses more openliche & to more harm of cristis chiroce. Also we may see in þise wordis hou we ben holde to sewe crist, & to suffre peynes of ours body for more good of ours soule, & herfore bad crist petre heres: "go aþir me Sathanas." Men þat wolten aboue cristis lore not sewe hym but go biore ben sathanas, as petre was, but crist reprouede þis in petre. Matt. vii. [15.] also crist tellip þat "men shulden fie fro fals prophete," & tellip two condicione bi whiche men shulden knowe hem; aþirst Þei commen in cloþis of sheþ, & þei esyþ aftir hou men shal knowe hem bi þe fruytis þat commen of hem. Jif ferries shewen bi hers dedis þat þei ben siche fals prophete, & cristis chiroce þ[p. 50 MS.] be harmed by hem, whi shulden not men teche hers gylys? bope for loue of cristis men, & for loue of þe ferries; siþ crist biddip, þat "jif þin brother synneþ þis, þou shalt synbye hym." Othere we meten forsake crist, or telle here sharpliche Matt. xviii. [15.] as he haþ tauþ. & þus we reden þat crist aftir þat he was Christes reproof to the disciples at risen fro deþ reprouede sharpliche hise disciplis for hers Emmaüs. defeate in bileeue: "O foolis, & slow to trowe in þingis þat Luke xxiv. [25.] propheteis han seyd ofte." Lord, siþ crist reprouede þus hise disciplis for loue of hem, and clepede hem foolis & slow to trowe, why may not men bi lore of crist reproue more foolis for more perile? & þis men shulden do sharpliche, for soft wordis mouen not þise men. And maro tellip þat crist spak Mark iii. [21.] so sharpliche þat somme of hise disciplis seyden þat crist bi hise dedis was turned in-to woodnesse, & þus many men for sich slowþe of sharpe reprouyng synnes meche, for sharpe Þe usefulness of wordis byþe ofte wher soft speche shulde not moue; & þus sharpe wordis.
men seyen hét hely haey; læst was dampned, for he reproued hise sones but to softliche & slowliche; & in his synnen mony men, & herfore freris shulden loke whethor pei ben coupable in his synne, & amende hem sone þrof, & iuge not by facis of men, for crist biddip: "Ne wolde see iuge aftir þe face, but iuge see iust iugement of þingis þat see knowes well." & herfore seip ysaie: "Wo is me for I heelda myn pees." and god seip to ezechiel, "sip he hæþ þiues hæþ oflys & wit, but sip he telle men peril & synne he shal be dampned for his synne." & þis moweþ somme men; sip god þiues hem witt & power, lest heï disusen gift of god, þei vsein it when nede is; & þus seip poul: "Wo is me if i preche not," & telle þe peple heers synnes; & herfore god biddip his prophete to telle his peple heers foule synnes. & þus seip poul to tite, þe bishop, "reproue þou wiþ al comandament," & poul biddip tymothe to reproue, to prée & to blame, *but covenabliche & wiþoute ceesynge. poul biddip hyme reproue men, & þus men shulden not blame herfore, but þif þei fordisen goddis lawe, & excusde men at domes day of reprofe þat god wole þiue; but þis blasfemye dar not freris seye; & herfor men wolen trowe goddis lawe. Tuo sectis þer ben, & þe oon reproueþ synne hardliche, & þis secte approweþ crist in word & deede; þe oþere secte hidip þ synne as antecrist & hise clerkis. & noo drede þe firste secte is cristis lore, & þe oþer þe fendis; & for þe firste secte deyede crist & bi hym alle hisse apostlis, & þis þey tausten in worde, as we han told ofte bifoere. Þe seconde secte þat hydip synne was in tyme of boþe goddis lawsis, but now it is late renewelid in þe tyme of þisene newe ordris; but noo man shulde trowe hem heres, as noo man shulde be frere but þif bi impossible god tolde man þat he shulde make hym a frere; & þis hidying is clopid pees þat crist com not to sende in erpe, but to depart worldliche fremdis for more loue þat men shulden hane to god. & þus þif mes shulden leue to reproue til þei weren olene wiþ-outé

1 hap probably omitted.

² biddeth MS.
Capitulum 8

It were to wite ouer þe falsedene of evidencis þat þe fende hap brouth in to loue his e newe ordis. al þif loue be good þif it be olene in crist, þit vnordinel loue groundid in falsed is toyose * to men for many euchesouns. † Sixe evidencis makyþ þe fende to loue þus hise ordis. Þirst for heers habitsþ þat þei ben passyngliche holy, hers gurdlis & al hers atier þat fallþ to hem, & ilche man loueþ kyndeliche holynesse of his broðer. But hers shulden men wite þat holynes is in þe soul ðe in noon bodiliche þing but þif hit springe fro þat, & þit it is lytil or nouȝt but þif it be groundid in truneþ. But men han told ofte þæ cause whi þat siche atiers mysten profite. Boþe colours & figuris ben shapes to deceyue þe folc, to suppose þat þei ben holy þat haue siche signes wip-outþ; but crist biddþ þat mennus holynesse be hid fro siche signes. & so þe offys of hem, who so vndirstondiþ hem wel, is to shewe heers ypocrisie & to hyde heers symnes wip-insane forþ. & herforse seij crist of pharisees þat ði ben Matt. xxiii. [37.] blauschid sepulorinis.” lord, what helpþ wyndnesse of habitis Use of wide habits, of þise ordis? it semeþ þat to þise tuo bi cast of þe fende; frst to make hem more hidliche to breede hem grete balyes, to hide their big belliies,
for many of siche ordris hauens heers balyes for heers god. 
Pe secunde cause of his wyndnes is wastynge of goddis good; 
for alle goodis of his world ben goodis of god pe sheef lord, 
& he piueb hem to hise pores men pat averen hym treweliche. 
& so ilche preed of siche clopis pat ben tuo wast & too 
costliche berib wip hym a wrong bope to god & man, & 
specialliche when pise clopis ben too riche & costliche. Jif 
pise clopis ben gurde & more large in widnesse, pei beren on 
hem more synne, for more ypocrisyse in hem. 
And knottis pe 

The clothes are a 

[p. 213 MS.]

Second deceet of 
the fend; 
That such orders 
abstain from good 
meat.

They do not all 

some have too 
much and some 
too little.

Their rule con- 
trary to the 
Apostles;
ynge of gooddis wille, his rewole mot nede be euel & come of it comes from Luueder. De seccusde fruyt of his deluyng stondip in his poynct, pat siche etyng is priuue & hid fro ohere breheuren, & so it askip priuue housis & priuue servise to perforemne it. & pus when hylmess shulde be hid, & lustliche fode shulde be exilid, his deluyng doip be contrarie & come of he fend heers patrons. & pus he don not oonliche in his partyng wrong to heers owen breheuren, but to pore men wipoute pise ordis whom he spoylen of heers goodis. & se, when crist biddit hise disciplis to ete & dryngke he metis pat ben in Taioe x. [7.] folc pat thei come to, pise ordeynen he contrarie, pat be heuue propre fode for heers mouip pat passip ofte he *boundis "[p. 93 MS.] of resoun. & pus when siche ordis han forsake propertee & take al in comune, hei ajen heers owne ords heuene heers propertee is lust, & comunete in simple fode is forbeden bi here ords, & poule meneip to tymothe pat sich is blaeseme abstinence. [1 Tim, iv, 3.] The third deceyt is that their prayers surpass all other men's.

The priedde deceyt of pise ordis is pat hei passen ohere in preyeris, bope for tyme hei preyen & for multitude of hem. Who shulde not bye dere siche pryers? sip hei brygen men swifliche to heuene; & oher men when hei alepen on nystis hauene of hem preyeris at mydnyt, pat crien devewteliche on god bi clers voye, stif & cleene. Here men seyen pat in his poynct many seculer ben decayed, for pise ordis witen not whethor pat hei sial come to heuene, & so They cannot tell whether they will whethor pat heers pryers profiten to hem or any oher man, go to heaven. hou is heers conscience brent, pat hei dar pus sille siche preyeris; & algatia sip it is proprid to god to parte meritis as hym likip, & noo man may approue his meritis but as god ingip pat it is worpi; & pus his prayers of pise ordis is of a nest of blaesfemye & chaffaryng of fendis preyers bi he craft of symonyme. & wheare hei makes hem a rewelo to ryse reweeliche at mydnyt, hei passen crist & david & he ordynauoce of he godhede 1; for god vndisposip ofte tymes men to not always profit tyse pus at mydnyt, & askip of hem a betere lif, pat hei

1 goghede MS.
putten of bi heere statute. Crist dulleth in preyer al þe nyȝt, but bi hym sylf wiþoute siche couentis; & so pise ordris holden not cristis rewele neþer in tyme ne in stide, for crist preyeðe wiþoute siche crynyge, lyk to þe state of innocence, bi hym self vnþir þe cope of heuene. Siche risyng may som tyme do good & ofte it doþ yuel; & þus to siue rewele wiþoute god were presumpcion of a fend, & to make a rewele þus to crie on god were a signe of blasfeme follye; as who seye bi þe prophetis word: "crye þee fast, for þours god sleipþ, or ellis he is in som proune place, or ellis ocupied wiþ oþere men." *We graunten þat oþryng profitþ som tyme, but not to make þus rewele þer-of. hit is knoyn to men of resoon þat many signes ben nakid to moue men þat preyeris of pise ordris ben betere þen oþer comune liyues; for fastynge comeþ ofte in roberis, boþe is watir & in lond, meche more þen ordris taken, but biddyng of god fayliþ hem boþe; & wakyng at mydnyȝt falliþ to þeues þat robben men; & þif pise outlawis passþ þis rewele, it is for þei robben men priueliche, & herfore þey feynes oþere causis wherby heere preyeris is so good. ¶þe fourþe cause in ordris is holynes of herc companynye; & as many men drawen a ship or don an oþer dede of strengeþe wherewever shulden not do þis dede, so it is in craft of preyling; many men when þey ben gederid preyen more plesingliche to god þen wen þei ben scaterid in twyny, or sewe to preye god herfore. & þis þei preuen bi masses custom; when a peple wolde preye a lord, þei gederen hem hool togideres, & preyen¹ mekeliche & wiþ knelyng. & þus men shapen for many massis to bryngþe a soule anoon to heuene²; who wolde not procure siche helperis to preye god & shende þe fend. But³ herc cristens men þenken þat þis wordis smacchen ofte falsheþe & blasfemye aþen god, but hou sulden þei conferme preyeris? It is seyd ofte hou þat þe couent of cristis apostlis passeþe alle oþere couentis boþe in

¹ preyen MS. ² heuene MS. ³ Bub MS.
patrons & in rewely, & hit oon of hem was scarioth; hou
many scariothi hem in pise coventis? & fellowship of siche
pseudoes letiþ opor men to praye, for hou shulde þat man
praye wel þat haþ enuye to his broþer & stondiþ in quer wip
ym, opor next hym or a syde? sîp siche dalaunce Wolfe
gregge his ixe, & vnable hym to haue out of god. & þus þei
fare ofte as dos doggis in a poke; oon drawiþ forþ an-óper
aen; but hou shulde sih drawyng helpe to drawe þe ship of
holy chiche bi flasbiþ þat ben þus depe in watir? many of
hem wolden drawe betere þif þei stooden hem self al one.
& þis blasfeme lickenesse, *þat comunes prayen þus to lordis, *[p. 33 Ms.]
telliþ openliche þis heresye þat pise newe ordris haue heare;
for god for his grettesse is in ilche place of þis world, &
redy to helpe mes sooneres is in what place þat þei lyues betore.
& þus as freris lyues techen, it were good to many men þat
ben closed in þese ordris þat þei diaportedes hem in þe world.
for siche auentuyng many times fordoþ enuye, ire & lust,
& þise þre synnus ofte tymes letten þise men to praye
denoteliche; & þus it is open heresie too trowe þat pristyng
of ordris is oon cloystre or in oon hous helpiþ þat god heeriþ
hem betore, al þif þei liuen worse or ellis not betore to goddis
pay. for al þing is present to god, & sich pristyng helpiþ
not to hym, but þif it make mes worse, for the synne of oon
persone bi siche pristyng fouliþ more hise broþere. Lord,
siþ discipulus of cristi aftir þat he was went to heuenere weres
scaterid in mony custres, & weres not brungen in siche
couentis, what wit shulde moue þise ordris aftir to gedere
hem þus aen skile? certis a fool may wel see þat þis
resoun failiþ fouliþ, & cristi gederede tuene apesliss, perfor
antecrist ahal gedre moo; god reyneþ in þis ordre, perfor
antecrist shulde sette in wallis. god wolde þat men quiken
þis erpe, & ben spred aboute in vertu of god, & þis tauten
crivis apesliss fro þat þei weren quikid of cristi heere maistres; [2 Tim. iii. 7.]
but þise ordris wolen enere be discipulus & neure come to
knowyng of treupe. & þus þei moten neede be enor pun-
yshid as discipulus of antecrist, but þif þei lernen som tymen
to go out of þise newe ordris, siþ þei letten cristis lawe to
resume & double profyt of hollye chirche. ¶ þe aþpe deceyt of
þise pseudoses stondiþ falsliche in þis feynynge, þat þei makes
a newe craft to preye & to loue god, & so þis newe craft is
betere þen al þe ordres þat crist haf makyd; & þus þei hauen
special prayeris makid of newe bi þe pope þat ben betere þen
þe pater noster, for more pardoun fallip to hem. þise wordis
may mone men þat wolien *foltyliche trowe to hem, but ion
biddyþ mes to assaye spiritis, wheþere þei ben on goddis
syde. & þus men ben not wiþ god, þat holdes wiþ man
more wiþ crist. Ours bileue teach us þat crist is bohe
god & man, & so he is al mystye, al witty, & al ful of good
wille. & þus noþe pope ne oþer prelat hauþ witte no power
but of crist, in as meche as he sewþe crist bifoð ore of his
fawlwys; & so it is a feyned power, a feyned wit, & feyned
good, al þat is not shewid in dede, in trewe sewwyn of crist.
& þus what man þat euere seþ þat he makid betere prayeris
þen crist, & ordeyn þeþ to more pardoun, blasphem þe
antorchrist; & þus þe old maner was betere to preye & to
plese god þen ony newe prayer mai be, hou euere antorchrist
speke hery. Shewþ mes bi goddis lawe or resoun þe good-
nesse of siche prayeris, & þat þei pleseþ no meche to god as
þei ben feyned of þis noulere; & ellis mes shuldeþ not trowe
to hem, but have hem suspect bi maner of lif. Wel I
wott þe fend may feyne sich goodnesse of hise prayeris &
heynesse of his power, for mes mai no see it; & herfors
he mai pursewe mes but jif þey graunten þis excellence, but
noþe mes shuldeþ trowe þis but if God tawþe it as bileue.
And here is weye to antorchrist, to pursewe cristen men for
þei holden hem in þe boundis þat crist haf smes to bileue.
Cristen men trownþ þis, þat jif þise prayeris werem so goode,
þe crist wolde hauþ shewid hem bifoð, when hise vikeris & his
peple werem betere, & þus þei ben foolis þat trownþ þis
goodnesse of þise newe prayeris; for þe pater noster is þe
best prayerþ þat ony pope or man kon ordeyne. For who
shulde autorise þat god shulde more be payed of ony prayerþ?
& it is al oon to seye hat a prayres is betere, & hat it plesiy god more; but who mai do his but god? for god oonliche mai piue grace & more accepte men to mede; & has troue we not in his prayris, siy hem wastip ground. & has jif [p. 94 MS.]
lif *of his newe ordris be more medeful hem mannes lif was woned, it mot neede be graustid of god, for newe ordnaunce is but fantym here; & has siy good lif of men hat ben wandrynge in his weye is betere prayres to god, jif it plese more to god. What lif hat plesiy more to god is betere prayres to god; as lif of a trewe plow man or ellis of a trewe heerde is betere prayres to god hem prayres of any ordre hat god loue; lesse, blabere pei neure so meche wiip lippis. as it is likeliche hat baptism prysede betere bi hym sylf in diest hem ony persone of his newe ordris, for his lippis ben lesse worp; & hem betere lif helpip more to soulis hem massaes or his newe prayris. The sixth decet dat is that they live honouredly in church, house, etc.

De sexte deceye of ypocrisic, hat bigyliip men in his materere, is hat pei livens honestliche in church, in hous, & in gardyn, & in alle ornamentois hat fallen to worship of god; who abulde not loue sich a sect, bope bi kynde & bi resoues? Here men penken hat pe fend wiip his ypocrisie, & contrarieliche to crist mouepe men bi sensible signes. it is good & resonneble men to haue chirihs in mesure, & in numbres, & in weyhte, aftir pe hooily trinite; but penne it is nedeful hat pei be makyd bi iust dispensis, & to profite of pei lord in which pei ben makid isne, & not do wrong to old chirihs bi weye of heere newe fyndyng; & to alle housis & placiis shulden be shape in lori of crist. But somme men penken hat freris blydyng failiip is alle pise preywatis. It is comuneliche makid bi alyh robbyngis of pe fend, so hat it is al oon to see blydyngis of pise newe ordris, & to se a fendis holde, makid of robberye of pore men,

& so when men lokon on heere castelis pei haue materere to wepe, bope pise ordis & secularis, but specialliche pe pore peple. for jif we lokon to cristis lif, he forsook sich blydyng, Luke xix. [41.] & lokying on pe citee, hat he seyde was azen pe apostulis, he wepte for upon for greet synne hat it hoordede. & when
crist wente out of þe temple & sat in þe mount aþen it, hise discipulis for wondryng þer-of & to see his wit þer-of askeden wheþer he sau alle þis wondrous byldyngis. & crist an-suerede to hise apostulis, & tolde hem hou hym likede herof:

“Sopeliche i seye to you, tyme shall come soone heraftir þat noon stoon shall be left hers on an-opur, þat it ne shall be destroyd;” and so it fel soone after, when ierusalem was destroyd. þre þygis shulden moue men to be glad of sich byldyng: On, for it turnÞ a-ways fro þe state of innocence; & herforst crist & baptist & operæ seyntis makeden noon siche. þe secunde cause þat shulde moue to be glad of siche byldyng is, þat god seþ bi poul: “we hauen not her a duellynge citie, but we seken heuen to come.” & non drede siche housyng makiþ many to loue þis world, & to duelle in lustis þer-of, & leue loue of þe operæ worlde. þe pridde cause þat men shulden hone to loke on siche byldyng is þat þei shulden þenke on þe pore peple; ðou ofte þat þei ben spoylid bi suttill fraudis of þe fend biform þat siche housis weren bilden, þat ben but an heep of wrongis. Þise þre causis shulden not piue materes of ioye to men of resoun, but rapere materæ of sorowe to telle hasty destroyng of hem. men may

Such houses turn away from the state of Innocence.

Heb. xiii. [14.]

They lead men to love this world.

They are built out of the spoils of the poor, and are but a heap of wrongs.

The founders of see ouer wheþer þise patrons vseden þise housis in sich mesure, & leften in heere rewlis aftir þat heere disciplis shulden bilde þus; & sÝ þe contrarie is soþ, to whiche þise ordris ben streytliche sworen, it somþ þat þe fend shapþ a dispote to hise clerkis to servæ hym inner. & so sÝ men chargen mesure, þise placis & byldyng of hem passæn mesure þat god haþ tauþt, & so þei ben aþen goddis power. & sÝ we taken heede to þe nombre of siche castel of þe fend, þey ben aþen wisdom of crist, sÝ he approued not siche housis. for sÝ in tyme of more wisdom þer weren chrichis & housis ynowe, what wisdom *is it to multiplie þise, & destroye hoolyres old placis? certis iururies ben don to parisshe chrichis bi siche newe chrichis of ordris; & sÝ þus wrongis of a place shulden lette men to herye god þere, siche placis of newe ordris shulden be fled as fendis holetis. And sÝ we
weyn arhyt dispensis bi lore of þe holy goost, þer is neyþer stoon ne tree is alle siche newe ordis places þat it ne is groundid bi wrong, & temporid bi robbynge of pore men. & þus siche beldygis makyn pride, & not comfort of goddis prisounersis, for þei ben not fed bi þis, but robbid of goodis þat þei shulden haue; & þis is not lore of þe hooli goost, but techynge of þe kynge of pride. & þus ornamentals þat þise freris ordis vseen ben toolis to bigyle þe peple, & to seeede heere bodiliche eye, & robbe þe eye of heere soule, as somme of þise newe ordis hauen costy encenseris to encense beddis of men & of wymmen & to spoyle hem. þus þei assoylen men þat weres longe deed byfore; & soulis of siche men ben in helle as somme men supposen; & þis blynde men þat assoylen þus kunnen not teche þe contrarie of þis. & þus þey doon þis for monee, & not for deuocious, but þif siche blynde blasfemyes be olepid deuocious of freris. þus ornamentals of ypcoritis harmen þe peple þat þei duellen wiþ, & al heers lif doij harm to men bope to body & to soule. & þus fendis children bygilen men bi þing þat hem semeþ good, & maken hem trow þat it proftiþ, but þit doij meche harm. & siþ alle lyues of siche men ben ful of þe fendis deeytis, men sufficen not to tell heere gylys, but bi þis men may knowe somme. And here ben somme men moued to trowe þat crist spekíþ in his lawe of sich maner of ypcoritis, to teche his peple to þe hem. for siþ crist is vere god,1 & knowiþ *clereliche al þing to come, alle þise deeytis ben present to hym; what shulde lettre hym to telle hem? Certis charite of Crist shulde neede hym to warne men here. & þus resouns moueþ men to suppose þat crist telliþ of gylis of þe pope, & aftir of gylis of þise new sectis, for alle þise ben lemes of antecrist. whi shulde not crist telle here of hem? and þus þenken somme þat it were a medeful dede & good preyere to god to æsanstonde þise new sectis, & clenes cristis ordi- naunce fro siche errours þat ben brouȝt inne. Lordis, clerkis

1 good MS.
& comunes shulden helpe here for mede of crist, & oldnesse of pise erroure shulde not moue to leue hem, si p god is myysty ynow to helpe & destrye hem alle. Pis entent hauen meke men bi grace & bileue of crist, pat his ordinansce was and is best, and oter contrarie ordinansce is euel; & bileue techy p[he] mai not sayle to helpe men pat trouelen wel here. Examine pou wel pe grounde an pe resoun of newe men, pat seyen p[ey] holden pe lawe and pe ordinansce of crist, & we trouelen to destrye hem. for certis p[if] we erroden here in wit or wille bi fals lore, we wolden mekeliche a-noon turne to treu[pe] when it were tau[st]. Amen.

Explicit tractatus de pseudo freris.
OF CONFESSION.

Dr. Shirley says that this tract is the same as the Latin De Eucharistia et Pœnitentia. The latter is found only at Vienna, and I have not been able to compare the two. I have, however, no doubt that this is genuine. Its presence in the Ashburnham MS. tells much in its favour, while the evidence of style seems to me to mark it as decidedly Wyclif's. His predestinarian doctrines are incidentally referred to on p. 329: "who is he that letteth God to save men as he hath ordained... before the world was made?"

There are curious notices on pp. 333 and 335 of the prevalent fashion of keeping private confessors and of the influence which such men wielded.

The attack on transubstantiation at the end of the tract shows it to be late.

Copied from the Dublin MS. CC, and collated with the Ashburnham MS. MM.

SUMMARY.

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Private confession is unnecessary, unauthorized by Christ or by the practice of the early Church. It is a device to increase the power of the Pope... 328

It is limiting God's power to say a man cannot be saved without shrift. Private confession gives occasion to sin... 329

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The devil wishes all men to believe that priests only have power to absolve, and the four orders of friars unite to maintain this. Evil of private confessors... 334
It would be well to have two priests to hear penance, as it would prevent mischief and increase wholesome shame. Some confessions would be better divulged .... p. 335

Confession has done much good and much harm. It should not be obligatory. None of the confessors are equal to the task they undertake. General and open confession sufficient .... 336

All sin is offence against God .... 337

Need of sorrow for sin. God's free grace a reason for avoiding sin .... 338

Antichrist argues that without the outward sign of shrift the sacrament of penance is destroyed .... 339

God's courtesy does not in all cases require audible confession, and all good deeds may be called sacraments .... 340

The keys given to St. Peter are knowledge and power, which were given also to the other apostles. The knowledge is knowledge of God's law, the power is that of preaching and teaching .... 341

Antichrist cites the ten lepers that Christ bid show themselves to the priest .... 342

It was Christ that healed them; and we should follow the Samaritan's example and thank Christ for forgiveness .... 343

Arguments of Antichrist from James v. 16; from the raising of Lazarus; and from John's baptism, shown not to bear on private confession to priests .... 343

Exhortation to priests to attend to preaching and to avoid claiming to perform miracles in the transubstantiation of the Host .... 345
Nota de Confessione.

*Two virtues ben in mannes soule by whyche a man shuld be rowlde; [p. 137b M8.] his witt. hoolynesse shuld put out synne, & good kunnyng shuld put out foly; but as wille haþ principalite to-fore witt of mannes soule, so hoolynesse is more worþe þesse is kunnyng of synful man. for wuckud angels han myche kunnyng, but þei han nouȝt of hoolynesse. And ellis iche man were hoolier aþt þat he is more kunnynge; but poule seþ þat mannes kunnyng bolnþ hym bi pride. but in ours lord ihsu crist was kunnynge & hoolynesse euen, for he was ful & heiest in kunnyng & heiest hooly, boþe god & man. and þus seith in Iones gospel: “who of þou shal reprowe me of synne,” * as jif crist wolde seye to hem “y may not synne* seþ I am god; and þus nouȝt may reprowe me of synne.” but crist seþ next aþt þat sith he seþ treþe; whi trowen þei not to hym? In þise two wordis þat crist haþ seid, may we see hoolynesse & kunnynge. and hou hoolynes boþe befor & kunnyng sweþ in worþiness; for lyue a man hooly lyf, and kunnynge I-now will folow aþt. To make hoolynesse in men is confession nedful; and þerfor shuld hooly churche witt sumwhat of confession. Confession gene- raly is knowlechyng made wiþ wille; and sum confession is made wiþ-oute synne, and sum is knowlechyng of synne; & boþe þise two ben goode is man, but þe first is more worþe in crist. Mathew tellij hou crist confessed to his sadur, *lord of his world,* [should be Matt. & þitt crist myþ not synne, and þis confessions myþ not be xi. 25.] veyne. Confessions þat man makiþ of synne is made of man in two maners. Summe is mad oonly to god truly by herte or mouþe. And sum confession is made to man, and þat may be on many maneres; ouþer opynly & *generaly, as men open

1 CC inserts in. 
2 þis MM. 
4-6 trowe þe CC. 
3,8 omitted CC. 
4 or CC.
confessed in the old law; or priuely & rownyngly, as men confessen nowe-a-daies. When a man is constreyned by bodily payne to telle his gilte, he confesseth not; but confession must be wilfull, or ells it is not medeful to man.

It were to wite usor in his mater, whether priuely confession made to prestis be medeful to synful men, & wher his confession is groundid. And it seemeth that it is not medeful, but brouȝt in late be fe end; for crist alwytys used it not, ne noon of his apostles aduert. And if it were medeful to man, crist wolde have used it or taulȝt it. Whene a crist forsaute marie magdelayne his synnes, he used not siche rownyng; and whenhe he forsaute petir his synne, & poule his, & other men heren that he clensid, he said not siche rownyng in ere, ne siche asoylyng as prestis vesen nowe; and us whene crist clensed þe awutrer, þat þe Iewes alegedden shulde be stoned, crist vened not his confession to hir, but bad hir go and wilne to synne no more. And sij þat crist myȝt not faile in ordynance to his chichre, & he left þis confession, it seymyth þat it is not medeful; for if it were, þenne crist saylid in leyng heit; and also petre & alle oþer apostles, and also alle oþer popis faileden þat weren til Innocens cam, whene þe fende was woused, and sitt men weren clensed of her synne picher & bættur þenne þei weren afer; for I rede in þe boke þat luk wroto of apostles dedis, hou þre þousand turned in oon daye fro Iewes fables to cristiis lawe, & noon of hem was us confessid to prestis. As þe stori telliȝ; petir bad hem generaly have sorrow & be baptized yhoon; but god telliȝ not here of shrift, but þat þei token þe hooly goost; and þus here synnes were forynyen of god wiȝ-outes siche confession as we nowe vesen. And þus it seymi to many men þat cristnen men myȝten wele be saued wiȝ-outen siche confession; as þei were be-fore pope Innocent, and þus it seeme presumpcion of þis pope to make þis lawe; for hooly churche shuld

\[\text{omitted MM.}\]

\[\text{for MM.}\]

\[\text{omitted CC.}\]

\[\text{CC inserts þe.}\]

\[\text{shewiþ MM.}\]
not þus be charged wiþ newe lawes, *whene oolde sufficedes; *[p. 1286 MS.]*
and þus men seyne þat þe send kest thi for wywunyn &
hympes of preestis: and in token of þis defaute makers of þis
lawe weren so marid þat her lawe bynded þo persone but The law ordering
only suche þat ben boþe men & wytem. þis semþ a
feendis presumpcion to him þat knoweþ not kynd of lawe to
ordeyne lawe in siche a maner,¹ of whiche noo siche shulde be
made. and þus it semþ to many men þat antecrist hþ
cast þis cast to make alle men soget to the pope; & lede
hem aftur þat hym likþ. lord, where is freedom of crist
whene men ben costen² in siche bondage? Crist made hiser
servauntes free, but antecrist hþ made hem bonde aþyne.
And certis þer is noo autorite þat gaue him lene to make
men þus þrallis.

Þitt it were to wite þe resoun of goddis lawe whi men Cm 3m MM.
shulden hoolde hem in here bonde, & not make lawe fro
cristis orde. It is oft seid in goddis lawe þat men shulden Deut. iv. [2.]
not adde þerto ne take þerþro, lest þei failen, sþ it is made
at poyn deuyse; and þus it semþ a feendis presumpcon, ðat hþþ
himself a-bouen god, to make þus a newe lawe wiþ-
outen leeue of þe furst treuþe. Also þis lawe of confessioun
þat iche man mut nedis shryuen onys in þe ȝer priuely to
his propur prest, it semþ opun aþene resoun. for a man may be
baptized in tym þat he hþþ discrescion, & c anon aftur be ded
wiþ-outen doyynge of dedly³ synne. lord, whi shulde þis man be
dampeþ al if he shroun him not þus þin þe þeer⁴? Ion baptist
shrooþ hym neuer þus, ne any apostle of crist; and þitt bileue
nedþ vs to graunte þat þei ben seyntes in heuen. and þus
it may fallen of many martyres, & of men þat han no propur
prest. who is þat letþþ god to saue men as he hþ
ordeyned before þe pope & his lawe camen inne, & before þe
world was made? Also god gyueþ frely his grace, not-wiþ-
stondyngene manenes lawe. whi may not *god do grace to hise *[p. 128 MS.]*

¹ mater MM. ² castun MM. ³ omitted CC. ⁴ omitted CC.
⁵ omitted CC. ⁶ dely CC.
OF CONFESSION.

treue seuanistes þat serue þis wele, al if þow were noo siche prest nor pope? as sumtyme was noo. hou-euer antecrist glauor, he letteþ not god to do his wille; for he may disseyue foolis, but not god, hou-euer he speke. also beleue techþ men þat if a man be contrite, god þeswe forþyueþ him his synne; but who may lette god fro þis? David spekeþ

[Psalm xxxii.18.] to god þus: "I seide, i shulde shryue my synnes aysen me to þee, lord; & þou forþauest me my synne." lord, wher god be not as merciful as he was in þe olde* lawe? No þing shuld lett þer-to, but þat he becam man for mercy; & þus it seemeþ a blasfeme heresie to seie þat man* may not ellis come to heaven, but if he fulfille þis roten lawe þat was þus late made of antecrist. Also god may not þyue occasioun to two persons for to synne, for þeswe he were auctor of synne & contrarie to himself; but bi þis priuaye shrift a frere & nuswe may synne to-gidere; and close hemself in a chaumbre bi lok in-sted of feyned assoylung; for I suppose as knownen þing, þat whene a lawe is feyned wipþout god, & of þis lawe comeþ myche synne, þis lawe þyueþ occasioun to al þat synne; but þis lawe þyueþ occasioun to do so as it fallþ ofte.* lord, wheþir god, þat seþi bi lob þat a man shuld make couenauzt wip hise wittis to þenke not on* a virgyn, ordeyned siche a lawe to men, þat prestis & wysmen shulde turen her faces to-gider, & speke of lustful* þoutes & dedis, which myþt do harme to hew boþe; but þis lawe þyueþ occasioun to do synne as it fallþ oft. Also þus may lords* & laidis be nedid to trowe siche men, & lettid to holde goddis lawe, and to stonde for riþ on cristi syde. lord, if iche lord of ynglond & his wiþ haden two schariottis to lede hem & her meyne and her werkis to þo puple, hou liþly myþt antecrist conqwers þe churche and distrayye cristi rewme?

*C And þit men maken moo resons to meue þe chyrche to knoue þe treuþe & fredam of goddis lawe, so þat þe churche

*1 distroyse CC. 2 wolde CC. 3 he CC.
4* omitted CC. 5 wip CC. 6 synful CC.
be not made bonde bi noo disceritis of antecrist, but stonde is pe same fredam pat crist hab jouen. God yuue not occasion to antecrist for to syane; but bi pis feyned assyslyng he hab occasion to syane in pe churche, and pus pis power is not of crist, wherby pis assyslyng is feyned; and pus ye send mut nedis gabb whensis his prestis assoiyen pus. for pus ye pope myst kepe to hym to name whom euer he wolde propur prestis, and make couenaut wip pis prest pat he assoylyp no man but if he yue so myche mone; or ellis behyst to holde on his syde, and pus antecrist myst soone conqwere lordshipes & eke rewmes to hym. and pus curatiss & parisehe prestis myyten spyyte pe puple as freres done; and pus it wer a benyfice to purchase of pe pope to be a propur prest pe pus. and it fallep oft pat sikh propur prestus ben vn-able to her shristis; and pe maker of pis lawe may not make alle siche propre prestis able, and so he constryneip men in cas to shryue hens to an vnable prest. but who shuld preise pis lawe? seip yuel frute witnessip yuel rote. As if a pope make a lawe pat who euer he lymytip to heres confessionis of pis man or confession of pis comun[en]stee, he shal heres pisemnes shrift, & he is foundes vnable aftur, pesane pis popis lawe wip treupe in-depe may lyttly yuue occasionis of syne. and if you seist pat siche bullis of pe pope undestonden euer a condiciou; pat if pis persone bi goddis lawe shall profis in fulylling of pis pope bulles, pesane pe popes bullis shules hane strenghe, & elles pei shulen not stonde in stede: Certis if pis pope bulles shulen be undestonden wip sich a label, pes-me pei weren not profitale to pe purchasour ne to pe churche; * for who * shuld take any benyfiss of pe *[D. 130 MS.]* puple wip siche bullis, if his ablete shulde be proued in werk be-fors he were acceptid? sope it is pe more able man to god shuld qwesche pis ablete of pis man; and pis skil moued hooly mens to stryue not for suche ablete. but crist yaf reule

1 al CC. 2 omitted CC. 3 into CC. 4-4 who shuld not take any benyfiss of pe pope CC.
to be Iewes to inge hym able bi hise werkis, but wele men witen ȝat neȝer popis bullis ne trauële for hem by coueitise makyn þis man but more vnable to gete ȝout by suche bullis. Also þis lawe is full suspectes, for it letteþ bettur occupying, & askeþ worse occupyinge, þat is not grounded in goddis lawe. ȝat prelæte ȝat shriueþ shuld preche þe puple, and he þat is shriueþ shuld here goddis worde; but bi þis shriften beþ boþe þise lettid. and noo drede þei werten bettre, siþ crist vset hem & not þis shrift, & bad hem be vset, & not þis. So it semeþ þat antærist bi þís puttyþ cristis ordynaunce abake; and we taken here as opynly knowen, þat whanne eny harm comëp of a lawe, & þat lawe is not groundid in skyl, it þyueþ occasioun of þis harme; for resoun excuseþ not þis lawe, þat ne it makeþ blamefully þis harme. and if it were resoun in þis popis tyme to make þis lawe to þe churchis præfe, it were as myche resoun þat þis lawe had ben vset bi-for þis popis tyme; but þesse wereþ crist & petre & ðer pope to blame þat lefþen it þus. lord, what meued þis late popes to make furst þis lawe, whenne þe fœnd was vnbounden, and god meued not crist ne hise vikers to sue it, whenne it semed as myche skil. wher þis pope was god of heuen, so þat men* may not know his* resoun.

But þitt þer comeþ more harme of þis lawe of confessiouns, for confessours varien in wordis of assoylyng, as þei done is wordis of her eureyng, & gabben commynly wiþ blasfeme wordis aþers beleene; and it is liely to many men siþ þe pope kan not teche þise wordis þat prestis shulde seie *bi goddis lawe, he can not grounde þis lawe in resoun. Summe prestis seyne symply “I assoyle þe of þi synnes;” & leyne her hondes on her hedes, or ellis touches hem wiþ a þerde. Summe prestis seyne a more raunghe; þei preyen furst þat god assoyle hym, & aßtúr þei assoyleyn hym bi autórite þouen to hem. Þe þridde maner & leste yuel, þat men seyn þat greks han, is þat þe prest préycþ þat god

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1 vnableþ hym CC. 2 god CC. 3 þis CC. 4 hym CC.
OF CONFESSION.

assoyle hym & leuyng worde of assoylyng; and þus he myȝt assoyle at home hym þat were a þousand myle fro hym. and lewed men þat weren bettur myȝten þus assoyle better þewe wikid preists. ffor it is licy þat a preist ordeyned to be dampted assoyleþ not þus; but what preist or man con-

fessid wot wher þis preist shal be dampted. and þis shript þus brouȝt is ne semeþ to marrþ þe churche in bileue, as þe preist made hym goddis felow, as god and he shulden assoile to-
gidre; or ellis þat god mut nede assoile whene þe preist makiþ his sygne. Suche many blassemefys þeweþ þe bileue ben sowen of antichrist in þis mater, ffor god, þat þyne grace & is in þe soule, assoyleth & doþ a-wye synne, and þis may not þe preist do, siþ it is propur to god, and, siþ no man shuld lyse a lytle leysyn to saue þe worlde, a preist shuld not seye, “y assoyle,” whene he not neuer wheþir god assoyle. ffor he knoweþ neiþer wher þis man conffesid seye trefþe vpon consscyence, or wher þat he be contrite, as he knoweþ not hym-self; and I suppose he wite þe soþe, hitte he knowiþ not þe quantite of payne þat god wole þat þis man haue for his treaspase aþynes god, for penaunsce is arbitrarie, Amount of pena-
now more & nowe lesse, aftur þat þe preist wole lymyte, be he neuer so grete a fool. And here spryngen many erreurs aþens bileue on boþe sydies; for þe preist gedreþ hym ofte1 money or money worþe by suche penaunsce, and so bi priuþe symony he harmeþ heþ boþe & þe churche. and þus a frere or a preist hþþ as2 leue to be seourely a conffesour of a lord or of a *lady *(p. 131 MS.) as * to be * a simple bishop; for bi þis office he takþ his worship & his wynynge, as if he were pope. and it were hard to telle þe harme þat comeþ be many of þise conffessours, Dangers from these private conffessours. 

for þe pope & þe emperour myȝte priuþy be poysened bi suche faþres, and rewmes myȝtes liþly be destroyþed by cousselis þat þei þyeuen to lordis, for no dredþ þei ben cause of meuþes syvne conffesid to hem. anentis þe persone þat is conffesid fallen many erreurs aþens bileue, as þat he þat is

1 of CC. 2 CC inserts myche. 3,3 omitted CC.

The priest makes himself God's fellow. It belongs to God to give absolution.
OF CONFESSION.

confessid trowe as bileuee pat al his synne is forsyen be-for god, as he confessour telleth hym. and sitt it may falle pat bothe pise shulen ben damphed for her foly; for ofte he confessyd is not contrite & turneth aseyne to his synne; and siche tretynge pise yuynge occasiouen pat pei bohe ben disceynd; and pe man pat is confessyd wene pase pat god doth him wrong if he humane ever more pynye for his synne peyne he prest enioynes.

and pise synne myst be bougt for money, as who byse an ox or a kowe; and so riche men haden occasiouen to dreade not for to synne, whenene pei mysten for a lytle mooney he pise assoyled of alle her synnes; and pore men mysten dispeirs, for pei haden not to byse pise synne. Such many errours fallen & fewe men spokyn aseynes hem.

But sitt pe feend feynynge here a lyesynge to excuse prestis hise seruaunte; he seip pat alle men shulden bileue he pat what man pat his prest assolyde, what ever penaunc e he enioynes, he is assoyled be-fors god; and pise popes & prelates kopen to hem sylf assoylyng, in which lybe wynnyng; and pise whoeuer aseyne seye pis is pursayed as an heretike, & pise by hisse olde wiles he knyttip to-gidre men to helpe popis & cardinales, bischopes & freres to crie pis as bileue; & freres mounes lordis & ladies to defend pis lawe by strenghe, and bi pis gile pei leden lordisy as a man ledip a prisoner; & oristis secte is made pore, & pise frores ben enhaumseyd hiye; so pat, but if orist helpe hisse secte, pei foure new wolyns bryngynge it a-down; and pei foures ben knyttid to-gidre in pis confessioun pase pat her maister hep taut, as if oen seid to anopur, "helpe me here, & I shul helpe peye." a pise a freres pat is a confessour to kyng or to a duke is ympe or pere to a bishop, by pe feynynge of pis confessioun, for pei seien he ledip his soule seuen to heuen by goddis lawe. and qwenes, duchesses, and other ladies han confessours of grete name, for as pise ladies ben felowes to lordis, so her confessours ben felowis to opur. and pise lordis pat shulden be free, ben oft made pral bi ygnoraunce

1 truese MM.
2 omitted CC.
OF CONFESSIO.

1 of suche confessours' for assoylinge of suche confessours hab yt lytel vertu or non; but assoylyng of god aftur hat a mannes liif is worji fordeke synne, & punye it til hat it be fully for-yyen. it is seide communely, hat compabilnesse of synne is it for-yyen, & hit hat synne dwellip to be punyahid, but not for to be dampned in helle. & al pis ping is priuy to god, bope 2 to know it & to do it; as an erly lord synue not to his servaunt power to for-yue his trespasse, but hat he doip in his owne wille, & makep his servaunt to telle it. miche more god of heuen for-yue synne, when he knowe man hat he is worji for sorowe of herte & for tresue seruyc hat he doip aftur. & pis it is a blasemy hat confessours seyn in pis mater, hat bei for-yue synne don apons god, & treten peyne aftur her lykynge. Al pis is propur to god, but whi shulde he make hem here his felowis? & it shal be shewed aftur, hat pis beleue may not be grounded; but pe feende is about to turne falsehed in-to treupe, & turne hope in-to bileue, & dedis of hate in-to charite; & pis fredam, hat Crist gaf to his children, he wolde turne falsely in-to braldam.

All this is in God's hands, who does not make them his fellows.

for now it is a lordly ping to have sich a proper confessour, & god wom, but pe lord wom not, wher he be a feend of helle; and algatis if he Feyne hym power to assoyle more penne he hab; for by *sich yperisie may he drawe hem bope 3 p. 133 MS] to helle, & do harme to pe churche pis more penne he dope on pe tojur syde.

And hit it semep hat suche prestis hat heren confessiouns oblishes her folily to here jus confessions; & so nown were discrete prest jus shryuyng, as pe popes lawe biddip. and hit pe pope biddip in his lawe hat confessours be discrete, & pei heri aloon meanes synnes; but it semip vndiscreetly spoken, for it were better ioyne two prestiis to be witnesse of mannes shrifte. for two witnesse ben bettre penne oon, & more acordyng to goddis lawe; for bope in pe ooodle lawe, & in pe newe, men holden communely her synne; as hat pees

1-1 omitted MM. 2 but CC.
OF CONFESSION.

tolde in þe crosse to Crist hisse fordone synne; he shrue hym more medefuly, þesne don 'mes now' rownyng with prestis, for crist tell þis þe gospel þat he behygt hym þat he shulde be wip hym in paradise þat same daye; & sikh absolucion þane no pope aftur þis lawe. & if þou sciest þat no man wolde shrue hym at oonys to many prestis, & so shulde massnes synne be hidde, & many damyned þat now ben saued. Certis siþen þei shulde haue shame to telle her synnes þus to co prest, & þis shame is þe moost part of penance, and makeþ penance more^ medeful,^ It semeþ it were more medeful to shrue togidsre to twey prestis. hon oft þane mens glorie to god shriuyng to mo mens þesne to two; as whense tweyn prestis seien nyse masse, many shryues hem to bohe to-gidrea. And but þif þis shrift were medeful, þe churche vusd it wip-outen cause. and þus as men biden here synnes to shrue hem to-gidsre to many prestis, so many men hiden here synnes to shrue hem to co prest alone. And siþen prestis han not þe craft to enioyne a inst penance, it semeþ þat þei ben foolis to take so grete a charge vpon hem; and if a man þat slou; a lord shulde be hanged for 'his deþe,'^ more shulde þat leche þat slou; a massnes soule be hanged of god for his foly. see we what penance was *sumtyme enioyned to men þat synneden grenously, and see we penance nowe enioyned; & þise two a-corde ful litil, and as lawers moten graunt þat þis penance writen was goode; so þei moten graunt þat synners lyuen as longe as summe of hem diden, and it were as myche rede to leyse nowe as myche penance to summe, as was þesne rede to many of hem; and þus noo prest þat lyueþ nowe hþ þis craft to leyse euyn þis penance. what wisedom were þesne to make þis lawe, or prestis to take þis craft on hem? and specially siþ prestis ben bounden on grete payne to hele þis synne; and hit myþt fallen is many caice þat it were bohe almes & rede to shewe massnes synne þat ben shruuen, but

1 omitted CC. 2 omitted MM. 3 nedeful CC.
4 nedeful CC. 5 þis dode MM.
whi shulden prestis ben punyshed herfore? Men han1 writen
in latyn many resouss ageyne his shrift.

Men dreden here to seie he treuþe, but summun þenken þat C= 8m MM.
it standes in þis; þat confession made to god, wiþ worþi
penaunce iowynd þorwiþ, is better þan þis2 confession made
to any prest or pope. but I wot þat þis newe confession3 Confession has
done much good
han don myche good in þe churche, & þorwiþ myche harme; and much harm.
and god woot wheþer was more of hem. and it is certayne
þat þis newe shriftse begÁn by ordynaunce of þe pope, for no
man can telle elliþ hou & whenne þis shriftse begÁnse, and þis
witnesseth her proper doctour of þe popes lawe openyly; and so
it seeþ to many men þat þis lawe shuld not be holden as It should not be
goddis lawe ne euer more, but in þat tyme whenne resoun of
god shulde moue mennes consciences þat þis confession wold
don hem good. and if any man aske more, he aþiþ more
þenne god wolde aþe, for god ordyneþ neuer a lawe ne men
to pe shone it but if þis lawe was grounded in resouss,
and men shulden pe shone it wiþ wills; for elliþ it was
noo neede3 to do it, but if it were willful suptyme; and þus þis
*lawers han neede to grounde þis lawe vpon resoun, & to teche *[p. 184 MS.]
Lawyers should
whiche ben able prestis to here þus mennes confessiones; for
for the
elliþ shuld no mas bi resouss telle þus his shriftse to any
prest. and þus men of consciences wolen not telle here þus
her synne to prestis; for þei seyne þat no prest is able, but
only criþ, to here þus shriftes; and if any diffame hem or
persue hem by þis lawe, þei baden shewe hem an able prest
to here þus synnes of hem, and þei wolen bleþely shryue hem
þus, and elliþ not, as þis lawe teþeþ. but what prest þat it
be, þat is synful & couteouþ, & proferþ þis þus to here
mensnes shriftse, shewþ themselves vnable þerby? for if he had
not couetis of worldly goodis & subjections of folk, he shuld If priests did not
covet wealth and
say that no prest, but only Christ, authority, they
is able to hear
would rather
conessions thus.
precht se þe puple, & leue al siche rownyng þat is un-
grundid; for sicke preaching by cristiis lawe made many men
to leue her synne, but I rede not in goddis lawe þat þis
rownyng made euer mas iust; and if it dide, it was becaus,

1 MM inserts seen.  2 any CC.  3 neede CC.
as a wrong may sustayne make ri7; and algatis synful men
pat han prestis suspect of oureyse & of vnkusynsyng in pis
craft shuld kepe pis aريف fro sech prestis. but begysane we
at pe pope, & aske him of dedly synne, & hou men shuldes
know contricion, & whi siehe penance shal be enicyned;
and it seme7 to many men pat alle pe popes & pe
er clerks kunnen not telle on of pis pe; & pefore pei wolen
shryue hem to god. general shrifte & opyn to man wole pei
make, & pat is I-now, so pat it come of contricion & treue
penaunce pat men spekes of.

Cm 29m MM.

For it were not to yuue occasion to horde synne & to holde
it, pefore men shulden by goddis lawe moue men to foresake
synne, and pus shulden prestis do be prechyng; but antecrist
haj suspendid hit now. man shuld have sorowe of his synne,
for gretmesse of pe kynd lord, & harm of leesing of his grace,
& for oblihying to grete peyne. No man synne7 as we
spoken here but if he synne *aßen god, for who ever synne7
not aßen hym, be his trespas never so myche punyshede here,
he may not be dampeid in helle pefore, and eillis it were no
synne of man. & pus men punyshes ofte men here in
meanes courte ful greousaly for dedis pat men callen tres-
passes, & sit god is not wrofe for1 hem; but it may falle oft
pat men eren, & punyshene not pe trespasses of god, ne for
pat it is don aßen god, but for meanes wyssnyng; or for pat
it misse-liki7 hem. and penke we hou a man wole make
him to a worldly lord for trespasse don to hym; & bi ours
feip god is more lord wi8outes mesure penne any erpy kynges;
herfore we shulden be make to god for trespasses pat we
han don to hym, and spealy for his kyndenesse pat he made vs
first of nou7, & sijen bou7 vs fro pe fendes prisou7, & giue7
vs aye grace in alle ours goodis; and he is redy to yuue vs
blisse, if we seruex him perfisly. and pus bo7e pe gretmesse
of pis lord & his kyndenesse shuld meue us to sorow for ours
synnes. a man ha7 a myche forkipnyng for leesying of love
& of an erply lorde; what wit or treu7e is in pat ma1

wip CC.
OF CONFESSION.

Pat sorowe not for losse of goddis grace? we han sorowe for losse of two goodis, of worldly goodis, & goodis of kynde; and sit we sorowen to lytil for leysung of goodis of grace; & sitte ben ben þe most goodis of þise þre goodis þat a man hape. & siben beleene techip vs þat men þat breken goddis hestis, & maken not a-seeþ þerfore, moten nedis be dampned in helle, Drede of þís grete peyny shuld moue men to sorowe for synne.

& þus ambrose & gregory seyne þat þe ne a man hæf fully sorowe, whens hym displesip fordon synne, & not eft wil synne æseyne; an þus is þat man contrite of synne, þat he vngodeli to god hæf don, þat he hæf þerfit wille to leue it, and for no þing wil synne æseyne. þise men þat han *a liti p. 135 MS.*[Without sorrow for sin shrift is useless.]
displesyng & ben ful ny; to synne æseyne han no penaunçe of her synne, be þei neuer so oft I-shrines; and þus þe shrift þat is þus made makeþ men hardy to synne æseyne, for contricioys mut be grounded in sad loun of ihæus crist, so þat contricioys seye sad sorowe for synne þat is don, and sadder loun to synne not æseyne, as myche or more as was likyng to synne. and þis kawne not we knowe ful ærteyne, but han glymeryg & supposyng, & þus we motes lyue heres in beleue & in hope to orist, þat ript entent & goode werkis grunde vs in hope, þat orist wole saue vs. and he þat trustip to popis bulles or assoylinge fro peyne & synne, or ouþer wordis of confessours, Pope’s balls, þat þei feyne¹ biseyde goddis lawe, is folily disceyued in hise bileue & in hope, & þus he dispereþ; but we shulden beleue but in the greatnes of God’s grace. We cannot know that we are truly contrite, but must hope so. 

¹ synne CC.
OF CONFESSION.

It were to witt to assoyle skils þat antærstist maksiþ ajens pís wayes. Þuffst he seip þat hereticke wolus distruiþ þe seuen sacramentis; for þat stondiþ in confessioun of mouþ, & sorow of hert, & a-seet makyng, and herfor seip david in his boke: "þou god þat art my god, I shal synge to þe in an harpe." an harpe hape þre partis of hym; þe ouermost is which ben stringis wraþtid, þe secounde is þe holow part of þe harpe, þe pridde knytteþ þise two to-gidre. Rijþ so in1 þis sacrament mut be constrictioun for þe fyrst part, & after a man mut *synge to god in voice for þe secound part, & þe pridde tyme he must make a-seep & knytt þise two partes to-gidre. what herityke or fool is he þat wold distriue þis gostliþ harpe? her men seyen þat trewe entent shuld be to declare rijþ beleue, hou men shulden harpe here to god, as david did & ober seyntis; for many kusene not2 wrast þis harpe, & ober kusene not harpe whenne it is dijþ. Suche wittis gyuen to goddis worde ben gode whenne þei ben wele taken; & þis witt þat here is seid telliþ þat a man shulde shrive hym to god, & makiþ no mysde of rownyngge shriþ, þat is late brouþt isne bi þe pope. and iche man þat holdiþ beleue granteþ þat a man shulde shrive him to god, þe, & to man, bi voice of mouþe, and hane sorow for his synne, & perfor make to god a-seep for synne; but þis is3 don apertly to prestis, when þei ben good & kouen more þe heele of munches soules þesene her goosi by coueyntis. but here men shulden vndersetonde þat þe curtysie of god askþ not of iche man to shrive him þus by voice of mouþe; for as many synnes greeoualy wip-isne in herte, as did þe fendo, so many men maken a-seep bi sorow of hertis, þat may not speke or wanteþ ouurtunytee to shryue hym to man bi voice; and rijþ so as a man may synne, so he may here make aseep; for god is as redy to þyue mercy as he is redy to take vesiances. triste wele to god & holde his lawe, & þesse þou shriueest þe wele to him; & synge to him wip ten stringis, þat ben kepinge of þe ten hestis; and sorowe of trespasse aþyng here

1 omitted CC. 2 omitted CC. 3 omitted CC.
OF CONFESSION.

... and many men failen in his wrastyng & in goostly syngyng aftur; and so his prieyse sorowe of herte is no sacrament of þe church, ne prieyse rownyng late brouȝt inne, for sacramentis ben open & known. but whens a man wiþ contrite herte shríueþ his opnyly to god or man, þeas his voice, þat is token of his hooły sorowe of herte, may be calleþed a sacrament, as men ... known þat disorinen it. & þus we largen in sacramentis, for iche good sensible dede þat we don, or þat springþ of massnes charite, may be calleþd a sacrament; and þus þre reisynge of dede bodis þat crist dide, as þe gospel tellijþ, may be calleþd þe sacramentis, for þe twynyngis of man to god. Summe men tørnen to god wiþ-inne, & summe aftur þat þei han syyned wiþ-outward, and summe froþ þat þei han syyned in custom; and þus þe ryynge of þe lær was a grete sacrament, as men reden in þe church. and antecrist may bigyle foolis bi sike lëwde resoures as he makyþ, but goddis lawe tellijþ wele þe falsahed of suche resoures.

... And jitt gruccheþ antecrist, and seþ þat crist tellijþ is þe Omnim. gospel how crist specifid to petrus to yue hym þe keyes of heuen; and so petre mut hauë a viker þat shuld specialy bere þe keyes, and þise keyes shulden opyn & bynde to for-yue sywnes, and opyn men heuen, & to oowe opur meþ þat don aen goddis lawe.

Here we seyne be goddis techyng þat mich errour is in þis poyn. Summe ben so nyȝ beetis, þat þei vndurstondeþ bodilly keyþes, by whiche heuen þates shulden be openid and stokune, & petur is portor in þis office. þe secousoede errour in þis poyn is more perelouse in þe church, for phareses alagen her browes & goles for þe goddis lawe; þei seyn þat þise keyes ben goostly wittis & power, þyues to hem to bynde & ascoile men aftur þe witt approprid to hem; and herby þe fende seynþ of bi his viker antecrist many errours in þe church, & doþe myche harme to foolis.

The þride weye of bisleue seþ þat þer ben many keyþes;
OF CONFESSION.

The keys are knowledge and power.

*{p. 1355 MS.}
given to Peter, afterwards to the apostles.

Without Peter's knowledge and good life, the Pope is porter of hell gates.

The knowledge must be of God's law.

The power does not consist in absolution, but in teaching, preaching and reproving.

The keys are knowledge and power.
sip crist, hat may not syane, calleb bope be keyes of heuene & pe yates of halle; and no doute to grate witt be keyes of heuene ben vnderstandes witt & power, hat prestis han to telle men pe wille of god, & to wurche after his witt; and so god saue to petre hes two keies for him & hise; and afterward god saue to pe apostles hes two keyes for hems & hers. and hes antecrist anste to shame to chalenge onely petres keyes, but he had passyngly witt & liff after petur; for if he reuerse him in pise two, he is porter of helle yates. and his witt hat crist spekeip of stondeb not is masses lawe, ne in oher curiouse lawes, as matematik, or lawes of kynde, but it stondeb is goddies lawe to holde mes is mesur þerof, & to teche cristen men hou þei shulden lyue to god & men, & come to heuene. and I dar not seie for drede of god, hat his power stondeb in assoyling & cwesting as men practisen todaye; for petre forfendid to cweste, & vaed not þis assoylinge; but by autorite of god to preache & to teche cristis weie, & to reprove wickud mes bope in word & in dede; hat semep to be þe power þat god saue petur & his felowe. and it semep to many men þat if a prest presume for pride þat he have passyngly þis power, in þat he shewip þat he wantip it; but it semep þat iche prest þat teltip treuly þe lawe of god have þis power, more or lessse, after þat god wolde þyue him, & masses rules or masses chesing ben not gospel in þis poyn, ne any belene þat þei ben sone, if þe gospel grounde hem not; and perfors kepe wele goddies lawe, & lyue þou in bileue of crist. and þus sumwhat bi þis words may antecristis reason be assoyled. But we sufflices not to shewe now þe errors þat ben grounded in þis mater.

But þitt arguþ antecrist þat þis sentence is heresie, for crist bade ten leprous mess go & shewe hew to þe prestis; and bi þis he tauþ opynly þat it nedip to be shrines at prestis, and to þis crist gane prestis power, but wherto but to assoyle? Here men seyne aftur austyn, þat no witt of holi

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1 makamete CC. 2 omitted CC. 3 wille MM.
4 cwesting CC. 6 cristis MM.
OF CONFESSION.

writt, but if it be literal writ, prove it by authority of it; but be literal writ is pis: erist bad ten leprouse men go & shewe hem to prestis, as it was boden in pe *olde lawe, but *[p. 187 MS.]
pise prestis in pe olde lawe assoiled not rownyngly, as we don nowe, but bi signes of goddis lawe pei shewedon wheohe mes were leprouse, & which weren not leprouse, and to her ingemest shulden men stonde. but erist taut in pis gospel pat he cam not to destrue pe lawe, but to fulfille it, as he tellip be-fors bi mathewe; and to pis entente erist bad pe mesels go and shewe hem to prestis. and pis fles is mystyn talle pe puple pat holy writt hapy mystily1 pis writt what enow pei wolen seye; and pis mes tullen pat fressis tullen pat what trelpe pat pei seyne, if it be noteful to pe puple, peanne pat trelpe is pe gospel; and pis alle synes pat pe fressis don, or any trelpe pat [peii] may teche men is pe gospel of erist. but god forbede pat it were so; for no dres pis mesmes defautis ben soote, & it is profitable pat pei ben knowen to pe puple, lest pat pei diseuye hem. pis mes vndurstanden not pe gospelle of ihesu erist but pei taken pe lettir pe-ow, & after vndurstanden it vp pe grammer, and seynes hau taut pat2 pat fursit writt is pe gospel. and gyue we to aduersaries here pat mes shulden goo & shewe hem to prestis, for so mes didmen before tyme bope in pe olde lawe & in pe newe, but how shulde mes take of pis to ronne wip3 prestis & peus to be assoiled? and marke we wele pis gospells writt, & it semep opyn porby pat pise ten sammen not to pe prestis; for erist he-ledge hem by pe weye, and so pis gospel techip vs hon erist him self clensip of synne; & to him is pis thanke propur & neyjur to pope ne confessedour; for crist taeip a-wei pe synne, & pei not, but diseuye men; & peus men shulden be aliens, as was pis samaran, & tewe ajes & banke erist, & not gyue money to pise prestis; for erist wole asseyle men wele, al if pei gon not pes to rome. for crist bi his godhed is in iche place of pe worlde, and bi pat he taeip away

1 instly CC. 2 & CC. 3 wist CC.
Men need not make pilgrimages to Rome.

*But sitt argue* antecrist pat Iames biddiç mens shrune her synnes; and no drede god biddiç bi Iames pat iche syrnful men do so; *pat pretis* shuld assoyle men techiç crist in pe risynge of lazur, for crist bad to hise apostulis pat pei shulden vnknnytt his bondis. And *pe mens* shrunes in cristis tyme, whene Ien baptist washed hem. Why shulde not sitt mens do so, bi pe fourme of holy churche?

_Here men seyne_ pat it were good to holde pe fourme of holy churche, as mens diden before pat tympe pei pei fonde was vnboundsen & peis lawe made. For _pesne crist_ assoyle picker men _pesne_ he dide aftur pe tympe of _jisa_ lawe. And to pei first aurorite pat is aleggid of Iames epistle; _mens_ shulden merke hou Iames biddiç _pe mens_ shulden shrune iche to oþwr pe synnes _pe_ pei fellon inne, & _pe_ _pe_ shulden knowleche mekel pe freelte _pe_ _pe_ weres inne, and not oon seyne as an ypocrisle pat he were more hooly before a-nopur, & had vertu to foruye synne. & _jis_ worde pat Iames spekiç makiç not for pe emperour pretis; for bi _jis_ word _sis_ is spekiç iche man shulde shrune him to his broþur, and knowleche mekel pe freelte _pe_ he is inne. _Si Crist seip pat_ iche man _pat_ hiç _himself_ shal be lowid, hou shulde not _pis_ emperour pretis be lowid bi pe sentence of _crist_, _si_ _pis_ _hijen_ _himsel_ _wip-outes_ skil of _pings_ pat is approprid to _crist_? And _pis_ _pis_ emperour pretis synnen azen _pis_ worde _pat_ Iames biddiç. And as _a-nestis_ pe secound worde _pat_ _crist_ bad to hise apostulis whene he had qwickened lazur, he brouȝt him out of his sepulcre al knyttid in hise bondis, & bad hem to vnbynde him. _Pis_ mysty witt of _pis_ dedis telliç vnto true _mens_ _pat_ crist approprid to _himsel_ to qwiken dede _mens_ gostly, & to make hem stonde in grace. But sitt crist _leue_ bondis of _synnes_, _pat_ ben yuel costoms to falle in _synnes_, and _crist* _biddiç_ apostulis _& pretis_ to vnknnytt _pis_ bondis bi trewe preching. but _jis_ office is dispised & _cristees_ owne

1 suspended MM.
office is misse-taken; for now prestis prechen not to pise men 
pat ben convertid bi grace of cristi, but pei seyn pei fordon 
synne and pat is more peanne any prachynge, and püs pei gon 
bifors cristi, & leuen pe manudemen pat he biddiþ, and 
antcrist can-not dispreue püs witt bi resoun ne godis lawe. 
And as a-nentis pe pridd worde, pat men pat weren baptized 
of Ione confesseden here synnes, & so shulde we; I graunst 
pis word pat is seid, but pe gospel seip nepir pat pei 
shrouen her synnes to Ion, ne bi püs roonyng to prestis, 
but it is lickly pat ychone of hem shryues mekely his 
syne to oþur, and so her baptys was medeful.1 & so what 
man shryueþ him mekely to god or to man, no drede god 
forshryueþ him his syne, & yueþ him grace; but püs falleþ 
not euer more whenne a man shrieþ him to pe emperour 
clerk; pe, if he shrieþ him to pe pope. & püs alle autorites 
pat ben founden in godis lawe, pat2 techen pat3 men shulden 
shrieþ hem, ben to graunst to pis witt; püs men shulden 
shrieþ hem to god, and in case to her broþur, whenne it 
profiteþ to hem. but antcrist shulde shame here pat if men 
shulden püs shrieþ hem, peanne pei shulden telle pe emperour 
cleskis in her eeris alle her synnes, & do what pei hidden 
hem do, for ellis god wole not assoile hem. if peu be a prest 
of cristis secte, holde pe payde of his lawe to teche his puple 
cristis gospel, al if peu seyne pe no4 more power; for cristi hþ 
yue power I-nowe to his prestis to teche his churches; & 
enioyed hem siche office pat yueþ hem not occasions to 
syne. & püs power pat prestis han standeþ not in trans-
ubstansange of pe oste, ne is makyng of accidentis for to 
stone bi heemself; for pís power graunsted not god to crist ne 
to any apostle, and so crist hþ special power to do away 
mennes synne; & pís miracles pat ben feyned pat no man 
may see ne knowe, as pei wachsen without profit, so pei han no 
groundes in god.

Explicit tractatus 6 de confessione & penitencia.6

1 medeful CC. 2,3 omitted CC. 4 omitted CC. 
4 weren MM. 5,6 only in MM.
XXIV.

OF FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY.

Mr. Arnold thought this tract not improbably the work of Wyclif, but did not print it, because he "found it to be a remarkably dull composition and to contain not a single new idea." He may not be alone in this severe judgment; but after several fiercely polemical tracts, it is almost a relief to come upon a specimen of Wyclif’s simple evangelical teaching. Even here his foes are not forgotten, and his attack on the friars, and on their teaching as to the Eucharist, marks the tract as a late one. I have very little doubt that it is authentic.

There is a curious reference in Chapter IV. to Antinomian opinions, which we should not have expected to be prevalent among Wyclif's hearers.

Copied from the MS. at New College, Oxford (Q), and collated with the Dublin MS. CC.

SUMMARY.

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Sicut enim corpus sine spiritu moritur ita opera sine *[p. 124 MS.]

fide. iacobi 3. fides sine operibus mortua est. 1

[Capitulum primum.]

For it is seide in holdynge of oure haliday that we schulde
ocupie p[e tyme in prechynge 2 and predictione 3 and demouts
herynge of þe lawe of god, and ouer þis many feres, as
bastardis to goddis lawe, tollen iapes or lesyngis 4 leeuene þe
gospel; herfore schulden men lerne of þre good 4 vertues, þat
þe gospel of poule clepi þe feiþ, hope, 5 charite. feiþ is þe
ground of alle oper vertues; 5 þer-fore poule clepi þe schelde
of alle 5 cristen men. 5 þor amonge sixe armures noon is more
nedeful, but feiþ may be taken on manye manères. 9 Sum
tyme feiþ is clepid þe truthe þat men 6 trwone, 7 8 9 þor is
a comune feiþ to alle cristen men. 9 Sum tyme feiþ is
clepid vertu þat maken 7 trewe men, 6 8 9 9 9 9 and so ech trewe man
hæd diuurse feiþ. and sum tyme feiþ is clepid oure
trowynge in werkys. and by þes þre membriis may 8 þou
knowe goddis lawe þat spekiþ of feiþ on 9 diuurse manères.
seyn poule clepiþ feiþ ground of goostly pyngis þat men
schulden hope to haue in heuen; and here men 10 seen hem
not, but trwone bi word of god, if þei 11 seruen him treuly, to
haue hem in heues. and so spealyse by feiþ ben men made
trewes 9 to god; and whos[0] faylijþ in feiþ he is fals to god, 12
& tristijþ not to his treuthe, as heþen men don not. and
herfore seith seyn þoute þat cristen mensus feiþ is mene of
alle here gode werkis 11 þat þei here don. 5 þor seynþis by
feiþ diuomfitteden rewmes, þhe þe rewmes of þe fende; & [Heb. xi. 33.]
þat is more maistri þan wyn rewmes of men, for enemys ben
moo & more koynte 12 in þer dedis bi wylis of here capteyns.

1 no text in CO. 2-3 omitted CC. 4 omitted CC. 4 goddis CC.
4 omitted CC. 5 we CC. 7 makiþ CC. 8 maist CC. 9 in CC.
10-10 omitted CC. 11 werkis Q, vertues CC. 12 quesynt CC.
OF FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY.

God cannot be served without faith.

You would take off your hat to a gracious letter from the king.

The commandments are a letter sent by God through Moses.

1. & thus seyntis has wrout fair & just dedis, for noman may laste in harde lif for god but if he haue feip, bi whiche he lastij so; ne noman may serve blis of god but if he haue feip, bi whiche he seruij it; and shortly noman synnij aometrics god but if he fayle in feip, pat groundij goddi werkis. ¶ as if thou haddist a lettre pat bi kyngye sent þe seele wip his privye seelle, & worshipid þe myche & hyst þe gret eitage to be at his retenu & serve hym treuly, þou woldest don of þin hoode and kisse hisse seele for hope of rewarde. god is miche more þan any lord of erthe; he sent a lettre to man by moyses hiss messangere, þat is more worþ þan any pope or cardynal. þis lettre is hiss mawndementis, & grace in moyses soule is hiss priue seele, better þen eny kyngis signe. ¶ þis seruice is list & hisser eitage is myche, for it is þe blis of heuuen lastynge 4 wip-outen ende, and here-of schulden men not fayle wip-outen gret forfeture. take þed to mennus feip how bisily þei traneylen for godes & worship of þe world, & leene traneyle to god, & þou mayst wel see þat feip feilip hem.

Capitulum 2."
OF FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY.

here feip pat han her scheld holid,\(^1\) & by sper of here enemye \(\text{pei} \) ben often kylde; \& ben suche men \(\text{pei} \) trowen many trowjes, \& in sum \(\text{pei} \) saylen as men out of here feip; for as he \(\text{pat} \) byndip hym to kepe goddis hestis mut kepe hem alle, as seynt James seip, so he \(\text{pat} \) byndip him to feip of his \(\text{pat} \) god, mut kepe it al hoole stify & in ordre. \(\text{for} \) if \(\text{pe} \) schelde were at \(\text{pe} \) backe, \(\text{peu} \) myystist sone be kilde. for \(\text{pe} \) fendas of the devils believe not helle trowen alle \(\text{pe} \) we trowen, but hem failen charite to bynde her schelde in ordre, \& herfore ben \(\text{pe} \) dampned by her defourmed scheeld. \[\& herfore schulden we trowe alle pe lawe of god, \& trowe \(\text{pe} \) it is trowe by every part of it;\(^3\) God. for if \(\text{peu} \) trowe myche of it, \& trowist \(\text{pe} \) sum is fals, by his hoole of \(\text{pe} \) schelde art \(\text{peu} \) deed to god; \[\& as freris \(\text{pe} \) trowen many artulis of \(\text{pe} \) treunth & saylen in \(\text{pe} \) treuhte Friere fall in behelie as to the of \(\text{pe} \) sacrid hoost, schal be dampyyd herfore. But if \(\text{pe} \) Host, turne a\(\text{en} \) & trowe in wordes of crist, \(\text{pe} \) seip: "\(\text{bis} \) is my bodye." but nowe freris trowen noper \(\text{pe} \) oost is brede which they believe to be neither bread nor Christ's body surely: "\(\text{bis} \) is my bodye." but hou ar \(\text{pe} \) not heretikis \(\text{pe} \) trowen a\(\text{en} \) crist here? \[\& \(\text{peu} \) everyche man h\(\text{a} \) a maner of feip, syn eche man trowip \(\text{pe} \) god \& alle pingis ben, but his feip is renne in particular erroures \(\text{pe} \) trowip fals of \(\text{pe} \) feip, by any part of it. \& so sure good god byndip vs not to enermore trowen \& specyaly eche General belief of \(\text{pe} \) treuhte, for sum ben so sutil \(\text{pe} \) first in blis of henen seytis schulen knowe hem \(\text{pe} \) now g\[\text{a}\] moraly trowen hem. for if \(\text{peu} \) trowist in \(\text{pe} \) god, \(\text{pe} \) trowip wil suffice \(\text{pe} \); but noman trowip in god but he \(\text{pe} \) lounip him & hopep by his good lif to haue \(\text{pe} \) blis of henen.\(^8\)

\[\text{Capitulum 3m.}\]

\(\text{Hope is pe seconde vertu } \text{pat god himself axip, } \& \text{is ful difference fro feip pat we han spokun of. for feip is of pingus }
\(\text{pat} \) was } \& \text{ben } \& \text{schul be, but hope is al only of pinges } \text{pat }
\(\text{Faith.}\)

\(^{1}\) holde Q. \(^{2}\) for CC. \(^{3}\) ber-of CC. \(^{4}\) omitted Q.

\(^{5}\) omitted CC. \(^{6}\) soper CC. \(^{7}\) in Q. \(^{8}\) blisse of god CC.
OF FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY. [CHAP. III.

Ben to come. as we trowen that god made the world of nous, & we trowen that crist is now bodily in heuen, & schal euermore be after the 1 day of dom. Also seij is bohe of gode ping & suyl, bohe of him that haf seij & of oher creaturis, but hope is al only of hym that haf hope and only of good ping in he bliss of heuen. as we trowen that many men schul *be damspned in helle, & that many oph schul be saued in heuen; but nothur we hopen his damp-nacion ne his saluacon, for we hopen al only that toswchipoure owne bliss. and so trowthe of cristen men putij hem owte of dowte, & makij hem so surely trowe3 here bileue, that pei schulden stonde for his treupe, to deep of here bodye. but so it is not of hope. if we looken wel, as neijer we witen ne we trowe now to be sauyd, & whith we hopen it wiip-outen ony dowte. and so hope is werke of soule bi-neijeroure bileue, & so by-nether knowyng but a-bonen douitage. and so hope of erjely ping is not vernet of hope, but comunely it smaschip synne, for it lettiij hope of heuen. and so it is all diuere to hope and to trowe; but his is a sutil mater to clerkeis for to knowe, but comun *sentence here-of sufficiij to ophure men.

Capitulum 4m.

[B]vt siij * philosopheres seyn that contraries han oon lore, seij & hope techen us to knowe contraries of hem. seij haf in fidelite contrarie to him, & hope haf desperacion as his contrarie. and as seij is ground of alle oph vertues, so in-fidelite is ground of alle oph synnes. & and herfor seij crist that god schal reprouce the world fore first of his synne, for it groundij alle ophere. *wan-hope of men is a greet synne, for noaman is damspned wiip-outen his wanhope. for he that lastij in his' synne to his lyunes ende, and hape no sorowe

1 omitt CC. 2 thorowe Q. 3 speche CC. 4 omitt CC. 5 Q inserts for. 6 hys Q.
of his synne ne hope to haue foryu[n]es, he synne[n] be holy goost; pat neuer schal be for[s]ifen him, noþer in his worlde ne in þe toþur, as crist him self seip. and many þer [Matt. xii. 31.] ben þat synnen in þis synne longe biforn þei dien. ¶ but þanne it lastþ euore, as eche man þat god knowþ to be dampned in helle, berþ euore-laþinge synne aþen þe holy gost; for as þe holy gost is þe laste persone of god, after whom comeþ noon opur, so it is of þis synne. ¶for no *man may synne after þis last1 synne. ¶ and so by two weyes fallen men in despere. 1°. Sum for þei trouden not in þe mercye of god; & þes ben cayms childir & seyn her synne is more þan her dissert is to æruue blis or ellis goddis mercy.

2°. and sum synnes in despere aþen þris twisnes3 of god; as þes þat seyn in her lif: “late me synne ynowe, for god wolves neuore lese þat he hap3 dere bo[n]t.” and so alle þat schul ben dampned ben euore more in synnyng aþen þe holy gost, & euore in despereþinge. ¶ as if a man drof continually in-to þe erþe a stake, til he were in despair þat he myzt drawe it vp. þe stake is þe synne hardud in mannuw hert; þe malle þat he drueþ it wip is newe rehersynge of synne; and suche at þei ende of her lif lacken power & grace to trist in helpe of þor god and hope to be sauyd.

[Capitulum 5™.]

[Ep] briddde vertu of god is lone or4 charite, and it hap two brauschis, as loue of god & loue of man. & beste mene to kepe þis loue were man forto lerne & loue forto kepe two 
tables of goddis lawes,5 for bi þes & ellis not kepþ man him in charite, and þis vertu clothis man at domus-day wip bride-clothis, & þis cloth may neuere be lost in þis world ne in þe toþur. ¶for noman may come to heuene but he hane þis cloþinge, ne no man may hane þis clothus, but if he come to heuen; & so men þat schulen be dampned han but

1 omitted Q. 2 ristfulness CC. 3 omitted Q. 4 & Q. 5 hostis CC.
Friers love their habit more than the garment of charity.

We should love the friars' persons, but hate their sins.

Men reverse the three virtues:

Faith in the matter of the Host,

Hope in begging,

feyned charite. But lyue wele after goddis lawe & hope to haue his loue, for no man schal knowe ne trowe to haue it but if god wolde telle him priouly. ¶ and so freris, pat louen more her habite pat pei han ordeyned hem pan pe clope of charite pat god haȝ schapen his sones, ben yuel disposid to haue pis clope of charite; Siȝ por loue is turned amyss to charge more herz habite, to lesyn it or leenyn it, to clope per-wip por bodye, pan to lese pis charite to clope per-wip por soule; for often pei lese charite in presens of man, but if pei losten pis habite bus, as pei falsly feynen, pei were opyn apostases and losten pe luf of god, for as pei feynen falsly god *loue more pis clopynge pan clopynge of por soule wip pis clope of charite; and pis is open heresie by many kyn skylles. but herz men doute comouly where mes schulde loue pe heretikys, but it is no drede pat ne mes schulde loue per kynde & hate pe same kynde in pat pei ben so yuel, and so pe persons bi hem-silf schulden be louned in charite, & herz synnes by hem-silf schulden mes hate for goddis loue. ¶ for he is not frend to crist pat loue pei his enemye; and bus he is frend to pe frere pat hatip bus his synne & worchip to distrie it & purge him per-fro. ¶ and bus muey manye mes to speke of pre heresies pat many freres be semyttd isane, & contrarien pe prec' vertues. ffor who myȝt more contrarie feiȝ pan sey pat crist seip fals when he seip pat "pis brede is myn owne bodye," for pis may neþer be brede ne þe boði of crist, but it is accident or nouȝt, as freres feynen falsly. & bus pei chesen hem a place to falsen crist in his visage, and ierom wip oþur seyntis pat tellen pis wit of crist. freres seyn priouly þat pei speke herz eresse, sijen antiochrist þer mayster seip euen þe contrarie. ¶ þe secoursde vertu of þes prec many freres reuersen, for crist tawuȝt in his lawe þat mes schulde not begge, but holde euen his ordre, & þei schulde come to heuen; þei freres seyn þe contrarie, & grounden
hew an ordre of þer wilful beggyng, bi mese þat han no nede;
and herbi schulde men hope to sitt hye in heuen, for, as þei
liven falay, crist beggid 1 þus. Þþ þe bridd of þes vertues is
contraried bi freres, eijen it is no charite to falay passe
crist. Þor crist seip to hyjs cosyns þat by hyjs manhed he had
[Matt. xx. 38.] no power to þyne hem leue to sit on hyjs rist 2 side, but to þe
godhed in hyjs fadure is propred þis power; but freres seyn
Charity in giving
opuly by letters of here fraternite þat þei þyuen þor breheren
leue to haue part of þor blis; and þis myst þei not do but if
and so claiming
þei zones mese leue to sitt on þe rist hond of crist as if þei
passed him. & þis sownes not charite but luaires pride.

[Capitulum 6m.]

*But siþ cloþinge of þis lune is myche loued of god, & more *
[4. 127 MS.]
worþe to man þan al þis worldes richesse, man schuldu ful
bisially knowe propirtees of þis lune. but poule, þat was
rauesched vnto þe prid heuen, & herbe derne wordes of god;
þat ben not here leful vs forto speke, tellis sixtene propirtes
þat suen þis charite. þe first is þat charite is patient of
wrongs. for al our charite must be ensuumpld of crist;
but crist was so patient, as seynt petre seip, þat whan he was
mys-said he cursid not aþen, ne when he suffrid wronges he
manassid not aþen. O what charite hap he to suffre wronge
for cristis lune þat wol not suffre a lijt word, but þeld a worse
aþen? Þþ seconde propirte is þis: þat charite is benyngme. 2. Is benign-
for it is not ynow to suffre, for so don þeþla, but do good in
soleæ aþenus yuel suffrid; for þat is good lune of þe fire of
charite, & is clepid benigne by propirte of word. and
here-fors clerkis seyn þat þer ben þre lawes; þe first is lawe
of oure good 3 god to do good for yuyl; þe toþure is lawe of þe
worlde, to do good for good & yuel for yuel, as manneus
manor is; þe prid is þe deuclis lawe, to do yuel for good, &
zis is manor of mene whan þei ben turned to deuclis. þe

1 CC. inserts 'not.' 2 omitted CC. 3 omitted Q.
3. Envieth not.

4. Hurteth not.

5. Is not puff'd up.

6. Is not ambitious.

7. Seeketh not her own.

8. Is not wasteful.

9. Thinketh no evil.


12. Bearer all things.

13. Believeth all things.


15. Endureth all things.

1-1 sīp yuel dede wipoute CC. 3 hoolly CC. 2 in Q. 4 omitted Q. 6 omitted Q. 8 ofte Q.
OF FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY.

That such his charite is that scheye sussteyney wip wille alle harms that come, she she is not discounfortyd if goddis helpe bidp longe. And so he laste condision that sueb his [16.] Never blessed vertu is that scheye fallip neuer doue, but lastip forpye for euere in his world & in he tofure, as loun of god fallip not. & if a man knewe 2 no more of goddis lawe but pise sixtene condicions & bisyede him to kepe hem, he myxt liightly come to heuen & witeit who went amys.

Explicitus sseip hope & charite. 3

1 hit Q. 2 koude CC. 3 only in CC.
DE SACRAMENTO ALTARIS.

In this little tract Wyclif sums up the difference between his teaching on the Eucharist and that of the friars. It is curious to see him taking up the position of a loyal son of the Church, and complaining that his adversaries accuse the Pope and the Court of Rome of heresy. As the tract is evidently a fragment, it may be that in the larger piece from which it was taken he had alleged some utterance of the Roman see in his favour; perhaps the oath of Berengarius, to which he often appealed, although his opponents might have cited it on their side with at least equal confidence.

Copied from the Bodleian MS. (A), and collated with the Dublin MS. (AA).

SUMMARY.

The friars say that the bread which Christ broke is neither bread nor his body ..... p. 356
They accuse the Church of sharing their heresy ..... ..... ..... 357
The true faith is that the Host is both bread and Christ's body ..... ..... 357
De sacramento altaris corpus domini.

O of al pe feip of pe gospel gederen trewe men, wip opyne *[p. 99 MS.]
confessious of pe newe ordris, pat men shulden rette hem eretikis, & so not comyne wip hem. for pei denyen pe gospel & comyn bileune, pat pat breed pat crist took in hise hondis & blesside it & brac it & saf it to hise disciplis for to ete, was his owne bodi bi vertu of his wordis. & hus pei denyen pat pe oost sacrid, whiit & round, pat bifoire was breed, is maad goddis bodi bi uertu of hise wordis. but pei seien pat perse is but say that the host is accident or nothing. accident worse pat any breed; & hus pei accusen pe court of rome, bishops & prelatis, & seien pat pei shulden seie so bi cristen mensuns bileune. & no wondir is, sip peis freris accuseden por breparen & pei 2 bigan first at crist; & seiden pat he was as 3 an eretyk, & oure king wip his rewme, but hem shamede to seie pis openli, but pei seiden pis priuyli. & sip pei han lastad so longe in pis errore *cristen men shulden flee hem as heben men out of pe feip. & if pei somene symple men for pis accusing, symple men seien pat pei supposen freris siche, but pei affermes not hem siche; but enyndence pei han of pis errore in bileune, & many operes pat freris seien, and if pis be not sop, late peis freris purges hem, for we han herd ofte-times many freris techen bus. 4 Crist & his apostlis & pe olde seintis pat were til pat pe send was vnboundun, & pe courte of rome bi open witnesse of her lawes techen pis bileune; pat pe sacrid oost whiit & round pat men seien is pe preestis hondes is veri goddis bodi in forme of breed. but freris, sip pe send fader of lesyngis was vnboundun, seien pat it is an accident wip-outes suget or noust, & mai is

1-1 omitted AA.
2 omitted AA.
3 omitted AA.
4 AA. breaks off here.
no wise be goddis bodi; & so þei gloses þe wordis of holi writt euæ to þe contrarie, & þei leuen þe wordis of holi writt, & chesen hem newe foundes termes of hem-silf, & seien þat þei ben sop, but þe wordis of holi writt ben false & ful of eresie; and so þei seies priyli þat crist & hise apostlis & þes olde seintis & þe court of rome were opyn eretikes.
XXVI.

THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY.

With an Appendix on the Wrongfulness of their Undertaking Secular Work.

No external evidence authorizes us to attribute this tract to Wyclif. It does not even derive credit from being bound up with other works believed to be his, since it fills the little volume in which only it is found.

Dr. Shirley admitted it to his catalogue on the ground of style, and it is only on that ground, and for its general consonance with Wyclif's habits of thought, that it can be ascribed to him. I find it very difficult to arrive at a decided opinion. On the one hand, it is more orderly and less vivacious than most of Wyclif's pamphlets; with scarcely any of his characteristic outbursts of lament over abuses or invectives against those who practise them. It relies more, too, on citations of authorities than is his custom. On the other hand, there are passages that look like his work, such as (p. 368) the story of the bishop who looked forward to the time when the gentry should be the hired soldiers of the Church, and the warning (p. 372) that when the clergy have once got power, "the secular party may go pipe with an ivy-leaf," (otherwise whistle for) the return of any part of it.

In substance the tract is purely Wyclifite, but it has no trace of his latest developments. If it is by the master, it must be one of the earliest compositions in this volume, as it has much more likeness to his writings of 1365–1375 than to those of his latest years. The difference will be strongly felt if it is compared with the Supplementum Trialogi, which deals with the same subject.

Copied from the Lambeth MS. (LL).
Summary.

Chap. I. To the three persons of the Trinity answer the three states in Christ's Church ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 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CHAP. IX. God provided for all states that he ordained, and he commanded the priests to act as proctors for the poor, and be content with food and raiment .... .... .... .... .... .... p. 385

It is presumptuous to add to a provision made by God and secured by Christ's promise .... .... .... .... .... .... 388

Endowment is not alms, and should be taken away from the priesthood .... .... .... .... .... .... 388

Oaths sworn to maintain it are not binding, since it is sinful .... .... .... .... .... .... 389

X. It is thought wrong to alienate entailed land from those to whom it is entailed .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 390

God, the chief lord, has given to lay lords in perpetuity all secular lordship .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 391

It is wrong to divert it to the clergy; yet the clergy have laid hands on it, under pretense of holiness .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 391

Laymen should follow the rule of ecclesiastical corporations, which forbid all alienation of property .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 392

The clergy have enough with tithes, offerings and fees .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 392

APPENDIX. The clergy ought not to take secular office .... .... .... .... .... .... .... ............ 393

Lay lords should not induce them to do so .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 394

Bishops should show lords the peril of thus withdrawing the clergy from their duty .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 395

Lords should look that they do not set up prelates who neglect their duty as watchmen .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 395

Authorities (in Latin) against the secular lordship of priests .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 396

Authorities against the secular office of priests .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 402
*Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere preter id quod positum est quod est cristus Jhesus.

[Capitulum i.]

Almyghty god be trinylte, fatir, sonne and holy gooste, hope in be olde lawe and be newe haþ foundid his chirche up-on þre statis, awnswerynge or anorderynge to þre þre persones and her propirtes. So þat to þe fadir in trinylte, to whom is aproped power, awnsweriþ þe state of secular lordis, fro þe higest knynte, þat is, or schuld be, þe emperoure, to þe lowest swywer þat by wai of office of his state beriþ þe swerde. For þis state in holy chirche saynt poule calliþ powers, and saiþ þat þis power beriþ þe swerde not wiþ-owte cause, but to avenge þe wrap of god in-to hym þat misdoiþ, *and to supporte and mayntene hym þat wel doþe. þis is þe sentence of poule þere. And þis state or power is þe vicar of þe god-heede, as it may be growndid here. And as saynt Austyn saiþ in þe booke of qwestyons of þe olde lawe and þe newe, and in ðer dyners placis. And so as it bylongiþ to þe godhood of criste to avenge hym on his enemys and to rewarde his trewe sarrandis, as god hymsiþfe saiþ, as þe apostle rehersiþ: "To me," saiþ god, "it longiþ to do vengance and I schal rewarde." And also þe prophete seiþ þat "god schal rewarde every man aftir his werkis." So it by-longiþ here up-on erþe to þe state of seculars lordis, as vicars of þe godhede, to do is ponyschynge and rewardynge to þe enemys and sarrandis of god.

To þe secunde persone in trinylte, to whom is aproped wisdom or kunynge, awnsweriþ þe state of þe clergy or of presthode; þe whiche by bisey study and contemplacion schuld gete hem heuenly kunynge, wherby þai schulde teco þe peple þe way to heuen and lede hem þer-inne.
And herfor saij god by his prophete Malachie: "Labia Mal. H. [7.] sacerdotes custodiant scientiam, et legem exquirunt ex ore ejus, quia angelus domini exercituum est"—"he lippis of he preest kepyn kusnynge, and the pepills schul seke he lawe of his moupe, for he is he awngell of god." And herfor eriste, supposynge pat his heuenly kusnynge schuld be in the state of preesthode, commandid hem alle in his ascencyon in his wordis pat he saide to *his apostles, and in hem to alle *[p. 30 MS.] oþer preestis, as saynt awstyyn saij in a sermom pat bigynynhe Austin.  

*bus: "Si diligenter attendites etcetera," pat hai schulden teche and preche he gospells to his peple, he whiche gospel is heuenly kusnynge. For his state in he chirche is he vicar of he marshede of criste, as saynt austyn saij in a booke pat is alegyd to-fore. And so as eriste cam in his manhede to teche and preche he gospells and to suffre meekly persecution þe-fore, so schulde þe state of preestis, þat ben vicaris of his manhede, do as he commandit hem in his ascencyon and of-foretimes byfore. 

To þe þridde persone in trinity, to whom is aprovryd true love or goode wills to þe fadir & sonne, *awswerij þe state of þe comoste, þe whiche owij true love & obedyente wills to þe statis of lordis & preestis, as saynt poule techeþ, sayng: "Servi obedite dominus vestris carnalibus cum omni timore et tremore," pat is: "Seraundis obiij to you temporallis lordis wij alle drede and tremblunge." Also saynt poule saij þus: "Obedite propositis vestris; ipsi enim Eph. vi. [6.] vigilant tamquam reddituri rationem pro animabus vestris:" þat is: "obiij to youere souereyns; forsoþe þai waken as for to youe aocwntis for youere soulis." By þes souereyns is undirstonde þe state of preesthode; þe whiche schulde bislyly wake in studynge and prochynge of goddis lawe to alle cristen peple, and to youe goode ensample in her lynynge. And in his every man *is bonden to obey to her doctrine. And *[p. 35 MS.] þerfore poule saij: "Be þe fylowers of me as I am of criste." [1 Cor. xi. 1.] And etsi he saij: "þou; we or an awngell of heuen preche Gal. [8.] to you bysidis þat þat we han prochid, be he acuraid." And
Priests should have no worldly lordships.

These three states are enough.

"[p. 5 Ms.]

Capitulum iij.

Ere it shal be sechewid how god hatip worldly lordeschip in h e state of his clergye, pat schulde perfore the perfeccyon of e gospell. For is e olde lawe, wher god made an ordynance how & wher-wip eai schulde lyue in every state, he assigned e worldly possesscyons to e *seculer party, and bad pat prestis schulde by no way haue eny possesscyons wip pat oper partye of e peple. Sawe e pe people was chargid of god to ordeyn e prestis and desknyt housis, not to be lordis of hem but to dwelle in hem. And on e same wise eai hadden suburbis to fede per e beestis pat schuld be offred sacrifice to god in e temple. And god saide he wolde be e parte of e prestis and deknys; pat is to meene, pat e pingis pat I schal assigne to hem, e whiche pingis ben offred to me, schal be her parte and her lyuynge. And so god assignyd to e prestis and deknys e first fruytis and tipis and oper carteyn deuocyonys of e peple, e whiche was lijiode I-
now he for hem wiþ alle her servandis and oþer meynye. *(P. 6 MS.)
And he chargid sore and harde þe peple to þenke on his which God charged the people strongly to pay.
clergi, and þat þai defraude not hem of þe parte þat god hap assignyd to hem. For þai hadden noone oþer possessyon amonge þe oþer peple, ne any schuld hane. So þat goddis parte was þus assignyd to þe trybe or kynrede of leuy; of þe whiche kynrede wern goddis prestis in þe old lawe, and of noone oþere. And þis ordynance of god as tochynge þe The priests might not even have liflod of prestis was kept ful streytyly, so far for þat þe þingis þat wer offrid to god in þe temple by denocyon of þe peple, þe whiche wer not by þe lawe of god expressly assigned to the kynrede of leuy, weren kept *fro þe use of þat *(P. 6b MS.) kynrede to þe comen profete of alle þe peple; as to þe 4. Kings xii.[4-15]
and xxii. [4-7.]
repairs of þe temple, and to rawnson þe kynge and þe rewme at nede, as scripture beriþ witnesse in the tymke of goode kyngis Jos & Josias. For sþþ god had assigned lyfleode to þe kynrede of leuy aftir his owne witte, and he may not be fawty in his worchinge or ordenance, it had ben a damnable presumespeion for to haue ordend more lyfleode to hem. And not-wiþstandinge þat kynge dauyd, purposyng to encrese þe worship of god in his peple, ordend syngers and players in dyuere musical instrumentis to serue before god in þe temple; þit presumyd he not to take eny þinge þat god had assigned to þe temporall parte of his peple, and endowe wiþ siche goodis þes *mynystres of þe temple; but he chese þes men *(P. 7 MS.) of þe tribe or kynrede of leuy and lett hem lyue on her owne parte, and so kept þe temporale hoole wiþ-owte eny peyr-yngye þerof. And salamon his sonne, the wisest kynge þat and of Solomon, ever was, dide þe same. And sþþ kynge dauyd, þe chosen of god aftir his owne herte & full of þe spirites of prophesye, and salamon his wise sonne also, durste not chawnge þe ordinance who would not of þe goodis mouable and vnumouable, þe whiche god had by-take to her governance, and make prestis ryche, as þou; god had not sufficiently ordend for hem in his lawe. And wiþ þis, not-wiþstandinge þat kynge dauyd was so full of vertuous and kyngly condycions þat he is sett in scripture as
a patron & ensaundle * of alle goode kyngis, how dar oure kyngis, hat han not þes sijth of god, so expressly aëns goddis lawe, þe olde and þe newe, presume to overturne all the gloriousse ordinance of god a-bowte siche temporealtes, and make the state of presthode lordis aëns þe lyfe and þe lôre of criste and his apostles, and aëns þe proces of þe olde lawe in þis poynyte, converynd bi þe newe? In whiche he haþ so openly, in worde, dede, and in ensaundple, taunte and commanndit hem þat þai schuld not be lordis so. And undeletonde þu here, þat whan þer is eny þinge dampned of god in þe olde lawe, if þe same be damnyd in þe newe, alle þe euyndence þat ben aëns syche a desawte in þe olde lawe ben euen aëns þe same * in þe newe. And so all þe lawis þat god saue by moyses aëns þe worldy lordeschip of prestis of þe olde lawe be euen aëns þis, þat prestis schulde be lordis so in þe newe lawe. Siþ þat moyses lawe is moralle in þis poynyte, þat longe þat þe perfectyon of presthode, criste myȝt not distroy þes lawis neiþer dispes wiþ hem, þat prestis schulden not now be bunden to þes lawis. And siþ criste and his colage myȝt not be dispesed wiþ ne be exempete fro þe bondis of þe olde lawe in þis matir, I merueyle wher þe pruyelgeis common alonde wherby owre colagis of monkis, chanons or eny oþer endowid prestis þat dwellen in siche conventyles claymen to be exempete fro þis bonde of þe olde lawe * in this poynyte, þat in so many placis so opynly forfendþ hem siche lordeschip; for þus it is written: "Dixit dominus ad aaron In terræ eorum nichil possidebitis nec habebitis partem inter eos Ego para et hereditas tua in medio filiorum israel. filiiis autem leui dedi ommes decimas israel in possessionem pro ministerio quo serviant misi in tabernaculo. Nichil aliud possidebunt decimæm oblsacione contenti, quas in usus eorum et necessaria separauit"—"þe lorde sayde to aaron, and in hym to alle þe tribe or kynred of leuy, of þe which kynred wer þe prestis & deeknys: þe schal haue no possescon in þe londe of þe childern of israelis. I am þine part & þine erytage in þe myddis of þe sonnys of israelis. And I have
Chap. II.]  THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY.

Ione to the sonnys of leuy alle þe tipher of *israel in-to *(p. 9 ms.) possession, for þe aonyce þe whiche þai done to me in þe tabernacle. þai schal haue noone oþer possesyon, þai schal be payde wiþ ofrynge and tipher þe whiche I haue depar tid in-to her vasi and nedis." Also in þe booke of Deuutonomy Deut. xviii. [1.] god saide thus: "Non habebunt sacerdotes, et omnes qui de eadem tribu sunt, partem et hereditatem cum reliquo populo israelli; et sacrificia domini et oblaciones commendent, et nichil aliud accipient de possesione fratum suorum"—"þe prestis and deeknys, and alle þe þat ben of þe same tribe, schal not have part and heritage wiþ þat oþer peple of israel; for þai schal eþe þe sacrificye and þe ofrynge of þe lorde, and þai schal taake no þingle ellis of þe possesyon of þer breþern." *(p. 98 ms.)

Also it is written þus: "Tribui autem leui non dedit posses-s- Jovm. xiii. [33.] cionem: quoniam dominus deus israel ipse est possesicio eorum, ut locutus est illi,"—þat is, whan moyses assignyd þe possesyon of þe londe of israel amonge þe peple, he janne no possession to þe tribe of leuy. For whi, þe lorde god of israel is þe possession of þat tribe, as he haþ spoken to hym. Also þes lawis, ãonen of god by moyses, þe holy prophetics tauten. As amonge oþer we may rede of Ezechiell, þat tawte how þe prestis & deeknys schuld haue hem-sijlfe to godwarde in lyuyng and sacrifice doynge; for he saiy þus: "Non est Esec. xiii. [28.] autem eis hereditas, ego autem hereditas eorum: et posses-cionem non dabitis eis in israel, ego enim *possesio eorum." *(p. 10 ms.)

"Forsoþe þer schal be noone heritage to hem; forsoþe I am þe heritage of hem; and þe schal þeue no possession to hem in israel, for I am þe possesyon of hem." And saynt Jerom saiy acordyne her-to: "Clericus nichil prater dominum possidere debet, scilicet, non aurum, non argentum, nec Ep. xxxiiiij. possessiones; quia cum huiusmodi non vult dominus esse pars." "A clerke schal haue no possession but god; þat is to say, neþer gold, ne siluer, or possessions, for wiþ siche god will not be parte, þat han more þan is necessary to performe her office wiþ. Of þis processe be-fore we may se how expressly god forfendip lordeschip to his prestis in þe olde lawe; and
The clergy may not hold property. [Chap. II.

Yet now priests should obey more perfectly since they have richer promises.

Priests under the old law could not "[p. 109 MS]" gloss away their obligations as now they do.

Yet now priests should obey more perfectly since they have richer promises.

Christ has forbidden priestly lordship, both by word and example,

but the clergy not only disobey him, but make laws reversing his commands.

"[p. 115 MS]" by which they aim at getting all property into their hands.

Arrowal of a bishop.

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\[\text{Capitulum iiij.}\]

Ore ouer we may se how even a\-jen cr\-istis wordis in M pe gospell pre\-stis ben \-hus lordis, wher criste saib \-hus:

"Reges gencium dominantur eorum, vos autem *non sic"—

"\text{pe kyn\-gys of he\-pen han lordes\-chip on hem, but \-pe not so.}"

And also a\-jen his ensa\-mple pai ben lordis; for whan he was sow\-yte to be made a ky\-nge, & so to take in hym worldly lordes\-chip, he fle\-de in\-to pe hills and pray\-de, in tok\-ny\-nge \-pe siche lordes\-chip was con\-trarie to \-pe state of \-pe clergi, \-pe schuld lyue in con\-tem\-placy\-on. But clerkis nowe lyuen not on\-nly con\-trari\-ously to \-pis te\-chynge and ensa\-mple of cr\-istis, but also \-pe maken stronge lawis re\-uer\-sey\-nge bo\-pe his wordis and dedis, and let\-ten, in alle \-pe pai may, hem \-pe wolde te\-che \-pe trou\-ye of cr\-iste. And, by \-pis lawe \-pe pai han made, sum of hem han saide \-pe pai schuld gete owte of \-pe se\-cular hondis alle *the temporal lordes\-chip \-pe pai may, and in no ca\-se de\-lyuer noone a\-jen. And per\-fors a gentilman axid a greete bis\-hop of \-pis lone\-de: "In ca\-se \-pe clergi hadde alle \-pe temporal posses\-sey\-ons, as \-pe han now \-pe more parte, how schal \-pe se\-cular lordis & knuyt\-tis lyue, & wher-wip? si\-p god hap \-pe his lawis alow\-id her sta\-ate and her li\-fi\-ode." And \-pen he awn\-swer\-id & sayde \-pe "\-pe schuld be clerkis soud\-you\-res, and lyue by her wagis." And certis
his lawe of getynge in of his temporalties and his oper wordis of his bishop ouste to be taken hede to. For siij pai han now the more part of the temporall lordechips, and wiij pai the spiritualtees and the greeete *mouable tresouris of the rewme, pai may lightly make a conquest up-on pai othir party; namely, siij the temporall lordis ben not in noumbr and in ryches lyke as pai war sum tymne; for pai ben solitly spold of her lordechips, in distroyng of her staate and power pai god sett hem in, and the party of the clerisy in alle thes poyntis ben encreseyd, and so ouctousely pai ben sette up-on thes goodis pai wai welden now; & mo the hai hopen to hawe, pai wai will not suffre her ouctise to be enpunynd openly ne priuely, als ferr as pai may lett it. For the gospel of Jon saij *hai bishoppis and pharisay sayden John xi. [47.] of criste: “If we leun hym *hus alle men schul bylesue is hym, *and romayns schulen comme & takeoure place and "[p. 125 M3.] our folke.” For pai dredden hem of criste, if his wordis wenten forse, *hai romayns schulen comme and fordo prestis and pharisay. As if bishoppis and abbotis spaken to-day to-gedere: “hyde we goddis lawe, lest *his secular lordis comme and take our lordechippis and fordo our statis.” “And fro pai day,” the gospel saij, “pai housten to alle criste.” So now by more malowe pai killen hem pai techen the troupe of cristis gospell, and in pai sufhe no criste to be alyne in *his sowlis of his peple bi qwike faythe, whiches commij by knowlesche of his lawe, pai so cruely hyden fro hai peple; & *his is more cruel killynge of criste pai to kille hym bodely in his owne persone, *for per-of came he *[p. 126 M3.] mooste goode to mankynde, pai is, saluation of pai pai ben chosen to blisse. But of pai oper manor of killynge of criste by hidynge of his lawe may no goode comme; for it is aens pe plesance of criste, & mooste lykynge to be fende and leaynge of soulis. And perfore saynt poule saij: “Si [2 Cor. iv. 3.] opertum est evangelium nostrum: hiis qui perceunt est opertum: in quibus deus huiss acuti mentes infidelium” (2 cor. 4)—“*if the gospel is hid, it is hid to hem.
THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY.

Our bishops and religious show the same kind of malice as did bishops and scribes in Christ's time.

The worst government of the Jews was under the priests.

So the secular power of priests brings confusion into Christian realms.

Luke xx. [25.]

Cesare should have what is Cesare's; the temporal sword; and this includes all secular lordship.

If priests were impartial, they would allow this.

Christ's example. He fled from being made a king.

...pat porschen, in pe whiche god of pis worlde hab blyndid pe mynde of unseifful men." And þus whose bipenkip hym what maner malyce was practisid ægens criste by bishopis and scribis and religious in tyme of his bodily presence here, þe same malice in kynde *he schal fynde, he uphepid, in oure byschopis and religious. And as þe peple of israel wern werste gouernyd undir her prestis, when þe gouernance was commen holy in-to her bondis, and undir þat gouernance come in her mooste confusion & losten þe holy londe for œuer; so ben now cristen rewmys foule confoundid by worldly gouernance and lordechips þat prestis han take up-on hem. And alwey as þai getyn more & more of þis, so to more confusion drawen cristen rewmys. And for crist wolde not þat prestis schulde haue yche worldly gouernance, he saith to alle men: "Reddite que sunt cesaris cesari, & que sunt dei deo"—"yoldip to cesar þo þingis þat ben of cesar, and to god þo *þingis þat ben of god"; confermynge to þe secular party of the chirche þe material swerde wip his purtenance in þe persone of cesar, in whom þat tyme was chefsy þis swerde, wip alle þe temporales þat longen þerto.

And certis I drede not but þat þe secular party of þe chirche, & namely þe lordis, han als myche or more colour of þe firste party of þis texte to chalenge oonly to hem þe temporal swerde, wip his purtenances þat longe þerto, as secular lordechips wip secular ingemenent & secular office, as oure prestis han euydence of þe secunde party of þis tixte to chalenge þe tibis of þe peple, as þingis oonly longynge to hem. And if þai wer indifferent, as þai demen þat it is wronge and *dampnable a secular man to take up-on hym a prestis office, in prechynge or minystrynge of sacramentis, and in disposynge of tibis, þat weren lymtad to þe state of þe clery, so þai schulden deme it fulls dampnable a prest to occupie þe temporal swerde, wip þe purtenance þat longe þerto specified to-tore. And in full witnes þat þis lordechips is dampnable in þe state of presthode, crist, in whom is full ensampl and lorp of perfeccyon of presthode, fled als þes.
The clergy may not hold property.

Jason; for he anoidid his swerde in seculer office, and tautste his apostles, and in hem alle oper prestis, to do pe same when he fled fro pe peple pat wolde han set hym in pe office of a kynge. And when he was requirid to seu ineugement bitwene two brethern *stryuynge for heritage, he wolde not "[p. 15 MS.] seu pat seculer ingement, but saide: "Homo, quis me Lea. xlii. [14.] constituit indicem aut dinisorem super vos?"—"Man, who act as a judge. made me a iuge or a departer upon you?" And so he anoidid his swerde, and left it to pe temporal party of his chirehe wiþ all pe purtenances. And his same lesson tautste pe apostle: for saynt poule assigneþ his swerde to pe seculer lordin, as it is saide biforn, and techiþ men to pray firste for suche men; pat pe peple mai lede a pesable lyfe undir hem.

And pe techiþ cristen men to obey to hem whedir pai ben cristen or heþen; pe, allþou; pai ben tirawntes. And saynt petir techiþ pe same lesson, and biddid pe peple to obey to pe kynge, as to hym pat is passyng *oper, & to duykys as to pe pat ben sent of pe kynge, in-to pe vengance of schrewis & preysyng of goode men. And as touchynge his seculer lordership, saynt petir techiþ how per schulde be no lordin in [1] Peter li. [15.] pe clergy; & his worde most nedis be vndirstonden of seculer lordership, pe which christe his maistir biforn forfendid to alle his clergi. Siþ þan pat þis lordership of þe clerkis is so openli ayns þe wills of god, schewid in boþe his lawis, & so þai offendens god deadly, & euer schulen while it durþ in hem, it wer tyme þat cristis chirohe toke hede to cristis wordis, pe whiche he spak to petir figurynge þis chirohe, and saide: "turne þe swerde in-to his place"; as þou; crist *wolde say þus: "þou "[p. 15 MS.] my chirohe, figurid bi petir, se how þe material swerde wiþ his purtenances is owte of his place; þor for do as I commaundid þe, and turne þe swerde in-to his place wiþ his purtenances, as seculer lorderschipis, seculer office & seculer ingement, in-to þe seculer arme of my chirohe, as I haue ordeyned." And certis, but if þe chirohe here effectualy þis worde of christe, schal it neuer stonde in redy rule, ne aftir þe plesance of god; & þorfor lordin schulden take hede fulls tendirly to or it will never be in accordance with God's will. Lords must listen to this voice of Christ, lest they be guilty of consent to sin.
THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY. [CHAP. III.

His voyce of Criste hat saip: "Tyrne his swerde aeyne in-to his place;" for whi his apostasie of he clergie will not onely be cause of damnung of hem sijlfe, but also of alle *po hat mai amende his & done not. For saynt poule saip he is not onely worpi deh hat dohe yuel pingis, but also he hat consentiip to he doer. Forsohe alle po consentes hat done not her power to amende syche defawtis. And perfore no man may putt an ocher grounde bisidis hat hat is putt, he whiche is cristis ihesu.

Capitulum iiiij.

Apology for insistance.

Epeleasse of o pinghe I pray you here, hat ye greue you not, in alpou; I forsete not liestly ye materiall swerde wip his purtenances, and hat I desere hertly hat it wer turnyd azen in-to his kyndely place, wher god hym sijlfe had putt it. For whan crist was in he hondis of his emmyes, wher co*muely men forseten hem sijlfe & all hat pai han to do, sit he bybonste hym on his swerde, and saide to petir, & in hym to all his clergye: "Tyrne ye swerde in-to his place." And it wer nede hat cristis chirche toke tente to his word by-tymys; for his swerde wip his purtenance may be drawe so fer owte of his place hat it will be vnpossible to brynge it azen. For pus it stondiip of his swerde in fulls many londis, wher clerkis han fully ye seculer lordechipis is her power; & it is ful like for to stonde in ye same wise wip-in a few yeris in ynglond, but if ye knyptodhe of pis rewme sette ye sounder honde upon pis swerde to brynge it in-to his kyndely place. For well myste we seuer hat alepe of litergi hat is fallen up-on vs, hat he clergi haip fro day to day more & more honde vp-on his swerde wip his purtenance. And so pai ben likly durynge pis alepe in ye seculer partye to pull pis swerde owte of ye secular honde sodenly, and so to hane fulls power perof, as clerkis in ocher divers londis han. And wete lordis well hat, if ye clergi gete pis swerde oonys fully in her power, ye seculer partye may go pipe wip an yuy lefe for any lordeschipis hat he clerkis wille; yeue hem azen; for it wer azen ye lawe hat pai
han made as touchynge siche lordechipis; bi þe whiche lawe for they have laws forbidding þai ben bonden to gete in-to þe clergie als myche of þo possessions as þai may, and in no caes to þeue any siche *lordeschipis aen in-to þe seculer honde. And þis lawe, as "[p. 18 MS.] experience techip vs, is stretyly ynou; kepte amongst hem. and they keep their laws strict.
For ale day it is seen þat seculer men þeuen her temporall y.
possessions to þe clergi; but cowde I never seen ne here þat any siche lordeschipis were þeuen aen to þe seculer party.
Nepales I wote welle þat þe clergi will sai here, þat all her They allege the rights of the bisynnes þat þai han is þis worlde a-bowte siche lordeschipes, Church.
as in stryuyngye, pletynge, chydyngye, and sîstynge, is for the rytte of holy chirehe. But certis it is meruemul how & by whos autorite þis rîste cam a place. For welle I wote þat god is fully lorde of all þis worlde aboue and also of the erthe binepe, as þe prophete danuyd saiþ: "Domini est terra & [Psalm xxiv. 1.] pleniâdo * eius"—"þe erpe and þe plente þeroft is þe lordis." [p. 18 MS.] And welle I wote þat þer is no lorde here of þe erpe, but if he hold of hym as chefe lorde, & haue his lordeschip & hold it by autorite of þis lorde god. And wel I wote forpermore þat þis chefe lorde haj þeue a deere vp-on his clergi, bope in þe olde lawe & in þe newe, þe whiche may not be reookid ristfully; þat none of þe clergye, þe whiche is ybonden by his asteate & office to sue criste in þe perfeccion of þe gospelle, schulde eny siche lorde be; as it is schewid openli before by autorite of þe þe lawis and by þe lijfe of criste and his apostles. And þerefore þe holy doctoure origene writip þus of Origen. s. gen. goode prestis & yuelle: "wolt þu wite what difference is bitwix þe prestis *of god & þe prestis of pharaeo? pharaeo grawnþip *[p. 19 MS.] londis to his prestis; forsoþe god grawnþip none partye in þe erpe to his prestis, but saiþ, 'I am soure parte.' þerefore alle þe prestis of þe lorde þat reden þes þingis, take hede & se what is þe difference of prestis; lest þai þat han parte in þe erpe & taken tente to bisinessess and tîlþis of þe erpe he not seyn to be prestis of þe lorde but of pharaeo; for he wille þat his prestis hau possessiones, & hawnte þe tylyngye of þe felde & not of þe soule; he wol þat þai þeue bisynnes to þe londe,
not to be lawe. But what criste comandij, here pe: 'He pat forsakip not alle þingis þat he hæp in possession may not be my disciple.' Crist denyþ him to be his disciple þat hæp þe þingis ; & what do we? how rede we þes þingisoure sijfe, oþer how expowne we þes þingis to þe peple? þe whiche renounce not þes þingis þat we han, but we willen gete to vs þo þinges we hadde neuer before we cam to criste. That is to fersake pouert and bodely trouell for to haue riches and ese. But certe þis is contraries to þe apostles lijfe, as saynt petir witnessiþ, saynge to criste: what schal be to vs þat han forsaken alle þingis & swen þe? so petir axed not lordeschip & ese of þis lijfe to rewarde for his servyce.' And perþ þe holy doctoure Odo is a sermon saip, þat bigynneþ þus, *Ecce, nos reliquiam cumia: 'Abel is dede; þe bissyynes of schipard and spiritual mornyng or weylyng is alayne; but cayme, þat is possession, is kept, þee and caym þe erþe-tyllers, is made þe hirde or gouernor of sowlis. For it is not axyd in þe chirohe if he kan welle teche, or if he kan wepe & weyle for synys, but þef he be caym, þat is an erþe-tyllers þat kan welle till þe londe. And it is no wondir þou; possession ale ful many, siþ it is venym. For þe same day þat the chirohe was endowid bi constantyne, þer was herde a voyce in þe eyre: 'to-day is venym sched in-to þe chirohe.' for the chirohe was made more is dignite but lesse is religion. And if it be axid of siche oone: *'where is þe schepe þat was bytakem to þe?' he awnswerþ 'whethor I am kepar of my broþer?' as þou; he sayde, 'what charge is to me of þe sowlis, so þat I haue well ordenyd for þe temporalle goodis.' Syche ben aauraid, as cayme was, þat led owte þe schepe abel & brynge hyme not æþen, but disseyuen hyme; of whiche god saip by þe prophete Ezechiel, her schipardis han disseyuyd hem.' Alle þis saip þe goode doctowr Odo. To siche holy sentence of scripture & doctouris schulden lordis take hed; for saynt ysydre saip,
CHAP. IV.] THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY. 375

And it is putt in þe lawe: "Seculer lordis, pryncis of þe Teangered sentence- worlde, schuldem well wite & knowe þat þai schal þelde herd xx.

rekenyng & acontois to god for *holy chyrche, þat þai han [p. 21 MS.]
take of cristis to kepe & to defende. For as saiþ the law; þer whethur so euer þat seculor lordis rule holy chyrche wel or
yuelle, cristis schal as rekenyng of hem. For undir seculor lordis power Crist hapi sett þe rulyng & gouernyng of his
chyrche." And þerfore saynt Austyn, in þe boke of questyons Austyn.
of þe olde lawe and þe newe, & in oþer dyuers placis, saiþ þat kyngis and lordis ben visaris of þe godhede. And saynte
poule saiþ: "Not wiþ-oute cause knyþis beren swerde, but Rom. xiii. [4]
to avenge þe wreþe of god in-to hym þat mysdoþe, & to
& knyþis, þat god þeue hem grace to gouern *hem selve & [p. 216 MS.]
her peple, þat þai han in gouernance to þe plesance of god &
to helpe of her owne sowlis. And herfor saynt petir biddïp [1] Peter ii. [17.]
þe peple to obey to kyngis, as to hem þat ben pasynge oþer,
& to dukys as to þo þat ben ² sent of kyngis in-to þe vengenance
of mysdoers & to þe praysyng of goode men. And not-
wiþstondynge alle þes autorites, þat ben rehersid afore æþen
þe lordechips þat þe clerkis occupiæ expecially æþens goddis lawe, as it schal be pleynly proued her-aftir wiþ goddis help,
þit þai sayen þat crïste forfendiþ hem not siche worldly
lordechip, saaf þai schuld not be lordis aftir þe Pompe &
pride of þis worlde. But þis fleeschy glose & many siche
oþer þat þai han is no þinge to pur*pose. For god hâp [p. 21 MS.]
forfendiþ Pompe and pride to all maner of men, and mysuse
These are forbidd-
of his goodis; for he saue neuer mau leue to do synne. But
[12 MS.]
vp hap þu art a clereke or a religious man endowid wiþ many
worldly lordechipis, and art wo þat euer crist was so yuel
avised to say, or þe eunæmangelist to write, þes wordis; þe
kyngis of heþen han lordechip upon hem, but þe not so; and
woldist listly, and it wer in þine power, do þis worde & siche

1 yuel MS. (This clause is not in the passage referred to.) ² bent MS.
THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY. [CHAP. IV.

\[\text{oper owte of } \text{pe gospells for } \text{ever; as waiwerd clerkis wolden in seynt Austyns time haue done owte, & pai wisten how, his worde of pe gospells: "super cathedram moyses sederust &c."} \]

\("\text{Vpon moyses chayer han siten scribis & pharyseis: alle }\text{pai schal say to }\text{* vou kepe & do }\text{pe, but do }\text{pe not aftir her werkis." *bus saip Austyn, de uerbis domini, super isto textu. And for als myche as }\text{pu maist not undo for }\text{ever suche textis, ne }\text{fit }\text{pu wilt do aftir }\text{pe letter of siche textis; }\text{perfore }\text{pu saist }\text{pu most haue a glose. wel }\text{pan for goddis loun, If }\text{pu will glose }\text{pe textis of }\text{pe gospells }\text{pat ben so euuen azen }\text{pied lorde ship, glose hem as criste did and commaundid }\text{pe to jone fulle orcedence to his glose, whan he saide: "*if }\text{peleue not me for my wordis, leue }\text{pe debe dis." And if }\text{pu bileue eactually }\text{pis glose, }\text{pu schalt not oonly forsake }\text{pe lorde ship }\text{pat }\text{pu occupiest, but also, ra}^\text{per }\text{pan }\text{pu schuldist be ocupied }\text{perwip, }\text{pu schalt renne awai }\text{per-fro & hyde }\text{pe, as cristis glose saip }\text{pat he did, and if }\text{pu wilt not bileue eff*ectualy cristis wordis neper }\text{his glose, }\text{pan }\text{pu wilfully & obstynatly forsakist crist vitirly; and so }\text{pu bycummyst a lymme of anticriste, for no man may putt an }\text{oper grounde byaidis }\text{pat }\text{is pat, }\text{pe whiche is criste ihesu.\}

Capitulum v.

\(\text{Ere we may se }\text{pat a clerk may not be a lorde, or }\text{vir-}\text{h tuesly occupi so seculer lorde ship. And if }\text{pu wilt wete whi, me semip }\text{pat pis is a cause sufficient y-nowe. }\text{pat criste haf }\text{forbudon hem }\text{pis lorde ship in playne wordis, as it is writen ofte to-fore, }\text{& glosid }\text{pe wordis wip his dedis; for whan he was souste to his passion, he profred hym alfe, but when he was souste to be a kyunge & to haue taake up-on hym }\text{pe material swerde wip his purtenances, he fled and hidde hym self and left }\text{pis swerde hooly in his place; techynge his prestis by pis ensample to do }\text{pe same. And it is no dout but }\text{pat pis ensauncle was a commaundement to} \)
cristis prestis to fle vttirli pis lordschipe. For as seynt gregory sai\p: "Dominius ihesus cristus alvud nos sermonibus, Gregorius omelia xvii. alvud vero operibus amnonet. Ipsa enim facta eius precepta sunt, quia dum alivd tacitus facit, quid agere debeamus isnotescit." Cristis dedis or ensamples ben commaundementis what we schulden do. And pat oriste fled pis temptacion of pe peple & hidde hymself schuld teche prestis to fle, not oonly pis synfull & damnable lordschipe in pe state of prearethode, but also pat\p hai fle pe occasion or the temptaci\on *per-of. And pis ensampled oriste in his *p. 24 MS. fleynge and hydneyne. And not oonly pis, but also oriste in his doynge damnyd symony, pe whiche is takynge, or an unrulye wille to take or to yeue, worldlye good for grace, or bi occasion of grace of god mynystred to eny creature.
For whan oriste had graciously & by myracle fed pe peple, porow occasion of pat grace, pis peple was moned to take hym & make hym a lorde; but oriste, a clere ensample of clennesse of prestis, by whom as goddis instrumentis grace is pouen to pe peple as pis grace was by pe prestis oriste, fled pis gifte. And in pis fleynge of oriste fro pis lordschipe affir pe myracle & grace pat god pe fadir had ministred by hym, he damnyd *pe ressauyng of pe lordschipe pe whiche *p. 248 MS. siluestre toke of constantynye. And oriste commendid & confermyd pe dede of pe blessid prophete helye, pat refusid Elisha's example, pe jifis proferid to hym of Naaman after pe miracle & grace 4 Kings v. [16.] pat god had done by hym to Naaman. Nepelesse for pe more open knowleche of pat pat I moue here, hu schalt undirstonde pat pe easis pat bitydden bytwene constantynye & siluestre & naaman & heliye ben wondir like; for bo\p pes seculer men wer grete lordis & mesels, and bo\p weren helid bi myracle of god, & bi grace mynystred to hem bi pe\p two prestis. For Naaman was helid of god bi grace ministred to 4 Kings v. hym bi heliye. And constantynye was he[lid] *of god by grace *p. 26 MS. ministred to hym bi siluestre, as his storie tellih. and bo\p

1 MS. inserts 'but.'
THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY. [CHAP. V.

ji wer halid in oon wise, for in water schewid of god to ā two prestis, and bi ā two prestis schewid to ās two sike men. And aftir ās graci ās minystred by ās two prestis, Naaman proferid to heliše wondir grete āfis of mouable goodis, and constantyne proferid to siluestre boże mouable & vnamoule goodis in wondir grete plente and excess. But not-wipstondynge āt naaman prayed fulls hertly heliše, & enforsid hym āt he schuld haue take āpo āfis, vttirly he forsoke hem; but siluestre in ās same case take āt ā empareoure proferid hym, bože ā po grete worldly *aray & ā po wondir grete lordeschipis. And oo grete cause whi heliše wold not assent to Naaman to take eny āfis of hym in ās case was for ān heliše had been a symonient, sij his man giezi, āt ran aftir naaman and toke āfis of hym ērow occasion of āt grace so minystred, was a symonyent, not-wipstondynge āt āt grace was not āye by hym in eny wise to Naaman, but āt he toke āpo āfis bi occasion of āt grace. how myche raþer his maister heliše, āt had more kunynge & was bounden to more perfeccion, schuld haue be a symonyent sij he had ressauyd āt goode, sij āt grace was ministred to Naaman by hym. And no dowte āpo; siluestre had in ās case ressauyd but mouable goodis, he *schulde haue synned more gruously ān giezi did, or heliše schulde sij he had ressauyd āt naaman proferid to hym; for siluestir trespassad āgen a more perfeite lawe. And what bi giezi & balam, what by Judas & symon magus, āt wer symonyentis acuraid of god & ysmyten wip goddis vengeance, & what bi many fairs euydencis of scripture & reson āt siohe a man owyt to haue had, he had many grete warovyngis of hydousnes & perilles of āis synne ower āt his predecessouris hadden; and alls āis agregeden hyz syn. Here it may be known āt siluestre did not aftir ā po ensampyle of criste, āt fled when he schuld haue be made a kyng & bidde hym self and so wip-stode it, but he proferid hymself to his

* to ās to ā MS.
passion. But *siluestir did on þe contrari wise; for whan he was sowyte to passion, he hidde hym sijlfe, as þe storie of hym telliþ. And whan he was callid to þe state of þe emperoure or worldly dignite, he in a maner proferid hym self; in als myche as he manly wipstode not þe hidous & synfull purpose of þe emperoure, but cowerdly consentid to his folly. And certis I drede not þat he had neuer better cause of martirdome þan to haue wipstonde þis foli of þe emperour, in case þat he wolde by violence haue enforsid hym to þis lordeship. For as a man may conveyue, in partye of þat þat is saide before, & of eyudence þat wip goddis help schal sue her-aftir, þis wickid dede was peruenytynge of cristis ordenances in *his *[p. 27 Ms.] chiroche, & harmfull & destruction to every state perof, & will be fynal confusion perof but þif it be remedied. And so þis man had neuer so grete cause to fle & to hide hym self as whan he was callid to þis rialte; and þat he myste haue lernyd of criste, þat schulde haue be his maister, þat in þe same case fled & hidde hymself. And þou[.] vakunnyngnes myste sumdalen excuse þe emperour; þit þat myst not excuse þis prest, þat owste to knowe, as a pinge of ignorance. He had not the Emperor’s excuses cheaply bilongyng to his perfeccion, þat he schulde not be a lorde on þat wise. For no man may putt an opir grounde bisede þat [þat] is putt whiche is criste ihesu.

Capitulum vj.

Nd so who so lokip wel þe dede of siluestir, it was *ex- *[p. 375 Ms.] a praely aëns þe lyuynge & þe techynge of ihesu criste, as it is openli tawyf bifoire. And siþ þe endowyng of þe clerigi is groundid vp-on þis dede, we may se by þis processe how þe clerigi is wondirfulle enfect wip symonye & heresie. For þis sinne in hem may not be vndo till þe temporalls lordeship in hem be distried, whiche haþ evemenymyd alle þe clerigi. & þif we taake hede to þis processe, we schal not myche wondir, all-
The clergy may not hold property.

From Jerome:

Gorxm.

[p. 28 MS.]

[Jerome.]

Heou: he awngells of god, aperynge in he yeire in he tymge of doyngge of his wikkid dede, saide hes wordis: "his day is venym sched or helt in he chirche of god;" as gorram saip up-
on he xij chapitre of he apocalips. And esfor saih *saynt Jerom, in vitis patrum: "Sih he chirche encreisid in possess-
seyouns, it ha\k decresid in vertues." And herfore criste pat was in lyke case wip hes two prestis, heli\g & siluestre, in
dampnynge of his wikkid dede pat ha\k so myche harmyd &
envenymyd his chirche, left he way of siluestre, pat toke his
worldly lordschip, and chese he way of heli\g he prophete,
pat forsoke he jistis pat naaman preferid hym, and fied bo\g
symony & heresy. And so, as heli\g left he grete richesse
pat naaman wold haue yuye hym & take wor\p he pore
ordance & syndyngge pat a goode man & his wyfe preferid
to hym; pat is to say, a lytills soler, a bedde, a borde, a chaire,
& a kandilsteck, he whiche *ben acoyngge to a studier or a
contemplayyte man; So criste forsoke secular lordeschipis, &
held hym payde wip he pore li\fode pat denoute peple
ministred to hym to his nedeful sustenance in his labours.
And pus didden also alle he apostles, as a man may conceyue
of he gospells & in many opher placi of her lijfis. For aftar
tyme pat god he fadir had wrou\te his grete miracule bi criste
his prest, he releuyngge of fyvre housande & mo he tawen in
mysese of hunger, he avoydide siche worldly rewarde pat
schulde haue he joue to hym by occasion of minystrynge of his
grace. Sih \p pat criste & heli\g acorden to-gydre in his
case, & siluestre reuers\g hem bohe here; *and siche contrarius
dedes is casis pat ben so li\ke mow not be glosid to-gedre, \p
we mest nedis, jif we will go a sure way, magnifie in worde
& dede he doyngge of heli\g & of criste in his case; si\h pat
heli\g dede is commendid in scripture, and criste is trupe &
antor of scripture. \p we moten dampne he doyngge of gyerzi
& of siluestre, \pus ferr straynyngge away fro heli\g & criste &
his gospells. And in his writynge I blasfeme no more siluestre,
& \g holy men and sayntis pat han ben si\p his endowyngge
of the chiroe cam in, all-þou; [I] reburs & blame her synne, 
pan I do petir & his felowis whan I say þat þai synfully 
forsoke Crist, or poule whan *i say þat he wickedly 
pursuyd Cristis chiroe. For I blame of no þinge wher-of þai 
schuld be sayntis, no more þan I do þes apostles; alle-þou; I 
blame her synny, þe whiche þai hem self damsonyd, & wer 
sori þat euor þai synned so. For petir wept sors for his 
syne, as þe gospells saip. and saynt poule, mekelv knowlech-
ynge his synne, saide þat he was not worþi to be callid 
apostle of cristis, and þat bi-cause þat he pursuyd cristis 
chiroe. And on þe same wise siluestres and þes sayntis 
diden, or eillis schuld haue do for her synne. For whan we 
will preyse sayntis, we schul loke wherein þai suyd Cristis and 
his lawe in worde, dede, or maners, and so fere þai ben worþi 
preysynge *and no ferper; for Crist is þe mesure of vertuous 
lyuyng & worchynge; and herfore he callip alle men to sue 
þat he tawtte, and þan we may not erre. And herfore saynt poule 
Eph. v. [1.] [abound saip Cor. 
tauste cristen peple to sue hym, but no fere þan he sueþ 
ihsu cristis. And saynt petir remittip þe pepille to cristis, for 
to take of hym ensaunple; saiyng þus: “Crist haþ suffred for 1 Peter ii. [21.] 
vs, leyynge þou ensaunple þat þe fillow þe steppis of hym þat 
did no synne, nêþir was eny gyle founden in his mouþe.” 
And so a man may euor saafly sue his leyynge and techynge 
wiþ-owte eny errynge; but & sue in alle þingis eiphe 
petir, poule, or siluestres, or eny *epur synfulle man, we must 
enidis err in many þingis, as þai diden. Loke þan if siluestres 
suyd cristis when he forsoke þe pouert of þe gospells & by-som 
a lorde vpon þe west empire of þe worlde. And if he so 
did, þan preyse hym in þat doynge, & eillis not. For whi no 
man may putt an epur grounde bisidis þat þat is putt, þe 
whiche is cristis ihsu.
Capitulum vii.

I pis processe bfore saide men mow lerne to awnswere b to þe comon argumentis þat conetous clerkis maken in þis mater to mayntene wip her synne. In þe whiche argumentis þai aleggen for hem þe sinnes of her predececcorisa, saynge þus, "seynt hue, saynt thomas and seynt swyſune *wer þus lordis, & þai wer holy men here & now ben seyntis in heuen; þan may we, be þe same skile, medefulli take up-on vs þis temperall lordechip, and sue hem in þis." But þe schal undirstonde þat þis maner of arguyng holdiþ well when we argue of god; for it suyþ well, "ourde did þus, saide þus, or wolde þus, þerfor þis was wel done, saide, or willid; & so in þis dede, worde, or wille, it is holsum, spedy & pleaunt to god þat we sue hym." But when we argue of an creature þis argument is to schorte; for it suyþ not, "Petir saide þus or did þus, þerfor he did or saide well, and in þes wordis & dedis it is holsum to sue hym;" for þis maner *of arguyng is vnpreuyd in þat þat petir fросke criste, & in þat þat he smote of malous ere; so þat þis maner of arguyng of a creature is to schorte. And þerfor þe most argue þus: "Petir saide or did þus, and in þis saynys or doynge he suyd þe life & þe lore of ihesu criste; þerfor petir in þis did or sayde well, and in þis it is holsum to sue petir." And so musten oure clerkis argue when þai aleggen for her lordechip þe lyuyngne of her patrona & sayntis, & sayen þus: "Seynt thomas & seynt hwe & seynt Swiþune wer þus lordis, & in þis þai suyd cristis lyuyngne & his lore; þerfor we may leffulli be þus lordis." And I wote wel þat gabriel schal blow his horne or þai han preuyd þe mynor; *þat is, þat þes seyntes or patrona in þis suyden þe lore or þe life of ihesu criste. And of þis þe may se þat siche nakid argumentis, þat ben not clopid wip cristis lyuyngne or his techyngne, ben riþ nouſt worþe, alle-þou; þe clerkis ablynden wip hem myche folke in þis worlde. But here haue I no leyser to tells, all þif I koude, what chefesunnc
and costis þe clergi makiþ, & what werris þai holden to con-
tynu þis symony & heresi so vnansely brouȝte in-to þe
chirche. And þit þai sechen alle þe wæs þerto þat þai kan,
þe in so myche þat [þai] gone openli armyd into þe folde to
kill cristen men for to gete and holde siche lordeschipe. And
not-wijßstondynge þat seynt petir was so pore þat he had
eþer golde * ne siluer, as he saiþ in þe dedis of þe apostles.  
And his ofþer worldly goode he lefte whan he began to sue
criste. And as tochynge þe tytle of worldly laue þat he had
to þat goode, he made neuer clayme, ne neuer resseyued affir
worldly lordeschep. And þit þai callen alle her hoole lordes-
chip seynt petirs grounde or lordeschip. And þerfore seynt
bernerd writþ to ewgeny þe pope, saiynge þus: ‘þif þu wilt
be a lorde, sike it by an ofþer title but not by þe apostles
ryȝte, for he myþt not þeue þe þat he hadde not: þat he hadde
he saue, þe whiche was bissynes vp-on chirchis; wheþer he
þeue lordeschip, here what he saiþ: ‘Be ye not lordis in þe 1 Peter v. [3.]
clergi, but be þe made fourme & ensample of cristis *flokke.’  
And lest þu trow þis to be sayde not of trowþe, take kepe
what crist saiþ in þe gospelle: ‘þe kyngis of hēden han lordes-
chip vp-on hem, forsoþe þe not so.’ Se how pleynly lordeschip
is forbodyn to alle apostles; for þif þu be a lorde, how darst
þu take vp-on þe apostilhede? or if þu be a bischop, how darst
þu take vp-on þe lordeschip? playnly þu art forbodyn boþe;
and þif þu wilet haue boþe to-gydire, þu schalt lose boþe, and
be of þat noumbr of whiche god pleniþ þe prophete ose, Hosca viii. [4.]
saiynge, ‘þai regneden but not be me, saiþ god.’  And þif we
holden þat þat is forboden, here we þat is bodyn of criste: ‘he
þat is gratter of sow, loke þat he be made as jongar *in *p. 336 MS.
symplines; and he þat is forgoer, loke he be a servuant.’ þis
is þe forme of þe apostles lijfe; lordeschip is forbidyn, &
seruyse is boden.’ þis saiþ saynt bernarde þere. And þerfore
no man may putt an ofþere grownde bisidis þat þat is putt, þe
whiche is criste ihesu.
THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY.  [CHAP. VIII.

Capitulum viij.

Vt sit I wrote welle pat and clerkis & religious folke pat b louen unkyndely pes lordlynes, willen close here & say pat pai occupioni not siche lordechipis in propir, as seculer lordis done, but in common, like as pe apostles & pe perfite peple diden in pe begynnynge of cristis chirche, pe whiche hadden alle pinge is comous, like as suche clerkis & religious saien pai han nowe. In tokenynge wherof as no man sayd of eny *pinge pat tyme, "pis is myne;" so oure clerkis & religious, namely, when pai will speke in termis of her religion. A private persone wills not say, "pis or pis is myne," but in persone of alle his brethren he wills say, "pis is oure." And ouer alle pis pai saien, more sutilly, pat pai occupie not pis bi title of secular lordechip, but be title of perpetual almes. But whateuer pis peple saien here, we mot take hede to pe rewle of prefe pat faylip not, pe whiche rule cristis techip vs in pe gospel in dyuers placis, wher he sai: "leue se pe werkeis, for whi by her werkeis se schul knowe hem." And pis rule is wondere nedefulls to a man pat ha a do wiþ eny men of pe phearisceis condicions; For, as criste sai: "pai saien but pai done not." And so as cristis werkeis beren witnesse of hym, as he hym sijlfe saip, & schewdyne what he was & hoow he layde; so pe dedis & pe maner of lyuynge, or pe pinge in it sijlfe berip witnesse wiþ-oute fayle how it stondip amonge hem in pis poynte. And if we take hede bi pis rule we schal se at yse how pe clergie saiþ here opor-wyse payn it is. For in sum place in private persone, and in sum place in comuste, or persone aggregate, which is alle oone, as saynt austyn saiþ vp pe sawter, pe clergi occupie 1 pe secular lordechip secularli, & so in propre. For in pe same wise as pe baron or pe knyȝte occupie 2 & gouernep his baronymous or his knyȝte,

1 profite MS.  
2 occupier MS.
so after he amor*tesynege occupieb he clerke, he monke or chanon, he colage or he couente he same lordechip, and gouveip it by he same lawis is iugement & poyntychinge; as pristonynge & hangyng, wiþ siche oþer worldly turmentynge, he whiche sum-tyme bylongyd oonly to he seculer arme of he chirche. he, oft-tymys we may se how haj bissyen hem to be kyngis in her owne, & reioycen hem fulle myche in pat cyuylike or seculerte, if haj may gete it. And haj is an euydence haj wold gladly be kyngis of alle he rewme or he worlde. For wher her londis & seculer mennys franchisen to-gydir, haj stryuen who schal hane he galows or oþer maner

They quarrel with lay lords for the gallows; they hold bonds-
turmentis for falsouns. haj kepen also vnndir bondage her
tenauntis & her *issue wip her londis. And haj is he mooste
eyuylite or seculer lordechipinge pat eny kyng or lorde hap

on his tenauntis. And perfore we may se hou haj.claymen

in her goodis a maner of propre possession, contrary to he
comounynge of he comon goodis in tyme of he perfyte men in
he begynnynge of crisis chirche. And what-so-euer he
clergyce sayen, pair dedis schewyn wells pat haj han not her
goodis in comoun, lyke as criste wip his apostles & perfyte
men hadden in he begynnynge of crisis chirche. For in
holdynge or havyngynge of her goodis is propir of possessyon
& seculer lordechipynge, he whiche stondiþ not wip he plente
of crisis perfecion in prestis; as it suþ of his processe
*and of pat pat is declarid before. And as for pat oþer glose *[p. 36 MS.]
pat clerkis han here, where haj saien pat haj holden þes
lordeschipis by title of perpetual almes. But here þe schul
undirstonde þat mercy or almes is a wille of relevynge of
a wrecheoute of his mysees, as lyncolnynce saþ in þe
bygynnynge of his *dictis. So þat jif a man schuld do
effectually almes, he most loke þat he to whom he schuld do
almes wer in mysees and had nede to be releuyd. In
tokenynge wherof criste oonly assigneþ almes to þo in whom
he markiþ mysees. And so of his it wille sue, þat jif a man
releue oo wreche & makiþ an oþere or mo, he doþe noon
almes, *but rþer makiþ mysees. And myche more he doþe *[p. 355 MS.]

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The clergy may not hold property. [Chap. VIII.]

No man, unless he doth great harm, shall give to those who have no need.

And for this purpose to take property from those to whom God has given it, is breaking his laws.

Quod superest date slemoalmaw.

Luke xi. [41.]

No alma, then, to give the clergy what God gave to secular lords.

God provided sufficiently for the clergy.

Capitulum ix.

Ere we may see, bi ðe grounde of ðe gospells and be ðe ordenance of criste, ðat ðe clergy was sufficently purveyed for lyfelode. For god is so perfyte in alle his worhyng ðat he may ordeyn no state in his chirche but ðe if he ordeyn sufficient lifloide to ðe sa*me state. And ðis
is open in goddis lawe whose takip heede. And þat vndir as for all stas. 
every lawe of god as vndir þe lawe of innocens & of kynde, 
vndir þe lawe þene by moyseyes, and also vndir þe lawe þouen 
by criste. In þe tyme of þe state of innocence, we know 
wel by bileue þat god had so ordeyned for mankynde, þat it 
schulde haue had lyflode 1-now; þe, wiþ-owte eny tenefulls 
labours. And of þe lawe of kynde criste spekiþ in þe 
gospells, sayinge þus: “Alle þinges þat se' wollen þat oþer Matt. vit. [12.] 
men done to you, do ye to hem.” And if þis lawe had be 
kepte, oþer schuld no man haue be mischeuously nedy. And 
in þe tyme of þe lawe þene by moyseyes god made a fulls *[p. 385 MS.] 
& sufficient ordenance for alle his peple, and assigned þe fyreste 
fruytis and típis to þe prestis & decknes. And alle-þou þat 
he wolde þat oþer schulde be alleway pore men in þe londe of 
israele, þit he made an ordenance aþens myschevous nedis, 
& commaundit alle þe peple þat oþer schulde be on no wyse 
a nedy man and a beggers amongst hem; as it is wryten. Deut. xv. [4.] 
And so in þis lawe he ordeynyd sufficiently 1-now for his 
peple. And in þe tyme of þe new lawe criste assignyd þe 
seculer lordeschipis to temporalles lordes, as it is tauþte byfore, 
and alowid þe comonte her liffode goten bi true merchandise 
& hosbondrie and oþer craftis, and in worde & ensaumple he 
tauþte his prestis *to be procuratouris for nedy peple & 
pore at þe ryche men, & specifyed þes pore, & tauþte how þat 
þat wer mysþy schuld make a purviance for ryche pore folke, 
þat þai wer not constreynd by nede for to begge; as grete 
clerks merken vp-on þis worde of þe gospells where criste 
“calls pore, feble, lame & blynde.” He saiþ not “latt siche 
pore men, calls vp-on þe,” but: “calls þu;” menynge in þat, 
þat þu schuldist make a purviance for siche peple þat þai be 
not myschevously faþy. And for þe clergy he ordeynyd 
sufficiently, techinge hem in worde and in ensaumple hou þai 
schuld holde hem apayde wiþ lyflode & helynge, mynystred to 
1 we MS.
THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY. [CHAP. IX.

hem for her true labour *in pe gospelle, as it is wryten to-fore. Of his pan þu mayst se hou; god in alle his lawis hâf sufficiently ordend for alle þe statis þat he foundit and aproved. And hou; it were ænsa þe goodnes and þe wisdome of god to orden any state but if he ordend suffciently lifode þerto. Siþ þen þis ordenance of god was suffcient, als wells for þe clergi as for oþer men, it semip a foule presumpcyon to brynge in a new and a contrary ordenance of lifode for clerkis, vp-on þat ordenance þat crist had made for hem by-fore. Of þe whiche ordenance þe clergy fulls many yere aftir þe bi-gynnynge of cristis chirche, when it was best gouernyd, helden hem a-payde. For þis meneþ þat cristis *ordenance was insuffcient & worthi to be vndo. And if we take goode heede, þai hadden no more nede to plene hem of þis ordenaunce þan hadden þe oþer two statis of his chirche, þe whiche in-to þis day holden hem apayde wiþ þis ordenance of criste, and desyren in grete party þat þis fayre and sufficient ordenance of criste were fully kepte. And more sikirnes or ensurance may no man make of eny-þinge þan cristis hâf of þis lifode to þe clergy. For crist not oonly affermiþ to þe peple þat he wills not fayle hem in lifode & belynge, but also proëueþ þis by argumentis þat may not be asoylyd, so þat þai be true seruan dis to hym. For crist meniþ þus in his arguynge þer: "Siþ god fayleþ not briddis *and lilies and grasse þat growen in þe felde, neiþer heþen men, hou myche rþer schal he not fayle his true seruanidis."

And so þis purvannyse of perpetual almes, þat ours clerkis spoken of, meniþ fawte of bileuæ & dispersæ of þe gracios gobernance of god. Siþ þan, as it is sayde biore, it is noone almes to releue oo wreche and make an oþer or mo; and to make hem riche wiþ temporary lordschip, þe whiche ben forfendit to siche peple; and namelie if siche almes-sevyng be distroyynge or apseyvnyng of eny state aprovyd of god in his chirche, it wille suþ þat þe endowyng of þe clergy wiþ worldly lordschipe owþt not to be callid almes, but rþer alþe ðysse, or wastynge of goddis goothes, *or distroyynge of his
ordeynance. For as myche as þe clergi was sufficientely ordeynyd by crieste. For whi þis almes þat clerkis speken of here made many wreichis, And it was þone to hem þat hadde no nede. And þus it is enpeyringe not oonly of oone estate of þe chirohe, but of alle þre, of þe which I spoke of in þe bigynnynge. And so þis almes-þevynge haþ made alls owre rewme, þe, & as I suppose, fulle nye all crestynsdomme, full pore and nedy and myseheuous ouer þat it schuld have be if þe clergy had holde hem payde wiþ criestis ordynance. But now þorou þis perpetual alamyss þat þe clerkis and religous folke called almes, criestis ordynance is vndo in sum londis hooly, & in ynglonde for þe more party. *And it is likly to *[p. 418 M.S.] be alls vndo in processe of tymes. For by amorteysynge of lordeschips þe lordis ben vndo in grete party. And þo þat ben lest, by-cause þat hem lakkiþ her owne party þorow foly þift of her aunoetris, ben ful nedi. Ferþirmore it may be vndirstonde of þis processe þat wiþdrawynge of þes lordeschips from þe clergi, and restorynge of hem to þe statis þat god haþ assignyed hem to, schuld not be callid robbery of holy chirohe, as oure clerkis sayen, but raper rytwise restitucious of goode wrongfully and þeuely wiþholde. And þerfore þer may noon oþe or a-vow bynde eny man to mayntene þis þeþte and distrystyng of goddis ordynance, and þis grete harmynge of criestis chirohe, as þe vowe of ipte Judges xi. schulde not have bounde *him to kille & to sacrifice his owne *[p. 42 M.S.] douþter. Ne þe oþe of herode schuld not have bounde hym Mark vi. [26.] to kill innocent Ion. But as Jepthe schulde have broken his oþe or avow, and han ofred an-oþer þinge þat had be plesyng to god and acordynge wip his lawe, as saynt [Austin.] awstyn saþ wp-on þe same storie, so herode schuld have broke his oþe, and a-savyd innocent blode, and sole a-repentid hym for his vnavysid swerynge. And so schulden lordis nowe breke her oþis, þat þai han unavisely and wipoute cowncel of holy scripture sworne to mayntene þis þeþte; þe, heresy and symonye, as it is proued bifoire, þe whiche oure clerkis called perpetuall almes. And not þus sue
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her predecessouris or progenitouris in her holy dedis and opis pat pai han made to mayntene pis mischeuous per-
vertynge of cristis ordenance; for as pe state of pe clergi hap no power ne love to make pe peple or pe lordis to synne
deedly, or to distroye goddis ordenance in his chirohe, so pai have no love or power of god to counseile or to constreyne in
ey case pe lordis or pe peple to swere to mayntene pis
dowynyng of pe clerkis and religyous folke, pe whiche is
fuls grete pefta, heresy & symony, and wondir harmfulls to
cristis chirohe; as it is scheywyd in pis procese in a oper
written bifoire. But pe lordis specialty schulde se her what
wer plesynyng not to pe clerkis but to god. And pat schulde
pai do; for her-to pai ben bounden by vertu of her office vp
payne of dampnacion. And per may no man dispence *wiyp
hem of pat boonde, stondynyng her state. for no man
schuld putt an oper grounde bisidis pat pai is putt, pe whiche
is cristis ihasu.

Capitulum x.

It is deemed wrong to alienate entailed land, Ndeperfore men demen it a grete synne to yewe lande a
entaylid by mannys lawe fro pe persone or pe kynred pat
it is entaylid to; she, alle-pou; it be not so youn for euere
but for a litille tyme. And pou, it be so pat pe persone
or kynred, pat siche londe is yewe to, be nedy and hauere
dy goddis lawe to occupie siche maner londe or lordechips.
and pis [is] demyd fuls grete synne amongethe peple, not onely
pe suer, but also to pe takere, for bope pai done damnable
wronge to hem pat it is entaylid to, as pe peple demij; she,
alle-pou; it be yewe for gode and true servyce pat pe ressey-
our *hap done to pe sueir bifoire, or ellis bi way of almes of
realeworthy of pe persone or kynred pat is yewe to. Hou, myche
raher pai, I pray pe, wiyp-owte comparyson, is it a grete synne, as
wel to pe ressauneris as to pe seueris, to take pe lordechips pe
whiche god, pat hap fuls lordeship up-on alls pe worlde, hap

[625 MS.]

[p. 43 Ms.]
\[\text{Chap. XI.} \]

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\[\text{391} \]

\[\text{One bi perpetual lawe or rihte to he stade of secular lordis, and seu pis fro hit state, to he whiche god entaylid pis and give it to another.} \]

\[\text{And if ours prestis clayme tiptis as goodis in a manner entaylid to hem, for als myche as god in he olde lawe had joue & entailed siche tiptis to he kynred of levy and to noone oper lyne; For criste cam of he lynyage of *Juda, to whiche lyne *[p. 44 MS.] was no tiptis grauntid; And so as men supposen pis entaille was not expressly confermyd bi criste and his apostles to his prestis in he new lawe. For as it is writen in policronicom, he sevyn boke, gregor he sexte ordenyd first tiptis to be payde to curatis oonly. And hit pai claymen so forforpli \[\text{The clergy claim tithes as inalienable,} \]

\[\text{hes tiptis, hit no man lawfully may wiþ-holde hem or minystre hem save pai. Ne pai may be turnyd or jouen to any oper state or kynred saue oonly to hem, all-pou; men wolden do hit undir colour or bi titills of perpetualles almes; for pis schulde be demyd of he clergy a damnable synne & distroynge of holy chirche & sacrilege. Hou myche raper \[\text{The clergy claim tithes as inalienable,} \]

\[\text{is it an hidous and a *damnable synne, to \[\text{The clergy claim tithes as inalienable,} \]

\[\text{away he secular lordechipis fro he state of secular lordis, he whiche god had seu & entaylid to hem, bi he same lawe & rihte by he whiche he had jouen he tiptis to he prestis in he olde lawe? and pis entaille was neuer interrumppt or y-broken in-to cristis tyrne & his apostles; and \[\text{The clergy claim tithes as inalienable,} \]

\[\text{hen pai confermyd pis entayle bi lawe so stronge to he secular pertie hit no man, safe antioriste and his disciples, may openly enpugne pis entaille, as it is schewid bifore. And so as no man shuld presume to wiþ-drawe, wiþholde or turne he tiptis fro he state of presthode, as pai sayne; so myche raper shuld no man presume bi \[\text{The clergy claim tithes as inalienable,} \]

\[\text{he temporal lorde-schipis fro he state of secular lordis. And he clerks han *[p. 45 MS.] not so myche coloure to saii hit he lordis & he lay peple robben holy chirche, if \[\text{The clergy claim tithes as inalienable,} \]

\[\text{pai wiþ-drew he tiptis fro hem, for als miche as pai han take her temporales fro hem. And \[\text{Yet the clergy have taken them by robbery, and} \]

\[\text{takynge of he temporales in-to he handis of he clergi haþ} \]
that under pre-

tence of holiness,

Gen. III.

as Lucifer de-
served Adam and
Eve.

[p. 455 MS.]

Religious corpo-
rations are bound
by their own law
not to part with
any possessions,
even to their
founder.

[p. 46 MS.]

Muchmore, then,
should laymen
not part with
property to
priests.

They have quite
enough with
[p. 465 MS.]
tithes and offer-
ings.

neuer he lesse malice of robrye & cause of malice in it sijlfe,
for als miche as it is done by symylacion of holynes, he
whiche is double wickidnes. For þus lucifer robbid Adam
bope of goodis of fortune, of kynde, and of grace. As þe
clergi hæ robbid, and þit døpe, þe chirche of þes þre maner
goodis; For riht as lucifer did þis harme to adam & eue,
vndir colours of loue & frendischip & helpynge of hem, so
done now; *his awngelis, þes ypocrisit, þat transfigure
hem sijlfe in-to awngellis of list, and disseyuen þe pepill by
fals by-heest of heenely help, þat þai willen procure to hem
for her goodis as þai sayen. And if a bishop and his colage,
or an abbott and his couent, may not alien fro hem eny of þe
temporalateis þat þai han, ne þene to her founder eny of þe
possessions þat he hæ þone hem, what nede þat enuer he hane,
I-bouden onely by a posituyne lawe or a tradycion þat þai
han hem sijlfe made; And if eny siche lordechips be wip-
drawe, Alienyd or take fro hem by rechelesnes of her pre-
decessouris, þai owyt on all wise, þe, in-to þe depe, labore
to [gete] þo possessions in-þo her hondis *æfen, as þai saien;
Hou myche more þan schuld not a secular lordes or a layman
aliene fro hym & his issue, or fro þe state of secular lordes
þe secular lordechippis þe whiche god hæ lymytid to þat
state? Siþ he is bounden by þe lawe of kynde for to ordyne
for his children. And ouer þis he is bounden by goddis lawe
to susteyne þe state of secular lordes, þe whiche is autorisid
in þe chirche bi criste and his apostelis. Of þis processe þen,
if a man take hede, he schal percoeyne þe falsnes of þis glose,
whan oure cleris and religious folke saien þat þai holden
þes lordechips oonly by tytills of perpetual almes. For
certis siþ þes tipis & þis oeffrynge, þe whiche as I suppose
coundtrirvaylen þe secular lordis rentis of þe rewme or *ellis
passen as it is full likly (For þou þai be lesse in oo chirche,
þai passen in an-oþer) and ben sufficient for alle þe prestis in
cristendome, & þai wer euyn delayd; þen it wer no nede to
amortise secular lordechips to þe state of þe clergi; þe
whiche amortesynge is vndoyynge of lordis & apostasie of þe
clergy. And if his amortasyngere were not nede full, then were it
noone almes, as it is declaird. And ofer pe tijngis and
offeringes at ben now of certeyne, pe clerkeis han many gret
e & smale porsquitisynys, pe whiche smachen of symony and
extorcion; as pe first fruytis of vacant benefis, prouynge of
testamentis, for halowyng of chapels, chichis, chauncellis
and oper ournementis of pe chirche, & for sacrynges of ordres,
& fulls many mo pat for multitude may not well be nowmbred. *[P. 47 M8.]
For wellis nið all her blessyngis ben sett to sale and to prise All blessings set
to sale. in-to crysteyngynge & confirmacion. wherfore I may now sa, as
I sayd at pe bigynnyng; "Fundamentum alius," & alius—
"No man may put an-oper ground bysidis pat pat is putt,
pe whiche is criste ihaen." pe whiche grounde of lyvynges
criste graunte vs to kepe, pat we may ascape pe euerlastynge
paynys of helle. Amen.

[Appendix.]

[On the Wrongfulness of the Clergy holding Secular Office.]

Here-aftir it schal be schewid what peryl it is to prestis to
be in seculer office, and to lordis to suffre hem per-inne, or to
excite hem per-to.

Eynt Cypriane saij pat porow pe counelle of bishopis per xxi q. iv cap.
Cyprianus.
is made a statute, pat alle pat ben charchid wiþ prosthode
*and ordeynyd in pe service of clerkeis schulde not serue *[P. 475 M8.]
but to pe aiter, and to munystre sacramentis, and to take hede
to prayers and orysons. Hit is for-soþe writen: "no man 2 Tim. ii. [4.]
beryng heis knyßthode to god entrike hym wiþ secular medis;" pe
whiche oures bishopis and oure prædecessouris biholdynge
religiously & purveyng hoolsumly, dempten pat who so euer
take munyaestres of pe chirche fro spirytually office to seculres,
pat per be noone ofrynge done for hym, ne eny sacrified
halowynd for his sepulture. For pai disserven not to be
THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY.

nempnyd before he auter of god in be prayer of prestis, be
whiche willen clepe away prestis & mynysters of be chirche
fro be auter. Pis saiþ saynte Cipriane. Here men now se
how pyrlyous it is to be kynge & secular lor*dis to wipholde
eny prest in secular bissynes. Pis is preuyd pis, for every
secular lorde by be lawe of be gospelle is goddis balyly. But
if eny balyly hiryd a werkenman wip his lordis goode and putt
hym to his owne seruyse, he must nede be vertue to his
lorde. Riþ so is every secular lorde to oure lorde ihsu
criste, but if he amende hym, pat takip a prest and puttip
hym in his secular office; brekynghe be heest of his lorde god
pat commandeip: "tu schalt couett noon oþer mannys
seruande." And he wipdrawip hym fro be seruyse of god &
fro be kepynge of cristen messyngs soules, be whiche he haþ
take charge of, for which soules oure lorde ihsu criste toke
fleisch and blode, and suffred *harde deþe, and schedde his
owne hert blode. Pis pyrlyous doyynge of secular lordis is bope
asen goddis lawe and mannys. It is asen goddis lawe; For
as saynt poule saiþ: "No man pat is a parfyte knytte of god,
as every prest schulde be bi his ordre, entirmete hym wip
worldly nedis & bissynessis." And for pis ende, pat he may
so plesip pat lorde to whose service he haþ putt hym-sylfe, and
pat is god. For siche worldly bissynes in clerkis is asen
her ordre, and perfore be apostles sayden, as it is wryten in
be deedis of be apostles: "It is not euyn vs to forsake be
worde of god and mynstir to bordis of pore folke." And if
it was vnequite, as be apostles sayden in her common decre,
hem for to leue be prschynge of goddis worde & minstre to
be *bordis of pore men; hou myohe more vnequite and
wronge to god & man is it, prestis to leve contemplacion,
studie, preyers & prschings of goddis worde, and mynstyrnge
to pore folke, for be service of a secular lorde. Hit is also
asen be popis lawe; For he spekiþ to a bishop and biddip
hym pat [he] warne openly prestis and clerkis pat pai be not
occupied in secular office, ne procuratorius of secular lordis
nedis & her goodis. And if prestis and clerkis ben so bolde
to occupie hem in siche bissynes, and if þai falle after bi losse of lordis goodis; þan sal þe lawe, it is not worði þat þai be holpen and socoured of holy chirche, siþ þorou hem holy chirche is sclaundred. And sayntes gregori wrote to þe defen- [Gregory.]
sours of rome in þis maner: "It is tolde to vs þat our moost reueuent broþer basile þe bishop is occupied in seculer ð[p. 496 Ms.] causis, and kepþ vnprofetably moote hallis; whiche þinge makþ hym foule and distryþ þe reuerence of þrestode. Þerfore a-noone as þu hast ressayvþ þis maundement, co[m]pell hym wiþ scharp execucion to turne æsen. So þat it be not lefalle þe by noone excussion to tarye it fyve days; lest if in eny maner þu suffir hym eny langer to tary þer-inne, þu to be coupable wiþ hym amantis vs." And so bishoppis & opir prestis hen holden to teche and enformen lordis to wiþdraw hem fro þis synne, and scharply to repren þrestis and curatís vnþir hem þat þai ocupie no seculer office. Þis is prøyd þus. Þe holy prophete Ezechiel saþ: "If þe *wayne or þe wasche-man se enemys cum, and if þe peple *[p. 50 Ms.] be not warnyd & kepþ not hem sijlþe, but enemys cummen & sle þe peple; þen saþ god þat þe pepille is take in her wickidnes. And of þe waite þat schuld have blowe in his horne wille god axe accountis and reknynge of þe blode and of þe deþe of þe peple." But now to goostly vnŒirston[ðin]ge euerþy bishop schuld be a waite or a wascheman, to telle & to warne byfore to alle þe peple by his gode lyvynge and techynge þe perelle of synne. And þis is þe resoñ whi bishoppis and opir prelatis & prestis schulde not be occupied wiþ worldly nedis and causis; For siche occupacions and chargis maken prestis alepynge & alumbrynge in synne. And þerfore it is grete perelle to lordis to make *our hem goostly wáytis and waschemen, as bishoppis, persones and vikera, þat ben alepers & slombreris in lustis of þe flesch, & blyndid wiþ poudir of couetise of worldly riches, and so occupied in worldly nedis þat þai neþer kan ne may kepe hem sijlþe, ne noone opir man. For of þis perelle & siche opir a prelate þat hæþ witþ and kunynge schuld scharply
THE CLERGY MAY NOT HOLD PROPERTY. [APP.

repreuse & warne alle maner men, to be schedyng of his owne blode, as criste did; and if he leue & blame not, pen he assentieth to her trespassis and synne]e deadly. For as saith he prophete malachie: "prestis lippis kepyn kunynge, and pe pepills schal axe pe lawe of god of his mouþe; for he is pe awngells of god if he kepe well pe ordre & pe degre of presthode." And therefor it is not lefults to eny man to drawe to seculers office pe messangeris of criste, þat hæ þo vttirly forfendit hem boþe in worde and in dede seculere office in presthode.

If eny man stonde in doute of þis sentence before; here suen autoritees of holy scripture and holy doctouris in latyn ægens þe seculer lordeschip of prestis.

[Num. xviii. 20.] Ivilis aut securaris possession fuit interdicta sacerdotibus & leuitis, ut patet Numer. xviii. Dixit dominus ad Aaron:


1 eorum MS.
pecuniam &c. et post paucis: dignus est operarius cibo suo. 
Et alibi, Qui altari deserviunt cum altare *participant. Non 
*enim oportet, quod qui semper altari debent seruire officio 
divino, inhient *terreno lucro, quibus dominus hereditas est. 
Quid ergo illi deesse potest qui omnia habentem habet. 
hec ibi. Item ezechiel xiii: Non autem erit eis hereditas, [Ezek. xlv. 28.] 
egro hereditas eorum: et possessiones non dabit eis in 
Israel, ergo enim possesio eorum. Victimae pro peccato et 
pro delicto ipse comederent, et omne votum in Israel ipsorum 
eret. Super quo Jeronimus, libro xiii super ezechielem: 
Qui autem talis extiterit ut minister in sanctuario, et 
ingrediat atrium interius, et offerat deo sacrificium, ita ut 
verum sacerdos sit, ymmo imitator eius de quo scriptum est, 
tu es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem melchisedech; 
iste nullam habebit partem nisi deum, qui est hereditas 
eius, nec accipiet possessionem in Israel, hoc est inter vulgus 
ignobilem, sed sacerdotalem, ut dicat de eo dominus: ego 
sum possessione et hereditas eius; quem cum venerit loquatur 
ac dicat, *tenebo illum nec dimittam illum; et psallet cum 
*e[p. 55b MS.] propheta, pars mea dominus. hec ille. Item, deut* x: Non Deut. [x. 9.] 
habuit leui partem in possessionibus cum fratribus suis, quia 
ipse dominus possessionis eius, sicut promisit ei. Item, Josue Josch. [xlv. 6.] 
xiii: non acceperunt aliam in terra partem nisi urbes ad 
habitandum, et suburbana eorum ad alenda iumenta et 
pecora. Item, ecol. xlv: Nam sacrificia domini edent, que Ecolos. [xlv. 33.] 
dedit ipse et semini eius. oeterum in terra gens non 
hereditabit, et pars non est illi in gente. ipse enim pars 
eius est et hereditas. Item, Mat. xx: Scitis quia principes Matt. [xx. 25.] 
gencium dominamur eorum, et qui maiores sunt potestatem 
excercet in eos; non ita erit inter vos, sed quicumque 
voluerit inter vos maior esse, sit vester minister. Et 
quicumque voluerit inter vos primus esse, erit vester servus. 
Sicut filius hominis non venit ministrae sed ministre et 
dare animam suam redemptionem pro multis. Idem patet 

1 sic. MS. Vulgate, gentis.
Mat xx° et luce xxii°. Item prima petri quinto: *Pascite qui in vobis est gregem domini, providentes non coacti sed spontaneae secundum deum: neque turpis luceri gracia, sed voluntarie: neque dominantes in clero, sed forma facti gregis ex animo. Item ad Thim vi°: Habentes autem alimenta et quibus tegamur, hijs contenti simus. Nam qui volunt diuites fieri incidunt in temptacionem et in laqueum diaboli. Item, luce xiv: Sic ergo omnis ex vobis qui non renunciatus omnibus que possedet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Item, Bernardus libro ij ad Eugenium papam: Esto, ut alia quacumque racione hec tibi vendices; sed non apostolico iure. nec enim ille tibi dare potuit quod non habuit: quod autem habuit, hoc dedit, sollicitudinem super ecclesias, nunquid dominacionem. Audi ipsum. Non dominantes in clero, sed forma facti gregis ex animo. Et ne dictum sola humiliat putes; nonne eciam veritate. Vox enim domini est in euangeliio. luce xxii°: Reges gencium dominantur eorum; et infert, vos autem non sic. Planum est, apostolis interdictur dominatus. Ergo tu et tibi usurpare audes ant dominans apostolatum, aut apostolicus° dominatum. Plane ab alterutro prohiberis. Si utrumque simul habere velia, perdas utrumque. Aliquis non te exceptum putes de illo numero, de quibus sic conqueritur deus, Osee octavo: Ipsai regnauerunt sed non ex me. At si interdictum tenemus, audiamus editum. luce xxii. Qui maior est vestrum, ait, flat sicut iunior, et qui processor est sicut qui ministrat. forma apostolica hec est; Dominacio interdictur, indioitor ministriacio. heo ibi. Item, Origenes super gen. omelia xvi°. Denique vis scire quid interit inter sacerdotes domini et sacerdotes pharsonis. Pharao terras concedit sacerdotibus suis, dominus autem sacerdotibus suis partem non concedit in terra, sed dicit eis: Ego pars vestra. Observate ergo qui hec legitis, omnes domini sacerdotes, et videte que sit differencia sacerdotum, ne forte qui partem habent in terra,
et terrenis cultibus *ac studiis vacant, non tam domini quam *[p. 54 MS.]
pharaonis sacerdotes esse videantur. Ille enim est qui vult
sacerdotes suas habere possessiones, et exercer agri non
anime culturam, Ruri sed nos legi operam dare. Christus
autem, domini nostri, sacerdotibus suis quid precipit
audiamus: Qui non, inquit, renunciaverit omnibus que
possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Negat christus
suum esse discipulum quem viderit aliquid possidentem, et
eum qui nos renunciaret omnibus que possidet. Et quid
agimus? qui hec aut ipsi legimus, aut populis exponimus,
qui nos solum non renunciatus hijus que possidemus, sed &
adquirens volumus ea que nunquam habuimus antequam
veniremus ad peperum.1 &c. per processum. Item, parysiensis
Parisiensis.
libro de vicij, titulo de auaricia mercenariorum: Sciebat
domini oculus ecclesie impediendum esse temporalibus istis
ab officio suo; Modicum enim pulnoris vel *paleo oculus
*[p. 543 MS.]
omnino cessare facit ab officio suo. Immo voluit duces
ecclesie pauperes esse, eo quod paupertas expedita est,
sicut seneca dicit, et subdit: Si vis omnino vacare ut pauper
sis, ora ut pauperi sis similis. Et si cetera membra corpore
ad plura officia conveniant, ut lingua ad gustum et loquem,
et manus ad multa similiter, oculus spectum vnum habet, et
contactum terre maxime timet. Sic oculus ecclesie contem
platius legi divinie debuit intendere, et a terrenis istis
separari. licet pes hominis a ceteris membris eius separatus
non sit, tamen habet separatam artem que ei decurrit, &
artifices qui ei totaliter circa calciamant eius intenti sunt.
Quanto magis debent esse aliqui qui totaliter spiritualibus
sint intenti. Sed hodie magis occupata est ecclesie in
temporalibus, quo ad magnam partem suam, quam fuerat
sinagoga. vnde quem fuit datum a *constantinno imperium *[p. 55 MS.]
occidentali ecclesie, facta est vox de celo, dieus: Hodie
infusum est venenum ecclesie dei. hec ille. Item Odo in co.
armone, Estote misericordes: Stercora putredinis sunt divicie,
quibus volucres celi, i. demones, exoecant oculos cupidoram. 
Et bene dicuntur divicie stercora demonum, quam omnes 
divicias reputant tanquam stercora, nec querunt nisi animam, 
vnde dines quam moritur quasi in tres porciones dividitur; 
mundus rapit divicias, vermes cadaver, et demones animam. 
Et quilibet contentus sua porcione alterius partem non 
desiderat; vnde versus:

*Versus.*

Spiritus est sathane, caro vermis mammona mundi;

Vnica plus duplici pars sua cuique 1 placet.

*Phil. liv. 8.*

Item non tantum a demonibus sed a perfectis divicie stercora 
reputantur; vnde apostolus: Omnia reputauit tamquam 
stercore ut christum lucifacerem. Pro his stercoribus 
causidici clamant in foro; clerici quoque cantant in choro;
medicis cum exortis vigilant *in thalamo. Pro his stercoribus 
frequenter illi commitmentur in mundo. Sequitur: pocius 
cum thobia gaudeamus, qui, curata cecitate quam per stercora 
contraxerat, visum recuperaurit. Sic cum divicie auferuntur 
oculari iusticie recuperamus. Cum gladius furioso suferetur, 
sanitate restituta, graciosis referit illi qui abstatulit. Similiter 
si dolemus pro ablatione temporalium, quibus exoecamur, 
quibus interficiumur, furiosi sumus. Et reddita nobis dis- 
crecione, saltem in alia vita, illi qui nobis stercora ab oculis 
nostris extersit, illi qui gladium abstulit graciosis referemur. 
Alibi appellantur venenum; vnde eodem die quo a constantino 
dotata est ecclesia, in aere audita est vox angelica, dicens; 
hodie infusum est venenum in ecclesia; maior quidem effecta 
est in dignitate, sed minor religione. Item Odo in sermone 
Ecce nos reliquimus omnia: Abel moritur i. cura pastoralis, 
luctus spiritualia interimitur, set *caym, i. possessio, conser-
vatur; ymmo pastor animarum caym agricola efficitur. Non 
enim in ecclesia queritur si caym bens docere, pro peccatis 
lugere, set si sit caym, i. agricola; si caym terras bens colere. 
Nec mirum si multos interficit possessio, cum sit venenum;

1 quilibet MS.
vnde eodem die quo dotata est ecclesia a constantino audit
aest vox in aere: hodie infusum est venenum in ecclesia;
major quidem dignitate, set minor religione. Si queritur:
vbi est quis tibi commissa? respondet: Numquid custos
fratris mei sum? quasi, Que cura est mili de animabus,
dummodo disponatur bene de temporalibus. Tales sicut caim
sunt maledicti qui educunt onem abel, et nos reducunt, est
sedecunt. vnde Ezechiel: Pastores eorum seduxerunt eos.
Item Gorham super illo Apoc. xii°. Misit serpens ex ore
suò post mulierem aquam tanquam flumen, &c. Per aquam
fluminis significatur *abundancia temporalis, que fluit cotidie *[p. 555 MS.]
siuit aqua. vnde psalmista: diuicic si affluant, nolite cor
apponere. hanc aquam habundantissime misit draco in
ecclesiém dei, domino permittente, quern a constantino
datum est imperium occidentali ecclesia; vnde tunc audita
est vox angelorum¹ in aere dicenius: hodie infusum est
venenum in ecclesia dei; sicut legitur in apocrifo Siluestri.
Et quia iam appropinquant venenum hoc ad cor ecclesie, ita ut
iam sit suffocatio proxima, clamat ipsa ecclesia cum psalmista:
Saluum me fac, deus, quoniam intrauerunt aqua usque ad
animam meam. Et deus de sua bonitate nunc primo incipit audire
ecclesiém suum, et misit adiutorem suum, scilicet terram, que
absorbere vult totum flumen; vel principem terrenum, qui vult
auferre ab ecclesia omnia temporalia sua, licet intencio non eadem
sit cum domino, qui propter bonum ecclesiæ mittit illum ex
miscericordia. hoc ille. Item Jeronimus in vitis patrum: Jeronimus.
Ecclesia ex quo creuit in possessionibus, decreuit in virtutibus.
Item Jeronimus ad nepceanum ep. xxxiii: Aut aurum *[p. 57 MS.]
repudiemus nos, so. clerici, cum ceteris supersticionibus
iudeorurn, aut ei aurum placeat, placeant et iudei, quos cum
auro aut probare necesse est nobis aut dampare. Item
Jeronimus ad nepceanum: Clericus qui christi seruit ecclesia
primo interpretetur vocab[ul]um suum, et nominis diffinizione
proleta, nitatur esse quod dicitur. Si enim cleris grece latine

¹ anglorum MS.
sors appellatur, propter eam clerici dicuntur quia de sorte sunt domini, vel quia dominus ipse sors, i. pars, clericorum est. Et quia et ipse pars domini est, et dominus partem habet, tales se exhibere debet, ut ipse possideat domimum et possideatur a domino. Qui enim dominum possideat, et cum propheta dicit: pars mea dominus, nihil extra dominum possidere potest; nam si quippe aliud habuerit proter dominum, pars eius non est dominus. Verbi gratia, si aurum, si argentum, si possessionem, si variam suppellectilem habuerit, cum istis partibus dominus pars eius fieri non dignatur. Et paulo post: habens victum et vestitum his contentus ero, et nundus nudum crucem sequar. Obsecro te itaque repetens, iterum iterumque monebo, ne officium clericatum genere antique milicie puto, ne lucrum seculi in christi queras milicia, ne plus habeas quam quando clericus esse cepisti.

Here sunt autorites in latyn of holy scripturs and doctouris aagens seculeris office of prestis.

Aulus apostolus dicit iij thi. iij° ad excludendum prelates et sacerdotes ab omni seculari officio isto modo: Nemo militans deo implicant se negoijis secularibus, ut ei placeat qui se probavit. Iste autem textus breuis et compendiosus apostoli, ex fide quam importat, excluderet omnes sacerdotes et pure clericos ab omni officio seculari. Quum seculare officium est destructum cure pastoralis. Immo ex canone apostolorum dicitur: *Episcopus aut sacerdos aut diaconus nequequam seculares curas assumant. Sin autem assumperint deiciantur; quia, ut dicit gregorius ibidem, Inutile et valde laboriosum est nominem litteratum raciocinationum causas assumere, et in eis quod non expedit se obligare. Item, ibidem dicit beatus ciprianus, cap° neque: In dispensacione ecclesie hanc regulam observandum nouerit unusquisque, ut nulli quantumlibet exercitate persone duo simul officia committat. Immo nomine sacerdotis careat qui de ministro a suis evocet officios. Et idem Ciprianus dicit quod ministri ecclesie debent solum
altari et sacrificiis deseriure, et precibus, studiis et oracionibus vacare. Et si quis eos a spirituali officio ad secularis duzeret, non offerestur pro eo oblacio, nec sacrificium pro sepultura eius celebrabitur; non enim ante altare dei meretur nominari in sacrisdotum praeque qui sacerdotes et ministros ecclesie ab altari volunt avocare. Item dicit beatus Augustinus: fornicaire hominibus nunquam licet, negotiari autem *aliquidus* licet, aliis non licet. Antequam enim ecclesiasticus quis sit, licet ei negociari; facto ecclesiastico iam non licet. Item ibidem scribitur sic: Tuitionem testamentorurn episcoporum non suscipiat. episcoporum nullam rei familiaris curam ad se reuocet, set leciones et oraciones et verbo predicacionis tantummodo vacet. Item beatus petrus in epistola ad clementem dicit xi. q. 12. c. Sicut enim impietatis est crimen tibi, o clemens, neglectis verbi sicut.
dei studiis sollicitudines seculares suscipere, ita vicuique laicorum pecatum est nisi inuicem sibi ecclesiam in hisque que ad communis veum vitae pertinent operam fideliter dederint. Ideo concludit lex canonica apostolorum statuta sunt que dicunt: Nemo militane deo implicat se &c. Proinde aut xi. 3. iii. cc. Clerici sint sine accitionibus dominorum aut actores sine officio clericorum. Et uniuerai dixerunt; hec observemus. Item ibidem sio scribitur hi qui in ecclesia domini ad ordinem promuentur clericorum, in nullo *ab administratione divina* *p. 59 MS.* auocentur, nec molestias et negotiosiis secularibus alligentur ut ab altaribus & sacrificiis recedant; set die ac nocte celestibus rebus et spiritualibus serviant Item beatus petrus in epistola ad clementem sic scribit: Te quidem oportet irreprensibilis xi. q. 12. c. Te quidem. viuere, et summo studio niti ut omnes viti huines occupaciones abscias. Non fide-ius sor existas nec advocatus licium fias, ne inulla ocupacione prorsus inuaniaris mundialis negocii occasione perplexus. Neque enim iudicem neque cognitorem secularium negociacionum te ordinare vult christus, ne pre-focatus presentibus hominum curia, non possis verbo dei vacare. Hece vero opera que minus tibi congruere diximus exibante sibi inuicem vacantes laici, et te nemo occupet ab hiis studiis per que salus datur hominibus &c. Item
gregorius Romano defensori: perlatum est, inquit, ad nos reuerendissimum fratrem nostrum, basilium episcopum, velut vnus de laicis in causis secularibus *occupari, et pretorijs inutiliter obseruire; que res quidem et ipsum vilem reddit, et reuerentiam sacerdotalem adnichilat. statim ut experientia tua hoc preceptum suscepit, ad reuertendum eum distincta executione compellat, Quatenus te illic consistente quinque diebus sub qualibet excusacione immorari non liceat. Ne si quolibet modo eum ibidem amplius moram habere permiseris, cum ipso apud nos grauiter incipias esse culpabilis, &c.

Ista ad presens sufficiunt cum diligentia scripturarum exercitazione ad excitandum sacerdotes ne curis secularibus se subiciant; et oracioni, studio et predicacioni intendant, et sic, spiritualibus inimicis deuictis, soli deo placere studeant; ut cum ipso in celestibus regnare valeant; prestante domino nostro ihesu christo, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit & regnat deus. Amen.
A Latin tract under this title has been printed by Dr. Lechler. The two are substantially the same, often answering to each other chapter for chapter. Each, however, contains chapters which are not in the other, while in details of treatment and in language they are independent. In this case, as in his defence of the Conclusions condemned in 1377, Wyclif has published his argument in two forms intended to appeal to different classes of readers; and we cannot doubt that, in this instance as in that, both forms were issued simultaneously or nearly so. Dr. Lechler in his preface dates the Latin tract not later than 1378, and his judgment is supported by the mention (p. 457) of Avignon as the residence of the Pope; since Gregory XI., the last of the Avignonese Pontiffs who was recognized in England, died March 27, 1378. This English version of the tract is much more vehement against the friars than the Latin; although even that, by the use of the phrase 'castra caymitica,' shows that Wyclif had already taken up a position of settled hostility to the Mendicant Orders.

Copied from the Ashburnham MS. MM.

1 Johannis de Wiclif Tractatus de Officio Pastorali e codice Vindobonensi primum edidit Gotthardus Victor Lechler. Lipsiae, 1863.
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### Chap. XXVI.
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- Lords should purge the Church
- Evils of absentee curates
- Avarice of priests and prelates
- Duty of maintaining the truth
- The Pope the source of evil

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De officio pastorali.

(Capitulum primum.)

There are two offices in purging the Church: 1. Of knights and lords, to defend the Church.

2. Of priests, to preach God's law.

Their fighting should be patience and suffering. Two things belong to the office of spiritual shepherd: holy life and sound teaching.

Qualities needed for the pastoral office, which is the highest that Christ has ordained.

er ben two offices pat fallen to purging of the chyrche. Be toon fallip to knyssis & kyngis whi opere lordis, pat shulde defende whi stremphe pe lawe of crist in his boudis; & is pis soruyss pei holden of crist al pe lordship pat pey han, & herfore pey shulden be war pat pey forfete not aegenus pis lord. for if pei ceessen of pis soruyss bi lesse tyme or more bi ony aloupe, god may not forfete pis trespas but pynyshe it in his tyme; & bi pis cause ben lordshipis chaunged, nou encreessed & nou destried. Pe toper offis to purge pe chyrche fallip to prestis, pat crist ha has ordyned to telle generally his lawe to lordis & comyns what pey shulden do, & to stonde for goddis lawe to bolly dep if it be nede. & pis fising of pis cristis knyssis stondip in paciense & passioune. & pis it is to saye shortly heere of pe offis of goostly herde. Per ben two pingis pat fallen to pe offis of pis herde, & pis ben hoolynesse of lif & hoolsumnesse of his lore. A curat shulde preche to pe pulpe treuipis of goddis lawe pat eueres bes grene, for pase ne he ledip his shep wel in hool pasture pat wolte not rote; & for hoolynesse of lif techip rude men by grose ensamiple, it is nede-ful to pis herde & to his floe to lyue hoolily. & herfore seyen hooly doctors pat pe lif of pis herde is a bok to leywd men, & a mark pei pei shuldes sue affir. & herfore sipen crist is pe beste herde pat may not faile in pis offis, no cristenman shulde sue his pralts but in as myche as he suep crist. & pis an herde shulde passe in vertues his floe as pe herde passip his shep, for he shulde be so sad in vertues & in suynge of pe firste herde pat neper for cwyntise ne fawcours ne drede of depe he shulde not faile; for pis herdis offis is pe hierste pat criste synuep to ony man. & pis pey motes lerne pe craft of loue, to loue crist bifore alle opere, & pase a man
lonej pus crist whasane he kepîj wel his biddingis; & ellis he
is not worpy to hane siche a maystir, as þe gospel seip. & Matt. x. (37.)
þus þis herde mut nedis knowe bilee, hope & charite. For
þif he fayle is ony of þese he techip not wel his floc, *ne *[p. 18 MS.]
puttip his lif for his shep așens þe wolf whasane myster is.

[Capitulum] 23a

a iðen a priest shulde be a mene bitwixe god & þe puple
& teche þe puple þe wille of god, it is knoen þing bi
skile þat whasane he errip in þis offise he sianep more
þau opere men; & þus syynede scarioth more þan opere
comyn mes. it is knowus bi bileue þat a mas shulde not
syyn for to wynne al þis world, wers it nenen so lipt a syyn;
for ellis þis mas syynede wel, & syynede not in syynynges þus.
& þus a man shulde not syyn al þif god bade hym syyn, but
god may not bidde mas syyn, as god hym sif may not
syyn. & aþen it mut nedis be syyn to fayle fro syynge of
crist, man shulde not fayle in þis syyt for god ne for ony
creature. & it is knowus bi opyn skile þat it mut nedis be
syyn to fayle in syynge of crist for many resouns þer ben
herof. for syynge of crist in vertues is so good þat it may not
be yuel; and it is so lipt a syyt þat no mas is excuside bi
nouns power; & crist chees siche a lift to teche men to sue
hym, & no man may come to heunene but þif he sue crist on
sum maner. & þus al syynne of man-kynde stondip is defaute
of syyt of crist; & þus sîp ech cristesman haþ power of god
to sue crist, he dissusip to myche his power þat vaþ it not to
sue þis lord. & heers men shulden be ware wiþ þe fend þat
þey be not blyndid bi hym to seye who may be enene wiþ
crist, & þus to allegge crist is but foly. þis is þe lewiderate
fendis skile þat enere cam out of his leesingsis; for men wolen
not be enene wiþ crist ne go bificore hym as petru wolde, but
sue crist neer or ferrere, & ellis þey moten go amys. & þis
may ech mas do opere more ny; or ferrere. & þus summe gon
bificore crist & summe contrarien hym in þer weye. Þes men
Men go before Christ who claim an ungrounded power, as in absolution.

gon before crist †ent seynes hem an hid power for pride or for counteyse, al fis power be not groundid in crist, & þus don prolatis non-a-dayes in asoyling & privlegies. & opere mea
gon before crist þat trawen þat þey be mouyd bi pite to stirs
a man to do a dede, & þit it is aṣenes goddis wille; & þus it
semyþ þat petre was mouyd to lette crist to die for men,
& herfore was petre clepid satanas & bedus go bihynye crist;
for no drede petre hadde be dampanyd þif he hadde not sorowid
for þis synne. þes mea reuens crist bi his godhed & his
manhed þat han power of cristiis godhed to do a þing upon
resoun, & þit þey letter to do it, doyage *þe contrarye her-of.
& aṣenes god is þe firste resoun many mea in omissionis synne
aṣenes crist, & þey motes nedis contrari to hym. & þus mea
of þes newe ordris reuensis crist as satanas, for þey leeuus þet
crist biddiþ & don newe biddiþis vndir his power.

Capitulum 3°

o  f þis goldus bilene shulden prestis take þis reule of crist
þat poul þyueþ to tymothe, & is hym to alle cristes
prestis: "hauyage fode & opere þynge bi whiche we ben
skilefuly keuerid, be we payed wip þes two," & do we werk þet
prestis shulde do. for ech prest shulde sce crist bi þe power
þat crist hapy þouyn hym; but ech prest may lijly þus sce
christ þif he lette not hym sylf, & þus synne excusþ hym not
þat he synne not in þis noue syyt. & þus crist lyude a
oomyn lif þat ech cristesman may sce, & noon of hem may
be euene wip crist, for nedis cristis godhed mut be bifora
& þus ech cristesman may resone faste & he shal ay fynde
crist biforn hym; he be pore, be he riche, be he feble, be he
witty, he may not sayle in his good will þat me he shal sce
crist in þat. & þus shal ech cristesman do, be he herde, be
he sheep; but þif he take to be herde he shulde passe in witty
suyng; & þis reule þat poul þyueþ mouyde apoelis &
opere prestis, til þat þe chirche of rone was dowid, to sce
crist is þe gospels pouert, & what þing þat a prest haf more
he haf his meede heers but not is heuene. & þus poul
vedrystondiþ bi fode, mete & drynk þat ben couenable to do
before þe servynas of god; & not lustly deynteþ of prestis,
neþer to make þer body wantous, ne gete hem worship is
ouer-greet meyne. two manor of hiling ben nedeful to
prestis þat shulden do þis offfes; hiling of resonable olopias,
& eke hiling of skileful housis. but be war heers þat synge
of curatiss brouȝt is bi custom in þes two be not cause of þy
synge to spende to myche in øper of hem. & siper we
shulden be pilgrymes heers & rowe wisely in þis booth to
heuene, þif we passem þis fode & hiling we chargen vs sifl wip-
outen fruyt. & þus prestis shulden be war þat coueȝtise
ouer þis reule of crist lette not prestis to holde poulis reule,
for þasne þey synge is auirose. & þus prestis may þre
enemies be temptid to breke þis apostlis reule; bi þer flays,
& þi þe world, & þi pride of þe fende. þat prest þat fediþ
*hym sifl to lustfully to plese his flays mut passe resoun in
his dispensis; & þat bringiþ in robbing of curatiss. & þat
prest synanþ bi þe world þat passiþ þis reule in to gret
meyne or in to costly dispensis, & seiþ þe world nedþi herto,
he synanþ bi temptiþg of þe fende, þat bi pride or worldly
worship coueþtiþ more of siche godis þas resouns aþiþ to his
offees. & þus onest pouert is best, moost sure, & moost list to
prestis heers; & bi þis cause crist helde þis mere bittenixe
begging & worldly richeþ. & heers be þre excusacionis þat
Three excuses:
bes seyd to exoue prestis synge. summe seyen þat for worldly
worship þey motes passe þis reule of poul; & þus þei desireþ
more worldly worship þas worship of heuene in staat of bliss bi
þe holding of goddis reule. but where is more folly of man?
þe second excusacion of synge seiþ þat prestis motes do
bodily almes, & algatis helpe folc of þer kynd. but þis telliþ
an opyn blesameye, þat crist was vawiþ in þis, sþ þe vaid
not þis in word ne dede, for goostly almes is myche betore þan
delag of þis worldly drit. þe pridde excusacion of prestis
Three excuses of worldly honour.
1. Winning of worldly honour.
2. Need of money for almsgiving.
3. Provision for sickness or time of need.
DE OFFICIO PASTORALI.

& opere caassis to helpe hem in tyme of nede. Pis is agenus be lore of crist, to triste in help of worldly muc, & leene to triste in god almytiti for keeping of his comandemantis.

Capitulum 4m.

Antichrist argues but heere antierist argueth agenus pis lawe of god pat bi pis same skile lordis pat lyues worldlily shulden holde hem payed of yer fode & yer hiling, but wheres were banne yer lordchip & yer tresour to helpe reumes?

many siche ape resouns han men herd agenus crist, as yif an ape wolde argue yus: "a manus eye is in his hed of sutil fode & vnhilid, bi pe same skile shulde his foot." Pis fand mut lerne arguyng, & wite to what ende god hap ordeyned dynerse lemes of hooly chirche, & peraftir shapus hem godis. prestis shulden be in pe hierste stait, & sue crist in sure pouart. kyngis & lordis shulden be bynep & shewe pe godhed of crist; & so hem fallip to yer offys to hane lordchip & worldly richees, & bi pis shulden pey shewe cristis power in his godhed. & cristis prestis shulden be pore & pacient bi cristis manbed. But hou ben worldly godis nedeful to kepe siche offis of *prestis? clerkis shulden shame of siche resouns, & algatis hou pey passen crist in taking of worldly lordchips & hanyng of orply tresour, pat shulden be proper to worldly men. crist wolde not in his persone ne in his apostlis hane siche richesses, but kepte lordchips & worldly godis to kyngis & lordis of pis world; & certis pez azen bodily trauel & myti defense of goddis lawe pat shulden not acorde to prestis; wherfore shulden pei haue pez godis? & so worldly lordis shulden knowe wherfore god pat hem pez godis, & servis god bi pez godis in myti defending of his lawe; for wite pey wel pat for pis defaute may pey be blamed of pis cheef lord. prestis shulden not lette pis ordenauns, but helpe pat it were kept of pe chirche; for souide crist is word & dede, why shulden not his prestis do so? anerous gedering of tresour is to blame in ech stait.
Chap. IV.] DE OFFICIO PASTORALI.

"But arguep anticrist avenus pis lawe pat poul bap tald; apostlis as pei were tauñt of god chesides to hem seune dekenes to xerne folc at per mete & to do bodily almes. Why shulde not prestis do so, siþes pei kuanen wiseliers do pis? but heere men seyen as bëfore pat pis smacohip an ape skile: for we graunten to ðes spekeris þat boþe lowers prestis & dekenes may xerne trewe men & pore in departing of mete to hem; but þey shulde not bi þis offris leewe ay to preshe cristis gospel. & so men shulde take heere good hede hou apostlis gederide not þes godis, but seculeris puttidem hem at þer feet; & sit þei leftem not to preshe for departing of þes godis. & þus a clerk or spenser of a curat may parte þes godis in þe name of hym. what lewid skile shulde moe of þis þat prestis shulden be seculer lordin, or haue worldly godis in propre, siþes apostlis keptem hem fro þes two. & heere men answeren to þe pridde skile þat anticrist makip heere; poul techip hou þat bishops shulde ordeyne wel for þer hous & herbore men wiþ-oute grucching, but herto þei moten haue wherof ouer þer fode & þer hiling. We graunten wel þat siche bishops as þes keperis of parischis shulden wel ordeyne for her housis bohe in prestis & oþer meyne, so þat þey haddens not to manye ne to ydil ne to synful. & siþes þey shulden haue ynow bohe of fode & of hiling, þey shulden not euere be so nedye þat ne þey mýste helpe pore pilgryma. but heere þei haddens need to be war of herboringe *of stronge beggeris & of mýsti me of þes world to haue heere þank of worldly manched. þey shulden kepe pore pilgryma for tyme þat þei hadden wher-of, & fede hem bi apostlis fode & not bi deyntees for worldly worship. & þis shulde teche siche persones to take more hede to þer paryshis to fede her soulis goostly, al þif þey shulden do þis sumtyme. & þis were lilit charite in persounas to spare hem sylf for a nyst for to helpe þer euene cristis, whanne þey sawen þat þei hadden nede; & algatis to take siche gestis þat helden hem payed wiþ siche godis, & weren of þe noumbr of hem þat poul biddip to holde hem payed.

The apostles ap-
pointed descons
to distribute
alms.

Acts [vi.]
The goods were
laid at the
apostles' feet.

A curate may em-
ploy his 'spenser'
to distribute
alms.

To the argument
that bishops
should be given
to hospitality,

we say that they
should have
enough to help
poor pilgrims,
Capitulum 5m.

Pastors should live on the alms of their flock.

If his men se over pat alle herdis of crist shulde lyue of pe almes of sheep pat pey tochen. for if pey han restis bfore or worldly richees, pei shulde leeue hem bfore or lyue on hem bi-syde per sheep. & pe apostlis leften per godis whanne pey wenen chosun to cristis disciplis. for ech persooun shulde bi charite uns crist as lychy as he mytte, but cist lyuende of almes of pe puple pat he tauyte; why shulde a prelat shame to lyue pe on siche almes? pe gospel of luk seip hou merye maudelen & cuesses wif & many othere mynystrides to cist of pe godis pat wernes herne; & peus as crist was nedy for men, so he wolde take of per almes; hou shulde a prelat shame to take peus godis of pore men? Also ech prelat shulde lyue moost parfit lif & moost sikire, but it is more parfit & sikire to lyue on siche almes pe ony othere maner, & othere prelatis shulden mekely holde hem payed of his title. If pei hadden bi antecristis lawe weye to plete for pe godis, pey wolden stryue & curse for hem & wrongely disturbe per sugetis, & peus to haue bi title of almes as crist hadde is more worshipful, for lawe of pe lord is betere, & peus prestis ben more lik to cist. & peus prelatis shulden bi title of almes syue lore & leading to per sugetis; & siuen his 3yuyg is myche betere pean bodily 3yuyg pat pe puple 3yuep, it is more worshipful to prelatis to 3yue peus goostly almes pean to take bodily almes, pat is so litil & so myche dette, & herfore seip poul so hably pat it is more blessid condiciuos for to 3yue betere 3ing pean to take 3ing lesse worp. & peus siif title of almes resue bi-twixe pis herde & his sheep, it is more willeful to pe sheep & so more meedeful to hem, & herfore wolde poul take willefully pe siife pat philemon shulde *3yue hym. & on pe toper syde anestis pe herde it turnep hym to more mekenesse, & stiriip hym by skyle & shame to 3yue ajen betere siife. Also god is so skileful pat he wole not pe herde chaffere but in 3ingsis whose valu pei knowes; but lore &
preyour of prestis may not be taxid bi manus wit, & perfors teaching and prayer have no price.
god wolde not hat it were sold bi dymes ne offeringis. & perfors seip crist is mathews gospel to his disciplis hat toches Matt. x. [9.]
pe puple: "see token frely yours wit of god, & yuve see it frely to pe puple." & his sentense shulden prestis take as a reule of bilene, for myche wit & myche strenghe ben in goddis reules hat semen rude.

Capitulum 6th.

o if his it semyp to many men hat nepor persons ne prolat

shulde wringe out pe godos of his sugetis bi cursis ne priests should not curse or go to

worldly ple. for pey ben pure almes as we supposen, on

which almes shulde resne no ple; for pei shulden be willeful &

youn wip-out reasoun of mansus dette. Also crist & his Christ and his

apostis nepor oursides ne pletides for por dette, & pey shulden

be ensample to vs; why shulden we curse or plete for hem?

& in tokene here-of god telde in his newe lawe litil or nouxt Little or nothing said of tithes in


hat dymes were partid bi-twixe prestis & oper pore men

hat werea seble, lame or bylynd. & therfore tellip unk in his Luke ix.

Christ and the Samaritana.

apostis neper yuwe fode ne herbore for hym & hisse; & ione &

iames axides of crist hat fier shulde come dowr fro heune &
destrie hem, as ely cide; but crist answeride to pes apostis

& tanpte hat he wolde not curse pus: "see wites not," seip

crist, "whos spiritis see ben, & hou y loue mekenesse &
pacience; for mansus sone cam not in-to his world to lese

mansus souls but to saue hem." & iurisdiction of crist was

largere & freeres pan pe popis. aipes crist wolde not curse for

pes wrongis, & pei werea more pas ours wrongis, bi what lawe

shulden we haue title to curse pus for ours leese wrongis?

no drede crist hadde more ryt to pes dymes pas any cristesman

may haue to dymes or to offeringis or to any good by

mansi lawe; & aipes crist tanpte in his dede not to plete for

Our wrongs less than Christ's.
his dette, why shulde not preistar ane crist heere, siue cristis
dedis ben myrour to hem?

* [p. 48 MS.]
Tithes were due
to priests in the
old law, but they
had to work in
return.

We should not go
to law except out
of charity.

A priest to move
his flock to pro-
vide for him by
patience and good
life.

If a prelate bid a
person to collect
money wrong-
fully, the person
must refuse,
or he assents to
wrong.

Capitulum 7m.

His ground may men se ouer, pat if an hye prelat charge
a persoun to hye hym godis pat is not grousand bi lawe of
god for to hyue, hye persoun shulde not hyue hes godis,
ner for cursing ne opere censuria. For a maun shulde not essere
to sypne for nopenst as it is seyd; & no drede his persoun
asentide to pe wrong of his prelat abone, whasme he hyuep
DE OFFICIO PASTORALI.

A prelate might
as well bid him
go rob at once.

Good men are
deprived, and the
benefices given to
robbers.

All three parts
of the Church
should join to
resist this, and
disregard curses
and censures.

Archdeacons
fine
poor men.

Six ways of con-
sent.

p. 5 MS.]  

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deprived, and the
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and censures.

Archdeacons
fine
poor men.

Six ways of con-
sent.
fayles of gode herdys, & ben hirid hynes or w(o)lyys, & pe puple shulide crye out on siche.

Capitulum 8th.

Parishioners should withdraw tithes from priests that fall in their office.

To pay them is assenting to sin.

2 John [10].

We are not to greet an evilman, much less give him almes.

Analogy from Canon Law.

[p. 56 MS.]

[1 Cor. v. 11.]

In giving goods to bad priests you help them to do harm.

The devil says people may not judge their prelates.

1 MS. puple.
inge his werkis, why shulden not men iuge & fle false prelatis? it is al oon to seye his feynysg & to lette men to fle fro fendis & blesse hem fro her wickid werkis, but teche mes to assente to hem. lord, siþ crist biddip men þat þey shulden not trowe to hym but siþ he dide his fadirs werkis, what prinycle ir hþ antþorist heeres þat men shulden trowe & susteyne hym in doyng of þe deuels werkis? Also crist techip in þe gospel þat siþ salt vanyeþche awaye it is not worþ affir but to be castus out & be desouild of men; & þis salt shulde be þes prelatis. lord, when þis casting out & þis desouiling þat crist spekip of be ðryþng of godis to siche curatis, & mayntenysng of hem in þis stait. lord, siþes mes dorens not mayntene an opyn traytour of þe kyng, hon dorens þey mayntene a more traytour & more harmful of ihesu crist? þe harme þat wolde sue of þis lore semþþ to stonde in þis good, þat prestis shulden shewe bi her werkis þat þey weren worþy to be helpid; but þis lore is tauþt of crist, & blesaid be þe weye þat techip it. siþ men ingen vndiscretly þey don hem more If men judge wrongly, they do more harm to themselves than to the priest.

They are the salt that has lost his savour.

**Capitulum 9m.**

þ is sentense of almes shulde streoche to plasis þat han chirchis appropriad; as ben munkis & chanouns & seculer colleges. Per ben þre maner of colleges þat vseen þis craft of appropring. Þe firste ben cathedral chirchis þat han preuendris appropriad to hem; Þe secourde ben chapels of prinis þat han chirchis more appropriad; Þe þridde ben colleges of studies þat vseen þis same craft; bi þes may men knowe oþere þat han approring of chirchis. For alle acorden in þis, þat þey han almes of parijschens & þat dwellen not on þe parys as herdis for to teche hem; & þey blasphem in god. For þey moten nedis seye þat god ordeynede þis; & siþ no cause is of þis almes, þei seyen þat god shoop þis wiþ-cute cause. Also...
god hap ordeyned heers in erpe almes to be delid as he delip reyn; but he delip reyn as it is nede, bi smallle dropis where erpe is drye; hou shamey not anticrist heers to make siche dichis & waste drye erpe? no drode he is an yuel god, pat jis renuerai pat goddis ordeynausse. & jif siche collegies feynes pat jey preyen & ophere wyes profite to jis parijschis, mes shulden not jis chaflers wipe prayers; for jey witen nere wher jey ben damnyd. & prayour of siche fendis is litil worp, ye to hemisphere, hou feden jey sheep? Also almes shulde be fre & discreet as goddis lawe techij, for ellis it were not meedeful, & god saue no leece to do it; what meede shal a pore maus haue pat he sufferij ajenus his wille his almes be borun to sayms casel to fede a fluc of anticristis? certis jey don jes papijschis no good ne to general hooly chirche, but jif jei don good as jey fend pat renuerai goddis ordenausse. mes shulden seke ground of siche collegies, wherfor god hap ordeyned hem to be, & jey fluc fed bi hem pat ben so fer & so lewid. & jis jes nouelries of collegies semen to tempte crist as jey fend, for jey gon not to heuene bi grossais pat god hap ordeyned to lede pidur, but jey wolen fie bi jey fendis craft & leece jey weye pat crist hap set. crist ordeynede pat his herdis shulden dwelle wisely vpon his sheep, & teche hem bope bi lif & word hou jey shulden lyue to come to heuene; but anticrist castij an-ofer gile, pat his herdis dwelle afer in castels & be doupme of lore of lif & lore of word to helpe per sheep, & so it is nedeful pat jey puple be disseyued in body & soule. jey ben disseyued in per body, for jey ben robbid of bodi good & it is clepid almes bi ipocrisy. & jis jey ben goostly disseyued, bope for hem wantij teching to wende to heuene bi cristis weye, & for jey ben led to helle bi errour of jey fendis weye. crist seij pat he is weye, & grounede jou pis apropring in crist, for jif crist grounde it not, it is jey brode weye to helle; it is a newe foundum weye *for sutilte ajenus charite, but jey kyngis weye is crist pat ledij surely to heuene.
Capitulum 10m.

Ant pus seyn summen heers pat, as lordis of pe world shulden wiþdrawe þer lordchip fro clerkis dowid agens u goddis lawe, so comyns of þe paris shulden wiþdrawe þer almes & yuwe it aftir þe lore of crist, for ellis þey reuersiden crist & dispiaiden hym & chosun þe fend. & jif a prelat, as pope or bishop, streyne þe puple agens þer wille to yuwe þer almes to siche plasis, certis þei ben þe fendis proctours. for crist koude neuere make an almes þing þat were not willeful to men & he koude not ordeyne siche buschementis to robbre men & to wounde hem. þes men ben woundid in soule þat ben smytun wiþ errour of vertue; & þus can anticiþrist bi many mylis sende his arowis to wounde þe puple, & mone consciense of men þat þey leecue goddis lore & take þe lore þat þe pope biddip, as jif þe pope were hyed ouer crist. for crist biddip men þus to do almes to pore fable & lame & blynd, but anticiþrist biddip to leee þis, and to do it to stronge & idil men, þat ben nerscied in þe fendis nest to be an oost agens crist. Also pride & coueýtise of myþti mes of þe world weren ground of siche nestis wiþouts autorite of crist; & þus men moten nedis assente to þe fend agens crist þat assenten to siche proprisg of chirohis bysye cristis leece, for crist seip þat who so is not wiþ hym he mut nedis be agens hym. & þus coueýtise of popis & bishops assentiþ to siche approprisg, & coueýtise of þer messangers þat ben hirid to helpe hem; & pride of men of þe world þat wolens make hem siche poondia, is oþer rote of conscense agens crist lord of þis world. but echa mes shulde þenke wisely þat his oune syyne is to myche, al jif he procures not to be parserner of oþere meaus syyne bi consent. & þis consent of myþti mes bi strengþe & cautels of þe fend hap maistry of pore sheep of crist, & autorisiþ siche wrongis is orþe. Also crist techip is þe pater noster to preye god to yuwe vs ours breed, & it shulde be maad ours breed bi ours trewe seruyys þat god
biddip; but al þes þat han chirchis apropried aylen of þis trewe seruyss herfore, & þus þei ben vnhaile to prye, but pruyen azen þer oune hed. & to þis purpos spekiþ poul, þat þis man þat traueleþ not ete he not; for þif he diðe, he eset as a priue þef mete of opere pore men. aiche sutil[ee]s of priu resouns þat ben hid in goddis lawe shulden mone men on goddis syde to holde cristis ordenanças in his bondis; for certis a priuey errour & an hid wolfe bringe in *a gratters errour, as o defaute þat is contynued wolle bringe in a more defaute. as defaute of kep[ing] of o parijs wolfe turne hem to þe fendis children, & þey wolde infecte cuntreyes, & cuntreyes wolde infecte reumes; & þus it fallip to kyngis & bishops to stoppe þis errour for more pere.[]

Capitulum 11m.

but heers moneth þe fend men to feyne falaly azenus treuþe. many men takes as bisleue þat þei ben lordis of þer oune godis, & þes it is leeneful to hem to do þer almes where enures þey wolens. but where shulden þey do þer almes but to þyue þer dymes & þer offeringis, & to siche curatis þat þe pope & bishops lymiten hem, for ellis myþte a mas be dampnyd wiþ-outes any defaute of hym; for hou shulde a lewid man do but as his prelat techip hym?

Men think that they may do as they will with their own. How can they give better than as the Pope tells them?

Every man should learn inwardly from God the great articles of belief.

We cannot know who is a member of the true Church, but we may guess.
not ȝuे dymes ne offeringis to siche men as to hooły chirche,
as we shulden not loute ȝe fend al ȝif he shewide hym in
ymeage of crist. & herfore crist & his apostlis weren not
greedy of worldly godis, but helden hem payed of fode &
hiling, & so don prætis of cristis chirche. & ȝus ȝif crist is
echeif lord, men moten dispende cristis godis on ȝat maner ȝat
crist hæp lymyted, & not hou euere a man wol, & it is not
ynowe to do good but ȝif a man do it wel. for ȝe gospel of
ioun tellip ȝat crist seip of summe foolish ȝat ȝei shulen deme
to obeysche to god in pur-suuyng of his apostlis; as poule wente
ȝat he diide wel to drawe cristesmen to ierusalem. & ȝus it
is ny; ȝe perel to ȝuे bodily almes to men but ȝif men
knowen hem betore, & þanne in litil quantite. & herfore
crist tauyte not his apostlis to bissie hem aboute siche almes
but aboute goostly almes, ȝat is preching of ȝe gospel; but
bodily almes is brouȝt yu bi freris & ȝopere stronge beggores.
& ȝes fendis clerks fynen almes whanne it is noon almes but
ysyne. & ȝus erroyr in biene, to trowe to ȝe pope & to
biscophs as men shulden trowe goddis lawe, makip many
men blamed of god. for men shulden trowe to þes prætatis
aftir þer dedis groundid in goddis lawe; but men shulden
trowe to cristis lawe ouer þis as biene. but ȝit ȝe fend
dissuyng men þat þey þyuen not þis almes ynto ioun or to
robert, but to god & in his name bi good entent, & þat is
ynowe; for a man shulde paye his dette to hym þat is traytour
to god. þeere is myche for to seye, for þe fend takiþ fals
þat foolish þyuen not þer almes to robert þat is a leme of þe
fend. & ȝif þei þyuen þis þus to god, þei þyuen it on an yuel
maner; but men witen þat it is dammpnable to þyue to god þer
seruyys yuele as ech fend þat is in helle þyueþ to god his
damnyng. & þus men moten riht þer entent, & þyue
discretly goddis godis, for wenynge to do wel in many casasis
is not ynow. & as anentis worldly dette þer is an-þer resoun
þer-of; for a man may meedefuly þyue it to hym þat shal shal
aftir be damnyd; for þis is no willeful almes but jilding of
dette bi manns lawe.
Capitulum 12

Curates think that the Pope’s leave or privileges may excuse them from residence. God will have due service.

The Pope’s bull can only make him take a share in the damnation.

* [p. 6 MS.]

Priests ought to tell lords sharply of their duty in this matter.

The send says that it is enough to put in a visir.

It were good to have a visir to take the forfeited alms.

It he send blyndy many curatis pat wenen pat pei ben not holdus to residense bi leuene of pe pope or of pe bishop or of seculeris lordis bi priuylegie, & pei taken fruytis of per chrichis & servus not per puple perfore. but heers trewe men shulden knowe pat neper pope ne oher man haf power to kep a man in his benefices & to do noust perfore; for god wole not do pis dede but axip due servyss for pis offiss. & as an ymage is not pe man al sif it be lik to hym, so siche leuue of a persous makip hym not herde but wolf to god; & sif an herde haue bullis of pe pope pat he dispessip heers wi hym, alle siche bullis excuses not bfore pe iugement of god; but pey accusen more pe pope to take part of mensus dampnyng pat tristen so myche in pe popis bullis more pes in lawe or skile of god. & bi pe same skile bischops leuue, pat is of a persous, excusip hem not bfore god, but te[lly]¹ hou pey bien & sillel per peyne; pis chaffere pas[sip]¹ symonye, for it is more nyv to wrong to yue a man leuue for money to servue not god but to servue pe fend. For certis no man may haue pis power, * pe not antioch est hym sylf. & as anestis seculer lordis, as kyngis & prinais & oher lordis, men shulden sharply telle to hem pat pei han no power a[n]us god, but pei moten nedis for siche dedis pat men clepes priulegies dampe hem sylf, wi pes persouns pat pey letten fro goddis offiss. & wolde god pe pope trewe prestis wolde telle sharply pis perel to lordis; for man myste not more opnyly bcome traytour to his god pan to drawe his knytes fro his servyss, & bringe is fendis & ale his soulis. but sit pe send haf founden cautels to bringe is vikeris in persouns stede, & bi colour of siche vikeris he seip pat propring of chrichis is leeeuful, & nous residense is excusid bi siche a viker pat holdip his stede.

Heers men penken pat it were good to haue a viker pat were nedy to take bodily almes of men whanne pe persous tranelide

¹ Illegible from the margin being rubbed.
not forere; but he ben not in his her vikeris, but in bodily travel & spuylinge of men. but bope his persouns & his viker moten be punyshid for her trespas, si ech men is holdun to serve god bi al he power hat he hag; for if his viker myste serve now, what nodde were it of siche a persoun? certis but to spuyle he pore folo, & make more synne in holye chirche. & bringing in of siche vikeris, hat oftetyme ben vnnable herdis, makiþ hem pore & nedy, & sharpiþ hem to spuyle pore puple; & it makiþ persouns aboue more hardy to walowe in synne, & many tymes bi ben vnnable to haue trewely he name of curat. & siche false names hat ben þus feyned excusen not bfore crist, siþ crist is þe firste treuþe & þe firste resoun of alle þingis. We graunte wel þat it were good many prestis to haue felowis in keping of a flock, oon to do þþ þing, an-þer, an-þer; as oon to travele bodily in mynistring of sacramentis, an-þer to travele in preaching & þer teaching of þe puple; but loke þat þes bope be holy & lyue in pouert as apostlis diden & ech of hem helpe mekely þer as felowis drawings is goddis yoc. but his axiþ residense on shepe þat man is herde of. god may not be bigildi bi siche names & excusen, for his lord wol rekene wip þes servauntis fully aftir þat resoun axiþ. if þou feynes þee an ordre þat þou preyst & þenkiþ on god, & þerwip þou hast cure bi þþ viker þat kepiþ þe chirche, loke þat þou bres not falsy þe name, but lyue is pouert as baptist dide, not in hye castels of caym & lustful fode as boris in sty; *for preyours þat siche booris makes don to many more harm þat good. for þis falsas myste a fend or a souter be an herde ouer a pouysyd men in englond & excuse residense bi a fool.

Capitulum 13m.

3 it arguþ þe fend to colour siche approprigas, þey ben con-fermed of þe pope & approuyd of þe court, who may im-pungue þis dede. but if he impungne þe pope; & of þis it wolde sue þat þe pope & hisse ben open heretikis, but where were þis fistinge chirche if þis were soþ of þe pope; if þe
pope & alle his clerkis weren dyuydid fro cristis chirc. for holding of cristis religious shulde stonde moost in þe clergye, & algatis is þes neewe ordris as be freris, muskis & chanouns. heere seyen trewe men in god more hardly þan þey weren wont þat þis is a lewde skile, þif þe pope apprune þis þing pasne þis þing mut nedis be trewe, for herby þe contrayre is þe more licly. for sib þe pope is more tempted þan oþere men & more led bi þe send, it semþþ bi þe popis consermyng þat þis is þe sendis werk. & heere is more colours in þis resoun þau in resoun þat aristotle telliþ þat jif a man hane a kempt hed þanse he is a leecherous man. sumtyme it may falle so & sumtyme þe contrayre may falle, as þe pope may sumtyme falle on þe sote & sumtyme dispenser þerþro, as he may bi famours or money apprune fœting of prestis & ful assyling of men þat fixten faste in his cause. but trowe we herfore þat god wolde folde fro riȝtnesesse of his lawe? for god is moost merciful al þif he suffers siche blasfemyes, & þau he wolde þat mersey were in men & foriȝtuenesse of þer wrongis; & not þat men shulden fiȝete to-gidere for siche lordchip of antecrist. þif it be treuþ þe goddis lawe god is þat consermeþ it, & þif it be falsed aȝenus god, þit it is treuþ as austyn seþ, & so god consermeþ it to be punyþschid bi his wille; but þe send is aout þer-of & stiriþ men to trowe to it. & þau men þat han kusynyg & knowes þe errours of þe pope shulden wiþ mekenesse & obediense telle þes errouris to hym & oþere. For þau dide poul for liȝt syane þat petre did aȝen þe chirc, & ellis men louened not þe pope ne iȝen crist ne his chirc. þau bi cantels of þe send is haue tournyd to name of loun & loun tournyd to name of hate, * & þau ben many more disseyued. & men trowen as bilene þat þe pope haþ no power but to edifi þe chirc be þe lawe þat god haþ souyn; for poul seþ þat he haþ noon oþer, & he hadde as myche as þe pope. & sib þor is no power but of god, & god synþþ no power to destriþ his spouse; neþer pope ne oþer man haþ power but to helpe þe chirc be goddis lawe. & þau seynyg of antecristis powere, þat is fals aȝenus þis
trewe, cometh of ye fadar of lesingis & disseyneth many men.
& as anentis heresies of ye pope & his clerkis supposen many
trew men pat he & his be heretikis, for ye holden agenus
God's lawe worldly lordshipis in prestis hondis, & pis is
agenus Crist & his lawe, & maynteyneyen¹ wrong agenus worldly
Crist wole punysche pis heresie & make it more
knowen her-aftir, al sif anticrist & his seyn nou pat noone
be heretikis but ye pat seyen pus. meanes diffynye of
heresie is litil worf but to blame men pat don & spke
agenus goddis lawe, for siche ben mooste heretikis. & pus
appropriing of chirchis, newe brouȝt in bi ye fend, sowey
symonye & lesigis to make pis propinig to be graustid.
& pus algatis ben pore men robbid of worldly godis & goostly
help, & ye fend hap an entra to overcome helples men, as ben
men of siche parischis & opere pat assenten herto.

Capitulum 14m.

³it argueþ ye fend pat bi pis foly pat heers is spokun alle col-
legies pat ben in studies shulden be destried; but where were
phanne cristendom? for sif philosofie & dyuynite wantiden
in ye reume of englond, where were phanne bileue of men
or goddis lawe in englond? for colleges in oxneford &
cambrigge ben fouadid on siche appropriegis, & collegians
wenden out & prechen & quykenen many partis of englond;
& degre takun in scole makþ goddis word more acceptable,
& ye puple trowþ betere perto whanne it is seyd of a maistir.

heers men seyn pat many goddis han comus bifore of siche
studies, but neure so myche siben colleges were dowid as
dide bifore þer rentis wereþ proprid; & þerfore it were good
þat þes studies & colleges pat ben in hem stooden in as myche
as þei acorden to goddis lawe & lynen wel, & as myche as þei
discorden fro cristis lawe þat þey wereþ mendid. but sif þat

¹ maynteyned MS.
The apostles took no siche degre & crist forendide hem to be claspid maystri, it somep pat pis hepen maner brouȝt in in studies discordy fro þe gospel; & as preaching of apostlies was betere þan is preaching of þes maystri, so prestis wip-oute degree of scole may profite more þan don þes maystri. *take þe good fro þe yuel, & holde þe good & leue þe yuel; & moue it not þe þat of siche yuel comeþ myche good to men & reumes, for god wole suers noon yuel be don but ðif good come þerof. & þus ðif comynge of good þat springþ of yuel bi goddis grace shulde moue mes to do þat yuel, & continue it & holde it, ech yuel shulde be don & a man shulde ﬂe noon yuel; for yuel of fendis doyþ myche good, as adam & eue didþ good in sywnþ, but it was don on yuel maner & þerfore þe maner shoulde be fled. & þus ðif dyuynite were lernd on þat maner þat apostlie didþ, it shulde profite myche more þan it doyþ nou bi staat of scole, as prestis nou wip-oute siche staat profites more þan mes of siche staat; & contynue þey is good lif & in boundis of goddis lawe, & þis shal make þe folc more trewe þan doyþ degre takyn in scole. & manye sciensis ben vaid in scole þat profites not to goddis lawe, but tarien & leten fro þis lawe, as poul techþ oppynly. & þus mæneþ lawe tauþ in scolis lettþ goddis lawe to growe, & no drede god is þat maistre þat wolde teche nou as redily as he wolde bifore þis tyme, ðif prestis lif be shapþ þerto. & þat semþ no good mene to passe ouer cristi ordenaunce & his lawe for good þat god sendþ herof, for þasne men shulden [not] drede to synne. & þus men of scole traualen veynly for to gete newe sutilites, & to maegnifie þer name for þer worship & þer wynnþ, & þe profit of holy chirche bi þis weye is put abac. & in making of þes maystri ben pore mænþ godis ofte wasted, & þe kyng of pride is hied & cristi meneesse is put bhynde. many siche synnes þat stires to stryues commþ of siche partis in studies; & þus bi propring of chirchis comeþ riȝtly noon help to þe chirche.
Capitulum 15m.

a nt heers pe freris wiþ por fautours seyn pat it is hereseye Friars say it is hereseye to write þus goddis lawe in english, & make it knowyn to lewd men. & fourty signes pat þey bringen forto They give fourty signs to know a shewe an heretik ben not worþy to rehearse, for nouȝt groundþ heredit.

hem but nygromansye.

it semþþ first þat þe wit of goddis lawe shulde be tænt in þæt tunge þat is more knowyn, for þis wit is goddis word. whanne crist seip in þe gospel þat boþe heuene & erþe shulde passe but his wordis shulde not passe, he vndirstondith bi his woordis his wit. & þus goddis wit is hooły writ, þat may on no maner be fals. Also þe hooły gost yaf to apostlis wit at wit-sunday for to knowe al maner langagis to teche þe puple goddis lawe þerby; & so god wolde þat þe puple were tænt goddis lawe in dyuurse tungis; but what ðam [p. 10 m3.] on goddis half shulde reuors goddis ordenaus & his wille? & for þis cause seynþ ierom trævalide & translatide þe bible fro dyuurse tungis into lateyn þat it myte be aftir translatid to opere tungis. & þus crist & his apostlis tuaþen þe puple in þat tunge þat was moost knowyn to þe puple; why shulden not men do nou so? & herfore autours of þe newe law, þat weren apostlis of iesu crist, writen þor gospels in dyuurse tungis þat weren more knowyn to þe puple. Also þe worþy reume of fraunse, not-wiþ-standinge alle lettings, hæp translatid þe bible & þe gospels wiþ opere trewe sentensial of doctours out of lateyn in-to freynes, why shulden not englýsche men do so? as lordis of englond han þe bible in freynes, so it were not ægens resoun þat þey haddes þe same sentensal in englýs; for þus goddis lawe wolde be betere knowyn & more trowid for onehed of wit, & more acord be bi-twixe reumes. & herfore freris han tuaþ in englond þe pater[noster] is englýsche tunge, as men seyen in þe pley of york, & in many opere cuntrya. sijen þe pater[noster] is part of matheus gospel, as clerkis knowen, why

Friars have taught the Pater[noster] in English. Why may not the rest of Matthew's gospel be Englished 1
may not al be turnyd to englysch trewely, as is his part? specialy HONE alle crysteamen, lerid & lewid, pat shulen be sauyd, moten algatis sue crist & knowe his lorr & his lif. but he cymyn of englyshmen knowne it best is per modir tumge, & pus it were al oon to lette siche knowynge of he gospel & to lette englysch men to sue crist & come to heuene.

Wel y woot defaute may be in vntrewse translating, as mystes haue be many defautis in turnyng fro ebreu is-to greu, & fro greu in-to latyyn, & from o langage in-to an-
other. but lyue mes good lif & studie many persones goddis lawe; & whasme chaungyng of wit is foundn amende pey it as resoun wole. summen seyn pat freris traveles & per
fauntours is bis cause for pre chesouns, pat y wole not aferm, but god woot wher pey ben sope. first pey wolden be seu
so nedeful to pe englyshmen of ours reume pat singularly
is her wit lay; pe wif of goddis lawe, to telle pe puple goddis lawe on what maner euere pey wolden. & pe secound cause
herof is seyd to stonde in bis sentense; freris wolden lede
pe puple in techinge hem goddis lawe & An pey wolden tech
sum, & sum hide, & docke sum. For pasme deautis in per
lif shulde be lesse knowne to pe puple, & goddis lawe
shulde be vntreweliere knowne bope bi clerkis & bi comys.

2. They wish to keep back what they please of
God's law.

3. They fear their faults will be seen
when God's law is known.
*(p. 105 MS.)*

Capitulum 16thm.

Tithes are due to true priests.

Tithes were to speke ouer pis of dymes & of offeringis pat ben
hire to prestis pat don trewely per servyas; & dymes
ben clepid goddis part in goddis lawe for greet wit.
many causis mes telles comynly why dymes ben clepid
goddiis part. nyne partis bess of creaturis & god is in pe
tenpe degre; & in tokenepat god is lord general ouer alle
creaturis, mes yuen god pe tenpe part is tokene of his
general lordship. pe werkis of pe sixe days in whiche god
made pe world holden sixe kyndis of pingis in pis orde of
ten; & sit per ben nyne ordris of angels, al sif pe firste bok
of pe bible specifie not pes nyne ordris, as poul doip in his
bokis. pe eythe maner of creaturis bes comyn pingis pat
god hap maad, & hooly writ spekip of hem in many bokis of
goddiis lawe. pe nynepe maner of creaturis, & pe hierste of
alle othere, is pe manesh of crist: & on pis suep his godhed,
& pis tenpe ping is hierst lord of al maner of creaturis.
& god monep al maner of tungsis to clepe pis firste onsumbr of
ten bi symple name & afterward pei clepen it bi a gederid
name; & pis may mes se in many tungsis. & pis moyde
mes in many agis to paye to god pe tenpe part, so pat bi pis
pey confesides to hym pe generalte of his lordship; & pis
cause is ynow to mowe mes to paye dyemes. but it were
for-to wite whiche mes shulden resseyue dyemes. pe firste bok
of pe olde lawe tellip of abel & caym, hou pey brenten per
typis to god, & pe smoke wente up to heunene. & it is licly
pat pis maner lastide vn-to pe tyne of moysees; but god
lymytide is moysees lawe pat prestis & dekenes shulden lyue
on dyemes, & semelily pis maner lastide vn-to pe comysag of
crist. but nou is pe pridde tyne of grace prestis & prelatis
chalengen to hem dyemes & meanes offeringis bi autorite of pe
olde lawe, & pis semy skileful, so pat mes tranele wel wiip
hem, for mes shulden paye per dyemes sit as pey diden in pe
olde lawe, but pey shulden not brenne hem nou, for per bes
many pore goddis servauntis. & per lawe & skile chacchip
men to yue to trewe prestis pes dyemes, for pis were moost
liipt & resonable sit pat prestis lyues wel. & mes neded not
to rikene heere hou ofte pe olde lawe biddip pat prestis
shulden haue hem; but for crist & hise apostlis wenes feewe
& lyueden on litil almes, *y can-not se bi goddiis lawe pat ne
dyemes may be partid among cristis pore men, pe whiche crist

Tithes are due to
God as a sign of
his universal
lordship.
Nine orders of
creatures.

God is the tenth
order.
How language
witnesses to this.

Tithes at first
were burnt;

but in the time
of Moses God
appointed them
to priests.
This remains in
the law of grace.

Men should pay
tithes to priests if
they live well.

But tithes may be
partly given to
the poor.

*Not visible in the image.
^Luke xiv. (13.)^ telliç in pe gospel, as pore feble & pore lame & pore blynde,
& prestis ben pe firste for pei shulden be pore as crist, &
feble Pey ben to do per seruyss & to gete per-wip fode
& hiling. Crist konde bi weye of myraclis & weye of almes
gete ynow, but hit crist was pore & feble & figurede prestis
affir to come.

**Capitulum 17m.**

i t were to shewe aftir his pat pe lawe pat god gyuep bi
seynt poul his apostle in his writing to tymothe shulde
not ceesse for ours taking of offeringis & dymes bi pe
olde lawe. Seynt poul biddiç to tymothe & rikenep hym
sif as o man to whiche pat he spekiç to, & gyuep hem pis
reule of god: "whasne we han fode & hiling, be we payed of
pes pingis." lord, sip pis is a skileful reule pat goddis lawe
gyueç to prestis & clerkis, why shulden pey leueç pis for
a willeful cheasing pat pey taken of pe olde lawe? specialy
sip pes two lawis acorden bope in wordis & resouna pat prestis
shulden lyue on dymes & be payed of fode & hiling. certis
jifgod wolde pat pe toon ceesside, we shulden not take pes
two to-gidere; but god were us pis to blame pat he telde not
which he wolde were kept. sipen we taken dymes of pe
olde lawe bi ours oune autorite, leue we not pis bileque pat
gode gyueç vs bi poule apostle; algatis sip pis is skileful &
ynow to a trewe prest. & of pis may men se our pat prestis
shulden not gedere to hem dymes & offringis of many
chriches, pat weren ouer per fode & hilingis, for pus it were
not leeneful to a prest for to do in pe olde lawe; myche more
we shulden not do pus, sip crist kepte so strey peouer. jif

- **Saint Paul's rule to Timothy more binding than the old law.**

- **1 Tim. vi. (8.)**

The two really agree.

- **Priests should not take the tithes of many churches, to have more than their needs.**

If a priest could be two men, be might have two men's allow-
ances;

yet pluralism is allowable when a man does not set more than he
needs.
ydilnessce & wiþ excesse of dispensis, & algatis putte þy
bisynnesse to serue god & helpe his chireche, & lous and
þis two þingis þan worldly worship or worldly *richees. *(p. 115 MS.)
& þus þor ben many mennes lawis of departing of prsonu
godis, hou þey shulen be delid on fours partis. hou þey &
hern shulen first take meaurably of þes godis; þe secound
part shulde be þouyn to pore & nedy folc wiþ-outeward; þe
þridde part shulde be þouys to making of þe chiroche &
ournementis of it; & þe foure part shulde be dispensid to
kepe þe housis of þe personage. & þis parting were ofte
vnskileful, & þis siche general lawe were nouxt. & þor ben
opere difficultees heers, what þing mën shulden tiþe, as wode
or erbis or opere fruyt; wher laboreris shulden tiþe þor hire;
& hooris or usaeris tiþe þor wynnyng; wiþ many siche
doumis in lawe; þe whiche dyuynes shulden leuee vntretid,
& lyue in pouert & serue þe chiroche. for cristis præstis
shulden hane no custom to occupie hem wiþ siche stryues,
but gederes al þor bisynnesse to serue god & his chiroche.

Capitulum 18maa

i  t were to telle ouer þis hou þes herdis shulden kepe þor
sheep is hoolynesse of þor oune lif & is preaching of
goddis word. & þane þey leddes hem bi grene lesewis
& water of huereme þat ben hoolsum, & þis is þe ﬁrst of yss of
þat falliþ to a goestly shoppard. ﬁrst shulde þe prsonum
fie in hym sylf lustily fode & proud aray, & þenke on þis, þat
his godis whanne þei ben gederid, be þey neuere so many,
ben gederid of his pore parișchens, as ben wedewis & nedy
men; so þat o peny gederid þus wolde same þe lif of his sheeþ
þat steruþþ. & þus it is a fendis boost to a curst to auasure
hym þat he may so myche dispende bi þeere, sip þei ben
cuylid pens of pore men; & þis is noon auasure to þe personu,
but resoun to rikene for al þis almes. & þis is more þan
worldly dette, sipen he is holdus to þelde betore; & ours ige

Pastors should
live holly and
preach God's
word.

The priest should
think that all his
goods come from
his poor parish-
oners,
and that he will may not be disseyued, sij he is cust wisdom of god. *p* ser curatiss e* p* lynes to lusty shuldev *penke hou godis *p* e* j* han ben gederid of pouert of symple men bi streit node & hard lif. but who wolde waste a precious water *p* were distillid bi bisy truel, & caste *p* seus in a lake where it stood to no mansus profit? & *p* men *p* lynes *p* lusty bes *p* more valuable to proche & to prye; but no drode, sij ours *god is resoun & *p* freest ma* s* may be, he wolde *p* ser curatiss hauve skilful fode; but *p* ser lust may not be ingle heere, but resoun must nedis inge, for it mut inge at domes day. & *p* same skile is of o* p* arapal, to bac, to chaunse & to halle, as many han to costely clopia, furours & girdlis & shap of hem; & ende of *p* is worldly glory & no profit to *p* ser souliis; & *p* same symne is in arapal of chaunse, as is proud beddis testers & curteyns: bi *p* may ma* s* se vey dispensais *p* ser fendis cautil h* s* fouduns. curiousete stowdi in hallis, bophe in making of *p* housis, in doseris, bancess & cu* p* shenes, & mo veyn *p* ingis *s* we kunsens riikens, as bes di* p* schis & coupis of siluer & o* p* ser vessel, & costly napysts in alle siche shuldev personas *penke of *p* reule *p* god he* pouyn of skilful1 ende of alle siche *p* ingis; & mensur *p* mene *s* bi *p* ende, & enure eward& dreawe to pouert, *p* it shyne in alle siche *p* ingis. but pretiis wastings in o* p* ingis, as ben horsis, haukis & houzis, & costly making of feestis, ben ful damnable before god; for *p* shynes wij worldly loye, & bes wrints wij vicis ajenas resoun. what skile is it at be day of doom to answers to be lord of *p* godis *p* pere pere men, *p* shuldev hauve *p* godis, perijachs wij-outer bi many defautis, & her godis be wastid wij-yyyy wij rot & wormes & o* p* ser maner. *p* is no skilful acounte to god to *p* yue hym rikeyng of his typis.

1 skilfuly MS.
Capitulum 19m.

o f his wasting of goddis godis springen synnes pat harnem
he chirche, for siche curatis ;uyen not ensaumle houn
men shules syte asenas per sleys. but it may falle
many tymes pat siche persons bi lechery waster por pore
pariæchens godis, & pis is a great synane. it is yuel to kepe
a wast hors is stable to destrie pore mensæ godis, but it is
worse to have a womman wil-ynne or wið-oute at racke &
at manger, for pis holding is more costly & more wast to
body & soule. he lawe spekiç of siche holours pat synnes
bus out of matrimonye, how hey be not weddid wiþ he
chirche ne wiþ god, pat is he soulis spouse; & hou men
shulden not here per massias, & bi he same skyel take not
of hem noon oþer spiritual seruyss. for al per lif is wlappid
wiþ synne, & hey don harm what euere hei don. & pus mens
shulden not ;uyen hem offerisgis ne oþere tiþis, & he while
hey lyuen þus, for pat were consent to per synne, & to nurse
hem aþenas crist. but ech man of his world, be he neuere
so myyi heere, pat makij þus party aþenas crist, mut nedia
falle & destrie hym silt; for treuþe mut vencusche al oþer
þing. & pis wiþdrawing of temporal godis were betere
bridil aþenas siche men þas to amerry hem bi officials, bi
erchekenes or bi bischops; for siche robbing is but nurshing
of more synne. for siche a persons wolde robbe his pariä
whanne he may bie his synne þus liþly; & so þe pore mens
of his pariä shulden bie his synne bi double weye, boþe þey
shules paye þerfore to þe bishop, and be punyþschid bi
consent of soule. but what is þe pariä holpus herby, but
þif þe fend helpe a man? for bodily & goostly þis curat doþ
harm to his sheep more fallaly þan koude þe fend, for he is
more homely enemye. & þis wiþ-drawing of godis for þis
synne semyþ to strechhe for oþere synnes, for þif an herde
be doump at home & ;uyue hym to worldly ocupacious, &
wiþ-drawes his goostly help fro his sheep þat he shulde fede,
or si f he stonde in lordis courtis or in offisa of pe king or of ophere, and leene pe servyss peat god axi to kephe his sheep in goddis lawe; si f pis syxne pase leccery, it shulde be more punysshid bi skile. & so mes shuldez wiþ-drawe per tiþis & iynu hem to ophere wisely. it were an almes & greet wit to iynu tiþis of siche wolues to ophere parijschens per ben treuelid bi lawis peat anticrist hæp brouȝt yn; & so ofte tyme pe remenaunt of tiþis were to litil for dispensais peat anticrist mekiþ to pursue siche men, peat stondes for resena of goddis lawe. & hou euers iuges spekes heere, tiþis were not ajenus goddis lawe, for al siche almes of tiþis shulde be boþe skileful & wilful; but what skile is it to hire a wolfe to do harm to a pariþ? tiþis were a monyng of pe fende, peat stirþu euere ajenus skile. & pe same skile is of curatis peat stonden in pe court of rome forto gete mo benefasis, or to serve peat wickid court; *for pes bren smyttid wiþ symonye & don mes harm ouer pe see, as a iust mas of ynde profitip to engliþch men; for pe lord peat seeþ tiþis meede is euery where to dele it wel. for sum help axiþ bodiþly residense, & sum help axiþ noon; as prayerys & many ophere gode dedis bes as wel don afer as neer; but tiþis is noon herdis offisa to be hirid for tiþis or offeringis.

Capitulum 20m.

t were for to wite ouer hou pralatis shulden teche per sugetis to vençuþashe pe world & pe fende, for to tiþis lore ben pei holdun. lore to vençuþashe pe world stondip specialy is charitis, & is fleng of ouneytise to godis of per parijs & ophere; & so it semþ an yuel lore to iynu parijschens ensaemple to plete & to styryue wiþ hem for litil, whanne pey han ynow bi-syde. for siche ple is grasedi in wronge don ajenus goddis lawe, for bi goddis lawe prestis shuldes haue no more but fode & hilien for per offisa, & al pe remenaunt of per hire pey shulden hope of god in blis. Also it falliþ
comynly þat a curat dispendiþ as myche as plees mayntenyd for his tïpis as ben þe tïpis is hem alif; but where is þane encrees of his wynynge? it semþ þat wrapphe of his and the curate pariïschens & harm of hym stowden for þe wynynge; but hou stondiþ þis wip charite to þe man þat þæt sylf algatis alow? & þus biddiþ poul to oristennes, but specialy [Rom. xii. 19.] to curat, þat þey shulden be moost dere & not defende þer oone person; myche more þey shulden not defende þe godis þat ben not sib to hem, but mes shulden þyue stede to ise & algatis praðatis, in suïering of wronge for siche ise, baytiþ a pariïschens ædæus þe persona longe tymes aftir. & þif þe pope feyne heores þat he þyue þawis & weye to hem to defende a massæe wrongis in his court; & þis is shewid for many wrongis ben rïtid þers. & þus þey clepen hym a The courts are praised, because they win goods for the Church. championous of rït of god, þat can wel plete & as þey spéken, wynne to hooly chirese godis þat shulden falle to it. þe þe þis court þat han matere, but certis heere is no matere; for þis is a cautel of þe fend contrarie to goddis lawe. studie þey cristís paciense & make þei þer chayer is cristís cros, & loke þey wheþer crist or his apostlis taþten þus to plete for worldly þingis. & certis þey motæs nedæs sue crist þif þey wolen holde þe weye to heuene. fro a littil error out *of þis weye may a mass come bi grace æonen, but myche *[p. 125 MS.] error wip error of wit makiþ mas to growe is more error, & no drede, proue who euers wole, a special medicyn æonen þe world is to leene styrueæ in worldly causis; for þus taþte crist wip his membriþ. & þus who so wole ouercome þe fend, leene þe þe fendis lawe & þe world, & ledæ he his lif bi cristis lawes, & þus he shal best vençuþah þawis & þyue enunamle to þepere mes, boþe to his pariïschens & ðopere, hou þey shulden vençuþah þe fend. for þes two lawis ben graunes to þe fend to gnare mes in his net. þif þou fle pride & his retenu, þasne þou vençuþihist wel þe fend; & teche þou þis rewle to ðopere mes, & þasne þou doost a curatís office.
Capitulum 21m.

The sort of pastor; it were to speke more of his pastours to suye to these sheep. for we shulen take as bileue that goddis lawe passiþ alle oþere, boþe in autorite & in treue & in wit. first in autorite; for as god passiþ men, so goddis lawe mut passe in autorite mannus lawe, & herfore god bad his apostlis not to proche mannus lawe but for to proche þe gospel to al manor of men. & myche more ben þey to blame þat prochen iapis & gabbagegis; for goddis word mut euere be trewe; þif it be wel vndirrostondun, & þis word is more hoolsum to messiþen it is bileue & it techiþ to sue crist, & þat mut euch man do þat shal be sowyd. & herfore þenke we herosane nyþt & day, boþe wakias & alepias, for whanne oþere lawis motes haue ende þasne it shal dwelle in blis; & þe herte of þis lawe is þe gospel of iean crist. proche prestis þis herte to messiþ & teche þey hemo to loue crist; for he is cursid þat loueþ hym not & sueþ hym not, as poul seip. & cortis þat prest is to blame þat shulde so frely haue þe gospel, & leueþ þe proching þer-þ & turnyþ hym to mannus fablis. for þe lawe of god dampanyþ hym þat chesiþ þe worse & þe heuyers & leueþ þe beore & þe listers, boþe to hym & to þe puple. & god aþip not dyuysious ne ryymes of hym þat shulde proche, but to telle euene goddis gospel & wordis to stire men herby. & þus curatis ben not excusid þat leueþ to proche to þer sheep, for a man shulde not be curat but þif he konde vn*dirstonde þe gospel, & he hap to myche wasting of wit þat can-not teche hem herby. & þif a curat falle a caþo þat he be lettid of þis proching bi hap or defaute of kynde, whanne he prochide before wel, teche he his floe bi hooly lif & god wolde haue hym excusid. þe secounde offias þat falliþ to herdis is to kepþ þer sheep fro woluy, as false frieris, þat comes to mess to robb þer wolle & do hem harm, ben clepid of crist woluy of rauyyn. & of þis perel shuldeþe persoues warne men. & what oþere false prochouris þat}
comes to men & prochen herefore, pei ben woluyys or foxis or houndis, & alle pei shulden be chased fro pe floo. pe bridde the third to anoint the scabbid sheep.

offese pe falipp to persouns is to greese pe scabbid sheep & to talle hem medicyn of goddis lawe wherby pey may be hool; & ȝif pei herdis fayles in pey þre, pey ben hirid hynes or woluyys. & heores shulden persouns take heede pey spyylen not þer sheep for wrongis þat þer prelatis axen; for þey shulden lecne þer cure bifoer.

Capitulum 22m.

i t were forto wite ouer hon curatis wastes pore medius Curates spend
godis in makinge þor kyn riche; bisyde þat þey spenden tithes in ouere persone; & þus ben many is englond maed in riche fro ful symple staet. & it semyþ þat þe kynge of pride haþ taoþ þis bi his firste syzene, for many curatis han delit to haue riche men of þor kyn & þat þor eldris wares noble men. as ȝif þor kynrede were noble; & þus hem sylf shulden seme noble, as ȝif þey came of greet blood. & siche ben turnyd in-to woluyys fro herdis staet, as ipocritis; for þey semes to have an herdis staet, & ȝit þey ben many tymes fendis. for we shulden wite þis at þe bigynnyng þat preists ben maed prelatis of men, not to lyue worldily ne lustly ne prouedly, but to lyue in bisy trauel to kepe þor sheep & wynne hem heuene; & so þe mote þor lyue trewely, tracerousely & perelously, siþen þei mote þutte þor oune lif for þor sheep, as crist dide. to þis riching of persouns kyn moneþ þe fende þes ipocritis bi feyned mersy & bi kynde; & boþe he seþ comes of god. *What man shulde not haue mersy [p. 148 MS.]* The devil argues

on his pore kyn to helpe hem, for heers is more cause of mersy þan to helpe ðoðre strange men; as a man lounþ bi kynde more his lomme þan ðoðre mediuys, so bi kynde he shuldeLowere more his kyn þan ðoðre strange men. & by þis cause many prelatis couseymen to be riche & awanseen men of þor kyn, al ȝif þey ben idiotis; but þe bileue of iasu
Christ did not enrich his mother and cousins.

We should live in the same way as Christ.

These prelates and curates injure their kindred.

*p. 15 MS.*
Capitulum 23m.

It were forto declare howe that preaching of goddis word is ye mooste worpye dede that prestis don heere among men. for crist, mesure of al good, vaide moost his werk heere & tauyte whanne he wente to heuene his apostlis to do his werk, & pus, since crist is best maystir, it is shewyd of bileue that preching is ye beste werk that a prest doij in his weye. Also goodnesse of werkis is mesurid bi fruyt that comeij of hum; but more fruyt comeij of good preching pan of ony oher werk, & forfore siche good preching is ye beste werk that a prest doij; for bi his werk a prest getij goddis children & makeij hem to come to heuene. & herfore seij poul to his puple: "in crist ieu [1 Cor. iv. 15.] y haue gendrid you;" & herfore crist presijij more preching preaching brings more fruit than any other work. By preching children are begotten to God. But, preaching better than consecrat-

oune body, al ye boye ben gode werkis. & y ou clerks, seij that gendrare, seij it saueij comyn kynde, is betere pan is nurishing saueij o persone of his kynde. & y ou seij crist is lukis gospel to a womman that blisid cristis modir & sayde, "blisid be ye wombe pat bare ye & ye tetis [Luke xi. 27.] pat you hast sokus," & crist sayde: "ye but blisid ben ye pat heren goddis word & kepem it." & bi ye same skile or myche more ye ben blisid pat prechen goddis word. lord, hou worpye werk it is to gendre god in mannis soule bi seed pat is goddis word; for his mut haue greet meede in heuene, bope for ye werk is hym siff & of ye children pat comeij per-of. & herfore seij ioni evanglist pat he haip no more grace heere pan to here his children go in treupe. & y ou seij pat a prest may not gete siche children in god; certis he may bi help off god, & elli no man may gete a child, for god yueip bi hym siff ye soule, & who get a child but yf it were pouyn? & herfore yenkip saynt sustyn wel pat crist dide more mysryacle bi his apostlis to turne so manye hepen men is so short while fro so wickid
lif for to be þus cristis children, þan were ðore myraclis of crist; & herfore þe apostlis choosen more to preche þan
do bodily almes. Also þe more þat crist helpeþ to a werk
þe more it is good; but crist helpeþ more specialty to prechinge
þan to ðer werk, & herfore it muþ nedis be betere for crist
endip it þus graciously. & herfore seyn wise dootours þat
it is more to preche wel þan to do oðry ðer werk, as phisik
or alkemonye; & herfore crist þabad his apostlis do many
werkis but noon as þis. For in þis a prest cloþþe hym is
ðristis persone & gotþ þristis broþer, his sister & his modir.
& of þis may a man gedere þat it is more sywne to fayle in
þis þan to fayle in ðer werkis þat ben not so gode as þis is.
lord, siþ þe sywne of sodom cryede to god for greet vesiuansee,
hou shal þis sywne þat letþþ þis gendrurs crye to god to be
a-vengid.

Capitulum 24°:

i t were to wite ouer þis hou men falles in þis sywne,
& what medicyn were a jesen it, siþ þis werk is so
precious. þre maner of folc sywne here; sunstyme
þe prest þat shulde preche, þe puple þat shulde here þis
preaching, & he þat letþþ goddis word to reyne. þis prechoure
may sywne on many maners bi þat þat he sowþþ not good seed,
but iapis & gabbingis or ðore tryuolis, & leenuþ to preche
þe word of god. For luk seþ þat þat is seed þat no defauate
is foundan yane, al þif þre defauate ben in þe lond vpon which
þis seed is castan. On ðer maner þis prest þat sowþþ may
meddle venym wip þis seed, as wanne he prechir for veyn
glory or for coinetyse of worldly good. & herfore seþ poul
to his puple þat we ben not holours of goddis word, but of
cleaneesse, as we spekes of god, we spekes bifore god in crist.
& wolde god þat prechours nou wolde lerne þis lesson of
poul; þanne þey shulden speke of god & not þus of rote
seed, & as þei were bifore god, kepynge good maner in þis
lordis presence. & þey shulden preche for cristis worship
on his maner not for muc. for among alle symonyes þat which is the worst of all forms of symony, much practised by men who are partners of whoms he þyuen he has godis heers þey assenent to þer the sm. symonyes. & þis is a foul error þat many seyn in þis mater þat þey þyuen for goddis loue & þat is ynow for hem, for certis þis wiss lord axip bohe his godis & good maner. & for þis good maner mas haþ meede, & if he sayliþ hym wannaþ meede; & to destrie þis error seiþ crist in þe gospel of seynt mathen þat sunne damnyd men shulen seye to crist: "sire, [Matt. vii. 22.] kestides we not out fendis *in þy name & diden vertues in *[p. 16 Ms.] þy name?" but crist shal seye to þese men: "soþely, y seye to þou y knowe þou not as children of blis, for þee failiden of good maner." lord, aþ þis men shulen be damnyd þat prechen goddis word in cristis name & casten out fendis & don vertues, what meede shulen þese beggeris haue, þat saylen in þis & liþen on crist & seyn þat crist baggyd þus to holde vp þer newe ordris. crist wiste ful wel þat þes shulden come whans he bad hem not go fro hons to hons, [Mark vi. 6-10.] but dwelle in oon & wende not þeðhus, & bere not vpon þer backis baggis ne sachels to begge þus.

Capitulm 25a.

a s anestis two oþere defautis þat letten goddis word to growe, crist tellip þro defautis in þe erþe þat shulde take þis word. summen ben bi-syde þe weye, & so bisied wip þe world þat goddis word takiþ not wip hem, but þe fendis letten it. oþere men ben drye as stoons & han no delit in wordis but if þey soumen to worldly wysanyng, & þese wantes boþe grace & wisdom. þe pridd maner of men þat heren goddis word ben so prickid wip worldly richees þat þe
Of the worst sort are emperor prelates, who do for the devil what he cannot do himself.

Such a prelate is a wicked hayward, stopping Christ's way.

Friars get true preaching stopped that their false preaching may be spread.

False preachers should be stopped.

penking on þe godis letþip þe word of god to growe; & to þe þe may be reducید al þe syne in þe hereris. þe pridde men synan more, as beþ emperour prelatis þat wolþes not suffer a man to præche whas ne hit tellip þer defaultis but whas ne he præsiþ hem & herne, & þis nyrschip myche synan.

for siche prelatis þat knowes not præche or wolþes not for bisynesse, & letten opere trewe præsis to præche bi þer lordly cautela, paseen þe fend in þis synne bi menes þat he haþ ordeyned to hem. for þe fend haþ no iurisdictioun ne feyned power as þey han, & þus þat he may not do hym-silf he doþ bi siche ærnuautis to hym. & no drede þis is þe fendis dede to lette men to sowe goddis word, for þerby þer soulis shuldes be fed & goddis worship be don of men, but þey makes a goostly hungir & stoppes þe worship of god. but wheres is a wores condicioun folowynge prelatis of antichrist? it were yuel to lette gendrurs maad in laweful matrymonye, þat pharao dide not in egypt but dreynete þe children whas ne þey were borun, but þis is wors wip-outis mesure to lette þus crist to be gendrid in men. siche a prelat semþþ a wickid hayward to lette trewe men forto travele & go euene bi goddis weye, in which crist haþ þouyn hem leene to go. for god þat þueþ siche wit & wille shapþþ þe pulpe to take þis seed. * & it is al oon to seye þat yshu lete þe bi iurisdictioun, & to seye þis is a place þat þe fend is lord of & not crist; & as þe wordis ben nedis false, so is þis iurisdictioun; for he haþ no ript to seye þe wordis, but þe ben falsly feyned of þe fend. & freris procures comynly bope lordis & bischops to lette þis præching, so þat þer fals præching be spread & þer wynynge ægens crist, & þus is þe pulpe robbid of goostly help & bodily. We graunten þat iurisdictioun shulde lette false præchores to præche; but nou haþ þe fend turnyd cristis chircbe bi his prelatis, þat he þat wolde treuly præche þe word of þe gospel wip-outis hire, he shal be put a-bac, & contrarie præchour shal be takyn, & þus wickid haywardis of þe fend letten þis seed þat crist shulde sowe.
Capitulum 26°.

Causes that prevent preaching:
Endowment of the Church, which makes prelates too fat to preach.

myche to be fende, o cause is dowing of be chiroche & riching per-of owre cristas wille, for bi bis prelatis slopes is syane & ben to fatte to proche be puple, & tus per bisynesse is stoppid to gete hem more of worldly mue. & tus bei fallus is an-oher cause be ben not payed of pouls reule to haue ynow of fode & hilling. & heere boken out be freris ordis, for al if bei han no worldly lordship as han prestis be ben dowid, hit bei spuylen men of moeblis & wastes hem in nonabre & housis, & bis exceses is more syane han syane of be fende in o persone. & tus beu turnen be ende of per prochins for-to gete hem siche prochins. & bis entent mut nedis make falsed in maner of per prochins, for bei shapen per sermounes more to gete hem good han to profite to be chiroche; & as be firste wile of be fende bigan soone in silestris tyne, so bis seconnd wile bigan in gounding of be newe ordis.

pride cause be lettis trewe proaching is appropriag of chiroches. for whasne chiroches be appropriad, be curatis tellen not bi bis prochins, as musicis or chanonous or ohere collegis, but bi gedering of godis; & tus be ben mead slowe to proche & stronge to geders dymes to hem. & be cantel cam laterys ys & is alargd by be pope. be fourbe cause is bringiag is of false freris bi many unstreyys; for, as it is False frysers seid bifoire, bei letten trewe proaching to resme & makes curatis bi many weyes to leeue bis moiost worpy offisa.

First tus robben hem many weyes & makes hem bisy for to lywe, for tus deprausa hem to be parishchis bi florishad wordis tus tus bringen yu; & no drede tus shapen per sermounes bi dyuy-siouns & ohere iapis tus tus make mest plese tus puple. & tus tus erroes is bicleue & makes tus puple to trowe to hem tus sermounes be nouyt but in tus slandering parish priestis.

They preach elaborately sermons and teach that no others are worth anything.
foorme & þus þei stoppen symple curatis þat þei doren not preche to þe puple, & þis defaute of proaching of crist is more þan defaute in hereris. & so as crist aþi in þe gospel, boþe sodom & gomor shules be lesse punyshed at domes day þan þes newe sectis brouȝt yn; for þey synnedes in manne seed, but þes synnes in seed of god, þat is goddis word, þat prethus shulde þreche to turne þe lewid puple to god. & as it is seyd biforn, þe puple is amyttid bi þis synne, for þe puple assentiþ to hem bi iapis & willis þat þey tellen hem. þe puple shulde not trowe to þe prochour what euers he seye in þis staat, but þif his word be groundid in god as goddis lawe or suynge þor-of. for þis staat is not couenable to telle iapis ne bourdis to men, but þat þat wolde trewely fede þor soule, as is þe gospel & þor goddis lawe. & þis bourding or oþer iapis shulde make þes freris suspecht heers & make hem want worldly wynnyng, for þey ben worþy myche more peyne; but lewedisnesse of þe puple makij hem nureshe þor mooste enemyes. & god make þis enemye knowyns. for þis is þe laste & þe mooste fendis cautel; but good wille & trew speche of goddis lawe shulde make hem knowyns. for failing of goddis word & coueytise of menne good shewes opialy to men whose children þat þey ben. lord, sijþen parishesh shulden take þe proching of þor oune curat & þe mynistring þat he shulde do, for þat shulde suffice to þat puple. Why shulden not men þie fro þes false prophethis, as crist biddiþ is þe gospel? but bullis of þe court of rome blyndes many men heers, for it semþ þe hed of erroour & propr net of antimrist.

Capitulum 2[7°]

Sects distyrb the o Church militant.  
þis may wise mens see þat þes fours sectis newe brouȝt in, as emperour clerkis, musakis & chanouns & þes fours ordris of freris, disuturbles moost þis fiþinge chirche & putten it fro þe cours of crist, & þus þes mens þat nurshen hem, as worldly lordis & fownyd comyns & lewid
prestitis, pat knunnes not speke or dores not speke in goddis cause, nurshen anticiarist & his traytourly aijens crist. pat orde pat crist haj ordeyned in his chirche shulde we holde, & meade errous in his orde; & not bryse in newe charg to pe chirche. for as wanting of gode partis is defaute in ours modir body, so suerflyte is defaute in pe same body; For pe bryse is ydyleness & charging of hooly chirche, & bileue techip men pat hir is as myche wit in pe ordenaunse of crist as in pe wordis of his gospel; & bileue techip ouer pat crist faylide not to his chirche to syue his ordenaunse to it in pe making of bir partis. for men putten as myche wit or more to good ordenaunse of mas as to worching of mas aftir his ordenaunse biforn, for wisres men motes ordeyne first, & l esse wiss motes worche hir-aftir. & his moue many men to speke aijens pes fours sectis, for no mas kan grounde hem in pe ordenaunse of cristis lawe, & no mas seip pat crist forsat hem; if crist wolde pat pey were of his chirche; & pes men putten vpon crist oher foly or negligens. but who shulde here his blasfemye but if he spake sharply aijens it? cristis ordenaunse is put bi-lynde & his lore, & oher brouzt is, & his turney pe chirche vpsedous, & letteip men to sorne crist. & lewiod fools, pat argues heares pat crist ordeyned not his pret, shuldes lerne pe lawe of porfirie, how god ordeyned in a comyn pias alle pe syngulieris oher-of. & pes dwelle hou in pe just boundis pat god haj ordeyned for his pret, & pesne god haj ordeyned pes in pe comyn kynde of pretis. but anticiarist can-not grounde pat god ordeynede pe kynde of popis, ne of oher empourclerkis, ne of mussis, ne of chanoure, ne of fours ordis of fraris, al if he ordeynede good to come of hess; as god ordeynede no mas to syene al if he ordeynede good to come of sywene. & pes fours ordis smacchen sywene, aipes pei tellen not first cristis ordenaunse, but bringing yn of pe fend to reurse pe ordenaunse of crist. & pes lordis of his world pat maytenes lumpis of pes ordis & oher housis & possessioues, wip oher pias pat pey han foundus, motes
nedis synne, is as myche as þat reuerens cristis ordenaunse, 
& in þat þat þey letter pore prestis to proche þe gospel to þe 
puple, al þif þey ben not of þes newe ordis þat been closid in 
eayms castels. y rede not of cristis apostlis þat þey kepete 
þis maner of proching, whanne þe hooly goost hadde taunte 
hem to gete to cristi al þis world. & þat prest þat suen þis 
goost is in þat ordis þat cristi hedes ordeyned. wedding wip 
þes newe bilawis, passinge þe weddende wit goddis lawe, 
makip þes newe rotun sectis & putip bi-hynde þe sect of 
crist. & þus þes ordis newe brouȝt is bringes wip hem a 
newe bileue, þat noon of cristis sect wip-outen hem lyncip w 
hoolily as þey, þat lordis han a passinge merit to grounds 
þes ordis & þyne hem godis, but þey *wolde not do þis 
charite, be þey neuere woxus so ryche, but þey woldes 
raperes destrio opere newe ordis þat ben brouȝt in; & þus þe 
laste ordis of freris seyp azenus goddis lawe þat willeful 
begging is more meedeful þan ony lif of þes opere ordis.

Capitulum 28m.

m en may se bi lif of ordis hou cristis ordenaunse is 
leyttid. crist ordeynede, as hym þouȝte best, þat his 
discipulis after his steying to heuene shulde be departid 
on fro an opere. & ech of hem shulde haue his folc, & 
shulde not be weddide wip mannes lawe, ne wip folc, ne wip 
housis, but holde hem payed of goddis lawe, & chausan folc 
as god monyde hem, & hane no propre dwelling of þer oone, 
as crist þe maystir taunte bifoire. Al þis is reuerend new bi 
help & assent of men; for herto helpes þe pope & prelatis, 
worldly lordis & ordis hem sylf, & pore men hem nodid to 
helpe as beestis led to be killid. costly chririsches of þes ordis 
& opere housis þat þey han destriuen olde pariȝs chriris 
þat weren ordeyned bi cristis apostlis. & siȝ crist is lord 
of alle & not contrari to hym sylf, no drede men han not 
his godis þus to reuerse his ordenaunse; & þus ben manye
cayns castels maad & maytened to þes ordis aȝenus leene of þe cheef lord. but who drediþ þat ne he is wroþ her-wip? & þis semþ þe cause of werries & wrongis þat ben nou growne in þe chirche. lordis & men þat mitten helpe heere shulden make men turne to cristis ordis. & þif persons hadden no glebe & no propre hous as eritage, þey sudeþe more crist & his apostlis; & wolde god þey wolden do þus. For it is takaþ of bileue þat þe ordenaunsee of crist bi-syde siche houseis & cloystrail speditþ more to do his sœruys þan siche contrarie ordenaunasis; & her-for þes newe ordris moten nedis lyue contrarie to crist. for siben ordenaunasis & lyues gon to-giders of men heere, as cristis ordenaunase is chaungid, so lyues of þes lumpis ben chaungid, & no drede to þe worse, as mannus ordenaunase is worse þan cristis. & hit lordis of þis world to whom crist was so kynde ben not payed of þis reuerencing, but ben brouþ in bi þe fend to haue dwellinge in þer housis boþe curatis & þes newe ordis, as þou mayst se in lordis housis persouns or munkis or chanounis & algatis freris to lede þer meyne. but god mut algatis punyhe þis, for þes persons shulden kepe þer sheep aftir þe lawe þat god haþ souyn heyn. but who may reuere goddis ordenaunase *heere but þif he reyne in his offense, & [p. 138 MS.] þus lordis synaes heere boþe aȝenus god & man & letter goddis pees to be taþt, & þus lordis moten nedis be disturblid. & as anestis þes newe ordis þat ben scaterid in lordis housis, it is a more vnyndly wonder, & helpþ þe fend to marre þer housis. for as þey seyn þat groundiden þes cloystrail, þes men myȝten no more dwelle out þer-of þan fys myȝte dwelle out of water, for vertu þat þey han þer-yne. for ellis þes cloystrail were not nedeful ne þer oþ to kepe þer reule. & siche wondris newe brouþ in moten nedis marre mens of þe world, for dalianuse wip newe deuels bringþ in newe giles to lette cristis men. but sum mens grucchen more heers þat persons ben holden þus traytourely aȝenus þe sœruys þat crist haþ lyymtid to kepe þe soulis of his sheep, & no drede crist prisþ must þis offis among
Lords should set these things to rights.

en mystes heers touche ouer his what maner man is able bi god to be chosun to curatis offisa, & who shulde chese hym, & on what maner. & no drede siche a prest pat hap bope wit & wille to do pe pre offisa of an herde, pat be teld before tyme, shulde be takus to his offisa aftir pe lawe & wille of god. but who shulde chese hym per to is mych strif by mannes lawe; as pe pope seip pat he shulde lymyte alle curatis to siche offisa. bischops seyn pat je shulden yuue siche offisa who euere presentip, & lewyl patrouns seyn pat ey shulden presente to siche offisa bi pe lordchip, but goddis lawe telliit litil or noust of siche chesing of curatis. & no drede pat ne coueitise & pride reynge in alle pes pre cheseria, for pe pope hap pe firste fruytis & many istis gon bi symonye, & two opere axen aereuys of hym pat ey maken curat. & pus penkes summes pat bi goddis lawe & resoun curatis shulden wel do per offisa & haue no more but fode & hiling, & opere pe puple pat shulde be taunt or prestis bi per oune wille shulden chese his aereuys of prestis; & pesne it were more meedeful, and no strif shulde pesne falle aboute pe godis of his curat, for he shulde haue no wast godis but pat pat were nededeful to his offisa. & instuyng wiip inducting & many opere manes lawis were not to charge, but rist offisa pat his curat shulde do. & it semyph a greet praldom brouit is bi anticrist pat a puple pat pe pope knowip not, as he knowip not pis able prest, shulde be nedid bi pe pope to take his prest, & yuue hym godis more pan goddis *lawe lymytip hon euere pat he mynister; for bope pis almes shulde be meedeful & frely don bi goddis lawe, & it were to greet aereuage to nede men.

Capitulum 29m.

*[p. 19 MS.]
to gyue per godis to a prest pat dide hem harm, pe if he were cause of per dampyng. but pe fendis part is so strong, & strenghid bi ipocrisie pat mannes lawe is so hooly & biddip mens to obesche per to vp payne of per dampyngion, pat goddis lawe is put bihynde. mens shulden bi goddis lawe gyue pis almes frely & wisely to pat prelat pat servede hem trewely in pis offisa, and so pey motes kunne goddis lawe & holde hem payed of pis sifte, for püs dides poul & opere apostlis. what lawe shulde reverse pis resoun? & it semy pe not a popis offisa to make püs prelatis in vnychownus cuntreys; for it is neper groundid in goddis lawe pat per shulde be siche a pope ne pat he shulde püs reule pe puple bi pe lordchip of his lawe. & no drede if pis two shulden be, crist wolde haue ensaumplid hem; for crist failide not in siche hye poyntis pat weres so nedeful to his chirche. & püs crist is leuyng of pis techip pat it shulde not be, for ellis crist were defauyng in ordeynyng for his chirche.

Capitulum 30m.

it trewe mens han delit to reherse pis bileue, for it is more precious pan ony gold or precious stoon, & triacle to lordis & many opere to ajenstonde pe fend & hine. & pis bileue stondip in pis, pat no man shulde sue opere pope ne bishop ne ony ausgel but is as myche as he suep crist, for crist is bope god & man. & pis bileue wolde teche lordis to purge per reumes of anticroist; & sifen pei han many skiles pat prestis shulden not be püs dowid, bope bi pe olde lawe & pe newe, & bi pe lif pat crist ledde, pey shulden be heers hardy in bileue & lette pis dowing of anticroist, & neper obesche to pope ne bishop but if pey taust pat pey suedes crist in pis. & seynsis pat pey kusen alegge shulden neper be heers suyd ne trowid, but if it be taust pat pei suedes crist in pât pat pey helden wip pis dowing. & sifen lordis han conscience her-of & it is syane to do ajenus conscience, pey

Men have to pay their priest, even if he does them harm.

Popes should not appoint prelates in distant countries.

True men delight to repeat, that no man should be followed, save as far as he follows Christ.

Lords who believed this would stop endowment.
shulden [in] axe of popis & prelatis hou ley groundes pis in crist. & if ley wole not or kunnis not, in pat ley shewes pat ley ben foolis to holde pis & lyue per-sift, sif it is net grounded uppon crist. & if ley seyn pat crist groundi pat it be don of his vikeris, shewe ley where & in what maner, & þasne per conscience is cleri. & if ley *gabben or feynes heers mes shulden not trowe hem in pis, but haue hem suspect of errour, sif ley sues not crist in pis. for crist was neuer axid questions þat ne he sayde his godhede & made asceþ uppon resoun to hem þat axiden pis questions of hym. & þus shulden kyngis axe þe pope hou he groundi þis dowing on crist, & to robbe þus reumes, & to make hym prelatis at his wille, sif crist taute his apostlis to chese mathe bi lot. & þis principle of bilee shulden prestis holde & lerne goddis lawe, & not obesche to pope or bishop but is þat þat crist groundi it; & in þis cause þey may chalenge help of þer erþcly lord, & if hem saylde help heers, be redy to sufferers martirdom. & ciprian made pis lawe, & it is in þe popis bokis, þat crist onely shulde be herd in þat þat he spekþ moost principaly. & þus sif neþer popis ne bishopis kunnis grounde bi crist þis curatis ofis, ne þat þey shulden þus make persouns, þe chirche shulde aþenstode hem & turne aþen to goddis lawe in þe lyuyng of curatis. & it falliþ to kyngis heers to ordeyne þes prelatis bi goddis lawe, for þey shulden quykene þe kyngis puple & helpe þat þe kyng lede not deuels. & sif þis is þe foulest ofis þat men hau heers in erþe, kyngis shulden helpe & mayntene þer curatis aþenst anticrist & his; & þus sif þis bilee of poult woren wisely suyd of clerksis & defendid of worldly lordis, as þey ben holdun to defende it, errours of reumes shulden be destried þat ben brouþt in bi anticrist. for wise curatis shulden aþenstode it & seculer lordis shulden mayntene hem, & þus noon errour in goddis lawe reyngeþ but for folly of clerksis, & for aloupe of worldly lordis þat helpers not heers aþenst þe fend. & þus of alle worldly godis þat clerksis han in þer hond, boþe clerksis & pore men shulden be lordis of þes godis, for þey shulden
lyue in grace & haue of hem pat hem nedip; & no drede hes two shuldse be goostly lordis & not worldly. & many men may be to-gedes pus goostly lordis of o pyng, & haue vse pat acordip to hem of pse same ping wip-outen chiding, as seyntes pat ben in heunene han vse of alle pse worldly godis, but pye wasten not pse godis but han ioye pat goddis wills is don of hem; & pis is pse freest vse pat men han off worldly godis. & pis sif pis principle of bieleue were wel practisid of pe chirche, goddis lawe shulde turne asen & mannis lawe shulde be disipid, for no dedis shulde be acceptid but sif pye ben groundid in cristis lawe, & so alle maner of men *shulden *[p. 20 Ms.] stonde in ground of crist & his lawe.

Capitulum 31m.

i t were for to wite ouer pis hou cristis chirche is disseyued bi suppiyng of vikeris, & pse personus ben absent pe while. for pse personus moten nedis servus crist or is doyng wel or in sufferinge, & herfore pye han of cristis chirche per large hire of goddis godis. ech siche person mut nedis awser bi resoun to god for alle his sheep, but mannis lawe biglip not god to awser pus for herdis offisa, & perfore it mut be groundid in goddis lawe to holde pus residense bi vikeris. but it semyp certeyen of goddis lawe pat noon may teche pis bi resoun to be pus herde of pse sheep, & to be pus absent fro hem; & herfore it semyp not but to be a feynyng of pe fend. & perfore pis herdis floc may reasonably wip-drawe his hire for he travelip not on hem bi pat lawe pat he axip his hire. & cursing is a fendis fynding to curse men pus for worldly godis; for pasne hauyng of pse godis is more desirid pan blessing of per sheep; but who may holde charite & pus cheve pis worldly hauyng? for a man shulde loun more his sheep pan alle his godis or his body, sip he shulde putte his lif for his sheep, as crist diye. & pis mousip many men to sette litil bi siche cursing; for whanne man cursep vn-
skilfully, he curset hym sylf & not his sheep. also pre offsis of goostly herde motes have his presence wij his sheep; for who can prosthe to his sheep, or defende hem fro wolves, or becle hem as curatoes shulden, but if he be present wij his sheep? & jvs siche residense bi viker makip hym to lee herdis offsis & jis excusip hym not to god, ne his servys in jis mene tyne makip hym herde of jis sheep, ne warip to take jis hire of god. jif he waste tyne in jis absence & profite not to hooly chirohe, jys los of tyne accurisip hym before crist, jis fyrste herde. jif he do good to jis chirohe is proiyng or is studyynge, leue, what is jis to herdis offis, si jif it dispose men perto. men may wel yve to siche jes almes, but not as to herdis of hem. & sig god hatip false of men, jis shulde not be don before god. & si jis a man is no stat shulde do ouxt pat he shamede to do before god, it semy jat no man shulde holde jis offis & be absent in his body. & jis men ben not contynual herdis for jis tyre pat jis ben absent & kepyn not jis sheep bi jis presence, al jif jis profites to jes men. for *ech man pat is in grace profiit to ech able man goostly, & jis ech siche were herde of ech, but jis abusious were to strauynge. jif a man be presently ny; his sheep, & fayle not to fede hem & to defende hem & to gressse hem in tyne, his bodily presense is skilful to hym to dwelle vpon jis sheep. & jis *pes persoyns pat al jis wonke disposilyn hym to prosthe to his sheep or to defende hem & gressesse hem, se pat his absence be reasonale, dwelley a shepperde al jis tyne; & his presence doip his cur & coustif his sheep & feblip per enemies. & es glotous arguen pat bi jis same skile fh may eis more til pat fey han etus to myche, so hirid hym argues heere pat, bi jis same skile pat fey may be absent fro jes sheep four days or 1 fyue, fey may be absent for a monye or an half yeer or more tyne: & jis resoue haf more colour of herdis pat studien is soole. & y can-not answer heere jif mes studien goddis lawe, & is jis mene tyne faile
not to *per* sheep in *pingis* *pat* pertynes to *per* offiss. but for bodily residence of an able herde upon his sheep is more sikir *pan* siche absence, it is good to chest *je* sikere. also as poul seip, ech man shal bere his oune charge, & *per* *je* viker of *his* herde is chargid for his oune persone as myche as he may bere, hou beri *he* *je* persounes charge? For in tyme of apostis *pat* iuridiciosous was not brouȝt in, but oon shulde preche in o tyme & an-ofer in an-ofer; alle *je* weser persouns of *je* sheep & *he* pat more tauȝte was beters curat. & *per* it semyp *pat* it shulde be of many persounes of o parijs, & *je* persoun *pat* profit mors is beters herde to *his* parijs. for ellis men myten seyne falsaly as many herdys as *je* wolden, & echoon to pile *je* puple wheres oon sufficid for hem alle. as *prest* & *viker* & *persoun*, official, erchedekene & bishop, wiȝ many men bitwixe hem, bes ful chargious to *je* parijs, & *je* alle don not *je* offiss *pat* a good herde shulde do; but siche charging of *je* chirche shulde be fied as greet syyn. for it is nouȝt to bigile god & make an vnhauble man *persoun* *pat* can-not on herdys cure but his sheep kumen gournme hym, al siȝ he geders bi a proctour *je* fruytis, as if all a person need do is to offeringis & tymes. for ellis a child or a greke or what offis *pat* he bare myȝte be persounes heers in englond siȝ *he* pope hadde pouyn hym leene, but siche *pat* is not goddis orde- nauns excusy not at domes day.

**Capitulum 32**

b y *his* sentence may men se hou *his* prelacye is perelouns for it is not fully groundid in *cryst* *ne* in ofer of his *[p. 313 B3.]*

lawis. for *pat* fend haȝ mowyd men bi pride & bi coucytise forti bithe *pat* *je* wolde do more *pan* *je* han power or wit to do; for take *hou* hede to ours popis, to bischope & to ours persounes, and *per* recken littil of *per* charge hou myche it be & hou large, so *pat* hem come wyannya & worldly worship bi *per* staat. & so siȝ *je*
staat of prelacye taketh sumwhat of goddis lawe & sumwhat of manns lawe contrarie to goddis lawe, trewe men shulde purge his staat & lyue cleene bi goddis lawe. for saracenes wip opere sectis holden myche of cristis lawe, but opere lawis hast pey meddlen makes his sect displesse to god; & god woot wher strangue lawis ben meddlicd more vndir ours pope wip cristis lawe pan pey ben meddlicd in opere sectis. it semyp hast prestis hast kepen parijschis shulde teche hem pe gospel of crist bope bi lif & bi word, & moue hem to holde charite, & biais hem not in opere pingis nepor of pe world ne manns lawe, & make obediencse to pe prelatis as myche as goddis lawe techip. fode & hiling moten pey haue; & it is skileful hast pey parijs fynde hem these bi title of almes, & take pey no more hede to dymes. but his lif mut nedis be broust in bi litil & litil for anticrist. & his lore were good to persoues, to yuye no tribut to pe prelatis & make no strangue dispensis but if goddis lawe moyned her-to. for alle pe dispensis at pe laste motes be gederid of pore men; & certis pis is a foul ofiss of a prest to robbe his puple to yuye to bishop or erchedekene goddis hast god biddih not. as senage & procurasies, & opere tributis hast ben feyned, ben not groundid in goddis lawe & perfore men shulde dispise hem. jyuung of taliage to pe kyng is licly groundid in goddis lawe, for crist jat mekely to pe emperour tribut, as pe gospel seip, but he jat not to pe hye bishops ne pharisees ne saduceses. but siche curatis moten arme hem wip help of god & of trewe men, for curasingis & suspendingis wolen rene aenum siche curatis. sip bishops of ierusalem maden crist be cursid & suspendid for pey seiden he was not on goddis half but wip belsebub a prince of deuels, & pey putrides men out of synagoge pe confessionis crist aperty, & aftir pei suspendinges hym in pe cros ful folly. pis hangyng vp vsid nou is not so fel but fals ynow; for pey wolen hange vp treupe & maytenyng of goddis lawe; & pei ponders wip pis suspending hast pei don it for rjtwisenesse to teche curatis obedience & meke-
nesse bi goddis lawe, & al pis is falsly feyned bi anticristis
*ipocrisie. but trewe præstis shulden trowe heores pat neþer * [p. 215 MS.]
pe word of pe prælat ne pe word of pe somenour han so
myche malis wiþ hem pat ne þey may preche & særue god but they should
afir þis suspending. & þe moost harm þat þei don is priuyng
or aleyng; & þis shulden curatis melyke suffres, for þis wolde
turne hem to myche good. & suynen tellen wiþ myche
declaring þat ground of þis hefen custom springeth in þe
chiroche of þe pope & of þe floo groundid on hym. & jit þis
man bi ipocrisie seþ þat he suþ next crist of alle þe men
heers in erpe, & hap moost power of crist & of feynynge of þis
power; hou he present þi cristis persone & passiþ alle cristis
apostlis in grausting of priylegies & pardoyn, it passiþ many
mensus wit for greetnesse of þis power. & suynen seyn þat
þis speche falliþ not fro fendis gabbing but if þe pope speke
bi þe contrarie, as a mount hþip his name of mounyng, for
among alle men in erpe þis ipocrity lyuþ ferrest fro crist.
crist hadde not propr good wher-yne he shulde reste his
hed; men seyn þis pope hap more þan half of þe empire
wiþ-outen his spuyling. crist was moost meke & moost
servysable & girta hym wiþ a cloþ & wayasche his disciplis
feet, as þe gospel of icon telliþ; þe pope sittiþ in his troone
&makiþ lordis to kisse his feet. crist wente melyke fro plase
to place & præchide þe gospel & tauce pouert; þe pope
dwelliþ in suynoun & doþ not þis but þe contrarie. & so
siiþ þat anti-crist is he þat is aenus crist, it semþþ bi his
feyned lif þat he is opyn anti-crist. & if he shulde be olepid
an hil for stablenesse in þis lif, þis hye hil eclipsiþ þis sunne
& makiþ wyndis & yuele wederiþ; for goddis lawe is lettid
to ahyne bi lawis þat þis hil vaþ, & coolding fro charite
makiþ stormes bi þis hil; but grace of god hap helped men God has helped
to clene þis hil & make it known, & god contynue his help
heeres & make his lawe to ahyne frely. Amen.

Explicit tractatus de officio pastorali.
XXVIII.

DE PAPA.

I have no doubt that this tract is genuine. Besides the presumption in its favour from its occurrence in the Ashburnham MS., the internal evidence is very strong. Not only the views are Wyclif's; the arguments and illustrations are such as he frequently uses in his authentic writings. Thus the mention of a cord and a man's neck (p. 476), as examples of things good in themselves that may be bad in combination, is to be found also in the Trialogus (p. 306).

The date of the tract is probably about 1380. The reference to the doctrine of Transubstantiation shows that Wyclif had already made up his mind on this point, but the Schism is spoken of (Chapter II.) in a tone which implies that it was still recent. Spencer's Crusade was not yet on foot, or we should have had some notice of it.

How far Wyclif had gone in opposition to the formal organization of the Church is shown by his assertion (Chapter v.) that neither tonsure, dress, nor bishop's words make the priest, but power given by Christ. The development of the same thought in Chapter xi. shows that this is no hasty outburst, but a deliberate expression of opinion.

Copied from the Ashburnham MS. MM.

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De Papa.

*Capitulum primum.*

[Jer. xxv. 4.] God sent his prophet to declare his law, but men would not hear.

Prov. 1. [20-28.] This proverb teaches that wisdom should be sought when young, when the heart is receptive. God's grace is available to all who seek it. The saying also highlights the importance of listening to wise counsel and acting on it.

Jer. xxv. 4. God's people, who have been warned and instructed by prophets, should listen to the wisdom of the prophets. This verse serves as a reminder of the need for humility and openness in receiving divine guidance.

Some priests think they are bound to teach God's law.

Christ was the poorest of men, and Peter followed him.

The devil has got the clergy to hold lordship.

De Papa.

*Capitulum primum.*

od seij bi ieremye þat he wakide eerly to his puple & criede his lawe bi his prophetis, þat weres martrid in goddis cause & for profit of his chirche, bope for clerkis, lordis & comyns. but god seij by salomon þat his wisdom cryeþ in stretis but men dispisen his counsel & wolen not lyue bi his lore, & þerfore god shal leyse in þe tyme þat þey shules perische; þanne þei shulen criþ to hym & he shal not hers & spede hem. þus god moneþ many men in tyme of grace to telle his lawe; & þit anticrist dispisþ it & lordis bes neeogligen in þer help. & for prestis saylen heere on þer syde, as oþere men don, summe prestis þenkes þat þey shulden crye & telle goddis lawe to þe puple; for it may falle þat þey boþe shulen perische for þer neeogligense. ground of cristemenneþ bilsue seij þat crist is god & man, & was porerste mân of lif & mekerste & moost vertuous. cristemen taken ouer þat petre was cristis viker, & suyeþ hym in maner of lif & tautþ þe chirche bi his lore. þe fend hadde esuyte to crist & oþere men þat suyeþ hym, & temptide prestis to worldly lordchipis as he temptide crist in his persoane & as he lijede in þis tempting & seyde þat he wolde yue to crist alle þe reumes of þe world so þat he wolde loute hym, so bi craft of his lesingis he hæ þetus lordship to clerkis. so þat nou myche of þis world holdþ on anticristis syde; as many seyen þat þe pope shulde bi vortu of cristis lif be seculer lord of al þis world, & bi his leene kyngis ben lordis. & þe fendis part is heere so strong & colourid wiþ so many cautels þat fewe men dores putte hese out to stonde & speke for goddis cause. but þit men trowen, as þei doren, þat crist chees to be pore to yue ensaumple to his prestis & oþere men to triste in god, & leene to triste in...
his world for þey moten dye & lecue it. & petre was pore aftir crist, & alle þe apostlis but scarioth, for he wolde be riche & haue in propre, & þis brouȝt hym to double dep. but þe fend hap blýndid men, boþe clerkis & lôrdis, is þe chirche þat þey bileue þe contrarye; & þis deñate in bileue reuersiþ cristensmenus lif, & lettiþ hem to sue crist. for þe fend couseyiþ myche to quemche bileue in þe chirche, for þis is þe firste vertu & ground of cristis religious. & for þe pope is holdun moost & nexe viker of iseu crist, þerfore þe fend is þe pope hap gederid many worldly poynus *bope of lordchip & worldly lif, & castiþ to disseyue þe chirche by hym. For manye taken as bileue þat he may not do amys, Many believe that the Pope cannot err. but what þing þat he grauntiþ or seiiþ crist mut consefme it; & bi þis cautel of þe fend ben many men damphyd to helle. & ground of al þis disseyt is lesing contrarye to treuþe; for as þe fend disseyuede eue bi lesing þat she shulde not dye, whasne god hadde seyd þat she shulde dye what day þat she eet of þe appul, so þe fend disseyueþ þe chirche bi oon as opyn lesing, þat crist was heers worldly lord-moost hye of alle opere, & so shulde his viker be þat is clepid þe pope of rome. but whasne crist was temptid heers he seyde: “go, satanas.” People are led to believe that Christ held worldly lord-ship, and that the Pope should do so. to teche alle cristensmen hou þat crist wolde be pore; & þit þer ben fewe men þat wolen defende þis bileue, for anticrist hap many clerkis þat makes it dark bi many weyes.

Capitulum 2m.

i  t were to wite ouer hou god shewip love to his chirche God’s love to his Church shown in the Great Schism. bi dyuysions of þes popis þat is nou late fallus. ours bileue techiþ bi poul þat alle þingis fallus to good Rom. viii. [38.] to goddis children þat drede hym, & þus shuldeþ cris- tenmen take hem. þe firste bok of goddis lawe telliþ hou god manaasseide þe fend: “y shal putte enyme,” seiiþ god, [Gen. iii. 15.] “bitwixe þee & womman, & bitwixe þy seed & heere seed, & she shal al to-squatte þyn heed.” & so taken summen þat
hooly preyer of þe chirche maad to crist & his modir moue
hym to sende þis grace doue to departe þe heed of antichrist, so
þat his falsed be more knowus. & it seemeþ to hem þat þe
pope is antichrist heere in erpe. for he is aegenus cрист bope
is lif & is lore. crist was moost pore mas fro his birþe to
his dep, & lefte worldly riches & beggynge, aftir þe staat of
innocense; but antichrist aegenus þis, fro þe tyme þat he be
maad pope til þe tyme þat he be deed heere, coweytiþ to be
worldly riche, & castiþ bi manye shrewid weyes how þat he
may þus be riche. crist was moost meke man & bad lerne
þis of hym; but mes seyen þat þe pope is moost proud
man of erpe, & makþ lordis to kyssse his feet where crist
wayschide his postlis feet. Crist was moost homely mas is
lif, is dede & is word; mes seyen þat þis pope is not nextest
criþ in þis, for where crist wente on his feet boþe to citees
& litil tooursnes, þey seyen þis pope wolde be closid in a castel
wip greet aray. Where crist cam to Icon baptist to be
baptisad of hym, þe pope sendip *aftir mes to come to hym
whore enere he be; þe, þif crist haue sunnyd hem for to come
not to hym. crist bieliptide þonge & pore is tokene of his
homelynesse; mes seyen þat þe pope wolde bielippe worldly
worship, & not trewe mes for goddis sake lest he vnworship
e hym sylf. crist was biay to preche þe gospel not for his
worldly worship ne wyannya; mes seyen þat þe pope
leeneþ þis, but he wolde gladly make a lawe & make þis lawe
in more worship & more drede þan cристís lawe. crist
louede so myche his floþ þat he puttiþ his lif for hem, &
sufferde sharp peyne & deþ for to bryng þem to blis;
mes seyen þat þe pope loueyþ so myche worship of þe world,
þat he wolde feyne asoyling to mes to go streyþ to heune,
þat þey do a travel þat soumenþ to his worldly worship. & so
his foly may be cause of deþ of many pouseynd mes boþe is body
& in soule, but hou sueþ he crist in þis? crist was so paciænt
& so myche sufferide his oune wrong, þat he preyede for his
enemyes & taiþte his postlis to take no wesiantæse; mes seyen
þat þe pope of rome wolde be vengid on alle maners, boþe bi
sleyng & bi cursing & opere peyne pe he feyned. Crist taught men to imitate his life; he taught he did in deed, & bad men swore to his workes; men seyen pe pope goij al bi contrayre weye to his, for his life is not ensaumple to opere men hou pe shulde lyue, for no ma in shulde lyue lik to hym, as he feyned bi his hye staat. Crist is ech his deed & his word southe he glory of god, & sufferide many reproves in his manheed for his ende; men seyen pe pope aseward sekip his oune glory on alle weyes, pe, if goddis worship be lost. & pus he feyned many vngroundid gabbingis. & if his ping & many suche ben sope of pe pope of rome, he is very antirchrist & not cristis viker heers.

Capitulum 3-

... is dyusious of pes popis may turne to good of many The Schism may teach men to obey Popes only as they follow Christ. reumes, pe men swore to noper of hem but, for love of ieu crist, is as myche as pey suet crist is her lif & in her lore. & if pe gaben of her staat & seyen pei ben cristis vikeris, & pey ben contrayre to hym bope is lif & in lore, *pe mens pei led bi pes wolves motes go pe brode *[p. 265 MS.] weye to helle; & pei men pe perelous tyme pei poul hap told to pe chiroche. & pus pei were a bileue pei ech men shulde groude hym zynce, pe mens shuldes swore to no pope but as he groundip hym in crist; & mens shuldes assaye pis ground, wher it be good wip-out disseyt. & pus what pe pope bade do, but if he taught pei crist bade it, mens shulden not do pis aftir hym pei after hym was cristis viker, for it may falle pei fend disseyne mens bi antirchrist, & chalenge more pe crist dide & pus bringe strif in cristendom. for pe Popes may make excessive claims and cause strife. fend may move meanus hertis to love so myche worldly godis pei stryue & fiste to-gidere for departing of pes godis; & pus may antirchrist & hise lette men to lyue in pees, They may stir up trouble to hide their tricks. lest pei lif in pees make mens to knowe his giles. & pus god haj ordeyned medicyn to knowe falsed of antirchrist, pei
he hiep hym aboue crist, & so ouer god, as poul seip. 
profere reumes to pes popis pat pey wolen obesche to hem is 
be foorme of goddis lawe, but no more pan crist axide; & jif 
pey ben not payed her-of, pey shewen pat pey ben anticrist, 
sip pe mooste pride of hym is pat he hiep hym aboue god. 
& jif reumes holde pis reule, pasme pey may be dischargd of 
blaasemyes of indulgencies, & of opere false feynyngis; for it may 
falle pat pe pope graunte to riche worldly men pat pey shules 
go straigt to heuene wij-oute peyne of purgatory, & denye 
pis to pore men, kepe pey neuere so goddis lawe. siche many 
giles of pe fend blynden mes bi his viker, so pat treuepe of 
goddis lawe is turnyd in-to pis vikeris falsed. & shortly for 
to seye, jif men stonden bi pis billeue, pe pope shal not take 
of reumes neber money no worldly godis. & herfore seip 
poul, cristis vikeres, pat he seikip pes grekis soulis & he seikip 
not her godis, but weye to brynge hem to blis. & no drede 
bus doyj crist to alle reumes pat ben his children, for he 
robbip not his children, but yuelp hem alle maner godis, 
bope goostly godis & worldly. & bus dide crist heers 
in erpe, & jif pe pope passe heers crist & robbe his children 
as a wolf, no drede he is anticrist & opynly pe fendis viker. 
& jif bou seyst pe pope mut haue godis of reumes to sene his 
staat, he shulde be pore, as crist was, & charge not mes, as 
crist dide not. pis reule shulde teche mes where a prael 
were anticrist, & hou pey shulde obesche to hym, & in what 
peing lase his lore.

Capitulum 4º.

Christian men 
should choose 
their prelates 
and love them.

Men should try 
to love the Pope.

[5p. 27 MS.]
good dowyng of men; for bi his cause god make hym silyf lounyd, & hem more lounyd pat more don good. Be good pat be pope shulde do shulde be lore to come to heuene, & so his pope mut kuswe pis lore ouer ohere pat ben his sheep; & sipher pis lore is fully taunt in goddis lawe, as we bileuwe, his pope mut passingly kuswe goddis lawe & resoun por-of. But nou in be reume of england styrenes manye of be sacrid oost. summe seyen pat pis oost fro be tyne pat it be sacrid is verily goddis body & por-wip breed, whit & round; & in pis weye stonden lewid men bohe more & lese, & longe han don. ohere seyen pat pis oost is noust or an accident, be which bey kuswe not nemyn to men, but it is not goddis body. His questiones shulden reumes sende to be pope, to knowe his wit, what we shulden trowe of his oost fro be tyne pat it be sacrid; & here-ynne shulde he not feyne but teche bi be gospel or bi resoun what men shulden bileue heers, or ellis he were no witty pope. & be reumes shulden take no men to por pope bfore pat tyne pat he hadde taunt hem wel heers by good ground of goddis lawe. For wel we witen pat he kan heers no skile but of cristis word; but crist, whanne he blesside pis breed, seyde pat "pis is my body"; & we bileuwe pat crist lipide neuere, but seyde euere sop to greet witt. & if fours sectis in pis lond seyen heers sop of be popis lawe, he hab seyd many hundrid wynter pat pis oost is not goddis body, but accident wip-oute suget. & if reumes leeuens pis lore & taken hem anticrist to pope, he may make hem to bileue what euere he wole bi lilit & litil; for hooly chirche hab bileuyd his pousinde *wyntor & more to, pat *[p. 270 MS.] pis oost is goddis body in forme of breed, & wyn his blood. & trewe men shulden knowe heers pat pis poyn is not so hye pat ne pey may wite pe sope, & knowe it betere han ohere poynitis pat crist hab taunt in ours bileue. Heers may cristenmen soone wite which clerk or lord lounp treuje & hab wille to stonde porfore & suffere a magrey pif he shulde. & certis pat pope pat paylih heers oher for kunnyng or for if so, he is maist to be Pope.
No harm in
disclosing this
truth.

Lords should
give no alms to
priests who do
dot teach the
truth in this.

It is idolatry to
bow down before
an accident.

Antichrist fears
that his clerks
will lose honour

and the Church
that has been long
growing, will be
destroyed.

This means that
Christ's law was
a failure.

Capitulum 5°m.

but heers gruochip anticrist & dredi pat manye of his
clerkis shulens waste per worldly worship, & hus his
lordship shal be lesse. for if goddis lawe were kept
clene wij-oute pe fendis lawe, & pe ordenaunse of crist were
clene wij-outen anticristis, where shulden pe four sectis be
lordis as pey nou be? & hus pe chirche were destried pat
hap be so longe is growing. Heere han trewe men seyd ofte
pat pis is a fendis resouns, as if pe arguere wolde men pe
crist faylde in his lawe & in his ordenaunse which he
ordeynede in pe chirche, & hus men menes alle is dede pat
ben of pe four sectis. but, lord, where is vn bileue in
herstik but if pis be oon? & hus it seme p pe alle pe four
smachen sunwhat of heresye, & pey loues not ieu crist, for
pey hates p his lawe. but poul seip a so word pat

1 Cor. xvi. [22.]  
[p. 38 M8.]  
* "who enure loue p not ieu crist he is oursaid of god,
& puttid fro hym as heretik." & so pe mooste incommencient pat antierist kan bringe of pis is pat cristis lawe were holde s cleene wiþ-outes antieristis; but pis fruyt were blessid & profitable to pe chirche. for pis kepeth crist in his apostlis, & pasne cam pe chirche to heuene & growide in vertus heors in erfe; & siþen hap it suskun deus. pasne shuldes cristmen men knowe pe vertu of crist & of his lawe; hou pat he is god almysty & his lawe is fully ynow; & pasne shuldes men wite aftir hou opero lawes, pat men han foundus, harmen pe chirche many weyes, & maken goddis lawe lesse louyd.

For kepings of pes newe lawis occupiþ mensus witt & wille, & axiþ of hem a bys tradel, & þus þey letten goddis lawe. & þus þif antieristis lawe were good, þit cristis lawe mut nedis be betere & suffisent in hym silt; & þus þe toþer is to myche & doþ harm in cristis chirche, & lettiþ cristis lawe to be suyd. & þus bringing in of þes lawis, pat lettiþ þe vse of cristis lawe, is þe mooste priney synne þat þe fend hap foundus aʒenþe þe chirche. & so þis blessid word wolde sue, þat fous sectis newe foundus shuldes be voydþ fro þe chirche, as þey shuldes not come to blis. for alle þes sectis han mensus signes, & þif þes signes wereþ fully sryed, þes sectis weren þasne destried, as men seyen þat ben wedded wiþ hem. but it is not so of cristis sect ne of præstis þat crist ordeynede. for ion baptist was a præst, as alle men is heuene shuldes be præstis. for crounne & cloþ maken no præst, ne þe emperoure bishop wiþ his wordis, but power þat crist synþ; & þus bliþ ben præstis knownþ. & þus cristmen shuldes not lette for þe dreme of þe fend & for power of his clerkis to sue & holde cristis lawe. but wel y woot þat þis chirche hap be maney day is growing, & summe clepeth it not cristis chirche, but þe chirche of wickid spiritis. & danyþ [Psalm xxxvi. 5.] hatide þis chirche as ech cristemen shulde do. & men may no betere knowe antieristis clerk þan bi þis, þat he lounþ þis chirche & hatiþ þe chirche of cristis; & þif þe pope be an heed to mayntene þis chirche aʒenþe crist, he is opyn antierist & no part of cristis chirche. & þif *he & his sects be voydþ.
fro cristis lawe, & clensid wiþ besumma, & mead fair wiþ sensible signes, pasne þe fend háþ a tokene to dwelle homely wiþ þes mes; for þes bes wordis of crist, þe whiche motes nedis be trewe. & þus shulde anticrist drede of þe word þat crist seip aftir, þat þis kynrede of prestis is þe worste of alle obere. for many men trouwe heers þat as prestis is þe olde lawe, fro þe time of machabees vnto þat þei hadden alayn crist, weres þe worse kynrede þat god sufferide þasne to lyue; so aftir cristis steyng, þif prestis leueþ cristis lawe & bicomþ reuleris of þis world by newe lawis þat þey han shapun, þis is nou þe worste kynrede þat is on lyue heere is erþe.

Capitulum 6thm.

Antichrist urgeþ that the Pope would be poorer than an English bishop.

it anticrist argueþ þat þif þis senteþe wente forþ, þe pope were as pore a man as ony bishop of englond; but þis were ægnum resoun, þat þe hieres man shulde be byynþe. Heers men seyen to anticrist þat he argueþ ægnum crist, & þerfore cristenþen motes nede answere sharply heere for crist; for þif þis foly wente forþ, siþ crist was moost pore man & his apostlis pore aftir, þey weren leest worþ in þis world. but what blasemæ durate seye þus, siþ it is ægnum billeu. & þus goddis lawe techiþ þat willeful powert of a prest, þif he hane mekenesse in his soule & oþere vertuþe more þan oþere, he is herby more to god, & þis hyenesse shulde þrestis coueteþ. & þus alle prestis of englond shulden be pore men, as þe pope, for þey motes forsake þer richeþ þif þey wolde be cristis prestis. for billeu techiþ wel þat crist bad his prestis be siche; & we fynden neure bi resoun þat crist chaungide euers his wille. & siþ crist is god in heuene, it is ful hard to reuere his lawe, for no drede mes moten rikene þerfore at þe day of dom. & heers men slide out of billeu, boþe prestis & seuleris, whanne þey talen more bi a cronycle of foly of an emperour þat þey talen bi cristis lawe, þat is emperour of heuene. & þe fend consermeþ his part, & maktþ
seynists be canonyed, pe whiche resseyuedes sicke Dowyn, to proue pat pis was wel don. but heeres men knowen pe fendis cautels, & slide not fro bileue for pis; for canonying of pe seynists is not bileue of cristemen. & pus if pe seynists in heuene, pis is bi virtu of crist pat pey turnyden at pe laste to hym, & hadden sorowe for her synne. & if poun axe prof her-of, we seyen pat if you proue pat pes be If they were saints, they repent of their error. pe seynists, it wolse sue of oure bileue pat pes seynists sorowiden pes, if pey weren worldly men pus, for ellis pey mystere not come to heuene. But myraulis maad of deed men ben pe fendis euydense; for god may suffice *pe fend to do siche signes & many mo. for ellis wolde not poul seye pat a man 1 Cor. xiii. [2.] myste remoue billis & hit fayle of charite. but if pes signes mystes lijtly fayle, stonde we in bileue of crist, & leeue we siche signes of pe fend. for bileue is insensible & more trewe pes siche signes; as pis treupe is insensible pat two & pre maken fuye, & hit it is more certeyn pau ony sensible pinheeres. pus bileue of hooly writ passip alle pes clopid myraulis. & pus wite wel lordis & reumes pat pey motes nedis answers to god houn pey han holdun his lawe & stondun sad in his bileue. no drede bope lordis & reumes mystes wel constreyne prestis to holde pe pouert pat crist ordeynede, for honeste of his prestis & profit of lordis & comyns. & whasne lordis leuen pis power, pey assenten to pe fend; & pey motes nedis be dampyyd for pis assent but if pey amenden it, & pis is blynding of pe fend pat pey han graunstid pis almes. & so pey motes be trewe men & algatis mayntene it forp, for if men loken hou it cam is, it cam not in bi very almes, but bi blyndnesse of pe world & ipoorisie pat pe fend taunte. & euer pe lengers pat it lastip, pe more peyne han deed mens soulis. & pus pe fend stirip men to laste in synne amentus god; but wite pey wel wip pe fend pat god mut nedis be her lord. pus if lordis han first be foolis, other is dowynng or leenuyng to helpe, pey shulden haue sorowe of pis synne & haaste hem to make aseep. & wite pey wel pat god mut nedis be cheef lord of alle creaturis, God is chief lord
and they may not grant without his leave.

Let rulers amend the priests.

[p. 298 MS.]

Capitulum 7

er ben groundis þe whiche crist kepte contrarie to keping of prelatis nou. for crist tauyte þat hoolynesse shulde be hid in mensus hertis & not shewid to þe puple in sensible signes wij-oute fruyt; for þasne men hopides reward of god & axides not glory of þis world. but nou it is turnyd

Now a pope or prelat must have pomp.
For his name is newe founed, & it bitokeniþ wundirful; for summe penke it gret wandir þat worldly glory & hoolynesse shulden be knyttid in o persone; sif crist forsoþ it is word & dede, & bi his lore his apostlis, lord, why shulden not plesatis do nou so? & by þis cause hap þe fend brouȝ yt þat religious of þes newe ordis shal be shewid in sensible signes, as habitis, & bikones, & hye housis, & herfore hap þe fend brouȝt is þat sumpany of many lumpis shal be ioyned to o persone for worldly worship of þer staþ. þus þer ben many cardinals & many mess knyttid to hem; myche meyne to a bishop, & manye personas in an ordre, & al is charge to comyn men, & stronge to þe fendis part. oris ordynede þat his apostlis fro tyme þat he steyede to heuene shulden be scaterid in many custreys & conquerick mess to crist. wel y rede þat seyt petre dwelte in a coriaria hous, but y rede not of cardenal ne þate he hadde wiþ hym; & þat þis apostle cam to cornely & conertide hym wiþ oper. & þus may cristenmes lerne boþe of crist & his apostlis þat religious of crist is not in siche worldly signes. & so men moten oper denye bileue, or seye þat cristis religious stondip not in siche signes as nou þe chirche is chargid wiþ. soþ it is þat secular prinisis & worldly lordis moten hauue siche worldly signes, for þey shulden teche to drede god by austernete & worldly drede, but it is aþenue cristis wille þat prestis medde þes two to-gideres, for þey shulden teche bi mekenesse & pacience, as crist dide. & herfore biddip god in his lawe þat his mess shulden not be cloþid in wollis [Deut. xxii. 11.] & lynynus partid to-gideres, to teche þis dynaþait in figure. crist was boþe kyng & prest, as he is boþe god & man, & þus sum þing fallip to hym þat no cristian may come to; but in siche poynsis shulden mess lerne to sue bi vertues crist afer, & go not biþore crist, as dide presumpþion of petre; & herfore crist clepide hym sathanas & bad petre go aftir hym. crist as a goode maystir hadde twelwe apostlis to teche hem; antriorist ordynayeþ many twelue to lyne worldly & charge þe chirche. crist koude ensample kynghod &
presthod in her gronadis, but prestis þat cometh after Crist 
ben not able to do so; & þus þey passen þer maystir Crist, 
obde in presthod & in knyþthod. & þus þif popis wolden 
haue cardenals, þey shulden chese gode men & pore, & loke 
þat þey chargide not þe chirohe bi costly aray & idilnesse; 
but nou mens seyen þat cardenals ben broust þu bi antierist 
to bargeye by symonye, & by ofere disseytis bigile men, 
& þus as þe pope is wundurful, so cardenals ben an herre to 
þe fendis hous. & ofere ground han þey noon, but for 
antierist wole þus.

Capitulum 8m.

Antichrist urges; it it were to rehearse þe suyenonis þat antierist makip to 
prove þat it were betere clerkis to be riche þan pore as 
crist; for bi þis richeþ þei don sum good, & bi so myche 
þey ben þe betere. for þey ben of manneus kynde, as ben lordis 
þat han siche godis, & þey han wit to spende þes godis 
as han ofere, or ellis more. Why shulden not þey be betere 
bi þes richeþas as ofere ben? Heeres mens seyen to antierist 
þat wolde affeerme crist a fool, as þe fend helde crist a fool 
for he wolde not take of hym alle þe reumes of þe world for 
a litil servuyse to hym, þat crist as a good god wolde þat his 
prestit weres in worchip & fer fro perels of þe fend, & þus he 
forbad to his prestit to haue to myche of erþly godis & to 
myche bisynesse aboute hem; but crist þat hem goostly godis 
& ocupiynig bi charite. & þif we marken staat of innocent 
& staat þat ausgels han in heuene, þey shulden not be þus 
*oppressid wiþ erþly drit as riche men ben, but þey han 
more clene lif & more likinge to manneus soule. & for þis 
cause ordeynede crist þat his prestis shulden wante þes 
richessis, & ensaumplide in hym sylf & his apostlis hon þey 
shulden lyue. crist wolde wel þat his prestis hadden þe use 
of worldly godis as myche as wolde do hem good, but not to 
myche to lette þer soule, as mens shulden before synne &
ausngels han in per lif. & bi pis vas mens shulden have goostly lordship of alle pes godis, & bi pes fruyt of vertues have delit in her god. & bus crist ordeynede to prestis moost hye staat & moost parfit of alle pre partis of pe chirche, jif pat prestis wolden lyue per-affer; as crist jaf to laboeris worldly godis & travel also, & crist graustide to his apostlis to travele aboute erply godis, but he forsendide hem to prynte per soulis to myche wip erply godis. crist graustide to worldly lordis to have gouernayle of siche godis, but he graustide to his prestis to gouern soulis bi weye of vertues; & pis shulden pey do bi make wille, & leeue lordship & austerne. & pis he tauyte in dede & word for love pat he hadde to his prestis. so we nou pe fendis foly, what he menep whanne he arguep. he wolde mene pat crist was a fool & to scars in leste godis. austyn seip ofte-tyme pat ben pre godis of man; godis of vertues, & godis of kynde, & godis of fortune, pat ben pe leste. crist ordeynede mens to be riche in godis of vertu, for pey ben best; & crist ordeynede godis of kynde as myche as pey shulden serve to pe soule. he ordeynede not so gret a body ne so strong to a man as hap an hors or oter beesse, for it wolde do harm to pe soule. crist ordeynede godis of fortune pat wolden suffise and of fortune to mannes body; & bus he ordeynede godis of vertu wyngis to men to fle to heuen; ant antcrist wolde faste to men godis of fortune bi couetise, pat shulden drenge a man to helle, & for pis ende he shapip pis. wel y graunte pat erply Riches are good as God's creauturis & shapun of god for good ende. but godis of vertu but vertues are better. pes ben pe betere pat prestis shulden have passingly, & more perel is in pe firste godis, & perchore crist wolde not pat his prestis hadden but litle of pes godis, for perels & letting of betere godis. & heers shulden worldly mens take heed, bohe Secueal men should be careful pe lordis * & pe comyna, pat pey dissusen not worldly godisis, but take hem in measure to pat ende pat crist hap ordeyned hem to be vaid, & not aenun his ordenaunces. crist jaf hem not worldly godis to charge his prestis wip pis lordship, ne to

Priests would have the highest and most perfect state if they would keep Christ's rule.

The devil means that Christ was a fool, and to scars in leste godis. austyn seip ofte-tyme pat ben pre godis of man; godis of vertues, & godis of kynde, & godis of fortune, pat ben pe leste. crist ordeynede mens to be riche in godis of vertu, for pey ben best; & crist ordeynede godis of kynde as myche as pey shulden serve to pe soule. he ordeynede not so gret a body ne so strong to a man as hap an hors or oter beesse, for it wolde do harm to pe soule. crist ordeynede godis of fortune pat wolden suffise and of fortune to mannes body; & bus he ordeynede godis of vertu wyngis to men to fle to heuen; ant antcrist wolde faste to men godis of fortune bi couetise, pat shulden drenge a man to helle, & for pis ende he shapip pis. wel y graunte pat erply Riches are good as God's creauturis & shapun of god for good ende. but godis of vertu but vertues are better. pes ben pe betere pat prestis shulden have passingly, & more perel is in pe firste godis, & perchore crist wolde not pat his prestis hadden but litle of pes godis, for perels & letting of betere godis. & heers shulden worldly mens take heed, bohe Secueal men should be careful pe lordis * & pe comyna, pat pey dissusen not worldly godisis, but take hem in measure to pat ende pat crist hap ordeyned hem to be vaid, & not aenun his ordenaunces. crist jaf hem not worldly godis to charge his prestis wip pis lordship, ne to
stirs hem to flesaly synnes, as ben gloterye & lecherye; & if hes two partis of he chirohe foules pes prestis wip hes godis, wite he wel hat god Wolfe punyeshe bohe hes partis & his prestis. & hes we grauust he prestis don sum good wip his richees, for so don he fendis in helle wip godis hat crist haip jouyn to hes, but nepels he don amys; for he shulden sotte al her bisynesse pes he han nou in worldly godis to serve crist bi godis of grace, & his is a greet defaute. We grauust hat prestis ben of manus kynde, as ben lordis & weddid mes, but hit he shulden not have his lordship ne kyndely gendrure of children, but if he woldes leeehe his staat & become weddid mes, for we bileues pes maydynhout & goostely gendrure is betere pes his. & so supposes we pes prestis han betere wit pes seculer lordis, applye he pes betere wit in betere vue to serve god; as beestis han wit to ete & drylke, but prestis wit shulde not stonde in his, but how he myttes teche mes to lyue in vertues bi goddis lawe, but his may not prestis do bi robbing of lordis & of oomys of her lordship & erpely godis; for his is aqens god & man.

Capitulum 9m.

Antichrist and those that help him should be ashamed.

Worldly lords endowing the clergy are mending Christ’s ordinance.

The emperor has been brought down for endowing the Church.
be punysshed for his deed, but punysshing of manses soule is more to drede than worldly harm. & þus antiochist *myyte not [*p. 315 MS.] for shame canonyse þis emperour; for it is knowyn þing to men þat þis emperour reuereside eist. & it semeth to many men þat o cause why he dide þus was to hye his owne prestis, wiþ oþer blýnd denoucions; so þat as þe emperour passide opere worldly lordis, so shulde his prest of rome & hise passide opere lordis prestis. & to þis wit he made hym lord of rome & myche of his empire, & made hym & his cardenals ride in reed on hye orb; for hym pounyte shame þat his clerkis shulden not passa clerkis of opere lordis, but as he passide hem bi his empire, so his prest shulde passe opere. & certis þis were an yuel ground to canonyse þis man in heuene; as it were no good cause to charge þe chirche to halewe hym, al þif he seyde þat þif he sawe a prest lie bi a womman he wolde hile hem wiþ his mentile, & not sclausdre hem of þis synne. þif þis emperour be in blis, certis þat is not for þis dede; for fynnes was a iust prest, for he stikide þe man & þe womman for þer synne æsænæ god, & þus he vengide goddis wrong. þis emperour dide many godis, but þit men duretem neuere hidir­to charge þe chirche to holde his day, & trowe þat he were seynt in heuene. & so men seyen of seynt silvestre, þat þif god wolde he is blissid, but þasne he hadde myche sorowe aftir þis lordship þat he toke, as seynt petre synnedre ofte & bi ours feip he is nou seynt, but we han no oþere feip þat siluestre is þus in blis. for it is nedo to cristemmen to wite what þing is bilene, & to wite what is byrneþe bilene, & putte not ours trouþe in aiche þing. but it is likey to many men þat siluestre synnedre in his biynge, & petre ne poule ne opere apostle wolde neure hane takaþ þis steat; but þe fruyt of his sorowe & opere gode dedis þat he dide, wiþ þe grace of goddis wille, mytþen hane maad hym seynt aftir. & þus men shewen bi oþyn skyle defaute of antiochistis resoun. many þisgis ben gode & holsum echone in his kynde, & þe mynging of þes þisgis is vnholsum to man to take; so presthod & worldly lordship ben bo þe gode in þer lordship.
kynde, & ye mynyng of these two were venemous, ye in ye pope. for his lordship *wolde queneche ye pouer of ye krist haf bedun. & a coorde is a good ping, & faste knyttynge hert-wip is good hope to man & to beeste in plasis where it wolde do good; but knytte his coorde to mannes prote & it myste soone strangle his man. so bynde his lordship of his world to securer men that han wit & vertu to worche after his lordship, after he lawe that crist haf jouyn, & it may do myche good, goddis worship & his chirchis profit; but knytte his lordship to cristis prest & it wolde lette hym to speke that lawe of god & soulis heelpe, & strangle hym & many ophere.thus alle the resoun that he fende can make avenus crist & cristis prestis may be auoydid bi ours seip, & make heretikis to shame of hem.

Capitulum 10m.

Antichrist argues that abbeys and colleges would be destroyed if perpetual almes ceased.

It would be better if there were no such nests of the devil.

Heritage among secular lords falls sometimes into bad hands.

De Papa.

It argues antichrist that bi his fel foly perforpetual almes is abbey & in colleges shulde be destried: but where were more symne? & sib it is greet meede to do almes for a tyme, it were myche more meede to contynue perforpetual almes; & thus charters of lordis & kyngis of her perforpetual almes shulde be destried, & goostly help that sueip her-of, & no drede that pope is ground of alle siche perforpetual almes. Heere han trewe men ofte seyd that it were myche betere that mess lyuedes opyn lif as in siche nestis of fende; for siche abbeis & colleges ben hordis of symne to herborne hym & herfore seip crist in ye gospel that mess shulden not be biai to be morowe; but antichrist haf hardy maner to holde his castel for many yeers. & thus that crist durste not do, ne his apostlis after hym, antichrist dare bylyndly do is holding of siche castelas, & this is a fendi cautel that he haf brouyt yn of newe. heritage of erply lordis goip ofte tyme amys whasne tirauntis & goddis traytours comes eyris after gode men; but it god ordeyneip grace heere, & ordeyneip susame to wante eyris, & bi many priuey weyes he takip yuel fro gode men.
but whenne siche hord of þe fend is _perpetual_ is o heede, be it good be it yuel, it lastiþ many meanes lyues, & it is comynly yuel. for crist hadde but twelue apostlis & ledde hem in _travell_ & _pouert_ & _hooel_ proaching of his word, & _it_ is sacrioth was a shrewfe for al þe _vortu_ þat crist shewide. an iscariot. lord, wher popis & erply lordis han more _vortu_ þas crist hadde heere? & þus siche nestis *shulden* not be callid [*p. 336 M8.*] _perpetual_ almes of worldly lordis, but deemes of þeues, & nestis of _serpentis_, & homey housis of quy o deuels. & þey don harm to cristis chirge bi _perpetualte_ in þor synne; & oþer ground han no meyn forto fousede siche deemes, but þat crist forfendide hem & shewide þor perel in sacrioth. & se þe cauntel of þe fend, hon quentely he hæþ brouȝt þis yn. he moneþ þes founseris to pride, & seþ þey ben comun of grete men, þat han foundid _perpetual_ abbes in so myche multitude. where is more satanas _pride_ ægens mekenesse of ieu crist? for ours bileue techeþ vs þat a man doþ no lengere merit þas þe while he lyueþ heere in erþe; hou shulde þis meede suere laste? þes founseris sufficidens not to fousede þor owne soule in _vertues_; hou shulden þei þasne suflisse to make so longe _vertuous_ men? & jif þor come good of þis ground, pore deed men þat god lounþ betere han more meede of þis good þan han þes proude founseris. & se hou _anticerst_ & þes lordis stryuen as fendis in þis poynþ. _anticerst_ seïþ þat al þis lordship felde to hym bi title of crist, & so þes lordis saunes ægen godis þat þey hadden vnusety holdun, & so þei han no more meede but makes aseþ for _formes_ synne; & jif þey dwellen ay in synne þe while þei holden ony lordship fro þe chirohe. & þus it is not _perpetual_ almes, but _perpetual_ part of making aseþ. & _certis_ summe wordis þat heers ben seyd ben soþe, & summe opyn blasemye, aþen crist, þat is lord of alle, forfendide siche nestis in þe gospel, & ordeynede to his moost dere children þat þey shulden not haue siche dwellinge place. & þis he ordeynede for þis ende, þat men shulden coueyte þe place of heene. & to þe foorme of _anticerstitis_ skile: he & alle hise kusnes not grounde þat as to the form of _Antichrist’s_ reas-
his was ensere any alme to make his siche saynys castels. 

Solomon's temple was a figure of the Church, but not a model for it.

Perpetuity belongs to Christ.

Antichrist says that the whole order of the Church would be destroyed.

True men reply there would still be Christ's order of the three parts of Holy Church.

Capitulum 11°.
pis ordre, & fayne a newe wij-oute ground. & si p we taken of goddis lawe pist crist dwellip wij-outes ende, he were a fool out of bileue pist diffled heers of crisits help. crist wole ordeyne to his chirche prestis & ordre pist is nedeful, al jif pes fours sectis were sunkus down to per fadir. leue whanne pe pope was deed & cardenals were not sit sprongun, in whois hond was pe chirche pest wandrip heers vpon erpe? certis in crisits hond, pest dwellip euere heed of hooly chirche; & he mut nedis ordeyne prestis, summe hyers & summe lowers, aifter jat he yweyb hem grace to profite more aifter his lawe. & jif per were no popis, no cardenals, no emperours pralitis, hooly chirche shulde stonde wel bi pe ordre pest crist puttide. & jif jou axe who shulde make pes prestis, & bi what wordis & whois autorite, certis bileue nedip vs to seye pest crist mut make pes prestis, per bi wordis hid to vs or bi grace wij-oute wordis, as crist not wij-outes cause made apostlis & telde vs not bi what wordis vs. he made hem; why shulde not crist do jat so? trowe we pest crist sitting in heene is lettid to streче his grace so fer? si p he is bope god & man, & gournyet vs in operes pingis. & jif jou seye jat on jis maner myyte ech man fayne hym sylf a staat, & seye jat he is hierste man pest dwellip in erpe vndir crist; sop it is pest many pseudois may speke myche wij-oute ground, & forfere crist hajp jouyn a lawe to trowe hem not but jif jey groundes hem. & si p crist bad trowe to his werkis & saf neper bullis ne lettris sedil, men shuldes more trowe hooly werkis pes popis bullis or bischopis lettris. for alle jee pes not gospel, but jef ende may regne vndir pes writtis; for bope popis, bischopis & prestis may be wij pes jefendid children, & no partis of hooly chirche but fendis ordeyned to be dampanyd. trowe jou to vertuous dedis of prestis, & algoatis to per mekenesse, pest jey consyten noon.)

The text is incomplete and contains a mix of Latin and English, therefore the translation is not fully accurate.
he shulde come to huene, for mekenesse & opere vertue

but he haþ. & þus we shulde lyne in biseue in hope
& in charite, & who so wantiþ hope heere he is an opyn
anticrist. þus we hope to be sauyd, al jif þes prelatis bes
opyn fendis, & ours biseue & hope is pichid in þe grace of
ius crist, & ours gode werkis may we knowe wip ent eas in
ours soule. many men trawes more to gode werkis þan to
staat of pope or bishop, & so alle þes pontificals ben bynyþe
hooly writ, so þat jif þey alle were brent cristendom shulde
stonde wel. for ellis þif freres founden wordis to sacre þe
armes of a prest, & þe pope þane hym meede to fiþe wip
opere cristemen, he were out of biseue þat trawed not to al
þis. but fer be it fro cristemen to trawe siche cautels of þe
send; & bi þis may men se answer to þe foarme of anticiristis
resous. þes wordis of þe emperours prelatis þat ben not
grounþ in godis lawe destriens not hoollly chirche, ne þe
orðes þat crist haþ sett; but founding of þes newe orðris
disemperþ þe orðris of crist, & þus þe send steliþ in mo
men to his stede. þe orðes of kyngis & dukis & knýtis
& of aeruauastis to hem ben grounþ in godis lawe, but not
of popis & cardenals. crist ordynede bi his orðs þat his
apistis & his gestis shulde be felowis & make men & telle
not hye bi hem silt, & so crist makiþ distinccion bi-twixe
orðs of erply lordis & orðs of his prestis. for þat orðr is
hid to god & stondiþ in mekenesse & opere dedis of charite;
& so blyndenesse of anticirist shulde not disprone þes worldly
lordis, ne proue þat bi þe same skyle mut be þis orðs of
emperours prelatis.

Capitulum 12mo.

Antichrist asks who is to give indulgences, if there were no pope.

it anticirost arguneþ þat it is nedeþul to þe chirche þat þe
pope & his cardenals & opere prelatis renue it. for who
shulde ellis assoyel men & graunte hem so large in-
dulgenþ boþe of peyne & of synne, haue þei neuþre so longe
synmed. & opere priuileges of þe pope may not be teld of
erply men. in his mater han crīstenmen seyd priuely as pey dursten, pat it were good men to be war lest antìchrist disseyue hem. & god wite it, men wolden wip wille seye treuþe for worship of oristine & for profit of his chiche & hope to gete blis in heuene. bope crīstenmen & antìchrist ground hem on ieu crist, but pey fallen in-to duynese wayes bi þe tempting of þe fend. antìchrist leuþe þekenesse & paciense wip operœ vertue, but crīstenmen holden þes vertue, summe more & summe lesse. & holde we þus cristi lawe wip-outes nouelries of antìchrist, & seye we hon crīstenmen shulden do in þys fensid blast. & þus men seyen bi cristi lore þat antìchrist failþiþ first whanne he seþ þat it is nedeful þat þe pope & cardenals reule cristi chiche. for whanne cristi chiche prof, were no siche pope & cardenals; & siben þes prælates weren comun yn regnde antìchrist wip synne. & anæstis asoyling, bīluæ teχtiþ crīstenmen þat ieu crist mut nedia aseqle ĥif ony man shule be aseqylid, & antìchrist may not for shame denye opynly þis bīluæ; but he seþ þat crist mut nedia assente wip hym in asoyling, & he grousþiþ þis bi þe gospel, but it is shame to reherse it. soþ it is cristi grauþtide to petres þat what þing he aseqylide on øpe shulde be aseqylid in heuene, & so it is of bynding; but þis was lymytid to petres & hise þat suyden þe *steþþ þat petres *[p. 56] wente, & whoanne þer aseqylid & þer bynding acordide wip god in heuene. but nou it is no bīluæ þat þes gon petris steþþis, & suer crist þe struþt weye þat shulde lede herdís to heuene. & also it is no bīluæ þat what tymé þat þes prælates feynes hem to aseq, þey acorden wip crist aboue; & so it is no bīluæ þat þes acorden euers wip crist. For as þey symen in oþer þing, so þey symen in þis poiyt; for þat disordere þro goddis wille in his lif & in his dede may liþly disorde þro god in præeyes of siche aseqylid. men preyen god þes crīsten men bi þe vertu of ieu crist þat þey dampne not þes wordis to liþly wip-outes skyle, but reste in resouns & goddis lawe & holde al þat þese techen. for þis shulden alle crīstenmen do & passe not þe boundis of þis; & þis shulden men talle opynly

Men who depart from God's will in their life, may do so in their absolution.
to suffers deu for loue of trewe. & bi pis maynes se what 
pe shules trewe of indulgence. it is no poynct of bileue 
pat pe pope euere more is graueting of pes indulgence acor帝 
wi goddis wille; as it is no bileue pat so longe shal pis 
world stonde, as pe pope grauert indulgence. but bileue 
techi Cristiames pat indulgence shules no lengers lasts; & 
"pe it is no bileue siw pe pope, for bidding of a kyng, grauert 
so large indulgence pat a man may is a masse tyme where 
euere he harip pis masse gete twenti pesynd peer of pardous, 
& pat wole passe alle pe tyme pat soules shules dwelle is 
purgatorye; & puls he shal not dwelle in peyne bi pe grauert 
of pis pope. manye siche pisgins ben wriuas pat ben nouyt of 
bileue, & perfore it is perelous to trewe hem as bileue. We 
bileues on cristis lawe pat siif man synnede nieuere so longe, 
& were nieuere asoylid of pope ne of his prest vndir hym, siw 
he wolde forsake his synne & be contt for formers synne & 
ende pis lif on pis maner, god wolde foryyne hym his synne. 
We kunne not telle hou longe pat god wold be punyshhe hym 
in purgatorye, & pis is more grace of god pat pe pope tellip 
in his lawe, for he wole nedis constreyne men to be asoylid 
of hym or his, but pis durste noon apostle do. & puls it is 
no bileue, as it is no bileue pat pis or pis is very pope. for 
mansnes choys makip no prest, hou euere pis lawe be hyed. 
for enleuene apostles to-giders durste not cheue mathe 
apostle, & siw pe hooly goost was wip hem & coueytis was 
avey. & puls seyen summe trewe men pat siche grauatis of 
pope pat bes not groudid in goddis lawe bes prauylegies, 
& litl worp, & siw pey ben not bileue, ake groud of hem 
bifore pou bie hem.

Explicit tractatus de papa.
APPENDIX.

Extract from the Tract De Servitu Deo et Dominio Seculari, Cap. V. from MS. Ashburnham, 1f. 87b et seq.

Restat videre naturaliter de dominio ac servitute que in clericis magis fetet. S ecte autem he quatuor ex cautela diaboli majorem servitutem in seculares dominos introducunt, et specialiter in hoc quod ipsos veacdant ad dei ordinanciam defendendum. Ut incipiendo a Papa, ipse lege Christi exigit quod in regaliis exteris citet et precipiat quod quecunque persone sub regum dominio, quamcumque deus eos incarcerat, compareant in tempore brevi quod limitat suis judicibus responsur. 1. Sic autem contingit romanum presbiterum insanire quod mittat in Angliam clericis quos contemptit ut respondeant infra tempus modicum suis cardinalibus judicibus inimicis, et ut machinetur hanc stultam cautelam diaboli quod Romam veniant vel ubicunque papam esse contingit, sub pena crudelissima responsur. Sic enim continget papam regnicolas quoscumque regum destrueret et depauperaret regna tam pecunia quam personis.

2. Iterum cum non tantum rutilat sua sapiencia ut destruat in regnis latrunulos, videtur quod necessitate vendicat fideles ut per vias abruptissimas et periculoceissimas tam corpori quam anime capiant iter suum. Christus autem non vendicat hujusmodi potestatem.

3. Iterum contingit quod deus necessitatem citatos illos ex infirmitatis vel debilitatis impotencia quod infra tempus datum et usque ad diem judicij non poterunt per tantam distanciam laborare. Cum ergo Christus ipsis precipit quod non sic laborent ad illam distanciam et papa crudeleri mandet oppositum, patet quod in hoc ipse induit habitum antichristi, cum nemo possit esse Christo magis contrarius quam tam

Pope cites persons before his judges and bids them come to Rome or where else he may be.

He does not make the ways safe for them.

God may disable men from appearing to the citation.
dominative mandando oppositum illius quod Christus tam realiter precipit in effectum.

4. Iterum quod patet irracionabilitas hujus mandati evidet via multiplici; nam papa de valde possibili potest interim in inferno condenmari. Que igitur prudencia citare hominem dum nesciat quorunm sicut nescit de prefixo termino ubi erit, specialiter si sit vivus vel mortuus, vel a dignitate sus depositus et in carcere violente reclusus. Nec habet ista citacio fundacionem aliam nisi quod Christus accipiendo baptisma divicium venit humiliter ad baptistam, ut patet Jo. primo et Mat. 3°; ideo antichristo pertainet procedere per viam contrariam.¹

6. Iterum citaciones tales notata causa possunt faciliter in Anglia terminari, cum citati volunt humiliiter detegere et mittendo scribere ad romanam curiam fidem suam.² Que ergo racio citandi tales incarceratos domini pro haec causa. Certum quidem est ex fide quod apostolus non habuit potestatem a deo nisi ad edificationem non destructionem ecclesie vel personae. Et si diabolus hanc potestatem simulaverit, in ista facta simulacione est faciliter convincibilis esse mendac. Ideo cum unus fidelis debet in illo casu quod precipitur obedire domino Jesu Christo, sanum consilium atque catholicum videtur hominem tenere se domi et humiliiter petere suffragium domini Jesu Christi. In ipso enim clamamus abba, pater, qui est mirabilis episcopus animarum. Et martirizatio ista diaboli est longe crudelier atque cælildier quam martirizatio facta per seculares in ecclesia primitiva. Immo libera nos domine ab isto periculo tempore et venenosis sagittis emissis de pharetra antichristi. Eya, milites Christi, servate viriliter libertatem vobis datam a domino non solum quod bona fortune vel corpora sed quod animam et virtutes. Antichristus enim licet stolidus vendicat dominari omnibus istis tribus.

7. Iterum vendicare debet catholicus ex titulo misericordiae subsidium a sano concilio regis sui, nam tanquam certum supponitur quod papa non habet potestatem tantam super corpus hominis regis legii ut rex habet; quis ergo Achitophel proberet quod rex mandet tali suo legio ne ad pape mandatul tali discrimini se convertat. Si autem papa plus et principalius dominatur super homine regis legio quam rex

¹ I leave out No. 5 as it has to do with the Pope’s exacting oaths of obedience from prelates and others.
² Compare the beginning of the so-called letter to Pope Urban.
"Gaudete plane detegere cænusque fidem meam quam teneo, et speci- aliter Romano pontifici."——F. Z. 341.
ipse, cum potest esse inimicus regis et regni, ut nuper contigit in effectum, videtur quod papa habet potestatem in monos regis regnicolas in regem et regnum proprium rebel-
lae; ideo certum videtur quod rex habet plus principalem
potestatem super corpore hominis sui legii quam iste episcopus
racine ecclesiae. Aliter enim Constantinus concessisset
Silvestro ad destrucionei sui imperii principalitatem
domini super singulos suos legios; sed certum est quod
neo istud potuit nec papa debuit acceptare tale dominium.
Sicut ergo rex potest et debet servare in suo regno aurum
vel jocae, licet pro ipso papa mandaverit, sic et hominem
suum legium, cum in casu sit regno tam necessarius ut hoc
aurum; specialiter dum papa non habet aliquid contra hunc
clericum nisi quod legem dei et jus regni pupplicat contra
refugia antichristi. Neo graviter ferat catholicus quod fidelis
sio postulat humanum subsidium propter illud Jer. 17°:
Maledivus qui confidit in homine et ponit carnem brachium
suum, quia debemus in deo confidere principaliter, credendo
indefectibilitatem sue misericordie tanquam fidem; sed in
home suppositive et ministraliter possumus confidere citra
fidem, cum confidendo principaliter in deo quod moveat suum
organum ad in tali justicia pertinenti magnatibus adju-
vandum, possumus ad hoc per fideles evidencias homines
inclinare. Et unum credimus; quod quicunque Achitophel
consuluerit regem ad oppositum est preditor, a fide et utilitate
exorbitans regis sui. Necesse tamen habemus percepta
multitudine scolarum antichristi in dei adjutorium figere
fidem nostram.

The tract, "De Citacionibus frivolis et aliis Versuciis Anti-
christi" (MS. Ashburnham, ff. 65), begins by setting
out the question at issue.

Queatio. Si papa vel ejus vicario citante virum legium
regis ut compareat coram eo personaliter pro loco et tempore
que ipse voluerit limitare, dum rex non licenciaverit, pre-
dictus vir legius teneatur sub pena gravis pecosati coram
papa vel ejus vicario in dictis loco et tempore comparere?
Et videtur quod sic, quia aliter ipsum excommunicant,
spoliant, incarcerant, vel occidunt, quod non facerent nisi
gravis culpa hoc exigat, cum deus non potest punire homin-
em nisi culpa pene hujusmodi precedente. Ergo conclusio
vera.

Sed ante quam arguitur ad partem contrarium argucia ista
sophistica est solvenda. Constat quidem logico quod racio ista To say so is to

1 This shows that the tract was written after the Great Schism.
non habet colorum nisi supposito hoc infidelis porrissmate, quod
neq papa nec ejus vicarius errare poterit in ha parte. Posset
enim esse quod talis sit antichristus et manifestus diabolus
extolens se invidenter (?) supra omne quod dicitur deus;
et tunc idem foret sic ipsi annuere et antichristi sive diabolic
consentire. Posset enim talis praelatus agitari tanta insan
quod, deo citante virum legium ad contrarium, ipsae citet
irracionabilissime contra deum. Cum enim citare sit mandare
ad futuram obedienciam adimplendum, patet quod stat deum
citare realiter virum hunc legium per penam corporis quam
infliget ne sic exeat regnum regis. Et cum talis praelatus
patenter citat ad contrarium, patet lucide ipsum esse facientem
hoc sciencie contra Christum, et per consequens anti-
christum. Et cum Christus sit major dominus, quia verus
deus et dominus dominorum, patet patule quam necesse sit
hunc virum legium non tali citacioni talis diabolic consentire.
Dict enim apostolus prima Cor. 10°. Fidelis est Deus qui non
permitte vos temptari supra id quod potestis; sed facit cum
temptacions etiam pronuntum ut possitis sustinere. Et sic
videtur quod imminente tali temptacione diabolic fidelis vir
legius debet in deo confidere et Christo non illi diabolic in isto
facinore obediere; quia sepe Deus procul videt quomodo talis
prelatus presumens hanc Antichristi veasam erit, antequam
temps quod limitat venerit, adeo impeditus, quod non tunc
erit oportunitas ad virum illum examinandum, cum dei citacionem
alem diabolicam sepe frustrat.

Ex ipsis colligitur quod quicunque fidelis in domino sit
citatus consenset sic secorditer antichristo, dimittendo
laborem inunctum sibi a domino, peccat graviter tanquam
stolidus preeligeri sibi ambiguum, pro quo tam corpore quam
anima est damndandus. Cum ergo tales praelati non possunt
occidere animam personae quam sic citaverint in inferno, et
evidens sit quod ex tali stulta obediencia tam corpus quam
anima occidentur, stultum videtur, et vecors eleccione pro
citazione tali frivola laborare. Si enim sintilla eariatis
vigerit in isto prelato visitaret talem provinciam instar
Christi, vel saltem instrueret ipsum epistolairter mere Pauli.
Sed sicuit citat ad locum quem nescit et pro causa quam
habitualiter exprimere erubesce, sic nescit fidem catholicam
etiam de hostia consecratae quum tractat cotidie, et erubesce
pandere causam diabolicam pro qua citat.

1 This shows that the tract was written after Wyclif had attacked the
doctrine of Transubstantiation.
Unde quia diabolus et quodlibet ejus membrum redarguunt seipso in peccatis que perpetrant, notant quidam leges quas papa approbat in hae parte. Nam in decretis, 18a distinzione, sic scribitur: "Si episcopus metropolitanus ad comprovincales episcopos epistolam dixisset in quibus eos aut ad ordinacionem summi pontificis aut ad synodum invitet, postpositis omnibus excepta grava necessitate vel infirmitate corporis ac preceptio regia, ad constitutum diem adesse non differant." Ecce triplex excusatio excusat a citazione metropolitani, ut videtur si fuerit ex mandato summi pontificis, cum ipse sit quidam episcopus et per deum graciam metropolitanus. Primum est gravis necessitas que videtur maxima in custodia Christi ovium, ne a lupis rapacibus laniatur. Secundum est infirmitas corporis propter quam deficit citato dispositione data a deo ad taliter laborandum. Et 3m est precepsio regia quando rex precepit, sicut debet, suo legio ne taliter extra suam provinciam superflue evacetur. Et omnes iste tres cause vel aliquis earum in qualibet citazione hujusmodi sunt reperte, et specialiter cum rex regum prohibeat taliter evagari. Ad eleccionem itaque summi pontificis qui est Christus indubie debent viatores singuli laborare, cum Christum debent viantes singuli, postpositis mandatis et citacionibus humanis, eligere, juxta illud deuteronomii dominum elegisti hodi. Et sic viantes eligunt deum et ipse ab eis eligitur quandocunque mandatum sive concilium suum efficiatur et mandatum humanum postponitur, quot videtur debere fieri quandocunque citatio talis frivola contemptur et voluntas domini adimpletur. Et sic dict quidam debilis et claudus sitatus ad hanc curiam quod prohibicio regia impedit ipsum ire quia rex regum necessitat et vult effloescite quod non vadat. Dicit eciam quod domi oportet ipsum eligere summum pontificecm Jesum Christum, quod est gravis necessitas, eo quod cum ejus omissione vel negligencia non potest romanus pontifex vel aliquis angelus dispensare.

In these last sentences it seems to me impossible to doubt that Wyclif is speaking of himself.
Notes.

Page 2, line 1.—The comparison of the religious orders to the Pharisees was common with Wyclif. Thus in his tract on Matthew xxiii. he says: "Nee dubium quin fratres et alii religiosi novelli, divisi a vita communi secte Christiane tam in cerimonii quam in loco, sunt pharisei."—MS. Ashburnham, If. 76.

The comparison had been made long before Wyclif's time, and is to be found in a sermon of William of St. Amour.—(Brown’s Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum, ii. 43.)

P. 2, l. 11.—Of he pridde opakes he maister of stories.

The reference is to the Historia Scolastica of Petrus Comestor. The book, which is an abridgment of the Bible history, was very popular in the Middle Ages. The account of the Essenes occurs in chap. xxxi. of the Historia Evangelica, p. 211 of the edition of Paris, 1513.

P. 2, l. 16.—Jesu curaode hem ofte ye siste tymes.

In Matthew xxiii. "Woe unto you" is repeated eight times. Hence the title Ves Octuplex to an English exposition of that chapter printed in S. E. W. ii. 379. There is a Latin tract bearing the same title.—(Shirley, 43.)

P. 3, l. 16.—Seiynge . . pat crist taute not . . pe beste ordre.

Ac si dedignarentur vel erubescerent seque Christum patronam, sed unum alium mendacem et grandem pecatum sibi statuunt, regulam Christi ordinis deserendo.—Trialogus, iv. 35, p. 371.

P. 4, l. 19.—Lettris of fraternitie.

The convents were accustomed to grant to their benefactors letters entitling those named in them to a share in the benefits of all prayers
and merits of the convent or order. These letters are a frequent subject for satire. Thus Jacke Upland:

Why sake ye no letters of brotherhoods
of other men's prayers,
as ye desire that other men

P. 5, l. 9.—Pe pursuyl is maad for prestes toching men where þei schullen do here almes, &c.

That is, the preachers had exhorted the people not to give alms to friars and monks, but to the sick and bedridden poor. This was a common subject with Wyclif and his followers, and was naturally not approved by the religious orders. Compare the next article.

P. 5, l. 25.—Maken profession to mout he oy powert.

There seems here to be a reference to the rule of St. Francis, where we read: “Æs is þe heynesse of þe moste heyy, pouert” (p. 42). The friars professed a more rigid poverty than the monks, since the latter were bound only to personal poverty, whereas the friars were forbidden to possess anything either individually or collectively. This (theoretical) perfection of poverty was one of the great boasts of the order. “Una [paupertas] est omnium Christianorum quæ excludit alienum et includit commune et proprium. Alia est monachorum et multorum religiosorum quæ includit alienum et proprium sed includit et admittit commune, quia habent aliquid in communi licet nihil habeant in particulari. Tertia est fratrum Minorum, quæ includit alienum, speciale et commune et includit solum simplicem usum facti.”—Nicolaus Oronus (Oresme), Tractatus in regulam Sancti Francisci (Luxemburg, 1628).

P. 5, l. 27.—Gaiest wast housis, &c.

For the splendour of the friars' convents, see the description in Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, line 118, and still more line 156 et seq. In the latter passage, the author may well have had in view the very convent where the Council was held which condemned Wyclif's doctrines in 1382. The church of the Austin Friars in Broad Street is still used by the Dutch, and although much damaged some years ago by fire, and by the consequent restoration, it presents a fair specimen of a church built with a special view to preaching.

P. 6, l. 27.—And slen wommen pat withelonden hem in þis synne.
The same charge is brought against the friars farther on (p. 12). Compare Chaucer:

"For ther as wont was to walken an elf,
Ther walketh noon but the lymtour himself.

Wommen may now go santly up and doun;
In every bush or under every tre
There is none other incubus but he,
And he me wel doon hem no dishounour."

Wife of Bath's Tale, 17-25.
P. 6, last line.—Lumpis of young men.
So in Dialogus, cap. 28—"tales globos clausuralium."—MS. Ashburnham, lf. 114.

P. 7, l. 5 from bottom.—But yf he make a vow to a blindy pilgrmage.
The 'greater satraps' had sufficient reason for reserving to themselves the right of dispensing with pilgrimage. The value of the right may be judged from Walsingham's account of the Cardinal of St. Praxedes, who came to England armed with powers usually reserved to the Pope: "Vota peregrinationis ad Apostolorum limina, ad Terram Sanctam, ad Sanctum Jacobum, non prius remisset quam tantam pecuniam recepisset quantam, juxta veram estimationem, in eisdem peregrinationibus expendere dehuissent."—Walsingham, ed. Riley, vol. i. p. 452.

P. 7, l. 3 from bottom.—Satrap.
A favourite name of Wyclif's for worldly prelates. So in the Dialogus: "Que ergo evidencia movet hos satrapas sic voluntati domini adversari?"—Cap. xiii. (MS. Ashburnham, 103b.)

P. 8, l. 7.—Granteth hem he besses of howene.
The Pope was liberal of indulgences on behalf of Spencer's crusade in Flanders to a degree which has shocked even the orthodox. Knighton tells us: "Habuit predictus episcopus indulgentias mirabiles cum absolutione a poena et a culpa pro dicta cruciata a papa Urbano VI. ei concessas. Cujus auctoritate tam mortuus quam vivos, ex quorum parte contributo sufficiens fiebat, per se et suos commissarios a poena et culpa absolvabat. Diesbatur enim quod quidam de commissariis suis assensit quod ad eorum preceptum angelorum a coelo descendenter et animas in purgatorius locis positaris de poenis eripuerent et ad coelos asceperit mora deduccent."—Twysden's Decem Scriptores, 2671. No wonder that Wyclif spoke strongly. In his Exposition of Matthew xxiv. he says: "Qui scias unquam audivit majus prodigium quam quod talis refugia per catulos suos suscitet hujusmodi cruciatam, quod quilibet laborans in suo subdolo negocio suum proximum occidendo erit a poena et culpa certitudinaliter absolution. Et sic statim advolabit ad celum sine pena purgatorie, cum beatis ceteris collocatus."—Ashburnham, lf. 60. He goes on to lay the blame partly on the friars, without whom he says the Pope could not have accomplished such wickedness.

P. 8, last line.—Experymentia, or wiche craft.
This looks like a reference to Roger Bacon, but he was not the only student of physics among the friars; see Prof. Brewer's pref. to Monumenta Franciscana: "I repeat that the first sustained attempts at experimental philosophy commenced with the friars, and grew out of the actual necessities of their position."—p. xliii.

P. 9, l. 1.—Feyn songis, &c.
Compare with this the social accomplishments enumerated in Piers Plowman, B. xiii. 230:

"Ac for I can neither tabre ne trompe, ne telle none gestes,  
Fartes ne styxelum, et gestes, ne harpen,  
Ispe ne igly, ne gentily ch pype,
NOTES.

Ne nother sailly se sante · ne synghe with ye gyters,
I hane none gode gyftes · of yise grete lorde.

P. 9, l. 14.—Confessiones and beriynges.
The inroad of strange confessors, among whom the friars were the chief, was a great trial to a good parish priest. The sinner found it easier and pleasanter to confess to a passing stranger than to one who knew all about him. There were other less worthy motives that kept up a jealousy on this point. Thus Jacke Upland:

"Why covet ye shrift and burying
of other men's parishes,
And none other sacrament
That falleth to Christian folkes?
Why busie ye not to heare
to shrift of poore folkes,
as well as of rich."


To which Daw Topias retorts:

"I trowe it be the paroche priest,
Jacke, that thou meenest
that nyl not hosel his parischens
til the penye be paysed,
me sauelen hem of her synne
withouten shrift atter."—Id. p. 46.

Cf. note to p. 224. Burials of rich men were profitable, as, beside burial fees, there were always bequests for masses at the tomb.

P. 10, l. 18.—Poi foynen hem soitil of faik.
The study of medicine was a tradition among the friars. It had begun with their devoted ministrations to the lepers and the sick poor. "The practice of medicine is engrossed by the friars in the thirteenth century," says Prof. Brewer (Monumenta Franciscana, p. xliiv). With this passage compare point xxxviii. in the tract "How Religious Men," etc. (p. 224).

P. 10, l. 6 from bottom.—Dan pes pharisseez presen faste to here wyynes.

"For when the gode man is fro hame,
And the frere comes to our dame,
He spares nothir for synne ne shame
That he ne doth his will."—Political Poems (T. Wright), i. 284.

P. 11, l. 9.—Privatis ordinis.
The plural form of the adjective here should be noticed. Cf. Mr. Skeat's note to Piers Plowman, x. 343, p. 199.

P. 11, l. 20.—As hildegar sejp.
St. Hildegard (b. 1098, d. 1179) was Abbess of St. Rupert, near Bingen. She was an ascetic and visionary, whose prophecies were frequently cited by the Lollards for their denunciation of abuses in the Church. She is mentioned in Trialogus, iv. 26 (p. 338). Cf. Pecock's Repressor, 483.
NOTES.

P. 12, l. 4.—Pora frēris verábītis.
Sarabaitae originally meant men who professed to be monks, but subjected themselves to no rule. "Tertium vero monachorum tētērimum genus est sarabaitarum qui, nulla regula approbati . . . . adhuc operibus servantes seculo fidem, mentiri Dee per tonsuram nos-
cuntur."—Rule of St. Benedict, cap. i. The term was afterwards applied to the Waldensian teachers, and in the text it seems to refer to the spiritual Franciscans or Fraticelli.

P. 12, l. 18.—Perpetual almes of coffris.
I suppose this means endowment (perpetual alms) by annuity payable in money, as distinguished from gifts of "unmeble" property. Such money would probably have a chest or "coffer" assigned to it, especially if the donor had limited it to some particular purpose. See Mr. Anstey's introduction to Munimenta Academica, p. xxxvii, etc.

P. 12, l. 2 from bottom.—"jif poe ben made wafersis.
Wafer was the name commonly given to the bread for the Eucharist, but it meant also a sort of sweet cake, as does the Fr. gasfre, and the waferer was a hawker of these cakes. The waferers had a bad reputation, if we may believe Chaucer's Pardoner:

"yonge fruytsteris
Singers with harpes, baudes, wafereres,
Which that ben verrey deoelis officeres," etc.

Pard. Tale, 16.

Compare Piers Plowman, (B.) v. 641.
The text, however, does not imply that the religious actually turned cake-hawkers. It only says that they were as bad when they made presents of estables in the hope of getting them returned with large profit. The sarcasm would have the more point if the monasteries were often noted for well-prepared delicacies, and it is possible that the pastry-cook's art may have been cultivated in the cloister then, as the liqueur-maker's is now at La Trappe and the Chartreuse.

P. 13, l. 10.—"jif poe gelen hem worldly offis.
"Item, quod monstruosius est, religiosi et monachi, qui plus sunt officiales fisci quam Christi, in curiis principum et cathedra judiciorum et cameris computorum et aliis actibus secularibus militantes contra statuta Canonum."—Peter d'Ailly, De Emendatione Ecclesiae (Brown's Fasc. Reg. Expet. i. 411).

P. 13, l. 13.—Anynorēs.
Annona, originally meaning yearly produce, and thence corn or provisions, came to have the sense of a rent in kind, and also of a daily allowance of food. The annonarius, the person charged to deal with the annonae, might be collector, dispenser, or both together. If, as I suppose, anynorēs is the same word, it may be represented by steward.

P. 14, last line.—Crist proviēd moxt in pe nyst in hillis, &c.
"Et sic de vita Christi legimus quod ipse elegit facere facta sua sub divo, sum in dupppici convivio sub divo populum suum pavit, sub divid..."

P. 15, l. 9.—Cost of kechenes and yate housis.

So in the Latin Sermons (Part II. Sermon 49), Wyclif, after remarking on the sumptuous living of the monks, complains of the great kitchens which the abbots build. Then he continues: "Et ad figurandum conquestus suos atque dominia super dominos seculares multe abathie constituint sibi portas sumptuosas cum propugnaculis tanquam castra."

—MS. T.C.C. f. 223. The great stone kitchen at Glastonbury was built in the 14th century, but I believe its exact date is disputed. The great gateways at Battle and Bury St. Edmunds are also of the 14th century. The latter "combines in a remarkable manner a richly ornate character with an ingenious system for defence; it is at the same time an ornamental structure and a strong fortress."—Turner's Domestic Architecture in England, vol. ii. p. 191.

P. 15, l. 24.—Placebos and dirige.

Placebo was the name commonly given to Vespers in the Office for the Dead, from the first word of the Antiphon (with which the service opens): Placebo Domino in regione vivorum.—Sarum Breviary, ed. Procter and Wordsworth, ii. 271.

Dirige similarly, as the first word of the Antiphon at Mattins in the same Office, gave its name to the Service.—Id. 273.

P. 19, l. 9 from bottom.—The signs of Antichrist and the fifteen tokens before Doomsday seem to have been popular subjects of discourse. The Apocalypse supplied the groundwork for them, but the popular fancy added much. Those who are curious in such matters may find the whole set forth in detail in the Cursor Mundi, lines 21971, et seq. (E.ET.S. No. 66). There is a shorter version in Mr. Furnivall's "Adam Davy," etc. (E.ET.S. No. 69). It is to be noticed that different versions do not agree exactly as to the order or even the nature of the different signs.

Wyclif speaks of them with contempt in his Latin Sermons: "Quomodounque autem illi somnient de 15° signis ante diem judicium, evangelium tamen dicit Mat. 24°°: Sicut autem fuit in diebus Noe ita erit adventus filii hominis. . . . Melius autem est dicto evangelio credere quam ypocrisia codicibus somniantibus de deliramentis fantasticis hebreorum."—Sermons, Part II. Sermon 51 (MS. T.C.C. ff. 225a).

P. 21, l. 2 from bottom.—Without synne; & alle degrees, &c.

I think I ought to have changed "&" into " in" (and of course left out the comma before it).

P. 23, l. 16.—See rome renneris.

Rome-runners seems to have been the regular name given to the persons who gained a livelihood by acting as agents at the Papal Court. There was a vast amount of private business continually in hand there, such as appeals in ecclesiastical causes, and the obtaining of dispensa-
tions. Cf. Sir John Paston’s letter: “I have answer ageyn fro Roome that there is the welle of grace and salve sufficiency for suche a soore, and that I may be dispensyd with: neverthelesse my proctor there axeth a mj doctys, as he demythe. But Master Lacy, another Rome renner heer,” etc.—Paston Letters (Gairdner’s edition), vol. iii. p. 101.

Wyclif had no doubt had painful experience of these men during his litigation about the Wardsnship of Canterbury Hall.

In Piers Plowman (B. iv. 128) one of the conditions of Reason’s Utopia is—

“And alle Rome-rentarias for robberis byynonde,
Bere no sylver over see.”

Mr. Skeat (note, p. 82) understands the word only of the Roman procurators who came to collect money in England.

P. 24, l. 21.—Here lordships & amensis god, &c.

I ought to have struck out the “&.” The reference is to Wyclif’s doctrine of dominion. If the man does not do his duty to his chief lord, God, his holding is forfeited, and he ceases to have any true lordship before God.

P. 27, l. 6.—Charges against poor priests of disturbing the realm were common, and sometimes not without foundation. The narrator of the Fasciculi Zizaniorum says: “Vix aliquis sorum predicaret quin ad pugnam inter se audientes provocarentur et schismata in villis fieren.” (p. 272). In consequence, he says, the gentry required the Archbishop to put an end to these heresies, and this brought about the Council of 1382. Probably the troubles were due as much to vehement supporters of old things as to the preachers of new; but there can be no doubt that during the Conservative reaction which followed the rebellion of 1381 the reformers were viewed with a new suspicion.

P. 27, l. 3 from bottom.—Beiful youvng & of alike, &c.

Probably the “&” here should be omitted.

P. 32, l. 26.—If a man be somonyd to-gidore to be haizers iuge, &c.

“Praelati citant homines longe melius in causa dei legitime occupatos, homines quos rex regum citat ad locum contrarium, immo quos deus impossibilitat ut sic compareant.”—De Sermone in Monte, c. 6 (MS. T.C.C. f. 355a).

P. 33, l. 22.—Newe religious assesseours.

The assessors in religious prosecutions seem to have been usually taken from the regulars. Probably among them were to be found the largest number of doctors of theology. In the first meeting of the Council of 1382, in which Wyclif’s doctrines and his followers were condemned, sixteen doctors of theology consented to the decisions, and they were all friars. In later meetings five seculars appear, but of these, two (Rigge and Brightwell) had been judged at the first meeting and admitted to pardon.—F.Z. 286-291.
P. 35, l. 5.—Ne for lecherie zif men wolen paie rente bi yere & dwalle stil per-inne als longe as hym list.
So in Latin Sermons: "Licenciam per annum, vel tempus pecuniae huic aptatum, ad mecum libere quantumcumque voluerit."—Sermons, ii. 20 (MS. T.C.C. 201a).
It was a common cause of complaint that the Ordinaries did not attempt to repress incontinence, but made it a source of gain. "Purs is the eredeknes helle," says Chaucer's Sompnour; and fines seem to have been generally accepted in place of amendment. In the Parliament of 1372 the Commons petitioned that if the Ordinary did not deprive beneficed clerks who kept concubines, the church should be vacant at the end of half a year, and the patron present anew. Moreover, that in case of the Ordinary being patron, the King should present in his stead.—Rot. Parl. iii. 314. In 1382 the citizens of London took the matter into their own hands, imprisoned some women "in priso?na qua? vocatur Doli?um," then cropped their hair close, and led them in derision through the streets. They are said to have been stirred up by Wyclif and his followers.—Walsingham, ed. Riley, ii. 65.

P. 35, l. 31.—Whi schulde curatos pronounsem here breperen a cursed.
In one of his Latin Sermons Wyclif lays down that a priest must not excommunicate unjustly, even though his prelate bid him do so. He adds: "potest autem sacerdos inferior dioere parochianis quod talis prelatus dicit se excommunicare talem subditum; immo caveat sibi in consciencia sua quod de illo sibi imposito non sit reus, et detegat virtutem excommunicationis ne simphile de ipsa trepidant ubi non est racionabiliter trepidandum."—Sermons, Part ii. 43 (MS. T.C.C. 218d). Perhaps there is a touch of worldly wisdom here. In announcing the fact of the Bishop's excommunication the priest would have formally complied with the letter. The practical results would fall on the excommunicated person.

P. 36, l. 5 from bottom.—To imprimius pe bode after fourtie daies a cursyng.
It was the duty of the Chancellor to imprison any one who had been for forty days under the major excommunication, and to hold him until he was released from ban.

P. 40, l. 5.—Pope honorie.—Honorious III., 1216-1227.
P. 40, l. 14.—Mynystres provyncials.
The rulers of the Franciscan Order were called ministers (with a reference to Matt. xx. 25). The head of the Order was the minister general, and under him there was in each country a minister provinzial, who had charge of the general interests of the Order. The use of the plural adjective 'provynzial' will be noticed here. Compare p. 11, line 9, and note upon it.

P. 40, l. 34.—Tuis cotis, &c.
The Latin runs: "duas tunicas sine caputio et cingulum et braccas et caparonem usque ad cingulum."
NOTES.

P. 41, l. 18.—Breviarium, pat is small scutari or abregid.
This explanatory clause is not in the Latin. I need hardly remark that this is not the usual meaning of breviary. Compare the story about St. Francis and the novice who wanted a psalter (told in preface to Mon. Franciscana, p. xxx), where St. Francis objects, “When you have got a psalter, then you will want a breviary,” etc.

P. 41, l. 20.—Fndren.
Halliwell gives “undren, nine o’clock a.m.” So, too, Mr. Earle, in his “Two of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles,” where the word occurs s.a. 538 and 540, and he is supported by Florence of Worcester, who translates in both cases “hora tertia.”

In Strattmann’s Dictionary undren is translated noon, and in our text it is given for the hour of sext, which rightly belongs to mid-day. There is a curious discrepancy in the use of the word in the Wycliffite Versions. In Mark xv. 25, we find “It was the thridde our, that men clepen undrun.” But in v. 33, many copies of the same version have, “the sexte or undurne.” And in John iv. 6, we have again, “The our was as the sixte or undurn.” Here two copies substitute for undurn “myday.” Forshall and Madden (Glossa to W.V.) say “the time from nine to twelve in the morning.”

P. 44, l. 5.—Ps lord hap maad abreged word upon pe orpe.
A quotation from Rom. ix. 28, where the Vulgate has: “quia verbum brevistum faciet Dominus super terram.”

P. 45, l. 15.—Stables in general felic of cristens men.
The Latin is: “Stables in fide Catholica.”

P. 45, l. 22.—The Testament of St. Francis.
Another English version of this is printed by Prof. Brewer, from a MS. of the 15th century, in the Appendix to Monumenta Franciscana, p. 562.

P. 45, l. 24.—Whanne I was in ouere myche synne.
The Latin is: “Cum essem in peccatis, nimiun mihi videbatur amarum.”

P. 45, l. 4 from bottom.—Litel pore prrestis of his world pat dwellen in parichis.
This curious way of describing secular priests in charge of parishes runs thus in the Latin: “Et si haberem tantam sapientiam quantam Salomon habuit, et invenirem pauperculos sacerdotes hujus seculi in parochiis in quibus morantur, nolo prudere contra voluntatem ipsorum.”

P. 45, last line.—Fove in hem I take bi discretion goddis sone.
“Quia Filium Dei discerno in eis.”

P. 46, l. 5.—I wile aboven all pingis.
Here the translation is again rather at fault. The Latin runs: “Et hec sanctissima mysteria volo super omnia honorare et venerari et in locis pretiosis collocare. Et sanctissima nomina ejus (i.e. Christi) et verba scripta, ubicunque invenero in locis illictis, volo colligere,” etc.

P. 46, l. 18.—O cake or kirtil withynne forcpe & with-out e forp.
“Pieced” or “clouted” has been left out here. The Latin runs: “Eramus contenti tunica una intus et foris revecta,” etc.
P. 47, l. 10.—De Cardinal hostium.

The Cardinal of Ostia, afterwards Alexander IV. As Pope he was the great supporter of the Mendicants in their quarrel with the University of Paris.—Milman's Latin Christ. book xi. ch. 2.

P. 47, l. 18.—S reda pes wordis.

The translation here is hardly intelligible from excessive abridgment. The Latin is: "Et semper hoc scriptum habeant secum juxta regulam. Et in omnibus capitulis quas faciunt, quando legunt Regulam legant et ista verba."

P. 48, l. 13.—Men seyn pat he is cursed pat letti be ritiful wille of a dede man.

"Also all tho ben acursed that lette or procure to lette the testament, and the last wil of folk whom they deye, of things that ben ther owne, and that they may skilfully bequesthe bothe by lawes of holy chirche and by custome."—Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, by Rev. Wm. Maskell, vol. ii. p. 294. Compare the tract on the Great Sentence of Curse, S.E.W. iii. 304.

P. 48, l. 8 from bottom.—In po time pat sathanas was unbounden, as the apecptes telleth.

A literal understanding of Rev. xx. 7 led Wyclif and other medieval writers to believe that from A.D. 1000 the Church had rapidly grown worse. (Compare p. 3.) Thus, in the Trialogus (lib. iv. c. 2) we find: "A tempore autem solutionis Sathane, dimissa fide scripturae, multae hæreses in ista materia, et specialiter inter fratres et discolos eis similes volitarunt," p. 249. Woodford ingeniously turns this belief against Wyclif: "Sed miror valde unde adquisivit in hoc Johanne wicliff tale privilegium, quod omnes doctores de secundo millenario seducti sunt per Sathanam, illo solo excepto."—Tractatus de peregrinationibus ad loca sancta (MS. Brit. Mus. Harleian 635).

P. 49, l. 26.—A scariorth.

The Scariorth (Iscariot) was the man who bore the bag in which the offerings were put (cf. John xiii. 5). He is described in the Sompnoures Tale, l.46: "A stoudy harlot ay went hem bybynde, That was her hostis man, and bær a sak, And what men jaf hem layd it on his bak."

P. 49, l. 28.—Pei wolen tolle gold and money, &c.

This absurd evasion of the Franciscan rule was commonly practised, and is gravely defended at considerable length by Bishop Pecock in his Repressor, Part v. chap. 14.

P. 50, l. 11.—Pe quy children putten in-to hern fadir pe pope, &c.

"Que ergo caritas filiorum in patrem et patronum, effundere in tantum patrem venenum tam imperfectum quod inficeret filios si servarent?"—Purgatorius secte Christi (MS. Ashburnham, Lf. 52).

P. 56, l. 24.—Des prelitis myssen peis betere seed.

"Alii autem prelata Caesarii sunt nimis sterileis et non spiritualer prolifici. . . . Vitium autem Sodomicum corporale est parvum in comparatione ad hoc peccatum."—Trial. lib. iii. c. 23, p. 209.
P. 57, l. 20.—The reference at the side should be to Luke ix. 49, instead of the corresponding text in Matthew. *Fonnyd* is evidently the translation of the Vulgate *insulsum*. In W. V. (both) it is translated “unsavory.”

P. 60, l. 2 from bottom.—*Fittred squyers*.

The only other instance of this word is in Myre’s Instructions for Parish Priests (E. E. T. S.), p. 35, l. 1146:

> “Hast Thou ben proude . . . .
> Of fyrted clopes as folis done.”

It probably means either slashed or cut into tags and streamers. So in p. 121, we have “proude slitterede squyerys,” and again, p. 148, “tatrid squeyreses and ophere meyne.” It cannot be supposed that ragged or tatrud means that the squires were shabbily dressed, as the ground of complaint is the magnificence of the prelate’s revenue.

Halliwell gives as a Yorkshire phrase, “All in fitters, i.e. in very small pieces or fragments.”

P. 60, l. 2 from bottom.—*Sweryng heorte & bonye & naylis & ophere membris of crenst.*

The wickedness of profane swearing was a great point with Wyclif and his followers, some of whom went so far as to declare all oaths unlawful. In one of Wyclif’s Early Sermons, he says: “diabolus precept . . . quod jures per vulnera et membra Christi, ut fias in reputatione hominum major ex verbis audacibus; et ad tantum in isto invalid or doctrina diaboli, quod major pars hominum putat non esse peccatum sic jurare.”—Sermon 14 (M.S. Lambeth).

P. 61, l. 10.—*Dore the mysten unnde be fore haue bone bred, &c.*

Compare the “Complaint of the Ploughman”:

> “And commonly such been comen—Of poore people . . . .
> Her fathers suffreth drye & weate,
> Many hungrie meales, thirst & cold.
> And all this these monks han forsake,
> For Christes love & Saint Benete;
> To pride & ease have take;
> This religion is evill beseate,
> Had they been out of religion,
> They must have hanged at the plowe,
> Threshing & diking fro toune to toune,
> With sorrie meat, & not halfe ynowe.”

Wright’s *Political Poems*, i. 335.

Bean-bread was made for horses, and was usually called horse-bread. Making it was a special business, frequently if not always separate from that of the regular baker. See *Munimenta Acad.* (Anstey), p. 577. Cf. English Gilds, 366.

P. 61, last line.—*Mylnceston of assis.*

“Mola asinaria,” Vulgate. Our translation loses this descriptive touch, which was not superfluous in a country where hand-mills were common.
P. 62, l. 18. — Cotidian distribution.
"Distribucio quae Canonicis fit quotidie." Dufresne, who cites from an ordinance for the Church of St. John at Ghent: "Vice-curati de distributionibus, corpore prebendis, aliisque prerogativis prenarratis non gaudebunt, sed illorum portio absentia codit Quotidianam, s. e. cum absentia fuerint nihil recipient eorum quae presentes recepissent, sed id ad Quotidianam redimit; seu ad eam quae quotidie Canonicis distributionem." The charge in the text is then that the clergy came to prayers only to get their share of the allowances.

P. 65, l. 13. — Lordes and ladies ben tratours.

P. 66, l. 22. — Alle pes passen pro fillenpes.
A fifteenth, or, to speak more fully, a fifteenth and a tenth, was the usual standard by which subsidies were granted in Parliament. It was a tax on all movable property, of one-tenth in towns, and one-fifteenth in the country. Professor Stubbs estimates the yield of a fifteenth and tenth at about £60,000, including the tenth which was usually granted by Convocation at the same time as Parliament voted the fifteenth. The clerical tenth was reckoned at a third of the whole subsidy. — Stubbs' Constitutional History of England, ii. 549.

P. 66, l. 22. — Alle go out of oure lond comuny into enemyse hondis.

P. 68, l. 24. — To seten sone children to here semyed orde by symonye, &c.
This charge of seducing children was very commonly made against the friars. In 1358 (?) the University of Oxford passed a statute to prevent the practice, in the preamble of which it is alleged that people fear to send their sons to the University lest they should be led to join the friars (Munimenta Academica, p. 204). An award of the King ordered this statute to be cancelled in 1366 (Parliament Rolls, ii. 290). Richard Fitzralph, in his Defensorium Curatorum, accuses the friars of using their influence as confessors to get children (munusculis datis allecti) to join their order. He says that he knew of one child under thirteen who was thus allured. — Brown's Fasciculus, ii. 473. Compare also S. E. W. ii. 381.

P. 69, l. 7. — Oils and crem.
The crem is the chrism or consecrated oil, with which the child was anointed at baptism. The oil, distinguished here from the chrism, is that for extreme unction. Both were consecrated annually by the bishop.

P. 74, l. 6 from bottom. — And in presence spoke no word.
From this it seems that it was not customary in the ecclesiastical courts to confront a man with his accusers. A petition of the Commons in 1414, complains that persons cited in the ecclesiastical courts could not obtain a libel of what was put upon them. — Rot. Parl. iv. 20.
NOTES.

P. 75, l. 24.—*pe body is newer pe more transilid.*
Contrast the dread in which the excommunication of St. Hugh of Lincoln was held. His biographer gives several instances where death or some other fearful punishment fell upon those whom Hugh excommunicated. See especially book iv. chap. 6 of the Magna Vita, which is headed “De quodam forestario. De quodam etiam diacono. Et de quodam adolescensula. Et de quibusdam aliis, viri justi maledictione in carnis interitum datis.”—Magna Vita S. Hugonis, ed. J. F. Dimock, p. 178. A curious specimen of the stories told to increase the dread of excommunication will be found on our p. 153.

P. 77, l. 26.—*Deschaunt, countre note.*
Descent (or discant), discantus, a double song; originally the melody or counterpoint sung with a plain-song (Grove’s Dict. of Music). Countre-note is, I suppose, simply counter-point. The descent had been introduced long before this; as early, I believe, as the twelfth century, but it had spread slowly, and during the fourteenth century there was a continual and rapid tendency towards increased elaboration in Church music. Descant gradually came to mean a variation (compare Shakspeare’s *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act i. sc. ii. 94).

P. 78, l. 16.—*Comunly suche cursed pralitis ben no part of holy chirche, in cas pat bei sullen be dampnyd.*
This refers to Wyclif’s doctrine of the Church, which, properly speaking, he says, consists only of the elect. “Patet ex fide Christi scriptura et multiplex testimonio sanctorum, quod nullum est membrum sanctae matris ecclesiae nisi persona predestinata.”—Supplementum Trialogi, cap. 2, p. 415.

P. 80, l. 7 from bottom.—*Staciones of rome.*
Stations are churches or altars, to the visitation of which, under certain conditions, some spiritual privileges are attached. Naturally, there is no city in which such privileges are granted so lavishly as in Rome. Mr. Furnivall has printed (E. E. T. S., Nos. 15 and 25) two versions of a poem enumerating the Stations of Rome, with the indulgences given at each.

P. 81, l. 22.—*Also pij he day of doom come bi-fore, &c.*
“Sic enim ex sibi dubio concedit has factas vanas indulgencias pro multis milibus annorum ultra diem judicii; sed valeant iste pralitis hujusmodi in vacuo infinito, quia in mundo isto non prosunt Christi fidelibus sed multipliciter magis obsunt.”—Exposition of Matthew xxiv. chap. v. (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 60).

P. 81, l. 5 from bottom.—*pe pope and his ben out of charite.*
“Multis videtur, cum papa posset facilitar, sine sua depauperacione vel facta injuria aliqui, omnes subjectos suos a pena et culpa abolvere injungendo opus neutrum vel bonum de genere, quod omnino excidit de caritate si aliqui de suis subsidis sint damni.”—Sermon, Part iv. 7 (MS. T.C.C. 297b). “Quilibet papa foret fatuus et careret caritate si aliquis secum contemporaneus sit damnatus; quilibet enim tali posset facilitar talia carismata impartiri. Quid igitur obeset nisi
invidia quod culibet vianti, vel in purgatorio, non tribueret tale donum."—Sermons, Part iv. 21 (MS. T.C.C. 310c). Compare also Trial. iv. 32 (p. 358). It is to be noticed that our text is more moderate than any of these quotations. They imply that the pope claims power to save the wicked from damnation, whereas here he is only asked to save those who are in grace from the pains of purgatory. His power does not extend beyond this; but the vendors of indulgences did not always confine themselves within strictly theological limits when vaunting the article they had to dispose of.

P. 82, l. 16.—Not for singular prayers made of vs self for louse of an erly kyng.

As to this prayer see note to p. 482, l. 7.

P. 86, l. 13.—Ours lord jesus crist . . paid his tribute for hym & his chireche.

"Christus pro se et suo pusillo grege solvit tributum Caesari."—Trial, lib. iv. cap. 18, p. 309.

P. 87, l. 12.—Prelatis recceyuen & axen redely pat ilke money for whiche just blood is spilt."

When a prelate had capital jurisdiction, the escheats and fines consequent on the criminal's death fell to him (compare Pecock's Repressor, p. 369). If, then, his power were stretched irregularly to putting heretics to death, he would seize their property. By the statute of 2 Henry IV., all lands belonging to convicted heretics were forfeit to the lord from whom they held, and their movable property fell to the king, so that the bishop would not profit unless the offender was his tenant.

P. 88, l. 6—10.—Ateynen to kyngis aray . . cursed vengeanse takynge?

It is possible that here and in one or two other passages of this tract we have reference to the bloody repression of the Commons' rebellion. The Bishop of Norwich was one of the first to break it by armed force.

P. 89, l. 4 from bottom.—Ye to fye to heuene bi-fors ye bodi be cold.

"Aliter enim non publicaret ut fidem catholicam quod quisque laborat cum tali episcopo ad hunc finem, [i.e. the Flanders Crusade] vel juvat ipsum nobiliter in expensis, erit absolutus a pena et culpa, et sic infallibiliter ad patriam advolabit."—Sermons, Part iv. 13 (MS. T.C.C. 302c).

P. 89, l. 21.—Moldwarpis.


P. 91, l. 39.—Motetis.

The word is probably derived from the It. mottetto, a jest, and was originally applied to a kind of profane music, which in the 13th century was censured by the Church. For the last 300 years it has been exclusively applied to pieces of Church music of moderate length, adapted to Latin words, and intended to be sung at High Mass, either
in place of, or immediately after, the Plain Chaunt Offertorium for the day. See Grove's Dict. of Music.

P. 92, 1. 9.—Diales.

This word occurs again in the tract on Clerks Possessioners (p. 129), but I cannot find any other instance of its use. I have no doubt that the meaning is without judgment, i.e. without redress. The 'day' appointed for settling quarrels came to mean the Court (cf. German 'Tag' in Land-Tag; French 'jour' as in Grands Jours; and our own 'Diet'), and so the judgment. Thus in the W. V. (both) we find "that I be demyd of you or of mannis day" (1 Cor. iv. 3), and in our A. V. we have still daysman=umpire in Job ix. 33.

P. 97, 1. 26.—Pensions.

A pension was a yearly payment charged upon a benefice in behalf of some religious house which the patron wished to benefit. This left the appointment to the cure still in the patron's hands; whereas in case of appropriation the religious house was rector and put in a vicar to do the work.

P. 98, chap. 32.—Here is an instance of the tone in which a bishop treated the terrible offence of park-breaking. It is more than two centuries before Wyclif's time, but his contemporaries doubtless did their best to prove that the practice of the Church was uniform, at least in this point. "Hæc prædixi, necesse habens apud vos clamorem facere de quibusdum malis hominibus qui præterita hebdomada pacem meum fregérunt spud Humeræs Fold, et unum quem ibi habebam cervum nocte interfecerunt, et projecto capite cum pedibus et intestinis, damnabili furo asportarunt. . . . Ego interiím excommunicatio eos qui parcum meum fregérunt et cervum meum interfecerunt eo anathemate quo Deus iratus percuxt animas impiorum. Interdico eis ingressum ecclesie, et corpus et sanguinem Christi, et communionem totius Christianitatis. Maledicti et excommunicati sint in domibus, in viis et in agris, in silvis et in aquis, et in omnibus locis quibus inventi fuerint. Computrescat caro eorum qui carnem cervi mei devourant, sicut computrui caro Herodis, qui pro Christo fudit sanguinem innoc-centem, cum Juda traditore et Anania et Saphyra et Dathan et Abiron. Habeant anathema maranatha, nisi cito respuerunt et fecerint mihi satisfactionem. Fiat, fiat, fiat."—Epistola Herberti Losinge, ed. R. Anstruther, p. 70. It is only fair to let the bishop explain his motives: "Hanc excommunicationem, dilectissimi frateres, facio, non quia mihi sit multum de uno cervo, sed quia volo eos penitere et ad confessionem venire et deinceps corrigi a tali furto" (1bid.). It would be wrong to doubt the sincerity of a man who showed the high value he set upon episcopal correction by paying an enormous sum for the privilege of exercising it. Many bishops in Wyclif's time gave the same proof of earnestness.

P. 99, 1. 16.—Viserid devalis.

This expression is used in the tract De Blasphemia (S.E.W. iii. 421): "Pese freris wot not . . . whefer þei ben now viserde devels,
as Schariot was." The reprobate, who will be damned, are devils, but they are masked, since they cannot be distinguished on earth. One of the articles condemned as Wyclif's at the Council of Constance is: "Lavati diaboli, id est religiosi, ex nova simulata religione domestica, non possunt in filios lucis cum necessario sunt filii diaboli."—Brown's Fasciculus Rer. Exp. i. 278.

P. 99, l. 17.—*Pleien the pagyn of scottis.*

I cannot fix the occasion on which the Scots played this trick, but it may well have happened more than once. We may note that Wyclif, as a native of Teesdale or the neighbourhood, was likely to have heard many stories of border warfare. Perhaps this may account for the somewhat contemptuous way in which he speaks of the Scots and Scotland. See a curious passage in the Trialogus, iii. 3 (p. 139).

P. 100, l. 6.—*Half dede men.*

I suppose this means priests, who should be dead to the world, but have in fact only half renounced it, and are revived to it (comforted) by these wicked prelates.

P. 100, l. 18.—*Forsaken as venym matrimonye, hat is leffel bi holi writt.*


P. 102, l. 17.—*Scala celi.*

The Church of St. Maria Scala Cæli is one of three standing some miles from Rome on the Ostian road, near the spot where St. Paul is supposed to have been beheaded. It derives its name from a vision of St. Bernard, who saw some souls for which he was saying mass ascending by a ladder to heaven. The altar where he had this vision is still shown. As to its wealth of indulgences, we read in the Staceus of Rome:

"In þat place a chapelle ys,
Scala celý called hit ys,
‘Ladders of heauen’ men eleþ hit
In honour of our lady, be my witte.
 . . . . . . . .
Whose syngeþ mass in þat chappelle
For any frend, he loseþ hym fro helle.
He may hym bryngþ þorow purgatory y-wys
Into þe biys of paradyse.
Ther sowles abyde tylte domis day
In myche Joyce, as þou say,
And þij M.H. þer ar granted more
Of holy popes þat haue ben þore:
And syx popes granted þat þanne
That lyon at seynt sebastyan,
Pope vrbane, silvester, & benet,
Lyon, Clement, confirmed hyt."

P. 102, l. 26.—A priest may be so cursed and in heresie pat he make not be sacrament.

On this point see note to p. 287, l. 12.

P. 103, l. 10.—Oppressyng a por curatis, &c.

In the Rolls Office there are many bundles of petitions from bishops and abbots praying the Chancellor to imprison persons who had been under excommunication for forty days. As a rule, the offence is not mentioned, but it is sometimes specified; and one that occurs often is non-payment of the subsidy voted in Convocation. In one case (in 1381), where a schedule of names is given, the amount due from each defaulter is said to be 16 den[ari] de Marcha. The taxes that year were unusually heavy.—See Stubbes’ Const. Hist. ii. 449.

P. 103, l. 13.—Annueleris.

Annuelers, or annual priests, were those who earned their living by saying annual masses for the dead. In a church where but few masses were required, the parson said them and took the fees, but a priest was often appointed specially for this purpose. Sometimes the engagement was temporary. Daw Topias speaks of

"at these annuelers
that syngen for a tymne,
taking for her traveil
as the may accorde."

Wright, Pol. Poems, ii. 95.

Often the payment was by yearly stipend, and we find in 1382 a complaint of the Commons that the pestilence has caused such a scarcity of priests that they ask extravagant wages. Their pay was then limited to 5 marks a year.—Rot. Parl. ii. 271a; compare iii. 501b.

As these clergy were not represented in Convocation, they had not borne their share of the tenths voted by that body, but their increasing number rendered them a tempting subject for taxation, which appears to have been levied, in the form of a poll-tax of 6s. 8d. on every priest, for the first time in 1380.—Wals. i. 449. A tax thus newly levied might well give rise to such discontent as is expressed in the text, but we cannot place too much reliance on this as an evidence of date, since 20 years later the tax was still spoken of as a recent grievance:

"and thus prelates and persouns
aftir her state,
be stooded to paises
what that need asketh;
but ther fore freres ne annuelers
save now late."

Reply of Prior Daw Topias (Wright, Pol. Poems, ii. 80).

See Stubbes’ Const. Hist. iii. 47 and 367.

P. 104, l. 2.—Also prelatis ben doumbes houndis pat may not berke;
... for bei ben so chokid wip talowe of worldly goodis.
So in Sermons, "pe fend hab stranggid pes houndis with talwe, pat bei mai not berke."—S.E.W. i. 247. Cf. S.E.W. iii. 133 and 440.
P. 116, l. 1.—Clerkis possessioneris.
That is, such orders among the clergy as held endowments; monks, canons, and secular chapters. The members of secular chapters could, of course, hold property individually as well as collectively. The monastic vow bound to personal poverty, but allowed property to be held by the convents, which were often very rich.

P. 116, l. 15.—The evils of appropriation.
"Constat quidem quod proprium ecclesia oblaciones et decime stricte ad nidum abbacie colliguntur. Et cum necesse sit curatum de istis vivere, patet quod necesse sit propter istam subtractionem officium pastoris deficie. Unde vel preficitur vicarius nimis inhabitus ad regendum seipsum conformiter legi dei, et per consequens nimis idioticus ad ducendum hunc populum per artam viam que ducit ad celum, vel preficitur unus antichristi vicarius qui secundum cauteles traditionis humane scit et optat de temporalibus suum populum spoliare."
—De Nova Prevaricancia Mandatorum (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 93).

P. 116, l. 21.—He may not go to school.
That is, to the University; but I do not think the "fyndyng of pore children to scele" (l. 27) need be taken in this sense.

P. 118, l. 10.—Saynt bede wrot, etc.
The passage referred to is in Bede’s letter to Archbishop Egbert, and runs:—"Et quidem novimus quis, per incuriam regum precedentium donationesque stultissimas, factum est ut non facile locus vacans ubi sedes Episcopalis nova fieri debet inveniri valeat."—Giles, i. 122 (printed also in Stubbs and Haddan’s Councils, iii. 319). It hardly bears the meaning which Wyclif puts upon it. Bede was advocating the establishment of more bishops, and complains that the places where their sees should have been were already occupied by monasteries. He goes on to suggest that some of these monasteries should be made cathedral churches.

P. 118, l. 16.—As he holy martir possidonye writhip of saynt austynes lif.
"Sic enim narrat beatus possidonius de magistro suo bono augustinno, quod rogavit cives iponenses reacipere predia que sibi ante donaverunt, sic quod possit vivere pure de elemosynis, ut vixerunt Christus et sui apostoli, vel de decimis et oblacionibus, ut vixerunt sacerdotes et levite veteris testamenti."—Speculum Militantis Ecclesiae (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 120b).

P. 122, last line.—The angel seyd ful sothe.
"Unde narrunt Chronicae, quod in dotatione ecclesiae vox angelica audita est in aere tunc temporis sic dicentis: ‘hodie effusum est venenum in ecclesia sancta Dei.’"—Trial. lib. iv. v. 18, p. 309, compare pp. 374, 380 of this volume. It is to be noticed that in the Chronicles the voice is attributed to the Devil (Polychronicon, lib. iv. vol. v. p. 130, ed. Lumby). Bishop Pecock, in his Repressor, insists strongly on this point; for "if this be trewe, whi and wherto schulden we beleue his seying to be trewe; sithen he is our enemy andoure bigiler" (p. 351).
P. 123, l. 10.—In here profession sei ben holden dade.
Compare Jacke Upland:

"Why make you as dede men,
when ye be professed,
and yet ye be not dede,
but more quicke beggers than you were before?"

Wright, Pol. Poems, ii. 20.

P. 123, l. 31.—Of suche religious wrochis saieth Robert grosseted, &c.
"Cum secundum lyncolniansem clausuralis propter ambicionem temporalium sic egressus sit sicut cadaver mortuum pannis funeralibus involutum, de sepulcro egressum, a diablo inter homines agitatum."—
Early Sermons, No. 9, MS. Lambeth. The passage is also prefixed as a text (in Latin) to a short tract Lincolniensis, printed by Mr. Arnold, S.E.W. iii. 230.

P. 127, l. 18.—If a preest of her seyned ordre, &c.
Among the petitions in the Rolls Office (see note to p. 103), is one of 1387, from Bankyn, prior of the Augustine friars, who "vestrae innotescat reverencie (i.e. to the Bishop of Ely, Chancellor) fratres nostros professos, Willelmmum Patehull, Thomam Beauchamp, Robertum Stokwule, et Johannem Sude, habitum et obedientiam sanctae religionis temere reliquisse," and goes on to say that without the King's help he cannot bring them back into the Lord's fold. It appears that Patehull had bought himself a chaplaincy to the Pope, under shelter of which he ventured to bring charges of murder, torture, and nameless vices against the brethren of his order (Chron. Angliae, p. 377). Bankyn was a member of the Council of 1382 (Fas. Ziz. p. 499). Another petition, dated February, 1382, is from the prior of Sempringham, against John de Whiteby, excommunicated for contumacy and flight. In this case, however, there is nothing to show any connexion with Wyolif or the Lollards.

P. 128, l. 25.—Seint Richard.
"Seint Richard of Armaun," occurs in the "Great Sentence of Curse" (S.E.W. iii. 281). It is hardly necessary to say that Fitzralph was never canonized; he did not belong to the right party. It was, however, reported that he deserved the honour of sainthood. "Circa ista tempora Deus declarans justitiam quam magister Fitez Raffe exercuit dum xixit in terris, ut impleretur de eo illud psalmista: 'In memoria eterna est justus,' per merita ipsius Ricardi, ad tumbam ipsius, apud Dunkalk in Hybernia, plura et magna cotidie operatur miracula; unde, ut dicitur, fratres se male contentos."—Extract from a continuation of Higden's Polychronicon, printed by Mr. Thompson as an Appendix to the Chronicon Angliae, p. 400. So, too, in the Chronicon itself, "Quo in loco (Dunkalk) innumera ad laudem Dei fiunt miracula" (p. 48). The passage referred to in the text is in the Defensorium Curatorum: "Item aliud damnun tam grave quod tendit ad consumptionem seu evacuationem doctrinæ in secularibus cujuslibet facultatis, est quod isti ordinis mendicantium propter infinita luora
que mediantibus prædictis privilegiis de sepulturis et confessionibus et alii quæ acquirunt, tantum multiplicant et personis conventuum quod non reperitur in Studiis communibus de facultate Artium, sacreæ Theologieæ et Juris Canonici, ut furtur a pluribus, de facultate Medicinæ aut de facultate Juris Civilis, nisi raro, aliquis utilis multum liber venalis, sed omnes emuntur a fratribus: ita ut in singulis conventibus sit una grandis ac nobilis librarie, ut singuli fraterna habentes statum in Studiis, quales sunt modo innumer, nobilium habent librarie; unde etiam de meis subjectis rectoribus tres aut quatuor nisi ad Studium; et dictum est mihi quod quia nec Bibliam eis utilem nec libros alios Theologiam venales eis congruos ibi poterant reperire, ad suam patriam sunt reversi, aut unus eorum saltam redivit jam. Si icta non sit in clero grandis factura, nulla poterit in ipsa esse, cun ad exitum tales, ut videtur, intendat quod clericis in Ecclesia nullas remanent propter fratres."—Brown's Fasciculus, ii. 474.

P. 129, l. 14.—A boylii, stiward . . . schullen haus festis . . . riches clopis and huge gifts.

Some examples may be culled from the Bursar's book of King's Hall, Cambridge (one of the foundations absorbed in Trinity College):


P. 129, l. 27.—To kepe hym self vnblekkid or desouled fro his world.

There is a curious use of the negative here, the "un" in "un-blekkid" being carried on to "desouled." In both Wyclifite versions the text runs: "to kepe hym self vndesouled fro this world."

P. 129, l. 4 from bottom.—Caymes castel.

The phrase Caym's castle is frequently used by Wyclif for a convent of friars. He explains its meaning in the Trialogus, iv. 33 (p. 362):

"Alii autem fingunt . . . quod in Caym fuerunt istae sectae quattuor inchoantes . . . Et in testimonium istorum, quattuor litterarum nominis Caim inchoant hos quattuor ordines, secundum ordinem temporis, quod finguntur a fratribus incepisse, ita quod C. Carmelitas, A. Augustinenses, J. Jacobitas et M. Minores significat."

P. 130, l. 9.—The side-note to chap. 21 is defective. It refers to men who left their convent and profession in order to preach, and so incurred excommunication. See p. 127 and note.

P. 131, l. 9.—If a synful ydiot bidde hem do pe lessen gode, sce.

"Et in ista bimembri blasphemia deserunt sectam Christi ex quo insanii numero inferunt inconveniencia infinita; ut quod religiosum et
voluntatis Christi est quod talis religiosus subiciat se suo preposito faciendo quicquid mandaverit, licet fuerit stolidissimus ydota; quia obediencia ut iniquum est virtus maxime meritoria."—De Nova Prevaricacione Mandatorum (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 95).

P. 132, l. 5.—je, for source penworp good curse many thousand soules to hel.

So Nicolas de Clamengis: "Sed hodiernis diebus adeo invaluerrunt, ut passim pro levissimo quasi delicto, sepe etiam pro nullo infernante. Sicque in nullum timorem sed in extremum pervenerunt contemptum."
—De Corrupto Ecclesiae Statu (Brown’s Fasci. ii. 558). The evil was of old standing. In the eleventh century Peter Damiani pleaded for a less liberal use of excommunication.—Letters to Nicholas II. (i. 7) and Alexander II. (i. 14). It is worth while, however, to note one marked contrast. Damiani’s plea is: "Indignum quippe est, ut propter unius homuncionis offendam tam innumerabilis multitudo hominum depercat."
—Opera, vol. i. col. 22. The souls perishing from the curse excite his pity. With Clamengis the complaint is, that too-frequent use of excommunication has destroyed its terrors.

P. 133, last line.—Bryngenge in yonge children.

This charge is more commonly made against the friars. See p. 68, and note on the passage.

P. 134, l. 10.—Famulorum & benefactorum.

There is a prayer near the beginning of the Canon of the Mass for the Commemoration of the living, and another at its close for the departed. Both begin with the words: "Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum," on which follow the names of those who are specially commemorated on the occasion. Some such commemorations were granted, or at least promised (see Chaucer’s Sompoure’s Tale) to all benefactors. The greater benefactors had frequently a day assigned to them in which mass was said on their behalf. There is a list of such observances for the University of Oxford in Munimenta Academica, pp. 370—373. Wyclif often speaks with dislike of this familiarum prayer, which, he says, is the most special, as the Paternoster is the most general, of all prayers.—S.E.W. iii. 441. So in the tract on Matt. xxiii.: "ingeminent multipliciter ‘famuli tu’ et ‘famule tue,’ as si Deus foret dormiens et non recolens merita viatorum."—MS. Ashburnham, lf. 77.

P. 136, l. 22.—Pôt ben groundid on labor of here hondis bi here owene reule.

"Quis tune vere monachi sunt, si labore manuum suarum vivunt."—Rule of St. Benedict, cap. 47.

P. 143, l. 1.—Ps office of curates.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to remark that the words "curate" and "vicar" have almost exchanged meanings since Wyclif’s time. Curate then meant the benefited parson in charge of the parish. If he absented himself, he put in a priest to do his work, who was called the vicar. A vicar was needed also where the benefice was appropriated.
to a religious house, and gradually the appointment in such cases became a permanent one. In 1402 a statute was passed that in all appropriated churches "soit ordine Vikair perpetuel, institut et indut canoniquement en yceelle, et covenablement endoweys per la discretion de l'ordinaire."—Rot. Parl. iii. 500. In France the curé is still the incumbent, the vicaire the curate.

P. 144, l. 17.—And late alle pat helpe pe commene in his grote talliche.

In the Parliament held at Salisbury in April, 1384, the Commons granted half a fifteenth to the king, with a second half-fifteenth if peace could not be made. "Protestantz outre que l'une Moitez ne l'autre, ne soit en nule manere leveable, ne levee, sans la condicion ensuinge. C'est assavoir que l'Estat de Clergie emporte et grante selon leur affeurent a l'une Moitez et l'autre du dite Quinzime, a les termes et jours suis ditz, si bien en saluacian de eux come des dits Seignours & Communes."—Rot. Parl. iii. 168a. Evidently a strong feeling was abroad that the clergy ought to bear their share of the national burdens, and this gives a slight additional probability to the date I have assigned to the tract.

P. 145, l. 9.—De brance clerk robert greted untryp to the pope, etc.

The passage occurs in the sermon preached before the Pope at Lyons. "Unde pastorae, personam Jesu Christi induti non annunciantes [Christi evangelium], et si non superaddenter malitias alias, sunt anti-christi et satanas transfiguraturus in angelum luciam."—Brown's Fasc. ii. 251.

P. 145, l. 24.—Fewe curatis han pe bible, &c.

I may be fanciful in remarking that this passage would be characteristic in the mouth of Purvey, Wyclif's chief helper in translating the Bible.

P. 146, l. 8.—And afterward drawn men to prison.

Among the petitions for imprisonment of persons who had been forty days under excommunication (see notes to pp. 36, 103), I noted one from the Bishop of Ely (Jan. 16, 1380), against two men excommunicated at the instance of John, rector of Kyngston, "Occasione non solucionis decimarum silve ceduce." It was very likely a case of disputed right, as tithes on woodland were due only on silva cedus, i.e. underwood of less than 20 years' growth, and this was a frequent cause of quarrel. In the Parliament Rolls there are several petitions for restraint of the clergy in this matter.

P. 149, l. 5.—Fatte hors with gaye saldis & bridelis.

Wyclif refers often to the extravagance of the clergy in horses. The complaint occurs several times in this volume, and is to be found also in his Latin works: "Cogitemus ergo quod rex regum qui nuncum ante vel post fuit nisi pedestris tunc sine sella non equum bellicosum sed rudem asinam ascendit. Per hoc vero datur ecclesiasticis exemplum quod sumptuosos palefridos non ascendat, bona ecclesie non consumant cum sellis, strepis atque frenis deauratis vel antelis vel postelis de sericia."—Early Sermons, I. (MS. Lambeth 23).
NOTES.

P. 152, l. 22.—Late hem enquire he scopc, &c.
"Quod fideles resistentes huic pugne sacerdotum (i.e. the Flanders Crusade) fuerunt tam per spirituale brachium excommunicati quam per seculares dominos tribulati."—Exposition of Matthew xxiv. chap. 2 (MS. Ashburnham, I. 56).

P. 153, l. 3 from bottom.—Pat a goode cristene man, &c.
One of the grounds for prosecuting Wyclif was that he taught that excommunication was not binding except when deserved. In the list of conclusions condemned by the Pope in 1377, we find: No. 11. Maledictio vel excommunicatio non ligat simpliciter nisi quantum fertur in adversarium legis Christi. No. 15. Credere debemus quod [papa vel alius] solum tunc solvit vel ligat quando se conformat legi Christi.—Chron. Anglise, ed. E. M. Thompson, p. 182.

P. 154, l. 12.—Pero comep a pardonere wip stollen bullis & false reelecis.
Compare Chaucer's account of the pardonere—
"
For in his male he hadde a pilweber,
Which, that he saide, was our lady veyl:
He seide he hadde a gobet of the seyl
That seyns Petur hadde, when that he wente
Uppon the see, til Jhesu Crist him hente.
He hadde a cros of latoun ful of stones,
And in a glas he hadde piggis bones."

Prologue, 694—700.

Generally speaking we may be inclined to make some allowance for colouring in the descriptions of satirist and reformer—of Chaucer and Wyclif. But in depicting the impudence of the pardonere there was no need—one may almost say no room for exaggeration. See Dr. Jusserand's Essay on Chaucer's Pardonere and the Pope's Pardoners, published by the Chaucer Society 1880.

P. 157, l. 23.—For now hopen menuus lawis, &c.
Cum nimis multi secularia hodie student in litium facultate, ipsa quaque Theologia in statu secularium paucos habeat sectatores propter abusum Romanae curiae, quae Theologos contemptit, et in omni ecclesiastico gradu lucrativem scientiarum studiosos praesputit.—Pierre d'Ailly, de Reformatione Ecclesiae. Brown's Fasc. i. 413. D'Ailly, Archbishop of Cambrey, and a Cardinal, was a leader among the orthodox reformers, and took a prominent part in the Council of Constance.

P. 165, l. 27.—Bete stratis up & down.
This use of "bete" recurs twice in this tract. On p. 168, l. 10, we have "betyng e pauement," a phrase still in use in modern French (battre le pavé, aller et venir sans but, sans occupation.—Littre). On p. 172, l. 15, we have "beten marketia," which I suppose means to lounge about there merely for the pleasure of the crowd and society. Such loungers were generally in ill repute, as we may see by the secondary sense of swaggerer, attaching to "market beter" (see Reeve's Tale, l. 16). We may connect with this use of the word the policeman's "beat."
NOTES.

P. 167, l. 9.—Not bi lonynges & bodynge.
So in Piers the Ploughman’s Crede (line 716):

“And been at lone & at bode · as burgees wrethe,”

which Mr. Skeat explains “to deal with lendings and biddings, to lend and bid.” It must be noticed, however, that Halliwell says that ‘lone’ is still used in Devon as ‘a supplication for alms,’ and perhaps ‘lonynges and bodynge’ may mean merely ‘begging and praying.’

P. 167, l. 26.—Priests so onkunnynges hat men sworn hem in seynge of her seyrueve, & redynge of here pistil & goesel.

Giraldbus tells a story how Hugh of Lincoln entered a parish church to hear mass, and when mass was over, the parish priest “statim cepit evangelia multipicare, primo Initium sancti evangelii, deinde Spiritus Domini, demum Salve sancte parens, et alia quedam nihil attinentia. Episcopus autem his auditis factae subiect: ‘Quid erat dicturus est presbyter iste, qui hodie quod novit totum effudit?’”—Gemma Ecclesiastica, D. 1, xlviii.

P. 169, l. 8.—Who lyueth best preserveth best.

“Opera autem justa plus orant pro homine quam mentis devocio et vocalis formacio laboriorum.”—Lat. Sermones, iv. 3 (M.S. T.C.C. 293a).

P. 169, l. 25.—Magnificat, sanctus, & agnus dei.

The Magnificat was sung always at vespers. The Sanctus (Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua: Osanna in excelsis. Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini: Osanna in excelsis) is sung in the preface to the Mass.

The Agnus Dei (Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi; misericordia nobis (bis) Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi da nobis pacem) is in the ordinary of the Mass.

P. 171, l. 14.—And ofte ye redeyn it.

The passage referred to forms the epistle for the Thursday in Passion or Holy Week, as well as for Corpus Christi Day.

P. 172, l. 15.—Enteratem hom of lovedaises, holdynges wiþ forse of armes.

A love-day was a day appointed for settling differences by arbitration or amicable arrangement. Doubtless it was often useful in avoiding quarrels and litigation, especially among equals, but its comparative informality made it the more dangerous in the hands of a powerful oppressor (compare pp. 234, 243, 245). We get a similar view of the custom in the Vision of Piers Plowman (B. x. 19):

“Who can contres ye deceyteth an conspire wronges,
And lede forth a londeday to late with treuthes;
He bat such craftes can to conselle is clepid.”

P. 173, l. 19.—Bei hizyn faste to be prestis mo þan ben nodful for þe pepel.

“Evidens quidem est quod clerucus per talem copiam temporalium peccat in quantitate et qualitate, contrarius voluntati domini Jesu Christi. In quantitate quidem quo ad numerum proporcionallem aliis partibus ecclesie militantis. Evidens quidem est quod talis mun-
dana prosperitas facit clerum in numero superfluo appetere istum statum."—Speculum Militantis Ecclesie, cap. 29 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 118b).

P. 177, chapter 24.—It should be remembered that, when these tracts were written, chantries had come to be the commonest form of religious foundation. One order after another had fallen away from the ideal aimed at in its foundation, till people had almost ceased to look upon monks and even friars as good men whom it was meritorious to help. In endowing chantry priests, they hoped to get prayers in return for their money, and the formal religion of the day looked upon this as the safest religious investment.

P. 177, l. 4 from bottom.—Discension & weren & pestilenci.

We fear this allusion will not help us much with the date of the tract. According to Walsingham there were, besides the Black Death of 1348, plagues in 1361, 1375, and in the north of England in 1379.

P. 181, l. 12.—Pei wolen answere for men at dome day.

So the Minorite promises in Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (123-132):

"And mytestou amenden us wi money of lyn owne,
   Pei chuldest cnely bfore Christ in compass of gold
   In pe wide windowe westwards wel niie in the myddell,
   And seyn Fraunceis himself schall folden the in his cope
   And presente the to the trynitie & praiie for thy sinnes.

   . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

   Pei, pei conne noust pi Crede Kare pei no more.
   I schal zeilen pe, syre, & setten it on my soule."

P. 181, l. 21.—Jubilee pat we reden not of, of kyngis ne emperouris.

A jubilee was celebrated when a monk or friar had completed the fiftieth year of his profession. The order for the ceremony is quoted from the Carmelite constitutions in Ducange, s.v. "Jubileus." The Jubileus was excused from many requirements of the rule.

P. 182, l. 22.—Pei wole make many doseyne to forsweren hem.

The "doseyne" are, of course jurors, whose corruption was one of the great difficulties in the way of securing even-handed justice. In 1364 it was enacted that any juror taking money for his verdict should be fined ten times the amount of the sum in question (Rot. Parl. ii. 288 a); but the severity of the punishment does not seem to have put an end to the offence. A petition of 1382 shows how juries could be used for extortion and oppression, and although much may be laid to the opportunities given by the troubles of the previous year, we cannot doubt that abuses were always frequent. Compare the Coke's Tale of Gamelyn, l. 785—

"For he was fast about, bothe day and other,
   For to Byrne the quest to hange his brother."

It is only fair to the jurors to remember that they sometimes suffered from the spite of the party who thought himself aggrieved, and that it
was dangerous to give a verdict against a powerful suitor, although not many could, like Gamelyn, hang the unjust "sisors."

P. 183, l. 18.—Fornworn hem wittlyngly for here dynyn & a noble.

The noble was half a mark, or six shillings and eightpence. As the shilling then contained 216 grs., it would be worth about fifteen shillings and sixpence of our present coinage. Weight for weight, its purchasing power was greater than now, but it is hard to fix a standard by which to reckon this. Mr. Seebohm, measuring it by the price of wheat, says four times, which would make the juryman’s fee for perjury about £3, besides the dinner. See an article by Mr. Seebohm in the Fortnightly Review, February, 1870.

P. 184, l. 5.—Abuses of Consistory (or Ecclesiastical) Courts.
The ecclesiastical courts, which were very numerous, determined all causes matrimonial and testamentary. "There were other minor suits for wrongs for which the temporal courts afforded no remedy, such as slander in cases where the evil report did not cause material loss to the person slandered."—Stubbs’ Const. Hist. iii. 345. They had besides to enforce the payment of tithes and church dues, and were charged with disciplinary power for punishment of adultery, fornication, perjury, and other vices which did not come under the common law. The reputation of the "summoner" is enough to show how abuses pervaded the action of these courts. Professor Stubbe has summed up the case concerning them in his Const. Hist. iii. 373.

P. 190, l. 6 from bottom.—What is actif life & contemplatif.

Wyclif would not allow that the life of the cloister had any special claim to be called contemplative. What was his idea of contemplative life may be seen in one of his English sermons, No. exiv. (S.E.W. i. 382). He insisted that contemplation would not make a man more slothful in preaching. In a Latin tract on Matthew xxiv. he says: "Quidam purae viventes secundum legem domini Jesu Christi, qui in lecto contemplacionis per vices dormiunt et surgunt vivacios spirituales eibarium populo ministrando" (Ashburnham, I. 638). He goes on to say that those who fail to lead such a life, although they may be hermits or anchorites, will be damned. Yet in one tract, and that a late one, he uses "activi" in the sense of laymen.—Purgatorium sects Christis (MS. Ashburnham, 52b). I notice this as a warning not to lay too much stress on single expressions, especially when they belong to the current theology of his time.

P. 191, l. 21.—Matynce of ours lady.

One of the seven hours of our Lady which, according to the local use, were said with the canonical hours; and often without them.

P. 192, l. 26.—Sire jacks or hobbs.

Sire is here the common title given to a priest, as occasionally in Shakspere.

P. 193, last line, &c.—Saying Matins more binding than celebration of Mass.

It is a mortal sin to celebrate without having said Matins (i.e. 
Nocturns and Lands). A constitution of Archbishop Reynolds says:

"Nullus Sacerdos parochialis praesumat Missam celebrare antequam Matutinale persolverit officium, et primum et tertiam de die."—Lynd-woode, lib. iii., tit. 23. The object of such rules was, no doubt, to

insure that the celebrating priest should be duly prepared for his functions, but one result of them was, as noticed in the text, to make the saying of hours more binding than celebration, since to say the

"hours" was binding on every priest.

P. 194, l. 6.—Antifoners.

Antiphonarium, a book containing the Antiphons or Anthems. "Nota

quod tale Antiphonarium non solum continet in se Antiphonas . . .

sed etiam Invitatoria, Hymnos, Responsoria, Versus, Collectas, Capitula

et alia quae pertinent ad decantationem Horarum Canonicarum."—Lynd-

woode, lib. iii. tit. 27.

P. 194, l. 6.—Gratissi.

"Stricta ponitur Gradale pro eo quod gradatim cantatur post epis-

tolam; hic tamen ponitur pro libro integro in quo contineri debent

Officium aspersionis aquae benedicte, Missarum inchoationes sive

Officia; Kyrie cum versibus Gloria in Excelsis, Gradalia, Halleluja, et

Tractus Sequentes, Symbolum cantandum in Missa Offertoria, Sanctus,

Agnus, Communio, &c., quae ad Chorum spectant in Missae solennis

decantatione."—Ibid.

P. 198, l. 2 from bottom.—For alle angels & men & wommen pat

schullen be sauyd ben goddis kynge kyd & holy chyrche.

This tenet, that the true Church consists only of the predestinate, is

often insisted on by Wyclif. It is found also in the parallel passage in

the tract printed by Mr. Arnold: "Alle yylke pat schulles be in blysse

after he dome rytwysliche may be cleped holy chyrche."—S.E.W. iii.

101.

P. 199, l. 16.—Confermed.

Probably a mistake of the scribe for "conformed," although "con-

fermed" may be taken in the sense of firmly united.

P. 204, l. 14.—Pie addynges to is trewe.

Contrast on this point the tract printed by Mr. Arnold, S.E.W. iii.

112: "But for it is hard [to] men to grounde hem [leeue to add þus],

sibye," &c. I quote thus far, as Mr. Arnold’s text is defective; the

words in brackets are supplied from the Dublin MS. C.C.

P. 205, l. 4 from bottom.—For whanne wymmen ben turnyd, &c.

"Sicut enim femina ad bonum dedita est specialiter ecclesiæ juvativa,

quia organum domini in maria et aliis sibi in virtute simulibus; so

cenis seducta cautelis diaboli superat in malicia multos viros, cum sit

speciale retie diaboli."—Sermons, Part II. 22 (T.C.C. 202b).

P. 206, l. 7.—He þat kan best plese a pagyn of þe dewyl.

I think this must refer to miracle-plays, in which the devil was

usually the leading comic part. Grossetete, in a circular to his arch-
deacons, complains that the clergy sometimes take part in such plays:

"Faciant etiam, ut audivimus, clericis ludos quos vocant miracula," and he
desires that they may be put a stop to: "Miracula etiam et ludos supra nominatos et scotoles, quod est in vestrai potestate facili, omnino exterminetis."—Robert. Grosssete Epistole, ed. H. R. Luard, Letter cxi.

P. 206, L. 23.—De roten body, hat is wormes melt & a sauk of drit.

"Cogitarenus itaque quod femina quam sic tangimus est, nedum pro tempore suo horrrendum cadaver putridum, sed in presenti, secundum regionem nutriciam intuita, saccus stercorum."—De Mandatis Divinis, cap. 29 (MS. Univ. Camb., Ll. 5, 13). The same idea recurs, S.E.W. iii. p. 125.

P. 207, L. 3 from bottom.—Sevnt steuene was ful of grace.

Our A.V. has "full of faith," but the Vulgate "plenus gratia et fortitudine."

P. 208, L. 3.—God he trynyte is wiþ ech creature bi myȝt, wisdom & goodness to keep it.

Wyclif's doctrine on this point is explained in Triologus, book ii. chap. xi.: "Certum est quod necessario Deus conservet locum quemlibet et quamlibet creaturam, et non conservat per potentiam ab eo distinctam [or distantem]: nec potest vicissim adesse et esse sua fabrique. Ideo necessario est ubique. . . . Deus necessario secundum totam suam essentiam perpetuo est ubique. . . . Ideo Deus habet unum modum excellentem et proprium, quo essentialiter est ubique. Et cum in Deo sit virtus atque potentia, quæ realiter est divina essentia, patet quod Deus virtualiter et potentialiter est ubique."

(Ed. Lechler, p. 113.) It is probably this doctrine which led to the charge against Wyclif of holding "quod Christus est vilissima creatura, cum sit ipsa materia prima."—Pasc. Ziz. p. 2.

P. 211, L. 7.—Trentaldis.

A Trental is an office of 30 masses to be said on so many successive days for the dead. It also means the offering made on consideration of such masses. Special observances were usual on the 30th day from the death. In the Academy of October 18th, 1879, Mr. Peacock printed the will of Sir Thomas Cumberworth (A.D. 1450), which gives us a good example of the way in which money was distributed on such occasions: "I will the interment be made at my xxx day & the abbot of Thornton do the masse derige & the exques & have xxx & the vs iiiijd that he ows me aforesaid & I will the abbot of Neusum & the abbot of Welhow yf thy both come to my xxx day haf ather of tham xiiis iiiijd and ilke prior & prioris that comes to the xxx day hafe vis viijd & ilke chanon or none that comes to the said xxx day have xxijd & ilke prest & frere that comes that day to deryge & masse hafe iiiijd." Further, two priests are to sing at the altar where his wife and father and mother are buried, "& that ilken of tham haf C* to say the Trentall for his in all the hast that may getyn thereto." So universal was the custom of having a trental said for the dead, that we may notice in the Poor Men's Gild of Norwich an order, "hat any brother or sister of bis gilde deye vii mile abouten he Cite, or within the cite, alle he bretherin and sistrin shullen ben at hen enterung
of þe dede corps, and offerin at his messe, and þeuen xxxd for xxx messes singing for þe soule, and for alle christen soules."—English Gilda, E.E.T.S. No. 40, p. 41. In the Sarum Missal the Missa pro defunctis has a special prayer, secret, and post-communion for the 30th day.—Sarum Breviary, ed. Proctor and Wordsworth, ii. 529. It seems that sometimes the 30 masses were all said on one day. In the ordinance for the gild of St. Katherine, Alderigate, the wardens are to summon the friars to say the dirge, "and on þe morwe to seise a trent of masses at same freces."—Id. p. 8.

P. 212, l. 5.—Whanne riche men ben dede wip dirige, &c.

"Why covet you not to bury
poor folk among you
sith that they been most holy
as ye saine that ye ben for your poverty?
Why will ye not be at her diriges
as ye have been at rich mens,
sith God praiseth hem more
than he doth other men?"
Jacke Upland, Wright's Political Poems, ii. 22.

Our last note supplies a good answer to Jacke's questions.

P. 212, l. 10.—Stryuen & flitten for þe dede careyne.

Any one who wishes to see a lively description of such a struggle will do well to turn to Erasmus' colloquy, Fusus.

P. 215, l. 6 from bottom.—Liynge, probably for leiynges="laughing."

P. 213, l. 3 from bottom.—Pat longep to iuridiccion of prelatis.

Fornication and adultery were cognizable only by the ecclesiastical courts, and the bishops resented any lay attempts at repressing these vices. Such attempts seem to have been made occasionally. I have already (note to p. 35) mentioned one on the part of the London citizens, related with much indignation by Walsingham. About the same time, Aug. 3, 1382, I find a monition against the ballivi of Canterbury, who have presumed to try adulteries, etc., "inquires' cognoscentes et judicantes, penas banniciosis et alia deformia et noviter adiinventa supplicia pro hujusmodi criminibus auctoritate sua propria imponen" (Lambeth Registers). Banishment must have been a most objectionable punishment in the eyes of the ecclesiastical officials, since it dried up the sources of revenue.

P. 218, l. 14.—Fleyngs fro suche companye & abstynence & saad transito is best medecyne aynst lacherie.

"Et ad hoc valet ista medicina triplex precipue; circumspecta corporis maceracion, loci et persone cum qua peccurtur declinacio, et omnino tocius virtutis cognitiae assidua et sancta occupacio."—De Mandatis Divinis, c. 29 (MS. Univ. Camb., Ll. 5. 13).

P. 220, l. 13.—Sixtene condicions of charite.

The notes of charity given by the Apostle in 1 Cor. xiii. 4, may be counted as sixteen, and are so enumerated in the tract on Faith, Hope, and Charity, p. 553.
NOTE.

P. 223, l. 6.—Put bei appropriam not porische chirchis.

This is not the only place where Wyclif notices that appropriations prevent the material repair of the church, as well as the pastoral care of the parish: "Alii autem attendentes ad seculum horrent quot iste basilice appropriate tantum deficient in tectis et ceteris ornamentis. Sed infinitum gravior horror est quot populus ille, tanquam desertus a domino, deficit in spirituali pastorae qui ipsum duceret ad beatitudinem secundum regulas legis Christi."—De Nova Prevaricatio Mendatorum, cap. 5 (MS. Ashburnham, 1f. 93b).

P. 224, l. 10. Si robert gnosti clopy riche exempcion po deuelis nostis.

I have not been able to trace this expression, but in his sermon preached before the Pope, Grossetete denounces the evil of exemptions. "Sic ligantur pastores," he says, "quia lupis in gregem grassantibus nec ad medicum possint occurrere."—Brown's Fascic. ii. 255.

P. 224, l. 12.—Si in is a gete sentence of po chirche pat who owere doip apunat po riisful wille of a deede man is cursed. See note to p. 48, line 13.

P. 224, l. 23.—Mortuaries.

These were fines or dues payable to the parson or vicar of the church where a man was buried. The religious in burying rich men naturally caused quarrels as to the payment of mortuaries. These dues were sometimes of considerable amount. Thus in one case we find the prior of Wenlock claiming one-third of all the deceased possessed at the time of his death, according to the custom of the diocese of Hereford.—Rot. Parl. ii. 38. In another case the chaplains of a free royal chapel complain that the Chapter of Lichfield have opened a chapel and cemetery, and taken away their mortuaries.—Rot. Parl. ii. 77.

P. 224, l. 8 from bottom.—P scham of gete synneris zif poi were schryue at here owens curatis.

FitzRalph, in his Defensorium Curatorum, insists strongly on the evil of confessing to friars, and gives this among many reasons: "Quod in confessione ordinario facta, est erubescentia amplior quam cum confessio est fratri facta." Of the extent to which friars heard confessions, he says, "Ego enim in mea dioecesi (ut puto) habeo duas millias subditori qui singulis annis propter sententias excommunicationis latas contra homicidas voluntarios, fures publicos, incendiarios et istis consimiles sunt excommunicationis sententiis involuti, de quibus vix venient ad me seu penitentiiarios meos quadraginta in anno; et recipiunt sacramenta omnes tales ut caeteri, & absolutur vel absoluti dicuntur, nec per alios quam per fratres." (Fasc. Rerum. Expet. ii. 68). It is to a friar that Mede comes for confession in Piers Plowman, B. text, iii. 35.

P. 224, l. 2 from bottom.—To homy wip gentil wymmen.

Compare a passage in the tract On the Leaven of Pharisees, p. 10.

P. 227, line 5 from bottom.—po fend mouie sumne men, etc.

This should be compared with the tract De Sex Jugis, printed in Dr. Lechler's Appendix, in which Wyclif insists strongly on the duty of obedience to masters, even when tyrannical.—Lechler, ii. 601.
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P. 228, l. 15.—*Weilynge or languyshyngye.*
In our A.V. doting, but in Vulgate "languens circa questiones."

P. 229, l. 9.—*Pore prestis... charge servauntis to be suget joun; lordin bi turauntis.*

"Homines si tractati civiliter, quantumcumque in donis Dei gratiitis et gracia Christi resplendente, debent humiliter injurias istas pati: et per passiones hujusmodi debent comminiter plus mereri quam in alsiis officis nunc laudatis. Sic enim meruerunt Christi martires paciendo et sic docet Petrus dominis, et discolis, subicii paciendo."—De Servitute Civili et Domino Seculari, c. 3 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 86).

P. 231, l. 25.—*Come and reprouse him.*

"Seek ye doom, helpe ye hym that is oppressid, deme ye to the fadirles and moderles child, defende ye a widewe. And come ye and reprouse ye me, saith the Lord."—Later Wyclifte Version. "Et venite et arguete me."—Vulgate.

P. 231, l. 27.—*Mercy and trowe kept of kyngis.*

There is something wrong with the text here. The Vulgate has: *Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem*; and the W.V. "Mercy and trowe the kepyn the kyng."

P. 233, last line.—*Paien not porforo but white stickis.*

There was often a difficulty in getting tallies cashiered. In the Parliament of 1376 Lord Nevill was impeached for buying up tallies of assignments made by the king to various persons. These he had got full payment for, while paying little or nothing to their owners. He was said to have made £300 in this way. Two persons are mentioned as having been thus defrauded—the Lady de Ravensholme, and Reynold Love, a merchant of London (Rot. Parl. iii. 328). When persons such as these rated tallies so low, it may be guessed what was their value to poor country people, whose goods had been taken by purveyors. Cf. God Spede the Plough (appended to Mr. Skeat's ed. of Pierce the Ploughman's Crede):

> The Kyngis purvions also they come,
> To have white and otys at the Kyngis node;
> And over that bese and Mutton,
> And butter and pulleye, so god me spede!
> And to the kyngis courte we moste it lede,
> And our payment shal be a styke of a bough;
> And yet we moste spake faire for drode—
> I praye to God, spede wele the plough.

P. 234, l. 10.—*But rapors wypholden pore men hore hire.*

"In lege antiqua Levitici 19mo. dicitur 'Non morabitur opus mercenarii tui aput te usque mane.' Quamvis autem istud exponatur communiter quod post completionem laboris opus mercenarii non debet remanere per tempus culpabile tenebrosum, tamen assistente indigentia mercenarii debet merces retribui in completione laboris. . . Novit mundus quantum injuste multi mercenarii sunt tractati nunc, labores indebitos ex diurnitate temporis, ex qualitate operis, et ex aliis circumstantiis exigendo."—From tract *De Sex Jugi* (Lochler, ii. 598).
P. 234, l. 27.—Lords stryuen wip here teneantis to brynge hem in praldon.

Among the petitions presented in the first Parliament of Richard II. is one complaining that the villeins and tenants get copies of Doomsday book which they use to assert their freedom. Coming from the landlords, this petition declares this action to be wrongful, and attributes it to certain agitating counsellors, who misinterpret the document. Things had got so bad already (in 1377) that the peasantry helped each other to resist distraint.—Rolls of Parliament, iii. 215.

P. 240, l. 22.—Lay correction of clerks.

"Moveri potest ulterius si securialis populus debet de prelato hujusmodi judicare, nam sic licet ipsum deponere et decimas et oblationes suas subtrahere; sed tuto forent forus ecclesiasticus et securale judicium commixta ad invicem et confusa, et contra istud militant multe leges. Sed hic videtur multis quod rex, cuius interest pacificare rempublicam, debet impedire adulteria, furta et alia crimina, sed specialiter in prelatis, cum ipsa precipue perturbant rempublicam, et petent exemplum 3 Regum 2 de Salamone."—De Sermon Domini in Monte, chap. 32 (MS. T.C.C. 393e).

P. 241, l. 29.—Paul's appeal to Cesar.

"Quomodo igitur remueret papa vel prelatus aliquid judicari per judicem secularem, cum vas electionis, instar magistri sui Christi judicari sic eligentis, appetit se taliter judicari."—De Sermon Domini in Monte, c. 32 (MS. T.C.C. 393b).

P. 242, l. 4 from bottom.—A market betore.

The presence of priests at markets seems to have been a scandal. John Myrc, in his "Instructions to Parish Priests," says—

""Markets and feryes I the forbede
But hyt be for the more node."

E.E.T.S. No. 31, p. 2.

Market betore is usually explained as a swaggerer, but it seems here to be used only in the sense of a frequenter of markets. Compare beten marketis, p. 172.

P. 243, l. 21.—Lords meyntemen... extorsioners, robbereis, & reuers.

The habit of keeping bands of violent and disorderly retainers, by liveries and other gifts, to maintain their patrons' quarrels, was common among the great people of the time. Statutes and petitions in Parliament were useless against it. In one petition the Commons say—"car si les Maintenances des Grantz soient tollez les faux felonis & malveys seront puniz & les Leyes et la Pees meyntenuz" (Rot. Parl. ii. 165). The disorder did not diminish in the first part of the fifteenth century, as the Paston Letters show very clearly, and it was reserved for the strong hand of the Tudors to put down the abuse.

P. 246, l. 15.—Or wis of blynyngge of castellis.

This has often been supposed to allude to William of Wykeham, but it is by no means certain that it has any personal reference.
P. 271, l. 6.—De bridda herezie hat may hoold of olde synnys.
Mr. Hertrage suggests that for "may" we should read "many." I am rather inclined to take the reading of A.A., correcting "maj" to "makib"—"hat makib hoord of olde synnys." Cf. p. 476, l. 25—"Abbeys & colleges bon hordis of synne."

P. 277, l. 17.—Fees for proving wills.
Compare the petition of the Commons—"que y puisse estre declare en cest Parlement de certein combien les Curatours prendront pur proove de chacun Testament et pur l'acquittance d'yecls, car ils preiguent au present tres grantz fyns & extorciions pur yccls, a grant damage du people" (Rot. Parl. i. Ric. 1. vol. iii. p. 255).

P. 277, l. 22.—This proposal for lending freely to poor men sounds revolutionary; but, as no means are proposed for carrying it out, we may take it to be only the expression of a pious wish for the extirpation of a practice which every one thought sinful. In 1376 the Commons petitioned for more repressive laws against usury—"Come l'orrible vice de l'usure soit taunt espaundu & usee parmy la terre, que la vertu de charite, sans quele nul puist estre sauve, est bien prese tote perdue" (Rot. Parl. ii. 3508). It may be worth while to quote Wyclif's words as to the wickedness of usury: "Usura autem videtur habere istam blasphemam maliciam quod usurarius vendit tempus, quod dare est deo proprium; et postposita spe misericordie et retributionis divine propter hoc quod gracia bonitatis sue adjuvat fratrem suum, feneratur ista temporalia principaliter pro spe lucri; et quia iste sic postponit divinam ordinanciam, usura racionabiliter inter peccata maxima est damnata."—De Sermone Domini in Monte, cap. 58 (MS. T.C.C. 3775). Cf. S.E.W. iii. 154, where there is a long piece on usury in a tract which is almost certainly Wyclif's.

P. 278, at bottom.—Amortiament by mean hands.
One of the petitions in the first Parliament of Richard II. is directed against this practice. I quote it for comparison with the point in the text—"Pur cee que les Religiooses purchacet terre, et fount autres de cee estre enfevez et les ditz Religiooses pernatz les profitz. Et auxi terre lour est done & autres persones enfevez d'icelles et les ditz Religiooses de ce permont les profites. Q'en celle cas & en tous autres que purrant estre ymaginez, qu'ils puissent estre ajugez en cas d'Estatuts de Religious' ent faitz, & que la Roi et autres Seigneurs eient l'avantage en celle cas come est ordigne en le dit Estatut."—Rot. Parl. iii. 19a. It is to be noticed that the petition was presented also in the last Parliament of Edward III.

P. 279, l. 14.—De wast tresour hanged on stockes & stones.
"Unde ad honorem foret sanctorum et utilitatem ecclesie, quod distributa forent pauperibus jocalia sepulcrorum quibus stulte ac eciam inaniter sunt ornata.—Sermons, part ii. No. 22 (MS. T.C.C.).

P. 285, l. 24.—Dei bon nedid to spoyle here ternauntis.
"Magnates demaunderant ac ipso necessitant ad paupores suos
tenentes et subditos insuetis tellagiis onerandum.”—Purgatorium Secto
Christi (MS. Ashburnham, 50).

P. 286, l. 3.—No man reversi God.

"Reversi" here is used (or miswritten) for "resisteth." The
Vulg. is quis resitit vi et pacem habuit? The reference should be to
Job ix. 4.

P. 286, l. 14.—Pat maki a man servaunt to nouz.

This has reference to the doctrine which Wyclif had learned from
Augustine (see Fasc. Ziz. liv), "that evil has no substantive existence,
but is simply the absence of good, as darkness is the absence of light."
Thus, he says in the Trialogus (i. 9) that sin has no "idea,"—"sed
homo cognoscendo creaturam peccabilem et quod peccavit, sine ydea, hoc
est per carentiam vacuitatis ydeae (ut dicit Lincolniensis) cognoscit
peccatum" (p. 67). Again, "Sed cum peccati non sit ydea, nec
peccati productivitas vel producibilitias est in Deo; oportet concedere
peccatum esse et adesse vel potius abesse definere" (p. 74). See
Lechler, i. 509.

P. 287, l. 12.—Unable to . . . zone ony sacramentis.

Wyclif has been said to make the efficacy of the Sacrament depend
on the worthiness of the priest, and this passage gives some colour to
the charge. But if we compare it with other utterances on the same
subject, we shall find that we must not take the words absolutely in
this sense. In a tract "De precationibus Sacris," after reciting the
decrees forbidding attendance at the Mass of an irresistible priest, he
goes on—"Nowe si lecherie maki priestes unable to . . . scis
masse" (B.E.W. iii. 225). Here we have nearly the same expression
as in the text, but the inability refers only to legal disqualification, not
to the absence of Divine aid in consecration. In the same tract he lays
down clearly the orthodox doctrine: "A cursed man doth fully ye
sacramentis you, it be to his damprynge" (p. 227). In the same
spirit he says of a priest who is not in grace, "ne sine falsitate dicit
verba sacramentalia, licet proint capscibus." Wyclif's real view
seems to have been that since the efficacy of the Sacrament depended
on the assistance of Christ, there was every reason to believe that the
faithful would not be allowed to suffer for the unworthiness of the
priest. Still the priest who was in mortal sin was no true priest, and
had forfeited all claim to Christ's aid, and therefore we could only
suppose and hope in each case it was given, without asserting it as a
matter of faith. "Et sic visa hostia adoro ipsam conditionalter, et
omnimode deadoro corpus Domini quod est sursum" (Trial. p. 281).
Compare chap. 38 of the tract on Prelates (p. 102), Wyclif's authorship
of which is too uncertain to allow us safely to draw arguments from it
as to his opinions. Dr. Lechler has stated the case for Wyclif's
orthodoxy very strongly, i. 608 et seq. (ii. 168 of the English trans-
lation).

P. 289, l. 25.—Secular jurisdiction over clerks.

Compare p. 240 and note.
P. 297, l. 1.—Crist louede persones of hem, as weren pou and mychodem.
Cf. Of the Leaven of Pharisees, p. 2.
P. 298, l. 16.—And as psi seven freres weren penne and longe biforn.
Referring to the Carmelites, who pretended to a direct descent from Elijah.
P. 299, l. 27.—joure makid birpins.
Burthens of your making. This curious use of the participle is not suggested by the Latin of the Vulgate, which runs—"ipsi uno digito vastro non tangitis sarcinas."

P. 301, l. 25.—pe secte of Macameth, etc.
"Scimus quidem quod secta saracenica multis fidei nostrae articulis autoritate legis dei consensiat, et multos ritus honestos atque laudabiles ultra has sectas observat; sed quia in necessariis secundum legem Christi deficient nee autoritatem ab ipsa accipiant, ideo sunt infideles filii diaboli fugiendi. Quareigitur non iate secte que Christi ecclesie magis nocent."—Purgatorium secte Christi (MS. Ashburnham, 536).

P. 310, l. 4.—Jealousies between the different orders.
"Cum sicut dicunt, eccce hie et ecce illus est capud ecclesie, ita dicunt hujus generationis filii, quod in ordine meo oportet hominem salutem secueiri; alius autem quod non, sed ordine meo oportet viantem compendiosius et excellentius venire ad patriam; et in omnibus istis postponitur et contemnitur simplex religio Christiana."—Sermone, 11. 48 (MS. T.C.C. 222e). For an amusing picture of these jealousies, see Pierce the Ploughman's Crede.

P. 310, l. 20.—Per ben now many makid antichristis.
"Et nunc Antichristi multi facti sunt."—Vulgate.

P. 310, l. 28.—Iliche spirit ëat loue li jhesu.
"Omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum."—Vulgate.

P. 312, l. 24.—Oft we erre in entent and desyron veniance in ranour.
This characteristic confession of Wyclif's fault of temper should not be overlooked. Cf. Introduction, p. xlii.

P. 314, l. 7.—Wo is me for I heide myn pees.
"Vae mihi, quia tacui!"—Vulgate.

P. 314, l. 16.—Poule biddis tynotha tare reprove, to proie, & to blame.
"Argue, obseca, increpa."—Vulgate.

P. 316, l. 14.—Sanctity of the friar's habit.
This common superstition is several times mentioned by Wyclif.
P. 316, 1. 29.—And pat mon mai see wel·bi growyng & colour of here body."

Cf. song in the Appendix to Brewer’s Monumenta Franciscana (p. 602):

"Men may se by their contynauce
That thai are men of grete pensaunce,
And also that their sustynaunce
 Symple is and wayke.
 I have lyued now forty jers,
 And fatter men about the heres
 Ait sawe I neuer than are thes jers,
 In contreys their thai raykye."

P. 321, 1. 7.—Men pat ben wandrynge in pis wyes.

Viator is the word generally used by Wyclif in his Latin works to signify man living on the earth.

P. 321, 1. 9.—What liff pat pleijy more to god is betere preiure to god.

"Cum quilibet res dicit deo seipsam, fidelis operarius suis operibus deum melius et ecclesie utilius exoraret."—Speculum Militantis Ecclesie, cap. 29 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 109b).

P. 321, 1. 17.—Pat pei liuen honastiche in chirche.

"Arguitur enim communiter quod fratres multum prosunt ecclesie et non nocent, cum habent domos atque ecclesias, quibus regna multipliciter decorantur."—Supplementum Trialogii, cap. viii. (p. 444, Lechler’s ed).

P. 322, 1. 8.—Pre pyngis shulden mouse men to be glad of sikh byldyng.

There is something wrong here. Wyclif cannot have put these three reasons for gladness into the mouth of his opponents, even in irony; while to himself they would be causes of sorrow, as he says (1. 20).

P. 327, 1. 26.—Matheo telijy how crist confessed to his fadur.

"In illo tempore respondens Jesus dixit: confiteor tibi Pater, etc."—Vulg.

P. 328, 1. 5.—Side note.

In the Dublin MS. C.C. this tract is not divided into chapters.

P. 328, 1. 21.—Tit Innoceans cam.

"Duplex est confessio singulariter deo facta et confessio ex institucione Innocencii terii facta proprio sacerdoto. Prima est dignior, fundabilior et necessario quam secunda, quia de prima confessione et penitencia loquitur scriptura generaliter et nusquam de secunda; immo videtur multis, cum ecclesia melius militavit per mille annos et amplius sine illa."—Sermons, Part iv. Ser. 6 (MS. T.C.C. 296c).

Confession was first made of general obligation in the 4th Lateran Council under Innocent III.

P. 329, 1. 3.—Makers of pis lawe were so married, etc.

"Sed gramesci [sic] cum adjutorio logicorum impugnant hanc legem, dicentes quod solum pro emfroditis de virtute vocabuli fuit facta." De contrarietate duorum Dominorum, cap. 6 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 46b).

The bull runs "Omnis utriusque sexus."
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P. 331, l. 14.—Propur prestus bon enable.
The exaggeration of difficulties here is rather extravagant. The proper priest was as a rule the curate of the parish, but there were many cases in which the penitent might choose another confessor, e.g. if the priest were indiscreet, a babbler, or in any way personally affected by the sin to be confessed (see Myro's Instructions for Parish Priests, line 824 et seq.). The real mischief seems rather to have been in the multitude of licensed confessors, friars and others, who had no knowledge of their penitents, and exercised no good influence over them. Chaucer's Parson in his "Tale" insists upon the evil of "departyng of schrift." Cf. notes to pp. 9 and 224.
P. 332, last line.—Men seyn hât greks han.
The Greek Church enjoins private confession, and has a special office for the administration of the rite. The form of absolution in that Office is as follows: "O my spiritual child, who dost confess to my humility, I, a humble sinner, have no power on earth to remit sins. This God alone can do. Yet by reason of that divine charge which was committed to the Apostles after the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ in the words: 'Whosoever sins ye remit,' etc., and by that encouraged, we say: whatsoever thou hast confessed to my most lowly humility, and whatsoever thou hast omitted to confess, either through ignorance or any forgetfulness, may God forgive thee, both in this world and in that which is to come." The Prayer Book Interleaved, Campion and Beament, p. 221, Rivingtons, 1866.
P. 334, l. 9.—Riche men haden occasioun to drede not for to synne.
"Ut pauperes possent de remissione sui peccati quo ad dominum desperare, et divites possent blasfeme credere quod ab omni peccato suo per imposicionem manuum antichristi possent sine dolore quem Deus instituit liberari."—Tract on Matt. xxiii. (MS. Ashburnham, Lf. 71).
P. 334, l. 4 from bottom.—Quence, duchesses and other ladies han confessours.
So in the Tract on Matthew xxiii.: "Ista autem verba hiis novis sectis pertinenter poterunt applicari, cum sint duces dominiorum et dominarum, episcoporum et multorum magnumu" (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 78.)
P. 341, l. 10.—And þus þre reisynge, etc.
This allegorical interpretation of Christ's three miracles of raising the dead to life is taken from the Fathers. See Trench on the Miracles, p. 427. He gives a quotation from Donne, which illustrates the passage very well: "If I be dead within doors (if I have sinned in my heart), why suscitavit in domo, Christ gave a resurrection to the ruler's daughter within doors, in the house. If I be dead in the gate (if I have sinned in the gates of my soul), in my eyes or ears or hands, in actual sins, why suscitavit in porta, Christ gave a resurrection to the young man at the gate of Nain. If I be dead in the grave (in customary and habitual sins), why suscitavit in sepolcro, Christ gave a resurrection to Lazarus in the grave too."
P. 343, l. 10.—And this mystery teille pe puple, etc.

"Et sic posset protroversiens totum sensum Scripturae subvertere, ne gandendo sensum litteralem et angendo sensum figurativum ad libitum."—De Veritate Scripturae, c. 2 (quoted by Lechler, l. 486).

P. 344, l. 27.—Words that Crist bad to his apostles when he had quickened Lazar.

"Christus eciam in persona propria suscitavit Lazarum de sepulcro, et mandavit postmodum suis apostolis solvere ipsum ab institis quibus sensibilater est ligatus, ac si vellet dicere in figura: Deus est qui tolit peccata mundi, sed suis fidelibus concedit postmodum potestatem ad dimissionem illum populo declarandum."—Tract on Matthew xxiii. c. 2 (MS. Ashburnham, ff. 70b).

P. 347, l. 1.—The words "opera sine fide" are an addition either of preacher or scribe. "3s" is a mistake, the verse being James ii. 26.

P. 348, l. 21.—But in pre manere may mennus feip sayle.

"Sed hie fides deficit in nobis hodie tripliciter. Primo, scutum fidei omnino vel secundum plurimum in multis abeat, ut patet de infidelibus extra Christianam, et illi sunt omnino accensus jaculis hostium. Secundi vero licet habeant magnam partem istius scuti cum habent multa forumina defectus fidei . . . Tercii vero sunt hui qui, licent aheant scutum fidei integrum tamen nimis remissum vel tenue."—Early Sermons, No. 6. MS. Lambeth.

P. 349, l. 2 from bottom.—For feip is of thingis . . . of good things in pe blis of heven.

"Spes vero ut distinguatur contra fidem respicit bona speranti futura. Fides vero est de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, tam bonis quam malis, pertinentibus et impertinentibus."—Early Sermons, III. Lambeth MS. (part i. No. 25 in T.C.C. MS.).

P. 350, l. 13.—Neper we witen ne we truwe now to be sawyd.

"Proposito mihi ai salvabor nec concedo nec nego nec dubito, sed spero."—Speculum Militantis Ecclesiae, cap. 12 (MS. Ashburnham, ff. 113b). Wyclif always emphatically denies the possibility of assurance. In his tract "De Blasphemia," he says, "If yo pope asked me wheper I were ordeyneyd to be saved, or predestinate, I wolde say pat I hoped so, but I wolde not swere hit, ne ferme hit wi晋outen condicion, bost he grettly pynyscht me; ne denye hit, ne doute hit wolde I no wey" (S.E.W. III. 426). See introduction, p. xxxvi.

P. 357, l. 10.—But it is nouzt or accident worse pat ony breed.

This is one of Wyclif's favourite objections to Transubstantiation. The substance of bread was gone, but the accidents remained and without substance; for the friars would not allow that the whiteness, roundness, etc., of the host were accidents of Christ's body. Consequently the consecrated host was a mere nothing; accidents with no underlying substance, and so inferior to a straw which had a substantial existence. So in the tract on Matthew xxiv. he says, "Papa dicitur dogmatizare quod illa hostia consecrata nec est panis nec corpus Christi, sed unum incognitum infinitum minus bonum quam hostia non sacrata" (MS. Ashburnham, ff. 58).
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P. 362, l. 15.—*His state or power is he vicar of he god-heede.*

"Secunda pars mee militantis ecclesie forent domini temporales, qui
debent esse vicarii deitatis. Ideo sepe meminit augustinus quomodo
rex est vicarius deitatis."—*Dialogus*, chap. i. (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 97).

P. 363, l. 12.—*His state in he chirohe is he vicar of he manhood of
oriste.*

"Unde Augustinus sepe asserit quod tales domini sunt vicarii
deitatis, sicut sacerdotes ... sunt vicarii humanitatis Christi."—*De
Servitute Civili et Domino Seculari*, cap. 2 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 836).
Compare p. 375, l. 8.

P. 368, l. 25.—*Sum of hem han saide pat pai schuld gete oute of he
seculer hondis alle the temporal lordeschip pat pai may.*

So in the *Dialogus*, Wyclif puts into the mouth of Mendacium,
"Videtur quod doci debet e converso quod clerici auferant totum
seculare dominium a brachio seculari et reservant ex integro ipsum
sibi."—(MS. Ashburnham, lf. 119.)

P. 374, l. 14.—*Pe holy doctoure Odo.*

"Odo" is quoted in the Apology for the Lollards, where Dr. Todd
has identified a passage as coming from the *Flores Sermonum* of Odo de
Sheritona, "an English Cistercian Monk, who flourished about the
year 1184, and whose sermons were published at Paris in 1520" (Dr. Todd's
note, p. 158). I should like to find this passage, as it is
an early date for the mention of the voice heard at the time of the
endowment, but the *Flores Sermonum* is not in the British Museum.

P. 374, l. 15.—*Pe bissynes of schipard and spiritual mornynge or
woylyngs is slayne.*

In the list of names with meanings usually appended to the Vulgate
we find Abel = Luctus. This applies only to Abel as the name of a
city, but Odo seems not to have troubled himself with such minor
distinctions. In the same list is Cain = posseseio.

P. 379, line 7, et seq.—*Silvester's sin in accepting the donation of
Constantine.*

"Nam licet cesar ex sua stulticia vellet privilegium tale concedere,
vriri tamen apostolici foret ipsum renuere. Ideo qui nititur excusare in
hoc Silvestrum vel alium a peccato nititur accusare Christum et con-
tempnere Christi legem. ... Supponi tamen potest quod sanctus
Silvester de isto crimine postmodum penitebat."—De Christo et suo
Adversario Antichristo (ed. R. Buddensieg, Gotha, 1860).

P. 377, l. 2 from bottom.—*Constantyne was holid of god by grace
ministred to hym by silvestre.*

P. 379, l. 2.—*When he was sowte to passion, he hidde hym sylffe.*

The legend of Silvester tells us that Constantine was smitten with
leprosy, and by counsel of the senators and heathen pontiff 3000
children were collected in order that the emperor might be cured by bathing
in their blood. Constantine however refused to sacrifice so many lives
for his own health. The next night Peter and Paul appeared to him
and told him to send for Silvester, who was then hiding from perse-
cution in Mount Seraptis (Soracte). The purifying waters of baptism healed the Emperor of his leprosy.

P. 380, l. 3.—As Gorram sai[f.

Nicholas de Gorran, a Dominican, was a Fellow of Merton. He was confessor to Philip the Fair, of France, and died A.D. 1295. His Commentary on the Acts, the Epistles, and Apocalypse, was printed at Antwerp (1620) from a MS. in Merton College. I have looked into it, but cannot find the passage here quoted.

P. 380, l. 15.—Soler.

The meaning generally given to the word is “an upper room,” (see Halliwell and Gloss. to W.V.), and in Joshua ii. 6 Rahab made the spies “stie up in to the soler.” The word seems, however, to have been used for any living-room. In W.V. it is frequently given as an alternative to souping-room in translating canaculum, and in the account-books of King’s Hall we find the fellows lodged “in solario juxta gardenum; et in solario sub eis” (Hist. Man. Com. First Report p. 84).

P. 382, l. 14.—But when we argue of an creature, etc.

“Cum ex fide cepimus quod nullus sanctorum, quantacunque sanctitasse prepolletat, est in dicto vel consuetudine credendus, nisi de quanto illud consonat cum Christo qui est prima veritas. Et per consequens, habita a Christo vivaciori evidencia ad credendum contrarium, istud est ex illa forciari evidencia dimittendum.”—Speculum Militantis Ecclesie, c. 16 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 102).

P. 382, l. 28.—Gabriel schal blow his horns.

One of the articles condemned at the Council of Constance as Wyclif’s is—“Audacter prognostico omnibus istis sectis et suis complicibus, quod non defendunt fidelibus quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subjecto antequam Christus et tota triumphans ecclesia venerit equitans, in finali judicio super flatum angeli Gabrieli.”—Brown’s Fasciculus, i. 267.

P. 382, last line.—Chevesaunce.

Chevesaunce or chevisaunce seems to be the payment made for a loan. Usury was forbidden alike by ecclesiastical and common law, but capitalists would not lend without consideration. Sir John Paston’s agent writes to him: “I trust that I have studied such a mene that, upon surete as ye may make, to gete you an Cli or CC mark to be lante unto yow for an halfe yere, with oute any chevisaunce or losse of good by yow.”—Paston Letters (Gairdner), ii. 297.

In Rot. Parl. ii. 173, some merchants accused of extortion pray for inquiry lest men should be afraid to deal with the King ‘en chevanches.’ Comp. Chaucer, Shipmanes Tale, 329, and Piers the Plowman (B.), v. 249, with Mr. Skeat’s note.

P. 385, l. 4.—Prisomyng and hangyngye.

The exercise of criminal jurisdiction by churchmen was felt to be a scandal, although the advantages and dignity attaching to it made it an object of ambition. Bishop Pecock ingeniously pleads that the
steward or bailiff who held the court was, for that purpose, the King’s officer. “Whatever man the bishop or abbot so chesith, the King therwith and theryn committith his power to the same person so chosun, and he oute not but in an vnpropre maner of speche be clepid (name-
lieh in maters of deeth) to be stiward of the bishop or of the abbot, 
but of the King.”—Pecock’s Repressor, p. 369.
P. 387, l. 16.—Per schulde be on no wyse a nedy man and a beggere 
amonge hem.

“Et omnino indigens et mendicus non erit inter vos.”—Vulgate.
P. 389, l. 22.—Perfora per may noon ope, etc.

“Carte, inquint, concessa de perpetua eleemosyna sunt implenda. 
Sed idem est procuratorem diaboli sic argureo ac si intonderit, si quis 
juraverit se occidere fratrem suum vel aliquod facinus pro parte diaboli 
contra dominum perpetrare, ex fide suo de servando juraentum 
tenetur illud facinus adimplere. Et eio racione diaboli tenetur manere 
perpetuo in suo crimine contra Christum.”—De Contrarietate duorum 
Dominorum, cap. 4 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 44b).
P. 393, l. 25.—No man beryng his kneythode to god.

“Nemo militans Deo.”—Vulgate.
P. 395, l. 4.—Saynte gregori wrote to be defensoure of rome.

“Gregorius Romano defensore nostro Sicilie. Perlatum ad nos est reve-
rendiseinum fratrem nostrum Basilium episcopum (of Capua) velut 
umerum de laicis in causis saecularibus occupari et pretioriae deservire. 
[Another reading is ‘velut numm de ultimis in causis occupari et prae-
tioriae inutiliter deservire.’] Quae res quoniam et ipsum vilem reddit, et 
reverentiam sacerdotali annihilat statim ut experientia tua hoc pre-
ceptum susceperit, eum ita ad revertendum disticta exseuctione com-
pellat, quatenus ei illic te insistente quinque diebus sub qualibet 
excusatione inmorari non licet ne, si quolibet modo eum ibidem 
meram habere permiseris, cum ipso apud nos graviter incipias esse 
culpabilis.”—Letter, book x. 10.
P. 399, l. 13.—Parysiensis, probably Peter, “Cantor Parisiensis,” 
whose Verbum Abbreviatum is quoted in the Apology for the Lollards, 
ed. by Dr. Todd for the Camden Society, p. 53. See Dr. Todd’s 
ote, p. 164.
P. 417, l. 7 from bottom.—Sixe maner of consentis.

“Consentit operans, defendens, consilium dans, 
Ac suctorisans, non iuvans nec reprehendens.”

Quoted by Lechler in a note to the De Officio Pastorali, p. 15.
P. 428, l. 4.—Practis without degree of sole may profite, etc.

Nam inspiracio sacerdotum simplicium tam in noticia quam in 
operacione voluntaria plus proderit capacitati fidelium laicorum quam 
onnes dicte univeritates cum studios suis adjacentibus. Speculum 
Militantis Ecclesie, c. 26 (MS. Ashburnham, 112b).
P. 428, l. 8.—God wole suffere noon yuel be don but 3if good come porof. 
“Dicunt enim fideles theologi quod denu bonus non potest aliquid
malum sine, nisi ipsum faciat multum bonum."—Exposition of Matt. xxiii. cap. 5 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 74).

P. 428, line 5 from bottom.—In making of þis maystri þen pore mennus godis ofte wasted.

For the cost of taking a Master's degree, see Mr. Anstey's preface to Munimenta Academica, p. xc, where the various expenses are enumerated. Among other things the new master was bound to feast all the Regents, or pay a fine of 20 marks. It is true that this was legally binding only on those who possessed a certain income, but it was often difficult for men to plead poverty. Attempts were made to restrain extravagance by statute, but probably with little effect. Wyclif speaks elsewhere of "sumptuosas apollaciones pauperum ad incepciones ac graduaciones" (Ashburnham, lf. 75b).

P. 429, l. 5.—Nouȝt groundip hem but nygromansye.

This charge of necromancy is not to be taken too literally. In the tract de Contrarietate duorum Dominorum Wyclif brings the same accusation, but he explains the sense of it so carefully that it is clear that he is only indulging himself in the use of another hard name for his opponents. "Extendendo," he says, "nomen nigromanici, potest quilibet ars falsa vel non fundata in lege domini ars nigromantica bene dici. Et sic pseudo predicantes vel practizantes in lege papali, vel alia lege hominum in lege domini non fundata, posseunt nigromantici vere dici, quia omnes illi discunt et practizant legem mortuam ex instinctu diaboli" (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 43b).

P. 429, l. 7.—Je wot of goddis laws shulde be tauȝt in þat tunge þat is more knowne.

"Lingua enim, sive hebraea, sive greca, sive latina, sive anglica, est quasi habitus legis domini. Et per quemcunque talem habitum ejus sentencia magis vere cognoscitur a fidelii, ipse est codex plus racionabiliter acceptandus."—De Contrarietate duorum Dominorum, cap. 2 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 44).

P. 429, l. 27.—Lords of england han þe bible in freynsch.

There is a curious confirmation of this statement in M. Paulin Paris's "Catalogue of the MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris." The oldest complete French Bible in the Library is a fine MS. of the fourteenth century, which belonged in the fifteenth century to Louis de Bruges, seigneur de Gruthuyse (No. 6701). Of this book M. Paris says, "L'écriture et le dialecte du numero dont nous nous occupons semblent indiquer qu'il fut exécuté en Angleterre." It is possible that Wyclif may have seen this very volume in the hands of one of his many friends at the Court. We must not omit to notice that a revised translation was undertaken by a contemporary of Wyclif, Raoul de Plesses (d. 1383). He does not seem to have got beyond the Psalms. The MS. in the National Library containing this is numbered 6818.

P. 429, line 3 from bottom.—As men saven in þe play of yorke.

Among the returns from Gilds made in 1389 is one from the Gild of the Lord's Prayer at York, from which we learn that "once on a time
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a play, setting forth the goodness of the Lord’s Prayer, was played in the city of York, in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn and the virtues were held up to praise. This play met with so much favour that many said, ‘Would that this play could be kept up in this city, for the health of souls and for the comfort of the citizens and neighbours.’” In consequence a gild was formed, with the main object of keeping up the play, but combining with this some forms of mutual aid common in such societies. For the greater honour of the Lord’s Prayer the Gild maintained a candle bearer of seven lights (in token of the seven supplications in the prayer), which was hung in the Minster, and lighted on Sundays and feast-days. “Also they are bound to make, and as often as need be to renew, a table shewing the whole meaning and use of the Lord’s Prayer, and to keep this hanging against a pillar in the said Cathedral church near to the aforesaid candle bearer.” This play must be distinguished from the great play acted by the Corpus Christi Gild at York, representing the life and passion of Christ, of which a copy still remains in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham. This gild also represented every ten years a Creed-play, bequeathed to them by William Revetor, a chantry priest of the chapel of St. William in Ousebridge. These plays were probably later, as the Corpus Christi gild was founded in 1408. The people of York kept their love for the plays after the Reformation. In 1568 there was talk of acting the Creed-play, but it came to nothing. Again in April, 1572, the Council agreed, “my lord mayor shall send for the maistir of St. Anthony’s, and he to bring with him the book of the play called the Pater Noster play.” Whether the master brought it, and what was done with it, I do not know. It was something to have kept the popular favour for at least two centuries.—See English Gilds (E.E.T.S. No. 40), p. 137; and York Records of the Fifteenth Century, edited by R. Davies (London, 1843), pp. 257, 267, etc.

P. 431, l. 7.—Speciea non pes nyn ordris, as poal doip in his bokin.

The nine orders of angels, as arranged by Dionysius in an ascending scale, are Angels, Archangels, Princedoms, Powers, Virtues, Dominations, Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim. Of these, Colossians i. 16 supplies thrones, dominations, princedoms, powers; and Rom. viii. 13 angels and virtues (our A.V. has “powers” also here); 1 Thess. iv. 16 adds “archangel,” but Cherubim and Seraphim are, I believe, not to be found in St. Paul’s writings, or indeed in the New Testament.

P. 431, l. 8.—Comyn pingis, i.e. Universals. Wyclif, as a realist, held these to have actual being.

P. 434, l. 11, &c.—It may be worth while to give the corresponding passage in the Latin tract: “Et istud foret frenum rectoribus, ne lasciviant in esculentis vel quibuscunque concernentibus personam propriam deminuitis elemosinias subditorum, ut est de leosterniis, dorsariis, aulicis bancariiis, pulvinaribus, et sumptuosis domorum oeteris ornamentis. Et idem iudicium de vestibus ac surrearum [I fancy
there is a misprint here for 'furrearum'] splendencia.'—cap. xvi. p. 25.

P. 437, l. 7.—pat pey shulden be moost dere," etc.
"Non vosmet ipsos defendentes, charissimi."—Vulgate.

P. 438, l. 22.—God axip not dyuysioons ne rymes of hym pat shulde prechs.

This is not the only place in which Wyccif speaks of the friars as preaching verses. In the tract on Matthew xxiii. he says: "Fratreς predicant verba sicta et poemata ripinisata."—Ashburnham, l. 75. I do not know what is meant by 'ripinisata.' Can it be 'rabbinized,' broken up under different heads after the fashion of the rabbinical commentators? If so, it would answer to the 'dyuysioons' in the text.

P. 442, l. 7.—Physic or alkenomye.

Alchemy was already in the fourteenth century discredited as being usually practised by cheats (see Chanounes Yemannes Tale, and Piers Plowman's

"Experiments of alkenamy יbe people to deceyue."—B. x. 212);

but here it seems to be used in the innocent sense of chemistry. The chief students of the physical sciences were among the friars, whose credit as physicians we have seen noticed (pp. 10, 224).

P. 442, l. 6 from bottom.—We ben not holours of goddis word.
"Non enim sumus sicut plurimi, adulterantes verbum Dei," &c.—Vulgate.

P. 443, l. 3.—pe wolen godere comynly godis asfir pat pei han prechid.

So in Exposition of Matthew xxiii. Wyclif says: "Et stulto stulcior potest ex usitata fratrum predicacione statim cognoscere quod graciat luceri colligendi a populo statim post sermonem finaliter predicarunt." (MS. Ashburnham, l. 75).

P. 444, l. 20.—A wickid hayward.

A hayward was properly a man set to look after the inclosures or cultivated ground, and prevent cattle straying upon it from the common land. His business was also to prevent trespass. Such an officer, the Feldschütz or garde champêtre, still encounters trespassers on the Continent, where, as in the England of the 14th century, the fields are not hedged off. At a time when roads were mostly mere tracks, it is easy to understand that a man so employed might abuse his powers and stop travellers even where they had a right of way; and this seems to be the drift of the text. Twice elsewhere Wyclif calls prelates haywards (S.E.W. i. 104; iii. 436), but in both cases the word is used in its secondary sense of overseer. Compare Mr. Skeat’s Notes to Piers the Plowman (pp. 87, 273). The duties of the hayward as a village officer seem to have been various. In Paston Letters (i. 217, Gairdner) we find the haywards making a distress and taking a plough and two horses.

P. 445, l. 5 from bottom.—pei deprauen (curates) to pe parishchews.

See Erasmus’ Colloquy, πτωχοπλούσιοι, where two friars ask
shelter at the house of the parish priest and are harshly refused. He gives a reason which reflects no great credit on him: “Quia si conspiceretis in sedibus meis gallinam aliquam [it is hardly necessary to remark that gallina here is equivalent to focaria. The ‘chicks’ need even less explanation] aut pullos gallinas eos, oras in concione traducerer apud populum. Hanc solos, referre gratiam communicati hospitiis.” And all the friars can say is: “Non omnes sumus istiusmodi.”

P. 447, l. 23.—Shulden lerne þe laws of porfirie.
So in Triologus, lib. ii. c. 1: “Eo quod juxta Porphirium participatio speciei purae homines sunt unus homo.”

P. 449, l. 5.—If persons hadde no glowe,” etc.
“Si autem curatus recipit fructum istius gliebe, respuendo dominacionem mundanam in animo, fidelis ministracio potest ipsum quod deum et homines excusare. Hoc tamen videtur quod fidelis curatus cum opportunit habuerit debet renunciare isti dominio seculari.”—Speculum Militantis Ecclesie (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 120b).

P. 449, l. 27.—As þei seyn, etc.
So in Piers the Plowman—

“Whanne flasches failen þe flose or þe fresche water, 
þei deyen for drouthe whanne þei drie ligge;
Ryt so, quod Gregorie, religioin roileth
Sterveth and stynketh and steketh lordes almesse,
That out of couent and cloystre coveytem to libbe.”

—B. x. 295.

See Mr. Skeat’s note on the passage, p. 93.

P. 461, l. 26.—God’s love shown in the Great Schism.

P. 462, l. 12.—Make lordis to kyse his feet where crist waschide his posilis feot.

“Valde diversum est a papa petere pedem oscula beatorum, et ipsum papam lintheo se precingere et lavare humiliiter, ut Christus fecit, pedos per ordinem subditorum.”—Sermone, IV. 8 (MS. T.C.C. 434b).

P. 462, l. 15.—Where crist went on his feet . . . þei seyn þis pope wole be closid in a castel, etc.
“Christus circumvivit patrias pedestre, oppressis benefaciens atque sanans. Papa residet tanquam alter cosdroe in sumptuoso palacio ex spoliacio pauperum fabricato et malesfacit pauperibus.”—Exposition of Matthew xxiv. c. 3 (MS. Ashburnham, lf. 57b)
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"Quomodo ergo antichristus scie extollitur super Christum quod residius in palacio tanquam immobilitis sufficit spiritualiter visitare totam terram habitabiel, mittendo dominicat per modum citacionis cesaris post quemunque sibi contrarium quem voluerit impugnare; re vera ista non est regulacio Christi cum ipse incessit humili ter de loco in locum per civitates et castella predicans peditentim."—De Ordine Christiano, c. 4 (MS. Ashburnham, l. 23b).

There is a rather similar passage in a tract just published by Dr. Buddensieg, De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo, c. xii.

P. 468, l. 3 from bottom.—Tellen more bi a cronycle of foly of an emperor.

This refers, of course, to the story of the donation of Constantine.

P. 469, l. 10.—Myraclidis maad de deed men, etc.

"Et secundum apostolum, 1 Cor. 3": Si viator habuerit omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferat, caritatem autem non habuerit, nihil est. Multo magis ergo signa ostensa a deo sive diabolo in presencia corporis mortui non indicant quod sit sanctum. Ideo uns de precipuis autelis diaboli per quam seducit viantes est decepcio in hiis signis."—Speculum Militantis Ecclesie, cap. 16 (MS. Ashburnham, l. 105b).

P. 469, last line.—God mut nevis be cheef lord, etc.

"Si secundum legem humanam non valet donacio nisi habita licencia domini capitalis, patenter convictur quod non valet aliqua talis donacio nisi prehabita dei licencia, qui est dominus dominorum."—De Contrarietate duorum Dominorum (MS. Ashburnham, l. 45).

P. 471, l. 1.—For his name is nowes foundun, and it bitokeni a wonderful. The only suggestion I can make as to this "wonderful" interpretation is that Wyclif connected Papa with prawal.

P. 475 l. 2.—Antichrist myste not for shame canomyze pis emperor.

Constantine was canonized by the Greeks, and his feast is on May 11, as mentioned by Higden in the Polychronicon (Lumby, vol. v, p. 142). He has never been formally canonized in the Western Church, but his name is inserted in the Acta Sanctorum, under May 21st, where we are told that in Britain several churches and altars were formerly dedicated to him. It is possible that there may be here some confusion between the Emperor Constantine and two kings of Scotland of that name who were canonized. The speech of Constantine to the Nicene Council referred to in line 15 is reported by Higden in the same place.

P. 475, l. 5.—O cause why he disse pur was to wys his own prestis.

"Sed captato tempore seduccionis populi, diabolus movebat cesarem quod, sicut ipse excellebat alios seculares dominos, sicut sacerdos suns, quem vocat romanum pontificem, debet excelleb quoslibet alios sacerdotes."—Speculum Militantis Ecclesie, c. 34 (MS. Ashburnham, l. 115b).

P. 476, l. 3.—A coorde is a good ping, etc.

"Nam chorda est creatura bona Dei, sicut et collum hominis, et
tamen modus habendi illum circa collum hominis strangulati est satis odibilis."—Trial. lib. iv. c. 17, p. 306.

P. 477, l. 17.—*Our bilsue techi* vs *hat a man doth no longere merit, etc.*

"Videtur autem mihi quod securissimum forst hominem pro tempore quo viat juste vivere, et non in suffragio executorum vel aliorum oratorum pro suis temporalibus nimis confidere."—Sermons, IV. 2 (MS. T.C.C. lf. 292d).

P. 482, l. 7.—*If he pope, for bidding of a kyng, graunti* so large *indulgenci*, etc.

So in the De Sermone Domini in Monte (chap. 12), "Dicitur quendam papam fecisse oracionem quamdam et concessisse ad instanciam regis Francie duo milia annorum, quociensunque habilis ipsam dixerit inter consecracionem et agnus dei."—(MS. T.C.C. lf. 357b). Compare also S.E.W. i. 354. Dr. Todd, in a note to the Lollards' Apology (p. 122), has shown that this refers to a bull of Boniface VIII. He quotes the prayer from a copy of "Hours of the Virgin," in which it occurs with this rubric: "Our holy father the pope Bonifacius sextus hath granted to all them that say devoutly this prayer folowyng between the eleucayon of our lorde et the iij Agnus dei x. thousande years of pardon." A similar rubric from another edition says 2000 years. An allusion to this prayer and indulgence is to be found also on p. 82.
Abac, behind (put abac=repressed), 38, 145, 332.
Abbots, ride about with great retinue, 60.
Abel, meaning of the name, 374, 527.
Abel, burnt his tithes, 431.
Abide, persevere in, 71.
Abite, habit, dress, 3.
Able, fit, 11; able of witt, clever, 176.
Abynden, blind, 382.
Abreggid, abridged, 41; abregyne, lessening, 364.
Absentees, tithes should be withdrawn from, 436.
Absolution, is not in the priest’s power, xix, 106, 333, 481; made a privilege of the rich, 13, 334, 464, 525; different forms of, 382, 525.
Abstinence, pretended, of friars, 13, 316, 524.
Abusian, abuse, 454.
Accepton, acceptance, 227.
Accident, used in scholastic sense, 352, 357, 465.

Accountid, taken into account, 133.
Active life, 190, 514.
Adam, 15, 49, 392, 428.
Adjective, plural form of, 11, 40, 492.
A-doun, down, 10.
Adulterers, protected by ecclesiastical authorities, 213, 249, 517. See Sin- rents.
Aford, afraid, 59; afferd, 71.
Agast, afraid, 20.
Aggregen, aggravate, 167; agregiden, prot. 378.
Agus dei, 169, 512.
Ajen, back, in return, 23, 146.
Ajea, against, 2; ajeyna, 12; ajeunus, 408.
A Jensieie, contradict, 86; forbid, 43.
Aensieyenge, contradiction, 228.
Aenstonde, resist, 21.
Aenward, in return, 146, 260; on the contrary, 463.
D’Ailly, Peter, 511.
Ayse, ease, 150.
Alamysse, all amiss (a pun on almesse), 389.
Alargen, enlarge, 341; alargid, part. 445.
Ale, all, 46.
Allegen, allege, 266; allegid, part. 344; alleid, 70.
Algatis, always, anyhow, 64.
Aljif, although, even if, 293.
Alhool, entirely, 172.
Allyuen, alienate, inf. 284; alien, pres. ind. 50.
Aliens, benefits purchased by, 144.
Alkemonye, alchemy, chemistry, 442, 532.
Alle hawen, All Saints' Day (Nov. 1), 41.
Almesse, alms, 102.
Alms, definition of, 385; pun on, 388; must be voluntary, 420; discretion needed in giving, 423; enforced by process, 16.
Alms, perpetual, 12, 384, 385, 388, 392, 476.
Alonde, on earth (comen alonde, come to exist), 366.
Alloonly, only, 289.
Als, as, 22; also, 38.
Altar, sacrament of the, 19, 152, 357.
Altars, fees for consecrating, 69, 214, 233, 277.
Altere, of all (altere maystir, master of all), 293; altherhyst supreme, 159.
Alwyty, omniscient, 21, 71.
Ambrose, St., 105, 125, 269, 339.
Amersy, amerce, fine, 417.
Amoneste, admonish, 41; amonestynge, 47.
Amortised, put into mortmain, 117; amorteisyng, 117; amortasyng, 278; amortesynge, 385.
Amortisement, destroys knighthood, 117, 369.
Amortisement, in fraud of the statutes, 278, 521.
Anemitis, about, with regard to, 24.

Angels, nine orders of, 431, 531.
Anyncria, stewards, 13, 493.
Ankeris, anchorites, 304.
Anneys, Agnes, 205.
Annueleris (or annual priests), priests hired to say annual masses, 103, and note, 505.
Anoy, annoyance, 243.
Anselm, 125, 268.
Antecristis martiris, 123.
Antichrist, signs of, 19, 494.
Antichrist (the Pope) claims universal dominion, 477.
Antifemers, books of antiphons, 194, 515.
Antinomian arguments rebutted, 111, 351.
Apaedid, satisfied, 173; apeced, 46; a-payde, 388.
Ape resouns, 96, 412.
Apeyryringe, injuring, 388.
Aper, appear, 36.
Aper, open, 91; apterly, openly, 119.
A-place, in place; cam a place—came to exist, 373. Compare Alonde.
Aplis, apples; used as bribes to lure children to orders, 68.
Apostale, see of, apostolic see (Rome), 44.
Apostata, apostate, 127, 225, 306.
Apostilbede, apostolate, 583.
Appelis, apel; appeals, used to hinder justice, 184.
Appelis, apples, 12; appul, 461; aplis, 68; used to entice children into orders, 12, 68.
Appropria,ion, of churches, 97, 116, 190, 223, 236, 419, 427, 518.
Apropropren, appropriate, 42; appro- pres, 125; apropred, part. 285; approprynge, 97.
Aquitaneuncis, quittances, 277.
Aray, array, state, 88; araies, trappings, 61.
Archdeacon, their extortions, 417, 435, 456.
Archdekene, 248; archidekenes, 417; erchekedenes, 455.
Archery, wins favour for priests, 65.
Architects, priests act as, 213, 246, 520.
Aristotle, 6; aristotle, 426.
Armure, pieces of armour, 347.
Arraiynge, ordering, arranging, 213.
Arraiauris, setters in array, commanders, 100.
Arrian, Arios, 68.
Asceet, satisfaction, 340; ascepe, 339.
Aspend, observed, 136; aspiynge, 151.
Assaie, try, 96; asay, 463.
Assis, (mylingston of) 62. See note, 499.
Assises, an occasion of oppression, 234, 278.
Assaille, absolve, 7; assailid, part. 74; asoyling, 328; assoilyngis, 66.
Assurance of salvation impossible, xxxvi, 350, 528.
Asstat, estate, condition in life, 230.
Astonis, confounds, frightens, 417.
Astronomy, taught by friars, 225.
Atier, attire, 315; atir, 206.
At perti, apart, privily, 213.
Aunante, v. boast, 433.
Auctorite, authority, 71.
Auentoynge, moving about in the open air, 319.
Auer, possessions, 119.
Auerous, avaricious, 412.
Augustine, xxxviii. See Austyn.
Auynoun, Avignon, 405, 457.
Aumeneris, almoners, 242.
Auncetresis, ancestors, 389.
Auoutrer, adulterer, 49; awoutrer, adulteress, 328.
Auoutrie, adultery, 6.

Avow, vow, 7.
Austernete, austerity, 471.
Auter, altar, 19.
Auterage, altar dues, 149.
Autor, author, 267.
Away, used without verb for go away; be got rid of, 124.
Axe, ask, 14.

Babwyurie, apishness (babounerie), hence trick, deceit or cozenage, 8.
Bac, back, 434.
Bayli, bailiff, 129.
Baytepios, irritates, 437.
Balam, Balaam, 378.
Ballyea, bellies, 315.
Ball, John, xxviii., 226.
Bancurs, tapestries or cloths to cover Benches, 434. See Ducange, s.v. Bancale.
Baner, benen, are the foremost, 130.
Bangor, Bishop of, ix.
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Bareyne, barren, 171.
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Batalis, armes, 100.
Becase, by chance, 337.
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Bedde, herald, crier, 58, 189.
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Bedrede, bedridden, 7; bedered, 186; bedrede, 211.
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Bedun, bidden, 410.
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Beerd, in here—to their face, 297.
Beered sterrer, comet, 308.
Beastliche, sensual, 304 (animalis, Vulg.).
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Beren heuy, are aggrieved, 296.
Beren on, put upon, accuse, 11.
Beren on honde, pretend, 214.
Beriynge, burying, 9.
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Bosi, busy, 8.
Boste, beast, 58.
Bosomms, brooms, 468.
Beta streitis, lounge about, 152, 166, 511.
Beten marketis, lounge or hang about at markets, 172, 511.
Betyng of pacement, lounging, 168.
Bi, be, 101.
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Biciptide, embraced, 462.
Bie, buy, 13; bierre, buyer, 233.
Biform, before, 22.
Biggen, buy, 58; bye, 334.
Biheste, promise, 11; command, 163.
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Birie, bury, 212.
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Bisien, v. busy, 94; bisen, 150.
Bitake, inf. commit, give, 146; part. bitokene, 243; bytake, 365; bytaken, 374.
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Blely, blithely, 417.
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Brene, burn, 88; brenynge, 16; bren, 246.
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Ysaedore, 172; ysidre, 272, 374.
Israel, 232; israele, 366.
Isschewedened, eschewed, 166.
Jubilee, 181, 513.
Juda, Christ belonged to the tribe of, 391.
Iude, St., 306.
Iude, Judea, 27.
Judicialis, judicial laws, 285.
Iuelis, jewels, 63, 86, 195, 216.
Iuge, judge, 32.
Iurdiccion, jurisdiction, 57.
Juries bribed, 63, 183, 513; packed, 182.
Jurisdiction, criminal, exercised by ecclesiastics, 385, 528.
Jurisdiction of prelates protects vice, 213.
Iurouris, jurors, 63, 183.
Iustis, jousts, 10.
Kacche, catch, 205.
Kaste, devise, intend, 87.
Katerine, Katherine (St.), 205.
Kechenes, kitchens, extravagant in monasteries, 15, 494.
Kechene clerkis, 13, 65, 168, 242, 246.
Keyes, keys, power of, 341.
Kepyng, care, 21.
Kempt, combed, 426.
Keruynge, cutting, 12.
Kest, perf. cast, kestiden, 443.
Keuercheris, kerchies, head-dresses, 65, 205; keuerchies, 246.
Keuerid, covered, 20.
Kyn, kind, sort (many kyn skillis=reasons of many sorts), 352; kynne, 160.
Kynde nature, 4, 100; race, 7.
Kyndely, natural, 174, 372.
Kyndles, broods, 2; kyndlyngis, 315.
Kynghod, kingship, 471.
King’s Hall, Cambridge, 508, 528.
Kynrede, tribe, 230, 304.
Kirtis, tunics, 40.
Knackeris, tricks, 156.
Knackis, tricks, 156.
Knackynge, tricky, artificial music, 9, 76, 91, 118, 169.
Knighton, xli, 254.
Knytynge, hold by knight service, 384.
Knytting, binding, 476.
Knoweleche, acknowledge, 256; knowlechiþ, 21; knowlechynge, 327.
Koynte, cunning, quaint, 347.
Kon, can, 320; kunne, 105; koude, 471; koude, 382.
Kolis, coats, 287.
Kunnen, know, 81.
Kunynge, learned, 5.
Kunynge, knowledge, 10, 23, 58.
Label, a tassel, Halliwell. Chaucer uses the word for a pointer attached to the astrolabe. In the text it means a condition under which a bull is granted. The idea seems to be that of a slip attached to the bull and bearing the conditions, 331.
Labourers, defrauded and oppressed, 233, 519; robbed by prelates, 73.
Lackid, used impersonally (him lackid), 93.
Ladies, entertained at monasteries, 129; keep confessors, 334; help on bad priests, 246.
Lafully, lawfully, 74.
Lait, should read the gospel, 159, 429.
Lay rulers, should correct the clergy, 80, 130, 241, 292.
Languyschynge, sick, 228.
Largen, are liberal, 341.
Largenesse, liberality, 174.
Lasse, less, 31.
Laten, late, let, 14, 38.
Laudiis, a service appointed to be said at 3 A.M. It is usually joined with Mattins, and the two make up the first of the Canonical Hours, 41.
Law, Wyclif’s knowledge of, iii.
Law studied instead of Theology, 157, 511.
Lawere, lawyer, 299; lawererie, 23.
Lawyers, harm done by, 182, et sequ., 234, 237; ecclesiastical, the worst, 184.
Lazar, Lazarus, 344, 526.
Lead, gold given for, 23, 66, 245.
Leccherours, fornicators, 102; leechchouris, 169.
Lechery, prelates reserve punishment of, to themselves, 213.
Leffel, lawful, 41; leffel, 67; lefful, 90; leefull, 284; adv. leffully, 265; leffly, 132.
Lege, liege, 31.
Leggesance, allegiance, 290.
Leggen, allegiance, 289.
Leie, tell lies, 264; leip, 270; leijede, 264.
Leie, v. lay, 247; leyne, 286; leid, 50.
Leyen, part. lain, 286.
Leyne, laugh, 460.
Leiser, leisure, 112.
Lekerous, savoury, tempting to gluttony, 216.
Leland, 1.
Lemre, limbs, members, 323.
 Lemmanys, concubines, 156; bishops have several, 73.
Lene, lend, 128.
Lengeest, longest, 18.
Lepere, priest's office in regard to, 343.
Lepre, leper, leprosy, 67.
Lerid, learned, 243.
Lesen, lese, lose, 18, 30; lesynge, 18.
Lesewis, pastures, 433.
Lesyngis, lies, 3.
Lesynng mongeris, liars, 11, 125, 268.
Letten, hinder, 3; lettip, 48; lettid, 56; letting, 101.
Lettede, ceased, refrained, 313; lettyng, ceasing, 190.
Leue! an exclamation equivalent to the modern dear! probably short for "Leue God!" 454 1. 11, 479 1. 5.
Leue, gladly, willingly, 333.
Leuen, live, 92; leuep, 183; leynge, 33.
Leuen, leave off, neglect, 53, 70; leuep, 102.
Leuefulliche, lawfully, 297.
Leuy (tribe of), 230, 365.
Lewid, lay, unlearned, 26, 77, 238.
Lewiderste, most ignorant, 409.

Lewidly, ignorantly, 289.
Lewis of Bavaria, xxxiii.
Lichy, like, 414.
Lickenesse, likeness, 19, 96; comparison, 319; licenesse, 304.
Likened, likened, 97.
Lige, tell lies, 333; ligeip, 36.
Lien on, slander, 120.
Liflode, livelihood, 11, 18; liflode, 364; lyfelode, 386.
Lige, liege, 16, 62.
Lijtly, easily, 481.
Liyngge, laughing, 213, 517.
Likersounesse, daintiness, 61.
Likipt (used impersonally), hem likip, 72, 91, 256.
Lykyngge, pleasing, 14, 162.
Likyngia, delights, 34.
Lymytacion, restraint, 70.
Lymytip, appoints, gives a monopoly to, 331.
Lymyours, friars to whom was assigned a district within which they were the official beggars of the Convent, 5.
Lyms, limbs, 109.
Lyncolne (Grossetete), 4, 11, 56, 92, 112; lyncolnyense, 385.
Lynynge, lending, 277.
Liste, impers. please, hem liste, 12.
Lystria, 298. Teachers or lecturers on Theology in a monastery or capitation church. (I give this with doubt, as the best among the many meanings of "lector." See Mr. Skeat's Note to Piers Plowman, p. 112.)
Litergi, lethargy, 372.
Litigiousness of prelates, 61, 87, 436.
Lytliche, easily, 296.
Lyue, leave, 40.
Lywynge, living, mode of life, 124.
Lok, lock, 330.
Loke, look, take care, 38; see 95, 97.
Londis lawe, common law, 132.
Longif, belongs, 69.
Lonyuge, lending (or begging?), 167; see note, p. 512.
Loos, loss, 16, 212.
Lordschepinga, exercise of lordship, 385.
Lordlynes, lordliness, 384.
Lords, duty of, to their subjects, 230, 239; impoverished by endowment, 97, 285, 369; imprisoned for helping true priests, 79.
Lordship. See Dominion.
Lorel, rascal, 191, 212, 214.
Lorelschipe, rascality, 156.
Lore, doctrine, 350; loris, 38, 303.
Losinga, Herbert, 503.
Louve, praise, 320, line 4. Cf. Dutch loven. I believe the word is not used in this sense in the W. V.
Louedais, courts of arbitration, 172, 234, 242, 243, 512.
Louse, loose, let go, 310; lousif, 310; loused, 328.
Loute, bow down to, 423, 460; louted, 306.
Lucifer, 2, 3, 15, 24.
Luk, St., 146.
Lumpis, bodies, societies, 6, 447, 449, 491.
Lustly, pleasant, 411.
Luther, xx, xlvii.

Maad, made, 2.
Macameeth, Mahomet, 301.
Machabees, 468.
Magdaleyne, 189, 205.
Magnificat, 169, 512.
Magrey, unpleasantness, misfortune, 465.
Mahometans, their likness to the religious orders, 301, 523.
Mahound, Mahomet, 99.
Maydumphot, maidenhood, 474.
Maires, mayors, use their influence on behalf of false preachers, 26.
Maistir of stories (Petrus Comestor), 2, 489.
Maistris, masters (at the university), 6.
Maistry, mastery, lordship, 421.
Malachie, 363.
Malcus, Malchus, 382.
Melencolious, gloomy, ill-tempered, 215.
Maliss, power for harm, ill effect, 457.
Malle, mallet, 351.
Mansas, menace, 94, 99; manasse, 417.
Mansas, v. threaten, 63, 234; manasaside, 461; mansaynge, 37.
Manere for pe, for fashion's sake, 156.
Manhode, manhood, 167.
Manly, courteous, 65, 74.
Manquelleria, murderers, 10.
Manquellyng, homicide, 9.
Manseleeria, murderers, 56.
Marc (St.), 313.
Marchaundisca, merchandize, 63.
Marchauntis, merchants, 22, 24; machauntis, 172.
Margare, Margaret (St.), 205.
Marie, the Virgin, 21, 204.
Marie magdeleyne, 328; maudeleyn, 414.
Market betere, frequenter of markets, 242, 520.
Markets, should not be held on Sundays or holidays, 280.
Marriage of priests, unlawful, 474; should be allowed, 7, 100, 303, 504.
Marrid, married, 329.
Marsilio of Padua, xxxii.
Marteris of glotonye, 211.
Massagers, messengers, 106.
Mass-books, a witness to the Gospel, 290.
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Masse pens, money paid for masses, 160.
Masses, false trust in, 167, 318; said by bad priests, should be avoided, 418.
Matematik, 342.
Matynes, 57, 112, 118, 177, 183, 193; mateyus, 418; matynys, 168; metenes, 22; matynes of our lady, 191, 514.
Matins, obligation of saying, 193, 514.
Matheu, 2.
Mathy, Matthias, chosen by lot, 452, 482.
Maumetrie, idolatry, 122, 279.
Maummetis, idols, 5, 67.
Maundement, commandment, 7, 149.
Measures, false, 25, 185, 199.
Meche, much, 82, 296.
Meddle, mix, 442; medullen, 297; meddled, 456.
Medes, meadows, 10.
Mede, reward, 247.
Medeful, meritorious, 8, 83, 178; medefulli, adv. 382.
Meyne, household, followers, 32, 81; meynne, 102; meyne, 365.
Meynteneris, supporters, 24.
Meke, v. humbli, used reflectively, meke him = humble himself, 338.
Mekerste, most humble, 460.
Mekenesse, humility, 4.
Mendynauntis, mendicants, 128, 220.
Mene, sub. mean, midway, 140.
Mene, mediator, 409.
Mene, middle, 271; menene, 278.
Menely, moderately, 31.
Menours, minors, 40.
Mentile, mantle, 475.
Merchants, their tricks, 25, 185, 238.
Mercymentis, amercements, 118, 233.
Meríst, merit, 48.

Meritorie, meritorious, 264.
Merken, remark, 387.
Meschef, mischief, 91.
Mesel, leper, 205, 343, 377.
Messager, messenger, 58.
Messis, masses, 212.
Measurably, moderately, 433.
Metenes, mattins, 22.
Meuen, move, 245.
Mychel, much, 15; mychil, 83.
Midnight rising of Religious, 133, 317.
Mystis, powers, 217.
Myneston of assis, millstone of a mill worked by an ass, 61, 499.
Mynging, mixing, 475.
Mynor, the minor (proposition in a syllogism), 382.
Mynstralis, minstrels, 121.
Miracles not proof of sanctity, 288, 469; false stories of, 94, 153.
Miracle plays, 429, 515, 530.
Myschef, misfortune, discomfort, 14; myscif, 16; myscueues, 49; myscheyf, 231.
Myschefous, miserable, 14.
Mysese, discomfort, 380.
Mysalyung, evil life, 4.
Misse-like, displeases, 338.
Myspeken, speak ill, 228.
Myssaid, reviled, 353.
Missetaken, taken wrongfully, 344.
Myster, need, 409.
Mystiliche, mystically, 309; mysterly, 343.
Mysty, mystical, 344.
Mytris, mitres (jewelled), 210.
Moche, much, 3; mochel, 83.
Moeblis, moveable goods, 445.
Moyses, Moses, 387.
Moldwarpis, moles, 89, 95, 147, 502.
Mone, money, 331.
Mone, moon, 192, 267.
Money taken out of the country by priests, 23, 92, 144, 223.
Moneste, admonish, 41; moneste, 44; monestynge, 300.
Moneþ, month, 69.
Monks, bound to maintain themselves by labour, 136, 509; ought not to leave the cloister, 449, 513.
Monks become such for worldly goods, 61, 122; their many faults, 115, et seqq.
Moo, more, 8.
Moote hallis, legal assemblies, 395.
Moralis, moral laws, 285.
Mornyng, mourning, 91.
Mornyng abite, garb of penitence, 4.
Mortal, what sin is, xxxvi, 338.
Mortesid, amortised, 123.
Mortere, murder, 11.
Morterid, murdered, 100.
Mortuaries, fines due from property on the death of the owner, 224, 518.
Morwe, morrow, 204.
Moste, greatest, 174.
Mot, must, 50; moten, 57.
Motetis, a sort of Church music, 90. See note, 502.
Mount, so called from moving, 457.
Mowen, might, 69; mowne, 26.
Mowlid, made mouldy, 153.
Muk, muck, 5, 147. A favourite expression of Wyclif for riches.
Musen, consider, wonder, 35.
Mut, must, 285.

Naaman, 67, 377.
Nakid, mere, 35.
Name, reputation, distinction, 2.
Namely, especially, 9, 20, 279; nameliche, 18.
Nappiy, sleeps, 303.
Naprye, table linen, 434.
Ne, nor, 3.
Neden, compel, 57; nedid, 11, 41.
Nedy (should probably be nedys), needs, 49.
Nedles, needlessly, 51.

Neer, nearer, 252, 289, 409.
Neet, cattle, 172.
Neieboris, neighbours, 35; neiþe-boþris, 73.
Neynþe, ninth, 12.
Nemme, n. name, nemyn, 465; nempyyd, 394.
Nerehonde, almost, 243.
Neþeles, nevertheless, 40.
Nevill, Lord, impeached, 519.
Nycete, trifling, 167, 205.
Nicodeme, 2; nychodeme, 256, 297.
Nicodemus, gospel of, 256.
Nye, nigh, 389.
Nyhe, high (the m carried on from end of the previous word), 336.
Nigromansye, necromancy, 429.
Nyle, do not (ne wille used as Lat. nois), 21.
Nys, is not, 50, 78, 89, 149 (in all these cases used with another negative "nys not").
Nyse, dainty, fanciful, trifling, 23, 152.
Noble, a gold coin worth six shillings and eightsence, 183, 514.
Nobleie, nobleness, 152, 194; nobeleie, 204; nobley, 440.
Noblemen, keep up bands of ruffians, 243.
Noyose, hurtful, 315.
Noon, None, the fifth of the Canonical hours, 41.
Noon, none, not one, 19, 23.
Norischen, to nourish, support, encourage, 6, 24; norscheþ, 42.
Norisses, nurses, 182.
Norwich, bishop of, 152, 502.
Not, nought, 216.
Not, knows not (ne wit), 333.
Notaries, used to take down false witness against preachers, 74.
Noteful, needful, 343.
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Novelries, novelties, 50; novel-
ries, 94.
Nowarde to hem, they do not care, 24.
Nurscheid, nourished, 421.

O, one 19.
Oaths, enforced needlessly, 253.
Obedience, civil, xxxvii, 229, 519.
Obedience to prelates, limits of,
29, 31, 131, 416.
Obesche, obeche, obey, 29;
obiche, 90; obliche, probably a
mistake for obeiche, 43.
Oblichen, bind, 335; oblishid,
oblishyng, 298.
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Odo (de Sheritona?), 374, 399,
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Of, by, 78, 89.
Of hard, hardly, 297.
Oil, consecration of, 69, 500.
Omnis utriusque sexus, The
bull, 329, 524.
On, one, 21; oone, 50; oon, 293.
Oneshed, unity, 429.
Onest, honourable, 411.
Onys, once, 6; oonys, 372.
Onoon, anon, 102.
Onsurerede, answered, 299.
Onoliche, only, 310.
Oost, host, 83, 291.
Ope, hope, 65, 159.
Opyn, public, well known, 287.
Opyn, openly, publicly, 34.
Or, ere, before, 166.
Ora pro nobis, sung in procession
through the streets, 133, 176.
Orble, horrible, 233.
Ordeynen, appoint, 5; ordend, 388.
Ordeynynge, or finances, 57.
Orders, jealousies between, 310,
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Ordination fees, 166, 393; bribes
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Ordynal of Salisbury, 170, 193.
Orgene, organs, 77; orgen 91;
orgon, 191.
Orible, horrible, 59, 130.
Orgene, 373, 398.
Orphans cheated by monks and
friars, 130.
Ose, Hosea, 383.
Oste, host, 345.
Osteleris, inkeepers, 181.
Ostia, Cardinal of, 47, 498.
Opher, either, 78.
Ouer, besides, 460.
Ouermyst, uppermost, 340.
Ournementis, ornaments, 393.
Outlawid, driven out, 116.
Outtake, except, 54; outakiȝ, 130.
Outwittis, senses, 291.
Owen, own, 3.
Owen, ought, 20; owiȝ, 11.
Oxneford, 427; course of study
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Pagyn, pageant, 206. With the
secondary sense of an acted

"In the word pageant the final t is
unoriginal, as in ancient and tyrant;
the derivation is from the Low Latin
pagina, fully vouched for by the notes
in the Promptorium Parvulum,
meaning a scaffold for the acting of
miracle plays."—From a notice of
some remarks made by Prof. Skeat
at the Cambridge Philological Society,
Academy, Dec. 27, 1879.

Payed of, satisfied with, 432.
Paynyme, pagans, 29, 184.
Paleis, palaces, 14, 129; palecis,
221; paleises, 14.
Pans, pence, 36.
Panter, snare, 80, 193, 205.
Percyued, perceived, 10.
Pardoneris, distributors of indul-
gences, 78, 160, 154, 175, 511.
Pardons, indulgences, 5; useless
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Parischenes, parishioners, 9, 16, 76, 146, 436; paris (or parish?), 418.
Parish churches ruined by appropriation, 223; by the competition of the friars, 14, 322, 448.
Parysiensis, 399, 529.
Park breaking, 98, 503.
Parliament, debate in, reported by Wyclif, vi; Wyclif present in, viii.
Parsener, partner, 421.
Parsones, parish priests, 76.
Parte, divide, share, 14; partid, 316.
Partynge, distribution, 134, 175.
Partyners, sharers, 81.
Passen, exceed, surpass, 66, 88.
Passyngly, exceedingly, 342.
Pastors, what they should be, 438.
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Pater noster, the best prayer, 320.
509; taught in English by friars, 429.
Pateshull, William, an escaped friar, 507.
Paul, an exception among the Pharisees, 2, 294, 297; appealed to Caesar, 241, 520.
Paul withstanded Peter, 292.
Pecock, Bishop, 385.
Pedderia, pedlars, 12.
Pees, peace, 18.
Pieere, make worse, injure, 181, 194, 250; peryngye, 365; perid, paired, 102; perid, 32; pieird, 188.
Peyne, pain, penalty, 24, 56; penny, 339.
Peyned, punished, 11.
Peyneful, laborious, 124.
Peynted, false, hypocritical, 271.
Pesiable, peaceable, 41.
Pellure, fur, 12, 92, 148; pelure, 121; peluris, 127.
Penance, false, 25, 160; arbitrary, 333; danger of money penance, 334.
Pexoions, annual payments out of the tithe or endowment, 97, 503.
Peny, penny, peny, used for money generally, 67.
Peny clerkis, account keepers, 78, 246.
Pens, pence, 69.
Percy, Lord Henry, x.
Per, peer, equal, 47; peris, 183.
Peris, pears, 12.
Perfit, perfect, 2; perfitere, 269; perfiteste, 157.
Perfitly, perfectly, 3.
Perilousere, more perilous, 31.
Perjury, prelates claim sole right to punish, 213; at assizes, 278.
Perpetual als—endowment, 12, 384, 385, 388, 392, 476.
Perpetuall, perpetuated, 477.
Perpetuities, Christ only can ordain, 478.
Perquisitiuys, perquisites, 393.
Perischa, pierce, 348; persip, 288.
Persecution of true priests, 5, 130, 177, 237, 279, 334; to death, 9, 16, 87, 88, 94, 119, 134, 369.
Personalities, wrong, 298; avoided by Wyclif, 263.
Perones, parsons, 395.
Pesable, peaceable, 371.
Pese, v. patch, 41.
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Pharaoh, 215; pharao, 373, 444.
Pharisees, religious orders like 2, 27, 312.
Philemon, 414.
Physio made an occasion of adul-
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Picchid, pitched, fixed, 307, 480.
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Pierce the Ploughman's Crede,
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Pies, magpies, 194.
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Pile, rob, 300; piled, 118;
pilyng, 88; piling, 417.
Pilgromage, 7, 103, 279, 343.
Pyned, punished, 213.
Pipe wip an yuy lefe, 372.
Pistles, epistles, 101; pistilia, 157.
Pite, pity, 129.
Pitee, pietcy, 228, 304.
Placebo, vespers in the office for
the dead, 57, 177, 191, 494; placeboes, 15.
Placi, mansions, 14. See Mr.
Skeat's note on Piers Plowman,
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Plate, extravagance in, 60, 92,
279, 434.
Pled, go to law, 24, 66.
Pledyngge, litigation, 93, 122;
pleyngge, 123, 373.
Plee, lawsuit, litigation, 60, 61,
116, 123, 146.
Pleien, play, 99.
Pleies, amusements, 6, 23, 152;
pley, mystery play (of York),
429.
Pleynep, complains, 38, 234;
refl. plene hem, 388.
Pleynt, complaint, 308.
Plemerly, fully, 50, 104, 126.
Plentifouslly, plentifully, 3; plen-
teuously, 68.
Plesance, pleasure, 369.
Plesandeli, pleasingly, 3; plea-
sanly, 288.
Plessant, pleasing, 16.
Pluralties sometimes allowable,
432.
Pocuere, poor, 195.
Poynt devyse at, exact, complete,
329.
Poyntis, (?) appointments, 250.
Poyntis, poems (preached), 124.
Polychronicon, 391.
Pond, pounds, 82; pondis, 100.
Ponderen, consider (?) it seems
rather to bear the meaning of
pretend, 486.
Ponyche, 35, 67.
Pontificals, books containing pray-
ers and ritual directions for
Bishops, especially those needed
in exercising the offices reserved
to the Episcopal order, 480.
Poondis, inclosures, 421.
Popes. See Urban V., Urban VI.,
Gregory XI., Clement VII.
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meaning of the word, 471, 534,
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christ, 89, 457, 462.
Poralis, poor people, 14.
Porerste, poorest, 460.
Porfirie, 447, 533.
Portos, portable breviaries (port-
hors); Lat. portiforium: "liber
quem portat foras sacerdos."—
Int. to Sarum Breviary.
Possessioners, endowed clergy, 11,
116, et seqq., 506.
Possidonye, 118, 506.
Postlis, apostles, 55, 462.
Potestatis, rulers, 181, 229.
Pouert, poverty, 5.
Poverty, as professed by monks
and friars, 490.
Poul, 2, 6, 19, 34, 241, 297.
Pray, prey, 123.
Prayer, effective according to the
good life of him who prays, 117,
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509.
Prayer, good life the best, 76, 190,
321.
Prayer not the special work of a 
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(probably spelt thus to suggest 
a connexion with praewue).
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Prefe, proof, 384.
Preie, pray, 77; preied, 14; prei-
ynge, 6.
Preire, prayer, 42.
Preisen, praise, 70; praisynghe, 66.
Relates appointed by simony, 64; 
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vagance, 88; they are dumb dogs, 
104; too fat to preach, 445.
Relates, jurisdiction of, 35, 213, 
496, 517.
Prentis, apprentices, 11, 185, 238.
Prents given to men of influence, 
129, 508.
Presonen, imprison, 211.
Prethold, priesthood, 78; prestod, 
58, 88.
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