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# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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consideration was twelve marcs (p. 241), is ratified by a fine of exceptional length, dated 9 May 1196. This fine is remarkable for its minute description of lands—160 acres of arable, which (be it noted), though in demesne, lay scattered about the two open fields, eighty in one and eighty in the other, together with twelve virgates in villenage, &c. Another long fine settles as early as 4 February (1196) the dispute concerning the churches of Harting and Rogate, Sussex (pp. 218, 249).

J. H. ROUND.

### *Robert de Avesbury*

SIR EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, in the preface to his edition of the *De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii* of Robert de Avesbury, writes that 'we unfortunately know nothing more [of Avesbury] than can be gathered from the title of this work, wherein he describes himself as registrar of the court of the archbishop of Canterbury.' But his will is extant in the court of Husting, where it was enrolled on 10 February 1359. Since it does not appear to have been identified with the historian, it may be worth giving Dr. Sharpe's abstract (*Calendar*, ii. 7) in full :

AVEBURY, ROBERT DE, clerk, Registrar of the Court of Canterbury—To be buried in Pardon Churchyard of S. Paul's Church near the tomb of Millicent his wife. To John his son he leaves his tenement in Ivy Lane in the parish of S. Faith in the Crypt in tail; remainder to William his son in tail; remainder to Johanna his daughter in fee. Dated London, 27 January, A.D. 1358.

CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD.

### *The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards.*

THE Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards are always, so far as I can ascertain, quoted in the Latin version of them given in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*.<sup>1</sup> The English version contained in Foxe<sup>2</sup> is really no exception, for it is a translation, or, as we shall see, more correctly a retranslation into Elizabethan English of the Latin version of the *Fasciculi*. The general impression also seems to be that they were written in Latin, and Jeremy Collier,<sup>3</sup> who is followed in this statement by Forshall,<sup>4</sup> goes so far as to state expressly that they were presented to Parliament in that language. Evidence

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 360–369, Rolls Series, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Pratt, 1877, iii. p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, &c.* (London, 1708), vol. i. book vi. p. 598.

<sup>4</sup> *Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions in the Church, etc.*, 1851, p. ix.

has however recently come to light which makes it practically certain that the Conclusions were presented in English, a language particularly appropriate in the mouths of the champions of the English church and nation against their 'stepmother, the great church of Rome.'

The evidence is contained in a manuscript of Roger Dymok's 'Against the XII Heresies of the Lollards' now in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The manuscript came to the college through Robert Hare (c. 1600) after it had been for a time in the possession of Anthony Roper, Margaret Roper's son and Sir Thomas More's grandson. This manuscript bears on its edges the arms of Richard II of England and on its first page a portrait of that monarch as well as his arms. These considerations taken with the language used in the text itself (*Gloriosissimo et metuendo principi ac domino nostro, domino Ricardo, dei gratia regi Anglie et Francie* etc.) and the general appearance of the volume place it, I think, beyond doubt that we have in this copy, the copy presented to Richard II soon after his return from Ireland to punish those who had dared to gainsay his authority and that of the church by laying their views before parliament. The date of the manuscript can therefore be fixed within narrow limits; it cannot be earlier than 1396 or later than 1397, for by that time Richard had his hands too full of other things to spare time and attention to the Lollards and their misdoings. A date early in this period, as near, that is to say, as possible to the date of the presentation of the Conclusions, is the most probable date for the presentation of this reply. The evidence, therefore, contained in Dymok is contemporary evidence.

The Twelve Conclusions with the preamble (a portion of the document hitherto, I believe, unknown) and the last paragraph, the *pretensa legacio*, are not given in Dymok's book consecutively but are scattered up and down its 315 pages, each at the head of that portion of the treatise in which Dymok refutes it. In each case they are given in two languages, in English first and then in Latin, and these fourteen scraps of English are all or nearly all the English words contained in the book. The verbal differences between this Latin text and the version given in the *Fasciculi* are considerable—one might almost say that they occur whenever any difference is possible, but in sense there is a practical agreement between the two Latin versions and the English text. The position assigned to the English and the existence of two independent Latin versions would justify the opinion that the English ought to be regarded as the original. What, moreover, is the English doing at all in such a treatise, unless Dymok felt obliged to give the *ipsissima verba* of the heretics? This opinion is supported by several other considerations. An

examination of such portions of Dymok's treatise as concern this matter shows that the Latin is frequently introduced by words which imply translation, and never by words which imply the contrary. It is, I should think, for instance, impossible to regard *vulgariter*, in line 3 of the first extract, as anything but the equivalent to *in nostro vulgari* of line 4 of the *legacio*. Such Latin words as occur in the English can be accounted for as quotations from the Bible or as technical terms, but the English words in Conclusions VIII, IX, X, and XII,<sup>5</sup> in the version in the *Fasciculi*, would accord well with an English original. Further, if one remembers that the English has been copied at least twice, once by Dymok from the copy of the Twelve Conclusions which was given to him, and once by the scribe who prepared the presentation copy for Richard II, and that both Latin versions must have had some transcriptional history, it is easy to account for the Latin versions from the English, which shows on the other hand no signs of dependence on the Latin and indeed few signs of being anything but original. Dymok, it seems to me, had before him a copy of the Twelve Conclusions in English, either the copy actually presented to parliament, or the one affixed to St. Paul's, or some other copy issued by the Lollards, or, again, some copy made from one of these. This he translated for his readers. An independent translation, not necessarily from the same original, was made, perhaps for legal action, by some one else—a poorer Latinist and more illiterate man—which translation figures in the *Fasciculi* but not without some curious blunders.<sup>6</sup> This view at all events accounts for all the facts and, I think, does violence to none.

It remains to explain Collier's explicit statement that the Conclusions were presented to parliament in Latin. His words are: 'They let the Parliament know, they had been very brief in this Remonstrance; and that they had a great deal more Matter in other Treatises written in English (*in nostro proprio langagio*); for we are to take notice that this Petition was drawn up in Latin;' and he refers to Spelman,<sup>7</sup> where the *pretensa legacio* is given in the Latin text of the *Fasciculi* from the Cottonian manuscript Cleopatra E. 2 cited by Shirley.<sup>8</sup> Collier is writing some three centuries after the event—Forshall is even later—and I more than suspect that his only authority for his statement consists in the words of

<sup>5</sup> 'Sorys' in Conclusion V is difficult to explain.

<sup>6</sup> 'Indignitate' in Conclusion XI should be 'in dignitate.' What however about 'cervorum alborum' (Dymok and the *Fasciculi*, Conclusion II)? An allusion to Richard II's ordinary badge, the white hart, is evidently intended. The English however reads 'whyte hartys,' and as the badge itself is symbolical, this may allude also to 'white [i.e. clean] hearts,' which the spelling and the sense would justify.

<sup>7</sup> *Concil.* vol. ii. pp. 646 *seqq.*

<sup>8</sup> The text of the *Conclusions* is also given in Wilkins, *Concil. Magnae Brit.* iii. 221, and in Lewis, *Life and Sufferings of John Wiclif* (Oxford, 1820), pp. 337-43, in a form practically identical with that of the *Fasciculi*.

the *legacio* as given by Spelman, and that he has misunderstood them. The words in question are as follows: *Et quamvis istae materiae sint hic breviter notatae, sunt tamen largiter declaratae in alio libro, et multae aliae plures totaliter in nostro proprio langagio*, etc. So long as the Conclusions were known only in the Latin, it was natural enough to lay stress on the words *in nostro proprio langagio* on which Collier lays stress, and to infer the use of the Latin language for the Conclusions; but this is not the necessary interpretation. The Latin of the *legacio*, even as given by Spelman, would suit a reference to a book in English from a document in English at least as well as a reference from a document in Latin; and both here and even more clearly in the Latin of Dymok and his English (*and þou þese materis ben here schortly knit, þei ben in a nother book longli declarid, and manie other emo al in oure langage* etc.: *et quamvis iste materie fuerint hic succincte connexe, in alio tamen libro satis diffuse declarantur ex integro in nostro vulgari* etc.) the distinction seems to me to be drawn between brevity and fulness, and not between Latin and English, while the words *ex integro in nostro vulgari* of Dymok's Latin rather imply to my mind the vulgar tongue also for the language of the Conclusions.

In the text of the Conclusions which is here given I have followed the text and spelling, though not the punctuation, of the manuscript in the library of Trinity Hall. I have, however, for the sake of clearness substituted the þ for the y, if indeed that is in reality a departure from my original. Two other copies of the manuscript exist: one (C.), which was once the property of the bishops of Ely, is in the University Library of Cambridge; the other (P.), which once belonged to William Bowyer, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.<sup>9</sup> Both these manuscripts are later than the Trinity Hall manuscript, and, I think, inferior. I have given their readings where they differ from it.

H. S. CRONIN.

#### THE TWELVE CONCLUSIONS OF THE LOLLARDS.

*Ex quibus in posterum declarandis patebit quam falsus et perniciosus* fol. 11 b.  
*sit predictus libellus famosus adversariorum catholice veritatis, quem pestifere per hunc modum vulgariter inchoarunt.*

*Pretensus stilus lollardorum.* We pore men tresoreris of Cryst and <sup>1</sup> his apostlis denuncyn to þe <sup>2</sup> lordis and þe comunys of þe parlement certeyn conclusionis and treuthis for þe reformaciun of holi chirche of Yngelond, þe qwyche <sup>3</sup> han ben blynde and leprouse many zere be meyntenance of þe proude prelaeye, born up with flatringe of priuat religion þe qwich <sup>4</sup> is multiplied to a gret charge and onerous <sup>5</sup> puple her in Yngelonde.

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to verify the readings of this manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> C. adds *of*.      <sup>3</sup> The Paris MS. has the þ as a rule, the other MSS. have the y.

<sup>4</sup> *wyche*, P.

<sup>5</sup> *wich*, P.

<sup>6</sup> *onerous* to, C.

*Quod in Latinum translatum eloquium hanc sonat sententiam. Nos pauperes homines thesaurarii siue thesaurus Christi et apostolorum eius denunciamus vobis dominis et communibus presentis parliamenti certis conclusiones et ueritates pro reformatione ecclesie Anglicane, que ceca extitit et leprosa annis plurimis per manuten[en]ciam superbe prelacie supportate adulacionibus priuatarum religionum siue priuate religionis multiplicata ad magnum onus, et est effectus populus onerosus<sup>6</sup> in Anglia.*

Fol. 13 b.

*Primam conclusionem suam introducunt sub hac forma. Qwan þe chiroche of Yngelond began to dote in temporalte aftir her stepmodir þe grete chiroche of Rome, and chirchis were slayne be appropriacion to diuerse placys; feyth, hope, and charite begunne for to fle out of oure chiroche. For pride with his sori genealogie of dedly synnes chalingith it be title of heritage. þis conclusiun is general and prouid be experience, custum, and manere, as þu schalt herin aftir.*

*Que conclusio hanc continet sentenciam. Quando ecclesia Anglicana incepit delirare in possessione temporalium secundum nouercam suam magnam Romanam ecclesiam et ecclesie mortificate erant siue occise per appropriacionem diuersis locis, fides spes et caritas ceperunt fugere extra ecclesiam nostram. Quia superbia cum sua prole peruersa peccatorum mortalium uendicabat<sup>7</sup> ecclesiam nostram titulo hereditario. Ista conclusio est generalis et probata, ut dicunt, ex consuetudine experientia et more, ut audies in sequentibus.*

Fol. 26 a.

Þe secunde conclusion is þis. Oure usuel presthod þe<sup>8</sup> qwich began in Rome feynid of a power heyere þan aungelis is nout þe presthod þe qwich Cryst ordeynede to his apostlis. Þis conclusion is prouid. For þe presthod of Rome is mad with signis, rytis, and bisschopis blissingis, and þat is of litil uertu, nowhere ensample<sup>9</sup> in holi scripture, for þe bisschopis ordinalis in þe newe testament ben litil of record. And we can nout se þat þe Holi Gost for oni sich signis zeuth oni giftis, for he and his noble giftis may not stonde with dedly synne in no manere persone. Þe correlary of þis conclusion is<sup>10</sup> þat it is ful uncouth to many þat ben wise to se bisschopis pleye with þe Holi Gost in makyng of here ordris, for þei zeuen<sup>11</sup> crownis in characteris in stede of whyte hartys, and þat is þe leueree of antecryst, brout into holy<sup>12</sup> chiroche to colour ydilnesse.

*Latine autem sic dicitur. Hec est secunda conclusio. Sacerdocium nostrum usuale que incepit in ciuitate Romana ficta alcioris potestatis potestate angelica non est sacerdocium a Christo suis discipulis ordinatum. Hec conclusio probatur sic. Sacerdocium Romanum factum cum signis et ritibus ac episcoporum benedictionibus est parue uirtutis, nullibi in sacra scriptura exemplatum, quia ordinalia siue rubrice episcoporum parue sunt fidei uel auctoritatis in nouo testamento et nescimus uidere quod spiritus sanctus dat dona sua propter aliqua talia signa, quia ipse et nobilia dona sua stare non possunt cum peccato mortali in aliqua una persona. Correlaria huius conclusionis est, quod ualde extraneum*

<sup>6</sup> honerosus, P.<sup>7</sup> uendicabant, C.<sup>8</sup> wych, P.<sup>9</sup> ensamplede, C.<sup>10</sup> C. om. is.<sup>11</sup> gif, C.<sup>12</sup> brout in ooly, P.



*et*<sup>13</sup> *nouum est pluribus sapientibus hominibus uidere episcopos ludere cum sancto spiritu in suorum ordinum collacione quia conferunt coronas in caracteribus*<sup>14</sup> *loco ceruorum alborum et illa est liberata antichristi siue eius signum in sanctam ecclesiam introductum ad ocium palliandum.*

De thirddē conclusiun sorwful to here is þat þe lawe of continence Fol. 35 a. annexyd<sup>15</sup> to presthod þat in preiudys of wimmen was first ordeynid induciþ sodomie in al holy chirche; but we excusin us be þe bible for þe suspecte decre þat seyþ we schulde not nemen it. Resun and experience prouit þis conclusiun. For delicious metis and drinkis of men of holi chirche welen han<sup>16</sup> nedful purgaciun<sup>17</sup> or werse. Experience for þe priue assay of sychle men is, þat þe like non wymmen; and whan þu prouist sich a man mark him wel for he is on of þo. Þe correlary of þis conclusiun is, þat þe priuat religions begynneris of þis synne were most worthi to ben annullid but God for<sup>18</sup> his myþh of priue synne sende opyn ueniaunce.

*Que conclusio hanc continet sentenciam. Tercia conclusio dolorosa auditu est ista. Lex continencie sacerdocio annexa que in preiudicium feminarum fuit primitus introducta inducit sodomiam in universalem sanctam ecclesiam. Set per bibliam excusamus nos propter suspectum decretum que dicit quod non deberemus nominare illud peccatum. Racio et experientia hanc probant conclusionem, quia deliciosi cibi et potus ecclesiasticorum requirit necessariam purgacionem naturalem uel peiorem. Experientia occulte probacionis talium est quod non habent delectacionem in mulieribus, et ideo cum talem repperis<sup>19</sup> nota cum bene, quia ipse est unus ex illis. Correlaria huius conclusionis est, quod dignum ualde esset priuatas religiones adnullare<sup>20</sup> huius peccati inceptores. Set Deus ex sua magna potestate de peccatis privatis manifestam sumat uindictam.*

De ferthe conclusiun þat most harmith þe innocent puple is þis, þat þe Fol. 44 b. feynid miracle of þe sacrament of bred induciþ alle men but a fewe to ydolatrie, for þei wene þat Godis bodi þat neuere schal out of heuene be uertu of þe prestis wordis schulde<sup>21</sup> ben closid essenciali in a litil bred, þat þei schewe to þe puple. But wolde God þat<sup>22</sup> þei wolde beleue þat þe doctour euangelicus seyþ in his Trialoge, *quod panis materialis*<sup>23</sup> *est habitudinaliter corpus Christi.*<sup>24</sup> For we suppose þat on þis wise may euery<sup>25</sup> trewe man and womman in Godis lawe make þe sacrament of þe<sup>26</sup> bred with outin oni sich miracle. De correlari of þis conclusiun is þat if Crystis body be dewid with euerelasting joye, þe seruise of Corpus Christi imad be frere Thomas is vntrewe and peyntid ful of false miraclis, and þat is no wondir, for frere Thomas pat same time, holding with þe pope, wolde haue mad a miracle of an henne ey,<sup>27</sup> and we knowe wel þat euery<sup>28</sup> lesyng opinli prechid turnith him to velanye þat euere was trewe and with oute defaute.

<sup>13</sup> *sive*, C.<sup>16</sup> *have*, P.<sup>19</sup> C. om. *ideo*.<sup>23</sup> C. om. *pat*.<sup>25</sup> *ever*, C.<sup>28</sup> *ouer*, C.<sup>14</sup> P. ins. *in*.<sup>17</sup> C. adds of *kynd*.<sup>20</sup> C. om. *adnullare*<sup>22</sup> *altaris*, C.<sup>26</sup> *þis*, C.<sup>15</sup> *encred*, C.<sup>18</sup> *of*, C.<sup>21</sup> C. om. *schulde*.<sup>24</sup> *Trial*. iv. 7-10.<sup>27</sup> *egge*, C.

*Que sic dicitur Latine. Quarta conclusio que plus dampnificat populum innocentem est, quod fictum miraculum sacramenti panis inducit omnes homines, paucis exceptis, ad ydolatriam. Quia ipsi estimant quod corpus Dei quod nunquam exibat celum uirtute uerborum sacerdotis<sup>29</sup> includeretur<sup>30</sup> in exiguo pane, quem ipsi populo ostendunt. Set utinam uellent credere quod doctor euangelicus dicit in suo triologio, quod panis materialis<sup>31</sup> est habitudinaliter corpus Christi. Quia supponimus quod isto modo<sup>32</sup> potest quilibet fidelis uir et femina in lege diuina conficere sacramentum istius<sup>33</sup> panis sine aliquo<sup>34</sup> tali miraculo. Correllarium huius conclusionis est, quod si corpus Christi sit dotatum gloria eterna, officium corporis Christi compositum per fratrem Thomam est non uerum et depictum multis<sup>35</sup> falsis miraculis. Et hoc non est mirum quia frater Thomas, illo<sup>36</sup> tempore tenens cum papa, uoluit fecisse miraculum de ouo galline, et bene nouimus quod quodlibet mendacium aperte predicatum cedit illi in uerecundiam et iniuriam qui semper est fidelis et sine defectu.*

Fol. 56 b.

De fyfte conclusiun is pis, pat exorcismis and halwinge, made in pe chirche, of wyn, bred, and wax, water, salt, and<sup>37</sup> oyle and encens, pe ston of pe auter, upon uestiment, mitre, crose, and pilgrimes stauis be pe uerray practyf of nigromancie rathere panne of pe holi theologie. Pis conclusiun is prouid pus. For be siche exorcismis creaturis been chargid to ben of heyzere uertu pan here owne kynde, and we sen no ping of change in no sich creature pat is so charmid but be fals beleue, je whiche is pe principal of pe deuelis craft. Pe correlary of pis, pat if pe bok pat charmith haliwater spred in holy chirche<sup>38</sup> were al trewe us thinkis uerrily pat holy water usid in holi chirche schulde ben pe beste medicine to alle manere of sykenesse. *Cuius contrarium experimur.*

*Quod in Latinum translatum hanc continet falsitatem. Quinta conclusio est hec. Exorcismi, sanctificaciones, consecraciones, siue benedictiones facte in ecclesia sancta uini,<sup>39</sup> panis, aque, olei, salis, cere, incensi siue thuris, mense altaris, murorum ecclesie, uestimentorum, mitre, baculi pastoralis, baculorum peregrinorum et huiusmodi uera practica sunt nigromancie potius quam sancte theologie. Hec conclusio sic probatur. Per tales exorcismos et<sup>40</sup> consecraciones creature sunt onerate esse alcioris uirtutis quam sunt ex natura propria, et nichil mutacionis uidemus in huiusmodi<sup>41</sup> creaturis exorsizatis uel consecratis, nisi per falsam fidem que est principale in omni arte diabolica.<sup>42</sup> Correllarium. Si liber qui exorsizat aquam benedictam spersam<sup>43</sup> in ecclesiam Dei esset totus uerus, nobis uidetur ueraciter quod aqua benedicta in sancta ecclesia usitata esset optima<sup>44</sup> medicina contra omnem infirmitatem.<sup>45</sup> *Cuius contrarium experimur.**

Fol. 72 b.

De sexte conclusiun pat mayntenith michil pride is, pat a kyng and a bisshop al in o persone, a prelat and a iustise in temporel cause,

<sup>29</sup> C. adds *sit*.<sup>30</sup> P. om. *modo*.<sup>31</sup> plenum, C.<sup>32</sup> C. om. *in holy chirche*.<sup>33</sup> huius, P.<sup>34</sup> optima esset, C.<sup>35</sup> C. om. *includeretur*.<sup>36</sup> C. om. *istius*.<sup>37</sup> P. pref. *in (?)*.<sup>38</sup> C. adds *et*.<sup>39</sup> *dialectica*, C.<sup>40</sup> C. om. *contra omnem infirmitatem*.<sup>41</sup> altaris, C.<sup>42</sup> P. om. *aliquo*.<sup>43</sup> C. om. *and*.<sup>44</sup> C. om. *et*.<sup>45</sup> *aspersam*, C.

a curat and an officer in worldly seruise,<sup>46</sup> makin euery<sup>47</sup> reme out of god reule. Dis conclusiun is opinly schewid, for temporelte and spirituelte ben to partys of<sup>48</sup> holi chirche and perfore he pat hath takin him to pe ton schulde nout medlin<sup>49</sup> him with pe topir, *quia nemo potest duobus dominis seruire*.<sup>50</sup> Us thinkith pat hermododrita or ambidexter were a god name to sich manere of men of duple astate. Pe correlari is, pat for<sup>51</sup> we procuratouris of God in pis cause pursue to pis parlement pat alle manere of curatis bope heye and lowe ben fulli excusid of temporel office, and occupie hem with<sup>52</sup> here cure and nout ellis.

*Que conclusio Latine sic exprimitur. Sexta conclusio que sustentat multam superbiam est quod rex et pontifex in eadem persona, prelati et iudex temporalis cause, curatus et officarius in seruicio mundi, quodlibet regnum reddit sine regula debita uel conuenienti regimine. Hec conclusio probatur sic. Potestas temporalis et spiritualis sunt due partes tocium sancte ecclesie, et ideo qui se uni eorum deputauit non deberet se interponere cum altero, quia nemo potest duobus dominis seruire. Nobis uidetur quod hermododrita uel ambidexter esset conueniens nomen talibus hominibus dupplicis status. Correlarium. Nos procuratores Dei in ista causa instamus et<sup>53</sup> prosequimur ac petimus in isto parlamento quod omnes modi curatorum tam alti quam bassi sint plene excusati ab omni officio temporalis et se occupent cum curis suis et de nullis aliis se<sup>54</sup> interponant.*

Pe seuenthe conclusiun pat we mythtily afferme is, pat special preyeris<sup>55</sup> for dede men soulis mad in oure chirche preferring on be name more pan anothir, pis is pe false ground of almesse dede, on pe qwiche alle almes houses of Ingelond ben wikkidly igroundid. Dis conclusiun is prouid be to skillis. On is, for preyere meritorie and of value schulde ben a werk proceeding of hey charite, and parfyth charite<sup>56</sup> accepte no persones, *quia diliges proximum tuum, etc.* Qwerfore us thinkis pat pe giftis of temporel godis to prestis and to almes housis, is principal cause of special preyeris, pe qwiche is nout fer from symonie. A nothir skil for special preyere mad for men dampnid to euerelasting peyne is to God gretli displeasing,<sup>57</sup> and pow it be doute, it is lythli to trewe Crystis puple pat pe founderes of pe<sup>58</sup> almesse housis for here unimous dotaciun ben for pe most part passid pe brode way. Pe correlari is pe preyere of ualue springand out of parfyth charite schulde enbrace in general alle po pat God wolde haue sauid and leue per<sup>59</sup> marchaundise now usid for special preyeris imade to mendyuauns and possessioneris and othere soulis prestis, pe qwiche ben a puple of gret charge to al pe reme mayntenid in ydilnesse, for it was prouid in a bok pat pe kyng herde pat an hundrid of almes housis suffisede to al pe reme and per of schulde<sup>60</sup> falle pe grettest ences possible to temporel part.

*Que conclusio Latine hanc continet sententiam. Septima conclusio quam nos potenter affirmamus est, quod speciales oraciones facte in ecclesia nostra pro animabus defunctorum preferendo unum ex nomine*

<sup>46</sup> C. om. in worldly seruise.    <sup>47</sup> any, C.

<sup>48</sup> C. ins. an.

<sup>49</sup> mell, C.

<sup>50</sup> P. adds etc.

<sup>51</sup> C. om. for, but adds pe after we.

<sup>52</sup> P. om. with.

<sup>53</sup> ac, C.

<sup>54</sup> P. om. se.

<sup>55</sup> hey and parfit charite, C.

<sup>56</sup> displeasing, C.

<sup>57</sup> C. om. pe.

<sup>58</sup> C. om. per.

<sup>59</sup> and ther schulde, C.

*pocius quam alium est falsum fundamentum elemosine super quod omnes domus elemosinarum in Anglia male fundantur. Hec conclusio probatur duplici ratione. Primo quia oratio meritoria et ualoris deberet esse opus procedens ab<sup>60</sup> alta caritate et perfecta caritas non accipit personas, quia diliges proximum tuum<sup>61</sup> etc. Quapropter nobis uidetur quod donacio<sup>62</sup> bonorum temporalium collatorum sacerdotibus et domibus elemosinarum est causa principalis huiusmodi orationum specialium, quod non distat multum a symonia. Quia speciales oraciones facte pro hominibus dampnatis ad penam eternam multum Deo displicent. Et quamuis dubium sit, tamen uerisimile est fideli populo quod fundatores domorum elemosinarum propter ipsorum uenenosam dotacionem pro maiori parte transierunt uiam latam. Correlarium. Oratio ualoris procedens a perfecta caritate deberet<sup>63</sup> se extendere in generali ad omnes quos Deus uult finaliter<sup>64</sup> saluare et dimittere debent mercancius oracionum specialium<sup>65</sup> modo usitarum pro mortuis hominibus factas mendicantibus possessionatis et aliis presbiteris peculiaribus animarum, qui sunt populus<sup>66</sup> magni oneris et<sup>67</sup> toti regno manutentus in ocio, quia probatum extitit in quodam libro quem rex audiuit quod centum domus elemosinarum toti regno sufficerent, et ex hoc contingeret maximum possibile commodum parti temporali.*

Fol. 90 a.

De viii. conclusiun nedful to telle to þe puple be gylid is þe pilgrimage, prayeris, and offringis made to blynde rodys and to deue ymages of tre and of ston,<sup>68</sup> ben ner of kin to ydolatrie and fer fro almesse dede. And þow þis forbodin ymagerie be a bok of errour to þe lewid puple, zet þe ymage usuel of<sup>69</sup> Trinite is most abhominable. Dis conclusiun God opinly schewith, comanding to don almesse dede to men þat ben nedy, for þei ben þe ymage of God in a more liknesse þan þe stok or þe<sup>70</sup> ston, for God seyth nout, *Faciamus lignum ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram aut lapidem,*<sup>71</sup> but *faciamus hominem* etc. For þe heye worchipe þat clerkis clepin *latria* longith to þe godhead alone, and þe lowere<sup>72</sup> worchipe þat is clepid<sup>73</sup> *dulia* longith<sup>74</sup> to man and to aungel and to lowere creatures. Þe correlari is, þat þe seruise of þe rode,<sup>75</sup> don twyes euery zer in oure chirche, is fulfillid of ydolatrie, for if þe rode tre, naylis, and þe spere,<sup>76</sup> and þe coroune of God schulde ben so holiche worchipe, þanne were Iudas lippis, qwoso mytthe hem gete, a wondir gret relyk. But we preye þe, pilgrym, us<sup>77</sup> to telle qwan þu offrist to seyntis bonis enschridid in ony place, qweþir<sup>78</sup> releuis þu þe seynt þat is in blisse, or þe pore almes hous þat is so wel enduwid. For men ben<sup>79</sup> canonizid, God wot how, and for<sup>80</sup> to speken more in playn, trewe Cristemen supposin þat þe poyntis of þilk noble<sup>81</sup> man þat men clepin seynt Thomas, were no cause of martyrdom.

*Que conclusio per hunc modum transfertur in Latinum eloquium.*

<sup>60</sup> ex, C.<sup>68</sup> debet, C.<sup>66</sup> populi, P.<sup>68</sup> C. ins. þe.<sup>72</sup> low, C.<sup>73</sup> C. adds tre.<sup>78</sup> wheder, C.<sup>81</sup> point of þat noble, C.<sup>61</sup> C. om. tuum.<sup>64</sup> C. om. finaliter.<sup>67</sup> P. om. et.<sup>70</sup> C. om. þe.<sup>72</sup> þei clepen, C.<sup>74</sup> C. om. and þe.<sup>79</sup> C. om. ben.<sup>62</sup> devocia, P.<sup>65</sup> spiritualium, C.<sup>68</sup> C. and P. add þat.<sup>71</sup> C. om. aut lapidem.<sup>74</sup> pertenez, C.<sup>77</sup> P. om. us.<sup>80</sup> C. om. for.

Octava conclusio necessaria referri populo decepto. Peregrinationes, oraciones, et oblationes facte<sup>82</sup> cecis ymaginibus crucifixi et surdis ymaginibus de ligno et lapide sunt propinque nature ydolatrie, et multum distant ab operibus caritatis siue elemosine. Et quamvis prohibite ymagines sint liber erroris populo laicali, adhuc ymago usualis sancte Trinitatis est maxime abhominabilis. Hanc conclusionem Deus aperte monstravit, mandando opera misericordie fieri hominibus indigentibus, quia ipsi sunt ymago Dei in maiori similitudine quam lignum uel lapis. Quia Deus non dixit, faciamus lignum uel lapidem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram, set faciam[us]<sup>83</sup> etc. Quia altus honor latria a clericis uocatus soli debetur deitati, et honor uocatus dulia debetur homini et<sup>84</sup> angelo<sup>85</sup> et aliis creaturis inferioribus. Correlarium. Officium de ligno crucis, bis in anno celebratum in nostra ecclesia, est plenum ydolatrie, quia si lignum crucis Christi, lancea, et clauis essent tanto honore uenerandi, tunc labia Iude proditoris essent solempnis reliquia<sup>86</sup> siquis posset illa optinere. Set nos rogamus te, peregrine, quando oblationem facis ossibus sanctorum inscrinitorum<sup>87</sup> in aliquo loco, utrum intendis releuare indigentiam sancti in celo, uel domus pauperis elemosine que ita bene dotatur. Quia Deus nouit quomodo homines<sup>88</sup> canonizantur. Et ut apercius loquamur, fideles Christiani supponunt, quod puncta propter que moriebatur nobilis homo<sup>89</sup> quem homines appellant sanctum Thomam non sunt causa martirii nec fuerunt.

De ix. conclusiun þat holdith þe puple lowe is, þat þe articlis of confessioniun þat is sayd necessari to saluaciun of man, with a feynid power of absoluciun enhaunsith prestis pride, and zeuith hem oportunitie of priui calling othir þan we wele<sup>90</sup> now say. For lordis and ladys ben arestid < þat > for fere of here confessouris, þat þei dur nout seyn a treuthe, and in time of confessiun is þe beste time of wowing and of priue continuance of dedli synne. Þei seyn þat he<sup>91</sup> ben commissariis of God to deme of euery synne, to foulin and to clensin qwom so þei lyke. Þei seyn þat he<sup>92</sup> han þe keys of heuene and of helle, þei mown cursyn and blissin, byndin and unbyndin at here owne wil, in so miche þat for a busschel of qwete<sup>93</sup> or xiid. be þere he<sup>94</sup> welen selle þe blisse of heuene be chartre of clause of warantise, enselid with þe comown sel. Dis conclusiun is so seen in use þat it nedith non othir prof. Correlarium : þe pope of Rome þat feynith him hey tresor of holi chirche, hauande þe<sup>95</sup> worthi iewel<sup>96</sup> of Crystis passiu in his keping, with þe dissertis of alle lawen of heuene, be qwiche he zeuid þe feynid pardoun *a pena et a culpa*. He is a tresorer most banisschid out<sup>97</sup> charite, seyn he may deliueren þe presoneris þat ben in pyne at his owne wil, and make himself so þat he schal neuere come pere. Here may euery trewe Cristene man wel se þat þer is michil<sup>98</sup> priuy falsnesse hid in our chiroche.

*Cutus translacio in Latinum sequitur in<sup>99</sup> hunc modum. Nona conclusio que deprimit populum est, quod articulus confessionis dictus necessarius*

<sup>82</sup> C. om. *facte.*      <sup>83</sup> C. om. *ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram set faciamus.*

<sup>84</sup> *vel, C.*

<sup>85</sup> *angelis, C.*

<sup>86</sup> *reliquie, C.*

<sup>87</sup> *incrismatorum, C.*

<sup>88</sup> *C. ins. quomodo.*

<sup>89</sup> *vir, C.*

<sup>90</sup> *wole, P.*

<sup>91</sup> *þai, C.*

<sup>92</sup> *þai, C.*

<sup>93</sup> *wet, P.*

<sup>94</sup> *þei, C.*

<sup>95</sup> *þat, P.*

<sup>96</sup> *rewel, C.*

<sup>97</sup> *C. adds of.*

<sup>98</sup> *mich, C.*

<sup>99</sup> *per, C.*

hominum saluacioni cum potestate ficta uel pretensa absolucionis exaltat sacerdotum superbiam et dat eis<sup>100</sup> oportunitatem occulte uocationis alterius quam dicere uolumus in presenti. Quia domini et domine sunt aretati propter timorem suorum confessorum quod non audent dicere ueritatem. Et tempus confessionis est tempus ualde aptum procacioni et continuacionis peccatorum mortalium. Dicunt eciam se esse commissarios Dei ad iudicandum de quolibet peccato, ad deformandum et purgandum illos quos uolunt. Dicunt eciam<sup>101</sup> se habere clauces celi et inferni,<sup>102</sup> excommunicare possunt<sup>103</sup> benedicere, ligare et soluere secundum eorum propriam uoluntatem, in tantum quod propter bussellum<sup>104</sup> frumenti, uel xii. denarios annuatim ipsi uolunt uendere gloriam regni celestis cum clausa uarentizacionis sigillata communi sigillo eorum. Hec conclusio est sic<sup>105</sup> uisa in usu,<sup>106</sup> quod alia non indiget probacione. Correlarium. Papa Romanus qui<sup>107</sup> fingit se altum thesaurarium tocuis ecclesie habens illud dignum iocale passionis Christi in custodia cum meritis omnium sanctorum in celo,<sup>108</sup> per que dat fictam indulgentiam a poena et a culpa, est thesaurarius<sup>109</sup> maxime bannitus extra caritatem, ex quo potest liberare omnes prisonarios<sup>110</sup> existentes in penis ad uoluntatem propriam et seipsum facere nunquam uenire ibidem. Set quilibet Christianus fidelis potest bene uidere quod est multa secreta falsitas abscondita in nostra ecclesia.

Fol. 118 b.

Pe tende conclusiun is,<sup>111</sup> pat manslaute be batayle or pretense<sup>112</sup> lawe of rythwysnesse for temporal cause or spirituel with outen special reuelaciun is expres contrarious to pe newe testament, pe qwiche<sup>113</sup> is a lawe of grace and ful of mercy. Pis conclusiun is opynly proud be exsample of Cristis preching here in erthe, pe qwiche<sup>114</sup> most taute for to loue and to<sup>115</sup> haue mercy on<sup>116</sup> his enemys, and nout for to slen hem. Pe resun is of pis, pat for pe more partye pere men fythte aftir pe firste strok charite is ibroke: and qwo<sup>117</sup> so deyth out of charite, goth pe heye waye to helle. And ouer pis we knowe wel pat no clerk can fynde<sup>118</sup> be scripture or be resun lawful punschement of deth for on dedly synne and nout for a nofer. But pe lawe of mercy, pat is pe newe testament, forbad al mannisslaute: *in euangelio dictum est antiquis, Non occides.* Pe correlary is. It is an<sup>119</sup> holy robbing of pe pore puple qwanne<sup>120</sup> lordis purchase indulgencis<sup>121</sup> a pena et a culpa to hem pat helpith to his oste, and gaderith to slen pe Cristene men<sup>122</sup> in fer londis for god temporel,<sup>123</sup> as we have seen. And knythtis, pat rennen to hethnesse to geten hem a name in sleinge of men, geten miche mangre of pe king of pes; for be mekenesse and suffraunce oure beleue was multiplied, and fythteres and mansleeris Ihesu Cryst hatith and manasit.<sup>124</sup> *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit.*

*Que conclusio Latine ita exprimitur. Hec est decima conclusio.*

<sup>100</sup> eius, P.<sup>102</sup> C. ins. et.<sup>106</sup> visu, P.<sup>108</sup> thesaurizarius, C.<sup>112</sup> P. om. pretense.<sup>115</sup> C. om. to.<sup>118</sup> anfynde, P.<sup>121</sup> indulgence, C.<sup>123</sup> temporel goode, C.<sup>101</sup> C. om. eciam.<sup>104</sup> bursellum, C.<sup>107</sup> se fingit, C.<sup>110</sup> prisinarios, C.<sup>114</sup> wich, C., P.<sup>116</sup> of, C.<sup>119</sup> C. om. an.<sup>122</sup> pat helpith to his ost to al pe criste men, C.<sup>124</sup> manasseth, C.<sup>103</sup> C. ins. et.<sup>105</sup> C. om. sic.<sup>109</sup> celi, C.<sup>111</sup> P. om. is.<sup>114</sup> wyche, C.<sup>117</sup> who, C.<sup>120</sup> whan, C.

*Homicidium per bellum uel per legem iusticie aliquam pretensam perpetratum propter causam temporalem uel spirituales sine speciali reuelacione expresse est contrarium nouo testamento, quod est lex gracie et plenum misericordie. Hec conclusio manifeste probatur exemplo Christi predicantis hic in terra, qui maxime docuit dimittere iniurias<sup>125</sup> et misereri aduersariorum et non occidere eos. Cuius ratio est. Pro maiori enim parte quando homines pugnant post primum ictum dirumpitur caritas; et quicumque caritate<sup>126</sup> in morte exiit transit recta uia ad infernum.<sup>127</sup> Et ultra hoc nos bene nouimus quod nullus clericus scit inuenire<sup>128</sup> per sacram scripturam uel legalem rationem ostendere quod pena mortis est infligenda potius uni peccato mortali quam alteri. Set lex misericordie, que est nouum testamentum, prohibet omne homicidium. In euangelio dictum est antiquis, Non occides. Correlarium. Est sancta spoliatio pauperis populi quando domini procurant indulgencias a pena et a culpa hiis qui subsidia conferunt exercitui eorum collecto ad interficiendum Christianum populum in terris remotis propter bona temporalia optinenda, sicut<sup>129</sup> alias fieri uidimus. Et milites, qui discurrunt ad paganiam uel Saracenos ad optinendum sibi magnum nomen in occisione hominum, perquirunt<sup>130</sup> sibi indignacionem magnam regis pacis, quia per humilitatem et tolleranciam lex nostra exhibit multiplicata, et pugnatore ac homicidas odit Christus Ihesus et eisdem minatur dicens, Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit.*

De xi. conclusiun is shamful<sup>131</sup> for to speke, þat a<sup>132</sup> uow of continence, mad in oure chirche of wommen, þe qwiche ben fekil and vnparfyth in kynde, is cause of br[i]ngging of most horrible synne possible to man kynde. For þou sle yng of children or þei ben cristenid, aborcife and<sup>133</sup> stroyng of kynde be medicine ben ful sinful, 3et knowing with hem self or irresonable heste or creature þat beris no lyf passith in worthinesse to ben punischid in peynis of helle. Þe<sup>134</sup> correlary is þat widuis and qwiche<sup>135</sup> as han takin þe mantil and þe ryng deliciousliche fed we would þei were weddid, for we can nout<sup>136</sup> excusin hem fro<sup>137</sup> priue synnis.

*Conclusio undecima uerecunda dictu. Votum continencie factum in nostra ecclesia a mulieribus, que sunt fragiles et imperfecte in natura, est causa horribilissimi peccati possibilis nature humane quia quamuis occisio puerorum ante baptismum eorum procuracio abortiui aut destructio seminum ante formatum fetum facta per medicinas sint<sup>138</sup> grauia peccata ualde. Adhuc contumacio mutua feminarum contra naturam in actu carnali uel earum coitus cum bestia irrationali uel cum creatura insensibili non uiua transcendit in demeritoria accione et magis<sup>139</sup> dignum est puniri<sup>140</sup> inferni penis. Nos uellemus quod uidue et<sup>141</sup> tales qui<sup>142</sup> uouerunt castitatem in ueste,<sup>143</sup> anulo, et mantello, deliciose paste uel delicate nutrite, essent desponsate, quia eas nescimus excusare ab occultis peccatis.*

<sup>125</sup> inimicis, C.<sup>126</sup> C. om. inuenire.<sup>127</sup> scham, C.<sup>128</sup> þat, P.<sup>129</sup> of, C.<sup>130</sup> C. om. est puniri.<sup>131</sup> inuestite, C.<sup>132</sup> carite, P.<sup>133</sup> sicut, P.<sup>134</sup> þe, C.<sup>135</sup> such, C., a wiche, P.<sup>136</sup> sunt, C.<sup>137</sup> P. om. uidus et.<sup>127</sup> inferna, C.<sup>128</sup> acquirunt, C.<sup>129</sup> or, C.<sup>130</sup> ne can, C.<sup>131</sup> C. om. et magis.<sup>132</sup> que, C.

Fol. 146 a.

De xii. conclusiun is þat, þe multitude of craftis nout nedful usid in our chirche noraschith <sup>144</sup> michil synne in wast, curiosite and disgysing. Dis schewith experience and resun prouith, for nature with a fewe craftis sufficith to nede of man. De correlari is, þat sytthin seynt Powel seyth, we hauende oure bodili fode and billing <sup>145</sup> we schulde holde us apayed, vs thinketh þat goldsmethis and armoreris and all manere craftis nout nedeful to man aftir þe apostle schulde ben distroyd for þe enores of uertu. For þou pese to <sup>146</sup> craftis nemlid <sup>147</sup> were michil <sup>148</sup> more nedful in þe elde lawe, þe newe testament hath voydid pese and manie othere.

*Que in Latinum transfertur in hunc modum. Duodecima conclusio. Multitudo artium non necessariarum homini in nostra ecclesia multum peccatum nutrit in superflua curiositate et diffiguracione hominum per uestes curiosas. Hoc ostendit experientia et ratio probat, quia natura cum paucis artibus sufficeret humane nature. Correlarium. Ex quo apostolus Paulus dicit habentes uictum et quibus tegamur hiis contenti simus, nobis uidetur quod aurifabri et fabri armorum et <sup>149</sup> omnia genera artium non necessaria homini secundum apostolum destrui deberent propter augmentum uirtutum. Quia quamuis iste due artes nominate necessarie fuerunt in ueteri lege, nouum tamen testamentum has artes cum multis aliis euacuauit.*

Fol. 153 a.

*Pretensa legacia lollardorum.*

Dis is oure ambaciat, þat Crist has comaundid us for to pursue, at þis time most acceptable for manie causis. And þou pese <sup>150</sup> materis ben here schortly knit, þei ben in a nother book longli declarid, and manie othere mo al in oure langage, þe qwyche we <sup>151</sup> wolde were communid to alle trewe Cristene men. We preye God of his endeles godnesse reforme oure chirche al out of ioynt to þe perfectiun of þe firste begynni[n]gge. Amen.

*Hec est inquit nostra ambaciata, quam nobis Christus nunc exequi mandauit, <sup>152</sup> in hoc tempore maxime acceptabili multiplici ex causa. Et quamuis iste materie fuerint hic succincte connexe, in alio tamen <sup>153</sup> libro satis diffuse declarantur ex integro in nostro uulgari, quas uellemus quod essent communicate omnibus fidelibus Christianis. Nos rogamus Deum propter bonitatem suam infinitam ut reformare dignetur nostram ecclesiam penitus extra iuncturam ad perfectionem sue primordialis institutionis. Amen.*

### *The Last Venetian Islands in the Aegean.*

It has hitherto been asserted by historians of the Latin Orient that, after the capture of the Cyclades by the Turks in the sixteenth century, the two Venetian islands of Tenos and Mykonos remained in the possession of the republic down to 1715. As to Tenos, this statement is unimpeachable; as to Mykonos, despite the assertions

<sup>144</sup> norsschyn, P.<sup>145</sup> cleying, C.<sup>146</sup> twey, C.<sup>147</sup> nemid, C.<sup>148</sup> mych, C.<sup>149</sup> P. om. et omnia genera artium non necessaria.<sup>150</sup> þise, P.<sup>151</sup> C. om. we.<sup>152</sup> precepit, C.<sup>153</sup> C. om. tamen.