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# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Non hunc carnalis dispersit cura feralis ;  
 Mens pia plena bono, vox fuit alta sono.  
 Hic erat ecclesiae pia Martha, vicesque Marie  
 Servabat die mentis amore pie.  
 Ut sordes lane, mundane gaudia fame  
 Spernit ; amorque dei semper inheat ei.  
 Auxit opes multas domini, terras quoque cultas ;  
 Cum reliquis donis horrea plena bonis.  
 Pervigili cura Roberti debita plura  
 Reddedit abbatis providus <sup>55</sup> ille satis.  
 Debita prefata sexcentis annumerata  
 Marcis extiterant, que grave pondus erant.

De Ricardo primo <sup>56</sup> Anglie rege in vita Hugonis. Anno domini M CXCIX victoriosus rex Ricardus ictu baliste & iaculo venenato in Normannia letaliter vulneratur ; cui accessit Rothomagensis archiepiscopus dicens 'Age penitenciam & confitere peccata tua confidens in crucifixo, qui promptior est peccata dimittere quam tu peccatorum veniam postulare ; nam improvisa mors in ianuis te expectat'. Mox rex in verbis episcopi prorupit in lacrimas & accersito confessore cum magna contritione absolutionem meruit obtinere, precepitque sibi pedes ligari & in altum suspendi nudumque corpus flagellis cedi & lacerari donec ipse preciperet ut ailerent ; cumque diu cederetur ad modicum preceptum silverunt & iterum resumpto spiritu hoc <sup>56</sup> idem secundo et tertio, merentibus cunctis astantibus, in abundantia sanguinis compleverunt. Tandem in se revertens precepit viaticum sibi afferri & se velut proditorem & hostem contra dominum suum coniunctis pedibus fune trahi, acceptoque viatico cum magna cordis penitencia adjecit 'Misericordia dei magna est, que vult omnes salvos fieri ; iustitia tamen recta est que vult omne delictum flagellari & puniri ; verum in misericordia confidens & de iustitia timens lego corpus meum vermbus corrodendum & animam meam usque in diem iudicii igne purgatoriis cruciandam in spe misericordie dei, in qua credo me posse salvari in illum diem'. Et his dictis modico tempore supervixit & expiravit.

*Explicit extractus de Chron. de Abbendone rotular'* ; 1606.

### The Thirty-Seven Conclusions of the Lollards

THE Latin document now first published is an undated manuscript which may probably be assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The writing is on both sides of two sheets of stout paper, the upper measuring  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $8\frac{3}{4}$  in., the lower  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times$   $8\frac{1}{8}$  in. At one time the sheets had been pasted together, but the junction had become weak, and they have been stitched together with black thread of modern make. The paper is partly damp-stained ; in some places the edges are frayed and tender ; the ink has faded to a light brown. Nothing is known as to the

<sup>55</sup> MS. *prudens*.

<sup>56</sup> Probably Twyne's insertion.

<sup>56</sup> MS. *hic*.

history of this manuscript before November 1897, when it was purchased at a sale in London by Mr. J. J. Green of Godwyn Lodge, Clive Vale, Hastings.

The xxxvii Conclusions correspond to the chapter-headings of an English tractate now usually known as *Ecclesiae Regimen*. Of this work three manuscripts are in existence. One is at the British Museum, another at the Bodleian, the third at Trinity College, Dublin. It has no contemporary title, and is anonymous in its original form ; but the Conclusions with which it deals are ascribed to Wyclif in a note, written apparently by a later hand, on a fly-leaf and repeated, in a different hand, on the leaf following : 'Elenchus contentorum in hoc codice Articuli xxxvii Johannis [Johannis on leaf 2] Wickliffe [Wyclefi] Anglice.' This work, whose homogeneity was taken for granted, was edited by J. Forshall and published by Messrs. Longmans in 1851.<sup>1</sup> It is out of print, and copies are extremely scarce. The authorship was ascribed to John Purvey, Wyclif's follower and amanuensis.

Forshall's arguments for this are based on the close similarity between *Ecclesiae Regimen* and (a) the General Prologue to Wyclif's Bible,<sup>2</sup> (b) Purvey's Confession in 1400,<sup>3</sup> and (c) Lavingham's collection of Purvey's Heresies.<sup>4</sup> That Purvey had some connexion with the *Ecclesiae Regimen* seems highly probable. With regard to Lavingham's evidence, however, Forshall and Madden, and Shirley also, are mistaken. Richard Lavingham, a Carmelite friar, wrote a short account of Purvey's heresies *extracti de libello suo haeretico*. It is claimed that this heretical book is no other than *Ecclesiae Regimen*. Two facts will dispose of this identification. (1) Lavingham mentions marriage as one of Purvey's heresies, and alludes to seven heretical opinions found in his book ; but there is no opinion of any sort

<sup>1</sup> Forshall prefixed the title, *Remonstrance against Romish corruptions in the Church, addressed to the People and Parliament of England in 1395*. Now at the end of the xii Conclusions of 1395 (the well-known series presented to parliament as the manifesto of the Lollard party) there is an allusion to 'another book' written in English (... *istae materiae... sunt tamen largius declaratae in alio libro, et multae alias plures totaliter in nostro proprio langagio*), and this Forshall believed to be *Ecclesiae Regimen*. The identification, however, seems open to several objections. (1) There is a marked contrast both in spirit and subject-matter between these xxxvii Conclusions and the xii. It is difficult to think that they could both emanate in the same year from the same political party. If it were so then the more violent Lollards were warmly commanding a manifesto put forward by the obviously more moderate section of their party. (2) Forshall supposes that the Latin series of xii was for the House of Commons, while the English tractate was for the House of Lords. On this point, however, see this Review, xxii. 292 ff. (April 1907), where Mr. Cronin maintains that the xii were presented to parliament in English, and afterwards translated into Latin. (3) There were several English tractates in existence at this period which have since been brought to light. Thomas Arnold's *Select English Works of Wydif* appeared just twenty years after Forshall's edition of *Ecclesiae Regimen* ; and among these the editor included an anonymous tractate to which he gave the appropriate title *The Rejoinder* (iii. 454). This tractate offers some striking parallels to the xxxvii Conclusions ; and it must have been written before 1395.

<sup>2</sup> See Forshall and Madden's preface.

<sup>3</sup> *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, ed. Shirley, p. 400.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 383 seqq.

about marriage laws in *Ecclesiae Regimen*. (2) A direct statement in Lavingham, ix. § 13, may readily be tested : *Item quod Christiani reges debent, &c., . . . per exemplum quod narrat Cestrensis libro vi. cap. 8 de Othono imperatore deponente Iohannem xii et instituente Leonem pro illo.* This is not alluded to in *Ecclesiae Regimen*; the only allusion to Cestrensis (Ranulph Higden of Chester) appears to be that in xxv. cor. 2, referring not to Pope John of Rome but to King John of England.

It may be disputed whether the newly-found manuscript contains merely a Latin version of the tractate's chapter-headings, or whether the tractate is a commentary on the xxxvii Conclusions, and again which is the earlier document; whether the manuscript is fragmentary or the tractate composite; and if the Commentary is later than the Conclusions, whether the Corollaries are a still later addition. A triple authorship could easily be supposed and would have something to support it. With regard to a dual authorship it is possible to speak more confidently. Several considerations seem to suggest that the tractate is not homogeneous, and that the *xxxvii Conclusiones Lollardorum* are the earlier portion. The inscription in the manuscript of the tractate would support this. At any rate the writer seems to have regarded the English as a translation. But the only evidence yet available is internal. Too much weight must not be given to the fact that every Conclusion in English is followed by some such phrase as 'This sentence is proved by', &c. If this occurred after each Conclusion only there would be a clear argument for the theory that the writer was supporting a known series of Conclusions; but it occurs several times with reference to statements made in the Corollaries also.

The chief argument for the priority and independence of the Conclusions rests upon the very striking difference, in tone and temper, between the Conclusions themselves and the rest of the tractate. If the same person wrote Conclusions, Commentary, and Corollaries he has lost his self-restraint at the end of every Conclusion. Contrast the wording of iii with cor. 2, where the omission of preaching is said to be worse than unnatural vice; or take vii along with cor. 2 (cf. xxvii, cor. 1), where it is suggested that tithes, &c., might be useful for the army, or for 'relieving lords out of debt'. In xv there is a guarded statement about the Eucharist, very unlike the treatment of that subject in the Commentary on this Conclusion and in xxvi, cor. 2. In xxix friendly counsel is given to the Friars Mendicant; notice the severe criticism in cor. 2. The Conclusions offer no parallels to the tractate's outcry against the 'Song and use of Salisbury' (xxxvii, cor. 1), and the 'yelling in churches and abbeys' (vii, cor. 3), or 'the feigned prayer or hideous yelling . . . in the conventicles of gluttons' (xxxiii, cor. 2). A remarkable feature of the Conclusions is that the Pope is not called Anti-

christ. This omission is supplied in the tractate frequently, with additional epithets such as 'Cursed Bishop of Rome', 'Lucifer', 'Devil incarnate' (xii, cor. 1; xv, xx, xxi, xxiv, cor. 2; xxv, cor. 2; xxvi, xxxv, cor. 1). The Conclusions are the work of a stanch Lollard with statesmanlike qualities of moderation and restraint. The rest of the tractate suggests the outpourings of a ranter.

Before finding the connexion between the Latin Conclusions and the tractate I had formed an opinion as to their nature and date. They seemed to represent views which Wyclif himself had held, but had forsaken for others less restrained; that they reflected a Lollardism which had adherents in the closing decades of the fourteenth century; and that certain facts pointed to c. 1383 as the time of their appearance.<sup>5</sup> This question of the date is now complicated by the connexion between the manuscript and the tractate; and its discussion lies outside the scope of this paper, the object of which is to introduce the Latin document to students interested in the Lollard period.

The Latin Conclusions are printed below, side by side with the corresponding portions of the tractate. The transcript was made by Miss A. F. Parker (now Mrs. New) of Oxford, and it has been revised with the help of the late Dr. Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar, and by Mr. Hall, of the Public Record Office. The text of the tractate I have revised from the original in the British Museum (Cotton MSS. Titus D. i.), restoring the letters þ and ȝ, the abbreviations (indicated by italics), and the original punctuation. Words not represented in the Latin are printed in smaller type. In the Latin a few capital letters and punctuation marks have been added as a help to the reader, but the medieval spelling is retained.

H. F. B. COMPSTON.

### CONCLUSIONES LOLLAARDORUM

#### *The first article*

1. Sacerdotes, levite, vel curati non debent seculariter dominari, sic intelligendo quod clerici non seculariter bellabunt nec placitabunt nec contendent seculariter contra dominos seculares, auferentes ab eis dominia temporalia, possunt tamen clerici habere bona temporalia, titulo elemosine, solum de quanto sunt necessaria vel utilia ad perficiendum officium spirituale.

preestis dekenis oþir curatis shulden not be lordis bi worldli manere to bis undirstondinge: þat preestis & clerkis shulden not fijte bi material swerd. neipir pleete neipir stryue bi worldli manere azens temporal lordis. takinges awai fro hem seculer lordshipis. neþeles clerkis moun haue temporal godis bi title of almese. oenli in as moche as þei ben nedeful or profitable to parfome here gostli office.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. *Bellabunt* in i suggested Bishop Spencer's Crusade in 1383, or the same fighting prelate's repression of the Peasants' Rising in 1381.

## ii. art.

2. Prelati, sacerdotes, vel diaconi non habebunt officia secularia, ut puta Cancellarium, Thesaurarium, cum secreto sigillo et aliis in curia secularium dominorum.

Neipir prelatis neipir preestis neipir dekenis shulden han seculer officis. þat is chauncerie. tresorie. priuy seal & opere siche seculer officis in þe chekir. neipir be stewardis of londis ne stewardis of halle. ne clerkis of kitchene ne clerkis of accountis. neipir ben occupied in ony seculer office in lordis courtis. most whil seculer men ben sufficient to do suche seculer officis.

## iii

3. Prelati et curati ostendent exempla sancte conversacionis et veraciter predicabunt evangelium opere et sermoni.

Prelatis & preestis as curatis owen to sheewe to þe puple ensaumple of holi lyuynge & to preche truli þe gospel bi werk & word.

## iv. art.

4. Prelati vel curati nimis avari et consumentes bona Ecclesie quae sunt bona pauperum in fastu, gula, vano apparatu mundi, cum aliis vanitatibus, sunt fures, homicide pauperum, et proditores Ihesu Christi et simplicium christianorum.

Prelatis oþir curatis þat ben ouir gredi & auerous & wasten þe godis of þe chirche. þat ben þe godis of pore men in pride glotonie & leoherie & nice arai of þe world wiþ oper vanitees: ben þeuis & sleeris of pore men & tretouris of iesu crist & of symple cristene men.

## art. v.

5. Prelati, curati, vel sacerdotes, vel quicunque clerici non committent symoniam per preces carnales, per obsequium corporale, nec per munus a manu vel pecuniam manu-aliter datam vel aliter promissam.

Prelatis curatis & preestis or what euere clerkis: shulen not do symonie bi fleshli preieris neipir bi bodili seruise neipir bi ȝifte of hond or bi mony ȝove bi hond or bihiȝt by hemself or bi meene persoonis.

## art. vi.

6. Ecclesie parochiales non debent appropriari seculariter collegiis et maxime religiosis divitiis ut vulgariter fit hiis diebus per mendacia et errores.

Parish chirchis shulden not be appropriid seculerli to collegija. & most to riche religious as it is don comounli in pese daies bi leesyngis & erroriis.

## viij. art.

7. Populus christianus informatus in lege Dei per fideles curatos ministrabit eis voluntarie necessaria huius vite, et cum hac porcione fideles curati debent humiliter contentari.

Cristene puple enformid in goddis lawe bi feiþful curatis: owiþ for to mynistre & geue to hem wilfulli necessities of þis lif. And feiþful curatis owen to be apaied mekeli wiþ þis porciooun.

## vij. art.

8. Necesse quod peccator confeatur Deo cum debita contricione, abstinentia a peccato et continuando in virtute quantum sufficit per gratiam sibi datam.

It is nedeful þat a synnere shryve him to god wiþ due contricoun in absteyning fro synne & in continuunge in vertu. as moche as he suffisiþ bi grace þouen to him.

## ix. art.

9. Sicut expedit christiano contrito confiteri sua peccata fideli et discreto sacerdoti scienti solvere et ligare, sic periculosum est ignaro et simplici confiteri peccata sua sacerdoti infideli, inscio, et avaro, superbo, et contrario Ihesu Christo.

As it is spedeful to a cristene man verili contryt to knouleche his synnis to a feipful preest of good lyuyng & kunwynge to bynde & assoile: so it is perilous to an unkunwynge man eiper symple lettrid man to knouleche his synnis & privy worchingis of god in his soule to a preest vnfeipful of lyuyng unkunwynge of goddis lawe & a couetous preest & proud & contrarie to jesu crist.

## x. art.

10. Licet ymagines que representant pauperiem et passionem Christi et sanctorum esse possunt ut 'libri laicorum' secundum Gregorium et alios, tamen ymagines false que representant gloriam mundanam et pompam seculi, ac si Christus et alii sancti meruissent beatitudinem per gloriam et pompam seculi, sunt 'libri' falsi et corrigendi vel etiam comburendi.

Pouȝ ymagis maad truli þat representen verili þe povert & þe passioun of jhesu crist & opere seyntis ben leful & þe bokis of lewid men bi gregori & opere doctouris: neþeles false ymagis þat representen worldli glorie & pride of þe world as if crist & opere seyntis hadden lyvid þus & deservid blisse bi glorie & pompe of þe world ben false bokis & worpi to ben amendid or to be brent. as bokis of opin errore or of opin eresie agens cristene feip.

## xi. art.

11. Officium regis et dominorum secularium quod sufficienter fundatur in Scriptura sacra Novi et Veteris Testamenti est excellenter magnificandum reprobando errores et iniurias quas reges et domini faciunt in huiusmodi officio contra legem Domini Dei nostri.

þe office of þe king & of þe seculer lordis which is founden sufficientli in holi scripture of þe olde & þe newe testament: owiþ to be magnified excellentli in repreuyng þe errouris & wrongis whiche þe king & lordis don in suche officis agens þe lawe of god.

## xii. art.

12. Predicandum est et constanter defendendum a catholicis presbi-

It is to preche & to defende stidefastli of cristene preestis &

teris et christianis laicis quod reges Christiani et domini seculares habent potestatem et auctoritatem puniendi quamcunque personam notorie delinquentem in terris suis, eciam Episcopum, Archiepiscopum et Romanum Pontificem.

13. Quamvis licitum sit in casu et interficere malos Christianos in peccatis obstinatos quando alias periret iusticia [et]<sup>1</sup> pax regni nec aliter peccatum extingueretur via humana, tamen hoc non debet fieri nisi ex caritate et auctoritate Domini cum aliis circumstanciis, deducta superbia, rancore, et vindicta proprie iniurie ita quod fit pure propter Deum et bonum commune cum compassione fraterna.

14. Quamvis licitum sit iurare per Creatorem in causa necessaria cum tribus circumstanciis, scilicet in veritate, in iudicio, et iusticia, ut patet Ieremie 4, ‘Et iurabis, vivit Dominus, in veritate, in iudicio et iusticia,’ tamen non licet iurare falsum, nec verum superfue, nec malo fine nec eciam per creaturam.

15. Sacramentum Eukaristie, visibile et palpabile, album et rotundum, quod manibus frangitur et dentibus teritur sacerdotis, est panis quem frangimus et corpus Domini nostri Ihesu Christi.

16. Non est potestas nisi a Deo nec Papa habet potestatem contra veritatem Scripturae sacre nec potest licite aliquid agere contra edificationem Ecclesie.

trewe seculer men. þat þe king & seculer lordis han power & auctorite to punshe what euere persoone trespassinge opinli in here londis. þouȝ he be bishop or erchebisshop. þea & þe bisshop of rome.

#### *xij. art.*

Pough it be leful in caas to warre & sleen euele cristene men obstinat in synnis whanne riȝfulnessesse & pees of þe rewme shulde perisshen ellis : & synne shoulde not be quenchid ellis bi mannis weie : neþeles þis owip not to be don no but bi charite & auctorite of god wiþ good circumstaunce while pride & rancour & veniaunce of propre wrong ben put awei so þat it be do pureli oþir cleiali for god & comoun good wiþ due compassion of briþeren.

#### *art. xiii.*

Pough it be leful to swere bi god almyȝti in a nedeful cause wiþ þe circumstauncis in trupe doom & riȝfulnessesse in þe iiiij cō. of jeremie : neþeles it is not leful to swere fals neþir trewe superfluli oþir in veyn neþir for an euil ende. neþir bi a creature.

#### *xv.*

The sacrament of þe auteer. which is whiȝt & round visible & palpable. & is broke wiþ þe hondis of a preest. & is chewid wiþ þe teep of a preest. & is saien wiþ þe bodili iȝen of þe puple: is breed which we breken. & þe verri bodi of oure lord jhesu crist.

#### *art. xvij.*

No power is but of god neþir þe pope haþ power aȝens þe trupe of holi scripture. neþir mai lefullido ony þing aȝens edificacioun oþir profyt of holi chirche.

<sup>1</sup> Words bracketed have been supplied where the paper is torn.

## art. xvij.

17. Leges Pape sunt bone et a fidelibus acceptande solum de quanto fundantur expresse in Scriptura sacra vel vivaci ratione vel de quanto facilitant ad intellectum Scripture vel observacionem mandatorum Dei.

þe lawis of þe pope ben gode & Owen to be taken of feipful men. oonli in as moche as þo ben foundid expresali or opinli in holi scripture or in quik reesoun þat mai not be distried. or in as moche as þo ben maad esi to vnderstonde holi scripture & to kepe goddis heestis.

## xvij. art.

18. Obediendum est Romano Pontifici vel alteri cuicunque sicut beato Petro vel beato Paulo in licitis et edificatoriis et non ultra.

It is to obeie to þe bisshop of rome opir to what euere opir bisshop. as to seynt petir or to seynt poul in leful þingis & spedeful to saluacioun & no ferþere.

## xix. art.

19. Non tenentur fideles credere quod Romanus Pontifex nunc militans vel quicunque modernus habeat tantam potestatem in regimine Ecclesie quantam habet beatus<sup>2</sup> Petrus vel beatus Paulus a Domino concess[am].<sup>3</sup>

Cristene men ben not holden forto bileue. þat þe bisshop of rome þat lyuiþ now in deadli lif. opir what euere deadli bisshop: haþ so greet power in þe gouvernaunce of þe holi chirche. hou greet power petir eiþir poul had grauntid of god.

## xx.

20. Non tenentur fideles credere quod Romanus Pontifex nunc militans est caput universalis Ecclesie militantis.

Cristene men ben not holden forto bileue. þat þe bisshop of rome now lyueþ in þis peyneful lyf: is heed of al holi chirche in erþe.

## xxi. art.

21. Non tenentur fideles credere quod Romanus Pontifex nunc militans est membrum et minimum sancte Ecclesie Dei.

Cristene men ben not holde to bileue þat þe bisshop of rome þat leuyþ now in þis synful lif: is a membre of holi chirche. þe leeste membre of holi chirche.

## art. xxij.

22. Non tenentur fideles credere quod quicquid Romanus Pontifex vel alias quicunque nunc militans pretendit se ligare vel solvere est ex hoc ligatum vel solutum apud Deum et Ecclesiam triumphantem.

Cristen men ben not holden to belieue. þat whateuere þing þe deadli bisshop of rome or ony opir deadli bisshop pretendip him to bynde or assoile: is herfore bounden or assoilid anentis god & þe chirche regninge in blisse.

<sup>2</sup> Beatus written twice and scored through the second time.

<sup>3</sup> MS. torn.

## art. xxij.

23. Tunc solum Romanus Pontifex vel alius quicunque veraciter ligat vel solvit quando sequitur iudicium Dei infallibile.

Panne oonli þe bisshop of rome or oony oþir byndip or assoilip verrili: whanne he sueþ þe doom of god bifore goinge þat mai not faile.

## xxiv.

24. Non tenentur fideles credere quod Indulgencie papales sunt vere undequaque<sup>4</sup> vel sine errore vel mendacio tacito vel expresso.

Cristene men ben not holden forto bileue. þat þe indulgencis of þe pope ben trewe on eche side or wipouten error or leesyng open or preuy.

## xxv. art.

25. Non tenentur fideles credere sine<sup>5</sup> . . . fundacione Scripture vel racionis infallibilis quod Petrus habuit maiorem potestatem ligandi et solvendi quam ceteri apostoli a Domino predilecti.

Cristene men ben not holden forto bileue wipouten opin groundinge of holi scripture or of reesoun þat mai not faile. þat seyt petir hadde more power of byndinge & assoilinge: þan oþere apostolis gretli lound of crist.

## xxvi.

26. Non tenentur fideles credere quod omnis determinacio Ecclesie Romane est undequaque<sup>4</sup> vera vel ab Ecclesia tanquam articulus fidei capienda.

Cristene men ben not holden forto bileue þat ech determinacioun of þe chirche of rome is trewe on ech side: oþir to be taken of holi chirche for an article of bileue.

## xxvij. art.

27. Qu<sup>5</sup> . . . Pontific<sup>5</sup> . . . qui propter superbiam vel lucrum temporale vult<sup>5</sup> . . . . .

. . . . . preter et contra intencionem dominorum vel fundatorum<sup>5</sup> . . . . .  
 a seculari brachio processerunt, hic superbus predictus Pontifex Romanus perturbator est Episcoporum et aliorum prelatorum et tocius regni nostri, nam manifeste agit contra decreta antiqua Ecclesie que dant eleccionem archiepiscopi omnibus suis suffraganeis ut inter ipsos eligant meliorem et sic archidiaconus cum cleris et populis

If a newe couetous bisshop of rome riȝt up which for pride or temporal lucre wole ȝeue at his likinge alle beneficis in þe hond of clergie. & make voide fre eleccions & ordinauncis of þe clergie of oure rewme bi title of patronage bisidis & aȝens entent of foundouris & secular lordis. which eleccions & ordenauncis of patronagis camen forþ of secular lordis. þis proude bisshop of rome is a disturbliere of bisshopis & of oþere prelatis & of al oure rewme. for he doþ opini aȝens elde decrees of þe chirche. þat ȝeuen þe chesigne of þe erchebisshoþ to alle his suffragans to chese þe beste among hem & þe erchedekene wiþ clerkis & puple of

<sup>4</sup>? undecunque.

<sup>5</sup> MS. illegible.

civitatis<sup>6</sup> . . . debit<sup>6</sup> . . . secundum  
canones inferiores curatos, ut patet  
in decretis.

þe cite shulen purueie lowere  
curatis.<sup>7</sup>

*xxvij.*

28. Religiosi possessionati ut  
monachi et canonici viventes vitam  
pauperem et simplicem et quietam  
et contentari deberent parvo victu  
et vestitu proprio labore manuum  
adquisito secundum eorum regulam  
iuxta quam dicunt beatum Benedictum et beatum Augustinum reli-  
giosis huiusmodi statuisse, et in  
omnibus preferrent mandata Dei  
et consilia Christi propria statuta  
racionabilia acceptando solum de  
quanto consonant et facilitant ad  
custodiam mandatorum Dei et con-  
siliorum Ihesu Christi omnia quam  
regula sua docet ita quod in omnibus  
salva sit veritas Evangelii et<sup>8</sup>  
legis.

Religiouse possessioneris as mun-  
kis & chanons shulden lyue a  
pore lif symple & in reste. & thei  
shulden ben apaied wip scars  
liflode & clopinge geten wip here  
owne labour bi here privat rule  
which þei seyn þat seynt benet &  
seynt austen maden to suche reli-  
giouse men. and in alle þingis þei  
shulden sette bifore þe comaunde-  
mentis of god & þe counseilis of  
crist. & accepte here owne statutis  
reesonable oonli in as moche as  
þo acorden & disposen liȝtli to þe  
kepinge of goddis heestis or of  
þe counseils of jhesu crist. so þat  
þe trupe & fredom of þe gospel be  
saaf in alle þingis.

*xxix.*

29. Fratres quadrifariam partiti  
qui vocantur religiosi mendicantes  
in Anglia debent reliquis religiosis  
humilius, simplicius, et a mundo  
elegancius<sup>9</sup> vivere in voluntaria et  
altissima paupertate ita quod sint  
laicorum speculum in omni sancti-  
tate ac abrenunciacione<sup>10</sup> seculi et  
vanitatis mundane ipsos opere et  
sermone ad conversacionem cele-  
stem, humilem, et simplicem attrahendo.

Freris departid in foure ordris  
þat ben clepid in Ingelond religiouse  
mendycauntis or beggeris: Owen  
to lyue sympliere & streitliere þan  
opere religiouse. & furþere fro þe  
world in wilful & excellent povert.  
so þat þei be a mirroure of leewid  
men in al holinesse & forsakinge of  
þe world & of worldli vanite in  
drawinge hem bi werk & word to  
heuenli conversacioun meke &  
symple.

*xxx.*

30. Presbiteri simplices non bene-  
ficiati apud iudicium Ecclesie moderne  
debent contentari simplici  
victu et vestitu, devote orando et  
opera meritoria pro se et populo

Symple prestis of þe chirche þat  
han no beneficis bi doom of þe  
chirche now: Owen to be apaied  
wip symple liflode & clopinge in  
preiynge deuoutli for hemself & þe

<sup>6</sup> MS. illegible.

<sup>7</sup> The Article seems to end here, but the commentary begins with the words 'Al pis is groundid in þe decrees'. Cf. the closing words of the Latin.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently for *libertas*.

<sup>9</sup> The manuscript is clear, but perhaps we should read *elongacius*.

<sup>10</sup> Before *ac abrenunciacione* the words *et abrenunciacione* were first written and then scored through.

exercendo et quam sufficient operi  
evangelico intendendo.

puple. & in vsinge medeful werkis.  
& in zeuinge tent to werk of þe  
gospel as moche as þei suffisen.

*xxxij.*

31. <sup>11</sup> Domini temporales debent  
excellenter ornari ut indu iusticia  
quo ad domini et homines<sup>12</sup> di-  
vites et pauperes rationabiliter et  
caritative tractare tenantes et sub-  
ditos et famulos vel nativos.

Seculer lordis owen to be ournid  
opir excellently clopid wiþ riȝtful-  
nesse to god & men bope riche &  
pore. & to treete reesonabli &  
charitabli here tenauntis & sogetis  
& seruantis opir bonde men.

*xxxiiij.*

32. Servi debent humiliter volun-  
taris et fideliter servire dominis suis  
non solum fidelibus sed etiam in-  
fidelibus et paganis.

Seruantis owen to serue here  
lordis mekeli wilfulli & feiþfulli. not  
oonli to feiþful or cristene lordis:  
but also to vnfeiþful lordis opir  
paynymis.

*xxxvij.*

33. Iudices et reges ministri de-  
bent esse maturi moribus et sciencia  
legis divine et humane et iuste  
indicare sine accepcione personarum  
habendo oculum purum et sim-  
plicem ad Deum, postponendo  
odium et amorem, lucrum seu  
terrenum commodum et timoram.

Iugis & mynistris of þe king opir  
of opere lordis owen to be ripe men  
opir sad in vertuis & knynghe  
of goddis lawe & mannis. & to deme  
iustli wiþouten acceptinge of per-  
soonis in hauynge pure & symple  
entent to god & in puttinge abak  
hatredre & loue. & erþeli wynnynge  
& worldli drede.

*xxxviij.*

34. Prelati et curati debent cum  
summa devocione, puritate con-  
sciencie, et ardenti caritate, con-  
ficare sacramenta Ecclesie et pru-  
denter et libere ipsa populo ydoneo  
ministrare.

Prelatis & curatis & opere prestis  
owen to make þe sacramentis of  
holi chirche wiþ souereyn deuo-  
cioun clennesse of conscience. &  
greet breynnge of charite &  
mynistre þo prudentli & freli to þe  
puple able herto.

*xxxv.*

35. Quamvis mali sacerdotes  
possunt veraciter confidere omnia  
sacramenta et ipsa devotis mini-  
strare salubriter ministrare, tamen  
Christiani debent non suscipere

pouȝ euele prestis mouse make  
þe sacramentis verili & mynistre þo  
helfulli to deuout men: neþeles  
cristene men owen not to resceyue  
sacramentis neþir deuyn servise

<sup>11</sup> The faulty construction of the first half of this Conclusion compared with the English version would suggest that the latter represented a truer text. For *et* and *domini* read *vel* and *dominum*.

<sup>12</sup> *Et homines* written twice and scored through the first time.

sacmenta a notorie symoniacis, fornicariis, et huiusmodi viciosis, non contempnendo sacramenta vel supponendo quod tales non possunt vere confidere sacramenta, sed in detestacione huiusmodi viciorum ut viciosi confundantur et agant penitenciam salutarem.

of opin symonientis lechouris or siche viciouse men not in dispisinge þe sacramentis of þir in supposinge þat suche men moun not make þe sacramentis verili: but for abominacioun of siche opin synnis. & þat siche viciouse men be ashamed & do helpful penaunce.

*xxxvij.*

36. Prelati et domini temporales diligenter vigilarent ad constitendum ydoneos prelatos et curatos et presbiteros simplices non curatos secundum reputacionem Ecclesie moderne.

Prelatis & seculer lordis shulden wake diligentli to ordeyne able prelatis & curatis & symple prestis þat hauen not cure bi cours & demyngre of þe chirche to dai.

*xxxviii.*

37. Secularitas in curatis ita quod unus accipiat omnes proventus Ecclesie sibi ipsi appropriate, et distribuat ad votum, sive gerat debite officium sive nusquam, est omnino ab Ecclesia depellenda et commune regimen Ecclesie cum sustentacione evangelica sociorum ad opus evangelicum ydoneorum est humiliter et veraciter resumendum.

Seculerte among prelatis & curatis so þat oon take propirli to hymself alle þe profitis of a chirche. & de parte þo as hym likip. wheþir he do truli þe gostli office or nai: owip to be cast out vttirli awei fro holi chirche & gouernail in comoun wiþ susteyninge of felowis bi forme of þe gospel þat ben able to performe þe office of þe gospel in good lyuyng & fre prechinge owip to be taken aȝen mekeli & truli.

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*'Pipes' of Rolls*

A CLEAR proof of the correctness of the view that I advanced in the April number of this Review, that the 'pipes' of a roll of accounts were the individual membranes or strips of parchment, appears on the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Enrolled Customs Accounts of the reign of Richard II, no. 14, f. 21, where we are referred for an account that ought to have been given before to the beginning of the next 'pipe' (*Vide in principio pipae proxime sequentis*): and, accordingly, at the top of f. 22, we have exactly the misplaced account. It will be noticed that the word 'pipe' is applied as well to the membranes of a customs account as to those of a pipe roll specially so called. I may mention that one of the accounting parties was one John 'Wylburghfosse', of Boston. This should be an early, if not the earliest, form of the honoured name of Wilberforce.

J. H. RAMSAY.