IOHANNIS WYCLIF

TRACTATUS

DE BLASPHEMIA.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE VIENNA MS. 4514.

WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

BY

MICHAEL HENRY DZIEWICKI.

LONDON.

PUBLISHED FOR THE WYCLIF SOCIETY BY TRÜBNER & Co.

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The Wyclif Society.

Ninth Report of the Executive Committee, for 1891.
(*May*, 1891.)

The Committee again appeal urgently to Members to pay *Advance-Subscriptions*, and so enable the Society's work to be kept going. If every Member would but pay five years' money in advance, all would come right.

The books for 1891 (Dr. Beer's edition of *De Ente Predicamentali*, and *XIII Quaestiones Logicae*), 1892 (Prof. Loserth's edition of *De Eucharistia*), and 1893 (Mr. Dziewicki's edition of *De Blasphemia*), are now in the binders' hands, ready for issue to Members who will pay their Subscriptions for those years.

The books for 1894 (Mr. Dziewicki's edition of *Logica* and *Logicae Continuatio*, Wyclif's most generally interesting work), and 1895 and 1896 (Prof. Loserth's edition of *Opus Evangelicum*, a commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, two volumes), are now at press, and will be ready in 1891 or early in 1892.

Members will therefore see how important it is that *Five Years' Advance-Subscriptions* should be sent at once in order that all the work in hand may be provided for, and the debt

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paid which has been incurred for copying the treatises to be produced in these years. These copying charges have been taken from the income of past years, so that the printers' bills for 1890 and 1891 are still unpaid; but if Advance-Subscriptions for five years can be obtained this year, the whole of the Society's liabilities can be discharged, and its work to the end of 1896 paid for.

In order to increase the Society's funds, the Executive Committee have resolved that any Member may give the right to any Library or person to buy the first nine years of the Society's publications, 1882-90, at half-price—14 volumes at 4 guineas and a half—provided that with this sum are paid the full Subscriptions for 1891, 1892, and 1893.

England, Europe, and the rest of the Christian world owe so much to the memory of Wyclif, that support ought to be forthcoming for the printing of his Works, the records of his thoughts and life. Half the Society's task is done. It is for our Members to see that the other half is finished speedily. Editors are ready and willing. Money alone is wanting.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. The Manuscripts.

De Blasphemia is extant in no less than seven MSS., four belonging to the Vienna Hofbibliothek, one to Trinity College, Dublin, and the two others to public libraries in Prague. The Vienna and Dublin MSS. have been lettered as follows: Cod. Vind. 4514 (A); Trinity College, Dublin, C. 1, 24 (B); Cod. Vind. 1343 (C); Cod. Vind. 3933 (D), and Cod. Vind. 3935 (E). As for the two Prague MSS., the Executive Committee of the Wyclif Society has not thought it necessary to collate them, on account of the very great delay and expense already incurred in the collation of the others, as the Reports of the Society have fully explained. The same reasons have obliged me to dispense with the help of MSS. D and E after the first two chapters, their readings (as will appear to any one who examines them with care) not seeming sufficiently important to warrant any further collation. B and C are evidently the best manuscripts; A, from which the copy was made, unfortunately proved to be the worst of all, and moreover the copy came into my hands in such a state as to necessitate a complete revision of the text. I shall only say that in collating the Trinity MS. I often had to recur to that manuscript in order to make out my text, and that the observations of Dr. Poole on the copying of the MS. (A) of his *De Dominio Divino* (Introduction, pp. XIV, XV) apply with such striking truth to parts of the transcript of *De Blasphemia,* that I should not wonder if the copyist was the same in both cases. Other parts, however, particularly towards the end, were very fairly written.

A few remarks about each of the MSS. will suffice.

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A (Cod. Vind. 4514) is described at length in Mr. Pollard's *De Officio Regis*, Int. p. XXIX. Its untrustworthiness has obliged me very often indeed to adopt the readings of B and C. I need hardly say that the spelling, even when not pointed out in the footnotes, is often at variance with the other MSS., but spelling is so well known to have been thought little of by scribes of the period that I have considered it superfluous to correct it.

B (Trinity College, Dublin, C. 1, 24), described as F in *De Apostasia*, Int. p. V., is a very good MS.; and I at first thought it better than C. Towards the end of the work, however, I came to think that C was at least as good.

C (Cod. Vind. 1343) is described in the Introduction to *De Apostasia*, p. IV.

A full description of D (Cod. Vind. 3933) will be found in Dr. Buddensieg's *Wyclif's Polemical works*, Int. pp. XXXI, XXXII, and in *De Officio Regis* (Int. XXIX, XXX).

E (Cod. Vind. 3935) is described as B in *De Apostasia*, Int. IV, and more fully in Mr. Poole's *De Dominio Divino*, Int. XII, XIII.

The two Prague MSS. are also briefly described in *De Apostasia* as C (C. 73) and D (III, F. 11); the former belonging to the Domcapitelbibliothek, and the latter to the University Library. So far as I can see, the Committee was under the circumstances quite justified in deciding not to collate them, although C. 73 might possibly have turned out to be an independent source.

The MSS. C, D, E were partially collated, and A revised, by Dr. Goldmann with extreme care and conscientiousness; it was indeed owing to this very care that the Committee were enabled to judge that D and E might safely be set aside. My thanks are due to him, and also to Drs. Beer and Herzberg-Fränckel, who, throughout my stay in Vienna, rendered me every assistance in their power, with the greatest courtesy and friendliness. I collated B myself in the British Museum; and perhaps it will not be wholly superfluous to note here that I hardly ever took any notice of mere differences of spelling, of places of words when they did not alter the sense, nor even of such variants as *igitur* for *ergo*, *et* for *atque*, &c. I drew the line only at the smallest difference of sense.

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Throughout my work I have been favoured with the active help of Mr. Matthew, whose assistance, on this occasion as with *De Apostasia*, has been invaluable to me, and I feel that I cannot thank him too heartily, nor indeed as heartily as he deserves. The encouragement and advice of Dr. Furnivall, who prevailed on me to go to Vienna, has also been of much use. I must not forget to thank Dr. Birk, the Head Librarian of the Vienna Hofbibliothek, for having kindly placed the MSS. at my disposal.

II. Authenticity and date of the work.

Nothing need be said of the authenticity of *De Blasphemia;* both external and internal evidence on this point are too strong to leave us the shadow of a doubt. As to the date, I was at first of opinion that it must belong to the latter part of the year 1383 or the beginning of 1384. It was certainly written after *De Apostasia,* which it several times quotes (see pp. 48, 202, 220, 224). Now, in my Introduction to *De Apostasia*, p. VI. I had come to the conclusion that the Crusade in Flanders was alluded to in one instance, which sufficed to fix its date as simultaneous with that of the expedition; and in *De Blasphemia*, pp. 156, 191, we find expressions that may be construed as referring to the Crusade. I was indeed astonished at the amount of work that Wyclif, according to this supposition, had found means to crowd into one year; but on the other hand, the words *Cruciatum langwidum infinitum* seemed to me quite meaningless where they stood, unless I took *cruciatum* to be a mistake for *cruciatam.*

But this hypothesis encounters a difficulty that seems quite insuperable. Is is well known that the Peasants' Rebellion, under Wat Tyler, and the violent death of Archbishop Sudbury, took place in June, 1381. Now, in *De Blasphemia*, Wyclif alludes to this popular disturbance as having occurred quite recently; and this allusion is contained, not in one single ambiguous line, but in a long digression, pleading for the rebels and excusing them as far as possible (p. 190—200). Besides, towards the end of the work (p. 267) he again returns to the same subject, using the very significant words, *hoc anno.* "If *this year*", he says, "the rich clergy had offered to pay taxes to the king for the poor, there would then have been no need to revolt."

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It is barely possible and extremely improbable that this is merely an episode inserted into *De Blasphemia*, which may have been written at a later date. Not to mention the fact that it fits into the rest of the text quite as well as any of Wyclif's numerous digressions, there is another argument in favour of De Blasphemia being written in 1381. We have an allusion (pp. 89, 247) to a recent condemnation of Wyclif's theory of the Eucharist in Oxford. This condemnation is usually ascribed to the year 1382, May—November.[1] Now, Mr. Matthew[2] has proved — conclusively, in my opinion — that the date 1381, summer, usually given to the first appearance of Wyclif's doctrine on Transubstantiation, is in reality the date of his condemnation at Oxford. We have thus two separate indications, each pointing to the latter half of 1381 as the date of De Blasphemia.

But if we admit this date, *De Apostasia*, which was certainly written before it, must also be shifted backwards; and how then can I explain the words *cruciatum langwidum infinitum*, and the allusions to the Crusade in *De Blasphemia?* I must reluctantly say that I was too hasty in taking three words as a sufficiently precise indication on which to found the date of *De Apostasia*. Whatever its date may be, it stands between *De Simonia* and *De Blasphemia*, as it quotes the former and is quoted in the latter work; it was also written probably before *De Eucharistia*, because, though its doctrines are substantially the same, and it deals with the Eucharistic question in fifteen of its seventeen chapters, no mention is made of that work. And in *De Apostasia* Wyclif still holds to the *term* of Transubstantiation, which he definitively rejects in *De Eucharistia* (*De Ap.* 210; *De Euch. Int.* IV). As to explaining the words *cruciatum* &c., I give it up. So far as I can see, they have no meaning. If Wyclif intends to say that the devil leads his adherents to the torments of Hell, they would in one sense be 'infinite'; but 'languid' is an epithet that seems most misappropriate to such pains. All I can do here is to suppose the text corrupt through some copyist's mistake or the interpolation into the text of a remark originally intended as a foot-note.

[1] See Mr. Pollard's list of dates, *Dialogus, Int.* XIII, XIV. [2] English Historical Review, April, 1890.

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We have more difficulty in getting rid of the allusions to the Crusade in *De Blasphemia.*[1] It is indeed nowhere mentioned by name; but the allusions to it are quite transparent, if we consider that here was at the time no other movement — at once military and clerical — to which Wyclif's language could with any probability refer. These allusions seem therefore to have been made, if before the Crusade, only a short time before it; not two whole years, as the date of the work stands by the preceding considerations. We may suppose that Wyclif himself, after having finished his work, added a few remarks here and there in a later and (so to speak) revised edition; and possibly the *sicut ducit eos ad cruciatum* &c. of *De Apostasia,* may also be explained in the same way.

III. Contents of De Blasphemia.

One thing forcibly strikes the reader of *De Blasphemia:* the comparative violence of the language, when read after *De Apostasia.* Wyclif was evidently deeply wounded, and the reasons of this feeling are not difficult to discover; indeed his repeated allusions to the Oxford condemnation show clearly enough what they were. Yet he never, even when indignantly protesting against the injustice of the man who would burn him without hearing his defence (pp. 73—75), descends so far towards personalities as to name the man to whom he refers. And there is no advance in doctrine from *De Apostasia* and others of his later works. In fact, the concluding sentences of the book, — in which he declares himself ready, if need be, to retract his doctrine of the Eucharist (p. 287; see also p. 75), and merely says (p. 288) that as to confession, he thinks it necessary, but believes that Innocent III's decree was ill-considered, — seem to have been written with studied moderation, in view of a future citation at some tribunal or other.

The work, written immediately, or almost immediately after *De Apostasia,* has a much more defined plan than the former; though here, as everywhere else, Wyclif's digressive habits stick to him, and

[1] See pp. 156, 191, especially. We have even the word *crucient* on p. 156. Wyclif cannot allude to the suppression of the rebels by Spencer, Bishop of Norfolk; for in both these passages he distinctly points to a foreign land (alienam ecclesiam . . . exteros).

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we may observe of him what was said of Montaigne, that 'he knows perfectly well what he says, but does not know what he is going to say'. Subjects that we consider as separate are connected in his mind: from the authority of the Pope to the existence of the Friars, and from each to Transubstantiation and endowments, the transition is easy and frequently made; and we often find that what is nominally a head of discussion, and marked as such in his plan, becomes, so to speak, a mere peg to hang a digression upon.

Wyclif, after a short definition of blasphemy, immediately attacks its *root* (i. e. the Roman Curia) and then its *branches*, comprising the whole under the collective title of the 'twelve daughters of the diabolical Leech', or twelve 'tormentors of the Church (p. 54): the *Pope* (ch. I to V), the *Cardinals* (ch. V), the *Bishops* (ch. VI), the *Archdeacons* (ch. VII), the *officials*, to which is added a synopsis of Wyclif's views about confession (chs. VIII to XII); the rural *Deans, Rectors,* and *inferior Priests* (ch. XII); the *monks* (ch. XIII), the Friars (ch. XIV to XVII), the *door-keepers* or *clerks* (ch. XVII) and the *questors* (ch. XVIII).

Before proceeding to give an account of the contents of the work, I may say that I thought it would be interesting to confront Wyclif's doctrines with the acknowledged beliefs of the Church of Rome. Readers are frequently puzzled, when lighting upon some bold and startling theory, to decide whether the writer was bringing forward some new idea of his own, or merely laying stress upon some recognized doctrine of the Church. And for all such scholars as know the enormous influence exercised then as now by St. Thomas Aquinas, there is no need of my apologizing for having set face to face the 'Doctor Evangelicus' and the 'Angel of the School'.

Ch. I. Wyclif begins as usual with a short definition and division of blasphemy. It is committed, 1st, when we ascribe to God attributes that are not His; 2nd, when we deny His real attributes, and 3rd, when we ascribe His attributes to creatures. St. Thomas (Summa Theologiae, 2a, 2ae, qu. XIII, art. 1, *Ad 2m*) gives this division almost in the same words, but does not name the authors from whom he takes it[1], and points out that the division is not a

[1] A quibusdam dicitur.

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good one. — The relation between simony, apostasy, and blasphemy is then shown; as every mortal sin implies simony and apostasy, so it also implies blasphemy. As a corollary, Wyclif at once concludes that the root of blasphemy is in the Roman Curia, because a man most unlike Christ is said to be Christ's Vicar: discord between words and deeds is blasphemy, according to Augustine. A powerful invective follows against the worldliness, pride, secular pomp and effeminate luxury of the Roman Pontiff, whose life is in all points a contrast to the life of Christ. The ceremony of kissing the Pope's feet is inveighed against. Christ, even in the glory of His resurrection, did not *allow* Magdalen to kiss His feet; and the Pope *orders* his cardinals to kiss his! The counsel of humility, 'to take the lowest place', is utterly set at naught; but at the Day of Judgment he that acts thus will surely take the lowest place, Hell. Thus the Pope has no right to such homage as Vicar of Christ (p. 7—9); human traditions have nothing to do with holiness; it is not necessary to salvation to obey the Pope; and England, after the death of Urban VI, would do well to throw off his obedience, follow any one who would show himself by his works to be Christ's Vicar, and return to the purity of primitive Christianity. True, difficulties stand in the way; the opposite party is strong, endowments are a great temptation, and all these abuses are of very long standing: but it is flat heresy to oppose truth for such motives; the longer any abuse has existed, the greater the evil becomes.

Wyclif then brings forward three heads of an accusation of blasphemy against the Pope, calling the first *Hidden Power*. The Pope has no more right to give dispensations, absolve, and grant indulgences, than any other equally good priest. Dispensations in the matter of vows, if the vows were wisely made, are null and void; if otherwise, they are superfluous: a foolish vow ought not to be kept. Here we may say that St. Thomas (S. Th. 2^{a} 2^{ae}, qu. LXXXVIII, art. 12) has a very remarkable summary of the doctrine of his Church on this subject, which is not so far from Wyclif's opinion as might be thought. St. Thomas distinctly says (Ad 2^{m}) that a man who accepts a dispensation for a vow, without having at the least a reasonable doubt whether his vow was wisely made, is guilty of sin: this considerably limits the dispensing

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power.[1] Vows besides, adds Wyclif, speaking of perpetual vows, often have the effect of hindering us in our duty and tying us down to a beaten track.

Three objections are next refuted in detail. The facts that there were sects under the Old Dispensation proves nothing in favour of sects under the New; Anselm, praising monastic life, spoke of men who really observed the perfection of Christ's law; and vows have, according to St. Thomas, the effect of rendering venial sins mortal (S. Th. 2ª 2ªᵉ, qu. CLXXXVI, art. 9, 10). — This quotation of St. Thomas should however, be read in the original; he by no means admits that this effect is caused by the vows, nor does he even grant that sins committed through mere frailty become more grievous; those alone that are perpetrated 'ex contemptu' become worse. — Vows that we cannot keep ought not to be kept; for God cannot command what is impossible. Wyclif also shows that liberty is destroyed to a great extent by the rules of the sects; a point to which he returns in the last chapter (pp. 280 and seq.). And as, notwithstanding his Determinism, he is a strong upholder of individual free-will, this is a very important thing with him. It would here be irrelevant to show how his system reconciles free-will and Determinism *(Omnia que eveniunt, de necessitate eveniunt);* it would also take far too much space; but the working out of his system appears clearly in his philosophical works, of which I have had the occasion to copy some, and to collate others.

1st Wyclif then, implicitly granting that the Pope has power over the Orders, points out how that power could best be exercised: by giving a general dispensation of vows to all monks and friars. Such a dispensation, necessary for Christian liberty, would assimilate the secular to the regular clergy, while it need not absolutely interfere with the claustral life of such as prefer living thus. Should the Pope hesitate to grant this liberty, God will grant it (pp. 14—15). Authorities are quoted in favour of this view: Bernard and Anselm use words that identify the profession of Christianity with that of

[1] See also art. 10 and the whole of qu. LXXXVIII, in regard to Wyclif's position that the vows of Baptism are the most solemn of all, and render all others superfluous (p. 11).

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monachism, and Lanfranc holds that we are quite justified in withdrawing from a monastery where our salvation is in danger. Such use of the Papal authority would be far better than commanding angels and regulating things of the next world, as Wyclif complains that 'Pope Clement' — perhaps Robert of Geneva — had done in a certain bull of his.

2nd The second head of accusation is *False Wisdom,* which is very briefly disposed of. If the Pope possesses the power of the keys, he must claim for himself supernatural wisdom in order to use them properly; but facts sufficiently disprove this assumption, and it must be made for all that.

3rd *Feigned benevolence.* Here the temporal power, constantly asserted by the Popes to be indispensable for the good government of the Church, and to be only claimed out of zeal and charity, is affirmed to proceed from quite contrary motives. If it were necessary, God would not allow it to be taken away; and the Pope's want of success shows that his temporal power, condemned by the life of Christ, is displeasing to God. We should rise up and refuse to obey him; but the perils of such a course render it more prudent to stand aside and await events. Wyclif darkly hints at a miraculous intervention of Divine Providence.

Ch. II. (pp. 18--41) deals for the most part with the Eucharistic question (pp. 31); it then returns to assail the authority of the Pope. After complaining of the exalting of traditions, the abasement of Christ's school, and the putting forward of evil doctrines under the appearance of good, Wyclif exemplifies the latter in the case of the Eucharist. It is idolatry to adore the visible Sacrament as God, for it certainly is not God. It is adored under pretext of devotion: idolaters may be very devout, but false devotion cannot please the God of truth. The more abject the sign worshipped, the greater the crime: now, the Host is, according to these men, nothing but a lot of empty appearances; it is therefore the most degrading of all idolatries. The people believe that the Host which they see is identical with Christ; and the Friars, wishing, as they say, to favour popular devotion, allow this error to prevail, though their own doctors[1]

[1] St. Thomas, for instance.

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declare the contrary. Neither the sign of Christ's presence nor a mere accident can be identical with Him; and if the consecrated Hosts differ from each other in many things, how can they be all identical with Christ? It may be denied that the people is infected with such an error: but this is a question of fact, and easily answered. We cannot consider it as a sufficient reply to say that we believe what the Church believes, or that the dogma is not fundamental. Idolatry or faith? that is the question, and we may not say that it is of slight consequence. Others blaspheme, saying that the words of Scripture are obscure; but both the adversaries and the adherents of this system maintain that they are quite plain. Wyclif then, quoting from *De Eucharistia,* states his position: that the consecrated bread is Christ's Body figuratively, not naturally; sacramentally not substantially; metaphorically, not identically. — I have dwelt at length, in the Introduction to *De Apostasia,* upon the doctrinal meaning of Wyclif's Eucharistic theory: what he says about it in *De Blasphemia* brings us no new light, and there will therefore be no occasion to add here any remarks on the subject.

We should believe Scripture, he goes on to say, and care little for what either the Pope or the Sects may affirm on this matter. Pope Innocent's decrees[1] may be wrong; and, infallibility depending upon personal holiness, there is a strong case against that ambitious Pope. Yet we should, out of respect, explain the decree, understanding 'transubstantiation' to mean 'conversion.' The Friars, however, take it to mean annihilation of the substance of bread, so that nothing remains but the accidents; of what sort, they are unable to say. This is blindness. The accidents indeed remain in the act of our mind that contemplates them; but the activity of the subject is lost sight of, not destroyed.

The contrary hypothesis involves 1st *Much dissimulation;* for when Friars hear it said that we see Christ with the bodily eye, they find it convenient to remain silent; they cannot even refrain from subtilizing as concerns the essence of the sacrament of Baptism; lucre is the true motive of the dissembling of these teachers of lies, to whom no Christian ought to give aid. 2nd, *False miracles*; for in-

[1] *Firmiter* and *Cum Marthae.*

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stance, the destruction of the bread, contrary to all the ancient Doctors of the Church,[1] and the presence of Christ's Body in the Host, with all its qualities, as in Heaven. 3rd *Great absurdities.* The Sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's Body; or it is at the same time Christ and the most abject of entities. In the Host, all the parts of our Lord's Body are mixed up together in ridiculous confusion; according to those Doctors, the very impossibility of a thing is a reason for our believing it. The theory of the multiplication of Christ's Body in different Hosts would place Christ above and below Himself, &c. with infinite other absurd conclusions. The presence of Christ in the Host by no means involves the multiplication of His Body, for He is present figuratively, and a figurative Body can be present without multiplication in many places. This view of Christ's presence is preferable to any other, as it cuts short the idolatry into which the people are too apt to fall.

Wyclif then (p. 31) proceeds to attack the Pope's authority. Here is idolatry again; he is worshipped as Christ's Vicar; this is worse than the adoration of a piece of wood. Peter, Paul and Barnabas allowed no one to prostrate himself before them; if the Pope exacts such honours to be paid to himself personally, he is guilty of idolatry: of which we must purify the Church.

The first step towards such purification is to relieve her of the riches with which she is burdened; the influence of the priesthood is diminished rather than strengthened by them: the inequality of wealth that we see in the world is merely a punishment for sin. The upper classes require riches and power, to keep up their temporal authority; merchants may possess a moderate competence, but must not charge too dear, and are, on the authority of Chrysostom, advised not to trade to foreign ports for articles that they would only re-sell at a higher price. As for the clergy, it is absolutely necessary that they should be free from all superfluous wealth, and receive as alms

[1] Particularly to St. Thomas Aquinas. He denies, not that God can, but that He does, annihilate anything (S. Th. 1a, qu. CIV. art. 4); and on this account he says that the bread, being changed into something better (Christ's Body), is not destroyed (3a, qu. LXXV, art. 3); though indeed, as he admits that the substance of bread is neither in the Host nor anywhere else, it is hard to understand whether this is or is not more than a mere question of words.

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the tithes given freely by the rich, while the poor offer up their prayers as spiritual tithes. For tithes are a duty that we owe to God, not a source of merit; if we wish to have merit, according to Augustine's doctrine, we must put the other nine-tenths of our possessions (setting aside what is indispensable for food and raiment) into God's treasury under the form of alms, never forgetting that nothing rightly belongs to any Christian, except in so far as it helps him to serve God. This rule is too often simoniacally set aside by the clergy, especially as regards the collation of benefices; and it thus happens that prelates to whom the spiritual power is wanting (precisely because they are proud of that power which God, withholding from them, may give to an unknown priest) are set over the people.

After this digression, Wyclif goes on to examine the arguments in favour of Papal power, especially as regards the Pope's claim to grant dispensations. He has no more right to the promises made to Peter than he has to be called the light of the world; the power to loose and to bind depends exclusively upon personal holiness. To dispense validly, we must dispense according to God's will: but that would require infallibility, to which the Pope cannot pretend. (It may here be remarked that Catholic theologians, even now, though they claim a certain amount of Divine assistance and guidance for the Pope in matters of Church discipline, do not by any means ascribe infallibility to him in that respect. But neither do they admit that infallibility is necessary in matters of discipline.) — Wyclif states that this dispensing power implies that whatever the Pope does is right, and that he will be saved. Yet all his power consists solely in the agreement of his sentence with God's. As it now stands, it is very weak indeed, as we see by the light of present events; the Pope, having no earthly power, cannot open or shut the gates of Heaven, and, unable even to set up a friendly prince in a country to which he lays claim, cannot possibly grant remission of sins and indulgences. Such great power, if he had it, should be first applied to himself. The chapter concludes with a warning both to laymen and to monks and friars, not to confide in the Pope nor uphold him.

Ch. III (pp. 41—51) is a short one. Three false principles, from which the root of blasphemy springs — 1st, that every Bishop of Rome is Christ's Vicar; 2nd, that he is infallible in matters of faith

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and 3rd, that his laws are above the Gospel — are attacked. Wyclif argues against the first only, because, that destroyed, the other two must go at once. As a fact, many Popes have been apostates. Election neither gives, nor forces God to give the virtue requisite for the elect to become Christ's Vicar: even Christ's election had no such power in the case of Iscariot. Election aims, not (as it ought to do) at choosing one of the elect, but at giving a purely secular position to the man chosen. It is thus a source of great danger, leading men astray for the most part, and giving them to believe that the Pope is the elect of God. To elect a Vicar of Christ is tantamount to declaring that a certain man is predestinate; which, unless in the case of special revelation, is blasphemy.

These three principles destroyed by overthrowing the first of them, Wyclif proceeds to substitute in their place and to prove three contrary principles. 1st, No man is more likely to be Antichrist than the Roman Pontiff. Where there are more facilities for a man to set himself up in Christ's place, there is more likelihood that he will do so. Such is the case with the Pope. 2nd The Pope is to be believed only when his words agree with Holy Writ. His duty is not to make articles of faith, but to expound Scripture in all humility. 3rd To follow any man rather than the Gospel, is rank blasphemy.

From these principles flows a corollary. The different religious Orders, having their being only by Papal statutes not grounded on Scripture, ought to be put down. That there are good points in the present system proves nothing whatever in its favour. God's law is said to be the standard according to which the Orders act, but in reality they care for nothing but their own traditions. This is a dangerous practical error, for it is the source of all divisions in the Church, each man seeking his own. But the root of all the evil was the perpetuity of the Pope's approbation of these sects.

It may be objected that the Church needs a Head. — True, but not a visible one. Christ is the Head of the Church; yet it was expedient that even *His* visible presence should be taken away from us. As we see now, visible Heads occasion schisms in the Church. And we, as brethren, should avoid all dissensions. St. Jerome, quoted here, says that custom can change nothing in matters of faith; that a Bishop (or priest) may rank higher or lower according to his wealth,

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but that all are equal; and that one of the Apostles was set over the others, in order to avoid schism.

All that is now changed; pride is the source of greatness in the Church, blasphemies are multiplied, indulgences are abusively granted, new laws are continually made. This, even if done by ignorance, does not excuse the doers; the origin of this evil — temporal possessions — must be taken away from the Church, and the clergy should feed their flock with the bread of Holy Writ.

Ch. IV (pp. 52—65) begins with a beautiful theory on the ultimate aim of man's being. He was placed in this world only to serve God and to yearn towards Heaven; to help him thereto, God has given him the example of the natural sky, with its sublime influences over our earth, of the Sacrament, in which terrestrial matter is lost sight of, and of Christ's Humanity, which is merged in the Godhead; all in order to foster within us the virtue of unworldliness. All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal, which is increased by the devil, whom Wyclif calls a leech. This diabolical leech has twelve daughters, ever crying Give, give: viz., Popes, cardinals, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, rectors, common priests, monks, friars, doorkeepers and questors; but our author notes expressly that he excepts from the number all such as lead a Christian life.

This division, coming rather late in the work, is nevertheless as good as any that Wyclif usually employs. We have already seen that most of what precedes, from the very beginning of the work, is aimed at the Pope, though of course with frequent digressions to one side and to another. The rest of this chapter may also be said to belong to the first of Wyclif's divisions; so that the first 'daughter of the leech' is dealt with, more or less directly, from p. 1. to p. 65.

How can we know that any man is a pseudo-pope? By his attachment to earthly things, which has increased ever since the disastrous endowment of the Church, accepted by Sylvester, against the spirit of the Fathers of the early Church: witness Augustine, who distinctly condemns the idea of a Bishop accepting money from a father to the disadvantage of his son. Now in almost every case of endowment, the giver has legal heirs, to whom the property ought to revert, and Augustine either condemned all endowments, or was inconsistent. These endowments besides weaken the secular power, so necessary

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to the Church; they pervert the clergy, diminish charity amongst them, and cause dissensions and wars. All this is through the folly or the mistaken piety of some temporal lords who made these endowments. They are responsible for all those blasphemies about the 'patrimony of the Crucified', the authority to excommunicate, the assumption of holding all power from Christ, whereas the Pope, pretending to be 'like unto the most High', more nearly resembles Lucifer. Unworldliness in the Pope is absolutely indispensable; the King of Pride can otherwise never be conquered; the conflict is hard enough as it is. Christ's deeds are no less explicit than His words. He had not where to lay His head. Both reason and faith tell us that riches are good only in so far as they help us heavenward; which, if excessive, they cannot do. Let our luxurious prelates remember the Rechabites, and consider themselves as 'Anathema'; for, since they do not keep Christ's commandments, they do not love Him.

Sylvester's motive in accepting endowments was doubtless good; yet he sinned, for the results of his acts have been most disastrous to all Christendom. At present, if Christ were to appear unknown and to blame the life of Church dignitaries, he would be burned as a heretic or scoffed at as a madman: for Christ's followers are thus treated now for doing likewise. According to Christ, the last should be first, and the humblest the highest, not the proudest. And since Constantine's endowment has done so much harm, it is the duty of the secular prince to undo the harm done by a secular prince; he must refuse aid to bad priests, and humble the 'head of blasphemy'.

Ch. V (pp. 65—80) attacks the college of Cardinals as the second 'conjugatio' of the daughters of the leech. Their name, taken by syllables, is found to mean *CARior DIaboli NAtus, LIcium Seminator;* taken by letters, it stands for *Custos Apostatarum Regni Diaboli, Iuvans Nequissimum Ad Legem Judicis Sopiendam.* A general condemnation is then passed upon them on account of their essential aim, which is to favour Papal pretensions. Their dignities are without Scripture warrant; Christ ordained none but priests and deacons; all other dignities encroach upon the honour due to secular powers, and spring from the love of vainglory. The college of Cardinals compares itself to the Apostles; if so, it is responsible for the present state of the Church, which is governed by the Cardinals.

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Wyclif's doctrine, it is argued, would ruin all Church endowments. So it would. But there are in the world three kingdoms: that of Antichrist, that of secular princes, and Christ's Kingdom. The abolition of endowments would destroy the first, it is true, but would be favourable to the others (pp. 68—70). Again, it would do away with all hierarchical distinctions; but there would remain the inward distinctions of personal holiness. Excommunications would also cease, at least such as are pronounced for the sake of temporal gain, and are prefigured by the treachery of him that sold our Lord for money. Their frequency is in itself a good proof of the spirit in which they are pronounced, and their disproportion to the offence (for instance, those pronounced to avenge injuries inflicted on a Cardinal) is a crying scandal. The same may be said of many other practices that implicitly assert the Pope's universal dominion.

Here Wyclif deals with the question whether all prelates are heretics; a consequence that would seem to follow from his line of argument. Many are called heretics, who are not. Christ himself was called so. This is a point that God alone, not the Pope, can decide. But a certain prelate has imagined a new method of procedure as to heretical doctrines; the accused must answer simply *yes* or *no* to all questions without any explanations, and if *yes*, he is at once to be burnt as a heretic, and his bishop is to be deposed for tolerating him. — This sentiment clearly proceeds from some very fierce enemy of Wyclif, probably a Bishop who had formerly been a Friar. It is so flatly contrary to every notion of justice, that I suspect it to have been only one of those unguarded sentences that sometimes fall from the lips of orators, either in the pulpit or elsewhere. However this may be, it is inveighed against in a passage of great energy and eloquence. Judges may err; no law — except perhaps that of Mahomet — could ever tolerate such proceedings. The idea of deposing Bishops was no doubt first entertained by some apostate who wished to get their sees for himself. Then, addressing the unnamed author of the proposal, Wyclif exclaims: "O thou hypocrite! . . . in thine own diocese there are thousands of heretics; and how then canst thou dare to exhort a Bishop, under penalty of losing his see, to condemn a man for heresy in a

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place[1] not under his jurisdiction and in a matter which thou, babbler as thou art! canst not even conceive? Most surely, I may retort, thou art an arch-heretic (coronatus hereticus) unless thou showest that he is a heretic whom thou thus blindly accusest." This, Wyclif goes on to explain, refers to his own views on the Eucharist, which he contends are far more orthodox than those of his opponent. Yet that man would burn him without suffering him to reply! And Bishops are to be deposed for suffering heretics; whereas Christ Himself suffered Judas, *and suffers this apostate too!*

Heretical prelates, he continues, ought indeed to be most severely punished, but not put to death by the Church; this would be contrary to Christ's spirit of love. Scripture commands us to avoid them; the sentence of excommunication would be the very fact of a life contrary to Christ's law; and no temporal succour should be given to perverse members of the clergy, except in cases of absolute want. Tithes ought not to be paid to bad priests, whatever the consequences of refusal may be: the case of dues to be paid to secular lords without enquiring into their lives, is by no means parallel. If secular lords compel the faithful to pay tithes, the clergy will come to consider them, not as alms, but as a right. The reason of all this backsliding is our forgetfulness of the example of Christ.

Ch. VI (pp. 80—94.) The Bishops form the third class of tormentors of the Church; they have much degenerated, and want to be again set in the right way by being discharged of the burden of riches. It is for the good of their souls; they cannot complain of being unjustly compelled to do what is right; according to Augustine, it is even a duty of charity to compel them. They cannot maintain that the intention of those who first made the endowments was to bring about the present state of things, or that the heirs have no longer any right over that which has been given away, since these very heirs still appoint to benefices in many a case; and therefore they still have a right to their possessions. Those that harm the clergy by endowments are severely punished by the evil effects result-

[1] *In a place*, etc. . . . in loco exempto. This bears special reference to the Bishop o Lincoln, and is a marked instance of Wyclif's strong University feeling. The Bishop was always claiming jurisdiction over the University, which the University disclaimed.

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ing therefrom. Bishops now give curses instead of blessings, and thus beget sons of the devil; property becomes less, a general rebellion is impending, and all will be destroyed, unless God's providence intervenes to save us.

The fallacy of false piety, intending to honour Christ's disciples, is met by the fact that Christ upon earth refused all such honour. Friars excuse their high living by the good they do; such an excuse would be just as available for every possible excess. They justify their splendid churches by Solomon's temple; that argument would give every Bishop, like Solomon, a number of wives and concubines. To excuse such scandals is to be worse than Iscariot; he at least affected to think of the poor, when he reproached Magdalen: they do not. When that poverty to which Friars pretend, is said to be indispensable to the clergy, they cry, Heresy! and admitting that the same man may be a member of Christ and of Belial, they grant that Christ is the devil: an awful blasphemy. No 'foreknown' can possibly be a member of Christ, nor can one of the elect be a member of the devil, though either may be for a time in a state of grace or of sin. — There is a difficulty concerning this proposition (which is quite Catholic, if we understand the words 'member of Christ' in a peculiar way); for Wyclif, in one passage that I have not been able to identify, though I remember it quite distinctly, denies that a 'prescitus' can receive baptism; and as, according to the usual doctrine, baptism — either of water,[1] fire or blood — is an indispensable preliminary to being in a state of grace, I do not see how our author can consistently admit that 'prescitus potest esse in graciam secundum presentem iusticiam.'

Apostates are compared to warm water that 'freezes more quickly than cold, because its pores are dilated', and Christian charity which alone can save the people, is likened to the ointment on Aaron's head (the clergy) which descended unto his beard (the temporal lords) and even to the hem of his garment (the common people). And let those who would hinder this union of charity lose all their property,

[1] In the Trialogus (IV. c. 12) however, Wyclif admits that a 'praescitus' can receive the baptism '*fluminis*' but not '*flaminis*'. This may answer my difficulty, but it brings others to the front.

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especially the Friars. Let no man give them any temporal aid; if they pretend to be in absolute want, let them work.

Some Friars condemn what they do not understand, like the seven doctors at Oxford, who have condemned my doctrine of the Eucharist. Though they clearly know nothing whatever about *what* it is, they have proceeded to determine *how* Christ is present therein. The Gospels all say that the bread is Christ's body.

Wyclif again returns to the punishment that he wishes to be meted out to these conspirators against Christ's law: alms should be withheld from them. Each of the Orders hate the others, yet all of them join to withstand him who would reform the Church. They are like the Pharisees in Christ's time, and answer well to the different significations of the Hebrew word.

The Bishops (for Wyclif happens to return to them at the end of the chapter) should give the people an example of poverty, of spiritual chastity, and of obedience to Christ; but since endowments have rendered it impossible for them to do so, they have gone wrong. They commit injustice, trouble the State, blind the people, and are disobedient stewards.

I have given a very full summary of the first six chapters, wishing the reader to notice how prone Wyclif is to repeat his conclusions, his arguments, and often his own words as regards his great topics: the Pope, Church endowments, the Friars, and the Holy Sacrament. And as he is always digressing into one or the other of these subjects, a much briefer synopsis will suffice henceforward, except as regards his theory of confession (chs. VIII—XII), and the rebellion of the peasants (almost the whole of ch. XIII).

Ch. VII (p. 94—110) attacks the Archdeacons, their pride and luxury, the slight fines that they inflicted for sins in order to get more money, and especially the abuse of excommunication and absolution. Excommunication, whether active or passive, may be right or wrong according as both the sentence and the motive agree or do not agree with God's law; but excommunication with bell, book and candle is to be utterly condemned. There follows a rather fine-drawn parallel between this practice and the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The people ought to excommunicate wicked priests by holding aloof from them; yet, as we never can be quite sure that

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a man is a castaway, it is lawful to communicate even with the worst of men for their good. At present the greatest abuses prevail: all excommunications may be raised or absolutions obtained for money: the latter are given to robbers through fear. It is a proof that neither is worth anything. Excommunication ought, (1st) always to arise from a feeling of charity toward the person excommunicated, (2nd) never to be prouounced chiefly on account of a temporal motive; (3rd) God's law should never be forsaken because of human excommunications: they are then harmless thunderbolts. The duty of the faithful is to remain steadfast, notwithstanding the intimidation practised on both clergy and laity. If our persecutors say that obedience is due to them, we affirm that it is due to Christ alone, and to such as follow Christ. We resist their excommunications, in spite of the unjust laws that favour them; and we shall appeal to the king, as we have the right to do. This right they themselves implicitly acknowledge by calling for the aid of the secular arm.

Ch. VIII nominally deals with the 'fifth tormentor', the official whose business it was to obtain money by means of penance; but in reality it says nothing about him, and is completely filled up with Wyclif's opinions on the sacrament of Penance. In order to understand fully in how far he agrees and in how far he is in contradiction with the Church of Rome, I must premise a few statements on the Roman Catholic doctrine concerning this subject.

The sacrament of *Penance* is necessary to salvation, but not absolutely, only hypothetically (S. Th. 3a, qu. LXXXIV, art. 5). No mortal sin can be remitted without, and all are forgiven with Penance (qu. LXXXVI. art. 1, 2). Penance removes the eternal, but not necessarily the temporal punishment of sin (art. 4, 5). Sins once forgiven do not return, if the sinner falls again (qu. LXXXVIII, art. 1). Penance consists of *contrition*, *confession*, and *satisfaction* (qu. XC, art. 2). *Contrition* must extend to all sins (suppl. 3ae Partis, qu. II, art. 3), is the greatest of all sorrows, and cannot be excessive in itself, only in its effects (qu. III, art. 1, 2); it may, if sufficiently intense, remove even all the temporal punishment due to sin (qu. V. art. 2). *Confession* is necessary to salvation 'vel actu . . . vel saltem voto, quando articulus necessitatis, non contemptus, sacramentum excludit'. — Thus, when it is possible to confess, confession must be made.

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We shall see that Wyclif admits this; but then his theory of the necessary personal holiness of all priests whose absolutions are valid, interferes with the practical working of his theory; it is useless, even hurtful to confess to one who cannot give absolution. — All are obliged to confess once a year, even such as have only venial sins; not indeed 'jure divino', but jure 'positivo', according to Pope Innocent's decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* (qu. VI, art. 3). But towards the end of the article (ad tertium dicendum) it is remarked that, according to some, the Decree is believed to have no bearing upon such as have committed no mortal sin during the whole year. — This, as we shall see, has direct relation to one of Wyclif's many objections to the statute of Pope Innocent. — The Pope himself cannot grant a dispensation from the law of confession. He can only release from the obligation of the Canon, not from the Divine commandment; for it is 'de jure divino' (art. 6). Confession must be made to a priest (qu. VIII. art. 1), though in certain cases it may be made to a layman with advantage (art. 2). — Wyclif and St. Thomas both agree on this point, though for different reasons. The former seems (p. 148) to think that an 'elect,' though a layman, has the power to grant absolution; St. Thomas says that in such cases the confession is only 'sacramentalis quodammodo,' the priestly power failing. — Only the priest who has received jurisdiction from his superiors has the right to hear confessions (art. IV). And here we may add, by the way, that St. Thomas appears to be much stricter on this point than the present custom of the Roman Catholic Church would warrant. He even says (ad secundum) that it is not lawful to receive communion at the hands of any other but the appointed priest. Certainly a Catholic living in London might confess there in the evening, and communicate in Liverpool the next morning, without being blamed in any way. — Many considerations, and not only the grievousness of the sin, are to be taken into account in imposing penances (art. 7). Confession with contrition (or contrition with the desire and intention to confess) delivers from the death of sin, and partly from the penalties due to sin (qu. IX, art. 1, 2). The seal of confession may *on no account whatever* be broken (qu. XI, art. 1). The confessor may even swear that he knows nothing of the confession (ad tertium); for it has been made to him as standing in God's place. This rule

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holds, not only for the confessor, but also for all that may in any way happen to hear the confession; and *the Pope himself may not grant a dispensation to allow a priest to reveal a sin told in confession.* The penitent alone can allow this (art. 4). Priests have power, but not arbitrary power, to enjoin penances (qu. XVIII, art. 4). *Bad priests have the 'power of the keys',* so long as their jurisdiction remains; but *not even Saints have that power, unless they are priests* (qu. XIX. art. 4, 5.)

We may now return to the synopsis of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. VIII (p. 110—128) examines and attacks the law *Omnis utriusque sexus;* Chs. IX (p. 128—143) and X (143—156) determine to what extent oral confession is necessary, whilst Ch. XI solves several other problems, connected with the Sacrament of penance.

Starting from the definition of penance as *a sacrament by which sins are effaced from the heart and expiated,* contradicted by the assumption that, according to the decree of Innocent III. "all the faithful must, when arrived at the age of discretion, confess privately at least once a year to the appointed priest set over them, and endeavour to do the penance he enjoins them" (which implies that penance includes confession and absolution), Wyclif attacks this law. First of all, according to the Fathers, (Ambrose and Gregory, for instance) this confession is not penance; for their definition of penance does not include confession. Nor is it included, if we define Penance as "a virtue by which we deplore sin"; it is therefore a rite superadded to what is essential in the sacrament.

It is not reasonable to force the faithful to confess once a year 'proprio sacerdoti', for a *proper* priest is too often not to be found; the obligation is either too loose or too strict, since it obliges to confession even those that have not sinned[1], and does not oblige even the greatest sinners to confess oftener; the law, besides, takes no account of exceptional cases, of deaf persons, wanderers, &c. There are also logical difficulties; for every instant a new year begins. And it is impossible to remember all the sins of a whole year; but, if they are not confessed in detail, how can a proper penance be assigned? Priests are now completely blinded, and unfit to be the confessors of a true Christian; they do not follow the law themselves. Besides

[1] See p. XXV, l. 9, 10.

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their not being able to decide what penance ought to be given, it is certain that no amount of penance is sufficient in the sight of God. God's mercy either does or does not make up for insufficient penance; if it does, discernment in the priest is unnecessary; if it does not, we must find injustice everywhere, different priests enjoining different penances for the very same sin. It is useless here to fall back upon the notion of expiation in Purgatory, for an insufficient penance may result in sending the penitent to Hell; and even if not, the sufferings of Purgatory are the most severe of penalties. The very difficult science of enjoining proper penances is at present abandoned, and arbitrary penances are given; because, if the ancient canons were followed, no one would confess. Yet what was once possible is possible even now. The real motive of this conduct is worldly gain; these priests prefer to impose fines on their penitents, and, like bad doctors, ought to be hung. The law requiring the penitent to be *alone*, heretically implies that God can possibly not be present, that no confession is valid, if overheard; and it gives occasion to sins of lust. *Solus* besides can not apply to a woman.

Passing rapidly by the question of the seal of confession, to which he objects more at length in another part of the work, Wyclif points out the rigour of the law obliging every one to confess to the priest hierarchically appointed. Why should we have to ask leave to go to another, when we have good reasons for acting thus? And if the 'proper priest' alone can, according to the decree, grant the required permission, it follows that his Bishop has no right to do so, and therefore no jurisdiction. God gives the right to hear confessions at the same time as He gives the priesthood.

No formula of absolution is to be found in Scripture; all Christians can grant absolution. The priest, not knowing whether his penitent is contrite, is ignorant whether the absolution really takes place, or no: yet he utters the sacramental words — perhaps a falsehood. If the absolution is given provisionally, then the pardon is uncertain, and any other man could give it just as well. Augustine himself says that the absolution of a priest separated from the communion of the Church is not valid; this may possibly be true of the whole present hierarchy. According to Canon Law, if a Bishop has once ordained

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a wicked priest, he no longer has the right[1] to ordain. And if the Bishop cannot ordain, then the priests he has consecrated are mere laymen.

Wyclif, summing up at the close of this chapter the principal motives for his opposition to the law — its injustice, its uselessness, and the spirit of greed that prompted it, — says in conclusion that it might perhaps be explained in agreement with his own views, but that he prefers to reject it simply and follow the law of Christ.

Ch. IX examines the necessity of confession to a priest. After refuting several false notions about the time of its institution, which, as a Church law, Wyclif identifies with the date of Innocent's decree, he rejects it as such on the ground of superfluity. On the other hand, he freely admits the necessity of confession in itself, as a law of our fallen human nature. Oral confession is a necessary means to be delivered from sin; every natural want supposes the means of satisfying it; and deliverance from sin is the greatest need of man. As one man ought to help another in his bodily wants, so he ought also to do for the wants of his soul. Thus confession is to be read of both in the times of the Old Law and of the New, though we nowhere hear of auricular confession. In the days of the early Church, however, confession, whether public or private, was *always free and unconstrained*. It is this point especially that rouses Wyclif's aversion to the law *Omnis utriusque sexus*. He indeed brings forward many objections that would seem to imply opposition to the practice of confession in itself; but in the light of subsequent and most unequivocal utterances, especially the declaration with which the whole work closes (p. 288), we cannot admit that there was any such opposition. He was certainly in favour of public, and also of auricular confession; but voluntary, not forced.

There are therefore three sorts of confession; one made to God with true repentance; this kind is absolutely necessary to salvation. Another is made to man; it is a law of nature, confirmed by Christ. The third sort is a mere human institution, rendered compulsory and exalted into an absolutely necessary instrument of salvation. Yet even

[1] The *right*, but not the *power*. Wyclif supposes that the power is taken away. It is unanimously admitted amongst Roman Catholic theologians, that even schismatical Bishops have the power to ordain.

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this confession may be pleasing to God on the part of the priest, or of the penitent, or of both; and unless a parish priest is reasonably suspected of sin, his parishioners should confess to him as often as they need it.

Wyclif then, after a short digression about Innocent III., the Friars, and the Eucharist, answers three objections. 1st. It is lawful to compel men to do good. — Yes; but such compulsion falls only upon exterior acts, and the use of force is the duty of temporal, not spiritual masters. 2nd. Hugo of St. Victor, Bede, Augustine and Grosseteste all agree that confession is necessary to salvation. — Yet it is certainly not *absolutely* necessary, as many examples and Chrysostom's authority prove; that only belongs to contrition; human ordinances cannot be compared with Christ's law. We must avoid both extremes: no confession at all, and forced confession. What the above mentioned doctors say refers to the former error.

3rd. There is (Ch. X, p. 143) no strict definition of penace, as understood in the first or the second sense; all is vague. — This is denied, for the definition has been given already. What makes the difference between voluntary and obligatory confession is, that the latter is exacted in order to get money. Most priests only ask the penitent whether he has paid his tithes. Rather confess to the devil than to such idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretics! Never should alms be in any case given to the confessor, even should excommunication ensue (p. 145). Let us abhor this tendency to submit to every command, whether right or wrong.

A long quotation from Grosseteste follows, in which he gives the characteristics of Penance: he speaks of confession, as Wyclif remarks, only if and when it is possible. If we are truly contrite, God will always absolve us; if we are not, even the Pope could not. Absolution should never be unconditional; it is blasphemy for a priest to take upon himself the sins of another man, especially for money. Augustine says that every aggravating circumstance — *who* has committed *what* sin, *where, how often, with how many* and *what* persons, *why, how,* and *when* — should all be examined, and such penance given as may serve to correct the fault; yet we must not suppose that any penance enjoined by the priest is a sufficient atonement for sins that have been committed.

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As I remark in a foot-note on p. 152, Wyclif seems to confound two quite different aspects of the enjoined penance; and I think it is as well to point this out, as tending more clearly to show the Roman Catholic point of view, and by comparison, Wyclif's also. Contrition, confession and satisfaction are three essential parts of Penance, as a sacrament; and by 'satisfaction' the penance given by the priest in confession is meant here. Without the *intention* at the moment of absolution to fulfil that penance, the absolution itself is null and void; and to neglect, still more to omit wilfully that fulfilment, is a sin that must be told in the next confession. So much for the *forgiveness*. But it does not follow that there is no further penalty to pay, because a sin is forgiven. That might indeed be, if the contrition were sufficiently intense, but in most cases a temporal punishment remains to be undergone, even when the satisfaction. i. e. the *penance* has been accomplished. Now, so far as I have been able to understand the Roman Catholic creed, indulgences bear upon satisfaction only in the latter sense, not in the former. And if anyone were to say that the penance imposed by the priest does away completely with all liabilities incurred by sin, it would follow that indulgences would be quite useless, for the penance imposed by the priest is requisite to the validity of the sacrament, and can be dispensed with by no indulgence, but only in a subsequent confession. If therefore Wyclif understood it in this sense, he would be proving a thesis against which no one ever said anything. On the other hand the shortest prayer enjoined by the priest is considered sufficient to render the sacrament *valid*. I of course do not allude to sins of theft, for which the priest has no right to grant, nor the penitent to receive absolution, without a sincere promise of restitution. There are also other cases in which, if a penitent does not make certain promises to prove his good will, no absolution can be given.

Another digression follows, in which the Pope is severely blamed for his attachment to temporal power; Bishops who are greedy for money, punishing sinners by yearly fines, are branded as hirelings and wolves; and a beautiful passage from Ambrose is quoted, to the effect that, in order not to fear death, we must live unworldly lives. Temporal lords, who are indifferent to the real good of the Church, also share in Wyclif's general blame. Traditions are

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here worthless; it is their duty to take all temporalties from the clergy.

Ch. XI (p. 157—171) debates 1st, Whether public penance is right. Many arguments are brought forward in its favour. It is grounded on better authority than private confession. If we confess the same sins to several priests privately (which is allowed) the sin becomes in a manner public; and several priests can absolve one sin at once, and therefore hear confession at the same time Wyclif evidently leans towards restoring the severity of ancient times. "But," says he, "no general rule can be laid down. We must consider what is most to the penitent's advantage." This decision may be contrary to ecclesiastical law, but not to the law of Christ. Many think that the Roman Pontiff should be obeyed in all things; whereas different churches may have different customs. Some men prefer to communicate on Easter Sunday; others, on Maundy Thursday. Augustine advises the faithful to communicate every week; Ambrose inveighs against Pharisaical observances in such matters. The Pope has no business to interfere, and should be disobeyed by way of protest, as he exceeds his power, even though he may command us to do what is not wrong. God leaves us (p. 162) our liberty in a great number of acts. Man has no right to encroach upon that liberty, or we return to the bondage of the Old Law. Many other absurdities and blasphemies also flow from this principle.

Wyclif now takes into consideration three objections. 1st. If this doctrine be true, no vows are right. — No, not when is is clear that God no longer approves of them. An action is forbidden by the vow, because forbidden by God for a time, not forever. An act, good in itself, cannot be made criminal by human law. 2nd and 3rd. No Christian can make laws, and the Pope has no power to grant dispensations, on this hypothesis. — Not at all. Laws may be made, and also dispensations granted, provided they are in agreement with Scripture and do not diminish Christian liberty.

The second question (p. 164—168) is whether the secret of confession should always be kept. Here Wyclif replies by a very decided negative. We find mention of public confession alone in the Bible. All sins will be known at the Last Day; why not now? To reveal the secret would injure auricular confession: a good result. A confessor, knowing of an intended crime, ought to reveal it. In

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many cases it happens, as a fact, that confessions are revealed with impunity; as for instance, in sleep, &c. Many inconveniences may happen to priests who obey the law of secrecy. It is a sacrament of the devil. Confessors should, by the bye, leave public sinners, and not remain their friends after a fourth relapse. Wyclif concludes by summing up his doctrine on private confession, in which he admits the 'power of the keys', but not as coming from Rome, through the Bishops; it comes direct from Christ, to those who teach the doctrine of Predestination.

The chapter closes with the solution of several other less important problems. 1st. Can penance be done in a state of mortal sin? No; for every deed done in that state is a mortal sin. Yet good deeds are of service; they lessen the punishment even of the castaway. 2nd. It is of no use to repeat the same sins again and again in confession. 3rd. Is the penitent obliged to accomplish the penance prescribed? Wyclif here accumulates a number of difficulties which he considers as insoluble from a Nominalist point of view. *A* penance is a universal, and therefore is *nothing*. 4th. There certainly is a spiritual affinity between the confessor and his penitent. St. Thomas denies this quite as decidedly as Wyclif affirms it. If it were so, he says the son of a parish priest would not be allowed to marry any of the parishioners (Suppl. 5. Th., qu. LVI, art. 2, *Ad Octavum.*) 5th. The question whether former sins return when a relapse into sin takes place is thus solved: As a 'fore-known' is punished for all his sins, they must necessarily return, but since the time and the act of falling into sin are different, they are not absolutely the same sins as before. Roman Catholic theology holds, on the contrary, that if at any time a man duly repents of his sins, they are forever blotted out. (S. Th. 3a, qu. LXXXVIII).

Ch. XII (172—188) attacks rural deans with much severity, and points out the duties of Rectors and inferior priests. They are, if perverse, the sixth, seventh, and eighth classes of 'tormentors.' The rural dean's special duty is to impose fines upon such of the people as have fallen into the sin of lust; themselves prone to such sins, they encourage harlots, in order that their revenue may not suffer, like incarnate fiends. Their weapons are citations and excommunications. But they can easily be resisted, especially if the guilty party resorts to his own priest. Their claim to inflict fines or to excommunicate, after absolution has been given, is preposterous; for the man

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is innocent. If one of them can inflict a fine for a sin that exists no longer, why not a thousand others? Parish priests should take no notice of these wolves, except to defend their flocks. Especially should they refuse to publish excommunication against one who has already done penance. Such fines are neither alms nor atonement; they are unlawful, because arbitrary. They indeed, by taking the money, remove the occasion for lust, but they cause other evils. Why should the sinner pay fines to one worse than himself, and who deserves to be severely punished?

The duty of the spiritual pastor is then laid down. He ought especially to avoid sinning against his flock. If he leaves them, it must be as Christ left the angels in Heaven, caring for their welfare. He ought to appoint a good vicar in any case, and never exact anything superfluous. We may not demand anything as our due, unless we work for it. The bad clergy is, like the Pharisees, given to outward righteousness alone. No one (p. 182) should accept a benefice, except for purely spiritual motives. The curate would do well to go preaching about the country, or at least in his own parish. He should avoid absenting himself on pretence of study, and be quite free from public affairs. He has no right to anything but alms. Tithes were exacted as dues only by the wicked sons of Heli. They are due to the priest only by God's justice, not by legal right. The best way to deal with a bad priest is to cut off his income by having nothing to do with him. As for the inferior priests, though too often worldly and given to the lusts of the flesh, they seem less rooted in malice than the higher orders of the clergy.

Ch. XIII (p. 188—203) is nominally against the monks, but is in reality a plea for mercy, in favour of the rebels in the then recent insurrection, who, it is known, were headed by the priest John Straw,[1] whose exaggeration of Wyclif's doctrines are notorious. Wyclif of course blames the excesses of the people, and regrets the death of Archbishop Sudbury (lamentabili conflictu, p. 190); but he considers both the Archbishop and the other members of the clergy, who perished with him, as richly deserving their fate. In short, he takes

[1] Johannes Straw, qui fuit post Walterum Tylere maximus inter illos. Walsingham II, 9.

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exactly the point of view of those who call the excesses of the French Revolution 'a sort of wild justice.' He points out the fact that the clergy possessed superfluous riches; but he does not admit that they ought to have been put to death on that account. Rather let them live, but be deprived of their temporalties. The clergy, who had prompted the late war, were responsible for the great numbers of soldiery in the country, whom they irritated rather than appeased (pp. 191, 192). What had the Archbishop to do with the Chancellorship, that most secular function of all? He was evidently a traitor[1] (p. 194). If the clergy does not reform, we shall yet see worse disasters (p. 195). It must, however, be admitted that the punishment inflicted was excessive: 1st. In *degree*, the people having no right to take away life. 2nd. In *quality*. There was no form of justice, only a mere outburst of popular indignation. 3rd. In *manner*; for they did not punish according to the fault; they rebelled against the secular powers, and they did not wait to take the advice of the whole kingdom (pp. 196, 197). On the other hand, we must not forget their grievances. Let neither the secular powers, nor Rome, nor the clergy, any longer rob the people.

Wyclif has not yet hinted at pardoning the rebels, but in the answers to the objections that follow (p. 198—203) he shows his purpose clearly. 1st. What Wyclif proposes would diminish the royal prerogative. — No, for on the contrary the patience of Christ (paciencia maioris iniurie) increased His prerogative. So will it be for our king too. 2nd. Clemency would stand in the way of just punishment. — No, for God will punish them as they deserve, if they are left to Him. Besides, let the possessions of the clergy make good the losses of the secular lords, and we shall have compensation enough. 3rd. All fear of consequences would be destroyed, should the guilty escape. — Better filial than servile fear, replies Wyclif. Their punishment will in any case, whether summary or judicial, be the cause of much hatred and disunion in the kingdom. The king and secular lords, and the clergy especially, have been much to blame in the matter (pp. 200, 201). We should follow Christ's example of mercy.

[1] See Walsingham's account of the rebellion and the death of the Archbishop, who was accused by the rebels almost in those very terms.

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Chs. XIV to XVII (p. 201—272) contain a vehement attack upon the Friars, who are the tenth class of 'tormentors'. We may pass over these pages rapidly, as there is little new in them. Wyclif here, as in *De Apostasia* (p. 29—31), but at much greater length, complains of the 'Friar-makers', who went about recruiting members for their Orders. Their advice may well result in damnation. We may advise to do virtuous acts, but not acts that are indifferent; still less, dangerous acts, as in this case, unless by special revelation. If the state of a Friar is holy, all Friars are necessarily virtuous. It is quite the contrary, though the possibility of their salvation is not to be denied (p. 207). All that is said of the great graces given to Friars entering, living, and dying in the Order, is false; and the practice of putting on a Friar's habit at the hour of death, is a blasphemous superstition. They should, it is true, supply the want of good parish priests; but even were they as fervent as in the beginning, they are far too numerous, and burden the nation. They often take heirs under age from their legal guardians; an abuse that should be punished by law, or by seizing the person of a Friar as a hostage for the person kidnapped. They exhaust the resources of the kingdom, and are practically independent of the secular powers. Formerly poor and acceptable to God, they have degenerated; and now the results of the wrong they do are felt by every class in the State. They are probably traitors and spies in every country where they live. They obey no one. Their rule is blasphemous, and can be of no use to the Church but by being completely abolished.

It is said in their favour (ch. XV, p. 209) that they follow Christ closely, are of great use to the Church, and therefore deserve our respect. — It is true that they live poorly, but that is not sufficient to claim brotherhood with Christ. Robbers do the same. They will not touch money, but they love it. The three principal defects of their Orders are, 1st, that they live together without reason; 2nd, that their communities are extravagantly rich; and 3rd, that they are excessively burdened with traditions. Their Founders would not know them; they have nothing left of the Order but the habit. Christ and His Apostles, far from burdening the country, worked with their hands. — A digression follows (p. 224—226) concerning the Sacrament, containing nothing new except the form, in the assertion

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that the 'Accident-theory' is a heresy that blasphemes the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Christ's words against false prophets, who come in sheep's clothing, &c. are quoted and applied. The endowed monks, of whom but little was said in the proper place, are here blamed for their luxurious lives (p. 228). On p. 229, Wyclif replies to a question that many of his followers must have put to him. Since every good deed may be hypocritically imitated, how can we know that any deed is really, i. e. morally, good? for it has often been denied that the good done by monks and friars is any proof in their favour. Wyclif in reply draws a distinction between a judgment that is only probable and one that is certain. Every good deed *certainly* proceeds from a cause physically good, and may with probability be judged to be morally good, if no evil accompanies it. We should consider the whole tendency of a sequence of acts, and not judge private persons as we judge a whole Sect, nor set consent in the same category as deed. And under these restrictions, we may affirm that the whole clergy, the Friars especially, are corrupt; the latter being especially condemnable, because they flatter the Roman Curia, and often become Popes or Cardinals themselves. But they can truly exalt the Roman Curia only by obeying its laws, as embodied in the Decretals.

A long extract from a sermon of Fitz-Ralph closes the chapter (p. 232—238). Eight heads of accusation were brought by this Bishop against the Friars. 1st Against their rule, they beg when they have work to do and can do it. 2nd They do not follow their rule literally, as St. Francis commands, but evade it by glosses. 3rd They preach against the will of the Bishop to whom the diocese belongs. 4th They ought not to touch money, but they have a man who goes with them and collects it. 5th They preach without being duly examined, and the Friar who gets most money is sent to preach the oftenest. 6th Against their rule, they enter monasteries and private houses. 7th They do not observe Holy Poverty, but accept any quantity of small sums from poor people. 8th They wear costly habits, interfere in secular affairs, and disobey Papal laws, particularly as concerns the burial of seculars in their grave-yards; whence it is likely that they lie under an interdict.

Ch. XVI (p. 239—255) continues to attack the Friars. The Pope ought to abolish their Orders, which he can very easily do, by

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means of a general dispensation from their vows. Wyclif avails himself of the objection that the destruction of the Friars would put an end to scholastic degrees in the University, to inveigh against the *Fratres pilliati*, or graduates among the Friars, who, as it appears, enjoyed certain privileges very likely to excite the envy of such of their brethren as were less intelligent or (according to Wyclif, p. 244. ll. 31—37) less fortunate than they: such as, for instance, exemption from preaching, from the Choir, and from all acts of obedience (omne quod sonat in obedienciam). So that, while they praise obedience, they make it the greatest reward not to have to obey! This is unscriptural in every way, as is also the fashion after which their General domineers over them (p. 246). An abrupt transition brings us again to the Eucharistic controversy, and Wyclif's condemnation in Oxford, and the 'Catholic Doctor' who spoke in Wyclif's favour, whom (in *De Apostasia, Introduction)* I have supposed to be Wyclif himself, though I am not quite sure of that now. It seems, however, that this hypothesis cannot be reasonably doubted. He more than once speaks of himself in the third person[1], and the arguments of the 'Catholic Doctor' melt into the text in such a manner that it is hard to see where they end and where Wyclif takes up the argument for his own part. There is no need to give the details of these arguments; the most striking of them have already been dealt with in *De Apostasia*. Wyclif concludes that the Oxford condemnation was a temptation of Satan, occasioned by ignorance of the interpretation of Scripture. (p. 250). The rest of the chapter contains nothing new.

Ch. XVII (p. 255—272) assails the door-keeper, and by door-keepers Wyclif means all those of the clergy who were not in Holy Orders. Two points especially are to be noted in this chapter: Wyclif's theory of Sacramentals (p. 257) and his protest against the employment of the clergy in secular affairs. — It is complained that the doorkeepers mix too much common water with the holy water that they distribute. Wyclif decidedly admits that a true Christian and a good priest have the power given by Christ to His disciples to cast out devils (as is done previously to the blessing of the water).

[1] Et sic dicit quidam debilis et claudus citatus ad hanc curiam . . . . De Citationibus frivolis c. 4. Buddensieg. W's Pol. Works, p. 556.

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But as 'foreknown' priests have not that power, we must suspect that the water is not holy, if they do not follow Christ's law. A priest who sometimes does wrong abuses his power; if he continually does wrong, he cannot abuse it, for he has none. We should treat holy water with all due reverence (p. 259) yet without excess, avoiding exaggeration on both sides. As for consecrated oil, its adulteration is a very serious matter, since the oil is consecrated by the Bishop, made of costly ingredients, and used in Confirmation and Baptism: its impurity would interfere with the integrity of those sacraments.

Wyclif proceeds to point out the abuses concerning clerks (p. 261—272). Some of them do not really, but only nominally, belong to the clergy. But for such as do, the practice of employing them in secular charges, is without excuse, condemned by Canon law, and a dishonour to the Church. It is said to favour the prosperity of the realm; but it is contrary to Christ's law; and if the Canons forbidding it have fallen into disuse, that cannot be said of the law of Christ. And a man willing to be a traitor to God, the King of kings, may as well be a traitor to man also. It is impossible to serve both Christ and the king properly. Christ's service has to be abandoned. At least let them give up their benefices. This is argued to be impossible, for the King can only afford to pay them by means of those benefices. Here again is an argument against the temporal possessions of the clergy; an argument which the present wretched condition of the poor tends to strengthen. It is incomprehensible how secular lords can rob the poor as they do, seeing that the lands of the clergy belong to them by right, and would yield ever so much more than what the poor can give; and they would thus regenerate the clergy, now so corrupt, so neglectful of the people, so hated, and so unable to resist. Parliament should pass a bill to that effect; tallages should also be abolished, and the poor no longer robbed. As matters stand, secular lords are forced by circumstances to plunder their tenants, and thus indirectly to ruin themselves; and their own enemies move them to persecute the faithful as heretics. The chapter closes with a petition in seven points to the King and Parliament, summing up pretty nearly the whole of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. XVIII. After a few pages (272—276) devoted to the exposure of the misdeeds of questors 'the twelfth sort of tormentors',

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men who went about the kingdom, it appears, collecting money, and dispensing indulgences from Rome, whom our author accuses of drawing more than £100,000 annually out of the kingdom (p. 274) the epilogue begins on page 276. His opinions concerning the perfection of the religious state are, he says, attacked; but he defends them by quoting Grosseteste. All private religions, like civil government, savour of sin. It is hard to be saved in them. Why prefer the foolish remedies of men to those given us by Christ (p. 279)? In Christ's law no ceremonial observances are perpetual. It is that which constitutes the difference between it and the rules of Sects (p. 280), Church endowments, &c. We deny that any hard and fast lines ought to be laid down; they often have absurd results. Christian liberty should be maintained. It is impossible to bind oneself down perpetually to do acts that may at times be lawful and at times not.

Wyclif's doctrine of temporalties is, he says, denounced; yet it is necessarily true. His opponents have no right to bring the actions of Saints as precedents, until they do the works that those Saints did. The whole world feels the abuse of Church property, and the king should redress this abuse. The parable of the unjust steward should be explained in this sense, and the miracle of the loaves and fishes (when Christ gave the bread to the Apostles to distribute) does not contradict this explanation. It is a sin for any of the clergy to trouble himself about the future, for which God will provide; more especially is it a sin for those Orders that are strictly vowed to poverty.

Finally Wyclif says he is accused as a heretic, not really on account of his opinions in the Eucharistic controversy, but because of his adversaries' rage about the two other points. He is, however, ready to retract any error he may have made, if shown that is an error. The contradictions of the different Sects are then briefly touched upon, and Wyclif's opinion stated once more. The Eucharist is Christ's body, "non substancialiter, sed supernaturaliter". As for Confession, I have already noticed his declaration that it is necessary, but not absolutely so, and his protest against the compulsory nature of Pope Innocent's statute, which was not founded on the Gospel.

In conclusion, he says, referring to the three books *De Simonia*, *De Apostasia*, and *De Blasphemia*, that, should he have erred in

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those works, he humbly asks God's forgiveness, and submits to the correction and teaching of any creature whom it may please Him to appoint for that purpose.

Such is the close of Wyclif's last great work. In it he appears, as in most of the other short tracts written during the latest period of his life, unflinchingly attached to the principles expounded by him before his condemnation at Oxford, and inspired, if possible, with still greater vehemence in his denunciations than before that date, and still more unsparing in his exposure of all that was, or that he considered to be, an abuse.

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CAPITULUM PRIMUM.

29a | Restat succincte de blasfemia pertractandum. Est autem blasfemia *insipiens detraccio honoris domini*. Et dicitur a *blas* (quod est insipiens) et *femina*, que quasi rane *blaterant*, communiter nimis stulte.

Blasphemy may be defined as a 'foolish detraction from God's honour',

Committitur autem blasfemia tribus modis. *Primo* modo, quando deo attribuitur quod sibi non convenit; ut ponendo quod deus nimis severe puniat, vel quod sit iniquitas aput deum. *Secundo* modo, cum removetur a deo quod sibi convenit; ut legitur de Rapsace 4to Reg. 18 et 19. Et *tercio* modo, quando pure creature attribuitur quod deo proprium est. Et ad istum sensum Judei sepe inposuerunt Cristo blasfemiam, ut patet Matth. 9, 16 et Joh. 10. Et isto modo Herodes, Act. 12 legitur blasfemasse; et principes populi sunt proni incidere in istam blasfemiam.

and is of three kinds:
1. when we ascribe unjust attributes to God;
2. when, like Rabshakeh, we deny his real attributes;
3. when we ascribe God's peculiar properties to His creatures, as was done in Herod's case.

4 Reg. XVIII, 17—37 XIX, 4—8 Matth. IX, 3 XXVI, 65 Joan. X, 36 Act. XII, 23

Et patet scrutanti intime quod, sicut simonia et apostasia consecuntur ad quodcunque mortale, sic et blasfemia, que convertibilis est cum illis. Nam, eo ipso quo quis peccat mortaliter, wult vitam istam esse bonam, et per consequens non reprobatam, sed approbatam a deo: quod est manifesta blasfemia. Wult enim implicite attribuere deo auctorisacionem peccati, quod propter

Rulers are much exposed to this sin.

Simony and apostasy imply blasphemy under each of the foregoing heads;
1. inasmuch as the man who sins mortally wishes God to authorize his evil act;

1. Incipit liber de blasfemia duodecimus in ordine C. Explicit de officio pastorali incipit eiusdem de blasfemia. Capitulum primum D. 2. succinte C. 4. femia AB. 5. rana latrat A; *ib.* blacterant E. 6. tribus modis blasf. CDE. 7. atribuitur D; *corr.* E. 9. apud D; *ib.* modo *deest* BCDE. 10. Rapsate C. 11. Reg^p *(= quarti regum)* A; quarti DE. 12. atribuitur D; *corr.* E; *ib.* ad *deest* A. 14. et *deest* ABDE; *ib.* Herodes *deest* A. 17. symonia CDE. 18. consequuntur C; *ib.* quodlibet C. 20. peccator blasfemat *in marg.* C; *ib.* wlt CDE; *ib.* illam ACDE. 21—23. et per consequens non reprobacionem, sed approbationem a deo, quod est manifesta blasfemia wult enim implicite deo attribuere auctorisacionem peccati A. 22. wlt CDE. 23 deo attrib. CDE; *ib.* auctorizasionem D.

3. I should have preferred the other reading, but the context renders that inadmissible. Wyclif's works contain other etymologies that betray ignorance of Greek. See *De Apostasia*, p. 1, l. 21. 17. See *De Apostasia*, p. 1, opening paragraph.

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2. because, hoping for impunity, he derogates from God's justice, which must fall on every sinner;

bonitatem non potest deo conpetere Wult eciam implicite a deo aufferre iusticiam debite puniendi, que repugnat patri et filio. Et tercio, wult implicite dare homini voluntatem supremam, non subiectam, vel regulandam voluntati superiori: quod deo est proprium. Et idem deducitur multipliciter in quocunque mortali peccato quod homo potest inordinate velle aliquod positivum, quo iustificato cum modo volendi, sequitur talis absurditas. Iste autem est modus loquendi famosus sanctorum; et tunc patet dicta sentencia.

3. because his acts implicitly make his own will a supreme law.

We may argue thus for every mortal sin.

St. Augustine supports this view.

He says: Let our acts praise God as well as our voices;

Et per hec intelligi potest Augustinus super illo psalmo 146 *"Laudate dominum, quoniam bonus est psalmus"*. "Qui", inquit, "psallit, non sola mente psallit; sed, assumpto eciam quodam organo quod vocatur psalterium, accedentibus manibus voci concordat. Vis ergo psallere? non solum vox tua sonet laudes dei, sed opera concordent cum voce tua. Cum igitur voce tua cantaveris, silebis aliquando. Vita sic canta, ut nunquam sileas; vita tua semper laudet. Negocium agis, et fraudem cogitas? De bono opere tuo laudas deum, et cum blasfematur deus de malo opere tuo, opere tuo blasfemas deum." Et sequitur: "Si vero modum vescendi immoderacione voracitatis excedis, et vinolencia te ingurgites, quantaslibet laudes dei lingua sonet, vita blasfemat." Et isto modo loquitur Apostolus Thym. 1° vocans se ipsum *„blasfemum"*, quia erravit a lege domini. Et utinam nostri prepositi non plus errent!

Ps. CXLVI, 1

B. 1 Tim. 1, 13

it is of no use to praise God with the tongue if you blaspheme Him by an intemperate life. In this sense St. Paul calls himself a blasphemer.

Many think the root of this blasphemy to be in the Roman Curia, because Antichrist says he is Christ's vicar,

Videtur autem multis ex fide scripture et facto hominum, quod in Curia romana sit radix huius blasfemie, quia homo peccati anticristus insignis loquitur quod sit summus Cristi vicarius, in vita et opere inter mortales sibi simillimus. Et cum, secundum Augustinum, omnis

1. competere CE; *ib.* wlt CD. 2. aufferre a Deo DE. 3. wlt CD; *ib.* homini implicite dare C; implicite homini dare DE. 4. regulam C. 5. voluntate E; *ib.* deo *deest* C. 6. petito (*in marg. corr.*) A; petito C; peccato *corr. in marg.* petito D; peccato *cui superscriptum est* petito E. 7. quia *pro* quod E; *ib.* ἀϑ *pro* aliquod E. 9 autem *deest* ABDE; *ib.* est et C. 11 potest intelligi C; *ib.* Augustinus *in marg.* A. 12. laudare *in marg.* C; *ib.* est *deest* A. 14. asumpto D. 17. opera tua CDE; *ib.* tua *deest* A. 18. alīī *pro* aliquando A. 21. opere tuo *in marg.* B; *deest* A; opere tuo *linea rubra delet.* E. 21, 22. blasfemare deum opere *in marg.* C. 24. ligwa A; lingua tua CDE. 25. Thy A; 1. Thimo. 1. C; prima Thimotei primo DE. 26. in *pro* a B. 27. errant B. 29. radix blasfemie Roma *in marg.* C. 30. in signis *linea divisum* E. 32. similimus D.

12. St. Aug. *Enarratio in* Ps. CXLVI (Migne, t. XXXVII, p. 1899).

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talis ex psalmi discordia blasfemat eum in vita, sequitur quod et omnis talis sit radix blasfemie; imponit enim deo expresse vitam sibi persimilem, quod a deo tolleret omnem laudabilem dignitatem. Implicat eciam totum evangelium esse falsum; ipsum enim affirmat Cristum vixisse vitam pauperem, mundo odibilem, quia laboriosam et humilem, cunctis suis fratribus ministrando, ut hic supponitur. Hic autem vivit omnino contrarie, et ad hoc promovet omnino suos discipulos; ita quod de cristianismo, seducto per tales aspirantes ad seculare dominium (quod Cristus in se renuit et interdixit suis discipulis), intelligi potest illud Ysa. 3°: *Effeminati dominabuntur eis.* Mos enim feminarum est, quo ad opera virilia ociari, in lautis esibilibus et stramentis mollibus delectari, et post ista ac ornamenta splendida ex excellencia sui nominis blaterare. Sic effeminantur anticristus cum suis satrapis. Nam tamquam alter costree residet in suo sumptuoso | pallacio, cuius sumptus non solum male sunt tyrannice capti, sed pessime, quia blasfeme de bonis pauperum summa yppocrisi spoliate. De lauticiis vero, de pulvinaribus et eorum lectisterniis, clamat mundus. Et non solum carte plumbate sed codices testantur eius excellenciam blasfemam, post ornatum stultissimum ac monstruosissimum; primo cameraliter (more femine) cum suis complicibus intimatam, et post late per mundum publice proclamatam. Sic quod, ubi Cristus non habens ubi caput suum reclinet, visitavit pedestris humiliter civitates et patrias quas sanando instruxit, Anticristus trahit ad ociantes pedes sue superbie totum mundum, quem non reficit, sed inficit; non sanat, sed contaminat; non instruit in lege domini, sed seducit in scola blasfemie anticristi.

Isa. III, 4

29b

Matth. VIII, 20

and, as Augustine says, discord between words and deeds is blasphemy.

Such a one robs God of his true honour, and by implication makes the whole Gospel false.

It affirms Christ to have lived in poverty and unworldliness; but Antichrist lives an entirely different life.

So much is Christianity depraved by those aspiring to secular rule, which Christ Himself refused and forbade it to His disciples, that Isaiah's words are now fulfilled concerning the effeminacy of our rulers: Who, like women, delight in luxury and pride; the world proclaims, and we have written evidence of their luxurious feasts and their feminine love of show both in private and in public.

All this is the very antithesis of Christ's teaching.

2. et *deest* CDE; *ib.* inponit ACDE. 3. per similitudinem A. 4. inplicat ewangelium esse falsum *in marg.* C; inplicat DE. 5. Cristum affirmat C. 8. anticristus *pro* autem A. 11. q̄n̄ *pro* quod C.

12. Ysa. 3° A; Ys. 3 C. 12, 13. effeminati qui dicuntur dominari *in marg.* C. 13. *after* eis *in marg.* nota; morem feminarum B; mos feminarum in papa est factus *in marg.* C. 14. strametis A. 15. hac A. 15, 16. extollencia C; *ib.* suis D; *ib.* blacterari A; laterare C; blaterare DE.

17. *Between* suis *and* satrapis, *a blank space* A; *ib.* aliter D; *ib.* cosdive B; cosdras E. 19. tirannice DE; *ib.* blasfemie B. 21. pulvinariis DE. 22. Et *deest* DE. 23. eius blasfemium A. 24. cameraliter *in marg.* D. 26. 9nūd) *pro* mundum A. 27. Cristo contrarius antipapa *in marg.* C; *ib.* ubi *deest* C. 28. pedes (= *per edes*) C; pedes ADE.

17. *Costree, cosdive, codras.* Probably Cosroes, known in Church History as a persecutor. See *De Christo et Antichristo,* Buddensieg, Polemical Works of Wyclif, p. 683, l. 20.

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Every morning the cardinals must go to him with a numerous and splendid train of horsemen;

and strangers are ordered to beg for leave to kiss his feet;

which, called blessed, are not so, because of his worldliness.

Christ, after His resurrection, forbade Mary to kiss His feet; Antichrist exacts this.

Yet Christ's feet and His followers' are blessed and immortal; not so those of the members of the Devil.

Before His resurrection, Christ *allowed* Himself to be touched, that sins might be effaced or diseases cured.

But the pope has not this motive.

Christ's forbidding Magdalen to kiss His feet, whilst allowing

Unde cardinales, proximi complices huius hominis, docentur valde mane accedere ad suam presenciam, cum numerosa sumptuosa et monstruosa familia equitatus, non propter loci distanciam vel difficultatem itineris, sed ad ostendendum magnificenciam suam mundo et contrarietatem sui ad Cristum cum suis Apostolis. Exteris C. vero visitantibus hunc patrem iniungitur quod, ipso sedente in altum, in ornatu splendido, eciam usque ad pedes cum genuflexione petant humiliter pedum oscula beatorum. Quod si per "pedes" in scriptura significatur *affeccio* mundane glorie, ac non beata sed reprobata sit affeccio mundane glorie ac eius factorum, nichil falsius quam talem hominem esse beatum; et per consequens beatitudo sua non ebulit ad pedem vel ad talum. Cristus enim mandavit Magdalene volenti post resurreccionem osculari, ut assolet, pedes suos: *Noli,* inquit, *me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum.* Et anticristus blasfeme exigit nedum pedum oscula, sed declamacionem blasfemam quod organa eius abiectissima sint beata. Cristus enim noluit feminam osculari pedes suos post resurreccionem, inmortales indubie et beatos, ut tollat presumpcionem blasfemam a ministris false fingentibus se esse Cristi vicarios. Pedes autem cum Cristo ascendencium ad gloriam sunt beati, et non esca vermium, membrum putridum et fetens sudor affeccionum membri diaboli.

Joan. XX, 17

Perante autem Cristus pertulit sed non presumpsit pedes suos cum lacrimis osculari a femina, ut patet Luce 7°; quia devota contricio et parcium Cristi corporalis taccio delent crimina viatoris. Ideo ante mortem viando propter faciendam multiplicem sanitatem voluit tangi a feminis, ut patet Luc. septimo et octavo. Sed cum defficit ista causa in papa, non subest racio quare sic extollitur super Cristum. Sed Augustinus, super secundo capitulo Joh. omelia 121[a] notat quod Cristus post resurreccionem voluit tangi a feminis; cum Matth. 28

Luc. VII, 38

Luc. VIII, 43–48

1. huius mundi hominis D. 2. attendere B. 3. cum *deest* A; *ib.* nummerosa A; nūmosa CD; *ib.* equitus C. 9. genu flexio A. 10. Anticristi condicio in pedibus beatis per contrarium *in marg. sup.* C. 11. mundane glorie A. 12. fictorum A; stercorum CDE. 14. ebulit *corr.* E. 14, 15. Cristus prohibet pedes osculari magdalene *in marg.* A. 18, 19. blasfemiam *corr.* A. 22. miseris *pro* ministris ADE. 24. in *pro* ad C. 25. dyaboli DE. 29. crimina delent C; delet *corr. ex* delent E. 30. sanitatem multiplicem C. 32. deficit CDE; *ib.* suberit B. 33. cum *pro* sed A. 33, 34. 20° *pro secundo* B. 35. affeminis *pro* a feminis A.

34. St. Aug. *In Joan. Evang.*, tr. CXXI (Migne, t. XXXV, p. 7957)

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Matth. XXVIII, 9 legitur quod, postquam Cristus apparuit mulieribus et ait: *Avete, ipse accesserunt et tenuerunt pedes eius;* ideo, secundo, Augustinus fideliter asserit quod in hiis verbis

D. dictis Magdalene latet absconditum sacramentum. Et 5 tercio, videtur dicere quod tam allegorice quam tropologice fuit sensus domini Magdalene singulariter nunciatus, quod ipsa figurante ecclesiam gencium, fuit ipsa ecclesia post ascensionem plenarie convertenda. Et quantum ad tropologiam ipsa Magdalena inperfecte con- 10 sideravit Cristi humanitatem, non considerans quomodo fuit equalis patri divinitus. Ideo fuit exhinc prohibita ipsum tangere; quasi diceret, *quia nondum ascendi* in consideracione tua *ad equalitatem patris*, ideo, ut istam imperfeccionem cognoscas et corrigas, *noli me tangere.* 15 Sed Crisostomus videtur dicere quod apparuit Marie in consimili corpore quale habuit ante mortem; et ideo disparente dote claritatis, credidit ipsum resurrexisse ad vitam communem ducendam cum discipulis, sicut ante. Unde et voluit dominum familiariter tangere, sicut et 20 prius. Sed hanc opinionem repellit, quasi signando causam quare apparuit corpus suum non esse gloriosum, per hoc quod ostendendo veritatem resurreccionis sue per quadraginta dies fuit informaturus ecclesiam ante suam ascensionem: unde monuit eam ire ad apostolos, 25 quos vocavit "fratres suos". Quod si isti sancti iam viverent, videntes blasfemam exaccionem osculorum pedis romani pontificis, considerantes quod mos est autoris scripture gravidare ipsam multiformi sentencia, consonanter dicerent quod hec mulier, effeminatos signans, 30 prohibetur ad talia blasfema oscula anhelare.

Cum enim duplex sit osculum: scilicet corporale 30a (licitum | sive illicitum) et spirituale, quod primo habebitur in beatis, expedito in ipsa corporali osculo, remanet spirituale osculum in patria expectandum. Sed osculum 35 pedum pape caret omnimoda racione, cum neutri parti proficit ad salutem; nam osculans ex culpanda avaricia

it to others, has as Augustine says, a hidden meaning;

she representing the church of the Gentiles who were not yet converted, and being besides too much attached to Christ as man.

Chrysostom says that His words dispelled the false opinion of Magdalen, that He would live on earth as before, and asserted that He was there only to form the Church.

If those Saints lived now, they would, giving a third sense to these words, say that *Touch Me not* forbids us to kiss the Pope's foot.

Kisses being either corporal or spiritual, these are inexcusable in either sense.

1. They are harmful to him that kisses, whether his

2. ten'ut *pro* tenuerunt C. 5, 6. tropoloice A. 7. nuncciatus AC; *ib.* ecclesia A. 9. tropoloyam A; *ib.* magdalene C; *ib.* perfecte (in *erasum*) E. 9, 10. considerauit *deest* ACDE. 17. disperante A; desperante C *corr. in marg.* D; *ib.* resurexisse D. 19. faciliariter A; *ib.* et *deest* CDE. 22. resureccionis D. 23. informaturus CDE. 25—27. sancti — romani pontificis *alia manu in marg. add.* D. 26. blasfemiam A. 27. consyderantes D; *ib.* auctoris CE. 28. gravidari A. 30. anhelari A; anhelare B. 31. osculum duplex *in marg.* C; *ib.* scilicet *deest* C. 33. cum expedito C; *super lin. add.* DE; cum E; *ib.* ipso *pro* ipsa BCD. 33, 34. remaneat spir. osc. *alia manu in marg.* D; remaneat ABCD *corr.* E. 35. pedum *deest* DE.

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motive be interest or mistaken devotion;

vel ex devocione blasfema, omnino culpabitur. Quia autem tales cecati et palliantes factum, ac excitantes ad facinus, sunt cause huius yppocrisis, ideo Job 34 dicitur, *quod deus regnare facit yppocritam propter peccata populi.* In osculato est omnino culpabile, quia non potest parificari Cristo, ut tantam dignitatem recipiat. Quod si parificatur apostolis, non excedat honores huiusmodi ultra quam illi susceperant ad augmentum sui meriti ex confessione humili, et ad utilitatem populi honorantis. Ideo illi, instar Cristi, ceperunt benefacere dignificantes se per opera quoad deum, et mundanos honores respuerunt. Anticristus autem facit omnino contrarium. Ideo vel oportet negare evangelium, vel credere quod hec facit ad maximum sui obprobrium, nam Luce 14 mandavit Cristus: *Cum vocatus fueris ad nupcias, non discumbas in primo loco, ne forte honoracior te sit invitatus ab illo, et veniens is qui te et illum invitavit, dicat tibi: da huic locum; et tunc incipies cum rubore novissimum locum tenere.* Constat autem ex fide et testimonio sanctorum quod Cristus loquitur de vocacione, de locacione et de cenacione spirituali, non corporali; quia, ut deducit linconiensis, aliter quilibet fidelis affectaret in nupciis carnalibus locum novissimum, et foret in eis intollerabilis contencio, inordinata invitatorum cumulacio, et omnino doctrine Cristi irrisio. Ideo per nupcias intelligitur sponsacio Cristi et ecclesie, que perpetuitate complebitur in cena novissima. Ad has quidem nupcias multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi, ut loquitur Cristus Matth. 22°; quia quociens interno instinctu, sacramentis ecclesie vel predicacione evangelii ad Cristi amorem et ministerium sunt instructi, tociens a domino sunt vocati. Ille autem discumbit in loco novissimo, qui pie reputat se minimum electorum. Debet autem omnis Cristianus reputare se electum, cum debet habere spem, eciam si fuerit reprobatus. Et ista posicio potest

Job XXXIV, 30

2. and very wrong in him that is kissed, who is not equal to Christ, nor above the Apostles.

We must either deny the Gospel or believe this.

Luc. XIV, 8 et seq.

Christ counsels us to take the lowest place at the wedding feast, when called: Which is meant not of bodily but spiritual *calling*, *place*, and *feast*, as Grosseteste points out.

The *wedding feast* is the betrothal of Christ with his Church; the guests are *called* by the sacraments and by preaching; and to take the *lowest place* is to consider oneself the least among the elect.

Matth. XXII, 14

2. osculanti [et] osculato nocet quomodo *in marg.* C. 3. ad *deest* B; *ib.* causa DE; *ib.* ypocrisis DE. 5. vero est *pro* est C. 6. Cristo *alia manu in marg. add.* D. 8. huiusmodi *deest* A. 9. et *deest* DE; *ib.* populi *deest* DE. 10. Cristi *deest* C. 12. fecit C; *ib.* omni A. 13. *after* ideo, vel *in marg. add.* D. 14. hec *deest* B. 15. Cristus mandat C; mandat Cristus DE. 17. te *deest* D; *in marg. add.* E; *ib.* fuerit A; *ib.* veis veies *pro* veniens D; veies E. 20. sanctorum testimonio C.

22. lincoliensis DE 23. corporalibus CDE. 26. Residere in novissimo loco in nupciis *in marg.* A; vocacio ad nupcias spirituales *in marg.* C; *ib.* ecclesie D. 26, 27. que perpetuitate *in marg. add.* E. 28. ellecti C. 31. vel *pro* et A; *ib* instructi *deest* A. 32. discubuit A. 34. se reputare electum DE. 35. debet *pro* potest A.

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in reputacione omni Cristiano competere, quia Paulus, qui vidit archana, reputavit se apostolorum minimum. Sed in die cum ewacuabitur inperfectum quod ex parte est, erit per summum judicem invitantem posita aliena locacio, cum quilibet predestinatus correspondenter ad suam humilitatem et meritum erit in gloria exaltatus; unde superbus, presumens de dignitate adquisita humanitus, erit indubie, si non resipuerit, ad *locum novissimum* ad magnam sui confusionem in die iudicii condempnatus; locus novissimus istius ordinis est locus inferni, de quo locatus non exeat *donec reddat quadrantem novissimum* ut dicit Cristus Matth. 5°. Illum quidem locum omnes tales superbi eligunt in effectu. Si ergo papa reputat se patrem sanctissimum, quomodo presumptive eligit locum primum? nec dubium, nisi papa isti consenserit, posset faciliter destruere istum stilum.

But in the Day of Judgment he who now takes the lowest place shall be exalted, and the proud man forced to take the lowest place — Hell.

Matth. V, 26

How then can the Pope set himself in the first place, if he thinks himself holy?

Si dicatur quod secundum ius vicarium Cristi et Petri et tradiciones humanas in tali loco preficitur; quantum ad primum, patet ex dictis alibi quod blasfema presumpcio est illud asserere; imo, si ita est, faciat fideliter et moderate similiter eorum officium; quia aliter, ut dicit Augustinus, ex discordia vite et usurpati nominis est blasfemus. Quantum ad secundum, patet quod titulus cesareus vel humana tradicio est impertinens beatitudini aut repugnans. Quomodo igitur non patet populo quod papa, propter mundanam exaltacionem et temporalium accumulacionem, tam studiose appetit illum statum? Et patet ex dictis quod tunc ex lepra symonie inficit gregem suum. Nam si propter necessitatem et profectum ecclesie sic affectat, quare non vivit vitam Petri, cum hoc foret facilius et ex fide meritorius undiquaque?

Objection: The Pope has a right to this; 1. as vicar of Christ; 2. by virtue of tradition

But the *first* point is mere blasphemy, unless he lives like Christ; and as for the *second,* human traditions have nothing to do with holiness, or are even opposed to it, engendering worldly pomp, and the leprosy of simony.

O si regnum nostrum post mortem Urbani Sexti non foret seductum per satrapas, sic quod liberet se a tali capite et *generacione hac pessima* (ut dicitur Act. secundo)

If England, after the death of Urban VI, would throw off the belief that

Act. II, 40

1. repugnacione A; *ib.* cum *pro* omni A. 3. in die iudicii B; *ib.* cuacuabitur CDE. 5. locucio D; *ib.* corrndenter C 6. exaltus A. 7. acquisita C; adquisita *corr. ex* quesita E. 8. in die C; *ib.* respuerit CD; *corr.* E. 11. nec *pro* donec A. 13. tales *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* superbie D. 14. pater sanctissimus *in marg.* C; *ib.* non *omnes MSS.* 16. possit C. 19. blasfemia C. 20. ymmo CD. 22. discordia vite vsurpatum nomen *in marg.* C. 24. inpertinens CD. 25. ergo C. 26, 27. mundana exaltacio temporalium accumulacio quid arguunt etc. *in marg. infer.* C. 28. simonie A. 29. necessitatem B; meritum *pro* necessitatem ACDE. 31, 32. vndequaquam C. 33. Sixti A. 35. actuum DE.

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obedience to the pope is necessary, the reign of Antichrist would be ended.

It is enough to love Christ and keep His law, by whom alone we shall be saved.

And then the kingdom might obey any man recognized by his works to be Christ's Vicar: this would be the right obedience.

For every movement of the Christian people should proceed from God as a cause, and His Minister removing each obstacle.

Difficulties in the way; strength of the other party, 1. by the promotion of prelates, 2. the defence of endowments, etc.,

abiciatque istam blasfemiam quod est de necessitate salutis facere fidelium obedienciam et duci per talem capitaneum, patenter destructa foret anticristi blasfemia! Sufficit enim fidelibus quod ipsi pure diligant et teneant legem Cristi; quia (Act. 4) dicit fides apostolorum quod *non est aliud nomen sub celo, in quo oportet nos salvos fieri, nisi nomen domini Jesu Cristi.* O si fideles fratres cum aliis constanter publicarent istam sentenciam, | postposito omni amore privato, preciosa foret mors sic decedencium ex purgacione gloriosa ecclesie ab antiqua blasfemia, et ex amocione obstaculi tardantis ecclesiam ab ordinacione perfecta primeva! Tunc enim posset regnum nostrum obedire cuicunque docto esse vicario Cristi per opera, sicud debuit obedire sancto Petro, non in fraudulenta temporalium subtraccione, non in membrorum anticristi subdola perfeccione, nec in blasfeme instruccionis seminacione, sed in spiritualium legis Cristi predicacione. Ista enim foret vera obediencia Cristi vicario, a qua saltans et blasfemia priorem exigens indicat, ut sic, se esse vicarium anticristi. Tunc enim fructificaret fides in regnis ut antea, amoto obstaculo diaboli prohibente. Oportet enim motum populi, tamquam motum elementi vel mixti, non ex se fieri, sed a deo generante et ministro dei prohibens removente.

Est autem pars anticristi fortis et multiplex, prohibens istum ignem ascendere: ad quod procurant prelatorum et clericorum promocio, dotacionum et tradicionum humanarum defensio, et consuetudinis huius abusus inveteracio. Sed rex celorum et dominus veritatis est

Act. IV, 12 F. 30b

2. fidelium facere CDE. 3. potenter distructa B. 4. ad 4 *in marg.*: sufficeret fideli quid. 5. actuum DE. 6. nomem aliud C. 7. domini nostri C; *ib.* Jesu deest B. 9 mors preciosa *in marg.* C. 12, 13. regnum nostrum posset C. 13. cuilibet B. 14. sicut CDE; *ib.* debuit debuit A. 16. perfectione DE. 17. institucionis B. 18. obediencia vera quando esset *in marg.* C. 19. salutans E; *ib.* priorem blasfemiam C; blasfemiam priorem DE. 21. regiminibus; *corr. in marg.* A; *ib.* ante ea ACE; *ib.* ammoto A. 22. diaboli et A; dyaboli DE. 23. mixtim D; *corr.* E. 24. prohibens istum *in marg. superiori add.* 26. accendere *corr. ex* ascendere E. 26, 27. clericorum et prelatorum CDE. 28. conswetudinis E; *ib.* abuse *in marg.* CDE.

1, 2. *De necessitate salutis.* It is well to notice these words, for the torrent of Wyclif's invectives against the See of Rome might lead us to mistake his position. What he objects to is not so much the obedience given to the Roman Pontiff as the belief that it is indispensable for salvation. A few lines further, he speaks of England *obeying* any one who should be truly found to be the vicar of Christ. 19. *A qua saltans.* This seems to be a somewhat strained metaphor, amounting to the English 'breaking from'.

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forcior principe huius mundi; dicit nobis, inquam, in fide quod quicunque clericus vel episcopus plus appreciatur favorem vel lucrum mundanum quam publicacionem veritatis legis domini, ut sic, inhabilitat se ipsum ad beneficium ecclesie, et ipsum occupans tamquam blasfemus et hereticus nocet plebi. Et idem est iudicium de religioso, qui propter defensionem sue dotacionis sive religionis hoc promovet, vel tacet vecorditer veritatem. Nam act. 5 de Anania et Zaphira legitur deum, propter zelum sue ecclesie, pro minori crimine ambos ad mortem subitam iudicasse. Et quantum ad tercium, patet quod vetustas in malo non arguit facti laudabilem bonitatem, cum lucifer et anticristus eius vicarius, ymmo vetustas peccati persone salvande, sunt continuata diucius quam dicta iniquitas. Non respiciamus igitur longitudinem consuetudinis sed eius repugnanciam legi Cristi. Unde potens est deus illuminare et excitare mentes paucorum fidelium qui constanter detegant et moneant, si digni sumus ad destruccionem huius versucie anticristi. Sic enim, incipiendo a femina, convertit per paucos apostolos totum mundum.

Act. V, 5 et seq.

and 3. the long standing of these abuses. But: 1. No member of the clergy who seeks worldly gain, is better than a heretic; 2. a 'religious' doing the like, i. e. defending his order's endowments, is in the same case; and 3. Lucifer, Antichrist and men living in sin for many years show that we should consider, not leugth of years, but greatness of evil.

G. Sed triplex blasfemia huius capitis contra trinitatem beatam est parumper amplius reseranda. Prima est de potestate abscondita; secunda de sapiencia simulata; et tercia est de ficta benevolencia ad edificacionem ecclesie.

A detailed exposition of the three chief points of the prevailing blasphemy.

Quoad primum: cum desunt miracula, lucifer non habet medium sibi consonancius quam in isto falsare subdole potestatem; unde cecatur ecclesia, credendo quod eius vicarius habet in dispensacione et absolucione et indulgenciarum concessione tantam preeminenciam potestatis quod nichil valet in istis, nisi quod ipse concedit vel approbat. Unde correspondenter isti ficcioni statuuntur leges quas fingunt ut ewangelium observandas. Veritas quidem est quod vel nichil habet potestatis

I. *Hidden Power.* Thongh men believe in the dispensing, absolving and indulgence-granting power of the Pope, he has no more than any other priest, if equally good.

1. perfeccior *pro* torcior C; *ib.* principe mundi *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* inquam nobis CDE. 2. inabilis ad beneficium quis *in marg. sup.* C. 2, 3. appreciat E. 9. actuum DE; *ib.* de Anania dicitur A; *ib.* Saphira C. 12. quod *deest* A; *ib.* vetustas multitudo longitudo non arguit sed Cristi lex. *in marg. sup.* C. 14. contaminata C; *in marg.* contaminata D; *sub linea additum est:* contra mandata E. 16. conswetudinis E. 17. paucorum mentes C.

22. triplex blasfemia in { potestate / sapiencia / beneuolencia } anticristi *in marg. infer.* C.

23. parum C; *ib.* reserando A; reservanda C. 25. est *in marg. add.* A; *ib.* benivolencia ADE. 26. luciferi A. 27. simulare CDE. 28. subdole *deest* C 29. in *pro* et CDE; *ib.* absolucione *deest* A. 31. in istis *deest* B.

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ecclesiastice in casu quo sit precipuus anticristus, vel habet pariter cum aliis Cristi sacerdotibus eque bonis.

As for dispensations in the matter of vows, these vows were made either wisely or foolishly.

Et quoad dispensaciones, specialiter cum voto, credit catholicus quod votum vel est sapienter vel stulte commissum et continuatum. Assistente vero sapiencia in continuacione voti commissi, foret stulticia dispensare. Si autem stulte commissum est, foret prudencia ipsum celeriter dissolvere et de commissionis stulticia penitere: ad eius remissionem et contriti absolucionem sufficit quicunque sacerdos habens claves ecclesie. Non enim subiacet potestati hominis vel angeli dispensare cum religioso vel alio, nisi aput deum sit patens racio, et apud subiectum utilitas dispensandi. Et sic quicunque stulte voverit, debet sine petita pape dispensacione votum tale dimittere. Et si solus ille habet prudenciam ad consulendum in talibus, est pro consilio requirendus. In quo, si persona vovens vel alii facilius petendi excesserint vel parificati fuerint illo dimisso, ipsi (consulendi gracia) sunt petendi. Et quantum ad leges hominum que videntur istis contrarie, patet quod non ligant nisi de quanto in lege Cristi fundate fuerint, consone racioni. Et secundum istam glosam condicionatam debent intelligi quod, si legi dei sint consone, tunc habeant robur suum. Et ille quem deus inspirando visitat practiset prudenter apparencia mundo inconveniencia que secuntur. Nec debet verti fideli in dubium quin tantum meretur secularis ex tanto fervore caritatis conplens Cristi precepta atque consilia, sicut religiosus privati ordinis | adinventi, secundum votum obedienciam 31*
et alios ritus perficiens; quia aliter Cristus et eius apostoli inprudenter vel improvide tantum fructum religionis preterissent. Non enim legitur apostolos vel eorum discipulos vovisse tantam obedienciam, fecisse talem professionem vel servasse talem tradicionem humanam in suo modo vivendi, sed racionabiliter respuisse.

If wisely, no dispensation can be wise; if foolishly, the sooner they are unmade, the better; and any priest can do that. If it is unreasonable to dispense with vows, not even an angel could do it; if reasonable, why ask the Pope?

As for human laws, they are null unless based on Christ's laws and right reason; still, they must be set aside with prudence, on account of the danger of such steps.

A layman who follows Christ's counsels has as much merit as a 'Religious', for Christ's Apostles took no vows.

1. casum B; in casu *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* quod CE; q^d *corr. ex* in quo D. 2. habet pro tunc A; *ib.* partem *pro* pariter CDE. 3. *in marg.:* nota de voto B. 4. katholicus D. 5. comissum C 6. dispensari A. 8. vel ACDE. 9. cuius D; *corr. ex ?* E. 10. eclesie D. 11 vel *pro* cum A. 12. alie A. 13. dispensacio cum voto *in marg.* E. 14. Stulte promissum *in marg.* C. 16. resurgendus A; recurrendus CDE. 17. parva *pro* persona A. 21. fundate in lege Cristi C. 22. gloza condicionata *in marg.* C. 24. dominus DE. 26. sequuntur CE.

27. furore DE. 28. mandata *pro* precepta DE; *ib.* sicud D. 31. et uel (et *alia manu corr.*) D; *ib.* invide ABC. 32. apostoli non leguntur vovisse *in marg. sup.* C

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Cum igitur eorum religio exemplaris fuit perfeccior, sequitur quod nobis foret perfeccius servire deo similiter.

H. Item, si votum repetitum factum homini post votum factum deo habeat tantum virtutis; non est racio quin per idem votum multiplicatum augeret religionem et meritum. Illa ergo foret excellens nova religio, in qua foret continue innovata professio. Si dicatur quod hoc foret superfluum, revera evidencius foret nedum superfluum sed stultum obligari sic homini post votum infinitum solempnius factum deo.

Vows are considered superfluous after the taking of solemn vows; if so, Baptism is the most solemn vow of all, and renders all others superfluous.

Item, nemo prudenter subicit se homini obligacione perpetua, nisi propter informacionem vel commodum reportandum ab eo. Si informacio pensatur, prelatus est sepe stulcior et ducens suum discipulum in precipicium. Si ergo rudis discipulus in arte mechanica non obligatur magistro nisi ad tempus, quousque ars sit perfecte cognita, videtur stultum sic obligari obligacione perpetua. Si vero lucrum temporale pensatur, quia illud vel mundana prosperitas sit causa precipua: manifestum est quod comittitur ydolatria blasfema.

It is folly to submit to the lifelong guidance of a man often of inferior talent; if this submission is interested, it is idolatrous blasphemy.

Item, votum vel promissio obediencie facta deo est infinitum melior, sic quod ista superaddita non valet, nisi quanto promovet vel habilitat Cristianum ad illam. Sed obligacio adiecta sepe ad hoc difficultat vel impedit, ergo contempni debet ut stolida. Maior supponitur ex fide. Nam omnis homo, sicud et omnis natura creata naturaliter, dicit se obedire deo, quod est eis obligacio maxima. Cristianus eciam dicit in oracione dominica se dimittere debitoribus debita sua; et profitetur ac vovet se credere in deum. Sicut sacerdos dicit cottidie: *da mihi intellectum domine, et scrutabor legem tuam;*

A promise of obedience to God is above all, and no other has any value, except in so far as it aids the fulfilment of the first; for every creature exists only to that end; our every day prayers, if said with intention, have the effect of a vow; and

1. ergo B. 2. servire simpliciter deo perfeccius *in marg.* C; *ib.* iiipfeccius C; *ib.* domino B; *ib.* simpliciter *pro* similiter C. 3. Iterum E.

5. votum multiplicatum si augeret religionem *in marg. infer.* C. 7. innovata professio *in marg.* C. 8, 9. revera — sed stultum *in marg. super add. post* revera *add.:* sic E. 10. solemnius CE. 11. prudens C. 12. comodum CDE. 14. discipulum suum C. 15. igitur *pro* ergo CDE. 17. sic stultum C. 18. vero *deest* BC. 19. quod id AB; quod illud DE. 20. committitur DE. 21. promissum C; *ib.* promissum deo factum multo solempnius *in marg. infer.* C. 26. sicut CDE. 27. eius A. 30. quottidie C; quotidie E. 31. michi C; *ib.* domine *deest* A.

10. The Baptismal vows, which are infinitely more solemn, since they are *commanded* as necessary for salvation; while the others are only evangelical *counsels,* and therefore belong to a quite different species. One vow is *to follow Christ closely enough not to lose Heaven;* another is *to follow Him as closely as possible.*

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no action that linders us from doing our first duty, can have any merit.

et custodiam illam in toto corde meo. Nec dubium quin quodlibet tale votum vocale debet esse infinitum solempnius quam votum faciendum cristiano. Et iterum, certum est quod in istis fit deo obligacio, votum et professio, non obstante carencia tradicionis humane; et hoc si fidelis dicit effectualiter, meritorie, et non derisorie, ista deo. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin obligacio facta homini non valet nisi de quanto iuvat ad observandum obligacionem factam deo, quia de tanto est opus hominis meritorium placens deo. Et quod minor sit vera patet ex dictis. Nam talia conventicula ligant religiosos, vel faciunt eos timidos ad dicendum veritatem in causa dei: faciunt eos gravidatos peccato publico ex consensu, et difficultant ad discendum et servandum tradiciones hominum. Nam, suspensa tota occupacione talium in pura observancia legis dei, quis dubitat quin hoc foret meritorius observanti? Mirum itaque est quod diabolus sophista introduxit istam blasfemiam, cum caret auctoritate scripture, racione et colore. Existens ergo in inicio quo primus Cristianus istam religionem instituit, examinaret racionem, auctoritatem et utilitatem solicite antequam induceret talem sectam.

Now these small communities of monks tie down their members and hinder them from doing God's work; the first founder of these sects ought to have thought well before he brought them into being.

Objections: 1. There were sects under the Old Law and in Christ's time. — True, but we are no longer under the Old Law; and we nowhere read of vows made to men.

Non enim movet quod in lege veteri fuerunt religiosi, ut filii prophetarum; in tempore Cristi fuerunt religiosi, ut pharisei, saducei et essei; quod in veteri lege nazarei sanctificabantur cum voto, ut dicitur Numeri 5°. Nam volens sic iudaizare notaret exemplar, ne addendo vel diminuendo deficiat in auctoritate exemplaris; quia modica declinacio in principio facit culpam. Religio autem quam Cristus instituit in lege sua docet quod, dimissa observancia veteri vel adinvencione nova, sit in illa autorisacione facili et delectacione secura fidelibus militandum. Unde hec adinventa novitas, habens unum laudabile, habet mille culpabilia a diabolo indubie adin-

Num. VI, 18—21

2. quotlibet A; *ib.* de voto religiosorum vocaliter *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* ex se infinitum esse C. 3. solepnius E: *ib.* faciendo A. 4. fit *corr. ex* fit E. 8. obligacio facta homini de quanto valet *in marg. sup.* C.

13. et faciunt A. 14. *after* discendum vel et; et *alia manu corr.* D. 15. hominis B. 17. dubit A; dubitat DE. 18. sophista diabolus C; sophista dyabolus DE. 20. ergo *deest* E. 21, 22. utilitatem et auctoritatem C. 22. sollicite C. 24, 25. ut — ut *deest* AB; *ib.* religiosi *deest* DE. 24. quin *pro* in D; *corr. in marg.* E. 26. nasarei DE. 27. iudicare A; iudaysare C; iudaisare DE; *ib.* volunt quidam iudayzare arguendo a simili cum non sit precedens *in marg.* C. 29. a *pro* in C. 31. vel *deest* C. 32. auctoritative CDE; *ib.* faciliter CDE. 33. bonum C; *corr. ex* unum DE. 34. mille culpabilia in sectis *in marg.* C; *ib.* dyabolo DE.

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venta. Ut in lege veteri voverunt deo et non homini, in adinvencionibus modernis, vovent stulte homini et non deo.

Nec movet dictum Anselmi *de similitudinibus,* quia intelligit de illo religioso qui ex maiori caritate observat perfeccius legem Cristi; quod licet quandoque contingit in privatis ordinibus, non illi sunt per se causa sed observancia legis dei. Ideo ceca est evidencia, si *multi sancti et scioli processerunt ex istis ordinibus,* ergo *sunt laudandi.* Laudemus, inquam, graciam dei, qui in tam presumpto periculo conservavit sic homines propter observanciam legis sue.

2. Anselm speaks in favour of 'Religious' men. — But he speaks of men who observe Christ's law more perfectly: which may happen even among them.

Nec potest fundari quod obediencia talis, votum vel professio, per se facit ad perfeccionem status vel meriti. Sed si ex cautela diaboli faciat bonum quandoque per
31b accidens, in maiori parte ex inmixtione stulticie facit |
K. malum. Nam, ut docet Thomas, secunda secunde questione 186, in religionibus illis homo obligatur ad multa sub gravi pena, que ommittendo non peccaret alias vel venialiter. Quis ergo difficultaret se tali religioni irracionabili, cum posset faciliter et libere militare sub benedicta et omnino racionabili simplici lege Cristi? Quamvis enim deus, temptando homines, precipit et wult ipsos elicere sensum et visum ad quem deus non wult quod ipsi compleant in effectu (ut patet de Abraham
Gen. XXII, 1 Gen. 22) tamen nichil precipit nec ad aliquid obligat hominem facere nisi quod wult sub pena peccati fieri; quia aliter liceret — ymo homo deberet — declinare mandatum domini: posito de blasfemo possibili quod deus occuparet servum suum continue ipsum mandando facere quod non debet fieri, sicud scola anticristi docet

3. The vow by itself does not sanctify and may even do harm accidentally; for many venial sins become mortal in 'Religion'.

What God commands, He always wishes to be done by man; or it would be our right, or even our duty, to disobey Him.

2. advencionibus C. 4. Anzhelmi A; anshelmi C; *corr. ex* anshelmum DE. 5. religiosus verus *in marg.* C. 7. persone (pe) A; *corr. ex* persone D. 8, 9. mulli sancti processerunt ex ordinibus pro quo deus laudetur, sed quare *in marg. inf.* C. 11. presumptum periculum *in marg.* C. 15. dyaboli DE; *ib.* facit C; *corr. ex* faciet DE. 18. 168 B; *ib.* Obligacio aggravat sub pena ad ea que alias possent non fieri *in marg. sup.* C. 19. obmittendo AC. 20. igitur C. 21. dum BCDE; *ib.* faciliter libere *in marg.* C. 22. legi DE. 23. ergo B; *ib.* preci C. 25. wlt CD. 26. nec *pro* nichil E; *ib.* aliud A. 27. wlt CD. 28. ymmo C. 30. mandando ipsum C. 31. sicut CDE.

4. De Sancti Anselmi Similitudinibus, a work by Eadmer, professing to be compiled from notes taken by him "ex ore B. P. Anselmi". There is a chapter entitled: *Similitudo inter monachum et angelos et Deum* (Migne, t. CLIX, p. 650) many others too sound the praises of monastic life. 17. St. Thomas. *Summa Theol.* 2a 2a, qu. CLXXXVI, art. 9, 10.

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suis prepositis licere precipere. Quod meritum ergo reportaret in talibus neutris tota obediens, cum non peccaret vel venialiter hec ommittens? Ideo comendat apostolus, Gall. 2° et 5°; libertatem quam habet cristiana religio, talia facere sive ommittere. Et Augustinus ad Possidonium *de adulterinis coniugiis:* "Ea sunt in nostris officiis graciora que, cum licet nobis eciam non impendere, tamen causa dileccionis impendimus". Sic ergo videtur quod privata religio obligat prius liberum ad serviendum homini, ut remissius et illiberius serviat deo suo. Si ergo quis fecerit talem obedienciam servo sathane, licet vocetur sacra, Cristus tamen dispensat et eius vicarius dispensare debet celeriter, ut talis obediencia diaboli dissolvatur; quia Ecclesiastici 5° scribitur: *Si quid vovisti deo, ne moreris reddere; displicet ei,* inquit, *infidelis et stulta promissio.* Sed quid est infidelius quam quod, ex tali religione inventa humanitus, causatur meritum ad quod non stat quemcunque pure secundum religionem Cristi attingere?

Galat. II, 4; V, 13

Eccle. V, 3

Christian liberty is praised both by St. Paul and by Augustine; but private religion destroys this, and Christ grants dispensation therefrom, as from a foolish vow; so ought His Vicar to do.

Papa igitur solveret colligaciones impietatis si, virtute sacre obediencie debite deo et ei, preciperet cuicunque preposito talis privati ordinis dispensare cum omnibus suis subiectis, ut pro sua periodo non ad talem obligacionem, professionem, obedienciam, vel votum perpetuum astringantur. Hoc enim est possibile, et foret multis meritorium; ymmo, possent cum illo vivere in communi claustraliter, habere omnia in communi, et servare cuncta liberius que forent de perfeccione ordinis Cristiani. Unde, quia secundum Thomam (ubi supra), solum castitas, obediencia et paupertas sunt de essencia cuiuscunque privati ordinis; cum igitur hec communiter L. pertinent cuicunque sacerdoti vel pure clerico, patet

The pope would do well to order all priors of Orders to give a general dispensation to their subjects; which would not interfere with their claustral life.

And this would unite the Church by assimilating the secular with the regular clergy.

2. neutris *in marg. add.* D. 3. obmittens A; *ib.* commendat CDE. 5. obmittere A; omittere CE. 6. possidonium C. 8. igitur C. 9. privata religio ad quid obligat *in marg. sup.* C. 10. illiverius D; *corr.* E; *ib.* sic igitur C. 12. dispensa C. 13. diaboli obediencia C; dyaboli DE. 14. *in marg.* nota B; *ib.* ne ne C. 15. inquit ei CDE; *ib.* infide C. 19. ergo D; *ib.* soluet C; sollveret E. 21. sibi ADE. 22. privati *deest* A. 23. perydo C. 26. posset ABE. 28. ad perfeccionem DE. 29. quia *deest omnes MSS.* 31. ergo CDE; *ib.* hoc CDE. 31. pertinet *omnes MSS.*

6. St. Aug. *De Conjugiis Adulterinis, ad Dollentium*, l. I, cap. XIV (Migne, t. XL, p. 459). 20. It seems here that Wyclif contradicts himself when he speaks of the 'sacred obedience due to the Pope'. The contradiction does not exist in reality, however, the passage only shows that Wyclif would have considered a Pope who thought like himself as the 'real Vicar of Christ.' Or he may be arguing from his opponents' point of view.

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quod racionabilis dispensacio et ecclesie magna unicio foret cum irreligiose captivatis taliter dispensari. ut patet Ecclesiastici 5°. Si papa tardat in isto, deus dispensat, ut votum irracionabile dimittatur. Non enim complet votum sed aggravat peccatum, qui vovit improvide fratrem iniuste occidere vel quicquam aliud imprudenter, et complet. Ideo lex Cristi precipit quod talis voti irracionabilis caveatur complecio, et de obligacionis stulticia fiat contricio. Sic enim sine dispensacione humana cessavit apostolus a voto blasfemie. Ymmo, videtur quod papa vel quicunque qui posset taliter captivatos liberare, nedum peccaret graviter, sed committeret blasfemiam omittendo. Tunc enim unice purificaretur cristiana religio, et abiciens sanctos prepositos privati ordinis studeat facta cristi et faciat illis factis plene similiter.

Should the Pope be slow to grant such dispensation, God will grant it; for the vows ought not to have been made.

Nam Bernardus, ut supra exposui, ponit eundum ordinem monachorum qui fuit laicorum conversorum in Jerusalem habencium omnia in communi. Anzhelmus eciam, in epistola quadam que sic incipit "Cristianorum" sic loquitur: "Est" inquit "quedam generalis professio prime similis, quam nos docuit dulcissimus pater et frater noster piissimus Jesus; id est monachatus, quod idem est aput nos quod fuit discipulatus aput apostolos"; et probat posterius quod eam rite recipiens mundatur ab omni crimine actuali. Ista, inquam, professio stat in castitate contra carnem, in paupertate contra mundum et in obediencia facta Cristo contra diabolum. Quod si aliquis Cristianus professus non fuerit, aut fidelis in professione non consummaverit, non superabit ad celi gloriam triplicem inimicum. Unde Lanfranchus, in quadam epistola, scribit: "Si ego Lanfrancus manu

Authorities quoted in favour of Wyclif's view: *Bernard* compares monks to the early Church; *Anselm* speaks of a general profession of monachism similar to that of Christ's disciples; which Wyclif understands as the promises of every professing Christian.

Lanfranc holds that spiritual danger justifies withdrawal from a monastery.

1. ordines primate quomodo dispensarentur *in marg. sup.* C. 2. despensari B; dispensare CDE. 5. viuit C. 6. quicumque *pro* quicquam C. 7. inprudenter E. 11. ymo DE. 12. liberare taliter captinatos C; liberare totaliter captivatos DE. 13. comitteret E; *ib.* ommittendo DE; *ib.* unite E. 14. obiciens CDE. 16. sanctis C; *corr. ex* factis DE. 17. Bernhardus CDE. 17—19. ut supra — Jerusalem *in marg. add.* D. 17. ponit *in marg. add.* E. 18. laycorum CE; conversorum *alia manu add.* E. 19. hunc inde *pro* habencium A. 20. quadam *deest* CDE. 22. persone CDE; *ib.* pissimus D. 23. id est *deest* B; *ib.* monachus A; monachatus id est disciplinatus *in marg.* A. 25, 26. ab omni mundatur C. 26. professio in quo C. 28. et *pro* in C; *ib.* dyabolum DE. 30. consumavit A; conf,,,umaverit *corr. ex* confguauerit C. 31. Lanfrancus *in marg.* B; Lanfranchus *in marg.* C.

19. *De Apostasia*, p. 3. 20. I can find no letter extant that begins thus. 32. Lanfranc. Ep. LX. *Ad Rudolphum Abbatem* (Migne, t. CL, p. 549); Bened. ed. 329.

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propria me de aliquo monasterio non recessurum iurassem, viderem autem quod ibi animam meam salvare non possem, statim exirem, nec periurii crimen incurrerem."

The fictive power of the Pope, by which he commands angels and regulates things of the next world, would be far better employed in enjoining the Superiors to command nothing against God's law.

Papa, inquam, qui fingit sibi tantam potestatem inesse, laxaret ipsam in isto ad edificacionem ecclesie. Legi enim ex quadam bulla pape Clementis quomodo mandavit angelis paradisi quod animam sic decidentis in purgatorio absolutam ad gaudia perpetua introducant. Et statim post: "voluimus ex consensu fratrum nostrorum cardinalium, quod si aliqua persona rediens de indulgencia predicta, instigante diabolo, peccato consenciat | M. et in eo peccato perseverante contingat eum mori racione peccatorum que antea comiserat et sibi virtute anuli fuerint absoluta et indulta, nolumus quod pena inferni sibi aliquatenus inferatur, nisi racione peccatorum que post adventum fuerint perpetrata". Iste, inquam, papa, qui tam imperatorie mandat angelis et tante videtur dispensare contra veritatem legis divine, posset faciliter mandare prelatis quod non obligent suos subditos dissone legi dei, specialiter cum hodie mundus in ipsos tantum invaluit, quod impossibile sive difficile est ipsos servare paupertatem vel obedienciam deo suo. 32a

II. *False Wisdom.* As is the Pope's power, so is his wisdom, which he must have to govern the Church; the proof is that he governs neither himself nor his people by Christ's laws.

Quantum ad blasfemiam contra verbum, patet quod papa dicit se tacite habere sapienciam supra omnes alios mortales ad ecclesiam regulandum. Deus enim non committit sibi curam ecclesie sue, nisi infundat sibi claves sciencie ad officium istud necessarie. Et sicut potestas predicta false fingitur, sic et ista sciencia, ut patet ex duplicitate regiminis; nec ipsum regit nec populum secundum regulas legis Cristi. Per hoc enim, et non

1. non *deest* A. 5. laxaret papa religiosos ad ecclesie edificacionem *in marg. inf.* C. 6. qua A. 6, 7. Clemens angelis mandavit ha *in marg.* C. 7. decedentis A; *corr.* DE; decidentis D (*corr. ex* decedentis); decedentis *corr. ex* decidentis E. 7, 8. purgatorie A. 8. *in marg.*: Nota blasfemiam cuiusdam bulle papalis B; *ib.* perducant B. 10. reddiens AC. 11. dyabolo CDE. 13. ante ea ACDE; *ib.* commiserat C. 14. volumus A; nolumus CDE. 15. aliquatus A; aliquatenus DE. 17. caute *pro* tante C. 19. oligent D. 20. dimissorie A. 21. tantum in eos C; *ib.* inpossibile C; mundus invaluit in religiosis *in marg. sup.* C. 23. blasfemia in sapiencia *in marg.* C. 24. manifeste *pro* tacite C; manifeste habere tacite (manifeste *in marg. add.*) DE. 20. non *deest* CE. 21. ut *pro* nisi E; nisi (vt *alia manu corr.*) C. 23. et *deest* C; *ib.* sentencia *pro* sciencia D; sciencia *corr. ex* sentencia E. 30. Jesu Cristi C.

16. This may have been a spurious Bull. The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is that the eternal penalty of sins that are absolved is for ever blotted out; so that a man going to hell after falling into one mortal sin since his confession, could only suffer for that sin. The will of the Pope has nothing to do with this.

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per verba ficta, crederetur sibi inesse vera sciencia; sicut per opera perversa creditur inesse apostasia atque stulticia. Illi autem qui nituntur fingere claves ecclesie non esse scienciam discernendi et sanandi morbos ovium, sed nudam potenciam, fingunt, ac si dicerent deum suum esse potentem et non sapientem: sicut diffamatur diabolus. Nos autem, sicud distingwimus patrem a filio, nec unum posse esse sine alio, sic in pastore Cristi vicario non datur potestas regendi sine sciencia; nec e contra. Sciencia autem in qua oportet ipsum precellere, est fides scripture, cum noticia legis dei sit requisita ad regimen animarum. Non loquor autem de sciencia disputandi, sed de noticia beatitudinem sibi et populo adquirendi: que sciencia, sicut infuit apostolis, sic et regimen animarum.

To say that the keys imply power without wisdom is an absurd fiction; the Vicar of Christ must have both; the knowledge of Holy Writ, not scholastic, but practical.

Tercia blasfemia contra spiritum sanctum est ficta benevolencia, qua vicarius anticristi mentitur se jura Cristi defendere, ac debita sponse sue exigere, non propter affeccionem quam habet ad temporalia, sed propter salutem anime detinentis, et propterea versatur N. totum regimen ecclesie circa ista. Sed ista duplicitas (quam spiritus sanctus effugiet) ex hoc convincitur, quod deficit potestas pape aufferendi ista terrena que vendicat a proximo subtrahente. Deus autem, si tantum appreciaretur has temporalium possessiones, daret vicario suo potenciam ad illas adquirendum et servandum, eciam invito adversario impugnante. Sic enim dat suis potestatem adquirendi et servandi virtutes, invitis hostibus; cum virtus per pacienciam iniurie inimici adquiritur, et quesita non perditur nisi gratis, eciam toto exercitu diabolorum et hominum renitente. Defectus igitur pape querendi et servandi temporalia docent apostatas quod non in tali eorum possessione beneplacitum fuit deo. Aliter enim oporteret concedere blasfeme quod in bonis

III. *Feigned benevolence.* The Pope pretends that his love of temporal power proceeds merely from charity and zeal for the Church's rights. But if these possessions were necessary, God would never allow them to be taken from him, any more than His grace from His servants.

The Pope's want of success shows that God is not pleased with this temporal power.

2 sicut enim C; *ib.* et C; *ib.* opera perversa signa apostasie *in marg. sup.* C. 6. sicud A. 7. dyabolus DE; *ib.* sicud *deest* B; *ib.* distigwimus D; *ib.* a filio *twice* A. 8. esse *deest* A. 10. que sciencia et potestas requiruntur ad clavem *in marg. inf.* C. 14. acquirendi C; *ib.* sicud A. 16. ficta benevolencia tercia blasfemia *in marg. inf.* C. 17. benivolencia ACDE; *ib.* mtur D. 19. per *pro* propter C. 19—20. sed propter — sed ista *in marg. inf. alia manu add.* D. 22. sanctus *deest* C. 23. populo *pro* pape A; auferendi E. 26. ad illas potenciam DE; *ib.* acquirendum C. 27. pugnante C; inpugnante C; impugnante *alia manu add.* D. 28. acquirendi C; *ib.* eciam invitis CDE. 29. in iniurie C, in *alia manu add.* D; *corr.* E; *ib.* acquiritur C. 31. dyabolorum E; *ib.* renittente D; remittente E. 32. Temporalia cumulat papa non secundum deum *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* doceret CDE; *ib.* apostotas D. 33. fuerit C. 34. blasteme concedere C.

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que deus plus ponderat fuit inprovidus ordinando remedia.

The whole life of Christ condemns this greed of temporal lucre.

Secundo, contra veritatem finguntur mendacia, cum vita Cristi docet tam verbo quam opere quod aufugit detestans in se et in suis vicariis tale dominium. Qua fronte igitur blasfeme finguntur ista debere pape competere jure Cristi? Si igitur iste due persone tolluntur, necesse est spiritum sanctum tolli. Ideo inevitabiliter sequitur quod papa non amat salutem anime subditi sed sua stercora; quia, deficientibus illis, non laborat more apostoli lucrifacere animabus, ut patet de nacionibus barbaris convertendis. Nec tantum sollicitat fulminare censuras pro crimine sicut pro temporali stercore, cum crimen pro temporalibus faciliter summe simoniace potest emi. Et hec racio quare prudentes divisi a nobis nolunt duci regimine talis ducis. Caucius enim sequeretur Cristum, fugiendo hanc generacionem pessimam anticristi, cum subditi sunt ei consentanei ex consensu. Et tantum inveterata malicia invaluit, quod unius simplicis momentanea rebellio parum proderit, cum satraparum suorum persecucione sit statissime extinguendus.

We should refuse to obey such a leader; but the rebellion of one man alone would be promptly crushed.

It is safer to fly from this generation in spirit and wait for Antichrist to be destroyed by a miracle.

Ideo videtur tucius a generacione ista saltem in mente auffugere et ad proteccionem Cristi confugere, reliquendo destruccionem anticristi cum suis satrapis dei miraculo. Scimus quidem quod oportet ut viis nobis absconditis istud eveniat, sicut scimus quod *personarum accepcio non est aput deum; sed in omni gente vel loco qui ipsum dilexerit, acceptus est illi*, et eo accepcior, quo fuerit tradicionum anticristi et complicum suorum detestabilior. Seminacio itaque blas | femiarum et fructus 32b
sui modi crescendi docet patule quod minera blasfemie ita jacet.

4. signantur A. 5. auffugit D. 5. in (*post* et) *deest* C. 6. ergo CDE; *ib.* populo *pro* pape C. 7. prime B. 9. animam vel salutem B; anime subditi salutem C. 10. stercora subditorum conuincitur amare papa *in marg. inf.* C. 12, 13. Censuras non fulminat pro crimine sed pro stercore *in marg. sup.* C. 13, 14. pro — pro *in marg. sup. add.* D. 14. facilitet C; *ib.* symoniace E. 15. prudenter C; *corr. ex* prudentis DE. 16. enim *deest* B. 19. momentanea rebellio C. 21. suarum E; *ib.* extingwendus E. 22. age'nanonē C (*sic*); *ib.* istam C. 23. aufugere E. 24. dei miraculo relinquere C. 21. nos *pro* ut viis A; hiis *corr.* B: viis CDE. 22. sicud D. 28. erit est C. 31. quod *deest* A.

15. Allusion to the Western schism.

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CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.

A. Ulterius restat detegere ramos huius blasfemie. Nec dubium quin omnis consentaneus, cooperans, defendens vel consulens, omnis eciam auctorisans sectas ut illud foveant vel defendant, sicut omnis ocians a reprehensione vel spirituali juvamine ad destruendum hanc sectam Cristo contrariam: omnis enim, inquam, talis est ramus vel adiacens huic arbori maledicte. Et sic pauce vel nulle secte sunt inter nos, quin sapiant eius fructum; mille autem sunt meandri reputati pro nichilo, per quos sathan introducit maiora scelera, ut sunt 1. tradicionum humanarum exaltacio, 2. scole legis Cristi depressio et 3. in malo sub apparencia boni coniuracio.

The branches of blasphemy are formed by all those who in any way consent to it.

Three causes of great crimes, 1. the exaltation of traditions, 2. the abasement of Christ's School, 3. the conspiracy of evil under the appearance of good.

1. Cautela quidem diaboli est sub simulacione yppocritica sanctitatis introducere sectam suam. De primo dixi alibi diffuse quomodo lex pape contenciosa subtrahit sub fuco sanctitatis ab informacione, ab execucione et a dileccione legis dei, cum tamquam contraria sese dirimunt. 2. In legis Cristi depressione sunt mille cautele diaboli, ut sunt pro gloria scole in disputacionibus morosa occupacio, pro humana gloria contrariacio, et (quod pessimum est) legis Cristi depravacio; ut nostri, inter bona que seminant, dicunt quod scriptura sacra secundum maiorem partem sui est summe heretica et blasfema. Et horror huiusmodi distrahit multos ab atten-

Tricks of the devil; hypocrisy, vain scholastic disputes, quarrels for glory and corruption of Christ's law.

1. capitulum etc. *deest* A; capit. sec. *deest, sed prima litera capituli sequentis coeruleo colore picta est, in marg. numerus* "2" *apparet* C; *Inscriptio deest sed in marg. numerus* "2m" *rubro colore pictus* D; *Inscriptio deest in marg.* "2m" *Pro prima litera* V *spatium relictum est* E. 5. sicud D; *ib.* ocians a reprehensione *in marg.* C. 6. destruendam DE; *ib.* istam *pro* hanc DE. 7. inquam *deest* B. 10. sex *pro* sunt D; *corr.* E; *ib.* reputandi AB; *corr.* D; *in marg.* E. 11. scelera maiora *in marg.* C; *ib.* 1 *deest* ACD. 12, 13. 2, 3 *deest* ACD; *in marg.* BE. 13. in *deest* B. 14. 1 *deest* ACDE; dyaboli DE; cautela diaboli *in marg.* C. 16. difuse D; *ib.* lex pape *in marg.* C. 17. a *deest* AB. 18, 19. diminuit C; derimunt AB; *sed in marg.:* diminuunt E. 19. legis cristi depressio in quo *in marg.* C; *ib.* 2 *deest* ACDE; *in marg.* B. 20. dyaboli DE. 22. dampnacio *pro* depravacio E. 23. scriptura sacra contempnitur quare *in marg. sup.* C.

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cione legis dei, dirimit eius auctoritatem ex varia multitudine glosatorum, et ad tantum extraneat logicam scripture quod nullus modus loquendi est illis abieccior. Et de isto patet diffuse alibi. 3. Quantum ad tercium patet quod pars anticristi tot habet complices, quorum quidam subtilius et quidam expressius sunt contrarii legi Cristi; ut in sacramento sub pallio sanctitatis sunt hereses et ydolatrie simulate, ut patet de sacramento altaris. In qua materia si ydolatre sunt quicunque qui adorant creaturam non deum tamquam deum, patet quod tam de clero quam populo multi sunt idolatre: cum multi credunt et adorant hostiam (que de facto est panis in natura et corpus Cristi in figura) ac si esset naturaliter et idemptice corpus Cristi et sic deus, cum notum sit quod corpus Cristi est Cristus et per consequens deus noster, ut patet in materia de incarnacione. Et tamen ad tantum ydolatre nostri insaniunt, quod dicunt non esse aliud naturaliter corpus Cristi in celo glorificatum et objective beatificans cives celi, quam est hostia quam sacerdos conficit, tractat et manducat; et sic de aliis inconvenienciis, que recitavi paganos deridendo deducere. Nec potest ista inpossibilitas heretica, ad quam sequitur deum non esse et omne aliud inconveniens excusari; quia deus veritas odit omne mendacium: ergo multo magis tantum mendacium de se ipso.

Evil under the semblance of good, as shown in the doctrine of the Eucharist.

It is idolatry to adore as God what is not God; and they absurdly say that the Host is God; this is the greatest of all lies.

Item potest committi blasfema ydolatria colendo creaturam abjectam non deum tanquam ipsa sit deus: ergo, posita aliqua ydolatria, oportet concedere istam ex peculiaritate populi, ex abieccione signi culti, et ex preciositate corporis blasfemati esse ydolatriam gravissimam. Item nullus est fidelis ydolatra quin fingit B. se deum suum colere devote in suo ydolo; sed quia devocio est mendax, ydeo non placet deo veritatis. Cum ergo eadem sit racio in tali cultu, videtur quod sit ydolatria perhorrenda. Nec dubium quin ex defectu

The more favoured the people, the more abject the sign worshipped, the more precious the thing blasphemed by that worship, the worse is the idolatry. Every idolater thinks he worships God, yet does not please Him, for the same reason as the worshippers of the Host.

4. difuse D; *ib.* 3 *deest* ACD; *in marg.* BE. 5. habet tot CDE. 6 expressius subtilius A. 7. palio AC. 8. de ydolatria circa sacramentum *in marg.* A. 9. scilicet *pro* si A. 10. idolatria circa eukaristiam *in marg. inf.* C. 11. *word effaced after* quam A; quam de CDE; *ib.* ydolatre DE. 12. et *deest* A. 13. cave *in marg.* C. 14. ydemptice CDE. 15. *post* est *scriptum erat* corpus C. 16. in materia *in marg. add.* D. 18. essencia A. 21. recitant B. 22. impossibilitas D. 24. dominus *pro* deus E. 25. igitur C. 27, 28. ergo posita aliqua ydolatria oportet concedere *deest* C. 29. obieccione ABC. 31. infidelis CE; *corr. ex* fidelis D. 32. colere *corr. ex* collere A; collere deum suum C. 33. ideo E. 34. igitur CDE. 35. defectus instruccionis de eukaristia tangitur *in marg. sup* C.

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instruccionis tam cleri quam laici sic blasfeme intelligunt. In cuius signum fingunt ydemptitatem eiusdem corporis dimensivam multiplicem, et sic de aliis blasfemiis, in quibus gravius profundantur.

The Friars are much to blame for allowing the doctrine of the identity of the Host with Christ to spread amongst the people, knowing its falsity as they do.

5 Et omnino culpandi sunt fratres qui habent codices suos plenos hoc testimonio, tam novos quos appreciantur ut ewangelium, quam antiquos; et tamen non juvant predicantem hanc fidem in populo, sed fidem suam blasfeme reticent et depravant, ut codices ipsorum sunt 10 pleni: *quod non videtur corpus Cristi in sacramento oculo corporali; quod sacramentum illud visum corporaliter ab eis in manibus sacerdotis nec est nec esse potest corpus domini ydemptice, nec pars eius.* Et tamen dicunt: Talia non sunt predicanda populo, ne eius devocio 15 extinguatur; sed permitti debet in eius ydolatria sordescere. Cuius causam ego non video nisi ut populus, propter questum et reverenciam mundanam presbyteri, seducatur: et sic sunt indubie ydolatre ex consensu. Eph. IV, 3 Nam secundum apostolum ad Eph. 4, *Una est fides.* 20 Eandem ergo fidem, quam aput se abscondunt de hostia, debent revelare populo, ne peccet idolatria. Sciunt, inquam, quod sequitur: *hoc est sacramentum quod oculo corporali conspicimus:* ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus* 33a *Cristi.* Sciunt eciam quod sequitur: | *multe sunt hostie* 25 *consecrate distantes localiter, et quantumcumque contrarie in accidentibus variate:* ergo, *nulla earum est ydemptice corpus Cristi.* Et sciunt, tercio, quod sequitur: *hoc sacramentum est accidens* (ut fingunt ex fide); ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus Christi.* Sicut ergo credunt ante- 30 cedens ex fide, sic predicent et consequens, cum multi sunt ydolatre pessimi, non credentes.

They say that this doctrine favours popular devotion; but *Faith is one.*

A sacrament is not identical with Christ; nor is an accident: and the Hosts differ in many things from each other.

1. clerici C; *ib.* layci E. 2. ydemptificacionem CDE; *ib.* eiusdam B. 3. dimensionem A; dimensivam *corr. ex* dimensionem D; *ib.* multiplicacionem A; *corr.* B. 5. fratres culpandi quia non iuvant veritatem *in marg. inf.* C. 7. tam *pro* quam A; *ib.* non iuvant *corr. ex* nominant D; *super* iuvant *alia manu* nominant E. 9. recitant C; *corr. ex* reticent D; recitant *sed in marg.:* reticent E; *ib.* dampnant A. 12. nec *corr. ex* quod nec D. 13. tum *pro* tamen C. 14. predicando C. 15. extingwatur E. 16. causa non publicacionis *in marg.* C. 17. presbiteri C. 20. una est fides nota *in marg.* D; *ib.* apud E; *ib.* hoc *pro* hostia A. 21. ydolatria CDE. 23. carnali C. 23, 24. idemptice in corpus cristi non est hostia *in marg. sup.* C. 26. varietate B; *ib.* erit B; *ib.* ydemptice est C. 29. non credunt A. 30. predicet C; predicant A. 31. nec *pro* non C.

12. Aquinas (Sum. Theol. 3a Pars, qu. 76, art. 7) absolutely denies that Christ's Body can be seen in the Sacrament by any bodily eye. It is no doubt to this universal doctrine of the School that Wyclif alludes. See *De Apostasia*, Introduction, p. xix.

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If they do not believe the people is misled, let them enquire, and they will find it out.

Some say they believe in general what Catholics should believe; a wavering position.

And if this dogma is of so little account, the Church should not be burdened with it.

Besides it must be important, if so many consider it as part of our faith, and others as flat idolatry.

Some blasphemously say that Christ spoke so obscurely as to leave us free to choose the side we prefer, since some say and some deny,

that Scripture points to identification of bread with Christ's body.

Wyclif's position.

If there is obscurity, we need faithful theologians, not greedy and worldly men, as at present.

Quod si non credunt, scrutentur in populo wulnus blasfemie et cognoscent quod maior pars populi, eciam clerus, qui reputat se capitaliter regere multas ecclesias, volunt mori in ista fide et occidendo in contrarium docentes irruere. Quidam autem fingunt quod non 5 credunt hoc diffinite, sed in communi credunt veritatem catholicam; sed quantum ad istud fluctuant, utramque partem dubitantes, tamquam inpertinens fidei Cristiane. Sed rogo sic loquentes pensare quot Cristiani credunt diffinite contrarium. Pro salute ergo fratrum est veritas 10 detegenda. Item, si sit inpertinens fidei, ad quid predicatur tam attente vel introducitur ad onus ecclesie? Item, sic asserere esset blasfemare in legem domini et C. scandalizari doctores ecclesie, cum papa, sancti multi et communitas doctorum intromittunt se, absolute asserentes 15 ut fidem scripture simpliciter unam partem. Alii autem dicunt quod omnino est ydolatria credere talem hostiam ydemptice esse deum; et ex defectu noticie scripture, et in penam peccati parvipendencium ipsam cum suis studentibus atque docentibus, est ista perplexitas ex 20 cautela diaboli introducta. Nec sciunt illi qui videntur regere ecclesiam perplexitatem istam dissolvere; et sic diffiniencium in penam peccati indubie multitudo multipliciter est divisa; nec sciunt subditi cui credent. Ideo alii blasfemant dicentes Cristum et suos apostoles cum 25 doctoribus sequentibus seduxisse ecclesiam locucionibus obscuris atque equivocis per quas fideles possunt credere quamcunque partem contradiccionis voluerint; ut hii dicunt quod in sex locis scriptura loquitur ydemtice de corpore Cristi; et hii, quod loquitur tropice. Quantum 30 ad istud credo, ut dixi in tractatu *de Eukaristie*, quod panis consecratus est in figura, non in natura, sacramentaliter, non substancialiter, et tropologice, non ydemptice, corpus Cristi. Et ad magnam utilitatem ecclesie, Cristus sic locutus est obscure atque equivoce, 35 ut fideles mereantur in sensus scrutinio, et ut ecclesia, detestans leges humanas, cognoscat se specialiter indigere theologis qui interpretentur sibi fideliter legem

3. eclesias D. 4. wlt CDE; *ib.* fide *deest* CDE. 8. impertinens C. 9. quod diffinite B; quod *pro* quot C. 10. erit B. 12. aut *pro* vel DE. 13. dei CDE. 14. scandalisare CDE. 16. scire veritatem de eukaristia congrueret *in marg. sup.* C. 21. dyaboli DE. 25. dicentes *in marg.* B. 26. eclesiam D. 32. panis consecratus quomodo est corpus Cristi *in marg. sup.* D; *ib.* erit B. 33. tropice BCDE. 34. obscure locutus est cristus de sacramento propter meritum *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* ntilitatem sic C. 35. est locutus sic DE. 38 interpretarentur ABDE.

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dei; per illos enim tempore apostolorum, martyrum et sanctorum doctorum crevit ecclesia. Sed post genus theologorum, avaricie deditum, divisum est et conmixtum inter satrapas tradicionis humane; et multi-
5 plicatur per sectas dissensio secundum tempus periculosum, quod Cristus et suus apostolus predixerunt: et totum hoc est ad exercicium et meritum electorum. Et si queratur quid fidelis debet eligere, dicitur quod debet vivere in fide scripture et quem sensum de illa deus
10 donaverit pie credere, et habere sensum scripture pure propter hoc quod papa et secte sic asserunt plus suspectum; quia vel sunt ignari sensus domini, et secundum Jeronimum, tractant fabrilia fabri, vel propter superbiam ac avariciam contempnentes sanctos doctores vel glosantes
15 per oppositum magnificant dicta sua.

The faithful should believe on that point what Scripture tells him, notwithstanding the Pope and the Sects.

D. Quis ergo color, ut dixi alias, Si Innocencius tercius sic asserit, ergo verum? Nec enim movet ad hoc quod contra imperatorem blasfeme obiurgavit, quia noluit patriarcham suum secundum mundi gloriam exaltare;
20 nec propter hoc quod in signum blasfemi dominii seduxit regem anglie, quod solveret sibi nongentas marcas pro anglia et ybernia; nec propter hoc quod anno sexto eius fratres predicatores inceperant. Quia ergo ecclesia pape Nicolai secundi ante circiter centum annis declaravit
25 expresse catholice conformiter sanctis doctoribus et scripture istam materiam, ideo sibi debet credi pocius posteriori priori postposito. Glosa tamen sibi debet dari ob reverenciam, quantum permittit mensura fidei: ut transsubstanciacio panis, quam ponit primo decretalium
30 capitulo *Firmiter*, debet concedi ad sensum catholicum. Sic enim fuit Thomas Cantuariensis subito mutatus in

Innocent's decree is not necessarily true; and his conduct towards the Emperor, England, and the Dominicans renders Pope Nicolas preferable.

Yet, out of respect, one decree should be explained to mean a change like that of 'conversion'; and the other is doubtfully expressed.

1. martirum DE. 3. theologis factis avaris quid secutum est *in marg. inf.* C. 4, 5. multiplicata C. 8. fidelis quid eligeret *in marg. sup.* C. 9. deus de illa CE. 12. vel *pro* et C. 16. *in marg.:* Nota abusiones Innocencii III^{ii}; Innocencii tercii condiciones non bone, tamen debet glozari propter reverenciam *in marg. inf.* C. 17. quod *deest* A. 18. obiurgat *omnes MSS.* 21. solvet C. 22. ybernia anuatim A; hybernia CE; hibernia D. 24. annos *corr. ex* annis E. 27. quam propterea *pro* priori B; papa CDE; priori *deest* A; *ib.* debet sibi CE. 28. propter *pro* ob CE. 29. de transsubstanciacione *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* inponit B. 30. debet firmiter B; firmitter *in marg. add.* D. 31. Quintuariensis A; Cathuriensis C; Canturiensis D; Caturiensis E.

13. From Horace (perhaps quoted by St. Jerome) Ep. l. II, I, 115, 116. Quod medicorum est

Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri. See De Apostasia, p. 171. 16. In *De Apostasia*, p. 69, l. 37. 30. Decr. Grat. lib. I, tit. 1, c. 1.

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virum alium; et sic mutantur pape, sopito priori nomine, sine destruccione. Et quantum ad dictum suum de celebracione missarum, capitulo, *Cum Marthe*, patet quod ambigue procedit et non decretive in ista materia. Unde fratres sequentes subtiliaverunt infundabiliter et irracionabiliter ad gravamen et perturbacionem ecclesie, ponentes per "transsubstanciacionem", "destruccionem substancie"; | propter existenciam accidencium per se 33[b] ponunt sacramentum altaris esse nude quantitatem. Sed non explicant (ut nec sciunt) de sex generibus quantitatis famosis, sub quo genere quantitatis eukaristia sit contenta. Vident enim quod non sit numerus, locus aut tempus. Et de longitudine, latitudine et profunditate quidam, licet inevidenter, eligunt sextum genus; et sic, facta rarefaccione vel condensacione per totam, ponunt totam quantitatem sequentem, eciamsi ponatur quantitas successiva, non esse sacramentum vel aliquam eius partem: et non est conveniens eorum testimonium, ut patet diffuse alibi.

But the Friars have taken *transsubstantiation* as a destruction of the substance, and so the Sacrament is mere quantity; of what sort, they know not, and are much embarrassed to choose.

Et movet hic cecitas! Post consecracionem manent accidencia sensibilia in actu considerandi, sopita actualitate subiecti ex consideracione animi: ideo ponunt tale accidens sine subiecto quolibet existente, et undique inductis blasfemis opinionibus oneratur ecclesia. Sicut enim intrans domum et videns ymaginem, non suspendit consideracionem suam quo ad naturam ymaginis, utrum sit de quercu, buxo vel salice, sed totam intencionem et devocionem suam suspendit in signato; consimiliter est de Eukaristie sacramento. Non tamen propterea sequitur quod natura ymaginis destruitur vel desinit quoad deum. Magna itaque foret seduccio, quod scriptura E. sacra vocat sacramentum regulariter panem, ut loquitur canon misse, quod tam multi sancti et leges ecclesie

This is blindness; the subject is only *lost sight* of by the minds of the faithful; just as an image makes one think of what it represents, not of what it is, without losing its entity on that account.

The other explanation contradicts Scripture, the

2. distraccione B. 4. discretive B: non decretive *in marg.* C. 5. subtiliaverunt *deest* A; subtiliarunt CE; *in marg. add.* D. 9. quantitatis *pro* altaris A. 11. genere quantitatis ABD. 14. sic *deest* B. 15. facto A; *ib.* vel *corr. ex* et D. 18. eorum *deest* ACDE. 19. difuse D. 20. eos *pro* hic ACDE; *ib.* cecitas monet fratres *in marg.* C. 21. consyderandi D. 22. obiecti B; *ib.* consyderacione D; *ib.* anni *pro* animi A. 23. quomodolibet CDE. 24. opiniones blasfeme *in marg.* C; *ib.* sic *pro* sicut C. 25. non *deest* ACDE. 26. consyderacionem D. 27. de *deest* B. 27, 28. intencionem et *deest* A. 28. suspensio devocionis *in marg.* C. 30. desint A. 31. eum (d *eras.*) *pro* deum E. 31, 32. sacra scriptura CE. 32. regulariter panem sacramentum A; *ib.* et ut *omnes MSS.* 33. ecclesie *deest* A.

20. All this is but a summary of what is expounded at length in *De Apostasia* and other treatises.

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dicunt tam concorditer quod "panis et vinum erunt corpus Cristi et sangwis"; (ymmo cantus novellus ecclesie dicit quod *fit sangwis Cristi merum;* et sic de multis dictis ecclesie, que omnia non possunt salvari nisi ad sensum figurativum vel tropicum. Nec valet glossa adversariorum exponencium hec dicta per suum oppositum, et annectens extraneas paliaciones; quia idem foret sic glossare et manifeste negare eos; imponere eis ignoranciam logice, et subtilitatem sermonis sibi ipsis ascribere); et sic tales tripliciter seducunt ecclesiam, scilicet, in perfida et consentanea simulacione, in blasfemorum miraculorum faccione, et in horrenda inconveniencium intricacione. Nam audiunt cottidie pertinaciter defensatum ut fidem, quod sacramentum eukaristie est realiter verus deus, quem vident oculo corporali; et tamen, quia hoc eis sonat ad commodum, obmutescunt! Et tamen doctores eorum quos colunt dicunt expresse quod hoc foret ydolatria turpissima. Sed subtiliant nimis inaniter in materia de quiditate hostie, sed discordant sine fundamente solido fluctuantes.

liturgy, all traditions and sayings of the Church, or explains them against their real meaning.

A threefold seduction: I. *dissimulation*, II. *fictitious miracles*, and III. *great absurdities*.

I. *Dissimulation*. They are mute, when they hear it said: we see Christ with our bodily eyes.

Sed per opinionem suam non subtiliant naturam hostie supra panem alium non sacramentum? sicut non subtiliant in materia de quiditate baptismi et penitencie, in qua est tanta difficultas et opinionum varietas? Quidam enim dicunt quod sacramentum baptismi est aqua, alii quod est sal, tercii quod est oleum, quarti quod est vox baptisantis: quia, cum sit aliquid non potest esse ex naturis tam variis aggregatum, quia sic nichil foret hoc necessarium sacramentum; et sic hoc sacramentum non esset, sicut nichil esset. Quinti dicunt quod hoc sacramentum est aliquid numinis, in signis illis absconditum. Et sexti dicunt quod est unum ex omnibus istis vel eorum aliquibus aggregatum. Et sic

Their subtleties extend even to Baptism. Some say the sacrament is water, others salt, oil, the words uttered, some hidden thing, or the collection of al these.

1. tam *deest* CE; *delet* D; *ib.* erant CE. 2. sanguis C. 3. sanguis CE; sanguis cristi fit merum *in marg.* C; *ib.* sit *pro* fit D; *post* fit *add.:* que E. 4. ecclesie *in marg. add.* D. 5. glosa CE. 7. anvectens A; *ib.* palliatas CE; palliaciones D; *ib.* sic foret C. 8. glosare D; glozare E; *ib.* eis *deest* B. 8, 9. antiquis sanctis quidam imponunt ignoranciam *in marg. sup.* C. 9. ipsi E. 10. ecclesiam seducunt tripliciter quidam *in marg. inf.* C. 13. quottidie CD; quotidie E. 14. est eukaristie est C. 14, 15. deus verus CDE. 16. sonat eis CE; *ib.* comodum C. 18. sed *in marg. add.* D. 21–23. *after* subtiliant, naturam hostie supra panem non sacramentum sicut non subtiliant B; *pro* sacramentum, sacratum C; consecratum DE. 22. nec *pro* non. 25. autem A; *ib.* baptismi sacramenti quidditas *in marg. sup.* C. 27. baptizantis D; *ib.* aliud ACE. 31. aliud A; *ib.* minimis ABCD; muminis E. 33. vel eorum aliquibus *deest* CE.

3. Breviarium Romanum. In Festo Corporis Christi, ad vesperas (Hymn. *Pange lingua*).

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This disagreement shows their gross ignorance and dissimulation.

multi cum signis suis seducunt ecclesiam, qui ignorant propria instrumenta. Revera Paulus propter infinitum minus malum simulacionem Petri in faciem sibi restitit, *quia reprehensibilis erat*, ut dicitur gal. secundo. Et patet vocatorum militum Cristi infidelis vecordia. Gal. II, 11

Lucre is the cause of their dissembling thus, and Christians ought not to sustain these teachers of fables and lies.

Cuius causa est quia querunt lucrum temporalium et non salutem sui vel subditi, sicut nec docendam fidei veritatem. Quod si Cristianus subtraheret bona sua a prelato infideli ut pagano, quanto magis ab infideliori domestico plus nocivo! Ipse enim non docet fidem sed fabulas atque mendacia, nec ministrat sacramenta ecclesiastica sed venena, cum, stulto stulcior, ignorat quiditatem, virtutem et alias veritates sacramenti. Sine causa ita et injuste occupat bona ecclesie, cum cumulus temporalium prelatos infatuat et facit eos in debito officii sui mutescere.

II. *False miracles.* Invented for want of true ones, they are of three principal sorts.

1. They say that at each consecration the substance of bread is destroyed. This is contrary to the ancient doctrine,

and implies the horrible blasphemy that God annihilates the bread.

Quantum ad secundum, patet consideranti dicta adversariorum subtiliancium in ista materia; quia ipsi propter defectum veri miraculi nefande subtiliant. Tres quidem sunt hereses in materia de eukaristia, quibus tota die nomen domini blasfematur. Dicunt enim pro magno miraculo quod ipsi cum deo conficiunt, quod, virtute benediccionis qua panis a deo bono benedicitur, ipse panis destruitur funditus ad non esse. Non sic autem sencierunt antiqui doctores catholici et leges ecclesie de bonitate dei, cum dicunt concorditer quod panis ille secundum nullam partem eius destruitur, sed virtute benediccionis | vere fit sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Doctor solempnis concedit quod manet post consecracionem panis aliquitas; ymo grossus decretista, glosator ordinarius, videtur dicere quod panis remanet, quamvis homines nesciant quo devenit. Omnes infideles horrerent istam crudelitatem irracionabilem posse com- F. 34a

1. signis seducunt quidem *in marg. inf.* C. 3. malam CDE; *ib.* facie CD. 4. Gall. CE. 5. patet *deest* A. 6. et *deest* D. 9. vel *pro* ut C. 12. Ignorans non sacramenta sed venena ministrat *in marg.* D. 13. virtutes *pro* veritates C; veritates *corr. ex* virtutes D; *ib.* itaque CDE; 14. occupant A; *ib.* Temporalia iufatuant et faciunt mutescere *in marg. sup.* C. 16. tercium B; *ib.* consyderanti D. 17. quod ACDE. 18. nephandi D. 19. hereses tres *in marg. inf.* C. 23. et ad A; *ib.* prima *in marg.* C. 26. eius partem CE. 27. sit CDE; *ib.* sacramentaliter *in marg.* C. 28. solemnis E; doctor solempnis concedit *in marg.* C; doctor solemnis *in marg.* D. 29. aliqualitas CD; aliquidditas E; *ib.* ymmo CD; *ib.* degrecista A; decretista *in marg.* C. 32. horrent D; *ib.* posset D.

28. In *De Apostasia*, this admission of an 'aliqualitas' of bread remaining is ascribed to Henry Goethals of Ghent (p. 75, l. 32). Franklin's *Dictionaire des pseudonymes latins* gives him the title of "Doctor solemnis". And Wyclif calls him so, in *De Ecclesia*, p. 317, l. 26.

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petere deo bono. Nec sophisticandum est cum deo bono quod panis ille non destruitur, licet secundum se totum corrumpatur, sic quod nulla eius pars remanet in sui natura, nec in corpore Cristi, sed totum suum esse creatum tollitur. Revera Manicheus horreret concedere istud competere deo malo. Secunda blasfemia qua verbum false colitur est vocatum miraculum quo dicitur deum sapientem adducere vel commultiplicare totum numerum quantitatis continuitatis, vel figure corporis sui in celo ad omnem punctum Eukaristie; et tamen virtute verbi dei totum hoc fieri sine causa, cum nichil ibi informat sive quantificat: quia aliter foret corpus Cristi septipedale ad omnen punctum hostie, et quomodocunque figuratum. Tercia blasfemia que in spiritum sanctum committitur stat in isto, quod omnes dotes corporis Cristi que sunt in celo et beatos reficiunt, sunt ad omnem punctum hostie, licet earum acciones a Deo benevolo sint suspense. Quamvis autem secundum Augustinum jam cessant miracula, tamen sacerdos symoniacus, ut inquiunt, cottidie facit talia infinita.

2. They say that Christ's Body is present in every point of the Host to no purpose, since He does not give it quantity.

And 3. that all the qualities of Christ's body are there, as in Heaven, but miraculously inactive.

Quantum ad tercium, patet quod intricant se ipsos et alios inconveniente multiplici. Se ipsos, quia inponunt eis heresim, qui dicunt eukaristiam naturaliter esse panem. Sic enim, ut inquiunt, mitigaretur devocio populi ad excellenciam sacramenti. Et tamen ipsimet profitentur concorditer quod illud sacramentum nec est corpus Cristi, nec potest esse pars Cristi, cum ipsum sit accidens. Et constat philosophis quod accidens est creatura abiectissima in natura: sic quod sacramentum altaris sit in-
G. finitum imperfeccius sive indignius quam tela aranee, quam tantum luti, vel substancia aliqua assignanda. Et sic ubi alii fideles dicunt populo quod eukaristia in natura sua sit infinitum perfeccior quam ista corpora, et accidentaliter infinitum perfeccior quam quevis bestia, cum sit quodammodo corpus Cristi; ipsi dicunt in-

III. *Great absurdities.* 1. That the Sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's; body; or if the latter, then the most abject of things is Christ's body.

2. totum sic B; totum *in marg. add.* D. 3. pars eius CE; *ib.* remanet *deest* B. 4. esse suum CDE. 6. competere *deest* A; *ib.* secunda blasfemia *in marg.* C; *ib.* contra *pro* qua C. 7. colligitur A; tolitur C. 9. dimensive *in marg.* C. 10. puctum C. 14. tercia blasfemia *in marg.* C; cave *in marg.* D. 15, 16. Omnes dotes que sunt in celo corpus Cristi non sunt in sacramento *in marg.* D. 17, 18. a deo benivolo CDE. 18. benivole A. 19. miracula cessant *in marg.* C. 19, 20. simoniacus D. 20. quottidie C; quotidie E. 21. primum E. 23. quia *pro* qui ABD. 24. ut *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* populo C. 25. ipsummet C; ipsimet *corr. ex* ipsummet E; *ib.* profiteantur B. 30. inperfleccius C. 31. substancia *deest* A. 32, 33. Eukaristia perfectior in natura et in accidentalibus *in marg. inf.* C; *ib.* sit in natura sua CDE.

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Which damnable heresy dishonours Christ more than our doctrine.

honorabiliter omnino oppositum. Tantum ergo honorem tribuimus eukaristie ut ipsi attribuunt quovismodo, et infinitum maiorem inferioritatem vel dedecus ipsi sibi attribuunt quam fideles quos vocant hereticos. Iudicet ergo populus naturali ingenio inter illos. Revera, me seminante tale dogma in populo, ipsi diffamarent me undique tamquam hereticum destruendum. Et cum ipsi in maiori dampnacione pertinaciter perseverent, patet quam patule obviant sibi ipsis.

2. That every part of Christ's Body has its position in every point of the Host. So Christ's head is below his feet, and his heart outside and skin inside, etc.

Secundo, dicunt quod posicio (que est differencia quantitatis) est ad omnem punctum hostie concomitanter cum corpore Cristi; quia aliter omnia membra Cristi forent confuse sine ordine locata. Et sic inquiunt quod infima pars corporis Cristi in hostia est vertex capitis; sed suprema pars corporis Cristi in hostia, supra caput, sunt pedes continuati cum tybiis. Intima eciam pars corporis Cristi in hostia, ut fingunt, est cutis cum ossibus loco cordis, sed extrema pars corporis Cristi sunt viscera cum spiritibus; sic quod nisi deus suspenderet continuacionem parcium, foret corpus Cristi ibi monstruosissimum. Cum enim ibi sit posicio parcium (que est differencia quantitatis), oportet ipsos concedere caput Cristi esse ibi supra collum, sicut corpus Cristi est in ecclesia sub celo et supra terram. Nam difinitive est in loco, sicut modo est deitas et anima hominis. Conceditur esse supra se, quia secundum se totam est per situm supra quem est, ipsa anima secundum se totam: quod est evidencius de corpore Cristi in hostia, cum omnes partes eius locantur sic inferius atque superius. Nam discontinuatis partibus illius hostie, vel sine motu locali, corpus Cristi foret totaliter sub et supra; ergo a pari, facta continuacione et multiplicacione corporis Cristi, ut modo. Ex quibus cum infinitis difficultatibus intricat hec secta se ipsam atque ecclesiam. Ulterius videtur concedendum vel relinquendum sub dubio quod caput Cristi in hostia continuatur cum pedibus et quelibet eius pars quantitative cum qualibet.

Proof. As the soul of man is above his body by its way of existence, Christ's Body, existing in the same way, is above itself.

Were the Host broken into an upper and an under part, Christ's body would be above and below.

Whether Christ's Body in the Host is a continuous whole, seems doubtful;

2—4. quovismodo — attribuunt *deest* A. 6. docma E. 9. quod *pro* quam CE. 13. que A. 14, 15. est vertex capitis sed suprema pars corporis Cristi hostia *deest* C; *ib.* pars corporis — pars corporis *in marg. inf. add.* D. 15. capud E. 16. tibiis CDE; *ib.* eciam *deest* A. 18. extima A; *ib.* Cristi *deest* A. 19. nisi *in marg. add.* D. 22. quē *pro* que. 23. capud E. 24. in ecclesia est sic C; in ecclesia est E; *ib.* diffinitive E. 25. sicud A; *ib.* non ABE; *corr.* E. 26. concedatur B; *ib.* esse *deest* D. 29. sic locantur D. 30. discontaminatis A; *ib.* tamen *pro* vel B. 32. multitudine CD. 34. intricaciones infert *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* ista D. 36. capud E. 37. quantitativa A; *ib.* quelibet A.

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Nam quelibet talis pars est inmediata cuilibet et est glutinatum et continuatum paratum; nec scitur quod deus suspendit accionem naturalem; ergo non est negandum simpliciter, quod quelibet talis pars continuatur
H. 5 cuilibet. Et confirmatur ex fundamento istius sentencie. Nam deus posset hoc facere, et redundaret in difficultatem credendi ac mirabilitatem operum dei; ergo, ut arguunt in simili, catholice debet credi. Et confirmant infideles per hoc quod quidquid est inter labia et palata
10 oris hominis erit in ipso ore; sed omnia membra corporis Cristi sic sunt inter palata capitis Cristi et labia, ergo sunt in ore Cristi et per idem ex omni parte eius concava. Et sic de infinitis inconvenientibus, que tam fideles quam infideles obiciunt.

according to them whatever is most wonderful is to be believed.

15 Unde greci, qui usque hodie nobis fidelius secuntur fidem apostoli, conficiunt in magna quantitate panis, immiscentque hostie panem, oleum vel butirum; et die
34[b] ieiunii vel non celebrant, | vel prope tempus quo ieiunando parce semel comedunt. Infideles autem deri-
20 dent clericos, quod sine fundacione introducunt novitates ad gravamen ecclesie, nec populum, manifeste ydolatrantem in heresi qua credit sacramentum esse corpus Cristi ydemptice, revocant ab errore. Ideo, si aliqua secta ydolatrando et apostotando cadit in heresim, hoc
25 sic facit potissime ex consensu. Nec scit auffugere, quin sicud idem homo multiplicatus est supra se et sub se, dexter et sinister, ante et retro sibi ipsi; sic esset de corpore Cristi in hostia. Quomodo, queso, staret homo multiplicatus super caput suum, iaceret in solario super
30 corpus suum, recumbens in celario? et sic de aliis differenciis positis, captis a loco; ut sicud talis veniret retro se, curreret ante se, foret dexter et sinister sibi ipsi; sic corpus Cristi in hostia haberet ventrem ad dorsum, faciem ad occipud retro ipsum; et sic de in-

The Greeks, consecrate loaves in large quantity, and avoid taking Communion on fast-days long before the meal.

There is no escaping from this: a man, if multiplied, would be both above and below himself etc.: it is the same for Christ's Body.

1. cuilibet *in marg. add.* D. 2. glitinatum A. 3. quo A; igitur CE. 8. confirnant C. 9. quitquid C; quicquid E. 10, 11. oris — capitis *deest* A. 10. est *pro* erit CDE; *ib.* si *pro* sed CD. 11. sic sunt *deest* C; *ib.* pallata D. 12. in *pro* ex CDE. 13. inquientibus A; *ib.* inconveniencia ex posicione non fundata infert *in marg. sup.* C. 15. Greci conficiunt in magna quantitate *in marg.* C; *ib.* Cave *in marg.* D; *ib.* sequuntur CDE. 17. hodie *pro* hostie CDE. 18. non *deest* A. 19. prime AB; persone C; p[e] D; *ib.* stmul ABC; semel DE. 21. populus idolatrans *in marg.* C. 22. credunt A. 24. hec ACDE. 25. Cave *in marg.* D; *ib.* aufugere CE. 26. sicut CDE. 27. et *deest* CE. 27-33. sic esset — sic corpus *in marg. inf. add* D. 29. capud E. 30. cellario CE. 31. positivis CD; *ib.* capitis AC; captis E; *ib.* sicut CDE. 33. ventrem ad *in marg. add.* D. 34. caput A; occiput CE; acciput D.

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finitis conclusionibus monstruosis. Ymmo, sicut canis comedit, ut inquiunt, corpus Cristi, sic sacerdos in penam penitencie combureret corpus Christi; et sic veritatem cremaret hereticus. Nec est racio quod gradus positivus includat negacionem, ut fingitur, quin per idem omnis positivus gradus vel terminus positivus; et sic neganda foret multiplicacio corporis Cristis in hostia.

Against all sophisms, we have two decrees of the Church, and many words of the Saints.

Satis ergo est tollere adversariorum sophismata contra antiquam sanctorum sentenciam, licet non sit extranea superflue introducta, ut decretum *Ego Berengarius* manifeste dicit quod panis et vinum erunt post consecracionem tam sacramentum quam corpus Cristi et sanguis. Et idem dicit decretum beati Ambrosii de consecracione, dist. 2[a], cap. *Omnia quecunque,* cum quotlibet dictis sanctorum.

Objection. If Christ's body is not multiplied and each Host is His Body, there is but one Host or many bodies.

Et videtur sequi, si hoc sacramentum est corpus Cristi tunc corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum; et sic quotlibet corpora forent corpus Cristi, vel non forent multe hostie consecrate. Hic autem audivi responsionem triplicem. Prima negat hanc consequenciam: *hoc sacramentum est corpus Cristi:* ergo, *corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum.* Sicut, resolvendo sensum, non sequitur: *hoc sacramentum figurat sacramentaliter corpus Cristi,* ergo, *corpus figurat sacramentaliter istum panem.* Secunda responsio concedit consequenciam, et consequens quod debet aptari consequenti iste sensus: *corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum,* hoc est, *corpus Cristi figuratur per hoc sacramentum:* et sic corpus Cristi est quotlibet corpora separata, ad sensum conformem. Tercia responsio dicit quod duplex est corpus Cristi, scilicet in figura et in natura; et sic Cristus habet multa corpora in figura (ut loquitur beatus Jeronimus), sed nullum eorum est corpus Cristi quod naturaliter et personaliter actuatur per animam suam in celo, sed unum aliud corpus quod satis equivoce dicitur corpus Cristi. Ego autem, quia volui excutere

Three replies. Either 1. to deny the consequence; or 2. to admit that Christ's Body is each Host figuratively; or 3. to say that Christ has a figurative as well as a natural body, the first only multipliable.

1. sicud D. 2. comedit *deest* C; *in marg.* E; *ib.* corpus *deest* D. 3. comburet C. 4. qua A. 6. Cave *in marg.* D. 8. igitur CE. 9. sit AD. 10. Beringarius D. 11. erant ACDE. 13. sangwis D. 16. Cristi *deest* A. 17. hoc *deest* ACDE. 18. *after* forent *a word effaced* A. 19. enim A; *corr.* E; *ib.* audivi *in marg. add.* C. 23. corpus cristi CDE. 24. responsio secunda D. 25. quia CDE. 26. iste *in marg.* A. 28. Cristi *deest* D. 30. Cristi *deest* A; *ib.* numero CDE. 33. actualiter C; tur *in ras.* E.

10. Decr. Grat. 3[a] Pars, Dist. II, c. 42. 14. Decr. Grat. 3[a] Pars, Dist. II, c. 74.

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Joan. II, 21 ista sophismata, declinavi ad logicam baptiste, dicentis se non esse heliam, ut per hoc populus evitet hanc ydolatriam, quia credit panem sacramentum esse Act. XVII, 25 ydemptice deum suum: sicut apostolus alloquitur athenienses act. 17. Et revera non magis fuit illa communitas ydolatrie dedita quam modo infidelitate oneratur ecclesia. Non igitur mirum si misse talium infidelium nocent ecclesie. Ideo fidelis theologus predicaret cum apostolo contra tales ydolatras, et pius laicus pocius conduceret 10 eos, ut non sic celebrent sive orent. Quia revera nec 3 Reg. XVIII, 19 et seq. prophete baal, de quibus 3i Reg. 18 nec sacerdotes baal, de quibus Daniel ultimo, fuerunt magis heretici ydolatre quam tales sunt. Condescendendo ergo logice divine Dan. XIV, 2 et seq. que Matth. 5, concedit baptistam esse heliam, et Jer. 24, concedit Jesum nostrum esse David, cum aliis tropicis Jer. XXIII, 5 locucionibus similibus, defendo contra sophistas per aliquam istarum trium responsionum, et specialiter per terciam, veritatem.

Wyclif prefers the latter, denying that Christ's natural body is in the Sacrament, because of the popular error, which is as rank idolatry as that of the Athenians and of the prophets and priests of Baal.

Secunda via qua complices pape seminant de ipso 20 blasfemiam est heresis in qua de ipso infundabiliter fingunt potenciam et indubie ut sic impetunt in Cristi veritatem tamquam anticristi discipuli. Sicut enim addendo ad pape Innocencii stulticiam de sacramento altaris introducitur ydolatria per magnam partem ecclesie; sic colendo 25 papam ut Cristi vicarium, vel secundum racionem falsam spiritualis potencie quam pretendunt, committitur plus detestanda atque blasfema ydolatria; quia honores divini attribuuntur membro luciferi, quod est ydolum detestabilius trunco picto, cum ipse non continet in se K. 30 tantam maliciam. Et hec racio quare Petrus vocatus ad militem, non imperans ut miles sibi veniat, non

A second blasphemy of the Sects is the worship of the Pope as Christ's Vicar; which is worse than the adoration of a piece of wood.

1. declavari A; declinari CDE; *ib.* logicam baptiste amplexatus *in marg. sup.* C. 2. hec AC; *ib.* devitet CE. 3. sacratum *sed in marg. corr.:* sacramentum D; sacrum E. 4, 5. attenienses DE. 7. ergo D. 9. laycus E. 10. nec *deest* AB; *in marg.* D. 11. beel CE; *corr. ex* baal D. 13. sunt tales CDE; *ib.* conscendendo C; *ib.* igitur CE. 14. quia A; *ib.* 20 A; XI CE; XII D. 15. alii C. 16. defendo A; defendēdo D. 16, 17. acas C; acā E. 17, 18. per terciam *deest* A. 19. contra complices C; contra *in marg.* D; delet E. 20. in *deest* CE; quam *pro* in qua D. 21. et *deest* A; *ib.* ut sic *in marg.* A. 22. sicud D. 23. ad *deest* E. 24. idolatria committitur nūdies *in marg. sup.* C; *ib* eclesie D; *ib.* sicut A. 26. pretendit CDE. 27. ydolatria atque blasfemia C; ydolatria atque blasfema ydolatria E. 29. in se non continet D.

1. In Wyclif's theory, John the Baptist being figuratively Elias, was really he; but he was right to deny it in the sense of being the very person of the prophet.

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Fearing idolatry, Peter, Paul and Barnabas, refused to allow honours to be paid to them until the people were instructed.

invenitur in aula regia sed in domo symonis leprosi corriarii iuxta aquam, ut patet Act. 10. Petrus autem venit humiliter, non equester cum sumptuosa familia, sed pedester. Quando autem Cornelius, procidens ad pedes Petri, oravit eum, dixit Petrus postquam elevavit eum: *Ego*, inquit, *ipse homo sum sicut et tu.* Et conformiter fecerunt Paulus et Barnabas, ut legitur act. 14. | Quando autem noverunt populum in fide instructum quomodo Cristus est caput tocius ecclesie, et quomodo non debet honor impendi prelatis eius, nisi de quanto Cristo impenditur in membris suis, tunc susceperunt honorem humiliter cum timore. Quod si papa nesciat quod sit membrum ecelesie et tamen exigat fieri appropriate sibi, *ut sibi,* honores insolitos; quis dubitat quin sit blasfemus ydolatra, sicud et persona taliter eum colens? quia secundum racionem falsam veritati (que Cristus est) contrariam, colit, ut sic, membrum luciferi; quia, si omnes prelati nostri respuerent blasfemos honores, bene esset ecclesie ab ydolatria expurgate.

Act. IX, 43; X 6

35a

Act. XIV.

But if the Pope exacts such honours to be paid to him personally, both he and his worshipper are guilty of idolatry.

The first thing is to disburden the Church from riches.

Quod non erit antequam exonerata fuerit mundi diviciis. Et inferiores clerici habentes de diviciis, de decimis, vel aliis elimosinis ultra vite necessaria, recognoscant in superhabundantibus elemosinis et specialiter in decimis se esse procuratores pauperum non dominos. Cum enim *domini est terra et plenitudo eius,* sequitur demonstrative fidelibus, quod deus wult cuicunque servo suo de bonis suis dividi prout opus est serviendo deo debite ad implecionem sui officii: patet ex hoc quod aliter deus non esset primus paterfamilias summe iustus. Et illud principium consideraret prelatus, videns quantum temporalium habundancia adauget sibi sacerdotis officium ultra apostolos; et equa lance notata videret, quomodo non auget sed minuit ministerium sacerdotis; per hoc enim magis mundo, voluptati et dominacioni intenditur et de officio quod Cristus exigit

Ps. XXIII, 1

The wealthy among the clergy should acknowledge that the poor, if servants of God, ought to have wherewithal to serve Him.

Wealth lessens, instead of increasing, the influence of the priesthood.

1. leprosi *deest* ADE. 2. coriarii E. 3. venit *in marg. add.* D. 5. unde *pro* eum. 6. Ego enim A; *ib.* ipse inquit CE; *ib.* homo ipse D. 7. 18 CE. 9. capud C. 11. nescit papa si membrum ecclesie est *in marg.* C. 15. sicut DE. 17. est Cristus est D; *ib.* sit *pro* sic C. 18. quod *pro* quia ACDE: *ib.* nostri prelati CE: *ib.* blasphemos E. 19. dotacio *in marg.* C. 20. fuerit exhonerata C; fuerit exonerata DE. 21. de diviciis *deest* ACDE. 22. elemosinis CDE. 23. habundatibus D. 24. procuatores A. 26. detive CE; *ib.* vnicuique CE. 27. dedi A; *ib.* finiendo C. 28. quia CE; *corr. ex* quod D. 29. primus *deest* C. 30. consyderaret D. 31. adaugens BCD; *ib.* sibi *deest.* 32. ultra apostolos *in marg. add.* 33. videt C. 34. mundo magis E.

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a suis prelatis subtrahitur. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, particio indebita bonorum fortune est precipua causa pertur-
L. bacionis ecclesie. Deus enim, cum sit paterfamilias summe sciens, providet domui sue tantum de temporalibus quan-
5 tum est necessarium ad perficiendum servicium quod exigit a subditis. Repugnat enim perfeccioni dei quod in isto sit superfluus et diminutus; sed occasione peccati puniendi contingunt fames terre, sterilitas, et alia penalia in ewangelio nominata. Quod autem aliqui de Cristi famliia
10 sic egent, peccata et specialiter avaricia sunt in causa.

Inequality of wealth is not ordered by God, but allowed as the punishment of sin.

Deus enim wult quod seculares domini moderate habundent temporalibus, ut potestative incuciant timorem discolis contrariis legi Cristi. Wult eciam quod communitas vivens de laboricio vel mercimonio mediocriter
15 possideat temporalia, quantum est necessarium, ut in statu illo debite deo serviatur. Ideo dicit Crysostomus, omelia 31 operis inperfecti, quod mercantes iniuste non sunt Cristiani, quia positi inter deum et mercandiam affectuosius iurant pro mammona et ex infidelitate ex-
20 citant ementes ut iurent. Et ideo, relinquentes post mortem substanciam quesitam mundo atque extraneis, servant sibi in cribro superflua; ut petram. Ille autem mercator est periculosior et deo obieccior, qui emit rem et ipsam integram vendit ultra valorem vel ne-
25 cessitatem ad officium continuandum in ministerio dei, ut patet de mercantibus qui subito sunt, viciose atque superflue, mundo divites. Sed non video quin, sicud licet emere artificanda, ut artificium vendatur debite, sic licet iuste temporalia integra commutare.

Yet temporal lords require to have riches and power. And traders may possess a moderate competence, in so far as their state needs it.

Those especially who charge too dear become unjustly rich.

30 Et deus wult tercio quod clerici instar sui et apostolorum strictissime habeant de bonis infimis, ut patet
I. Tim. VI, 8 Thy. 6., quantum est necessarium ad complendum suum

But the clergy should be quite free from unnecessary wealth, source of all evil;

1. ydolatra B. 1, 2. ydolatra particio C; indebita particio E; particio idolatra bonorum fortune precipua causa perturbacionis ecclesie *in marg. sup.* C. 5. officium CE; *ib.* servicium *sed in marg. corr.* officium D. 6. enim *pro* ei A. 7. et *deest* B; vel CDE. 7, 8. peccata puniuntur *in marg.* C. 8. peccata BCE. 11. wlt CD; *ib.* domini seculares *in marg.* C. 13. legis A. 13, 14. communitas *in marg.* C. 14. laboracio B. 16 deo debite CE; deo *in marg. add.* D. 17, 18. mercantes iniuste non sunt cristiani *in marg. sup.* D. 19. iurarunt B; *ib.* mamona AC; mamõa DE. 19, 20. excitent B. 21. conquisitam CE; *corr. ex* que sitam D. 21, 22. atque — cribro *deest* C. 2. peccata *pro* petram C; petram *sed in marg.:* peccata D; peccata *sed in marg.:* petrum *deletum* E; *ib.* autem *deest* B. 23. mercator periculosior *in marg. sup.* C. 27. quin *corr. ex* quando E; *ib.* sicut CDE. 28. rem artificiendam CDE; *ib.* debite vendatur C. 29. comutare E. 32. clerici strictissime haberent temporalia *in marg. inf.* C. 32. Thymo C; prima thimo D; prima thimo 6 E.

17. *Operis inperfecti.* A work ascribed to Chrysostom but probably written by an Arian; certainly not by him.

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the infirm amongst them receiving alms from the rich, who need their prayers.

officium; et superbia anticristi in isto est precipua causa perturbacionis ecclesie. Ex hoc enim aspirant ad honores mundanos, ex hoc torpescunt in officio sacerdotali quod Cristus instituit, et ex hoc veniunt fames multiplices et bella in populo. Infirmi autem et impotentes debent vivere de decimis et aliis privatis elemosinis; sic quod mundo divites plus indigent illis racione meriti quam e contra, ut docet Augustinus in *de verbis domini*, sermone 5°; et illi per clerum precipue sunt fraudati. Ideo, ad tollendam symoniam et alios defectus ecclesie, nunquam erit sanata radicitus antequam a clero, reducto ad statum quem Cristus instituit, perfecte ablata fuerit causa morbi.

As a sign of Christ's dominion, all ought to give tithes; the poor, spiritual tithes; the rich, tithes of their substance.

In signum autem capitalis dominii Jesu Cristi debent cuncti superhabundantes dare sibi in suis pauperibus reditus decimarum, et specialiter clerus superhabundans. Nam ex adinvencione humana sub Greg. 10 nunc tarde sunt clero perquisite decime, ut narravi superius. Sicud ergo deus est naturaliter dominus capitalis cunctorum in mundo conversancium; ita naturaliter debent sibi dare redditus decimarum; egeni, spiritualem decimam, et superhabundantes in bonis infimis cum hoc dabunt signanter decimam bonorum fortune, cum deus sit dominus super universitatem creatam, sicud denarius excedit novenarium. Unde sub tempore legis nature

As it was from the beginning; tithes, at first burnt offerings, were later given to the priests and to the poor.

Abel et Cayn dederunt deo decimas, ut patet Genes. 4 M. Gen. IV, 3, 4 sed quibus darentur | reliquit deus humano arbitrio, 35b docens naturaliter hoc principium quod dentur ad maiorem utilitatem ecclesie. Ideo in principio, quando nemo eguit illis decimis ad vescendum, cremabantur decime, ut vel sic instruatur ecclesia caritative in deum ascendere. Nunc autem dabantur sacerdotibus et levitis tempore legis Mosayce; et nunc pauperibus, quibus naturaliter sunt debite, ut patet thob 1°. Tob. IV, 7

5. Nota *in marg.* A. 5, 6. inpotentes A. 7. indiget B. 8. dicit B; *ib.* in *deest* ACDE. 9. et *in marg. add.* D. 10. sunt precipue CE; *ib.* simoniam D. 14. pauperes infirmi debent vivere de decimis *in marg.* D. 15. sibi *deest* A. 16. redditus CDE. 17. ex inadvencione D; *ib.* sit *pro* nunc A; *corr.* D. 18. decime *in marg.* A; *ib.* superius narravi CE; *ib.* sicut CDE; *ib. in marg.*: scilicet in tractatu de simonia B. 19. igitur CE. 20, 21. dare sibi DE. 21. dari AB. 22. superhabundas A. 24. dominus *deest* D; *ib.* sicut CDE. 26. Caym B; Caim *corr. ex* Cain D. 27. reliquid D. 28. debetur A. 30. deguit C. 30, 31. decime cremabantur aliquando quare *in marg.* C. 33. mosaice DE. 33, 34. decime naturaliter sunt debite pauperibus *in marg. sup.* C. 34. thobie CDE.

9. Aug. (Migne XXXVII, 215) seems to be the passage alluded to here.

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Unde Augustinus in quadam epistola que sic incipit, *propicio Cristo* ita scribit: "Decime, fratres, tributa sunt egencium animarum. Redde ergo tributa pauperibus, offer libamina sacerdotibus". Et sequitur: "decime", inquit, "ex debito requiruntur; et qui eas reddere noluerit res alienas invadit; et quanti pauperes in locis ubi ipse habitat, illo decimas non dante, fame mortui fuerint, tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni iudicis apparebit; quia rem a domino pauperibus delegatam suis usibus reservavit. Qui igitur sibi aut premium comparere aut peccatorum desiderat indulgenciam promereri, redditis decimis, eciam de novem partibus studeat elemosinam dare; ita tamen ut quitquid excepto victu mediocri et vestitu racionabili superfuerit, non luxurie reservetur, sed in thesauro celesti per elemosinam pauperum reponatur. Quidquid enim nobis deus plus quam opus est dederit, non nobis specialiter dedit, sed per nos aliis errogandum transmisit. Si non dederimus, res alienas invadimus." Ecce hic testimonium predicte sentencie.

Augustine's words: Tithes are a debt we owe to the poor, not a merit; if we will have merit, we must give of the other nine-tenths.

Thus, setting aside what is necessary for food and raiment, we can treasure up the rest as alms; God gave it us for that end alone.

Redeundo ergo patet ex dictis quod nec papa, nec prelatus ecclesie, sicud non haberet de temporalibus nisi tytulo elemosine, quantum est necessarium ad ministerium quod Cristus sibi instituit, sic nec honores hic debet suscipere, nisi quantum est necessarium, ut deus in illo honorificetur a populo; et per consequens omnes mundanos honores debet auffugere; ymmo et quilibet secularis dominus, nisi de quanto est necessarium ut timeatur a populo ad cohercendum rebelles legi Cristi, ut tam ille quam ipsi ad iugum trahendum in curru dei regularius reducantur.

No member of the Church, no secular lord, can have either riches, power, or honour, except for God's service in his state.

Si ergo, secundum Crysostomum, ommittenda est mercacio qua in alienis partibus emuntur integra, ut vendantur et integra, propter difficultatem atque peri-

Merchants are advised not to trade in foreign parts, on account of the difficulty of

2. ita *deest* D; *ib.* nota de decimis *in marg.* D. 2, 3. tributa egencium decime *in marg.* C. 3. igitur CE. 5. requirunt CE. 6. Cristi *pro* ubi A. 8. homicidiorum reus *in marg.* C; *ib.* tribunales A. 9. paupibus C. 10. sibi igitur D; *ib.* aut *deest* D; *ib.* comparare ABCE. 11. desyderat D. 12. de novem partibus *in marg.* C. 13. quidquid D; *ib.* ex pre cepto A; ex dicto B; *ib.* mediocriter CDE. 16. Quid A; Quitquid C; quidquid D; quicquid E. 17. non *deest* A. 18. erogandum DE. 18, 19. Si — invadimus *deest* CE. 20. igitur CE. 21. sicut CDE; *ib.* aut *pro* nisi A; in B. 22. titulo CDE. 23. Cristus *deest* C; *ib.* debet hic D. 23, 24. honores pro quanto susciperent prelati et domini *in marg. sup.* C. 26. aufugere CDE; *ib.* ymo E. 28. rebelles *deest* A; rebellem legi D; rebelles legi CE; cohercere rebelles *in marg.* C. 29. illi D; *ib.* trahendi ABCD. 31. igitur CE. 32. mercacio periculosa quare *in marg.* C.

2. Aug. (Migne, XXXVI, p. 1911).

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estimating fair profits for their trouble and perils; how much more should the clergy avoid all worldly traffic!

culum taxandi iustum valorem talis laboris sic mercantis et vie periculum, ymmo taxacio continuacionis status mercantis est sibi incognita propter eventus innumerabiles causales. Multo magis clericus Cristi, et specialiter sacerdos superior, debet cavere negociacionem ad periculum sui et ecclesie magis ambiguam, vel statum prosperitatis mundane in quo iacent anime ampliora pericula. Primus enim mercator posset facilius iuste N. exequi mercandiam talem ex integris quam prelatus, et sic habundare diviciis. Nam expressius prohibetur a Cristo, plus retrahitur a cariori officio, et omnino periculosius blasfematur in honore mundano per mercandiam sacerdotis quam per dictam laïci mercandiam; et omnino de periculo mundani honoris, gracia lucri symoniace perquisiti, et summe de blasfema exaltacione potestatis prelati propter collacionem symoniacam prepositure vel beneficii spiritualis.

Especially as regard the collation of benefices,

wherein the power of prelates is blasphemously exaggerated, contrary to the practice of the Apostles.

Aliter enim numquam sic blasfemaretur de potestate prelati, inplicando quod plus potest in colacione talium quam Petrus potuit sive Cristus. Sic quod patet sedule attendenti quod maior pars blateratorum de potestate prelati est heretica et blasfema. Nam quia potestas est insensibilis, fingi poterit et ficcione mendaci seduci populus. Apostoli autem non de magnitudine talis potestatis contenderant, sed ad plus laborandum pro edificacione ecclesie effectualiter secundum formam ewangelii laborabant. Unde non potest quis patencius ostendere se esse expertem talis potencie quam pompando de tali potencia sine correspondente opere. Deus enim non dat talem potestatem propter locum, propter tradiciones elacionis humane vel propter famam vel apparenciam humane glorie, qua fingitur quod talis dominatur toti mundo, tamquam frater domini et amicus. Sacerdos enim mundo incognitus, qui similius sequitur Cristum in moribus, habet potestatem regendi et edificandi eccle-

Nothing proves better that they lack this spiritual power, which God may give to an unknown priest.

1. laborem AD; talem laborem *omnes MSS.* 2. vmo E. 6. atque CE. 6, 7. status prosperitatis mundane periculosus *in marg. inf.* C. 10. hundare C. 12. blasphematur E; *ib.* homine A. 13. layci E. 16, 17. vel prepositure beneficii A. 18. blasfemare D; *ib.* potestati C. 19. implicando CD; *ib.* habet CE; *ib.* collacione CDE. 21. blacterarum AD. 22. prelati est *in marg. add.* D. 22, 23. potestas que insensibilis ideo excusabilior videtur *in marg.* D. 23. et *deest* B; *ib.* mendacii B; *ib.* seducti B. 24. aut A. 25. contenderent D. 27. posset ACDE; gloriacio prelatorum de potestate causatur *in marg. sup.* C. 28. esse *deest* AD. 30. propter locum *in marg. add.* D. 31. eleccionis CDE. 33. taquam D. 34. cognitus C.

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siam excellencius; quia non consistit regimen ecclesie in spoliacione et prefeccione complicum vel sacramentali seduccione secundum tradiciones humanas, sed in meritoria operacione et in humili exhortacione ad viandum conformiter legi Cristi. Sic quod melius foret ecclesie non esse papam vel prelatos huiusmodi; sed, abiecta tota tradicione cesarea, sacerdotes pauperes docere nude et familiariter legem Cristi.

So that it were better if there were neither Pope nor prelates, only poor priests.

Et quantum ad evidencias, patet quod sunt tante racione vacue quod blasfemus verecundaretur in presencia O. animalis irracionalis ipsas exponere. Nam ex illo Matth. 16, Matth. XVI,19 emungunt potissime fictam potestatem blasfemam: *Quodcunque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis* etc. 36ᵃ Sed | cum beatus Jeronimus dixit: "Sacerdotes nostros racione blasfemi intellectus istius verbi supercilium phariseorum induere"; notarent primo sensum dicti Cristi. Oportet enim subintelligere talem condicionem, *potestate* (scilicet clavium) *non errante;* quia, ut tradiciones sue coguntur dicere, clavibus suis de valde possibili errantibus, nec solvunt nec ligant subditos suos quo ad deum, sed intricant se ipsos fingentes superficie tenus nodos vel dissoluciones nodorum. Et illa ficcio fingenti est nociva, et captivato est vel nociva vel impertinens quo ad deum. Notarent secundo, quod ipsi, ex sanctitate vite et imitacione morum sequendo Petrum similius, sunt illi quibus ex merito consonant dicta Petro. Si enim scolam humilitati et paupertati Cristi contrariam exercent, nullus sacerdos in mundo est magis a dicte potestatis participacione alienus. Cristus enim dixit,

Examination of the argument based on Christ's words to Peter: very weak.

1. Because the power of the keys would imply infallibility; to which they cannot pretend.

The Pope has as much right to claim the words said to Peter as to be called the light of the world: the right in both cases depends on personal holiness.

1. regimen ecclesie in quo consistit vīy attenderetur *in marg. sup.* C. 2. et *deest* C; et *pro* in DE. 4. in *deest* E. 5. confiniter C. 5—9. Sic — Et quantum *deest* A; *in marg.* D. 8. faciliter CE; *ib.* cristi legem C. 9. cautele A. 11. raciones C; racionalis BCD: irracionalis (ir *al. manu add.*) E; *ib.* ipsa A; *corr.* D. 12. ptem C. 13. etc. *deest* CE. 15. racione *deest* C; *ib.* supersilium B; supercilium DE. 16 secundum dictum C. 18 clave errante non solvitur *in marg. inf.* C; *ib.* ut *deest* B. 20. possibiliter CE; *corr. ex* possibili D. 22. *after* ficcio *a word effaced* A. 23. est fingenti CDE; *ib.* et *deest* B; *ib.* captivacio BC; *ib.* noticia *(prima vice)* C. 23, 24. inpertinens C. 25. mutacione *corr. ex* imitacione D; imitacio morum petri et apostolorum prelatis indicitur *in marg. sup.* C. 26. petri *corr. ex* petro D. 28. exercerent C; *ib.* adiecte CD. 29. participio CE.

14. Jer. Comment. in Matth. l. III, c. XVI (Migne, t. 26, p. 122; p. 124 of Ben. edition). 20. As Wyclif here seems chiefly to allude to the dispensing power, which would of course require infallible knowledge to be always used rightly, he is exact in saying that Church traditions do not admit that infallibility. The Vatican Council itself proclaimed infallibility only for doctrinal decrees in matters of faith and morals, *not* for acts concerning Church discipline.

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Matth. 5: *Vos esti lux mundi et sal terre.* Sed cum hoc stat in libertate arbitrii, si, dimittentes hanc sectam, declinant in viam diaboli, quid illis et privilegio dato Petro? Unde diabolus, sophista pessimus, seducit suos discipulos in consequenciarum ignoranciis: "Cristus talem potestatem dedit Petro et ceteris apostolis", ergo illis. Matth. V, 14

Implicitly he asserts that whatever he does is right, and that he will be crowned in heaven at last, since this too was promised to Peter.

Unde, ut suggerunt, licet illis facere quecunque voluerint, quia pari evidencia sunt patres beatissimi, sessuri cum Cristo iudicando ecclesiam, et post perpetuo coronandi. Non enim est racio diversitatis assignanda, quin si sequitur: talem potestatem Petro contulit; ergo illis; per idem sequitur: talem graciam iudicandi et regnandi cum Cristo Dominus contulit Petro: ergo et illis. Unde magnus doctor Origenes super eodem loco Matth. 16 sic loquitur: "Qui episcopatus vendicant locum, utuntur hoc textu; sed bene dicunt de potestate, si opera illa habent propter que dictum est Petro, *Tu es Petrus;* ut super tales *edificetur ecclesia.* Alioquin ridiculum est ut dicamus eum qui vinculis peccatorum suorum est ligatus et trahit peccata sua sicut funem longum et tamquam iugulorum vincula iniquitates suas, propter hoc solum quod episcopus dicitur habere huiusmodi potestatem. Sit ergo episcopus irreprehensibilis cum aliis 14cim que dicit apostolus, et tunc solvit: propterea, *quecunque solvit* qui huiusmodi est *erunt soluta in celo.* Si enim fuerit quis, ut ita dicam, Petrus et non habuerit que in hoc loco dicuntur ad Petrum, et putaverit se posse ligare et solvere, ipse se fallit, non intelligens voluntatem scripture et inflatus incidit in iudicium diaboli".

Words of Origen, bearing on the subject.

Let the Pope remember that all his power is but the utterance of God's

Hec doctor. Et ex istis expergisceret papa, considerans 30 similitudinem vite sue ad vitam Petri, P.

2. dimittens A. 3. declinat A; *ib.* dyaboli DE; *ib.* et CDE. 4. dyabolus E; diabolus sophista pessimus *in marg.* C. 6. petro *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* igitur C. 7. quomodocumque ACDE. 8. patres beatissimi eciam muli *in marg.* C; *ib.* sensuri A. 9. perpetuo *in marg. add.* D. 10. signanda *omnes MSS.* 11. contulit Petro D. 12, 13. per — Unde *deest* A. 13. deus CDE; *ib.* petro contulit CE; *ib.* et *deest* CDE. 14. Nota Origenes *in marg.* A. 15. potestas solvendi quibus tradita sit *in marg. sup.* D. 17. petro *deest* D; *ib.* ut *deest* C. 18. episcopus quando non solvit secundum Origenem, ridiculose quando *in marg. sup.* C. 19. ligatus est CDE. 20. iuge lorum ACDE. 21. vinculo ACDE. 22. igitur E. 23. aliis *corr. ex* alii E. 24. solverit CDE. 27. ducuntur C. 27, 28. se ligare et solvere posse C. 28. vocem A. 29. dyaboli DE. 30. et *deest* D: *ib.* expergesceret C; expergisceret *corr. ex* pergesceret D. 30, 31. consyderans D. 31. vocis B.

29. *Origenes,* Comment. in Matth. (Migne, t. XIII, series Graece, p. 1010; ed. Ben., p. 529). The quotation is probably from memory, as it varies much from the original.

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et utrimque refrenaret inflatos pompantes, sciens ex fide quod correspondenter ad merita quo ad illum quem deus ante solvit vel ligat, papa est preco fidelis ecclesie, dum humiliter promulgat divinum iudicium; a quo discordans, fit preco patris mendacii, et presumens hec virtute sua fieri blasfemat in deum, tam se ipsum quam subditos seducendo. Quomodo, queso, haberet virtutem ad aperiendum et claudendum cuicunque voluerit portas celi, qui contra iniustos persequentes ipsum in propriis non sufficit, indignos a suis excludere, vel dignis suis carissimis portas proprias apperire? Aut quomodo daret quibus voluerit remissionem et indulgenciam "eciam ultra diem iudicii", et post, beatitudinem perpetuam angelorum, qui non habet a deo virtutem iudicium dampnacionis proprie evadendi, vel pro abieccione sua in domo domini non habet potestatem a se ipso iram dei ac odium avertendi? vel ad contratam de qua dicit se habere plenum dominium quemquam regulum quem diligit promovendi? Cum enim omnis caritas debet incipere a se ipsa, stultus foret et ineptus minister dei, qui habens infinitum thesaurum dispensandum, assecurat alios de beatitudine per eius distribucionem largifluam, et tamen permittit animam suam perire perpetuo. Revera qui vel est ineptus vel negligens, ut partem tanti thesauri sibi recipiat, est valde ineptus ut constituatur super tot bona domini distribuenda quibuscunque voluerit; cum sit superbus minister luciferi, dedignans porcionem tam caram elemosyne sibi ipsi recipere.

sentence; if his own disagrees with it, he blasphemes.

Can he open the gates of Heaven, who has no earthly power against his persecutors or in favour of his friends?

Can he save and absolve others who may himself be a castaway, and cannot even set up a friendly prince in the land he claims to rule?

Having such treasures, why can he not apply them to himself?

Stultus, inquam, laïcus qui confidit in tam abiecto, blasfemo, atque maniaco, dum libere possit merendo ad Cristum accedere, tali detestando yppocrita postposito et deiecto. Nec propter verba sua blasfema erit melius aput deum; sed pocius incredulitate vel consensu sue blasfemie contaminabitur aput deum.

A warning to laymen.

1. utrumque ABCE; *ib.* inflatos *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* pompatos A; pomponticos C; papaticos D; popaticos E. 2. ad merita absolucio promulgatur *in marg. inf.* C. 2. non *pro* vel A; *ib.* papa preco fidelis quando *in marg.* C. 6. in *deest* B. 8. papa multa non potest *in marg. sup.* C. 11. aperire DE. 13. ultra *in marg. corr.* E. 14. angelorum perpetuam DE. 15. prope A. 16. ptatem C. 17. contractam *in marg.* A; contractam C; *ib.* de qua *corr. ex* que D. 19. indulgencias quare non daret papa *in marg. inf.* C. 20. ipso C; *ib.* ineptus negligens minister papa *in marg. inf.* C. 21. thezaurum DE; *ib.* et assecurat *omnes MSS.* A. 23. perie A. 24. thezauri DE. 25. quam *pro* sibi A. 26. cuicumque C. 27. porcionem *corr. ex* percionem E. 28. elemosyne *deest* A; care elemosine CDE; *ib.* recipere *in marg. add.* D. 29. laici et eciam religiosi periculose lconsenciunt ministro luciferi *in marg. sup.* C; laycus DE. 33. increduitate CD.

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A warning to the Friars and monks, who persecute those that spead Gospel truth.

Et non obstante fide et spe habenda in Iesu, eciam in religiosis deletur caritas; et potestatem anticristi blasfeme paliant, ac contra seminantes veritatem ewangelicam | instant sophistice, vel patule persecuntur; sic 36b
quod, dominante dolo, vocata ecclesia est plena blas- 5
femia. Nam sive religiosi proprietarii, sive angelus de celo, consensit isti blasfemie, sive approbando, sive tacendo vecorditer, gracia prosperitatis mundane, nisi redeat ad partem Cristi eternis ignibus deputabitur.

3. psalliant B; palliant CDE; *ib.* et E. 4. sollicite ABC; *ib.* patulo C; *ib.* persequntur C; persecuntur *corr. ex* secuntur D. 5. dominate A. 6. sive *deest* C; sive exproprietarii sive angelus CDE. 7. concesserit C; consenserit DE. 9. dampnabitur ACD; dabitur *in marg.* E.

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A.

CAPITULUM TERCIUM.

Sed scrutando radicem lapsus ecclesie, videtur quod eadem sit radix symonie, apostasie atque blasfemie. Nam radix sathane et scole anticristi videtur stare in illa persona que magis mendaciter simulat vices Cristi. Sunt autem huius scole principia, ex quibus secuntur conclusiones sathane, cum quibus populus est cecatus. Primum, videtur quod eo ipso quo quis eligitur in romanum pontificem, ipse est caput ecclesie tocius militantis et summus vicarius Cristi in terris. Secundum principium: Quidquid concernens fidem ipse decreverit, ipsum est ut ewangelium acceptandum. Et 3^{m} principium est quod leges sue sunt plus quam ewangelium exequende. Ex ista triplicitate secuntur blasfemie infinite. Et licet scola anticristi supponat ista tria tamquam principia per se nota, tamen licet fideli notificando venenum arguere contra illa.

Three principles stand at the root of this blasphemy: I. Every Bishop of Rome is Christ's Vicar. II. He is infallible in matters of faith; III. His laws are above the Gospel.

These Wyclif attacks.

Contra primum: videtur quod sit notorie blasfemum mendacium. Nam factum docet multos tales fuisse capitales apostotas, ut hic supponitur: ergo, illud contra quod militat factum notorium est fallax principium ut sit metrum in omni accione morali tocius praxis ecclesie. Item, nullus est talis Cristi vicarius, nisi habuerit supereminenciam virtutum. Sed blasfemum est dicere

Many Popes are, as a fact, apostates, not Christ's Vicars.

Christ's vicar must have great virtue, which neither

1. capitulum tercium *deest* (*margini numerus „3" rubro colore adscriptus est*) C: nigro colore E. 2. radicem lapsus CDE. 3. radix simonie apostasie blasfemie C; simonie D. 6. sequntur C. 7. est populus E. 8. principia tria scole anticristi destruunter *in marg. sup.* C. 9. capud E. 9, 10. tocius militantis ecclesie CE; *post* militantis *in marg. repetitum est:* ecclesie. 11. quitquid C; quicquid E. 11, 12. decretum eius ut ewangelium *in marg.* C. 12. et *deest* ACDE. 13. leges eius ultra ewangelium *in marg.* C. 14. et *pro* ex C; *ib.* sequuntur C. 15. *post* ista *scriptum erat:* triplicitate secuntur blasfemie infinite *sed totum deletum et in marg. add. est:* tria D. 22. in *deest* B; *ib.* tocius *deest* B.

1. For reasons stated in the Introduction, it has been considered unnecessary to continue the collation of the MSS. marked D and E any further than the beginning of the third chapter.

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Christ nor his electors give; these, not having it themselves,

quod vel electores dant sibi talem gradum virtutum, vel quod oportet deum sibi assistere sic donando; ergo principium non est verum. Electores vero non habent potestatem conferendi talem gradum sibi ipsis; quomodo ergo conferrent hec dona extranee persone quam tam contrariando elegerant? Unde diffinicio dei est Iac. ca° I°: "*Quod omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a patre luminum;* in qua donacione nullus communicat homo mendax. Et secundum videtur nimis blasfemum qnod electores regulariter deum necessitant tantum dare: tunc enim essent indubie plus quam deus. Item, deus non eo ipso assistit electo per graciam quo Cristum ipsum elegerit; sed quelibet eleccio Cristi est infinitum melior quam eleccio cardinalium vel romani populi, qui elegit Silvestrum; ergo non oportet deum sic assistere cuicunque eleccioni romani pontificis. Maior patet de eleccione Scarioth, quem Cristus indubie virtuosius et sic melius elegit, quam cardinales vel alii scirent eligere romanum pontificem. Et patet minor ex supereminencia virtutis Christi a qua cuncta sua opera processerunt, et ex fructu eleccionis Scarioth, ut dicetur posterius. Locus autem civitatis Rome est inpertinens sanctitati, ut patet in tractatu de papa, et testatur scriptura 2 Mach. 5°.

Jac. I, 17

and being unable to compel God by their votes.

Even Christ's election of Iscariot failed to give him such virtue; how much less any other!

2. Mac. V, 17

Every election is null that does not aim at choosing one of the elect; now these aim only at giving worldly power.

Item, deitas in eleccione hominum ponit gradus, quia aliter foret ecclesia ordine destituta; sed nulla eleccio electorum pape est valida, nisi de quanto exemplata fuerit ab eleccione divina: ergo ipsi non eligerent regulariter papas, ponendo eis imperium pontificum. Sicut enim sunt dispares in bonitate, ita videtur (cum non sit potestas nisi a deo; ad Roma. 13°), quod sunt dispares in potestate. Si enim sunt presciti esse membra diaboli, quomodo daret eis dominus paritatem potestatis cum predestinatis quibus *dedit potestatem filios dei fieri?* Periculosum itaque est blasfeme mentiri, quod quilibet papa est paris potestatis cum Cristo humanitus, cum Petro, et quolibet alio sancto papa. Et patet minor argumenti, ex hoc quod oportet deum

B.

Rom. XIII, 1

Joan. I, 12

5. igitur C. 6. Jacobi 1. C. 12. assisteret B. 14. quam eleccio *deest* C. 15. ro̅ni A. 16. debet *pro* oportet C. 17. ro̅ni A. 19. ro̅nu̅ *(et sic postea)* A. 20. Christi *deest* A. 24. 2 *deest* A; *ib.* Machabe^us C. 25. elccoe AC. 26. ordinacione. 29, 30. potatum, *sed in marg. corr.* po̅tificum C. 33. me̅b^a A. 33, 34. potestatem A.

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prevenire in omni accione laudabili vel illaudabili cuiuscunque creature.

Item, foret blasfema presumpcio, in his que concernunt salutem magni populi temere diffinire; sed sic est in quacunque eleccione Romani pontificis, si non esset ad hoc revelacio: ergo, sic eligere foret blasfema presumpcio. Maior patet ex hoc quod blasfema foret presumpcio dare homini medicinam ex qua verisimiliter vel probabiliter crederetur quod ipse perderet vitam istam corpoream. Multo magis foret blasfemum mentiri sic de deo. Et minor patet ex hoc quod, instituens quemquam in Romanum pontificem dat magnam occasionem credendi quod ipse sit precellenter electus dei, et quod suis monitis regulariter est credendum. Istud autem fallit ut plurimum. Ideo periculosum videtur seminare in ecclesia tale mendacium. Non enim aptatur ad hoc regula dei dicentis in sancto apostolo primo Cor. I°: *Infirma mundi deus eligit, ut forcia queque confundat;* ut, inquam, ostendatur, non mundana prudencia, non terrena potencia, sed divina, elegit deus apostolos ad conquirendum sibi regnum ecclesie, ut confundat queque terrena forcia tamquam inutilia ad hunc finem. Qui autem innititur eligere plus mundi potentes, plus in mundana sapiencia prepollentes, ut loco Cristi presint ecclesie, contra Cristum innititur *terrene sapiencie, animali et diabolice.*

It is great presumption to decide on the election of a Pope without a special revelation; greater than to give a patient a very dangerous remedy; for the fact of the election leads men to believe that the Pope is the elect of God, wrongly in most cases.

1. Cor. I, 27

Jac. III, 15

Item, eo ipso quo quis statuit quemquam capud ecclesie, statuit eum predestinatum, cum solum talis sit pars ecclesie, ut hic supponitur. Sed nimis blasfemum esset electores statuere vel diffinire predestinacionem huiusmodi: ergo et suum convertibile. Considerarent 37* itaque electores | pape quam potestatem et fidem necessitantur fideles sibi tribuere, et cavendo de periculo accionis improvide, expectarent revelacionem divinam vel ommitterent super se huiusmodi onus cumulare. Sic enim fecerunt capitales apostoli, act. I°, in elegendo Mathiam apostolum; quod foret longe minus, quam eligendo summum et simillimum Cristi vicarium. Eligere

As the Head of the Church must be of the Elect, they can no more choose such a Head than they can predestinate him; they should therefore beware and await a Divine revelation, or give up the task.

Act. I, 23—26

5. in *pro* ad B. 10. multum B. 14. requiritur A; requ'itur C. 15. quam *pro* ut C. 17. aplo 'los I° A. 18. forciora B. 23. autem *deest* AC. 24. ppoles A. 30. diffamare A. 31. generis *pro* ergo A; igitur *pro* ergo C. 32, 33. nucciat *sed in marg.:* necessitantur A; necessitant BC. 34. acconia A. 35. obmitterent C; *ib.* Sicut AB.

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Not that it is wrong for them to choose the best man as Bishop of Rome.

autem possunt homines episcopum civitatis romane quem rite credunt plus habilem ad hoc ministerium. Sed inponere sibi quod, eo ipso, sit caput tocius militantis ecclesie, summus Cristi vicarius, videtur nimis magna blasfemia. Moderni itaque prepositi didicerunt a patre mendacii pompare in accumulato honore et pretensione potestatis abscondite, sed defalcare de multitudine operacionis fructifere.

This first principle destroyed, at we once destroy the other two, and put three others in their place.

Mille sunt tales evidencie docentes quod primum principium de scola anticristi sit mendacium plenum veneno, et eius oppositum sit veritas proxima per se nota. Et eadem est consideracio de aliis duobus principiis cum conclusionibus ex ipsis sequentibus. Ideo sunt alia tria principia catholice amplectenda. *Primum:* nullus viator est apcior romano pontifice ut sit vicarius principalis sathane et precipuus anticristus. Patet ex hoc quod ipse potest faciliter fraudare ecclesiam in yppocrisi et omni mendacio. Item, ipse potest plus calide se ipsum super Cristum extollere; et talis, iuxta testimonium scripture, est pronior ut sit maximus anticristus. Nam *rex super omnes filios superbie*, et pater mendacii, aptavit sibi talem vicarium qui false potestatem et dignitatem pompando pretendit, ut indulgenciis et aliis cautelis plurem plebem decipiat, et magistro suo in peccato similior profundius ex post ruat. Et iterum nemo potest peccuniam plus symoniace cumulare, et sic complices de secta magog, pro defendendo suo facinore, lacius, diuturnius, et sceleracius agregare; sed hec omnia testantur condiciones maximas anticristi.

1. None is more likely to be Antichrist than the Roman Pontiff, having such power to deceive, set himself above Christ, and defend his crimes.

Job. XLI, 25

2. The Pope is to be believed only when his words agree with Scripture, the standard of our faith and deeds, and the treasure of truth, to which even Christ recurred.

Secunda conclusio: Non est credendum romano pontifici in materia fidei, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in scriptura. Patet sic: In omni genere est unum principium, quod est metrum et mensura omnium aliorum; et per consequens, in genere faciendi vel credendi, standum est ad tale principium, quod non est fingendum, nisi scriptura, que est testimonium dei. Papa enim sepe erravit in fide. Item, secundum Augustinum 2° *de doctrina*

2. humilem A. 4. sumus A. 6. hore A: onere BC; *ib.* ptefione A.
9, 10. p'm pn'm A; p'mu pn'cipiu B. 11. pxi A. 13. et ex A.
14. amplectanda B. 20. est *deest* B; *ib.* magnus A; maximus BC.
23. alis eciam B. 25. profundius *deest;* zp9 A.

32. *Unum principium.* Arist. ed. Did. tome I', p. 307, l. 1.
37. Aug. *De Doctrina Christiana.* "Quidquid homo extra didicerit, si noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile, ibi invenitur (Migne, CXXIV, p. 65).

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D. *christiana* in fine, omnis veritas est in scriptura; non est credendum romano pontifici, nisi in veritate: ergo, non est credendum, nisi in scriptura, in qua est omnis fundacio veritatis. Item, Cristus summus pontifex fundavit se humanitus eciam contra diabolum in scriptura, ut patet Matth. 4. Et sic fecit in omnibus factis suis, ut patet discurrendo per ea que scripta sunt de illo. Qui ergo est Romanus pontifex, qui dedignatur fundare se in lege Domini vel scriptura, cum sit potissimum et dignissimum fundamentam? Si enim dedignatur se fundare in illa, dicens se habere potestatem interpretandi ipsam quomodocunque voluerit, et supplendi eius defectus, tunc blasfemat ut demonium meridianum. Et illud revocaret illum a condendis articulis fidei ut novis legibus sed debet illa a deo complete condita, tamquam servus humilis, declarare. Et cum debet usque ad sobrietatem sapere, debet humiliter in sancta ignorancia reticere; et idem est iudicium de tota ecclesia militante. Et patet inpossibilitas secundi principii anticristi.

Matth. IV, 1—11

The Pope ought not to disdain Scripture, and make articles of faith, but expound it humbly, or keep silence.

Tercia conclusio: Blasfemum foret papam vel alium plus credere, magis diligere vel exequi magis solicite leges proprias, quam legem Cristi et dei. Patet ex hoc, quod lex ad legem se habet ut legifer ad legiferum. Sed blasfemum foret in istis equiparare pure creaturam creatori: ergo, blasfemum foret equiparare vel superaddere legem creature propriam legi dei. Voco autem legem creature propriam, quam statuit et nescit ipsam clare elicere ex scriptura. Item, proporcionaliter ut quis diligit Cristum debet diligere eius legem; ut hic supponitur et alibi declaratum est. Sed cum omnis fidelis debet infinitum plus diligere Cristum quam aliquam pure creaturam, videtur quod proporcionaliter debet diligere legem Cristi. Omnes, inquam, fatemur quod diligimus deum super omnia; sed dileccio legis dei iudicat veritatem. Item, proporcionaliter ut affectus noster est ad aliquid, sic exequimur eius complecionem. Si affectus noster, ut dicimus, debet esse maxime in legem Christi, ergo debemus proporcionaliter exequi eius complecionem. Omnes itaque dicimus deo illud Mt. 6°:

It is blasphemy to follow any man rather than Scripture, thus equalling a creature with the Creator, loving him more than Christ, and not doing God's will.

Matth. VI, 10

2. igitur C. 5. q̃ eciã A. 7—10. qui — enim *deest* A. 8. qui non *omnes MSS.* 12. libuerit BC. 14. vel C. 16. declarare *in marg.* C. 23. se habet *deest* B. 24, 25. blasphemum — ergo *deest* B. 28. celare A; clare elicere ipsam C. 35. sue *pro* dei A. 36. ad ali^d A; a'd C; *ib.* exe^s A. 37—39. Si — complecionem *deest* A. 37. Sed *pro* si C; *ib.* circa *pro* in C.

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Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra etc. Et cum, licet non faciamus quod sit voluntas dei, nisi in complecione legis sue, tamen in hoc torpemus tamquam deo degeneres. Et patet falsitas tercii principii anticristi.

It follows that the Orders, depending on the Pope's decree, and all such decrees not founded on Scripture, should be done away with;

Ex istis tribus principiis potest fidelis colligere quod omnes privati ordines, qui non habent aliud fundamentum quam determinacionem papalem, cessare debeant. Et per idem omnes determinaciones romani pontificis, que non sunt patenter elicibiles ex scriptura. Et patet quam levis est evidencia: si romanus pontifex cum quotquot episcopis decreverit quod eukaristia sit accidens sine subiecto, vel tales ordines | confirmaverit, ergo verum. 37[b]

that the clergy should obey no Church laws save those of Christ;

Secundo, videtur quod totus clerus debet, dimissa solicitudine legum papalium, legi Cristi intendere, etsi dicatur quod totales huiusmodi sit lex Cristi; quia, cum diabolus transfigurat se in angelum lucis, nec auctor legis dignatur fundare tradiciones suas in lege divina, ideo est pium et securum catholice quiescere in illis legibus que sunt patule in scriptura. Et patet 3° ut sepe asserui, quod non est color, si ex istis tradicionibus multa bona eveniunt, ergo sunt a fidelibus exequenda.

and that the good which may follow from the present system proves nothing in its favour.

Nam ex peccato primi angeli et primi hominis, ymmo ex quocunque malo, occasionaliter et per graciam dei multa bona eveniunt. Ideo non est color, si ex privatis ordinibus et propriis legibus cum suis defensionibus multa bona proveniunt, ergo non sunt iniuste. Ideo oportet ad legem Cristi, ut regulam directivam, attendere, et ipsis iuxta positis videre ipsas non in aliquo dissonare: quod videtur difficile, cum vel propter talia privata lege dei dimissa omnes eis afficimur vel, lege dei postposita, nimis remisse eam exequimur. Et quomodocunque loquimur, factum nostrum et consciencia dictant ista implicite esse vera. Quis, inquam, religiosus non nimis appreciatur tradiciones privatas, ut in studio, in valore et observacione plus eis attendat, vel minus respiciat legem Cristi? Et conformiter de studentibus alias leges hominum factum clamat istud, eciam negatum a nobis, quo ad conscienciam esse verum. Nec sunt dissimulandi errores predicti, quia continuata obliquitas a rectitudine

If God's law is to be their standard of action, it can hardly be so more than verbally.

These errors are very dangerous, for they create

1. ffiat C; *ib.* tamen *omnes MSS.* 2. faciamus quod non *omnes MSS;* *ib.* fit C. 3. cum C. 4. ffiis A. 12. igitur. 13. debet *deest* C. 15. tamen B. 16. nec *deest* A. 19. qui B. 20. sic *pro* sepe A. 21. igitur C. 30. afficiuntur AB; *ib.* ut *pro* vel AB. 32. dcant A. 33. implicita AB. 38. diffilandi A. 39. obliq'saraⁿᵉ A.

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Cristi preparat ad ruinam. Religiones itaque private, et affidaciones indurate sue regule, generant divisiones et sectas proprietarias in ecclesia sancta dei. Ex hoc enim querunt refuge que sua sunt, vel non querunt (vel nimis
F. 5 remisse) bona communia que sunt Cristi. Et patet fideli quod affeccio proprietatis in homine interiori preponderans sapit symoniam, apostasiam, blasfemiam, et dampnabilitatem perpetuam; et per consequens subversionem populi in ducibus qui traherent ad concordiam
10 legis dei. Si inquam totus populus foret unius secte cristiane, tanquam vir unus, et tota sollicitudo discordie versa foret ad studium concordie legis dei, quis dubitat quin ecclesia foret concordior et disposicior ad amorem? Ideo, ve illis qui auctorisant et seminant sectas tales!
15 Posset enim populus ad tempus tenere sectas momentaneas, sicut fecit apostolus act. 2°; sed tota indignitas
Act. II, 44 consistit in disposicione indissolubili istorum rituum. Per hoc enim equiparat blasfemus tradicionem suarum observancias legi dei: quod deus non potest. Ideo videtur,
20 quod secte iste novelle sapiunt omnino blasfemiam, cum repugnat sapiencie divine ordinare hos particulares ritus cuicunque persone date secte perpetuo observandos. Ideo deus legitur dedisse maximas, totum genus hominum obligantes. Et quantum ad modos vivendi, cum possunt
25 et debent secundum personas, etates, et alias circumstancias quantumlibet variari, deus reliquit istam variacionem prudencie humane. Quis ergo posset statuere quod totum genus date secte debet sic vivere? Papa enim non potest istud debitum statuere; sic nec potest
30 aptitudinem tocius secte future cognoscere.

divisions, every man seeking his own welfare;

whence comes apostasy, simony and blasphemy.

Their laws should not have been made perpetually binding; God gives commandments binding all men in general, but leaves each man free to choose his way of life.

Sed contra istud arguitur per hoc quod necesse est totam ecclesiam habere unum capitaneum conversantem; cuius religio non staret, nisi sibi ut capiti obediret.

Objection: The Church needs a Head. *Answer*: The best Head is

3. sancta *deest* B. 4. refuge *corr. ex* refugere A; *ib.* minus; mi9 A. 5. bo ymo q A; *ib.* ymmo *pro* communia A. 7. et blasfemiam A. 15. *in marg.* nota B. 16. 20 C. 21. observandas A. 24. vivendi *deest* BC. 27. igitur C. 31. *in marg.* obieccio B.

17. Wyclif, in *De Apostasia* (cap. I, p. 15, l. 33) understands the perpetuity of Papal confirmation of religious orders to mean "so long as God shall allow their existence"; which agrees with Clement VII's abolition of the Templars, and in later times, Clement XIV's dissolution of the Jesuits. It is curious that Wyclif does not allude to the first case. Though the Templars were not in the same category as the Friars, still the Pope's action in their case was a striking precedent.

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Christ; all others, unless they bring men to Him, are hurtful.

Hic dicitur, ut sepe alibi, quod sufficit cristianismum Cristum habere conversantem secum ad tempus et postea in celo ad dexteram dei patris residentem; quia cum ista fuerit operacio spiritus sancti, credendum est quod fuit apcior. Unde quicunque capitaneus militantis ecclesie non prodest sed obest, nisi de quanto moverit suos subditos ad ipsum in celestibus aspirare. Ideo ad istum sensum dicit Joh. ewangelista cap. 17: *Expedit vobis ut ego vadam.* Et ista sentencia dicta est in fine tractatus de Apostasia. Sicut ergo est expedicius militanti eccleste quod Cristus sic ascenderit, quam quod semper cum ecclesia militaret: sic foret expedicius quod tota ecclesia militans aspiraret ad eum et reciperet ab eo inspiracionem fidei, quam quod constituat super se unum capitaneum secundum legem maioritatis cesaree. Et si aliquis haberet ex dono dei humilius servire ecclesie, non alte sapiat, nec querat preter domini dei eleccionem humanam vel cartam aliam.

Joan. XVI, 7

It was expedient even for Christ to leave His Apostles; so it is better not to have any visible chief.

Besides, this is an occasion of schism in the Church, and ought to be abolished; as also all hierarchical dignities.

Item, omnis occasio scismatis, apostasie vel blasfemie G. debet tolli ab ecclesia. Sed precipua occasio omnium istorum est prelatorum graduacio humanitus adinventa: ergo racionabiliter debet tolli. Minor argumenti patet ex hoc quod ex hinc prelati querunt gloriam suam, non gloriam domini Jesu Cristi, contra apostolum I. Cor. 10: *Omnia in gloriam Cristi facite.* Quis, inquam, prelatus ex divisione | predicta non querit honorem suum humanum 38a eciam plus quam honorem Cristi? Vel ad minimum dividitur cultus sive intensio honorandi propter graduacionem istam adinventam. Facta ostendunt quod singuli (quia omnes) quasi querunt gloriam suam. Ista enim est occasio quare venit dissensio de qua loquitur apostolus II. Thess. 2°; ut patet de secta machometi et aliis. Si enim essemus in reputacione omnes fratres, sicut fuerunt apostoli, nec aliquis reputaretur maior, nisi ut foret abscondite aput deum virtuosior, cessaret con-

1 Cor. X, 31

We are all brethren, as Christ says, and should not take other titles.

1. cristianissimum; xaniffim A. 2. postmodum BC. 4. fuerit *deest omnes MSS; ib.* aprophanacio A. 5. milit^e A. 9. est *deest* AC. 10. Sic igitur C. 11. quod *deest* A. 13. in deum A. 22. igitur C. 23. per C. 24. apl'm Cor. 10 A. 26. mundanum BC. 28. intencio BC; *ib.* horadi A. 29. adiuveniendam B; *ib.* facto AC. 30. qui *pro* quia C. 33. repugnacione A. 34. repugnaretur A.

10. De Apostasia, cap. XVII, p. 237, l. 15 et seq. 31. There is (2 Thess. II, 3) mention of *discessio*, but none of *dissensio;* nor is there anything approaching to that sense. Wyclif's copy of the Vulgate may have had *dissensio.*

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Matth. XXIII, 8 tencionis elacio. Et ista videtur doctrina Cristi, Matt. 23°: *Nolite,* inquit, *vocari rabi; unus enim est magister vester, et omnes vos fratres estis,* etc. Et istam sentenciam pulcre declarat beatus Jeronimus cap. 18ª ad Ewandrum, ubi declarat primo ex fide scripture multiplicis, quod olim omnis sacerdos vel presbiter fuit episcopus, et e contra; 2° declarat quod dyaconatus est inferior sacerdocio; et 3° dicit quod diutina consuetudo vel humana ordinacio, licet mutet nomen, non potest tamen mutare officii dignitatem. "Quid", inquit, "profers michi unius urbis consuetudinem? quid paucitatem, de qua ortum est supercilium in leges ecclesie vendicas?" Si, inquam, consilium romanum ordinat dyacones suos cardinales et ut sic prestanciores aliis episcopis, quid hoc ad fidei veritatem? Unde conclusio huius sancti est quod quicunque, presbiter sive episcopus, precellunt in moribus, sunt maiores. Cum enim convertibiliter sequatur: *Petrus est maior quoad deum: igitur Petrus est maior;* Deus autem non appreciatur adiacenciam temporalium, nisi forsan reprobando: manifestum est quod quicunque fuerit
H. maior in moribus est maior eo ipso. Unde Jeronimus, ubi supra: "Ubicunque", inquit, "fuerit episcopus, sive Rome sive alibi, eiusdem meriti eiusdemque sacerdocii potencia diviciarum et paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum facit. Ceterum, omnes apostolorum successores sunt". Ideo, ut declarat eadem epistola, "primo indifferenter nominabantur presbiteri; sed quod postea unus electus est, qui ceteris preponeretur, in scismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque trahens ad se, ecclesiam Cristi rumperet". Unde in epist. ad Demetriadem, que sic incipit: *Omnibus divine scripture paginis ewangelium antecellit,* sic scribitur: "Ac dicis, supra Petrum fundatur ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio

St. Jerome says, writing of the different degrees in Holy Orders, that custom changes nothing as to faith;

that riches or poverty may make a bishop higher or lower, but all are successors of the Apostles;

and that, though the Church was based upon the Twelve, *one* was set over them to avoid all schism.

2. est enim C. 3. omnes enim BC. 7. inferius *omnes MSS.* 9. ordinacio *deest* C; *ib.* tamen *deest* A. 14. sint *pro* sic C; *ib.* alienis A. 18. ergo C. 21. J'o9 A. 23. romane A *sed in marg.:* Rome. 31. demet'and, A.

12. Hieronymus, Ep. Ad Evangelum. Migne, t. XXII, p. 1194 (ed. Bened. 1083). 15. It is a remarkable fact that many *bishops* who are cardinals are so only under the title of deacons. As is known there are three classes in this Church dignity, bishops, priests, and deacons. A man who is only in Minor Orders may be a cardinal deacon, it being supposed that he intends taking Sacred Orders; should he marry, however, he loses his dignity. 32. Hieron. Migne, t. XXIII, pag. 279 (ed. Bened.).

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loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni celorum accipiant, et ex equo super eos ecclesie fortitudo solidetur: tamen propterea inter 12cim unus eligitur ut, capite constituto, scismatis tollatur occasio". Sic igitur, sicut nomen est eversum in sacramento altaris, vocando illud accidens sine subiecto; sic eversum est nomen, officium, et dignitas prelatorum. Deus enim ordinavit quod regulariter pauperior, humilior et servicior pro tollendo scismate foret maior. Sed diabolus, mundus, et caro dogmatisant quod fama populari celebrior, mundo dicior et strepitu temporali potencior sit in ecclesia Cristi superior: et illud blasfemum mendacium confundit ecclesiam.

But everything is changed now: instead of humility, pride gives greatness in the Church.

And this is the cause of many blasphemies.

Item, propter talem principatum sunt prelati et eorum sentencia plena blasfemia: igitur est racionabiliter subtrahenda. Antecedens patet de multiplicacione legum papalium, ut de eleccionibus, de provisionibus, et similibus, que sunt sepe manifeste contraria legi dei. Cum igitur ista causant principia pollitice conversacionis ecclesie, et "modicus error in principio sit causa pergrandis in fine"; manifestum est quod oportet ex ista contrariacione a voluntate divina ecclesiam errare multipliciter in progressu. Et idem patet de indulgenciis, privilegiis et aliis blasfemiis patentibus vendicatis. Quoad leges adinventas, dictum est in tractatu de religione 2° cap. Nam manifestum est quod ewangelizantes et multo magis statuentes contrarium legi dei, ut ecclesia ipsum observet, sunt anathematizati, ut docet apostolus Gall. 1°. Nec dubium quin omne falsum vel irracionabile est preter ewangelium, quia illud sibi contrarium. Nec excusat ignorancia sic statuentes a blasfemia, quia apostolus fuit blasfemus, putando se parare obsequium deo; ut patet Thimo. 1°. Multo magis qui gratis seminant leges ad regulandum ecclesiam que

Among others, of indulgences, and of new laws.

Ignorance is no excuse; and the Church will never be cured until delivered from this evil.

Gal. I, 8, 9

1 Tim. I, 13

2. quo *pro* equo *omnes MSS.* 3. XII C. 6. ipsum *pro* illud C; *ib.* est *deest* C. 8. ſ,mcor A: servitivior(?) B. 10. quo A. 11. populari A. 11. mdam A. 14. pnlatu *(sic)* A. 18. sepe *deest* C; *ib.* dei A. 23. blasfemis B; blasfemiis C. 23, 24. blaffens poulb; A. 24. poulb; C. 26. scientes A. 28. glla A. 26. est *deest* B; *ib.* aliud A; aliquid C. 27. ignoranciam C; *ib.* a *deest* C. 29. deo *deest* A.

20. Aristotle. Polit. V, c. 3 (ed. Didot, vol. I, p. 568, l. 48). This *dictum* is very frequently quoted by Aquinas and other medieval authors in regard to philosophical truth; but Wyclif seems to employ it in much the same sense as Aristotle.

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I. inmediate obviant legi dei. Et pro ista sentencia faciat Crisostomus opere imperfecto, omelia 5, et declaratum est in fine libri tercii. Nec unquam evacuabitur ab ecclesia ista legum blasfemia, quamdiu ecclesia stat fedata
5 temporalibus, extra religionem quam Cristus instituit; quia omnes tales satrape dicunt implicite quod sunt sapienciores et in providencia meliores domino Jesu Cristo. Ideo dicit Crisostomus: "Non", inquit, "potest mens humana directicare quod sapiencia divina dictabat.
10 Sic enim ait Salomon, proverb. 30: *Non addas verbis*
Prov. XXX, 6 *dei nec detrahas vide.* Quis enim est ausus hec, facere se sapienciorem quam putat deum?" O quam multi sunt blasfemi isto anathemate innodati! quia omnes qui falsum vel irracionabile statuunt, aut preter autoritatem scripture
15 pro sponse Cristi regimine.

Debent igitur sacerdotes Cristi fragmenta panis scrip-
38b ture | colligere, et panem venenosum extra eius formam abicere; quia aliter non induunt formam Cristi discipuli, sed scelestissimi anticristi. Cum enim Cristus precepit
20 apostolis *colligere fragmenta, ne pereant,* ut patet Joh. 6. Per quod notatur secundum sanctos, quod prepositi ecclesie, gerentes vicem apostolorum, debent colligere cum sollicitudine subtiles sensus in scriptura inplicatos ad pascendum ecclesiam; cum autem, secundum Augustinum,
25 in scriptura sit omnis veritas, ille prelatus nimis blasfeme degenerat, qui, dimisso ignito verbo domini, intendit pro pascendo populo verbis fallacibus adinventis. Nam
Deut. IV, 2 idem foret hoc facere, et extollendo anticristum supra deum, Cristum deserere. Ideo, deuter. 14° precipitur et
30 proverb. 30° repetitur quod *homo nec addat nec subtrahat verbis dei.*

Priests should feed Christ's flock with bread, not poison; that bread is Scripture, in which is all truth: such as do otherwise are blasphemers.

9. dirccíare A; *ib.* dictabit B. 11. dethasm̃ A. 12. putat quam *omnes MSS.* 24. enim *pro* autem *omnes MSS.* 25. sacra sit B. 26. ig'to A. 27. populo *deest* A. 29. Cristum *deest* A; *ib.* 4° B. 30. non AC.

10. The Vulgate has: *Ne addas quidquam verbis illius, et arguaris, inveniarisque mendax.*

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CAPITULUM QUARTUM.

God, having placed man in this world only to serve Him and yearn towards Heaven, has given him to this end the example of the natural heaven, of the Sacrament, and of Christ's person.

Constat ex fide quomodo nedum in principio quod A.
est verbum, deus creavit mundum (scilicet celum et
terram, que inter omnia eius opera sunt maxime distancia
tam naturaliter quam localiter), hominem autem cum 5
instrumentis suis posuit deus in medio, ut secundum
amorem, qui est pondus anime, deo et celestibus con-
stanter adhereat, et terrena, nisi de quanto sunt ad hec
necessaria, religiose postponat. Unde omnis apostasia
in declinacione ad temporalia est fundata. Deus autem, 10
sicut docuit in apostolo suo Jacobo precipuam partem Jacob. I, 27
religionis sue esse hominem *se custodire immaculatum*
ab hoc seculo; sic posuit, secundum evidenciam exempli
triplicis, quomodo homo aspiraret religiose ad celestia,
et apostasiam qua meus afficitur opacis terrestribus 15
declinaret. Primum est exemplum naturale quo deus
ordinavit celum spere sublunari influere regendo in-
feriora, et secundum lucem ac tenebras cum aliis vicissi-
tudinibus temporum alternari. Secundum est exemplum
sacramentale, in quo deus posuit panem qui est basis 20
corporalis alimenti, ut figuret fidelibus et sit quodam-
modo corpus Cristi. Sed tercium exemplum est super-
naturale, in quo deitas et humanitas sunt personaliter
idem homo. Et omnes istos gradus deus instituit, ut
revocet hominem a temporalibus ad eterna. 25

The error concerning the Sacrament argues a want of that unworldliness

Error autem in exemplo medio secundum genera-
cionem signa querencium prenosticat errorem in vita
ecclesie. Omnes autem hereses, scilicet symonia, apostasia
et blasfemia, fundantur in declinacione animi ad terrena.

1. Cap. 4m *in red mk* AC; *deest* B. 2. quod deus C. 9. apoſto A. 19. alternare C. 21. ut *deest* A.

7. *Pondus anime.* This beautiful and deeply philosophical definition of love is not, of Wyclif's invention. See St. Augustine, Confessions (Migne, t. XXXII, p. 848). Also t. XXXIII, p. 212, 213, 677).

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Nemo enim wult inordinate commutare temporalia pro eternis, spiritualia pro temporalibus, nisi qui inordinate afficitur ad terrena, et per consequens non sine hoc committitur symonia. Et ita videtur obligacio, de quo psal. 124°: *Declinantes autem in obligaciones adducet dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem.* Et 2°, nemo excedit limites Cristi religionis, nisi cuius animus nimis afficitur ad terrena. Ideo docet Jacobus, quia secunda pars religionis est hominem *se immaculatum custodire ab hoc seculo.* Unde orat ecclesia, "ut sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus eterna"; "ut deus doceat nos terrena despicere et amare celestia" et "ut terrenis affeccionibus mitigatis facilius celestia capiamus".

Ps. CXXIV, 5

which the words of the Church show should be our greatest desire.

B. Ex ista sentencia ecclesie cum experiencia et fide scripture colligitur quod omnis heresis vel peccatum in militante ecclesia stat in libra in qua affectus ad temporalia et eterna. Appendiculum autem breve temporalium preponderatur, dum omnes querunt que sua sunt secundum racionem qua illis sunt propria, et non secundum racionem qua sunt communia communis dominii Jesu Cristi. Et sic longum appendiculum eque libre quo affectus viatoris eterna respiceret non libratur. Ipsum enim brachium, propter carenciam ponderis quod fidelis in lance affectus acciperet, non curatur. Et tamen, sicut celum est corpus supremum, latissimum, clarissimum et plenum influencia luminis et sanctis spiritibus, sic terra est corpus infimum, strictissimum, opacissimum et plenum corrupcionibus atque demonibus. Et hec creditur racio quare diabolus tantum allicit hominem ad terrena. Sophista enim, racioni contrarius et primus apostata, nititur ducere scolam suam ad metam blasfemie: quod fit, quando falsitati plus applauditur quam fructui veritatis. Unde diabolus, propter hoc quod suggit sangwinem

All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal.

We do not hold the balance equal; though Heaven and earth are not to be compared, the latter prevails.

It is the devil's work.

5. *after* 124 dicitur C. 11. edoccat A. 12. ceftia A. 14. Et *pro* ex A.

16. affecionis BC. 18. sua *deest* A. 20, 21. gnia dni chu X C. 24. accipiet A. 28. corporibus B; corrupcionis C. 33. suggerit A.

10. Brev. Rom. Coll. pro Dom. III post. Pent. 33. It is possible that these words may embody the superstition that devils drank the blood of witches:

"There's one come down to fetch his dues;
A kiss, a coll, a sip of *blood*."
(*The Witch*, by Middleton.)

But Wyclif, as usual, takes the mystic meaning and spiritualizes everything.

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ex spiritibus quibus letificarentur et alleviarentur *filii* Ps. IV, 3
hominum gravi corde, dicitur proverb. 30 sanguisuga. Prov. XXX, 15
Sanguisuge, inquit, *due sunt filie dicentes, affer, affer.*
Constat quidem quod ecclesia militans resultat ex popularibus tamquam terra, ex mundi potentibus tamquam lignis, et ex clericis tamquam herbis. Diabolus autem, latens in paludibus vel locis putridis, habet de clericis et mundi potentibus duas perversas filias, scilicet yppocritas et tyrrannos. Cantus autem eorum precipuus est scopare populum, spoliando ipsum temporalibus, dicendo suis tyronibus: *affer affer.* Et sicut arbusta spinosa ac herbe mortifere de terra germinant et per accidens proficiunt, licet multum in particulari officiant; | sic 39*
est de dictis yppocritis et tyrranis.

He is a leech, hidden in marshes of corruption, and has two daughters: hypocrisy and tyranny.

Sunt autem in clero duodecim filie sanguisuge cum suis complicibus: scilicet, papa, cardinales, episcopi, archidiaconi, officiales, decani, rectores, presbiteri, monachi, fratres, ostiarii, et questores. Sed (quia granum et palea possunt abscondi sub istis nominibus) ideo suppono quod de pseudo-talibus fiat sermo, quod ex eo discerni poterit quod de fastu et questu symoniace procreantur. Non enim licet nominare vel acceptare officium cleri C.
in ecclesia, nisi de quanto in lege Cristi fuerit approbatus; sed necesse est ut diabolus, onerans ecclesiam cum ritibus et temporalibus, oneret eam eciam cum suis officiariis, qui blasfeme spolient pauperes et simplices matris ecclesie. Consideremus ergo statum expproprietarium statui innocencie simillimum, quem Cristus vixit et docuit suos apostolos laborando spiritualiter observare; et consideremus, quot officiarii in clero sic laborando retinent istum statum. Et tot sunt fideles servi Cristi. Alii autem sunt complices anticristi; et servata ista sentencia, non oneraretur ecclesia cum raptoribus et discolis dissipantibus scolam Cristi. Quicunque enim, pensato suo ministerio per se edificativo ecclesie, ipsam alleviat, non onustat; et ipsam secundum viam virtutum trahit ad celestia, non deprimit ad terrena: omnis, inquam, talis est fidelis servus Cristi et adiutor domini, ac penna columbe, que ipsam transvehat per mare huius

But the Pope, the Cardinals, the Bishops, the arch-deacons, the officials, the deans, the rectors, the priests, the monks, the friars, the door-keepers and the questors are also of the race: i. e. if they are corrupt.

But how many of the Church officials live the lives of the Apostles? So many are Christ's servants; the others are the adherents of Antichrist.

1. et *omnes MSS.;* ib. litificaretur A. 2. 3° A. 5. potentatibus BC. 11. suis *deest* A. 21. procurantur C. 22. acceptare *deest* C. 24. est *deest* A; *ib.* honerans ecciam C. 28. falsissimum A; simillimum *pro* falsissimum C. 35. editicative AB; edificacio C. 38. Christ *deest* BC.

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seculi ad eterna. Et phariseus condicionis opposite est servus dampnabilis, proditor sponse Cristi.

Et patet quomodo pseudopapa discernitur a fideli. Si enim querit que sua sunt, detrahens subditos suos peccati pondere ad infernum, quis dubitat quin terrenorum cupiditas ipsum faciat anticristum? Primum autem venenum notabile post Cristum effusum in ecclesia dicitur ortum ex dotacione romani pontificis, sub Constantino cesare et Silvestro, de qua dist. 96, *Constantinus imperator*. Primo autem blasfematur, extollendo Silvestrum super omne quod dicitur deus, quod non potuit peccare, sic recipiendo dotacionem ecclesie. Quod est contra decretum Cipriani, positum dist. 8. "Si solus," inquit, "Cristus audiendus est, non debemus attendere quod alius ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid qui ante nos omnes est, Cristus, prior fecerit." Et idem sentenciat Augustinus in sermone *de vita clericorum*, posito 17ª quest. 4 caº ultimo sub his verbis: "Quicunque wult, exhereditato filio, heredem facere ecclesiam, querat alium qui suscipiat, non Augustinum: ymmo, deo propicio, neminem inveniet. Quam laudabile fuit factum sancti Aurelii cartaginiensis episcopi! Quidam enim, dum filios non haberet, nec speraret, res suas omnes, retento sibi usufructu, donavit ecclesie. Nati sunt ei filii: reddidit ei episcopus omnia; nec opinanti ea, que illi donaverat in potestate habebat episcopus non reddere, sed iure fori, non iure poli."

The false Pope can be known by his attachment to earthly things.

The endowment of the Church by Constantine, accepted by St. Sylvester, was a great calamity and contrary to the spirit of the Fathers.

Augustine quoted: to disinherit a son in favour of the Church is not allowable; legally right, it would be morally wrong.

D. Ecce primo quomodo sancti horruerant, quando parum lapsi sunt a Cristi pauperie, quod super ipsos cumuletur lapsus gravior. Et indubie vel oportet dicere quod Augustinus in hoc dicto dissensit tali dotacioni, et inprecatus fuit non fore aliquam in futurum, vel quod tamquam infidelis in ista lege dissipuit. Sed retento primo membro, patet evidencius quod sancti prelati tenerent hodie eandem sentenciam. Nunc enim est ecclesia plus temporalibus inviscata, et inpetracionibus subdole plus sunt invente.

Either Augustine would have been against such endowment, or inconsistent; if not the latter, all good Bishops ought now to side with him.

9. quo C. 9. 10. Constancius C. 17. Augustinus *in marg.* A. 18. *in marg.* nota B. 22. catha C. 23. nec speraret *deest* A. 24. usu fructuum B. 25. ōmo C. 26. donaverit B. 33. depuit A; desipuit C. 34. plati A. 35. istam *pro* eandem C; *ib.* ecclesie A. 36. impetraciones plus subdole C. 37. invete A.

10. Decr. Grat. 1ª Pars. Dist. XCVI, c. 13. 16. Decr. Grat. 1ª Pars. Dist. VIII, c. 9. 18. Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars. Cons. XVII, qu. 4, c. 43.

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Both Pope and monks ought to have refused endowments, and should give them up.

Ex quibus colligitur quod nec pontifices nec claustrales eligerent dotacionem huiusmodi; sed fatue susceptam resignarent in manibus secularium dominorum. Sic enim recte fecit beatus Aurelius episcopus, qui fuit propterea ab Augustino merito comendatus. Nec valet dicere quod illud fuit opus supererrogacionis, ad quod prelati nostri non hodie sunt asstricti; quia hodie inminet maior necessitas, et prelati debent esse in hoc ita perfecti sicut fuit Aurelius. Aliter enim licet eis quantumcunque irreligiose vivere, propter istam *excusacionem in peccato.* Similiter, episcopus habuit reddere *iure poli,* ut dicit Augustinus, et per consequens iure dei qui dictavit ipsum debere reddere. Sic enim voluit Augustinus: ut recitat de eo beatus Possidonius.

Aurelius' conduct is an example to our Bishops; what he did was his duty, not before the law, but before God.

Ps. CXL, 4

It is no use saying that in his case there were tacit conditions; for the successors of those who gave the endowments live now; so the case is the same.

And these endowments weaken the secular power;

Nec valet 2ª excusacio in peccato, qua dicitur quod secularis memoratus intelexit condicionem tacitam in casu quo non habuit filios vel heredes; quia per idem in omni dotacione subintelligi debet talis condicio: et omnino quod deo sit placitum. Cum igitur supersunt filii imperatorum, regum et secularium dominorum, videtur quod clerus dotatus debet reddere *iure poli.* Item, ex ordinacione divina ecclesia debet constare ex mundi potentibus, ad quos necessaria est temporalis possessio. Sed hoc clerus possessionatus nititur extinguere opere vel consensu; ergo, ut sic, resistit ordinacioni divine. Assumptum patet, romanorum 13. et sepe alibi; ymmo ex dicto Ysidori, posito 23 q. 5. caº *principes.* Et minor argumenti patet, notando | omnes possessiones que sunt in manu pape et cleri, ac quanta foret secularis potestas illis dominiis correspondens, que exhinc de ecclesia tollitur, et in occupacionibus exhinc deterioratis nomen domini blasfematur. Nec dubium quin hoc perpetratur consensu cleri, ad hoc multipliciter procurantis. Et cum hoc fit instinctu diaboli deteriorantis brachium seculare et dampnificantis ecclesiam, manifestum est quod potentatus debent in isto potestative resistere. Ad hoc enim portant gladium, secundum apostolum. Et testatur Ysidorus ubi supra. "Intra Ecclesiam," inquit, "potestates necessarie non essent, nisi ut, quod non prevalent sacerdotes efficere

Rom. XIII, 2

39ᵇ

which, according to Isidore, is a necessary supplement of Church authority.

E.

3. restituerent C. 12. ius qui A. 14. possidanius A; possideus C. 20. imperatoris C. 23. potentantibus A. 25. igitur C. 30. dominis B. 31. occupantibus C. 32. perpetrat AB. 38. ncce. Eccie *pro* intra ecclesiam A. 39. ut *deest* AC.

27. Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars. Caus. XXIII, qu. 5, c. 20.

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per doctrine sermonem, potestas hoc imperet per discipline terrorem. Sepe per regnum terrenum celeste regnum perficit, ut qui, intra ecclesiam positi, contra fidem et disciplinam agunt, rigore principum terreantur". Quare ergo non exercent hunc gladium ad hoc sibi datum a deo, ut compellant yppocritas intrare religionem Cristi quam false profitentur? "Cognoscant," inquit Ysidorus, "principes seculi deo se debere racionem, reddituros esse eciam propter ecclesiam quam a Cristo tuendam suscipiunt. Nam sive augeatur pax et disciplina in ecclesia per fideles principes, sive solvatur, ille ab eis racionem exigit, qui eorum potestati suam ecclesiam credidit".

A most severe account will be exacted of secular lords, who, for interested motives or through mistaken piety, allow or even favour such evils.

Quam, quero, racionem reddent deo seculares domini, qui propter sanguinem, peccuniam vel desidiam, permittunt yppocritas, ymmo, cum suis conducunt, perdere Cristum et suam ecclesiam? Nam per dotaciones cecas symonia, apostasia et blasfemia sustentantur; et per consequens, irato domino, bella, dissensiones et infidelitates alie sustentantur. Cum enim oportet deum dare pacem et caritatem hominibus, si eis infuerit; homines autem illi adversantur blasfeme ordinacioni divine ineptando clerum contra Cristi monita, ut sit mundo plus deditus, quomodo transfunderet deus per clerum huiusmodi concordiam et amorem? Quin pocius, iuxta beatum Gregorium, deus, aliunde placatus populo, subtraheret exhinc ab eis spirituale suffragium. Istam igitur cecam pietatem (quin pocius gravem stulticiam) portabunt principes, cum presumptuose contraveniendo ordinacioni divine privant se cleri suffragio, et, quod plus est, ut sic, multipliciter perturbant rem publicam, tam temporalia quam spiritualia blasfeme et improvide dispensando, ex quo tamquam calendis diaboli causatur dissensio. Servicium enim factum diabolo est maxime difficile et sumptuosum, maxime intricabile et onerosum, ac per consequens maxime carens retribucione laudabili, cum sit deo et nature contrarium.

They pervert the clergy; thence comes want of charity and lack of God's grace, great dissensions and wars; all through their folly.

For they are responsible for the blasphemies concerning the 'patrimony of the Crucified',

Hec est pars mundi potencium ex pietate proditoria cum bonis dei conspirancium contra Cristum: et de numero blasfemiarum que fiunt racione potestatis secularis in clero, difficile est narrare. Ex hinc enim blas-

3. regnum *deest* A. 5. igitur C. 6. expellant B. 9. eciam AC. 10. disciplina ecclesia C; *ib.* ecclesie *pro* in ecclesia B. 13. deo reddent C. 14. segniciem A. 15. conducunt *struck out* B. 16. ceteras AC. 17—19. et — sustentantur *deest* A. 19. suscitantur C. 23. clerus C. 27. verius BC. 28. sumtuose AB. 29. seculi *pro* cleri A.

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the secular power of Christ,

the authority to excommunicate, etc.,

the assumed friendship and brotherhood with Christ:

for which they should prove a spiritual affinity with Him,

femant in Cristum, mencientes quod ipse dominatus fuit civiliter, et vixit seculariter. In cuius signum vocant totum questum cleri "patrimonium crucifixi". Secundo F.
blasfemant de papa et aliis prelatis cesareis, mencientes quod iure generacionis Cristi debent summe seculariter 5
dominari. Et tercio blasfemant in vendicando potestatem spiritualem Cristi, mencientes quod habeant potestatem excommunicandi, absolvendi, dispensandi, indulgendi et abscondite transmutandi, ultra hoc quod racione vel scriptura sciunt ostendere, vel Cristo debere competere. 10
Et tandem blasfemant quod sunt fratres et amici Cristi, tanquam iuramento vel pacto cum eo confederati; quod quitquid pretenderint se facere in nomine Cristi, illud faciunt eo ipso. Et hinc volant blasfemie de innumerabilibus milibus annorum, quibus fingitur stulte ipsos 15
a pena et a culpa absolvere. Sed si plus elongantur a Cristi in modo vivendi, servando eius precepta et consilia, quid illis et generacioni Cristi salvande? Sicut enim secundum legem mundanam, requiritur carnalis generacio ad successionem hereditariam, ita secundam 20
legem divinam requiritur ad spiritualem generacionem filiorum dei, successio hereditaria quoad mores Cristi, quem oportet filios suos proxime generare. Et ita cecatur generacio signa querencium, quod plus attendunt ad leges humanas, quibus prelatus mundanus 25
instituitur, quam ad conformitatem operum quibus scola Cristi mandat credere. Signum autem evidens est quod tales prelati sunt anticristi discipuli, si non amant dominum Jesum Cristum sequendo eum in moribus, sed pompant de potestate sua quam deus non revelavit. 30
Cristus enim wult nec se ipsum nec apostolos suos, nisi mediante revelacione, detegere huiusmodi potestatem. Nam, ut *data est* sibi *omnis potestas,* sic debet ad ipsum Matth. XXVIII, 18
referri, et cristiani humile ministerium publicari. Unde sterilitas fructus potestatis huiusmodi signum est quod 35
ypocrite blasfemant de potestate Cristi, quia si adesset operaretur magna, tam in prelatis quam in populo; cum

1. mecientes A. 3. petrocinium A. 4. mencietes A. 6. vendendo A. 11. tamen *omnes MSS; ib.* fres A. 12. tantum *pro* tamquam *omnes MSS.* 14. hic B; huic A. 18. sicud AC. 19. humanam C; *ib.* carnlis A. 36. ꝗpe A.

5. Christ being of royal blood. 32. Allusion to Christ's words: *Beatus es, Simon Bar-jona; quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed* Pater meus qui in coelis est.

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potestas apostolorum moderate contenta fructifere pullulavit. Potestas ergo de qua se pompant non excedit
40a potestatem luciferi, qui non in tanta yppocrisi et | illusione pape *similitudinem altissimo* simulavit. Pauci enim
5 steterunt in hac evidenciori similitudine diaboli; nec fumus sue blasfeme superbie in opinione tam peccancium quam seductorum tam diutine ascendebat.

while their power more nearly resembles that of Lucifer.

Item, Cristus precepit apostolis suis doctrina multiplici nec diligere mundum nec mundialia; sed yppocrite, fin-
10 gentes se esse Cristi vicarios, hec diligunt excessive. Ergo, cum sit tantum contra doctrinam et mandata Cristi, sequitur quod sunt discipuli anticristi. Sunt yppocrite multipliciter mendaces, simulantes falsitatem contrariam veritati. Et assumptum argumenti patet Joh. 15. *Quia*
15 *vero de mundo non estis, sed ego elegi vos de mundo, propterea odit vos mundus. Mementote sermonis mei, quem ego dixi vobis: Non est servus maior domino suo.* Et eadem sentencia exprimitur Joh. 2, Joh. 18 et Thi. 6. Et iterum Luc. 14 sic concludit: *Sic omnis ex vobis, qui non*
20 *renuncciaverit omnibus que possidet, non potest esse meus discipulus;* ubi non dubium quin loquitur de renunciacione civili; primo, quia debuerunt renuncciare in seculo omnibus terrenis secundum preponderantem affeccionem. Ille ergo qui elegit iustos cognatos de mundo, intendebat
25 quod plus renuncciarent seculo quam homines temporales. Similiter, ut Augustinus notat, apostoli et vicarii Cristi debent singulariter comittere bellum adversus *regem super omnes filios superbie;* qui, cum sit princeps mundi, habet 20 milia bellancium contra Cristum; hoc est,
30 universitatem temporalium ex prevaricancia duplicancium contra denarium mandatorum. Quis ergo singulariter sic agonisans contra diabolum indisponeret se inviscatus in rethi diaboli? Quin pocius, sedens in fide filii, computat omnes sumptus, orando, contemplando et exhor-
35 tando? Illi enim sumptus sunt necessarii ad expugnandum diabolum. Etsi Cristi vicarius non comisceat se cum mundo, tamen tota cogitacio, tota intencio, et tota

Joan. XV, 19

Luc. XIV, 33

G. 20

Job XLI, 25

Christ's precepts are formal; absolute unworldliness and renunciation of earthly possessions *for all*; much more for his Apostles;

it is impossible otherwise to conquer the king of pride:

1, 2 pululavit C. 2. igitur C; *ib.* sepe C. 5. fietn'nt AC. 7. ostendebant C. 11. igitur C. 12. sunt enim B. 14. veritatem A.
18. 1 Thym. B. 20. que pof. n. p ee m. A. 21. quod A; *deest* B
24. igitur C; *ib.* in A. 25. renuncciaret C. 29. millia C. 31. igitur C.
32. sic agonisando BC; *ib.* se *deest* A. 33, 34. computat suptus C.
36, 37. comisceat se mudo C. 37. se *in marg.* A.

4. "Similis ero Altissimo."

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Even if we strain every nerve, the victory is hard to win.

affeccio hominis distracta a mundo vix sufficit complere istam victoriam. Ideo signantissime concludit Cristus singulariter de suis discipulis: *Sic omnis ex vobis qui non renuncciat omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus.* Et patet quam multi episcopi mendaciter simulant se esse Cristi discipulos, qui nec sunt sacerdotes nec clerici, sed ex simulata iniquitate duplici capitalia membra patris mendacii.

Christ's deeds are no less formal; and deeds are of more weight than words. He had not *where to lay His head.*

3° confirmatur ista sentencia ex multiplici facto Cristi. Opus enim tam veracis hominis est optimus interpres sensus sermonis sui. Ex hoc enim narrat Lucas, Act. primo, quod iste magister optimus, factum preponderans, *cepit facere et docere.* Sic enim reprobat phariseos Mat. 23, ex duplicitate verborum; *dicunt,* inquit, *et non faciunt.* Absit autem talis duplicitas in Cristo; ymo ex fide capimus quod Cristus exemplando exposuit ad quem sensum voluit discipulos suos mundum relinquere, et illum sensum sermonis sui exponere. Ideo, cum Cristus fuit summe pauper expropriatarius, ipso dicente, Mat. 8., quod non habet tantum proprietatis de mundo, ut habeat domicillium vel locum proprium *in quo caput suum reclinet.* Ad istum ergo sensum mandavit Cristus suis presbiteris mundum relinquere: quod servatum est quousque glosator diabolus comovit scribas suos scripturam subvertere.

Act. I, 1

Matth. XXIII, 3

Matth. VIII, 20

Reason and faith agree in this: riches are good only in so far as they help heavenward, which superfluity cannot do; food and raiment should be enough for us.

Et concordat cum hoc lex nature, naturalis racio et fides ecclesie. Constat quidem quod talis status pauperitatis est similior statui innocencie et statui glorie, sicut est similior statui quem Cristus et sui apostoli observarunt. Et ita patet ex fide quod affluencia temporalium non expedit viatori, nisi de quanto promovet ad beatitudinem aquirendam. Sed planum est ex eadem fide quod non promovet, sed tardat, omne quod habet ultra vite necessaria, et secundum modum quo recognoscat hec secundum istam racionem dari a deo: ergo, cum hoc fieret innitendo divine providencie in talibus, querendo *primum regnum dei et iusticiam eius,* ut Cristus docuit, videtur quod ille modus habendi temporalia sit magis consonus hic in via. Et super hac lege videtur fundari regula apostoli 1. thi. 6. quam papa et omnes episcopi debent specialiter observare, *habentes*

H.

Matth. VI, 33

1 Tim. VI, 8

4. possi- A; *ib.* esse meus A. 14. 21 B. 16. expo^nit A. 36. dicionem *pro* divine B; *ib.* prudencie AB.

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alimenta et quibus tegamur hiis contenti simus. "Alimenta" dicit generaliter cibum et potum cum medicinis in quantum ad medelam anime promovent; et secundum modum magis aptum ad hoc, qui indubie est modus, quem Cristus constituit et servavit. Et confirmari potest ex lege veteri. Nam Jerem. 35. patet quomodo deus comendat rechabitas, quia ad preceptum Jonadab filii recab noluerunt vinum bibere, nec edificiis vel agriculture intendere. Cum ergo Cristus, deus et homo, precepit suis tam multipliciter verbo et exemplo, ut in nichil *negociis secularibus implicentur*, videtur prelatos nostros ex recabitarum opere iudicandos. Nam secundum apostolum 1ª cor. ultimo: *Si quis non amaverit dominum Jesum Cristum, anathema sit.* Et secundum evangelium Cristi Joh. 14. *Si quis diligit Cristum | sermonem suum servabit.* Ex quibus videtur colligi quod tales prelati sunt excommunicati atque heretici; et per consequens pro nullis graciis vel ministeriis spiritualibus consulendi. Et ista videtur sentencia apostoli 2ª Thess. 3°. *Si quis,* inquit, *non obedierit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate et non comisceamini cum illo, ut confundatur;* quia, ut docet apostolus ad thyt. 3°, *Hereticum hominem debet fidelis post correpcionem duplicem evitare;* et multo magis non debet fidelis dare illis taliter suas elemosinas contra Cristum.

Jer. XXXV, 6—19 — 2 Tim. II, 4 — 1 Cor. XVI, 22 — 40ᵇ Joan. XIV, 23 — 2 Thes. III, 14 — Tit. III, 10

Luxurious prelates will be judged by the Rechabites, and anathematized as heretics for not loving Christ, as they do not keep His commandments.

Et si obicitur de silvestro et aliis, non dubium quin in hoc peccant graviter, et potest esse quod fructuose postmodum sunt contriti; sicud creditur quod longe aliter ipsi quam prelati moderni occuparunt elemosinas eis datas; cece enim in ecclesia deteriorando procedunt. I. Ex ista itaque venenosa radice credit fidelis totum dominium seculare cristianismi infectum; quia tam dominium quod clerus occupat, quam dominium eciam principum seculi. Dominium autem quod clerus occupat est spolia contra voluntatem dei plus quam tyrrannice occupata; quia blasfeme contra mandatum Cristi ad magnam per-

Sylvester, in spite of his motives, sinned in accepting an endowment so pernicious that it has infected all Christendom, and heavenly signs portend calamities.

2. cum *deest* A. 7. recabite *in marg.* A; recabitas C. 9. igitur C. 10. in *deest omnes MSS.* 26. quin *deest* B. 28. sunt *deest* C. 29. occupaverunt C. 30. Ecce C. 31. Et *pro* ex A; *ib.* 1ª itq3 ē A. 33. q̃ = quam *pro* quod C; *ib.* eciam *deest* C. 35. occupate A; occupare C. 36. blastemum A; blasphema BC.

26. See *De Apostasia* (cap. I, p. 14, l. 18).

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tubacionem sue ecclesie. In cuius signum, propter strictitudinem anguli semidiametrorum in terra concurrencium fiunt angustie, dissensiones et bella, et specialiter de vocato patrimonio crucifixi et in secta cristiana: quod indicat, cum caput nostrum Cristus non potest deficere, quod vocata membra discordant a capite, a quo reciperent celestes influencias per observanciam mandatorum.

Suppose Christ were, unknown, to blame the prelates now and condemn the traffic in Church dignities, he would be burnt as a heretic or despised as a madman: for they persecute His members in like manner for so doing.

In tantum, quod si Cristus prelatus incognitus visiteret peregrine prelatos istius ecclesie presencia corporali, instaretque inportune contra vocatos eius vicarios, sicut olim institit contra minorem avariciam sacerdotum, est evidens quod excomunicarent eum in curia romana et nisi veritatem revocare voluerit, condempnarent eum ad ignem tamquam hereticum et blasfemam. Sic enim persecuntur eius membra, qui remisse nimis et vecorditer dicunt modicam scintillam conversacionis Cristi et obligacionem, prelatorum precipue, ad sequendum ipsum in moribus: ut, si tamquam rex substerneret mercandia ecclesie sicut olim, et preciperet servis suis per totum imperium quod non debent presbytero Cristi possessionem, nec permittant eum quitquam occupare ultra formam quam Cristus instituit eis, quam maniacus reputaretur rex et quam excommunicatum decretum edicere! quia dampnabiliter causatur quod mundus aliter exigit hodie in prelatis, cum oportet eos seculariter vivere, eo quod aliter in despectum et disparenciam potestatis presbyteri periret dignitas prelatorum. Ista autem interpellacio blasfema preponit mundum domino; quia quod mundus requirit preponderat, cum, dimissis Cristi consiliis, querit fictam apparenciam quoad mundum. Talem autem maioritatem sophisticam non quesierunt apostoli, quando Petrus latuit in domo coriarii et Paulus arti scenofactorie

The Apostles Peter and Paul gave other examples; Judas had the care of the money, and the deacons, trusted in like manner, were below the Apostles.

2. angeli *omnes MSS.; ib.* semidyametrum C. 6. accipite A. 9. p̄latos ip ift19 A; prelatos *deest* C. 10. q3 = quia A; = q9 quod C; *ib.* inportue A; imptune C. 12. et *deest omnes MSS.* 14. cum B. 15. et nimis C. 17. eum; *in marg.* ipsum A. 19. ecclesie *deest* C. 20. debet *omnes MSS.* 22. mai'ac9 A. 28. blasfemo B. 29. fiff9 A. 32. cai'ary A; *ib.* scenofco^e A; scenevect^e B.

2. Being unable to find any sense in the reading *angeli,* I have supposed that the passage has something to do with astrological predictions, rife in those days. Perhaps two untoward planets were nearly in conjunction at that time and their radii, drawn from the central point *earth* made a very acute angle (cf. Sermones II, 126).

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intendebat; ymmo, quando Paulus ordinavit episcopos intendere domui sue, ipso omnino egente, non scivit quod per temporalium copiam debet dignitas presbyteri mensurari. Recoluit enim quod Judas portavit loculos, et quod diaconi, ex hoc inferiores apostolis, bona pau-
K. perum dispensarunt. Sed oportet quod tunc quassaretur contencio inter discipulos Jesu, *quis eorum videretur*
Luc. XXII, 24 *esse maior;* et, contempta apparencia mundani honoris, intendunt regule Cristi lu. 22, quod humilis ex maiori caritate ministrancior, licet non videtur seculo (de qua latencia gauderet), sed est de facto apud deum maior eo.

Christ's rule is that the humblest shall be the highest.

Fomitem autem huius maioritatis mundane ministravit Constantinus romane ecclesie. In cuius penam creditur imperium enervatum. Nam vix invenis principem vel hereditatem terrenam quin sit isto toxico maculata. Nam, vel in occupacionem anticristi laceratur dominium, vel secularis omittit causam Cristi corrigere vel expresse consentit mammone anticristi. Ideo non mirum, si sic venenatum rethe temporalis dominii illaqueat multos inviscatos diaboli. Oportet ergo conformiter brachium seculare concurrere, et fomitem venenose divisionis in ecclesia romana extingwere. Nec oportet timere periculum, habito oculo simplici et manu prudenti, quia pro reparacione status cleri quem Cristus instituit laboratur. Et ex fide capimus quod non peccatur sed promeretur, in quantum ex parte Cristi intencione simplici laboratur. Sicut ergo Cristus laboravit ad destruendum peccata sacerdotum, phariseorum, et scribarum, eorum fastu et questu inficiente ecclesiam, instituendo sacerdotes condicionis opposite: sic debet princeps fidelis, dei vicarius, sacerdotes suos plus evagantes extra normam Cristi corripere, et specialiter elemosinas suas subtrahere. Aliter enim cum bonis Cristi fovet proditorie partem contra ipsum. Et cum istud peccatum tantum publicatur ex parte utriusque brachii, manifestum est quod
41ª durante hac heresi non permanebit | ecclesia inturbata, sed necesse est bella, lites et prodiciones undique seminari.

Constantine's endowment has weakened both the Church and the Empire;

it therefore becomes a duty of the secular prince, God's vicegerent, to undo the mischief, follow Christ's example, and refuse temporal aid to priests who are in error.

2. ipo oio aio A. 3. per *deest* B. 6. dispensarent C. 10. mistior AC; *ib.* quo *pro* qua A. 11. gaudetur B; *ib.* eo maior C. 12. ffoite3 A. 13. 9ftati9 A. 14. ipiu = impium A; *ib.* oneratum A. 15. ista toxica AB. 18. mamoe A. 19. venatu A; *ib.* relaqueat BC. 20. iiustos A; inviscatos A; in visco C; *ib.* concorditer B. 27. igitur C. 33. fovent C. 37. bella et lites C.

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And first of all, the root of blasphemy must be put down; the money which the clergy has would be most useful to strengthen the secular arm; for the king is to the kingdom like the heart to the body, and death ensues if his power is too much weakened.

Et cum oportet a causa morbi incipere, manifestum est quod oportet primo humiliari caput huius blasfemie; ebulliente enim fonte huius scaturiginis venenose, necesse est partem diaboli multum prevalere. Si enim totum dominium in manu cleri prudenter dispersum fuerit in manu brachii secularis, optatum foret medium ad pacificandum et instruendum rem publicam secundum religionem apostolicam pauperum clericorum. Unde ymaginatur quidam quod rex, cui primo et ultimo inest vita politica, sit quasi cor in medio corporis, vallatus possenssionibus regni sui; et deficiente seculari dominio partibus regni per innaturalem eius accumulacionem clero, necesse est ut, corde appropinquante morti politice, inordinate spoliet partes sibi subiectas, et discrasia suboriatur in toto corpore policie. Talis enim est ordo in humano corpore prope mortem cordis, quod primo et ultimo vivit, trahentem cum impetu substanciam parcium exteriorum.

2. *after* quod: durante hac heresi quod C. 3. ebuliente C. 4. mm A; nimium B. 12. regis BC; *ib.* p ī nalem A. 16. Christi *pro* est B; *ib.* corde B; cordis *deest* C.

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CAPITULUM QUINTUM.

A. Secunda coniugacio membrorum filie sanguisuge sunt cardinales apostate. In illis enim, ut cardine, vertuntur valve duplicitatis late vie que ducit ad baratrum. Unde illis iuxta nomen et syllabas quatuor *car-di-na-lis* descri-
Matth. XII, 30 bunt quidam quod cardinalis est CARior DIaboli NAtus, LIcium Seminator. Cum enim secundum fidem, *qui non est cum Cristo contra Cristum est;* illi autem *non congregant cum Cristo* secundum legem suam membra ecclesie secundum racionem comunem universalis Cristi dominii, sed *dispergunt*, dum querunt fastum et questum proprium; et quantum in eis est solvunt, multiplicando capita, unitatem: quod si habent preeminenciam in hac blasfema apostasia, manifestum est quod sunt tales. Nomen enim impositum preter exemplum scripture non habet tantam vim numinis ut excludat cathenas diaboli et imprimat veritatem domini eo ipso. Tales igitur, sicut servando legem Cristi magis proficiunt, sic apostatando magis officiunt. Unde quidam, notando 10 literas: *cardinalis,* dicit quod universitas malicie in nomine illorum includitur: ac si diceretur *Cardinalis*, quasi Custos Apostotarum Regni Diaboli, Iuvans Nequissimum Ad Legem Iudicis Sopiendam.

The college of Apostate Cardinals is the hinge *(cardo)* of the door of the broad way; the syllables and letters of the very word can be made to affirm their wickedness; justly, if they harm the Church.

Sed quomodocunque fuerit de istis verbis extraordinariis, in maiori parte veris, certum videtur quod officium illud cum nomine fuit culpabiliter et sine auctoritatis evidencia introductum. Nam institucio cuiuscunque romani pontificis in summum ducem et proximum Cristi vicarium fuit stulta: ergo quodcunque accessorium,

The Cardinalate was wrongly instituted; because, Papal pretensions being wrong, whatever favours them must be wrong too.

1. 5 *red ink* C. 5. silabas *omnes MSS.* 6, 7. ē car'or dia' natq litiū sei'ator. A. 7. suscitator B. 8. contra ipsum est BC. 11. disperdunt BC. 13. habet A. 18, 19. apostādo A; apostofādo C. 19. 10 *deest* C. 24. extra *deest* C. 26. istud C.

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ad roborandum vel consulendum istam stulticiam. Assumptum patet, eo quod non subest potestati terrene pontificem talem statuere. Ideo foret nimis magna blasfemia, hoc temptare. Et iterum, foret ewangelica sapiencia omnes sacerdotes esse socios regulatos inmediate per unum abbatem dominum nostrum Jesum Cristum. Sic enim fuit tempore apostolorum, quando crevit ecclesia; et sentencia ista consonat cum scriptura. Item, non licet vel angelo de celo onerare ecclesiam vel introducere novos ritus inedificabiles vel infundabiles in scriptura. Sed ritus cardinalatus est nimis per se inedificativus ecclesie et infundabilis in scriptura: ergo, non licet ista statuere. Maiorem suppono ex fide, cum aliter liceret sponsam Cristi (et sic Cristum) dampnificare. Et istam perfidiam destruit apostolus ad Gall. 1°. Minor autem argumenti patet ex hoc quod ante hoc nomen vel ritum introductum plus profecit ecclesie; et cardinales, deposito nomine et onere ecclesie, et ablatis fastu et questu, plus undiquaque proficerent. Notet, inquam, cardinalis, in quo secundum legem Cristi prodest ecclesie, in quo non efficacius proficeret dimisso lucro, nomine et honore. Nec dubium quin in isto excessu apostotat, quia contra regulam quam Cristus instituit ad edificacionem ecclesie retrocedit. Et patet, cum potestatem istam supra Cristum vendicat, quod blasfemat.

As it would be certainly better for the Church and the cardinals if they laid aside their dignities, which have no Scripture warrant, these are unjustifiable.

Gal. I.

B.

A line must be drawn somewhere in the number of Church dignities; and there can be none but the line drawn by Christ, who ordained none but priests and deacons.

Item, terminus potencie et officii ministri ecclesie, ne evagetur in devium, est signandus: sed nullus, si non ille, quem Cristus instituit. Cum enim Cristus sit omnipotens, omnisciens ac summe benevolus, patet quod racio necessitat eum incorrigibiliter ordinare, et specialiter cum in primitiva ecclesia foret messis plurior et laboricium copiosius, ordinaret deus plurem maneriem ministrorum. Tunc autem non ordinavit nisi diacones et presbyteros. Idem autem sunt presbyteri et sacerdotes sive episcopi,

2. patet *deest* B; patet ex eo C; *ib.* potẽti° A. 3. nimina *pro* nimis magna B. 5. esse sacros regulatos C; *ib.* unicum C. 12. igitur C. 13. supposicionem A; *ib.* licet C. 16. patet *deest* A. 18. cum *pro* et BC. 20. quod *pro* in quo *omnes MSS.* 22. apostot̃ A. 27. demum A. 29. et *pro* ac C; *ib.* beniolo AC. 30. eum *deest* B; *ib.* incorr^tur B. 31. in *deest* B. 31. laboritinum B. 32. plem A. 33. enim B. 34. sunt *deest* BC.

33. *Ordinavit.* Wyclif seems to argue as though the Cardinalate were a special form of Holy Orders; no doubt on account of their power of electing the Pope. 34. Jeron. Ad Evangelum, *ubi supra.*

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ut docet Jeron. in epist. 18 ad Evandrum, ex textu apostoli. Ideo dicit archidiaconus cum aliis concorditer, quod in tempore apostolorum non fuerunt nisi duo ordines cleri, scilicet diaconus et sacerdos.

5 Et quod illud foret melius patet nedum auctoritate, racione et practica, sed levi et utili experiencia. Nam certum est quod totum genus humanum est tantum finite honorificencie mundialis, cuius magna parte attributa clero in cardinalibus, necesse est totum mun-
10 danum honorem humani generis debitum secularibus
41b indebite dispartiri. | Et idem est iudicium de sumptuosa familia et expensis; cultor itaque vinee domini potest faciliter experiri quomodo ecclesia, quantum ad fastum et questum, foret exonerata, si fuerit isto gradu car-
15 dinalium expurgata. Et istud deducunt quidam ex hoc, quod post dotacionem et promocionem ecclesie, multiplicata sunt (preter legem ewangelii) officia dignitatum in patriarchis et cardinalibus et aliis ministris adiacentibus, ultra hoc quod est fundabile in scriptura alterius
20 testamenti. Et cum non proporcionaliter crescit fructus ministerii, verisimile est quod causa huius multiplicacionis est cupiditas temporalium, et mundani honoris affeccio. Sic enim posset hoc devium, nisi haberet frenum, procedere infinite. Et pensata regula non evacuabitur
25 quin mensura debita per Cristum exceditur: quod foret
C. nimis periculosum in principio religionis Cristi. Fatentur enim se habere in quodam ordine tamquam apostolos in profectu ecclesie: quod est evidencius in causacione defectus ecclesie. Primo enim blasfemant supra apostolos,
30 quod sine ipsorum collegio non stat via rata ecclesie. Et cum manifestum sit quod ipsa deviat, oportet ipsos concedere quod ipsi principaliter causant hoc devium. Cum enim, ut inquiunt, habent a deo comissam curam ecclesie, vel oportet eos in se fingere defectum
35 regiminis, vel in deo. Talis ergo blasfemus est nimis

There being but a limited amount of honour payable in the world, what goes to the cardinals is so much taken from the secular powers, burdening the Church, unscriptural, and resulting from the love of worldly glory.

They consider themselves as similar to the Apostles, and blaspheme; for if the Church is in its present state, they put the fault on God, and are therefore unworthy to rule.

1. eugeum B. 8, 9. magnam partem attributam *omnes MSS.* 11. dispertiri AB. 18. ca̅ī. lib; *(et in marg.)* cardiab; A. 19, 20. in altero testamento BC. 25. excedr' A. 28. caucoe C. 30. sine *in marg. suppl.* C.

2. Guido de Baisio, an Italian theologian, archdeacon of Bologna; born in Reggio; died after 1300. There are no fewer than six persons designated by the title of *Archidiaconus.* See Franklin's *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes latins.*

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indispositus ad regendum ecclesiam, quia indisponit se quoad deum, a quo reciperet omnem veritatem sui regiminis. Ideo implicite, licet mendaciter, dicit quod contra voluntatem Cristi ex se et anticristo regit ecclesiam; aliter enim submitteret se Cristo, servando legem quam Cristus instituit ad hoc opus, et excuciendo superbos ritus et onerosos cum quibus Cristus non coagit. Talis, inquam, est eo superbior quo est ipse ad edificacionem ecclesie inutilior, et in fingendo gradum alciorem quoad deum multiplicacior. Et hec racio, quare apostoli non miscuerunt se cum mundanis honoribus vel mediis ad eosdem.

Their want of submission to Christ's law shows this; the more incapable of doing good, the prouder they are.

Argumenta autem que fiunt ad stabiliendum papatus vel cardinalatus officium non sunt digna memoria. Sed contra ista arguitur per hoc, quod iuxta hanc viam cessaret omnis cleri dotacio, omnis eorum graduacio, et omnis eorum excomunicacio, eo quod Cristus non auctorisavit ista in opere vel sermone. Hic dicitur quod (limitato sensu pertinenti) verum concluditur; debet enim clerus dotari a Cristo virtutibus secundum quas confirmabitur in merito vie, correspondentes ad dotes patrie. Terrenam autem coniugacionem perpetuitatis temporalium non debet clerus Cristi admittere.

It is objected that this would put an end to I. endowments, II. graduations, III. excommunications.

I. True, this doctrine would put an end to Church endowments; but it would enrich the clergy with virtues.

Unde communiter dicitur quod triplex est regnum, scilicet anticristi, principis terreni, et Cristi. Primum est destruendum, 2um consulendum, et 3um adquirendum. Primum autem regnum stat in pseudopapis, pseudocardinalibus, pseudoepiscopis, cum suis abbatibus et prelatis eis subditis. Et sicut Cristus adquirit regnum deo patri, ut dicit apostolus 1a Cor. 15o; sic anticristus est in adquirendo regnum patri suo sathane. Est enim anticristus Cristo contrarius; quia Cristus auffugit regnum terrenum (Joh. 6); Anticristus autem isto studio nititur secundum regulas sathane adquirere sibi ipsum. Cristus precepit suis censum dare cesari, recognoscendo ipsum superiorem et dominum quoad mundum. Anticristus vero non recognoscit superiorem in terris, nec wult, ut Cristus, concedere quod vivit de puris elemosinis secularium; sed subtractis elemosinis spiritualibus, fingit

And we must destroy the reign of Antichrist, consisting of false members of the Church, in order to strengthen Christ's kingdom, which is not of this world, like Antichrist's.

1 Cor. XV, 24

Joan. VI, 15

All in him contrasts with Christ, his pride with Christ's lowliness, his riches with

D.

10. mltiplicr AC. 14. cardinatg A. 15. hanc per hoc A; *ib.* hanc *before* viam *deest* A. 18. h' A. 21. in m'ito AC; *ib.* correspondenter C. 23. gmt' A. 24. Nota *in marg.* A. 25. scilicet *deest* A.

8. episcopis B. 30. 5 AC. 31. adquirendum AC. 32. χ^c A.
7. ut *postea suppl.* C.

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quod de suis elemosinis corporalibus vivit totum brachium seculare. Et sic, ubi in sinceritate et veritate est tota conversacio Cristi, in yppocrisi et mendacio est tota conversacio anticristi. Cristus enim vixit vitam pauperi-
5 mam, non habens temporaliter proprium, ubi caput suum reclinet, ut hic supponitur. Anticristus autem supponit se dominum orbis; et certum est quod in falsitate mendacii, quia si illud ius possidet, constat
Matth. IV, 8, 9 quod titulo sathane (4° Math.) Cristo mendaciter
10 promittentis quod *omnia regna mundi* sibi daret, *si cadens* ipsum *adoraret:* quod facit anticristus totidem vicibus quot legem sathane et comodum temporale veritati Cristi preponderat. Nec dubium quin mendaciter et blasfeme istud regnum occupatur; quia titulo quo
15 ista possessio foret patrocinium crucifixi, qui sic vivens possessionem talem contulit anticristo vicario suo! Est eciam anticristus tamquam filius sathane sibi ipsi contrarius, quia a Cristo non poterit tenere illud dominium, nisi, servando legem suam, foret precipuus sequax vite
20 Cristi. A quo cum olim forefaceret, patet quam iuste perdidit titulum quoad Cristum. Et cum diffitetur se habere illud a principibus seculi pro servicio quod Cristus et seculares domini limitarunt, non superest a quo, nisi a sathana, possideat regnum istud. Et verificata est
25 prophecia apostoli 2ª tessal 2°. *Quod anticristus extollitur*
2 Thess. II, 4 *super omne quod dicitur deus.*

Matth. XII, 25 Sed consolacio est in Cristo dicente, Math. 12. *Omne regnum contra se divisum desolabitur. Si,* inquit, *sathanas sathanam eicit, adversus se divisus est, quomodo ergo*
30 *stabit regnum eius?* Sathan enim qui secundum Ysid. vocatur adversator, potest dici dictus anticristus cum suis membris, qui adversatur deo, homini et sibi ipsi. Et cum terrenum regnum inficitur ista labe, et regna tam spissim insurgunt adversus regna, patet *quomodo*
42ª 35 *sathan sathanam eicit.* Non solum | promotus anticristi, adeptus ecclesiasticam dignitatem, verum eciam diabolus in forma religiosi conquirit sceleratissime sub fuco patrimonii crucifixi. Ideo cum partes huius regni non sibi
G. cohereant, ut prophetizatur dan. 3°. necesse est ut hoc

Christ's poverty, his falsity with Christ's truth.

He is the son of Satan who said the world belonged to him; and as such he reigns under the false pretence of following Christ, which he has long ceased to do.

But his kingdom is coming to an end for it is now divided against itself, Satan being the adversary of God, of men, and of himself; and devils cast out devils.

2. m̄nda^u A. 7. se esse B. 8. quod A. 9. 14 B. 10. promittendi *omnes MSS.* 10, 11. si — adoraret *deest* C. 12. quo A. 16. anticristus *omnes MSS.* 29. sathass fatham A. 33. cum *pro* et cum B. 37, 38. pro^ll A. 39. pba^3 A; pphetat^3 C.

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regnum corruens desoletur. Secundum autem, terrenum regnum, oportet foveri in timore et pietate sub spe tercii regni adquirendi, pro quo rogamus, Mat. 6: *Adveniat regnum tuum.* Matth. VI, 10

II. Not only the Church should be disendowed, but all hierarchical degrees should be done away with, according to our doctrine, leaving only the hidden differences of personal holiness.

Sicut ergo conceditur quod cessaret omnis cristiani cleri dotacio (et ad hoc obnixe ageret quodlibet mundanum imperium, et precipuus clerus Cristi; sed pseudofratres subdole plus retardant); ulterius conceditur quod cessaret omnis graduacio in clero, cum omnis presbyter niteretur, quantum posset, secundum Cristi miliciam regnum anticristi destruere, et, fovendo regnum terrenum, regnum celorum recipere; sed preter, graduacionem in Cristo absconditam, correspondenter ad gradus huius milicie, in fide Cristi expetere. Et per hoc reduceretur clerus Cristi ad quantitatem proporcionalem mundi et morum ecclesie.

III. As for excommunications, they would also cease, for they are the Devil's weapons, and are prefigured by the treason of Judas; his use of armed men, his hypocritical kiss and his pieces of silver; and at the Day of Judgment those who excommunicate will 'go backwards and fall to the ground'.

Et quantum ad tercium, dictum est diffuse de excommunicacione pro temporalibus, quomodo est iniusta. Diabolus enim machinatus est media per que posset sibi regnum conquirere, cum non solum excitat suos milites ad pugnandum corporaliter, sed quia robur efficax eis deficit ad expugnandum Cristi miliciam, quod paliant excommunicacionem horridam in Cristi nomine: ut vel sic cristicole terreantur negare temporalia Cristi membris diaboli. Omnia autem ista sunt figurata in Scarioth, qui *cum accepisset cohortem et ministros* a phariseis osculo proditorio tradidit veritatem, ut dicitur Jo. 18. Sic anticristus cecat armatam miliciam secularem, hinc simulacione sanctitatis cause, hinc ministris executoribus censure terrifice, hinc ficcione sinceri amoris quo fingunt se veritatem diligere, eciam excommunicatum suum quem tam aspere persecuntur. Et evidens est quod simulant inde osculum, quia peccant gravius quoad deum. Et propter collacionem temporalium que Judas expetit erunt cum cremento inestimabilis indulgencie absolute: quod evidenter indicat ipsos non ob amorem dicte persone quam sic excommunicant, sed propter amorem peccunie medicinam terrificam taliter fulminare. Sed in finali iudicio, quando Cristus dicet eis: *Ego sum, abibunt retrorsum et cadent in terram*, quia invincibile iudicium dei et hominis, quod nullus eorum potest Joan. XVIII, 3

1. hoc regnum diaboli B. 5. Sic igitur C. 10. inniteretur B. 17. 2m C. 19. media *deest* C. 26. coortem C. 37. pp ob A. 39. pasci *in marg.* A.

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fugere nec a iudice culpam abscondere, faciet eos in tenebras exteriores corruere.

F. Signa autem preponderancie fastus et questus super honorem dei et salutem ecclesie est modus et frequen-
5 tacio excommunicacionis quam modo fulminant, ultra hoc quod Cristus et sui apostoli exemplarunt. Ipsi enim non tradiderunt quemquam sathane, nec habuerunt potestatem ad hoc, nisi proporcionaliter ut demeruerit aput deum. Numquid credimus lex excommunicacionis
10 (de qua in 7° decretal. de penis, ca° *felicis recordacionis)?* ubi statuitur, quod "si quis cardinalem romane ecclesie hostiliter fuerit persecutus, si percusserit vel ceperit, aut si socius fuerit facientis, sit perpetuo infamis tamquam reus criminis lese maiestatis. Sit diffidatus, sit intestabilis;
15 nec habebit in repetendo vel respondendo in iudicio liberam accionem". Et sic de multis condicionibus infundabilibus, que sunt magis horrende quam pena pro tradicione Cristi psalmo Scarioth prophetata. Ubi certum videtur, cum aput deum non sit personarum accepcio,
20 quod ista lex processit ex affeccione proprietaria iniuriam propriam vindicandi; quod repugnat caritati, cum exemplatur ex commentis diaboli, cui proprium est nulli dimittere sed omnino niti iniuriam propriam vindicare.

The number and frequency of excommunications is a sufficient proof that they do not proceed from a right motive; they should not be disproportioned to the offence, as in a certain Decretal, which it is clear was dictated by a spirit of revenge.

Item, de lege dei oportet quod equalis iniuria equaliter
25 et maior iniuria amplius puniatur. Sed sepe contingit, quod peccatum in alium non cardinalem sit gravius: ergo, iustum foret quod pena inflicta sit gravior, cum cardinalis non in quantum talis sit Cristi domini nec in domino confirmatus, sed de possibili persequens Cristum
30 et membra eius, manifestum est ex lege divini iudicii, quod licet in casu secundum istam penam triplicem et multo acucius persequi cardinalem. Qui igitur statuit penam huiusmodi blasfemie legem statuit contra deum. Item, maior pars istarum penarum sapit blasfemiam,
35 nec subiacet episcopi potestati. Quomodo, queso, habet papa potestatem mandandi omnia bona talium confiscari, nisi fuerit monarcha imperans seculariter toti

Why should an offence be punished more severely, because it was against a Cardinal?

Not necessarily belonging to Christ, not confirmed in grace, and perhaps a persecutor, he may himself merit the severest punishment.

Whence has the Pope power to command such penalties?

5. non *pro* modo A. 6. cx-i-nt (*sic*) A. 8. ad — nisi *deest* C. 10. quo B; *ib.* 6° B; *ib.* a° A. 11. cardinales A. 12. insecutus B.

13. socius *deest* B; *ib.* condicionis AB. 15. rndedo (*sic*) A. 16. ligam *pro* liberam B. 18. primo B. 20. pceff'it A. 22. exemplar excommunicantes A. 23. debet *pro* sed A; d3 (= debet) C. 27. igitur C; *ib.* insita A. 28. Cristus A. 31. licet *deest* A.

10. Sexti Decr. l. V, tit. 9 (de poenis), cap. V.

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Again, disinheritance is unjust. No one should suffer but for his own sins.

mundo? et sic de ruina habitacionis talium et exclusione communicacionis politice cum republica. Quomodo insuper inhabitabitur in herede, cum lex dei Ezech. ponit in libertate arbitrii filiorum vel patrisare vel degenerare et secundum hoc retribucionem recipere? et sic undique de ignorancia condignitatis pene inflicte; sic quod tollerabilius foret cardinalatum non esse quam tam spissim et tam perseveranter sub forma legis perpetue blasfemare.

Ezech. XVIII, 2

Query: Whether all the prelates are heretics? Some heretics are only *so-called*, some are *real*, i. e. such as God knows to be so because they are in mortal sin. Who keeps God's law is a Catholic; who does not is a heretic.

2° principaliter arguitur, quod omnes tales prelati forent heretici et per consequens tam in accionibus suis quam passionibus forent reputandi tamquam | heretici et tractandi: consequens inopinabile. Hic dicitur quod in finali judicio multi cognoscentur heretici qui modo reputantur archicristiani. Ideo distingwitur communiter, pocius pro modo loquendi quam pro veritate rei, quod dupliciter dicitur hereticus: scilicet *vere* et *nuncupative*. *Vere,* quem deus noscit prescitum ab ecclesia propter sua scelera; et solum talis est de facto hereticus. Sed *nuncupative* hereticus est quem iudices vel iniqui reputant hereticum; et hoc est impertinens ad esse hereticum. Cristus enim fuit reputatus summe hereticus, quia blasfemus et propterea occidendus. Unde probabiliter creditur quod nostri prelati, sicut fuit in veteri testamento, dampnant multos tamquam hereticos, et secundum divinum iudicium est e contra. Et sic omnes prelati nostri presciti vel peccantes mortaliter sunt heretici; et sicut est in talibus iudicium erroneum, sic plurimum nocent ecclesie, quicquid fecerint. Iudicium autem infallibile de hereticis atque catholicis est quod omnis qui servaverit legem Cristi est catholicus, et solum talis. Et quicunque dissolverit legem Cristi est hereticus, et solum talis. Et in utroque sunt multi gradus et iudicium ecclesie variatum.

G. 42ᵇ

It is blasphemy to say that the Pope can decide who is a heretic. This is itself a heresy, implying impeccability on the part of the judge.

Sed inter omnes blasfemias istius materie, una de maximis est quod nemo creditur esse hereticus nisi a papa vel iudice sibi subdeputato fuerit iudicatus pro tali; et tunc est hereticus eo ipso. Nam sic iustificaretur iudicium sacerdotum condempnancium Cristum ad mortem, et nostri prelati extollerentur *super omne quod dicitur deus*, cum tantum variando a Cristi vita

3. lex lex dei C; *ib.* Execielis B. 8. et tam perseveranter *deest* A. 13, 14. et — modo *deest* A. 16. pocius *deest* AC. 18. prescitum *deest* AC. 24. lege vel C. 27. peccatores A; p̄ctores C. 32. talis *deest* C. 34. intra *pro* materie A. 36. obiecto *pro* subdeputato B; subtᵒ ſ C.

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forent impeccabiles, quod aures fidelium abhorrerent. Unde quam evidenter creditur quod prelati exhorbitant a Cristi vestigiis, tam evidenter cognoscitur quod sunt heretici; et eo gravius, quo magis et constancius de-
5 clinant. Et in ista sentencia catholica debent omnes cristiani usque ad mortem stare concorditer. Oportet enim credere quod Cristus est caput universalis ecclesie, quem oportet omnem salvandum sequi in conversacione; et eo propius quo in ecclesia superius. Et iuxta hanc
10 fidem oporteret fideles disponere se ad martyrium
H. contra anticristum. Jam enim machinatum est per falsos fratres novum genus martyrii, quod quicunque fuerit impetitus super heretica pravitate debet sibi proponi a prelato vel iudice, et debet ille simpliciter concedere
15 vel negare; quo concesso, debet indilate exponi ad ignem sine responso ulteriori. Unde superadditur quod episcopi ipsi, propter hoc quod tolerant tales hereticos, sunt a suis episcopis deponendi.

Christ alone is Head of the Church, and we should follow Him alone, and suffer martyrdom for this truth.

A new sort of martyrdom; the accused must answer yes or no, and if yes, be at once burnt as a heretic, and his bishop be deposed for tolerating him.

Contra istam blasfemiam invehitur. *Primo:* sepe con-
20 tingit quod tam prelati quam iudices errant in fide, iudicando de valde fideli sentencia quod sit heretica; quo habito, si sic procederetur ad iudicium, iudicaretur temere contra fidem. Ergo iudicaretur taliter; sed consequens est blasfemum. Qui autem tenet quod non
25 contingit prelatos vel iudices errare in isto, blasfeme extollit eos supra Cristum. Nam qui non potest errare invidia vel ignorancia in tali iudicio non potest errare simpliciter.

This is protested against, 1. because th judges are themselves apt to err out of hatred or ignorance.

Item, ista lex foret contra misericordiam, et per con-
30 sequens contra omnipotenciam trinitatis, et per consequens foret plena blasfemia. Nam staret cum assumpto quod quidam foret inpotens ad concedendum vel negandum expresse sibi impositum. Staret eciam quod haberet a deo lumen intelligencie ad convincendum suos iudices
35 super stulto iudicio, sicut Daniel convicerat sacerdotes. Et staret tercio quod contritus de sua pertinacia fructuose doleat de commisso. Quod cum repugnaret divine clemencie ut adeo dampnetur, patet quam blasfemum foret falsum illud pro lege statuere. Nam illud non, sed

Such proceedings, allowing of no explanation, no argument to convince the judges, no room for repentance, are cruel, contrary to Christ's and indeed to all law, unless it be Mahomet's.

1. abhorrent A. 2. quod C. 4. sic *pro* et B. 14. illud B. 16, 17. episcopi *deest* A. 17. quod *postea suppl.* C; *ib.* extulerant B. 18. episcopiis *in marg.* A. 20. errent *omnes MSS.* 22. a iudice A. 23. igitur C. 24. blasfemium A; *ib.* Quod *pro* qui A. 27. vel negligencia sive ignorancia C. 31. plana B. 37. convinceret A; conviscerat B. 36. ut *pro* et B; *ib.* primo *pro* tercio B. 39. scripture sive stature (*sic*) C.

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lex contraria, ordinatur pro hereticis in lege domini. Unde nulla lex mundi, nisi forte fuerit lex machomete, condempnavit convictum, nisi premittat responsum. Nam in finali iudicio prescitus concedet irrevocabiliter crimen suum. 5

As for the deposing of bishops, it is a plot laid by an apostate to get fat bishoprics for himself.

For a Friar who becomes a bishop is an apostate unless as zealous, as poor and as humble as before.

Item, quantum ad illud apostaticum, patet quod non subest racio, nisi forte talis pseudo velit episcopatus pinquiores symoniace spoliare, sicut episcopatum symoniace in curia perquisivit. Symoniace dico; quia non dubium, I. si propter fastum et lucrum statum exproprietarium 10 pauperis fratris deseruit et non propter amorem salutis anime subditorum, tunc est manifestus hereticus. Quod convinci poterit, si diligencius post onus suscepti regiminis curat animas subditorum, et si servaverit paupertatem et penalitatem fratris solitam, cum maiori humilitate et ceteris virtutibus; cum tamen ista sint compossibilia episcopo; et propter perfeccionem dimitti non debeant, sed augeri. 15

A Friar, becoming a rich bishop can hardly fail to apostatize; he keeps the garb but neglects the mortifying practices of his Order.

Hypocrite, wouldst thou depose a brother bishop, when thousands of heretics are in thy own diocese?

Et forte coram deo et humano iudicio pauci vel nulli sunt fratres ad episcopatus pingwes promoti, qui non 20 apostotant, quia in religione domini retrocedunt. Nam perfeccionem ordinis quam oportet se ipsos concedere, pretermittunt, cum tot animas et tam meritorie edificare poterint; sed ex antiqua yppocrisi patris sui servant accidencia sui habitus, ut colorem, quantitatem et figuram 25 extrinsecam, et dimittunt ritus penales absconditos, in quibus sua religio | servaretur; quia cultores et con- 43a
secratores accidencium, tamquam *generacio adultera,* Luc.
signa querunt. Sed, *yppocrita, eice primum trabem de* VI, 42
oculo tuo, et tunc poteris festucam de oculo episcopi 30
confratris tui detrahere. Si enim sub negligencia symoniaca sunt in tua diocesi mille heretici, qua fronte hortaris episcopum sub pena amissionis episcopii, quod in loco exempto condempnet tamquam hereticum in

3. condempnabit C. 7. volet C. 9. in contratta curta *pro* in curia B. 11. fratris *deest* AC. 12. tunc *deest* A. 13. onus *deest* B. 18. augi A. 25. sine habitu A. 27, 28. consectores C. 31. deicere B.

12. Wyclif names nobody; but his contemporaries must have known pretty well whom he was describing: a rich bishop, author of the scheme he attacks, and formerly a Friar. In Ch. XIII, he says *"quidam frater Londoniis . . . asseruit publice hominem sine responso comburendum tanquam hereticum."* Though it is not usual to call a Bishop "friar", this may have been the same person. After *poterit* I should supply *quaerendo.*

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materia quam blaterando nescis concipere? Certum quippe est, secundum legem talionis, quod tu es coronatus hereticus, nisi ostenderis personam quam sic cece accusas esse hereticam. Cece, dico tibi, quia nude ex revelacione mendaciorum quibus mendacia accumulasti. Et ista foret nimis ceca probacio ad convincendum hereticum, potissime quia persona illa accusata de heresi protestatur et erit parata continue revocare, si debeat. Et talis secundum legem Cristi non est hereticus.

He whom thou blindly accusest in a matter thou canst not understand, without proofs, (except lies), protests, and will recant, if need be.

Sed vereor quod iste episcopus nescit corrigere in hac parte. Stat enim difficultas de quidditate sacramenti altaris; persona autem accusata dicit cum scriptura quod est panis secundum naturam et est corpus Cristi per miraculum. Pars autem adversa dicit quod est secundum naturam abieccius quam aliqua substancia, et miraculum non se extendit, ut faciat ipsum esse corpus Cristi; sed ut ipsum, privatum subiecto, sit signum corporis Cristi. In isto autem episcopus nescit hereticare aliquem, nisi forte heresi mendaci ficta maculet prius mundum. Sed *a periculo in falsis fratribus* libera nos domine! Ipsum enim, ut recitat apostolus 2ª Cor. 2, est ultimum; et, ut dicit Augustinus, est maximum. Si enim hereticus nititur subvertere legem Cristi, sine responso comburendo mendaciter accusatum de heresi, quis non timeret tale meridianum demonium? Sed spes est quod corruet cum attemptet sibi impossibile contra Cristum. Quis, rogo, episcopus non deponeretur, si permissio heretici in sua heresi diocesi sit causa sufficiens deponendi? Tunc enim deponendus foret episcopus animarum, Cristus, cum scienter permittit Iudam et istum refugam cum multis similibus. Sicut enim errat in scandalisando fratres de heresi, sic errat a lege Cristi in modo condempnandi hereticos; cum Cristus precipit in suo apostolo hereticum devitare, Thimot. 3º. Timendum est quod *de ore proprio* iudicabitur *servus nequam*, cum

K.

2 Cor. XI, 26

Luc. XIX, 22

This is the point: the accused says that the Sacrament, by nature bread, is Christ's body by a miracle; his opponents give it the most abject nature, and deny that it is more than the sign of Christ's Body. Who is the heretic?

Who but he who would burn the accused without allowing him to answer?

Every bishop would have to be deposed for suffering heretics; Christ Himself suffered Judas and suffers this apostate too.

4. esse *deest* B; *ib.* tibi *deest* C. 5. mendacium *pro* mendaciorum *omnes MSS.* 12. aut acca² accat² A. 17. ut *deest* B. 19. hre *pro* hereticare A. 30. istam B. 31. similibus *deest* C. 33. ymmo *pro* in modo A. 34. tit^m 3 C.

1. As is shown by the sequel, this refers to the Eucharistic controversy. Wyclif has fairly lost patience with his adversary; yet it must be confessed that his own system of philosophy is so subtle, and his view of the Eucharist, connected therewith, so difficult to understand, that 'nescis concipere' is hardly an insult.

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lignorancia crassa et ceca desidia permittat culpabiliter multos hereticos in sua diocesi delitere, sicut faciunt illi qui fovent hereticos propter lucrum.

Heretical prelates ought to be severely punished by the people of Christ. In the Old Law they were put to death; in the New, a miracle or the civil power should alone do that. Christ rebuked His disciples when they wished to bring down fire from heaven. The prelates in our time think otherwise.

Sed 3° arguitur principaliter per hoc quod heretici sunt severius castigandi. Si ergo predicti prelati supponi debent esse heretici, debent a populo castigari. Consequens foret nimis turbativum ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod illud consequens debet concedi et practicari. Pro quo notandum quod in lege veteri heretici debuerunt occidi, ut patet levitici 14. Et hinc sacerdotes et pharisei, imponentes Cristo blasfemiam, dixerunt Joh. 19. *Nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori.* Secundum legem novam non legi hereticum a cristiano iudicialiter occidendum, sed secundum dei miraculum (ut patet de Anania et Zaphira, Act. 5°), et secundum leges civiles. Cristus autem videtur docere luc. 9. quod tale iudicium ewangelicum ad mortem non debuit exerceri; sed, impressa misericordia et memoria finalis iudicii, talia debent servari usque ad finale regis Cristi iudicium, de quo Mat. 25°. Unde luce 9 legitur, quomodo *facies Jesu erat cum discipulis suis versus ierusalem* et samaritani propterea ipsos abiecerant, Jacobus autem et Johannes dixerunt, *Domine, vis, dicamus ut descendat ignis de celo et consumat eos, sicut Elias fecit? Et conversus increpavit eos, dicens: Nescitis, cuius spiritus estis; filius enim hominis non venit animas perdere sed salvare.* Satrape vero non per ignem de celo, sed per ignem scelestum sepe comburunt fideles, quia eis displicent arguendo. Ac si dicerent "oportet nos propter nostrum civile dominium legem Cristi differre et pena alia mixtim civili et mixtim prophetica vindicare; quia, cum sumus dii in terris, iudicamus istum prescitum eternis ignibus comburendum". Et sic anticristus extollitur super Cristum.

Joan. XIX, 7

Matth. XXV, 31–46

Luc. IX, 52–57

How heretics are to be dealt with: Scripture, in four places, says distinctly that they should be avoided.

Si autem queratur qua pena debet puniri hereticus, dicitur quod Cristus Mt. 18. prohibet communicacionem cum illo, quando precipit quod *sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus.* Et idem docet ewangelista, Joh. mandans quod *nec ave ei dixeritis*; quia dicendo ei *ave* communicat operibus eius ex consensu. Et 3° apostolus precipit Thymoteo *hereticum devitare.* Causam autem huius

L.

Matth. XVIII, 17

2 Joan. I, 10

Tit. III, 10

1. permittit AC. 2. licere A; delicere C. 4. dicti BC 8. ꝑctiſai A. 9. quod *deest* C. 15. 5 *deest* B 19. Cristi *deest* B. 24. helias C. 28. cis *deest* B; *ib.* ac^{do} B. 29. diceret A. 30. desuper *pro* differre A, deferre C. 35. 14 A. 38, 39. communicabitur BC.

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2Thess. III, 14 pene convertit generaliter 2 Tess. 3°. *Si quis,* inquit, *non obedit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate, et*
43b *non comisceamini | cum illo, ut confundatur.* Ista autem lex de punicione heretici foret sufficiens, nisi subintro-
5 ductus fuerit legifer anticristus. Et si queritur quis erit iudex exequens istam legem contra hereticos, dicitur quod persona ecclesie secundum quodcumque membrum ad hoc sufficiat. Exemplum autem secundum quod iudicabitur, est scriptura quam omnes fideles debent
10 cognoscere.

Every member of the Church should be judge, and the standard to judge by, Holy Writ.

Sed dubitatur de gradu communicacionis et modo iudicandi hereticum. Videtur autem quod opera declinancia a vita et mandatis Cristi sufficiunt ad illud iudicium. Nam opera plus debent credi quam paliatum
15 eciam pape iudicium, quia illi non debet credi, nisi de quanto fideliter convincitur ex opere et scriptura. Si autem sit sentencia que non scitur notorie ad scripturam consequens vel repugnans iudici, debet de illa silencium tamquam falsa. Illa autem que concernunt mores, ut
20 peccata publica, debent omnimode suspendi. In clerico autem qui debet esse elemosinarius secularis brachii obturari debet per negacionem temporalis suffragii. Cum Joh. ewangelista dicat in eius secunda epistola. *Si quis venit ad vos et doctrinam Cristi non affert, nolite eum*
25 *recipere in domum nec ave ei dixeritis;* ubi patet quod exigitur doctrina veritatis tam vita quam verbo. Et excluditur ab apostatis domicilium et comunicacio verbalis; et multo magis supererrogacio elemosine preter necessarie. Videtur enim quod necessitas vite penalis
M. 30 debet dari in ultima necessitate, quantumcunque inimicis ecclesie, quia Roman. 12 dicitur: *Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum; si sitit, potum da illi.* Quod intelligitur de necessitate ultima, modo dicto; quoad illam partem ecclesie que ad hoc sufficit.

Deeds contrary to the life of Christ and his law, ought to suffice for a sentence; and if any were neither in agreement with nor contrary to that, the faithful should suspend their judgment.

No indulgence is to be shown to public sinners, and the clergy, if heretic, should be denied subsistance beyond the barest needs of penitential life.

35 Sed difficultas perplexa videtur, quomodo laici ministrare debent cardinalibus et aliis clericis notorie degenerantibus a Cristo in decimis et aliis elemosinis in principio limitatis. Et videtur quod contraveniens excommunicatur, incarceratur et diffamatur tamquam
40 hereticus. Et confirmari potest modus agendi, ex hoc quod

A difficulty: whether the faithful may pay tithes, etc. to bad priests and prelates, on account of the consequences of refusal;

9. quem B. 11. de *pro* et B. 18. illo *omnes MSS.; ib.* similitudinem A. 19. hã B. 20. omnino B. 25. dom; dominum A. 29. ncciie (*sic*) C. 29, 30. Videtur — quantumcunque *deest* AB. 31, 32. inimicus tuus *deest* B.

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secular superiors exact their dues, whether their life is good or not. Negatived; by doing so, they would incur excommunication, and the cardinals, &c. have no civil dues to exact.

potentatus seculi exigit a suo subiecto servicium debitum, quantumcunque irregulariter vixerit, cum inferioris non interest de vita superioris discutere. Hic dicitur quod debent stare regule ewangelii in clericis modo dicto. Et quantum ad excommunicacionem debet populus et specialiter superiores constanter resistere, scientes quod propter huiusmodi desidiam incurrerent excommunicacionem a domino; et ista est una de maximis ruinis religionis quam per anticristum diabolus introduxit, ut sepe dictum est in materia de excommunicacione cecante populum. Et quantum ad argumentum factum per locum *a simili*, patet, quod est *simialis* argucia, nisi doceatur quod cardinales et alii clerici super elimosinis secularium et bonis pauperum civiliter dominentur. Aliter enim omnem legem cassaret exaccio. Lex enim iniqua non est lex. Conceditur tamen quod tirranni, exigendo reditus a subditis, peccant mortaliter, sicut faciunt quidquid aliud faciendo. Ideo nimis foret diabolicum quod clerus extorqueret sacrilege spolia a subditis per hunc locum *a simili*. Vulgus enim debet pati iniuriam a seculari potente, et ab ippocrita elemosinas suas subtrahere.

Alms should not become the spoils of the greedy; and if a secular lord permits this, he weakens his own power, for the apostates no longer consider these as alms, but as a right, and set themselves above him; temporalities are called spiritual goods, that he may fear to take them back.

Quod sic talis elemosina pervertitur in rapinam, ve seculari domino qui ex desidia tam permittit invalescere istam rabiem anticristi! Ex hoc enim inperficit suam regaliam sive dominium, cum principalis sua servitus deo sit potenter regere subditos secundum legem Cristi contra refugam. Ipse enim vendicat dominantes, abiecto titulo elemosine, tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus super omnes seculares dominos presidere. Et sic, sicut conquirendo de alio brachio temporalia, baptisat ea spiritualia, ut eorum detencio plus a secularibus timeatur; sic cum eis sophisticat in sacramento eucaristie et qualicunque ministerio sacerdotis.

While abbots are multiplied, Christ our abbot's life is less esteemed;

Causa autem, quare religio ista dissolvitur, quia multiplicatis abbatibus ad vitam et legem ablatis Cristi minus attenditur. Et cum iuxta conclusionem Augustini certissimam (in *de vera religione*, ubi narrat de passionibus quas Cristus exemplo nostri pertulit; notat enim quod

1. ſbeo A; subdito B; sibiecto C. 4. ȣ3 stare rgle A. 5. excommunicacione C. 8. nimis *pro* ruinis C. 12. symealis C. 14. enim secundum omnem C. 23. tm = tantum C. 25. regl'am C. 26. patenter B.

37. Aug. *De vera religione*, c. XVI (Migne, t. XXXIV, p. 135).

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nullum peccatum committi potest, nisi dum appetuntur ea que ipse contempsit, aut fugiuntur ea que ipse sustinuit); ista igitur fides de vita Cristi et eius imitacione in moribus indubie per anticristum est extincta. Cristus enim docuit suos mundum relinquere; et ideo tam vita quam verbo possessionem terrenorum deseruit. Anticristus autem econtra trahit ad infima, cum connectit se cum illis, tam mente quam corpore. Intricat autem se cum laicis, sic quod necessitati sunt per clerum tam exemplo operis quam egencia corporalis sustentacionis, nimis attendere ad terrena. Sic quod, ubi clerus Cristi multipliciter traxit homines ad ascensum, clerus anticristi traxit multiplicius ad descensum.

sin consists in acting against His example, but Antichrist reverses that example in every way.

2. ea *deest* AC. 7, 8. convertit B. 9. ad *pro* per B. 10. carnalis A. 13. ad descensum do pekla *in marg.* C.

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CAPITULUM SEXTUM.

The Bishop's yoke is the third torment of the Church; they have enlarged on the name of the priesthood, but narrowed its spirit. Affection for temporal things augments our esteem for them, and conversely: a wrong appreciation of these is at the root of all impiety.

| Tercius tortor est iugum episcoporum, qui omnes, 44* A.
sive vocentur patriarche, sive metropolitani, sive archi-
episcopi, sive episcopi, querunt sua, et per consequens
temporalia, non eterna. Omnes enim illi, dilatati in nomine, 5
fuerunt per Cristum astricti unitati simplici nomine
sacerdotis, sive presbiteri; sic quod nomen quoad mun-
dum dispergitur, sed affeccio instar inferni coarctatur.
Necesse quidem est ut illud in quo fides et affeccio pro-
prietarii spiritus preponderanter infigitur, in reputacione 10
tanti nominis dilatatur. Ideo necesse est ut fides et affec-
cio curtata et astricta circa temporalia propinqua sensui,
magnificet illa in reputacione et affeccione; quia natu-
raliter virtus agit forcius in obiectum, cui applicatur
distinccius. Quo contra, colligata mente, fide et spe cum 15
celestibus et eternis remotis a sensibus, necesse est ut
vere magnificet et preponderet illa cum suis circum-
stanciis, cum in tali obiecto vero naturaliter delectatur.
Et hoc racio quare Augustinus in *de vera religione*
determinat quod tota irreligiositas viantis infigitur super 20
fantasia falaci et falsa ymaginacione temporalium, celesti-
bus condicionis opposite pretermissis.

The clergy, chiefly the Bishops, their leaders, require to be kept in the right way by the temporal lords resuming their endowments,

Cum autem episcopi debent ducere coream huius
religionis ecclesie, patet quam necessarium est ipsos, con-
temptis temporalibus, celestibus aspirare. Unde domini 25
temporales tenentur errorem suum corrigere in dotando
clerum in temporalibus et prius episcopos. Pro cuius
supposito declarando, supponitur quod clerus ex secu-

1. Capm 6m *in black ink* A; 6 *red ink* C. 2. Tortor tercius *red ink in marg.* C. 5. dilati C. 6. unico A. 8. curtatur A. 11. animi BC. 12. curtatur A. 21. figura *pro* falsa A. 22. condicione A; *ib.* apposite A. 24. necessarii A; est *deest* A. 25. conspirare B. 27. primo BC. 28. suppono C.

19. Aug. *De vera religione*, c. XXI (Migne, t. XXXIV, p. 139).

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ritate affluencie temporalium turgescit superbia, torpescit accidia, et omnino nimis respicit temporalia cupiditate earum percussus, et sic ad spiritualiter lucrifaciendum sibi ac populo exemplando vitam Cristi propterea retardatus.

which burden them in the discharge of their functions.

5 Istud est per se notum fidelibus, licet blasfemi dicant Cristum melius egisse affluendo temporali dominio et preficiendo suos apostolos in gloriosissimo dominio quoad mundum. Sed solum infideles discipuli anticristi solempnisant istam sentenciam.

This evident truth could be disputed only by an infidel.

B. 10 Supposito igitur hoc fundamento fidei, et supposita veritate facti, scilicet quod post Cristi ascensionem clerici ex ceca pietate dominorum secularium sunt dotati; patet 3° quod domini temporales debent errorem istum satisfaciendo corrigere, cum ad delecionem peccati requi-
15 ritur peccatorum satisfaccio. Persone igitur brachii secularis, a qua ablatum est iniuste, civile dominium debet restitui. Licet enim possibile sit omnem hominem meritorie renuncciare civili dominio, tamen iniustum est omnino onerare clerum ipso, cum sit contra mandatum
20 domini. Multa enim possunt licite pretermitti, quibus positis, oportet ipsa personis capacibus limitari; ut non uxorari est licitum, et tamen, supposito matrimonio seculari, illicitum est clericum abuti uxore; et multo magis seculari dominio, licet possessor hoc fatue con-
25 cedat. Titulo tamen temporalis elemosine licet communicare clerico indigenti.

Admitting this, and that the clergy did wrong in accepting temporalities, they must be compelled to restitution.

Nec obest, sed consonat caritatis regulis invite aufferre iniuste possessa a clericis, licet furiose reclamantibus et excommunicantibus; quia talis exheredacio secularium
30 est mala, ut docet Augustinus 179, in fine; et 23 9. 4 ca°. *Nimium.* Ex testimonio Augustini docetur practica. Si, inquam, inimicum suum quisquam periculosis febribus freneticum factum currere videret in preceps, non tunc pocius malum pro malo redderet, si sic eum ire per-
35 mitteret, quam si corrigendum curandumque ligaret? et tamen tunc ei molestissimus et adversissimus videretur, quando ei utilissimus et misericordissimus extitisset;

This is not unjust, being for the good of their souls, as Augustine testifies.

It is charity to restrain an enemy if sick and delirious, in spite of protestations; if he recovers, he will be grateful, and it is a duty in any case.

2. omnes A; omnino et C. 3. ad *deest* A. 4. hac pp° C; *ib.* exemplandum C. 6. melius *deest* C; *ib.* afficiendo B. 11. sancti spiritus *pro* facti scilicet AB. 14. deleccionem A. 15. peccatorem satisfacere AC; *ib.* autem *pro* igitur A. 17. impossibile A. 21. capaci^s A; capitibus B. 30. X^u sic, 9 fi. B; 179 *deest* B; *ib.* 24 B. 31. Nota *in marg.* A; *ib.* Augustini *deest* B. 36. cum *omnes MSS; ib.* molestius B. 37. quando — extitisset *deest* B.

30. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars, Causa XXIII, qu. IV, cap. 37.

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sed plane, salute reparata, tanto uberius ei gracias ageret quam minus ei pepercisse sensisset. Atque quia quibusdam ista non prosunt, numquid ideo negligenda medicina, quia non multorum est sanabilis pestilencia? Ideo, non omnis qui parcit amicus est, nec omnis qui wulnerat inimicus. *Meliora enim sunt wulnera amici, quam oscula inimici.* Melius quidem est cum severitate diligere quam cum lenitate decipere. Utilius enim esurienti panis tollitur, si de cibo securus iusticiam negligat, quam esuriente panis frangitur, ut iniusticie seductus adquiescat. Putas neminem debere cogi ad iusticiam, cum legas patrem familias dixisse servis: *Quoscunque inveneritis cogite intrare?*

Prov. XXVII. 5

Luc. XIV, 23

*The present scandal of endowments is maintained only by fallacies, either assuming that it was the intention of the founders that things should be as they are, or that the fact of the gift disinterests the heirs.

Ex istis cum facto patet quam spissim lex Cristi et sic Cristus spernitur, et Anticristi tradicio exaltatur. Sed psal. 20. scribitur: *Disrumpamus vincula eorum* Ad tantum enim diabolus seduxit Cristi ecclesiam quod fideles timent sibi exequi legem Cristi propter fallacias anticristi: fallacias, dico, quia impossibile est arguere quod clero Cristi dominacio civilis sit debita, quin argumentum deficiat in materia vel in forma; quia nunc falsum assumitur, quod mundi principes ordinarunt clerum Cristi taliter dominari, et nunc ex ordinacione elemosine perpetue informaliter concluditur quod licet clericis secularissime consumere elemosinas eis datas. Primum quidem est falsum, cum mundi principes non ordinarunt, sed perturbarunt; non concesserunt | sed presumpserunt contra legem dei hec fieri; et ex titulo elemosine (quam oportet intelligi) manifeste infertur cum veris, quod seculares domini impedire debent ne discoli suis elemosinis taliter abutantur. Licet autem eis de suis elemosinis iustificandis intromittere, quia aliter non remanerent elemosine. Sed ad elacionem persone, que foret spiritualior et magis extranea, habent interesse, ut patet ex lege papali et facto; ergo multo magis ad faciendum propriam elemosinam conformiter legi dei. Non enim est anticristus cum lege sua excelencior Jesu Cristo, sed cum ipse voluit bona secularium remanere sibi elemosinas in libera potestate eorum, eciam ad subtrahendum, ut innuitur Math. 21, manifestum

C. Ps. II, 3

44b

*Which last is evidently false, since they appoint to benefices: and, if interested on one point, they are so on all.

1. ulterius A. 4. non nullorum AC. 8. nempe *pro* enim C. 12. cogitare B. 16. et proiciamus etc. C. 20. quare C. 21. in *before* forma *deest* BC. 24. informit' C. 30. ve'is A; vis B. 33. eleccionem BC. 34. pape *pro* persone C. 39. libertate A.

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est quod anticristus non tolleret a secularibus illam carnalis elemosine libertatem.

Nec dubium quin sancte mulieres et viri, de quorum elemosinis sustentabatur Jesus Cristus carnaliter, magis exhinc meruerant quam si per impossibile Cristum ac suos apostolos cum eorum seculari dominio occupassent: sic, inquam, dantes clero usum temporalium, deo dante dominium ewangelicum, ac exonerantes eos de imperfeccione terreni dominii secundum legem Cristi, benefaciunt elemosinando clerum de sorte domini. Quod si iniuriantur illis, onerando eos dominio temporalium, subvertendo blasfeme legem dei, non dubium quin, ex iniuria facta deo et toti ecclesie, necesse est ut clerus sic dampnificatus retribuat secularibus sic dampnificantibus malicie recompensam. Invincibilis quidem lex dei exigit quod irracionabiliter offendens in alium virtute divina ex eo dampnificabitur proporcionaliter ut nocuit suo leso. Deus enim est in qualibet creatura, retribuens cuilibet quod est iustum.

The holy women who supplied Christ with alms did better than it they had given Him their property; so do all who act likewise.

But the harm done to the clergy by such endowments is amply punished by the harm done to those who made them, according to God's unchangeable law.

D. Ps. CXIII, 3

Unde hec est racio quare *Jordanis conversus est retrorsum*, cum episcopi, qui solebant chatechisare et benedicere subiectos, iam infideliter subvertuntur ad seculum et voce ac opere maledicunt; qui olim solebant obsecrare iam execrant, et qui olim solebant gignere filios dei per ewangelium iam parturiunt filios diaboli per dogma contrarium. Ideo necesse est anticristum turbare populum. Ista, inquam, infidelitas, licet fides sibi contraria remaneat ceteris incognita, est causa tocius perturbacionis in seculo. Et, quomodocunque tortores isti sophisticent, dampnificatur populus insensibiliter in spiritualibus, et sensibiliter in temporalibus inequaliter distributis. Necesse quidem est ut episcopis occupantibus bona temporalia, que deus dat toti ecclesie in mensura, residuum ecclesie angariaretur penuria. Nec cessabit diabolus ad hoc inconveniens, sed faciet quod tumultuabitur plebs contra nobiles, iuvenes contra senes, et breviter unusquisque contra reliquum, cum duces sint contrarii deo, toti ecclesie ac eciam sibi ipsis. Et sic, nisi deus in brachio seculari adiuverit, sequetur dissipacio populi cristiani, quod demon prin-

This is why we now see bishops giving curses for blessings, and begetting sons of the devil.

This is also the reason of the present troubles.

Worldly possessions are limited; if the clergy have too much, the other classes have too little,

and the devil will therefore cause a general revolt, everybody against everybody; and without God's help, all will be destroyed.

5. meorât = memorant A. 20. Hic nota *red ink in marg.* A; *ib.* quare *deest* A; *ib.* Yordanis C. 21. cathefifare C. 31. in — sensibiliter *deest* A. 33. bona *deest* C; *ib.* temporaliter A.

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cipaliter intendit. Ideo claret ex fide quod seculare brachium, cum accusatur a deo in isto crimine, debet sub pena dampnacionis, corrigendo errata, satisfacere.

The objections against this doctrine spring from false piety, wishing to honour religion; but Christ on earth rejected all such honour.

Nec decipiat ceca pietas qua diabolus suggerit quod ista mundana gloria Cristo tribuitur; quia, quando *cum hominibus conversatus est,* talem gloriam in se et suis discipulis non expeciit, sed auffugit. Non enim potuit armoniam proporcionis mundanorum dissolvere, quam trinitas posuit in sua domo quoad distribucionem temporalium remanere; sed ita moderate vixit de elemosinis secularium, quod conversacio sua, lex sua et educacio suorum discipulorum debuit esse cunctis fidelibus, et specialiter clericis, de sorte sua speculum et exemplum. Ideo dico cum apostolo seculari brachio corporis Cristi, illud Eph. 5. *Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis.* Multiplicati sunt autem quidam fratres discipuli anticristi qui palliant sumptuosas basilicas ac alta edificia atque splendencia, tam in fratribus quam monachis; palliant eorum larga et lauta cibaria. Et primum, per locum *a maiori,* cum Salomon construxit templum, ac alia edificia cum suis apparatibus sumptuosis. Ergo, inquiunt, per locum *a maiori* in lege maioris gracie, dum ecclesia est propinquior glorie beatitudinis, maiori gloria debet splendescere. Sed isti *insensati gallathe* volunt monstruose onerare Cristi ecclesiam cum cerimoniis legis antique, dimissis Cristi consiliis; et sic, tamquam alter Sergius, seductor Machometi, volunt eligere carni placencia de lege utraque et displicencia transaltare. Sed infidelis, sic *duplex animo* secundum interiorem hominem cecatus, *inconstans est in omnibus viis suis.* Ignorat enim infidelitate cecatus vim totam arguendi per locum *a maiori;* cum sequitur per locum *a maiori,* ut Cristus docuit, quod dimissa ista solempnitate sensibili, pascente | ad famem sensus extrinseci, intendat fidelis secundum interiorem hominem ornari et pasci virtutibus; cum constat ex fide quod quelibet virtus moralis sit infinitum melior quam omnes divicie vel omnia inanimati corporis ornamenta. Ideo, cum via virtutum sit ad regnum pro-

Baruch. III, 38

Some Friars, disciples of Antichrist, excuse these things; their splendid churches, because Solomon built the Temple, and the new law giving greater grace, its churches should be more splendid;

E. Gal. III, 1

but these foolish Galatians forget that the argument *a maiori* should rather make us follow Christ's example of contempt for external things.

Jac. I, 8

45a

4. suggerit *deest* A. 5. tota ista C. 16. autem *deest* C. 24. insensato C. 31. a maiori per locum A. 34. saniem A; *ib.* extrinsecos *omnes MSS.* 37. in anima A. 38. regimen B.

27. Sergius and Mahomet are often alluded to in Wyclif's writings. See *De Apostasia,* p. 67, l. 23.

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pinquior, ac vita exproprietaria cum exclusione artificiorum sit innocencie statui similior, nec non et Cristus dei virtus sit in vita, verbo et opere huiusmodi sensui inclinacior: abiciamus ritus carnales legis veteris, et induamur virtutes illis operibus solempnibus factas.

So let us lay the old Law aside, as St. Jerome says.

Et ista est responsio Jeronimi, ut patet 12 cf. 2ª cap. *Gloria episcopali*, ad istam arguciam anticristi. Oportet enim iuxta istam stulticiam onerare episcopos nostros cum 66 reginis et 100 concubinis et adolescentularum innumerabili comitiva: et sic blasfeme stultificare sapienciam incarnatam. Teneamus igitur fidem, et non scandalisemus nostros prelatos ex hoc quod non secuntur in isto ritus culpabiles Salomonis.

The argument if urged, would give each bishop a number of wives and concubines.

Quantum ad secundum, patet quod est *excusacio* anticristi *in peccatis;* non enim fit aliquid tam male ab aliquo homine quin cedat ad commodum, quia, ad rom. 8 dicit Cristus in suo apostolo, *Timentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum.* Ideo, si licet monachis habere tam ampla fercula, quia tot bona contingit ex illis fieri, nichil omnino foret illicitum, cum occasione cuiuscunque peccati luciferi eveniunt ecclesie maiora bona quam talis corporalis elemosina, si contingat. Oportet igitur attendere ad modum facti, ad auctorisacionem domini, et ad occasionem mali datam, quod inde evenit; et tunc invenietur quod excessus modi a gula exigitur, auctorisacio facti a spiritu gule conficitur. Et fructus proveniens est pauperum spoliacio, fundatorum quoad elemosinas suas fraudacio, vescencium ingurgitacio et residuum furancium multiformis dissipacio. Et certum est quod talia cum ruptura religionis sunt fructus peccati.

Rom. VIII, 28

Those who excuse the sumptuous fare of the monks because they do good, should remember that this would excuse any excess just as well. Good has accompanied even the sin of Lucifer. All this is mere gluttony.

And it results in spoliation, fraud, greediness, and robbery.

F. Unde tales excusatores excedunt Scarioth in peccato. De ipso enim legitur, Mt. 14. quomodo Scarioth et alii indignabantur Magdalene, frementes in ipsam propter hoc quod effudit super Cristum moriturum in proximo *alabastrum unguenti nardi spicati preciosi; poterat,* inquiunt,

Matth. XXVI, 7

Men who excuse such things are worse than Iscariot, indignant against Magdalen: they do not

1, 2. artificum *omnes MSS.* 5. corporalibus A; *ib.* solemnitatibus B; corporalibus solempnibus C. 9. centum *pro* 66 B; *ib.* concubinarum B; *ib.* et de A. 10. comua = coitiva A. 12. sequr C. 15. ad *pro* aliquid A. 16. homine *deest* C. 18. 9opan² C. 20. accione A. 24. ad *deest* C. 27. est *deest* C. 30. cum *deest* B. 33. magnitudine A.

6. Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars, Cª XII, qu. 2, c. 71. 14. The excuse itself is not given, but it must have been similar to that of a French monk who, rebuked for his high living, answered: *Je soutiens le religieux pour soutenir la religion.*

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even think how many could be fed for the cost of one such feast.

unguentum istud venumdari plus quam trecentis denariis et dari pauperibus. Isti autem non indignabantur pro quanto excessus sui cibarii superfluus posset vendi et dari pauperibus cibus grossior, utilius et levius preparatus. Sed querentes ex cibo superfluo mundanam gloriam post voluptuosam nauseam, non tam expresse paliant pro egenis; utrique tamen in isto conveniunt quod preciosum oleum caritatis, quod prope mortem debet effundi super caput ecclesie (hoc est sacerdotes) subtrahitur, et refrigescente caritate multorum in os et carnes melancolicas commutatur.

They cry out: Heresy! when that poverty, to which they pretend themselves, is pointed out as a duty to the clergy; they say that the same man can be a member of Christ and of the devil; and thus, Christ being his members, Christ is the devil.

Et pseudofratres apostatantes cum Scarioth palliant partem anticristi, precipue ut hic: dicunt heresim fidelibus qui dicunt totum clerum debere vivere exproprietarie sicut Cristus instituit, et ut fratres fingunt quod in hoc clericos possessionatos exsuperant, et tamen ex duplicitate vulpina dicunt quod quicunque predia cleri abstulerit, maledicitur eo facto. Hic autem sic miscent membra Cristi et principis huius mundi, quod dicunt eandem personam simul et semel esse membrum Cristi atque diaboli, ut secundum hanc duplicem sortem posset participare duplici participio horum patrum. Apostolus autem abhorret quod quis fiat *membrum Cristi* et *meretricis*, et multo magis Cristi et diaboli. *Que* rogo *communicacio Cristi ad Belial*, ut participet sic in membris, ut desponsent eandem feminam, et ut Cristus sit ipsemet diabolus? Cristus enim est quodamodo quodlibet membrum suum, et sic de diabolo et membris eius, ut patet de Scarioth: et sic infertur quod Cristus sit ipse diabolus. Sed quid magis abhorreret pietas cristiana?

2 Cor. VI, 15

It is impossible for a 'foreknown' to be a member of Christ, or for an elect not to be so; though the one may be now in a state of grace, and the other in mortal sin.

Et quantum ad argucias quibus cece concluditur ista vesania, patet fidelibus quomodo impossibile est de membro diaboli fieri membrum Cristi, sicut non potest de predestinato prescitus fieri, nec econtra; sed licet predestinatus non potest esse prescitus et econtra, sicut prescitus potest esse in gracia secundum presentem

6. palliant C. 10. multos AC. 19. ho^{di} = huiusmodi A. 21. et C. 21, 22. partipare C. 23. abhorruit B. 25. convencio A. 29. suis C. 31. sed *pro* sicut A. 36. non *deest omnes MSS.* 36, 37. et — esse *deest* A.

28. *Quodlibet membrum suum.* Figuratively, but *really* on account of that very figure, according to Wyclif's doctrine of the reality of Universals.

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iusticiam, et stat predestinatum esse in mortale secundum presentem iusticiam, inpossibile est tamen primum talem esse membrum Cristi, sicut impossibile est secundum talem esse membrum diaboli, quia impossibile est primum talem mereri merito finalis perseverancie; sicut impossibile est secundum talem peccare peccato finalis impenitencie. Tales igitur ignari apostate infrigidant caritatem corporis Cristi secundum propheciam suam Matth. 24: *Refrigescet caritas multorum.* Testatur enim naturalis experiencia, quod positis duobus vasis in aura | gelida, uno pleno aqua frigida et alio pleno aqua quantumcunque calida, illa aqua cicius congelatur. Cuius causa est, quia exalaciones gelide intrant spissim per poros fumositatum evaporancium, et spissim congelant ad intra: quod deest aque que non sic bulitur. Sic mistice prescitus religiosus vane ardet caritate ad tempus in populo, sed cupiditate temporalium gelidorum per yppocrisim facit conceptus et affectus gelidos subintrare in populo: et ita cicius caritas talis populi congelatur, quam amor populi pure gentilis quem deus preservat pure lumine naturali. Et ista videtur sentencia Cristi, Matth. 13. ubi ait: *Cum inmundus spiritus exierit ab homine etc.* Sicud, inquam, sacerdotes, scribe et pharisei erant tempore viacionis Cristi pessimi, sic videtur hodie quod generacio cleri, sparsa terrenis affectibus, expirata puritate religionis Cristi, sit pessima simpliciter; quia septem apostaticis simulacionibus dant introitum anticristo, qui sic congelat et inmobilitat multum populum; quod in eis gravatur affectus ut non currat sermo dei in eis et distillent opera caritatis.

G. Matth. XXIV, 12 45b Matth. XII, 43

These apostates resemble water that having been hot, freezes more quickly than cold water, the cold entering through its dilated pores; so they, having been fervent for a time, make the charity of the people to freeze.

They are like him into whom seven devils entered for one cast out; or like the priests in the time of Christ.

Concedat igitur deus, quod totus populus sit unius religionis, exclusis istis exalacionibus gelidis, ut vir unus; sic quod de illis verificetur istud psalmo 132. *Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum. Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron.* Aaron, inquam, figurat summum episcopum, qui supra mensuram habet unguentum gracie

Ps. CXXXII, 1

God grant that the whole people, saved from these bad influences, be united in charity, which like the ointment on Aaron's head, descends from Christ to the

3. ecclesie Cristi C. 5. est *deest* A. 7. ignari *deest* A. 8. per *pro* secundum B. 12. quatul3 C. 15. bullitur *(sic)* C. 16. arderet C. 22. parabat A; perambulabat *struck out* B; parabolat *pro* ait C. 27. septempliciter apostatis dant simulacionibus B; septem apostasiis dant simulatoribus C. 29. in *deest* A; *ib.* affeccio BC. 30. c²r at (= currat) A; curat A; *ib.* et distillent in eis B. 31. populus *deest* AC. 32. elacionibus B. 33. illud C. 34. etc. *pro* et — unum A. 35. Nota *in marg.* A; *ib.* barba B; beati *pro* barbam A.

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clergy, thence to the nobility, and thence to the common people.

et caritatis; *De cuius plenitudine nos omnes accepimus*, ut dicitur Joh. 1°. Ab isto, inquam, capite huius abbatis descendit gracia in clerum Cristi, ut apostolos et eorum discipulos, cum sit barba Aaron superior. Et iterum descendit hoc oleum ad barbam inferiorem, quia ad dominos seculares. Sed 3° descendit ad 3am partem ecclesie, scilicet populares, eciam ad abiectissimum genus wulgarium, cum subditur, quod *descendit in oram vestimenti eius*. Isti autem qui debent esse de barba superiori, impediunt predictum oleum distillare, dum propter longitudinem pilorum, inpedientes cibacionem ecclesie, depauperando calorem interioris hominis, non sufficiunt dissolvere oleum congelatum. Ideo non restat nisi educere blasfemum extra castra et omnino facere ut ippocrita lapidetur a toto populo; non materiali lapide, sed sentencia verbi dei et subtraccione bonorum fortune, in quibus tantum blasfemiat; quia, iuxta Cristi testimonium Mt. 5. *Si sal evanuerit, ad nichilum valet ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus.* Sal indubie debent esse apostoli et cuncti presbiteri, quia calorem caritatis conceptum pro tempore sue spiritualis generacionis debent constanter in forma primeva servare, ut lapides virtutem; eciam cibos anime condiendi superflua ac putrida prescindendi, et per consequens vermes et impressiones extraneas excludendi. Quod si dissoluti fuerint a forma lapidis et virtute sic condiendi et aruerint, quid valent nisi ut obiective paciantur tamquam blasfemi, quos populus lapidat extra castra?

Jo. I, 16

And as for those who hinder this union, let them be stoned without the camp, i. e. lose their temporal possessions.

H.

If the spiritual salt lose its taste, form and preserving power, it should be cast out, as the blasphemer of old.

Matth. V, 13

These excuses being worthless, men should not allow a friar to tempt them to give him aid, when the friar is more able to do the like for them.

Et nota quoscunque huius secte; et vel ignorant (cecati a deo eorum) in cuius nomine blasfemant, vel stulte blaterant ad sui dispendium. Si enim excusacio fratrum in casu isto sit invalida, manifeste sequitur quod nulli cristiani debent opitulari fratribus ad construendum talia edificia vel ducendum talem vitam tam difformem a Cristo. Sic quod quilibet temptatus a fratre ad perpetrandum hoc facinus, potest pertinenter dicere temptatori illud Math. 16., ubi scriptum est de Cristo: *vade post me sathana; non sapis ea que dei sunt.* Est enim talis apostata plus Cristo adversarius in vita

Matth. XVI, 23

3—5. gracia — hoc oleum *deest* A. 6. duos C. 8. horam B. 18. nichil C. 22. generacionis spiritualis C. 26. lapides AC. 27. et *struck out* B; *ib.* aruerunt C; *ib.* valet A; *ib.* abiective A. 31. interius *pro* in cuius B. 32. blactrant A; balaterant C. 33. valida A. 35. beneficia B. 40. adversans BC; *ib.* in vita *in marg.* A.

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et legibus, quam tunc ex pietate ceca fuerat Petrus. Sunt eciam, sicut omnes peccatores, contrarii sibi ipsis; quia extorquent ippocrite temporalia a secularibus, de ipsis edoctis quod consonancius foret fratres retribuere
5 eis temporalia, quam e contra. Ipsi enim plus egent in seculo, quam fratres in claustro. Fratres debent amplius habundare caritate; et undequaque est consonancius quod fratres egeant et quod in secularibus quorum officium est circa hec bona fortune in ipsis ex-
10 uberent. Ideo contra caritatem foret perfeccionem fratrum extinguere et se ipsos de sibi debito spoliare.

If they should feign to be in absolute want, their goods should be sold, as they belong to the treasure of the Church; and, the Orders being abolished, they should be made to work.

Si vero ultima necessitas simuletur, erit duplex remedium. Primo, vendendo bona residencia que ad hoc, secundum Ambrosium, ut recitatur 12 q. 2ª caº *Aurum*
15 *habet ecclesia,* remanent in thesauro. Secundum remedium est quod dissolvatur et subtilietur religio exproprietaria; et sic vivant de laboricio, instar apostoli vel aliunde, ut persone ordinis nostri; tunc enim perficerentur, ut
I. patet ex dictis; et forent minus onerosi ecclesie. Unde
20 videntur peccare graviter qui fovent eos in discolia huiusmodi et retardant ab ordine quem Cristus instituit et profectu ecclesie; sic quod inprovida distribucio bonorum fortune ex ceco titulo elemosine facit nimis magnam perturbacionem ecclesie: ut patet tam in
25 possessionatis quam in mendicantibus. Ideo ista materia debet lacius explanari. |

Some, when they have no arguments against a doctrine, proceed to condemn it, like the 7 doctors at Oxford, who have denied that Christ is substantially in the Sacrament, not knowing what the Sacrament is.

46ª Sed inventa est quedam ars nova diaboli quod, displicente tractatu cuiuscunque materie fidei, et deficientibus argumentis, procuretur excommunicacio ferenda
30 in omnes illam materiam pertractantes. Et ut factum sit coloracius, adducuntur 6 vel 7tem veritatis emuli in conclavi, et ipsi hereticant veritatem que eis displicet; et in testimonium sigilla sua aponunt: ut VII doctores dicuntur Oxonie non introisse *pretorium ut*
Jo. XVIII, 28 *non contaminarentur, sed ut* dampnarent corpus Cristi non esse substancialiter in sacramento pascali. Unde certum est quod corpus Cristi accidentaliter est in illo,

6. dicunt A. 8. quam *pro* quod *before* fratres A. 9. tota B; *ib.* in ipsis *deest* A. 9, 10. exhiberent BC. 12. ē *pro* erit C. 13. primum C; *ib.* vedendo A. 15. thauro AC. 20. graviter *deest* AC. 22. pfcm A; profectum B. 34. oxoniis C. 34, 35. non ut non BC. 35. dampnent C.

14. Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars, Cª XII, q. 2, c. 70.

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What it is, is an article of faith about which many heresies abound; *how* it is, is not.

They do not know or they dare not speak of the one; they cry aloud about the other with lies.

But when asked what those appearances are, which are adored, they are mute.

Yet it is clearly stated that the bread is Christ's body, in several of the Gospels and Epistles.

et ipsum non esse substancialiter ibidem, nisi forte, ut quidam doctores locuntur equivocando in adverbio, vocando *substancialiter* "modo substancie". Sed, ut distingwitur contra *accidentaliter,* certum est quod corpus Cristi non est substancialiter in illo, quia non secundum 5 se, ut dicit Jeron. Ideo longe melius esset hiis satrapis adiscere quid est hoc sacramentum, antequam tracterent quomodo corpus Christi est in illo. Circa primum enim pululant hereses; et, secundum, quoad fidem explicatum, est inpertinens fidei cristiane. Unde licet in primo 10 (quod est fidei) pululent tot hereses, tamen dicti satrape in illo mutescant vecorditer, nec iuxtaponunt fidem suam cum fide ipsius contraria; vel ideo indubie quia nesciunt vel non audent. Peripsimata autem fidei exposite non audent arguendo sed excommunicando corro- 15 dere; et tamen, cum tota ista vecordi ignorancia cervicem erigunt cum clamore, cum mendaciis, et aliis diverticulis anticristi, ac si defenderent sanam partem. Sed quando queritur utrum ille panis consecratus sit corpus Cristi necne, cum multi fideles adorant ipsum 20 ut corpus Cristi, et illa fides ex testimonio scripture et exposicione sanctorum dispergitur: ibidem stabat Johanes, et verecunde obmutuit. Augustinus autem super Joh. omel. 26 vere dicit quod illud sacramentum est cibus corporalis, eciam quod Cristus dixit panem 25 esse corpus suum. Nam Joh. 6 dicit ipse qui mentiri K.
non potest: *Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro* Jo.
mundi vita. Panem, inquam, *fregit et dedit discipulis* VI, 52
suis, quem asseruit esse corpus suum, ut patet in ewangelio Math. 26 et Marc. 14, Luce 22 et Paulus 1ª 30 cor. 10. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre istam fidem

2. equivoce B. 7. addiscere C; *ib.* sit C. 8. quidem B. 9. pullulent C; *ib.* explicata B; explicitam C. 13. ipiis C. 14. peripsima B; pipſima a C. 14, 15. exponite A. 16. ignoran C. 18. suam *pro* sanam A. 20. aut ne A. 23. obnituit B; *ib.* Augustinus *in marg.* B. 25. et *pro* eciam C. 26. esse *deest* A. 29. esse *deest* A. 30. Pauli C. 31. Et c A; Et *deest* B; *ib.* cum *pro* tamen A; *ib.* et tamen falsam C; *ib.* falsarii — fidem *deest* B.

3. This is an allusion to St. Thomas, who employs that very expression in his *Summa Theologica.* Other doctors may also have used the same term. 23. The same expression occurs in *De Apostasia,* p. 58, l. 4; also in a Lollard poem, printed in *Monumenta Franciscana, Ed. Brewer,* p. 598. It would even seem to be a quotation from the poem, alluding to the discomfiture of a certain *Johannes Wellis: Wellis replicabat; — Sed postquam Nicol solverat, tunc Johannes stabat.*

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ecclesie parvipendunt. Talibus ergo conventiculis, qui conspirant tam multipliciter contra legem domini non debet quis fuco elemosine aliquid erogare; licet tamen relevare personas egencium in casu quo signa fidelitatis in ipsis appareant; quia, secundum fidem: *Si* eciam *esurierit inimicus tuus*, concurrentibus racionis paribus, *ciba illum*. Scola autem Cristi est consentanea; sed scola sathane est semper contraria sibi ipsi, quia finis prime est unitas et fructus secunde discordia.

As for these schools of conspirators against Christ's law, they should be punished by all alms being cut off.

Rom. XII, 20

Nostra autem religio appetit quoscunque esse de nostro ordine et, exclusa quacunque novitate extranea, tenere libere vitam Cristi. Religiones autem invente sunt sibi ipsis contrarie; et una fovet partem alterius, que est sibi opposita. Ideo oportet quod vir sic *duplex animo* sit *inconstans in omnibus viis suis;* licet enim fratres unius ordinis odiunt fratres et religionem alterius, eciam possessionati detestantur mendicacionem fratrum, et ipsi e contra eorum dotacionem ac diviciarum accumulacionem perpetuam; tamen tangente homine communiter eorum versucias, *facti sunt amici herodes et pilatus*, contra veritatis dominium, eciam contra proprios ordines conspirantes; ut fratres confitentur tacite quod ad continuandum perfeccionem paupertatis Cristi, ad decorem ecclesie sunt ipsi a domino introducti. Et tamen contra tangentes errorem eorum blaterant quod est ad magnam perfeccionem cleri talis dotacio, cum sit tam necessaria sicut fuit potestas faciendi miracula in ecclesia primitiva. Et isti parti consenciunt in facto tam fratres simplices exempti habundantes in proprio, quam integra communitas eorum, que habet inproprie nequius quam una persona simplex; et sunt tacite contradictorii sibi ipsis. Et per consequens *non est conveniens eorum testimonium* adiuvandum sese reciproce, cum sint tantum contrarii sibi ipsis.

Our religion is the imitation of Christ's life: theirs is full of novelties and rivalries; friars hate friars; monks hate mendicants and *vice versa:* yet they all join against us when we wish to bring back the beauty of early Christianity.

Luc. XXIII, 12

But this very union is a fresh contradiction, and thus their testimony is of no value.

Marc. XIV, 59

Et in illo patet prima subversio ecclesie, in quibus prima pateret conversacio: quod videtur figurari per interpretacionem quam attribuit Jeron. phariseis. "Phariseus", inquit, "interpretatur divisus, vel dividens, seu

And in them we may thus see the decay of the Church: *Pharisee* means the *separated, dividing,*

1. igitur C. 9. primi C; *ib.* 2[1] = secundi A. 16. fratres *deest* A; religionem B; et *deest omnes MSS.* 18. eorum *deest* C. 25. blactrant A; blatarant C. 26 clericis A; talis *deest* A. 30. habent B; h3 C. 35. illis A. 36. primo C.

20. Same poem, three verses before: *Hic amici facti sunt Herodes et Pilatus.*

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violent, or *dissipating* ones.

The first monks were *separated* from the people by their holiness.

Afterwards, they *divided* that same people.

The first were *violent* against the flesh, and won Heaven.

violentus aut dissipans". Primo, inquam, fuerunt religiosi nostri pharisei, i. e. divisi a populo secundum excellenciam differencie sanctitatis vite. Sed posterius perverso ordine in declinacione ad seculum facti sunt dividentes populum Cristi ad deum huius seculi; quia Prov. 6 prophetatur de istis apostatis quod *omni tempore iurgia seminant*. Iterum primo violentando corpus suum pena voluntaria, rapuerunt regnum celorum cum baptista, secundum fidem ewangelii Matth. 11. *A tempore Johanis regnum celorum | vim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud.* Modo autem decernendo effigies, nulli pascuntur delicacius; nec gravantur inepcius, ut per alleviacionem corporis sapiant regnum dei; sed perversi ad carnem et seculum dissipant legem Cristi; sic quod de cassacione consumpcionis bonorum pauperum et de spoliacione ipsorum ab eis dicere potest devotus ecclesie illud psal. 118. *Tempus faciendi, domine; dissipaverunt legem tuam.* Ad tantum quidem blasfemarunt in Cristum, quod iam est tempus impediendi eos ulterius insanire. Dicunt enim dicti pharisei quod secuntur Cristum in vita similime: et cum ventris ingluvies, terrena cupiditas, et fastus mundane glorie contradicunt, patet quante in facto scandalisant Cristum humanitus et blasfemant ipsum divinitus. Nec dubium quin oportet eos offendentes in hunc lapidem immobilem precipitanter offendere; et illa contrapaccio est pessima scandalisacio. Ideo dicit Cristus Mat. 11. *Beatus qui non fuerit scandalisatus in me.* Nam omnis nominetenus cristianus qui adversatur vie domini scandalisatur in Cristum; et beatus (sed rarus est ille) qui in isto amodo non blasfemat.

Now they *dissipate* the goods of the poor and cast away Christ's law.

But offending against Christ, they strike the rock upon which they shall be broken.

As for the Bishops, they should be the overseers of the people, keeping them in proper purity, poverty and obedience; and set the example:

i. e. of spiritual chastity through love of Christ above all;

Episcopi autem debent esse superintendentes populo; ut, servata religione cristiana, teneant se in limitibus legis religionis, scilicet castitatis, paupertatis et obediencie, que secundum dicta primo capitulo debent consequi quemlibet cristianum; nec circa aliud debet versari episcopale officium. Sicut igitur *cepit facere et docere,* ita debent episcopi in se servare hec tria precipue et facere ut in subditis observentur. Castitas autem spiritualis est maxime ponderanda, cum contrariatur

Matth. XI, 12 10 46b — Ps. CXVIII, 126 — Matth. XI, 6 — Act. I, 1

6. in omni A. 9. inquam *pro* secundum C. 12. alienacionem B; alleviacoin C. 13. corpus A. 21. silie A. 26. passiva BC. 28. tene9 A; *ib.* cristianus *deest* B. 31. dicunt A. 33. lige AC. 34. per B. 36. Sic *pro* sicut BC; *ib.* ergo B. 38. et *deest* AC. 39. cui C.

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spiritualis fornicacio, que fit quandocunque super amorem Christi inducitur amor temporalium vel hostis 3cis plus amati. Et illam castitatem tenetur omnis catholicus observare. Quantum ad paupertatem, patet eciam quod omnis homo debet esse mendicus dei, petendo panem cottidianum cottidie: et sic debet recogitare se esse servum ballivum, dispensatorem domus dei, et accommodarium eius, eciam imperator et quantumcunque magnus dominus temporalis. Istam autem fidem de paupertate cum suis appendiciis debet M. cristianus tenere et docere, sed presul potissime. Quo ad obedienciam, patet quod omnis cristianus tenetur obedire domino nostro Jesu Cristo, cum sit caput tocius ecclesie. Obediencia vero sibi debita stat in imple- cione illius quod ipse mandat et consulit. Illa autem est summa obediencia, sine qua quecunque humana foret superflua, cum iuxta dicta primo capitulo sit precise de tanto laudabilis de quanto promovet ad obedienciam Jesu nostri. Cum igitur totum episcopale officium stat in observancia et doctrina huius religionis triplicis, nec docetur eficaciter nisi primitus observetur; patet quam necessarium est episcopum disponi ad observanciam huius legis. Ad quod requiritur quod instar Cristi et apostolorum sit quocunque sibi subdito superior. Nam aliter foret ineptus ad docendum suos subditos hanc doctrinam.

of poverty, we all being beggars of daily bread from God, and temporal lords only bailiffs;

and of obedience to Christ, and to others in so far as that is an aid to the former.

To teach them these virtues the Bishop must be better than they.

Unde videtur quod domini seculares sic dotantes suos presbyteros stulte dampnificant se et ipsos. Indisponunt enim ipsos ad observandum istam religionem triplicem et populum efficaciter docendum; et sic dampnificant multipliciter semetipsos. Primo in hoc quod exhereditant se a seculari dominio quod presul suus iniuste occupat. Secundo in hoc quod ex cecitate perturbant rem publicam. Deus enim aptavit medie parti ecclesie certam mensuram et numerum; et eis appropriavit certam mensuram secularis dominii. Ideo, cum disrumpunt hunc ordinem, necesse est quod seculares circumpalpitent, perturbando ecclesiam. Et tercio in hoc potissime, quod tantum blasfeme cecatur populus, quod credit inpugnando ordinacionem divinam

Hence rulers should not endow, for they render priests unable to teach by example.

They unjustly detain what is not theirs.

They trouble the State, usurping the functions of seculars.

And they blind the people, so that, fighting against God, they think to do good.

6. quottidianum omni die C. 8. accomodacionem A. 9. magnus *deest* C. 14. complecione C. 19. obediendum A; *ib.* Cristi *pro* nostri B; *ib.* ihu cristi domini nostri C. 21. ut *pro* nec C. 27. docentes B. 30. edocendum C. 31. Et prius B.

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Yet the steward that resists his lord's will displeases him: and they are no more.

sibi meritorie obedire. Sed ballivus cum bonis domini et contra preceptum suum onerando et ligando, indisponens servum alium ad perficiendum domini officium, per quod reciproce iuvaretur, displicet domino et se ipsum dampnificat ac conservos. Et hec creditur racio quare clerus, sic repugnando secularibus (iusto dei iudicio), ipsos spiritualiter nocendo inpedit et e contra. Et ista est generalis perturbacio in illis que debent esse duo brachia matris ecclesie iuvancia se et matrem; ad tantum enim cecavit diabolus obturacione temporalium anticristi discipulos, quod defendunt blasfeme nec licere seculari brachio errorem suum in isto corrigere, nec dextrum brachium, quamtumcunque infirmum fuerit, adiuvare. Sed tunc indubie utrumque brachium, et per consequens totum corpus illius ecclesie malignancium est irremissibiliter condempnatum.

2. onerans BC. 4. iuvarentur B. 14. brachium *deest* C.

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CAPITULUM SEPTIMUM.

A. Sequitur 4tus tortor, scilicet Archidiaconus, cuius nomen contigit esse patri suo episcopo Scarioth correspondens. Cum ergo ille, ex fide scripture, Joh. 12. sit mere
47a 5 diabolus, | patet quod inter omnes ministros talis episcopi talis eius minister sit archidiabolus. In cuius signum, dimisso ministrandi officio, circa bona minima ipse et episcopus contendunt communiter.

Arch-deacons are arch-devils, their father being bishop Judas, a devil.

Debet enim archidiaconus, instar Stephani, Laurencii,
10 et diaconorum similium, ministrare in missa suo episcopo, predicare in populo legem Cristi, et omnino supplere vicem prelati sui, ut simplex religio cristiana in subditis conservetur. Et idem est iudicium de omnibus subordinatis membris cleri Cristi. Sed in
15 officio dicuntur perversi et consequenter membra hominis peccati; utputa, dimissis istis officiis, contendunt pro mamona ubi debent inserere verbum dei; in comparando sibi ipsis ornamenta secularia, ubi debent solicitari circa cultum religiosum sui episcopi.

The Arch-deacon's duty is to serve his Bishop's Mass, preach, and see to Divine service; but many care only for money and ornaments.

Et multe sunt leges humane racionabiles, licet abro-
20 gentur hodie vel glosentur, que docent quod archidiaconus non debet esse onerosus ecclesie in personis, in pedagiis, nec in equis; ut VIIem equos non debet excedere, nec sine regis licencia subditos spoliare, ut patet 3o decre-
25 talium de censibus cao *Cum apostolus* Et cap.o *Innovamus*. Sed cautela diaboli ex negligencia principum contigit oppositum. Ideo non mirum, si hoc vergit ad dissencionem atque destruccionem regnorum: fidelis enim expectat consumacionem istorum, cum iniurie particulares

There are laws forbidding him to have a numerous retinue, more than seven horses, or to extort money without the king's leave.

But they are obsolete, and the abuses become gradually greater and greater.

1. Cap. etc. *deest.* 2. *Initial S in red ink* A. 5. tl'is *(sic)*.
6. archidiaconus AB. 7. mi̇a A. 17. parando B; operando C.
27. 9t A; contingit BC.

25. The decree *Cum Apostolus* is not to be found. *Innovamus* is in Decr. Grat. 1a Pars, Dist. LX, c. 3.

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guttatim fuerint congregate. Sicud enim aque rivales congregantur in fossa ad tantum quod demum fossa disrumpitur; sic est de particularibus peccatis regnorum ab episcopis incorrectis.

One point is the insufficiency of the fines, as a punishment of sin; the Church grows fat, but the evils are greater.

Peccatum autem non corrigitur, sed gravatur, dum tortor, prelatus aliis, spoliat sceleratissime sibi subiectos et animat eos ex parvipensione minuti amerciamenti ad frequencius deliquendum. Sic enim dicit diabolus in suis proverbiis quod levis spoliacio pingues facit raptores. Dimissa ergo est lex antiqua de suspensione, de deposicione et de temporalium comunicacione cum sacerdote fornicario vel aliter criminoso; et tunc emendabantur crimina sacerdotum et populi. Sed modo, dum per anticristos inducitur quod dei iniuria symoniace et proditorie sit venalis, peccatum non corrigitur, sed late extenditur et gravatur.

When the old severe laws were in force, sins were checked; now that it is allowed to offend God for money, they increase.

All seculars who do not oppose these abuses are responsible for them; and they may be likened to traitors;

Extenditur, inquam, usque ad regem et totum populum, ad minimum ex consensu. Si, inquam, abhominabilis proditor regis terreni contra regaliam regis et eius liberos conspiranciis foveretur et defenderetur in regno, nonne vere diceretur quod fovens atque consenciens sit regis proditor, non solum extra regis proteccionem ponendus, sed trahendus atrociter et finaliter occidendus? Multo magis anticristi, servi diaboli et regis Cristi comixti, gignentes et defendentes Cristi adversarios contra ipsum. Cum enim regalia deo propria sit incorrigibiliter vindicare iniurias, patet quod nitens tollere vel obfuscare istam vindictam procurat pro diabolo proditorie contra Cristum. Seculares itaque, qui tales permittunt vel quomodocunque consenciunt sunt in dampnacione consimili, et causa prodicionis regni; quia necesse est ut regnum, sic comixtim divisum anticristi tyronibus et Cristi discipulis, desoletur. Debent enim prelati in suis visitacionibus prudenter predicare Cristum, non segniter scrutari questum; mederi morbos

B.

for to permit such treason against God is to be a traitor to Him.

Instead of enquiring about profit, and particulars of worldly wealth,

1. congregare A. 2, 3. de fosso disrumpuntur A. 7. amat A; *ib.* inimici AB. 8. d[t] A; docet B. 10. igitur C. 12. notorie criminoso C. 18. regulam C. 19. labores A. 20. nomine A. 23. et in *omnes MSS.* 30. perdicionis B. 31. commixtim C; *ib.* divisim B. 34. fructificari A.

10. Slight fines for offences committed brought, it would seem, more money, on the same principle on which the Penny Post brings an increase of revenue in the present day. 12. It is well to notice here that Wyclif was, according to Lingard, a priest of absolutely irreproachable life himself. No wonder therefore that he is indignant against the lenity with which 'sacerdotes fornicarii' were treated.

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anime, non primo notare defectus ornamentorum codicum, domatis vel fenestre. Hoc enim subiacet laicorum officio. Nec debet prelatus notare quomodo (per se vel per tortores subditos) predetur de subiectis plurem peccuniam; sed quomodo et quante contra diabolum partem fortificet cristianam.

the Bishops ought in their visits to attend to the souls of their flocks.

Sunt autem duo funes rostrati quos diabolus conplicat sub vicario anticristo. Primus enim funis demoniaci terroris, scilicet excomunicacio. Et 2us est funis ficti amoris, scilicet absolucio; cum istis duobus funibus conplicatis traxit anticristus cum membris suis pusillos et magnos, cautela diaboli tenebratos, ad magistrum suum Leviathan.

Two cords by which the Devil and Antichrist drag souls to Hell: that of false terror: excommunication; and that of false love: absolution.

De excomunicacione vero dictum est alibi, quomodo sumitur nunc active, nunc passive communius; et hoc tripliciter; vel a deo, vel ab homine, vel utrinque. Omnis itaque prescitus est perpetuo excommunicatus a deo, quomodocunque benedictus fuerit ab homine. Quilibet eciam criminosus excomunicatur a deo secundum presentem iusticiam. Et quandoque contigit hominem excomunicare deo conformiter; utputa, quando ex caritate excomunicat quem deus excomunicat; et quandoque deo difformiter, sive *maledixerit cui deus benedixerit*, sive maledixerit maledicto a deo perverso animo. Oportet enim quod excomunicator concordet cum deo in causa et modo. In causa, ut excomunicet propter eandem causam propter quam deus prius excomunicat. In modo vero concordat cum deo, cum Deus caritas est, quando excommunicat eciam excommunicatum a deo iuxta regulam caritatis. Si ergo a regula ista deviat, tunc se ipsum excomunicat; ut excomunicans propter vindictam habendam, vel propter peccuniam, vel possessionem proximi rapiendam. In hoc enim deficit a modo, quo prima caritas excomunicat. Excommunicacio autem passiva | sophisticatur multipliciter: ut dicit quandoque exclusionem a communione fidelium, ne quis participet eorum meritis: quod deo est proprium et datum homini fideliter promulgare. Quandoque autem dicit penam spiritualem vel subtraccionem spiritualis suffragii;

Excommunication, active or passive, may proceed from God, man or both.

Every 'foreknown' is excommunicated for ever, and many elect for a time, by God.

Num. XXIII, 8

Man may excommunicate rightly, if his sentence agrees in cause and motive with that of God's, and proceeds from charity; if one of these requisites be absent, he only excommunicates himself.

C. 30

47^{b} 35

Passive excommunication means either separation from all share in th merits of the faithful, or a spiritual punishment, as being refused the sacraments;

1. ornamentorum *deest* A. 2. jacet B. 4. subditis *pro* subiectis BC. 7. rastrati B. 8. suo B; *ib.* est C. 11. trahit BC. 14. Nota de excommunicacione *in marg.* B. 16. utrique AB. 23. diforit' A. 27–29. In — excommunicat *deest* A. 30. igitur C. 32. passionem A. 36. ut *pro* ne *omnes MSS.* 38. enim B.

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quomodo Paulus excommunicavit corinthum fornicarium, tradendo ipsum sathane; et quomodo multi excluduntur a societate sanctorum et percepcione sacramentorum, quibus spiritualiter iuvarentur. Et in isto consistit magna sophisticacio: ut tyrrannus, proscribendo suum legium, quandoque excludit ab eo societatem in qua tam active quam passive amplius mereretur; et talis excomunicacio est maxime in regibus et mundi potentibus; ut patet de exulacione sanctorum.

and banishment, v. g. of saints by tyrants, is also a sort of excommunication.

Sed alia excomunicacio fingitur qua prelatus, scribendo et vociferando, cum candelis accensis et campanis sinistre pulsatis et aliis solempnibus adinventis. Et inter omnes adinvenciones diaboli citissime blasfematur in hoc fune, cum sicud instrumentum rastratum ledit et lacerat abutentem, sic et rastratur et leditur ipse qui abutitur isto funiculo. Et ista cautela est potissima inter discipulos anticristi contra cristicolas; sicut Judicum 4° legitur chananeos pugnasse contra israelitas falcatis curribus. Excecarunt autem populum, hortantes eos credere ut ewangelium quod, eo ipso quo post incantaciones suas sic excomunicaverint quemquam, maledicitur totum adiacens ad multa miliaria undiquaque. Et in hoc magnificantur supra Cristum; ipse enim maledixit ficui in figuram, licet non demeruit, ut patet Matth. 21; quia est plenus dominus cuilibet creature; ideo iustum est quod quelibet creatura ad nutum sibi subserviat. Anticristus autem pretendit se maledicere elementis propter causam Cristi, quia cristicola non wult parere, in causa diaboli, anticristo. Talis, inquam, maledicitur cum tota creatura adiacente per 7^{em} miliaria circumquaque.

By another sort of excommunication, with vociferations, bells and candles, still more blasphemous and hurtful to those who employ it,

Judic. IV, 3

they claim to lay a ban even on the land and the elements near the accursed, with the power of Christ who, as God, blasted the fig-tree for a sign.

Matth. XXI, 19

Et ad hoc finguntur evidencie ex lege veteri, ubi legitur tam benediccio quam malediccio patriarchis concessa et amplius concessa apostolis: quare ergo non presentibus prelatis, qui in potestate parificantur eciam sancto Petro, cum deus semper meliorando procedit? Sed dicitur huic stulte demencie anticristi, quod ipse non habet potestatem nisi a Cristo; nec Cristus dat cuiquam potestatem, nisi ad sequendum ipsum et

They say that this power, belonging to the patriarchs and still more to the Apostles, has come down to them as their successors.

But all power is Christ's; and he will give no power, save

D.

1. excomunicat A. 3. participacione C. 7. meretur AB. 8. est ĉ A. 9. exclusione B. 14. rostratum A. 15. sicut A; *ib.* in se ipso A. 18. pugnare C. 19. Excecant C. 23. magnificatur A. 26. ut quemlibet A; ut quelibet C. 28. electis AB. 29. cum anticristo B; cum *deest* C.

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faciendum sibi et legi sue conformiter. Ideo debet in primis Cristum recognoscere et secundum voluntatem suam facere; a quo si deviat, sciat quod potestatem blasfeme vendicat. Ideo faciat patribus antiquis plene similiter; et tunc potest de tanto potestatem consimilem vendicare. Sed simeales argucie anticristi excecant plurimos, credentes quod Cristus deficeret sue ecclesie, nisi daret istis prelatis tantam huiusmodi potestatem. Ideo, cum deest tam racio quam operacio quibus potestas ista doceretur, mandant subiectis ut fidem hoc credere.

to follow his law; which they must first know and follow, before setting forward such pretensions, by which many are blinded.

Et sic illuduntur ydiote perfidia potestatis, sicud illuditur de sacramento altaris. Ibidem enim fingunt sine racione vel auctoritate infinita miracula, ad que non necessitat racio vel auctoritas vel experiencia; quia ponunt perverse quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Et sicud blasfemant deum tantum maledicere sine causa, sic blasfemant quod deus omnino destruit materialem substanciam panis et vini, remanente sine causa nuda essencia accidentis. Et sicud fingunt quod panis non potest remanere et fieri corpus Christi, sic fingunt quod quis non potest fieri prelatus sub tali nomine, nisi habuerit tam fictam diabolicam potestatem.

Parallel between these practices and the doctrine of the Eucharist. Both imply endless miracles without motive, authority or proof; both imply an evil action of God upon corporeal elements; and as bread cannot become Christ's body if it remains, neither can a man become a prelate without having this power.

Utrobique ergo rimandi sunt limites ad quos stat finaliter excomunicacio huiusmodi; scilicet, quid mali ad maximum excomunicato ingeritur. Et cum non quietantur in expulsione corporali a basilica vel conversancium comitiva (quia hoc posset secularis facere), fingunt quod deus eo ipso odit quem excomunicant in subtrahendo graciam, comunicat rebus vicinis potestatem

As they claim not only the power of expelling from the Church, but also of withdrawing grace and inflicting

4. plane A. 9. tanta A. 10. mandat C. 15. vel *deest after* racio C. 17. sic C. 20. sic C. 21, 22. remanere — potest *deest* C. 26. excomunicatus AB. 29. adicit A.

24. It is well known that many abuses accompanied the practice of excommunication by bishops, which is, I believe, no longer allowed. In the *Life of Saint Louis*, by Joinville, there is a striking passage that illustrates the abuse and at the same time the independence of mind of the saintly King. A certain Bishop was urging him, for conscience' sake, to oblige all such as were excommunicated to submit and receive absolution. But the King at once pointed out the case of a man who, having a lawsuit against a Bishop, was excommunicated by him, appealed to Rome, and after seven years, gained his suit. "If I had compelled him to submit", said Saint Louis, "I should evidently in this case have acted unjustly".

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bodily harm by their curse, we must note that one power — that of slaying or delivering to Satan — is no more theirs than the raising of the dead.

vindicandi; et ista est maniaca blasfemia. Habet autem sacerdos 3cem potenciam excomunicandi. Primo occidendo vel tradendo sathane personam quam deus precipit taliter cruciari; ut patet de Petro et Paulo, Act. 5 et prima Cor. 5. Talis autem potestas deficit prelatis nostris hodie, sicut deficit potestas suscitandi mortuos, et sanandi demoniacos. Secundum genus excomunicacionis est, dum patet notorie infectiva malicia peccatoris notorii, interdicitur (pro cavendo periculo), quod comunicet cum grege domini. Et licet sacerdotes debeant ex maiori prudencia exercere illud officium, tamen videtur michi quod, ipsis perversis, hoc magis pertinet ad seculares prudentes; cum illud sacramentum non requirit in excomunicante tantam virtutem vel vim numinis. Immo, videtur hortandum per modum consilii quod secularis vel fidelis non comunicet cum presbitero vel prelato cesareo, qui vivit symoniace vel seculariter; cum, sive excomunicando, sive sacramenta ministrando, vel orando, vel quidquam aliud faciendo, inficit se et suos. Ideo, nisi deus ordinasset fidelibus suis sacerdotem | in eternum dominum Jesum Cristum, olym per istam venenosam duodenam destructa fuisset ecclesia. Tales enim prelati, sive sint pape, cardinales vel episcopi, vel eorum ministri, plus officiunt quam proficiunt; cum directe officiunt, sed non proficiunt, nisi forsitan indirecte. Quidam enim ex gracia dei, cum vident quod isti qui fingunt se Cristi vicarios tantum exorbitant, et quanta pena pro ippocritis qui nec dicunt nec faciunt, sed obligantur ad utrumque, sit divino iudicio preparata, nituntur istos meritorie conculcare et per viam contrariam transmeare.

Act. 1—9 1 Cor. V, 5

E. 48a

Another — that of separating the offender, lest he do harm — can be exercised by the flock better than by the priest, if he be perverse;

and it were well if a bad worldly priest were thus excommunicated; for he is hurtful in all that he does.

And some indeed hold themselves aloof from such hypocrites, whom a dread judgment awaits.

Another sort of excommunication may take place when it is revealed that such a one does much evil to the Church, being a castaway;

but great prudence ought to be exercised here, and (unless the contrary is revealed) we

3m genus excomunicandi ex speciali revelacione ostenditur, quando deus revelat fideli vel intoxicacionem vel reprobacionem quam prescitus infert ecclesie, et ex illo prenosticat talem esse a fidelibus ut excomunicatum fugiendum. Et istud in generali docetur Matth. 18, quod quilibet fidelis fugiat peccantem in eum post ternam correpcionem *sicut ethnicum et publicanum*. Nec videtur michi quod aliquis prefigeret terminum crimini excomunicacionis huiusmodi, nisi sibi fuerit specialiter revelatum; quia notum est quod licet comunicare cum sceleratissimo, gracia convertendi; cavendo

Matth. XVIII. 17

2. 3plex genus excommunicationis *in marg.* B; *ib.* potestatem C. 5. et prima Cor. 5 *deest* AB. 23. vel *deest* C. 33. inferret BC. 36. ecclesia *pro* cum A. 40, 41. exomca'e C.

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semper de consensu sextuplici et intendendo promovere ad obedienciam legis Cristi. Sic enim fideles servi stant cum sceleratis dominis, sperando quod eorum ministerio convertentur; quia aliter videtur quod scientes domi-
5 norum suorum nequiciam forent dampnabiles ex consensu. Quis, inquam, scit si deus convertat quantumcunque sceleratum, ut comunicacio cum eo prosit ecclesie? Sic enim Paulus blasfemus conversus est ad magnam
Act. IX utilitatem ecclesie, Act. 9°. Unde videtur quod tempus
10 prefigere ad talem conversionem sit deum temptare; cum
Judith VIII,10 Judit. 8., scribitur: *Quid est verbum, in quo consensit Ozias, ut tradat civitatem Assiriis, si infra quinque dies non venerit adiutorium nobis? Et qui estis vos, qui temptatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam*
15 *provocet, sed pocius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat. Posuistis vos tempus miseracionis domini, et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei.*

may communicate with the worst, but only for their good.

We can never be sure that a man is a castaway, and have no right to fix a time for his conversion.

Cum igitur prescitus ignorat tempus conversionis scelerati ad dominum, patet quam blasfemum foret legem
20 statuere sive defendere quod quicunque fuerit excomunicatus a satrapa, censeatur excomunicatus quousque a tali fuerit absolutus. Non enim timuerunt fideles post instruccionem spiritus sancti comunicare cum Paulo; cum opera sua, sine absolucione huiusmodi, ostenderant
25 conversionem prius notorie blasfemie et ecclesiam persequentis. Sic enim contingeret secundum hanc legem diabolicam auffugere quantumcunque sanctum per quem deus ordinavit edificare ecclesiam, tanquam scelestum apostotam: sicut dicitur cardinales horruisse Robertum
30 lyncolniensem tamquam diabolum. Et sic contingeret romanam curiam dampnatos diabolos canonisare et adorandos mandare; sed sanctos in celo excomunicare et dampnatos reputare, quia plus credunt perverso satraparum iudicio, quam vivis operibus Jesu Cristi.
35 Nec mirum; quia eorum absolucio et excomunicacio

A 'foreknown' cannot know if a sinner will be converted; why then accept the excommunication of one who may be foreknown?

The faithful communicated with Paul before he was absolved: which, according to the law, they should not have done.

Saints are excommunicated, devils canonized; and this because of venality.

3. d'mis dn̄is *pro* dominis A. 6. sit B. 8. Sicut *pro* sic *omnes MSS.* 11. Quod AB. 13–15. temptatis — furorem *in marg.* A. 15. accendant A. 22. plus A. 31. Romam AB. 32. adorantes A. 33. repugnare B.

29. Grosseteste, whose independence of character and resistance to certain arrangements made by the Pope, is well known, must have been looked upon with scant favour in Rome. Wyclif however, possibly exaggerates this feeling, when he describes him as being very near excommunication.

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A robber can force them to absolve him, and what they would do for fear of losing, they would do for the hope of getting money; yet a perfect man should be ready to die rather than commit such deceitful and scandalous sacrilege.

est ita venalis ut asinus; ymmo predones pessimi possunt ab eis extorquere absolucionem et a pena et a culpa, pro timore servili; sicut beneficiorum collaciones, sacramentorum ministraciones, et quantumcunque spiritualia opera pretenderent se facere pro edificacione ecclesie; quia quando basis officii est venalis, omnia ad illam consequencia esse venalia inplicatur. Nec finget homo quod talis absolucio non est vendibilis, licet pro violencia poterit extorqueri; quia ille qui dat absolucionem huiusmodi, cuius blasfemiam posset pro mille marcis evadere, vellet eandem vendere pro tantumdem pecunie, cum fides flagitat quod pro nulla amissione temporalium, nec pro pena corporis inferenda, consentiret perfectus tali dacioni absolucionis; cum deus exhinc blasfematur, absolutus periculose decipitur, et per consequens auctorisans hoc facinus dampnabiliter scandalisatur.

Such venality is a proof that absolutions are of no value; so excommunication can do no harm. And their blessings are like that with which they make the sacramental bread of infinitely worse nature than it was.

Talis ergo venalitas beneficiorum et absolucionum et privilegiorum indicat quod non valent, et per consequens excomunicaciones et alie censure ficte non nocent passis, nisi ut pro spolianda peccunia terreant ydiotas. Ymmo, sicut benedicunt panem sacramentalem et faciunt virtute benediccionis sue ipsum infinitum esse peiorem naturaliter quam panis non consecratus qui prefuit; sic G. est de benediccionibus, absolucionibus et privilegialibus, quibus illudunt hominibus. Dicunt enim quod panis sacramentalis virtute benediccionis sit sacramentum; et ille, cum sit accidens, est pane qui prefuit infinitum inperfeccior in natura. Nec sunt commendandi ex hoc quod faciunt corpus Cristi esse in illo, quia natura divina prius essencialiter fuit in illo accidente. Et si corpus Cristi sit in tali accidente noviter ad sustentandum ipsum et faciendum miracula, hoc est accione sue benediccionis perverse, sicut deus assistit servo suo roborando ipsum graciosius, dum sibi irronice benedicunt! In omnibus autem istis per patrem mendacii sophisticatur ecclesia.

A few rules laid down: 1. Excommunication ought to proceed from a spirit of love;

Sed redeundo ad materiam de excomunicacione, ut caucius caveatur anticristi decepcio, pono aliquas conclusiones, | quarum sentencias sepe asserui. Prima: 48b

1. est *deest* A; *ib.* ita *deest omnes MSS.* 7. ꝑn̄ᵃ *pro* consequencia A. 11. vel licet *pro* vellet A; *ib.* evadere B; *ib.* tantamdem B. 12. flagittat AC. 17. igitur C; *ib.* et *deest* C. 21. benedictum A. 24. privilegiacionibus C. 30, 31. et si — sit *deest* B. 31. yronice C. 35. matrem A. 37. reddendo A.

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Nemo debet excomunicare aliquem, nisi propter amorem quem habet ad illum; patet ex fide. Nam nemo debet excomunicare aliquem, nisi ex caritate et in caritate, iuxta preceptum Cristi in suo apostolo I. Cor. ultimo. *Omnia vestra in caritate fiant.* Item, nemo debet excomunicare aliquem nisi sibi subditum et nisi gracia medicine. Sed nemo debet talem medicinam apponere, nisi gracia caritatis: ergo nemo, debet excomunicare alium, nisi gracia caritatis. Unde signum est quod prelatus specialiter diligit subiectum quem sic excomunicat; vel aliter illum non excomunicat, sed se ipsum. Unde quidam solent regraciari suis excomunicantibus, quod dignabantur, tam laboriose, tam assidue et tam specialiter opponere illis medicinam tam validam. Et cum sciunt ex fide apostoli ad Rom. 8. *Quod timentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum* sperant quod medicina apposita illis proficiet. Item, si quis debet excomunicatum suum non diligere, potissime foret verum de illo qui excomunicat inimicum. Sed iuxta fidem omnis cristianus debet diligere generaliter inimicos, et sic omnis excomunicans suum excomunicatum. Nam ingratus foret medicus carnalis, qui non diligeret suum pacientem; multo magis de spirituali medico, qui debet de cura vel diligencia plus premii reportare. Minor autem argumenti patet ex diffinicione Cristi Matth. 5°. *Audistis quia dictum est antiquis: "diliges amicum tuum et odio habebis inimicum tuum:" Ego autem dico vobis: diligite inimicos vestros:* quod opere conplevit, in Scarioth et aliis inimicis. Unde, quia medicina excommunicacionis per virtutem paciencie successive proficit, stultum foret nimis cito emplastrum excomunicacionis seiungere. Sic enim Cristus et sui ad eorum meritum et profectum ecclesie passi sunt excomunicacionem Iudeorum. Et Urbanus noster cum suis: utinam meritorie excomunicacionem patiatur gilbonensis! Causa enim spiritualis morbi debet sanari ab intrinseco, si sanetur, ad quod excomunicatus accelerare debet, et deficiente morbo debet sufferre longanimiter medicinam, dum conservat pacienciam et alias virtutes consolidat.

1 Cor. XVI, 14

Rom. VIII, 28

Matth. V, 43

H.

to be exercised only on those that belong to the jurisdiction, and as spiritual medicine; for which medicine some are wont to thank their physicians.

Even in excommunicating a personal enemy, we ought to love him, as the physician does his patient.

These are Christ's precepts and examples too.

But if such medicine is good, we should not wish to have it soon removed, but bear it with patience, as let us hope that Pope Urban bears the excommunications of Robert of Geneva.

Secunda conclusio. Nemo debet excomunicare alium, principaliter propter peccuniam vel aliud sibi proprium,

2 It is not right to excommunicate

8. igitur C. 29. excomunicantis AB. 35. patitur *omnes MSS.*; *ib.* gibbonensis B. 38. longanimitatis A. 39. pacivam A. 40. condicio AB.

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chiefly on account of any temporal matter; for if we love all men as God loves them, we shall not prefer this to their spiritual welfare.

aut propter iniuriam propriam vindicandam. Et ista est conclusio beati Gregorii 23 q. 4 ca°. *Inter querelas.* Probatur sic: Omnis excomunicans debet diligere suum excomunicatum caritate perfecta secundum conclusionem proximam. Sed eo ipso quod sic, debet non diligere peccuniam aut aliquid temporale, vel vindictam sue iniurie, plus quam personam quam excomunicat; ergo, conclusio vera. Nichil enim est magis contra legem caritatis quam plus diligere temporalia (que homini inexistunt) quam ipsum hominem; quia, cum deus caritas est, et habet ordinem diligendi contrarium, manifestum est quod diligens secundum ordinem duplicem perversum cum diabolo odit deum; et tales sunt detractores, homicide, vel quomodolibet criminosi. Primi enim plus diligunt famam vel voluptatem propriam quam personam cui detrahunt. Homicide plus diligunt bona que occiso adiacent quam vitam persone occise. Et generaliter omne peccatum consistit in perversione amoris ordinati; quia creatura adversatur divine voluntati. Cum igitur non posset ostendi potencius perversio caritatis diligendi proximum quam sic excomunicando, manifestum est quod excomunicacione tali caritas est extincta.

All who act against this rule of love are criminal: v. g. slanderers, murderers, etc. God's will ought to be ours.

Besides, God only has the right to take vengeance, and to usurp this right is to blaspheme; for God alone is the chief Lord of all, and the offences done to others are as nothing.

General should be before private good; now the honour of God is the most universal good of all; and all things were created to that end alone.

Item, blasfemum est usurpare quod deo est proprium; sed proprium est deo et incomunicabile creature principaliter vindicare suam iniuriam; ergo blasfemum est sic facere. Et cum omnis sic excomunicans ita facit, manifestum est quod omnis sic excomunicans blasfemat. Minor argumenti patet, ex hoc quod cum deus sit summus dominus omnium, omnis creatura debet plus ponderare dei iniuriam, quam iniuriam hominum. Et confirmacio istius est quod generaliter bonum commune est prestancius quam suum privatum. Sed honor dei est bonum communissimum. Sed quilibet honor creature proprius est bonum respectu illius privatum: ergo, honor dei est bonum pocius diligendum. In omni enim creatura servante ordinem quem deus instituit, relucet principaliter honor dei; et cum non habet ex se aliunde honorem, mani-

1. vindicandum C. 4. secundum *deest omnes MSS.* 5. quod *deest* B. 6. aut *deest* BC. 12. ordinem secundum C; *ib.* duplicem *deest* AC. 15. quam *pro* cui BC. 19. quo *pro* quia BC. 20. patencius C; *ib.* perverso *omnes MSS.* 23. blasfemie C. 28. quod *deest* C; *ib.* cum *deest* B. 33. commissum AB; *ib.* proprius creature BC. 37. non *deest omnes MSS.*

2. Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars, Cª XXIII, qu. 4, c. 27.

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festum est quod honor dei est undique principalior et generalior quam honor debitus creature. Plus ergo debet excomunicans zelare pro honore dei quam proprio; ymmo in nullo honorem suum attendere, nisi de quanto
I. 5 honorem dei sonuerit. Item, de lege et natura eleccionis, magis bonum est preferendum et diligencius observandum; sed magis bonum est quicquid deus preponit precepto vel natura: ergo illud est ab homine preferendum. Sed Deus docet tam natura quam precepto quod bonum
10 communius et divinius amplius diligatur: ergo homo debet illi legi intendere. Unde propter racionem istius sentencie, omnes excomunicantes dicunt ypocritice quod
49* bonum intentum | ab eis pro deo principaliter est intentum; cum sciunt quod, sicut veritas sequitur ad sui
15 ipsius destruccionem, sic honor dei sequitur ad sui ipsius extinccionis pretensionem, eo quod presumptor talis quicunque punitur proporcionaliter ad peccatum, et per consequens in iusta punicione rutilat honor dei. Ideo quicquid vendicant vel excomunicacione puniunt, ideo
20 hoc faciunt principaliter, ut honor dei plus luceat. Sed examinemus, rogo, tales yppocritas, cum (secundum eorum principia) plus peccati plus ponderant. Videamus insuper si habita peccunia vel sue proprietati placencius plus quietat quam illud quod honori dei foret hono-
25 rificencius, quia maioris iniurie extinccius. Et factum clamat oppositum, cum, excomunicato quolibet, quantumcunque attrociter, per accumulacionem peccunie potest faciliter emendari, eciam ipso continuante in priori iniuria. Ideo manifestum est quod affeccio per-
30 sonalis, amore dei postposito, est in causa. Et ista blasfemia laborat comuniter in excomunicacione qualibet hodierna; quia aliter plus peccantem in legem dei generaliter plus puniret, et per consequens excomunicarent sepe se ipsos. Nec lucrum suum saperet sua
35 excomunicacio, posito quod sua vita legi dei amplius contrariet. Non enim est excomunicacio tantum sacramentum, quin possunt ipsam ferre in se ipsis; cum nemo excomunicatur vel leditur, nisi hoc fuerit originaliter a se ipso. Ymmo, sese sacerdos excomunicat

And we ought always to prefer the greater good, which is what God commands.

And therefore they all say hypocritically that what they do is done by zeal for God's law; but as truth is proved by its own contradiction, so God's honour is but increased by the attempt to take it away.

But what as a fact pleases them most is to get money or property rather than satisfy God's honour; for if a man offers a large sum, he will be absolved, even though he should continue to sin.

They ought to lay their curses on the chiefest sinners, and so excommunicate themselves first.

As would happen if they

7. quitquid C. 8, 9. ergo — quam *deest* AC. 10. communis A. 11. racionem *deest* A. 12. dictum A; *ib.* yppocrite A. 14. cum *deest* A. 18. ista *pro* iusta C. 22. poderatur C. 23. igitur *pro* insuper C; *ib.* suc *deest* B; *ib.* proprietate A. 25. extuñcio A. 26. quo *pro* cum A. 32. in lege AB. 34. sepe *deest* A. 35. dei *deest* A. 36. Nemo A; *ib. blank space for* tantum B; *deest* C.

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excommunicated all blasphemers and all who excommunicated for their own worldly gain.

pro furto vel alio crimine, cuius ipse singulariter est reus; ut excomunicando quoscunque qui blasfemant in deum vel qui preponderanter excomunicant pro suo lucro proprio temporali. Hoc enim foret aput deum legitimum, et excomunicatores forent talis malediccionis capaces. Et forte a papa usque ad excomunicatorem infimum omnes primo se ipsis inficiunt; cum, ablata causa que lucrum vel fastum eis saperet, cessat excomunicacio illorum; et illa causa posita, malediccio diabolica committitur. Ideo non dubium quin malediccio ista excedit in malicia malediccionem gentilium; cum Numeri 24 scribitur de Balaam, gentili ariolo: *Si dederit michi Balach domum suam plenam argenti et auri, non potero preter sermonem domini dei mei ut vel boni quid vel mali proferam ex corde meo; sed quicquid dixerit michi dominus loquar.* Ideo indubie, iuxta ewangelium (Matth. 12). Balaam surget in iudicio et condempnabit generacionem istam, que blasfeme maledicit cui deus benedicit, et e contra; quia non dubium quin *extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus,* sicut generacio pessime anticristi.

This sort of anathema shows more wickedness than that of the heathen Balaam, who only spoke the words put in his mouth by the Lord; and he will condemn this generation.

K. Num. XXIV, 13

Matth. XII, 42

3. God's law ought not to be forsaken on account of man's curses; on the contrary, such curses bringing a blessing and falling back on those that utter them, we should bear them with patience and even with joy.

3ª conclusio. Nemo debet propter excomunicacionem huiusmodi declinare ab observancia legis dei. Scimus enim quod deus est omnipotens, et anticristus sophista dampnabilis. Ideo, propter suam excomunicacionem, est nobis evidens quod deus e contrario benedicit; et sic propter excomunicacionem anticristi exasperantur fideles ad exequendum vigorosius causam dei. *Sic* enim *obmutescere facerent inprudencium hominum ignoranciam,* cum sciunt quod preter hoc quod excomunicantes corporaliter letificat et spiritualiter dampnificat, meritum accumulant constanter agenti et humiliter pacienti. Cum act. 5 scribitur: *Ibant* apostoli *gaudentes* a conspectu concilii, *quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.* Unde signum est quod fides extingwitur et frigescit caritas multorum, dum propter fulmen sophisticum diaboli, dimissa causa Cristi, consentitur tam faciliter anticristi. Est enim fides ecclesie quod omnes anticristi sive diaboli non dampnificant fidelem,

I. Petr. II, 15

Act. V, 41

It is want of faith that causes men to submit so easily to these false thunderbolts; our faith teaches that nothing can harm him that keeps Christ's law; and to

9, 10. comittatur BC. 19. quin *deest* AB. 27. sicut *omnes MSS.* 30. dampnificant BC. 35. refrigescit B.

29. A few words are probably wanting here; though the sense is clear enough, the grammatical construction is very faulty. Perhaps, after *cum sciunt quod,* the word *excommunicacio* might be supplied; and *accumulant* (l. 31) put into the singular.

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dum constanter in lege domini perseverat. Est iterum fides ecclesie, quod declinans a lege Cristi vel peccato consenciens, propter tradiciones vel puniciones infundabiles in scriptura ut sic excomunicatur a deo, et fit Cristi proditor et sic infidelissimus anticristus. Ex quibus fidelis connectit quod nemo debet propter excomunicaciones huiusmodi dimittere, sed constancius perficere opus Cristi; quia faciendo contrarium diffidit de Cristo, et plus timens maledicciones diaboli quam dei, annectitur anticristo; quia diabolum cum lege sua preponderat, et infideliter credit anticristum posse fide-
L. liter adherentem Cristo rapere et nocere. Si, inquam, fideles in primitiva ecclesia rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio susceperunt, et si usque ad mortem sustulerunt omnia genera tormentorum pro defensione legis Cristi, quanto magis defenderent hanc legem hodie, non obstante terrore excomunicacionis quintiplici adinvento per regem superbie?

submit is to be a backslider and an Antichrist.

It follows that the duty of the faithful is to remain steadfast and go on, like those of the early Church, notwithstanding the five sorts of intimidation employed:

Clericos quidem exterrent tripliciter; ut quosdam simplices inhabilitant, et per consequens privant stipendio pro officio ministrandi; alios autem inhabilitant ad recipiendum ecclesiasticam dignitatem. Et 3° beneficiatos privant, quia recipiunt ab eis subdolam medicinam. Quo ad seculares, terrent eos dupliciter; quosdam, fingendo quod privant eos fidelium comunicacione, sacramentorum percepcione et suffragiorum ecclesie participacione. Et alios seculares terrent per bonorum fortune perdicionem, per proditoriam incarceracionem, et per crucis expugnatorum elevacionem. Et omnia ista
49b fiunt se | duccione diaboli, qua infatuat infideles qui non credunt quod omnes maledicciones diaboli vel censure anticristi non potuerunt nocere fideli, dum credit in Jesum; ymmo quod sibi est proprium maledicere nunquam, nisi quis demerendo declinaverit divinorum observancia preceptorum. Ista fides moveret fideles ad credendum non esse danda eis propter excomunicacionem huiusmodi bona pauperum, sed pocius abstrahenda et neganda eis comunicacio ac favor fidelium, propter signa notoria anticristi, et fidem qua credi debet quod constanter pugnando pro Cristo, destruendo anticristum cum suis legibus, cristicola meretur.

1. against the clergy: degrading some, disqualifying others for advancement, and depriving of their benefices those that have any;

2. against the laity; by threats, either of spiritual or of temporal penalties.

But if we are faithful, we shall believe that no curses nor censures can hurt him who believes in Jesus;

and that, rather than give them what belongs to the poor because they curse, we ought rather to take all away from them.

4. et *pro* ut A. 5. sic *pro* fit AB. 6. convertit B. 8. proficere A. 12. vel *pro* et B; sive C. 27. percepcione B. 20. pro A. 35. observanciam A; *ib.* fideles *deest* A. 39. quid *pro* quod *omnes MSS.* 41. mereretur C.

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And to their arguments in favour of obedience due to them, I answer:

1. That we have faith in the Gospel, and follow the counsels of Christ.
2. That except in so far as they agree with these, we should not obey even an Angel's commands.
3. And that if they come, greedy and worldly, pretending to stand in Christ's place, they are Antichrists, and ought to get nothing. Christ's followers do good and receive as alms a little food and raiment: Antichrist's extort by excommunications what is not due to them; they should be resisted in patience. One law in England is very unjust: that a man, excommunicated during 40 days by a bishop, should be imprisoned and despoiled. For as a bishop may be

Et quantum ad commenta sua, quibus seducit populum, quod quidquid ipse precepit subiectus debet ut fidem credere et implere; quod non excomunicat propter pecuniam, sed propter mortalem inobedienciam ex eius negacione sequentem; et quod Cristus pepigit secum quidquid ille sentenciaverit, quod implebit: Primo, fidem ewangelii habent fideles alii, et observant ut illi Cristi consilia. Sciunt secundo, quod nec sibi nec *angelo de celo* obedire debeant, nisi in quantum debet obedire Cristo in observancia sui consilii vel precepti. Et sciunt 30, quod si veniunt *in vestimentis ovium,* fingentes de Cristo mendacium, quod sunt spirituales sui vicarii, dum conversacio sua sit secularis et confabulacio sua questum sapiens, nullus est detestabilior anticristus; et per consequens non debet dari eis pro excomunicacione sua peccunia vel sibi equivalens, sed pocius subtrahi; cum, ut sic, non illis, sed Cristi pauperibus sunt illa debita. Nam de scola Cristi est, titulo elemosine, post opus meritorium edificatorium ecclesie, alimenta et tegumenta parce recipere. Scola vero anticristi extorquet per excomunicaciones et alias censuras terrificas discipulis suis indebitum; et contra illos debet totus cristianismus insurgere, negando eis bona pauperum, et suas excomunicaciones equanimiter tollerando. Sic enim fecit Cristus cum suis discipulis paciendo evidenciores excomunicaciones sophisticas sacerdotum; quia, ut tactum est, censura iniuste illata prodest humiliter paciendi, et sic toti ecclesie, dum non eo minus consequitur illud quod debet, domino mandante. Et omnino debet detegi secularibus istud sophisma diaboli, quo dampnabiliter peccant in excomunicacione huiusmodi ex consensu. Currit enim ut lex in anglia, quod si episcopus signavit quemquam excomunicari per 40 dies continuos, tunc debet incarcerari et punitus multipliciter spoliari. Cum igitur prelati non sunt tantum confirmati quin contingat eos

Matth. III, 15

M.

1. coniuncta A; commenta *corr. ex* coniuncta C. 2. preceperit C. 4. propter *deest* C. 6. Nam *pro* primo *omnes MSS.* 8. angelis B. 9. quanto C. 10. precepto A. 16. et per consequens *pro* sed pocius A. 18. de *deest omnes MSS.* 19. edificacionem B. 21. per *deest* A. 28. prosequitur B. 31. excommunicacione huiusmodi *deest* A. 31. cur *pro* currit A. 31, 32. enim currit BC. 33. debet *deest* C. 35. sint C.

6. This substitution — *primo* for *nam* — makes sense. If not admitted, we must suppose that at least one sentence, probably beginning with *primo,* is wanting before *nam.*

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multociens excomunicare insontes, patet quod auctorisantes inplicantur scelere oppressionis iniuste proximi ex consensu. Item, secundum leges ecclesie, debet meritorie sufferre excomunicacionem ut medicinalem pro suo profectu. Si igitur debet exhinc incarcerari post 40 dies, manifeste implicatur quod debet sic incarcerari quia meritorie servit Cristo; et talis indubie est tradicio anticristi. Item, cum Robertus gilbonensis excomunicat papam nostrum cum suis complicibus et econtra, sicud Iudei excomunicant Cristum cum suis filiis, et econtra; nec est notum ex fide de primis excomunicatoribus que pars tenet iusticiam; igitur secularis neutram partem debet defendere, sed permittere utrumque contendentes sese confundere; et per idem nusquam excomunicacionem talem, nisi revelacione habita, confirmare, cum peccat graviter contra Cristum consenciendo iniuste, vel parti false. Satis multe sunt igitur leges civiles viciose, licet non sint legibus anticristi nequioribus onerate.

mistaken, this is oppression on the part of those who allow it.

And since such a sentence may be borne meritoriously, a man may be imprisoned for doing a good deed.

Again, when Pope Urban and Robert of Geneva anathematize each other, and we cannot know which side is in the right, the secular powers should stand by and not interfere.

Sed unum videtur michi manifestum, quod licet ad reges ab iniuriis excomunicancium appellare. Nam apostolus appellavit Cesarem (act. 23) existentem de propinquiori superstite tam beato Petro papa ecclesie Cristi, quam eciam summis sacerdotibus synagoge. Cum igitur illa appellacio, ex fide scripture, fuit magis autentica quam aliqua alia secundam legem cesaream vel papalem, quia ex instinctu spiritus sancti facta, videtur quod licet fidelibus secundum hanc formam potissime appellare. Et certum est quod causa potissima huius apellacionis fuit observancia legis Cristi. Causa autem accessoria fuit protelacio vite Pauli; et secundum talem intencionem duplicem consimilem debet fidelis ad regem in excomunicacionis iniuria appellare. Item, in nulla causa licet appellare, nisi ad iudicem superiorem, qui in illa causa debet cognoscere et errata corrigere; sed licet in causa excomunicacionis ad regem appellare: ergo ad regem pertinet ista discutere: consequens inconveniens adversariis. Ideo, petendo subsidium | a secularibus pro excomunicacionis confirmacione, confundunt iurisdiciones et subiciunt clericos: quod evitant. Finis enim legis et eius complecio est forma ultima perfeccior precedenti.

Act. XXV, 11

N.

50a

One point is certain: that we may appeal to the King, as Paul did to Caesar.

This appeal, inspired by the Holy Ghost for the observance of Christ's law and St. Paul's protection, may serve as a model for us.

And the fact that we may thus appeal proves against our adversaries the kingly authority in such matters.

They themselves do so, by appealing to the secular arm; if the State were not

1. iniuste excomunicare insontes BC; *ib.* patet *deest* C. 4, 5. perpetuo *pro* profectu *omnes MSS.* 5. per A. 8. Gibbonensis B. 15. cum peccat *twice* A. 21. cesarem, ut patet BC; *ib.* existente B. 22. quam *pro* papa A. 26. dē t² *pro* videtur C; *ib.* quod quidem licet C. 30. procelacio AC. 35. igitur C.

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above the Church, they should not recur to it.

Cum enim omnis appellacio sapit civilitatem, non foret fugiendum ecclesie ad brachium seculare, nisi ipsum, ut sic, foret superius ut ostensum est in materia *de rege*. Rex enim debet esse dei vicarius, et papa Cristi vicarius, secundum Augustinum, in signum quod rex debet procedere secundum divinam potenciam, et papa secundum humanitatis Cristi pacienciam; et sic petitur forum superius, cuius est per ministros causam dei cognoscere.

The King, God's vicar, should have his power; the Pope, Christ's vicar, his patience.

It were monstrous, if the King were compelled to imprison a man without knowing why.

Item, diabolus nimis cecaret reges, si vicarius suus anticristus necessitaret eos ad incarcerandum servum Cristi, nisi debeant causam cognoscere, si causa sit legittima: quia aliter supponendum esset eos in hoc esse inpeccabiles, et magistrum suum extolli supra Cristum, dum licenciant ad ducendum fideles per aliam viam, quam Cristus principiat. Oportet ergo ex fide quod cognoscant causam pro qua debeant sic punire, quia aliter cece sine noticia veritatis (que Cristus est), deberent ledere matrem suam: quod est manifesta blasfemia; debent ergo secundum legem Cristi cognoscere quid est utile matri sue, dicente Augustino, sup. Joh. omelia 11: "Intendat caritas vestra quid dicam; quia pertinet ad reges seculi cristianos, ut temporibus suis pacatam faciant suam ecclesiam unde spiritualiter nati sunt." Ideo, ut sepe dixi, per secularem potenciam secundum causam civilem debent secundum legem Cristi regere matrem suam, et sunt ut superiores, subditis eciam quibuscunque presbiteris sic adiutis.

Thus they must know what they do, or they would judge blindly; and their duty is to give peace to the Church. It follows that they are our superiors,

and should judge the Bishops and condemn them if guilty of spiritual, which is far worse than temporal treason.

Ad illos igitur debent episcopi appellare; et si in hoc inventi fuerint proditores regis et regni, debent accucius quam pro alia prodicione temporalium castigari; quia produnt nedum corpus a temporali regno, sed corpus et animam, quantum in eis est, dampnant evidencius ad infernum. Sed defectus fidei est causa quare patenciam istius periculi non attendunt.

4. Vicarius dei et Cristi qui sunt *in marg.* A. 6. precedere AB. 8. pars *pro* per AB. 8, 9. cognoscere tū dei C. 9. *T in red ink* A. 15. licenciat C. 16. igitur C. 20. igitur C. 21. sup. Joh. *deest* A. 23. paccatam C. 27. ut *deest* A; ut sic C. 30. regimini A. 34, 35. potenciam A.

21. Aug. In Jo. Tract. XI, c. 14 (Migne, t. 35, p. 1483).

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CAPITULUM OCTAVUM.

A. Quintus tortor est officialis, sive episcopi, sive archidiaconi, qui precipue preeligitur ad congregandum magistro suo peccuniam. Et sic est comuniter de decano et aliis officiariis in ista yerarchia diaboli ordinatis. Et quia secundus funis ficti amoris est penitencia, in qua includitur oris confessio, cordis contricio et operis satisfaccio: ideo de illa est paululum disserendum.

The fifth 'tormentor' is the official employed to get money chiefly by penance:

Arguunt enim naturales comuniter, quod hoc non est unum sacramentum. Primo quia, ex defectu unitatis subiecti, non est aliquid unius generis, cum primum subiectatur in anima, secundum corporale et sensibile subiectatur in organo elloquentis, et tercium, diu post succedens, est indeterminate in potestate presbiteri, de quocumque opere quod voluerit limitare, et comuniter non perficitur in hac vita; quando ergo foret talis penitencia? vel quomodo foret sensibile sacramentum?

which, it may be argued is not a sacrament, for it wants unity of parts: contrition being in the soul, confession on the lips, and satisfaction, coming long after, and dependent on the will of the priest.

Sed dimissa logicis hac controversia, cum officialis, de quo nobis sermo, dicitur de *officiare,* videndum est de huius comunis funis origine. Supponitur ergo quod penitencia dicatur equivoce, nunc pro displicencia animi de peccato, nunc pro continuacione penalis propositi non iterandi; 3° vero sumitur aggregative pro multis: et tunc sumitur famosius pro voce confitentis et rite absolventis cum contricione, penitencia et satisfaccione confessi; et nunc sumitur tam in sua quidditate quam in sua proprietate pro una istarum parcium, et nunc pro reliqua; et nunc dicitur quod, deficiente una parte a suo ordine, non est nisi falsa penitencia, ut dicitur de successivis aliis aggregatis; nec debemus sollicitari de forma verborum confitentis

But the word 'penance' has many different meanings,

which are apt to be confused together.

There is no true penance if one of its parts are wanting: i. e. essential parts and not mere ceremonies.

1. Cap. VIII *in red ink* A. 2. 5^{19} tortor *in red ink* C; *ib.* officinalis A. 4. est *deest* B. 6. finis C. 7. omnis A. 10. quia *deest* A. 11. principium AB. 12. in corpore C. 13. subiectatur *deest* A. 19. officere C. 20. funeris AC. 24. facciosius *omnes MSS.* 25. previa C. 27. quid *pro* quam A. 28. pro *deest* B.

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vel absolventis, nec de solicitudine eorum vel auriculacione formali aut manus inpositione. Omnia, inquam, talia relinquo cultoribus signorum, qui quidditates et modos sacramentorum tanquam articulos fidei solempnisant. Sic ergo penitencia potest dici *sacramentum, per quod in mente fit peccati delecio et pro ipso peccato satisfaccio;* et sic distinguitur a Baptismo; quia, licet peccatum originale ac actuale deleat, tamen non implicat de sua racione formali quod ille baptizatus, quin potius Cristus pro peccato baptismo deleto satisfaciat.

It is a sacrament by which sins are blotted out of the heart and made satisfaction for; thus differing from Baptism, which does not require satisfaction.

Sed contra istam descriptionem arguitur. Videtur enim quod convenit cuicumque qui, audiendo missam, confitetur in eius inicio generaliter sacerdoti. Nam tali confessioni conpetit comunius dicta descripcio quam solitarie confitenti: ergo et racio diffiniti; et per consequens non oportet aliter confiteri proprio sacerdoti. Consequens contra decretalem in quinto, qua ex consilio generali sic dicitur: "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discrecionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus B. peccata saltem semel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio sacerdoti et iniunctam penitenciam pro suis viribus studeat adimplere, suscipiens reverenter | ad minus in 50b pascha eukaristie sacramentum; nisi forte ex proprii sacerdotis consilio ob aliquam racionabilem causam ad tempus ab eius percepcione duxerit abstinendum. Alioquin et vivens ab ecclesie ingressu arceatur, et moriens cristiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ex ignorancie cecitate velamen excusacionis assumat. Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulat et obtineat a proprio sacerdoti, cum aliter ipse illum non posset absolvere vel ligare." Ex isto videtur cunctos cristianos discretos astringi ex decreto ecclesie ad confitendum singulariter annuatim singula peccata sua proprio sacerdoti. Ideo videtur quod oportet supperaddere ad sacramentum privatam auriculacionem et manu sacerdotis capitis taccionem, cum aliis ritibus adinventis.

Objection: This definition would denote equally well the general confession made at Mass; thus there need be no auricular confession.

Now this is against the Decretal, which says that every faithful must confess once a year to his appointed priest (or any other whom he may allow) and take Holy Communion at Easter, under pain of exclusion from church during life and of denial of Christian burial after death.

Here it is clear that auricular confession is obligatory;

We ought therefore to add to the definition confession and all its rites.

2. formali aut *omnes MSS.* 4. fidei *deest* A. 5. Sicut igitur C. 6. dilecio B. 7. apmo *pro* Baptismo A; *ib.* qui *pro* quia BC. 8. vel *pro* ac B; aut C. 15. igitur C. 17. contra AB. 24. ob *above* ad A; ob causam aliquam C. 28. quisque A. 32. ipse *deest* A. 33. solvere B; *ib.* istis BC. 34. discretos *deest* A. 37. penitencie B; privatam *deest* C. 38. et taccionem B.

18. Decr. Greg. l. V, tit. XXXVIII, c. 12.

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Quod quia difficile est fundare vel credere, ideo foret fundamentum necessarium in ista materia cognoscere quid descriptive est penitencia, et quid vocalis confessio, que dicitur secundum speciem ad salutem anime requi-
5 sita. Nec est dignus lucrum pro hoc sacramento exigere, qui nescit penitenciam quam requirit a comuni distingwere. Nam verba sanctorum doctorum non convincunt penitenciam quam requirunt. Recitat enim magister 4° sentenciarum, dist. 14. quomodo beatus Ambrosius dicit
10 quod penitencia est peccata preterita plangere, et plangenda iterum non comittere. Et beatus Gregorius dicit quod penitere est peccata anteacta deflere et flenda iterum non committere. Patet primo quod utraque istarum descripcionum sanctorum implicat penitenciam non esse
15 sacramentum; quia planctum insensibilem in mente absconditum. Videtur 2° quod non est penitencia, dum confitens recidivat. Et per consequens non est in potestate cristiani complere penitenciam fratris sui, cum sit extra potestatem suam facere quod confitens peccatum con-
20 fessum amplius non comittat. Et iterum, manifestum est quod talis penitencia potest perfecte impleri sine confessione generali vel speciali facta proprio sacerdoti. Non enim valet sophisticacio qua dicitur quod nemo iterum committit peccata preterita sed alia, quia nimis
25 est quod comittat eadem in specie.

Cum igitur tam sancti doctores et tam excellentes capitales ecclesie sic descripserunt penitenciam (ex qua descripcione sequitur quod fideles non teneantur virtute sacramenti penitencie confiteri peccata sua proprio sacer-
C. 30 doti), videtur quod lex predicta sit corruptela symoniace introducta. Nec repugnat diffinicio penitencie quam dat magister ibidem, scilicet quod penitencia est virtus vel gracia qua comissa mala cum emendacionis proposito plangimus et odimus, et plangenda iterum comittere
35 nolumus. Sic enim, inquam, iuxta genus penitencia foret unum insensibile et non sacramentum, et per con-

This being inadmissible, we must see what the sacrament really is, for according to the Fathers, this confession is not penance.

Ambrose calls penance "to be sorry for past sins and not to commit them again". Gregory uses like expressions.

Penance, being in the soul, is not an outward sign; it has not existed if the sin is repeated; no one can do penance for another; and confession is unnecessary.

To say that a past sin, being past, cannot be repeated, is sophistry.

What is meant is the same sort of sin.

So the above mentioned law is corrupt.

To say that penance is a virtue by which we weep for our sins, still leaves it in the number of things invisible, and not a sacrament given by the priest.

1. et *pro* vel C. 11. committere C. 12. quod *deest* C. 14. sanctorum *deest* C. 22. vel speciali *deest* C. 24. que *pro* quia BC.

9. Petr. Lombardus. IV Sentenciarum, c. 14, 1 Migne t. 192, p. 869).
30. *Corruptela.* The exact drift of Wyclif's argument is as follows. He takes the order to confess once a year, and proves that confession is not a sacrament: *therefore* the law is unjust. To understand the connexion, we must remember his general principle: no law is binding, unless grounded upon Scripture.

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sequens sacerdos non dat sacramentum penitencie suo confitenti, quia nec dat virtutem nec graciam, nec sanctum propositum voluntatis; sed hoc sepe impletur complecius in absencia sacerdotis. Quid ergo sibi et sacramento penitencie? Et dicere quod requiritur, sacerdote sedenti in alto, genuflexio, omnium peccatorum suorum singularis depromcio, et secundum formam adinventam cum inposicione manus in caput confessi cum cinere signatum sacerdotis absolucio, foret nimis blasfema ficticia. Omnia ergo ista videntur ad onus ecclesie infundabiliter adinventa: et sic lex pape in 5° decretalium supradicta.

And to say that the details of and ceremony connected with confession, are necessary, would be blasphemy.

All that only burdens the Church.

Item, papa non potest obligare fidelem ad aliquid, nisi ad illud quod ipse potest docere vel facere esse racionale et meritorium obligato; sed hoc non potest respectu mandati huius legis: ergo nec fideles taliter obligari. Papa enim non habet potestatem ordinandi cuilibet fideli laico sacerdotem sciolum et discretum, cui expedit laico sic confiteri, ut patet inferius. Quomodo ergo ordinaret sub tanta pena quod quilibet laicus confiteatur sic peccata sua proprio sacerdoti? Blasfema, inquam, est obligacio ad inpossibile, cuius inpossibilitas per obligantem efficitur: ut obligare me ad confitendum ydoneo sacerdoti.

No one can be obliged to do what is not reasonable.

But the Pope cannot provide a discreet, and learned priest for every one. Then how can he command us to confess to one under such severe penalties?

Et introducere scolam per quam est inpossibile invenire talem, foret summa blasfemia. Sacerdos autem non fit ad hoc ydoneus, nisi et noticia et observancia legis dei. Et illam scolam papa diminuit, faciens ydolatras sitire mundana plus quam beatitudinem animarum. Faciat igitur quemlibet fidelem habere prium sacerdotem ydoneum ad illud officium, et tunc obliget, dum racio et utilitas ad hoc movent. Sed non vadunt ad hoc ydiote promocio, ecclesiarum parochialium appropriacio, primorum fructuum, qui forent instrumenta disponendi presbiterum, candens colleccio, et a doctrina scripture per tradiciones humanas multiplicatas sacerdotum abstraccio. Infinita sunt talia, ut cardinalium et alienigenarum | promocio ac indigenarum aliunde habilium ad officium illud distraccio. Obligans itaque fideles tam contrarie est sathanas in abstracto.

And the Sects introduced have rendered it impossible to find such a one: the knowledge of God's law, now neglected, is necessary for that.

Let the Pope first give us proper priests, and then oblige us to confess.

But the way to this is not by corrupt patronage, appropriation of parish churches, and eager collection of first fruits, &c.

5. requirit *omnes MSS.* 6. flexo C. 7. depromfio A. 9. signatum et B. 10. ficta A; *ib.* Omnia enim ista BC. 13. aliud *in full* A. 15. obligare C. 21. sua *deest* C. 23. obligacionem A. 26. sentencia A; summe B. 35. a *deest* C. 39. humilium A.

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D. Item non est racio, quare homo ad minimum semel in anno debet taliter confiteri, quin per idem multociens, in casu quo delinquat multocies. Et sic irracionale sompnium videtur diffinire quod sufficit et requiritur ad salutem cuiuscumque semel in anno taliter confiteri; quocienscumque eget medico tam necessario, debet, propter infinitum maius periculum quam aliquid corporale, ad medelam sanitatis, omnibus aliis omissis, indilate transcurrere. Quis ergo sacerdos inponeret deo terminum miserendi, ut patet Judith 8: *Qui*, inquit, *estis vos, qui temptatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam provocet, sed pocius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat. Posuistis vos tempus miseracionis Domini, et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei.* Et sequitur: *In hoc peccato peniteamus.* Si igitur fidelis per annum preservat se a mortali, quis cogeret eum de necessitate salutis confiteri, ut ipsemet instituit? Si autem de necessitate salutis magis indigeat, quis diffidit minus deo sufficere? Per hoc enim quod limitatur peccantem semel in anno taliter confiteri, intelligitur quod hoc requiritur et sufficit cuicunque; et utrumque istorum est falsum. Debuit igitur mandasse quod omnis fidelis debet, quocienscunque eguerit, taliter confiteri. Sic quod papa nec potest facere quod quilibet sic egeat quo ad deum, nec excusare quoscunque qui sic faciunt, si plus egent. Supra vires itaque foret blasfemi constituere talem legem.

Nam, ut instant logici, multi habent discrecionem ad conterendum, et tamen sunt naturaliter surdi et muti. Multi eciam statim post discrecionem sunt subito mortui. Multi etiam vagantes per patrias non habent proprios sacerdotes, et cum huiusmodi legis obligacio non obligat quemcunque cristianum pro semper, quia sic teneretur quilibet pro semper confiteri proprio sacerdoti; et si semper obligat, non pro semper; satis est, ut arguunt logici, quod semel in quocunque anno confiteatur proprio sacerdoti; et sic multiplicantur mille logicales instancie, quod hec lex fuit false et inprovide promulgata. Nam fideli confitente pro anno in comunitate cum reliquo et post statim decedente in gracia, non imputabitur sibi

Again, if a man ought to confess once a year, he should confess as often as he falls into sin and not wait.

It is therefore unreasonable to make that term suffice for salvation;

besides, it is fixing a time for God's mercy.

If a man can keep for one year from mortal sin, why confess? And if he falls oftener, once a year will not suffice for God. 'It is required to confess once a year' implies that 'It is sufficient'. Both are false; the right order would have been, 'Confess according to your need'.

Exceptional cases: some cannot confess, being deaf and dumb; some die suddenly at the age of discretion; some are wanderers, and have no 'proper priests'. And there are endless difficulties about the perpetual obligation of this law;

3. mlto^oo (= multociens) A. 6. enim BC. 9. igitur C. 15. iterum *pro* igitur C. 20. totaliter C. 21. cuicuq; A. 25. quocienscunque A. 29. convertendum AB. 31. quilibet *deest* A. 35. non *twice* A. 37. multipliciter C. 40. et *deest* AC.

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if v. g. a man should die *just* a year after his last confession, he would not have confessed the year of his death; a year is always beginning; so we ought to be always confessing:

quod pro anno mortis non est taliter confessus. Et si loquitur de annis in communitatibus, debet confiteri continue, cum pro quolibet instanti unus annus incipit, et alius terminatur. Item, quod omnis fidelis debet sic E. confiteri omnia peccata sua videtur mirabile, quia nec in generali, nec in speciali. Nam per generalem confessionem non innotescit absolventi quomodo penitenciam iniungeret, et de remedio provideret; et si dicta lex exigit confessionem specialem, videtur irracionabilis propter multa. Primo, quia quantumcunque memorati ad minus infra mensem perderent circumstancias agravantes: quomodo igitur datur sibi licencia expectandi per undecim menses? Non enim valet quod habet licenciam a lege ecclesie sic exspectare, et tamen pro mora illa dampnabitur lege dei. Tunc enim forent ille leges contrarie, et statutum Romani episcopi lex iniqua, cum ipsam implens dampnabitur; oportet igitur ad iustificacionem huius legis statuere ut non diucius expectet confessionem, quam plene recolit de circumstancia aggravante; ergo non taxaretur licencia durandi exclusive per annum.

The Decree does not say whether the confession must be general or particular. If the first, there can be no suitable penance given. If the second, we cannot remember all circumstances after the lapse of a month; and the penitent will be damned for not remembering them after a year!

Both priests and prelates are now unable to distinguish what sins and what virtues are;

Similiter tam prelati quam subditi sic abducuntur per scolam aliquam quod ignorant ut plurimum tam crimina quam virtutes. Ex quo videtur quod comunitas cristianorum racione legis huius necessitatur incidere in mortale. Nam ab infimo laico usque ad Romanum pontificem, nec scitur quando generaliter peccatur mortaliter, nec quomodo mortalia et venialia distinguuntur: cum ex fide scripture patet quod multá sunt peccata et hereses, que prelati cecati non ponderant; ymmo, prosequendo putant se obsequium prestare deo, cum alios ewangelicos persecuntur tamquam hereticos. Papa igitur, statuens quod omnes adulti confiteantur sic discrete omnia peccata, ordinaret vel promoveret quod ipsa peccata cognoscent; ad quod non promovet, sed

they are blinded, thinking that sins are not sins, or that they even render God service by persecuting the godly. Thus they are unable to

2. loquens A: loquimur C; *ib.* comunicantibus A; comitantibus C. 4. determinatur B. 5. omnia *deest* B. 7. absolventem B. 10, 11. memorativus infra C. 12. sibi *deest* A. 14. et *deest* B; *ib.* proniora A. 18. quod *pro* ut AC. 20. igitur C. 23. aliam AC. 25. huius legis C. 26. Nota *in marg.* A. 31. obsequia C. 32. persequentur A. 33. sic *deest* A. 35. cognoscerent C.

11. Some Catholic catechisms admit the necessity of giving the 'aggravating circumstances': which is, I believe, denied by many theologians; but all say that a sin forgotten is a sin forgiven.

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impedit se et suos; et sic statuens implicite ut cognoscant ista, implicat in contradiccionem more diaboli scolam suam. Similiter prelati ligantur precipue vinculis diaboli, et sunt expertes potestatis clavium. Quomodo ergo statueret papa legem, quod subditi a talibus absolvantur? Omnia enim talia statuta tacite includunt blasfemiam, | quia auctor eorum dicit se posse in contradictoria, supra deum. Quomodo ergo obligaret me ut confitear prelato, qui est plenus discipulus anticristi?

confess, for the Pope cannot make them know what is and what is not sin.

The faithful cannot be forced to confess to Antichrist's disciples.

Item, non sciunt aut nolunt in propria persona servare legem predictam, cum vix unquam vere peniteant, dicente decreto sub auctoritate Crisostomi de penitencia dist. I[a] "Quis aliquando vidit clericum cito penitenciam agentem? Et si deprehensus humiliaverit se, non ideo dolet quia peccavit, sed confunditur quia perdidit gloriam suam." Notemus ergo omnes prelatos symoniacos in penitencia induratos, et consideremus ex fide quod non prodest, sed obest sic talibus confiteri. Et patet quod lex predicta cum facto autoris reddidit subiectos perplexos. Non enim est vera penitencia, ut patet ex dictis sanctorum, dum confitens recidivat, vel ad minimum dum confitens non conteritur. Cum ergo hoc sit solius dei concedere, videtur quod ordinans talem legem ut quilibet sic confiteatur, nedum blasfemat, sed extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, negociando de populo: blasfemum itaque est quemquam non deum statuere ut aliquis vere confiteatur. Esset ergo bonum, quod sic presumens de propria blasfemia conteratur et curreret lex Cristi de penitencia, sicut olim.

They themselves ignore or disobey the law: Chrysostom alludes to the infrequency of penance in the clergy.

It is of no use, and is even hurtful, to confess to a simoniacal priest.

And unless the penitent never falls again (which God alone can know) this confession is no true penance.

The law is therefore blasphemous.

Christ's doctrine of penance should be reverted to.

Item, tam ex parte insufficiencie, quam ex parte infundabilis oneris sacerdotis, videtur quod auricularis confessio sit temere introducta. Nam sacerdos nescit discrete aptare penitenciam ad delictum, nec limitare medicinalem penitenciam ad cavendum culpam hominis in futurum: sed iuxta decretalem predictam, hoc requiritur ad discrecionem sacerdotis; ergo ex defectu sacerdotis ydonei est lex predicta irracionalis. Assumptum videtur ex hoc quod, cum delictum sit comissum in deum, omnis pena quam peccator posset hic sufferre

The priest is besides excessively burdened by this unreasonable law.

No penance can be sufficient to punish an offence against God.

5. igitur C. 6. *In marg.:* In nomine domini A. 10. volunt B. 16. igitur C. 22. revertitur AB. 25. quo A; *ib.* deus *deest* A. 28. sua *pro* de B. 31. omnis. *corr. in marg.* oneris C; *ib.* au'icla'rs = auricularis AC. 36. igitur C. 39. sufficere AB.

13. Decr. Grat. De Penitencia, c. 87.

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foret nimis modica, cum propter contemptum terreni regis inferunt legitime gravem mortem. Nec valet dicere quod misericordia dei supplet et acceptat quamcunque penitenciam quam sacerdos iniunxit. Primo, quia tunc ad hoc non requiritur discrecio sacerdotis, quod est contra legem predictam; 2° quia, cum deus multis non miseretur ad eorum salutem propter parvitatem attricionis et penitencie, nec subiacet humane noticie taxare proportionem istorum ad voluntatem dei. Nam videtur quod temerarium sit sacerdotem de talibus sibi incognitis iudicare. Tercio, quia diversi sacerdotes diversos gradus penitencie pro eodem peccato iniungunt; sicut quondam iniungebatur penitencia de culpa pro minori peccato, ut patet de penitencia. Oportet igitur quod aliquis vel singulus talis confessor erret in penitenciam iniungendo. Cum enim penitencie sint opposite, implicantes contradiccionem, oportet quod aliqua deo displiceat; quia aliter contradictoria placerent deo: ut, quod isti peccatori iniungatur tanta penitencia, et non amplior. Sicut ergo iustum est secundum taxacionem divinam, quod peccator subeat tantam penam diu antequam sacerdos absolverit; sic eque iustum est, postquam penitenciam iniunxerit, cum deus non mutat voluntatem vel liberacionem iusticie propter opus errabile sacerdotis. Et ex isto videtur quod, sacerdotibus variantibus in penitencia eiusdem pro eodem peccato, alter eorum erraret, vel uterque; cum non sit fingenda racio quare iustum esset Petrum iniungere Paulo tantam penitenciam et Linum iniungere sibi tam variam, maiorem aut minorem, pro eodem crimine. Oportet igitur quod alter eorum erret a iusticia voluntatis divine; nec est racio, quin uterque.

God's mercy accepts any penance, there is no necessity for the priest to be prudent. Some lose their souls for want of penance, a want that no man can estimate.

For the same sin, different priests command different penances; it follows that one or the other must err, or all of them;

for it is not just that two men should be punished differently for the same sin.

Nec valet secunda ficcio, quod sufficit ad delecionem G.
peccati per sacramentum penitencie cuiuscunque pene iniunccio, cum homo solvet residuum pene in purgatorio; quia sic sacerdos stultissimus posset eque iuste penitenciam iniungere, cum iusticie domini tam varie maius et minus susciperent. Item, ex tali dubio, ex indiscreta iniunccione penitencie confessus tuus dampnabitur et nunquam veniet ad purgatorium; ergo iniunccio fatua. Sicut enim confessor ex prudencia et caritate potest mereri confesso suo beatitudinem, ita ex stulticia

To say that any penance is sufficient, because the rest will be done in Purgatory, puts the least and the most intelligent priest on the same level; besides, on account of the penance wrongly imposed, the penitent may

9. divinam *pro* dei nam AC. 11. diversos *deest* C. 14. *after* penitencia, *a gap* C. 19. pena B. 20. igitur C. 21. penam *deest* A. 27. sint A. 37. duo B. 39. igitur.

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sua et peccato potest causare in eo dampnacionem. Ideo temerarium videtur iniungere confesso penitenciam indiscrete. Similiter iuxta loquentes, penitencia in purgatorio erit diuturnior et infinitum gravior quam peni-
5 tencia hic in via: ex quo sequitur quod stultissimum et periculosissimum est sacerdotem iniungere penitenciam indiscrete. Nam infinitum gravius foret ex errore facere quod confessus duret diucius in purgatorio per unum diem, quam foret ex errore vel dolo tollere totam con-
10 fessi substanciam. Sed secundum foret manifesta iniusticia; ergo evidencius primum. Studiosissime itaque studeret confessor artem penitenciam iniungendi; et cum illa ars nullibi docetur, et specialiter in scriptura, que est lex per se sufficiens ad regimen cuiuslibet cristiani,
52ᵃ 15 evidens est | quod preter fidem scripture fingitur confessio introducta. Quomodo igitur manet caritas, que
1 Cor. XII, 15 *non querit que sua sunt* in ipso confessore, cum non curat ex sua stulticia causare confesso suo penam purgatorii quantumcunque longam, sive perpetuam in in-
20 ferno; et cum curat solicite quod confessus suus solvat sibi decimas? Ymmo alia bona indebita nititur symoniace extorquere. Papa igitur statuens talem legem traderet artem taxandi penitencias ad peccata et iniungeret scolam noscendi hanc artem sacerdotibus, cum nullibi exprimitur
25 in scriptura.

Nec valet dicere quod penitencie sunt modo arbitrarie, et ita a quocunque sacerdote confessore cognite: nam ad arbitrandum illas requiritur summa discrecio. Illam autem artem non curant superiores ecclesie, nec peni-
30 tenciarii; et variacio iniunccionis penitencie docet confessos quod penitenciarius sepe errat. Et quantum ad studium artis date in *De penitencia* per distincciones, patet quod modice aut nichil student in illis. Ideo parvipensio istius scole reddidit prelatos suspectos quod
35 non credunt istam sentenciam quam docent laicos; quia tunc curarent diligencius salutem propriam. Unde creditur quod non iniungunt penitencias taxatas in canone; quia pauci vel nulli ad eas accederent confitendi. Ydeo, ut alliciant propter subieccionem et questum, fingunt

go to Hell, thus missing Purgatory.

And the pains of Purgatory being so much greater than any in this life, it is a greater injustice to expose a penitent to one day there, than to take away all his fortune.

This art of imposing right penances ought to be learnt with great care; but no rules for it are to be found in Scripture.

If the confessor is more particular about tithes than about the state of the man's soul, he is without charity.

The law of confession implies the art of enjoining penances proportionate to sins.

If it be said that penances now depend on the priest's will, this very fact renders a good choice more difficult.

It is certain that very little trouble is taken that way, and that consequently prelates themselves do not believe what they teach the laity.

They do not follow the ancient Canons, because no one would then confess.

9. forte C. 10. manifeste C. 10, 11. iniustum BC. 11. igitur C; *ib.* studiosissimi A. 12. confessor *deest* AC. 14. regnum AB. 18. in B. 19. in *deest* B. 21. bona A. 27. confessore B. 31. se *pro* sepe A. 33. modicum BC. 34. reddid BC. 38. accedunt C. 39. ad A.

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And they therefore give out that any penance is enough. Either the Canons were, or the priests are wrong. If the priests of old were able to apply penances with, prudence the same ought now to be done.

ut satis est de quacunque penitencia quam ipsi voluerint arbitrari; et tamen, vel sequitur quod antique penitencie fuerunt colecte improvide, vel temere sunt dimisse. Nam in multis esset hodie tam necessarium iniungere gravem penitenciam ut tunc erat, et aptare peccatis manifestis penitenciam regulariter collectam, ut tunc fecerant. Nec est racio quod taxantes illam penitenciam sciverunt proporcionare illam ad fortitudinem persone, ad longevitatem vite, ad conformitatem voluntatis divine, quin per idem et modo scirent; quia aliter forent penitenciarii nimis stulti.

The reason the old laws are not followed is not because priests are able to do without them, or wanting in authority or knowledge; but that they are worldly, and prefer imposing fines to any other penance. As for penance as a cure for the soul, it exists no longer; the prelates &c. ought to be hung for the harm they do to souls (as bad physicians, to bodies); and the Church should keep a strict watch over the medicines that they give.

Nec valet dicere quod ideo non dant hodie regulas sicut olim, quia sacerdotes sunt hodie discreciores arbitrii, vel deficit eis auctoritas, vel sciencia taxandi: et sic de aliis ficticiis. Quin pocius sunt dediti circa mundum, et negligunt ac nesciunt talia statuere vel discere; quia tunc convinceretur eorum ignorancia, et destrueretur eorum penitencia pecuniaria, qua taxant subditos nunc ad votum. Et quantum ad artem aptandi medicinam de cavendo peccatum in futurum, patet quod ex toto periit. Et tamen, supposita tanta necessitate eius, ut modo fingitur, prelati et penitenciarii proditores pessimi suspendendi. Si enim medicus corporalis ex negligencia artis occideret magnatem vel simplicem, ipse foret apud deum et homines dignus morte. Quanto magis, cum quis obligat se habere artem et medicinas salvandi animas, et tamen propter stulticiam suam dampnantur perpetuo! Illam igitur medicinam debet ecclesia examinare assidue, cum nova ingrediencia nimis sophisticantur hodie; et sic periculum et temeritas sacerdotis cogerent examinare istam materiam et excutere falsitatem putridam coram deo.

This law is besides suspected of heresy; because it requires the penitent to be alone, which excludes public penance, and the use of an interpreter, and (blasphemy!) the presence and aid of God.

Item, videtur legem predictam et novitates adiectas esse suspectas de heresi propter multa. Primo, quia statuit quod omnis fidelis discretus debet confiteri solus omnia peccata sua semel in anno proprio sacerdoti. Stat enim hominem confiteri in penitencia multorum, et per interpretem, multis audientibus atque iuvantibus: ergo non est racio nec ad necessitatem salutis requisicio

1. quod C. 3. collecte C. 5. tam gravem B. 6. matris *pro* manifestis *omnes MSS.* 8. proporcionaliter A. 9. longitudinem B. 10. quando *pro* quin C; *ib.* alter A. 15. quando C. 23. suspedendi A. 26. medicinam C. 27. cum C; *ib.* suam *deest* C. 28. dampnatur *omnes MSS.* 29. nova *deest* A. 31—33. examinare — predictam *deest* A. 31. extrudere C. 39. igitur C.

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Joh. XVI,32 quod confiteatur sic solus, cum oportet deum inspirando assistere. Ipse autem excludit solitudinem in Cristo
I. ut patet Joh. Et confirmatur eo quod blasfemum est dicere quod solus confitens facit opus. Si dicatur quod
5 intelligitur quod confitens sit solus vel sola quantum ad audicionem vel noticiam, patet quod hoc non oportet; quia, multis noscentibus culpam vel tunc vel ante, non minus (ceteris paribus) stat remissio aput deum. Quis, inquam, dubitat quin ignorante utraque persona stat
10 multos latenter audire confessionem que non minus eo erit valida confessio? nec est talis confessio magis meritoria quam illa publica et gloriosa confessio latronis, Luce 23. *Nos,* inquit, *iuste, nam digna factis recipimus: hic vero nichil mali gessit. Et dicebat ad Jesum: Domine,*
15 *memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum. Et dixit illi Jesus: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.* Tam vero autenticam et solempnem confessionem auricularem nemo inveniet in scriptura. Similiter, illa solitaria et infundabilis confessio dat occasionem effreni
20 in voluptatibus abscondite volutandi. Nam, occasione istius legis, frequenter sacerdos intrat cum femina in cameras vel in alia loca abscondita et serata, et ibi instinctu diaboli perpetrant multa facinora; ut novit ecclesia. Ideo videtur melius statuisse quod confiteatur
25 in ecclesia in multorum presencia. Unde sophiste dicunt
52b Oxonie, quod lex ista solum pro hermofroditis | sit valida, vel aliter ex ipsa sequitur conclusio incongrua, scilicet quod femina discreta debet confiteri sic solus. Sic enim dicunt quod hec locutio est falsa vel incongrua, *omnis*
30 *homo est solus.* Nec videtur quod habet auctoritatem a scriptura, nisi forte dictum sapientis Ecclesiastis 4, *Ve soli.*

Similiter hec adinvencio excitat penitenciarios ad depromendum peccata, et ut insontes postmodum pu-

It also implies that the confession is not valid, if overheard; which often happens without either penitent or priest knowing of it.

And no private confession can equal that of the good thief; which was public, not auricular; of which latter no mention is to be found in Scripture.

The privacy of confession, as is well known, also gives occasion to many sins of lust.

Solus cannot apply to a person of the feminine sex.

"Woe to him that is alone!" says Scripture.

Confessors are thereby urged to tell the sins of their penitents.

2. enim B; *ib.* sollicitudinem A. 5. sic C. 8. minis B. 11. confessio *deest* AC; *ib.* plus *pro* nec est talis confessio magis B; nec est talis privata B; *ib. after* talis, privata C; *ib.* magis *deest* A. 17. et *deest* B. 22. abdita AC. 26. est BC. 28. sola A. 33. vel *pro* hec B. 34. depromerendum A; *ib.* per *corr. in* post C.

25. Such an order exists at present; confessions (at least of women) are never heard unless in church and in a confessional; in some countries this rule extends to all penitents. 28. *Solus.* This is a logical quibble, of which many examples are to be found in *Logica,* now publishing. If both sexes must confess, women must: but in order to be, according to the law, *solus,* she would require to be masculine.

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It is in many cases lawful and right to do so; yet a most cruel law condemns to degradation and perpetual prison in a monastery, him that reveals the secrets of confession; such a punishment could not be given even by God, much less by Antichrist.

niantur. Nam nedum diabolus est pronus ad inclinandum facere tam irracionabiliter iniunctum, sed foret in casu ad honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie depromere confessum, ut patet posterius. Et crudelitas legis patet 11 decretalium, ubi supra: ubi dicitur quod sacerdos confessionem detegens, non solum a sacerdotali officio deponatur, sed ad agendum perpetuam penitenciam in monasterio detrudatur. Et constituere tales penas pro tali transgressione videtur deo non posse conpetere; quanto magis non debet conpetere anticristo, licet extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus!

By the clause relating to confession *proprio sacerdoti*, he is no longer the rector or curate,

Quantum ad secundum verbum, quod debet confiteri *proprio sacerdoti*, videtur suspectum, cum subiungit: "Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulet et obtineat a proprio sacerdote, cum aliter ipse illum non posset solvere vel ligare." Hic patet restriccio ultra racionem que K. fuit in primitiva ecclesia. Unde, quamvis proprius sacerdos videatur esse curatus vel rector vel parrochialis sacerdos, tamen hodie ad tantum variatus est terminus quod ille censetur proprius sacerdos, quemcunque voluerit papa symoniace limitare. Sed Urbanus secundus, de penitencia dist. 2ª sic loquitur: "placuit, ut deinceps nulli sacerdotum liceat quemlibet comissum alteri sacerdoti ad penitenciam suscipere sine eius consensu, cui se prius comisit, nisi per ignoranciam illius cuius penitens prius confessus est." Sic igitur secundum variaciones temporis fiunt varia confessionis comercia, et multiplicantur adinvenciones blasfemie. Cristus enim nescivit legem contrariam isti quod quicunque cristianus teneatur libere confiteri cuicunque sacerdoti quem sciverit vel probabiliter crediderit sanius consulere. Sed post *effeminati* tantum *dominantur eis* quod vendunt blasfeme animas, quia ducatum earum ad tarthara, sicut si quis venderet bovem aut asinum. Sed non est conveniens

but only the priest chosen by Rome.

No priest is allowed to confess another's penitent without the confessor's permission, unless in case of ignorance.

So now, instead of every Christian being free, as in Christ's time, to confess to any priest,

Isa. III, 4

2. ro na² C. 5. 5° BC. 8. Mo/ A; monasterium C. 14. autem *deest* B. 19. *after* curatus, ut *corr. ex* vel A. 20. est *deest* A. 23. 6ta B. 26. pro B. 28. commercio B. 30. istam AC. 34. corum A; *ib.* tarth'a A; *ib.* sicut *deest* B; *ib.* si *deest* AC.

5. Decr. Greg. (as in note, p. 112). 17. We may note that, whatever may have been the custom in Wyclif's time, parish priests at present either give public leave to choose any confessor, or are understood to do so by their silence. This clause therefore, like many other canons of discipline, seems practically to have fallen into disuse. 23. Decr. Grat. De Penit. dist. VI, c. 3.

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eorum testimonium, cum subiungit, quod volens ex iusta causa confiteri sacerdoti alteri licenciam postulet et obtineat, cum aliter alienus sacerdos non posset eum solvere vel ligare. Ecce misera captivacio laici, quem oportet contra ius poli petere et habere licenciam a sacerdote captivante, quantumcunque stultus et invidus fuerit, ad faciendum voluntatem dei, quia salutarem iusticiam! Talis, inquam, in maiori parte preficitur et ydonei presubtrahuntur. Quomodo ergo oportet petere licenciam a papa, ab episcopo vel curato, quando scitur quod lex Cristi licenciat? Non est racio, si non ut ficta obediencia faciat anticristi discipulos superbire.

he is obliged to beg leave, even when he has good reasons for wishing to go to another priest, or the latter has no jurisdiction!

Thus he must beg leave of a man to do what is allowed by Christ's law.

Similiter blasfemum et contrarium legi papali est quod sine sacerdotis proprii licencia alius non poterit datum subditum solvere vel ligare, quia sic episcopus non posset licenciare subditum ad confitendum alii discreto presbitero, nisi malivolus curatus consenciat. Sed, sicut non licet alieno tractare uxorem alterius, eciam licet ipse consenserit, ita videtur de ecclesia cui
L. ydiota symoniace desponsatur. Unde dicunt satrape quod sicut papa potest licenciare spiritualem filiam vel uxorem tractari ab extero, invito curato sive marito, similiter deus habilitans et potestatem conferens cuicunque sacerdoti ad audiendum confessiones cuiuscunque alterius, eo ipso illud licenciat. Si igitur papa vel quicunque alius hoc impedit, est manifeste Cristo contrarius. Grave itaque est in tam excellenti officio spiritui sancto resistere.

Besides, this is contrary to Church discipline; if the 'proper priest' alone can give jurisdiction to another, his Bishop has then no power to do so.

But if God confers the priesthood, He also confers on him the right to hear any confessions.

Sed tercium verbum sacerdotale, in quo ponitur vis tocius sacramenti, est illud: *absolvo te*, cuius fundacionem, sicut penitencie descripcionem, est difficile reperire; et blasfemum est reponere deo negligenciam vel ignoranciam quo ad illud, quin, sicut docuit formam verborum baptismi, sic doceret ecclesiam formam verborum sacramenti penitencie, si vellet illud sacramentum esse tam

The words "I absolve thee" are not to be found in Scripture; so either this sacrament is not so necessary as Baptism, or God was neglectful.

4. quem *deest* B. 6. ĩm̃dus = immundus C. 11. ut *deest* A. 21. vel uxorem *deest* B; *in marg. erasum* C. 22 curato sive *deest* AB; sive *deletum* C. 28. fac^{ie} AC. 29. absolvente A; absolvo te C. 31 inponere deo C.

22. *Similiter* etc. I think some words must be wanting here, as Wyclif makes his adversaries say just what they absolutely deny. If, however, the reader ventures to transpose the order of the first words in the sentence thus: *Unde* sicut *dicunt* satrape quod papa, etc. — the sense is restored without supposing anything to be wanting.

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necessarium ecclesie, ut modo fingitur. Sed sicut prelati cecantur in materia de quidditate eukaristie, sic cecantur in materia de quidditate penitencie. Forma igitur istorum verborum potest ex hoc inpugnari, quod apostoli non sunt usi secundum talem formam, *absolvere*. Et iterum est inductum blasfeme, ex errore sensus catholici, dicere quod presbiter sic absolvit. Sicut enim sacerdos dimittit vel remittit peccata populi, ita debet quilibet cristianus, ut patet Matth. 16 et Matth. 18. Et iterum incertum est penitenciario, si sit verum vel mendacium quod ipse absolvit penitentem. Et cum non debet mentiri pro toto mundo, videtur quod non debet sine revelacione | verbum illud ut sacramentale asserere. Sic enim ex sibi dubio imponeret deo auctorisacionem mendacii. Quod autem ex sibi dubio hoc verbum sit falsum, patet tam ex parte penitentis, quam absolventis. Ex parte penitentis, cum ignorat si ipsemet sit contritus: et evidencius, qui absolvit. Absolvens autem, eciam sicut penitens, ignorat si in penam peccati finalis inpenitencie aliquod crimen dimiserit, vel ex aliqua alia negligencia false penituerit. Ex parte vero absolventis, ignoratur si sit prescitus vel membrum ecclesie; si sit hereticus ex symonia, quam defendit opere vel consensu; cum quot-quot similibus, ex quibus impediretur vera absolucio aput deum.

This form was not used by the Apostles: the words are besides wrong, as implying a power of forgiveness which all Christians exercise. And the Confessor, whilst uttering the words, does not know whether they are true. The penitent himself does not know if he is contrite; much more his confessor. He may have forgotten some crime through negligence; he may be a castaway and no true member of the Church; or a heretic, &c.

Matth. XVI. 19; XVIII. 18

53ᵃ

Nec valet dicere quod absolucio sit solum condicionata et quatenus deus acceptaverit; tum quia tolleretur certitudo absolucionis ab ipso confesso, cum scit, quod non sequitur: "Absolvo te, si deus voluerit," ergo, "absolvo te vel do tibi aliquod remedium spirituale;" tum eciam quia sic nedum sacerdos extraneus, sed eciam laicus posset a peccato quocunque absolvere. Unde tam sacerdos quam confitens notaret indisposicionem presbiteri absolventis, docente decreto de penitencia dist. 6ᵃ ex

It will not do to say that the absolution is conditioned, because then there would be no more certainty of pardon, and anybody could absolve in that way.

2, 3. eukaristie — quidditate *deest* C. 5. nisi AB. 9. 6ᵗᵒ B; *ib.* 8 C; *ib.* Et *deest* B. 15. fit A. 17. si A. 18. eciam *deest* A. 19. penitenciam AB. 27. zſi ꝯ̃ts (= et si in quatenus) A; si et qꝫs C. 29. igitur C. 34. dicentis docente A.

10. *Verum vel mendacium.* We should note that the formula of absolution contains the restriction: *in quantum possum et tu indiges.* 27, 28. *Certitudo.* What Wyclif supposes absolution should give is absolute certitude of forgiveness; which is a very rare thing indeed. St. Bernard used to apply this passage to himself: *nescit homo utrum amore an odio dignus sit.* 34. Decr. Grat. De Penit. D. VI, c. 1.

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testimonio Augustini: "Qui vult confiteri peccata sua, ut inveniat graciam, querat sacerdotem scientem solvere et ligare, ne cum negligens circa se extiterit, negligatur
M. a deo." Et sequitur "Quicunque confitetur omnino con-
5 fiteatur sacerdoti meliori quem potest habere". "Non petat," inquit, "sacerdotes per aliquam culpam ab unitate ecclesie divisos; Judas enim qui penitens ivit ad phariseos, relinquens apostolos, nichil invenit auxilii, nisi augmentum desperacionis. Dixerunt enim: *quid ad*
10 *nos? tu videris*". Ita declarat sanctus esse de sacerdotibus absolventibus qui symonia vel aliquo crimine sunt fedati. Et forte a summo pontifice usque ad infimum fratrem, omnes sunt symoniaci voluntate, opere vel consensu; et artem medendi ignorant, et per consequens carent clavium
15 potestate. Et in talibus casibus, secundum doctrinam Augustini (ibidem) debet homo confiteri fideli laico, dimissis sacerdotibus sic suspectis; quia, si non secuntur Cristum in moribus et pretendunt se esse eius vicarios, habentes potestatem mediandi inter deum et populum,
20 nulli sunt magis extranei a sacerdotali potestate vel vero nomine sacerdotis.

And the qualities of the confessor are also to be remarked: Augustine says that we must not confess to a priest separated from the Church, or tainted by simony.

And it may well be that from the Pope downwards, all priests are in such a case; we ought then to prefer to confess to one of the faithful laity.

Et patet quod error accidit in ministerio ecclesiasticorum ex defectu ordinatorum, ex defectu ordinariorum et suorum officiariorum, et utrumque. Ex errore ordi-
25 nariorum, qui ignorantes legem et ordinacionem Cristi ab ipsa exorbitant. Unde 25[a], q. Ult. sub auctoritate Leonis pape sic scribitur. "Si qui episcopi talem consecraverint sacerdotem qualem esse non liceat, eciam si aliquo modo dampnum proprii honoris evaserint,
30 ordinacionis ius amplius non habebunt. Nec umquam eidem sacramento intersint, quod, neglecto divino iudicio, inmerito prestituerunt generaliter: veluti dum civitati episcopalis dignitas perpetuo subtrahitur, que suos episcopos interimere consuevit." Ex ista lege papali,
35 preponderanciori multis evangelium observatis, patet primo quod nullus episcopus debet ordinare quemquam presbiterum, nisi habuerit revelacionem vel evidentem noticiam, per strictam examinacionem tam in moribus per testificacionem quam in noticia fidei per prudentem

Priests may be wrongly ordained through the fault of the Ordinaries and their officials, of the candidates, or of both. By Canon law any Bishop, ordaining to the priesthood one that is not worthy, should no longer ordain.

Therefore no Bishop can ordain, unless the worthiness of the priest is evident to him.

3. tamen C; *ib.* se *deest* A. 4. qui ergo B; qui igitur C; *ib.* animo A. 7. diversos A. 13. volente A; *ib.* consensum A. 28. sacerdocio B. 30. ulterius C. 33. qui A. 37. habeat C. 38. tam *deest* A.

26. Decr. Grat. 2[a] Pars, C[a] XXV, qu. 2, c. 24.

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opinionem; quia ordinando inhabiles perdunt ius quemquam ulterius ordinandi.

Priests, if their Bishop have no power to ordain them, are mere laymen; it were therefore better if there were none such, as the sacraments which they dispense are worthless.

Et patet quod presbiteri ex defectu potestatis episcopi sunt, ut prius, laici; nisi forte deus ex gracia nobis ignota ante evidenciam operis virtuosi suppleat. Nec oportet timere de defectu numeri sacerdotum, quia melius esset habere paucos vel nullos huiusmodi quam quantumcunque multitudinem onerosam, cum non in illis vel sacramentis eorum consistat salus populi. Patet secundo quod, si papa ordinet ineptum episcopum vel quemcunque ecclesie officiarium, incidit in idem periculum; tum quia papa est episcopus, et sui episcopi sacerdotes; tum eciam quia forcior est racio in superiori prelato et subiecto diligencius ordinando. Et patet de papis quod sunt discoli, ordinando pseudo-cardinales et pseudo-episcopos. Ideo, nisi affuerit potestas episcopi animarum, olim fuisset vinea Cristi sicut Sodoma et Gomora. Et patet tercio, quomodo civitates multe, sicut et prelati, merentur carere suis episcopis el subiectis. Maius est enim spiritualiter occidere corpus prelati vel animam, quam corporaliter corpus occidere, cum hoc potest esse meritorium utrobique, sed propter occisionem corporalem communitas prelato privabitur; igitur evidencius propter aliquam maiorem. Et per consequens rex vel comunitas, dotando suum episcopum qui exhinc dissipaverit legem Cristi, meretur prelato vero destitui, cum deus iustissime illud facit. Et utinam comunitates usque ad non gradum ex ista lege privarentur prelatis cesareis! Et pari evidencia carerent episcopi et archidiaconi officialibus et decanis, cum aliis ministris, principaliter pro questu temporalium introductis; et purgaretur ecclesie Cristi a fecibus, posita in ordinacione Cristi primeva. Et idem est iudicium de rege vel domino, episcopum vel curatum dei servicio proditorie distrahente, et in perdicionem regni celorum suo servicio mancipante. Et patet irracionabilitas legis "Omnis utriusque sexus" iuxta sentenciam racionis secunde.

and their ordination is an act of perversity.

As spiritual is worse than bodily homicide, any King or community perverting Bishops by endowments deserves to have none.

The like holds good of any archdeacons, deans or officials instituted by the prelates for the sake of lucre: the Church ought to be purified of all such, and also of all rulers who draw the clergy to their own service.

The law obliging all to confess once a year is unjust;

Ex istis colligitur quod homo extolleretur super omne quod dicitur deus, qui pro lege statueret quod deficiens

1. opposicionem A. 15. qui A; quot B. 16. non *pro* nisi AB. 17. vera A. 18. quasi B; *ib.* quod AC. 21. corporis A; *ib.* carnaliter BC. 23. occasionem C; *ib.* carnalem C. 31. ministeriis AB. 34. domino *deest* C. 35. distrahentem *omnes MSS.*; *ib.* regis B.

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sic confiteri semel in anno, eo ipso taliter puniatur; tum quia ex lege dei non sit fundabile, nec deus requirit talem cohercionem, ut insons (sicut fuit beata virgo) vel alius per annum cavens a crimine taliter sit confessus. Ymmo, sicut obediencia facta deo sufficit ad salutem sine obediencia humanitus adinventa, sic videtur de confessione dum caret fructu fundabili necessario ad salutem, sine obediencia humanitus adinventa;

it is not founded on Holy Writ; and God does not require that an innocent person should confess. Obedience to God suffices; obedience to a human law is superfluous.

Ymmo, per idem posset statui quod confitens solvat annuatim confessori suo pecuniam aut sibi equivalens plus vel minus. Sic enim non minus laborat meridiana seduccio. In cuius evidenciam tolle lucrum, oblacionem decimarum, et questum qui ex confessione insurgeret, et confessio non curatur. Ideo videtur quod pater mendacii adinvenit hos modos nephandos ad sacerdocium inviscandum, cum undique melius exhortacione publica subiectis proficerent.

And as the effect of the law is to give profits to the clergy, it might as well be enacted that all the faithful should pay so much a year.

Unde glosari posset lex predicta: quod omnis homo debet confiteri deo continue (qui est sacerdos proprius cuicunque) et de quanto confessio ex maiori caritativa penitencia fuerit sive generalior sive particularior, de tanto est melior. Sed verisimile est quod declinantes in obligaciones ad tradiciones accidentales que fastum et questum sapiunt, fuerunt remoti ab ista sentencia. Ideo videtur melius fidelem exuere duplicitatem et oleum adulacionis, et pure secundum legem Cristi levem et mundam fideles instruere. Nec iustificat legem predictam quod in ipsa multa bona et racionabilia sunt comixta; quia sic est in mandatis et tota vita diaboli, cum deus non aliter ipsum permitteret sic regnare. Lex autem cristiana debet esse solum *lex domini inmaculata convertens animas,* et per consequens recusari debet a cunctis fidelibus propter comixcionem cuiuscunque atomi anticristi.

The law might be explained thus: all men must continually confess to God, who is then proper Priest; but this was probably not what was originally meant.

So it is better not to exercise duplicity, but follow and teach the pure law of Christ.

There is good mixed with evil in this Church canon, but only Christ's law is immaculate.

Ps. XVIII, 8

8. sive A; sine obia A. 6—8. sic — salutem *twice* B. 18. gloriari A. 20, 21. penitencia — sive *deest* A. 21. principalior C. 33. actomi AC.

4. It is a tradition to be found in Catholic mystical works, that the B. V. Mary, after the Church was founded, used to confess and take Holy Communion every day. This practice is also recommanded to priests in several religious orders.
23. *Verisimile* is a very mild expression indeed.

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CAPITULUM NONUM.

The necessity of confession to a priest examined.

Habita invalitudine legis predicte, licet faciat multa bona, superest rimari alia testimonia, quod necesse est confiteri presbitero. Recitat enim glossa ordinaria super principio dist. 5e in de penitenciis 5. opiniones in ista materia. A. 5

Some say this sacrament was instituted after Adam's sin: but no priest was there.

Prima dicit quod institutum fuit sacramentum penitencie et iniuncta vocalis confessio sacerdoti statim in paradiso post peccatum, dicente domino ad Adam, gen. 3o, *Ubi es?* quasi diceret: "penitens, considera statum tuum!" Sed illud non moneret, nisi ad penitenciam mentis domino revelandam, cum non fuit tunc supra Adam sacerdos aliquis preter deum. Secunda via dicit quod confessio cepit a Caym fratricida, quando, gen. 4o, dixit dominus ad eum: *Ubi est Abel frater tuus?* Sed tunc sacramentum haberet malam et inanem originem; nec innueret nisi confessionem fiendam deo. 3a dicit quod incepit tempore legis date Josue 7o, quando Josue dixit Achan: *da*, inquit, *gloriam deo et confitere michi quid feceris.* Sed istud videtur concludere 20 quod penitencia publica sit populo facienda. 4a via dicit quod penitencia cepit tempore legis gracie, dicente Jacobo 5o. *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem ut salvemini.* Sed illud non videtur sonare nisi in confessionem generalem reciproce fiendam a populo. 25

Gen. III, 9

Gen. IV, 9

Jos. VII, 19

Jacob. V, 16

Others that it was after the sin of Cain; which opinion implies that the first confession was a bad one.

Others make it begin with Achan's confession; this supposes public penance.

Others quote St. James, who advises only a general confession.

Ideo, 5a opinio glossantis est quod melius dicitur confessionem institutam a quadam universalis ecclesie tradicione, pocius quam ex scripture auctoritate; et illa est obligatoria ut mandatum. Sed videtur quod deus non dedit hoc mandatum in lege completissima quod 30

The last opinion derives it rather from tradition than Scripture; in which case it would not be binding.

1. Cap. *deest omnes MSS.* 2. *Initial H in red ink* C. 3. bona *deest* AB. 11. movet B. 15. deus dixit B. 18. Yozue C. 19. Achor A; Achar C. 25. in *pro* a A. 27. universalis *deest* AB. 29. obligata A; *ib.* ut mandant A. 30. debet A.

5. Decr. Grat. De Penit. D. V, c. 1.

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non obligat cristianum. Item, ecclesia eciam triumphans nichil precipit nisi auctoritate sponsi Cristi; et per consequens, si tradicio ecclesie sit licita, potissime fieret auctoritate scripture, que est verbum domini; nec videtur ecclesiam universalem istud statuisse, nisi secundum parvam partem vocate ecclesie. Ymmo religiosius viavit ecclesia, antequam introducta fuit ista consuetudo de confessione privata fienda proprio sacerdoti; ymmo, cum ecclesia instituit multa mala que religionem Cristi debilitant, videtur nimis levis evidencia, si ecclesia illud instituit, ergo bene. Instituit multas leges de 54ª dotacione ecclesie quas fuisset melius non fuisse; | et multas bonas leges instituit de prelatis et clericis, et ille in contemptum domini dei sunt plurimum suspense. Ideo oportet rimari aliud fundamentum quam consue-
B. tudinem ecclesie. Item, talis confessio adinventa dat occasionem presbitero symoniace perquirendi pecuniam; quod foret malum periculum. Et consequencia patet, eo quod sophisticari potest ex iniunccione penitencie quod pecunia sit sic lucrativa presbitero, ut patet ex experiencia comuni; ymmo sic posset sacerdos, subiciendo sibi totum populum, subvertere legem Cristi. Cum ergo caret fundamento dei, ut alia mandata, licet contempnere: videtur quod superfluit ista statuere. Et ad hoc vadunt raciones facte superius. Sequitur enim: non fundatur in scriptura; ergo non est verum vel credendum.

Even the Church triumphant commands but by Christ's authority; such a tradition could not else be lawful. Only a small part of the whole Church has made this a law; and before it existed, things went better.

Many bad laws have been made by the Church, and many good ones allowed to fall into disuse.

This confession besides gives occasion to much simoniacal extortion.

It ought therefore to be considered as superfluous.

Videtur itaque quod oris confessio sit de lege nature, supposita fide. Nam naturale est omne animal inniti iuvamini, si indigeat; sed maxima indigencia animali racionali peccanti foret liberari a peccato: ergo debet inniti iuvamini, illo supposito. Et cum inpossibile sit liberari a peccato, nisi mediante confessione, patet quod omnis criminosus debet de lege nature humiliter confiteri. Assumptum patet ex hoc quod corpora inanimata iuvantur a suis potestatibus, tam agendo quam resistendo; et evidencius de lege nature patet illud de homine. Nam homo persecutus fugit naturaliter ad locum refugii, sicut naturaliter exponit manum pro capite; quia, cum

Yet vocal confession belongs to the law of nature, if we admit revelation. The greatest need of man is to be delivered from sin; now this implies vocal confession, as a necessary means thereto.

Every natural want supposes recourse to the means of satisfying it.

1. It'm C; *ib.* triumphans eciam C. 2. scripture sponsi B. 6. vicit A. 11. enim BC. 14. domini *deest* BC. 16. diligenter inquire *in marg.* A. 18. eo *deest* AC. 19. h'riech o dron g° r'rc i'ty'n rc' *in marg. probably abbreviated Bohemian words* A. 21. *a gap afler* sacerdos A. 23. ac *pro* ut B. 24. idem *pro* hoc B. 26. igitur C; *ib.* verum *deest* BC. 27. probans quod quis naturaliter debet confiteri *in marg.* B. 31. cum *deest* B. 35. partibus AC.

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But sin, separating man from God, is infinitely worse than its punishment;

omnis substancia appetit naturaliter esse, necesse est ut appetat media necessaria ipsi esse. Et secunda proposicio patet ex fide, cum peccatum, dividens hominem a deo, sit maxime deo odibile; in tantum quod per peccatum fit homo infinitum peior quam bestia vel aliquod malum pene vel aliud pure malum pro malicia pene. Nam iusticia dei infinitum plus per se punit pro crimine, quam punit bestiam vel aliud pure pro malicia pene. Ideo omnis pene est deus auctor, sed non culpe. Et patet quod infinitum plus et optacius foret hominem liberari a crimine, quam a pena; quia in priori stat perpetua salvacio tam corporis quam anime. Sed secundum non respicit tale nisi per accidens. Et patet quod discrasia et cecitas ex peccato faciunt quod tantum parvipendimus virtutum mundicias et purgacionem a crimine. Et quantum ad terciam proposicionem, patet quod nemo mundatur a crimine nisi per deum; nec deus iuvat nolentem aut invitum ad graciam.

for the blindness ensuing therefrom causes us to make small account of virtue and holiness.

God alone frees from sin; and He does not, unless the sinner makes an effort: which is penance, according to the Fathers.

Ideo necesse est quod iustificando de peccato displiceat, et auxilium in mente a deo postulet. Et hoc est penitere: ut patet de penitencia dist. 3ª, ex auctoritate Ambrosii, Augustini, et Gregorii.

It follows that vocal confession of one to another is necessary, since as any man ought to help his brother in bodily danger, he ought to do so in spiritual peril too.

Et hec racio quare peccatores secundum scripturam nedum in mente penitent, sed in vocem prorumpunt, petentes auxilium a deo. Et ex eadem lege patet, licet C. non ex tanta inclinacione nature, quod peccator debet confiteri fratri suo. Nam naturale [est] secundum fidem communionis sanctorum, quod unumquodque membrum ecclesie iuvet aliud quo ad salutem anime consequendam. Ideo, sicut est naturale hominem inniti adiutorio alterius in periculo corporali, sic evidencius est hominem inniti suffragio alterius in periculo anime criminalis. Et sicut natura movet ad antecedens, sic ad consequens; ut videlicet apciori modo infirmus petat fratris sui suffragium, detegendo sibi morbum spiritualem cum eius

3. ho (= hominem) A. 7, 8. vel aliud — pene *deest* AB. 10. quod *deest* B; *ib.* optancius A; optacius B. 15. puipedig A. 19. nota quid est penitere *in marg.* B; *ib.* iustificandus B. 24. voce C. 27. Na nᵃale fm A; *ib.* est *deest omnes MSS.* 28. unumquidque A; unum quod que C. 31. hominem *deest* C. 32. alterius *deest* C. 34. valet *pro* vedelicet A; *ib.* peccat A.

21. Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. III, c. 1–8.

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circumstanciis, ut medicinam et suffragium meriti apcius consequatur.

Unde tempore ante legem fiebat communiter confessio soli deo, 2° tempore legis fiebat communiter confessio deo et homini; deo omnino, quia inpossibile est quod sine illo facta confessio homini valeat. Unde coram populo, coram prelato et coram sacerdotibus fiebat publice talis confessio. Coram populo et coram principe populi: patet Josue 7°, de Achor, facinus suum publice Josue et populo confitenti. Et nota quod Josue non fuit sacerdos vel de tribu Levi, ut deduxi alias ex scriptura; ut patet in decretis. Et patet quod lex dei mandat confiteri publice principi et eius populo coram sacerdotibus: patet Leviticus, 13 et 14°, de leprosis. Et meminit Cristis Luc. 17. *Ite*, inquit, *et ostendite vos sacerdotibus.* Et illa confessio ac eius iudicium debuerunt fieri publice, sine tali auriculacione; ymmo semel in anno debuit populus in summo sacerdote publice confiteri et crimina imprecata capiti hirci emissarii in desertum ipsum emittere, ut patet Levit. 16

For this reason, vocal confession was always made to God, but under the Old Law, both to God and man;

Jos. VII, 19

as in the case of Achan confessing to Joshua, who was neither priest nor levite;

Lev. XIII, XIV *passim*

Luc. XVII, 14

and in cases of leprosy;

Lev. XVI

and also once a year, when the High Priest chased the scapegoat into the wilderness.

In novo vero testamento, quo *apparuit gracia salvatoris,* fuit diu confessio facta deo et domino Jesu Cristo tanquam capiti, sine hoc quod fiebat privatim homini: ut patet de conversione Petri et Pauli, et fidelium in primitiva ecclesia conversorum; ut patet Matth. 26; Acta 2°, 3°, 4°, 5° et 9°; ubi patet quod dicti apostoli et multa milia post peccata gravissima sine tali confessione privata sunt conversa ad dominum. Unde decretum de penitencia, dist. prima: *Magna pietas;* Petrus in actibus apostolorum legitur dixisse *penitenciam agite et baptisetur unusquisque vestrum;*" quod de interiori penitencia, non | exteriori, dictum accipitur. Item Ambrosius super isto Luce 23°, ubi dicitur quod Petrus post negacionem Cristi *flevit amare,* "lacrime," inquit, "lavant delictum quod voce pudor est confiteri: lacrimas petri

Tit. II, 11

Under the New Law, confessions were first made to God and Jesus Christ, but there was no private confession to men;

as appears from Scripture,

Act. II, 38

and especially from the penitential tears of Peter.

54b

3. communiter *deest* B. 4. soli — confessio *deest* C. 8. illa *pro* illo BC. 7. et *deest* A. 9, 10. Yozue C. 11. dixi A; *ib.* in *pro* ex C. 12. *after* decretis, *a blank space* A; *ib.* Et *pro* ut A. 15. ondite (*sic*) C. 18. in *deest* B; *ib.* sacerdoti B. 22. Cristo *deest* BC. 23. privatum C. 26. 5° *deest* BC. 33. 22° BC.

18. *In summo.* I have preferred this reading, taking it to mean: *in the person of.* 31. Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. I, c. 5.

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lego, satisfaccionem non lego". Et idem ascribitur Crisostomo de penitencia, dist. 1. *Lavat.*

Afterwards, when the Holy Spirit no longer visibly assisted the Church, it became necessary to consult holy priests in confession; but this was long before the time of the Lateran Council, and was done freely.

Ex post, inquam, quando defecerunt miracula et spiritus sancti accepcio in signo sensibili, necessitata fuit ecclesia ex religione legis nature sacerdotes sanctos consulere confitendo; ut patet tempore Augustini, et diu post. Unde lex predicta, quam dicitur Innocencius tercius D. constituisse in Lateranensi consilio, fuit per multos centenos annorum post Augustinum. Et ita confessio que debuit esse summe voluntaria, perversa est ex arte principis huius mundi in exaccionem servilem; ut vel sic pateat luciferina potencia in papa, nedum seducendo vel captivando corpora, sed animas subditorum.

There are therefore three sorts of penance: one made to God alone,

with true fruits of repentance

Et ita est triplex penitencia sive confessio peccatoris: prima est devote facta deo, quam Cristus precipit, Matth. 3°. Et Baptista cum eodem themate exorsus est: *penitenciam*, inquit, *agite; appropinquat enim regnum celorum.* Et Matth. 3° precipit phariseis *facere dignos fructus penitencie.* Cum enim penitencia sit displicencia de priori vita mala cum sancto proposito convertendi, patet quod sicut fructus arboris, herbe, vel terre est illud carius fruibile quod procedit de fructificante, sic fructus penitencie est virtus fruibilis et operacio virtuosa.

Matth. III, 2

and emendation of life, which is necessary for salvation;

Ideo dicunt sancti quod non sufficit displicere de malo preterito; sed cum emendacione vite oportet deo satisfacere pro commisso, et niti per medelas scripture cavere posterius de lapsu. Isti ergo sunt digni fructus penitencie. Et istud oportet omnem peccatorem sub pena dampnacionis servare.

another made to a man, in order to receive a spiritual remedy, which proceeds from the law of nature,

Sed secunda penitencia et confessio fit recte homini ad recipiendum ex parte dei spiritualem medicinam, criminis sanativam. Et de tali penitencia et confessione locuntur sancti doctores et leges ecclesie. Et illam dixi esse de lege nature, licet inclinacio in penam peccati plurimum sit sopita. Omnis enim lex dei est lex nature prime et multe leges dei sunt leges nature secunde. Omnis vero lex iniqua vel racioni contraria est lex diaboli et lex vicii, non nature; quia autem alii restrin-

1, 2. Crisostomus A; *ib.* lavant B. 4. sensibili *deest* C. 7. Innocencium 3m *omnes MSS.* 13. vel *pro* sed A. 22. fruibile A. 34. lex nature *in marg.* B. 37. ergo A. 38. Et *pro* quia autem A; Et quod alii C.

Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. I, cap. 2. But no chapter begins with *lavat.*

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gunt legem nature per descripciones infundabiles, est labor inutilis. Et ista confessio instituta est per deum ante legem datam Moysi, et roborata est per Cristum cum Joh. 20 dicat apostolis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum, et quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.* Superflue autem dedisset apostolis istam potenciam, nisi subditi eorum tenerentur rite confitendo peccata sua illis detegere. Ideo beatus Jacobus 5° c. dicit communiter: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra.* Et notat Hugo, libro 2° de sacramentis, parte 14ª, causam quare Cristus non dedit aliis preceptum confitendi peccata apostolis, sicut dedit eis potenciam remittendi. "Audi," inquit, "quare voluit Cristus ut a semetipso surgat confessio, ne quasi extorta vel coacta videretur, cum egrorum sit diligenter salutem querere, et deum de sufficientibus medicis providere." Et hinc, ne contra legem nature cogatur populus adire imperitum medicum vel inertem, dicit Jacobus tam sacerdotibus quam secularibus in confuso quod *confiteantur alterutrum peccata* sua, non quilibet cuilibet, sed quilibet alteri ydoneo.

Joh. XX, 22

E. Jac. V, 16

confirmed by Christ's institution, giving His apostles power to forgive sins; which power would be useless, unless they knew those sins by confession.

Hugo of St. Victor points out why Christ does not speak of confession; because He wished it to come spontaneously, not by force.

In 3° autem signo magi pharaonis defecerant, exigentes ut cuicunque voluerint limitare, ut audiat confessiones alterius secundum formam et tempus quod ipsi limitare voluerint, oporteat de necessitate salutis confiteri taliter; ut patet in lege predicta. Et talem legem non reor Cristum posse statuisse. Et illam terciam confessionem quam nescitur describere vocant quidam coactam; que, quamvis sit nude limitata humanitus, tamen tantam vim ponunt in ipsa, quod solum illa sit sacramentum et nemo possit salvari, nisi ipsam acceperit secundum formam quam papa limitat. Et in ipsa sunt plena indulgencia et innominata carismata: sic tamen quod confessus faciat quidquid sacerdos mandaverit, licet fuerit summus hereticus et maximus ydiota. Sed isti parum notant quomodo Cristus, antequam istam pote-

But the third sort is the sort referred to by the Lateran Decree;

and though merely human, it is exalted into a necessary instrument of salvation, and a source of endless indulgence and grace; provided only the priest be obeyed, whoever he may be.

4. Nota *in marg.* A. 11. causam *deest* B. 10. hugo *in marg.* B. 17. populus *deest* C. 18. inhertem C. 20. sua *deest* C. 22. audiant C. 26. statuere BC.

8. It here appears that Wyclif, though most opposed to the canon "Omnis utriusque sexus", would go much farther than the very general advice to confess, given in the Book of Common Prayer. He says *tenerentur*, and admits an obligation in conscience to confess, not once a year, but as often as necessary. His difficulty is to find a priest not *prescitus*, and not actually in mortal sin. Cf. p. 140, l. 20.

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Yet Christ before he gave this power to the Apostles, said: Receive the Holy Ghost; without that gift, no priest has power.

statem dedit apostolis, dixit eis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum*, quasi doceret quod solum viris apostolicis, habentibus spiritum sanctum, conferat talem vicariam potestatem. Quicunque ergo antistes, romanus vel alius, non habuerit spiritum sanctum, sequendo Cristum iuste vivendo, sciat se esse alienum a vicaria potestate huiusmodi, sicut est alienus a numero eorum quibus hoc verbum domini fuit dictum.

In such a confession, it may happen that the confessor shall commit mortal sin, and yet the penitent be absolved by God; or that the penitent may not be absolved, for want of contrition; or that both confessor and penitent may please God by the confession.

Et patet quod peccator quandoque confitetur vocaliter presbitero in hoc peccanti mortaliter, licet ipse nichil indulgencie vel carismatis conferat confitenti, tamen deus cui confitetur contritus, dat graciam et absolucionem a crimine. Et istud contingit communiter racione criminis penitenciarii. 2° contingit peccatorem ficte confiteri deo et cuicunque | sacerdoti bono aut malo, et 55* non absolvi propter defectum contricionis, sine qua non absolvitur a deo, et qua posita, a deo absolvitur eo ipso. Et 3° contingit peccatorem absolvi a penitenciario F. utroque promerente ex legitimo officio; et hoc raro hodie contingit, sicut contigit in ecclesia primitiva: cuius magna causa est sacerdotem cupiditas.

As a rule, unless the parish priest is reasonably suspected of grievous sin, a parishioner should confess as often as he needs it.

Et patet ex istis quod parochianus debet confiteri sacerdoti proprio quocienscunque eguerit, dum modo non sit sibi probabiliter suspectus de symonia, de fornicacione vel alio crimine, propter quod debet scire sacerdotis communicacionem magis sibi officere, quam prodesse. Et sic possunt intelligi omnes leges in oppositum allegande. Illa autem monstruosa lex "omnis utriusque sexus," que dicitur per Innocencium 3m edita, quia non fundatur ex fide scripture, eadem facilitate contempnitur qua proditur. Et revera suspecta est lex racione persone, que quia tamquam anticristus aspiravit ad summum gradum dominii secularis necessitavit ut deus mitteret ad consolacionem ecclesie duos ordines paupertatis. Sed illi, quia non pure fundabantur in lege domini, sed nimis in tradicionibus humanis: ideo, cito relicto itinere Cristi, lapsi sunt late in devium anticristi. Jam enim qui negaverit fidem

This is an answer to all allegations of Canon law; and Innocent's decree is to be set aside, partly on account of his secular ambition, which moved God to give two poor orders to His Church. But these turned aside quickly; and now they think nothing of

4. igitur C. 6. vicario potestatis *omnes MSS.* 9. patet *deest* B. 10. et licet A. 13. contigit A. 14. contigit A. 18. contigit A. 20. contigit A; *ib. before* in contingit B. 31. probatur *omnes MSS.* 32. aspicerat B.

22. If the Lollards followed this rule of Wyclif, they must have counted amongst the most devout of the parish, in the eyes of many a priest.

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scripture tamquam summe hereticam censetur catholicus et subtilis. Sed qui negaverit tradiciones pape, licet fidei scripture contrarias, dampnatur et punitur tamquam hereticus; ut ubi Paulus fidem accepit a domino quam tradebat ecclesie, vocat regulariter sacramentum altaris, quo ad naturam suam, panem, ut patet Cor. 10 et 11°: statuit sibi hec secta ex auctoritate huius capitis, quod quicunque vocaverit sacramentum illud in natura panem, et in figura corpus domini, tamquam hereticus iudicetur. Sed debet vocari ex baptisacione eorum infundabili accidens de genere quantitatis. Et hii glosant fidem scripture, sanctos doctores, et leges ecclesie per suum contrarium. Et sicut ficte secuntur Cristum in paupertate voluntaria; sic fingunt sibi tunicam in hostia, per quam vident eum oculo corporali. Et illa tunica, ut inquiunt, est infinitum invalidior et abiectior quam vestis qua superinduimur. Et ubi Urbanus quintus, tante auctoritatis ut Innocentius III^us^, dampnavit ut heresim asserentem quod homo videt corpus Cristi in hostia oculo corporali, ut noverunt multi modo superstites: hii, contra decretum pape et libros proprios, clamant quod vident sic corpus Cristi in hostia; et, cum ipsa sit infinitum subtilior quam tela aranee (quia nullam habet opacitatem materie quam vident eius quantitas vel qualitas), esse ibidem. Et hii infringunt auctoritatem pape, et faciunt quod quidquid dixerit preter fidem scripture sit propter suum dicere plus suspectum.

denying God's word, and everything of withstanding Papal traditions: As in the case of the Eucharist. Here they condemn as a heretic any one calling it Christ's body in figure; yet they name it an accident, wresting Scripture, the Fathers and ecclesiastical law. They imagine a garment covering Christ in the Host, through which they see Him with the bodily eye (a doctrine condemned by Urban V); and this garment, thinner than a cobweb, is, they say, the indication of Christ's local presence there.

G. Sed obicitur per hoc quod ad omne opus meritorium viatoris potest ipse cogi, supposita desidia. Sed iuxta dicta meritorium est laico confiteri omnia peccata sua proprio sacerdoti; ergo ad hoc potest cogi. Sed per quem, nisi per papam, qui statuat ad hoc legem? Sic enim coegit Cristus Paulum Act. 9, et precepit ministris tempore legis gracie ut intrarent ad cenam novissimam, ut patet, Luce 14. Et idem confirmatur ex dictis beati Augustini epistola . . . . . Et concordant multe leges, ut patet 23 q. 6, *Scismatici;* et alibi. Hic oportet videre super quibus cadit coaccio. Et constat iuxta philosophos,

Objections (1). It is lawful to compel any one to do a good deed, if he be slothful: confession is allowed to be meritorious, and none but the Pope has power thus to compel. This doctrine is founded on Scripture, words of St. Augustine, and many canons.

7. statuunt AB. 17. superinduitur B; super *deest* C. 24. mediate A; *ib.* quam *deest* BC; *ib.* cuius BC. 25. est C. 30. sua *deest* BC. 31. igitur C. 34. ad *deest* B. 36. *a blank space after* epistola *omnes MSS.*

25. I think that *corpus Christi* ought to be understood after *qualitas.* 37. Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars, Cª XXIII, qu. 6, c. 1.

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Answer. Coercion only applies to exterior acts, whereas confession is more an act of the will than faith. Faith must be free: *a fortiori* confession.

quod solum super operibus corporalibus vel extrinsecis ab actibus voluntatis. Confiteri autem est actus voluntis magis quam credere. Sed de ipso credere dicit Augustinus, super Joh. omilie 26, quod nemo potest credere, nisi volens: ergo multo magis nec meritorie confiteri. Et quamvis apostolus dicit, Romanorum: *Corde creditur ad iusticiam, ore autem fit confessio ad salutem,* tamen [ir]religiosum foret cogere hominem vocaliter confiteri. Confessio igitur debet induci per sanctam predicacionem, sicut fecerunt apostoli, et non per stultam coaccionem, sicut fecerunt posteri fidei scripture ignari.

Rom. X, 10

Men should be induced, not forced, to confess.

As regards exterior acts, force may be employed, but this is the duty of temporal lords, not of the Pope.

Habito itaque super quibus operibus cadit coaccio, quia super operibus extra voluntatem, que sunt inductiva ad vitam meritoriam: videndum est ulterius, qui debent sic cogere. Et constat quod domini temporales, ut patet ex decreto Ysidori 23 q. 5. *Principes.* Quid ergo pape et legi mandanti quod quilibet confiteatur sub gravi pena proprio sacerdoti? Nam multa milia cristianorum credunt quod sine hoc non possunt salvari; et sic, propter sacerdotis maliciam et legis iniquitatem, desperant, non deo penitencia salutifera confitentes; et multi predestinati ex ista lege pestifera sunt tardati. Que igitur racio ad captivandum populum prius liberum ut sic contagiose comunicet cum membro diaboli? Sed sicut homo peccati contrariabatur spiritui sancto in suo apostolo, docente quod *panis quem frangimus* | sit sacramentum eukaristie; ipse autem, sub pena dampnacionis heretice, mandat scole sue confiteri oppositum (scilicet quod illud sacramentum non sit panis sed accidens, ut fingunt, de genere quantitatis); sic spiritus sanctus mandat in comuni apostolorum consilio, Act. 15, quod religiosi sui observent libertatem et facilitatem in qua ipse eos instituit. Sed anticristus captivat eos per legem contrariam, ut verificet dictum apostoli, Thessal. 2°, de anticristo prophetatum, quod extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus. Condant igitur leges veras inplicitas in sacra scriptura, vel melius leges vitales in ipsa explicitas exequantur.

This law reduces many to despair, and many of the elect are hindered in their way.

The Man of Sin, as he contradicts the Holy Ghost about the Sacrament,

contradicts him also as to the liberty which the faithful should enjoy.

55b

1. operibus *twice* A. 2. aut A. 8. religiosum *omnes MSS.* 9. Confessor A. 12, 13. cadit — operibus *deest* C. 17. lege B. 23. capticiuad A. 34. 2 Thess. B. 36. Condat C.

8—10. Note these two lines: they contain the chief ground for Wyclif's objection to the canon *omnis utriusque.* 16. Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars, Cª XXIII, qu. 5, c. 20.

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H. Sed secundo obicitur per hoc quod Augustinus, Hugo, Linconiensis et alii sancti videntur dicere quod oris confessio sit de necessitate salutis, ut 2° de visitacione infirmorum: "Non," inquit, "deducat te illa sompniancium supersticio, que musitando confirmat quia salvat, inconsulto sacerdote, ad deum peccatorum confessio". Et sequitur: "coram sacerdote confiteri habes ipsius quod iudicium subire debes". Item Hugo de sacramentis, libro 2° parte 14ª. "Hii," inquit, "qui confiteri nolunt peccata sua, salvari non possunt". Augustinus dicit, "non potest quis iustificari a peccata, nisi confessus fuerit ante". Item Beda in epistola Jacobi: "Sine confessione," inquit, "peccata dimitti nequeunt." Et multa sunt dicta similia, que inculcat. Item, Linconiensis in tractatu suo de confessione probat multipliciter quod confessio est neeessaria ad salutem. Quamvis enim in lege veteri, quando deus non fuit homo, non fuit taliter confitendum, tamen in lege nova, quando verbum est simul deus et homo, confitendum est simul deo et homini. Et videtur, cum homo peccando offendit in deum et proximum, quod confiteri debet utrique et satisfacere, iuxta doctrinam Cristi Matth. 5. *Si offers munus tuum ante altare*, et cetera. Et idem dictum dicunt sancti concorditer plus quam de eukaristia. Sacramentum itaque tam utile ecclesie est servandum. Hic teneo tamquam fidem quod cristianus adultus potest in casu salvari sine confessione vocali facta proprio sacerdoti. Nam eque misericors et viam facilitans veniendi ad beatitudinem est deus in lege nova sicut fuit in lege veteri. Sed in lege veteri fidelis salvari potuit sine tali: ergo et in lege nova. Nam toto tempore legis nature non fuit hoc observatum; sed sine sacerdote salvando facta est sepe generalis confessio. Eciam tempore legis date non legitur iniuncta vel facta talis confessio. Sed multi in bellis et in sacerdotum absencia creduntur probabiliter sancte obiisse.

Objections (2). According to many Doctors, oral confession is necessary for salvation.

Hugo of St. Victor says that without confession of sins none can be saved; so does Augustine, and Bede.

Grosseteste holds the same view.

Under the Old Law, it was necessary to confess to God alone; now that God is man, we must confess to God and to man.

Matth. V, 23

Answer. It is an article of faith that a man can be saved without confession. God is not less merciful now than under the Old Law; but both before the Law and under it men were saved without confession made to a priest.

1. Obieccio *in marg.* B. 13. in causa *pro* dicta A. 18. simul *deest* B. 20. homo *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest* B. 21. ac BC. 23. dictum *deest* BC. 25. ecclesie *deest* C. 32. fuit sacerdoti AC; *ib.* est *deest* AC.

25. This is an article of faith not only for Wyclif but for Catholics too. But they understand it in this way. Any man that has perfect contrition, proceeding from the love of God, is restored to grace without confession; yet he is obliged to confess, *if possible*. On the other hand, attrition, or sorrow for sin proceeding merely from the fear of Hell, absolutely requires confession.

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If the Apostles had confessed, the Holy Ghost would surely have let us know of it. Scripture in many places asserts that God pardons the contrite sinner.

Et idem creditur de apostolis et aliis sanctis de tempore legis Cristi, qui se confessi fuissent, spiritus sanctus non fuisset immemor explanasse. Et confirmatur ex fide scripture. Nam psalm. 31 dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor adversum me iniusticiam meam domino; et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.* Et Ezech. 18 dicitur: *Si autem egerit impius penitenciam ab omnibus peccatis suis que operatus est, et custodiret omnia precepta mea, et fecerit iudicium et iusticiam, vita vivet et non morietur. Omnium inquitatum eius quas operatus est non recordabor.* Et idem patet de Cristo sanante peccatores, licet non sibi vel apostolis sint taliter confessi. Et concordant glosse sanctorum et leges ecclesie: ut patet de penitencia dist. 1[a], *magna pietas.*

Ps. XXIX, 13 Ezech. XVIII, 21

And Christ healed sinners without their confessing.

Again, if a man should spend his whole life virtuously without confession, he will be saved on that account. God can give His grace without using the priest's ministry; if so, He can also save without it, as in the case of Cornelius. We do not hear that Peter received absolution.

Item, stat hominem non confiteri et virtuose agere usque ad mortem, servando iusticiam sine hoc quod confiteatur taliter sacerdoti, sed eo ipso salvabitur: ergo, stat hominem salvari sine confessione huiusmodi. Assumptum patet, quia omnia ista fuerunt per se et immediate per graciam; sed nimis blasfemum foret dicere quod deus non potest vel nunquam dat graciam, nisi mediante tali ministerio sacerdotis; ergo eque blasfemum est dicere quod nullus peccator potest salvari sine tali confessione facta sacerdoti. Sic enim deus iustificavit Cornelium Act. 10, antequam fuit visitatus per Petrum. Nec loquitur de absolucione Petri, sed de eius predicacione. In cuius figuram Luc. 17 dicitur quod 10 leprosi, dum ibant se ostendere sacerdotibus, sunt mundati. Et, Joh. XI, legitur Lazarum vivificatum et de sepulcro egressum antequam fuit solutus institis per apostolos: que omnia figurant deum sepe solvere hominem a peccato, vel sine tali presbitero vel antequam tradiciones inventas dixerit super eum: quia horrenda blasfemia foret dicere quod postquam sacerdotes ydolatrarunt virtute tradicionis eorum deus preclusit sibi potenciam dimittendi per se peccata sine talibus mediis. Sed quando fuerunt sacerdotes sancti, tale adiutorium non quesivit. Nam secundum Ambrosium in libro 1° de penitencia, nisi sacerdos habuerit spiritum sanctum

Lazarus coming forth from the grave bound, is a figure of such spiritual resurrection, performed by God directly. And when priests are bad, God does not deprive Himself of his power because of that. Ambrose says that unless the priest has the Holy Ghost, and prays

Joh. XI, 44

1. ſtis de tpe A; de *before* tempore *deest* BC. 2. si sic B; *ib.* fuisset C. 3. esset A. 4. 2cl ideo *pro* nam B. 9. eius *deest* B. 10. que A. 14. non *deest* B; *ib.* conteri C. 17. *after* confessione, tamen *in marg.* B. 18. ſuit C; *ib.* et *deest* A. 23. deus *deest* B. 24. iustificat A. 28. lacarum A. 29. instutis A; inscitis C.

13. See p. 131.

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et orando confesso meruerit, non absolvit. Unde Cristus preclusit decem leprosis aditum et presenciam sacerdotibus propter eorum maliciam, Lu. 17. Et quod precepit apostolis solvere Lazarum, quid ad illos, tantum a
56a 5 vita apostolica alienos? Non enim est | obediencia deo et ecclesie ut adeat sacerdotem leprosum, postquam fuerit plene absolutus.

meritoriously, his absolution is not valid. Christ ordered the Apostles to loose Lazarus; but these men are not Apostles. Nothing can oblige a man who is cleansed from sin to go to a leprous priest.

Item, in baptismo et eukaristia, que sunt sacramenta expressissima in evangelio, contingit deum dare rem
10 sacramenti sine sacramento sensibili: ergo, multo magis in sacramento penitencie minus fundabili. Assumptum patet de baptismo sanguinis et flaminis, que sepe dantur sine baptismo fluminis. Et rem sacramenti eukaristie sepe accipit quis non sacramentaliter, sine sacramento
15 sensibili: ergo evidencius sepe accipit absolucionem criminis a deo sine absolucione sensibili sacerdotis. Unde Ambrosius libro secundo de penitencia. "Si," in-
K. quit, "semel Cristus pro omnibus immolatus est, itaque quocienscunque peccata donantur, corporis eius sacra-
20 mentum sumitur." Unde, ut ostendi alias, non existente penes nos aliquo sensibili sacramento, contingeret fideles meritorius manducare corpus Cristi gloriosum in celo,
Matth. XII, 39 quam iam manducatur sacramentaliter in hostia consecrata. Sicut enim *generacio adultera signa querit* in
25 vestibus et ritibus adinventis, per que destruitur cultus et attencio ad signata; sic tota religio modernorum deprimitur in sacramenta sensibilia, cultoribus signorum
Coloss. III, 1 dimittentibus *que sursum sunt querere*, et prorumpentibus in istam blasfemiam, quod deus non potest dare rem
30 sacramenti, nisi ipsi adiuverint, ministrando signa que ipsimet sompniarunt. Et ebulivit hec heresis in magis blasfemum mendacium, quod deus pepigit signis eorum assistere regulariter, dando graciam et non dando salutem vel graciam sine illis. Quo contra: sicut legio thebaica
35 gloriose martirisata beatificatur in celo sine confessione huiusmodi, sic usque hodie Greci sancte et devote observant se a peccato sine confessione auriculari, confitendo deo secundum doctrinam Crisostomi super epistolam ad Hebreos; et ponitur in de penitencia dist. 1a.
40 "Non tibi dico," inquit, "ut te prodas in publicum

If the baptism of blood and of the Spirit gives regeneration; if the Eucharistic grace is often given without the sensible sign: *a fortiori* the same may take place for Penance.

And if we had no visible sign of Christ's Body, it were better to feed on Christ, glorious in Heaven.

All the attention of men is now turned towards external signs, and the things signified are forgotten; in so far that they blasphemously imagine that God has made a covenant not to give any grace without them.

Many martyrs have been saved without confession, and the Greek Church does not impose it as an obligation to all: Chrysostom quoted.

2. preclusis A; *ib.* additum C; *ib.* pn̄cia3 A. 4. lacarum A.
6. audeat A. 9. exp̄ſſi'a (*sic*) A; expressiva C. 18. que *deest after* ita C. 22 gloriosum *deest* A. 27. cultorum A. 31. sompniant A; *ib.* ebuliť A; ebullit B; ebulit C. 33. et non dando *twice* A. 38. 2m A.

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neque aput alios accuses, sed obedire te volo prophete dicenti, *Revela domino viam tuam:* ante dominum igitur tua confitere peccata, ante deum iudicem cum oracione delicta tua pronunccia, non lingua, sed consciencie tue memoria." Quicquid autem dixerit Graciosus vel alii, hoc cadit sub precepto tamquam necessarum ad salutem, et aliud est sepe *de bene esse.* Radix itaque erroris stat in parificatione tradicionis humane, cum lucrum sapiat, mandatis domini; sicut religiosi nostri dicunt quod omne mandatum sui prelati privati prepositi debet servari ut mandata domini, eciam plus quam Cristi consilia. Et in ista ficta obediencia est nimis magnus lapsus religionis cristiane; et per hoc patet responsio ad doctores.

Ps. XXXVI. 5

Contrition alone is absolutely necessary; the rest is accessory, and it is wrong to equal human observance to Christ's Law.

So to reply to the objections in detail, we must note that there are two extremes of error of which we must beware: one, of believing that a man ought in no case to confess; the other that confession must follow certain strict lines.

Pro quo notandum quod duplex fuit error extremus circa confessionem peccatorum faciendam homini. Primus dixit quod nemo debet in casu aliquo homini confiteri, et contra illud invexerunt doctores predicti. Secundus error maior surrepsit cum sectis signa colencium, dicens quod nisi quis confiteatur secundum formam et tempus quod ipsi instituerunt, eo ipso ex inobediencia incidit in mortale. Et istam blasfemiam niterentur cuncta fideles destruere, tenendo medium virtuosum: scilicet, quod quandoque debet homo gratis confiteri antistiti, et quandoque talem confessionem diffugere.

Augustine's words refer to the former error; and it may be the duty of an ignorant layman to confess to a good priest.

If the layman knows more and the priest less of God's law, the latter should confess to the former; and in the case of equal knowledge on both sides, as in Augustine's time, confession should be made to the priest. The difficulty of finding

Quantum ad dictum Augustini, patet quod loquitur contra illos qui dicunt quod non licet confiteri homini; et sic conceditur in casu quod aliquis laycus tenetur de necessitate salutis confiteri proprio sacerdoti; necessitatem ex supposicione intelligo; ut, posito quod erret in fide, et deus aptet sibi unum sacerdotem discretum ut ipsum consulat. Et sic, versis laicis in sapientes ad fidem scripture, et versis sacerdotibus in ignaros legis dei et inprudentes, necesse est in casu sacerdotes laicis confiteri. Ideo, quantum ad dictum Augustini, dicit fidelis quod posita paritate sapiencie sacerdotum et ignorancie laicorum cum ceteris paribus (sicut fuit in tempore suo) laici debent sacerdotibus confiteri. Verso autem ordine ad contrarium, non debet fieri talis penitencia generalis. Ideo inprudenter est constituere generaliter talem legem, cum non habeant potestatem

I..

1. dm' C. 5. ergo *pro* autem B. 9. mundana *omnes MSS.* 10. prelati *deest* BC. 13. triplex C. 15. peccatoris AC. 19. deus *pro* dicens A. 27. concedatur B. 31. ac *pro* ad AC. 39. inprudentis C.

5. *Graciosus.* Perhaps a mistake for *Gratianus.*

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sacerdotes ydoneos plene per ecclesiam ordinare, nec necessitatem laicos generaliter ad istud statuere. Unde sapientis est consulere ab iniquis sacerdotibus, [et] quo ad istud consilium precavere. Ideo dicit Ambrosius, 2° de penitencia, quod comunicacio cum malis sacerdotibus sepe nocet. "Arbitror," inquit, "quod Judas potuisset tanta domini miseracione non excludi a venia, si penitenciam non aput Judeos sed aput Cristum egisset. *Peccavi,* inquit, *quod tradidi sanguinem iustum. Responderunt, quid ad nos? tu videris!*" Et tantum est hodie periculum confiteri stultis sacerdotibus sicut tunc fuit confiteri summis sacerdotibus Iudeorum.

Matth. XXVII, 4

everywhere a man fit for this office shows the foolishness of the law.

It is dangerous to confess to bad priests, as Judas did.

Et quantum ad dictum Hugonis, patet quod intelligit eundem sensum: videlicet, quod subditis egentibus consilio sacerdotis ex ignorancia debent sacerdotes prudentes consulere. Nec movet, ut arguit, quod istud non expresse
56b percipitur in scriptura, quia per idem | non debet servari oppositum, cum non exprimitur in scriptura. Et sic loquitur de confessione fienda deo, quod est simpliciter necessaria ad salutem. Confessio autem fienda homini [nunc] est ex suppositione necessaria, et nunc nocet. Unde, quia ex utraque parte potest esse defectus, intendendum est fidei scripture, que debet a sacerdotibus predicari, et in partem omissionis istius ewangelisacionis [non] oportet confessionem et alia sacramenta introducere ad gravamen ecclesie. Nam apostoli usi sunt ewangelisacione, non tali confessione; et diu post ipsos sancti heremite qui multis annis sine tali confessione vixerunt in heremo; et sic credo esse hodie multos in orbe.

Hugo of St. Victor speaks in the same sense.

He says: If confession is not commanded in Scripture, neither is it commanded to abstain from confession.

This relates to confession made to God; the other is now necessary and now hurtful.

Ulterius quantum ad dicta Lyncolniensis et quorumcunque doctorum quos oportet curare in ista materia, patet quod militant sub eadem sentencia. Nam merentes in penam peccati sui habere stultos prepositos qui nesciunt ewangelisare, oportet habere aliam maneriem in ordinacione. Et hinc credo quod ad sanandum ecclesiam a morbo quadruplici, scilicet ab ydolatria, a symonia, ab apostasia atque blasfemia, oportet uti cauteriis,

As for what Grosseteste and the other doctors say, they are of the same mind.

As for those who as a punishment for sin have had bad priests set over them, the cure would be to deprive the latter of their benefices.

3. et *deest omnes MSS.* 15. debet A. 18. in scriptura *deest* C. 21. nunc *before* est *deest omnes MSS.; ib.* et non C. 22. extraque A; *ib.* de fāis *pro* defectus A. 25. non *deest omnes MSS.* 27, 28. et — vixerunt *deest* A. 28. qui *deest* B. 29. celo A. 35. quod *deest* A.

25. I incline to believe that there are several words wanting after *ewangelisacionis;* if not, *non* must be supplied before *oportet* as I have done.

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The general confession at the beginning of Mass is allowed to efface small sins, and great ones too if there is contrition; and without that no absolution can avail.

Private confession too is needful, but it must be free. And satisfaction to all who may have been injured must follow; without which there is no pardon.

temporalia que vocantur cleri substancia aufferendo. Valet itaque omnis confessio facta in ecclesia ut in misse inicio; quia, ut dicit Hugo ubi supra, delet peccata minora, et indubie peccata maiora, dum adest contricio; et sine illa non potest eciam papa absolvere. Et quantum ad Lynconiensem, conceditur quod confessio eciam privata est necessaria, sed non exacta, vel ydolatra, vel onerosa. Et sic confitendum est post incarnacionem deo et homini, ut fuit in lege veteri. Quod si peccator confiteretur privatim cuilibet in quem peccaverit, nimis diu foret antequam celebraret, quia indubie peccavit in deum et in totam universitatem creatam. Ideo racionabiliter ordinatur in missarum iniciis, quod homo confiteatur generaliter deo et toti creature racionali, quod non fuit superflue ordinatum; sed oportet quod in particulari satisfaciat cuilibet quem offendit, quia aliter non est sibi vera confessio facta nec deo.

1. tpa A; *ib.* vocatur A; *ib.* v3 A. 2. communis C; *ib.* ut in *deest* C. 3. hug^o A. 4. innumera A. 6. est *pro* eciam A. 6, 7. privata eciam est C. 7. ydolat A. 8. on²o^a A; avara *pro* onerosa BC. 9. sed B. 10. inquam A; *ib.* peccaverat B. 15. non *deest* A. 16. in quem B.

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A.

CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

Sed 3° obicitur per hoc quod penitencia primo vel 2° modo dicta non est descriptibilis, nec docetur quomodo fieri debet; igitur diminute proceditur.

It may be objected that there is no possible definition of penance in the 1st and 2nd sense.

5 Hic negatur antecedens, cum in principio proximi capituli describitur. Confessio enim est actus confitentis, et sumitur nunc pro confessione extrinseca, nuncque pro confessione intrinseca, et nunc mixtim. Sumitur eciam nunc pro confessione boni laudabilis, et nunc 10 pro confessione peccati dampnabilis: primo modo sumitur crebrius in scriptura; ut, Matth. XI, dicit Cristus: *Confiteor tibi domine, pater celi et terre*, etc. Et luce XII, *quicunque me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, et filius hominis confitebitur eum coram angelis dei* etc. Et Joh. 1° de baptista legitur, quod *confessus est quia non sum ego Cristus;* que confessio utique veritatis est maxime necessaria; nec valet confessio peccati, nisi de quanto est confessio veritatis.

Matth. XI, 25 Luc. XII, 8 Joh. I, 20

We deny this. Confession is the act of him that confesses; it is either internal, external, or both; either of something good, or of something evil; and should in any case be true.

Quod autem datur occasio in confessionibus ad- 20 inventis fingere falsitatem, indicat illas confessiones originari a patre mendacii. Nec solicitor illas confessiones exactas describere, cum exactores primo peccant in grammaticam, dicentes: *Confiteor* (sponte fateor), peccata mea *coactus*, et indubie peccant consequenter in aliis 25 scienciis et in fide. Optima igitur differencia pro descripcione huius confessionis foret dicere quod sit confessio exacta per regem superbie propter questum. Nam plane constat fidelibus ex aliis factis curatorum, quod multi non sollicitantur circa confessionem subditi propter

This is a point in which forced confessions often fail. There is in any case a grammatical error, since *to confess* means *to speak out freely*. The specific difference between this confession, and all others is that it is exacted by the King of Pride and for lucre.

1. Capitulum XIII. A. 3. de scrupulis AB. 7. que *deest* C. 12. etc. *deest* BC. 15. etc. *pro* hominibus — dei A; *ib.* de *deest* C. 16. quia *deest* C; *ib.* que *deest* BC; *ib.* itaque B. 23. dicente3 A; dicente B. 23. 24. sponte sed fateor mea facta coactus C. 24. facta *pro* peccata B. 25. differencia *deest* B; in C. 26. huius drā B; confessionis huiusmodi C. 29. maxime propter B.

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It is a fact that most priests only question about tithes etc.

sanitatem sue anime, sed pocius propter questum. Cuius indicium est, quod confessor solicite querit de decimis et oblacionibus directe vel indirecte; iniungit penas pecuniarias, et omittit quod foret magis necessarium subditis ad salutem. In cuius confirmacionem tolle pecuniam a penitenciario et spem lucri, et videbis quod renuet officium huiusmodi confessiones audiendi.

If the money offerings were taken from them, they would no longer hear confessions.

Et utinam omnes confitentes forent plene informati, tam intellectu quam affectu, quod nullo modo confiteantur solitarie tali presbitero quem sciunt vel probaliliter credunt plus stare pro confessionibus istis, ut fastum et questum habeat, quam ut anime confessi lucri faciat. Nam omnes tales penitenciarii sunt ydolatre, leprosi, symoniaci et manifesti heretici. Nulli tali homo debet scienter vel reputative plus confiteri quam diabolo; ergo conclusio. Nam omnis talis antiquatus in avaricia, *que est ydolorum servitus,* est infideli deterior; que ergo comunicatio Cristiani ad Belial? Item, talis symoniacus caret clavibus ecclesie, et ex comunicacione contaminat ipsum qui deberet habere super hoc conscienciam: ergo, cristianus non debet tali penitenciario confiteri. Item, talis hereticus est fugiendus *ut ethnicus,* ut docet Cristus Matth. XVIII. Ymmo, quicunque ei *ave* dixerit *comunicabit eius operibus* ex consensu; ergo, nemo debet illi secretum peccati prodere tanquam Cristi vicario. Nam consciencia sua debet dictari sibi oppositum: debet ergo peccator confiteri deo et non solitario homini, si non assit nisi penitencia huiusmodi sacerdotum.

Would that all men knew well that they ought no more to confess to such idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretics, than to the devil!

Idolatrous, for avarice is idolatry; simoniacal, and deprived of the power of the keys; heretical, and therefore to be shunned as heathens. We may not even salute such a one, much less confess to him. It were better to confess to God alone than to such a man.

Eph. V, 5 B.

Matth. XVIII, 17

Joh. II, 11

Et ad probandum dictam ydolatriam, utinam omnes confitentes | unite subtrahant questum a suo confessore, ut videant si cum Paulo querat *animas non pecuniam* confessorum. Quod si iniungat penitenciam pecuniariam, limitando (directe vel indirecte) quod ipse habeat, contritus debet ipsum auffugere; cum nemo debet tali apostate taliter obedire. Quod si iniungatur penitencia per distribucionem pecunie in confuso, fiat aliis egenis, non sibi particio, quia licet fuerit aliunde indigens, tamen ut sic est indignus elemosinam eciam a deo recipere. Quod si 3° extorquet pecuniam, iniungendo graves et irracionabiles penitencias, ut pecunia redimantur, auffugiat confessorem et contritus confidenter accipiat sacra-

If the confessor, commanding the penitent to give money, even hints that it should go to himself, he should be shunned in future. If he directs alms to be given without

30 57*

2. sollicite C. 13. fiant A. 18. Cristi A. 10, 21. igitur talis Cristianus C.

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mentum. Quod si negatur subditis a prelato, adiecta excomunicacione et censuris aliis, gaudeat de persecucione quod *dignus sit pati* tot *tribulaciones in nomine* veritatis; et considerando humiliter persecuciones et obprobria que Cristus pro nobis pertulit ex malicia sacerdotum, manducat meritorius, quia spiritualiter iocundius, gloriosum corpus Cristi in celo, quam minus promerens comunicans sacramentaliter cum applausu presbiteri. Deus enim non potest in necessariis suos fideles deserere.

Act. V, 41

specifying, they should be given to others, not to him.

Should he impose unreasonable penances, in order to get money, the faithful should leave him and take the Sacrament after due contrition.

Verumtamen innitendum est vere prudencie, confortando membra ecclesie, ut constanter agant atque celeriter pro destruenda civitate Babylonica et meretrice que in ipsa presidet, cum excluduntur a celesti Jerusalem qui consensu finalis inpenitencie signo bestie sunt signati, ut patet Apok. 20 et 25. Contempnat itaque fidelis prudenter leges bestie, abhominans hoc porisma, quod "si quidquam statuit, licet sit falsum notum huiusmodi, eciam debet sibi parere, faciendo quod iubet, donec decernat oppositum." Sic enim extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, cum exigit tantam obedienciam sicut Cristus, et super hoc potest errare ex libertate arbitrii. Nam iuxta hoc principium anticristi, si bestia erraret perpetuo, fidelis debet perpetuo ipsam consequi in errore et sic auffugere veritatem, que est Cristus, et diabolice sequi illam.

Apoc. XVI, 2

And if excommunication ensues, let them rejoice and communicate spiritually.

We must act prudently, firmly, and promptly against Babylon; for all those that bear the mark of the Beast shall be excluded from Heaven.

Especially let us abhor this principle: that whatever may be decreed, whether right or wrong, should be submitted to.

C. Unde tria sunt principia anticristi; primum iam dictum est, quod in voluntate bestie, ac si esset deus, universa sunt posita, licet notorie obviet legi Cristi. Secundum principium hominis peccati, quod generacio spiritualis filiorum dei nedum consequitur generacionem carnalem hereditarie, sed generacionem localem ex eleccione perfida constituta. Tercium principium ex istis pululans est quod plus ponderatur vocalis confessio quam ipse instituit, quam cordis contricio quam deus instituit et requirit.

This is the first of three antichristian principles; the second holds that spiritual generation may depend upon election made in a certain place; the third, that the confession of the lips is better than contrition.

Sed redeundo ab istis blasfemiis, videndum est secundum doctrinas sanctorum, quomodo oris confessio debet fieri. Ponit autem lyncolniensis 108°, quod patenter hec

How oral confession should be made. Five requisites: hatred of sin,

8. communicatus AB. 9. fideles suo (*sic*) C. 11, 12. confortandi B. 15. assensu B. 16. 20 et *deest* B. 22. Cristus *deest* B. 25. sequi C. 27. Nota 3ª principia anticristi *in marg.* B. 33. puida constitutam C. 33, 34. est pullulans ex istis, quod C. 37. Nota lyncolniensem *in marg.* B. 38. eorum *pro* oris B. 39. dco 108° C; *ib.* ptent' A.

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sorrow, resolve not to fall again, confession when possible, and satisfaction.

quinque secuntur penitenciam: peccati odium et dolor, velle nunquam ad peccatum redire, (si oportunitas adest) peccati confessio, et satisfaccio. Qui autem odit peccatum, quia peccatum, odit omne peccatum. "Unde," inquit, "patet quod qui vere penitet de uno, penitet de omnibus. Unde qui 5 videntur sibi odire aliquod unum peccatum et amore amplectuntur aliud, non oderunt illud quia peccatum est, ac per hoc nec illud oderunt, sed oderunt aliquid comitans illud; ut aut infamiam aut dampnum aut penam aliquam. Item, qui odit peccatum, quia peccatum, 10 odit omne peccatum ubicunque; sic ergo wult illud occidi et non esse ubicunque est possibile illud occidi et non esse: ergo, wult quodlibet peccatum occidi et non esse in quolibet viatore; maxime autem illud wult occidi in se, ubi sibi plus nocet. Sed si hoc wult non 15 tepenti nec saucia voluntate, agit ut occidatur peccatum in quocunque, quibus potest correpcionibus, mali detestacionibus, boni persuasione, exempli ostensione: penitens itaque persecutor est peccati et iniusticie; sed qui peccatum et iniusticiam persequitur, quomodo non bonus 20 et iustus est penitens? ergo eo quod persecutor est mali et iniusti, iustus et bonus est. Verum igitur peccati odium est odire illud propter se, quia peccatum, quia malum, quia summo bono oppositum: cuius veri odii signa sunt odire illud esse in omni homine, in omni 25 tempore. Item, si odit peccatum et wult illud non esse, wult (modis quibus potest) agere ut sint ea que peccatum evacuant; ac de his est compassio et oracio bonorum. Wult ergo bonis que de hiis docent peccatum manifestari, ut eorum oracione et compassione speciali possit deleri. Unde 30 qui vere penitet, confitebitur, si potest. Item, cum in D. peccato criminali (quia de criminalibus hic intendimus) sit infiniti boni amissio, ymmo infiniti boni spontanea abieccio,

Long quotation from Grosseteste.

Hatred of sin means hatred of all sin; not of one only;

and this implies that whatever can be done to destroy sin in others and in self is really done.

A man who persecutes sin becomes righteous thereby.

And this hatred must be perpetual; therefore there must be a resolve never to sin again.

And confession is implied in hatred of sin, since this helps to destroy it.

As Hell is the penance of the impenitent — infinite but compelled

3. quod A. 5. de omnibus *in marg.* C. 6. amare A. 8. a'd A; aliud (*clare*) C. 11. igitur C; *ib.* w[t] A. 12. occidit A. 13. igiiur C. 15. occidere C; *ib.* sibi *deest* BC; *ib.* si si A; *ib.* non *deest* A. 16. non *pro* nec A. 17. malis C. 23. est *pro* quia *after* peccatum B. 26. w[t] A. 28. hac de hisque A; at quem de his est B. 29. quibus decet A. 30. spiritualibus BC; possunt B; possent C.

1. *Quinque* is in all the MSS. and is repeated a few pages further; yet in the quotation from Grosseteste, I can find but four conditions of penance. Probably sorrow for sin, which he seems to include under the head of satisfaction, is counted separately by Wyclif.

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nonne hec spontanea abieccio exigit de rigore iusticie, sicut in inpenitente involuntarium dolorem infinitum, sic in penitente voluntarium infinitum? scilicet, ut penitens vellet sine fine, spontanea voluntate, tantam iacturam dolore, nisi is, qui sponte abiecit misericordiam, vellet huius doloris | aliquando miseriam tollere? quomodo erit penitens iustus, nisi velit infiniti boni spontaneam abieccionem semper dolere et punire, donec dicat ei is cui reconciliari cupit: Satis est? quomodo amandi sine modo est dolenda amissio sine modo? Quomodo ergo in voluntate transitoria creata fuit voluntas peccati perpetua, cui in inpenitente iuste debetur et redditur perpetua involuntaria pena: ita in voluntate penitentis est dolor, et satisfaccio penalis, condicionalis saltem, perpetuus. Sed misericordia iudicis aliquando terminatur; non igitur finiet vere penitens spontaneum dolorem peccati, donec *abstergat deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis* sanctorum, ut iam *non sit luctus, neque dolor, quia priora abierunt*. Satisfaccio autem est ad honorem eius erga quem est peccatum alicuius rei solucio, cuius solvens debitor non esset, si non peccasset. Quid autem est quod ad honorem dei exsolvi possit quod homo peccator deo non debeat? utique nichil. Verumtamen, si homo nunquam peccasset, nullius pene debitor esset. Item, si nullum hominis fuisset peccatum, nulla esset hominis miseria, et ita nulla essent misericordie opera. Item, si peccatum non esset, nulla esset per corrupcionem defeccio boni, pro qua supplenda necessaria esset oracio. Igitur, si peccatum hominis non fuisset istarum rerum, homo debitor non fuisset. Unde hec proprie in satisfaccione deo offeruntur, quorum nullum esset ab homine debitum, si nullum esset hominis peccatum; laus autem et alia forte aliqua, que in patria erunt iocundissima et nullo modo penalia; que eciam, licet homo non

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Apoc. XVII, 24

suffering — the penitent should suffer voluntarily for ever, until he is told that it is enough.

Such is satisfaction; perpetual sorrow at least on the part of the sinner, and until God shall wipe all tears away.

But satisfaction implies the payment of a debt with what is not already due; and as before sin no works of mercy, no orisons, no praises coming (as they now come) with effort and difficulty, were due, these may be considered as satisfaction.

5. dolere B; delere mĩa C; *ib.* nisibus B; *ib.* quem A; *ib.* unam B. 8. is *deest* B. 9. est *deest* A; *ib.* quoniam AB. 11. c'ĩata A. 12. impietas A; cui in penitente B. 13. perpetuã voluntaria C. 15. t'pma[a] A. 21. Quis A. 23. pcto C. 24. nullus A. 26, 27. misericordie — esset *deest* B; essent — nulla *deest* C. 31. est C. 34. nllo[o] C.

5. The text is certainly corrupt here, and the numerous variantes are of but little use. Perhaps *dolere* ought to be substituted for *dolore*.

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peccasset, essent creatori debita: hec, propter corpus quod *corrumpitur, et agravat animam,* et propter *legem, que in membris repugnat legi mentis* sunt plurimum penalia. Unde, in quantum sunt penalia, sunt eciam penitencialia. Item, cum satisfaciens debeat rependere aliquid quod maius sit omni eo pro quo non debuisset delinquisse (non debuisset autem pro universa creatura salvanda deum abiecisse peccando); oportet igitur per hoc quod aliquid maius solvat quam possit solvere universa pura creatura, hancque solucionem solus Cristus fecerit: patet ergo quod nullius satisfaccio aliqua est, nisi in quantum unita est satisfaccio Cristi, qui *se ipsum pro nobis in satisfaccionem obtulit,* ut sic in ipso satisfaciente condigne satisfaciamus. Penitenciam autem comitatur dei miseracio, precum exaudicio, peccati dissimulacio, et ipsa est cordis contriti vivificacio, in ara cordis hostie sacrificacio, dei glorificacio et ad patriam de exilio reducio."

Sap. IX, 15 Rom. VII, 23 E. Heb. IX, 14

But sin is a greater harm than the salvation of all creatures is a good; to satisfy therefore, He that is greater than the salvation of all — Christ our saviour — must be offered up with our penance.

Ex istis dictis huius sancti elicitur quod vocalis confessio facta presbitero non est necessaria nisi ex suppo-sicione ad delecionem peccati. Ideo nominans quinque necessaria ad delecionem peccati sic subtiliat: si detur ydoneitas et facultas, requiritur oris confessio.

Thus Grosseteste only mentions oral confession as a requisite in case it can be made;

Alia autem quatuor requisita exprimit simpliciter absolute; quia, ut dicit, oportet omnino satisfacere deo. Et cum sit ignarus ad debite penitendum pro crimine, deus dedit sacerdoti, eius vicario, potestatem consulendi et remittendi peccata ecclesie: quod non potest, nisi ecclesia confessa sibi fuerit.

while all the others are absolutely necessary conditions.

Quod si caruerit sacerdote ydoneo, qui sciat discrete peccata discernere et pene medicinam aptare, debet dolere quod ecclesia meruit habere in penam peccati tales ydiotas yppocritas. Et consequenter debet ut fidem credere quod impossibile est summum sacerdotem cordi contrito deficere, qui intimet quomodo contritus debet satisfacere nisi ponat obicem.

And if the right priest cannot be found, the faithful should grieve over this, and believe firmly that our Great High Priest will always give us absolution, if we are contrite.

Et debet tercio credere quod propter absolucionem vel penitenciam, eciam pape, non magis aut minus peccatum remittitur, nisi de quanto se dignificat mediante

Not even the Pope could absolve without this condition.

1. causam corpus A. 7. debuit C. 9. ad *pro* aliquid A. 12. satisfaccioni B. 15. coittan[2] A; comittat[2] C. 18. reduccio BC. 19. dictis *deest* A. 30. facit C. 32. eciam *pro* ecclesia C. 36. obicere A. 38. papa A.

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gracia aput deum; et sepe contingit quod penitenciariis vere absolvit, quando conformat se divine sentencie. Et crebrius fallit mendaciter se et populum, quando discordat a divina sentencia.

The Apostles are never said to have absolved without a revelation: our absolution must therefore be conditional,

5 Unde non lego quod apostoli remiserunt peccatum vel excomunicarunt simpliciter, nisi quando habuerunt ad hoc revelacionem; reputative autem et condicionaliter absolvimus, sicud Lyncolniensis dicit quod omnis criminosus est debitor pene perpetue, sicut debet dolere 10 perpetuo, subintellige, nisi deus graciose remittat.

and not absolute, like those priests who pretend that God has made a compact with them; the removal of this heresy should give us more faith in Christ, who would have forgiven Judas or Lucifer.

F. Unde videtur quod non modica foret elemosina detegere istam pomposam blasfemiam satraparum, qua dicunt quod ipsi habent potestatem remittendi peccata ad votum, cum deus pepigit quod regulariter conformabit 15 se arbitrio eorum. Omnis, inquam, talis est anticristus qui extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus. Nec sequitur ex isto desperacio; sed ammota heresi firmior spes in Cristo. Debet enim fidelis credere quod, si contritus (eciam Judas vel Lucifer) Cristo vere peniteat, Cristus 58a 20 graciose remittat; et sine hoc non valet | remissio humana, nec proficit, nisi de quanto ad istud habilitat.

Sametimes a priest, for a sum of money, takes upon himself the sins of a great man; this is blasphemy.

Error autem blasfemus est, quo peccator potens confidit in homine dicente sibi, quod pro pecunia wult peccata dimittere et ante tribunal Cristi respondere de 25 ipsis in die iudicii. Tales enim hereses dant infidelibus seductis audaciam ad peccandum, et subtrahunt spem ac honorem quem fidelis haberet ad Cristum, dispergendo ipsa inter membra diaboli.

Doctrine of Augustine as regards the confession of all aggravating circumstances.

Secundo, patet ex dictis doctorum quod peccator 30 debet confiteri domino, et in casu homini, omne peccatum suum cum circumstancia agravante; ut docet Augustinus 2° *de visitacione infirmorum* et in *de vera penitencia* dict. quinta. "Consideret," inquit, "peccator qualitatem criminis in loco et tempore, in perseverancia, 35 in variacione persone, et quali hoc fecerit temptacione, et in ipsius vicii multiplici execucione. Et iste circumstancie communiter notantur in isto octonario huius versus: *Quis, quid, ubi, quante, cum quot, cur, quomodo,*

It is necessary to examine:

1. contigit AC. 7. autem *deest* B. 8. lyncon C. 10. se remittat A. 17. sanior A; firmior C; *ib.* spes species C. 21. perficit A; *ib.* ad *deest* C. 23. pro pecunia quod A; *ib.* wt A *et sic semper.* 25. infidelibus *deest* A. 29. doctris C. 30. homini *pro* domino A; deo *pro* domino C. 32. vera *deest* C. 32, 33. penitencia, ut docetur in de vera penitencia B. 33. peccator *deest* A. 34. et *deest* C. 38. cum quo AC.

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1. *Who* the sinner is; as the condition of the person may render the sin more grievous:

2. *What* sin has been committed; for one mortal sin may be worse than another.

3. *Where* it was committed: if in a sacred place, &c. and this is also true, even for wicked thoughts.

4. *How many times* the sin was committed, or *how long* the intention has lasted.

5. With *how many* and *what* persons;

6. *For what motive;* whether under strong temptation or not, &c.

7. *In what manner* the deed was done.

8. *At what time;* if during Lent, or on a festival.

Waiving all questions as to how far these circumstances render a sin more grievous, we may note that the penance enjoined should be of contrary nature to the fault;

quando. Oportet enim considerare gravedinem peccati, cum gravius peccat persona, que ex statu debet esse sanccior; ut peccatum sacerdotis qui debet esse gravior, est dampnabilius quam peccatum simile in abiecciori officiario. Oportet secundo notare speciem peccati, cum homicidium comuniter sit furto gravius. Ideo oportet confiteri *quis quid* fecerit. Et tercio oportet notare locum *in quo* peccatum comittitur; quia peccatur in ecclesia et locis sacris gravius quam in campo; nec hoc solum est verum de furto, homicidio vel fornicacione, sed pocius de peccatis anime, ut superbia, invidia et ira, cum aliis peccatis diaboli ipsa sequentibus. Quarto, oportet notare quantitatem criminis quoad numerum, *quociens* quis peccavit, vel quoad diuturnitatem, qua in malicia perseveravit. Oportet 5° notare, *cum quot* et qualibus complicibus peccabatur; ut in luxuria variacio persone fedate facit ad gravedinem peccati, sicut gravius est incitare personas plures et digniores ad consensum facinoris, quam foret cum paribus. Hoc dimisso, 6° oportet G. notare *movens* vel incitans ad peccandum; ut gravius peccat, qui ex pura malicia vel levi evidencia deum offenderit, quam qui ex forti incitante peccaverit. Et ideo in luxuria attenditur gravedo peccati ex presentacione temptantis ad luxum, et de aliis peccatis modus temptandi gravat vel excusat peccatum. 7° oportet attendere ad *modum* perpetrandi facinus, ut in occisione crudeliore maior malicia est ostensa; et deliberata malicia post quietem anime gravat scelera ultra hoc quod forent, si cum paribus essent subito perpetrata. 8°, oportet *tempus* attendere, quia crimen in sacro tempore comissum, ut in quadragesima, die veneris, et diebus festis est cum paribus eo gravius.

Difficultates autem scolasticas de gravedine peccati ex istis proporcionalibus resultantes relinquo scolasticis; addendo quod pena medicinalis secundum crimen debet aptari tamquam sibi contraria, cum secundum principia naturalium *contraria contrariis sunt curanda.* Ut comuniter contra triplex peccatum diaboli, iniungitur oracio cum devota contemplacione; contra peccata mundi in-

1. persone AC. 3. sancciori *omnes MSS.; ib.* deo gracior C. 10. est verum est A. 19. facinorum C. 21. levi *deest* AB. 23. puecone *omnes MSS.* 24, 25. peccandi B. 31. 8ª *pro* quadragesima A. 33. enim B. 36. sibi *deest* C. 38. scilicet diaboli A. 39. seculi BC

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iungitur corporalis elemosina, et contra peccata carnis ieiunium cum aliis macerantibus corpus peccantis. Ymmo sicut ista tria genera criminum sunt connexa, sic pene pro ipsis sunt cum prudencia presbiteri connectende.

against pride and irreligion, prayer; against worldliness, almsgiving; against lust, fasting.

5 Sed exsuperat humanam prudenciam taxare precise quanta pena sit debita pro peccato; dicente Augustino in *de natura boni* capitulo 9°, quod "qualis et quanta pena cuique culpe debeatur divini iudicii est, non humani". Sufficit ergo confessorem intencione pia quadam 10 probabilitate penam iniungere; quia oportet preter ipsam stare divino iudicio, nec tantam penam de comuni cursu contingit viatorem suffere pro crimine quin maior sit debita. Ideo prudencia confessoris stat in hoc quod iniungat penam levem in gracia sufferendam.

But it is impossible to fix a sufficient amount of penance for sin committed; this rests with God not with man.

15 Unde lapsus blasfemi est dicere quod quantamcunque penam parvam sacerdos iniunxerit, non est amplior sufferenda; ymmo quod illa per se sufficiat ad salutem. Tunc enim penitentes et penitenciam huius[modi] complentes non forent amplius in purgatorio purgandi. Iterum peni- 20 tenciarii haberent noticiam adequandi penam pro crimine, sicud deus; et cum varii varie iniungant penitencias improporcionales peccatis (quia pro gravioribus penas leviores, et e contra, et pro peccatis equalibus inequales), relinquitur vel quod deus iniuste punit ex stulticia con- 25 fessoris, vel quod confessor ultra deum habet potenciam H. puniendi. Iterum, si quilibet posset pecunia vel favore presbiteri peccata quecunque redimere, quis timeret divinum iudicium in peccando? Ideo certum est quod nichil foret blasfemius in ore presbiteri quam dicere 30 quod precise penam quam ipse iniunxerit pro quocunque crimine, deus taxat. Tunc enim quicquid ultra complecionem huius pene peccator tollerat, ut penam corporis usque ad mortem, non deus bonus iuste infligit, quod est contra perfeccionem divinam, que neminem punit, 35 nisi citra condignum, vel misericorditer, et contra peccati gravedinem. Quodlibet enim peccatum, cum sit comissum 58[b] in deum, est dignum pena infinitum gravi; | ymmo anichilacione, nisi deus misericorditer respiciat pecca-

It is therefore blasfemy to say that any penance, however small, given by the priest, is sufficient.

If so, there would be no expiation for sin in Purgatory.

As penances are unequal, God would be unjust, or the priest more powerful than He.

It would be possible to be delivered from all fear of God's Judgment for money or friendship.

Every temporal trouble sent by God would be beyond the deserts of the sufferer, and therefore unjust.

And yet sin deserves an infinite penalty.

4. connectande B. 7. nlla = nulla A; *ib.* 4° *omnes MSS.* 12. 9ti[t] = contigit A; *ib.* quando AB. 13. 9forß C. 18. hinc B. 19. expurgandi B; *ib.* Item C. 20. habent A. 21. et *deest* B. 24, 25. conforis C. 26. Item C. 32. illius BC. 33. ad *deest* A. 36. q'd lic3 C.

7. Aug. *De natura boni*, cap. 9, Ed. Louvain, tom. X, col. 604.

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torem. Tales igitur blasfemi penitenciarii forent anticristi discipuli.

It follows that this confession and absolution is not absolutely necessary: and that many are not really penitent, since they do not do all in their power to take away sin from the Church.

Ex isto patet quod talis confessio, talis penitencie iniunctio et talis absolucio non est absolute necessario requisita; sed nunc proficiens et nunc nocens; 3° patet quam ficte multi penitent; cum secundum doctorem, ad veram penitenciam requiritur detestacio peccati simpliciter, sic quod peccans habeat voluntatem efficacem destruendi nedum peccatum proprium, sed quodcunque peccatum ecclesie, quantum potest, quia aliter foret culpabilis ex consensu, et negligens salutem propriam non iuvaret corpus ecclesie secundum potenciam sibi datam. Consideremus itaque a papa usque ad infimum subiectum, et patebit ex isto quod falsa penitencia occupatur. Debent enim penitere quod temptacione seculi a perfeccione status apostolici sunt dilapsi: de quo cum paribus, si non displicent, sunt impenitentes dampnandi. Et si de isto eos vere peniteat, debent instar apostolorum *mundum et concupiscenciam eius* deserere, cum nemo vere peniteat qui occasionem querit unde peccavit; talis indubie non amat peccatum suum extingwere, sed fovere; et periculum talis heretici nimis nocet ecclesie. Ideo totus cristianismus debet talem prelatum ut anticristum contempnere, quia eius benediccio, absolucio, dispensacio et quicquid fecerit nocet ecclesie.

From the Pope downwards we find false penitents; men fallen from the perfection of the Apostolic state; worldly and avoiding no occasions of worldliness.

1 Joan. I, 19

Such men, by their absolutions and by whatever they do, are hurtful to the Church.

Ideo nota pure infidelitatis est quod papa defendit tam infideliter partem suam. Si enim papa nititur defendere plus dominium suum quam Cristi pauperiem; si plus fovet symoniam, quam sanctimoniam; si plus intendit blasfeme confederacioni, quam sancte ewangelisacioni: quis dubitat quin sit ydolatra blasfemus et pessimus anticristus? Ista autem potest populus ex operibus patenter iudicare; ut, si plus appetat vel aspirat in se ad temporalem excellenciam quam ad renuncia-

The pertinacity with which the Pope defends his possessions is a mark of infidelity.

It is easy to judge of this by works; if his

3. pene C. 16. a *deest* A. 17. quocunque A. 18. ipsos C. 19. ꝯcupiat AC. 20. quia *pro* qui A. 21. quia talis AC. 26. populus *omnes MSS.; ib.* descendit A; defendat B. 32. plus *pro* populus C.

2. In all that precedes it is not quite clear whether Wyclif objects to a certain amount of penance, imposed and accepted, considered as merely making the sacrament *valid*, or considered as completely doing away with all further liabilities. It seems to be the latter; but if so, I doubt whether even in his time any one ventured to say the contrary *explicitly*. It would clearly be the ruin of the doctrine of Indulgences.

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cionem apostolicam; si promovet ad curam anime suos complices quoad artem huius cure inhabiles; et si extollit suas tradiciones, quibus ferventer hec scelera erubescens vel tacens ewangelium est *infideli deterior;* quis non detestatur et fugit talem refugam, ymmo nititur disperdere sectam suam? Et illam sectam vel privative vel positive est facile fideli cognoscere: ut silencium ewangelizandi, carencia vitam Cristi exemplandi, et usurpacio temporalia fidelium spoliandi. Optandum namque foret fidelibus anathematizari a talibus, non benedici, cum deus de illis dicit: *Maledicam benediccionibus vestris.* Aliqui itaque orando, alii hortando et aliqui conculcando debent tali apostate obviare; quia Matth. 5, dicit veritas: *Quod si sal evanuerit ad nichilum valet ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus.* Fidelis itaque debet credere ewangelio, postpositis falsis glosis, et cavere omnino ne consensu omissionis sit proditor veritatis.

temporalities are too much thought of, if his incapable partisans are promoted, if his traditions are extolled, such an apostate should be hated, his curses wished for, his blessings spurned; he should be dealt with by prayer, remonstrances or open scorn.

1 Tim. V, 8 — Malachi II, 2 — Matth. V, 13

Notet secundo fidelis, si sit falsa penitencia in episcopis et prelatis, et omnino, si secundum condignos fructus penitencie reddent, sequendo Cristi vestigia. Nam omittendo hunc fructum decipiunt sese et populum, cum iudicent se esse non vere penitentes, sed hereticos induratos; et in isto patencius quod in castigando subiectos dimittunt leges papales super ewangelio fundatas, et puniunt annuatim pena pecuniaria peccatores: qualis peccati continuacio est dampnatissima symonia. Quid, rogo, dampnacius quam relinquere legem dei atque ecclesie, iniuriam dei pro moneta proditorie vendere, et salutem subditi pro lucro postponere? specialiter post tantam temporalium habundanciam ex dotacione, post tantam simulatam yppocrisin, quod hoc fit ex caritatis fervore, et post tam avarum amplexum pecunie in curato neglecto improvide dispensante? Quis dubitat quin tanta macula erit aput summum iudicem severissime condempnata? Talis autem non vere penitet, nec est membrum sancte matris ecclesie, cum apostolus dicat Eph. 5. *Omnis avarus, quod est ydolorum servitus, non habet hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei.* Si autem non habet

False penance may be discovered in those Bishops who set aside Papal laws founded on the Gospel, and punish sinners by means of a yearly fine: which simony renders sin perpetual, and is especially condemnable, considering the Bishops' riches, their pretended charity and their real greed. Such men are only in, not of the Church, like hirelings or wolves.

Eph. V, 5 — K.

4. qui *pro* quis *omnes MSS.* 5. et *deest* A; *ib.* confugit A. 7. similitudinem AC. 14. ultra *deest* A. 15. hominibus *deest* A. 17. fit A. 21. reddent AC. 23. esse *deest* C. 24. in *before* castigando *deest* C. 28. nisi *pro* quam C. 34. improvidus A. 35. mā = materia A.

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hereditatem in ecclesia, sed tamquam mercenarius vel lupus sit in illa, quis dubitat quod non sit de illa? quia, iuxta fidem, nemo est sponsa Cristi vel membrum eius, nisi dei filius adoptivus, et iuxta argumentum apostoli, *si* sit dei *filius*, *tunc* est *heres* et per consequens habet hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei. Et sic creditur quod multi capitales secundum iudicium mundi sunt in ecclesia, non de illa. Ista igitur est ydolatria practica, qua fedatur ecclesia; et ad illam consequitur ydolatria et heresis multiplex circa sacramentum corpus Cristi; et omnia ista ex eodem fonte processerunt, cum secundum apostolum, *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas.*

None have the heritage, unless they be sons of God and co-heirs with Christ: and many, great according to the world, are only *in*, not *of* the Church, and thence proceeds the practical idolatry that has produced so many abuses.

Rom. VIII, 17

1 Tim. VI, 10

Ambrose quoted.

Sed attenderemus ad dictum beati Ambrosii in *de bono mortis,* dicentis quod "mors est mundi liberacio, virtutum suscitacio et a carcere ad quietem transicio. Primum patet de morte Cristi. Pro secundo dicitur quod nichil plus valet ad domandum carnis desideria quam pensare qualis erit mortua; et tercium patet de morte iustorum, per quam anima | liberatur de carcere corporis corrupti contubernio et coniungitur angelorum consorcio. Sed ne timeamus hoc bonum, oportet mundum contemnere et circa spiritualia ac eterna contendere. Unde Cristus, Johannes 14, in proximo moriturus dixit: *Surgite, eamus hinc,* precipiens ut unusquisque surgat de terris, erigat animam humi iacentem, ad superna excitet aquilam suam; illam aquilam, de qua dictum est: *Renovabitur sicut aquile iuventus tua;* ad animam hoc dictum est. Anima ergo nostra, sicut aquila, alta petat, supra nubes volet, renovatis splendescat exuviis; celo volatus suos inferat, ubi in laqueos incidere non possit. Avis enim, que descendet ex alto, vel que in altum se extollere non potest, frequenter a laqueis capitur aut visco fallitur, aut quibuscunque irretitur insidiis. Sic quoque et anima nostra caveat ad hec mundana descendere: laqueus est in auro, viscus in argento, nexus in predio, clavus est in amore. Dum aurum petimus, strangulamur; dum argentum querimus

Speaking of death, he says: It is a good thing; but in order not to fear it, we must live unworldly lives;

59a

Johan. XIV, 31

Ps. CII, 5

that our soul, like an eagle, may soar on high, and escape the snares

of riches and of the passions.

Seeking either gold or silver or possessions, we are ensnared,

11. pceſſ›nt A; processerant BC. 13. Si B; *ib.* episcopi Ambrosii B. 20. corporis *deest* A. 21. cum oportet A. 21, 22. mundus A. 23. 18 BC. 25. terre A. 26. a'qllâ A. 27. ut BC. 30. in *deest omnes MSS.* 33. irritetur B. 35. viscum C.

13. Ambrosius *De Bono Mortis,* c. V, ed. Ben., t. I, col. 466. The quotation is very free, and, towards the beginning especially, looks like an abstract of what precedes.

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in visco eius heremus; dum predium invadimus alligamur. Quid inane querimus lucrum, preciose anime detrimento? Exiguus est tibi totus mundus pro unius anime dispendio. *Quid enim prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, anime vero sue detrimentum paciatur? Aut quam dabit homo commutacionem pro anima sua?* Non auro redimitur, non argento; ymo auro amittitur. Mulieris decus, dum temptatur, auffugit. Clavus est libido, clavus tristicia, clavus iracundia; clavi sunt omnes passiones, que velut nexu quodam animam nostram penetrant et infigunt corpori visceribusque eius annectunt. Fugiamus ergo ista mala."

to the detriment of our soul, which is greater than the loss of the world. And our passions, whether lust, or grief or anger or any other, have the same effect.

Ex ista obstinacia convincere potest fidelis, si prelatus vel laicus sit in crimine obstinatus. Domini enim temporales noscuntur esse inpenitentes ex consideracione consimili. Si enim vere eis displiceat defedacio ecclesie, qua symoniace ministrant temporalia, ut Cristi primeva religio dissolvatur, ut sancta mater ecclesia ab expedito cursu post sponsum distrahatur et ut perturbacio regnorum et reipublice faveatur; quis dubitat quin illud celeriter corrigerent, cum possent faciliter; nec aliter fructuose vel meritorie peniterent. Nec valet fucus quo fingitur quod finem istum non intendunt, sed honorem et profectum ecclesie; cum ista crassa ignorancia implicat eos velle mala predicta que debent cognoscere inde sequi. Aliter enim oportet concedere quod nullus apostata wult peccare. Debent autem temporales domini et reges precipue, non obstantibus anticristi legibus, de bonis cleri quorum sunt domini, ewangelice providere: hoc est, facere quod nec episcopi, nec rectores, nec propositi, nec abbates, habeant unum pedem predii vel redditus perpetui, sed pure vivant de elemosinis populi cui ministrant in spiritualibus, et specialiter in ewangelio.

This attachment to things temporal can be easily discovered, in secular lords by their indifference to the good of the Church.

To say that they intend God's honour is a vain subterfuge;

their duty is not to allow any of the clergy to have a single foot of ground.

Et si allegentur tradiciones refuge vel iuramenta ydolatria sibi facta, dicant seculares concorditer cum sancto David psalmo 2°. *Disrumpamus vincula eorum et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum. Qui habitat in*

To all arguments and oaths alleged, they should reply: *Let us break their chains and throw away their yoke!*

Matth. XVI,26

Ps. II,3

2. destrimentum B. 5. dabis B; dab̃ C. 6. homo *deest* BC; *ib.* tua BC. 7. aurum A. 9. vere *pro* velut A. 10. nexu̅ C; *ib.* nostram *deest* A; *ib.* infingunt B. 16. de fedacione AB. 17. que A. 18. expeditur A. 19. distrahitur B. 20. foveatur BC. 25. dicunt AB; *ib.* inde sequi *deest* C. 27. tales C. 28. antecristinis AC; *ib.* et ius de B. 30. repositi AC.

8. *Auffugit.* St. Ambrose has *astringit;* I only note this reading among many on account of its importance.

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These *chains* are the traditions by which the simple are bound; and the *yoke* is the bond of blind allegiance to Antichrist.

celis irridebit eos. Vincula eorum sunt tradiciones quibus simplices laqueantur. Cum hiis enim et prediis contexta est tela aranee, in qua bestiole capiuntur, que gaudenter dicerent illud psalmi 133[i]: *laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.* Iugum autem est liga ceci iuramenti et devocionis blasfeme, qua principes et eorum subditi anticristo et suis complicibus sunt subiecti. Oportet enim fidelem credere quod Cristus cum suis apostolis cepit sibi in conversacione bonum honoris et comodi, vivendo vitam summe pauperem et exproprietariam. Contra quam si anticristus infideliter remurmuret, signent eum tamquam infidelem freneticum vel ex contagione infidelitatis gregis domini infectivum. Excuciant igitur principes a se infidelitatem istam refuge, et regulentur lege scripture, cum lex sit *immaculata,* qua anime fideles ad dominum convertuntur. Stultus inquam et infidelis foret, qui gratis biberet aquam turbidam et venenosam, despecta aqua salutifera atque clara. Fides autem dicit quod melius est sequi Cristum in moribus, cum aliter sit homo membrum diaboli et non clerus. Ideo ve illi qui pervertit ordinem dei propter stultam et insanam pruriginem anticristi!

Ps. CXXIII, 7

Christ's life, being the best, should be the model for the clergy. It is madness to despise pure and drink turbid water; our faith tells us that we should imitate Christ's life.

But the enemy is wroth at the very mention of loss of his possessions;

He prevails on princes to despoil a foreign Church; and if they should do that out of charity, how much more our own Church, which they should love more!

Convincitur autem ex hoc quod furet rabidus, dum audit quod ad sui perfeccionem et exoneracionem sua temporalia subtrahuntur; et non minus furibundus insanit, dum audit perfeccionem suam salutiferam et honorem stare in vita penali et paupere instar Cristi. Consulit quidem et procurat quod principes sui spolient et crucient alienam ecclesiam; quod non potest fingere fieri pro verecundia fidei, nisi propter amorem quem principes habent ad ecclesiam alienam, quam tribulant, ut sic purgent; et tamen fingunt hoc fore in se ipsis (qui magis delinquunt, et quos principes debent magis diligere et curare) crudele sacrilegium, non medelam. Talis autem apostotarum duplicitas turbat mundum; domini ergo temporales pro isto scelere, nisi fructuose peniteant, sunt dampnabiles ex consensu. |

1. et dominus subsanabit eos C. 4 123 BC. 7. eorum C. 13. infideliter A; *ib.* dominici B; *ib.* infectum C. 15. scriptura C; *ib.* fidelium BC. 18. clara atque C. 21. insaniam C. 23. ut rapidus B. 27. staret B; *ib.* in *deest* B.

29. *Crucient.* Probably an allusion to the Crusade in Flanders, against the followers of the Antipope, Robert of Geneva.

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CAPITULUM UNDECIMUM.

A. 59[b] Restat ulterius videre de dubiis concernentibus istam materiam. Et primo, si sit expedicius publice penitere. Et videtur, quod sic, quo ad penitentem. Nam quanto cum maiori pudore eque contritus penitet, de tanto est sua penitencia meritorior. Sed hoc fit comuniter de publica penitencia coram multis: ergo, comuniter talis penitencia foret meritorior, et sic expedicior. Minor patet per experienciam et racionem. Si enim peniteri coram unica persona sit ponderosum, foret cum paribus magis ponderosum penitere publice coram ipso et multis consorciis; cum penitenti sit evidens quod solitarius, audiens confessionem suam, sigillabit eam, nulli reserans nisi deo, non ut puniat, sed remittat; quod consilium non est ita evidens multitudini detectum.

Some questions concerning Penance.

I. Whether public penance is fitting.

The greater the shame endured, the more meritorious the penance; confession to many is still more painful than to one alone; and the penitent cannot be sure that a multitude will not disclose his sin.

Item, forma penitendi servanda exprimitur in lege nova vel veteri, cum omnis alia forma sit apocrifa, non a deo observanda; sed in utroque testamento fit mencio de penitencia publica, non privata; ergo, illa est pocius observanda. Minor patet de Achan Josue 7°, qui ex mandato Domini debuit seculari principi et populo confiteri. Et tantam evidenciam de confessione solitaria non audivi. Et idem patet de beato Petro, qui *flendo amare* fructuose penituit. Paulus autem 1° Thymoth. p°. in scriptis publice confitetur quod fuit blasfemus. Papa eciam Marcellinus, martir gloriosus, post thurificacionem diabolo confessus est publice peccatum suum fratribus suis et processit ad martirium, ut patet 21 dis. capitulo

Both the old and the New Law make mention of public penance, as in the case of Achan, of Saint Peter, and of Pope Marcellinus; while private confession is based on no such authority.

Matth. XXVI, 75

1 Tim. I, 13

1. Cap. 11 *in marg.* B; *deest* A. 4. quo *deest* A; *ib.* punitatem A. 10. pudorosum BC. 11. pudorosum BC. 12. ipsa BC. 14. reservans B. 17. Ideo A. 20. non privata *deest* A; *ib.* igitur C. 21. Achor A; Acham C. 22. Domini *deest* A. 25. Thess. 5 A. 26. confiteri A. 27. Marcellinus *in marg.* B.

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Nunc autem. Confessio autem auricularis non ex tanta auctoritate vel utilitate legitur processisse.

It is granted that it is good to confess the same sins several times to different priests, on account of the greater confusion endured; if so, the same applies to public confession.

Item, ut scola hodie fatetur concorditer, meritorium est iterum confiteri eadem peccata eciam dimissa, quociens uni sacerdoti vel pluribus fuerint publicata, et hoc potissime propter verecundam displicenciam de comisso: cum ergo tanta vel maior potest esse pudorosa displicencia pluribus publice confitendo, videtur iuxta primum argumentum quod nedum licitum sed meritorium est confiteri crimina coram multis: sic enim absolvunt multi et simul eandem personam iam mortuam, et per consequens licet eis simul in casu absolvere iam viventem. Sive enim per modum diffinicionis sive per modum rogacionis processerint multi sacerdotes absolvendo mortuum, tanta vel maior racio est sic simul absolvere iam viventem. Ipse enim capacior est fructus talis absolucionis, cum multis videtur quod absolucio iam mortui quo ad delecionem criminis caret fructu.

And if many priests can at the same time, in any sense, absolve a dead man, they can do so for a living man too.

And if several can absolve a living man, they can hear his confession.

Insuper videtur quod sicut licet pluribus sacerdotibus simul absolvere iam viventem, sic licet sibi simul illis omnibus confiteri; quia aliter absolucio foret indignior propter confessionem huiusmodi ex maiori fervore caritatis transfusam; et dicere quod illusione irracionabili fundatur ecclesia, foret episcopos accusare. Sicut ergo licet successive detegere eandem confessionem multis presbiteris (et sic in casu notificare eandem culpam omni homini), sic et simul.

Wyclif, however, decides that no general rule can be laid down. The only point to be considered is the advantage of the penitent, the intensity of contrition, and the best remedy against a relapse. If this does not agree with ecclesiastical law, it agrees with the law of Christ. Those who object to it must show that they

B. Hic videtur mihi quod pro neutra parte est generaliter regulandum; quia dum confitens de comisso magis conteritur et maius remedium apponitur de cavendis peccatis futuris vel de possibili comittendis, de tanto est confessio laudabilior, sive facta fuerit soli deo sive deo et militanti ecclesie, abscondite vel aperte. Et si dicatur quod ista sentencia non consonat legi ecclesie, dicitur ex fide quod consonat Cristo, quia racioni et ecclesie triumphanti. Et si dicatur discordare ab ecclesia militanti, superest declarare, primo, quod illi a quibus discordat, sunt vera ecclesia; 2° quod illi non in isto errant, sed in hoc fundacionem capiunt a scriptura; et

1. prodest si confitearis *in marg.* B. 5. replicata B. 6. verecundiam A. 7. igitur C; *ib.* pudo'fa A. 10. crimina *deest* B. 11. absolvunt *deest* B; *ib.* et *deest* B. 14. per modum *deest* A. 16. est *deest* A. 17. tamen AB. 22. fervore A; fervore maiori C. 24. Sic igitur C. 27. inquit *pro* mihi C. 36. 2° superest AB; Sed primo superest declarare primo C. 38. ex *pro* a B.

1. Decr. Grat. 1ª Pars, Dist. XXI, c. 7.

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de tanto, sed non amplius, oportet fideles eis obedire. Et sic omnis obediencia reducenda est ad Cristum abbatem ordinis cristiani; et alii blasfemi sunt tamquam refuge respuendi. Et si queratur, que confessio sit in maiori parte probabilior et scripture conformior: dicitur quod confessio generalis, ut patet ex dictis. Unde videtur quod diabolus, ut magis abscondat confessionis nequiciam, introduxit regulariter confessionem absconditam. Conceditur tamen quod quandoque expedit publice, quandoque abscondite, quandoque neutraliter, Cristi vicariis confiteri; et illam libertatem cristiani ordinis, tenendo semper religionem Cristi, debet catholicus observare.

are of the Church, and follow scripture. Christ alone is to be obeyed. A general confession is most according to Holy Writ; private confession, as a law, is not so; yet sometimes it may be preferable to public confession, and sometimes not.

Sed pars anticristi tantum adhuc prevalet, quod innititur isti porismati plus quam fidei: *ecclesia romana sic sentenciat;* ergo, *hoc tamquam articulus fidei est tenendum.* Et fallacia ista diaboli magis obnubilat fidem catholicam, cum multis videtur argumentum topicum: *Curia illa ex auctoritate sua illud sentenciat:* ergo, *hoc est perfidia anticristi.* Ideo cum manifestum sit ex fide, quod oportet in quocunque credibili supra illos racionem requirere, patet quod oportet quemcunque dicta illorum tamquam neutra postponere, vel contempnere ut suspecta; habemus enim fidem legis dei in copia, etsi non mendicemus peripsimata anticristi. Leges autem vel raciones opposite faciliter sunt solvende. Vel enim
60a equivocant de ecclesia romana, vocando illam pure Cristi et Petri vicarios, vel anticristive exercent simplices per tradiciones proprias et fulmina, cum minis cesareis machinatis.

The side of Antichrist holds that whatever the Church of Rome decides is matter of faith; some think quite the contrary. Whenever no reason is given for any decision, it should be set aside or not noticed.

The fallacy is that the Roman Pontiff is called Christ's Vicar, and deludes the simple by his menaces.

Habet autem ecclesia romana usum suum et ecclesia anglicana usum disparem, plus vel eque probabilem; nec sunt contrarii, dum inculpabiliter servaverint substanciam fidei cristiane; ut aliqui fideles capiunt eukaC. ristiam specialiter die cene, et alii die Pasche. Primi sunt moti tripliciter: primo, quia Cristus cum suis apostolis, quem debemus sequi omnino, illo die sacramentum illud primo instituit et comedit; 2°, quia propter duos dies sequentes est dies illa remocior a turbacione seculari et crapula die pasce, et 3° quia prior ecclesia, que prudencius, ita instituit. Scribitur enim in de Consecracione dist. 2° *in cena domini:* "A quibusdam recepcio

The Churches of Rome and of England have different customs, not contrary, so long as they do not contradict the Christian faith. v. g. some take Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday, and some on Easter Sunday, for different reasons.

1. sed *deest* B. 3. tocius ordinis B. 4. queritur B. 11. ut et A.

23. p ipīma B; p ipſia *„rasura post a* C. 27. in *pro* et AC; in B. 29. angelica A. 30. contrarie B; contraria AC. 34. deus A. 38. illam *pro* ita A; ita BC. 38, 39. in de 9. ſ 2ª A.

23. *Peripsimata.* Cf. Sermones II, 297, I. 21, 1 Cor. IV, 13. 39. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 17.

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eukaristie negligitur, que quoniam in eodem die ab omnibus fidelibus (exceptis his quibus pro gravibus casibus inhibitum est) percipienda sit, ecclesiasticus usus demonstrat, cum eciam penitentes eodem die ad percipienda corporis et sanguinis dominici sacramenta reconcilientur." Hec Sother papa, cuius evidencia vel auctoritas non est minor quam dictum Fabiani ibidem: *Et si non frequencius;* vel dictum Innocencii 3ii in 5o decretalium: *Omnes utriusque sexus;* quia tunc ad religiones privatas secundum erimoniarum observancias nimium declinarunt. Unde patet quod tradere de isto regulas generales est presumptive stulticie.

A Canon exists in favour of the former practice, which has as much value as any subsequent decree.

Augustine leaves the faithful free to communicate every day, advising weekly communion.

Ideo Augustinus ibidem dicit: "Cottidie eukaristie comunionem accipere nec laudo nec vitupero; omnibus tamen diebus dominicis comunicandum hortor." Et infra: "Dixit quispiam non cottidie accipiendam eukaristiam, alius affirmat cottidie. Faciat unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum." Et ponit exemplum de Zacheo et centurione. Item ostenditur in dicto beati Ambrosii eukaristiam esse spiritualiter continue assumendam. "Si quocienscunque effunditur sanguis Cristi in remissionem peccatorum effunditur, debeo semper accipere, qui semper peto medicinam; ne itaque simus de numero eorum quos Cristus dicit quod *colant culicem et degluciunt camelum,* non preponderemus dies vel tempora, sed quandocunque racio ducit nos accipere eukaristiam vel facere opus quodcunque meritorium, faciamus." Et ita, licet succedens episcopus romanus preceperit sub pena gravi cunctos fideles adultos in die pasche recipere eukaristiam annuatim, verum, inquam, est, quod sic debent facere, nisi racio excuset. Racio autem sufficiens est multis fidelibus quod die cene, quando fuit eis devocius, manducarunt. Et si allegatur obediencia servanda pape: moveat illud claustrales, qui observant cerimonias sui privati ordinis preter necessarie introducti. Nos autem teneamus libertatem primevam legis Cristi, scilicet ut non simus D.

Ambrose, inviting the faithful to take spiritual communion continually, says; "Let us not, like the Pharisees, bind ourselves to the observance of days, but follow reason". And though it be commanded to communicate on Easter Sunday, we should not do so if we have a sufficient reason; which may be that our devotion prompted us to take communion on Maundy

1. qm A. 14. non laudo accipere C. 17, 18. secundum quod A. 22. in testimonium et in C; *ib.* Cristi *deest* C. 26. conducit B. 37. ut *deest* C.

8. Decr. Grat. 3a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 16. 9. See p. 112. 13. Decr. Grat. 3a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 13. 21. Decr. Grat. De Cons. Dist. II, c. 14.

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oppressi iugo iudayco. In neutris vero nobis condescendamus populo cum quo vivimus.

Thursday; for we follow Christ's law in liberty.

Sed gradus persone, evidencia sue consciencie, ac cetere racionales circumstancie sunt pensande; ut si ipsum moveat devocio et inpulsio spiritus comunicari singulariter die cene, quis papa vel cardinalis vel lex quam statuit, prohiberet? Sed esto quod insane decreverint quod sub quantacunque pena inventa quilibet eis obediat, faciendo quod ipsi imperant, ut sic eorum potestas appareat: certum est quod ipsi non habent potestatem hanc legem statuere; sed usurpacione supposita, fidelis debet pro observacione libertatis Cristi hoc iugum scribarum secure disrumpere, ut patet Act. 15°, ex decreto apostolorum. Ideo, exigendo talem obedienciam, debent fundare saltem eius consonanciam legi Cristi. Modo autem multa sunt neutra et possunt bene fieri vel omitti; et tamen legem statuere quod hoc fiat regulariter sub gravi pena, excedit humanam potenciam. Immo hoc temptans incurrit blasfemiam; et in isto laborant propter extorquendam luciferinam obedienciam multi prepositi ordinum privatorum. Non negatur tamen quin licet in talibus neutris unam partem eligere socialiter ex consensu. Sed statuere legem condicionalem eternam vel universalem ante statuentem, excedit humanam potenciam; et extollens statuentem supra deum, confirmat blasfemiam. Quis, inquam, potest statuere, quod si quis religiosus mutat habitum ab albo in nigrum, a cappa in tunicam, sic de aliis ritibus per quos religiosi nostri ut per essenciales differencias distinguuntur? Cum, inquam, talis veritas connexionis sit absolute necessaria et eterna, et sic supra omnem ordinacionem humanam, subiacens soli ordinacioni divine; vel sit simpliciter impossibilis: tunc non potest esse vel al aliquo ordinari. Quicumque in sectis ordinacionem talem defenderit est hereticus plus vel minus. Si autem statuerit quod quicumque sic vel sic fecerit sit taliter puniendus in idem

The Pope has no power to lay down rules in this manner, and he ought to be disobeyed by way of protestation; for though what he commands may be neither right nor wrong, yet he exceeds his power by such a law and such penalties, though it is allowable on neutral points to agree to act together.

To make the law universal and eternal is wrong; as v. g. to make of the habit of the Orders an essential difference between them; what is essential does not belong to human ordinance.

1. introducto C. 1, 2. conscendamus C. 4. racionabiles B; ronaies C. 5. quem BC. 8. invenis *omnes MSS.* 13. dirrupere C. 14. exigentes B. 18. fuit A; fiant B. 21. negant C. 22. tamen *deest* AC. 25. excellens B; *ib.* statuentem *deest* B. 28. ab albo A; a capo B. 29. dvur A. 30. que communis AB. 31. tunc *pro* et sic A. 32. si *pro* connexionis; *ib.* fit C. 36. statuerit ac fecerit C.

27. *Habitum.* See *De Apostasia*, pp. 3, 4.

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Suppose that Innocent had ordained that it was a mortal sin to take Communion on Good Friday, it would have been blasphemy on his part.

redit, cum sit eadem sentencia. Ut, posito quod papa Innocencius tercius | statuerit quod quicumque laicus 60b comunicatus fuerit die parasceves, non in pascha, peccet mortaliter et sic graviter puniatur, blasfemat indubie, hereticans fideles et papas qui hoc non servarunt in ecclesia primitiva. Sed quid stulcius? cum lex talis universalis foret supra vires hominum, ymmo supra racionem, et per consequens supra deum; et sic foret quelibet talis statuicio venenosa.

Any act that God allowed us to do or not to do, might thus be forbidden, and man could give commands which God cannot.

Et istud confirmatur ex hoc quod ante talem statui- E.
cionem foret quodcunque tale opus ex dei ordinancia liberum atque neutrum, sed post statuicionem talem, ut fingitur, est opus dampnabile, et eius oppositum ad meritum limitatum: ergo, subiacet statuicioni humane taliter ordinare, quod videtur deo non posse competere; quomodo ergo liceret illiberare opus dei, quod eternaliter ordinavit esse sic liberum? Item, si opus tale incipit esse dampnabile, cum talis instituens non de facto extollitur supra deum, oportet deum verum ex statuicione servili gravare tempore gracie legem pene: quod repugnat racioni libertatis et bonitatis divine. Que, rogo, libertas in deo, quod necessitetur propter statuicionem de possibili anticristi punire servum suum severius sine causa? Anticristus autem, legem istam stabiliens, petit hoc metricum proprium soli deo: *Sic volo, sic iubeo; sit pro racione voluntas.* Item, possibile est quod sicud in talibus neutris duo statuentes contrarie (nec est racio, quare unus, quin per idem uterque) inniti debet ut statuicio sua robur habeat, et sic deus contradictoria approbaret. Summum itaque miraculum, sed summe monstruosum, foret simul tempore gravare et facilitare eadem opera. Ut si gilbonensis statuat quod omnis fidelis comunicabitur die parasceves, non in pascha, et Urbanus noster statuat, quod solum in die pentechostes vel alio quocunque, et uterque annectat penam spiritualem, patet quod non maior foret necessitas in dicta

If God were to approve all such commands, we should return to the servitude of the Old Law.

Should Robert of Geneva make a law, and Urban VI a contrary one, God would be obliged to ratify both, and punish and reward for the same act.

1. reddit C; *ib.* quod C; *ib.* eadem *deest* B. 2. tercius *deest* BC. 4. tunc *pro* et sic B. 5 ſuan'nt = servaverunt C. 10, 11. institucionem B. 14. *after* meritum *blank space,* tm̄ B. 15. non posse deo C. 19. verum *deest* B. 22. que C. 25. proprium soli *deest* C. 27. sint B. 32. opera dei BC; *ib.* gibbonensis B. 34. petechosten (*sic*) A; pethecostes C. 36. quid A.

15. *Non posse competere.* Because it is impossible to suppose God leaving us no action that we are free to make or not to make. 25, 26. Juvenal. Sat. VI, l. 223. *Hoc volo, sic jubeo,* etc.

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lege Innocencii III[ii], quam in istarum altera vel utraque. Ideo non dubium quin leges tales sunt plene blasfemia; ut sicut dicitur deum non preordinasse penam pro peccato Lini antequam papa vel alius ydiota iniunxerit; sic dicitur quod pena pro tali opere non est racionabilis antequam papa statuerit taliter faciendum esse sub tanta pena, et postea deus consequitur confirmando. Et eadem est consideracio de sectis privatis, que usibilia statuunt sub anathemate non sic uti. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, multa observata ut regule privatorum ordinum sapiunt blasfemiam et heresin manifestam. Cum igitur deus dicit Petro, Act. 10. *Quod deus purificavit, tu ne comune dixeris*, qua fronte presumeret refuga per quem nullius religionis sumpsit exordium pro lege universali vel condicionali statuere quod vesci non libet et tegumentis non licet uti taliter sub hac pena? Honoremus igitur solum religionem institutam a domino veritatis.

Or: a given act is not punishable by God, so long as the Pope has not ordained so; but so soon as he has, God inflicts punishment.

In the Rules of the private Orders, many such blasphemies are to be found.

Act. X, 10

F. Sed contra istud instatur quod non licet vovere quidquam facere, nec cristiano statuta edere, nec pape cum aliquo dispensare. Sed primum dicitur negando assumptum. Conceditur tamen quod oportet in omni voto humano subintelligi condicionem, *si deus voluerit*, ut patet alibi. Quando autem quis fatue vovet preter vel contra religionem cristianam, debet statim dimittere et de stulticia penitere. Nec licet concedere novas leges propter talem stulticiam obligandi, quia sic liceret a religione Cristi totaliter variare, et totum genus neutrorum, vel quod Cristus dictavit esse licitum ex voto et religione facere non licere. Absit ergo Cristianum presumere ut statuicione sua stolida negacio, que vis vel veritas conexionis incipiat, ymo quin liberius potest homo post progressum in religione Cristi quicquid facere quod prius potuit, si non obsit apostasia implicans quod in deterius retrocedit. Deus autem facit, non quod talis non potest licite facere tale opus, sed quod modo est sibi illicitum taliter operari. Et sic talis actus non est sibi neuter, nec forte aliquis umquam fuit; sed credere quod ex nuda ordinacione humana opus sit criminosum quod aliunde foret meritorium, sapit Anticristi blasphemias; cum oportet illum in cuius manu sunt vicissitudines

Objections: If this doctrine be true, 1. no vows are right; 2. no Christian can make laws; 3. and the Pope has no dispensing power.

1. In every vow there is the tacit condition of God's approval; without which it ought to be broken.

No laws should therefore be made to oblige such vows to be kept.

A Christian in following his religion is freer than he was before, unless he becomes a backslider.

The unlawfulness of any action forbidden by vow consists in God not allowing him to do it *for the time*.

3. sic C. 14. sufficit *pro* sumpsit C. 20. dispesare A. 27. variari AB. 31. post *pro* potest A. 33. apostota inpleciones quidem A; implicitas quod B. 34. aut C. 35. non modo AC. 36. Tunc B; *ib.* ibi A. 38. unica B. 39. anticristus blasfemians A.

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But to make a crime out of a deed, good in itself, is madness; God alone gives increase of virtue.

temporum dare crementum virtutum. Et sic statuere vel vovere irracionabilia, foret luciferina demeneia; vovere neutra foret illibertans stulticia: sed vovere religiosa, cum sint in scriptura sacra implicita, foret prudencia faciens quod voluntas dei sit propensius executa. Sed longe a peccatoribus et dictas leges infames statuere ex hoc quod licet opus tercii modi prudenter vovere.

2. and 3. Laws are allowable, and so are dispensations, provided they follow Scripture.

Et sic dicitur ad secundum et 3^{m}, quod licet statuta condere et cum ligatis irracionabiliter dispensare, dum tamen lex scripture sit exemplar ad dirigendum talia opera sapienter. Numquam autem sunt ipsa licita, nisi deus prius illa fecerit approbando. Ideo apostoli nichil fecerunt, nisi ex inspiracione divina, ex Cristi consilio, vel sorte a deo propter meritum sortiencium regulata. Sed hec racio fuit in primitiva ecclesia, quando emergebat casus necessitans. Sed modo ceci prepositi audenter multiplicant leges quas nesciunt stabilire. Ideo fideles debent | ipsas non admittere vel temere admissas excutere, et de lege ac religione Cristi, dimissis aliis, contentari. In aliis autem levibus debet fidelis modos licitos 2^{m} comunem dei influenciam observare, et non illibertando dei ecclesiam pro quocunque facto legem statuere. Lex enim dicitur a *ligando*, et non debet statui nisi in arduis, ut consiliis ewangelicis et preceptis; et sic lex ewangelica per se sufficit sine plure. Tradiciones autem et statuta localia, cum phas et nephas plurimum sunt permixta. Ideo perfecti viri ipsa vel negligunt, vel, lege dei attenta sedule, parvipendunt.

But laws are now multiplied without foundation in Holy Writ; such should not be obeyed, and in general, as every law diminishes Christian liberty, none should be made without grave reasons.

II. Whether the secret of confession should be always kept.

Sed 2° principaliter arguitur de clavibus vel sigillo confessionis, quod licet in multis casibus confessionem detegere. Probatur primo racionabilitas eius ex utraque parte legis dei docentis quod debet esse publica et per G.

4. implicata foret prudencia faciens C. 6. saltare A. 7. opera BC. 9. primum B. 12. sapientis C. 15. regulatam A. 19. admissionem A. 23. Christi BC. 26. plica (*sic*) C. 27. plurium AB. 28. non *pro* vel *before* negligunt A. 31. conf'onis C. 33. parte *deest* BC; *ib.* lege BC.

30. *Sigillo*. It is known that Roman Catholic doctrine is very absolute on this point. The priest out of confession may not even *think* of what has been said in confession; so much so that it is unanimously held that a priest, made aware in confession that an assassin intends to waylay him on a journey, may not put off the journey, nor take any precautions which he would not otherwise have taken! This may serve to mark the independent point of view taken by Wyclif on the subject.

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consequens multis cognita. Ille ergo qui pluribus revelat confitibile non reserat nisi detegendum; quod licet bene facere, sicut deus pandet in finali iudicio, et Petrus publicavit, Act. 5. de Anania et Zaphira. Non enim videtur racio istius malicie, nisi quod fideles subtrahant a confessione auriculari intendentes confessioni publice vel confessioni quam facerent fructuose soli deo; quod videtur nedum tollerabile sed legale.

The Bible, always mentioning public confession, implies the contrary. To reveal the secret of confession is but to make known now what will be known at the last Day; and it would have a good effect, injuring the practice of auricular confession.

Item lex dei et comunis utilitas necessitant peccata confessa private esse a confessore populo detegenda; ergo lex generaliter statuens oppositum est iniqua. Antecedens videtur; posito quod quis confiteatur Petro private de prodicione populi, vel homicidio comittendo, et licet promittat Petro, quod non wult facere facinus cuius propositum confitetur, appareat tamen Petro ex signis evidentibus, quod prius confitens perverse redierit ad propositum predictum facinus comittendi, tunc videtur racione multiplici, quod talis confessio sit detegenda; primo, quia caritas ad confessum urget crimen suum excludere, quod supposito aliter commodius non posse fieri quam publicandum nephandum propositum. Et idem patet ex parte populi prodendi, cui confessor iuratur, et amitteret a sibi probabile maius bonum celando. Et ex parte Petri videtur quod propter accumulandum sibi meritum, paciendo mortem propter honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie prodendo, in casu facinus impediret. Nam non tanta pena est iniuncta, quanta foret quecunque dei offensa.

Besides, if a man, having confessed an intended murder or act of treason, and it being clear to his confessor that he again intends to commit such a crime, it is the confessor's duty, for the correction of the penitent, for the good of the intended victim, and for his own good, exposing himself to deadly peril for God's sake, to reveal the fact.

Item, contigit sacerdotem errasse in audiendo confessionem laici, et de illo errore quotquot presbiteris pro securitate et merito confiteri. Cum ergo ad confessionem huiusmodi requiritur in casu peccati primi laici deteccio, videtur quod licet in casu multiplici peccata detegere. Si enim multi istorum sacerdotum fuerint post modum degradati, vel percepti ordines indebite percepisse, quomodo non posset primum peccatum per presbiterum fore licite populo publicatum? Ut ponitur in casu quo confessor cadat in phrenesim, vel morbum alium, in oblivionem, vel loquacitatem, in sompno, et sic peccatum confessi publicetur.

A priest may err in dealing with a penitent, and confess his fault to several priests, and thus be obliged to reveal his penitent's sin: if this is legal, then sins may be revealed. Or take the cases of madness, delirium, forgetfulness, talkativeness, or speaking in one's sleep: then confessions are revealed.

1. pluribus *deest* C. 13. propositi *pro* populi B. 14. wlt C. 16. redigerit A. 20. suppo° C. 28. offensio C. 34. enim *deest* B. 35. p̄ modū C. 36. suscepisse B. 37. populo *deest* A. 39. in *before* oblivionem *deest* B.

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And if it be answered that they may be revealed in general terms, inadvertently, or by the express will of God: then what is the good of a law so indefinite?

Si dicatur quod licet generalibus verbis peccata detegere, et ubi oblivio premuniendi est forcior, ac 3° in casu quo deus necessitet ad in casibus positis exprimendum: ad quid, rogo, valet lex tam artis penis astricta, et nulla sui particula explanata? Revera perinde 5 est ac si lex ista non foret posita, cum verbis generalibus, signis preter verba, et taciturnitate vel nutu contingit populum multa satis cognoscere. Vel quis presbiter accusatus de isto nesciret subterfugia reperire? aut quis presbiter, hec detegens, non foret necessitatus ista depro- 10 mere? cum scimus quod omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient.

Under cover of this law, sins may go unpunished, and priests put into difficulties, sinners coming to confess to those very priests whose duty it is to convict them.

Item, secundum cautelam huius legis possent peccata H. foveri et presbiteri intricari; nec est fundamentum vel fructus ad huius legis edicionem necessitans. Ideo in 15 causa sue originis est suspecta. Quilibet enim subditus prelato posset exigere confessionem ab eo et inter alia dicere sibi crimen de quo prelatus ipsum argueret; et sic clauderetur os eius, ne liceat sibi arguere, licet videat ipse offerre ad periurium vel fidelem falsissime 20 convincendum. Cautela quidem diaboli precluderet ne presbiter testimonium perhibeat necessarie veritati; necessitatus enim confessor iurare alteram partem, iuraret cum diabolo falsitatem, et per consequens contra veritatem ipsam tegeret et foveret. 25

To hide sins is thus a sacrament of the devil;

Magnum itaque sacramentum in absconsione peccati vel sue delecionis, per quod honor dei et utilitas ecclesie lucescerent in effectu! Tale indubie foret sacramentum patris mendacii. Sed thobie 12: *Sacramentum regis ab-* Tob. XII, 7 *scondere bonum est; opera autem dei revelare et* 30 *confiteri honorificum est.* Cum igitur singulare opus dei sit peccata dimittere, patet antecedens; ymmo confessus daret gloriam deo, veritatem sui facinoris publicando. Quomodo ergo confessor suus foret sibi in hoc contrarius post vel ante? vel ymmo, fatendo quod quis est con- 35 fessor alterius, cum peccatum suum publicum sit (et supponi debet quod quilibet sit memor sic salutis sue

the penitent should publish his sins to the glory of God. When a man is a public sinner, any priest saying: *I am his confessor*, implicitly

2. p̄mu^dl (? ?) A; premundi B; p̄mu͡endi C. 3. ca° A. 4. tunc lex B. 5. propositum A. 11. eveniunt AC. 14. intrari *omnes MSS.* 18. tunc B. 22. ecclesie C. 33. gulam A. 37. sic *before* salutis *deest* B.

11, 12. This is a well-known sophism alluded to in *Logicae Continuatio*, now publishing. *Omnia que evenient de necessitate, evenient;* or: *Omnia que evenient, de necessitate evenient.*

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omnia perfecte et integre confitendo) fatetur implicite
61b se audivisse omnia illa facinora | a confesso. Sive igitur
confessi sive populus iniuriatus insurgat contra confessores
huiusmodi, deficeret in hoc, eis mortuis, causa dei.
5 Debent enim secundum doctrinam Cristi, Matth. 18, ter
Matth. XVIII, 16, 18 prudenter corripere et 4a vice deserere. Ideo evidens
est quod fratres, per multos annos remanentes affectuose
confessores hominum qui non resipiscunt sed pocius
peiorantur, consenciunt suo facinori, et proditorie nu-
10 triunt contra Cristum. Mille sunt casus in quibus deficit
hoc legis principium, quia stabilitur super confessione
abscondita, que est toxicum fundamentum.

admits that his sins, have been made known to him.

A priest should remonstrate three times with his penitent, and at the fourth relapse, abandon him; not (as many Friars do) remain his friend and confessor during years of impenitence.

Videtur ergo quod confessio secreta, sicud quodcunque
secretum aliud, servata prudencia, sit celandum; nec
15 video magnam devocionem vel delectacionem in sic
audiendo confessiones privatas. Sed postquam cessavit
predicacio publica gignitiva filiorum dei in Cristo, fuit
ista auricularis confessio instinctu diaboli introducta.
Ille autem studeat glosare hanc legem et solvere raciones,
20 qui delectatur in ea, et non videt quod in fide scripture
esset meritorius laborandum. Meritorium quidem est
detegere fallacias istas diaboli. Quilibet cristianus debet
confiteri deo et ecclesie, sicud homines debent confiteri
alterutri. Ymmo homo debet in casu confiteri private
25 prudenti presbitero et facere secundum suum consilium;
ergo debet ut lex statui quod omnis homo habens
discrecionem et scienciam, debet semel in anno con-
fiteri omnia peccata sua auriculariter proprio sacerdoti,
Petro quidem, et in persona sua ecclesie. Sed specialiter
30 sacerdoti data est potestas ligandi et solvendi, cum
Joan. XVII, 21 tamen paverit oves Cristi de suo pabulo, ut dicitur Joh.
ult., et ligaverit vel solverit conformiter ecclesie trium-
phanti; et aliter nichil sibi, et dico ad Petrum vel omnes
apostolos, cum aliter non sit de numero eorum quibus
35 Christus locutus est. Probabile quidem videtur, quod
solum eis concessit Cristus hanc potestatem, qui docent
fidem Cristi de predestinatis vel reprobis, et sedebunt
Matth. XIX, 28 in die iudicii super sedes, iudicantes 12 tribus Israel.

The secret of confession should be kept, like all others, according to the rules of prudence.

A summary of Wyclif's doctrine on Confession: it should be made to God, to the Church and privately to a proper priest representing the Church.

But if the latter should not feed Christ's flock, the promises made to the Apostles were not made to him; they are probably for those who teach the doctrine of predestination and reprobation.

1. implicite *erasum* C. 2. confessore C. 4. illis B; *ib.* mortis AB. 5. Nota confessores debent suos confessos quarta vice obstinatos deserere *in marg.* B. 6. ℞ A. 7. p *pro* per A; *ib.* affectuosa A. 14. servatur A. 19. et *in marg.* A. 23. dicunt A. 24. alterutrum *omnes MSS.* 27. sufficienciam BC. 28. omnia *deest* B. 30. sacerdotum A. 31. aves A. 32. ecclesie *twice* C.

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Illi enim erunt perpetuo ligati vel soluti in celis, cum tam angeli quam homines beati videbunt clare equitatem divine sentencie, et gaudebunt de eius perpetuitate. Et sic viri apostolici filios suos in beatitudinem introducent, sive heremite sive simplices sive sacerdotes, eo alcius quo copiosius et perfeccius hic predestinacionis filios genuerunt. Unde tales in Petro ligant et solvunt super terram, quando dant arras ligacionis vel solucionis finalis perpetue. Et claves regni est potestas vel sciencia sic arrandi adversus quas porte *inferi* (prescitorum peccata vel predestinatorum secundum presentem iniusticiam) *non prevalebunt;* quia tunc iniquitas diaboli foret forcior dei iusticia. Ista autem operacio clavium non consequitur eleccionem vel ordinacionem humanam de quocunque Romano pontifice, sed ordinacionem divinam secundum opera Cristi vicarii virtuosa.

The key of Heaven is their science in this matter.

Matth. XVII, 18

And this 'power of the keys' comes direct from Christ.

Et patet quante diabolus seduxit populum, subversione divine sentencie in hoc dicto. Construit enim Anticristus quod quicquid romanus pontifex sentenciat de pena vel premio, oportet omnino quod in celestibus compleatur. Et ex hac heresi pululant blasfemie infinite. Veritas, inquam, est quod ubicunque terrarum quis fuerit conversus ad deum, sive precise per deum, sive per quemlibet eius ministrum, correspondenter ad meritum participabit et premio. Viris autem apostolicis sine accepcione personarum concessit deus potestatem subtrahendi et promovendi ad talia, dum tamen conformantur divino iudicio, sicut conformatur triumphans ecclesia. Nec debet quis pompare de tali potencia, quia eius effectus est sibi absconditus, cum deus ante vel post vel impertinenter absolucioni humane vere absolvit. Ideo, ut dicit angelus, thobie. 12, absconsa magnificencia humana totus honor debet patule dari deo. Et ista est sentencia Augustini cum aliis sanctis, licet hodie de potestate clavium et dimissione peccati nimum blasfemetur.

It is a heresy to say that every sentence of the Pope on earth is confirmed in Heaven.

All apostolic men have the power of binding and loosing, but this is not a subject for ostentation;

all honour should be given to God.

K.

Tob. XII, 7

III. Several other problems.

3° principaliter queruntur dubia. Primo si sufficit hominem facere penitenciam, dum fuerit in mortali. Et constat quod non, cum existens in mortali, quidquid

1. Is it enough to do penance whilst in a state of mortal sin?

4. vere A. 5. *3rd* sive *deest* A. 7. gen'nt AC. 9. perpetuo A. 10. parte A; *ib.* parte inferri C; *ib.* peccatorum A. 17. per subversionem BC. 18. autem Cristus A. 22. quis *deest* C; *ib after* fuerit qui C. 23. quod A; quelibet C. 25. apostolis AB. 25, 26. persone B. 26. subarrandi B. 29. affectus A. 31. absolucionem humanam B; post absolucicionem vere C. 36. Nota *in marg.* A. 37. ĩ morli A.

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fecerit, peccat mortaliter; multum tamen prodest facere bona de genere. Nam in predestinato preparat ad satisfaccionem finalem; in prescito vero parvificat penam, cum maiorem alias possideret. Et ad obiectum quo dicitur in fine confessionis primo peccatum remitti, et sic valeret confessio in mortali; patet quod antecedens non probatur, cum psalmo 31° dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor adversum me iniusticiam meam domino; et tu remisisti iniquitatem peccati mei.* Multorum enim peccata sunt remissa, qui non taliter confessi sunt. Ideo, sicut in materia de eukaristia nesciunt satrape quando panis sit corpus Cristi, sic nesciunt instans quo quis absolvitur a peccato; sed ab omni mortali suo reperto pro infusione gracie simul absolvitur. Et contingit quod absolucio errare faciat. Contingit autem, quod occasionaliter faciat promereri. Venialia autem peccata remanent in quantumlibet confitente, cum remanserant in Petro et Johanne eciam post missionem spiritus sancti. Ideo musitant magnificantes claves, errantes, quomodo absolucio non delet veniale, cum existens in pure veniali teneatur sub pena mortalis secundum formam impositam confiteri, et dicere quod confessio delet aliquod veniale et non quotlibet quod invenitur, est infundabilis ficticia; | sicut irracionabiliter fingitur quod indulgencia delet 3am vel 4am partem penitencie, quantumcumque varie, secundum quod anticristus voluerit limitare.

No: for in that state every act is mortal sin. But good deeds may be done with fruit; in the elect, they prepare for complete satisfaction; in the castaway, they lessen the punishment. Absolution cleanses from all mortal sins.

Ps. XXXI, 5

Venial sins are not effaced, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary.

2° dubitatur si homo sub obtentu premii tenetur multociens confiteri eadem peccata, et quando cessaret; cum confessio mentis ad deum debet esse continua. Sed non haberem subditum sic opinantem, cum superflue vexaret se et prepositum, dimitteret opus debitum, et accumularet sibi penitenciam per repeticionem replicatum inutilem; cum nec deleret culpam, nec augeret graciam, sed tolleret fructum operis racionabiliter interim faciendi.

2. Whether the continual repetition of the same sins in confession is profitable. Negatived; it is useless loss of time.

Sed 3° dubitatur si confessus sit ad opcionem positus facere solum penitenciam iniunctam vel aliam quamcunque,

3. Whether the penitent is held to accomplish

L.

2. bona *deest* A; *ib.* Ex C: *ib.* preparat BC. 7. 13 B. 8, 9. etc. *pro* iniusticiam — mei *deest* A. 13. de A. 13, 14. visione B. 15, 16. occasio A. 19. musicant C; *ib.* erronie B; erronee C. 23. invenit C. 27. 3° A. 30. hõ A; habere B; hrem̃ = haberem C. 31. sed *pro* se A; *ib.* delatum A. 35. 2° AC; *ib.* poitus A. 36. q,m=q, A.

5. I think the meaning of this somewhat obscure passage is that sins are forgiven only (primo) at the end of confession (by absolution); against which Wyclif brings the words of Ps. XXXI. (l. 7—9).

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the penance prescribed, or not: logical subtleties by which this question may be debated, and which are insoluble.

vel quantum licet variare. Et videtur logicis quod sacerdos iniungit penitenciam, sed nullam iniungit; sicut scit confessum suum dignum pena, sed nulla pena scit ipsum esse dignum. Nam cum pena individuatur a tempore et quotlibet aliis causis suis, nec confitens nec confessus sciret notare penitenciam iniunctam, et periret clavis sciencie. Et sophista confessus diceret: non teneor facere penitenciam mihi iniunctam, quia nulla est michi iniuncta: nec communis penitencia, iuxta quam foret alia exsurgenda, quia in illa foret tanta perplexitas sicut in quacunque materia. Et ita videtur per sacramentum infundabile perplexitas insolubilis introducta.

4. Whether there is not a certain spiritual kinship between the confessor and his penitent; Wyclif decides that there is, but leaves Antichrist to answer the difficulties that arise on this point.

4° dubitatur si ex tali paternitate et filiacione sit spiritualis affinitas, et quomodo se habet ad alias. Ymmo videtur quod non solum est data sacerdoti licencia coniugandi sed ut modo stat irracionabiliter, gravatur occasio delinquendi. In isto et similibus relinquo anticristo solucionem et fundacionem dictorum, sciens quod inter sacerdotem et suum conversum est quedam spiritualis paternitas; ymmo inter Cristum et suos filios, cum Matth. 12° scribitur: *Quicumque fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui in celis est, ipse meus frater, et soror, et mater est;* frater secundum spiritum, soror secundum carnem, et mater secundum naturam compositam. Deus autem reservat sibi [secundum] quandam preeminenciam nomen patris. Matth. XII, 50

5. Whether a man can be twice guilty of the very same sin. For a 'foreknown' will be punished for *all* his sins, and yet he may during his life have repented of them: the same sins must therefore return. Yet it is not strictly the same sin: the matter is

5° obicitur si eadem peccata in numero redeunt. Et videtur quod sic, quia prescitus dampnabitur pro quocumque peccato quod fecerit; cum ergo multa per penitenciam sunt deleta, sequitur conclusio. Si enim homo dampnabitur pro illo peccato quod non est, tunc homo dampnabitur pro nichilo, et omne peccatum esset peccatum finalis inpenitencie; eo, quod nullum peccatum accelerari, breviari poterit vel tardari, et falsa esset prophetica Ezech. 3°. Quantum ad istud dicitur quod peccatum potest dici idem in numero quoad materiam et subiectum, vel quoad tempus, materiam et subiectum. Sic autem, stricte loquendo, non redit idem peccatum Ezech. III, 18

4. cum *deest* A. 6. foret A. 8, 9. mihi — iniuncta *deest* C. 10. exemplanda AC. 14. illas alias C. 16. stat vel gravatur irracionabiliter B; stat irracionabiliter gravatur C; *ib.* gravaretur B. 22, 23. etc. *pro* patris — mater est A. 23. 2m A. 23, 24. 2m A. 25. secundum *deest omnes MSS.* 29. quidem A. 31. 32. illo — pro *deest* C. 35. 3o *deest; a gap* C. 38. reddit C.

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in numero, cum individuatur a tempore, vel quo ad terminos suos, vel quo ad successionem motus in quo consistit. Sed primo modo redit idem peccatum, ut loquitur scriptura. Peccatum eciam potest diu remanere
5 vel in suo fructu ut pena, vel formaliter, et primo modo peccatum idem redit, et remanet perpetuo in dampnato, ut patet de peccato finalis inpenitencie. Multa autem locuta de peccatis dependent super logica et metaphisica; et nisi ut obturent Anticristos utile est tractare.

identical, and the sinner too, but the time and the acts are different.

3. primo modo reddit peccatum idem reddit C; *ib.* modo *twice* A. 3—6. ut loquitur — redit et *deest* A. 8. logica *pro* locuta A; loguta (*sic*) C; *ib.* super *deest* A. 9. obtineret anticristus A.

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CAPITULUM DUODECIMUM.

The present chapter deals with rural deans.

Habito generali sermone de penitencia et confessione, restat cavendum ne isti quinque tortores fune excomunicacionem infideliter funesta trica diaboli. Et suppositis dictis de archidiacono et officiali, restat de decano rurali, 6° tortore, aliud perstringendum. A.

Deans in monasteries have more pride; but all are alike by their greed.

In decano autem monasteriali iacet maior sophisticacio et maior superbia. Comune autem est omnibus istis propter questum subrogari et in superiorum officiis sophisticare censuras, et false tractare subiectos omni genere criminis anticristi. Specialiter autem spoliant pro peccato luxurie tam clerum quam laicos: et comuniter illi qui peccato illo sunt maxime irretiti, maxime iniuste puniunt pro eodem. Illa, inquam, est una condicio diaboli et filiorum qui ex ipso nascuntur, quod in illo peccato quo est magis culpabilis magis punit; quia diaboli habent maiorem experienciam, ut illis peccatis temptent homines et convincant. Unde satrape, superiores decanis, non querunt illos qui magis mundi a crimine subditos magis purgarent, sed eos in quibus viget plus experimentalis caliditas ad plurem peccuniam a populo rapiendam; quia illam querunt indubie, non purgacionem criminis subditorum. Et patet quod sunt tortores, servi mamone, non ministri Cristi, purgatores nequicie; quia hec querunt pro illo fine solicite laborando. Sed illud odiunt, nequiciam, de qua ditantur, multipliciter procurando. Ideo certum est quod sunt vasa diaboli, temptamenta populi et proximi, procura-

They make much money out of the sin of lust, and being themselves most prone to such sins, punish most severely; which is diabolical malice.

Their Superiors prefer to appoint such, because they know better how to wring money out of the people.

And they provoke to sin, in order to increase their riches.

1. Cap. 12m *in marg.* B; 12 *in red ink.* 3. fue A; fune C. 4. trica C. 6. sexto tortore *deest* A. 9. et *deest* AB. 10. sophisticari C. 16. est *deest* A. 17. habuit A. 28. temperamenta A; temptamentum C.

4. The first sentence is incomprehensible. In all the MSS. the word *infideliter* is much abbreviated and may stand for some verb; for which, it is hard to guess.

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tores luciferi. In illis enim reconditur venenum, quo populus lubricitate inficitur, ut patet ex cartulis et studio eorum. Ipsi mandant, ut concionatores et monstruosi temptatores sexus feminei, ut patet ex levi amerciamento subdolo et verbo bleso ad continuacionem facinoris alleccio.

They encourage women of bad lives, by inflicting but a slight fine and a mild reprimand on them.

Et pars luciferi per eos magis quam per incubos vel succubas roboratur. Sicut enim Cristus humanitatem induit ad querendum perditam ovem centesimam, ut patet Luc. 15°, sic diabolus anticristus decanos tales induit ad perdendum ovem redemptam cum domino desponsatam. Sic quod tollerabilius esset comunicare cum meretrice, cum excomunicato | vel ipso diabolo, quam cum tali decano infirmante yppocrisi suam dragmam 10am, que aliter velut aurum vel carbunculus rutilaret. Est enim in subtiliori fortitudine sexus meretrice calidior; ex malediccione abscondita, sed innata, excomunicato nequior, et ex domesticitate nature cognite infugibilior. Non enim fugatur signacione crucis, sicut diabolus, licet data sibi cruce denarii ad tempus recedat et alias avidius retrocedat. Potestas autem huius belue stat potissime in citacione et excomunicacione; secundum quam primum insons laborator locatim distanter citabitur, quod tollerabilius foret sibi in principio rapinam reddere. Quantum ad excomunicacionem, sic terret simplices quod facit eos reputari infames, cuillibet cristiane comitive odibiles.

Luc. XV, 4–6

62b

Luc. XV, 8

B.

They thus act in the cause of Satan like incarnate fiends, and should be more avoided than harlots, than the excommunicated and than the devil; more astute than the first, and more secretly wicked than the second, they will not, like the third, flee at the sight of the Cross. Their great weapons are citation and excommunication, by which simple folk are much frightened, thinking that it renders them infamous.

Est autem triplex cautela contra istud demonium. Primo, quod simplex servet se mundum a culpa imposita et pacienter premittat illud demonium blaterare. 2a est populi secularis, qui debet talibus raptoribus sacrilegis potenter resistere. Nam regna alia audent ex levi causa vel nulla invadere; sed terram propriam non audent contra hostes domesticos secundum leges paternas protegere, quia percussus luciferina vecordia est pessimus sibi ipsi. Facile igitur foret fugare tales apostotas, indictando. 3° vero cautela foret in proximo curato, ut vicario vel rectore, qui expurget impetitos sana exhortatione et fructifera confessione. Cum enim tota decani

There are three ways of avoiding their clutches.
1. By leading a pure life;
2. By resisting them by every legal means; which can easily be done.
3. By the help of the nearest Curate whose duty

1. in quo B. 3. mediant BC. 4. m'cameto A. 5. gnacom A. 15. ex BC. 17. nequicior B. 20. avidins AB. 22. quam *deest* C. 28. Prima C. 29. illud *deest* C. 30. que *omnes MSS.* 31. sacrilegiis A; *ib.* patenter *corr. in marg.* A; *ib.* Non A; *ib.* audet A. 36. inducendo A; inducando C.

13. Dragmam *for* drachmam.

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it is to see to such matters rather than a stranger.

vel superioris prelati visitario debet versari circa salutem anime ovis morbide, ac proximus curatus debet diligencius hoc facere quam remotus; ad eum pertinet, ammoto tortore extrinseco, ad curam illam attendere.

But they say that even should the guilty party be absolved by his Rector, the Dean would still have the right to excommunicate him, or his office would be worth nothing. But we must suppose that, once absolved, he is no longer guilty before God; every further punishment is therefore inflicted by the devil on an innocent man. Another tormentor might inflict a third penance; and so on without end, driving him to despair.

Sed hic vendicat pars anticristi, quod quocienscunque vel quantumcumque parochianus purgatus fuerit a rectore, dum tamen decanus in libris suis reum reperiens non habuerit predam suam, citat et excomunicat quantumcumque inmunem; quia aliter, ut dicitur, superiorum prelatorum lucra et officia cassarentur. Contra istam blasfemiam versuciam instatur tripliciter: primo per hoc, quod iuxta legem dei non licet punire insontem inmunem a crimine, ut patet . . . . . et sepe alibi. Sed talis, ut supponitur, purgatur a crimine: ergo non licet decano, sequestratori vel alii, sic mundificatum a deo taliter punire. Item, deus non bis punit in id ipsum, cum perfecte et integre semel punivit confessum in curato, ut suppono. Ideo, si propter idem peccatum iterum puniatur, hoc erit per diabolum, deum malum. Aliter enim foret desperacio de peccato, cum satisfacto pro crimine posset alius tortor succedere, vendicando quod non adhuc satis sit sibi; et post ipsum mortuum vel cedentem, alii. Et sic secundum tradiciones novas diabolus progrederetur supra dominium sine fine. Item, cum secundus C.

Such a claim blasphemously implies that God is incompetent to remit sin until it is atoned by simony.

tortor vendicat pedagium suum pro purgacione criminis conmissi, supponit ipsum adhuc plenarie non esse expurgatum. Sed dicit implicite quod deus in se derisus et insufficiens exspectat quousque per symoniam suam reddiderit purgacionis ultimum complementum. Sed quis unquam audivit magis horrendam blasfemiam? Non enim sunt deus, non recognoscens causam superiorem, dicentes: *Sic vollo, sic iubeo* etc? Sed preter scripturam falsam voluntarie rotulis suis rescriptam, oportet quod nichil alegent ex parte dei beneficencie, que in fine sonabit purgacionem a crimine. Sed cum illam perfectam creditur a domino gratis datam, non oportet symoniace emere plus perfectam.

6. arciore A. 11. tripliciter *deest* A; *ib.* primo *deest* B. 13. *after* patet *a gap omnes MSS.* 17. semel punit A; punit sed deus deus semel B; sim̃l = simul C; *ib.* supponitur BC. 18. a deo *in rasura pro* Ideo C. 20. satisfaccio *omnes MSS.* 22. ex p9 A; ep ꝓ9 C. 27. divisus C. 30. inquam C. 32. di*** *pro* dicentes C. 33. inscriptan C. 34. legent AC; *ib.* beneficenciam *omnes MSS.* 35, 36. perfeccionem AB. 36. greditur A.

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Cautela igitur curatorum solicita est a talibus lupis rapacibus defendere oves suas; et si mille litteras excomunicatorias transmiserint, non magis excomunicacionem sophisticam fulminari. Scimus quidem quod excomunicans quem quam iniuste, ut sic, semetipsum excomunicat. Scimus insuper quod pessima foret evidencia propter litteras excomunicatorias quemquam excomunicari debere, nisi assit causa ex parte dei, cui littera talis est impertinens, reddens causam frivolam plus suspectam. Ideo, collectis quotquot litteris huiusmodi, laboret curatus ad purgacionem suarum ovium et non prorumpat in tales excomunicaciones stolidas propter nudas litteras anticristi. Et idem est iudicium de litteris episcopi et bullis papalibus, cum notum sit ipsos in anathema propter vindicacionem sue iniurie cucurrisse; et tunc secundum Gregorium excomunicacio est in ipsos episcopos inferenda. Ideo idem esset onerare ecclesiam, credere quod si quemquam excomunicare precipiunt, tunc excomunicari debet aput deum et ecclesiam militantem, et onerare ipsam ecclesiam quod sint impeccabiles sicud Cristus; et postposita ista blasfemia non forent tot excomunicaciones frivole, ut iam currunt. Fidelis enim non crederet ewangelio, quod est superius bullis papalibus, nisi assit divina inspiracio ad hoc movens. Ideo, nisi deus inspiret, videtur quod nemo excomunicare debeat. Nam sic et non aliter excomunicarunt Cristus et sui apostoli. Non igitur propter perfidiam fictam de con-
63ª stancia prela | torum debet fidelis se et plebem involvere, ubi ex sibi dubio male facit. Nam constat ex decreto Gregorii 23 q. IIIIª caº *Inter querelas,* excomunicans propter vindictam proprie iniurie se ipsum excomunicat eo facto; ergo multo magis excomunicans propter hoc
D. quod pecunias sibi indebite decimetur. Cum igitur notum sit decanos et plures prelatos excomunicare precipue propter questum, stultus esset qui nude excomunicaret propter eorum literas et mandata; deus enim mandat, verbo scripture cum noticia facti, quod

Parish priests should defend their sheep from these ravenous wolves, in spite of their excommunications, and however many such letters and notices he may receive, he should, instead of publishing them, strive to bring his flock to a better life; the same must be said of bishops' letters and Papal bulls, when they are known to proceed only from revenge, their authors being thus excommunicated. It would be a heavy burden if we had to believe that God ratifies every excommunication. Even the Gospel should not be believed, if it were not inspired, and without a revelation no one ought to be excommunicated. Therefore none should be published before his flock by a faithful priest, if he has doubts about their lawfulness. Hardened sinners, as we know by Scripture, are excommuni-

1. est *deest* A. 4. quod *deest* AB. 5. quem *omnes MSS.* 9. forvolam C. 11. non *deest* A. 13. est *deest* C; *ib.* de litteris *deest* B. 16. Gregº C. 20. ipsa *in marg.* A. 21. ista *deest* C. 27. sic tam C. 33. sibi *deest* A; *ib.* detinetur C.

30. This canon is not in the Gregorian Decretals, but in those of Gratian. It is, however, ascribed to Gregory: "*Gregorius scribet ad Januarium episcopum dicens*". See Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars. Cª. XXIII. qu. 4. c. 27.

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cated by the very fact; yet, contrary to Scripture, we do not shun their society: why then obey a censure which has only money for its object?

illos quos notorie videmus induratos malicia excomunicat eo facto, et tamen non timemus comunicare cum illis consensu multiplici; et tamen fides scripture, que plus est quam litere predicte hoc prohibet, ut patet Math. 18 et 2ª Joh. Est infidelis ergo qui postponit propter talem tyrannidem deum suum.

Matth. XVIII, 17

2 Joan. 10, 11

A man should no be punished again for a sin for which he has already done penance.

Sed rimando ulterius arguitur quod non licet dictis prepositis sic singulariter propter amerciamentum luxurie capere bona mechi; nam hoc non liceret, nisi sub racione pene illius peccati. Sed iuxta predicta non licet taliter bis punire et specialiter capta salutari penitencia ex limitacione proprii sacerdotis. Non enim licet iniungere penam publicam, nisi liceret publice confiteri et spoliatori publice absolvere a peccato, quia aliter liceret quotquot raptoribus absolvere vel rapere successive.

Fines of this sort, if paid gratuitously, are neither alms-deeds nor atonement for sin; if paid for the permission to continue a sinful life, they are a horrible act of blasphemy.

Item, nullum tale amerciamentum debet dari a subdito, si non gratis; sed non debet sic gratis dare questum tali preposito, quia nec titulo elemosine nec titulo redempcionis culpe; cum sic liceret licenciare mechum continuare pro pecunia symoniace in mechia. Quod licet dicatur sepe fieri, tamen manifestum est quod est horrenda blasfemia, quam tota ecclesia impugnaret; sed dei iniuriam ex defectu dileccionis vindicare postponimus, nostram autem pretensam, quia nos magis diligimus, infideliter vindicamus. Et ista est infidelitas per anticristum nimis abscondita. Ideo preponderancia vindicte atestatur preponderacione iniurie.

They are arbitrary, and therefore unlawful, because imposed without any rule but the dean's will; so that he might take all the adulterer's property, if he chose.

Item, cum penitencia pecuniaria sit arbitraria, si sit racionalis, est aliqua racionis regula, secundum quam debuit arbitrari; sed nulla est, sicud nec fundamentum: ergo est irracionalis. Si enim voluntas decani sit regula, tunc secundum variacionem talis voluntatis requiritur quod racio varietur. Ex quo sequitur quod eius voluntas sit dei volicio, cum antecedenter faciat racionem; et sic mutata voluntate sua, ut habeat quotlibet bona mechi (eciam ultra hoc quod possidet) sequitur quod voluntas decani posset quotquot bona voluerit de populo exhaurire.

The only rule he follows is to take as much as he can without danger of being exposed.

Sic enim dicitur Innocencium 3ᵐ nongentas marcas, si non fuisset fraus percepta, annuatim de Anglia exhausisse. Sed irracionabilitas et variacio affectus decani ostendit blasfemiam; moderat enim rapinam ad maximum; sic tamen quod fraus et frustracio pecunie non fuerit deprehensa.

5. 2ª Joh. 5 C. est *deest* AC; *ib.* qui *deest* C. 21. est *before* quod *deest* AB. 4. vincamus A. 26. preponderacionem C. 27. sic C. 32. cuius A. 33. talis A; *ib.* tunc *pro* et sic. 40. enim *pro* tamen AC.

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E. Item, cum lex dei non auctorisat hoc factum, nec proficit, sed inficit humana tradicio, quo ad illud potissima racio foret, quia pecunie subtraccio foret (lubricitatis occasionem subtrahens) medicina. Sed patet quod talis spoliacio sit occasio ad furtum, ad homicidium et ad alia multa mala. Ymmo, supposita veritate huius petiti, 3ª alia sunt vitanda. Primo, unde isti prelato auctoritas ad tales penitencias iniungendum? Videtur enim quod ad illum solum pertinet penitenciam talem iniungere, qui debet absolvere: quod blasfemum est a tali scopante. Iterum, supposito quod talis subtraccio fomenti luxurie sit plus salutifera, adhuc circumstancia bonificans est precipue attendenda. Sed quid facit ad meritum petulantis, quod ipse invito dat maiori mecho consimiliter? debet ergo gratis magis indigentibus ut posset sua pravitas extingwi. Item notum est quod perpetua peccancium separacio, aliena occupacio, sive ieiunium et multe penitencie consimiles forent plus medicinales quam huiusmodi subdola rapax. Multa iniungat ergo deus contrito penitenciam voluntariam, quod debemus ex fide supponere, sicut inevidencius supponimus quod confitens sit contritus. Et patet undiquaque penitencia plus salutifera ac magis legitima. Vecors itaque ignorancia est, quod rapina talis permittitur; ymmo quod contra talem non currit breve regium, ut raptorem. Ymmo pocius raperent pro gravioribus criminibus magis patentibus, in quibus fraus magis subdola sopiretur.

The only argument in favour of a system not authorized by God's law, is that pecuniary fines take away the occasion for lust; but they supply an occasion for other evils.

What right has the dean, who does not absolve, to inflict such penalties?

It were better for the sinner to give alms to the poor than fines to one worse than himself.

And many other penances are better remedies for this sin than fines.

These men should be severely punished as robbers by the king.

Supposito igitur quod ecclesia fidelium noscat infrenare tales anticristi prepositos, sic quod despiciendo eorum cautelas terrificas excludat eos simpliciter a rapinis
F. huiusmodi; videndum est quomodo rectores et sui presbyteri se habebunt. Et videtur michi quod primo omnium debemus declinare a malo culpe, nedum in genere, sicut quilibet cristianus; sed specialiter peccatum tam omissionis quam comissionis circa curam nostrarum ovium precavere. Aliter enim sumus inhabiles ad subditos nostros secundum spirituale suffragium adiuvandum,

The duty of spiritual pastors.

1. To avoid carefully every sin, and especially those against their flock.

1, 2. nec proficiat, sed inficiat B. 2. sed inficit *deest* A. 4. accionem A; *ib.* medi *pro* medicina C. 5. accio A. 11. Item C. 12. ad hanc *pro* adhuc B. 15. maumecho B; mecho C; *ib.* consimili det igitur C. 16. bonitas A; pronitas C; *ib.* Iterum C. 17. propterea AB. 19. foret C. 20. deus *struck out* B. 21. demus A; decanus *in marg.* B. 23. ac *twice* A. 25. non currit *deest* B. 29. igitur *deest* AB. 32. Nota hic de officio curatorum *in marg.* B.

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If sometimes, for the greater good of the Church, we absent ourselves from our cure, we must yet make sure that it does not suffer from this; and we should give it up entirely rather than neglect it while receiving its income.

nec racionem nostre stricte custodie deo damus. Licet autem, ad maiorem profectum matris ecclesie, oportet in casu oves privatas dimittere et ob amorem Cristi profectui ecclesie maiori intendere, tamen summopere cavendum est ne interim, propter absenciam pastoris proprii vel eius vicarii, oves sue depereant; quia pocius desereret earum custodiam et omnino lucrum de oblacionibus et de decimis, cum ipsum recipiendo curatoris titulo et deficiendo ab officio illo obligatorio | fatue se dampnaret. Sed oportet 2° omnino quod 63b absens a cura sit in bona et sibi licita causa ecclesie

2. But if we leave our flock, it must be for some occupation at least as useful to the Church: which is certainly lawful, for we should love the whole Church more than its part.

eque salubriter vel salubrius occupatus. Ideo servientes in officio seculari negotiis, ociantes in scolis, et intencione illicita peregrinantes, vel visitantes romanum pontificem, peccant graviter. Quod autem sit licitum propter maius meritum sic oves suas dimittere, patet ex hoc quod curatus plus obligatur toti matri ecclesie, quam istis privatis ovibus, cum non debet ipsas diligere, nisi in ordine ad matrem totalem quam debet finaliter plus amare: Cum igitur generaliter debet magis intendere superioris servicio plus dilecti, sequitur quod debet in casu, dimisso privato officio, intendere servicio superioris ecclesie.

Christ's parable of the lost sheep explained in this sense.

Hoc enim exemplificat Cristus qui, ut dicitur Luc. 15. parabolavit quomodo, relictis 99 ovibus in deserto, quesivit ovem centesimam; nam plus amavit centum oves qualibet parte sui. Sed ovem centesimam, cum sit Cristus, vel Cristus eius caput, licet secundum partem inferiorem huius corporis sit peccator, Cristus plus diligit cum beatis ceteris quam totam multitudinem angelorum. Est enim melior tam natura quam gracia. Sed nota quod Cristus aliqua racione reliquit 99 oves, hoc est omnes angelorum ordines, in deserto, quia factus homo ut ovis perdita ipsum reductorem cognoscat facilius, naturam angelicam non assumpsit, nec ipsum celum, sed terram in qua ovis erraverat, primo incoluit; et hoc est illas oves dimittere, licet noscatur illas oves perpetuo deifice conservare. Celum autem est pascua semper virencia, a tumultu calcancium aliena, et post confirmacionem a lupis et canibus sunt secura. Licet

Luc. XV, 4—8

Christ left the 99, i. e. the angels, in Heaven, in order to seek the human race, as one lost sheep; but He notwithstanding that, cared for the Angels' happiness.

We cannot do as He did, but we must at least imitate Him.

3. ab *pro* ob A. 7. costodium A; *ib.* omne A. 8. de *deest* C.
26. amant *omnes MSS.* 28. vel Cristus *deest* A. 30. beatis *deest* C.
37. nosatur C.

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autem non sufficimus eque (ut iste summus per se bonus Pastor), oves dimittere tam secure; tamen debemus sibi facere placitum huic proporcionale, nec sufficimus ovem sic impositam collo nostro reducere ad ovile, sicut non possumus nos sub obtentu habitudinis humane taliter obligare, sed intelligendum est proporcionaliter modo parabole utrobique. Et patet quod quicumque cum istis paribus centum oves habuerit, una perdita, ut dicit ewangelium, ita facit.

Objection: If the curate is thus obliged to reside, he has no longer any right to his income; the Rector may give it to one more useful to the parish.

Sed obicitur per hoc quod, iuxta dicta de residencia curati, satisfaccio et lex debiti tolleretur; quia, ut dicitur, licet rectori capere proventus huiusmodi parochie satisfaciendo cuicumque ecclesie, cum pro tempore non residencie non singularius prodest illi ecclesie, quam alteri cuicumque: ymmo, unus incognitus caritativior magis prodest. Quomodo igitur est correspondencia accepcionis istorum proventuum ad meritum tam comune? per idem enim quilibet plus promerens haberet ampliorem

G. titulum vendicandi. Hic negatur prima consequencia, cum curatus providus, quantumcumque absens corpore est presens virtute, cum providet de apto vicario, qui si defuerit exigendo proventus talis ecclesie, lupaciter rapit ipsos; nec video quod rector in tali casu racionabiliter peteret pro tunc a tali ecclesia, nisi titulo elemosine, parca vite necessaria, que tunc non haberet apcius aliunde. Sic enim apostolus edificando avaros corinthios cepit sic vite necessaria ab alienis ecclesiis. Nec video quomodo curatus potest secundum legem dei, quantumcumque laboraverit, bona parochie ultra necessitatem iuste exigere. Illa enim est regula apostolica, ut patet 1ª Thym 6°, quam non licet viris apostolicis supergredi. Item, quidquid debet rector percipere de sua parochia. in quantum talis, ipsum debet esse titulo elemosine; sed repugnat racioni elemosine ipsam per placitum vel excomunicacionem exigere. Et assumptum patet de Cristo et suis apostolis, qui exemplarunt nobis in suo facto sic facere: unde,

But the curate, absent in body, may be present in mind, and may appoint a good vicar, who however has no right to the income of the parish, nor the curate himself, beyond his personal needs.

1. Tim. VI, 17

All that the Rector has is alms, which cannot be conforeed. If a man witholds alms that are due, he should he left to God's excommunication.

5. nos *deest* A. 6. est *deest* A. 10. Solvitur A. 12. modi *deest* BC. 14. residence A; residen° C. 15, 16. ymmo — igitur *deest* A. 16. carencia A. 18. et *pro* per A; *ib.* providens A. 19. vendendi A; *ib.* nature A. 21. potens A; *ib.* virtute *deest* A. 29. dei *dees* B. 31. tess. 6° *pro* ut — 6° A; *ib.* quam homo non B. 32. apostolicis *deest* C; *ib.* quicunque B. 34. racionem C. 36. Et assumptum *deest* C. 37. extrasunt vel A; exemplarunt nobis in facto suo C.

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Luce 9°, quando Cristo iniuriatum fuit, prohibuit excomunicare explicite. Si enim quis iniuriatur michi, deitas excomunicat eum eo facto. Et cum ego debeo secundum legem Cristi orando pro iniuriante iniuriam ipsam dimittere, repugnat eidem legi quod propterea publice maledicam. Et ista est racio legis Gregorii *Inter querelas*, 23, 9, 4. Item, si proventus ecclesie liberari debent ut debitum, oportet dare equivalens commutatum; nullum pertinencius quam spirituale ministerium parochianis impensum. Et sic rector comitteret symoniam. Et revera illi qui magis contendunt in talibus, non sunt digni pro toto ministerio recipere pecuniam; ymmo, ut ministracio rectoris foret melior, sic in cambio foret proventus carior. Unde quidam religiosi librant valorem sui habitus, in quo extranei moriantur. Leges itaque docentes curatos pro decimis vel elemosinis dandis contendere vel pugnare, sunt a religione legis Cristi extranee.

Luc. XI, 55

The Rector's return for dues is spiritual ministry; but if he exacts money for this, he commits simony.

Ideo videtur Cristum dicere, Matth. 5°, ubi condidit legem suam, quod *nisi habundaverit iusticia vestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum;* hoc enim dixit in apostolis cuilibet cristiano. Pro cuius intellectu suppono clerum, qui est 3ª pars ecclesie, dum observat legem secundum suum ordinem, esse partem optimam, et dum apostatat esse pessimam; patet hoc racionibus et exemplis. Nam sicut clerus in sacerdotibus legis veteris pro tempore mortis Cristi fuit pessimus, sic videtur fore pessimus pro tempore anticristi. Secundo, suppono clerum perversum in duo dividi: scilicet, in seculares et tradicionibus humanis apostate innitentes, ut erant scribe in lege veteri, et iuriste in lege gracie, et in phariseos religiosos, ut patet de 3bus sectis tempore Cristi et de sectis innumerabilibus tempore legis gracie. 3° videtur Cristum | docere singulos cristianos secte sue in iusticia excedere istam sectam. Ipsa enim, iustificando tradiciones hominum, legis dei iusticiam parvipendit. Unde Cristus non dignatur istam falsam et nude verbalem iusticiam scribarum et phariseorum exprimere, sed satis innuit connexa dei iusticia ipsam contempnere, cum sit insufficiens in regnum in-

Matth. V, 20

H. 61ª

Christ warns us against the Scribes and Pharisees; because the clergy which, if good, is the best part of the Church, is the worst if bad, as in the times of Christ and Antichrist;

Our scribes are the secular, our Pharisees, the regular or 'religious' clergy: we, Christ's disciples, must be better than either. Their righteousness is both insufficient and superfluous.

2. deus C. 3. eo deo A. 6. legis *deest* A. 7, 8. ut debitum *deest* C. 8. comunicatum A. 17. sunt *deest* C. 26. legis A. 27. pro *deest* B. 29. et *deest* AC. 30. scribere A. 31. nil iste B; *ib.* eciam *pro* et in A. 33. ^gre^legis (*sic*) A; 'gre 'legis C. 39. sive *pro* cum B

6. *Gregorii.* See note above, p. 175.

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ducere. Et sic dicta iusticia est insufficiens atque superflua. Insufficiens, quia contempnit radicem virtutis et vicii, ut patet in exemplis Cristi; et est superflua, quia modo phariseico nimis appreciatur ritus sensibiles.

Insufficient: they only avoid the outward aspects of sin, and do not go to the root.

5 Quo ad primum patet quod peccati occasio est tollenda, cum post ramos abscisos germinat ex radice. In cuius signum dicitur Lu. 3°, quod securis ad radicem arboris posita est. Cristus ergo, ut summus medicus, precipit spurcicias anime expurgari, et sic secundum perfectam iusticiam, omissa observacione superflua, semper melius plus curare. Et ista superfluitas figuratur exemplo multiplici, ut in privatis ordinibus introductis in domibus et aliis superfluis et in humanis tradicionibus cum suis fructibus. Plus enim ponderantur scribarum excomunicacio, corporalis incarceracio, et stultorum diffamacio, quam insensibilis vindicacio, que omnia ista nociva excedit. Abiciamus ergo superflua huius palliate iusticie, plus appreciantes operibus bonis de genere rectitudinem voluntatis, et plus timentes divinum iudicium, licet insensibile, quam censuras quaslibet satraparum; tunc enim divinam iusticiam adimplemus. Ipsa enim, cum sit omnis virtus, est unicuique reddere virtuose quod debeat esse suum; ut deo humile servicium et honorem, virtuoso caritativum adiutorium et favorem; sed vicioso, correpcionis debitum et timorem: quibus servatis, oportet iusticiam beatitudinem vendicare. Sicut enim bonus debet habere adiutorium ex vi comunionis sanctorum, sic malus debet habere correpcionem fraternam, et ultimo timorem ex elongacione ab illo tamquam diabolo, ut docetur Matth. 18. Et divisio istius partis iusticie nimis debilitat ordinem cristianum. Et patet quod iusticia phariseica nimis arta undiquaque deficit; cum debet inimicos diligere, et dileccioni dei ac cuiuslibet creature modum virtuosum superaddere, ac superfluitatem in qua superhabundant precidere.

Luc. III, 9

Superfluous: witness the houses of the different Orders and all their traditions.

Let us cast them away from us, and follow the path of justice, giving to each his own: to God, honour; to the good, our help, and to the bad, reproof.

This Pharisaical justice is found wanting in these things.

Quod autem cristianus debet superhabundanter diligere inimicos, patet racione multiplici. Primo, quia Cristus, Matth. 5°, sic precipit; eius autem precepcio est summa obligacio. Item, diligendo inimicos, adquiritur naturaliter

Matth. V, 44

We must love our enemies, because Christ taught us so; because we thereby avoid

2. veritatis A; virtutis *corr. ex* veritatis C. 8. igitur C. 9. tunc *pro* et sic B. 16. benediccio A. 19. rectionem A. 22, 23. Nota quomodo redditur quod debeat esse suum A. 22. secundum philosophos est BC. 23. dictat A. 31. nimis *deest* B. 33. cuilibet B. 37. deus B 39. Ita bonum facit diligere inimicum *in marg.* B.

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the bitterness of anger against them; and because our enemies will then torment us less,

commodum corporale, cum intrinsecus turbacio spiritus animalis evaditur et extrinsecus inimici insultantis inveteracio evitatur. Primum autem vehementer exprimitur corpus affligere, ut Prov. 17°. *Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa.* Et quoad 2um ex inveterata invidia videmus plurimos dampnificari et occidi cottidie. Racionabile itaque foret tollere causam tanti mali. Item, quoad bonum spirituale, patet quod reddit remittentem placatum deo. Et hinc Cristus et Stephanus orantes pro hostibus dicuntur propterea exauditi. 2° reddit talem benivolum deiformem, cum remittendo et benefaciendo ponit vindictam in dei arbitrio, et interim benefacit, ut dei minister, diligendo naturam quam deus diligit. Et tercio, cooperante dei gracia, reddit inimicum firmum amicum, vel accumulando meritum magis inimice. Stultus igitur foret qui irracionabiliter appeteret viam diaboli, omisso tam facili et tam bono. Diligi autem debet natura inimici, eciam ipse diabolus, et odiri peccatum et secundum illam racionem ipsum suppositum; quia aliter indubie fovens creaturam ad hostem dei sit proditor dei: sicut preponderans vindicari humanam iniuriam, nedum iniuste solvit primum mandatum decalogi, sed creaturam cuius iusticiam preponderat constituit infideliter deum suum; et in ista blasfema perfidia currit totus mundus.

Prov. XVII, 22

and God will be pleased with us; we shall be like Him,

and our enemies will become our friends, or give us more occasions of merit. We must love our enemy's nature, but not his sin, nor the person to whom the sin belongs.

No one should accept a benefice, unless quite purified from all worldly intentions; He must first of all be a man capable of fulfilling his duties. Then he must not accept a curacy out of worldiness, love of pleasure, or a wish to enrich his friends; but in order to suffer, labour and do good;

Nemo igitur acciperet ante huius artis noticiam curam spiritualis regiminis, nec ante purgacionem secularis propositi; sed omnino habeat divinum propositum pastoraliter prodessendi. Primum patet ex hoc quod proditor dei foret qui suas oves susciperet tamquam eius vicarius, supposita inercia huius officii: talis enim, presumendo scilicet, in facto diceret quod non curat illudendo prodere deum suum. Et quoad 2m, patet quod oportet curatum purgari a 3ci proposito venenoso. Primo, ne accipiatur cura regiminis propter vitam inclitam secularem, 2°, ne accipiatur ut curatus adaugeat voluptatem, et 3°, ne inordinate ditet suam cognacionem. Sed sanctum propositum debet esse ut in labore maiori et erumpna secundum pastorale officium plus proficiendo

1. comodum C. 4. 17° *deest, blank space* B; 1A *in marg. suppl.* C; *ib.* Tristis animus C. 6. quottidie C. 9. orantibus A. 16. totaliter A. 18. odii A. 28. dictum AB. 29. possidendi C. 31. inh'cia A; inhercia illius C. 34. curari A; *ib.* triplici C. 35. regi C. 37. dicet A. 39. pastoralem A.

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ecclesie meritorius placeat deo suo; et si tale propositum disruptum fuerit, omnimode reviviscat.

and this resolution should again be taken, if broken.

K. Signum autem perversi curati est patulum, ut si sancte conversando subditos suos in opere non excedat; si mundo deditus, secularibus desideriis insolescat; et si ab ewangelisacione ad plebem obmuteat et exigendo proventus sue parochie secundum leges satraparum exasperat.

A bad curate can be known by his love of things secular, his negligence of the Gospel, and his greediness for money.

46b Videtur enim omnes illas tradiciones | esse superfluas; quia, introducta lege elemosine, clerus non debet contendere, sed bonum pro malo reddere; non excomunicare, sed maledicentibus et persequentibus benedicere, ut docet Petrus, per quem cristiana religio sumpsit exordium, sicud patet Pe. 3°. Tunc enim omnes iste tradiciones forent nedum superflue, sed diabolice, quia legis domini extinctive. Et videtur quod securius foret curatum vel ewangelisando per patrias, ut fecerunt apostoli, sine privata cura, ubi magis expedit, circuire; vel posito quod ad hoc non sufficiat, secundum formam predictam in sua parrochia residere. Periculosum quidem videtur michi modo vel curatum scolis intendere, vel arbitratis necessariis regni negociis laborare; sed dum racio hoc exigit curam tam privatam prudenter dimittere.

There would be no such greed, if only the law of alms were in force.

1 Pet. III, 9

It would be better if the curate went hither and thither, preaching the Gospel throughout the country, or labouring in his parish.

Ulterius videtur quod parochiani, cum non tenentur nisi titulo elemosine decimas curato suo solvere, videndo publice quod a religione rectoris qui apostotat, tenentur elemosinas illas subtrahere. Nam ille elemosine secundum legem Cristi debentur pauperibus, cecis, claudis atque debilibus; sed non licet propter ordinacionem hominis, dando elemosinas istas apostatis, legi dei repugnari. Unde in lege veteri, quando levitis dabantur decime, deus providit penitus suis egentibus, et populus fuit prohibitus mendicare, ut patet Deut. 15°. Nudum itaque et exile foret argumentum ex decimacione cerimoniali legis veteris curatum, quomodocunque vixerit, de illis quos tantum dampnificat decimam vendicare. Verumtamen licet Cristus et apostoli non decimas legis veteris exegerunt, tamen videtur michi quod populus nunc et semper decimas debet persolvere; et cum suo curato debet de vite necessariis providere, ut patet Cor. 9, videtur racioni

The parishioners, if they see that their curate is an apostate, are bound to give him no alms.

No argument in favour of tithes can give any claims to a pastor who does harm to his flock.

Deut. XV, 4

Yet, since the people ought to provide curates with what is necessary for life, the payment of

1. Cor. IX, 4

3. Nota hic signa perversi curati *in marg.* B; *ib.* prelati C. 4. false C; *ib.* excedat AB. 7. parrochie C. 9. ut quod clerus BC. 13. per 1ª pe. B; per *deest* C. 16. prias = patrias. 19. parrothia A. 21. racio *deest* B. 23. tentª A. 25. qui *deest* AB. 31. punicis A; punitis B; pnitis; *in marg.* penitus C. 33. ex decimacione *deest* A. 35. V'mm A. 36. exigerunt C. 37. Nota de decimis *in marg.* B.

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tithes is a duty, as almsgiving is; and the Friars and the needy live upon tithes.

consonum quod rectores de decimis sustententur, sicut sustentabantur Cristus et apostoli de decimis cum egenis ceteris, licet non contendebant de integritate et calculo partis quote. Utilius enim fuit illis de una persona vel paucis titulo elemosine, expertis parcis decimis, quantum est necessarium pro officio ewangelisandi, suscipere, quam quotquot decimas imperatas habere cum murmure vendicantis. Unde certum est quod fratres et egeni vivunt de decimis; sed populus ultra decimam ex cautela diaboli spoliatur.

If the Rector fails in his duty, he sins in exacting tithes, and his parishioners sin in giving them.

Item, iuxta dicta hec supponenda, quicquid iniustus occupat vel vendicat, facit iniuste peccando continue. Rector igitur, dum deficit a curatoris officio, peccat graviter, occupando vel petendo decimas subditorum. Et, cum gratis solvens sic apostato cooperando consenciat, videtur quod decimando sibi peccat graviter ex consensu. Forte dicitur quod non solum elemosinarie sed pure titulo iusticie dande sunt decime. Sed quo ad dubito quin nullam in fide scripture inveniet, nisi forte illud Reg. 2°, de pueris Ofny et Phynees. *Porro filii Heli, filii Belial, nescientes dominum neque officium sacerdotum ad populum; sed quicumque ymmolasset victimam veniebant pueri sacerdotis, dum coquerentur carnes; et habebant fuscinullam tridentem in manu sua, et mittebant eam in lebetem, et omne quod levabat fuscinulla, tollebat sacerdos sibi.* Et sequitur: *"Non enim accipiam a te carnem coctam, sed crudam."* Et sequitur: *"Nunc enim dabis, alioquin tollam vi."* Carnes sunt decime

If he has a legal right to tithes, by what law are they due?

The only case of such exaction found to be in Scripture is that of the wicked sons of Heli.

Passage quoted, and explained in the sense of compulsory tithes.

Carnes vero crudas exigere, est decimas ablacionum dominative requirere; devocio enim elemosine, ex operibus caritatis, ut igne supposito cacabo, debet esse coccio decimarum. Tridens autem fuscinulla est maledicta tradicio diabolica ex tradicione papali, ex tradicione cesarea, et ex adinvencione proprie consuetudinis super stipitem scripture legis veteris recurvata. Cum ista enim dicit tortor puer presbiteri: *"Da michi* pure ex debito

And now, as then, these crimes may bring calamities on God's people.

1. enim AB. 4. paratis A; parte B; *ib.* Ultig A; *ib.* illis *deest* A. 5. ecclesie A; eleie C; *ib.* ep pciß C; *ib.* eleis *pro* decimis C. 6. suscitare A. 11. hec *deest* B; hic C. 13. accusatoris *omnes MSS.* 15. apostolici A. 7. sed *twice* A. 21. Offin et finees A; Osyn et fiinees C. 22. n° 93 A. 24. veniebat puer BC. 25. habebat BC; *ib.* fiscinicilam B; fiscinulam C; *ib.* sua *deest* C. 6. libetem A; *ib.* fustinuncula BC. 27. sibi *deest* B. 33. caccabo A; cacabo C. 34. fistinuncula B; fiscinula C. 37. legis ve ro²cuata A.

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dominandi; *alioquin tollam vi.*" Sed timendum est ne ista exaccio sit presagium occisionis spiritualis populi, sicud fuit statim post illud puerorum facinus de Iudeis.

Stat igitur quod iustus rector simul recipiat decimas titulo elemosine et titulo divine iusticie; et sic, si non elemosinarie non dande sunt decime. Item, videtur ex lege caritatis quod parochianus debet decimas talis rectoris subtrahere; quia, iuxta dicta omnis homo debet omnem hominem, eciam inimicum, in Cristo diligere; sed ministrare sibi sic decimas foret ipsum criminaliter odire; ergo fidelis subditus hoc non debet. Constat quidem ex fide quam parrochianus debet cognoscere, quod de quanto talis rector amplius sic ditatur dampnificat parrochianum, et ipse in malicia amplius profundatur. Sed indubie lex diaboli verecundaretur ista precipere; scilicet, quod homo debet ex bonis suis studiose dampnificare se ipsum et proximum. Talis enim amor seculi
65a foret odium eciam diaboli; | nec dubium quin talis rector, ut amplius abutitur bonis ecclesie, plus profundatus in peccato obligaciorem se reddit de criminis racione. Et hec creditur una causa quare deus quandoque misericorditer abreviat vitam talis.

The Rector should accept tithes as alms, or as due to him by God's justice. If he does not it is a duty of charity to deprive him of them;

the more he has, the more harm he will do, and we can in no case be obliged to pay for injuring both ourselves and our neighbour.

Quocumque igitur lex sub pena excomunicacionis illud precipit, notorie est iniqua. Et si debeat expectari post probacionem pape iudicium, constat quod stat papam transfigurari interim in anticristum, nec est alicubi verior probacio quam ubi est facinoris ocularis ostensio; hec enim, et non in curia romana falsorum testium
M. deposicio, probat crimen. Et si dicatur quod tantum vicium non debet supponi in capite; verum est quod non debet esse in capite; supponi tamen et credi debet tanquam contingens a fidelibus destruendum. Similiter, fidelis parrochianus debet talem rectorem odire in quantum est proditor dei sui; non igitur fovere eum bonis Cristi pauperum contra ipsum, quia sic diligeret cristianus diabolum plus quam deum. Sed ubi foret maior prodicio? Similiter parrochianus tenetur odire talem rectorem, dei iniuriam vindicando. Sed tale odium foret levissimum et securissimum, non comunicando cum eo, ut dicunt

Any law compelling to give tithes is unjust.

We need not await the Pope's decision; our eyesight is worth more than the witness of the Curia.

Such wickedness should not be in the Head of the Church; if there, it should be destroyed.

To nourish Christ's enemy with the substance of the poor is to love the devil more than God.

2. occasionis A; occonis *in marg.* occisionis C. 6. mille *pro* non A: nulle C. 7. legetur A. 15. precipue B. 17. Cristum A. 20. obligacionem B. 21. videtur B. 24. si *deest* C. 25. ppba^os A. 26. tãsfiguari A. 27. oculorum B. 34. est *omnes deest MSS.* 35. pauperem A; paupm C; *io.* parochianus A.

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The best thing is to have nothing to do with him; he thus loses his income.

leges plurime. Et confirmacio est quod talis pro leviori peccato debet deponi. Ideo prius iustum est quod tales ab eo redditus sint subtracti. Hoc enim foret facilius quam decolacio vel deposicio. Et ista sentencia foret *tirriaca* contra iniustas appropriaciones ecclesiarum, contra tiran- 5 nicas non residencias et culpas notorias personarum, et omnino contra blasfemas instituciones cardinalium et personarum alienigenarum, quorum absencia, cum sit per se sensibilis, debet a parrochiis optime iudicari.

No arguments from tradition can prevail against Christ's law.

Quantum ad instancias, patet quod tradicio anticristi 10 non debet precellere legem Cristi, nec racio simealis *a simili* de humano debito et solucione decimarum in lege veteri militat contra Cristum; quia ipse wult contractum esse celestem, non civilem vel carnalem; sed secundum quod est pure aput deum debitum, statui innocencie 15 plus propinquum. Nec movet quod occasione istius possent multa mala contingere; quia sic contigit, occasione incarnacionis Cristi et dacionis legis domini. Sed undique fuit occasio male accepta. Malum autem preponderans foret depauperacio discolorum, et defectiva administracio 20 bonorum prepositorum, et paucificacio clericorum. Sed quo ad primum et 3m. donemus deo istam iniuriam. Sed pro medio notandum quod parvum est illud malum pene quo ad culparum notam, que ex ista culpabili tradicione eveniunt. Cristus enim in se gessit typum 25 penalis indigencie sacerdotum, ut patet Matth. 25 et Luce 9°. Sed nunquam figuravit istam secularem conversacionem et pompaticam curatorum; sed Luce 9. docet quod debet esse spiritus a deo spiratus, et correspondenter ad spiritum suarum ovium instruccius. Spiritus 30 enim de corpore capit nudam sustentacionem sensuum: et licet sepe turbetur a corpore, perdat sensum et ab eo culpam contrahat; tamen ipsum corpus semper vivificat, dirigit atque sanat. Sic debent pastores ecclesie reddere bonum pro malo suis ovibus, instar Cristi. Unde 35 de nostris curatis nichil plus timeo, quam quod pretextu cupiditatis mundane, dimisso regimine, spolient oves suas.

Many evils would arise from a new state of things, as they always do; here the principal would be the poverty of the perverse, the reduction in the number of the clergy (which may be left to God to deal with) and the bad administration of Church property. But Christ never designed curates to live in such pomp as they do now.

Matth. XXV, 26

Luc. IX, 58

1. quod *deest* A; *ib.* pleniori A. 2. tales *deest* BC. 4. tiriaca B; tyriaca C. 5, 6. tʊraicas A; trutuicae C. 6. r'fidei A. 11. dei *pro* Cristi BC; *ib.* symealis C. 14. non *pro* vel B. 15. ipse *pro* est A. 22. doemg = docemus A. 28. popatica C. 29. debent A. 32. et *before* ab *deest* A. 33. tantum C; *ib.* super A. 36. pre *deest* B.

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Quo ad sacerdotem parrochialem vel simplicem, qui debet esse rectori socius et adiutor, patet quod contigit eum multis modis deficere, ut ex illiteratura et ex defectu occupacionis laudabilis, superbie, mundo et carni intendere. Ideo laudabile videtur quod tales dent se scripture studio vel informacioni iuvenum, ne extra tempus sacerdotalis ministerii diabolus ipsos inveniat ociosos; debent autem cavere ab omni culpa, et specialiter a pravitate symoniaca, in ingressu quo ad ordinem vel conduccionem; in progressu, quo ad ministerii sui mercacionem, ut patet de denariis confessionis vel alterius sacramenti ministracionis; et caveant 3° de vicio symoniaco ex consensu, ut capiendo questum pro ocultando crimine, paciendo predacionem populi ut lucro participet de fratre ordinario vel questore. Rector enim et suus presbiter debent esse una persona in regendis ovibus et a lupis rapacibus defendendis. Ideo debent in regimine virtutum altrinsecus se curare. Quod si facimus diligenciam nostram, possemus faciliter oves nostras defendere a lupinis spoliacionibus, ut officialis, decani, fratris cuiuscunque, pseudoclerici, vel questoris. Malicia autem talis sacerdotis simplicis videtur minor, cum status suus et obligacio prodessendi ecclesie sit predictis inferior.

As for the inferior priest who must help the Rector, want of instruction and occupation often entangles him in pride, and in worldly and fleshly tendencies. Such should study Scripture or educate youth, and carefully avoid all simony in entering on their office, in discharging its duties, and in protecting their flocks from the rapacity of others. But simple priests seem to sin less grievously than the higher ranks of the clergy.

5. $\widehat{\text{d3}}$ = debent C; *ib.* se *deest* A. 6. ve A. 12. concesso B. 13. de *pro* pro C. 17. dicunt A. 19. defendere *in marg.* C. 20. officiales . . . fratres *omnes MSS.*

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CAPITULUM TREDECIMUM.

The ninth tormentor is the monk: i. e. the member of an order that has possessions. Such are in the Church like a hectic fever.

Sequitur nonus tortor, qui est monachus, canonicus, frater quomodolibet variatus, dum tamen possessionatus. Omnes, inquam, tales ad hoc propositum habeo pro eodem. Isti autem profundius perturbant rempublicam, sicut febris ethica plus consumit de humido radicali. Habent enim ex diuturniori possessione plus inviscata temporalibus aliquam racionem maioris malicie, quam mendici. Isti enim vendicant ut hereditatem bona ecclesie, et plus alienati a bono religionis, minori | prodessencia, 65b et maiori perturbacione reipublice, plus blasfemant. Licet enim vivant secularibus plus seculariter, tamen blasfemant quod vivunt Cristo magis similiter; et sic quo ad deum et homines magis perturbant rempublicam.

They claim Church property as a heritage, and more worldly than laymen, they blasphemously say that their life is like Christ's.

Nam, ut loquar sensibiliter de redditibus et mortificatis ecclesiis, posset conservari in Anglia tantus populus quantum est residuum secularium regni nostri; et iudicet expertus, quanta ingluvie tot temporalia abscondite sunt consumpta, et quomodo regnum nostrum ex defectu yconomie tam in hominibus quam terre fructibus sterilescit. Et ex superhabundante cautela diaboli, sicud pecunia proditoria clericorum symoniace missa ad exteros prodigalibus, bona regni dirimit; sic thesaurus instagnatus in dictis cenobiis ad utilitatem reipublice non ebulit.

As a fact, a population equal to that of England could be maintained on their immense revenues, which if not sent abroad to the loss of the kingdom, lie useless in their monasteries.

Merchants and warriors sometimes cause great loss, but sometimes much gain to the commonwealth;

Prima pars patet in considerando reliquum thesaurum regni, qui ad eius dampnum sepe consumitur. Nam mercantes et bellantes, quandoque thesaurum regni exhauriunt sine equivalencia, et sepe superhabundanter inferunt ad bonorum regni notabile incrementum. Sed

1. Cap. *deest*, 13 *in marg.* B; Ca^{m} 13 *in red ink* C. 2. *Initial* S *in red ink.* 3. prepositus A. 4. propositum heo C. 8. modo *pro* aliquam B. 12. sclariuß aliis secularibus C. 15. rediditibus A. 18, 19. tot — quomodo *deest* C. 23. diminuit BC; *ib.* sicut *pro* sic AB. 27. quando B.

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regulariter peccunia pro beneficiis cleri transmissa ad curiam infructuose consumitur, nisi forte inducat symoniacum regnicolam venenantem. Nam ut sic plus tollerabiles sunt papa et cardinales qui thesaurum regni cautelose exhauriunt, quia a distanciori et tardiori intoxicant. Et 2ª pars patet ex hoc quod defunctus in seculo reliquit sibi omnia bona fortune que remanent; et sic sepe prudenter in seculo disperguntur. Sed bona religiosi mortui sepe ad eorum putrefaccionem et per consequens ad regni dispendium absconduntur. Patet hoc ex vestimentis, libris, et aliis thesauris in corbano patris sui absconditis, que diabolus consumit putredine, redigens sine usu eorum vel fructu in loca subterranea, ubi residuum thesauri sui absconditur. Et sic ex cautela sua consumuntur superflue maxime sumptuosa.

but monks are a continual loss; the money sent to Rome for the benefices of the clergy is less hurtful, for at least the Roman Pontiff is at a distance.

When a layman dies, his fortune is more or less spread about to good purpose; when a monk dies, all he has remains in the convent and become completely useless.

B. Sed tales thesaurarii discerent proverbium captum de herbis, arboribus et arbustis, que sicut capiunt a terra vigorem humoris quam sugunt solis adminiculo de eius visceribus in estate, sic reddunt folia cum aliis mortificandis bruinali tempore, ut superficies terre pro futuro germine sui generis apcius sit fimata. Isti autem abeunt perverso ordine nature, ac si vellent creare novum mundum vel antiquum extinguere. Tales autem religiosi, bis mortui, cum morte naturali vitam istam finierunt, non reddunt hec seculo, a quo omnia ista exhauserant, sed principi tenebrarum, cuius robore, non virtute solis iusticie, hec omnia sacrilege exsuxerunt. Et hec pars se extendit ad omnes claustrales vel alios conglobatos irregulariter titulo perpetuitatis, eciam ad mendicos.

Let them consider that plants take juices from the earth in summer which they give back as dead leaves to manure it in autumn; but monks reverse the order of nature.

This is also true of mendicant Friars.

Istam autem venenosam virulenciam niterentur reges et omnes cristicole secundum posse suum extrudere; nedum quia inevitabiliter et innaturaliter pauperat et perturbat rempublicam, verum quia manifeste vergit ad dei iniuriam. Quis igitur secularis expectaret licenciam sive decretum anticristi in talibus? quin pocius pro causa dei tanquam aliter Moyses fureret, et saltem inanimata instrumenta diaboli conquassaret? Sic enim omnes lapides politi, omnes sculpture aurifabri, et omnes artis humane fabrice pro suo tempore consumantur. Omnia

Such deadly infection should be put a stop to by Kings and by all Christians, without waiting for leave from Rome.

3. venantem AC. 11. de libris B; *ib.* corbana C. 15. consumitur A; consumentur C. 16. thezauri A. 19. aliis *deest* B. 20. fortificandum A; mortificandum B. 21. futuro tempore germine A. 31. ⁀veofa3 A; *ib.* verulenciam C. 35. addicitur A. 39, 40. et — fabrice *in marg.* C.

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Whatever is against God's will must perish: witness the lives lost in the late revolt, when the clergy was certainly punished for its own fault.

enim talia, que non sunt voluntas domini, miserabiliter terminantur. Sicut in parte patet nobis anglicis de isto lamentabili conflictu populi, in quo archiepiscopus prior et alii multi crudeliter sunt occisi. Nec dubium fideli, cum omnis pena sit racione peccati, quod peccatum populi est in causa. Et cum non sit pertinencius clerum predictum puniri 2m aliquam 5e causarum punicionis hominis quam propter peccatum sui vel sui generis puniendum, videtur quod predictum genus in penam sui peccati meruit sic puniri. Non enim sunt puniti, ut Cristus, pro peccatis aliorum, non suis, nec nude racione meriti et glorie argumentande. Ideo non superest, nisi ut clerus in penam peccati sui vel sui generis puniatur. Nec dubium quin tantum malum solum inicium sit dolorum, cum clerus infinitum maius demeruit; nec dubium quin punitores, licet maiores bonos instinctus habuerint, non plene fecerunt ad regulam. Dictum est enim quod domini temporales possunt auferre temporalia ab ecclesia delinquente: quod foret tollerabilius, quam quod rurales auferant vitam carnalem a capitali preposito ecclesie delinquente. Dictum est, tam ex parte regis quam presbiteri, quod sacerdotes, et omnino curati, non debent familiari et seculari regis servicio mancipari. Wulgares in facto practisant quod curati debent propterea C. decolari. Dictum est quod abbates et religiosi possessionati debent incarcerata bona pauperum ad relevamen communitatis transfundere: Wulgares dicunt in opere quod prelati religiosi sunt occasiones retencionis huiusmodi avare; propterea occidendi sunt. Et hec videtur nimis crudelis punicio.

The people, it is true, though guided by an instinct of justice, did not act quite legally.

It is better that princes should take away temporal possessions than that the peasants should kill an Archbishop.

The peasants saw what was wrong, but were cruel in the punishment they inflicted.

Nec dubium quin moderate et prudenter predonans temporalia posset totum hoc malum faciliter extinxisse. | Nam causa huius patencior dicitur exaccio peccunie 66a ultra vires a populo; si igitur clerus possessionatus, thesaurarius bonorum pauperum, reddidisset regi ipsorum pedagium, quomodo staret ista dissensio, inferens tantum malum? O quam gloriosa foret hec comutacio bonorum

It would have been easy to arrest this evil, if the clergy had voluntarily and most nobly given up their possessions to pay the tax.

4. fidei AB. 8. quapropter C. 10. puniti *deest* A. 17. gloriam AC. 18. temporales C. 21. ecclesie *deest* A. 24. Wlgares A (*et sic postea*) C. 27. quod *deest* A. 29. sunt *deest* AC. 31. tpa poſſ3 A. 32. potencior B. 34. regi *deest* A.

4. *Occisi.* This doubtless alludes to the revolt of the presants with Wat Tyler at their head. The prelate slain was Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Cauterbury.

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comunium, qua, reservato clero usque sufficienciam ad alimentum et tegumentum, satisfieret wulgo per bonum cleri residuum! Revera defendens contrarium indicat se discipulum Scarioth avaricia vendentis dominum. Illis enim est carior superfluitas temporalium quam tot mortes et perturbaciones hominum; et tunc indubie, eciam de illo quod videntur habere, non possident quicquam iuste. Quomodo, queso, diceretur possessor vescibilium, qui quotquot vescibilium habens facultatem liberam, ex parcitate avara fingit se mori famelicum? Ille autem est multo magis dampnabilis, qui procuratorio nomine occupat monetam ecclesie, ut faciat sibi et egenis amicos de mamona, et tamen propter accidiam facit se ipsum et alios tam corpore quam anima deperire. Talis est indignus fungi sacerdocio vel officio procuratorio, cum nec sibi ipsi nec aliis sit amicus. Et necesse est quod talis prelatus suos ducat subditos in precipicium ruine.

And whoso thinks otherwise prefers these superfluous riches to the lives of men. They are not even real possessors, for like misers they put their money to no use.

Such prelates lead their subjects to ruin.

Nec fingat yppocrita quod reddicio patrimonii crucifixi pro populo nimis sero succederet; nec licet cum illo patrimonio pascere principes seculares; quia quo ad primum certum est quod ex cecitate prelati nimis sero successerat. Debet enim prelatus secundum Ezechielis vaticinium esse speculator subditis, et de eis necessariis pro cavendo periculo circumspectus; et quo ad secundum iudicet ecclesia, si conglobantur temporalia ista mendaciter pro tante pascendis anticristi discipulis vel in D. tempore oportuno pro protegendis pauperibus, eciam supposito quod super eos principes tyrranisent. Item, notum videtur quod origo huius discordie sit debellacio exterorum; sed focus et concilium huius debellacionis sunt clerici et prelati: ergo tocius malicie consequentis. Si enim non sic debellarent exteros, non sic spoliaretur regnum nostrum peccunia et personis, a quibus deficiens oportet suos intrinsecos spoliare; quia, dum thesaurus bellanti deficiat, necesse est quod spoliet de egenis. Non enim asuescit in bello sic moribus vel laboricio, ut veniens in regnum proprium contineat se ab iniuriis eciam proximi, cum mala consuetudo suscitat sibi prolem.

Let them not say "it is too late to restore this property to the people, and we must not give it to princes". The Church should be judge of the employment of this property.

The clergy who stirred up the war are responsible for the exactions which led to the late revolt. Morever the the soldiers are trained in habits of marauding.

1. ultra AC; *ib.* ad *deest* A. 9. vestiũ C. 8. sinit BC. 17. subiectos *after* talis B; *ib.* suos *twice* C; *ib.* ducat *deest* AC; *ib.* discordie et BC. 22. certum *twice* A; *ib.* quod *deest* B. 26. iudicem C. 32. ergo *deest* A. 35. thesauris B. 36. bellandi A.

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Non enim tantum meruerunt predones in peregrinacione huiusmodi, ut forent amplius in moribus confirmati; cum Yes. 33° dicit spiritus: *Ve, qui predaris, nonne et ipse predaberis?* Isa. XXXIII 1

They should be cured by prudent gifts and exhortations; instead of which, the clergy seeks to make money out of them, and irritate them in many ways, by means of their great influence in Parliament,

Ideo medicina foret cum temporalibus saciare predantes; curiositate yconomie, et exhortacione salubri ad fideliter vivendum de propriis. Nunc autem dicitur quod clerus perquirit redditus de talibus, et hoc pro indigencia viliori foro quo sciverit. Et quo ad exhortacionem ewangelicam vel corporum relevamen, patet quod clerus nedum ut plurimum obmutescit; sed viis et modis bellatores ad malum exasperat; et cum prelati debent rogare, consulere, et hortari *que ad pacem sunt ierusalem,* dicitur quod tamquam auctores bellorum hortantur ad pugnam, cum per ipsos tamquam capitales concilii parliamentum regitur eciam in minoribus negociis, dum ipsa cordi habuerint, ut vendicant, tanquam pars spiritualis principalior concilii regni nostri. Et ita videtur quod cupiunt quod principales domini, per quos voluntas eorum restringitur, sive bene sive male, deprimentur: cum assistencia eorum sit attomus per quem sua effrenis voluntas quodammodo inpeditur; sed de futuris periculis et dampno reipublice non curatur. Ideo necesse est hos prelatus luere hic et alibi vel ubicumque. Ps. CXXI, 6

in order, it is said, to stir up civil war and reduce the power of the nobility which makes against that influence.

The Friars are also responsible for these dissensions, at least by their silence; they should, as confessors of the temporal lords, give them advice, and if not listened to, abandon them.

Item quo ad fratres, videtur quod non sunt expertes huius facinoris, cum clamare debent publice predicando, private hortando habendum pacem et concordiam, si fieri potest, cum omni homine: sed vel obmutescunt, vel clamant contrarium. Ideo sunt rei huius criminis concilio vel consensu. Cum enim fratres sunt generaliter confessores et conciliarii dominorum, quomodo aufugeret eos factum dominorum publicum, concernens forum consciencie et utilitatem reipublice? Si sunt disciplinabiles, debent sane consulere. Si autem sunt indisciplinabiles, debent secundum formam ewangelii ipsos relinquere. Sed lau-

But luxury, the interests of the Order and greed for things temporal keep them there, when they could do

ticia extra claustrum, inordinata affeccio ad defendendum ordinem suum privatum, et questus symoniacus temporalium non permittunt: in tantum quod fructus confessionis confunditur, dum ipsa sit venalis hereditaria

3. nomine A; non B. 7. a *pro* ad A. 10. reilevamen A. 19. volu^ᵗ A; voluptas B. 20. depriment B. 21. quo *pro* per quem B. 2. voluptas B. 24. luere *deest* AC. 25. Ideo B. 27. ordando A. 30. regulariter BC. 36. castrorum A; castrum C.

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et permixta. Venalis: si procuratur assidue ut predicator frater sit custos anime maioris domini vel domine, indubie symoniace propter lucrum, cum sanccior, edificacior et tractabilior sit comuniter anima wulgaris simplicis, quam potentis. Quis enim, vel pauperes vel divites, plus E. profuerunt ecclesie? Ideo causa est patule symoniaca, non divina, cum preponderanter fratres procurant custodire animas mundi potencium; quia intendendo obtu- 66b rare | eorum maliciam, labor fratrum appareret sensibiliter in effectu. Sed modo videtur contrarium.

much more good among the people; for if the nobility had profited by their presence, it would have been more manifestly fruitful.

Ymmo, cum periculum huius custodie sit tam arduum, tum propter salutem reipublice, tum eciam propter salvacionem perpetuam tam corporis quam anime confessi, quod excedit curam ordinariam prelatorum. Sed diabolus introducit hanc subdolam confessionem in fratribus, ut eorum introduccio extraordinaria inducat media per que decipitur Cristi sponsa. Unde suboritur cautela diaboli, qua fratres vendicant; hii, quod sint confessores regum, hii reginarum, hii ducum, hii comitum; et, ut eorum ars confessionalis fiat accepcior, accumulant multiplex alienum officium: ut artem sanandi, domum prudenter regendi, et quecunque negocia extrinseca maiora vel minora prudencius et facilius promovendi. Sed fructus negocii et peioracio secularis dominii preconisant cautelas diaboli. Necesse quidem est ut subintroducta novitate et multiplicitate sectarum et rituum supra ordinacionem Cristi, ecclesia multipliciter perturbetur.

The responsibility is so great here, that very few are equal to the task; yet they intrigue in every way to get good places, and try to ingratiate themselves by practising the medical art, &c. But these are clever tricks of the devil, as the results show.

Cuius perturbacionis fratres probabiliter sunt in causa: quia spiritualis infirmitas in animabus mundi potencium Jac II, perturbacionem talem parturit, ut patet Jac. . . . . Et 1–9 racio experimentalis convincit, cum discrasiato principio policie necesse est totam rempublicam perturbari. Cum igitur fratres, qui ad custodiam anime et morum magnorum se obligant, sunt causa privativa casus sui, sicud naute absencia est causa periclitacionis navis, manifestum est iuxta hoc principium: *Quicquid est causa cause, est causa causati*, quod fratres sunt indirecte causa tocius perturbacionis in ecclesia. Unde, quando lucrum sonatur,

As the absence of the mariner puts the ship in danger, and *the cause of the cause is the cause of what is caused*, the Friars, by their neglect of souls, are indirectly the cause of the present troubles in the Church. When gain is to be had they would rule the Church; but when it

1. predicacior A; ut predicator sit frater sit custos C. 8. potentum C. 14. ordinanciam A. 15. in *deest* A. 17. suboßici[a] A. 21. accumulat A. 31. talem *pro* perturbacionem A; *ib.* talem *deest* C; *ib. after* Jac. *blank space omnes MSS.* 33. necesse *deest* A. 34. fratres *deest* A. 35. privata *omnes MSS.* 39. ecclesie BC.

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comes to appeasing dissensions, they are mute. Yet when they take in charge the souls of the great, they have much stricter duties to fulfil towards the Church.

If an earthly treasure cannot be squandered with impunity, should a treasure much more precious be squandered?

fingunt se spiritualiter regere totam ecclesiam, prelatos, populum, et magnates; sed quando raciocinium acutum daretur populo de fructuosa diligencia placandi ecclesiam, obmutescunt. Et tamen certum est quod in quantum accipiunt spiritualem custodiam dominorum, stricte obligant se persone ecclesie, que debet ut dignior curare precipue de virtute regitiva dominorum secularium et in subvertentes eos securius vindicari. Si enim thesaurus temporalis prodigaliter consumatur, penalis compotus a persona populi acute requiritur; multo magis strictius obligatus ex consumpcione thesauri infinitum plus preciosi et necessarii, quantumlibet gravius punietur? Sed princeps huius seculi pulvere temporalium infideliter excecat mundo deditum; nec dubium quin omnia genera religiosorum et curatorum secularium participant hoc reatu.

An Archbishop cannot be a Chancellor; it is the most secular office in the kingdom. How could he convoke the clergy, taken in the same snare of worldliness as himself, and excommunicated? unless as an arch-devil, calling to his little ones.

Quid, rogo, pertinet ad archiepiscopum occupare cancellariam regis, que est secularissimum regni officium? Numquid superest in tam lata provincia episcopo occupacio spiritualis? Numquid presul debet convocare clerum anathematicum, quia contra legem dei et hominum et secularissimis regis officiis inplicatum, sed sub gravi dei malediccione ad contrarium obligatum? Non videtur aliud, nisi quod archidiabolus congregat minores diabolos, pullos suos, non solum ad ludendum paginam ludicram patris sui, sed tamquam tortorum demoniacorum caterva, spolians alios simplices (secundum artem magistri sui) bonis gracie et fortune; et quod detestabilius est, in derisionem despectivam pro confirmacione istorum crux Cristi blasfeme erigitur. Numquid credimus prelatum talem, deo et sue ecclesie proditorem, esse regi et regno fidelem prepositum vel ministrum? Constat contrarium, cum ex fide capitur quod quicunque est infidelis vel proditor Cristi aut sue ecclesie, est infidelis et proditor cuicumque; quia debet fideliter servire deo cum sua ecclesia. Sed, deessente servicio dei, licet faciat bonum de genere, totum residuum est infectum. Nec dubium quin, si clerus Anglie persolveret deo et ecclesie id quod debet, non foret ecclesia nostra

Such a prelate is a traitor to the king and the kingdom; being a traitor to God, whatever he does is wrong. And this malice, long accumulated, will at length ruin the State.

3. pacandi C. 4. cum C. 8. iudicari A. 10. accute A; acute, *in marg.* acute C; *ib.* fructus *pro* striccius AC. 20. anathecu C. 21. regis *twice* A; negociis BC. 23. archidiaconus AC. 24. diabolicos B. 34. vel *pro* cum A; quod fide C.

16. Simon of Sudbury was, or had lately been Chancellor.

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intricata cautelis diaboli, sicud hodie venenatur. Sed necesse est ut antiqua malicia diu colecta inundet subito, faciendo regnum corruere; quia sic ex congregacione aquarum lacuna disrumpitur, ex accumulacione ponderum supportans dissolvitur, et ex corrosione vermium lignum atteritur.

Et ita, si queratur cur non antea, respondet scriptura Genesis: *Nondum impleta est iniquitas Amoreorum.* Si enim regnum perficeret septem opera misericordie duplicata, olim fuisset in via confirmacionis secundum legem dei emendatum. Ut, si primo declinaverit a malo fontis pestiferi, excludendo de regno colectores peccunie, non virtutum, provisores alienigenas a cura regendi oves secundum Cristum, sed pure obediat eis (rebellando peccatis eorum), de quanto docent naturalitate implicita legem Cristi; nec regnum nostrum debet aliquam hostem pestiferum post diabolum plus horrere. Postquam autem declinaverit ab hoc malo 3ci, debet regnum nostrum, et specialiter clerus suus actus spiritualis misericordie seminare; primo, docendo | non legem Machometi, sed dei, quomodo servi, filii, et specialiter clerici, debent subici dominis, parentibus et omni homini, paciendo iniurias et reddendo deo gracias; domini autem, parentes et prepositi debent, ut servi dei, tractare subditos cum amore; quia ambo debent servire deo et sibi ipsis proficere secundum regulam caritatis, ut docet apostolus ad Eph. 6o. Secundo debent consulere, non ad terrenum dominium conquirendum, non ad copiam temporalium possidendum, nec ad vivendum secundum carnis petulanciam, ut vivunt qui renuunt cenam Cristi, sed ut sint humiles, vocati et electi pro merito ad gustandum cum domino cenam magnam, de qua Luc. 14. Tercio debent secundum scolam predictam, sive hortando sive puniendo, subditos castigare. Quarto debent consolari secundum spem retribucionis perpetue mestos animo et confractos. Quinto debent iniuriantibus suis prudenter remittere. Sexto debent inproperantes secundum virtutem paciencie supportare. Et septima debent pro tota ecclesia, eciam pro hostibus, obsecrare. Quibus si adiuncta fuerint septem alia opera misericordie, et in tempore oportuno pasta ecclesia,

Gen. XV, 16

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G. Eph. VI, 2

Luc. XIV, 16—24

This ruin may not take place, if the realm 1. departs from evil: i. e. turns, out the money collectors, excludes foreigners from the government of Churches, or obeys them only in so far as Christ's law allows;

and if 2. it practises the seven works of spiritual mercy. teaching all Christians their duties towards one another,

giving good counsel, tending to make men live a Christian life,

reproving and punishing thos set under them, comforting the afflicted, forgiving injuries, bearing insults patiently, and praying for their enemies; also practising the corporal works of mercy.

2. atiqua A. 8. amorreorum C. 10. aliter AB. 15. eorum *deest* A. 16. ut C. 19. actus suos; suus *deest* A. 22. pntib) = presentibus A. 27. ad Eph. 6o *deest* BC. 28. non *deest* C. 33. ortãdo C.

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By this means the Church would have the spiritual food that it so much needs.

refecta foret et non famelica; sic quod pro defectu spiritualis cibarii sese altrinsecus innaturaliter manducarent.

It is the want of this food that causes such desolation in the country; contraries cause contraries; and greed destroys charity, breaks up the bond of union between Christians; thence ensues pitiless cruelty, and houses, sects and provinces fall upon each other.

Defectus igitur huius cibi, et specialiter in clero, est causa quare regnum nostrum a deo desolatur. Nam cum contrariorum contrarie sunt cause, et cristicole debent esse *misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur*, ut dicitur Matth. 5°; oportet contrario sensu quod crudeles et specialiter famelici desolentur. Nam invida proprietatis terrenorum cupiditas extinguit et discontinuat caritatem; et per consequens, iuxta vocem Cristi, faciendo *Regnum in se divisum* parturit desolacionem. Nam fortitudo regni atque constancia insurgit ex parcium unicordi coherencia, et omnino ex eorum discontinuacione venit contrarium, et per consequens domus unius magnatis, unius secte et unius provincie cadet supra domum aliam, deficiente caritatis glutino supportante; et sic, ex consumpcione reciproca parcium regni, in pulverem ipsum regnum necessario desolabitur.

Matth. V, 7.

Matth. XII, 25

The punishment lately inflicted on the clergy by the people, though deserved, was excessive: 1. *in degree;* they having no revelation from God to act thus. What belongs to the State can be taken by the State; but life is a gift of God.

Et licet clerici mereantur puniri tali decapicione, et acrius, tamen videtur michi quod populus in hoc excedit quantitate, qualitate et modo. Quantitate, quia blasfemum esset populum assumere super se tantam vindictam, nisi habuerit a deo revelacionem ad taliter puniendum. Illud igitur accidentale quod regnum sibi tribuit, cum deturpat episcopum et impedit episcopale officium, meritorium foret regno, servato bono nature, subtrahere; tum, quia illud bonum nature est singulariter donum dei, tum eciam, quia ignoratur si utilius esset ecclesie et persone decapitate mori aliter, [ut] debuit post vel ante. Unde in isto contendunt quidam inaniter, dicentes quod ecclesia non debet auffere temporalia a clero delinquente, sed ipsum clericum a temporalibus, datis aliis qui recte peragant cleri officium. Primo, quia sequitur: *Ecclesia auffert clerum a temporalibus;* igitur *auffert ipsa temporalia ab illo clero.* Et cum quelibet persona sit omnibus temporalibus mundi natura dignior, et modus loquendi sit scripture sacre accepcior, patet quod sic blaterantes ad nimis pauca respiciunt. Item, intencio fidei est quod clerus privetur H.

To say: "We should not take away temporalities, but remove by death those who abuse them": is an ill-considered position.

To take a man's life is indeed to take away his temporalities; but our faith teaches that he should live on alms.

8. a contrario B. 12. in se *deest* C. 28. tamen *omnes MSS.* 30. esset *deest* AC; *ib.* capitante C; ut *deest omnes MSS.* 40. irasci *in marg.* A.

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a possessione hereditaria mundana vivendo de elemosinis, ut Cristus instituit; sed illud exprimit prior logica; 2ª vel paliat vel confundit. Ideo prior implenda est et 2ª tanquam sophistica respuenda. Nam occidens episcopum aufert eum a temporalibus; sed ewangelium dicit servos dei *auffere mnam* ab indebite occupante, sed non dicit occupantem aufferendum a possessione que sibi accidit. Ideo bene stetit ecclesie, antequam introducti sunt fratres, qui contra caput proprium sic locuntur. Debuit igitur regnum aufferre temporalia ab episcopo, cum ex illa habicione venit tota prodicio.

Matth. XXV, 28

In the Gospel the slothful servant only loses the talent.

2° deficit populus in qualitate, sic occidendo episcopum; quia examinaret causam mortis, et responsum accusati, si fuerit racioni consonum. Sed istam rabiem prophetavit quidam frater Londoniis ignarus vocis proprie, cum asseruit publice hominem sine responso conburendum tanquam hereticum; et tamen nec audivit eum nec scivit suam sentenciam, aut cum qua protestacione vel quo animo sit locutus. Ideo taliter diffinire hominem esse hereticum taliter puniendum excedit luciferinam insaniam, cum iuxta anticristinam stulticiam, extollitur super deum. Deus enim non potest dampnare hominem, nisi precognoverit causam racionabilem quare taliter sit dampnandus. Sed iste apostota dicit sibi licere hec facere. Unde preco pessimus dirum exitum prophetisat, quia regni turbacionem: utinam non destruccionem! Nicodemus autem ut fertur, religiosius isto demonio meridiano locutus est, Joh. 7°. "*Numquid*, inquit, *lex nostra iudicat etc.*"

Joan. VII, 51

2. *In kind.* There was no form of justice, no examination of the accused; just as a certain Friar in London said should be done to a man that he judged to be a heretic. God Himself never condemns without just reason; so this apostate sets himself above God!

Nicodemus was better inspired.

3° deficit populus in modo agendi multiplici. Primo, quia proditores forinsecos, licet spirituales, plus subdolos debuit plus punire. 2°, quia nullo modo debuit contra seculares dominos taliter attemptare. Et 3°, quia expectari debet tocius regni exhortacio sive consilium.

3. *In manner.* Punishment should be meted out according to the fault; temporal lords must in no case be attacked; and the advice of the whole kingdom ought to be taken.

Sed supposito errore, videndum est quomodo secundum legem debeat emendari; et videtur michi quod error | de quo comunitas gravatur et debet conqueri, primo omnium debet rectificari, cum vetat iustificaciones que postea sequerentur. Est enim error intollerabilis quod rex vel alius dominus regni super eius populum

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Though wrong, they had grievances that should be redressed, so as to put an end to such acts.

1. mundana *in marg.* A. 2. prior *deest* A. 4. 5. episcopum *in marg.* A. 6. nam *pro* mnam B. 7. occupante *pro* occupantem CA. 20. luciferinam, 21. anticristinam *deest* C. 27. autem *deest* C. 29. iudicat etc *deest* A.

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All tyranny and needless exactions on the part of temporal lords should cease;

tirraniset. Sicud enim miles debet esse contentus stipendiis suis, ut patet Lu. 3°, sic reges et subdomini debent tenere se in limitibus suorum reddituum, ne propter causam irracionabilem imponant tenentibus suis tallagia, cum in extorsione tali iacet iniuria clamorosa, ut patet Exod 3° et Jac. 2°. Idem enim foret seculares dominos se ipsos destruere et subditos suos taliter spoliare, ut patet de Roboam 3i Reg. 12. Sed secundus error insensibilis vulgo est quo bona regni sunt ad curiam Romanam, et in inimicos exteros devoluta. Sed 3us error quantitate maior est, quo populus per clerum intrinsecum omnis generis spoliatur. Quomodo, inquam, foret rex vel dominus, qui subditos suos non potenter defenderet a raptoribus istis sacrilegis, vel quo iure caperet redditus et tallagia subditorum, qui renuit ipsos defendere ab hostibus inermibus, ita domesticis, a quibus posset tam faciliter ipsos defendere, et ex spoliis, parcendo populo, regnum regere? Omnes autem tradiciones a pseudoclericis adinventas debet destruere, et quietari in sola lege dei cum iure regni, ne admittat superflua, regnum et specialiter legem dei turbancia. Et sic staret regnum purgatum a spiritualibus erroribus, regulatum pure vel principaliter lege dei. Quo habito, oportet omnino diligenter cavere, ne sit dissensio inter dominos seculares, temporales et comunes de populo; et magis inter dominos ad se ipsos; sed maxime, quod non sit turbativa contrarietas inter dominos et wulgares regni nostri, disparium causa contrariorum; quia tunc ad destruccionem regni foret demonium meridianum suscitatum.

Luc. III. Ex. III, 7 Jac. II, 6 3 Reg. XII. I.

also the assumption that national property belongs to Rome;

and especially all spoliations on the part of the clergy; which our rulers could easily stop, and it is their duty to do so.

This would give us a kingdom in which every thing should be regulated by God's law. Dissensions amongst the nobles, and still more between the nobles and the people, ought to be carefully avoided.

Three Objections. I. This theory would diminish the royal prerogative. But this prerogative itself depends on the law of God; flattering traditions destroy it. Patience under wrong will

Sed obicitur quod dicta ymaginacio non consonat regalie, nec iuri purganti delicta comissa, nec incucienti timorem, ne alias sic delinquat. Sed quantum ad primum, dicitur quod necesse est regaliam regis et omnes leges humanas regi per legem dei, licet sit suppeditata hodie; vel aliter sunt prophane. Ideo lex dei regaliam regis conservat precipue; et alie tradiciones consumunt adulatorie iura regis. Ideo, sicut regalia Cristi per pacienciam maioris iniurie crevit ad summum, sic, stante

4. collegia A. 5. in *deest* B. 9. wlgo AC; *ib.* regi A. 10. istos *pro* inimicos A; *ib.* Et *pro* sed BC. 15. collegia A. 26. duces *pro* dominos B. 27. wlgares AC. 28. causatorum A; contrariatarum C. 29. regni *deest* A. 31. obieccio *in marg.* B; non *deest* A. 32. viri B; iuri, *in marg.* iuri C. 33. delinquant C. 35. sit *deest* C

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fide scripture, regalie alie temporales per pacienciam talis iniurie suscipient incrementum: et procurans oppositum cece supprimit regnum nostrum.

Increase this prerogative, as it did for Christ.

Quo ad 2m obiectum, patet quod luciferinus est, qui propter maius commodum non defert deo tantas iniurias vindicare. Ymmo, deus preordinavit, si dignamur capere quomodo regnum foret purgatum secundum legem dei, rectificatum eciam suo beneplacito conformiter, regulatum per ius Cristi, evacuatis privilegiis cesareis introductis finaliter. Igitur debet regnum satisfacere dominis secularibus iniuriatis de bonis Cristi ditissimi atque suorum pauperum, cum de illis sit racionabilius impleri iusticiam propter multa. Primo, quia deus est in illis sufficiencior ad pacem populi redimendam; 2o, quia illa sunt bona magis superflua, cum quibus ecclesie symoniace et sacrilege pregravantur. Et 3o, quia pseudoclerici, ut patet ex dictis, sunt radix tocius turbacionis et comisse iniurie. Gloriosa, inquam, foret talis mutacio, qua parceretur multitudini, et sopita ceca tradicione principum, Cristi primeva ordinacio eluceret. Unde in minori cause preconio comendat Augustinus factum beati Aurelii, qui in minori necessitate reddidit collata sue ecclesie brachio seculari. Sic enim secundum Augustinum "debuit iure poli". Et recitatur 17, q. 4a. *Quicunque.* Sic igitur felix foret qui pacificaret regnum adeo turbatum tam monstruosa possessione temporalium servata ad hoc in manibus clericorum. Unde probabile videtur quod deus ordinavit totam istam turbacionem et eius quietacionem media ad hunc finem.

II. It would take away the power of punishing the crimes committed. But such punishment should be left to God. Besides, we possess by God's grace the means of regenerating the kingdom; and the goods of the clergy, i. e. of the poor, might compensate the temporal lords for their losses. This would restore peace, disburden the Church of superfluous riches, and punish the bad clergy, cause of all the mischief, while sparing the people. Augustine praises a similar act, done in circumstances of less necessity.

Quantum ad 3m obiectum, notum est quod timor filialis, qui amore gignitur, est securior et perseverancior quam servilis. Existente igitur toto cleri patrimonio in manu regis et secularium dominorum, ex illa societate, prudenter parcendo populo, tolleretur occasio sic iterum delinquendi. Nam iuxtaponendo (quod absit), vindictam hominum, vel bellice subito occidendo vel extinguendo convictos paulative secundum leges Anglie, sequeretur omnino inconveniens Anglie destructivum. Nam iuxta

III. It would destroy all fear to commit these crimes in future. But filial is better than slavish fear; and it would remove the occasion of crimes. Whether those men are put to death in battle or by law, there will follow

7. fop'gatu A. 12. ipsis C 15. ecclesie magis C. 16. pregravatur *omnes MSS; ib.* perseudo A. 18. glosa A. 19. in *pro* et A. 21. beatus Aug. B; beatus *deest* C 28. eiusque C. 36. subiecto *omnes MSS.* 38. destructum A; destructm C.

24. Decr. Grat., 2a Pars., Ca XVII, qu. 4, c. I.

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hatred and treason in the kingdom; in the first case, the issue will be doubtful; in the second, the punishment will last longer.

primum, cum pars communitatis sit forcior, foret ambiguum in manu dei, que pars aliam superaret; et sequeretur undiquaque regni destruccio, et invidie perpetuacio, et omnino post invasionem hostilem forinsecam fallax prodiccio et undique seductiva regni enervacio; 5 2ª autem via non differt ab ista, nisi quod pena foret diuturnior et sic maior. Amoveat igitur deus istam vindicativam superbiam, et inducat istam lenitivam iusticiam et religionis quam Cristus instituit inductivam. Nec caderet periculum in prudenti eius practica quo ad 10 deum vel homines, licet sathan et vecordia et yppocrisi exterreat mundiales.

But so long as the clergy does not amend, the Church will suffer; and both clergy and laity are here to blame.

A king who takes a priest from the service of the altars to his own service, is like a steward who would take a servant from watching over his lord's treasury.

One would be unfaithful to God, the other to his master.

Et, ut dicam breviter, antequam corrigatur clerus per quem pacificaretur | ecclesia, non erit in penam 68ª illius criminis inturbata, et specialiter propter symoniam, 15 in qua tam clerici quam seculares comunicant. Quis, inquam, fidelis dubitat quin reges aut quicunque domini seculares distrahentes curatos a dei ministerio et mancipantes suo officio seculari, sunt proditores dei et sancte matris ecclesie, et per consequens merentur quod 20 suum dominium sit dupliciter invasum ab hostibus et undique perturbatum? Suppono autem ex fide quod omnis secularis dominus quantumcunque dives aut nobilis sit mendicus, servus et villicus dei sui; patet Matth. 6 Matth. VI, 12 et Luce 16. Luc. XVI, 1—12 Si igitur ballivus domini temporalis conduceret ex thesauro illius domini tamquam servus eius ad illud fidele ministerium obligatus, servum pernecessarium ad custodiam thesauri precipui domini sui, et post conduccionem alienans servum a ministerio domini mancipat suo ministerio, consumpto ex tali negligencia 30 principali thesauro atque dominio, nonne foret proditor domini sui manifestus? Multo evidencius rex terrenus conducens curatum cum patrimonio Cristi, et post conduccionem, alienans ipsum ab animarum regimine,

4. plus AC. 7, 8. vindictam B. 8. levitivam B; lenitivum C. 11. et *before* vecordia *deest* AC. 18, 19. mancipatos AB; mancipant C. 21. dominium *deest* C. 24. medicus A. 27, 28. per necessitatem A. 30. mīſt'io C. 31. nomine A.

9. In answering the foregoing objections, Wyclif, as is often the case with him, gives us to understand his meaning much better than when he stated his point, He then said nothing explicitly about pardoning the rebels; here he evidently points to that. It is probably an oratorical precaution (in this case at least) rendered necessary by the horror of the crimes committed. The rebels, however, had been most savagely treated.

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mancipat eum contrario seculari servicio secundum mandatum regis superbie, racione cuius perditur vel invaditur precipuus thesaurus Cristi et regnum; quod est multitudo animarum fidelium. Talis, inquam, rex foret inexcusabiliter proditor dei sui.

But the clergy is yet more to blame, especially the friars, confessors of princes, who advise such deeds.

Et multo gravius proditores sunt clerici consencientes et procurantes hoc facinus; sed maxime fratres, confessores principum, et qui debent esse speculatores prenuncciantes regnis periculum. Ve terre talibus proditoribus occupate! Cum enim ex fide non venit regni tranquillitas vel alicui prosperitas nisi per dominum Iesum Cristum; ipse autem non dat cuiquam nisi ad regulam, ut est dignus, quomodo credimus Cristum bona sua talibus proditoribus impertiri? Revera, si habent hoc, est equivoce, ut amplius confundantur. Et in isto necessitatis articulo potest ecclesiasticus experiri si clerus plus amat popularem ecclesiam quam suas decimas, si plus sapit religionem Cristi quam voluntatem dominativam seculi, et breviter, sive sint anticristi discipuli sive Cristi. Nam per suas possessiones temporales potest quietare comunitates et dominos, ac de remedio perpetuo talis periculi providere. Si enim omnia temporalia dominia mortificata ecclesie Anglie essent ad utilitatem regni et exoneracionem populi limitata, tunc forent posita in pios usus racionabilius et de lege Cristi fundabilius, quam sunt modo; nec sciri potest via facilior qua satisfieret pro crimine perpetrato. Ille itaque clerus plus amat mamonam quam iusticiam vel salutem populi, qui isti sentencie contradicit.

Christ will not bless the land that is filled with such wickedness.

It is easy to see which side a priest takes, whether that of Christ or the devil; since by giving up his possessions he can do so much good; if then he is against this, he sides with Mammon.

Si autem Cristi religio ponderatur, constat quod ipse *exinanivit se ipsum* pro ove centesima perdita requirenda, ut patet Lu. 15. 33bus annis vixit in summa paupertate et egestate pro dicta ove in via penitencie instruenda, et demum occisus est morte durissima pro dicta ove ad perpetua pascua reducenda. Et in ista scola instructus est Petrus, Act. 5° dicens: *Argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do.* In ista scola ludebat Paulus, qui manibus suis quesivit sibi et sociis vite necessaria, ne gravaret ecclesiam, ut patet act. 20. Ex quibus convincitur, cum Cristus in Petro precipit sacerdotibus suis pascere secundum istam

Philip. II, 6 Luc. XV, 4 Act. III, 6 Act. XX, 33

As or Christ's religion, it is known that He gave up all for the one lost sheep, that He lived poor and died a cruel death.

Peter and Paul followed His example,

and we should follow theirs.

1. econ C. 15. est *deest* A. 18. voluptatem BC. 23. Anglicanc C. 40. cum Cristus *twice* A. 41. istam *deest* A.

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regulam oves suas, Joh. ultimo, quod apostota sentencie isti contrarius est profundius discipulus anticristi. Illi enim horrerēnt seqni Cristum et suos apostolos, dando animam suam pro summo coniugio, qui renuunt dare bona minima a quibus, ut inperficientibus, sunt per Cristum prohibiti pro hac sponsa.

Joan. XXI, 15, 17

4. qui *deest* A. 6. per Cristum *deest* B.

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CAPITULUM QUARTUMDECIMUM.

A. Decimus tortor sugens ecclesiam est conventiculum pseudofratrum. Contingit enim de illis, ut aliis, esse aliquos falsos fratres; quia aliter foret tota eorum comunitas confirmata, quod Cristus non concessit apostolis, ut patet Scarioth et multis pseudoapostolis. Sicut enim in ordine cristiano salubriori ecclesie pullulat maior fructus, sic in illis perversis surrepsit maius periculum. Dictum est autem, 2° cap. De apostasia, quomodo aliter fratres contingit esse apostotas: et sic in illis, sicud dictum est in tractatu, De symonia, contingit de episcopis quod contrahant symoniam in congressu, in progressu et egressu. Sic contingit de fratribus, quo ad apostasiam et duas alias hereses, quibus sunt ex cautela diaboli maculati. In ingressu dupliciter, vel fratrifactor, vel eciam fratrifactus; fratrifactor autem deterius: primo, quia sepe presumptuose consulit et agit contra divinum consilium et utilitatem ecclesie, ac persone: quod omnino est peccatum, ut patet libro 5° ca° 3°. Si enim peccatum sit dare occasionem deteriorandi proximum, pretendendo opera misericordie corporalis, multo magis malo consulendo in antecedentibus ad salutem perpetuam, et maxime incitamentis necessitando ad tante dampnificans. Notum quidem est quod multi viverent sanccius extra religionem privatam vel in religione alia, plus eis consona. Ymmo multi propter huiusmodi differenciam sunt dampnati. Quomodo igitur | 68b non foret magnum peccatum inconsulto domino in-

The tenth tormentor is the bad friar; some such there must be, unless all friars are confirmed in grace.

Apostasy is committed amongst them on entering the order, whilst remaining therein, and on leaving it.

The friar-maker takes a most heavy responsibility upon himself in giving advice which if followed may lead to damnation.

1. Ca^m XIII A; Cap. *deest;* 14 *in marg.* BC. 2. *Initial* D *in red ink; tb.* suggens A. 3, 4. pseudo fratrum — aliquos *deest* A. 4. aliis *pro* aliquos C. 8. surrepit magis B. 11. ꝑtigit A. 12. symoniam *deest* A. 13. ꝑtigit A. 16. eciam *deest* C. 20. sit *deest* A. 26. religionis A. 27. Quo C. 28. in *deest* A.

9. See *De Apostasia,* whole of Ch. II. 11. *De Simonia* Ch. VI.

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The best of them say they never made any friar but one, and that they regretted it ever after. A friarmaker claims to have entered into God's secret counsels. This advice should be given with the utmost reserve.

ducere talem statum? Ideo periciores fratrum dicunt quandoque quod nunquam fecerunt aliquem fratrem, nisi unum, se ipsos scilicet, et dolent continue illud opus. Istud autem est possibile esse verum et prudenter dictum; cum enim talis consiliarius pretendit se habere spiritum consilii dei, videtur quod blasfemat tam frontose et nescie procurando. Unde videtur mihi quod nemo consulerit, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelacionem vel agitacionem spiritus sancti, quia aliter indubie ageret indiscrete. Unde quidam in talibus consiliis eis ambiguis locuntur condicionaliter; ponunt *custodiam ori suo.*

Many think that to enter one of these orders savours of sortilege, for it is all a chance whether it will render one good or vicious; and they freely submit their eternal salvation to such a chance, while the true way to be saved is open to them.

Unde videtur multis quod opera fraternitatum huiusmodi, que eciam spissim pullulant inter laicos, inter alia mala sapiunt sortilegium, cum nemo ambigit quin, sicut bonum fortuite potest ex illis contingere, sic et malum; nec est fraternitas huiusmodi per se bona, cum sicut casualiter multis proficit ad virtutem, sic et multis officit ad dampnacionem. Hominem igitur ponere se in tali sorte perpetua est maioris stulticie quam mittere sortem, sicut fecerunt apostoli de eleccione, cum videtur quod tales sortilegi continuo et perpetuo sine fundamento se sorti subiciunt in periculo: quia manifestum videtur quod ingrediens fraternitatem huiusmodi subicit se fortune quo ad beatitudinem vel dampnacionem. Sed quid stulcius aut periculosius, cum via secura sit patula? Detestabilis itaque est argucia anticristi: *Tali sancto convenit talis conversacio:* ergo, *toti secte debet competere,* cum tempore apostolorum statim destrueretur ista blasfemia, eo quod soli Cristo convenit talis primatus, non ita singulariter in specie, sed in genere.

Ps. XXXVIII. 1

B.

Objections. 1. "According to this theory, it is wrong to exhort to a virtuous life, since perseverance is doubtful, and a fall would then be more severely punished." But the case is not the same; virtue, good in itself, causes evil only by accident.

Sed contra predicta instatur primo, ex hoc quod nemo consuleret ad virtutes, cum stat virtuosum occasione virtutis dampnari severius; ut patet de Scarioth, de quo Cristus dicit Matth. 14. *Bonum erat illi, si natus non fuisset homo ille.* Sicut enim homo occasione peccati fit humilior, sic occasione virtutis a qua ingrate cecidit, fit dampnabilior. Sed supposita distinccione de occasione data et occasione accepta, patet quod non est color concludere quod nemo debet consulere ad virtutes, cum sint per se bone moraliter, quibus nemo abuti potest.

Matth. XXVI, 26

7. nescit AC. 9. sanctis A. 12. operam B. 12, 13. huius A. 17. caua^r A. 18. sic *pro* se B. 23. subiceat B. 28. illa C. 29. itaque BC; *ib.* singularitatis C. 34. Matth. 14 *deest* C.

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Ideo, quicunque ad illas consulit, ut sic consulit ad bonum, licet occasione male accepta, per se ex malo, et per accidens a bono, malum proveniat.

2° obicitur quod nemo consuleret iuxta istam sententiam ad habitus vel actus qui non sunt per se morales, et per consequens non ad statum, artem, scienciam vel opera ex illis procedencia; quod est inopinabile et derisum ab Augustino et decreto; et consequencia patet ex hoc quod omnia talia contingit esse mala moraliter. Hic dicitur quod theologus vere dicit quod nichil est proprie consulibile, nisi in ordine ad beatitudinem; aliud autem quod quiescit in temporalibus, est consilium impiorum. Et sic sunt aliqua per se consilibilia, ut virtutes et opera virtuosa, et alia per accidens consilibilia plus vel minus, ad que homo debet consulere condicionaliter cum timore, ut vivere exproprietarie, discere legem dei et facere talia bona de genere disponencia ad virtutem. Dissuadere vero debemus illa que sunt proprinquiora periculo.

"Then", it may be urged, "it is wrong to advise any act indifferent in itself, from which evil may spring."

But no advice should be given, except in so far as it makes for salvation; and according to this rule we should advise or dissuade, as anything is useful or dangerous.

3° instatur per hoc quod non solvitur difficultas, cum non docetur si licet consulere homini simpliciter, ut sit frater, et sic de aliis consiliabilibus, quo nec sunt virtutes C. nec opera virtuosa. Hic dicitur quod super virtutes vel earum opera simpliciter debet cadere consilium. Ideo videtur michi quod nemo, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelacionem, debet consulere homini esse fratrem; non quia ex hoc potest contingere malum, sicud occasione male accepta potest indirecte malum confingere ex virtute; nec solum ex hoc quod de ingressu in religionem privatam tanquam de neutris vel bonis de genere potest malum contingere propter defectum virtutis ex carencia bonificantis circumstancie: sed ex hoc quod introitus in religionem talem videtur esse malum de genere; non enim debet fidelis ad opera neutra consulere, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelacionem; ut aliter nemo consulit edificari domos, graduari in facultatibus vel prepollere in seculari dominio; ymmo nec aliter consulit ad opera bona de genere; ergo multo magis nemo aliter consuleret ad opera mala de genere, cuiusmodi videtur

"This answer", it is urged, "does not show whether we may or may not advise any one to become a Friar."

All advice onght to tend towards the practice of virtue; and thus, as to enter into religion is not simply good, nor good rather than evil, but evil rather than good, no one ought to advise such an act, unless by divine revelation.

3. in *pro* a A. 4. secundum *pro* iuxta C. 9. 9ti[t] A. 11. 9cili[o] C. 12. q'efci[t] A. 13, 14. conciliabilia C. 20. Sed 3° B. 22. consilialibus C. 23. frater *pro* super A; *ib.* virtutis AB. 27. 9ti'[r] A. 28. de *pro* ex C; *ib.* sed nec C. 29. revelacionem C. 32. si *pro* sed *omnes MSS.* 33. relio3 C. 36. edificare C; *ib.* facultatis C.

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A Friar loses much of a Christian's liberty, and is obliged to do much that Christ does not approve.

esse intrare religionem privatam; quia hoc repugnat multis libertatibus, in quibus Cristus voluit Cristianos vivere, et necessitat ad multa mala, que Cristus docuit fideles auffugere. Diabolus tamen sub colore boni commixti seducit incautos, ut patet ex fructu consilii hodierni. Nam nunc consulitur ad bella, ad lites et ad potencias seculares, nec sapit secularibus consilium domini ad virtutes; ad illas tamen debet tantum sapiens absolute consulere, et relinquere regimini proprii spiritus facere neutra vel bona de genere. Nam habitis virtutibus ut homines sint filii dei, credendum est ex fide apostoli quod comuniter ex spiritu dei quo ad talia erunt ducti.

None but the Holy Spirit had the right to tell the prophet to marry a harlot; we can only advise to do what we are certain to be good.

Sed hodie blasfematur induendo personam spiritus sancti, qui precepit prophete fornicariam accipere et ex ea | filios procreare, ut patet Osee; cum nemo debet 69*
nisi in sibi certis consulere. Et hec racio quare spiritus consilii deest ecclesie. Nemo debet sine speciali consilio dei in sibi neutris consulere, quia in hoc fatue extolleretur super deum. Deus enim non potest consulere vel mandare, nisi quod scit et ordinat prodesse ecclesie. Blasfemus autem talis frontose consulit quod nescit repugnare voluntati divine, utilitati ecclesie et profectui persone consulte: quod est indiscreta temeritas. Et patet per locum *a maiori* quod stultum foret, deficiente instinctu divino, per cautelas mendaces inducere hominem ut sit frater.

2. "Not only the state of a Friar is rather good than evil, but it is a state of virtue, to which all should be exhorted".

Secundo obicitur per hoc quod esse fratrem nedum D.
est bonum de genere, sed bonum virtutis ad quod movet deus: ergo salubre est ad illud bonum anime excitare. Pia igitur fraus foret proximum ad talem cristianismum inducere, ubi in ingressu foret plena peccatorum remissio, in progressu foret meriti maioracio, et in egressu foret, preter spirituale suffragium fraternitatis, plena absolucio. Blasfemum igitur foret in istis spiritui sancto resistere. Hic patet quod falsum assumitur. Nam si esse fratrem esset bonum virtutis, cum nemo potest abuti virtute, vel cum illa dampnari, sequitur quod repugnat legi dei quod aliquis frater peccet mortaliter vel dampnatur; consequens blasfemum. Ad cristianam

If so, no Friar could possibly be bad, since no man is bad in a state of virtue.

1. reputat A. 9. absolut'e A; *ib.* regnum C. 10. fateri AB. 11. *after* apostoli, *a blank space* AC. 12. fide *pro* spiritu A; *ib.* ꝑnt' A. 29. igitur C; *ib.* ex'citari = exercitari A. 30. fraus *deest* B. 30, 31. cristianissimum A. 33. preter *deest* A; preter spirituale officium vel suffragium C.

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itaque religionem debet homo consulere et hortari, cum illa sit infinitum perfeccior quam privata religio, ut hic supponitur ex dictis alibi. Cui religioni cristiane repugnat peccare mortaliter vel dampnari; dicente ewangelista
5 I. Joh. 3. *Omnis qui in deo manet, non peccat.* Et sequitur:
I. Joan. III. 6, 7 *omnis qui natus est ex deo peccatum non facit,* quoniam *semen ipsius in eo manet, et non potest peccare, quoniam ex deo natus est.* Nam repugnat vere cristianum peccare mortaliter, sicud repugnat predestinatum peccare in
10 spiritum sanctum. Et sic intelligit beatus Johannes simpliciter in sensu composito. Si autem hoc sit verum de fratribus, hoc est in quantum sunt cristiani de generacione seminis verbi dei, et non in quantum sunt fratres; nec sunt aliter nisi nominetenus et false in
15 religione vel ordine, sed "frater" est commune ad bonos et ad malos, cum secundum apostolum sit consummatum *periculum in falsis fratribus.* Et sic esse fratrem in sua comunitate, nec est per se bonum virtutis, nec bonum de genere; sed esse fratrem secundum adinvencionem
20 novam videtur esse superflua et periculosa adieccio. Multi tamen possunt ex speciali gracia, parvipendendo tradicionem onerosam retardantem ab ewangelicis consiliis, salvi fieri; sed non in quantum fratres, sed in quantum filii Cristi sic faciunt. Et illud periculum
25 tradicionis adiecte potest prodesse per accidens. Ideo inspiratus ad hoc debet *temptare spiritus, si ex deo sunt,* et, veritate inventa, facere ipsum fratrem; hoc tamen raro evenit, cum pro toto Cristi millenario non evenit; et per consequens per tantum temporis non fuit
30 bonum de genere, et illa antiqua bona de genere sufficerent pro viacione ecclesie. Non enim isti religiosiarche suscitant novum genus boni, licet fecerint novum bonum individuum. Et istud evidet ex hoc quod a tempore invencionis huius religionis private invaluit
35 proporcionaliter perturbacio in ecclesia militante. Non enim est secta ista per se magis bona de genere quam secta Machometi, vel alia, legem domini introducta.

This argument applies only to the pure religion of Christ, in which no man can sin; and if a Friar does not sin, it is because he belongs to *that* religion, and not as a Friar.

To be a friar is therefore a superfluous and dangerous thing; yet through a special grace of God, many of them can be saved.

If therefore the thought of entering religion comes to us, we must become Friars only after mature examination; which happens but very seldom.

Nec colorari potest fraus qua fratrifacti seducuntur per mendacia, per munuscula, per applausus sophisticos
40 cum principium religionis Cristi eius doceat strictitatem

There is no excuse for the devices employed to bring new

4, 5. 1 *deest* AC; 3 *deest* A. 16. *before* sit *an erasure* AC; *ib.* consumatum C. 19. secundum *deest* C. 28, 29. cum — evenit *deest* C. 40. strictitudinem BC.

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Friars into the order; Christ spoke with simple and stern truth to those who wished to follow Him: we ought not to beguile any one by flattery or gifts.

quo ad mundum. Sicut enim magister optimus docuit E.
suos discipulos totum mundum relinquere, et istud
frequenter in ewangelio inculcavit, ut patet Matth. 8 Matth.
et Lu. 14: Sicut enim dixit scribe quod *non habet ubi* VIII, 20
caput reclinet; sic dicit discipulis: *Omnis ex vobis qui* Luc.
non renuncciat omnibus que possidet non potest meus esse XIV,
discipulus. Sic igitur, iuxta doctrinam ewangelicam veritatis, 33
discipuli debent induci, non per adulaciones neque
mendacia, cum spiritus et verbum illud effugiunt, sed
per veritatis strictitatem verbi dei. 10

That on entering into religion, a Friar is purified from sin may be true, but any one else giving alms with feelings of equal renunciation of the world would be absolved just as well; and it is likely that the general intention on entering is rather quietly to enjoy the good things of life, than to suffer poverty with Christ: which wrong intention is sinful: so instead of sin being remitted, a fresh sin is committed by entering the order.

Et quantum ad illud de purgacione fratrifacti a
crimine, patet quod rite factus frater vel quicumque
religiosus ex contricione culpe qua prius mundo erat
deditus, a crimine priori absolvitur, sicud absolveretur,
cum paribus, faciendo quamcumque elemosinam, et 15
specialiter detestando quamcumque talem religionem
privatam, cum non propter eius eleccionem sed propter
piam dileccionem domini sit solutus. Unde probabiliter
creditur quod comunius, ingrediendo talem religionem
sophisticam, quis novo crimine innodatur, quam a prius 20
comisso absolvitur; cum comunius ex temporalium,
quibus inhiat incubacione, ex honoris humani affeccione,
et ex quieta temporalium fruicione, quam ex paupertate
penalis Cristi eleccione in tales ordines est ingressus.
Ideo invencio huius sacramenti dileccionis criminis 25
habet effectum suum comunius in fuga religionis huius,
quam in eius amplexu, cum eius sophisticacio yppocritica
ex introitu | comuniter vigoratur. Et patet quantum ad 69b
plenam remissionem criminis in ingressu, cum semper
vel ut plurimum contigit oppositum, quod non movet, 30
sed disuadet ut quis ingrediatur talem ordinem. Nam

4. scribe *deest* A; *ib.* nõ q̣ h3 A. 6. meo esse A. 10. virtutis A; *ib.* strictitudinem BC; *ib.* verbum C. 17. elccom AC. 22. mundani B. 24. nota qualiter communiter privata religio ingreditur *in marg.* B. 30. pliⁿ A; pluʳⁱⁿ C.

11. It is evident that Roman Catholics would never admit that *in principle* it is wrong to advise men to enter into religion; but the practical disadvantages of the course blamed by Wyclif became so apparent that not 200 years after, St. Ignatius Loyola gave as one of the first questions to be asked the candidate: *Whether he had acted upon the advice of any member of the Society?* and if so, though the advice was 'good and meritorious', his admission was to be deferred until some future period. I believe that many modern Congregations have adopted this rule.

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Cristus et apostoli non cognoverunt istas versucias, sed hoc in secta phariseica reprobavit, et tamen secta illa fuit antiquitate et personarum sanctitate solempnior, cum apostolus fuit, ut dicitur Act. 23, phariseus.

Act. XXIII, 6

Et eodem modo dicitur de maioritate meriti in progressu. Nam quicumque habuerit puriorem caritatem, quod comunius evenit in non illaqueatis ritibus, plus meretur. Nec docet Anzhelmus vel alius quod in quantum quis est de tali privato ordine plus accenditur in caritate; et aliter indubie est fratrifaccio impertinens maioritati meriti. Quod si allegatur singularis penitencia, dicitur quod ampliorem habet secta Machometi in pocione aque. Ideo libertas religionis Cristi est quod nec cibis nec potibus nec indumentorum cultibus astringitur. Et quod illi ex maiori caritate dant deo tam fructum quam arborem, sed seculares solum fructum, patet quod est incollorata fallacia. Nam si per *arborem* intelligatur "substancia hominis" vel "essencia voluntatis", et per *fructum*, "opera virtuosa", manifestum est quod quicumque dederit deo fructum talem dat arborem; cum dei sit omnis creata essencia vel natura. Ideo stultus foret qui non ex toto corde obligaret se totum deo. Unde vel Cristus et apostoli eius post missionem spiritus sancti non dederunt deo arborem cum fructu; vel contingit quod seculares dent deo claustralibus perfeccius tam fructum quam arborem. Apostoli enim, qui proficiendo processerunt, noluerunt habere abbatem aliquem preter Cristum, et post illos multi sancti martires obtulerunt se deo perfeccius sine ficcione huius infundabilis sacramenti. Ideo videtur multis infundabile sacramentum quod, ex eo ipso quo quis intrat religionem privatam est peccatorum suorum plena remissio.

The same may be said of life spent in the order; perfection depends on love of God, which is quenched by superfluous observances. As to penance, Mahometans drink only water.

F.

The say that they give to God the tree with the fruit, whilst seculars only give the fruit; which is false, for the will is the tree and good deeds the fruit; both must go together.

Et ad tantum cecantur simplices, quod habent habitus quorumdam fratrum, quos prope mortem induunt; quia

Some simple people have by them a Friar's habit, believing

1. vſuciaß A. 2. phariseca A; *ib.* cum *pro* tamen *omnes MSS.* 4. 20 AC. 5. miti A. 6. quecunque C. 9. intenditur A. 10. fratrifactio AB. 11. secularis A. 14, 15. aſtn'gnt² C. 21. creatura A. 23. post *deest* AB. 24. vel fructum C. 25. debet C. 30. Non *pro* ideo C.

34. *Mortem.* This practice is followed by members of the Third-Order, and (at least as *now* existing) seems rather to express a pious hope than the confident belief that Wyclif justly reproves. There are traditions in most Orders (perhaps in all) that any one dying amongst them will be saved; but the fact that the Church has never lent its authority to such traditions, probably tends to counteract feelings of presumption.

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that dying therein, they cannot be damned. This is blasphemy, as it implies that every Friar is safe. And as a man with the Holy Sacrament in his mouth may go to Hell, we must conclude that a Friar's habit can do more than Christ's Body! Also that this habit is worth more than all the treasures of the world; no wonder then that much money is paid for the privilege of wearing it.

instructi sunt quod inpossibile est in habitu tali mortuum vel superari a diabolo vel dampnari. Per tales autem blasfemias anticristus extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus; quia certum est quod talis habitus plus vel tantum valeret fratri sic habituato, sicut extraneo valeret eius unica induccio. Et sic omnes illi fratres forent super apostolos confirmati; quod est nimis blasfemum. Similiter reliquie talis habitus forent perfecciores quam sacramentum altaris, quod nos credimus corpus Cristi, quia stat hominem dampnari etsi habuerit in hora mortis sacramentum illud in faucibus, ut comunicantur greci. Sed non sic stat cum induicione sui habitus, ut fingunt; sed quid blasfemius? Similiter, iuxta istam blasfemiam, habitus talis foret infinitum valencior quam omnia bona temporalia sphere terre, sicud religio sua est infinitum melior quam religio secularis. Quid mirum igitur, si anticristus per talia iocalia accumulet thesauros absconditos? Sed quid foret detestabilius inter fideles quam tam blasfema ydolatria? Talis autem fingitur absolucio cum sacramentali suffragio confratrum in mortis articulo. Sed cum Cristus, apostoli et martires caruerunt tali adminiculo, ubi ponemus eos in celo? Ecclesia igitur debet cavere de talibus cerimoniis ydolatris; quia aliter in brevi extingwerent legem Cristi.

3. "The Friars supply the want of parish priests; salvation comes through them, and they thus have a right to alms." Quite true; but their multitude renders such alms a very heavy burden. They supply the want of parish priests; but if the pure religion of Christ has suffered diminution of fervour,

3° principaliter arguitur per hoc quod fratres in defectu curatorum predicant, ministrant sacramentalia et absolvunt; per ipsos igitur quos oportet sustentari G. de bonis ecclesie; necesse est ut veniat eis salus. In isto videtur multis surripere rapinam fratrum sicut aliorum tortorum ecclesie cuius radix est eorum multitudo onerosa et ministrorum applicacio sumptuosa. Conceditur tamen quod, occasione ignorancie prelatorum et declinacionis sui ad seculum, necesse fuit fratres subintroduci, ut sint peioribus supplementum. Et necesse est ut de illis, sicud de prioribus, fiat declinacio a lege domini. Si enim in pura religione Cristi fiat seduccio, quanto magis in ritibus adinventis! Confirmatur ex hoc quod ordinacio tam pia, legi Cristi tam

3. tollitur A. 9. t℞ altaris A. 15. corporalio B; *ib.* spere AB. 17. sibi B. 26. sacra C. 27. vel C. 30. est *deest* AB. 31. instrumentorum AC. 32. igitur AC. 33. sue C. 35. est *deest* AB. 38. X'ta *pro* tam *before* pia A.

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consona, excedit ordinaciones alias seculares laudabiles. Nec est color negare ordinaciones hominum. Et idem deducitur ex hoc quod deus wult tales religiones esse, sed ex eorum onerosa multitudine sequitur inconveniens ecclesie: Cristus enim non habuit nisi 12 apostolos ad illuminandum universalem ecclesiam; et unus prior minus sufficiens habet 100! Ideo necesse est ex monstruositate talis multitudinis errorem procedere. Nam constituit sibi legem religionis (tanquam indignans Cristum quem refugit) alius legislator, et legem quam invenit legi Cristi preponderat. Et ubi Cristus ad regendam totam ecclesiam fuit contentus 12cim, Anticristus undiquaque extollitur.

theirs has also suffered the same and much sooner.

Christ had 12 Apostles, and a single Prior has 100 Friars under his rule

Et certum est quod eius multiplex onerosa multitudo nocet reipublice atque ecclesie. Sicut enim per cecam dotacionem cleri dominiis extractis a secularibus, qui soli debent sic regere, multa loca prius habitabilia sunt deserta, sic per subtraccionem multorum fratrum a parentibus atque republica undique perturbatur ecclesia. Si igitur in lege veteri furans aut spolians 70a bovem vel hominem, invito | domino, debuit puniri, ut Ex. patet Exo. 21 et 22o capitulis, quare non in lege gracie XXII, sic spolians hominem a republica debet puniri secundum 1 leges seculi? Si dicas quod proselitus convertitur ad dominum secundum legem evangelii; doce quod fingitur; et quo ad aliud, legem pone. Certum quidem est quod nec docetis istam conversionem ad dominum, nec docetis ex lege ewangelii hoc esse licitum; nisi forte Matth. ex dicto Cristi Matth. 23; *Ve vobis, qui circuitis mare* XXIII, *et aridam, ut faciatis unum proselitum!*

This is hurtful to the commonwealth and the Church; multitudes are taken from their parents and the service of the State; which is as criminal as to steal an ox or a slave.

"They are converts according to the Gospel"; this may be said, but not proved. Neither converts, nor according to the Gospel.

15 Nec est racio quare validus mendicus constringi et puniri debeat secundum leges hominum, quin a pari frater validus, inordinate mendicans, debeat eciam frenari, cum secundum apostolum Thess. 2o et Act. 20, labor corporalis eis conveniat. Confirmatur ex hoc quod nulla obediencia cristiani est valida, nisi de quanto sonat in maioritatem obediencie domino Jesu Cristo; sed nullus fratrifactor scit quod filius extractus a tutela parentis magis cum fratre Cristo obediet, quam cum patre; igitur videtur illegitima et temptativa presumpcio.

Why should not an able-bodied Friar be punished like a sturdy beggar? they should work with their hands. The obedience they pay to their prior is so much taken from

4. ingnß A; in'genß C. 16. a *deest* B. 19. undiquaque C.
29. 21 B. 37. sonuerit C. 40. allegittia C.

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that which is due to their parents: and only better if Christ is better obeyed in the first case.

The friar-maker often takes an heir from his legal guardians before he is of age, which contradicts the Apostle's teaching, who forbade a converted slave to leave his heathen master; yet this involved much more danger to faith.

Item de lege dei *heres sub tutoribus et actoribus* H.
est usque ad prefinitum tempus a patre, ut patet Gall. 4° Gal.
Sed illud tempus fratrifactor sepe dirumpit. Ideo IV, 2
videtur, quod sic est contrarius legi dei. Nec valet
blasphemia quod adquirit, ut sic, novello ordini servum 5
deo, quia eleccio Cristi hoc non sufficit in Scarioth.
Item, religio Cristi fuit racioni sic consona ut servum
conversum non extraheret a domino infideli, ut patet
Thess. 6°. Igitur multo magis religio Cristi legi consona 1 Tim.
non extraheret filium a parente fideli; nam parens IV, 1
habet maius ius ad filium, et ipse minus distraheretur
a religione Cristi quam servus fidelis cum domino infideli.
Sed hec novella religio extollitur super Cristum. Ipsa enim
dedignatur plus quam Beghardi tractari in causa civili
coram iudice seculari. Sed Cristus et apostolus hoc tulerunt. 15

Some say that all sects but Christ's are thieves and robbers.

If any man has the right to punish him that steals cattle or a slave, how much more him that robs him of a son?

Unde quidam dicunt quod omnes secte, quotquot
venerunt alie a religione cristiana, sunt fures et latrones,
quia *non intrant per ostium* ut dicitur Jo. 10. Et sic Joan.
videtur quod non dicetur racio quare secundum leges X, 1
humanas a servo, iumento vel quocunque usibili puniri 20
debeat, et ad restitucionem astringi, quin per idem
sic debet esse de fratribus, qui pueros sub custodia
atque proteccione parentum defraudant ab ipsis atque
republica; ad satisfaccionem congruam debent cogi.
Nam verius, tenerius et naturalius habet quis filium 25
quam temporalia vel iumentum. Nec assecuratur res-
publica quod talis, ut sic obligatus, melioratur et plus
affidatur ad dominum, quam remanens secundum puram
religionem Cristi, factus sacerdos vel colens seculum.
Ymmo videtur quod talis apostota in hoc quod sic 30
fratrifacit puerum, sit blasphemus; quia spondet quod
divino consilio est proprium, et quod est sibi absconditum.
Sed sicut blasfeme fingit filum, lanam vel
instrumenta, quibus habitus suus contexitur, converti in
reliquias preciosiores quam tunica Cristi inconsutibilis, 35
et sic de tanto mundum perfici; sic fingit de filiis
hominum quos furatur. Unde quidam legifer dicit quod

No security is given that the young Friar will be a better man than he would have been as a secular priest or a layman.

It is by a mere blasphemous fiction that he is supposed to be better; as a Friar's gown is made more of than the robe of Christ.

A legislator says that for a

4. illa B. 5. sic obligatum C. 7. sic *deest* A. 9. 1 Thim. 6 C; *ib.* legi Christi A. 14. begardi BC. 15. scl' A. 16 omnis A. 18. qui B; *ib.* hostium AC. 19. docetur B; *ib.* quare *deest* B. 20. invento *pro* iumento C. 21. nestringi A. 31. quod *pro* quia A. 33. filium *pro* filum *omnes MSS.* 34. inftra A. 35. inconsutilis BC. 37. quod *pro* quos AC.

14. *Beghardi.* See Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus* (Leipzig 1790).

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iustum est privatum sic filio astringere unum fratrem illius secte suo usui, quousque habeat filium suum restitutum. Secta enim talis non debet bona sua in foro contencioso repetere, sed pati iniurias bonorum suorum cum gaudio
5 atque penas iniuste illatas; igitur multo magis non debet post fraudem comissam persequentes suos impetere.

son thus taken away, a father has the right to force a Friar into his own service until his son is given back to him.

I. Et quantum ad temporales elemosinas quilibet de populo a quo tam fraudulenter subtrahunt non solum temporalia, ymmo proles, timeret dare sectis talibus
10 in quantum huiusmodi elemosinas corporales, cum a sociis furum debet fomentum subtrahi. Et quantum ad excessum consumpcionis sumptuose bonorum pauperum, notandum primo, quod non refert sive persona simplex sive agregata ut secta consumpserit bona ecclesie,
15 nisi quod persona secte est in furto forcior, in fraude circumvencior, et in pertinacia perseverancior. Si, inquam, attendimus ad quantitatem temporalium, que fratres callide suggunt de populo regni nostri, tunc, ut experti calculant, nec dux nec rex suggit tantum annuatim de
20 regno, quam suggit illa monstruosa persona sectarum. Et si modum vel causam spoliacionis attendimus, dominis temporalibus ex lege ewangelii didragma et alia onera redditus temporalis sunt debita. Sed ista stipendia seductoria sunt per mendacia et comenta
25 blasfemie subtiliter introducta. Et dico subtiliter, quia communitas fratrum in Anglia colligit annuatim per minucias multa milia talentorum, cum quibus regnum et eius pauperes plebei potuerunt relevari. Quod ex hoc convincunt experti seculi, quod vix invenies unam
30 villam in Anglia, quin ex collectis fratrum symoniacis
70b post sermonem ex fraternitatis redditibus et ex pri | vatis spoliacionibus communitas fratrum excedit quo ad pecuniam ville dominum vel rectorem. Non enim construunt hec magna edificia, nec preter sumptus publicos

As for alms, none should give any to the abettors of robbers.

The quantity of money they take is excessive, and it matters little whether a single person or a society combine thus to defraud the Church; except that the latter is more powerful.

They take more than any lord, more than the king himself.

To the former we owe taxes; but to these seducers, nothing.

Yet a single community every year collects many thousand talents.

It is calculated that no village gives so much to its lord or parish priest as to the Friars' collections and confraternities &c.

If they build such edifices

2. suum proprium BC. 4. repolere A. 9. temporali A. 11. subtrahere A. 12. processum B. 18. fingunt A. 22. dedragma C. 26, 27. p pinciaß p minciaß A. 28. plebi A. 33. dominium AC.

27. *Talentorum* is not a very definite expression, but Wyclif defines it in other places. See English Works of W. III, 400. "Friars spenden commonly and needlessly sixty thousand mark by year .... And now ... is the people charged by sixty thousand mark by year ... Friars ... waste vainly and needless sixty thousand mark by year of the poor commons of the land." See also Buddensieg, Polem. Works. p. 192; Trialogus, p. 359, and Sermones, II, p. 49. 60,000 marks came to £ 40,000.

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and give such splendid banquets, the money drained out of the nation is provided by alchemy or a miracle.

preparant sumptuosa et privata convivia, cum aliis expensarum excessibus, vel cum arte alkymica vel cum peccunia Angelorum manibus ministrata; sed subdefalcant de regno per cateractas absconditas. Et sic, cum regnum sit tantum finitum suggibile de thezauro, patet quod necesse est populum regi suo et dominis suis deficere in tributis, et eo celerius quo a comunibus suis secularibus eciam egenis presbiteris censum exigit, sicud in casu requiritur: et cum a fratribus, quantumcunque divitibus, nichil capit; et tamen ubi presbiter secularis habet unicum annuale stipendium de regno (forsitan sex marcis), frater habet de eodem regno multa abscondite! Et non dubium quin symoniace, ad destruccionem toxicam contrate quam palliant.

And so there must be a falling off in paying taxes to the king; the more so, because Friars, however rich, have nothing to pay.

They are practically independent of the king; which would be seen, if he attempted to evy taxes upon them.

Et sicut episcopi quidam blasfeme blaterant quod K. non debent subdi mundi principibus isti practisant abscondite in effectu; non enim senciunt se subditos regibus nec ulli conviancium, nisi forsitan anticristo. Cuius experimentalis probacio foret, si rex de illis, ut de aliis legiis suis, censum pro necessitate regni sui exigeret. Notaret qua paciencia, quibus capitaneis, et quo seculari vinculo a fratribus regni subsidium levaretur.

They exhaust the resources of the kingdom, not by open robbery but worse still, by a continual though imperceptible taking of small sums; like a hectic fever which works slowly but is incurable.

Taliter autem cecantur regna cautela diaboli scopantis interpolate de regnis minucias insensibiles, per quas subdole enervantur. Nec differt hoc a spoliacione patula, nisi quod est magis dampnabilis; quia yppocritica et peccato diaboli spirituali similior: et sic magis radicitus punitura. Nam febris ethica est periculosior effimera, et tamen per illam naturale humidum insensibiliter, sed insanabiliter, est extinctum. Nam pena talis diutina quodammodo superat repentinam.

Any Friar whom this exposure displeases confesses his own wickedness; as Iscariot, conscious of his crime, was

Nec alicui bono fratri, sed falso displiceret deteccio istius sentencie, cum non verius posset reatum suum vel opere vel consensu detegere, quam contra versucie huius sanativum scrutinium murmurare. Unde indicium est profundius inveterate malicie, quod fratres plus aliis contra rimas sui sceleris recalcitrando remurmurent. Et hinc Scarioth post reprobacionem pronosticam tradicionis

1. conviva B. 3. subdesulcant A. 5. ficte A; finite C. 7. sterilius A; scelerius C. 8. et *pro* eciam B. 10. cum AB; tum C. 14. palliant *twice* A. 15. quidem B; *ib.* blacte'ant A. 17. censent C. 20. legiis A. 21. Notare B; Notaretur C; *ib.* contra *pro* qua A; *ib.* pcīa B. 23. enim B. 24. interpellate A; *ib.* immicicias A. 25. deberet A. 28. ethica *deest* A. 33. huius C. 35. strictivum B. 37. ruinas C. 38. pnosticam A; prenosticam C.

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Cristi, dicitur primo omnium apostolorum respondisse. *Numquid ego sum, rabi?* Matth. 26., quia peccatum in effectu gravissimum facit peccatorem conscium sibi ipsi. Ideo necesse est ut omnis creatura se ipsam iudicet; sed et quod peccatum ebuliat et dicat sui ipsius gravedinem. Unde in istis non obligo me ad monstrandum gravedinem narrati criminis, sed relinquens iudicium eius politicis, scio quod est necessarium demonstrabile, quod fratres potuerunt sic peccare, et sentencia *de inesse* opinabilis ex effectu. Recolerent autem fratres quomodo ex paupertate sua primeva placuerunt domino, et quomodo sunt hodie monstruose ditati in seculo; non solum unica simplex persona in opere, sed persona multiplex in consensu, cum vix unum ex eis conventualem invenies quin ex monstruositate et comuni peccato tocius persone agregate aliquo generum consensuum sit fedatus; quia psalm. 14° scribitur: *Cum perverso perverteris.* Quid enim refert personam simplicem vel globatam irreligiose construere basilicas vel habitacula, nisi quod peccatum persone agregate est gravius et reipublice nocivius? Nam tale edificium monstruosum est sumptuosius; sicut enim sanctitas comitive edificat, sic comitive perversitas viciat et retardat; hoc autem in presenciarum fit crebrius. Quod videtur sanctos apostolos attendere, qui cognoscentes Scarioth sub magistro optimo tam sanctam comitivam dispergere, post parvam latenciam conflictus, tanquam nubes et aquille sunt dispersi. Non refertur igitur quod multi fratres construunt unum opus culpabile, nisi quod ipsum sit ex pluri et maiori et ex plus defensato crimine reipublice plus nocivo.

Matth. XXVI, 25.

Ps. XVII, 29

L.

the first to ask Christ if he was guilty.

The gravity of the crime is here irrelevant; its possibility is certain; its existence is inferred from facts.

At the beginning, the Friars were acceptable to God by their poverty; now their convents are monsters of iniquity, each man by consent being responsible for all. And this solidarity, instead of making the harm done to the commonwealth less, makes it greater. There is danger in living together.

Et sic nedum in temporalibus et per consequens in populo per tales pseudo[fratres] latenter regnum destruitur, sed in magnatibus eciam usque ad regem surrepit hec fraus subdola anticristi. Quomodo, queso, posset plebs dare censum magnatibus vel prolem producere, quando a tot temporalibus per pseudofratres tam subdole spoliatur? Aut quomodo multiplicabuntur legii regis in temporalibus vel spiritualibus, quando tot

And the results of the wrong done fall not only upon the people but even on the king and the nobles. The people cannot pay the nobles their dues, nor can liegemen be found;

5. et *before* quod *deest* B. 7. demonstrandum BC. 10. sua *pro* sentencia *omnes MSS.* 17. consensuum *deest* A. 21. gufg A. 23. infidelitas B. 27. parvam *in marg.* C. 30, 31. ex — publice *deest* C. 31. plug A. 32. in *after* consequens *in marg. corr.* A. 33. fratres *deest omnes MSS.* 38. spoliantur BC.

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the Friars neither fight nor labour, nor teach; they only weaken the State.

Multitudes could be fed with what they devour, and they would make in themselves a large army of servants of the king.

The Friars cause the barrenness of the land, and all intrigues and treasons between one kingdom, and another.

If one part of the nation lives at ease, burdening the rest, the nation must be weak.

Living in different countries and speaking several languages, they have interest to betray; and some of them are said to do so, traitors both to their brethren and to the great men whose confessions they hear.

Their deeds show that they are not perfect followers of Christ, but the contrary.

As for obedience, they may

pseudofratres a populo subtrahuntur? Nam neque pugnant ut milites, neque laborant redendo censum, ut incole, neque instruunt ad regis obedienciam, ut curati; sed in omnibus istis subdole partes istas debilitant politie. Notet itaque prudens politicus, quantum populum sustentaret rapina que ab istis pseudo[fratribus] consumitur; quantum exercitum constitueret comitiva mendicans valida, que in claustro includitur, et quantam gentem legiam et fidelem regis faceret plebs extraordinaria que illegaliter evagatur.

Ista igitur creditur causa quare sunt | tot loca 75a
regnorum sterilia, quare ipsa sunt per populum ita paucum legitimum habitata, et quare sunt tot contenciones et machinaciones proditorie inter regna; cum, ista causa non posita, contingerent opposita. Nec dubium quin omnino ista evenire poterunt ex pseudofratrum malicia. Si enim minima pars regni fuerit per fraudulentam yppokrisim ad onus reipublice ociata, quomodo non foret legitimus populus rarus, et loca sterilia? Posset eciam esse quod fratrum copia per regna infecta dispersa mendaciter machinetur mendacia ad placendum utrique populo, et sic seminent iurgia atque bella. Sic enim audivi unam partem fratrum offere se ad probandum prodicionem in aliam. Nam libere possunt bilingues intrare regna contraria; et possunt, ob favorem contrate quam incolunt, detegere proditorie sua consilia. Possibile quidem est quod produnt tam corporaliter quam spiritualiter, et fratres proprios et magnates confessione eis iniunctos. Ideo videtur racionaliter tractatus et comunicacio cum hostibus preclu- M.
dendus. Nemo enim foveret familiarem diabolo.

Et facta fratrum ostendunt quod non sunt in hoc inpeccabiles cum bonis angelis confirmati, nec 2m Cristum, qui est boni consilii angelus, ad pacis consilium et ad paciendum iniurias inclinati; quia Pro- Prov.
verb. 6o de apostatis his dicitur: *pravo corde machinatur malum et in omni tempore iurgia seminat.* Nam nec VI, 12—14

6. fratribus *deest omnes MSS.* 9. regnis BC. 11. inquam BC; *ib.* to = tota C. 12. per *deest* A. 13. lctimū A; lctim C. 14. intra AC. 15. contigerunt B. 16. omnia BC. 23. audiri A. 24. Nec B. 29, 30. racionabiliter C. 30, 31. precludendo B. 37. et in *deest* A.

35. *Boni consilii Angelus.* This name of Christ is taken from an Antiphon of the Nativity; it is also in the Litany of the Holy Name. See Poole's *De Civili Dominio*, I.

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confirmacio nec religio ipsos astringit, quin possent, sicud Scarioth, prodere minus bonum. Et quantum ad racionem obediendi dominis secularibus, patet quod subdole subtrahunt ab eis omne civile servicium; quia quantumcunque creverint in redditibus, eciam ultra seculares dominos, vendicant libertatem a seculari servicio, nec faciunt regi omagium in se vel in suis prelatis. Ideo, licet occidant quotquot de fratribus mixtim de aliis, vendicant quod regis non interest eos punire; dum tamen non reputentur aput ipsos apostate. Nec habet rex, ut inquiunt, legem aliquam secundum quam sic puniret ordines sic mendicantes. Et sic conceditur quod de quanto fratres in regno Cristi proficiunt sunt laudandi, et de quanto sunt profectui ecclesie contrarii, sunt culpandi; et necesse est ut per fratres mittentes scandala veniat ecclesie Cristi salus. Et cum *omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient*, patet quod necesse est ipsos exinde puniri.

become richer than lords, and yet they will never submit to any temporal obligation. It a Friar is not what they call an apostate, they say that the king has no power to punish him.

So far as they follow or do not follow Christ's law they are to be praised or blamed.

Et patet ad confirmacionem de ordinacione, quod non sit pia, sed deordinacio impia; pius enim contentaretur de Cristi regula. Et sic mensura virtuosa contempnitur, et per consequens in deum patrem, cui mensura est propria, blasfematur; nec dubium quin blasfemant in filium, cum innuunt regulam Cristi religionis esse nimium defectivam, cum maiorem numerum regularum et ordinum posuisset. Blasfemant eciam in spiritum sanctum, cum prius et diucius ecclesiam, et regimini talium ordinum ponderasset. Quantum ad ordinaciones hominum, patet quod omne opus humanum laudabile fuit a deo eternaliter ordinatum. Ideo pium foret concedere ordinacionem deo competere, et quod homo sit ordinacionis divine humilis executor. Ampliando autem sic ordinacionem, ut mundus hodie loquitur, probabile videtur quod religiosarcha ex ceca pietate et temera est seductus, et sic necesse fuit istos errores, in tempore quod deus disposuit, terminasse. Sic enim deus ordinat de omni peccato penam quam approbat, et totum peccatum per accidens proficere mundo et sue ecclesie; et ita, sicut deus wult omne peccatum

Their rule is not pious, but the contrary, blaspheming the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Good laws made by men are fore-ordained by God from all eternity; but the first founders of these sects have laid down rules out of mistaken piety; which rules must in their application come to an end. Yet these orders may, like every evil, be profitable to the Church by their punishment.

3. obediendum AB. 5. subtrahnt C. 9. et mixtim C; *ib.* inde ipsos *pro* eos B. 12. sic *before* mendicantes *deest* B. 15. quod B. 20. sed *in marg.* C. 21—23. mensura — mensura *deest* AB. 25. nivm (*sic*) A. 27. cum *deest* A; *ib.* et *after* ecclesiam *deest* BC. 33. sic *deest* B. 34. religiosi archa A.

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It is temerity in man to make any perpetual statutes; more particularly so in these cases.

secundum *esse* suum secundum, prodessens ecclesie, ita wult errores istarum religionum puniri, et destruentes ipsas propterea premiari. Et licet in humana ordinacione de perpetuitatis heredibus et aliis mundanis statuicionibus sit magna temeritas, maior tamen et attingens blasfemiam est in privatorum ordinum statuicionibus, licet yppocrite videantur pretendere sanctitatem.

3. premiare *omnes MSS.* 5—7. sit — statuicionibus *deest* C.

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CAPITULUM QUINTUMDECIMUM.

A. Et hic obicitur contra dictas instancias.

Videtur enim quod fratres secuntur Cristum summe, et per consequens tamquam maxime necessarii ad vivificandum et gignendum plebem in domino, maxime sicud Cristus et apostoli prosunt ecclesie. Sicud igitur illi ab exaccione seculari fuerunt liberi, sic fratres successores eorum quo ad sensum et laboricium debent esse. Sic enim honorati sunt sacerdotes in utraque lege, eciam aput paganos; magis igitur aput eos qui diligunt dominum Jesum Cristum. Ipsi igitur tanquam magis obediencie filii plus exaltant romanam curiam. Expediens igitur foret quod totus mundus viancium foret similis secte sue.

The case for the Friars stated: they follow Christ closely, are thus most useful to the Church, and therefore deserve to be free from taxes and honoured by Christians, especially as they exalt the Roman Curia.

Hic dicitur primo, quod frater est nomen honoris significans spiritualem gignicionem Cristi atque ecclesie, et sic innuit maiorem propinquitatem honoris quam inter fratres carnales; quod effectus debet ostendere, ut animam suam ponat pro proximis. Unde sicut in tempore apostoli divisi sunt fratres ad sensus equivocos, 71[b] multiplicatis falsis | fratribus, ut dicit apostolus, sic est modo. Ad *esse* igitur veri fratris, quantum ad propositum nostrum, requiritur primo quod vivat exproprietarie, ut vixerunt apostoli. Sic enim vere nominati sunt fratres Jeronimus et alii religiosi, ut patet in scriptis eorum. Et in hoc mendicantes excedunt religiosos possessionatos, cum in hoc secuntur Cristum similius; cum Luce IX dicit ipse: *Omnis ex vobis qui non renuncciat omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus;* quem gradum renuncciacionis optime docuit Cristus in facto cum suis apostolis.

Answer. 'Friar' signifying spiritual brotherhood, is a name of honour, provided it is true.

The first requisite of this true brotherhood is to live in poverty; and herein Friars are preferable to monks.

1. Ca[m] 15 *in red ink.* 2. Et *in red ink* A; Sed *pro* et B. 6. S[d] A; *ib.* enim B. 12. magis *deest* C. 17. honoris *deest* B. 24. vixerant A. 28. 14 BC.

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But, as robbers may also be poor, this is not enough. They must besides keep themselves unspotted from the world; if not; they are not of the brotherhood of Christ.

Hoc autem non sufficit ad *esse* veri fratris, cum brigandi, pirate, et summi discoli vivunt exproprietarie cum ipso diabolo. Ideo oportet, iuxta beatum Jacobum, quod frater religionis munde *custodiat se inmaculatum ab hoc seculo*. Sic enim exponit beatus Jeronimus illud Matth. 19 *Vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis me* "Primum", inquit, "fecit Socrates philosophus". Ideo perfectum adiungitur quasi forma, *et secuti estis me*. Ista igitur forma requiritur ad *fieri* veri fratres, et per consequens oportet quod non apostotet, *terens pede* (ut expositum est 2° ca° De apostasia): cuius enim pes sic oblique inficitur, quantumcunque egenus fuerit, ab ordine Cristi excidit. Unde nos, calcando terram, quantumcunque mundi fuerimus a mortali, egemus locione pedum cottidie, ut dicitur Jo. 13. Et in signum detestacionis temporalium fratres minores nec ferunt peccunias neque tangunt. Scarioth enim in portentum portavit loculos. Quod si ipsi fratres in hoc sentenciant elongacionem affectus a temporalibus, certum est quod illa est observancia laude digna. Sed si signo tali obligatorio assit inordinata affeccio circa peccunias per quam paupertas primeva minuitur, quis dubitat quin hoc sit dampnabile, et gravans signum ypocrite? et tunc sunt a Cristi vestigiis maxime elongati. Debent autem fratres ex institucione 2ª tanquam apostoli sequi Cristum propinquius. Sed ex institucione primeva Cristi hoc competere debet episcopis, et pape specialiter. Sed quia illud blaspheme contrariatum est ex humana stulticia, qua diabolice statutum est quod episcopi seculariter sint potentes, suscitavit deus paulative religiones privatas secundum totum in eis laudabile, ut suscitent semen Cristo. Sed diabolus nimirum repente decepit has sectas singulariter et specialiter in hoc quod, *querentes que sua sunt*, postponunt bonum comune prestancius domini Jesu Cristi. Nec refert sive inordinate afficiantur persone simplici sive collecte, nisi quod 2ᵐ est nequius.

Jac. I, 27 — Matth. XIX, 29 — Jo. XIII, 10 — B.

As a sign of hatred of worldly things, they will not even touch money.

This is well; but what if they love that money? they are then hypocrites.

According to their institution, they should resemble the Apostles; Christ however intended His Bishops to do this.

But they have fallen away, and prefer their sect (though not their persons) to the general good of the Church.

2 Cor. XIII, 3

1. ad esse *deest* C; *ib.* cum C. 5. beatus *deest* AC; *ib.* Jacobus A. 7. Socrathes C. 12. obliget A. 13, 14. quantecunque A. 15. continue C. 18. vere sumant C. 22. hoc *deest* A. 23. anticristi C. 24. elogati A. 29. ft' A. 34. ecclesie B. 35. sive *deest* B. 36. ꝑplicissꝑe A.

5. Jer. Comment in Matth. XIX (edit. Basle, 1537, t. IX, p. 58).
11. De Apostasia, c. III, p. 31.

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Conceditur igitur quod fratres forent ex supposicione plus necessarii, si supplent defectus in episcopis ordinatis a Cristo. Sed si sunt in eadem dampnacione profundius, quis est in ecclesia magis superfluus a fidelibus destru-
5 endus? Sufficit enim ecclesie, ymmo superfluit, partis secte sue primeve insania, licet non nequior, sed ad
1 Reg. XXII, 13—15 maius onus ecclesie introducta, ut 1. Reg. 12 dicitur de David, qui Philisteis finxerat se insanum; quanto magis, in facto se iudicans insane membrum diaboli
10 est a cristicolis reprobandus? Unde quidam prenosticant quod sicut in humano corpore membrum ultimo veniens ex peregrino glutino recedit citissime, sic oportet esse de caducis partibus adiectis ecclesie. Primo enim, ut cor, formata sunt membra ecclesie coniuncta Cristo 2m
15 religionem simplicem cristianam; posterius adiecta sunt membra monstrua paulative, que adherent 2m tradiciones hominum adinventas. Et illas sectas oportet secundum hoc putridum ordinate dissolvi.

Friars are indeed necessary to the Church, if they are what they ought to be; if merely superfluous, and much more if worse than the Bishops, they should be destroyed.

As the member that is last added to the human body is the first to go, so it will be with the Friars.

Sed consolacio est fratribus et cunctis fidelibus,
20 quod sicut omne membrum hominis spermaticum resuscitabitur, sic in quacunque secta homo fuerit resurget ad gloriam, si finaliter servaverit religionem simplicem cristianam. Quamvis enim contigit transire de secta in sectam, tamen necesse est omnem prede-
25 stinatum vivere finaliter secundum religionem simplicem cristianam. Tradiciones autem adiectas oportet dimittere, et proporcionaliter ut predestinatus maiorem caritatem servaverit, sive fuerit sutor sive episcopus, erit maior in regno celorum. Prescitus autem usurpans perfecciorem
30 statum, ex eius maiori abusu gravius dampnabitur.
C. Nec dubium quin contigit in quocunque statu maiorem humilitatem servare quam facit ista privata religio; cuius indicium est quod nullus paciendo oprobria more luciferi magis recalcitrat.

But as every member that really belongs to that body will rise again, so all good, Friars must be comforted by the hope of eternal glory, as they have followed Christ, and set aside vain traditions.

In any state men can be more humble than in theirs; they are excessively averse to humiliation.

5. ecclesie Cristi C. 6. se sue A; *ib.* primeva A; *ib.* sit BC. 7. ut patet C; *ib.* 21 BC. 10. prenosticat C. 11. ultimum C. 12. glutinio C. 16. menstrua B. 26. eciam B. 27. pdestinat9 = per destinatus A. 31. in *deest* C.

10. The umbilical cord, perhaps; or the teeth and hair. In the third part of *Logica*, now publishing, Wyclif shows much knowledge of anatomy and physiology, as taught in his time. His description of the human eye is striking.

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Three defects in their order; 1. they live together without reason; 2. their community possesses more property than a secular person. 3. They are over-burdened with traditions and observances that accumulate incessantly. It were better if they were dissolved.

Patet ergo quod fratres sophisticando a religione Cristi exorbitant. Primo, in hoc quod persona secte sue est superflue et infundabiliter conglobata; 2° in hoc quod illa persona vivit seculariter in proprio sceleracius persona simplice; ut patet de edificiis et aliis temporalibus adiacentibus ultra exemplar comune Cristi cum suis apostolis. Et 3° in isto potissime quod accumulant continue tradiciones, ut anticristus, per quarum preponderanciam | a lege et operibus Cristi 72a subtrahitur. Ideo indubie melius foret quod omnes iste secte cessarent et viverent generaliter et simpliciter secundum legem quam Cristus instituit; quia per hoc cresceret cristiana religio, tota secta faciente meritorie quod Cristus precipit, ubi iam opponitur, minuitur et laxatur. Nec hoc inconveniens evadi poterit, stantibus istis sectis.

Let them follow Christ, and no longer complain that their freedom is encroached upon. They cannot serve two masters; it is they that have lost their liberty by leaving the service of Christ.

Teneant igitur secte viam Cristi, sicud fecerunt cristiani in primitiva ecclesia, et tunc est illis collor expetere pristinam libertatem. Sed more cati petunt repugnanciam, volentes simul servire deo et seculo, quod est contra diffinicionem Cristi, Matth. 6°. *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire.* Cum igitur quelibet talis secta deteriorando progreditur, dicatur ei de ablacione libertatis pristine conquerenti, quod ipsamet stulte et infideliter illibertavit se ipsam, ingrate deserendo sectam Cristi et obligando se diabolo atque mundo. Ideo fidelis temporalis dominus conculcaret huiusmodi ingratos filios; et dicere posset ex caritate quod adhuc, si humiliter redire velint ad religionem primevam, comunicabit cum illis liberius quam seculares comunicarunt cum digniori ecclesia primitiva. Sed, ut cati diaboli, exigunt contradictoria, ut wulgariter dicitur:

Matth. VI, 24

It is quite right that temporal lords should oppress them, with the proviso of better treatment, should they return to their first religious state.

Catus wult piscem, sed non wult tangere flumen;

But they want two contrary things: freedom and temporal advantages.

sic isti volunt quod dentur eis temporalia ultra patres suos primevos, non obstante quod sunt indigni, et collacio dampnificet ambas partes. Et pro parte sua non allegant vitam Cristi sive consilium, sed insanem stulticiam dotancium dominorum.

They are so changed from what the order

Ad tantum quidem secte predicte sunt ducatu diaboli lapse ad seculum, quod patriarche eorum possent

1, 2. Patet — Primo *deest* A. 8. accumulat A. 11. viveretur BC. 14. oporiatur BC. 23. oblacione C. 26. mundo *deest* A. 29. reddire C; *ib.* velit A; volunt C. 31. eccia A. 32. wt A; wlt C. 38. duorum dominorum B.

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Matth. XXV, 12 dicere illud Matth. 25°. *Amen dico vobis, nescio vos.* Sed ad tantum sophisticantur in alienas adulteras, quod patriarche iam superstites possent dicere cum 1 Cor. I, 14 apostolo 1 Corinth. 1°: *Gracias ago deo, quod neminem vestrum baptisavi preter Crispum et Gayum.* Pauci enim (ut Crispus, qui interpretatur *sciens,* et Gayus, qui interpretatur *commotus*), custodiunt legem datam in principio sectarum: ita quod Cristus illis potest dicere D. Jo. VII, 17 illud Joh. 7°. *Nonne* Cristus *dedit vobis legem et nemo ex vobis custodit legem?* Ad tantum enim sophisticatur ex secularium fratrum stulticia et propria, quod seculares Gen. XXXVII, 32 possunt dicere Cristo illud Genes. 37° *Vide si tunica filii tui sit an non,* cum ad tantum quidem variantur habitus interioris hominis et dissimilatur ritus vivendi a vita Cristi cum suis militibus, quod Cristus vere cognoscit quod habens nomen filii, relicta figura corporalis habitus, sit *a bestia devoratus.* Quid ergo si Cristus veniat in humanitate ad domicilia possessionatorum aut fratrum, et inveniat utriusque domus proprias sumptuosas, utensilia secularia et thesaurum? Numquid credimus quod recognoscet istos eius filius, qui tantum blasfemant in eum, quod vivunt sibi simillime? Illa autem pars est dampnabilior, que pocius procurat vel consentit in talem blasfemiam. Recoleremus, inquam, quod mendaciter scandalisare fratrem nostrum foret peccatum dampnabile; quanto magis blasfemare sophistice in dominum Jesum Cristum! In istam igitur blasfemiam oportet nos et fratres incidere, quamdiu sumus sic confederati cum mundo, vel consencientes tali modo monstruoso.

was at first, that their Founders would not know them. The number of those that keep to their rule in its first strictness is excessively small.

Christ rightly reproaches them for not keeping His law.

The coat may be *the coat of* Christ's *son;* but the interior man is gone; *an evil beast hath devoured him.*

What if Christ were to revisit the earth? would he acknowledge their likeness to Him? What blasphemy then to pretend to such a likeness!

Vivamus igitur sive in comuni vel proprie Cristo similiter, et tunc vendicemus, vel verius, cum angustia parce sumamus titulo elemosine huiusmodi subsidium temporale. Cristus enim et apostoli non fuerunt onerosi contratis vel gentibus, inpetrando propria habitacula ad dampnum reipublice; sed vixerunt ut peregrini in edibus alienis. Nec dampnificarunt patrias in consummacione victualium excessiva; sed contenti de paucis

Let us therefore live poorly, either together or apart, and then claim to be like Christ and His Apostles, who did not burden the country with excessive gluttony and sumptuous houses;

2. secte in C; *ib.* arenas A. 4. 1° A. 6. sciens *deest* B. 11. quia B. 15. quoddam A. 16. cognoscat BC; *ib.* filia A. 18. et C. 19. utrimque C. 20. Utensibilia A. 24. Tollimus A. 25. ſcadalir' A. 32. vedicio A. 35. 9tctis = contractis A. 37. non enim B. 37, 38. consumpte A; consumpcione C.

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let us imitate the Apostle who worked, with his hands. If poverty is abandoned, all men follow Antichrist.

et parcis non erant aliquibus oneresi; sed vixerunt, quando oportuit, de labore proprio. Unde act. 20 dicit apostolus: *Argentum autem et aurum aut vestem nullius concupivi, sicut ipsi scitis; quoniam ad ea que mihi opus erant, et his qui mecum sunt, ministraverunt manus iste.* Numquid credimus fratres et alios validos sequi Paulum in istis? Imo, paupertate Cristi proscripta, omnes secuntur vestigia anticristi.

Act. XX, 33, 34

But whoso loves Christ will strive to destroy Antichrist especially in his heresy concerning the Sacrament. He says it is an accident:

Quod si cristianus diligit dominum Jesum Cristum, non solum spernit anticristum et suos complices, sed nititur ewangelice ipsum destruere et suos fautores, quia aliter est indubie hereticus anticristus; cum Cristus dicit Luc. 11° *Qui non est mecum, contra me est.* Ut anticristus seminat in signis kalendas sue heresis, dum mandat suis credere quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens | sine subiecto et non de possibili corpus Cristi. Cristus autem mandat fidelibus suis credere quod dictum sacramentum consecratum a suo presbitero sit naturaliter panis, et sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Et tamen pauci sunt, nisi layci, quin declinent a sermone Jesum et adhereant infideliter anticristo; in tantum quod persecuntur vel scandalisant fideles de heresi, qui in isto credunt verbis Cristi. Et tamen Joh. 14° dicit Cristus: *Si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit; qui non diligit me, sermones meos non servat.* Cristus autem dicit expresse de pane quem sacerdos consecrat: *hoc est corpus meum*, ut patet *De apostasia* diffuse. Et tamen pauci, eciam de satrapis, credunt isti auditui, sed declinant ad scolam contrariam, credentes anticristo, quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, nec potest esse corpus Cristi. Et sic extollendo anticristum super omne quod dicitur deus, dicunt implicite quod Cristus cum dictis suis fuit falsissimus et summe hereticus; sicud sacerdotes, scindendo vestimenta sua in signum sanctitatis, inposuerunt Cristo blasfemiam, ut patet Matth. 26, sic indubie faciunt hodie sacerdotes Baal, qui dicunt se esse sic accidencium sacratores; persecuntur enim Cristum in suis fidelibus, et partem anticristi mendaciter magnificant, dicentes quod Cristus

Luc. XI, 23

72b

Christ's doctrine is that, bread by nature, it is sacramentally His Body. Yet few believe this, and those that do are persecuted.

E. Jo. XIV, 23, 24

And thus, men believing the doctrine of Antichrist, Christ is set down as an arch-heretic, as in the days of Caiphas.

3. aurũ et vestem (*sic*) C. 4. sed *pro* sicut C; *ib.* satis B. 7. in *in marg.* A. 20. qui A. 25. qui — servat *deest* A. 26. enim B; *ib.* expresse *deest* C. 31. excellendo A. 37. sic *deest* C.

27. *De Apostasia*, ch. III to the end.

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non sic intenderat, cum fregit accidens, et non panem. Et sic nituntur hereticare omnes sanctos quos allegavi pro ista sentencia; sed non possunt.

They would like to declare the Saints who are of my opinion heretics.

Tres igitur hereses contra trinitatem seminant disci-
5 puli anticristi. Dicunt enim primo contra potenciam patris, quod deus non potest facere illum panem, cum non potest esse vel fieri corpus suum. Et sic Berengario sunt in errore profundius, patre suo. Ipse enim, quando fuit in heresi, dixit quod panis post consecra-
10 cionem est nude sacramentum, et non corpus Cristi. Isti autem dicunt quod non est panis, sicud tamen dicit scriptura concorditer, sed accidens sine subiecto et solum sacramentum, ut patet de consecracione d. 11[a]. *Ego Berengarius.* 2° hereticant contra sapienciam
15 verbi et dei, dum dicunt quod deus destruit totum panem, per cuius similitudinem cognoscerent fideles misterium sacramenti; et frustra ac impossibiliter induit accidens sine subiecto, quod non potest 2[m] Augustinum esse aliquod sacramentum. Et sic nituntur tollere dei
20 sapienciam ac potenciam. Et 3° blasfemant contra spiritum sanctum, dicentes quod illud sacramentum non est a fidelibus adorandum, cum sit res tam detestabilis; sed corpus Cristi quod est in eo absconditum, licet illud accidens quod sacerdotes Baal consecrant
25 sit propter corporis Cristi assistenciam venerandum; ac si illuderent Cristi fidelibus, dicentes: "non colatis secundum pietatem spiritus hoc sacramentum, cum ex nulla habitudine signat vel sit hoc sacramentaliter
F. corpus Cristi; sed dimissa fide que fit ex auditu
30 verborum Cristi, sompnietis unum alium modum essendi corporis Cristi infundabilem, propter quod debetis tantum honorare, quantum creaturam quam volumus, cum ubique sit tota increata trinitas, que est corpore Cristi infinitum perfeccior, et maiorem habitudinem
35 habet ad quamlibet creaturam quam fictum accidens habet ad corpus Cristi. Nec agregatum ex corpore Cristi et natura divina est melius quam ipsa est eternaliter per se. Ideo remanet in potestate nostra instruere ut, ydolatrando quantum honoratis hoc sacramentum, venere-

There are three heresies in this matter: one denying the omnipotence of the Father, saying that He could not make that bread to be Christ's Body;

the second against the wisdom of the Word, implying that the bread is destroyed, and a useless accident remains;

and the third against the Holy Ghost, saying that the sign, venerable indeed, is not to be adored, but only Christ's Body which is hidden there.

It is as if they said to the faithful: this Sacrament is not to be adored, not standing for Christ's Body; you must imagine it there with a mode of being such as the Divine Essence has, present in all creatures; and therefore every creature is more worthy of worship than Christ in the Sacrament.

4. 3ª A. 7. esse *deest* A. 7, 8. Berengariani AC. 14. Berengaris C. 15. verbum AB. 17. mist'ium C. 19. deis A. 20. in *pro* contra B. 24. sacerdos A; *ib.* 9fect A. 32. que *pro* quantum *in marg.* A. 37. sit *pro* est *after* ipsa C.

14. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars., D. II, c. 42.

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And it is in our power to determine what honour must be paid to it. There are many other equally false conclusions; Christ's words are not believed, and blasphemy spreads everywhere. How can God's grace assist them in the consecration of these accidents?

mini sine auctoritate Cristi quamlibet creaturam, fingendo quod virtute divinitatis assistentis cuicumque quod fingitur consecrari, sicut fit sua consecracio accidentis".

Multa, inquam, sunt infundabiliter eque false ficta. Sic igitur, licet solus Cristus audiendus est (ut dicit Cyprianus 8 dis. ca°;) et si solus, tamen plus attenditur ad dicta Innocencii 3ii vel pape alterius, forte heretici, quam dictis Cristi. Et illud est prenosticum quod nomen domini late cottidie blasfematur. Cum, inquam, *omne donum perfectum desursum descendit a patre luminum*, quomodo non deficit dictis hereticis consecracionibus accidencium gracia a veritate descendens? Ideo deus permittit yppocritas incidere in tot hereses, cecando populum et se ipsos; ut fidelis non dubitat quin dictus error de quiditate sacramenti sit nimis hereticus; quia in sacramento dignissimo falsificat veritatem. Jac. I, 17

Many 'religious' are thus heretics; their use in the Church is as accidental as the forms which they imagine to exist in the Sacrament. They wax furious when their defects are pointed out, they call the faithful heretics for believing that the Eucharist is a holy bread; schismatics for dealing with the claims of the Roman Curia, so contrary to Christ; and blasphemers for preferring Christ's order to those instituted by men. But the faithful man who does God's work can bear all this and more.

Ideo indubie sunt cuncti heretici, qui hoc pertinaciter defendunt. Et in isto casu sunt multi religiosi ex personali affeccione, ex antiquo odio, et ex negligencia scripturarum. Tales, inquam, apostate, ut sunt heretici circa accidens quo induunt corpus Cristi, sic per accidens prosunt ecclesie. Unde propter taccionem defectus ordinum apostantes insaniunt, vocantes fideles hereticos, scismaticos, et blasfemos hereticos, quia dicunt eukaristiam esse panem sanctificatum, ut dicit scriptura cum sanctis doctoribus: sed non delirant cum istis apostatis, vocantes ipsum abiectum accidens quod ignorant. Scismaticos vocant eos propter hoc quod tangunt defectum romane ecclesie | in qua *multi veniunt in nomine* Cristi *dicentes, quia ego sum Cristus*. Ymmo, viventes Cristo quantumcunque contrarie, se ipsos implicant, ut anticristus, quod Cristo domino sunt maiores; et sic multipharie multos seducunt. Blasfemiam autem inponunt fidelibus, qui super suum privatum ordinem extollunt ordinem cristianum. Sed fidelis faciens opus domini patitur hec et plura, cum Cristus passus est a scribis et phariseis obprobria ampliora. Ipsi enim perversi erant pessimi, cum Cristus, qui non potuit acceptare personam, ut patet Matth. 23, 73a Matth. XXIV, 5 Matth. XXIII. 13—39

1. turam *in marg. suppl.* C; *ib.* veritatis C. 5. sicut *pro* sic AB; si C. 9. quottidie C. 11. consecratoribus C. 16. verissimo C; *ib.* dignitatem vel C. 26. sanctis *deest* C. 29. ecclesie *pro* curie BC; *ib.* quam C. 33. se dicunt C. 37. erant *deest* A. 38. p̄t *pro* potuit; *ib.* acceptari AB.

6. Decr. Grat. 1a P., D. XIII, c. 9.

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invehit acutissime contra illos. Quare igitur non sic foveret fidelis, exemplo Cristi contra religiosos privatos eorum filios?

Unde istos phariseos vocat Cristus falsos prophetas et ypocritas sismaticos Mt. 7°; quorum noticiam Jesus omnipotens, omnisciens, et sponsam suam summe diligens, ostendit ex natura triplici propter periculum precavendos: *Attendite*, inquit, *a falsis prophetis*, etc. Ubi notantur primo discipuli patris mendacii in vita et verbis sibi ipsis contrarii, quia falsi prophete. Veniunt autem ad acciones in vestimentis ovium, quia non colunt, cum Baptista, plangendo heremum, sed *penetrant domos* secundum apostolum. Vestimenta autem sua, in quibus possunt phariseice stare religionem suam et preeminenciam sanctitatis, deferunt ut vexillum mendacii ad populum seducendum, ac si essent supereminenter vestimenta fidelium, ut sic decipiant oves Cristi; sed more yppocrite sunt *intrinsecus lupi rapaces: lupi*, quia ululatum incognitum emittunt in celum de abscondita potestate et oves strangulant, sed non pascunt; et *rapaces*, quia principaliter intendunt rapere substanciam de personis quas visitant, non ut flores virtutum inferant. Hec autem gerunt in animo. Et 3°: *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*. Est autem triplex fructus hominis secundum triplicem partem ecclesie, ut pars infima wulgi producit terre nascencia; pars media dominorum secularium pacificat potestative populum; et clerus plantat et rigat in ecclesia semina virtutum. Unde licet iste tres partes ecclesie iuvant se mutuo, et omnes debeant fructus meritorios in caritate producere, tamen inordinata eorum comixtio mutuo se confundit.

Matth. VII, 15, 16

They are the sons of those Pharisees whom Christ called false prophets, and gave us a three-fold warning against them.

1. *They come*, they do not live solitary like Baptist, but penetrate into houses.

2. *Clothed as sheep, they are ravening wolves:* their habit is a garb of sanctity; but what they want is to devour the substance of the faithful.

3. They are to be known by their fruits. The people produces the fruits of the earth; the nobility, peace by their authority; the clergy, fruits of virtue.

Notemus quid fructus inferat ecclesie secta fratrum. Nam nec terram incolunt nec plebem potestative defendunt. Ideo potissimus fructus foret quod semen fidei in populo spargerent et partes ecclesie secundum fidem scripture instruerent. Sed acta probant quomodo a tempore quo fratres subintroierunt ecclesiam, isti fructus viancium pulularunt. Exhinc enim secundum prophetiam Cristi crevit fames, quia terre sterilitas bella et commocio, interregna, et, excidente populo ex

The Sects produce neither of the two first; and ever since they were introduced, their fruits have been fruits of evil.

1. qua A. 2. et eorum A. 4. et — Mt. 7° *deest* A; *ib.* habet A. 6. nota C. 7. precavendis B. 10. activos A. 15. mendaci *omnes MSS.* 19. aves A; *ib.* strangula'nt A. 26. ptatie A; ptate C; *ib.* populi C. 32. peccantem C. 39. a *pro* ex B.

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cristianismo, *refrigescet caritas multorum* Nec dubium quin clerus sit causa huius facinoris. Et supposita prophetia Cristi et apostoli cum experta fratrum malicia, videtur quod ipsi sunt huius fructus mali causa precipua. Ideo *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.* Si enim fructus sensibilis perpendatur, maior solicitudo eorum est ad augendum sectam suam, ad rapiendum bona pauperum pro suis edificiis et vescibilibus preparandis. Quomodo igitur foret mens sic distracta disposita ad convertendum populum, vel conversum apostolice confirmandum? Apostoli enim, quibus interdicte sunt iste solicitudines, ex magnitudine gracie vix in hoc ministerium suffecerunt.

Matth. XXIV, 12

All their care is to increase their sect, and take away the goods of the poor: how can they give heed to the work of conversion?

H.

The landed monks have not so much splendour as they; so they must get their wealth by miracle, by just alms, or by fraud.

Ideo possessionati cum tota diligencia sua et prediis amplis datis eis primitus non sufficiunt attingere ad alimenta et tegumenta totidem tam sumptuosa in vestimentis et domibus, cum aliis expensis superfluis. Ideo non superest, nisi ut vel miraculose vel munda elemosina vel rapina yppocritica sint quesita. Miraculum autem circa questum peccunie non legimus Cristum in se vel suis apostolis exemplasse. Et quoad 2^{m}, patet quod elemosina ex comitiva excessiva, ex superfluis expensis et ex vicioso ocio elemosinatorum inficitur. Nec dubium quin elemosinantes nunquam vere pauperes egenos dimitterent, et debita proximo suo et matri ecclesie subtraherent, nisi per yppocrisim horum validorum mendicancium seducti fuerint, cum omnino elemosina talis inficitur ex parte fratrum, qui nec sic, nec tante raperent; et tunc ex grossa ignorancia elemosinancium. Et sic superest 3^{m} membrum, quod rapina dupliciter perversa perquirunt hec temporalia, tanquam wulpes.

Miracles are out of the question; no alms can be justly given in this case; so they get them fraudulently.

All their fruits are those of the Pharisees — mere externals, and they all tend to ruin the Church and seduce the people.

Fructus igitur phariseorum istorum foris ostenditur in apparencia signorum que foris sunt. Ideo dico cum Cristo Matth. 5. *Nisi habundaverit iusticia vestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum.* Fructus itaque istorum, tam ad intra quam ad extra, est circa maioritatem dissensio, scole Cristi dissipacio, simplicis populi wulpina seduccio. Ululant enim confuse et idiotice | infundabiliter quod habent 73^{b}

Matth. 5, 20

3. cum peracta A; cum ex parte B; cum ex pta C. 8. preparandis *deest* A. 10. onerosum B. 11. introducte A. 12. sufficerunt A. 13. Ymmo B 15. sumptuosam A. 17. miraculosa B; *ib.* nuda B; mda C. 18. fuft A. 19. non legimus *deest* A. 21. excomunicativa A. 24. mat'ci eccie = matrici ecclesie C. 26, 27. elemosinatis A. 27. se *pro* sic A. 28. et communiter B. 34. et phariseorum *deest* A.

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potestatem in celo dandi inauditum spirituale suffragium. Attendite igitur ab istis wulpibus. Et quantum ad 3m patet, secundum prophetiam apostoli, quod incidunt phariseice in blasfemiam quam imponunt, utputa, quod sua privata religio sit perfeccior quam comunis religio cristiana; et sic patronus eorum superat dominum Jesum Cristum, sicud vestimenta sua phariseica, in quibus consistit sua religio, magnificant ultra tunicam Cristi, ymmo ultra hostiam consecratam; et sic de mille blasfemiis quas inculcant. Si autem introducti sunt ad corigendum errores ecclesie, faciant hunc finem, quod fecerunt sue primicie, et dimittant hoc tardatum post emendacionem ecclesie. Sic enim nauta post navigacionem dimittit navem, et homo generaliter deponit instrumenta artificialia contentus naturalibus, cum venerit ad quietem. Si igitur fratres volunt non quod ordo suus destruatur, sed quod stante ordine latens enormitas corrigatur, quanto magis sic debet esse de ordine cristiano.

They believe their own blasphemies, and put their founders above Christ our Lord, and their habit above Christ's Body.

If, introduced to amend the Church, they have amended it, they do not need these means any longer; let them throw them aside.

Fundatores igitur ordinum vel peccarunt graviter instituendo stulte novos ordiñes, vel intendebant ritus adinventos ad tempus solum prodesse per accidens, et servato Cristi ordine illeso ut basi, ritus adiectos esse parvipensos, ut exigit racio. Et sic, dimittendo omnes istos privatos ordines, servatis conversis in purum Cristi ordinem, totum quod est perfeccionis in ordine servaretur. Nam consonancius esset quod ordo privatus cedat Cristi ordini conversus in ipsum tanquam perfeccius, quam e contra. Nec est blasfemum asserere patronos sepe in edificacione sui [ordinis] erravisse vel fuisse dampnatos, cum non crescit numerus articulorum cristiane fidei, ut canonisaciones hominum adquiruntur. Verumtamen, ut sepe dictum est, pars ecclesie debet reputari salva semper preeminencia legis Cristi, nisi quis habuerit ad contrarium revelacionem vel racionem. Qua quia careo, quiesco in reputacione probabili talium citra fidem.

Either the Founders of orders sinned grievously in adding these observances to Christ's law, or meant them to endure only for a time.

It is possible that they may be damned; every canonization is not a new article of faith. On the other hand, having no revelation to the contrary, I believe that a part of the Church is always saved.

Sed dubitatur quomodo contingit iudicare opera que sunt fructus moraliter bona esse, cum contingit yppocritas facere bona de genere, intencionem rectissimam et sanctissimam pretendendo. Et pari evidencia qua aliquantulum vel aliquociens, contingit et semper prescitum

How are we to judge that an action is morally good, since it can be hypocritically imitated? and if so, what

2. wlpibus C; *ib.* Et patet A. 6. dominum *deest* B. 6, 7. superat Jesum Cristum, dominum nostrum C. 12. primitive A. 15. veniret A. 16. nolunt B. 20. in faciendo A. 28. e *deest* B. 29. ordinis *deest omnes MSS.* 33. penitencia A. 34. q̃ efto A. 39. quam B. 40. prestitum C.

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becomes of Christ's rule? Note 1. that there are two sorts of jugments: *probable* and *certain*. 2. that a good deed is not necessarily a deed morally good. 3. that every good deed can be judged to proceed certainly from a good natural cause, and probably from a cause morally good, if no sign of evil is connected with it. One act is insufficient to found a judgment. We must note the frequency and importance of each act.

usque ad finem sic facere. Cassa igitur foret similitudo Cristi, Matth. 7° de fructu arboris. Hic dicitur quod similitudo est consona, tollens fucum phariseicum, quo ex signis inpertinentibus iudicatur bonitas pharisei. Pro quo notandum primo, quod aliquod est iudicium topicum sive probabile, et in illo sunt gradus. Aliud autem iudicium est infallibile, sive sensibile sive insensibile. Secundo notandum quod alia est racio operis boni de genere, et alia racio operis boni moraliter. Et 3° dicitur quod infallibiliter iudicatur omne opus bonum de genere procedere a bono nature; nec procedit a malo culpe, licet deus necessitat personam maxime ad illud bonum de genere suo. Sed iudicium est topicum quod opus est bonum virtutis, si nec ante nec post ebulit signum malum de genere. Ideo, sicud una irundo non facit ver, sic nec quodlibet opus unum de genere indicat virtutem. Sed expecta finem; nota frequenciam, et preponderanciam attende (ut quod fratres crebro colligunt pecuniam de auditorio, est signum dampnabile symonie); nec video quin malus habitus prorumpit quandoque in maculam operacionis sensibilem secundum legem veneni, et non apparente macula non dampnemus.

We must not judge of one person as of the whole Sect, nor put consent and deed on an equal footing. But on these principles we see how corrupt the whole clergy has become; especially the Friars who simulate holiness. They are mere images, whitened sepulchres; the first Christians converted the heathen, but these would be abhorred by them: to

Sed de notoria macula fratrum multiplici clamat mundus. Aliud autem est iudicare de tota secta, et aliud de ista simplici persona, et aliud de opere vel consensu. Unde indubie cognoscitur quod ad totam sectam cleri ex sua conversacione varie fructificante a plantacione primeva, ex cristianismi diminucione et ex paganismi augumentacione, quod clerus claudicat, et specialiter fratres yppocrite, qui tante desides simulant supereminenciam sanctitatis. Nam cuius spiritus vivificacio causaret K. prosperitatem ecclesie, illius spiritus mortificacio inducit deterioracionem ecclesie. Sed pharisei sunt hodie nude ymagines polite, mortuorum sepulcra, solum respicientes mundiciam que foris est, ut dominus prophetavit. Quomodo, queso, una secta cristianismi stante in suo robore, ut steterunt apostoli, non delectarentur pagani, ut tunc, suscipere legem Cristi? Sed videntes maiorem paganismum esse inter nominetenus catholicos horrent

6. et — gradus *deest* A. 8. de *deest* A. 8—10. genere — genere *deest* C. 10. omne *deest* A. 12. nunceiet C; *ib.* maximam *omnes MSS.* 13. fuci C. 14. fi' C. 18. vel equivalens *after* pecuniam C. 37. fecerunt B; *ib.* delectarent A. 38. suscitare A. 39. qui est A.

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nimirum nostros, et specialiter clericos, quam suos. 74ª Oportet enim, quod trahens sit virtuosius quam atractum. Luc. XVI, 1—9 Villicus igitur, de quo Luce 16., exoneraret tam seculares oneratos tam fructu frumenti et vini, quam eciam clerum oleo devocionis propter clericatum et temporalia oneratum; tunc enim, quando post mortem deficit tempus congregandi meritorum fructus in horrea, dicet villicus *fodere pro nunc non valeo,* et deficiente racione dignitatis meriti *mendicare* suffragium a viventibus *erubesco.* Et sic de equa distribucione, et specialiter de prudenti subtraccione mamone iniquitatis, prudenciores seculares domini in eterna thabernacula sunt recepti.

attract, there must be an excess of power in that which attracts. Comparison of the temporal lord with the steward of the Gospel: both the laity burdened with wheat and wine, and the clergy, laden with the oil of devotion, ought to be disburdened by him.

Ulterius, quantum ad exaltacionem romane curie, patet quod subdole substernitur per tales apostotas. Substernitur, inquam, per adinvenciones hereticas legi Cristi contrarias, ad quas sive fratres consulunt, sive fabricant vel defendunt, agunt destruccionem illius ecclesie, cum in puritate legis Cristi oportet ecclesiam quamcunque stare. Ideo nulli magis iniuriantur illi ecclesie quam adulantes ypocritice, qui abscondunt ab ea errores in lege domini et tradiciones anticristi fovent sibi et paliant. Illi, inquam, sunt inimici domestici, medici fraudulenti, et suffocantes proditorii, quod per vocem et aerem que debent esse instrumenta communicacionis caritative hominum, strangulant superiores, non tactu manus, sed oleo adulacionis. Et ideo Cristus, cum illos *quos amat arguit* Apoc. III, 19 *et castigat,* destinavit sibi prophetas in lege veteri et ewangelistas in nova, qui duplicitate subducta nunccient populo suo scelera eorum. In istam igitur apostasiam possibile est fratres incidere qui sint proditores adulatorii curie Romane. 2° contingit ipsos promovere ad L. practicam legis inique, utputa impetrando indulgencias, dispensaciones et alia privilegia blasfemiam sapiencia et *avariciam, que est servitus ydolorum.* Practicam autem istam lucrativam novit mundus fratres ex suggestionibus mendacibus exercere; nec dubium quin illo supposito fratres illi forent plus capitibus increpandi; quia proditorie excitantes, mendaciter procurantes et fallaciter practisantes sunt plus culpandi eis quibus desunt iste condiciones; sicut cinifes nocuerunt egipciis plus quam rane. 3° vero contingit fratres post professionem fieri papas,

The Friars exalt the Roman Curia with craft and by flattery. They are all the more to blame, since they are thereby the ruin of that Church.

They should correct its defects instead of flattering it.

They urge upon it the promulgation of unjust laws, indulgences, dispensations, &c., as is well known.

Many of them become Popes or Cardinals themselves,

6. deficiet BC. 7. horea A. 8. ffodere A. 9. mendi C. 18. quantumcunque *omnes MSS.* 23. quia A. 32. leges AB. 38. eciam *vro* et B.

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sharers in the worldly glory that surrounds it, and ready to excuse it in all things.

cardinales et avaricia turpissima illius curie irretitos, ex quorum exemplo cum suis complicibus capitur audacia et excusacio in peccatis. Cum talibus itaque insigniis exaltant curiam, sicut diabolus, excitando ad mundi prospera, procurat eis mundi gloriam; non sic Cristus vel sui apostoli cum matri filiorum Zebedei promisit in filiis passionis calicem.

But they can only exalt the Roman See by obeying its laws.

Ulterius, cum idem sit exaltare dictam curiam et eius leges proprias servare, videndum est quomodo fratres se habent ad observanciam harum legum. Pro quo notandum quod earum diversitas est trimembris: ut alique tangunt conversacionem fratrum et possessionatorum, alique autem tangunt cleri questum; sed alique religiose tangunt ritum honestum. Exemplum prime est illud 6ti decretalis. "Exiit qui seminat" et illud in clementinis. "Exivi de paradiso." Exemplum 2i est illud 5ti decretal. "Omnis utriusque sexus." Et illud 6o de rescriptis, "Si duobus." Exemplum 3ii est illud de inmunitate ecclesie, cao "Decet" in 6o.

Some of these deal with the behaviour of the regular clergy, some with ways of getting money, and some with the duties of a virtuous life.

They are certainly opposed to the first; as to the second, they are divided; and they keep silence as regards the third class.

Quantum ad primam maneriem, fratres manifeste repugnant; quantum ad 2am differenter audiunt; et quantum ad 3am neutraliter obmutescunt. Quo ad primum scribitur 6o decretalium "Exiit, qui seminat", quomodo religio fratrum et specialiter minorum consistit in observancia altissime paupertatis, et ab illa non licet cadere, sicut nulli licet a perfeccione incepta diminuendo recedere. Et istud intelligo de cunctis ordinibus. Omnes enim debent ad perfeccionem fratrum minorum secundum suam possibilitatem aspirare, licet in ritibus varietur; oppositum tamen docet ocularis experiencia.

Richard Fitz-Ralph points this out. He says: 1. The rule of St. Francis orders his

Et declarat sanctus Ricardus episcopus Ardmacanus, in quodam sermone qui sic incipit: "Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis". Francisci inquit: "regula precipit fratribus ad hoc ydoneis laborare, et ipsos, vacante laboricio, statuit mendicare. Ex quo videtur quod mendicacio nulli

1. cinere A. 5. mundi gloriam *deest* A. 13. est *deest* A. 14. clementis A; *ib.* exivit *omnes MSS.* 15. 5ti illud *deest* B; *ib.* decretam A. 25. intelligendo A. 31. ardinocay A. 32. vocacio A.

13. Sexti Decr., l. V, tit. 12, c. 3. 14. Decr. Clem., l. V, tit. 11, c. 1. 16. Decr. Greg., l. II, tit. 28, c. 7. 18. Sexti Decr., l. III, tit. 23, c. 2. 31. *Francisci.* Eight points are given here in which the Franciscans are said to depart from the rule of their Founder, according to Fitz-Ralph (See *De Apostasia*, p. 36, note) but I am not quite sure where the quotation ends. It may extend to the end of the chapter, with remarks from Wyclif interpolated here and there; we need not even suppose any such remarks to exist. Fitz-Ralph was a very determined opponent of the Mendicant Friars.

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pertinet, nisi quando inculpabilis necessitas ad hoc cogit. Quomodo igitur excusantur mendicantes et ociantes validi, qui ultra necessitatem importune se ingerunt ad magis
M. egenos sophistice spoliandum?"

followers to beg only when they have no work to do, or can do none: there is no excuse for such begging as theirs.

74b 5 2° regula | Francisci precipit quod verba regule non glosentur; et cum fratres laborant ut verborum sensus omnino tollantur, specialiter de litteris a sede apostolica non petendis: non dubium quin ista regula vel sit irracionabilis quoad hunc ordinem, vel eque alios ordines
10 racionabiliter obligaret. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre cum fratribus dampnant ut hereticam deteccionem sensus doctorum qui videntur contradicere. Ut Jeronimus vere dicit quod fidelis non manducat secundum se vere corpus Cristi in sacramento altaris. Et Hylarius cum Hugone
15 dicit quod corpus Cristi est substancialiter, corporaliter et carnaliter ibidem, et per consequens taliter manducatur. Glossa concordans doctores stat in isto quod corpus Cristi potest 2r intelligi corporaliter esse alicubi: vel modo corporis, vel in quantum corpus. Et isto 2° modo
20 proprie loquitur Jeronimus. Unde argumentum topicum est quod si quicquam damnatum sit ab istis maniacis sibi ipsis contrariis, tunc *a probabili* est evidencius catholicum.

2. St. Francis forbids that his rule should be glossed; which is either unreasonable, or should be observed in every order. Yet they do everything to elude a literal interpretation of the rule; while they condemn as heretical every explanation brought forward to reconcile the Fathers. For instance when Jerome, Hilarius and Hugo seem to disagree as to the Sacrament. Whatever they condemn is likely to be the truth.

3°, regula Francisci precipit quod fratres non predicent in episcopatu alicuius episcopi, cum ab eo illis fuerit
25 contradictum. Et indubie eadem est racio regule, supposita eius racionabilitate, de quolibet alio fratre. Et tamen e contra dicitur quod tam ipsi quam alii per falsas machinaciones nituntur ut predicent invitis episcopis et curatis. Et tamen Franciscus dicit in suo tes-
30 tamento: "Dominus dat michi tantam fidem, ut sacerdotibus qui vivunt secundum formam romane ecclesie, propter eorum ordinem, si faciunt michi persecucionem, volo recurrere ad eos. Et si haberem tantam sapienciam, quantam Salomon habuit, et invenirem pauperculos sa-
35 cerdotes huius seculi qui in parochiis morantur, nolo predicare contra voluntatem eorum, sed ipsos omnes volo honorare ut dominos meos; et nolo in ipsis considerare

3. St. Francis forbids them to preach in any diocese without the Bishop's permission. Yet they are said to intrigue in order to preach against the Bishop's or the curate's will. This is the very reverse of humble St. Francis' spirit, as shown in his testament.

2. excusatur mendicitas A; excusantur mendicitates C. 6. glosetur A. 7. libris A; lris C. 8. nec dubium AC. 12. contradictorie contradicere A. 13. dicit *deest* A; *ib.* se *in marg.* C; *ib.* vere *deest* BC. 14. Hugonis A. 16. totaliter A. 17. glo A; *ib.* hoc C. 18, 19. vel modo corporis vel modo corporis in quantum corpus BC. 19. vel *deest* A; *ib.* inquam A. 21. damnatum *deest* A; dampnatum C; *ib.* inanimatis B; maciß C. 25. eadem *deest* A. 30. det A. 32. ullo A. 34. pauperculos *deest* C.

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peccatum, quia in ipsis filium dei discerno, et domini mei sunt". Idem autem iudicium est de fratribus quibuscunque. Et patet quod ordo cuiuscunque presbiteri est ordine monachi vel fratris superior. De ordine vero monastico patet (q. 3 dist. 'A subdiacono'); 'pontifici presbiter, presbitero diaconus, diacono subdiaconus, subdiacono acolitus, acolito exorcista, exorciste lector, lectori hostiarius, hostiario abbas, abbati monachus in omni loco representat obsequium, sive in publico sive in gremio ecclesie'. Et patet ex hoc, quod (16 q. 1ª caº 'Generaliter') monachi sunt laici. Et idem patet 16 q. 1ª caº. 'Alia causa' ubi sic dicitur: Alia causa monachi, alia clerici. Clerici oves pascunt, ego pascor; illi de altari vivunt; michi securis quasi ad radicem arboris infructuose ponitur, si munus ad altare non defero. Michi ante presbiterum sedere non licet. Illi, si peccavero, licet me tradere sathane in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini. Et N. idem patet de inferioritate monachorum ad clericos in capitulo 'Legi' ex dictis Augustini et capitulo 'Ecclesiam habet'. Quod si contingit eandem personam esse monachum atque presbiterum, sepe monstruosa res est et statum presbiteratus inficiens. Unde eadem 9. caº. 'Nemo potest ecclesiaticis obsequiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere; ut in ipso destruccio monasterii teneat qui cottidie in ecclesiastico ministerio cogitur permanere'. Verumtamen infra, eadem q. 5ª ubi supra, patet quod tam monachus quam clericus potest ut sic habere diversa officia. Ideo multi sunt monachi qui laxaverunt officium monachale et multum profecerunt in sacerdotali officio.

According to the canons, the order of ecclesiastical dignity stands thus: Bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, door-keepers, abbots and monks. The regular clergy are below the secular in honour; they have no power in the Church; they may not sit down in the presence of a Priest, who has the right to deliver them to Satan. That the same person should be a monk and a priest is often to the detriment of the priesthood; yet many, setting aside the duties of monastic life, have done good duty as priests.

5. 93 B. 6. decanus decano A. 6, 7. ˢdecanus ˢpr̃bit'o diacono sub diacono, subdiacono accolitus C; *ib.* subdiacono *deest* A. 7. acolitus *deest* B. 9. ut obsequium A. 12. dicitur *deest* AB. 13. *alterum* clerici *deest* C. 14. arboris posita est, infructuose arboris ponitur A. 15. aut *pro* ante A; at̃ = aut C. 16. cedere AC. 24. Destruccio *deest* A; Destruccior BC. 26. 5ª *deest* B; *ib.* ubi *deest* AB. 27. superiori *omnes MSS.* 27. sancti BC. 28. qui *deest* BC.

5. Decr. Grat. 1ª P., D. XCIII, c. 5. 10. Decr. Grat. 2ª P., Cª XVI, qu. 1, c. 40. 11. Decr. Grat. 2ª P., Cª XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 19. Decr. Grat. 2ª P., Cª XVI, qu. 1. c. 6. 25. Decr. Grat. 2ª P., Cª XVI, qu. 1, c. 2. The Canon runs thus: *Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monachica regula ordinate persistere, ut ipse monasterii districtionem teneat, qui cottidie in ministerio ecclesiastico cogitur permanere.*

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4° regula beati Francisci precipit ne fratres recipiant per se vel per alios denarios vel peccuniam ullo modo: et vix transit frater, ut dicitur, per villam aut patriam, quin ducat secum unum *Scarioth* pro denariis colligendis. Idem autem morale in isto ritu debet a cunctis fratribus observari, cum sit manifesta symonia repugnans ewangelio Matth. X, quod propter predicacionem colligant pecuniam vel aliud temporale. Licet autem occasione predicacionis vite necessaria possent ipsis adici; tamen quod principaliter aut preponderanter predicent ewangelium propter ista, manifeste obviat legi Cristi.

Matth. X, 9

4. St. Francis forbids them to receive money: yet his followers have a man with them to collect money wherever they go! This is evidently an abuse.

5° regula Francisci precipit quod nullus fratrum audeat populo predicare, nisi a ministro generali fuerit examinatus et eciam approbatus, et ab eo predicacionis officium sibi concessum. Et fratres, ut non examinentur a ministro, privilegium, ut dicitur, procurarunt. Et, quod peius est, non qui ad edificacionem ecclesie utilior, sed qui ad colligendum terrena calidior, aptabitur isti officio; in tantum quod dicitur quemcunque fratrem, non qui plus edificaverit, sed qui pro contratis plus offere voluerit de peccunia secte sue, quantumcunque | bono et sciollo prefertur. In tantum quod emunt et vendunt diabolo vitas simplicium, ac si ovem vel bovem pro pecunia mercarentur. Sic quod de illis verificatur prophetia apostoli Pe. 2° *In avaricia fictis verbis de vobis negociabuntur*. Unde quidam vocant tales sophistas et mercatores diaboli. Scola quidem sua graduat inferiores yppocritas, ut sophistas, callidiores prelatos, ut baccalaureos et doctores in sua heresi; ut magistros suorum omnium magisterium architectonicum vendicet anticristus.

75ª

2 Pet. O.

5. According to the rule, they cannot preach without first being examined by the Minister general and duly appointed: now, it seems, they have obtained a dispensation from the Minister. Nay, worse, they send out to preach, not the best Friar, but him that offers to bring back the most money. They form a school of heresy of which Antichrist is the head.

6° regula sancti Francisci precipit quod fratres non ingrediantur monasteria monacharum, non claustra, non domos, nec officinas interiores; cum maior sit racio ut talis non maneat solus cum sola, eciam gracia confitendi, quam est generalis racio prohibicionis de cohabitacione clerici et mulieris; que licet prohibetur in lege papali, tamen fratres multipliciter practisant oppositum, cum ex privilegiis inpetratis multis dolosis comitivis comunicant. Sic quod de illis verificatur prophecia apostoli 2ª Thymo., 3° quod *penetrant domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas;* cum non solum tractant cum mulieribus in conclavi, quia

2 Tim. III, 6

6. St. Francis forbids them to enter convents, cloisters or houses; it being more improper for a Friar than for a secular priest to be alone with a woman; which is not allowed, even for the purpose of confession. Yet the Friars do not obey

13. populo *deest* C. 19. quomodocunque A. 22. preferetur BC. 28. et *pro* ut B. 33. officias A; *ib.* quod *pro* ut A. 35. comuni *pro* quam A.

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this rule, but enter houses by means of permissions obtained, and *take women captive;* which ought to be understood in the sense that they tempt weak-minded persons, and get authority over them to lead them astray.

in locis abditis non vocati se ingerunt, sed, ut fertur, mulierculas ducunt per patrias in forma fratrum. Et quod plus credo esse de sensu apostoli, captivant sensus debilium. Constat quidem ex sensu quem Augustinus imponit scripture Gen. de temptacione viri et femine per serpentem, quod conformis est forma temptacionis cuiuscunque persone peccantis, cum excitans extrinsecus sit quasi diabolus; sensualitas vero, ut femina; et racio, ut vir. Fratres autem gerentes vicem diaboli temptant infirmos in fide, ut feminas, et freno infidelitatis ducunt captivas per devium.

7. St Francis commands that holy poverty should be observed in everything; the Friars do just the reverse. For this there is no excuse; instead of preaching poverty by their example, they move men to delight in their worldly splendour. Thus they rob the poor in detail of large sums; which differs from plundering an individual only in so far as it is worse. If they love the Gospel doctrine of sharing with the poor, let them give to those that need: St. Martin wanted his cloak more than they their possessions.

7° regula Francisci precipit quod in actibus fratrum semper paupertas sancta reluceat; et fratres laborant ut in eorum ecclesiis, claustris, domibus, ornamentis et libris, magnitudo et decor et diviciarum effectus resplendeat. Paliacio autem huius facti alibi destruitur. Ideo non restat causa eius, nisi forte quia fratres tenentur ad observanciam religionis Cristi predicare in verbis et opere populo paupertatem; sed visitantes loca fratrum tanquam spectacula moventur multipliciter delectari in mundi gloria et irreligiose ad similia aspirare. Et in tantum wulgares ad edificandum tales libros diaboli spoliantur; et, sicut etici sunt ex cautela diaboli insensibiliter inaniti. Nil enim refert colligere tales minucias de plebe paupere et totum simul de una persona simplici spoliare, nisi quod fraus yppocrisis est undique maior, persona plebis iniuriata est egencior, et fraus subtraccionis iuvaminis ad servandam religionem ecclesie est venenosior. Totum igitur corporale dampnum istius rapine sacrilege redundat sensibilius in pauperes populares. Sed si fratres tantum appreciantur imparticionem ewangelicam elemosine, debent supersedere a talibus sumptuosis et irreligiosis apparatibus, distribuendo bona pauperum que fraudulenter spoliaverunt pauperibus, cecis, claudis et debilibus, satisfaciendo pro iniuste ablatis et cavendo de iniuriis perpetrandis. Non enim tantum egent fratres sumptibus istis superfluis, sicud indiguit Martinus, miles gloriosus religiosus, clamide qua in aura gelida sub forma pauperis induit salvatorem.

1. esse *deest* C. 3. consensu B. 12. Septima C. 13. laborent C. 31. iterum wlgares C. 21. ethnici A; ethici C. 23. insensibiliter *deest* A; *ib.* vel; *in marg.* nichil C. 27. invaminibus A. 30. seculares ac ac*after* pauperes C. 37. Martinus *deest* B; *ib.* gloriosus *deest* BC; *ib.* quam A.

16. *Alibi.* If this is not a quotation, Wyclif alludes to some words in the preceding chapter; also to *De Apostasia*, p. 32.

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8° regula beati Francisci declarata in Clementinis, ca° 'Exiit de paradiso', a parte continet preceptorie quod fratres minores non utantur nisi vilibus pannis, scilicet, et que iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeant reputari; non misceant se execucionibus testamentorum et dispensacionibus bonorum; quod non faciant aut fieri sustineant ecclesias vel alia quecunque edificia que, considerato fratrum inhabitancium numero, excessiva in multitudine et magnitudine debeant reputari, sed temperatis et humilibus edificiis sint contenti; nec habere debent apparamenta vel preciosa vasa non conveniencia statui paupertatis. Et eadem indubie est causa vel racio de quibuscunque fratribus. Sed iudicet mundus si faciunt contrarie isti legi. Et patet quomodo leges papales fratres magnificant et extollunt, ut ewangelium et ultra, dum fastum vel questum illis sapiunt; sed leges alias que ad religionem suam astringunt vel sensum scripture sentenciant, parvipendunt. Judicet, rogo, ecclesia quomodo observant hanc legem, quam papa precipit: 'Exivit de paradiso.' Nam quantum ad primum preceptum videtur quod fratres non utuntur pannis qui iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeant reputari; cum in Anglia panni albi
75b nigri et russeti sunt apud regem et dominos plurimum preciati. Et quantum ad valorem, dicitur quod fratres emunt huiusmodi pannos satis caros. Et quantum ad formam amplitudinis indumenti, patet quod non relucet nimis magna religiositas in vestium parcitate. Sed utinam plus appreciarentur colorem quam valorem qui religiosis foret amplius ponderandus! Sed quis tunc gereret vicem pharisеorum, qui colant culicem et degluciunt camelum ut dicitur Matth. 23. Quantum ad secundum preceptum pape, quod non intromittant se de distribucionibus bonorum mortui testatoris, dicitur quod faciunt et procurant illicitis viis oppositum. Quantum ad 3m preceptum pape, quod non excedant in edificiis vel ornamentis limites altissime paupertatis, mundus clamat quod studiose faciunt oppositum. Et sic de lege pape libro 6° de sepulturis, ca°, "Animarum periculis"; ubi suo stricto modo pena

Q. Matth. XXIII, 24

8. The Rule incorporated in Canon Law forbids Franciscans to wear a habit of stuff considered costly where they live, to interfere in secular affairs, to build churches of excessive size, or to possess any object of price.

Let the world judge how they keep these rules.

They obey Papal laws only when they are exalted thereby: those which bind them down to their duties are made of no account.

In England stuffs of white or russet hue are prized even by the king: yet they wear them, and pay dear enough: their religion does not show itself in scantiness of garment.

The cheapness makes chiefly for poverty, and this, like Pharisees, they neglect.

As for poverty in their churches &c. they take good care to avoid it.

It is probable that their churches and churchyards lie

1. Octava C. 2. Exivit C. 5. testarum A. 8. excessivam A; excessum BC. 15. vel *pro* et *before* ultra C. 16. illis *deest* C. 18. et parvipendunt A. 23. ruseti A. 25. pannos *deest* B. 26. similitudinis B; *ib.* non *omnes MSS.* 38. certo BC.

26. *Amplitudinis.* See Engl. Works of W. p. 306. 33. Sexti Decr. l. III, tit. 12, c. 1. 38. Sexti. Decr. III. tit. 52. c. 1.

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under the interdict uttered against Friars who induce men to have their tombs placed there.

interdicti tam ecclesie quam cimiterii, infligitur quibuscunque religiosis qui inducunt aliquos ad fovendum, iurandum, seu fide interposita vel alias promittendum, ut aput eorum ecclesias eligunt sepulturam vel iam electam ulterius non immutent. Et tamen probabiliter creditur ab expertis quod fratres multipliciter inducunt aliorum parochianos ut aput eorum loco eligant sepulturas; vel oportet negare decretalem pape, vel quod loca eorum subiaceant ecclesiastico interdicto. Et per consequens ex lege papali de sentencia excomunicacionis in 6°, incurrerent irregularitatem et excomunicacionem in ibi celebrando. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin nemo, nisi seductus mendaciis, eligeret sepeliri in talibus locis talium personarum. Sic igitur illas leges hominum, de quanto lucrum vel fastum sapiunt, supra legem Cristi magnificant in effectu; ut patet de illa lege 5° decretalium "Omnis utriusque sexus", de quanto inducit eis confitendos, qui ipsis lucrificiant. Et vel procurant decretales aut earum interpretaciones vel glossas fieri; ut videtur de illa lege in Clementinis de sepulturis dudum; sic de legibus sapientibus fidem de corpore Cristi et aliis fidei articulis, de quanto cedunt ad laudem sui nominis, licet non fundentur in racionibus vel scriptura. Alia autem decreta sanctorum, ex quibus instrueretur ad magnam eius edificacionem ecclesia, parvipendunt.

It is therefore certain that no one should choose to be buried amongst them.

Every Church law that favours their interest and ambition is respected by them, while the others are set aside.

to. dicto *pro* lege C; *ib.* excommunicat ut incurrerent C; *ib. before* in *a gap* A. 21. decorem A. 25. ecclesiam B; eciam C.

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CAPITULUM SEXTUMDECIMUM.

A. Quantum ad simulacionem fratrum et quorumcunque possessionatorem privati ordinis religioni simplici cristiane, videtur tam prelatos quam ipsos religiosos debere laborare ad istam similitudinem adquirendam. Possibilitas vero eius patet de pape potestate, tacta 1° ca°. Ideo non dubium [quod] quicunque negaverit papam hoc posse facere, debet consequenter negare leges et ordinaciones ecclesie ut blasfemas. Si enim papa habet potestatem statuendi et confirmandi istos ordines, habet potestatem ex emergenti causa racionabili iterum dissolvendi. Sed primum concederet tam papa quam fratres. Ideo secundum oportet eos concedere consequenter. Sic enim cassavit papa de facto multos ordines; nec est racio quare non istos posset dissolvere.

Friars, Bishops, and the Pope himself ought to labour to to restore Christ's pure religion: and the latter has the power do it, unless Church laws are all blasphemies. What he can make, that he can unmake; and in fact, popes have dissolved many orders: why not these?

Item, omnis ordinacio ecclesie edificatoria, que non est deo propria, subiacet potestati pape; sed talis ordinacio foret ad edificacionem ecclesie, et deus potest comunicare illam homini: ergo pape. Non enim est lex adinventa a fratribus forcior quam ordinacio in qua Cristus instituit suam ecclesiam; sed illam cassavit papa, ut patet de dotacione ecclesie. Unde glosa ordinaria decretorum 25 q. 1ª: "Sunt quidam", dicit "quod papa nedum dispensat contra apostolum, sed eciam contra deum"; igitur papa potest evidencius in hoc minus.

Again, all Church ordinances that are not God's peculiar right, depend on the power of the Pope: such would be this ordinance. Since the Pope abolished Christ's primitive institution, he can restore it again.

Item, papa dispensat cottidie cum doctoribus et pocioribus de ordine fratrum, ut sint secreti capellani sui, et sic exonerentur ab omni tradicione privata preter habitum corporalem. Cum igitur hoc sit maxime alienum ab ordine, nec potencia pape terminatur ad maximum

Again, the Pope grants dispenses to some Friars not to follow their observance: he can therefore do so for all,

1. Cap. 16 *in red ink.* 2. *Initial* Q *in red ink; ib.* quorucumque C. 7. quod *deest omnes MSS.* 11. ro^{ll} = racionali A; ro^{y}. (*sic*) C. 13, 14. cessavit AB. 27. secrete B. 29. fit A.

23. Decr. Grat. 2ª P., Cª XXV, qu. 1, c. 6.

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there being no limit as to their number. He might give dispensations to some, all the others dying suddenly, and the former might take another habit: the order would exist no longer.

numerum partis ordinum, non ad totum, videtur quod cum toto dispensare potest conformiter. Nam possibile foret, papa dispensante cum viginti de uno ordine, totum residuum morte vel alio casu deficere. Ymmo, possibile foret ipsos fratres consimilis libertatis induere, et sic ordinem novum excrescere; plus enim extraneant, salvato nomine eiusdem ordinis, quam facerent fratres taliter procreati. Nec valet dicere quod omnes tales forent apostate; quia fratres religiose communicant cum talibus exemtis in habitacionibus et in mensis. Cum igitur sepe multipliciter occidunt alios, ut dicitur, pro levi apostasia, sequitur ex facto quod non reputant | tales apostotas. 76a

There would be no apostasy in this case: a Papal dispensation would set all things right. That their possessions would return to the Pope at their death is a venal objection, unworthy of religious men.

Licet igitur illis cum dispensacione pape obedienciam talem dimittere, nec sapit tantam religionem, quod ipsis mortuis papa habeat omnia bona sua, quin deleta illa symoniaca venalitate ordo fratrum factus noviter servet totum residuum libertatis. Non enim habet tantam vim condicio illa symoniaca, quin, illa deleta, posset stare residua religio depravata.

This being possible, it is clear that the new Order, 1. as more like primitive Christianity,

Supposita igitur possibilitate talis ordinis ex dispensacione pape, et cassata obligacione ad detestacionem illam symonaciam et induicionem habitus corporalis, patet quod talis religio foret perfeccior. Primo quia foret similior religioni simplici cristiane. Et illa, ex sepe dictis, est perfeccior quacunque religione privata. 2°, quia talis religiosus foret ad perficiendum mandata Cristi et consilia liberior, cum in privatis ordinibus habet multa inpedimenta, que ab execucione istorum culpabiliter difficultant. B.

2. as giving more freedom to each member,

and 3. as being the object of a dispensation, and necessarily for the better, would be preferable to the old ones.

Et 3°, quia, ut oportet fratres confiteri ut fidem, illa dispensacio pape est licita; sed non foret dispensacio, sed religionis Cristi dissipacio, nisi foret ad melius. Ideo oportet ipsos concedere quod melius esset eis pro salute anime sic privilegiari, quam in priori ordine residere.

To bring about this change is a duty: 1. on the part of the Pope. His chief function is to edify the Church, and this great edification would be so

Istis suppositis, probatur via triplici quod debent redire ad religionem simplicem cristianam. Et primo ex parte pape. Ipse enim debet precipue solicitari circa edificacionem ecclesie, conformiter legi Cristi, cum hoc sit capitale eius officium, ad quod strictissime obligatur; sed foret ad maiorem edificacionem ecclesie quod omnes

11. proximo de *pro* pro levi apostata A. 14, 15. ipsis mortuus A; episcopis B. 15. qn̄ = quando. 19. depravata AB. 23. quod *deest* AC; *ib.* perfeccior — foret *deest* C. 25. quvd C. 26. et consilia *deest* C. 29. quod illa A. 34. quia A.

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cristiani militarent secundum unam religionem simplicem cristianam; igitur, cum hoc foret pape tam facile, videtur quod sub pena omissionis dampnabilis hoc debet facere. Quam, rogo, racionem deo redderet ex tanta accidia?

easy for him, that his not achieving it would be inexcusable.

5 2° videtur ex parte fratrum quod procurarent illud sollicite. Nam, secundum Jeronimum, non mediocriter peccat qui postposito magis bono eligit minus bonum. Sed fratres debent scire quod talis exempcio foret eis utilior; igitur ad hoc debent precipue laborare. Confir-
10 matur ex hoc quod nedum est licitum, sed in casu debitum, relinquere religionem antiquam, et religionem fratrum propter suam perfeccionem intrare. Evidencius igitur debent fratres tradiciones suas inperfectas deserere et quietari in perfeccione simplici cristiana. Si enim papa
15 generaliter de possibili sic dispensaret, tunc foret utilius, ut fatentur: sed prius, antequam papa dispensat, est racio apud deum. Ergo, licet papa non dispenset, remanet eque bonum. Et ista negligencia videtur fratres tenere continue, dum pausant in tali privato proposito. Nec
20 foret declinacio ab illo peccato eis difficilis, cum sciunt quod deus dispensat, eciam papa culpabiliter renitente, ut patet ex dictis. Quomodo igitur excusantur, qui in vacuum graciam dei ita recipiunt? Deus enim dispensat cum illis, et tamen in stulticia culpabili convolvuntur.

2. On the part of the Friars themselves; they ought to know that such a change is for their good.

They admit that if the Pope gave them all a dispensation it would be a good thing; but the motive of that dispensation now exists, and even in spite of the Pope they ought to act upon it.

25 Nec movet quod subtiles eorum perseverant in isto proposito; quia diaboli subtiliores, indurati in sua malicia, permanent in sua stulticia, ubi faciliter possent converti ad Cristum habendo misericordiam, graciam, et gloriam
C. citissime, si non obstaret sua veterata malicia. Unde
30 omnes declinantes a lege Cristi sapiunt ut sic stulticiam diaboli, in cuius inveteracione cadit periculum.

That no influential members leave their orders, is due to their inveterate malice.

3° videtur quod populus debet cogere fratres stulticiam istam dimittere, quia secte tales ipsos multipliciter dampnificant; quod debent tollere. Dampnificant, inquam,
35 consumendo indebite bona reipublice, ut patet in cibariis, in domibus et in aliis ornamentis. Istud autem foret facile regem et regnum tollere subtrahendo, ut tactum est in fine De apostasia, quodcunque temporale suffragium quod redundaret illis in quantum talis ordinis. Staret enim
40 cum hoc comunicare illis elemosinas in Cristo in quantum

3. On the part of the people; because they eat up the property of the common wealth. It would be easy to put an end to them by cutting off supplies to the Order, which might be continued to

4. accidencia A. 10. ex hoc *deest* AB. 12. perfeccionem *deest* C. 14. perfecciori religione BC. 16. quod *pro* sed A. 16, 17. est — dispenset *deest* A. 17. igitur C. 21. remittente A. 23. ita *deest* A. 34. dent C. 36. in *before* aliis *deest* C. 39. et *pro* quod B.

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them as private persons; and if any of them was more fit than a Church dignitary, he ought to take his place.

individua cristiana, ubique meritorius quam sit modo. Unde videtur mihi inprecandum quod quicunque frater habilior ad regendum ecclesiam quam dictus incumbens, sit, ipso expulso, in eius nomine subrogatus. Sed, quod magis moveret ad istam practicam, secte nimis spisse blasfemant in deum, seminantes mendacia; et per consequens nedum subtrahunt a populo spirituale suffragium, sed venenando rempublicam agravant peccatum. Nam proposito puncto ut populus vivat conformiter legi Cristi, fratres in facie apponent obicem, foventes partem anticristi, preter privata mala que seminant. Nec dubium quin castigati per prepositos vel prudentem subtraccionem temporalium a venenacione ista desisterent, et plebem in qua consistit maior cristiana religio, dimissis exhortacionibus fallacibus | cum ludicriis, adaugerent. Et sic 76b
undique dei populus, et per consequens honor dei cum bono reipublice augeretur. Itaque omnis homo staret pro suavi et levi observancia legis dei, cum turpe foret, sumptuosum et difficile, fovere discipulos anticristi.

Besides, they do great harm by sowing lies, and opposing the efforts of those who would bring men back to Christ.

There would be then, it is objected, no more scholastic degrees in universities, nor science of Scripture, nor good preaching. University degrees have indeed their uses, but are not founded on Holy Writ, and occasion many evils: v. g. election intrigues, simoniacal conspiracies, and spoliation of the people.

Sed 2° obicitur quod facta confusione ordinum, perirent gradus scolastici et per consequens subtilis exposicio scripture et recta predicacio verbi dei. Sed quo ad istud videtur D.
quod de religione Cristi non foret 2m tradiciones studiorum aliquis doctor scolasticus inter fratres. Immo, licet talis graduacio in universitatibus prosit per accidens, videtur michi quod religiosum foret per totum cristianismum leges talis graduacionis tolli, quia non sunt fundabiles in scriptura; sed occasione data, ex graduacione tali inter fratres veniunt multa mala. Ut, racione eleccionis ad cathedram, currunt ad intra multe consideraciones et operaciones illiciti; et tam ad intra quam ad extra multe conspiraciones symoniace, et multe tradiciones primevi ordinis destructive. Et cum totus iste processus sit sumptuosus, non superest, nisi quod ista spoliacio sumptuum redundat in populum.

Friars of a meaner rank know too well how much they are despised by those of a higher degree; there is no Scripture warrant for this.

Quantum ad primum noverunt fideles fratres, pauperes et abiecti, quantum a suis fratribus superioribus contempnuntur, et quanta servitute irracionabili deprimuntur. Nec dubium quin non sit fundabile in scriptura, in qua est omnis veritas, nisi (ut loquar irronice) in aliquo istorum trium locorum. Primo in dicto beati Jacobi primo ca°

3. hu͂ilior hi͂lior A; humilior C. 6. medacia A. 8. venando AC; *ib.* Non A. 12. castiganti *omnes MSS; ib.* per *in marg. suppl.* C. 24. alia A. 27. tales B.

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de personarum accepcione. *Nolite*, inquit, *in personarum accepcione habere fidem domini glorie. Cum enim introierit vir in conventum vestrum, annulum habens aureum in*
Jac. II., 1—5 *veste candida; introierit autem pauper in sordido habitu: et intendatis in eum qui indutus est veste preclara, et dixeritis ei: tu sede hic bene; pauperi autem dicatis: tu sta illic, aut sede sub scabello pedum meorum: Nonne judicatis aput vosmetipsos et facti estis cogitacionum iniquarum judices?* Idem autem et evidencius est iudicium de fratre
10 racione graduacionis a suis confratribus honorificandus; quia ita alienum est a lege Cristi, quod frater propter talem graduacionem honorem talem suscipiat, sicud foret propter splendenciam ornamenti. Nam nec infert alcioritatem status in quo Cristus statuebat ecclesiam, nec
15 preeminenciam virtutis: et solum racione istorum duorum videtur regem celorum velle hominem honorari. Nam sepe contingit fratrem sic graduatum fratre simplici magis deficere tam sciencia quam virtute.

St. James blames all preference given to a man on account of his riches: but preference given on account of a degree is quite as unchristian. It neither proves a higher degree of ecclesiastical perfection nor of virtue: a Friar without a degree may both know more and be a better man than a graduate.

Talis autem honoracio fundatur in scriptura secundum
20 gradus latitudinis, ut rex racione status est excellencius
1. Pet. II, 17 honorandus. Iuxta illud 2 Petr. 2° *Regem honorificate*, et alii in suis gradibus honoris mundani, ut sunt alciores arbores vel minus alte. Clerus autem debet gradatim in virtutibus, secundum modum alium, venerari: ut ille qui
25 debet reputari sanccior, debet reputative amplius venerari. Sed honor dandus clericis non debet stare in mundi gloria, sed in honore dei secundum excellenciam virtutis vel status quem deus in ipso instituit; et tantum honorat quilibet alium in effectu, quantum iuvat deum
30 et promovet racionem in illo homine, 2^m^ quam taliter honoratur. Ut ille qui iuvat presbiterum in causa dei ut vivat secundum institucionem Cristi conformiter, et causam illam in ipso promovet vel defendit, ipse honorat illum presbiterum. Et faciendo oppositum inhonorat;

Honour is of two distinct kinds: one is, according to Scripture, to be paid to the king and temporal dignitaries according to their position; the other is spiritual veneration, to be given according as the state of any person implies holiness; and this second kind is shown by helping that person to attain the holiness of his state.

1, 2. Nolite — accepcione *deest* B. 2. domini nostri B. 3. anullum A. 5. inductus B. 7. illuc BC; *ib.* nostrorum A. 13, 14. alterioritatem A. 17. graduatim AB. 21. ·/. *pro* Iuxta illud C; *ib.* honorate A. 31, 32. qui — secundum *deest* B.

20. *Latitudinis. Altitudinis* naturally suggests itself as a correction of the MSS. I am, however. not quite sure, notwithstanding 'alciores' on l. 22, that it ought to be adopted. Wyclif employs the word *latitudo* regularly in Logica to indicate a certain intensity of a quality; and its use here seems quite as technical as in that work. *Gradus latitudinis* is quite a common expression with him there.

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Thus, aiding a priest to live according to Christ's institution, we honour him, and we dishonour him when we exalt or enrich him. Mundane glory is the ruin of Christ's religion: it is that acception of persons condemned by St. James, exemplified in worldly bishops, in graduated Friars, and in seculars, when honoured according to their outward show.

ut dando sacerdotibus honores mundanos in ditacione stercorum temporalium, homo non honoraret sed inhonoraret eos. Ideo, cum Cristiana religio infirmatur E. per declinacionem ad mundum, patet quod ipsam dirrumpit potissime acceptacio personarum; ut, quia 5 mundus afficitur ad terrena et honores naturaliter affectat, inordinatus amor honoris vel temporalium secundum fastum et questum disrumpit religionem Cristi. Et illa est personarum accepcio, quam contempnat beatus Jacobus; et sic generaliter, quando sacerdos 10 comendatur eo amplius quo habet maiorem adiacenciam temporalium, ut patet de prelatis cesareis; vel proporcionaliter ut ritus mundani ipsum magis dignificant quoad mundum, ut contingit de fratre et alio presbitero pilliato; ymo honorando secularem ut habet magis 15 splendida ornamenta. Nam iuxta primam stulticiam unus de episcopis nostris foret infinitum honoracior sancto Petro, cum ipse dicit Act. 3° *Argentum et aurum non est michi.* Iuxta 2am stulticiam frater ydiota quantumcunque viciosus pilliatus foret quantumcunque hono- 20 racior fratre scienciori et virtuosiori non taliter graduato. Et iuxta 3am stulticiam unus ministrallus stultus vel prodigus foret honoracior rege suo.

A Bishop of the present day would be far above St. Peter; a vicious and stupid Friar, if graduated, would be more honourable than one not graduated and a minstrel, a fool or a prodigal, more than his king. These are blasphemies; for by ascribing honour to whom honour is not due, we imply that God gives honour likewise.

Omnes autem istas blasfemias 2m beatum Jacobum inducit personarum accepcio. Et dico blasfemias, quia 25 iuxta fidem quilibet debet honorare hominem proporcionaliter ut deus ipsum honorat. Acceptor igitur | per- 77* sonarum, qui in ista honorificencia a deo discrepat, inponit deo inplicite stultam veneracionem consimilem, quod est blasfemia. Ideo signanter, propter iudicium 30 proprium a deo discrepans, dicit beatus Jacobus: *Nonne iudicatis aput vosmetipsos et facti estis cogitacionum iniquarum iudices?* Omnes enim tales habent proprium iudicium; quod, quia discrepat a prima iusticia, est iniquum.

Consider a graduated Friar: he gets his degree by a Papal bull, or letters of

Pensemus igitur fructum fratris pilliati. Nam eo ipso 35 quo per bullas pape, quo per literas dominorum vel mediaciones dominarum, vel 3° si symoniace emerit

2, 3. ho on'arz et A; horaret z inhorar3. 3. decliacionem C. 7. affectant A. 10. quia A. 11. ad maiorem B. 13. humani C. 15. palliato A. 18. 3° *deest; blank space* B. 20. pilatus A. 16. scienciore C; *ib.* virtuosiore C. 21. homo A. 25. blasfema A. 31. notentur hic fructus fratris pilliati *in marg.* B. 36. ad *pro* per *before* bullas. 36, 37. vel — vel *deest* A; dominorum *omnes MSS.*

37. The MSS. have *dominorum*. See, to justify the correction, Eng. Works of W. p. 246.

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gracias a perversis in universitatibus, sic quod quantumcunque inhabilis doctoretur, vendicat infinitum excellenciorem honorem quam frater suus, licet habilior, ex eorum decreto nunquam ad cathedram graduandus; habebit enim cameram sibi perpetuatam, cappellanum et famulum, splendidiusque et laucius ministerium. Sed a labore predicacionis, a sureccione ad matutinas in medio noctis, et a quocunque quod sonat in obedienciam et meritum in fratre simplici, est exemptus. Quod si raro aliquod opus bonum fecerit, hoc sonabit ad sui gloriam; et tum magnificabitur a suis complicibus; quod propter adulacionem mendacem esset utique melius quod
F. taceret. Nec mirum de multiplicacione mendacii, quia dicunt quod in obediencia et ritibus sui ordinis stat maius meritum quam in nostro ordine: et tamen dicunt in praxi quod summa perfeccio sui ordinis foret graduatum ad exempcionem a tali perfeccione sollicite laborare! Ideo homines non credunt eis in isto, cum vita, cui animus afficitur, contradicit. Religiosum igitur foret quod pilliacionem illam falsam in singulis dimitterent; sic enim fecerunt in sui exordio, quando religio in eis plus floruit.

Et sic tolleretur ab eis blasfema elemosinarum particio. Nam regula caritatis exigit quod dividatur singulis, pro ut cuique opus erat, cum aliter foret invida personarum accepcio; hoc autem sonat blasfemia, cum, ut sic,
Esth. intenditur inpugnare divinum iudicium. Et tamen Hester
VI, 9 dicitur: *Sic honorabitur quam rex voluerit honorare;* quod est maxime proprium regi regum. Que igitur est racio quare fratres eiusdem ordinis in sacerdocio, sanctitate et sciencia quo ad necessaria salubri dei ministerio, preponuntur? Non dubium quin pater mendacii docuit istam differenciam secundum adinvenciones politicas. Et in talibus blasfemis personarum accepcionibus necesse est tales conventiculares cum ceteris nequiciis irretiri. Si igitur omnes dicte secte vel nimis numerosi 2^{m} hoc 3^{x} devium, quo pilliacio fratri adquiritur, pilliati forent, quam monstruosa foret talis religio, quia gravarent in expensis rempublicam! Nunquam inter fratres foret distribucio, et omnino intra eos foret contencio *quis*
Luc. *eorum videretur esse maior*. Iste igitur fructus est or-
XXII, dinum privatorum.
24

recommendation from some lord, or by means of a bribe: and he is treated infinitely better than a non-graduate; he has a room and servants of his own, and everything on a better footing; he is exempted from preaching, from the Choir, and from all acts of obedience. Here is a lie: they say that obedience renders their Order more meritorious than ours: yet the supreme perfection of their state is to be exempted from obedience! They ought to give up such practices and live as they did at first. By this means the alms which they receive would be shared equally. Each ought to receive according as he requires: i. e. according to God's will. Why should one Friar be worse off than another, if he is his equal in everything?

Suppose that every member of each of the orders was graduated: what a monstrous community they would make!

2. fruſtu (*sic*) A. 3. humilior A. 6. quia *pro* que A. 11. cum A; tantum C. 20. palliacionem C; *ib.* signis AC. 24. invidia A. 25. accepcione A. 26. tam A; cum C. 28. est *deest* AC. 35. dce A.

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Again, Christ forbade His disciples to call each other Rabbi; and these men, bound to follow Christ so closely, despise His words, waste for their degrees large sums that belong to the poor, and abandon that very perfection to which they are bound.

Secundum fundamentum ad tollendum talem graduacionem in fratribus est illud Matth. 23°, ubi Cristus precipit quod non vocentur *rabi* vel *patres,* ut excellencia dei reverencius inprimatur, et ut superba dissensionis occasio excludatur. Quomodo igitur qui tam alte obligatur ad Cristi consilia tam frontose et tam laboriose contempnit vel sophisticat eius verba? Non dubium quin inanis gloria et contemptus domini sint in causa. Nam non solum in incepcione sua incurrit periurium, consumendo de spoliacionibus pauperum ultra tria milia turonensium grossorum; sed, ut sic, pilliatus inhabilitat se ipsum ad observandum perfeccionem ordinis cui stulte obligatus est, et ut sit herba venenosa in agro domine sancte matris ecclesie multipliciter infectiva.

Matth. XXIII, 8, 9

Their General, contrary to Christ's commands, domineers over them; spiderlike, he weaves a net through which camels (graduates) pass, and in which gnats are taken.

If a Friar offends, nay, sometimes if he observes God's law, he is imprisoned till he writes down a retractation and becomes the slave of the devil. These cobwebs catch simple and weak-minded men.

3^m autem fundamentum contra istam superinductam blasfemiam est dictum Cristi Luce 22°; *Reges gencium dominantur eorum, et qui potestatem habent super eos benefici vocantur. Vos autem non sic.* Et tamen dicitur quod nimis dominative et nimis potestative capitaneus fratrum imperat suis fratribus; et tanquam aranea pausans in angulo, orditur telas diaboli quibus illaqueat fratres suos, ut quod frater suus dire incarceretur pro culice, ymmo quandoque pro observancia legis dei, et graduetur pro inglucione cameli. Et incarceratus per mendosum scandalum fratris sui non exibit carcerem antequam manu propria scripserit mendaciter scandalum false sibi inpositum, accusando se ipsum et excusando diabolum; ac ulterius obligando se quod nunquam ulterius in hoc invehet contra ipsum; et sic detestando causam Cristi devenit simpliciter servus diaboli. Tales dicuntur multe tele ex interioribus diaboli subtilitate pedum membrorum suorum contexti cottidie, cum quibus fratres simplices et debiles tanquam bestiole capiuntur.

G. Luc. XXII, 25, 26

5. accio A. 5, 6. obligantur *omnes MSS.* 6. fructuose AC. 9. periurius A. 11. sic *pro* sed *omnes MSS.* 13. domini *omnes MSS.* 16. 12 B. 16. arena A. 21. celatur A; *ib.* illaqueet C. 32. continue C. 33. bestiole *deest* C.

10. In *munimenta Academica* (Anstey) we find an Austin Friar paying £ 10 as a composition, instead of feasting the Regent Masters on his inception. P. 564. 30. I cannot thinking help that there is here an allusion to some Friar, whose Wycliffian tendencies were severely put down. This would give more colour to my hypothesis (*De Apostasia*, Introduction) that Wyclif had many partisans among the Friars; the whole of the chapter, read in this light, has particular meaning.

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Et ille tradiciones inique sunt ut ewangelium observate. Confundantur itaque venena talia privatorum ordinum, ut deus debet nobis graciam tenendi bonum graduacionum
77b quas stulte suscepimus | et cavendi malum culpecomixtum.

5 Et patet quod non ex hinc perirent scola Cristi, sensus scripture vel fructuosa predicacio verbi dei, cum summe floruerant ante ista. Ymmo videtur quod evidencius quam civile dominium privata religio sapit peccatum; et per consequens non supra religionem Cristi foret suum 10 ewangelium, vel vita apostolica per talem adinvencionem culpabilem deturpandum; ipsam enim privatam religionem necessario consequitur personarum accepcio, ad observanciam consiliorum Cristi difficultacio, et tradicionum infundabilium oneracio. Sed 3o principaliter notandum 15 est quod a tempore quo fratres adulterati fuerant verbum dei, pullularunt hereses, sophismata scripture, germinaverunt yppocrises per multiplicata mendacia, et prevaluerunt diffidencie et dissensiones per sectas novellas, antiqua religione sopita.

There would be no loss if this graduation were put an end to. 1. Preaching and expounding of Scripture existed before it. 2. Since the gospel of these private religions savours more of sin than civil lordship, it is not above that of Christ. 3. Since the institution of Friars, heresies have been multiplied, as in Oxford of late.

20 Ut nunc invaluit quedam secta maniaca, cancellans magnam partem ewangelii tanquam falsissimam, et per consequens hereticam et blasfemam. Ista enim secta
Ps. CX, *faciendo* in Oxonia *memoriam mirabilium suorum,* con-
4 gregata fuit latenter cum fratribus 4or; et tanquam tota
H. 25 universitas penderet in manu eorum, heretici dicuntur heretisasse duas sentencias de Eukaristia; prima, quod post consecracionem in missa remaneat substancia panis materialis in hostia consecrata. Et, ne deficientibus argumentis enuclietur eorum stulticia, excomunicarunt 30 eos, qui tenent, docent, vel intersunt doctrine contrarii. Sed inter eos deus movit quemdam doctorem secularem catholicum, ut non consenciat, sed contradicat stulticie eorum. Ipse autem dicitur interrogasse eos in primis, si voluerint hereticare sanctorum sentencias de univer-
35 salibus ex parte rei, ex quibus signa capiunt aput logicos nomen suum. At illi hoc pre verecundia negaverunt. At ille: "Ex hoc", inquit, "sequitur quod substancia panis materialis remanet in hostia consecrata. Genus,

Four Friars, together with an assembly of heretics, condemned the doctrine that the substance of bread remained after consecration.

But God moved a Catholic Doctor to ask them whether they intended to condemn the doctrine of universals *ex parte rei:* which they denied. Then he pointed out that in that doctrine the *substance* of bread and of Christ's body

2. et C. 3. det C; *ib.* graduacionem A. 10. vita *deest* C. 11. decerpendum B. 18. et *pro* per B. 20. moniacha B. 22. autem BC. 23. facieß in o. . . . . mcoria A; faciendo in Oxoniis C. 28. inmaterialis B. 31. inter eos *deest* C.

20 and seq. The condemnation is given in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 110. 26. I have translated this passage in *De Apostasia*, Introduction.

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being identical, the substantial presence of Christ's Body implies the substance of bread.

inquam, substancie est ubicunque fuerit aliquod eius individuum. Sed in dicto sacramento est individuum generis substancie; quia, ut ipsi asserunt, ibi est corporaliter corpus Cristi: igitur remanet in ipsa hostia ipsum genus. Et cum ipsum sit substancia (quia quiditas cuiuscunque materialis substancie), et sic panis; sequitur quod substancia panis materialis remanet in hostia consecrata". Et quia nescierunt tollere hanc evidenciam,

To Scriptural arguments, and to the likelihood that whatever such madmen condemned was true, he added:

ipsos renuit tanquam stultos. Sophismata autem dicitur taliter innexisse: "Per ante", inquit, "non habui argumenta, nisi solum modo ex scriptura; modo autem accrevit argumentum topicum quod *si dicti maniaci hereticaverint dictam sentenciam; igitur verum*". "Ad hoc", inquit, "adducuntur evidencie logice isto modo.

According to logicians, the substance is wherever a body is; therefore there must be material substance in the Host.

Ubicunqne est corpus panis materialis, est substancia panis materialis; sed in hostia consecrata est corpus panis materialis: igitur est ibi substancia panis materialis. Maior patet per logicos, qui dicunt quod in omni genere accidentis est dare substanciam rei, et alia que sibi accidentaliter inexistunt. Unde Augustinus, super psalmo 68, dicit quod omnis creatura est substancia.

For in the consecrated Host there is thickness, which according to Aristotle is a body.

Minor autem probatur sic: In hostia consecrata est profunditas panis materialis qui prefuit, et omnis talis profunditas est corpus, dicente Aristotele in predicamentis ca° de quantitate, quod unum genus quantitatis est linea, superficies et corpus. 2° arguitur sic ad idem:

Again, Christ's Body is a substance, and it is 'bread indeed'; therefore it is the substance of bread.

In hostia consecrata remanet corpus Cristi, et ipsum est substancia panis materialis; igitur conclusio. Maiorem suppono ex fide et datis ab adversario, et minor patet ex fide scripture; cum corpus Cristi sit panis, ut adversarii propter reverenciam concorditer confitentur. Nec dubium, quin per idem est substancia panis et quod sit

It is therefore a compound of matter and form.

panis materialis. Ex hoc videtur quod est panis compositus ex materia et forma. Sic enim vocat ewangelium illum *panem vite, panem qui de celo descendit, et panem nostrum cottidianum;* cum talia comitantur per accidens

And Christ's Body, not being immaterial,

corpus Cristi. Igitur, cum ipsum corpus sit per se materiale, multo evidencius foret panis materialis. Non

1. igitur A; inquit C. 9. remittit A; sophita C. 20. accidetaliter C. 26. illud B. 34. ex *twice* A. 36. committantur B.

9. *Sophismata* is, I think, here used in a good sense, as a 'clever argument'. In *Logica* Wyclif often says: *Hic dicitur quod sophisma est verum.* 25. Arist. Opera: *κατηγορίαι*, 6. ed. Berlin, 1831, etc. t. 1, p. 4, l. 23.

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enim est ipsum corpus panis inmaterialis, cum non sit formaliter res inmaterialis". Ideo non valet iste fucus sophisticus quo dicitur panem illum esse materialem, sed non esse panem materialem; sicud dicitur fabrum esse bonum, sed non composite bonum fabrum, quia duo accidencia insunt eidem secundum disparem racionem. Aliqui autem logici dicunt probabiliter quod nemo potest esse faber, nisi sub aliquo gradu fuerit bonus faber. Sed quomodocunque sit de hoc, certum est ex fide quod sicud corpus Cristi est panis, sic est substancia panis materialis. Ut sicud Cristus est leo, sic est leo racionalis de tribu Juda. Et sicud equivocantes concedunt quod corpus Cristi non est panis materialis, sic debent concedere quod non est panis.

cannot be other than a material bread. To say: That Bread is material, but not material bread, is an evasion: if a carpenter is good he is a good carpenter, for everything is good to some extent. Christ is material bread, in the same way as He is a lion; if not, He is not bread at all.

Sed 3° arguitur de sacramento secundum sui naturam quod sit substancia panis materialis. Nam ipsum per se 78ᵃ substat ac | cidentibus, habens in se potenciam recipiendi tam formas substanciales quam accidentales, quibus per se subiciatur. Cum igitur hoc sit proprium substancie materiali, sequitur quod hoc sacramentum sit materialis substancia, ut dicit ecclesia. Et hinc Augustinus, attribuens sibi proprietates panis materialis, dicit quod est cibus corporalis et convertitur in hominem comedentem. Jeronimus eciam dicit quod est corpus, ut patet *de cons.* dis. 2ª caº "Dupliciter" et caº "De homine". Adversarii eciam dicentes quod est accidens confitentur quod est panis, licet equivoce, quia signum panis; ut septem boves et VII spice dicuntur VII anni, Genes. 41. Cum igitur eque sit signum substancie panis materialis, videtur quod debent concedere consequenter quod est substancia panis materialis. Et illud tractatum est diffuse alibi, quomodo accidens non potest esse sine subiecto; quomodo panis sit corpus Cristi, et quomodo doctores recentes debent intelligi, quod sacramentum post consecracionem non remanet pure panis; nec aliud exigit racio vel auctoritas scripture. In cuius signum omnes consecratores vel sanctificatores accidentis per se nesciunt glosam istam doctorum suorum infringere; sicud nesciunt ad quidditatem

What can sustain accidents and receive substantial forms is a substance and a body, as Augustine and Jerome call the Sacrament.

Even our adversaries admit that it is bread, as it is the sign of bread; they ought therefore to admit that it is material bread.

But all these questions are dealt with at length elsewhere.

4. est A. 5. est A. 10. Et *pro* Ut AB. 12. est *deest* AB. 15. panis ſba A. 20, 21. tribuens B. 25. est *pro* eciam A; hac C; *ib.* fatentur BC. 26. septem — et *deest* A. 28. sacramentum sub specie A. 34. aliᵈ C. 37. de quiditate A.

24. Decr. Grat. De Cons., D. II., c. 49, and D. V. c. 9. 27. *Alibi.* In *De Apostasia* and many other treatises.

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tem sacramenti altaris, quod sentitur sensu extrinseco, evidenter adtingere.

It is strange that they should condemn a doctrine about which they know so little.

Et mirabile est quod contempnarent de una re, quam tantum ignorant, quod in ipsa sit substancia panis materialis ut nemo dampnat prudenter hominem quem non noscit, cum ignorat si causa dampnacionis sibi infuerit. Quid igitur scit dampnator talis, cum sacramentum sit porosum, si in poris lateat panis non triticeus? vel si post consecracionem sacramentum generet novum panem? vel si, sacramento iacente inter hostias non consecratas, mice panis intraverint poros eius? In quibus casibus fierit verum quod in sacramento altaris post consecracionem est substancia panis materialis. Ideo melius fuisset his satrapis didicisse quid sit hoc sacramentum, antequam condempnassent veritatem ex sibi dubio, quod materialis substancia sit in illo. Ideo cum introierunt pretorium, et *non introierunt in ipsum, ut non contaminarentur*, manifeste sequitur quod introierunt ut contaminarentur per condempnacionem fatuam veritatis. Nec parvipendat quisquam instancias istas, ut logicas, quia veritas fidei absconditur sub logica subtilissima in scriptura. Et legentes sentencias ac alii sepe sine dampnacione in Oxonia obtexerant falsitatem. Nimis igitur sathanas temptavit matrem nostram, quando cecavit paucos scripture falsarios ut sub fuco sciencie false simulent se dampnare quod de facto est veritas a fidelibus acceptanda.

The Sacrament is porous: there may be in its pores bread that is not wheaten, or a new bread may be produced there after consecration, or crumbs of non-consecrated bread might be mixed with it: in all these cases they would have condemned an evident truth.

K.

Jo. XVIII, 28

The Oxford condemnation was therefore a temptation of Satan.

The cause of all this is that these apostates do not know how to interpret Scripture, according to Augustine's rules.

Sed oportet quod in fide de sacramento, sicut in aliis, ab apostatis illudatur ecclesia. Cuius illusionis origo est error sensus scripture. Nam ex hinc multi cecati superbia abierunt retro cum infidelibus, Joh. 6°. Nec dignantur attendere ad regulas et dicta sanctorum in ista materia. Scribit enim Augustinus, 3° de doctrina cristiana ca° 15, pro regula cognoscendi locucionem figurativam vel tropicam in scriptura. "Servabitur", inquit, "in locucionibus figurativis regula huiusmodi, ut tamdiu versetur diligenti consideracione quod legitur, donec ad regnum caritatis interpretacio perducatur. Si hoc autem iam proprie sonat, nulla putetur figurativa locucio. Si preceptiva locucio est aut flagicium vel

Jo. VI, 67

He says: When any expression is figurative, it must be examined until a good interpretation can be found to it; but it wants no

7, 8. sacramentum *deest* A. 9, 10. vel — panem *deest* C. 21, 22. subtillima A. 23. ī exon̄ A; in Oxon̄ C. 32. Augustinus *in marg.* A. 33. 5 *pro* 15 C.

34. Aug. De doctrina Christiana. l. III, c. 15 (Migne. Pat.; t. XXXIV, col. 74).

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facinus vetans, aut utilitatem vel beneficenciam iubens, non est figurativa. Si autem facinus aut flagicium videtur iubere aut utilitatem et beneficenciam vetare, figurativa est". Et ponit exemplum: *Nisi manducaveritis*, inquit, Jo. VI, 54 *carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis.* Facinus igitur vel flagicium videtur iubere; figura igitur est, precipiens passioni domini esse comunicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixa et wulnerata sit. Nec dubium quin ista locucio: *hoc est corpus meum, hic est sangwis meus*, demonstratis pane et vino, sit figurativa consimili racione. Unde precipiens comestionem panis et pocionem vini consecrati, quod prius precipit, statim subiungit ewangelium: *hec quocienscunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.* Quasi diceret: Non comedetis vel bibetis corporaliter carnem meam vel sanguinem meum, sed spiritualiter passionem meam memoriter recolendo.

interpretation if it can bear a literal meaning. If it commands to do any thing good, it is literal: if the contrary, figurative. And as Augustine's example is: *unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man* ... as a figure, it is clear that *This is my Body*, is a figure too.

Et sic intelligitur Augustinus, epistola 14 ad Bonifacium, L. quando dicit quod sacramentum altaris 2m quemdam modum corpus Cristi est. Non enim scivit vel voluit iste sanctus onerare ecclesiam cum sompniis modo fictis, quod corpus Cristi sit corporaliter et carnaliter in hostia consecrata; sed sicud ewangelium Joh. 6° dicit *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sangwis meus vere est potus,* sic sacramentum altaris vere, sed figurative, est corpus Cristi vel sanguis: quia, ut Cristus dicit ibidem: *Caro non prodest quidquam*, cum sensus carnalis et modus carnalis corporis Cristi in sacramento foret inutilis atque superfluus; quia tunc indubie homo concederet carnaliter | 78b corpus Cristi; non solum quia esus sacramenti foret carnalis, sed quia corpus Cristi foret carnaliter in eodem: quod Augustinus dicit fore flagicium.

Augustine himself is to be thus understood when he says that the Sacrament is in a manner Christ's Body: truly, but figuratively. "The flesh profiteth nothing"; a fleshly mode of being in the Sacrament would be useless.

Unde deficientibus argumentis quidam prorumpunt in ista ludicria: "Tales", inquiunt, "qui dicunt istam sentenciam et extingunt devocionem ecclesie, dicentes cum scriptura quod panis et vinum post consecracionem remaneant, tropice celebrant, sed ydemptice damnabuntur". Quo contradicitur quod isti ydiote arguunt:

Some idiots have said: such as hold these doctrines celebrate figuratively, but will be damned in reality. But they consecrate vain

3. infigurata AB. 6. ffacing A. 7. igitur *deest* C. 9. win'ata A. 15. facietis AB. 16. et *pro* vel B. 23. et B. 32. quia AB. 35. et *deest* A. 37, 38. dampnabunt A.

13. Ad Bonifacium episcopum. c. Q. (Migne t. XXXIII, col. 364.)
14. *Hec quocienscunque.* These are the words of consecration at Mass, and are not in any Gospel, but adapted from I. Cor. XI, 25.

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accidents, and will be praised in vain.

"accidencia sine subiecto conficiunt, et hinc nusquam nisi forte in vacuo propter istam stulticiam laudabuntur". Constat inquam, logicis quod deus vere et realiter irrascitur, sicud corpus suum vere et effectualiter manducatur, non tropice; licet locucio qua sensus talis exprimitur sit figurativa vel tropica. Ad tantam enim infatuantur cultores signorum quod credunt omnes proprietates que signis conveniunt suis signatis conpetere.

Though the words expressing God's anger or the eating of His Body may be figures, the things are real.

Other wild theories: that nothing exists but substance;

Ut ad tantum insanit hec secta, quod unus ponit nichil esse, nisi substanciam; sic quod non sit forma substancie materialis vel accidentalis. Alius autem qui magis furet ista demencia, ponit quod nichil est nisi substancia vel qualitas quam ipse nominat. Et sic debet dicere quod sacramentum altaris sentitum sensu extrinseco vel est substancia vel qualitas sua, aut ex talibus agregatum; et per consequens cum non sic substancia, sed tempus est, sacramentum altaris est dies veneris pro hoc anno, quia fuit dies veneris per totum diem parasceves; sicud quelibet substancia vel qualitas, que per illud tempus duravit. Alia autem inconveniencia ex erroribus istis sequentibus relinquo scolasticis, sciens quod foret studio Oxoniensi utilius et isti secte honorabilius errores istos destruere, quam in ista materia de eukaristia tantum eis incognita laborare. Sed quidam tantum infatuantur mania, quod credunt deum et angelos confirmando conplere quidquid, in quo suis mandatis subditis preceperint, firmiter obedire. Sed cras ex eis procul dubio cessabit illa potestas; nec sciunt inpresenciarum ipsam efficaciter stabilire. Ideo excomunicacio, dampnacio vel determinacio eorum non plus valet quam vox graculi, nisi de quanto fuerit fundabilis in scriptura. Sed blasfeme inponendo Cristo falsitatem in sua dampnacione, irracionabilitatem in sua excomunicacione et inferioritatem diabolo in sua determinacione ostendunt se discipulos anticristi. Imponunt enim Cristo deo nostro omnes istas blasfemias, quia in quantum quis in nomine Cristi facit iniuriam, inponit sibi auctoritatem.

that there is nothing but substance or quality, as he calls it: whence we should have to conclude that the Sacrament, if consecrated on Good Friday, *is* Friday.

They are so infatuated that they believe in revelations in support of their follies.

Yet they cannot ground their condemnations upon Scripture, and they are worth nothing.

M.

A second point condemned refers to the corporal presence of Christ.

Quantum ad secundam dampnacionem quod corpus Cristi non sit corporali presencia in altari, probabile est quod si corpus Cristi vel aliquod sit alicubi, tunc

3, 4. nascitur B. 5. nam B; *ib.* talis quantis sensus A. 11. aut A. 12. fu'et = fueret A. 20. durat A. 28. procul *deest* BC. 31. vox *deest* A; *ib.* craculi C. 34. qua B. 39. terciam B.

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corporali presencia et corporaliter est ibidem, ut dicit decretal Johannis 22[1] in Clementinis de reliquiis venerabilibus sanctorum ca°. *Si dominum.* Nam cum secundum Augustinum presens dicitur quasi presto sensui, et sensus comuniter dicitur de sensu corporis et sensu intellectus, iuxta illud Rom. 11°: *Quis cognovit sensum domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?* manifestum est quod res est presens, ubicunque sentita fuerit intellectu, et per consequens ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est presencia corporali. Sed ex hoc non sequitur quod ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est corporaliter, quia, si corpus est alicubi corporaliter, tunc habet ibi unum novum modum essendi qui inest sibi in quantum illud corpus: sicut si corpus sit alicubi presencia, tunc habet unum ibi modum essendi, qui inest sibi in quantum ibi presens. Unde presencia corporis Cristi est sibi accidentalis in sacramento panis. Unde dicitur presencia corporalis, quia est presencia corporis, non quia illud corpus est ibi corporaliter, sed spiritualiter; ut creatura dicitur divina, non quia deus, sed quia sanctificata per deum. Et sicud non sequitur *Petrus facit bonum moraliter;* ergo *facit bene moraliter:* ut, posito quod Petrus infidelis prescitus iuvet Platonem predestinatum ad faciendum unum opus virtuosum respectu Pauli: ita non sequitur: *corpus Cristi est in sacramento presencia corporali;* igitur *est ibi corporaliter.* Et illi qui habent pro eodem *corporaliter* et *modo corporis,* locuntur inproprie et extense. Unde anticristine procedunt, qui super ista inproprietate fundant dampnacionem heresis.

Primo, inquam, adiscerent hii blasfemi, qui fingunt hereses in alios per comenta mendacii de eukaristia, quid secundum naturam suam sit sacramentum panis, antequam solicitarentur, quomodo corpus domini sit in illo. Certum, inquam, est quod remanet post benediccionem unum per se sentitum quod non est substancialiter corpus Cristi, et illud est sacramentum; sicud patet ex descripcione sacramenti et determinacione ecclesie decretalium de celebracione missarum; "Cum Marthe",

Rom. XI, 34

It is clear that Christ is present in the body, not to the bodily but to the spiritual sense.

But it does not follow that he is corporally present: this would entail a new mode of existence in every place where the Host was.

There is a corporal presence since, the Body is present; but spiritually, not corporally. It does not follow that to do *good* is to do *well.*

The mistake arises from mixing up two distinct things.

These blasphemers, who themselves invent the heresies they condemn, ought first to ask What the Sacrament is, before they ask how Christ is present therein. It is evident that the thing we see, as

1. tunc et presencialiter est B; et principaliter C. 2, 3, z ven A; reliquiis et Ven' sanc ca° C. 4. dei *pro* dicitur A. 5. dei A. 9. fuerit *deest* C. 13. novum *deest* BC: aut *pro* qui A. 14. presencia *deest* A; presentialiter C. 16. corporis *deest* C. 23. iubet A. 25. esse B. 28. hic *pro* qui A. 31 eukaria A; qui B. 37. declaratione B.

3. Decr. Clem. III, 16.

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such, is not identically Christ and *is* the Sacrament; *what is it?* I say it is bread by nature and sacramentally Christ's Body. There being such heresies abroad on the subject, no alms should be given to a Friar or priest holding the wrong doctrine; to give them any thing without due questioning would possibly be to aid a wicked disciple of Antichrist.

et testantur doctores concorditer, quibus adversarii, ut suis auditoribus, innituntur. Illud autem sacramentum dico ego cum doctore meo Augustino esse naturaliter panem, sed sanctificatum et quodammodo (quia sacramentaliter) corpus Cristi. 5

Cum igitur circa illud latet in populo tanta infidelitas seductiva, cristianus non daret elemosinam fratri sive presbitero in hac fide | devio; sed primo quereret de 79a quiditate istius sacramenti prudenter specificati; et, suspecta secta sua, peteret ante comunicacionem in 10 bonis fortune sub sigillo capitanei sui fidem suam de quiditate huius venerabilis sacramenti; quia aliter ex sibi dubio foveret infidelem deteriorem pagano ypocrita, seducentem populum, plenum discipulum anticristi. Talis autem heretici obest celebracio, oracio et predicacio, 15 sicut irridenda est sua excomunicacio sive dampnacio. Sic igitur post introduccionem sectarum fructificavit scola fidelium. Dimissis igitur introductis subtilitatibus anticristi intendat fidelis fructui fidei scripture.

1. adn'fan' C. 10 patenter A.

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CAPITULUM SEPTIMUMDECIMUM.

A. UNdecimus tortor ecclesie est hostiarius. Et intelligo per hostiarium quemcunque nomine clericum extra sacros ordines, ut clericum parochialem, clericum officiariorum predictorum et quoscunque novicios privati ordinis vel laicos, qui sub nomine clerici indebite vendicant dignitatem. Quamvis enim hostiarius sit superioris status quam abbas vel monachus in quantum talis; ut patet q. 3, dis. 7. "A Subdiacono"; tamen contingit clericos istos multipliciter inferiorari simpliciter monachis in virtute.

The eleventh tormentor of the Church is the *doorkeeper;* a name here used for all Church officials who are not in Holy Orders. Their rank is above Abbots; their conduct often puts them below mere monks.

Blasfemat autem quicunque clericus qui titulo clericatus capit privilegium dignitatis Cristi, et tamen in vita nomini contradicit; quia ut sic mentitur super Cristo, quod sit de sorte sua, et per consequens quod Cristus auctorisat et vixerat talem vitam. Scopant autem populum clerici parochiales, dimissa Cristi pauperie, dum sumptuose mundi voluptatibus insolescunt. Cum enim sumptus talium non surgunt ex nichilo, non restat finaliter nisi quod spolietur a populo. Si enim capiunt inordinate a suo curato sive magistro ex hoc quod seducunt parochianos simplices ad dandum rectori oblaciones, decimas vel alia que nimis avide concupiscit, manifestum est quod spoliacio temporalium, quibus clericus taliter abutitur, redundat in parochianos illos simplices. Et idem est iudicium de seduccione populi in baiulacione aque vel panis benedicti, in ministracione panis post recepcionem sacramenti et in seduccione citacionis vel alterius fraudis subdole introducte; et sic utrobique pululat personarum accepcio, et perverso clericorum officio, populi laycalis seduccio, et ut breviter

It is blasphemy to stultify the dignity of a holy title by bad conduct. Offences of parish clerks.

They live in pleasure and derive the money thereto from the people that they spoil; whether directly or indirectly, following the orders of Curates who pay them, they are equally to blame.

1. Ca^{m} *in red ink* A. 2. *Initial* U *in red ink* A. 21. prelato C. 26. simpliciter B.

9. Decr. Grat., 1^{a} Pars. D. XCIII, c. 5.

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dicatur narrare complete omnes perturbaciones que fiunt per parochiales clericos difficile est; peccant enim, bona dei in petulancia consumendo, in fraudulencia sui officii populum seducendo, et per consequens domino omnium a quo cuncta bona procederent, in populo proditorie serviendo. Oportet enim quod deo serviant, velint, nolint; si proditorie, punientur cum populo permittente, quia torpor volicionis, que posset corrigere, reputabitur pro consensu. Sed malicia talis clerici sequitur ad maliciam prelati, rectoris, atque presbiteri perversi, cum zelans pro causa dei vel aufugeret vel corriperet subiectum inutilem.

They must serve God; but if they do so treacherously they will be punished with the people, whose torpor has connived at their misdeeds.

Unde audivi quendam sacerdotem conqueri de seduccione hostiarii, dum diebus dominicis deferendo aquam benedictam inmiscet sepe aquam non benedictam, et sic novissima parochie non habent aspersionem aque totaliter benedicte, et per consequens in spiritualibus differenter fraudatus parochia. Non enim phas est dicere quod aque talis aspersio nichil valet. Nec valet dicere quod in liquidis sacramentum quantumcunque parvum sanctificat quantumlibet copulatum, tum quia non coextenduntur, sed occupant loca propria, et (secundum nota philosophis) sanctitas aque, cum sit accidens, non migrat de subiecto uno in aliud; tum eciam, quia hostiarius sic proiciendo guttam aque benedicte in mare sanctificaret totum mare; ymmo, cum omnes aque mediterranee, paludales, vel fontales communicantur cum mari per catharactas absconditas, hostiarius posset faciliter sanctificare omnes aquas mundi, et cum aqua non debeat iterum consecrari, olim cessarent aquarum consecraciones ministerio sacerdotis. Nec valet dicere quod spiritualiter generatur nova sanctitas, ut contingit de luce, tum quia per idem sic foret de sanctificandi con- B.

A priest complained that the door-keeper on Sundays added common water to the holy water he bore, so that the last families in the parish did not get pure holy water. We may not say that sprinkling with holy water is of no use; nor that any small quantity of a liquid 'sacramental' can sanctify any large one: each part keeps its own place, and the accident 'holiness' does not pass from one to the other: besides, if so, a door-keeper might sanctify all the water in the world by

2. est narrare *omnes MSS.* 8. colligere A. 9. Sic B. 14–16. deferendo aqua benedictam no bndcoiz et sic novissimam inmisceret sepe aquam C. 26. aque *deest* A. 27. contaminatur A. 30. cessasent AC.

22. Wiclif, as in seen in his philosophical treatises, especially in Logica, admitted the doctrine of atoms. Each atom of the holy water remained sanctified, but did not sanctify that which was not. I understand that the common belief is that any amount of ordinary water added, if less than the quantity of holy water to which it is added, becomes holy itself; if *more*, there is no longer any holy water. This theory is of course exposed to many difficulties.

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stantibus, ut pane, palmis, igne, cera, tymiamate, cereo, petra, fructibus et aliis sanctificatis comuniter; tum eciam, quia liceret exorciste, hostiario vel layco cuicunque benedicere vel sacrare cuncta huiusmodi, quia deferre ipsa ad loca, in quibus multiplicarent sibi similia in subiecto capaci. In quo casu, sicud deferens candelam ad locum tenebrosum ipsum illuminat, sic videtur quod applicans instrumentum multiplicandis sic consecratis instrumentaliter sic consecraret. Et patet ficticia. Sicut enim hostiarius facit novam aquam, sic consecrat ipsam aquam, ipsa a sui inicio consecrata; quia aliter solus deus consecraret, et non presbiter vel minister.

pouring in one drop of holy water: nor that juxtaposition occasions a new entity of holiness to come forth, as when a candle lights up the darkness; for then everything could thus be blessed.

Relictis igitur obieccionibus contra responsiones fictas, videtur quod sicud in primitiva ecclesia habuerunt | 79b Cristi discipuli potestatem faciendi miracula, sic habuerunt potestatem corpora tam racionabilia quam irracionabilia consecrandi. Nam Marc. ultimo scribitur. *Signa autem eos qui crediderint hec sequentur: In nomine meo demona eicient* etc. Cum igitur in corporibus tam animatis quam inanimatis latent demonia, ut patet de legione demonum missa in porcos, Marc. 5° et in aere et in aliis corporibus, ubi magis nocent homini, est notorium hos latere; ewangelium autem igitur permittens, nedum sacerdotibus, sed generaliter in Cristum credentibus, potestatem et effectum eiciendi demonia, dat fidem quod sic possunt in Cristum credentes, cum potestas domini inextingwibilis perpetuo sit parata

Marc. XVI, 17, 18

Marc. V, 13

Wyclif's theory of sacramentals. Christ's disciples had the power to cast out devils and work miracles; and as devils lie hid in animals and other things (which is a well-known fact) the Gospel ascribes the power of casting them out to all who believe in Christ.

C. Credo tamen quod sufficerent de clero, sicut fuit tempore apostoli, diaconus et sacerdos. Nam habundancius onus ecclesie est infundabile; nisi quia sic placet satrapis, et, ut fingitur, ad honorem et usum ecclesie prodest multum. Ille igitur qui habet potestatem purgandi corpus a demonio, habet eciam potestatem consecrandi, sive per eos deus det novam virtutem, sive amovendo prohibens resuscitet antiquam.

But the two orders of priests and deacons were sufficient; the others have been only a burden to the Church. Whosoever can cast devils out of anything, has therefore the power to bless it.

Sed sicut multi, eciam sacerdotes, in fide deficiunt, sic credibile est quod deficiunt in ministrando sacramenta et sacramentalia; non solum quo ad modum virtuosi ministerii, sed in penam peccati sui et populi desunt crebrius quo ad substanciam sacramenti, quia

But as the faith of many fails, we may believe that some priests have not this power — not

1. et cera A; *ib.* cero *pro* cereo AB. 12. cosecraret C. 13. obiectibus A. 18. sequenter A. 21. Marc. *deest; blank space* B. 27. potestates A. 29. Non C.

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affirming this without a special revelation, but fearing and suspecting them — if we see that they do not follow Christ's law.

non sunt illi quibus deus concessit huiusmodi potestatem. Et licet nemo debet presumere de quoquam sine revelacione hoc credere, sic nec debet ut perfidiam illud discredere, sed timere. Ad quod capitur evidencia probabilis fortem suspicionem generans, si clericus vel prelatus non servat legem Cristi suo officio limitatam. Tunc enim indicat quod deus, sciens omnia preterita et futura, non ponit eum in tali officio, quod scit quod in penam peccati ipsum impossibilitat adimplere. Unde videtur blasfemia quod deus det sacerdoti huiusmodi potestatem. Si enim rex presciret clare quod quis sit proditor regni sui, et super illam scienciam daret sibi potestatem plenam ad talia gubernacula talis regni, nonne iudicaretur quod rex talis foret inprovidus? Sic igitur affirmans talem pseudo-officiarium habere potestatem tantam, cum non possit illam habere, nisi adeo implicat blasfeme quod deus, omnium conditor, sit inprudens. Ille igitur, qui ante et post recte supplebit officium et interim ad horam errat in ministerio, abutitur sua potestate. Ille autem, qui perpetuo non facit recte tale officium, non abutitur potestate, nisi forte pretenso vel communi, quia non habet potestatem talem specificam, licet pompaverit se habere. Unde evidencia fortis est, quod prelatus errat expers potestatis huiusmodi; si pompaverit (sive papa, sive cardinalis, sive episcopus arrogans et pompans) si segnis in humili Cristi officio; frustra quo ad scolam Cristi huiusmodi potestatem. Periculosum itaque foret hominem vendicare novitatem potestatis, sicud spissim fit in materia de eukaristia, vel antiquam potestatem sine correspondencia operis asserere se habere. Deus enim ordinavit quod operibus, que hinc ordinavit sensibilia debemus credere, et potestatem, quam ordinavit insensibilem et nobis absconditam ex operibus de levi debemus supponere. Modo autem eversivi scola anticristi, dimissis operibus, contendit circa magnitudinem potestatis. Nec dubium quin innaturalis scole eversio originatur a rege superbie.

We cannot suppose without blasphemy that God would give such power to such a man. If a king knew beforehand that such a one would be a traitor, would he not be foolish if he trusted his power to him? A priest who sometimes does wrong abuses his power: one who continually does wrong does not, for he has no power. And the best proof that he has none is to be proud of it, to whatever station of the priesthood he may belong.

We must believe our senses for things of the senses; and as for things beyond the senses, we should judge according to works.

Redeundo igitur ad propositum, conceditur quod in D.
casu sacerdos rite benedicit pani, aque, oleo et si-

Thus, sometimes the priest blesses the water

5. supposicionem C. 10. modi *deest* A. 11. sit continue B. 14. nomine A. 17. proditor B. 22. pretensa B. 24. erret C; *ib.* et pars A; ex parte C. 25. si *pro* sive *before* papa AB. 27, 28. huiusmodi potestate *pro* officio — potestatem B. 29. sit *omnes MSS.* 30. antiqua A. 31, 32. quod operibus *deest* C. 32. hic A. 35. onſi A; eversi B.

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milibus altero dictorum modorum vel utroque, et clericus in casu rite ministrat hec populo; et sepe contingit fieri errorem in utroque. Concedunt enim quod aqua benedicta est infinitum melior non benedicta; ymmo infinitum melior vino quantolibet non sacrato; et tamen negligencia qua tractant ipsam dat populo fidem quod false illudunt laycis, credentes contrarium. Excessus, inquam, quo aquab enedicta excedit non benedictam, cum aliquantum facit ad eius melioracionem, et in nulla proporcione racionabili, non restat nisi quod sit infinitum melior. Et per idem videtur quod predia mortificata et consecrata ecclesie, dum fiunt Cristi patrimonium, infinitum meliorarentur, et sic regnum. Sanctitas autem superaddita, que non est racionaliter numismati comparabilis, videtur infinitum melior quam disposicio corporalis. Sed videtur quod bona talia et regna sint inde pocius peiorata, quia ordinacioni dei ut sic contraria. Ideo videtur quod anticristus mendaciter blasfemat in potestate diabolica contra Cristum, quia ordinacioni Cristi repugnat, et false vendicat potenciam, quam non
80a fundat in Cristo. In cuius signum res | sic sacrate crebrius et vilius emuntur ab anticristi discipulis quam alia non sacrata. Ideo videtur quod scola sua sit contraria sibi ipsi, cum symoniace blasfemat inplicite quod deus malus et non dominus facit ista. Talia itaque que lucrum non sapiunt, licet rite sanctificata fuerint, sunt hodie parvipensa. Sed alia, quorum sanctificacio est infundabilis, sunt similacione falsa ab yppocritis comendata.

and the door-keeper distributes it rightly; sometimes not. Holy water is infinitely better than any other, even than non-consecrated wine; yet it is treated with much neglect.

Lands consecrated to the Church should also be infinitely better; but in fact they are worse, as opposed to God's ordinance; Antichrist falsely claims to consecrate them, for the sake of lucre.

Clericus igitur baiulus aque benedicte debet reverenter ipsam spargere, et non nimis crebro aquam extraneam comiscere; quandoque tamen deus sanctificat nobis incognite. Et cum talis sanctitas sit nobis inutilis, nisi de quanto ordinatur ad sanctitatem mentis, debet moderate postponi, ut cerimonia, quo ad ipsam. Necesse quidem est uti cerimoniis, quamdiu est religio viatorum inperfecta. Sed totum periculum est in preponderancia sua ultra per se finem talis cerimonie magis bonum; ut si sanctitas mentis honoretur eque bene vel melius sine usu talium consecratorum, religiosum foret ipsa dimittere. Sic enim dimittentur in patria, sicut

The door-keeper should sprinkle the holy water with reverence and not add water to it too frequently. We should not set this 'blessedness' of the water too much in the foreground: it is only for our use. Ceremonies are necessary here below; but there is danger

4. est — benedicta *deest* C. 10. fit A. 13. enim B. 14, 15. nimismati corporalis AB; nummismati C. 16. mihi A. 28. gmedatt A. 29. autem B. 36. est *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest* B. 37. sentencie AB. 38. haberetur AC.

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in making too much of them. We must keep aloof from two excesses: contempt of these rites and an exaggerated esteem for them: i. e. as in private religions &c. a greater esteem for them than for their end.

privata religio. Utrobique enim est nimietas ponderancie et ritus despeccio contempnenda. Et omnino prima pars, ut patet ex religionibus privatis; et adinvenciones humanas studentibus, et nimis onerantibus simplices, cum illa appreciantur amplius quam finem eorum. Sed di- 5 missio aliquorum que lucrum non sapiunt, ut fructuum, carnium et pęre cum baculo, et eis similibus, docet quod omnia ista, habitis suis finibus, sunt preternecessaria ad salutem. Omnia tamen ista ex antiquitate et racione sunt evidenciora quam ritus vel ordines 10 mendicancium super ewangelium introducti.

These blessings, not indeed necessary to salvation, are yet better than the Friars' observances.

In comixcione autem olei non consecrati cum con- E. secrato est maior fallacia anticristi. Primo, quia res censetur ex maiori solempnitate sacramenti solum sanctificacioni episcopi deputata; ideo eius negligencia 15 est amplius ponderanda. 2°, quia episcopus, cui sine racione sed ob superbam preeminenciam deputatur hec consecracio, debet 2^{m} largas expensas sibi deputatas a regnis de fabrice sue ministerio, cum undiquaque iacet maius periculum, solicius provideri. Et 3°, quia leges 20 limitant periodum in novacionem olei consecrati, ut patet de consecr. dist. 1^{a} "Si quis de alio crismate quam de illo novo quod proprii episcopi largicione acceperit, baptizare aliquem, nisi preoccupante morte, temptaverit, pro temeritatis ausu ipse in se proprie dampnacionis 25 protulisse sentenciam manifestatur. Non sic autem de aqua benedicta". Nec dubium, quin tanta vel maior sit racio, quia contingit oleum non consecratum oleo consecrato adeo comisceri, quod baptisetur vel confirmetur fidelis omnino oleo non consecrato, in quo stabilito 30 sacramento iacet magnum periculum. In omnibus autem istis, eciam usque ad sacramenta, attendendum est ad fructus, si habeantur facilius, fertilius et ecclesie primitive similius sine talibus signis, quam elaboracione eorum; et est secure ab eis in suis fructibus quies- 35

As for the mixing of consecrated with unconsecrated oil, it is a still more serious matter, since such consecration, reserved to Bishops only, is made at great expense, and is the object of Canon law;

yet it often happens that the oil of Baptism or Confirmation is so mixed that it is no longer consecrated. In all this we have to consider our spiritual profit, caring little for the rites in themselves.

14. sciencie C. 19, 20. cum — solicius *deest* C. 23. de *deest* C; *ib.* acceperis A. 27. est A. 30. fidelis *deest* B: *ib.* sacrato C. 31. in quo iacet B; iaceret C. 34. cum B; sive C; *ib.* ex celebracione A.

12. The *Rituale Romanum* (edit. 1750) says: Curet Parochus ut ea (sc. olea) suo tempore quam primum habeat, et tunc vetera in Ecclesia comburat . . . Veteribus oleis nisi necessitas cogat ultra annum non utatur; ac si deficere videantur, et chrisma aut oleum benedictum haberi non posset, aliud oleum de olivis non benedictum adjiciatur, sed in minori quantitate. 22. Decr. Grat. De Cons., D. IV., c. 122.

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cendum, et contempto satrape precepto, in lege domini confidendum.

Sed quo ad secundam maneriem clericorum extraordinariorum, notandum quod sunt nimis multiplices, cum pene tot sunt officia huiusmodi clericorum, quot sunt officia virilia et pacifica in domibus vel officiis regum et secularium dominorum: ut in officiis regum sunt cancellarii, thesaurarii, clerici de secreto et privato sigillo, clerici de parvo bag: ergo et infinita que non expedit iam narrare. Et cum secularibus dominis sunt clerici de coquina, cum eis similibus. Ymmo oportet vicecomitem et iusticiarium, senescalum vel ballivum, habere clericum servientem. Nec dubium quin tota ista maneries clericorum magis a racione clerici degenerat, quam parrochialis clericus in quantum talis. Et iterum certum est quod regna que sic monstruose transferunt officia clericorum, ut sic, parturiunt dissensiones, derisiones, et multa bella regnis: que vel paulative vel subito oportet prorumpere, quia oportet quod ordinacioni divine contrarius convincatur. Nec capit excusacionem ista proditoria ministrorum domus dei subversio, cum nedum ordinacioni divine inponitur blasfeme stulticia, sed in domo dei sive ecclesia, matre nostra, emergunt latenter multa facinora; et specialiter, dum clerici infra sacros ordines et curati occupantur circa secularia. De aliis autem vocatis clericis extra hunc statum, cum licet eis coniugari ut laicis, non contendo.

A second point against the inferior clergy is their too great number; they are to be found in the king's court and in all great houses, occupying every function: chancellors, treasurers, clerks of the Privy Seal and Petty Bag &c., even clerk of the kitchen; and every great officer has a clerk to serve him. This is very wrong,

and quite inexcusable,

at least as concerns such 'clerks' as really belong to the clergy.

Unde leges ecclesie ex auctoritate scripture dampnant hunc modum, ut 21 qu. 3 ca° *Modo,* canon sic loquitur: "Apostolorum statuta sunt que dicunt: *Nemo militans deo implicat se negociis secularibus.* Proinde aut clerici sint sine actoribus domorum, aut actores sine officio clericorum." Et sequitur: | "Clerici non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire et precibus atque oracionibus vacare debent." Et allegat ut supra, illud 1ª thymo. 2°: *Nemo militans deo implicat se negociis secularibus, ut ei placeat, cui se probavit.* Item 3° decretalium in fine, quando magis claudicavit religio cristiana, sic scribitur in nomine pape Eugenii: "Sacerdotibus et clericis tuis

It is forbidden by several canons.

'Let clerks have no domestic offices, or let the officers of the household not be clerks'. "Their business is at the Altar, and with prayer".

2 Tim. II, 4

"They must be publicly forbidden to

1, 2. et confidendum *deest* A. 7, 8. ut – sunt *deest* C. 9. baggo A; bag'go C. 12. et senescallum B. 13. clicum C. 14. a *deest* C. 18. que *twice* C. 24, 25. occupant A. 30. curis A; *ib.* autem A. 32. Nota quod clerici non debent dominis temporalibus secularibus ministrare *at top of page* B. 31. 2 B. 37. quin A.

28. Decr. Grat. 2ª Pars., Cª XXI, qu. 34, c. 2 and 4. 38. Decr. Greg., l. III, tit. 50, cap. 2.

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deal with money matters; if they do, and are taken in fraud, the Church must not help them".

denunccies publice, ne ministri laycorum fiant, nec in rebus eorum procuratores existant. Quod si postmodum facere presumant, et occasione ipsius administracionis propter peccuniariam causam deprehendantur in fraude, indignum est eis ab ecclesia subveniri, per quos constat in ecclesia scandalum generari." Ex istis benedictis legibus elaboratis ex fide scripture, patet quod quicunque secularis dominus qui diligit matrem ecclesiam debet ministros eius servare honorifice in illo ministerio quod dominus eis limitavit. Si enim sacerdotes occupat in seculari officio ob spem promocionis symoniace, ut sic vivant secularius et dicius quo ad mundum, nullus scelestius vel turpius inficit matrem suam. Et sic, ex cecitate qua honorando putat ecclesie in illis benefacere, sumptuose dampnificat se et illos, cum secundum legem dei, Exo. 20, *Qui non honorat matrem* carnalem et magis spiritualem, carebit longevitate et prosperitate *super terram,* quia vite passivo principio contradicit. Diabolus itaque cum bonis temporalibus minimis excecat carnales, faciendo eos credere de umbris quod sint luces contrarie legi Cristi.

It is clear from these laws that no good Christian should give a clerk any secular employment.

To act otherwise is blindly to dishonour the Church, our mother.

Exod. XX, 12

Sophisms by which this custom is defended.

1. "It favours the prosperity of the kingdom".

2° notaret fidelis fallaciam argucie anticristi, qua ex antiquitate vendicatur tales cleri oppressiones conpetere regie maiestati. "Bene", inquit, "et prospere stetit cum regno, quando fuit per clerum taliter ministratum." In isto oportet, contra anticristi perfidiam, fidem scripture et leges ecclesie ex illa collatas supponere. Et patet ex ewangelio, quod esse *in domibus regum et vestiri mollibus* propter gubernacionem vel dominacionem secularem familie est contrarium clero Cristi, cum hoc venenum fugerunt Cristus et sui apostoli cum Baptista. Nec valet dicere quod oportet legem istam mutari; quia est lex Cristi eterna, cui non est superior successura. Sed maior videtur nunc necessitas, propter maioritatem periculi, quod diligencius observetur. Nec excusat antiquitas, cum nequicia diaboli sit longe antiquior, et potestas sua de qua superbit sit potestate regis superior. Ideo oportet videre, super antiquitatem, licenciam in speculo scripturarum. 3° monentur reges quod licet eis hec facere, quia licet eis legios et promotos suos ad tam necessarium officium deputare.

G.

But it is contrary to Scripture.

Matth. XI, 9

2. "The lawsforbidding it are obsolete." But Christ's law is eternal, and cannot become obsolete. The antiquity of an abuse proves nothing in its favour.

3. "Kings have the right to promote whom they will of

4. fraudem C. 11. occupant A. 13. modum A. 17, 18. longanimitate B. 18. passio B. 20. nimis A. 30. contrarium *aeest* A. 31. fig'am'it C. 37. scribit A.

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Sed constat quod repugnat cuicunque domino abuti possesso, sicut repugnat cuicunque subdito subtrahere ordinacionem vel servicium domini capitalis. Deus autem est dominus capitalis cuiuscunque creature. Ideo in omni exaccione regis quo ad servicium clericorum debet excipi servicium debitum illi domino capitali. Ymmo, supposito quod talis apostota consentiret vel affectaret sic monstruose secularibus dominis deservire, illi domini detestarentur eos tamquam inutiles et proditores dei et hominum; nec plus acceptarent eorum servicium quam demonum, cum acceptando involverent se infidelitatis periculo aput deum, et inficerent se proditorio servicio per talem clericum. Ideo, idem esset regalias regum illud exigere, et, blasfemando se esse superiores domino, inficere se et regnum. Et patet quod promocio symoniaci parturit talia magis mala; quia in hoc conducitur, ut sit proditor deo suo.

their subjects to such necessary offices". But kings may not abuse their rights to take away from those of the King of Kings. A man willing to be thus promoted would be a traitor to God and man, whose service should be no more accepted than those of devils.

Nec sunt evidencie diaboli digne memoria. Dicit enim quod stat clericum facere utrumque servicium: sed illi clerici non sunt apciores quam erant apostoli. Ipsi enim non sufferunt, sine peccato omissionis, pure servire domino Jesu Cristo. Quomodo igitur serviret sibi inculpabiliter talis derisus homuncio? Nonne dicit apostolus negativam: *nemo militans deo implicat se negociis secularibus?* Sed ubi est maior implicacio, quam sic assidua et obligatoria et mundana ministracio? Alienacio quidem a Cristi servicio que in omni genere cleri cor-
H. ruit, est implicacionis secularis testificacio. Secularis autem non, ut sic, militat deo, sed forte venialiter servit mundo. Laxent itaque clerici sic pompantes suam magnam operacionem in piscacione hominum 2m recia sancti Petri. Sed ille *relictis omnibus* ante hec *secutus*
Luc. V, 11 *est* dominum Jesum Cristum, ut patet Lu. 5. Si igitur seculare servicium sit regi necessarium, compleatur per secularem ad illud ydoneum, et differatur divinum servicium. Si autem curatus servit regibus, serviat pure clericale servicium sive consilium; et resignet, vel per alium preordinet, curatoris officium. Et sic, si anticristus fingit nullum alium sufficere ad occupandum seculare regis officium, degradetur vel fiat laicus, per-

The arguments in favour of this custom are very weak. It is false that both services can be properly performed: the Apostles themselves were not equal to the task. As a fact, Christ's service is abandoned when the clergy has to serve the world.

Let them not boast of being fishers of men: Peter left all to follow Christ. Seculars should perform secular duties.

If a curate serves the king, let him do simply clerk's service; and let him give up his curacy, and become a layman.

4. capitalis *deest* B. 11. ut C. 13. regalis A. 14. inferiores B. 15. quomodo C. 19. constat C. 20. essent B. 26. et *before* mundana *deest* B. 27. quod *omnes MSS.* 27, 28. cernit A. 33. cum A. 35. descratur A. 36. servit *omnes MSS.*

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He must, to keep his clerical privilege, refuse secular work.

dendo clericale privilegium. Vel si wult ipsum | servare, 81a
abneget incomposibile seculare servicium, sicud oportet
iuxta legem predictam. Nam curator domorum vel
ductor secularis negocii aut dimittet, aut confundet
alterum, vel utrumque. 5

It is said that the king cannot afford to pay his servants, unless by giving them benefices. But it is precisely the edowment of the clergy that causes all the difficulty.

Sed obicitur quod ita extraneata sunt terre dominia,
ut regaliis repugnet habere clericos necessarios servi-
tores, nisi de beneficiis quibus dotatur ecclesia, fiat
beneficii reconpensa. Sed maledictum illud insane dia-
boli incitamentum, quo inducitur tantum inconveniens 10
utrobique! Nam idem est ac si inferatur ex dotacione
ecclesie venenosa quod ipsa non staret nisi vel destructi
forent principes seculares; vel verificaretur principium
patris mendacii: quod clericus sit non clericus; vel

It is indeed the ruin of the State or the ruin of the Church: the clergy must either not exist, or serve the king rather than God: both are blasphemous conclusions.

quod regi seculari debet servire, deo postposito. Sed 15
cum utrumque posteriorum sit notum blasfemum in-
conveniens inplicare, necessitati sunt asserentes hoc
antecedens, quod dotacio predicta ecclesie antecedenter
necessitat ad destruccionem secularium dominorum,
quod licet sit eis verum incognitum, tamen tam pos- 20
sessionati quam fratres educati in veneno fugiunt veram
medicinam salutiferam, ut venenum. Palliant enim quod
seculares domini possent vivere vitam pauperiorem, et
sic de bonis dei minus expendere: quod licet sit verum,

They say that temporal lords might spend less: which is true, but still more true of them.

tamen in ipsis caperet sua *de inesse* verificacionem 25
racioni plus congruam; cum Cristus et apostoli cum
aliis religiosis ipsos de propinquiori sequentibus vixerunt
valde parce et nullis secularibus onerose; seculares autem
tacendo (quod equivalet consensui) permisit Cristus vi-
vere seculariter sumptuose. 30

At any rate, Christ did not condemn the sumptuous living of seculars.

A defender of the rights of the poor might say: These people are most wretched: and this is the fault either of the clergy or of the secular powers; by their avarice and prodigality.

Ideo procurator pauperum communitatum sic pro I.
illis argueret: "Dicti wulgares ex defectu bonorum tem-
poralium miserabiliter et differenter vexantur inopia;
quod non esset, nisi comunitas predicta proporcionaliter
peccaret, vel clerus aut seculare brachium ipsa avare 35
consumeret; cum deus non potest providendo de illis
bonis deficere. Cum igitur notum sit, quod in istis
duabus filiis sanguisuge sit maius peccatum, tam avare
retinendo hec bona, quam prodigaliter consumendo in
altera istarum parcium vel in utraque, restat correccio 40

4. vel *pro* aut *before* confundet C. 13. fuerint C. 15. fregi A. 20. cum C. 22. Paliatum A. 35. quare B.

25. *Sua.* Probably *proposicio* is understood.

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huius iniurie. Sed cum notum sit quod huiusmodi defectus stat magis in clero, tota ecclesia debet correccioni isti intendere. Ex parte autem brachii secularis, patet quod ipsum habet precipuum interesse. Nam omnia illa temporalia dominia que clerus occupat, debent alteri brachio pertinere; et suum est bona sua requirere, tum, quia dedit illis deus potestatem coactivam ad talia requirendum, tum eciam quia talium excomunicatorum ministerium inficit ecclesiam, et speciaiter ex consensu. Unde, quia scola diaboli est ordo nimis preposterus severe invadere alia regna, ad que vix habemus scintillam iuris, et in facie nostra permittere anticristum sacrilege consumere bona nostra: non dubium quin diabolus sic cecat et vecordat ecclesiam."

The clergy being most to blame, the whole Church must remedy this; and chiefly the secular powers, to whom all ecclesiastical possessions belong by right, and who possess the might to coerce the clergy. It is blindness to invade kingdoms to which we have very little right, and to suffer Antichrist thus to devour us at home.

Item constat ex fide, quod Cristus sic ordinavit clerum suum totum vivere vitam pauperem exproprietarie, et illa ordinacio plurium est eversa, clero occupante dominia que ex dei ordinacione debent adiacere brachio seculari. Igitur reges, qui secundum Augustinum sunt dei vicarii, debent rectificare dei iniuriam. Et hinc dicit Augustinus, ut recitatur 15 q. 4ª caº *Quicunque,* quod beatus Aurelius debuit iure poli restituere cuidam layco redditus, quos dedit ecclesie sue. Nec dubium quin eadem est racio de omnibus possessionatis clericis; et sic excomunicative et sacrilege detinent aliena. Quantum ad assumptum, patet quod pusillus grex apostolorum secundum formam quam Cristus instituit, debuit esse exemplar et origo tocius posterioris ecclesie cristiane; sed Cristus eos instituit instar sui in summa pauperie. Ideo superiores de clero debent sic vivere. Unde Cristus non aptavit eis officium quod requireret expensas alias seculares, sed licet omnis cristianus debet ex fide usque ad mortem defendere istam sentenciam cum sequentibus, tamen tanta est anticristi perfidia quod post lapsum cesareum quo diabolice sunt dotati, ista fides cum suis sequentibus contempnitur vel glosatur. In tantum quod maior infidelitas regnat inter nos nomine cristianos quam inter sectas paganicas, quas maxime detestamur. Ipsi enim fatentur Cristum
K. fuisse prophetam eximium, sed non deum. Sed quan-

Our faith teaches that the clergy ought to live without possessions; and kings, vicars of God, should redress this wrong.

The case quoted by Augustine is that of the whole clergy: they ought to make restitution. Christ's Apostles were the pattern of the clergy; so the latter should live in poverty, like the former. Every Christian should uphold this belief, even unto death; yet, worse than Mahometans who deny Christ's divinity, but follow many of his laws,

6, 7. relinquere B. 7. tamen A. 8. tamen A. 16. sic *deest* BD. 22. 17 BC. 23. Dei B. 26. excommunicate C; *ib.* tenet A; *ib.* arenam A. 36. quod A. 39. nos *deest* C.

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we assert his divinity, but refuse to obey him,

tum ad multas leges suas ipsi credunt ipsas nobis perfeccius et observant. Nos, inquam, voce dicimus Cristum esse deum et hominem, sed vitam suam in facto spernimus, et maiorem partem legis sue tanquam falsam et irracionabilem denegamus; sic quod tollerabilior foret blasfemia negare deitatem Cristi et servare eius mandata et consilia, ut pagani. Nos, inquam, duplicantes mendacia plus opere blasfemamus; quia nec volumus defendere vitam Cristi, nec verba. In tantum quod fratres, quorum professio | atque perfeccio foret 81b excellenter defendere Cristi pauperiem callidius, tanquam sophiste diabolici retrocedunt. Licet autem constat ex fide scripture et sensu quod per declinacionem cleri ad seculum religio Cristi et fides subvertitur, tamen tam fratres quam possessionati diligenter laborant quo possent in terrenis seculares dirripere, et partem suam per terrores diaboli et blasfemam yppocrisim confirmare. Sed pars Cristi invito diabolo magis claret quam totum quod clerus occupat preter necessarium ad sui ministerium; et hoc ex titulo elemosine secularium est iniustum, et per consequens iniuste occupant predia temporalia preter necessaria popularibus oppressis inopia.

following neither his example nor his precepts. And the Friars, whose profession of poverty should have made them the foremost to defend this, are backsliders, and do all they can to uphold the other side.

But notwithstanding the devil, it is clear that ecclesiastical possessions, in so far as they go beyond what is necessary, is mere spoliation of the poor.

Item, quecunque temporalia que clerus possiderit, sunt bona pauperum, ut hic suppono. Sed de omnibus bonis pauperum debent esse indifferentes ministri et fideles dantes prout unicuique opus erat; ergo de omnibus bonis cleri debet esse particio; et per consequens, pauperibus de populo magis egentibus, debet illis de ipsis bonis comunibus cleri distribui. Cum igitur clerus in hoc deficit, restat quod domini seculares debent distribucionem huiusmodi ordinare. Ipsorum enim sunt elemosine, ipsas debent dominacionis titulo gubernare, et clerum occupantem ista sic sacrilege de alienis, inconsulto anticristo, precipue spoliare. Quis igitur spiritus moveret homines seculares sic rapere pauperes et egenos, dum thesaurus suus iacet in manu diaboli? Quem thesaurum debent secundum legem domini ordinare. Idem videtur ac si sathan, religioni Cristi adversans, buccellas edentis diriperet, et pastum integrum

They are but ministers to the wants of the poor, who have a right to be helped by them; and as they fail in in this duty, the secular lords should do theirs.

For these possessions belong to them; and it is strange that they should grind the poor when their own treasury is in the devil's hands.

They seize upon crumbs and leave the whole leaf untouched.

7, 8. dupli^ceß A. 15. cum *pro* tam *omnes MSS.* 27. cuicunque B; cuique C; *ib.* igitur C. 28. cleri *deest* A. 31. temporales B. 34. sit A. 35, 36. spiritus *deest* A; sanctus AB. 36. mon'et A. 37. aurarius C. 39. Ideo B.

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quem facilius capere posset, dimitteret; deus indubie
L. requireret ab illis racionem credite potestatis. Nec
dubium quin ista sit causa quare tot dissensiones et
murmura sunt in regnis; tum, quia in illa mamona
5 comunitas ex particione iniqua comuniter magis peccat,
ideo racio exigit quod in illa comunius puniatur; tum
eciam quia ab exemplacione cleri circa illam magis
profunde afficitur. Ideo necesse est quod pugne, lites,
contenciones et conversancium discordie sint comunius
10 circa illam. Si enim clerus prepossessionatus regni
nostri preposuisset hoc anno pedagium regi pro populo,
quid necesse fuisset populum contra dominos tam in-
debite surexisse? Nec dubium quin nulla tercia ecclesie
inmunis sit: comunitas, quia indebite et inpacienter
15 homines omnis generis punierunt; et domini, quia bona
pauperum inprovide receperunt; et omnino clerus, tum
quia pauperes de populo corporali subsidio non iuverunt,
tum eciam, quia nec wulgares regum obedienciam do-
cuerunt. Si enim episcopi et rectores eciam medietatem
20 sui superflui ad illud dedissent laicis, tunc cum paribus
totum illud dispendium precavissent. Et revera, ille cui
sunt stercora temporalium cariora tanto bono pacis
provincie proditorie occupat ipsa bona, et ille frater
qui non wult docere populum quomodo de lege Cristi
25 obediret dominis, ut patet de Cristo et suis apostolis.
Cuius racio videtur, quia non infert lucrum fratribus
de wulgaribus, quos taliter hortarentur. Ille, inquam,
frater modicum aut nichil hortaretur dominos tem-
porales ad misericordiam super wulgus vel ipsum ad
30 obedienter petendum misericordiam et serviendum do-
minis, sicut fecit apostolus. Et racione est quod pre-
diligunt de ambobus contrariis plus bona sua tempo-
ralia quam salvacionem et pacem mutuam, vel alia
spiritualia bona dei. Et ideo sunt duplices et vecordes
35 cum istis partibus, cum pars diaboli, que viam dei non
graditur, sit perplexa.

Remedium igitur theoricum, si placeret deo ipsum
per seculares homines roborari, foret ad stabilimentum
sempiterne concordie et pacis ecclesie, quod defendant

No wonder that there are dissensions for the community shares both in the sin and in the punishment; and it is affected by the ill example of the clergy.

If this year the rich clergy had paid the tax for the poor, they would have had no need to revolt.

All classes were to blame here; he commons, for having acted wrongly; the nobles for having oppressed them; and the clergy especially, for having withheld their aid, and for not having taught them to obey the king,

nor the nobles to be merciful.

The reason is that the clergy preferred to enjoy their possessions.

The remedy would be to take away all ecclesiastical property

1. facillig A. 2. tradite C. 3. sint B. 9. sic A. 10. clerus pre *deest* B. 11. gadagium A. 15, 16. quia — tum *deest* C. 20. pauperibus AB. 23. occupant *omnes MSS.* 24. w[t] A. 26. inferret B. 27. wlgai'b, A; *ib.* exhortarentur BC. 29. wlgu C; *ib.* ad *after* ipsum *deest* A. 31. racio C; *ib.* quod *deest* A. 35. vita AB. 38. noborare B.

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ordinacionem Cristi in clero et populo, ut quod totus clerus vivat pure de elemosinis corporalibus temporalium, et illi vivant spiritualiter de elemosinis spiritualibus cleri Cristi. Sic quod omnia bona temporalia mortificata ecclesie inter seculares homines sagaciter sint partita, et omnis turpis occupacio cleri circa hec temporalia ad prodessendum ecclesie 2[m] spirituales elemosinas sit retorta. Tunc enim splenderet lux Cristi in regnis, et, toto clero vivente de decimis et oblacionibus et privatis elemosinis, wulgares oppressi forent per mortuorum de clero iam mortua a sua oppressione et miseria relevati; et qualibet parrochialia ecclesia habente discretum curatum, continuata forent in tribus membris ecclesie pax et amor.

and to divide it properly amongst the laity; then we should see a complete regeneration of the clergy.

But now we see the results of the contrary system; the clergy neglects preaching due obedience; and in that part of England where they are most powerful, they are most hated.

Nunc vero clerus, monstruose occupans ista dominia, M.
nec docet fidem scripture, quomodo infima pars ecclesie | debet dominis secularibus deservire; nec docet 82[a]
quomodo secundum coactivam potestatem subditi debent dominis in moderamine obedire; sed spoliant subiectos crudelius domino temporali. Unde in signum vastitatis huius doctrine duplicis illa pars Anglie in qua clerus monstruosius dominatur, ab ista religione magis silvestricat. Nam naturali instinctu tam innaturale et diabolicum monstrum in clero totus populus abhorreret.

Such action on the part of the secular powers is not only a right but a duty; and Antichrist cannot resist: if they had the right to give, they have the right to take. If God's law could be put down, why should it not be set up again?

And should any individual resist this change, Parliament can enforce it.

Nec dubium quin nedum licet sed est debitum dominis temporalibus taliter ordinare; nam omittendo fovent symoniacos et sacrilegos hostes suos nequissimos, ordinacionem domini infideliter reversantes. Quomodo igitur prevalet anticristus huic parti Cristus contrarius? Si enim phas est dominis temporalibus stulte dotando ecclesiam dissolvere legem Cristi, quomodo non merentur dissolvendo tradiciones infundabiles anticristi? Sed lex dei in ordinacione cleri sui non haberet tantum robur, quin potuit dissipari; quomodo lex contraria ad tantum perpetuatur ex verbis falsis anticristi oppositis, quod nulli liceat in perpetuum huic tradicioni fatue contraire? Nam mandatum domini est matrem ecclesiam 2[m] ordinacionis sue pulcritudinem honorare; mandatum anticristi est illam pulcritudinem dissipare. Et 3[o] si

8. lex AC. 12. revelati A. 33. hu̅it A; habuit C. 35. ex vi̅ß antı'ꝛ fi̅ß A. 37. contrarie AB; contrariare C. 38. ordinaciones A.

11. *De clero.* The text must be corrupt here.

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secundum mendacia et fictam yppocrisim privata persona regni decepta ordinacioni dei ad deturpacionem ecclesie repugnavit, quomodo non liceret toti regno, secundum mandatum dei, in parliamento publico ad tocius regni subsidium se iuvare? Deus itaque necessitat regnum nostrum publice ordinare, ut, cum tota possessione secularis domini occupata per clerum ab eo extracta, ipsius regni necessitas relevetur: sed sub ista condicione opposita, quod status pauperum regni, subductis taliagiis et eorum spoliacionibus, congrue conservetur. Ista autem condicio continuari posset facilius quam cleri dotati condicio servatur, ad fideliter serviendum deo, ecclesie et patrono.

Under this condition, however: that tallages should be abolished, and the poor no longer robbed.

Sed procul a regno nostro huius propositi sancti omissio, ex terrore falsorum fratrum et clericorum de censuris sophisticis anticristi! Deus enim ipsum et apparenciam religionis sue debilitat, et in agressu plus ardui tam nostros quam anticristi domesticos refocillat.

Let us not fear the censures of Antichrist; he is now weakened by the power of God.

N. Diabolus autem primo necessitat principes huius seculi ex pietate ceca gravare sarcina secularis dominii clerum, qui alia via debet sequi Cristum pauperrimum, sic quod per yppocrisim plus simulant sanctitatem huius facinoris, quam Cristus sanccivit pauperiem sui ordinis; et sic principes plus quam subtriplum perdiderant sine spe conquestus super diabolum de paternis heredibus sive regnis. 2°, habita ista radice discordie, accendit superbam invidiam dictorum principum, ut plus patribus suis seviant in fratres exteros, et in causa patris mendacii, dimissa causa levi et utili, necessitetur consumere se et sua. Et 3°, cum superbia filiorum diaboli ascendit semper, nec ad hoc suppetunt dictis principibus bona propria, cum redditus derimuntur et expense gravancius, necessitantur spoliare intollerabiliter tenentes pauperes; sic quod ipsis vel cede vel inopia interemtis, necesse sit dictos principes cum regnis suis deficere. Ad hoc enim laborat semper diabolus ut usque ad extinccionem propriam redarguat discipulos scole sue. In omnibus autem istis laborat, cautelam sensui, semper simulans sanctitatem et spem ac confidenciam de ter-

But the devil compels secular princes 1. to burden the clergy with possessions,

2. to attack foreign lands in defence of the father of lies;

and 3. when by this means their revenue is exhausted, to plunder their poor tenants most intolerably. The latter die of hunger or by the sword, and the princes come to ruin. It is thus that the devil works to destroy his

2. de *deest* C. 5. necessitet BC. 10. spociacoib; C. 14. facti A. 15. exteriore *omnes MSS.* 18. r'focilat A. 22. quod ypocrisim plus C. 26. attendit AC. 27. et B 27, 28. prioribus B. 28. fines C. 29. causale B. 31. huc A. 32. diminuuntur A. 38. sensibili AC; insensibili B.

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own followers, cautiously at first, but with utter ruin in the end.

renis. Sed in fine precipitat suos [in] inconveniens quod evitant. Causa autem tocius huius malicie est perversa deordinacio clericorum, cum plus aptantur per mundum atque diabolum ut sint discipuli anticristi, quam ut 2m legem apostolicam militent domino Jesu Cristo. 5

And worst of all, secular princes are moved by their own enemies to persecute the faithful as heretics.

Et super hec omnia diabolus ad tantum cecavit dominos seculares quod credunt inimicis suis domesticis infundabiliter contrariantibus huic sentencie et iuvant tacite, ut anticristus cum suis fideles defendentes et moventes istam sentenciam tanquam hereticos perse- 10 quantur.

The king should command all prelates and learned doctors in his kingdom to speak truly what they think in this matter.

But it is to be feared that princes will be blind, since no warnings have as yet opened their eyes.

O si rex vellet cunctis prelatis sui regni et doctoribus habilibus sub gravi pena iniungere quod dicant in isto 2m legem domini veritatem, subducta lege cesarea et tradicionibus frivolis anticristi! Sed timetur quod in 15 penam inveterate malicie demon per sua organa sic obtundit affectus et cecat intellectus principum; quo usque tam fides Cristi quam regni prosperitas sint prostrata. Nam nec verba nec scripta fidelium nec a deo missum frequens periculum movent vel evigilant 20 anticristum, nisi deo placeat ex speciali gracia suscitare et excitare principes ad defendendum propriam regaliam.

Seven heads of a petition.

Septem inprecaciones ad tutelam regni Anglie per eius proceres exequende.

1. That England should obey no See, unless such obedience agrees with Christ's law.

Quod rex aut regnum nulli sedi vel prelato obediant, | 25 nisi de quanto ex fide scripture sonat in obedienciam 82a domino Jesu Cristo. Patet, quia aliter preponeretur Cristo in obediencia anticristus. Omnis enim obediencia, que non fit Cristo, fit anticristo, quia Luce 11°. *Qui non est mecum adversum me est.* Luc. XI, 23

2. That no money should be sent to Rome or to Avignon, unless it is proved to be due by Holy Writ.

Quod nec curie Romane, nec Avinoniensi nec alicui extere emittatur regni pecunia, nisi doceatur hoc esse debitum ex scriptura. Patet: quia aliter foret rapina lupi rapacis, quem Cristus Matth. 7° dicit esse a fructi- Matth. VII, 16 bus cognoscendum.

3. That no man should enjoy any benefice, unless resident and employed

Quod nec cardinalis nec alius habeat fructum ecclesie vel prebende de Anglia, nisi vel rite resideat, vel occupetur legitime in causa a regni procuratoribus

1. suos *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest omnes MSS.* 2. tocius *deest* A; *ib.* huiusmodi malicie C. 7. in istis A. 8. ut C. 9. defendentes *deest* A. 13. humilibus A; hilibus C. 23. a^{e3} ipcacoeß A; Septem imprecaciones ad cautelam regni C; *ib.* pro A. 25. autem A; *ib.* obiat A; obediat C. 31. timore *pro* curie A; *ib.* nec *before* avinoniensi *deest* C; *ib.* animo vice A. 38. procoribus A; proceribus C.

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racionaliter approbata. Patet: quia aliter non intraret per Cristum, sed aliunde ascenderet ut anticristi discipulus per tradiciones seculi, et tanquam latro predaretur regnum in subiectis pauperibus sine equivalencia reconpense; quod rex et regnum tenentur destruere et suos a ferocioribus inimicis defendere.

in a legitimate and approved manner.

Quod regni comunitas non oneretur talagiis insuetis, antequam totum patrimonium, quo clerus dotatur, deficiat. Patet, quia omnia ista sunt bona pauperum caritative exponenda ad eorum egenciam, vivente clero in perfeccione primarie paupertatis.

4. That the Commons should not be burdened with tallages, until all the possessions of the clergy be exhausted.

Quod, quocunque episcopo vel curato dotato de Anglia in contemptum dei notorie incidente, nedum liceat regi, sed teneatur sua temporalia confiscare. Patet, quia aliter regnum infideliter postponeret Cristum regi, eius contemptum ponderans plus quam Cristi.

5. That the king's duty is to confiscate the temporalities of any notoriously wicked Bishop.

Quod rex nullum episcopum vel curatum mancipet suo ministerio seculari. Patet: quia aliter tam rex quam clerus foret proditor Jesu Cristi.

6. That the king should employ no ecclesiastic in secular business.

Quod rex nullum propter moram in excomunicacione incarceret, antequam 2[m] legem dei mora illa sit docta esse illicita. Patet: quia sepe excomunicantur multi inprovide, ubi 2[m] legem dei et ecclesie debeant excomunicacionem perpetuo tollerare; et autorisare incarceracionem hominis propter hoc quod facit ut debet, foret opus demonii meridiani.

7. That no one should be imprisoned because excommunicated, until it be proved that the sentence is according to God's law.

Contraria autem istorum, licet sint insensibilia non curata, tamen nimis confundunt rempublicam, quia res insensibiles parvipense sunt maxime in vigore.

1. Ut patet A. 7. non *deest* A. 8, 9. deficiatur A.

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CAPITULUM OCTAVUMDECIMUM.

The last tormentor is the questor.

Sequitur de ultimo tortore tractandum. Questores autem multipliciter perturbant rempublicam, scilicet criminaliter conversando, cum sint mechi comuniter et viciosi multifarie communiter. 2° fraudulenter spoliant populum propter causam multiplicem nequius quam raptores. Et 3°, quod est pessimum, fraudant plebem infideliter, superinducentes perfidias de indulgenciis et iuvaminibus mortuorum. A.

This class, living viciously, robbing the people, and preaching falsehoods about indulgences, troubles the commonwealth.

Canon law in many places provides against the abuse of their functions,

Et licet papa cum ecclesia percepit eorum fallacias, tamen propter pecuniam ex cautela diaboli symoniace defenduntur. Scribitur enim 5° decretalium de penitenciis et remissionibus, ca° *Cum ex eo:* "Questores non debent admitti nisi apostolicas, vel diocesiani episcopi, literas veras exibeant; et tunc preter illud quod in ipsis literis continebitur, nichil populo proponere permittantur". Et ibi notatur forma indulgenciarum. Et ibidem infra precipitur quod questores debent esse modesti et discreti, nec in tabernis aut in aliis locis inhonestis hospitentur; nec inutiles aut sumptuosas faciant expensas. Et in Clementinis de penitenciis et remissionibus, in ca° *Abusionibus,* inculcatur hoc idem. Et superadditur quod episcopi diocesiani diligenter examinant literas apostolicas, ne quid fraudis in eis comittatur.

and against their evil behaviour.

Yet these laws, not being applied, are of no use: it were therefore better to do away with the questorship.

Quid, inquam, valet, tot contra questores statuere, et eorum execucionem dimittere? Ideo videtur quod sunt simpliciter abrogandi, cum propter eorum promulgaciones non edificatur ecclesia, et per consequens nusquam debent admitti, cum nulli apostolicas vel diocesiani episcopi literas veras exhibeant; et ut logici

It is impossible for the Pope or any Bishop to

1. Ca^m 18 *in red ink* A. 2. *Initial* S *in red ink* A. 5. cong A; consequenter C. 16, 17. pernecessitantur A; pretermittantur C. 25. contra tot C. 30. et *deest* C.

13. Decr. Greg. lib. V, tit. 38, c. 14. 22. Decr. Clem. V, 9, 2.

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obiciunt, non est in potestate eorum precise illud quo in ipsis literis continetur, populo proponere; nec forma morum eis iniuncta est in episcopi potestate. Ideo excedit potestatem pape et cuiuscunque conversantis epis-
5 copi prescindere ab eis, tam intencione quam opere, symoniacam pravitatem et illusionem populi in verbis superfluis et infidelibus. Et sic ad regem et dominos temporales pertinent tales questores et alios predictos raptores excludere.

put a stop to these abuses; this therefore becomes the duty of the secular powers.

10 Probatur sic. Rex, cum sit servus et tenens Cristi, aliquid debet ut sic sibi facere; sed nichil, si non gubernare eius populum 2m legem suam; ergo illud officium 2m modum suum debet exequi propter Cristum. Et ad hoc sonant multe leges humane, et
Rom. XIII, 1 specialiter dictum apostoli ad Rom. 13, qui dicit quod
Luc. XIX, 38 propterea *habent potestatem a deo*. Ut Luce 19, ille cuius omnia opera sunt ecclesie exemplaria operandi intravit Jerusalem ut rex, et destruxit symoniaca comercia sacerdotum.

Proofs. The king, being Christ's lieutenant, ought as such to govern the people according to his law.

20 Item, proporcionaliter ut homo debet plus diligi,
B. 83a debet eius contemptus plus odiri. Sed ex primo mandato | decalogi Cristus debet amari super omnia: ergo eius contemptus debet proporcionaliter odiri. Sed cum in omni peccato Cristus primo contempnitur, sequitur
25 quod omne peccatum debet odiri a quolibet, et specialiter a regibus propter Cristum. Sed quomodo odit peccatum, in cuius potestate est ipsum destruere et non facit? Consensus quidem est; cum iuxta sanctorum sentencias, qui emendare potest et neglegit, absque dubio
30 delicti participem se constituit. Nec valent anticristi excusaciones in hac parte, cum non debet esse lex, privilegium vel dignitas contra Cristum, cum si Lucifer incarnatus faceret contra Cristum, non obstante quod sit maioris dignitatis in natura quam satrape, omnes
35 fideles debent sibi resistere: ymmo si per inpossibile angelus de celo inpugnaret legem Cristi verbo vel opere, tota ecclesia debet sibi obstare. Potentatus itaque fideles, qui ex tanta mercede sunt Cristi tenentes et tam stricte sub gravi pena sibi obligati, debent se obicere contra
40 adversarios Cristi, quia aliter indubie infringunt primum

He should love Christ above all, and therefore not bear to see him treated with contempt. If he does, having the power to hinder it, he becomes guilty by consent.

Privileges and dignities are nothing here: if Lucifer, if an angel from Heaven, were to oppose Christ's law, he should be resisted.

But in these latter days men love themselves more than Christ.

1. illud *deest* B; id C. 3, 4. ex re de potestate A. 5. prescidere BC. 10. proditur A; proceditur B. 12. gubernaret B. 13. nomen B. 16. habet A; *ib*. Et *pro* Ut C. 17. extraria A. 24. omnia A; *ib*. prius C. 29. que B. 33. in carty A. 40. ipsum *pro* primum B.

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mandatum decalogi, cum illum cuius contemptum plus odiunt, magis diligunt. Sed secundum vaticinium apostoli: *In novissimis diebus sunt homines se ipsos amantes*, cum ad vindicandum propriam iniuriam currunt precipites, sed ad vindicandum iniuriam dei, quem debent supra se ipsos diligere, sunt nimis desides, et sic dei proditores. 2 Tim. III, 2 5

This would besides prove very useful from a temporal point of view.

Item, loquendo ad hominem, videtur quod propria regum utilitas necessitaret ad dei iniuriam vindicandum. Nam 2m notantes statum regni nostri, plus quam centum milia librarum rapiuntur per dictos tortores 12cim anuatim. Quod cum rex posset faciliter destruere, videtur quod ex stulta desidia gratis wult plus quam medietatem regni sui amittere. Et sic omnes perturbaciones que exinde proveniunt, procurat inplicite regno contingere: quod est alienum a regis officio. Unde de illis XII tortoribus notant quinque qui sunt precipui filii regis superbie, scilicet: romana curia, episcopi perversi, curati qui non intrant per hostium apostatantes, religiosi possessionati, et 4or secte fratrum. Si, inquam, totus thesaurus regni quem ipsi furtive rapiunt, foret servatus Cristo ad usus utiles regi et regno, tanta summa ut predicitur vel maior, preter thezaurum residuum regni nostri sibi cederet ad augmentum prosperitatis, ubi iam ipsum inficit et perturbat. Et sic iuxta passionem marasmi necessitatur rex a suis membris, viris regnicolis, temporalia sibi inprudenter extrahere. Et sic fidelitas debita Cristo, mandati sui observacio, et prosperitatis regni accumulacio moverent regem et eius consilium ad prudenter, constanter, et fortiter exequendum vindictam iniurie dei sui. Illam autem iniuriam debet rex cum suo consilio ex isto convincere. Et ex fide vite Cristi et sue legis capiant quomodo clerus suus debet vivere; et quantum ex probacione sui operis ab illo exorbitat, inpedimenta huius devii tanquam sua subtrahere; nec excomunicaciones vel alie censure ficte diaboli debent ab isto opere fideles principes exterrere. Quid, queso, an peccatum, vel creatura, vel aliquod nominandum inpedirent fideles principes, ne contra diabolum teneant partem

More than £ 100.000 annually go out of the kingdom by means of these 12 tormentors, especially the Roman Curia, wicked Bishops, bad priests, monks and friars.

If the king, in addition to his revenue, possessed all that money, he State would be prosperous.

Thus not only spiritual but also temporal motives should persuade the Government to act prudently, but firmly.

No fear of censures should daunt them in taking Christ's part.

10 15 20 C. 25 30 35

2. amant *pro* diligunt B 3. ipsos *deest* B. 9. sui A. 12 wt A 16. que A. 17. filii *deest* A; *ib.* epi C. 19. a religione A. 24. ibi A. 5. ultra A. 26. veris C. 28. obfcfa A. 29. et *after* constanter *deest* AB. 31. iniurant A; *ib.* debent A. 32. quod ex fide vite BC; *ib.* vitem B. 34. et impedimenta C. 37. ante B. 38. aliquid C.

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Cristi? Scripta quidem satraparum, ut bulle vel litere mandati credi non excedunt ewangelium nec mandatum anticristi excedit auctoritatem vel mandatum domini Jesu Cristi. Ewangelium autem credimus ex integro esse verum, cum fuit dictatum ex sapiencia increata. Sed scripta alia credimus ex instinctu diaboli, cum sint de scribentibus incognitis et plurimum viciata. Quid, queso, scit talis prelatus cesareus tantum a practica elongatus, quod foret utilius et debitum tali ecclesie, ministrum quem ipse mandat suscipere? Ewangelium autem dicit quod operibus debemus credere. Sed sicud nescit de indulgenciis vel aliis suffragiis, que sompniat et stulte spondet quot vel quante sorciantur effectum; sic nescit si mandatum suum de suscipiendo talem ministrum sit ad utilitatem subditi adinplendum. Ideo, sicut oportet, secundum eorum ficticiam, quod habeant veras literas prelatorum, sic oportet secundum fidem quod habeant veras literas pontificis animarum. Ille autem litere sunt opera debita, que inspirat; nec oportet ante opera illa a populo edificato mercedem repetere, quia ministri Cristi non sunt tam avidi sicud famuli anticristi. Et sic deordinacio presumpta ab anticristo, ordinacioni Cristi contraria, inducit perturbaciones et dissenciones in Cristi ecclesiam. Et, ut breviter dicatur, segnicies principum secularium et versucie satraparum depauperant fidem, spem et caritatem in vocato cristianismo plus quam in iudaysmo vel saracismo proscribitur.

No Bull is above the Gospel, nor is Antichrist above Christ.

How can a non-resident prelate know that such and such a minister whom he sends will do good to that Church? No more than he can know what effect his indulgences have.

The letters that a questor ought to bear should be from Christ himself: then he would be less greedy for money.

The sloth of Christian princes and the cunning of bad prelates bring Christianity below Mahometanism.

Nec valet obieccio qua ydiote arguunt iuxta istud
83b deficere clerum Cristi; quia si in lege veteri | suffecit
12cim tribubus clero tam onerato collacio decimarum, quanto magis in lege Cristi sufficeret regno cuilibet multitudo cleri viventis in medio virtuoso, inter secularem dominacionem et mendicitatem, vivere in Cristi pauperie ex oblacionibus et decimis, que sunt ob Cristi
D. amorem caritativius ministrate? Nec obest 2a obieccio, qua dicitur multos sanctos statum istum tam verbo quam opere aprobasse et nitentes ipsum disrumpere, excomunicasse, quia intelligitur de disrupcione illicita.

It is absurd to object that the clergy would starve; if tithes were sufficient in the old Law, how much better off the clergy would be now, neither lords nor beggars! Equally absurd is it to say that the present order has been approved by many Saints.

1. ewangelium credi *omnes MSS.* 7. distribuentibus A; *ib.* plurium A; esse plurium B; pli'm C. 8. cesarius C 10. suscitare A. 13. quod C; *ib.* forcientur A; sorcientur C. 15. sic C. 17, 18. prelatorium — pontificis *deest* A 18. heat C. 20. recipere A. 26. notato A. 29. iuxta *deest* A. 36. ca'itatig A; *ib.* ministrare C. 38. vicentes A. 39. dirrupcione C.

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Christ is the Founder of our law; all private religions are without authority, and, like the Koran, contain good mixed with evil. Our religion has, it is true, been vitiated; but its substance remains eternally immaculate.

Sed quicunque disrupit ordinacionem Cristi priorem in ista materia est a deo simpliciter maledictus. Ideo sit Cristus nobis auctor ordinis atque legis, et alii privati sequentes qui multipliciter peccaverunt sunt sine auctoritate Cristi autores primi tradicionum suarum omnium adiectarum. Et sicut lex et ordo sarracenica, ex multis bonis et illicitis sunt permixta. Exemplar autem ordinis nostri cristiani sit *lex domini inmaculata,* licet ipsa religio sit ex pluribus tradicionibus adinventis in accidentibus plurimum viciata. Substancia autem nostri ordinis manet perpetue incontaminata, personis et modis agendi multipliciter maculatis. Melius igitur fuisset basim religionis constare, et privatos defectus personarum corrigi, quam propter personalia delicta tales ordines introduci.

Three positions of mine which are attacked. I. Concerning the perfection of the Religious state.

Redeundo igitur per modum epilogi recitabuntur tres sentencie, quas adversarii videntur inpugnare: Prima est de perfeccione status et ordinis; in qua materia superbi in sectis novellis magis insaniunt. Sed ne videar ex parvitate ingenii mei sentenciam novam effundere, notemus quid dicit Lincolniensis in quadam notula quo ad istam materiam.

Grosseteste quoted. Christ our model did not abstain from eating meat.

"Cum", inquit, "salvator modestus, exemplar conversacionis fidelium, manducans et bibens de sibi appositis docuit discipulos suos carnes comedere, que est prudencia hominum esum huiusmodi prohibere?" "Comedit", inquit, "inter laicos; cuius oppositum faciunt yppocrite, domi comedentes, sed extra non; cum 2^m^ apostolum Galathas 2, libertas vere religionis stat in deobligacione ad ritus cerimoniales corporales introductos ex lege veteri, qui hodie supra legem veterem copiosius introducti dant cristianis occasionem ut omittatur fervor volitive potencie vel tepescat." "Graviter", inquit, "ferret apostolus nobiscum conversans, iam videns quod magis appreciamur tradiciones hominum, quam puram et necessariam legem Cristi. Sed quo ad gestus Cristi, patet quod utrobique sapiunt affabilitatem, mansue-

We are now more burdened with ceremonial observances than in the time of the old Law.

Gal. II, 4

Christ's acts were marked by kindness, meekness and modesty.

1. dirruperit C. 2. fit A; sic C. 3. autor AC. 4. que B. 6. subiectarum B. 7. et illicitis *deest* C. 10. accidentalibns C. 12. autem B. 14. qua AC. 14, 15. introducti B. 16. Reddendo A. 17. inpūgna'r C. 23. modestus exemplar *deest* C. 25. suos *deest* BC; *ib.* Lincolniensis de esu carnium *in marg.* B. 26. homi esum hmoi (*sic*) C. 29. 2 *deest* AB. 30. introductas C. 31. que *omnes MSS.* 31, 32. introducte *omnes MSS.* 32. accusacionem A: *ib.* furor A.

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tudinem et modestiam. Affabilitas patet ex dulci colloquio cum samaritana Joh. 4. cum cananea, cum Magdalena Lu. 7°. de Martha et paciente fluxum, de accusata de adulterio Joh. 8, de mulieribus ipsum se-
E. 5 quentibus, de quibus sumptus susceperat Luc. 9°. Item
Luc. de peccatoribus, de predestinatis, Nicodemo phariseo,
VIII, 3 Joh. 3°. Zacheo publicano, Luc. 19, et multis aliis; et de parvulis quos voluit libere accedere, et complectens et inponens manus ab illis voluit laudari. Sed comuni-
10 cando cum phariseis et prescitis durissime sed modeste eos redarguit, ut patet Matth. 23; in exemplum quod nos, cum illis conversando, non applaudamus peccatis eorum, facti eorum participes, sed dure eos increpando ac vicia exprobrando, servata caritate et dileccione
15 nature, debeamus nunc lucide et nunc tenebrose cum triplici manerie peccatorum de quibus speramus emendas gravaminum commisceri: scilicet cum potentibus aut publicanis ac dominis et ministris mundo, cum mollibus muliebriter indutis, qui ad peccata carnis
20 generaliter inclinantur, et cum mundialiter superbientibus, iocose lascivientibus, excecatis ceca superbia, ut parvuli." "Omne", inquit, "quod est in mundo est aliquod horum trium. His, inquam, instar Cristi debemus esse affabiles, hortantes fugere vicia et prosequi
25 opera virtuosa." Ex istis dictis huius sancti patet quod debemus comunicare cum ista 3ci manerie hominum, modis suis, secundum quod credimus ad honorem dei et profectum ecclesie plus prodesse. "Non", inquit, "debemus noscendo nostram fortitudinem, comunicacionem
30 peccatorum auffugere, cum Cristus manducavit cum peccatoribus, ut peccata deleret, ac cum eis pernoctavit, Matth. 9; cum familiaribus ut eorum devocionem nutriret, Jo. 12; et cum phariseis, ut eorum superbiam confutaret, ut patet Luc. 7°, ubi phariseum in conparacione magni-
35 tudine corripuit in 3bus, in quibus ipsa prevaluit, scilicet in non locione pedum, in non affeccione ostensa per osculum, et in non hilaritate signata per oleum."

He rebuked sinners severely indeed, but with moderation, as an example to us in our dealings with the three kinds of sinners: those in power, those given to sins of the flesh, and those prone to worldly pride.

We must not therefore avoid communication with them, but endeavour to do them good; Christ ate with sinners to blot out their sins, with his disciples, to increase their devotion, and with Pharisees, to confound their pride.

1. duplici A'. [illegible] pro cum *after* cananea A. 3. luc' VI C. 4. Joh. 8 *deest* B. 5. sus *deest* C. 6. de *before* peccatoribus *deest* B; *prius* de *supra lineam suppl.* C; *ib.* de *deest* B. 9. Cum *pro* Sed B. 10. dimissive A. 11. arguit C. 15. licite AC. 17. guami A; *ib.* videlicet B. 18. ac C; *ib.* ut *pro* ac BC. 20. originaliter AB. 23. inquit AB. 28. inquam *omnes MSS.* 34. patet *deest* BC. 34, 35. magne A; magdalene C. 35. scilicet *deest* A. 37. non in AB; *ib.* in *deest* C.

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It is thus no new thing to have communication with apostates in order to reprove them.

Hec Lincolniensis. Ex istis dictis huius sancti patet quod non est novitas inaudita, sed sentencia eterna antiqua dierum quod comunicando cum phariseis apostatis debemus accute eorum versucias reprobare. Et cum non habent unde doceant nostram sentenciam esse falsam, debemus constanter in incepta | sentencia per- 84a
manere. 3a enim sunt in quibus claudicant, quiditatem et passionem sentencie ignorantes: scilicet, religionis sue, sacramenti altaris, et sacramenti penitencie quiditates; quibus ignoratis necesse est ipsos sequencia ignorare. Si enim vellent istorum quiditates supponere sive discutere, tunc possent in sequencia evidenter procedere. Sed non audent. F.

They are at fault on three points: their religion, the Eucharist and Penance, of none of which they know the essence.

A private religion is to the law of Christ as the law of a particular State is to the principles of political law. Both savour of sin.

The rules of such religions are a foolish remedy for men spiritually ailing.

Ego enim voco privatam religionem vel ordinem sectam novellam ex regulis vel tradicionibus hominum non pure ewangelio stabilitam: sic quod religio proporcionaliter se habet ad regulam Cristianam, sicut omne civile dominium se habet ad legem politicam. Et ita sicud omne civile dominium sapit peccatum, sic omnis novella religio sapit ad minimum veniale. Nec sciunt cultores istius defendere quin sit medicina fatua pro debilibus adinventa; fatua quidem, cum supra ewangelium dant multas medicinales regulas, que peccatum sapiunt vel errorem; ymmo sicud natura prevalet regule medicine, sic ewangelium prevalet supra omnes tradiciones hominum adinventas. Ideo omnes iste secte novelle inevitabiliter fundantur in multiplici errore, licet (difficilius) possent ex inmensitate gracie Cristi in talibus sectis regnum celorum adquirere.

It is possible to be saved in these religions, but with difficulty.

Difficilius dico, quia licet facilitantur in aliquo, tamen sunt magis simpliciter difficultati. Unde regula Cristi ad peccata evitandum est pocior quam aliqua regula adinventa; patet, proponendo in lucem regulam Cristi cum illis tradicionibus adinventis. Et sic, expressa eorum regula cum tradicionibus conglobatis, manifeste patet quod pauci vel nulli evaderent quin saperent expresse blasfemam. Et hinc nolunt dare essenciales differencias vel totum regule sue ambitum, per quas privati ordines militando sic erronee ab aliis distingwantur. Et hinc predestinati eorum, vel in morte vel ante, renuncciant istis regulis, religioni cristiane simplici innitendo.

All their rules and traditions can be shown to imply blasphemy; therefore the elect amongst them give them up before the hour of death.

7. claudicant *deest* B. 16. sed *pro* sic AB. 17. Cristianam *deest* AC. 18. omne *deest* AC. 19. ista A. 25. ultra A; super C. 32. evacuandum BC. 35. pateret C. 36. sapant A.

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Forma autem in probacionibus regule novelle patet ex dictis de 3ci lege papali. Primo, quomodo illi quibus provisum est debent preponi ex ca° *Si duobus*, de rescriptis, in 6°, Secundo, quomodo singuli cristiani debent
5 semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et soli, peccata sua singula confiteri, ut patet in lege: *Omnis utriusque sexus*. Et 3°, quomodo excomunicacio offendencium in cardinales et alios debet fieri, ut patet in lege de penis, ca° *felicis memorie* 6°. Non enim patroni privatorum
10 istorum ordinum presumerent se dare reccius medicamina contra culpam quam regulat curia romana in talibus.

It is foolish nay, criminal to prefer man's remedies to those of Christ.

Ideo, attendendo ad tempus obligacionis, ad varietatem secte obligate et ad penam que in offendentes infligitur, patet quod stulte medicina Cristi postponitur. Et cum
15 non mediocriter peccat qui maiori bono postposito
G. minus eligit, manifeste videtur quod omnes dicte secte inevitabiliter peccant, eligendo tradiciones huiusmodi adinventas. Securius quidem foret inniti medicine quam Cristus instituit contra peccatum mundi, peccatum carnis
20 atque diaboli, quam taliter incarcerari in claustro, vel taliter 2m privatas observancias regulari, vel taliter 2m formas tegumentorum generaliter coaptari. Unde patet ad oculum quod regule secundum quas secte tales reficiuntur, cum eadem sit racio in omnibus illis
25 sectis, stulte et inprovide, ubi est racionis conformitas, tam varie seminantur. In cuius signum: in regula Cristi non potest notari defectus, sicud nec in observancia regule cristiane. In illis autem privatis ordinibus et regulis detectis in luce, crebrius patet error. Et istum
30 errorem tangit Lincolniensis ubi supra; ut patet luce clarius sedule indaganti. Quomodo, queso, procederent a deo tales regule, cum sit supra potestatem hominum illa statuere sic perpetuo? Cur pro toto tempore Cristi, et tot centenariis annorum sine observancia fuerant
35 ociose? Aut que racio, quare unus religiosus obligatur ad libram panis in die, ad amenam vini, et non comedere carnes quadrupedum, et non quilibet eque aptus? Unde

Better follow the rules which He gave against the world the flesh and the devil, than to be shut up in a convent.

In Christ's law and in Christianity there are no defects, whereas there are many in private religions. And if so, how could they proceed from Divine inspiration? Why, should one man be compelled to strict abstinence, and not another?

4. quod C. 8. preferi C. 9. in *pro* memorie A. 13. et *deest* A. 15. peccant A. 17. mentaliter B. 19. peccatum *before* carnis *deest* C. 20. vel *deest* B. 27. sed C. 36. amenam *omnes MSS.*

3. Decr. Clem. II., tit. 5, c. 1. 6. See p. 112, note. 9. Sext. Decr. V, tit. 9, c. 5, *Felicis recordationis*. 11. *In talibus*. I am at a loss to see what this paragraph has to do with what precedes or what follows. Only the first canon, *Si duobus*, &c. can have any bearing upon the Friars. 36. *Amenam*. i. e. heminam. See Du Cange.

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infeccionem istarum tradicionum insinuat varietas dispensandi. Et eadem obieccio est de quolibet in lege privata explicite supra ewangelium.

If it be said that these orders are only a collection of observances to aid in following Christ's law, it is true that some observances are necessary, but not *for ever*: and it is that perpetuity which constitutes a sect.

Et si dicatur quod illi privati ordines non sunt nisi ritus ewangelium practisandi, quales ritus habuerunt apostoli, et illos contingit meritorie practisare: respondeo concedendo quod necesse est, quam diu hic vivimus, practisare ritus in genere; cum, ut dicit Augustinus, "Sacrilegum foret negare simpliciter omnes ritus". Sed H. notanda est differencia servandi illos ritus pro loco et tempore, et unam sectam perpetuo obligari ad indiffinite ipsos servandum. Nec sine tali sensu constitueret novam regulam plus quam quicunque ritus apostoli sive sancti. Et sic posset intelligi quod patroni privatorum ordinum habuerunt singulares ritus, quorum observacio videbatur eis expediens; et ceca pietate voluerunt unam sectam ipsos sequentem illos ritus perpetuo ut ewangelium observari; quam stulticiam non expedit excusare. Quod si condicionaliter intenderent quod illos ritus observent, de quanto promovent ad observanciam | legis Cristi, 84b patet quod non exinde resultaret secta sive religio novella, cum eque obligantur ad illam veritatem condicionatam seculares et singuli cristiani. Ideo observancia privatorum ordinum monet quod patroni eorum non taliter intenderent. Nec expedit nobis discutere, sive culpa sit plus in patronis istorum ordinum, quam in personis de secta sua sequentibus; quia indubie, qui credit patronos illos tantum errasse vel amplius, non blasfemat; quia Paulus prius fuit blasfemus, ut ipsemet testatur; postmodum se correxit. Et sic supponi debet, ut supra, quod dum sic cece erraverant et iam sunt in celo, ut credimus, revocarunt; potest enim esse, quod in credendo ritus istos prodesse toti secte simpliciter erraverunt; et potest esse quod in sequentibus sue secte fuit culpa gravior. Unum tamen scio, quod venenum in istis privatis ordinibus stat in obligacione illibertante nimis profunda, quo ad illa que possent, illa dimissa, bene fieri. Ut, verbi gracia, licite et meritorie contingit hominem auffugere monetam tangere,

The Founders of the Sects may have imposed this as a law, out of blind piety; they may have intended their rules to be observed only as helps to true religion, but then there would have been no sects; all Christians are obliged to follow them in so far.

Perhaps they retracted their error, and are, as we believe, in Heaven; perhaps they were merely mistaken, and their followers were more to blame than they. One thing is certain: that they went too far in restraining individual liberty.

1. inperfeccionem C; *ib.* insynuat A; *ib.* varietates B. 2. est *deest* B. 12. observandum B. 14. potest C. 15. observancia C. 16. et ex BC; *ib.* tota *pro* ceca C. 17. perpetue C. 25, 26. si in culpa sit pluralitas A. 26. culpa *deest* B. 29. fuit *deest* AC *corr.* B. 30. postquam B. 36. verum A.

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sicut verisimiliter Cristus non tetigit; sed quod religiosus pro nunquam tangat in casu aliquo sub pena apostasie, horribilis foret observancia, blasfemiam sapiens, et per consequens infundabilis in scriptura; et nullo modo licite religionis particula, quia inplicat condicionem quam deus non potest perficere. Quod si ista fecerit, tunc sic peccat et tollit libertatem quam deus instituit, sicut Lincolniensis tangit.

V. g. a man may very rightly refrain from touching money: but it is monstrous to forbid a Religious ever to touch money under any circumstances.

Et ita inculpata fuit seducta generalior ecclesia, dotando contra ordinacionem Cristi perpetuo particulares ecclesias. 2° ex eadem cecitate fuit introducta possessionatorum religio. Et 3° introducta est non minus culpabiliter mendicancium religio, postquam cassatis prioribus, si deus voluerit, reddibitur generaliter ad religionem simplicem cristianam. Omnes enim iste sapiunt in isto blasfemiam, quod statuunt tradicionem suam ut optimam pro perpetuo observandam, ac si forent domini temporis perpetui et omnium suarum vicissitudinum variarum, quod soli deo est proprium.

Church endowments, the institution of monks and that of Friars proceed from the same false principle: tradition is perfect and must be perpetually observed.

Ideo, cum tollunt libertatem quam deus graciose concesserat, qua expedit nunc 2^{m} unum ritum, et nunc secundum alium viare, ipsi stulte limitant 2^{m} regulas anticristi, extollendo se super deum nostrum, perpetuo sic viare: ut sicud dotans ecclesiam particularem illibertat se et genus suum ad dandum et subtrahendum l. elemosinas corporales, ut expedit, sic in religionibus privatis illibertantur ad nunc dimittendum et nunc assumendum ritus secundum exigenciam racionis. Et per hec patet quam frivola est quarumdam sectarum observancia. Quedam secte abhorrent fratres suos tanquam graves apostatas, qui crucem monete tangere parvipendunt; sed inventa moneta mediante panno vel chirotheca tangere dicunt licere, sicut perforata vel perfracta cum maleo vel cultello; sed inordinatam affeccionem in animo phariseice parvipendunt. Et iustificare hanc regulam non subiacet potestati divine.

We ought to change according to circumstances, adopting now one way of living and now another; whereas they lay down hard and fast lines,

which often lead to ridiculous puerility: some friars, for instance, cannot touch a coin without apostasy, unless with a rag or a glove, or the coin be punched or broken.

Et per hoc tollitur instancia qua obiciunt hec licere. Hoc, inquiunt, observare per aliquantum tempus, est licitum, et per idem continue; et pari evidencia qua

Objection: What is lawfully done for some time may be lawfully done for ever.

1. sed *pro* sicut C. 2. tangat monetam BC. 9. ĩclpar A. 14. generaliter *deest* AB. 15. iste *deest* C. 17. p̲ ppeo A. 22. variare C. 24. variare A. 29. frivolla C. 30. Que BC. 32. parvipedunt A; *ib.* pano A. 33. ciroteca AB; cyroteca C. 34. fracta *pro* perfracta AB. 34, 35. inordinata affeccione A. 37. omnia *pro* instancia A.

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uni persone, et toti secte; et per consequens licet quantumcunque firmiter tali licito perpetuo obligari. Patet ex dictis quod nec Cristus potuit ultra libertatem quam deus instituit ad ritus huiusmodi obligare; ut consilium Cristi est quod sui apostoli *nichil ferant in via, neque peram, neque baculum, neque duas tunicas habeant:* quod subintelligendum est, de quanto retardat ab officio predicandi. Sed quod ista simpliciter observentur sub pena damnandi peccati; scilicet, si contraveniunt, tunc sic peccant: hoc tolleret libertatem eternam, et per consequens dominus hoc non potest. Et istud est venenum quo quelibet privata religio est infecta. Observent igitur privata consilia, si et quatenus expediunt, quamdiu voluerint, sed caveant a nimietate obligacionis et omissione libertatis quam deus instituit, ne blasfement.

Christ himself could not encroach upon man's freedom. His particular directions to the Apostles are all to be understood in so far as they are of use.

Let Friars keep their observances as long as they choose, and without constraint.

Et patet quod non plus sequitur: *hoc potest bene fieri:* igitur, *sic obligari ad hoc est licitum,* quam sequitur: *Quilibet frater de secta data potest meritorie uxorari et confratrem suum occidere:* igitur, *ad hoc obligari 2^m^ racionem vel religionis vel ordinis est licitum.* Religio enim debet fundari simpliciter in [opere] virtuoso. Et similiter fundare religionem in talibus consiliis, 'si et quatenus sunt racionaliter observanda', foret superfluum, gravans et illibertans ecclesiam, et ex processu in infinitum diminuens ordinem cristianum. Quilibet enim cristianus habens facultatem ad observandum tale consilium sive neutrum, debet ipsum, si et quatenus expedit, observare. Unde privati ordines, de quanto sunt liciti, sunt fundati super consiliis ewangeliis et ritibus neutris, cum moderamine, illa 'de quanto expedit' observandi. Sed quia humana presumpcio nititur perpetuare ista et equiparare religioni Cristi vel mandatis domini: ideo ex instinctu regis superbie, quo wult constanter hec observari et plus et diucius quam bonificarent circumstancie, est venenum. Nec videtur quod obligacio ad hos ritus K.
sit licita, cum vel tollit vel diminuit | libertatem quam 85a
Cristus ad utilitatem ecclesie ordinavit. Per hoc enim tardantur observari Cristi mandata sive consilia, cum

It is allowed in certain cases to marry or to slay: but it does not follow that a Friar should take a vow to do either.

And to found an order with rules to be provisionally observed would be of no use, since all Christians would be equally bound by them.

Besides, human presumption would always tend to render them absolute.

And to bind any one in this manner cannot be lawful, since it takes away Christian liberty;

3. nec *deest* AB. 4. obligari C. 7. habeatis B. 9. dandi *omnes MSS.* 12. verum A 21. rom̃ l r'hoiß A; *ib.* vel *before* religionis *deest* C. 22. difundari A; *ib.* similiter *deest* A; *ib.* opere *deest omnes MSS.* 22, 23. simpliciter et fundare C. 33. domini *deest* A. 39. credantur B; *ib.* observare C.

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sint tantum observancie finite, et plus observant illud, quod minus expedit observare. Ideo necesse est observancias plus utiles diminui sive tolli. Et eadem est consideracio de observanciis privatis, quas leges papales constituunt. Cum enim obligantur ad observandum libertatem primevam quam a Cristo receperant, et iterum obligantur novelli ad eius oppositum, videtur quod sunt ad contradictoria diabolice obligati, et ita toto facto laboraret quilibet fidelis quod ecclesia ponatur in statu primevi quem Cristus instituit, subductis novellis legibus, eciam papalibus, et novis ordinacionibus introductis. Tunc enim non foret tanta obligacio ad ritus. Sed cum ille sunt consuetudines operandi, sequentes per accidens ad virtutes, sequentibus illis in parvipensione graduum, non fiat illis obligacio talis perpetua, sicut est in dictis privatis ordinibus, sed fiat per se obligacio ad virtutes et opera virtuosa. Et sic intelligo apostolum 1ª cor. 6º: *Imitatores mei estote, sicud et ego Cristi.* Noluit enim apostolus quod secta sequeretur eum in modo vivendi obligacione sectali, nisi per se fuerit virtuosus, sicut creditur quadam proprietate esse de quolibet modo vivendi Cristi. Unde difficultas est, utrum patriarche novorum ordinum ad illos ordines obligantur. Et tenent quidem quod illi sunt in illis generibus equivoce, et non univoce cum sectis sequentibus, sicud fuit de Moyse quo ad legale sacerdocium et de Cristo quo ad ordinem cristianum. Nec est vis quo ad patriarchas istorum ordinum, cum non sint per se ex hoc laudandi.

which is also true of Papal laws; the faithful should therefore resist them.

1 Cor. XI, 1

When St. Paul counselled the Christians to imitate him, he did not mean his mode of life. Christ alone should be thus imitated. As for the Founders of the Sects, it is a question whether they properly belong to them: as Founders, they are not to be approved.

Sed 2º obicitur contra obligacionem temporalium, in qua materia scribe et pharisei magis insaniunt, tum, quia ab ipsis dependet tam voluntas, quam ars lucrativa eorum. Et movet racio duplex: Prima, quia ordinacionem tot et talium sanctorum tam diutinam non licet infringere; 2º, quia per idem quodcunque quod secularis occupat iniuste occupat liceret abstrahere; ex quibus L. nimis perturbaretur utrumque brachium ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod tam necessaria est illa sentencia, quod impossibile est pacificare regna vel clerum complete sol-

II. I am attacked with special fury on the doctrine of temporalities. My position is contrary to what many and great Saints have approved; and it would go to prove that all secular possessions are also unjust and may be taken away.

1. observacione A. 2. observari AB. 7. quod in B. 8. ꝑdoº (*sic*) AC. 9. eciam *pro* ecclesia AC. 11. ordinibus BC. 14. ad *deest* B. 21 credr' A. 25. exclusive *omnes MSS.* 27. qui B. 30. oblacoꝫ C. 32. voluptas C. 36. occupat *before* iniuste *deest* AB. 38. est *deest* A.

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Yet it is necessarily true, and the only means of restoring peace to Christendom. We should prefer to believe Christ and his Apostles than any number of saints.

vere sua debita, nisi illa sentencia fuerit per principes practisata. Et quantum ad primum obiectum, credendum est plus Cristo cum suis apostolis, quam infinitis sanctis vel dictis quorumcunque, eciam canonisatorum, approbancium dotacionem cleri. Verumtamen illi primo receperant nudo titulo elemosine tanquam custodes bona pauperum, et vel depauperati ab arte predicandi, vel inclinati ad seculum, anxie laborarunt circa dictorum bonorum custodiam. Sed post ex cautela diaboli surrepsit presumptum cleri dominium eciam ultra dominos seculares.

Let my opponents do the works that those Saints did, or prove that they were right in accepting endowments. As for the other argument, civil lordship and possession by almsdeed are two different things. If the clergy abuses the gifts granted to it, there being but a limited supply of wealth, that abuse must be felt throughout the world; and it is the king's duty to remedy it, according to the parable of the steward, of which my interpretation is right; the burden of temporalities being a true debt we owe to God.

Et sic, quo ad primum dicitur arguenti, vel quod faciat illis sanctis similiter, vel doceat quod non in hoc venialiter peccaverunt. Quo ad 2^{m}, sepe dictum est diversitatem esse inter occupacionem civilem et elemosinariam; et sic differt dicta bona iniusti civilis ab ipso rapere, et bona pauperum que darentur titulo elemosine, caritative exigere vel tenere. Et cum deus dat toto generi humano de temporalibus in mensura, nec amplius propter cleri cupidinem, manifeste patet quod preponderatis temporalibus et clero adeo abutente, necesse est quod in seculo fiat dissensio; et cum regis sit pacificare pauperes, a spoliacione iniusta defendere, et viciantes suam regaliam destruere, patet quod illorum est sentenciam istam practisando defendere; quod docetur Luc. 16° in parabola salvatoris qua deus laudavit villicum iniquitatis ex hoc quod deonerando clerum de redditu 50^{a} cadorum olei habuit exinde amicos in purgatorio. Nec valet dicere quod sensus istius parabole est fictus contra senteniam Bede, cum vivax racio docet quod clerus sic dotatus debet esse exinde deo et ecclesie amplius obligatus; quia secundum beatum Gregorium in omelia comuni, dum augentur dona, raciones eciam crescunt donorum. Et insane foret quod clerus iuste possidet ista dominia, nisi deus donaverit. Exinde temporales domini, expectando retribucionem specialem, haberent diligenciores ministros eo amplius obligatos. M.

Luc. XVI, 8

Thus the clergy possessing more wealth, ought to return more

Quo supposito, arguo quod clerus ex cautela diaboli sit irracionabiliter obligatus; quia tenetur exinde continue plus spiritualis redditus solvere domino celorum

4. factis C. 6. custos A. 7. depaupertati B; *ib.* predicati A. 12. fuciat *deest* B; *ib.* sanctis *deest* C. 16. recipere A. 18. temporibus B. 26. devorando A. 29. fucus A. 34. Et B. 35. spalem A; spiritualem BC. 38. sic A; *ib.* quod C; *ib.* hinc B; exhinc C. 39. fpual A.

25. See above, p. 231.

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Et ex hinc factus indisposicior minus solvit; igitur continue currens in debito iniuriatur domino dampnificans matrem ecclesiam. Minor probatur ex hoc quod Cristus iuxta fidem plus appreciatur apostolorum pauperiem, quam diaconorum solicitudinem; plus profecit Stephanus 85b fidem Cristi predicando, | quam mensis ministrando; et generaliter indiscreta fuisset Cristi dispensacio qua ordinavit apostolos, relictis temporalibus, in pauperie spiritualiter ministrare ecclesie, nisi hoc foret utrinque plus utile et, plus cedens deo ad honorem, plus sibi delectabile. Nec moveat quod apostoli ministraverunt populo de multiplicato cibario per Cristi miraculum, ut dicitur Marc. 6° et 8 et Matth. 14, et hoc ex Cristi mandato: ubi peccarent graviter, nisi, dimissa contemplacione, complerent mandatum domini; quia iuxta istam arguciam, cum apostoli meruerunt diformiter aliter quam Cristus, sequeretur quod eque meritorium atque laudabile opus foret purgare ventrem, vel opus tale facere ad quod natura necessitat, sicut predicare vel quemcunque actum apostolicum aut contemplacionem perficere; cum deus in casu precipit hec fieri et alia dimitti. Et si dicatur, secundum begardorum sentenciam, quod contemplacio stat cum deposicione ponderis nature, sicud cum sompno et esu, cum aliis actibus bestialibus ad quos natura necessitat, quare non cum ministerio mensarum et quacunque provisione bonorum pauperum? Cristus tamen omnisciens decrevit quod propter diminucionem actus apostolici per tales possessiones et ministraciones, apostoli illas relinquerent. Cum igitur clerus ex potestate ordinis obligatur ad tantum ministerium cum sanctis apostolis propter paritatem muneris, et non reddit deo de facto tantum ministerii laudabilis, videtur quod indebitatur sibi culpabiliter ex subtraccione tam preciosi redditus. Nec valet fingere quod nostra distribucio bonorum fortune equivalet operacioni apostolice, vel quod propter multitudinem cleri iam necesse est illi intendere, quod non oportuit tempore conversacionis apostolice. Cristus enim scivit aptare suam regulam ad totam multitudinem cleri

Marc. VI, 41 VIII, 6 Matth. XIV, 19

spiritual fruit to God, and is thereby rendered less able to return it. Christ esteemed the poverty of his Apostles more than the service of the deacons.

At the miracle of the loaves, the Apostles, it is true, served the people, but it was by Christ's command. And it does not follow that this act was as meritorious as preaching, unless every act commanded by God through the voice of nature, be equally meritorious. The Begardi said that contemplation and disburdening the body were acts on the same level; if so why not the service of tables too?

Obliged by their state to Apostolic perfection, the clergy, not rendering to God what is due, becomes heavily indebted. And Christ's rule was good

7. indispensacio A; disspensacio C. 11. utrumque C. 14. et speculacione B. 21. hec *deest* AB; *ib.* illa C. 34. precosi C. 36. oponi A. 38, 39. Cristus — regulam *in margine inferiore suppl.* C.

23. *Stat cum.* This may also mean 'is not impeded by'; and the argument is as strong in one sense as the other.

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for the whole clergy, as is proved by the times when it flourished; its aim was no doubt to diminish their excessive multitude.

If Religious men keep their rule, how much rather should we keep Christ's rule.

It is a sin for any of the clergy to pass sleepless nights out of care for the future.

God will provide for us as He does for all living; and the same reason condemns the cunning put forth by the Mendicants to get money.

It is apostasy; yet we say that we care not, and leave the the morrow to care for itself; but our affections prove too well that it is a lie.

Who would not be downcast, if his possessions were in any way interfered with?

III. I am said heretically to contradict the decision of the

necessariam, sicud potuit per multos centenarios annorum, quando secta cleri plus profuit. Ideo creditur quod racio regule Cristi fuit nimis onerosam cleri multitudinem refrenare. Si igitur privati ordines observant N.
bottas, difformitatem in sculptura et colore vestium, 5
cum voto ad penalitates corporales, quia est medicina contra superbiam, gulam et cetera peccata, quanto magis Cristi regula, que efficacius est peccatis contraria, servaretur!

Et hinc creditur quod sive diaconi, sive quicunque 10
clerici pernoctant cum solicitudine cure temporalium, ut sic peccant, quia contra Cristi consilium (Matth. 6°), obligant se perdendo libertatem exuicionis a temporalibus ad superfluam solicitudinem terrenorum. Deus enim
provideret clero suo de temporalibus, sicut providet 15
bestiis et cunctis viventibus de cremento nature. Et patet quomodo possessio cleri onerat ipsum, quia indebitat et indisponit ad retribuendum. Et eadem racio procedit contra calliditates cuiuscunque ordinis mendicantis, cum privata obligacio tantum vel plus obligat, 20
distrahit et retardat, sicud illa que Cristus prohibet consulendo. Et patet quod quante ab ewangelio Cristi excidimus, vel addendo vel diminuendo, tante apostotàndo peccamus; dicimus tamen quod sine nocturna
solicitudine vel cogitacione scimus habere quotlibet 25
temporalia, sicud bona nature in manu domini, et veniente crastino ad moderatum ministerium expergefieri, pro crastino solicitari. Sed alia opera nostra convincunt mendacium, cum cogitacio et affeccio ad habendum superflue ista bona vel in actu vel in habitu patescunt 30
ex vita nostra. Quis, inquam, non tristaretur in crastino de istorum bonorum ablacione, de usus eorum contradiccione, ymo de possessionis proprietarie negacione? Sic enim possent omnia dicta in privatis ordinibus sive
papalibus observari, dicendo quod faciunt illud mini- 35
sterium deo quod tradicio humana limitat, vel sibi equivalens. Sed certum est quod iuxta hoc quelibet privata observancia quo ad regularitatem consequencie deficeret, et solicitudo adinvencionis regule superflueret.

Sed 3° obiciunt illi qui ex predictis insaniunt, quod 40
contradico tanquam hereticus determinacioni ecclesie de

3. onerosa AC. 5. botas C. 8. est *deest* B. 11. clerici *deest* A. 19. caliditatem A. 23. vel *before* addendo *deest* C. 33. negative B. 36. secundum *pro* deo B.

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sacramentis. Sed hoc faciunt indirecte, ut infirment priora que odiunt. De sacramento autem eukaristie et penitencie dicunt quod contradico determinacioni ecclesie, ymo blasfemo in Cristum, quod ipse oneraret ec-
5 clesiam cum celebracione sacramentorum talium sine causa. Hic dico, ut sepe alias, quod docto quod sit contraria fidei quecunque sentencia quam assero, volo paratissime revocare. Et cum habeam evidencias ex fide quod ista sit sentencia salvatoris, licet michi in-
10 terim in fide tali quiescere. Et cum vocata ecclesia sit in secretis materiis fidei tam inprudens, difficile videtur fidelibus quod stent sentencie eorum in ista materia, quidquid decreverunt. Ideo videtur securum in expressis in lege dei quiescere, et novitates ac difficultates ad-
15 iectas dimittere. Nam illa antiqua sufficiunt ad salutem; et novitates adiecte sunt multis ambigue atque superflue. Ideo orant deum superbas blasfemias satraparum destruere.

Church concerning the Sacrament; but this accusation is made on account of the two former points.

I am ready to recant at once, if shown my error; but at present I rest convinced that my doctrine is that of Christ; and the Church here below can hardly give an irrevocable decision.

It is best to use the terms used in God's law, and avoid novelties.

O. Quantum ad sacramentum, altaris dictum est diffuse alibi, quomodo novelli ordines ydiotice et infundabiliter
20 contradicunt; ut unus, quod sacramentum altaris sit agregacio accidencium sine subiecta substancia; et alius,
86a quod ipsum sit naturaliter et substancialiter | corpus Cristi, negando quod aliquod est sacramentum sensibile in altari. Sed signa que videmus et sanctificamus, sunt
25 solum sacramentalia; et sic utrobique illuditur ecclesia. Nam doctores tam antiqui quam novi de sectis que sic garriunt, decretales, decreta et usus ecclesie contradicunt. Ponunt enim unum album et rotundum, quod ante consecracionem fuit panis, vel in pane, post eius
30 consecracionem remanere, et illud dixerunt regulariter esse sacramentum. Et wulgus vere credit ipsum esse quoddammodo corpus Cristi. De illo autem, circa quod est tantus error, est nobis et aliis scolasticis difficultas. Scimus quidem quod corpus Cristi, eciam secundum
35 esse naturale quod habet in celo, est sacramentum, et ipsum corpus virtute verborum Cristi est dictus panis, et eciam sacramentum; habet eciam modum spiritualem essendi ad omnem punctum dicti panis, et, ut sic, est sacramentum, et sic idem corpus sacramentat se ipsum
40 secundum disparem modum essendi, ut sacramentum altaris sacramentat corpus Cristi et sanguinem, ut est

It has already been said how the Sects contradict each other about the Sacrament; some saying it is a lot of accidents without a substance, and others, that it is Christ's natural Body: which is contrary to their own doctors, the Decretal and Church customs.

And the people really believes that this 'white round somewhat' that was bread or belonging thereto, is now Christ's Body.

Here lies the difficulty: We know that Christ's natural body *is* a Sacrament, and that Christ's Body is bread, having a spiritual mode of being

3. determinacioni *deest* C. 6. Protestacio *in marg.* A 7. asserro A. 11 misteriis C. 21. subiecta *deest* C. 28 illud *pro* album C. 31. wlgus C. 38. et eciam BC.

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everywhere in the bread, and the separate consecration of the elements is the figure of our Lord's death. But what is the Sacrament in its *own* nature? I say it is the same bread as it was before the miracle makes it to be Christ's Body not substantially but supernaturally; for Christ's Body is not changed as the bread changes, though some say that it changes symbolically. As for the Sacrament of Penance, I merely deny its absolute, not its relative necessity; and I think that the decree of Innocent III was not a wise development of Gospel truth. If these works against Simony, apostasy and Blasphemy (which all who love God should hate) contain any errors, I ask God's forgiveness, and submit to whomsoever He may choose to correct me.

in celo, et disparitas confeccionum carnis et sanguinis sacramentat mortem corporis Cristi. Ac si diceret: effuso sanguine in separato loco a carne, corpus Cristi pro nobis est mortuum et exsangue. Difficultas autem, quam solvere non audent sentencie predicte, stat in quiditate predicti sacramenti in se, quid sit in sua natura. Et sepe dixi quod sit in sui natura panis idem qui prefuit, et in miraculo verborum Cristi, corpus suum; non substancialiter sed supernaturaliter. Nec videtur quod putrescit aut frangitur, licet panis ille, qui est corpus Cristi taliter moveatur, sicud deitas non denominatur accidentibus quibus Cristus formatur, licet ipse sit illa deitas. Et sic, virtute unionis que est circa incarnacionem, panis ille multipliciter variatur, et corpus Cristi non taliter; licet quidam dicant quod taliter mutatur in simbolis. Eukaristia autem vocatur corpus Cristi concrecius quam est in suis symbolis.

Quantum ad secundum sacramentum penitencie, dictum est quod expedit et est necessarium, sed non absolute, taliter confiteri. Nec videtur michi quod lex Innocencii 3ii, artans ad istam confessionem, fuit prudenter explicata, nec aliqua lex papalis vel alia post ewangelium explicata, nisi in ipso finaliter sit fundata. Et tenta ista sentencia rediret ecclesia ad perfeccionem status primevi, que hodie in multis varietatibus est dispersa.

Istam dixerim secundum donacionem et mocionem dei contra istas 3s hereses: Symoniam, Apostasiam atque Blasfemiam, quibus deo iniuriatur per sacerdotes diversos: contra quos qui non invehit neque dolet, non diligit meritorie deum suum. Si autem in istis erravero, peto humiliter a deo veniam, et submitto me correccioni et informacioni cuiuscunque creature, quam sibi placuerit ad hoc ministerium limitare. Amen.

Explicit hoc opusculum circa penthecostes sub anno domini 1432° wstrach etc.

4. ex sanguine A; et exangue C; *ib.* autem *deest* B. 5. salutare *pro* salutare *omnes MSS; ib.* fnie *corr. in marg.* secte C. 8. et *deest* A. 12. prudencia C. 22. explicita BC. 24. reddi'et C. 26. donacionem *deest* A. 33. *After* Amen Explicit tractatus de blasfemia, *in large letters in black ink* B; Explicit tractatus de Blasffemia secundum Johannem Wy. XIIg *in red ink* C; limitare. Utyess tye buoh = *God comfort thee* D.

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[1] See Introduction, ch. II.

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