SELECT ENGLISH WORKS
OF
JOHN WYCLIF

EDITED FROM ORIGINAL MSS.
BY
THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A.
of University College, Oxford

Vol. III
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
M DCCC LXXI
INTRODUCTION.

Arrangement.—The present volume of Wyclif's works consists of a selection from his miscellaneous English writings. Out of the thirty-three pieces which the volume contains, only eight (Nos. XV, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, and XXX—XXXIV) have been ever printed before; and several of these are both short and unimportant. It was difficult to find a convenient principle of arrangement. To print them in the order of composition was impossible, there being no means of fixing with anything like certainty, in regard to a large proportion of them, the period of Wyclif's life to which they should be referred. On the whole, it seemed best to divide them into three portions,—one consisting of treatises of an exegetical, didactic, or devotional character, commencing with the longest, Super Canthica Sacra, and arranging the rest, so far as possible, according to the dignity of their subject-matter;—the second consisting of Controversial Tracts, which every effort has been made to arrange chronologically;—the third containing the few English documents of a personal character, such as letters and declaratory statements, which time and persecution—though the former is far less responsible for the paucity of them than the latter—have spared to our times.

Grounds of Selection and Exclusion.—Something must now be said as to the grounds of selection. The Catalogue published by Dr. Shirley contains sixty-five English works ascribed to Wyclif. The present edition contains thirty-two of these, and portions of another. Thirty-two remain unprinted on one or other of the following grounds,—either that they are certainly not by Wyclif,
or that their authenticity is more doubtful than that of those selected, or that they are in themselves less valuable, or that they have been already frequently printed. The works excluded under each of these heads are the following:

1. No. 1 in the *Catalogue*, 'Early English Sermons,' is certainly no work of Wyclif's; see vol. i. p. iii. No. 9, the 'Commentary on the Apocalypse,' may be excluded no less positively; see vol. i. p. vi. No. 11, entitled 'Speculum Vitae Christianae,' led to a great amount of investigation, in which I was much assisted by Professor Stubbs. It was at last clearly established, that out of eight pieces included in the *Catalogue* under that title, Nos. 1 and 7 did not belong to Wyclif, but were a little 'Manual of Religious Instruction,' compiled in English by the direction of Thoresby, Archbishop of York, in the year 1357, and circulated among the clergy and laity of his province. See *Fasti Eboracenses*, art. 'Thoresby.'

2. On the more than doubtful authenticity of the three Commentaries on the Evangelists, included in the *Catalogue*, Nos. 6, 7, 8, I have spoken at p. iv of the Introduction to vol. i.

A large body of tracts has to be considered under this head, all of which are included in a well-known volume, belonging to Corpus College, Cambridge, to which it, along with other valuable MSS., was bequeathed by Archbishop Parker. These are numbered in Shirley's *Catalogue*, 12—14, 16—20, 25—34, and 37. No external evidence helps us to determine the authorship of these tracts; no clear internal allusions to current events enable us to say positively, either that they were, or were not, written by Wyclif. Even the frequent references which many of them contain to 'brenning,' and other forms of persecution, though I certainly think that they increase the probability of their having been composed not earlier than the fifteenth century, and therefore not by Wyclif, do not, as I have shown in the Introduction to vol. i. (pp. viii—xii) absolutely preclude the supposition of his authorship. The ground on which these tracts were excluded was simply this,—that after carefully reading them through, I considered that, whether from the absence of a tone of authority, or from the contractedness and poverty of the style, or
from peculiarities of diction, or from the multiplied indications of
a period of active persecution, it was more probable that they pro-
cceeded from some Lollard pen, writing from ten to thirty years after
the reformer's death, than from Wyclif's.

No. 47, 'Tractatus de pseudo Freris,' I found to be, on examining
it in the unique copy belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, a fierce
indictment in many counts against the friars. I could find nothing
to throw light on its date or authorship; and if I exclude it, it is
rather because the edition contains already so many denunciations
of the friars, than on account of any opinion which I have formed
adverse to its authenticity.

No. 48 has been excluded for the reasons stated in vol. i. p. vii.
On Nos. 61 and 62, entitled in the Catalogue 'De Officio Pastorali'
and 'De Papa,' I have had no opportunity of forming an opinion.
They form portions of an unique MS. belonging to Lord Ashburn-
ham, to whom applications have been made, both by private persons,
and by the Vice-Chancellor in the name of the Delegates of the
University Press, for permission to inspect the MS., and have these
tracts transcribed if it were deemed expedient. To these applications
no answer has been returned.

3. Nos. 51 and 58, entitled 'De Confessione et Poenitentia' and
'De Dominio Divino,' were examined by me on the visit which I
made to Dublin for the purposes of this edition. The first treats of
private confession, to which 'general shrift and opyn' is preferred.
The second attacks Church endowments, and the possession of
temporal lordships and privileges by the clergy. It is quite possible
that both these pieces may have been written by Wyclif; but as the
arguments which they contain are repeated in various passages of the
Sermons and Tracts now printed, and as they present no features
of peculiar interest, I decided upon excluding them. No. 41, 'Of
Faith, Hope, and Charity,' a copy of which is contained in a MS.
belonging to New College, Oxford, is not improbably the work of
Wyclif; but as I found it to be a remarkably dull composition, and
to contain not a single new idea, I deemed it unnecessary to print it.

4. There remain the compositions entered in the Catalogue as
'Single Sermons,' (No. 3). The first of these, 'Wycliffe's Wycket,' a sermon on the Eucharist, has been so often printed that it seems needless to add it to this selection, more especially as no MS. is known to exist, so that the means of establishing a correct text are wanting. Moreover, the line of argument adopted in the 'Wycket' is reproduced in more than one passage of the present edition; see e.g. vol. iii. pp. 403—410. With regard to the other 'Single Sermons,' there is no evidence of any kind to connect any of them with Wyclif, except perhaps that entitled 'De Sacramento Altaris,' which is found in the best MSS. of Wyclif's Sermons, inserted between the *Vae Octuplex* and the Sermons for the Commune Sanctorum. It contains, however, nothing on the subject of the Eucharist that is not repeatedly advanced in different places of the works now published.

Such, then, have been the grounds of exclusion. The grounds of inclusion are stated briefly in the prefatory notices prefixed to the several treatises.

**General Remarks.**—The reader will naturally wish to know at what period of Wyclif's life the various works composing this edition were written. So far as the means of answering this question exist, the evidence points with singular uniformity to the last six or seven years of Wyclif's life, as the period within which all the literary activity to which these volumes bear witness was exhibited. In his earlier years, while he was a student, and then a doctor, at Oxford, he naturally wrote in Latin, the common tongue of the learned. But as he grew old, many circumstances would concur in leading him to employ more frequently the native speech; such as the fame of Chaucer, the example of Gower, the continual advances made by English upon French as the language of the upper classes, the interest which his great enterprise of translating the Bible into English must have caused him to take in his mother tongue, and, lastly, the necessity, as the contest between him and his opponents increased in bitterness, of enlisting support for his opinions among the laity. He must have had something of the feeling expressed in the line 'Flectere si nequeo superos,' &c.; if he could not convince the bishops or the
abbits, he would arouse, in the freshers hearts and unwarped understandings of the common people, an emotion which would sooner or later be fatal to the strongholds of ecclesiastical corruption.

On the general moral bearing of the works contained in this edition,—much less on their theological value,—it is not my intention to enlarge. But any one who looks even cursorily through these volumes will at once perceive that they exhibit everywhere a vehement and uncompromising spirit,—a spirit which menaced what it attacked, not with reform, but with destruction. The feeling of Wyclif towards the friars seems to have amounted to positive hatred, of which Aristotle tells us that one characteristic is to desire the annihilation of its objects, \( \mu\eta \, \epsilon\lambda\nu\alpha\iota \): he calls upon lords and gentlemen to unite with the reforming clergy in suppressing the friars altogether. Not one redeeming feature is allowed them; not a single ray of light relieves the awful shadows of the portrait which he draws of them. The superior clergy,—bishops, deans, and archdeacons,—the various orders of monks, and the canons secular and regular, of whom there were at that time numerous communities in England, are all denounced with nearly equal bitterness, and with as little allowance for any good qualities which they might possess. Now, that the portrait which Wyclif draws of his adversaries is an entirely fair and truthful one, cannot seem probable to any reasonable man. William of Wykeham, the model prelate of those times, was not a saint, but he certainly was still less that monster of simony, hypocrisy, pride, and sensuality, which the imagination of Wyclif creates as the normal character of an English bishop. And in spite of abuses, the same is true of the monks and friars. In short, the maxim 'Audi alteram partem' holds good, as much with regard to the English Church in the fourteenth century, as it does with regard to any other institution in any other age. The writings of Wyclif and the Lollards ought to be taken in connection with the great apologetic reply of Thomas of Walden, the *Doctrinale Fidei*. This Carmelite friar, the friend and confessor of Henry V, the correspondent of Pope Martin V, the trusted emissary

* Rhet. ii. 4.
of kings and prelates, was an exceedingly copious and able writer; and it cannot be doubted that justice will one day be done him, by making known through a translation portions of the Doctrinale to the English public. But, able as it is, this work is equally one-sided and uncompromising with Wyclif's tracts. If Wyclif would not allow a single merit to the friars, Walden cannot, or will not, discern a single defect. The judicial temper is alike alien to both. Thus proclaiming war to the knife, the conservative and reforming parties in the English Church, finding no common ground, persecuted and expelled each other in turn. The conservative forces, thanks to the statute De Haeretico comburendo and the organization of a kind of English Inquisition by Archbishop Chicheley, completely triumphed at first, and Lollardism was, not extinguished, but trampled out of sight. The court, though the temptation to follow Wyclif's advice, and relieve its own and the nation's burdens by sequestrating a portion of the enormous wealth of the Church, must have been very great, did not feel strong enough as yet to dispense with the political support of the hierarchy; nor had any examples of successful enterprises of the kind as yet been given on the continent. Perhaps too, the scandals and abuses were not then quite so flagrant as the Lollards painted them. When, however, in the sixteenth century, all these circumstances were reversed, and the movement party, standing to a great extent in a true line of filiation from the old Lollards, but much moderated owing to the accession of bishops and other dignitaries to its ranks, obtained liberty of action, it is no wonder if no more mercy was shown to the monks and friars, than they had shown to the Lollards. So little did Englishmen, till the civil war of the seventeenth century, understand that spirit of compromise and gradual change, which, since that epoch, has been the main preservative of our national institutions.

List of MSS., &c.—A description of the MSS. from which the miscellaneous works have been transcribed, in continuation of the list given at p. xvii of vol. i., is here inserted; to which is added a list of the chief works from which information may be derived concerning the life and opinions of Wyclif. A complete catalogue
INTRODUCTION.

of the English works ascribed to Wyclif has been also compiled, based on that prepared by Dr. Shirley, but including a detailed comparison with, and reference to, the lists of Bale and Lewis.

In conclusion, it becomes my duty,—a duty which I have the greatest satisfaction in performing,—to return my sincere thanks to those from whose advice and assistance I have benefited in the preparation of the Miscellaneous Works for the press. With regard to these, as before in the case of the Sermons, I have received from Professor Stubbs much valuable aid. I beg also to thank the Rev. H. O Coxe, Bodley’s Librarian, for the kind promptitude with which he has forwarded any investigations which it was necessary to make. To Mr. Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, I am greatly indebted for the pains which he took to render the task of consulting an important MS. in the library of his college as easy for me as possible, notwithstanding the well-known stringency of the founder’s regulations. I have to thank my friend Mr. Furnivall for his unvarying sympathy, and for many a well-timed suggestion. I have also to thank Mr. W. A. Wright, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Mr. Hunt, librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, for assistance kindly rendered. I will venture, lastly, to add the name of my daughter, Miss Mary Arnold, whose co-operation has been of great service to me in various ways.

It only remains to add, with reference to the entire edition, that my sincerest acknowledgments are due to the Delegates of the Press, for having, after the lamented death of Professor Shirley had caused the editorial function to devolve upon one of so far inferior qualifications, extended to me nevertheless, through the whole course of the undertaking, the kindest consideration and encouragement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of MS.</th>
<th>Distinguishing Letter</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bodl. 288.</td>
<td>T.</td>
<td>A fine folio, double columned and well ornamented, containing, besides the 'Super Cantica Sacra,' nothing but Hampole's Psalter and Commentary, inc. 'Grete haboundance.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magd. Coll. Oxford, 52.</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>A small thick volume, containing exactly what is contained in Bodl. 288, of which I am inclined to think it a copy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodl. 789.</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>This is a beautiful text, written in clear sharply cut regular characters on the finest vellum, with elaborate rubrics and illuminations; size about that of an octavo volume. It is a collection of devotional and hortatory pieces, made probably for some person of rank. Besides II, III, and V of this volume, it contains Archbishop Thoresby's 'Sixe thingis,' &amp;c., and several meditations and prayers, taken from the works of St. Bernard and St. Bonaventure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodl. 647.</td>
<td>W.</td>
<td>A curious and important MS., written in the West-Midland dialect, with Northern peculiarities. The workmanship is rough and uncouth. It contains little that has not been printed in the present volume; the text of Tracts IX, XIX, XX, XXIV, XXV, XXXI, and XXXII, being based upon it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. C. C. Camb. 296.</td>
<td>X.</td>
<td>A small folio, full of clerical inaccuracies, and making no pretensions to textual splendour, but containing many treatises not found elsewhere. See Shirley's Catalogus, pp. 40–45. The hand is of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. Tracts XIII, XIV, XVII, XVIII, XXII, and XXIII, of the present edition, are taken from this MS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth 408.</td>
<td>Y.</td>
<td>This MS. I have not seen; it supplied the text for Tracts VI, VII, and VIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title of MS.</td>
<td>Distinguishing Letter</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Douce 274.</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>A small thin volume, with beautiful initial letters in gold; writing pale; date, late fourteenth century. This is one of the MSS. bequeathed by Mr. Douce to the Bodleian Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trin. Coll. Dub. C. III. 12.</td>
<td>AA.</td>
<td>A volume about 8 in. by 6 in.; totally without ornament; the hand passes in the strangest way from the clerkly to the cursive, and back again from the cursive to the clerkly. In several places there are lacunae. Through the greater portion of its contents it agrees with C.C.C.C. 396; yet I doubt whether either MS. be a copy of the other, but rather suspect that both were copied from some earlier text now lost. Tracts XII and XXI are taken from this MS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douce 273.</td>
<td>BB.</td>
<td>The description of Z applies exactly to this MS., except that it makes a thicker volume. Besides IX and XXIX of this volume, it contains a piece of unknown authorship in English, entitled 'Tractatus de Regibus.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trin. Coll. Dub. C. V. 6.</td>
<td>CC.</td>
<td>A small volume, about 6 in. by 4 in., in a cursive hand, of, I should say, the first or second decade of the fifteenth century. As it contains but little,—at least of what may with reasonable probability be assigned to Wyclif,—that is not found also in Oxford MSS., I have had recourse to it for the text of one tract only, XXVI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harl. 1398.</td>
<td>DD.</td>
<td>I have not seen this MS. The text of IV is derived from an accurate transcript taken from it by Mr. Brock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corser MS.</td>
<td>EE.</td>
<td>Neither have I seen this MS., which is the property of Mr. Corser, and has but recently come to light; but a useful collation of it with the Harleian MS. (DD) was obtained for me by my friend, Mr. Furnivall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laud 174.</td>
<td>FF.</td>
<td>A small volume, now in the Bodleian Library, containing (besides XV of this volume, for which it has supplied the text), portions of I, a curious poem by Richard of Maydenstoon, and other pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harl. 2385.</td>
<td>GG.</td>
<td>A small thin quarto, among the Harleian MSS. at the Museum. About seven leaves of it belong to Wyclif. See below, pp. 93 and 441.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title of MS.</td>
<td>Distinguishing Letter</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiberius C. VII.</td>
<td>HH.</td>
<td>This is one of the Cottonian MSS. at the British Museum; it was much injured by the fire of 1731, but has been most skilfully and effectually repaired. It is a copy of Knyghton's Chronicle, and, I am disposed to think, in his own handwriting. The text of XXX and XXXI is derived from it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudius E III.</td>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Another Cottonian MS. The copy of Knyghton's Chronicle which it contains is evidently transcribed from Tiberius C. VII.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Wyclif Literature, or**

*A List of the Chief Works Which Throw Light on the Life and Opinions of John Wyclif.*


*British Magazine*, vol. vii. 1835.


Cochlaeus, Johannes, *Historia Hussitarum*, Mentz, 1549.

*Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. iii. (Rolls Series).

*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*; see Walden.


Harpsfield, Nicholas, *Historia Wicceffiana*, Douay, 1622.

Huss, John, *Opera*, 1558.

James, Thomas, Bodley's Librarian, *An Apologie for John Wickliffe, shewing his conformitie with the now Church of England*, Oxford, 1608.

Knyghton, Henry, *Compilatio de eventibus Anglicai*; in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*.

Le Bas, C. W., *Life of Wyclif* (No. 1 of Theological Library), 1832.
Wyclif Literature.

Leland, John, Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Oxford, 1709.

" Collectanea, Oxford, 1715.

Lewis, Rev. John, Minister of Margate, Life of Dr. John Wyclif, Oxford, 1820.


Orthuinus Gratius, Fasciculus rerum, &c., 1535; re-edited by Brown, 1690.

Otterbourn, Thomas, Chronicle, edited by T. Hearne, 1732.

Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici (in continuation of Baronius), Lucca, 1738.


Shirley, Dr. Walter W., Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif, 1865.

Tanner, Bishop, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 1748.

Vaughan, Dr. Robert, Life and Opinions of Wycliffe, 1828.

Walden, Thomas of, Doctrinale Fidei Christianae, Venice, 1571.

" Fasciculi Zizaniorum (Rolls Series).

Walsingham, Historia Anglicana (Rolls Series).

Wilkins, David, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, 1736.

Wood, Anthony, Athenae Oxonienses.

" History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, edited by Gutch, 1786.

Woodford, William, Determinationes contra haereses Wiclevi; in Brown's Fasciculus.

Wycliffite Versions of the Bible, edited by Forshall and Madden, Oxford, 1850.
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<td>A Petition to the King and Parliament</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>XXV</td>
<td>De Blasphemia contra fratres</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>52, same title.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>De Confessione et Poenitentia</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>De Dominio Divino</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>same title</td>
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<td>58, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>De Pontificum Romanorum schismate</td>
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<td>22, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>De Sacramento Altarum</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>... ...</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3 (5), same title.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>De Stipendii Ministerium</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Lincolniensis</td>
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<td>... ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>XXVIII</td>
<td>De episcoporum erroribus</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23, same title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Of Faith, Hope, and Charity</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>41, same title.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Printed by Dr. James and Dr. Vaughan.  
2 Printed by the Religious Tract Society.  
3 Printed by Dr. Todd.  
4 Printed by Lewis, Life of Wyclif.
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<td>De Christo et Anticristo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5, same title.</td>
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<td>VI</td>
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<td>11§ 6, Of the Five, &amp;c.</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>On the Five Outer Wits</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
<td>11§ 5, Of the Five, &amp;c.</td>
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¹ These works are taken from Dr. Shirley’s *Catalogue*, and it did not seem necessary to add to them works, formerly ascribed to Wyclif, such as ‘The Poor Caitiff,’ and Hampole’s Psalter, his connection with which has been already disproved by Dr. Shirley and others.
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EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC TREATISES.
I.

SUPER CANTICA SACRA.

[Bishop Bale's catalogue is the only authority for ascribing this Commentary on the Canticles to Wyclif. But in the same catalogue the well-known Commentary on the Psalms, beginning 'Grete haboundannce of gostly comfort,' is ascribed to Wyclif, whereas it has been shown with abundant evidence by the editors of the Wyclifite versions of the Bible (Preface, p. iv) to be the work of Richard Rolle, commonly called Hampole. Now, in most (perhaps in all) of the copies of the Commentary on the Psalms—which we will call Hampole's Psalter—the Commentary on the Canticles follows without a break, and, so to speak, as a matter of course, in such a manner as to give rise to a strong presumption that Hampole was the author of both. But against this presumption had to be set the undoubted fact that the Commentary on the Canticles bears in several places decisive marks of a Lollard or Puritanical cast of sentiment, which no one acquainted with Hampole's genuine writings, and with his life and character, so far as known, could possibly father upon him. It was manifestly the fact of the occurrence of these Lollard passages which induced Bale, and many others since his time, to attribute the Commentary to Wyclif. Out of these difficulties, some introductory verses prefixed to a copy of the Psalter and Canticles, contained in a MS. of about the middle of the fifteenth century (Laud, 286), seem to afford the means of extrication. This MS. stops short at the seventh canticle, the Magnificat, omitting those five, the commentary on which in Bod. 288 and other MSS. contains most of the Lollard passages before mentioned. The writer of the introductory lines, after saying that this is the same Psalter as that which lies chained at Richard's own place of burial, in the nunnery at Hampole, thus proceeds:—

'Copyed has pis Sauter ben of yvel men of Lollardry,
And afterward hit has hene sene ympyd in wip eresy.
They seyden þen to leude folcs, þat it shuld be all enter
A blessyd boke of hur scoles, of Richard Hampole þe Sauter,
Thus he þei seyd to make þen leve on her scole thoro sotilte,
To bring hem in, so hem to greve, ægyn þe feyth in grete folc;
And selauudrid foule þis holy man wip her wykkid waryd wyles;' &c.
The Lollards then, it seems, had been grafting heresy, that is, their peculiar opinions, into the Psalter (in which general expression it seems certain that the Canticles are included) of Richard Hampole, and then circulating it as, in its entirety, 'a blessed book of their schools.' From these words it may clearly be inferred that the copy to which these lines are prefixed, and in which the handwriting is the same throughout, was the genuine work of Hampole, free from all Lollard interpolations. What difference this makes in the Psalter itself, I am not prepared to say with certainty; but the form which it wears in Bod. 288 (a MS. containing all the passages of advanced Lollardism in the Canticles) appears, from a tolerably close examination, to present scarcely anything that could be decidedly pronounced to come from a Lollard pen. But in the Commentary on the Canticles, the difference caused by presenting them in the form exhibited in the copy of this ardent versifier, as compared with that which they bear in Bod. 288, is very great. The former copy, containing only seven canticles, has not a single word which might not have been written by Hampole. The latter, containing twelve canticles, has in it, especially in the commentary on the Benedictus, passages which only Wyclif or one of his disciples could have composed. The conclusion which I arrive at therefore is, that in this Commentary on the Canticles, we have, down to the end of the seventh canticle, a genuine work of Richard Hampole, retouched in certain MSS. by a Lollard hand, but that the five remaining canticles are a later addition, made either by Wyclif himself, or by his school. Some confirmation of this view may be found in the fact that the valuable New College MS. (No. 95) of which, nearly, if not absolutely, all the remaining contents are of Wyclif's composition, gives just these five later canticles, and none of the seven earlier ones.

The text is based on Bod. 288 (T in this edition). The scribe seems to have been imperfectly acquainted with Latin, and has made frequent blunders in quoting the Latin originals; these I have corrected either from other MSS. or from the Vulgate. Other MSS. of the whole or of a portion of the Canticles are the following; of the whole, Laud 448, University College, Oxford, 56 (although in this MS. the commentary on the last six canticles is wanting, as if the scribe had been afraid to reproduce it); Magdalen College, Oxford, 52; of Nos. 1–7, Laud 286; of Nos. 8–12, New College, Oxford, 95; of Nos. 11, 12, Laud 174; of No. 12, Douce 258.

'The Old Testament Canticles there is no agreement with either Wyclifite version; in the Benedictus and Nunc Dimittis the agreement is very close with the earlier version.'—Shirley's Catalogue, p. 37.

These twelve canticles (or rather these eleven canticles and one creed, the so-called Symbolum Athanasii) are found intermixed among the Psalms, as they are appointed to be read on the different days of the week in the Psalter of the Roman Breviary (ed. Lyons, 1546). Thus a commentator, who besides commenting on the Psalms, should have explained these canticles, would have given a commentary on the entire contents of the Psalter in his Breviary, with the exception of the Symbolum Apostolorum.]
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

[ THE THANKSGIVING OF ISRAEL. ]

[ Isaiah, ch. xii. ]

Confitebor tibi, Domine, quia iratus es michi; conversus est furor tuus, et consolatus es me: I schall schryve to thee, Lord, for thou art wrapped to me; turnyd is thy breth, and thou cumfortidist me.

That is, to the heriating of thee I schall schryve my synnes; and that I schal do, for the displeesen thee, and maken thee wrappid to me synnynge, and I may not preie thee, but if I fordo my synne. Perfor verrry schriff is levynge of synne, that turneth thy breth fro me; but thou turnyst eendlees peyne which I have disserved levyng, into schort penaunce of a sorful herte, absteynynge fro synne. And in that, Lord, thou cumfortist me, that pis sentence in dyuerse stidis of thy lawe is approvyd, not in newe writynge and newe confirmaioun, for nobeing is, to trowe soo, left out of the sentence of thy lawe. Pis cumfort boweth into myn herte, knowynge of feelynge of thy love, delyverynge my conscience of alle byndinge erroors. Ffor

Ecco, Deus salvator meus, fiducialiter agam et non timebo: Lo, God is my saveour, tristfulli I schal worche, and I schal not dreeden.

Alle men, biholden; Lo, Jesus Crist is my saveour, clensinge me of synne, and delyverynge me of turment. Now he me saveyth turnyd to him, whom he before blyndide turnyd to thee. Perfor tristfully I schal worche, dreyngynge no man, seynge boldly that he schal come to deeme, yeldynge to ech man aftir his deede. That deedis of tirauntis and of ipocritis, hized in pis world, ensaumplinge wickidenes, schulen be lowid þoru peyne eendlees, whanne trewe meke men schulen have coroun of joie; and I schal not dreede to seyn it, þou, I be
dispisid þoru suggestioun of my false briþeren for my sop-fastnes. Whi?

Quia fortitudo mea et laus mea\(^1\), et factus est mihi in salutem: For my strenke and myn heriing our Lord, and maad he is to me in helpe.

My strenke of whom I am staworpe is Crist, for of myself I am ful week; and myn heriing is heriinge in Jesus, for I seke in wil, word, and werk not myn heriing but Cristis; and he is maad to me double heele, æcein Adam þat brouȝte me in seekenes of deep, and æcein hem þat in blindenes of malice pursuen me for my sooþsawe\(^2\). But þe þat wolen folowe þe fforme of þis conversacioun,

Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris, et dicetis in illa die, Confitemini domino et invocate nomen ejus: þe schulen drawe watirs in joie of þe wellis of þe saveour, and þe schulen seie in þat day, schryveþ to þe Lord and inclepþ his name.

Þe schulen drawe þoru charite and mekenes watir of devocioun of hevenly desiris in joie, yeldinge servise to God of þe wellis, þat is, of þe plenteouse gracious ȝifts of Jesus Crist; and þe schulen sey to opere in þat day,—þat is, whanne þe drinken of so clee ðe wellis of Cristis lawe þat purgiþ alle þe vicis, and leven þe mody watirs of manny lawe troublid wiþ coveitise and lustis,—Schryveþ to oure Lord þoure synnes, for he oonli þeveþ pardoun, and so inwardly inclepþ his name, þat is, lyveþ so þat þoure liif schewe þe heriing of Jesus; and þat may not be but þe þoru charite inclepþ his name to þou, makynge þou þoru mekenes his woniynge stide. If þou do þus,

Notas facite in populis adinvenciones ejus, mementote quia excelsum est nomen ejus: Makip knoven in þe folk þe fyndingis of him; bifenkiþ\(^3\) for his name is hiþ.

Here he monesti þ, ech man to lyve wel, and prestis to make knowe opinly Cristis meedful werkis. Makip knoven, þat is, prechip among þe folk, what?—fre sop-fastnes, þat þei moun knowe his incarnacioun, þoru þe which he found oure heele. And tellip to hem alle fablis left, þat he is not founden but in

\(^1\) Vulg. laus mea Dominus.  
\(^2\) So in U; unþiþinkiþ, T.  
\(^3\) clause om. in U.
meke and wilful charyte ful worching; and bekynip, þat is, holdeþ him evere in mynde, or in þinkinge, or in spekinge, or in worchinge, þat se no tyme be founden out of his heriynge; for he failip no tyme, here in helpinge, ne in hevene of meedyng. And, for his þiþ name Jesus is above alle names, holdeþ þat in þore þouȝt, for it is of greet virtu in a clene soule; for þoru þe virtu þerof is ech soule clensid of vicious ﬁlpe. And if clensid it kepþ cleene, bowyne þereinne abundantly grace of parfisþ knowynge of virtues, no devel ne yvel man may noien þat soule, þowþ þe body suffre peyne in which it restis peesibly. It is of so greet virtu þat blynde men coveten to bere it on hem, but þe help of Jesus is not wiþ hem, to meede hem in hevene, þat beren it not in clennes of lyvyng, ne it failip not hem þat lyven wel, þowþ þe herden nevere speke þerof. þe þat moun heere and seke to knowe Goddis wille, tristip in heringe of it in þoure hertis, not in schewingþ þerof in þoure cloþinge, for it suffriþ not þe love þerof fallen into pride ne covetise ægens Goddis honour, as Lucifer and Adam diden.

Cantate domino quia magnifice egit, Anunciade hec in universa terra: Syngip to oure Lord for worschipfulþ he dide, schewip þat cle in al þe erbe.

þe loyvers of þe name of Jesus, syngþ to oure Lord in contemplacioun, for þere is delitable cumfort. Perfore is it riþt clepid contemplacioun, for þe soule1 of a good man or womman in þis liif hap no cumfort but þereinne. Perfor þerwip wel worchinge honourip Jesus Crist, for worschipfully he dide þe heelp of mankynde, diynge þerfore, sayynge synful wrecchis þat wolen leve synne. What þing is more biforn God þan to ȝelde good ægen yvel? þerfore schewip þat worschipful þing among alle men. But þou namely,

Exulta et lauda, habitatio Syon, quia magnus in medio tui Sanctus Israel: Be glad and merie, þe wonyng of Syon, for greet in myddis of þee þe holy of Israel.

þou loyver of Crist þat wonyest in Syon, þat is, in holy Chirche and contemplacioun of God, for þou art maad þe wonyng of Crist, be glad, þat is, schewe þee wel cheerid in þi soule, worch-

1 corrected; T has oule; U om. the clause.
inge gode werks, and herye God, þat haþ do so to þee þat þou hast wille to love him and noon oþer. þerfore greet he is in þee þoru love and virtu, he þat is halowe of Israel, þat is, Crist halowyng þee in his love, þat is verri Israel in truþe, hope, and charite, seeynge þere þoru God.

[ PRECATIO EZECHLÆ. ]

[ ISAIAH xxxviii. 10. ]

Ego dixi; In dimidio dierum meorum vadam ad portas inferi: I seyde, in half of my daies, I schal [go] to þe þatis of helle.

Ezechie þe king, aftir his siiknes, grauntynge of liif xv þeer over, herieþ God, and seþ, I seide in myn herte, dispeiringe of liif, fro I hadde herd þe vois of dieþ, of þe profetis mouþ, In half of my dayes, þat is, in unperfiþtenes 1 of werks not fulfilid, þe dayes in whiche I schulde have lyved, I schal go to þe þatis of helle; þat is, I þus unperfiþt, diynge, schal passe to helle, for þidir 3eden alle men bifore þe comynge of Jesus Crist. And þerfore,

Quesivi residuum annorum meorum. Dixi, non videbo domum Domini 3 in terra viventium: I souþte þe levynge of my þeeris; I seide, I schal not se þe Lord in þe lond of levynge.

I souþte, þreinge to God, þat I myþte eende þe levynge of myn þeeris, þat is, þat I myþt bringe my liif to perfiþtenes and fulnes of daies. For I seide in mysilf, if I now die wiþouten child, I schal not se God-man in hevene; as who seie, I cam nevere þere. For he wiste þat God hadde hitþ, þat Crist, Goddis Sone, schulde be borun of his kynde, and þat myþt not han be, speciali, if Ezechie hadde died and left no seed aboven erþe. Ffor I seide,

1 So in U; T om. in.

* 'Dominum Deum' in the Vulgate.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Non aspiciam hominem ultra, et habitatorem quietis: I schal not seen man overe, and woner of reste.

Pat is, if I die now, I schal not seen him pat is God and man borun of my kynde, over, pat is, aftir pat I be deed; and so I schal not seen wonyer of reste, pat is, I schal not seen cump-"pynes of chosun men wonyinge in eendeles reste, ne won e wiþ hem where is delitable reste. Ffor lo,

Generacio mea ablata est, et convoluta est a me quasi tabernaculum pastorum: My generacioun is raft, and togidere lappid is fro me, as tabernacle of heerdis.

My generacioun, pat is, successioun of children, is so holly moved fro me as a tabernacle of heerdis, pat in schort while [is] lappid togidere, and remewede 1 is not seen. And "erwiþ,

Precisa est velud texente mea; dum adhuc ordixer, succidit me: Bifore schoren is as pe wevyng my liif; while I was in wevynge he kit me down.

My liif is schoren awey, "ouþeheed bifoire er I come to eelde, as of pe wevyng pe pat scheriþ doun pe web, er it be fully woven. And 3it while I bigan to lyven he scheriþ me doun wiþ sikil of deeph, for no sunner bigynne we to lyven pean we bigynnen to dien.

De mane usque ad vesperam finies me. Sperabam usque ad mane, quasi leo sic contrivit omnia ossa mea: Fro morn to even bou schalt eende me. I hopide to pe morn, as lioun so I brak alle my boones.

Iþe 2 spekiþ in a maner of a man þat liþ in a strayt severe, þat fro þe morn to even abidiþ, aftir passing of þe yvel or of þe deeph. I hopide to þe morn, þat is, al nyþt, to be releaved or to dien. As lyoun þat nopþing sparþ, so God in my siiknes brak alle my boones, þat is, wastide al myn strenkþe.

De mane usque ad vesperam finies me. Sicut pullus yrundinis sio clamabo, meditabor sicut columba: Fro morown to even bou schalt eende me. As a bird of a swalowe, so I schal crie, I schal pinke as a dowwe.

Bou schalt eende me, þat is, I abide myn eende fro morn to even. Pat he rehersiþ þis twies, he schewiþ þe greetnes of his

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1 So in U; T has is not seen remount. 2 be, U.
yvel, and þe worchinge, as þe maner of siik men is whanne þei selen riȝt hard, and witen not what þei moun best seyn. As bird of swalowe þat greedly askip mete, so in siike, woundid in sorowe, and in noye of siiknes, schal I crie to God my leche, þat I now fynde his hoolsum medicyn; and I schal þinke as a douve, þat is, mekely, wiþouten galle of grucching, ire, and wickid wille, stilly usynge sorowyngye for my synne, comfortyngye me in hope of God wiþ devout song of meditacioun, not wiþ song of vanite. And in þis cry and þinkinge,

Attenuati sunt oouli mei, suspicientes in excelsa:

Thynnýd ben myn iżen, uplokyngē in hiȝ.

Myn iżen ben þinned, þat is, my þouȝt and myn entent ben purgid of vile lustis, and foule willis, and veine þouȝtis, and maad sotil and semely in þe love of Jesus Crist; and so þei ben uplokinge in heighe to þe joie of hevene, not pressid doun in love of pis world.

Domine vim patior; responde pro me quid dicam;

aut quid respondebit mihi cum ipse fecerim: Lord, force I suffre, answere for me what schal I seyn, or what schal I answere to me whanne I have do.

Lord, I suffre force, þat is, violence of siiknes and disesis above my myȝt; [þat is] answere for me, þat is, be boru of myn amendement; for my wille is, if þou wilt suffre, to amenden þat I have errid. It is greet perel to synnen, but myche more to be founde in ligginge where God is borowe; þerfore ech Cristen man þat þoru synne brekip his trûpe dis-pisip þe boruheed of Crist, þat witnessip ech trewe mannys trûpe. But what schal I sey to God whanne I suffre riȝtiwisli þis peyne? or what schal God answere to me whanne I have synnyd grevousli in his siȝt, and he but as riȝtiwis venger of synne puneschip it riȝtiwisli? For he is makir of my kynde, as a sliȝ workman, knowynge betere how his hondi-werk is defoulid þan I, þouȝ I were keper þerof. For whanne I hadde defoulid it, I coude not, ne noon oþir, amenden it wiþouten him; and I knewe þat I have ofte defoulid his werk wilfully, and he

1 be, U.

a These words are redundant.

a 'excelsum' in the Vulgate.
as ofte haþ recounsilid it; but now me schameþ wiþ myself, knowinge him for hiȝest Lord, and me for moost vile wrecche. How schulde I dore þinke to meve him þus ofte to amende my wilful defaute? As who seie, þe best is in al angwische to take Goddis soude mekely, and preien him of mercy, þat dide as it was his wille. And þerewiþ,

Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos in amaritudine anime mee: I schal þinke ægin to þee alle my þeris, in bittirnese of my soule.

I schal þinke to þee, þat is, for þe heriyng of þee I schal bringe to my mynde alle my þeeris, þat is, al my liif þat is passid, in which I knowe me coupable; and þat in bittirnes of my soule, þat is, bittirnes of sorowe be in my soule for my synnes, and so I schal þoru þi mercy waische me clene of alle filpis, lovynge þi name wiþouten eende, more qwemynge þee wiþ heringe þan evere I displeside þee in synnynge.

Domine, si sic vivitur, et in talibus vita spiritus mei, corripies me, et vivificabis me. Ecce in pACE amaritudo mea amarissima: Lord, if man so lyve and in sich þe liif of my spirit, þou schalt chastise me, and þou schalt qwiken me. Lo, in þees my bittirnes bitterist.

Lord, if man so lyve, as who seie, it is a general rule þat man so lyve, þat is, þoru verri penaunce,—and in siche, þat is, hatrede of synne and in love of riȝtwisnes, is þe liif of my spirit,—elliþ it is deed,—þerfore þou schalt chastise me here as þou doost þi sones, þat I peresche not wiþ sones of þis world wiþouten eende. And chastisyng þou schalt quykene me, þat is, þou schalt þeve to me perþiȝt heelp. For lo, in þees, þat is, in verri pacience, is my bittirnes, þat is, my siiknes; and tribulacioun þat þou sendist, of me is suffrid pacienti and in þees wiþout grucchinge, þouȝ it be seen bitteriste while òfere men ben in welþe.

Tu autem eruisti animam meam ut non periret, projecisti post tertum tuum omnia peccata mea: But þou delyveridist my soule þat it pereschide not, þou kestidest bihynde þi bak alle my synnes.

Þou ordeynedest me to þi love, and into þin heriynge; delyvere my soule of deep of synne, þat it peresche not wiþ þe soulis of
wickide men, which þou neiþer delyverist fro synne ne fro helle. þou castidest bihynde þi bak to forgetyng alle my synnes, þat þou se hem not to ponesche, for whom þou hast poneischid sufficiently here, þou wolt not ponesche eft wipoute newe forfetyng.

Quia non infernus confitebitur tibi, neque mors laudabit te; non expectabunt qui descendunt in lacum veritatem tuam: For helle schal not schryve to þee, ne de þep schal not herie þee; and þo þat liþen in þe lake wole not abide þi sopfastnes.

Helle,—þat is, he or sche þat is sett in þe derk ground of synnes; for siche schulen not schryve to þee; for þe delv byndip his herte and his mouþ, þat he telle not his synne to þee wip wille to amende it. Ne de þep, þat is, he þat is deed in dispeir, schal not love þee, for no fair heriyng is in þe mouþ of þe synful man. And þo þat liþen in þe lake of dampacioni schulen not abide þi sopfastnes, þat is, þei han noon hope to be delverid þoru Jesus Crist, bier of mankynde. But,

Vivens, vivens, ipse confitebitur tibi, sicut et ego Hodie: pater notam faciet filiis veritatem tuam: Lyvynge, lyvynge, he schal schryve to þee, as and I in þis day; fadir schal make known to sones þi sopfastnes.

Lyvynge in body and lyvynge in grace, he schal schryve to þee, loyynge þi name, as I þis day, þat is, in þis present liþ, schal here þee. For ech good fadir bodili and goostli lyvynge in dreede of God, aftir þe forme of trewe matrimonye, or after þe office of trewe presthhood, schal make known to hise sones þoru trewe teching þi sopfastnes, þat is, verri sopfastnesse of trupe in þe loore of Cristin mannys religioun. For wip wrong is he clepid fadir of whos fruyt God is not heried.

Domine, salvum me fac, et psalmos nostros cantabimus cunctis diebus vitæ nostræ in domo Domini Dei nostri: Lord, make me saaf, and oure salmes schulen we synge alle þe dayes of oure liþ in þe hous of oure Lord God.

Lord, make me saaf of þe devels foundingys, and of alle opere yvelis wiþinne and wiþoute, and we schulen synge oure salmes,

\[1\] corrected; T has \textit{suam}; U om.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

pat is, we schulen make solemne þin heriingis wip herte, mouþ, and hond, alle þe dayes of oure liif, þat is, contynuemy while we ben in goostly liif, and in charyte in Goddis hous, þat is in holy chirche; of dwellinge out þerof, þouȝt of herte, ne salm of mouþ, ne werk of þondis, is not qweemeful to Jesus Crist.

[ THE SONG OF HANNAH. ]

[ I SAM. ii. 1—10. ]

Exultavit cor meum in Domino, et exaltatum est cornu meum in Deo meo: Myn herte gladide in oure Lord, and myn horn ys hiȝed in my God.

Helcana þat was fadir of Samuel hadde two wyves, Ffenenne1 and Anne. By Ffenenne, þat first woxe in berynge of children, is bitokenyd þe synagoge of þe Jewis; by Anne, þat was first bareyn, and siþin bigan to be more multiplied þan þe topir, is bitokenyd þe Chirche of Cristen men. Wherfore Anna brest forþ in heriynge of God, and made þis Salm, enditinge it þe Holy Goost, stirynge us to þe heriinge of oure God þat hap take us fro þerours of heþen men. At þe bigynnynge of her song sche schewip þat in God is her deliit, and scip, as in figure of us, Myn herte gladide in my Lord, in þe fruit of good werk and of meedthl meditacioun, þat was sory for my bareynheed; and hiȝed is myn horn, þat is, my goostli strenkpe, in þe which I putt awey my scoorners, hoping in my God, not in mysilf, ne in vanyte of þis world.

Dilatum est os2 meum super inimicos meos, quia letata sum in salutari tuo: Largid is my mouþ upon myn enemyes, for I joiede in þin heelp.

þat is, wilfully and wip gladnes I openede my mouþ in þe heriing of God, above my foos, þat is, moore þan þei þat schameden me and dispisiden me bifoþre; and þat for I joiede

1 Phenenna, in Vulg. 2 corrected from Vulg. T has cor.
not in pompe and in vanyte of vein joie, but in þin heelp, þat is, in Jesus, þat me hap higed in vertu.

Non est sanctus ut est Dominus, neque enim est alien extra te, et non est fortis sicut Deus noster: Noon is holy as oure Lord, for noon oþer is out of þee, and noon is stalworþe as is oure God.

Noon is hooly, þat is, fchief of synne, as is oure Lord Jesus Crist, for noon oþir is þat is hooly out of þee, for in þee and þor þee is ech man hooly. And noon is stalworþe to vengen deedis as oure God is, þat ȝeldþ to ech man aftir his yvel wille. Derfore þe scorners and þe dispisers of meke pore men, and honourers of rich men,

Nolite multiplicare loqui sublimia gloriantes: Williþ not multiplen to speke hize þingis gloriyngye.

Williþ no moore yeve to ȝoure tunge leve to speke proudli, for þat þe ben higed of þis world, for þat myȝt is but schame and sorowe to you, if þe coveiten hem, joynge in richessis þor pride in ȝoure deliciis and lecchereye. And if þe þipouȝten ȝou wel, þe schulden have more sorowe þan joie, for þe þeten noon oþir hevene, but if þe dispande hem at Goddis wille.

Recedant vetera de ore vestró, quia Deus scientiarum Dominus est, et ipsi preparantur cogitationes: Olde þingis departþ fro ȝoure mouþ, for God of scientis is Lord; to him ben redied þouȝtis.

Olde þingis ben lesyngis, false oþis, cursingis, sclaundringis, backbyngis, and grucchingis aþens Goddis wille and his souode, whiche schewen þat þe dwellen in ȝoure oold liif; but if þee wolene plese God, departe þo fro ȝoure mouþ þat þe use hem no more, but newe speche in newe liif; for God of scientis þat al woot and al may is Lord, streitly deemyng ȝoure oolde errores, and to him ben þouȝtis redyed, for he knowþ wel al þat þe þipin, and whereinne ȝoure deliit is moost. Fyve þingis ben founded in a man,—þouȝt, aſfeccion, entent, werk, and speche. þe þouȝt schulde be devout and hooly, þe aſfeccion cleene, þe entent riȝt, þe werk riȝtwiis, and þe speche atempre.

1æ, U. 2 om. U. 3 So in U; bonouris, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Arcus fortium superatus est et infirmi accincti sunt robore: De bowe of pe staleworpe is overcomun, and pe stike ben gird wiþ strenkpe.

De bowe of pe staleworpe is pe trist of riche men and cove- touse, pat pei beenden to wynne to pe honour and lordschip of pis word, and pat is overcomun, for Crist hap dampnyd it, and schal breaken it, and casten it into pe fier of helle. And sike men, pat is, meke men and feble in her owne i3en, wiþoute presumcioun and pride, ben gird wiþ strenkpe, pat is, wiþ goostli virtu; pei ben maad stable and lastinge in good þouþ, to fiȝte ægenis her goostli enemyes wiþ devote preiers, and æsein her bodily enemyes wiþ meke suffraunce; for alle gode men han manye foos, while pei ben in pis liif.

Repleti priui, pro panibus se locaverunt, et familici saturati sunt: Firste fillide for looves þei leyden hem, and þe hungry ben fillid.

Who þat first werun fillid in erþeli lustis and bolueden in looves, þat is, for fode of soule, þei leyden hem, þat is, þei þeven hem mekely to resseyve þe loore of hevene; and so þe hungry, þat is, desirynge riȝtwisnes and þe word of liif, ben fillid in swetnes or eendelees joie. And so longe schal þis goostli breed laste,

Donec sterilis peperit plurimos, et que multos habebat filios infirmata est: Til þe bareyn have boren manye, and siche þat hadde manye sones be maad siik.

Til þe bareyn, þat is, þe Chirche of Cristen men þat first was bareyn of truþe and good werk, have borun manye sones goostli to Crist, and þe synagoge, þat hadde manye fleschly sones, was maad syke¹, þat is, it is knowen þat it brouȝt no man to perfeccioun, and now bringiþ no man to salvacioun.

Dominus mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit: þe Lord sleeþ and he qwikenþ, he lediþ to helle, and he bringiþ æsein.

Oure Lord sleeþ hem þat loven þis liif outrageousli, and qwikenþ hem þat forsaken þis world and dispisen þis liif for þe liif eendelees. He lediþ to helle, þat is, he settiþ drede of helle in synful men, and so he bringiþ hem æsein to hope of liif.

¹ So in U: T has liik.
Dominus pauperem facit et ditat, humiliat et sublevat: Oure Lord makiþ pore and he makiþ riche, he mekiþ and he upliftþ.

Oure Lord mercifully makiþ a pore man riche of eendelees goodis, revynge his herte fro covetise and erþeli love; for he made him not riche þoru riþtwisnes, but if he firste made him pore in herte þoru mersy. He mekiþ þe proude to peyne of devels, and upliftþ þe meke to joie of angels.

Suscitans de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigens pauperem: Reisyenge þe nedy out of dust, and out of fenne rþýinge þe pore.

Reisinge wþipinne þoru grace out of dust, þat is, fro yvel liif þat is stirid wþeperch wynd of temptacioun, þe nedy, þat is, him þat knowiþ his goostli nede, and þerfor is he evere askynge of God þat he be stable in his love and not movable as dust; and out of þe fenne, þat is, of corrupcioun of bodi, rþýynge þe pore þat dispisiþ þe falsheed of þis world, makinge him þoru grace þe holy lovere of Jesus Crist.

Ut sedeat omn principibus, et solium gloriae tenet: Pat he sitte wþip princis, and holde þe soler of glorie.

Þat is, þat he be wþip meede and reste of þe apostlis, and in þe day of doom holde þe trone and þe pouste of deemynge.

Domini enim sunt cardines terrae, et posuit super eos orbem: For þe lordis ben þe haccis of þe erþe, and he sette on hem þe world.

Þe herris of erþe ben þe perþiþt men of holy Chirche in truþe and charite, þoru whiche ðopere men ben brouþt to stablenes and fastnyng; and he sette on hem þe world, þat is, hem he sette þe ground of his Chirche, as wyde as it is þoru þe world.

Pedes sanctorum suorum servabit; impii et in tenebris conticepsent, quia non in fortitudine sua roborabitur vir: þe feet of hise seynis he schal kepe, and þe wickid in derknes schulen be stille, for not in his statworþnes schal a man be strengþid.

þe feet, þat is, þe gode aftecciouns and þe devoute desiris, of
hise seyntis, pat is, of hem whiche he halowip and holdip cleene, he schal kepe fro fallyng, for on þo feet þei goon to God. And wickide men wiþouten pite of her owne soule, in derkenes of ignoraunce and yvele deedis, schulen be stille, þat þei heve not God to queeme, ne schryve her synnes verrily. For not in his stalworþnes is a man strenþped, þat is, holy men han no presupcioun of her owne virtu ne of strengþe, as proude men han, which strenþþe is chesoun of her damnacioun.

_Dominum formidabunt adversarii ejus; et super ipsos in oceilis tonsabit:_ Þe adversaries of oure Lord schulen drede him, and above hem in hevene he schal þundir.

Goddis enemyes ben alle þat doon aþein riþtwiþnes, or þat loven falsheed. And if þei wolen not now dreede wiþ her wille, þei schulen be maad to drede him aþein her wille, whanne he schal deeme; þanne he schal orribly þundir above hem his dreede, seinghe to hem, Go, þe wariede wiþtis, into fier wiþouten eende, þat is greþþid to þe devel and hise angels.

_Dominus judicabit fines terre, et dabit imperium regi suo, et sublimabit cornu Cristi sui:_ Oure Lord schal deeme þe eendis of þe erþe, and he schal þeye empire to his kyng, and he schal his þe horn of his Crist.

Oure Lord schal deeme þe eendis of erþe, not þe bigynþingis ne þe mydward; for ech man schal be deemyd of God, sich as he is founden in þe eende of his liþ. And þanne he schal þeye empire, þat is, alle chosun men þat lyveden in hise comþandemþis, to his kyng, þat is, to Crist, þat is his sone kyng. And he schal hisen þe horn of his Crist, þoru þe which he blew away al þe myþ of his enemy.

1 _love not God, U._
[THE SONG OF MOSES AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL.]  

[Ex. xv. 1—19.]

Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim magnificatus est; equum et ascensorem¹ dejectit in mare: Synte we to oure Lord, for gloriusli he is worschipid; þe hors and þe stier he caste doun into þe see.  

We þat ben lad out of Egypt, þat is, out of þe derknes of vicis and out of þe affliccioun of erþeli bisynes, synte we to oure Lord, þat is, herie we him, þankinge him wiþ al þe devocioun of oure herte, for gloriusli he is worschipid in sicch delyveraunce, þat deep is distried in glorios victorie. þe hors, þat is, alle dampnable wrecchis þat now beren hem ful proude, and þe stier, þat is, þe devel, whom alle yvele membris ² beren³, he caste doun into þe see, þat is, into þe pit of helle. Þis schal be fulfillid in þe day of doom; þerfore we, þoru grace de-lyverid, synte we to God and seie,  

Fortitudo mea et laus mea dominus, et factus est mihi in salutem: My strengþe and myn heriynge þe Lord, and maad he is to me into heelfe.  

Þoru him we ben stalworþe to stonde, þoru him we schulen be heried, whanne oure enemyes þat ben now heried schulen be dispisd; and he is maad to us into heelfe eenelees, and her stþer to hem to eenelees dampaicioun.  

Iste Deus meus, et glorificabo eum, Deus patris mei, et exaltabo eum: He is my God and I schal glorifien him, God of my fadirs, and I schal hizen him.  

He, þis Jesus Crist, þeyer of grace, is my God; and þerfore I schal glorifien him. þat is, I schal seke his joie and heriyng,
not myn, for he is God of my fadir, patriarkis and apostlis, and I schal bigen him þat his name be honourid þoru me.

Dominus quasi vir pugnator, omnipotens nomen ejus; currus Pharaonis et exercitum ejus project in mare: 

Æ Lord as a man ﬁstyr, almiȝti his name; æ cartis of Farao and his oost he caste into æ see.

Oure Lord is ﬁstyr, for he betip out þe devel fro þe hertis of hise servauntis; Almyȝti is his name, for nóping may aȝen-stonde him. And þat is wel scene, for þe cartis of Farao, þat is, þe boostful pride of þe devel, and his oost, þat is, alle unriȝtwise men þat serven to him as his trewe knyȝtis, for þei han levere to dien in pryde and in malice þan to lyve in meke-nes and charite, hem he caste into þe see, þat is, alle siche on domesday schal Crist caste wip þe devel, fadir of alle þe children of pride, into þe bittir peyne of helle wipouten eende.

Electi principes ejus submersi sunt in mari rubro. Abyssi operuerunt eos; descenderunt in profundum quasi lapis: Hise chosone princis ben drenchid in þe Reed see. Depnessis hiliden hem; þei liȝtiden into þe depnes as a stoon.

 þe chosone princis of Sathan ben þe gloriouse princis and prelatis, wip opere lustful riche men of þe world, þat settan al her love and her likyng in erpeli welþe; þese schulen be drenchid in þe Reed see of eendelees ﬁer, for here þei ben drenchid in þe blak see of synne. Depnesses of helle schal hile hem, þat þei se no more of her vanyte; þei liȝtiden into þe ground of turmentis, as a stoon cast into þe ground comþ nevere aȝein.

Dextera tua, Domine, magnificata est in fortitudine; dextera percussit inimicum; et in multitudine glorie tue deosuisti omnes adversarios tuos: þi riȝt hond, Lord, is worshipped in stregþe; þi riȝt hond smoot þe enemy; and in mychilnes of þi glorie þou didist down alle myn adversaries.

 þat is,—Lord, þi Sone schewide strenkþe aȝein þe devel, and refte him his myȝt; and for þe heriyng of þi myche joie þou didist down alle yvele spiritis and vicis of her oold seete, þat þei hadden no power in my soule.

Misisti iram 1 tuam que devoravit eos sicut stipulam;

1 So in U; T has terram.
in spiritu furoris tui congregate sunt aque: Æou sentist þi wraþpe þat eet hem as stoble. In spirit of þi breþ gaderid ben watris.

Æou sentist þi wraþpe, þat is, Æou didist veniaunce on hem, þe which eet hem as fier waastþ stoble; hard veniaunce is in fier. In spirit of þi breþ, þat is, þþ spirit wraþpide, gaderid ben watirs of al turment to synful men.

Stetit unda fluens; congregati sunt abyssy in medio maris: þe flowynge watir stood; gaderid ben depnessis in myddis of þe see.

þe flowynge watir stood, þat is, þe payne of proude bolnyd maliciousse dampnyd men and wommen lastþ wiþouten eende. Gaderid ben depnessis of alle sorowis in myddis of þe see, þat is, in þe foulist pitt of helle, þat þei ben poneschid þere eendelees, þat þen depe here in malice and wickidnes. But first,—

Dixit inimicus, Persequeur et comprehendam, dividam spolia, implobitur anima mea: Æe enemy seyde, I schal folowe, and I schal take, and schal departe spoillis, my soule schal be fulfillment.

þe enemy þe devel seide, I schal folowe wiþ yvel eggyng Cristen men þat turnen out of Egypt and hasten into þe lond of hevene, and I schal pursue hem wiþ sparis of dyverse temptaciouns and manyfoold errours and fantums. I schal departe spoillis, þat is, whanne þei ben wiþdrawe fro clennes and charite, I schal putt hem in dyverse vicis and crueltees, and so my wille schal be fulfillment in hem. For þe devel coveitiþ no moore but to han me out of charite, for þanne ben þei lost fro grace if þei dwellen in pride and malice. And if þei stonden æzein me,—

Evaginabo gladium meum, interficiet eos manus mea: I schal drawe ou my swerd, and hem schal myn hond sle.

I schal outdrawe, þat is, apeerly I schal schewe biforn her ðeþ my swerd, þat is, venemouse lustis and likingis of deedly synnes, and þorþ þo my myȝt schal sle hem goostli. Manye he sleeþ but not alle, and al his malice schal þe wickider ben.

Flavit spiritus tuus, et operuit eos mare, submersi sunt quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus: þi spirit blew, and þe see hilide hem; drenchid þei ben as leed in grete watris.
Thi Spirit blew, ṭat is, veniaunce passyng of ṭi willę fel on hem; ṭe see hilide hem, ṭat is, ṭe devel wiṱ alle ṭat he hap disseyved schulen be swolowid of helle, ṭat ṭei angre not aftir gode men. Drenchid ṭei ben hevy as leed, for bir_PREF_ of synnes, in grete wattris, ṭat is, in grete turmentis ṭat nevere moun be goon.

**Quis similis tui in fortibus, Domine?** quis similis tui magnificus in sanctitate, terribilis atque laudabilis, et faciens mirabilia? *Who is bee liık in statworḥnes, Lord? who is bee liık, worschipful in holynes, feerful and preisable and doinge wondris?*

Who is liık to oure Lord? as who sey, noon; for he doop al ṭat he wole, and nojang is doon wiḥouten his suffring and his wille. Perfore is he worschipful in largete of ụiftis of grace to holy men, feerful in veniaunce of yvele men, and to herien in delyveringe of riṱwise men, and doynge wondris in hijinge of meke men and pore, and in doun-castinge of proude men.

**Extendisti manum tuam, et devoravit eos terra.** *Dux fuisti in misericordia tua populo tuo, quem redemisti: Thou strechedist pin hond, and he erbe devouride hem. Leder pou were in pi mercy to pi folk ṭat pou bouȝist.*

Thow schewidist ṭi my3t to ṭe veniaunce of hem ṭat weren eten here wiṫ erentiful covetise, sleinge hem sodeinly, and putinge hem into helle; but in ṭi mersi ṭou leddist to hevene alle meke folk, dispisers of synne, for ṭei ben ṭin heritage bouȝ wiṫ ṭi blood.

*Et portasti eum in fortitudine tua, ad habitaculum sanctum tuum: And pou beere him in pi strenkpe to pin holy woniyng.*

Ṯat is, in ṭi virtu and ṭi goodnes ṭou berist ṭi loyers fro ṭe malicious bisynes of ṭis world to ṭi wonying in eendeelę joie.

**Ascendunt populi et irati sunt; dolores optimuerunt habitatores Philistiiam:** *Ve folk stieden and weren wraḥbįd; sorowis weeldiden be wonyers of Filisteis.*

Gode men dispisen ṭis liif and haasten to hevene; ṭanne fendis and yvele men come and casten before hem manye

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1 *birhen, U.*
WYCLIF'S WORKS.

noyes to letten hem; and if þei moun not overcomen hem, þei waxen wroþe, and þoru her wrapþe and indignacions, þe whiche þei han aþein rigtwise men, þei ben endurid in her unskilful errorr til eendelees deþ weelde hem. And so þei ben liik to þe wonyers of Filistiym, þat ben fallynge þoru drinke, for þei ben drunke þoru malice and pride, þat þei han no witt to amende hem, but liggen as drunken men in erþeli lustis.

Tune conturbati sunt principes Edom, robustos Moab obtinuit tremor, obriguerunt omnes habitatores Chanaan: Danne ben troublid þe princis of Edom, tremblynge weeldynge þe stalworþe of Moab, alle þe wonyers of Chanain waxen starke.

Þe princis of Edom ben erþeli kyngis, þat of pride and tirauntrie þristen mennys blood wip injuries; þese schulen be troublid whanne Crist deemeþ, þouþ þei ben now holden ful glorios. Þe stalworþe of Moab ben alle þe proude princis, prelatis, and prestis of þis world, þat maken hem stronge in getynge of richessis þat Crist and hise forbeden to hem. Boostynge of her power schulen tremble, for her dampnacioun may not be aþein-clepid, for stinkinge of her ypocrisie. Wonyers of Chanaan ben chaunsable men and unstable in good purpo, knowen deautis and amenden hem not, but for love of covetise, or for drede of noies, ofte tymes assenten or letten to sey þe soþe. But manye of þese schulen be movyd þoru truþe and charyte, and so þei schulen waxe starke for drede, havynge sorowe in her hertis for lackinge of socour to helpe in Goddis cause, for enemes schulen multiplie, and fewe doren holde þe truþe. But, for þou failist not in dayes of angwischt to þi loviers,

Irruat super eos formido et pavor in magnitudine brachii tui: Falle on hem dreede and qwaking in þe greetheed of þin arm.

That is, make þin enemes in drede of þi doom so aþeerd for þee, þat þei have no myþ to distrouble þi servauntis in her weye.

Fiant immobiles quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine, donec pertranseat populus tuus iste

1 proude men, U: rest of sentence om.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

quam possedisti: Maad be þei unstable as a stoon, til þat þi folk passe, Lord, til þi folk passe, þis is þe which þou hast wfeldid.

Þat is, yvele men be holden in hardnes of obstynacioun, til þat þe folk þat þou hast chosun be groundid in stedefast bileeve, for þanne þe þei ben þassid þe dreede of þis liif.

Introduces eos, et plantabis eos in monte hereditatis tue, firmissimo habitaculo quod operatus es, Domine: þou shalt lede hem into þe lond, and þou schalt sette hem in þe hil of þin heritage, and in þi fastis wonyng, þe which þou wrouȝtist, Lord.

Þat is, þou schalt out-lede hem þat ben out-cast and deed for þi love into þe lond of lyvynge, and setten hem an hit in heven, þat is fast wonyng wiþoute angir or envye, þe which þou wrouȝtist to hem, þat þei moun be in endelees rest. And þat is,


In þat seyntuarie oure Lord schal be kyng, þat is, in all savyd men wiþouten eende; and over, he seip, for he is bifore al þing, and over al þing,—bifore al þing as maker, bifore al þat is maad,—and over al þat is or schal be, for of him þei ben alle, and wiþouten him moun þei not be.

Ingressus est enim eques Pharao cum curribus et equitibus in mare, et reduxit super eos Dominus aquas maris: Pharao and hors wiþ charis and horsemen entriden into þe see, and oure Lord broughte on hem þe watirs of þe see.

Þat is, þe devel sittinge in yvele men is entrid into þis world to tempten and to angren wiþ alle hise lymes gode men; but oure Lord bringip on him and alle hise þe peynes of helle.

Filii autem Israelí ambulaverunt per sicuminum medio ejus: But þe sones of Israel ðeden bi drie, in myddis of it.

Þat is, trewe Cristen men, folowynge Crist, passen þoru þe world to hevene by þe drie wey of meke chastite and charyte, wiþoute watris of fleschli lustis.

1 corrected from Vulg.; regnavit, T.
[THE PRAYER OF HABAKKUK.]

[ Hab. iii. 2—19. ]

Domine, audivi audicionem tuam, et timui: Lord, 
I herde pin heeryng, and I dreadde.

Lord, poru þe pryvye of þin incarnacioun I knew þee verri 
God, havynge mersy of þin honywerk, and I drede; þat is, 
þouʒ al my soule were glad, I helde me unworʒ to heere sich 
an heerynge.

Domine, opus tuum, in medio annorum vivifica illud: 
Lord, þi werk, in myddis of þeeris, qwiken e i,

Lord, þis woundirful natyvue of þe Mayden is þi werk, not 
werk of mannys kynde; in myddis of þeeris, þat is, in fulnes 
of tyme, qwiken e it, þat is, sende þi Sone to qwikene us.

In medio annorum notum facies. Cum iratus fueris, 
misericordiae recordaberis: In myddis of þeeris þou schal 
make known. Whanne þou were wrappid, of merci þou schalt 
bipinke.

In þe laste eelde þat now is, þat is clepid myddis of þeeris, 
for it is in fulnes of tyme and of grace in which Crist is maad 
known to alle þat wolen come to him, for now is þe tyme in 
which he þouʒe to do mersy.

Deus ab Austro veniet, et sanctus de monte Pharon: 
God schal come of þe Souþ, and þe holy of þe hil of Faron.

Þat is, Jesus Crist shal come þoru truþe and love bi þe myʒt 
of his Fadir and þe heete of þe Holy Goost, and knowynge 
of his lawe.

Operuit celos gloria ejus, et laudis ejus plena est 
terra: His glorie keveride hevenes; and of his heriing ful is 
þe erþe.

Þat is, truþe and love þoru þe which he is glorified hilide 
þe apostlis and òþere holy men as honorable cloþing, and so 
he is heried þoru al holy Chirche, of hem þat weren þis cloþing, 
and of noon òþir, þouʒ þat he be in holy Chirche 1.

1 U om. of bem—Chirche.
Splendor ejus ut lux erit, cornua in manibus ejus:
Pe schynyng of him schal be as bryst, hornys in hise hondis.

Pat is, pe verri knowyng in his lawe makiþ alle men þat holden it bryst and schinynge in his love, for it sufﬁríþ not þe knower to erre. He knowiþ it verrili þat fulﬁlliþ it, not þat rediþ it or telliþ it, for so doon ipocrisis, enemes þerof; and hornys in hise hondis, þat is, hise hondis weren strecchid and nailid in two corners of þe cros. Bischopis mytrid wiþ two hornys ﬁguren þat þei schulden þoru good ensample putte þe folk fro vicis to virtues, but now þoru pride and covetise þei ben principal ensampleis of turnynge fro virtues to vicis; for þe which distruccioun Crist dyede on þe cros. Ffor,

Ibi abscindita est fortitudo ejus. Ante faciem ejus ibit mors: þere is hízid his strenghe. Bifore his face deep schal go.

There, þat is, in mekenes of þe cros, was hid in manheed þe strenkþe of his Godheed; and þere deep wolde have ﬂed his prescence, but it myþte not; for he diynge overtook deep and slouþ it, as he seip, Deep, I schal be þi deep, and helle, I schal be þi bityng. He þat bitiþ a þing, he takþ a part þerof in his mouþ and anoþir part he leveþ wipoute; so dice Crist wiþ helle. Alle gode men he took wiþ him, and develis and yvele men he lefte þere.

Egredietur dyabolus ante pedes ejus. Stetit et mensus est terram: þe devel schal goon out bifoare hise feet. He stood, and he mat1 þe erpe.

Ffor at þe comynge of Jesus Crist þe devel þede out of manye bodies and soulis, and þanne Crist stood and mat þe erpe, þat is, chosun men he took as his owne, and þaf hem grace and joie aftir þe mesure of his evyng.

Aspexit et dissolvit gentes, et contriti sunt montes seculi: He bihelde and he looside folkis, alto broken ben hillis of his world.

He bihelde wiþ iþen of mersy, and he looside folkis of boondis of synne; and þanne þe hillis, þat is, proudist men þat bolned in erþeli hiþnes, ben alto broken, þat is, þei weren þoru Cristis loore maad ful meke.

1 mette, U.
Incurvati sunt oelles mundi ab itineribus eternitatis ejus: Incrokid ben he hillis of he world fro he weies of his eendeleesheed.

Dat is, lasse proude men crokiden hem to he bowyne to Cristis comauentemits; and hit fro dat pei kewwen hise weyes, bi pe whiche he clep to eendelees joie.

Pro iniquitate vidi tentoria Ethiopia; turbabuntur pelles terre Madian: For wickeenes I say pe tentis of Ethiopia; troublid schulen be pe skynnies of pe lond of Madyan.

Dat tentis of Ethiopia ben alle dat serven to pe devel, for pei ben Blake and foule of synne; pe skynnies of Madyan ben alle dat dreeden not pe rjtwise doom of God, and al dese pe profete say be troublid in peyne and turmentis for her wickeenes. But,

Numquid in fluminibus iratus es, Domine? et in fluminibus furor tuus? vel in mari indignatio tua? Wheþir, Lord, in flodis pou art wrappid, or in flodis þi breð, or in þe see þin indignacion?

Dat is, wheþir þou schalt suffre alle to peresche, and al þis world to falle in veniaunce. As who seþ, Nay, for þou art now he,—

Qui ascendis super equos tuos, et quadrigae tuae salvatio: That stieth on þin horsis, and þi charis salvacioun.

Dat is, þou sittist in þe apostlis, and in alle holy techers þoru þe world, to werren aþein þe devel; þi charis,—propirly dat ben þin evangelists, for þei ben salvacioun of men dat ben saaf þoru þe holy evangelie.

Suscitans suscitabis aorum tuum, juramenta tribubus que locutus es: Reisinge þou schalt reise þi bowe, oopis to kynredis whiche þou speke.

Dat is, þou reisinge holy writt in þe knowynge of þin apostilis schalt reise it in alle her meke folowers to worche þereafter, þat lay slepinge while men undirstodden it not, for þe oolde lawe was mysty til it was qwikenyd þoru þe Spirit of Crist, and so þou schalt fulfille þe oopis þat þou madist to þe kynredis of Israele.

¹ So in U and Vulg.; T has nunquam. ² So in U and Vulg.; assendis, T. ³ So in U; salvacioun, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Fluvios scindes terre; viderunt te [aqua¹], et doluerunt montes; gurges² aquarum transit: Streemys pœn schall schere to pe erfe, hillis seien and sorowden; pe dam of watres passide.

Jese streemys ben holy loore fadris, pe whiche Crist departiþ to dyverse stidis, þat men þoru hem moun take weetynge of hevenly deew to her drie hertis. Jese saien hillis, þat is, proude men reisid above ofere for richessis and pride, and þei sorowiden for her synnes, resseyvynge holsum medicyns of her hevenly lechis. And so þe dam of watris, þat is, þe abundaunce of goostly loore, passiþ wonderfull þoru þis fals world fro lovier to lovier of Crist. Ffor,

Dedit abyssus vocem suam, altitudo manus suas levavit³: Depnessis zaf his nois, hiznessis liftide hise hondis.

Þat is, þo þat weren in þe ground of yvelis þeven her vois of aþein-seëing to soþefastnes, as oure prelatis wiþ her obedienseers and her lyvynge dispisen þe mekenes and þe povert of Crist; and þe hiznes of þe world reisid power to distrie trewe Cristen men, adversaries to hem. And nevere-þe-lattir⁴,

Sol et luna steterunt in habitaculo suo; in luce sagitarum tuarum ibunt, in splendore fulgurantis hastæ⁵ tue: þe sunne and þe moone stoden in her wonyng; in liþt of þin arrowis þei schulen go, in schynynge of þi lyþynge or gliteringe spere.

The sunne, Crist, and þe moone, oonheed of holy Chirche, stoden; þat is, lastingly þis oonheed, ground of al goodnes, stondþ in riȝtwiþe men, for þei schulen go þoru liþt of þin arrowis, þat is, of þi þurlinge wordis, þorou londis and stondis, woundinge mennys hertis wiþ þe love of þi lawe; and in schynnynge of miraclis of parþiþ lyvyng þei schulen make men afered as leiþynge doþp, to dwelle in her synne.

In fremitu conculoabis terram, et in furore tuo obstupefacies gentes: In gnastynge þou schalt trede þe erfe, in þi wrappe þou schalt stonye folkis.

In gnastynge, þat is, drede of þi riȝtwiþe doom, þou schalt

¹ Not in Vulg. ² corrected from Vulg.; gurges, T. ³ corrected from Vulg.; levabit, T. ⁴ neþes, U. ⁵ corrected from Vulg.; baustæ, T.
meke þe hertis of manye proude men and covetouse; and in þi wraphe, that is, in mannaassinge of eendees fier, þou schalt make maliciouse men stonyed for wo þat is comynge to hem.

Egressus es in salutem populi tui, in salutem omn Christo tuo: þou art goon out in heelpe of þi folk, in heelpe wip þi Crist.

Þat is, þou schewidist þee, and ȝit schalt to þe eende of þe world, poru trewe preching and lyvyngne þereafter, to þe helpe of trewe Cristen men dwellinge in hele, wip þi Crist Jesus oure Lord, ensaumpler of al trewe preching and lyvyngne.

Percussisti caput¹ de domo impii, denudasti fundamentum ejus usque ad collum: þou smyte þe heed of þe hous of þe wickid, þou nakidist þe foundement of him to þe nekke.

Þe devel, þat is heed of ale þe sones of pride, þou Smyte out of þe hertis of manye wickide men in hour of þi deerp; and so it is to trowe þat þou schalt Smyte þe heed of pride regnynge in hiȝe princis and prelatis, þe whiche blenden þe peple bi pryve ipocrisie, and so þi loviers schulen be stablid in þi trewe troupe of þi lawe, aﬅir þe knowinge of þis ipocrisye. And þou nakidist him to þe nekke, þat is, þou reftist him al þe lappinge of pride and ipocrisie whereinne he hadde trecherousli hankid þi chosun, and so þe devel and his proude lymes han lost her power in trewe Cristen men, and ben left but nakide heedis of hem, þat schulen regne above hem in helle. For God wole þat he þat eggij a man to yvel have double penaunce of him þat doo yvel.

Maledixisti sceptris² ejus, capiti³ bellatorum ejus, venientibus ut turbo ad dispergendum me: þou cursidis to hise ceptris, to þe heed of hise ﬁsters, comynge as whirelywynd to scatere me.

Þe kyngis þerde and þe bishopis staf bitokenen her regalte and her dignyte, by þe whiche þei schulen mayntenen and rulen hemsilf and her sogetis in resoun and Goddis lawe; and if þei be turnyd³ lastynge into tirauntrie and ipocrisie þoru pride and covetise, God schal dampe hem as wickide men in whiche þe devel haþ myst, regnynge in hem for her synne. And also

¹ corrected from Vulg.; caput, T. ² corrected from Vulg.; cepris, capita, T. ³ corrected; turyd, T.
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The cursidist, for noon of these hise princis or prelatis doon her deedis aloone by hemsif, wipouen assent of counceileers; perfore he cursip her wickide counceileers, as hedis and capteyns of her bateils, fiistinge agens Jesus Crist in levynge of hise comaundementis, in lyvynge, in lustis and likyngis. For alle these ben helpers to pe devel þat comep wip manye temptaciouns to waiste gode men as dust before wynd. But,

Exultatio eorum sicut ejus qui devorat pauperem in abscondito: Pe gladnes of hem, as of hym þat devouriþ pe pore in hidlis.¹

Þat is, al her joie is brouȝt to nouȝt, as of him þat spoilip a pore man, whanne he hadde ben riche and is not, and so he is disseyved; so schulen these tirauntis of pride fallen in her owne turn, whanne þei pursuen þe meke þat doren not keveren þe sope.

Viam fecisti in mari equis tuis, in luto aqurarum multarum: Wye þou madist in þe see to þin hors, and in þe leir of many wairis.

Þat is, in vile and clam coveite of men, turnynge hem parȝiþi to þee, lovynge þee ouþli for þi silf, and noon oþir creature but for þe and in þee.

Audivi, et conturbatus est venter meus, a voce contremuerunt labia mea: I herde, and my wombe is troublid, fro þe vois trembliden my lips.

I herde, þat is, I undirstood þoru þe Holy Goost what anguische gode men schulen suffre in þe eende of þis world, and my wombe, þat is, my freelte, is stirid fro dreede, for þe vois of þat heeryng; my lippis trembliden, þat is, I qwook for dreede of þe synne of my mouþ filid in speche, and wonyinge among folk þat haþ foule lippis, foulid wip vein speche and unnayt; as who seie, I dreede to telle holy wordis wip my foule mouþ, fillid wip unhonest wordis. But I, trustynge to Goddis mersy, forsakinge and levynge my synne, aþir scharp sorowe sorowide perfore, wantinge ablenes of men and covenable tyme; and I clenside my mouþ spekynge Goddis wordis, þat bifoþe was filid þoru unfructuouse jangelingis.

¹ biddil, U.
Ingrediatur putredo in ossibus meis, et subter me scateat: Rotyngge go in my bones, and undir me springe.

Pat is, my flesh rote to my boones, and undir me springe rotynge ful of wormes; pis befalle me heer, pat I may fle pe worse.

Et ut requiescam in die tribulacionis, et ascendam ad populum accinotum nostrum: Pat I reste in day of tribulacioun, and pat I stie til oure fold gird.

Pat I reste wiþ halowis in day of moost angwisch, pat is, in þe day of doom, and þanne stie to þe cumpany of folk gird, þat was so gird in þe love of Crist þat þei fouȝten ægen alle yvele stiryngis stalworpli for þe love of Crist. þe profete assentip not to þe love of ony creature þat coveitip þat he rote above erpe, or he suffre peyne in þe toþir world. And sǐþen he þat was so holy, for drede of peyne aftir þis liif, and for greet desier to be wiþ hís love, Crist, coveitide here to rote quyk if God wolde suffre it, what schulen we, þat hoten grete avowis to voiden angus and silknissis of þis liif?

Ficus enim non florobit, et non erit germen in vineis: For þe fige-tre schal florischen not, and burioun schal not be in þe vigners.

Pat is, greet part of Cristen men þat seemede to be swete in devocioun schal no flour schewe of virtu. For þe rote of charite, þat is, þe kepinge of Cristis comaundementis, þat was wont to make men drunken in goostli joie, schal faile in hem for her double synne, doon of hemself and suffrid in her neȝbore; and so þei schulen be drie and to noþing able but to brenne in helle.

Mencietur opus olive, et arva non afferent cibum: Þe werk of þe olyve schal lien, and feeldis schulen not bringe forþ mete.

Þat is, hǐþe kyngis and prestis schulen faile fro mersy, oppressynge her sogetis by her statutis, and her feyned sensuris, more for her displeasing þan for brekinge of Goddis biddyngis; and so þei lien to God, for þei doon not as þei hiȝten. And feeldis, þat ben her sogetis, myche for deaute of pilinge, schulen faile to þeve goostli fruyt to paie wiþ God; for how schulde þat lond bere good fruyt þat nedip boþe tilinge and
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

dungynge and hap neiper? Here moun sovereyns drede þe synne of her sogetis, leste it be arettid to her defaute. But schulen sogetis ben excusid of her synne, for þei have noon good informacioun of her curatis? Nay whi? for þei han resoun to lede hem wiþal, in love of God principalli, and to do nouȝt to her neibore þat þei wolden were not do to hem. And faile þei mot of þis double charite, and Crist schal not faile to þeve hem double ȝift, to norischen wiþ her bodies and save þerwiþ her souls.

_Abscondetur_¹ de ovili pecus, et non erit armentum in præsepibus¹: Away schal be smyten beest of þe foold, and neet schal not be in þe cribbis.

Beest he clepiþ ech yvel Cristen man, lyvynghe as beestis, unresonable in lustis and likyngis; alle siche schulen be smyten awey as dede lymes out of þe fold of holy Chirche. And neet, þat is, goostli travelours, schulen not be in cribbis, þat is, in þe degrees of riȝt liif; for neer-hond alle at regard schulen falle in to errour, and þe moost perel of alle schal be, þat þe greet multitude of yvele men schulen grevously pursue þe fewe loyvers of Crist.

_Ego autem in Domino gaudebo, et exultabo in Deo._

_Jesu meo_: _But I in oure Lord schal joien, and I schal be glad in God my Jesus._

Þis is þe sawe of chosun men, þat lasten stably in Goddis love; as who seye, þei þat han here joie in erþe schulen perishe þerewiþ, but I schal joien in my Lord Jesus þoru sweetnes of his love; and I schal be glad in God my Jesus, þat is, my saveour, not in þe fals world þat is leser of alle þat it loven.

_Deus meus fortitudo mea, et ponet pedes meos quasi cervorum_²: _God Lord my strenkþe, and he schal sette my feete as of hertis._

Yvele mennes fete are sette³ as of weike⁴ assis, þat ben fastnyd as in myddis of depe leir; so yvele mens affecciouns ben yvele, for þei ben evere tackid wiþ sum love þat drawiþ hem fro Goddis love. But holy mennys affecciouns ben as of hertis, þat liȝtly lepen over all lettingis, and casten out fro her

¹ corrected from Vulg.; _abscidetur, præsepeibus_, T. ² corrected from Vulg.; _servorum_, T. ³ So in U; T has _yvely men ben sette._ ⁴ _wayke_, U.
hertis al vile glat\(^1\) \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) stoppi\(\text{p}\) her breet. Ellis my\(\text{yen}\) \(\hat{\text{pe}}\) nevere verrilli loven Jesus Crist.

Et super excelsa mea deducet me victor in psalmis canentem: Aboven myn hi\(\text{ze}\) my victor schal lede me, in psalmes syngynge.

Crist, \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) is verri victor of deep and of \(\hat{\text{pe}}\) devel, schal lede me syngynge to his heriinge, in salmes, \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) is, gode werkis, and goostly devocioun above myn hi\(\text{z}\), \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) is, above al bodily \(\hat{\text{ping}}\) \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) seme\(\text{p}\) hi\(\text{z}\) to fleschli men. He schal lede wipoute dreede in \(\hat{\text{pis}}\) liif, to hi\(\text{z}\) contemplacioun of God.

**[THE SONG OF MOSES.]**

**[Deut. xxxii. 1—43.]**

Audite, celi, que loquar, audiat terra verba oris mei: Hevenes, heere \(\hat{\text{ze}}\) \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) I schal speke, \(\hat{\text{be}}\) er\(\hat{\text{be}}\) heere \(\hat{\text{be}}\) wordis of my mou\(\hat{\text{p}}\).

That is, \(\hat{\text{ze}}\) men \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) han 3oure conversacioun in hevene, and \(\hat{\text{ze}}\) \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) ben in actif liif, undirstondi\(\hat{\text{p}}\) \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) I schal seic; beri\(\hat{\text{p}}\) witnes \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) I holde not stille \(\hat{\text{pe}}\) wickidnes of my folk.

Concrescat ut pluvis doctrina mea, fluat ut ros eloquiium meum: My loore growe in reyn, as deew renne my word.

That is, my loore make \(\hat{\text{pe}}\) heerers of it to bere goostli fruyt multiplied in \(\hat{\text{pe}}\) reyn of hevene, and my wordis renne in mennys hertis as deew of grace, \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) may coole hem in temptaciouns fro heete of vics.

Quasi ymber super herbam, et quasi stille super gramina. Quia nomen Domini invocabo: As reyn of gras, and as dropis of buriownyngis, for \(\hat{\text{pe}}\) name of oure Lord I schal inclepe.

My loore be to 3ou as reyn in gras, \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) is, make it to be greene in \(\hat{\text{pe}}\) buriownyngis of virtues; and seemynge it is \(\hat{\text{pat}}\) I be herd, for I schal inclepe God into myn herte, heriinge him overe alle \(\hat{\text{pingis}}\), in herte and mou\(\hat{\text{p}}\) and werk, not oonli honourue him wip my lippis, as riche men and fleischely doon. \(\hat{\text{Perfore,}}\)

\(^1\)glat, U.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Date magnificenciam deo nostro. Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes vie ejus judicia: *seere worchip to oure God. For of God ben parfyel werkis, and alle pe wetes of him doomes.*

That is, al þat he doip he doip wiþ doom, wheþir he take us or he forsake us; he þat wole not erre leede him in alle þingis, in trewe doom of discrecioun, kepinge him fro foly deemyngne.

*Deus fidelis et absque ulls iniquitate, justus et rectus.* *Pecosurunt ei, et non filii eius in sordibus:* God is trewe and wiþouten ony wickidnes riȝtwise; and riȝt þei synnedden to him, and not hise sones in filþis.

God is trewe in his heetyng, and he noieþ to no man riȝtwis in þeeldinge and in vengynge. Firste synnedden to him oure former fadrís, and siþen yvele sones in filþe of synne; as who seye, not oonli oure former fadrís synnedden to him, but no sone of her ospring is, þat ne he is taken in filþe of synne.

*Generacio prava atque perversa.* Haeccei redas domino, popule stulte et insipiens? *Generatioun schrewid and weyward.* Wheþir þou þeldist to oure Lord yvel for good?

As who seye, is þat covenably doon, þe servaunt to do to his Lord? þerfore se, pore fool, what wrecchidnes þou art in and unwiis, þat wolt not wyte to how greet turment þou goest for þi wilful folþ.

 NUMQUID NON IPSAE EST PATER TUUS QUI POSSEDIT TE, FECIT, ET CREAVIT TE? Wheþir he is not þi fadir þat weeldip þe, and made, and wrouȝte þee?

As who seie, him þou schuldest love as þi fadir þat made þee man and ordeynede þee to his heritage, if þou þisilf wilt.

Memento dierum antiquorum, cogita generationes singulas: *Bibynke of oolle dayes, pinke alle generaciouns.*

How þat he deleyverede his folk of dyverse perels, and how he echide encressingli hise servauntis among yvele men, not lesynge hem. If þou wolt wyte þat þis is sooþ,

Interroga patrem tuum, et annuciabit tibi; majores

*1 corrected from Vulg.; eccine, T.*
tuos, et dicent tibi: Aske bi fadir and he schal scheve to bee, bi sovereyns, and bei shulen say to bee.

What is al pat pou hastnede to cunne? Aske of bi prelat or of bi prest, for bei ben bounde to teche pee; and if bei failen in his loore, wiph wrong bei occupien heerdis office, for in pat is knowne a trewe heerde fro an hiyrid hyne, pat he leede hise scheep in hole pasturis and plentenous.

Quando dividebat Altissimus gentes, quando separavit filios Adam: Whanne he hiyste departide folcis, whanne he twynnede he sones of Adam.

His departyng was whanne men bigunnen to wone in alle parties of erpe.

Constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel: He sette he termys of he folk bisyde he noumbr he sones of Israel.

That is, folk schulen be dwellinge in his world til he noumbr of Goddis sones be fulfild, pat is, til God have as manye as he hap ordeyned to be saaf.

Pars autem Domini populus ejus, Jacob funiculus hereditatis ejus: But he part of oure Lord his folk, Jacob streng of his heritage.

As who seye, myche folk of he world is, but Jacob oonli, pat is, wrastler azen vicis, is marke of his heritage, pat is, his marke recchij no firpir pan in siche; alle opere ben out of termys. Perfore if pou wolt be of Goddis part, loke bisily ransakinge al bi liif, if ony vice regne in pee bi wille or by custum, and wrastle pera-zen til pou have pe maistry, and sette panne in his stide a virtu contrarie to it, strenger pan it was, and laste in good worching, and hope to be of Goddis part.

Invent eum in terra deserta, in loco horrores et vaste solitudinis: He foond him in lond desert, in stide of uglynes and of waste wildirnesse.

Pat is, him pat he hadde lost he foond erringe in pe wrecchidnes of pis liif, and pe which is uggynde for drede and wo, and wast wildirnes for defaute of good teching, not of God, but of skelpi prestis; for poru her pride and covetise al pe world is markid in synne and bareyn of gode werkis.

Cirrounduxit eum, et docuit, et custodibit quasi pu-
pillem occuli sui: He aboute ledde him, and he leride him, and he kepte as be appil of his ixe.

Lo, what kyndenes Crist schewip to his lovier! He ledde him aboute fro yvely mennys liif, pe nexte wey to hevene, and he tauyte him in what dege or staat pat he ordeynede hym ÿanne, how he schulde love him, kepinge him in alle anoies, as tendirly as a man in derke wody placis kepiþ hisen fro hirtyngne, for of þat þing ben men moost tendir.

Et scit aquila provocans ad volandum pullos suos et super eos volitans: As þe eere` clepynge hise briddis to flee and above heme sleinge.

Expandit alas suas, et assumpsit eos, atque portavit in numeris suis: He spredde hise wyngis and he took hem, and bare hem in his schuldris.

The eerne, clepinge his briddis to þe siȝt of þe sunne, whanne he seeþ þat þei waxen wery sleinge, he holdiþ hem up wiþ his wyngis; so Jesus Crist sprediþ two wyngis of charite, upberyngе us in oure werynes, and ledynge us to virtues. And þoru his myþt he raveschip oure hertiþ to hevene, þat we moun goostli se sunne þat nevere schal have settinge, whereþoru we ben cumfortid to suffre mekely for his love alle tribulaciouns.

Dominus solus` dux ejus fuit, et non erat cum eo Deus alienus: Oure Lord oonly was his leder, and ober God was not wiþ him.

Ffor he þat haþ him to help oonli, nedip noon oþir, for he is hiyling fro al yvel.

Constituit eum super excelsam terram, ut comederet fructus agrorum: He sette him on his lond þat he ete þe fruytis of feeldis.

Þat is, Crist settip his lover in holy Chirche in mekenes, to have deliit in abundaunce of goostli fruyt and holy, not in gredy gaderinge of money, but in heeelþe of mennis soulis.

Ut sugeret` mel de petra, oleumque de saxo duris-simo: Þat he schulde souke hony of þe soon, and oile of þe hardist rooche.

` beren, U. ` corrected from U and Vulg.; soleus, T. ` corrected from Vulg.; suggeret, T, U.

* A beautiful comment on the text.
Hony of þe stoon he soukiþ, þat occupiþ him ententisly in þe lawe of Crist, for it is swetter þan hony to him þat loveþ Crist. And he schal [not]1 erre in treue bileve. Oyle of þe hardist roche is þe anonyntyng of þe Holy Goost sent fro Crist glorifïed, and maad so hard in love þat he þat resseyveþ it may suffre in þis liif noon harmful payne. Þis hony and oile schulden prestis resseyve, and fynde, if þei traveliden truly in Cristis vynëeerd, in so greet plente þat þe swete odour þerof schulde flawne mennys hertis, þat comowneden wiþ hem.

**Butirum de armento et lac de ovibus, cum adype agnorum et aristem filiorum Basan:** Butir of neet and mylk of scheep, wiþ greeþ fatnes of lombis and of weþeris of þe sones of Basan.

Butir of neet is þe stable loore of þe ensaumpis of patriarks, mylk of scheep is loore þat falliþ to hem þat bigynnen to do wel. Grees of lombis and of weþeris is þe brennyng desier þat holy techers wiþ her folowers han to hevene. Þe sones of Basan ben lovers of þís world þe which ofte-siþe han lordschip ovre gode men here to her owne dampanion, for þe mysuse þerof, lyvyngre aftir þe flesch, not after þe spirit.

**Et hiroos cum medulla tritici, et sanguinem uve biberent meracissimum:** And geeþ marwþ of wheete, and þat þei drink schiristi blood of grape.

Geet ben þo þat enfoormen us wiþ ensaumples of penaunce, discreetly norischinge oure hors as he may jouren. In þese us owiþ to have deliþ wiþ marowþ of wheete, þat is, wiþ þe body of Crist, for he is þe grape whos flesch and blood trewe Cristen men in þe sacrament of þe auter in þe foorme of breed and wiþ worþili resseyven, poru trewe bileve her savacioun, and yvele men and unclene her dampanion.

**Incrassatus est dilectus et recalcitravit; incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus:** Encortif is þe loved, and kest up; he encortif, faltid, and enlargid.

þat is, þe folk þat God lovede, ðevyngre plente of goodis, haþ cast up at God, dispisinge hise maundementeris, multiþiþyngre hem in richessi. Manye siche dispisers ben now of Crist, but

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1 om. in T; passage om. in U.
noon so myche as ben þo þat schulden ben hise next folowers, for þo schulden be in ensample of alle opere above hem and bineþe hem, to dispisen þis world þat blyndip þe men in covetise of multipliinge of richessis. For ech sich,

Dereliquit¹ Deum factorem suum, et recessit a Deo salutari suo: He forsook God his makir, and he departide fro God his heelpe.

For ese and welþe drawþ men oftsipe to synne, and makþ hem to forgete God and turne to þe devel.

Provocaverunt eum in diis alienis, et in abhominationibus suis ad iracundiam concitaverunt²: þei stiryden bin in opere goddis, and in her wathingis þei moveden him to wrapþe.

þat þing ech creature makþ his god, what þing he loveþ moost in his herte; þe wathingis ben glotenye and lecherie wip covetise and pride, which God hatþ. And here moun men seen how prelatis híþe and lowe loven moore her owne excellence þan Cristis worschip, and so þei worschipen false goddis, and ben unable þerþor to þeve or to take ony sacra-

ment³. Whi?—

Immolaverunt demoniiis et non Deo, diis quos ignorabant: þei offrïden to develiis not to God; to goddis whiche þei knewen not.

That is, þese Cristis enemies qwemen not to God in her lyv-
ynge, for þei ben avouteris of alle vicis, in levynge of verri God and worschipinge develes, of whiche þei hadden nevere good.

Novi recentesque venerunt dii, quos non coluerunt patres eorum: Newe and freische goddis camen, þe whiche her fadris worschipiden not.

Þat is, dyverse goddis leeden to dyverse errours, her wors-

chipis. For þe devel hap in alle siche unstable men and women comoun entre, to entise hem to leve þe truþe of verri

¹ corrected from U and Vulg.; dereliquid, T. ² corrected from Vulg.; conceit, T.

* This sentence, which has a Commentary, is omitted in the truly Wycliffite ring, with many Magd. Coll. MS. other passages in this part of the
Wyclif’s Works.

God, and folowen þe lustis of þe world, lovynge moore vicis þan virtues, and so þei serven mawmetis, þe whiche trewe Cristen men before hem usiden not.

Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti, oblitus es Domini creatoris tui: God þat þee gat þou hast forsaken, þou hast forzet God þi creator.

We ben born goostli of God; him alle forsaken þat as-

senten to ony deedli synne; and so ech body forzetþ him while þer þouȝt is bounden to love ony creature unordynali.

Vidit Dominus, et ad iraundiam concitatui est, quia provocaverunt sum filii sui et filie: þe Lord say, into uraþpe he is stirid, for him moveden his sones and douþters.

God, þat al woot, seeþ þe wickidenes of men, þerfore he is stirid to veniaunce. Lo, what comeþ þerof!

Et ait, Abscondam faciem meam ab eis, et considerabo novissima eorum: And he seide, I schal hwyde my face fro hem, and I schal biholde þe taste of hem.

Noping is moore pyne þan for to þarve þe sýȝt of God and his goud wille; and þouȝ yvelle men be in myche ese here and welpe, God biholdþ what wo schal falle hem in her eendynge.

Generatio enim perversa est et infideles filii: For it is a schrewid generacion and untrewe sones.

Untrewé fadris geten often tymes untrewe sones, for whanne a child is norischid among vicis, how schulde he be unflid? Fadris and modris ben cause if þe child be viciuous, for while it is þong, it cannot but love and drede not upon resoun; but of kynde it loveþ to ben fed and clad, and it dreþþ þe þerde of scourynge. Who schal be excusid if þe child mysfare? As who seþ, no fadir ne modir; þouȝ þat it myskarie whanne it comeþ to age, þe childheed þei moun save. And þus yvelle trees bringen forþ vel fruyt. For neþer þe toon ne þat ðeir, þat is, neþer eldris ne her children, ben trewe to God. Whi? for þei holden not þat þei hiȝten in her baptem, but unkyndely,—

Ipsi me provocaverunt in eo qui non erat Deus, et irritaverunt in vanitatis suis: Þei me stiriden in him þat was no God, and moveden in her vanyeenes.

1 corrected from Vulg.; Deum, T. 2 corrected from Vulg.; continuatus, tuam, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

That is, at is not Vulg., but heaven. Hence, men and women, schal brenne to sake. In veniance, men and dispiteouse God schal endeles peyre, and in heaven.

Et ego provocabo eos in eo qui non est populus, et in gente stulta irritabo illos: And I schal stire hem in him hat is not peole, and in folk I schal stire hem.

As who seye, si in I have doon for hem al hat pei moun aske bi resoun, and pei forgeten to panke me in lovynge me and heriynge me as her God, I schal forrete hem as pei werun no folk; but as pei ben movynge to do her owne lustful wil contrarie to my biddynge, so I schal al bipinke to ponesche hem wið eendelee peyne, contrarie to her heele. For alle proude men and dispiteouse God schal so lowe bringe þoru his riȝtwise veniaunce, þat þei schulen not ben worþi to be likenyd to hem þat seemeden here foolis, and weren holde nouȝt for Goddis sake. In þat maner þei schulden be stirid to envy and hatrede, þat her synne stirþ God to veniaunce.

Ignis succensus est in furore meo; et ardebit usque ad informi novissima: Fier is kyndelid in my wraphe, and it schal brenne to be taste of helle.

That is, Goddis veniaunce bigynþe here in wickide men and women, þat lyven in lustis and likingis, and wolen not amende hem ne hers, and it schal turmente hem wiþoute eende in helle.

Devorabitque terram cum germine suo, et moncedum fundamenta comburet: And it schal devoure þe erþe wið his buriowynge, and þe groundis of helles he schal brenne.

Þat is, þe veniaunce of God, þat is eendelee peyne of helle, schal devoure wickide fadris and modris wiþ her ospring, for it schal swolowe alle loviers of erþeli þingis, wiþ al her fairheed, and þe hope of proud folk it schal waaste. Ffor,—

Congregabo super illos mala, et sagittas meas complebo in eis: I schal gadere on hem yvelis, and myn arowis I schal fulfille in hem.

1 supplied from U, which has in gens folio. 2 corrected from Vulg.; conb., T.
WYCLIF'S WORKS.

That is, alle kyndis of turmentis schulen comen on hem, þe whiche ben yvele and noiouse to hem þat suffren, but þei ben riȝtwise in Goddis doom; and myn arowis, þat ben scharpe and soore bitinge peynes, I schal fulfille in hem, þat is, þei schulen come to þes peynes and be fulfild of hem.

Consumentur fame, et devorabunt eos aves morsu amarissimo: Þei schulen be distried wip hungir, and devoure hem schulen foulis in bitynge alþer bitteriste.

Þat is, wickide men in þis world dien in soule for hungir of Goddis word, and so feendis eeten hem þoru venemous temptaciouns, in þe whiche þei fallen sodeynli, and taken þereinne þat is to hem ful bittir bityng.

Dentes bestiarum mittam in eos, cum furore trahentium super terram atque serpencium: Teeb of beestis I schal sende into hem, wip woodnes of drawynge and serpentis aboven erþe.

Þat is, yvele men schulen suffre gnawyng of ugly devels, þe whiche crueli reeven her soulis fro God, scateringe hem fro virtues into dyverse vicis, wip woodnes of yvele men þat drawen and entisen to fleschli werks. As neddris þei schulen be slijdli brouȝt into temptacioun of devels, but þei schulen in peyne venge hem as wode men, so þat yvel come on ech syde to wickide men.

Foris vastabit eos gladius, et intus pavor, juvenem simul ac virginem, lactentem ¹ cum homine sene: Wip-outen schal waaste hem swerd, and wipinne drede, þe jonge man and mayden togidere, þe soukyng wip þe oold man.

Þat is, þe swerd of helle fier schal be her peyne in bodi and soule, for þei schal have þe worm of yvel conscience bitinge and etinge hem wipouten eende; þat swerd schal waaste a jonge man, þat is, ech þat is bareyn of gode werks. Jonge man and mayden he settþ togidere in peyne of helle, for þei usen myche to be togidere in þis lif in synne. Soukyngen ben þei þat ben so blyndid in lustis and bisynes of þis fals world, þat þei han no witt to do Goddis wille lyvyngne in virtues. Eldir man is he þat eeldþ in synne þoru yvel custum, weenyngë

1 corrected from Vulg.; lactantem, T.
his liif glorios þat is vicious. Þerfore dredeþ God, and loveþ him, amendinge þoure lyves; for þe moun wyte þi þis sentence þat God closþ not fro helle fer neþer man ne womman, þong ne oold, þat wilfully synneþ and amendþ þat not here. For of al maner of men greet part goþ to helle.


I schal in my loviers þat haten synne seyn, Where be þei alle bicomen þat florischiden in þis world in vicis, and where is al her jolite and welþe? Al is awey and þei in peyne; and now I schal do so, þat her mynde schal nevere be among riþwise men.


Et dicerent, Manus nostra excelsa et non Dominus fecit hoc omnia: And þei seiden, Oure hond is hiþ, and not God dide alle þese þingis.

God wole not as soone as men han synned do veniaunce, but he dilaeþ it til serteyn tyme, þat þo to whiche þei han doon harm waxen not proude, and seyn, For oure meryt, and for þei weren contrarie to us, God distrieþ hem; and so þei seyn þat God dide not alle, for hem þipken þat her myȝt halp.

Gens absque consilio est et sine prudencia. Utinam seperent et intelligerent ac novissima providerent: Folk is wiþouþe councel and wiþouþe prudence. Wolde God þei saveriden and undirstoden and purveiden for þe laste.

The folk of alle unriþtwise men is wiþouþe councel of heelpþe of soule, and wiþouþe prudence to ﬂe synne; but God wolde þei hadden ony savour in Goddis love, and undirstoden þe wille of Jesus Crist to doon it; þanne schulden þei purveie her laste, þat þei myȝten dye sikirly, and ben holden wiþouþen drede what schal falle at þe laste eende.

Quomodo prosequebatur unus mille, et duo fugarent

1 So in U; priseden, T.
decem milia: How oon pursuëde a pouind, and two gart a fle ten pouind?

How þis myȝte be he schewiþ, and seïþ.—

Nonne ideo quia Deus suus vendidit eos, et Dominus conclusit illos? Whethe þerfor he God soold hem, and þe Lord hem loukide?

As who seye, þerfor þei ben overcomun to her harme, for God alienede hem fro him for synne of hem, and loukide hem in þe myȝt of her enemies.

Non enim est Deus noster ut dii eorum, et inimici nostri sunt judices: For whi? oure God is not as þe god is of hem, and oure enemies ben domesmen.

Oure God is not as her god is, for þei han deliit in wickidenes, and oure God leveþ no synne unponeschid, and oure enemies ben doomesmen, þat is, þei mouyn bere winnes of þat þing, þat oure God dampneþ and poneschip yvele deedis, for ofstipis he smytiþ yvele men in þis world.


Sodom is as myche to seye as dombe, and Gomorre is scharp, as who seye, oure hiȝe prelates, if þoru hem manye ðere ben dombe to serve God in þe foorme of his servise, and þei ben scharp in vicis.

Uva eorum uva fellis, et botrus amarissimus: þe grape of hem þe grape of galle, and flower bitterist.

Her fruyt is turñyd into pride and covetise and ipocrisie, þe whiche ben bask or bittir synnes in Goddis knowynge; and þe flower þat is in hem is bittereste, for her fleschli love and covetise of erþe is to hem eendeles sorowe. But men seyn þei mouyn have goddis and love hem not, and sooþ it is; but whanne men seen þat office þat men ben holden to do to God is lettid for þe occupacioun of worldli goddis, þo godis ben overmyche loved, whereof wole come eendeles sorowe.

1 closed, U.

2 So in U; fleschli and love of erbeli covetise, T.

* The use of this word proves that the writer was an inhabitant of the north of England. U reads ebased.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Fel draconum vinum eorum, et venenum aspidum insanabile: Galle of dragouns, pe wiin of hem, and venym of snakis incurable.

Galle of dragouns is pe fel tresoun of bachiters, pe which tresoun pei drinke wiþ deliit as wiin, and birlen it to oþere men. For he þat bachitiþ his neþbore, in þat þat in him is techiþ him to whom he telliþ his bachiting to do so of oþere. And venym of snakis, þat is, lastinge malis, is her drynke incurable; for pei wolen not be amendid of her malicious ire, taken of her owne higþes; and if men snybbe hem, or chastise hem bi resoun, her malice waxiþ, and þei ben worse þan þei weren bifoþre. For he þat is defectif, and heeriþ his trespas, and wole not amende it, is liik to be endurid in his synne, as þe cruel Jewis weren þat stoppiden her eeris whanne Seint Stevene disputide wiþ hem þe truþe of riþ bileeve.

Nonne hec condita sunt apud me, et signata in thesauris meis? Whethir þes ben not hid anemptis me, and selid in my tresours?

þat is, alle þes yvelis ben holden in Goddis mynde, and kepte as undir seel, for to be put forþ in þe doom to schewe þe riþ-twisenes of Crist in dampunynge of wickide men. And in þe same tresours ben hid virtues of gode men, to schewe þat dai to þe riþtwisnes of her corownyng, þat þei schulen take bi Goddis riþtwis doom. þanne schulen gode men be maad riche of Goddis tresore in eendeles joie, and yvele men schulen be ful pore in eendeles peyne.

Mea est ulcio, et ego retribuam eis in tempore, ut labastur eorum pes: Myn is þe veniaunce, and I schal zelde hem in tyme, þat her foot slide.

þat is, to me, seip God, falliþ þe veniaunce of synful men, not to man woniynge in erþe, for it is not semely o broþer venge him on anoþir, and unsemelynes schulde not be in Cristis Chirche in þe þeeris of grace, siþin it was forboden of God in þe þeeris of veniaunce. For I schal zelde hem aftir her yvel wille in tyme of doom, þouþ I abyde a while. Be þou not to haasty, for ech day is day of grace, and I am not qweemyd in veniaunce;

1 corrected from Vulg.; pes eös, T.  
2 So in U; om. T.
perfore þou makist me þin enemys wyhanne þou sekist veniaunce of ony þing but onlī of synne. Þat veniaunce sekīþ nor bodili harm, if synne wiþouten þat may be amendid. And sīþin I am God, þat no þing mai leve unponeschid, suﬀre yvele men lyven til I do her foot slippen, þat is, til I make al her pride and her vanytē to fallen, þat beriþ hem to helle. For it schal breke sodeinli and turne to nouȝt, flor,—

Juxta est dies perditionis, et adesse festinant tempora: Bisyde is þe day of perdicioun, and to hem haastaen þe tymes.

Biside, þat is, neer is þe day in which alle yvele men schulen be lost fro þe cumpanye of halowis, and tyme\(^1\) of þeldynge to yvele and gode haastīþ to ben\(^2\) and comeþ faste. And þanne—,

Judicabit Dominus populum suum, et in servis suis miserebitur: Oure Lord schal deeme his folk, and in servauntis he schal have mercy.

Þat is, Crist schal departe his lovers fro þe lovers of þis world, and in his servauntis he schal ben seen merciful, here and in þe day of doom, and in alle opere riȝtwise venger of al wickidnes.

Videbit quod infirmata sit manus, clausi quoque defecerunt, residuique consumpti sunt: He schal se þat þe hond be maad siik, and þe closide failide, and þe laste ben distried.

He schal se, þat is, he schal make to seen, þat alle þat\(^3\) yvele men doon is not suﬃcient to her salvacioun; for preiër, almes-deede, and pennaunce of him þat liþ in synne, and wol not amende him for Cristis love, is abhominaþe ofþrying in Goddis siȝt. For þe closid in pouste of þe devel failide for peynes; for alle þat ben left, þat is, forsaken of God, schulen be distried in eendelees deep.

Et dicent, Ubi sunt dii eorum, in quibus habebant fiduciam? And þei schulen seye, Where ben her goddis, in þe whiche þei hadden trist?

Gode men þat schulen seen þe peynful peynes of yvele men, schulen seien, Where ben now alle her vanytees of worldly bisynes and lustis, þe which þei loveden moore þan God, for

\(^{1}\) tymes, U.  \(^{2}\) bauen to be, U.  \(^{3}\) So in U; þe, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

pei setten her joie and her trist in hem, as pei schulden nevere have failid hem; havynge greet indignacioun to hem, hat for her soule hele reprehendiden her over bisy worldli lyvynge; seilinge, how schulde pe world ophere weies be mayntenyd? But he is folily blyndid hat mayntenep his enemy to his owne harm. Pe world and oure owne flesch ben enemyes to us, pe whiche moun not be mayntenyd over pe tyme hat God haþ sett. Perfore foolis and idiotis, hat leften pe unfructuous bisynes of pis liif for Goddis love, schulen scorne wise mysti men of pis world, hat setten her trust and her joie in hat ping hat myste not biforn God helpe hem.

De quorum victimis comedesbant adipes, et bibebant vinum libaminum? Of pe offringis of pe whiche pei eeten grecis, pei drunken pe wiin of offringis.

Here pe prophete dampnep covetise and likerousnes of prestis, for it is more abhominable in hem pean in ophere, sipen pei schulden be mooste fleers perof in ensample to ophere; seilinge, of hat ping hat was offrid to her unclessones, pei hadden deliit in greet abundance of gaderynge, and in lustful lyvynge, dispendyng e ito preisyng of pe world, hat was offrid to hem to lyve upon, and to departe among pe pore and nedy peple. And so pei ben drunken in lustis and likyngis of erpeli goodis, forstefinge pe povert of Jesus Crist. Perfore on domesday, hat wreccchidnes hat pe tristen on moore pean on God,—

Surgant et opitulentur nobis, et in noessitate nos protegant: Rise pei and helpe you, and in neede hile you.

Pis is but scoorning pei gode men schulen have of wrecchis hat forsteyn Crist for pe failinge world; as who seie, ʒoure goodis hat helden you in honour in erpe, rise pei noow and come pei to helpe you, if pei may. And sipin pei moun do nouȝt but skape, for hat schal be peynful schame to yvele men, to knowen and to have rehersid pe ping hat made hem to lese pe blis of Crist, perfore, pei hat ben ʒit on lyve,—

Videte quod ego sim solus, et non sit alius Deus preter me: Seep hat I am oonli, and hat opir God is noon but I.

1 corrected from Vulg.: adbies, T.
2 corrected from Vulg.: sum, T.
That is, ye þat wolen be wiþoute schame on domesday, wyþ þat God is oonli to tristen in, and he þat kepþ not hise biddingis, triste not in him to his heelp. Þerfore loveþ him as he lovede you, denynge for his love to triste in ony creature; for al þing þat ye loven wiþoute him letþ þou of his love and disseyþ þou. Ffor,—

\[
\text{Ego occidam, et ego vivere faciam; percutiam, et ego sanabo; et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere: I schal sleen and I schal make to lyve; I schal smyte, and I schal hele; and noon is þat may delyvere of myn hond.}
\]

Whi? for I am auctour of liif and deep, hem þat I love I schal smyte, chastisinge hem as a good fadir owþ to doon his wel-loved sone. For it is not semely þat curteis Crist have an untaught child; Þerfore I schal make my children holde perfitly biddingis in þis liif, qwikenynge hem wiþ my grace, to lyve in mekenes vertuously, and I schal sle her enemies whanne best tyme is. And if ony temptacioun or anoie hirte hem, if þei triste to me I schal hele hem. Þerfore stondeþ bi me in love, þat I stonde wiþ þou in needful tyme of help, for noon is þat may delyvere himsylf or opere of myn hond. For alle creaturis ben undir my myȝt, and to me fallþ þe deemynge of alle.

\[
\text{Levabo ad celum manum meam, et dicam, Vivo ego in eternum: I schal lifte to hevenes myn hond, and I schal seyn, I lyve wiþouten eende.}
\]

Pat is, I schal schewe me Lord Almyȝti aboven al þing, and I schal seyn apertely, I lyve wiþouten eende. It is oure alþipoþ, and a vow to fulfille þis Lordis bidding.

\[
\text{Si acuero ut fulgur gladium meum, arripuerint judicium manus mee: If I schal scharpe as leytynge my swerd, and myn hondis schulen take doom.}
\]

Pat is, I schal make qwaken for dreede alle wickide men of erþe, whanne I have redyed my swerd of poneschinge, comynge sodeinli as leytynge; þanne myn hond, pat is, my myȝt, schal schewe þe laste dreaded doom: ffor þanne,—

\[
\text{Reddam ulcionem hostibus meis, et his qui oderunt me retribuam: I schal zelde veniaunce to myn enemyes, and to hem þat hatiden me I schal zelde.}
\]

\[\text{from U; om.T.}\]

\[\text{corrected from Vulg.; biis, T.}\]
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

I schal selde veniaunce of eendelee peyne to my foos; þat is, to alle þat I foon contrarious to me, clad out of þe cloþ of charite, not holdinge my commaundementis. And to hem þat hatiden me, puttinge out of her hertis me for love of oþþ þing, I schal selde woniynge in peynes eendelee wip orrible develis in helle. And þanne,—

Inebriabo sagittas meas sanguine, et gladius meas devorabit carnes: I schal drunken myn arowis in blood, and my sword schal devour flesch.

Myn arowis, þat is, my scharpe manasynge wordis, I schal drunken, þat is, I schal fulfille in blood of dede dampnyd men; and my sword, þat is, my veniaunce, schal hastily smyte alle þat lyveden fleisheli, and dieden so, into helle, to be devourid of feendis. And þit myn arowis I schal drunken,—

De croure occisorum et de captivitate nudati inimicorum capitis: Of þe blood of slayn and of caitifte and þe nakid heed of enemies.

Verrili ben þei slayn þat ben deede fro þe joie of God wipouten eende, and of þe caitifte of helle, of þe nakidheed fro al solace of hevene or of erþe, of enemies dampnyd. Nakidheed he seip at þe liknyng of taken prisoners in conqueringe, þe whiche weren wont to be shaven þe heed and so soold.

Laudate gentes populum ejus, quia sanguinem servorum suorum ulcioceetur: Herie, ze heþene, þe folk of him, for þe blood of hise servauntis he schal venge.

Þee synful men, þouþ al þe wolen not folowe Cristis folk in virtu and goodnes, at þe laste holdiþ alle worþi heriþg þat loven him in worchinge of vertues, and angrïþ hem not in word ne deede. For if þe do, God wole vengen it; þfor,—

Et vindictam retribuet in hostes eorum, et propicius erit terre populi sui: And veniaunce he schal zeeiden into her enemies, and merþiful he schal be to þe lond of his folk.

Þe lond of his folk in þis liþ is holy Chirche, in þe which his folk wonen in truþe and in charite. Alle ðoþre wonen in þe lond of þe develis folk, to whom God schal be riþtwiþ in veniaunce and poneschinge.
[MAGNIFICAT.]

[LUKE I.]

Magnificat anima mea Dominum: My soule worschipe pe Lord.

Oure Lady Seynt Marye, aftir þe greetinge of Gabriel, and þe consevynge of Goddis sone, oure Lord Jesus Crist, verri God and verri man, and aftir þe blessing of Elizabet þat clepide her modir of hir Lord, sche roos not in hînes of þouȝt for vein glorie ne in bolynynge of pride, dispisinge þerfore opere, but in swetnes of herte and ful devout mekenes, þankinge God of al his goodnes, seiinge,—My soule, filiid of his grace, worschipþ, þat is, herieþ perfíÆli þe Lord of hevene and erþe, þat me þis grace haþ doon. As who seie, I holde not mysilf greet, but God I herie of alle hise gîftis in al myn herte. þat soule worschipþ God perfíÆli, þe whiche wickide þouȝtis greeven not, unclene deliit filîp not, uncoveneable berynge hîþ not, ne vein speche envenemep not; but in alle vertues, of kynde and of grace, it stondîp in lastynge love and stable mekenes.

Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo: And my spirit joiede in God myn healpe.

Not oonli þis blessid maide and modir herieþ God enterli, but also sche seip þat hir þ gladnes and hir joie was in mynde of God, in love and lîkynge of whom al hir love sche sette. Sche joiede not in hirself, ne in vanyte of þis liif, as oure foundyd maidens don now, þat joien more in synful vanytees of þis world, þe whiche hem lusten to love, þan in God her saveour, þat corowneþ alle trewe virgyns in hevene. But þouȝ devoute soulis of holy men and wommen worþili worschipen God, and wondirfulli ben joiyinge in Jesus, þis blessid mayden and modir, oure Lady Seynt Marye, bise þe opere in privilegie of moost brenynge love sche heriede God, and in sinugler joie sche was glad in Crist. þe songis of heriinge ben swettist in hir mouþ, and þe nootis of love ben þe deliablist in þe melody þat

1 So in U; bis, T.

Wyclif.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

sche\textsuperscript{1} schewiþ. \textit{Pat spirit now joiep in God, }\textit{pe which is verrili kyndelid wip }\textit{pe fier of }\textit{pe Holy Goost, to }\textit{pe which, for my-chilnes of Cristis love, no passing }\textit{ping paiep, but al fleshli lust and erþeli covetise lopþip and is ville to it. For al }\textit{pe joie and cumfort of it is in Crist, of whom it hopþ liif and heele eendeles.}

\textbf{Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue, ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generaciones: }\textit{For he lokide }\textit{pe mekenes of his hodnmayden; lo, for whi of }\textit{pat blisful me schulen seyn alle generacions.}

Wrecchid wommen of }\textit{pis world loven synful creaturis whom hem luste, and worschipen hem, and han vein joie in hem }\textit{pat schulen passe as schadowe aftir settinge of }\textit{pe sunne; but oure Ladi Marye sette al her love and joie in God, offringe hersilf holly to Goddis love; and }\textit{pat for he lokide wip bliþe i3en of grace }\textit{pe mekenes of hir }\textit{pat was ful of alle gode þewis, and buxumer to his bidding pan ony hond-maye in erþe may be to hir Lord. Lo, for whi of }\textit{pat, }\textit{pat is, of hir mekenes, for }\textit{pat lokinge of God to me, as he were take in my love at a siþt, perfore blisful me }\textit{pei schulen seyn, alle generacions of trewe Cristen men in }\textit{pis world. And }\textit{pat is worþi,—}

\textbf{Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est, et sanctum nomen ejus: }\textit{For he hab do to me grete þingis }\textit{pat miþti is, and his name holy.}

Grete þingis he dide to hir in quantite of grace, grettere in mynystration of }\textit{pe aungel, grettist, þoru wondir of Goddis vertu in wombe he made parþiþ hir halowyng.} \textit{In vertu he 3af to hir clenness of liif, in vow first offringe of hir maydenheed, and in alle }\textit{pe }\textit{pat moost seemeþ deppist mekenes. Þus he dide to me }\textit{pat is myþti, and whos name is holy halowyng me;} \textit{and alle }\textit{pat hooly ben, in his goodnes ben holy, not in hir meryt.}

\textbf{Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timenti-bus eum: }\textit{And }\textit{pe mercy of him fro kinredis into kynredis to }\textit{po }\textit{pat dreeden him.}

\textit{His mersy, delyveringe fro synne and sorowe, is fro }\textit{pe}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{So in U; siehe, T.}

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kynrede of holy men into þe kynredis of synful men, for þere-
þoru oonli ben synful men maad riȝtwiȝ; but þe mersy of God
is oonli to þo þat dreden him, for wiȝoute þe drede of God may
no man be maad riȝtwiȝ.

Fecit potenciam in brachio, dispersit superbos mente
cordis sui: He dyde myȝt in his arm, he scateride þe proude fro
þe pouȝt of his herte,

God dide, þat is, he schewide þat myȝt is in his vertu, whanne
he sette þe help of hise loviers in his Sone, doinge vertu or
myȝt in his arm to defenden him and hise fro alle her enemies.
And so he scateride, þat is, so he departide þe proude, þat is,
þo þat seken þe weye of hiȝnes aboven opere, fro þe pouȝt of
her herte, þat þei myȝten not do in deede þe wickidnessis þat þei
coveitiden, in consewynghe of her yvel wille.

Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles: He
putte doun þe myȝti of seete, and he hiȝede þe meke.

þe myȝti he clepiȝ þo þat joien in her myȝt, usinge it wrong-
fulli in wickidnes; þese he dide doun of seete of dignyte and
honour. For kyg Salmon putt doun viciouse bischopis and
proude, and sette in her stide meke men and vertuouse. For
it falliȝ to erpeli princis tao mende þe defautis of Cristis Chirche;
þefor þei beren þe swerd of correccioun þat þeir . And he
hiȝede to þe seete of angels felowschip þe meke, þat is, þo þat
holden noþing lower þan hemsilf, and putten hem mekely to be
defoulid of alle; knowynge hem viiłe as erpe, and grucchen
aȝein noon angwisch of þis liȝf, but ben fayn to suffre alle þingis
for Cristis love. And þefor þei ben worþi to ben hiȝed for þat
greet mekenes, þat þei ben not stirid to wrapþe for her owne
cause, þouȝ men sey hem yvel or do hem yvel.

Esurientes implevit bonis, et divites dimisit inanes:
þe hungrynge he fillide wip goodis, and þe riche he lefte empty.

þe hungrynge Oure Lady clepiȝ hem þat greetli coveiten
riȝtwisnes, wisdom of God, grace and cumfort of þe Holy
Goost, þat evere stiriȝ her desier to coveiten moore and moore,
and contynuen þerinne; for siche good fulfiȝ of goostli
goodis, profitable, delitable, and honest. þe first, þat is, riȝt-

* The sentence suddenly breaks off in T, and is unfortunately absent
altogether from the Magdalen MS.
wisnes, helpip to meryt; þe secunde, þat is, wisdom of God, drawip þe þernyng fro erþe to hevene; þe þridde, þat is, þe cumfort in þe Holy Goost, makip a man parfït in vertuouse werkus. Þes goodis han swete savour to þe soule. Þre maner of hungry men þere ben, þe whiche God fîliþ not but wip peyne; as þo þat desiren þe pompe and þe pride of þis liif, and covetise of riches, and harmynge of her neþbore. Þe first hungir is of bittirnes, þe toþir of avarice, þe þridde of bacbitinge. Þese men, wip alle opere þat ben wickid, þouþ þei han greet welþe and ese in þis liif, and ypocrisit þat leeten1 as þei weren riche of goostli goodis, criynge her holynes in outwarde tokenys, he lefte empty of grace and joie, þouþ þei ben ful of favour of folk, and vile lustis priveli, and manye aperty; but in þe day of doom þei schulen fynde nouþt but peyne.

Suscepit Israel puerum suum recordatus misericordie sue: He ressyvede Israel his child, he pouȝte of his mercy;

Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini ejus in secula: As he spak to oure fadris, to Abraham and to his seed into worldis.

Þus schal þe lettre be joyned; he ressyvede Israel his child for mekenes and clennes, and he spak to oure fadris, and þat he dide bi þouȝt of his mercy, þe whiche he hiȝte to doon to Abraham and to his seed, þat is, to alle hise folowers in truþe and riȝtwisnes while þe world stondip. He resseyvede a Israel in kynde, in grace, in defendinge, in governynge. þoru takinge of kynde he riȝtid us out of deep, and out of ire of God; þoru takinge of grace he drouȝ us out of synne; þoru takinge of grace in defence, he delyverip us þat oure enemy have no myȝt ne maistry of us; þoru takinge in governynge, he ledip us out of perels of þis wey; þoru takinge of blisfulheed, he bringip us out of al wrecchidnes of synne and sorowe, and settip us yn þe joye of hevene. Amen.

1 Token, U.

* The Magd. MS. ends imperfect at this point.
[TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.]

Te Deum laudamus, *te Dominum et con*·*fitemur: We herien* bee God, we knowlechen* bee Lord.

It is comonly seid þat þis song was maad of Austin and Ambrose, when Austin was convertid. But þis we may suppose byneþe þe bileeve; but howevere it be herof, þis song is devout. First Crist is God, and siþ he is Lord, for he is not Lord but if he have a servaunt.

Te eternum *patrem, omnis terra veneratur*: *Al þe erþe worshipþ pee, everlastinge fadir.*

Here we seyen by partis þe heriyng of God; and first how alle men in erþe worshipen God þe Fadir, siþ al þe Trynyte is fadir to men, for it made man of nouȝt, and þerfore it is fadir. And so al þe Trynyte is fadir to man, but þe first persoon is Fadir to his Sone.

Tibi omnes *angeli, tibi celli, et universe potestates.*

Tibi cherubyn *et seraphyn incessabili voce proclamant:* *Alle angels and hevenes, and alle powers in þis world, cherubyn and seraphyn, crien bi vois and unsynynte to pee.*

Al if erþeli men be first in oure knowinge, þit hevene and sitesyns þerof ben first in her kynde, and specialy angels of þe two firste ordris, for þei ben schynyngwe þip kunnyngwe, and brennyngwe þip charite. And alle creaturis seyn to God þat he

\[ a \] In the ancient offices of the English Church, according to Mr. Palmer (Origines Liturgicae, I. 228), this hymn is named indifferently the 'Psalm *Te Deum*, or the 'Song of Ambrose and Augustine.' No higher authority for the legend mentioned in the text is known, than that of a spurious chronicle, ascribed to Dacius, a successor of St. Ambrose, but really written five centuries later. The rudiments of a large portion of the hymn may be traced, as has been shown by Archdeacon Freeman in his excellent work, Principles of Divine Service, in Oriental liturgies. But in its actual form, a preponderance of testimony seems to trace it back to Gaul; the earliest author named for it is Hilary of Poitiers (circa 354). If so it would be not one of the least precious gifts to Christianity from the glorious church of Gaul, well and fittingly called 'the eldest daughter of the Church.'
made hem, for this is kyndelie seying, that kynde techip Goddis creaturis; but angels crien afer bi spiritual vois, and they may not ceese herof, sip they ben needely blesseid.

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth;
Pleni sunt celis et terra majestatis glorie tuae:
This is the first song seid to the Trinyte, and perfyre is this word, holy, seid pries, and it bitokene stabenenes in God in bigynnynge of his werkis, in kepinge, and eendynge. And as God is myche and glories wi'oute mesure, and in ech part of this world, so it is sothly seid that he fillip bope heven and erpe; and al if he have in himself glorie of his magiste, in as myche as he is God, na'eleces he schewip it out in mesure, noumbre, and weist, as him fallip for to do.

Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus: Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus: Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus: These are cunpanyes of these two testamentis herien the God; and first, the glorious cunpany of Cristis apostlis, sip, the worshippful noumbre of prophetis; and sip, the oost of martirs maad whist in her blood.

Sip Crist is heed of holy Chirche, and hise apostlis sueden him next, manye supposen that thei ben in hevene before opere. And, for fadris of the oolde lawe weren grounde of men of the newe lawe, bi resonable ben thei putt bitwixe, and next hem suen martirs of the newe lawe.

Te, per orbem terrarum, sancta confitetur ecclesia:
Holy Chirche knowlechip the God, porw-out al the world.

And as the Trinyte is heried, so holy Chirche haþ pre partis. The hiȝeste ben angels of hevene, the secundes, seintis slepinge in purgatorie, the þridde is folk þat schulen be saved, here fijtinge in erpe. Of these and noone opere is holy Chirche maad. And this schulde be bridil in us, to boost not þat we ben of holy Chirche. And so, for mysterie of the Trinyte, ben confessours and virgyns taken in þe þridde part.

Patrem immense majestatis: Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium: Sanctum quoque paraclostum Spiritum. This Chirche þat þus is scaterid in þe brode world,
knowlechip þe fadir of majeste wipouten eende, and knowlechip þe secunde persone, þi oonli worþi verri sone; and it knowlechip þe þriddy tyme, þe Holi Goost cumforiour; and alle þes þre persoones ben o God in his kynde. And, as clerkis seyn, magiste accordinþ to þe Fadir, for he is in sum maner first of alle þre persoones; wisdom acordinþ to þe Sone, siþ he is wis- dom of þe Fadir, and made and bouȝte mankynde; þe Holy Goost is cumfortor, for he makiþ a parfȝt eende of brennynge charite in alle þe seyntis þat he wolde have, boþe here and in heven, in sorowe and in joie.

Tu rex glorie Criste: Tu patris sempiternus es Filius: Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non horruisti virginis uterum: Tu devicto mortis aculeo speruisti credentibus regna colorum: Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes, in gloria patris: Judex crederis esse venturus: Þou, Crist, art Kyng of glorie, and hast take manmys kynde; Þou art everlastyngse sone of þe fadir. Þou, to take mankynde for to de-lyvere it, hidousist not þe virgyns wombe to be closid in it. Þou, for þou overcamest þe scharpennes of deep, openedist to men þat bileveden in þee þe kyngdoms of hevenes. Þou, aftþ þin assen-cioun, sittist on Goddis riȝt side. And siþ þou art God bi þi higer kynde, and best man bi þi oþir kynde, þou art bileved to come for to juge at þe laste day.

And in þes articlis of bileeve is myche fair clergie, but we schulden not bileve of þe Fadir of hevene þat he haþ a riȝt side, or partis, as a man haþ, but þat þe manheed of Crist is blisful in hevene, and next his Godheed in glorie among alle creaturis.

Te ergo quesumus, famulis tuis subveni, quos precioso sanguine redemisti: Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria muneri: Salvum fac populum tuum, Domin, et benedic hereditati 1 tuas. Et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in eternum. By þese two kyndis in Crist ben we hardy to preie him, and perfore we preien þee, helpe þou þi servauntes, whiche þou hast bouȝt wip þi precious blood. Do þis grace wip þi seintis, þat þei be rewardid in blis wip ever-

1 corrected from U; bereditatis, T.
lastinge glorie. Lord, make bi peple saaf, and blesse to pin eritage; and governe hem here, and hize hem into pe blis wiboulen eende.

Cristen men schulden take pe wordis of Goddis lawe, as Ambrose and Austin and opere bifoire us han do, and drede not to graunte þat Crist was deed, and lesse þan his fadir, and herwip was God. But heretikis seyn here þat auctor of Goddis lawe was rude in his logiik, and ofte spak fals, and so þei wolen nepir holde hym ne sue him. But sey we boldly to þes eretikis, þat þei cannot amende þis auctor, ne reprove noone of his wordis bi her newe logyk, and but if þei holden þis auctor þei schulen not be saved.

Per singulos dies benedicimus te: Et laudamus nomen tuum in seculum et in seculum seculi. We ben maad to serve God, and in þat have blis, and herfore we syngen to God and seien, þat we blessen him bi ech daies þat we lyven in þe world, and we herien his name bi lastyng of þis world and of þe toþir hoþe.

Whanne oure soule was maad, þanne God made a newe world, and by al þis world we schulden herie God, on o maner þe while we lyven here, and on anoþir aftir. As þere ben two lastingis þat God þeþeþ to þis world, oon is wipout-forþ, þat men clepen tyme, anoþir is wipinne, betere þan þis tyme, and þis is clepid often tymes world of world.

Dignare, Domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire: Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri: Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te: In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in eternum. Here we preien to oure God by hope þat we han gaderid in hym, and seyn, Lord, vouchesaaf to kepe us þis day wiboulen synne. Lord, have mersy on us. Lord, be þi mersy maad upon us, as we han hopid in þee. Lord, I have hopid in þee, be I not schent wiboulen eende.

In þese foure versis ben manye faire trupis. In þe ﬁrste vers we preien God to kepe us fro greet synne þat nevere schal have eende; and ech day we han nede to preie herfore; and so Crist teciþ us to sey in oure Pater noster þat, and God delyvere us fro þis yvel. Þus we han nede ech day to preie þis; but, as seint Joon seip, if we seyn þat we han no synne, we disseyven
us sylf, and truf is not in us. But as longe as we dwellen here, we asken Goddis mersi for oure mischevous bodi, but moost for oure soule; but in þe toþir world þis mystichef goð away. And, for ech man schulde wyte þat he haþ ful hope in God, þerfore in þe þridde word we preie to God of his mersy as we hopen in him, and moore may we not axe. In þe fouþe word we turnen us in o persoone, of þe Chirche, and seien in persoone of þis Chirche, þat we han hope in þis Lord, and for þis hope we axen to be not schent wiþouten eende. For as Crist techip us to axe generali, so þese seyntis casten to close þer preier in charite, and to aske þis eende in þe name of holy Chirche. And þis is eende of oure asking þat mai falle in þis world. For þis yvel and þis scheending is moost of alle opere, and so þis is a grete grace to wante þis scheending wiþouten eende; for þanne we schal not come to helle, but algatis go to heven. And no peyne is yvel but þis, or to regarde of þis, as no joie is good but blis, or ellis wey to blis. þis witt schulde men undirstonde of þis holy song, and leve worldli chauntynge þat here is usid wickidly, for it distractip often tymes fro joie of þe toþir world. And it is hard þat it profite evene as myche to mennys soule as it likiþ to mennis eeris; and certis ellis it profitiþ not, for, as Austin knowlechip, he synneþ grevousli whanne evere þe song likiþ him more þan doþ þe witt of þe song a.

**[BENEDICTUS.]**

**[LUKE I. 68.]**

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia visitavit et fecit redempcionem plebis sue. Þis psalm is of moore auctorite þan þe song bifoře, for it is bileève of þe gospel, as Seint Luk tellip; and Zacharie, Baptístis fadir, seide first þis salme aftir þat he was dombe, as Gabriel tooled him. And as myracle was bifoře in dombnes and þeyvynge of speche, so in seyinge of þis salme was more myracle, whanne God listèd þis profete and teelde him hid truþþis. Þis profete bigynneþ þus, and seîþ to holy Chirche,—Blessid be þe Lord God of Israel, for he haþ visited and maad biggyng of his peple.

EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

It is seid comounli þat þere ben þre salmes, maad of Marie and of Symeon and of þis Zacharie, and þei ben ordeyneð of þe Chirche to be songun in tymes accordynge to þese persones, and witt after whiche þei weren seid. Þis salme is songen in þe Chirche at þe eende of mateyns, for Joyn Baptist was lantarne biforn þe sunne, to make redy to take þe lyt of þis sunne, as þis salm is sungun biforn þe sunne rising. Þis profete knew in spirit þe grace þat¹ God hadde maad here, and þerfore he biginneþ at þe heriynge of God, and cleþþ him first, Lord of alle men of þe world. He cleþþ aþir, God of Israel, for God in o sense is seer of al þing; and Israel is as myche as, men þat seen God², and bitokeneþ Jacob wiþ men þat camen of him; and it is takun comounli for seyntis in hevene. And first þei feelen his lordships and aþirward his godheed. Þis God visitide his peple bi myraclið of þe oolde lawe, but now late in bîþe schewide in Seynt Joyn Baptist; and soone aþir God hāþ maad biýnge æzein of maunkynde; for whanne Crist was maad man, þis priþ was ʒovyþ of God, and whanne Cristis ʒuffringe suede aþir, þis priþ was in tellynge. And here he schewide him a profete in seýnyng þis as passid, for profetis han þis maner, for certeynte of her witt, to seie her wordis as passid al if þei ben to come.

Et erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo David pueri sui: And God hāþ rerid þe horn of heeleþe to us, in þe houn of Daviþ his child.

Oft tymes an horn bitokeneþ bi manye proporþees a power schewid to þe peple. And for Crist cam of Daviþ þat was Goddis child, þis horn was arerid in Daviþis houn; and Crist was King of pees, as Daviþ was a meke king; and oþer liif of Daviþiðe Jesus Crist.

Sicút locútus èst per os sanctorum, qui a sæculo sunt, prophetarum ejus: As God hāþ spoken bi þe mouþ of seintis, whiche ben fro þe world, Goddis owne prophetis.

Þis biinge of maunkynde by Goddis owne sone was ofte pro-

¹ So in U; T has of þat. ² So in U; lord, T.

³ St. Jerome (De Nominiibus Hebraicis) says, 'Israel, est videre Deum, sive vir aut mens videns Deum.'
fecied fro bigynnynge of þe world, and also þese profetis weren
drawn fro þe world, and alle þei spaken wiþ o mouþ bi o spirit
þat whistlide in hem.

Salutem ex inimicis nostris, et de manu omnium qui
oderunt nos: Heelpe of oure enemyes, and of þe hond of alle
þes þat han hatid us.

Ffor þis hap God spoken bi profetis biforn seid, how we
schulden have heelp bope of men and fendis, and be delverid
of þe hond of alle þo þat hatiden us.

Ad faciendam misericordiam ovm patribus nostris,
et memorari testamenti sui sancti: God hap bihiȝt¹ bi his
profetis biforn, to do mersey wiþ oure fadiris, and have mynde of
his holy testament.

God hadde hiȝt to Abraham in þe oold lawe, þat he schulde
multiplen his seed as sterris of hevene, and as gravel of þe see;
and many opere þingis God bihiȝte to Abraham and opere holy
fadiris, þing þat þei hadden not fulfillid here in erþe. And þus
bileve þechþ us þat þis was seid in figure of goodis þat þei
schulden have in þe toþer world, as þe erþe þat Abraham
slepte inne, þat God þaf to him and to his seed, figuride
hem hevene, þat is clepid in Goddis lawe þe lond of men
lyvynge. And so it is of opere goodis þat weren bihiȝt oure
fadiris, for God teelde but litle of erþeli riches, for boþe it
felde to þis Lord and to his trewe children to þeve hevenli
goodis and reste in hevene.

Jusjurandum quod juravit ad Abraham patrem nos-
trum, daturum se nobis. Whanne Abraham schulde have
offrid Isaac, his owne sone of his wiif, he hadde a greet oof
to God, þat he swoor to him þat he schulde þeve him to us, for to
bigge mannys kynde.

þe story is knowen how God temptide Abraham, and baad
him rise and take his owne sone wiþ him þat he loveþ, Isaac,
and offre him on an hil. And Abraham dide þus as God baad
him do, and herfore God bihiȝte him þat he schulde þeve himself
for þe worship of God and savynge of mankynde. And her-
fore was Crist borun, as Isaiæ tellip.

Ut sino timore, de manu inimicorum nostrorum libe-

¹ From U; om. T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

rati, serviamus illi in sanctitate et justicia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris. Pe eende whi pat God bougte us so costly and so kyndeli was pis,—pat we wiȝpote drede, de-
lyverid oute of pe hond of our enemies, serve to God in holynes and riȝtwisnes, in whiche we schulden lyve to-fore him in alle oure days.

And here may we seen how unkynde we ben, siȝ God dide pis kyndenes for pis eende to mankynde, and it were so profitable and honest to man, and ȝit man levep it, and gooȝ a wrong wey, for drede of pe world or love of his flesch, and so bicomȝ servaunt to hem fro whom God haȝ delyverid him. And so man forsakȝ God, and takȝ him to pe fend.

Et tu, puer, propheta Altissimi vocaberis; preesibis enim ante faciem Domini, parare vias ejus, ad dandum scientiam salutis plebi ejus in remissionem peccatorum eorum. Here pe prophete turnȝ his speche to his sone, and seip ȝese soȝe wordis unto Joon Baptist: ȝou, child, schalt be clepid pe profete of alber-hiȝest; and perfore ȝou schalt go bifo ȝe face of ȝe Lord, for to make redy ȝe weies of him, and for to zeve kunnyng of heelpe unto his peple in forziȝnes of her synnes.

And al pis was schewid in ȝe liif of Joon Baptist, for he forsook ȝe world and chastiside his flesch, and wente not to scoole to bigile his neiȝbore, but helde ȝe staat of innocense in deseert placis. And oure religiouȝ a ȝat seien ȝei suen him, gaderen hem in coventis, and lyven contrarye liif; for in ȝe stide of innocence ȝei hanchosun flockis; inside of deseert placis ȝei hanchosun citees; inside of greet penaunce aftir ȝe staat of innocence ȝei han chosen lustful liif for to feede her flesch. And where ȝei schulden forsake craftily bildyngis, ȝei chesen housis and cloistris to huyde ȝer richessis. And ȝus ȝei make a wey to ȝe prince of ȝis world, and iȝt, and maken redy his wey to resseyven hise servauntis; and ȝere as ȝis prince is contrarye to Crist, so ȝese religious ben contrarie to Baptist; and ȝit ȝei feynen falsli sumwhat of Crist and sumwhat of Baptist to disseyve ȝe peple. But as in conjurisouns ben teeld manye goddis names, to disseyve ȝe peple and robbe of her

a All that follows down to the end of the Canticle, so far as it relates to the friars, has been erased in the Magdalen MS, though not so effectually but that the writing remains partially visible.
goodis, so in þes ordris ben feyned manye holinessis for a fals eende, to disseyve þe peple and to souke her blood for feynyng of her helpe.

*Per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto, Illuminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis.* Here we preien þis child þat is ðeven to us, and is boþe God and man, and so ful of wit and grace, by þe inward power of mercy þat he hæb, and cam from his heven to visyte his folk, þat he sende þiþ to us þat siten in darknessis and in schadowe of deep, for to dresse oure feet into þe wey of pees.

Here we preien not, as freris, neiþer of Crist ne Baptist, to lyve worldli liif and likinge to oure flesch, ne go to þe wey of werre to figne wiþ oure enemies, ne to spoile þe peple, and gadere her goodis to oure castels, ne bi þe craft of lesyngis to plese to þe world; but to lyve evere contrarie liif, as dide Crist and Baptist. For bi wandringe of siche weies men may wel se whos children siche ben, and to whom þei maken redy. For king of alle þe children of pride, þat is Anticrist, leedip siche cloisteris, and techip hem siche cautelis. And herfore seyn sum men, as Lyncolne and òbere, þat þei ben dede careynes cropyen of her sepulcre, wlapird in clopis of deel¹, and dryven of þe devel for to drecche men*.

And þus þei ben baggid wiþ signes of ipocrisy, þat it were lasse harms to men of Cristis scoole to dele wiþ a legioum of feendis of helle þan wiþ a lilit covent of siche qwike devels. For sum men þei robben, and sum men þei maken wode; and bi þe feyned ipocrisie and cautelis of þe fend þei bigilen mo men þan doon òbere feendis. Lord delyvere his folk for siche perels of fals freris, for if þis laste be pressid out, þe sevene bifoþe ben liþtir. And ceertis þese religiouse þus bounden to þe fend passen wickide wommen, whos tracis þei folowen, for liknes of holy men disseyveþ myche folk.

¹ In the parallel passage at p. 230, the word is written 'deul,' i.e. mourning. Ù has *dole.*

* See the opening of the tract 'Lincolniensis,' infra, p. 230.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

[NUNC DIMITTIS.]

[LUKE ii. 29.]

Pis is pë bridde salm songun of prestis æzin pëi goon to ïer bed, late upon nyztis; and figurep desier ïat Cristen men schulden have in hour of her deëp. For profišt of Cristis Chirche, ïe gospel tellëp ïer was an oold man, ïat was clepid Symeon, and hadde answere of God ïat he schulde not se deëp before he say Crist. And whanne Crist cam into ïe temple, he took him in his armes, and songe joifully pis song to God,—

Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace; quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum; quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum; lumen ad revelacionem gentium, et gloriam plebis tue Israel: Lord, pou levest now pi servaunt in pees aftir pi word pat pou hast seid bfore, for now I am riïp to dye; for myn iien han seen pin owne sone Crist pat is pin owne heelp to men, pat pou hast maad redy to sette bfore pe face of alle folk pat schal be saved. Ïe which heelp is, liizt to be schewing of hepene men, and also to glorie of pi folk of Israel.

Pis oold man was cumfortid in soule bi bileeve, for he trowide ïat hevene schulde soone aftir be openyd, and Crist wiþ his membris schulde entre into hevene; and perføre he coveitide ïanne to be deed, and in haaste to be wiþ Crist, for ïat he hopide truly, siþ he hadde answere of God ïat was eernes herto. And ïus ben manye men moved, ïat wolde ïat Cristis Chirche were sumwhat amendid after Cristis ordenaunce, ïat ïei schulden not dye bfore ïat pis come, ïat Crist were schewid sumwhat in his Temple, and bfore ïat he were borun as a pore 3ong child. And if ïis venym of dowynge were sumwhat aslakid, ïanne were ïei riïpe to dye to Crist; for ïei hopen ïat Crist is liêt here unto schewe to hem his wiille, as his lawe techip, and so he schal be glorie to hem in hevene, Amen.

Ïe song of oure Lady in which sche lovep God is sungen at

1 corrected from U and Vulg.; nenm, T.

2 ernest, U.
even-song, that is our first hour, for she was byginnynge of heelp of mannys kynde. And these pre salmes ben of even autorite, siȝn þei ben alle þre þe feip of þe gospel.

[THE SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.]

[Dan. iii. 57—88 a.]

Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino; laudate et superexaltate eum in secula.

This salme was maad aftir a myracle þat God dide in tyme of Nabugodonosor, whanne he savede þre Jewis for stablenes of her bileeve fro þe brennyng furneis, þat was hat to brenne hem. These þre persoonys ben of double name, by dyverse langagis; þei ben clepid Ananyas, Aqarias, and Myʒael; and þei ben clepid on oþer maner, Sydrak, Mysaac, and Abedago. This song heeriþ God, and spekiþ to alle wise creaturis, and biddþ hem love God, siȝn alle ben maad for þis eende. And þus þe first vers biddþ,—Je alle werkis of Je Lord, blesse ye to Je Lord, herie ye and over-e-hize ye him in al tyme.

These ben þre wordis in þis vers þat schulden be þus undirstonden. Siȝ ðe creature seip kyndely þat God made it of nouȝt, ech creature schulde by kinde blesse God; and so if it do wel, servynge God as it schulde, þanne it seip wel to God, and grauntþ þat God is blessid over al þing. And þis wel seiinge, þat is wel servynge, is blessing þat God spekiþ of here; and þus alle þingis blesse God, but oonli yvele men and feendis. Þe secunde word of þis vers seip þat þingis blesse to ðe Lord, and þis word, Lord, by himself, is taken for God, Lord of Lordis. Þe pridde tyme we schulden undirstonde, þat by maner of Greek speche, þat þing overhiþþ anþer þing þat seip it passþþ alle oþere creaturis; and so overhiþþe, propirly, is lovynge propried to God. And þus þese þre þingis, blesse, and loove, and overhize, bitokenen þe Trynyte, and þei ben oon in substauence, þat is, heriinge, apperinge to God.

1 bete, U; hat, Q. 2 heriþ, FF, U; heyes, Q. The original word must have been 'herieþ.' 3 approyd, Q.

* In the Vulgate version.
Benedicite angeli Domini Domino: Benedicite celii
Domino: *Je* angels of *he* Lord *blesse* to *he* Lord; *je* hevenes blesse to *he* Lord.

*Je* vers bigynne *he* ordir of blessinge *pat* creatureis schulden blesse to God. But *je*ere ben two maner of creatureis, spiritual and bodily. *Je* beste creature of God is good angel, *pat* is namyd generali here. And *jes* *je*ese angels han a maner to blesse God bi witt and wille. And among bodily creatureis hevenes generali ben *je* best.

Benedicite aque omnes, quae super celos sunt, Domino:
Benedicite omnes virtutes Domini Domino: *Je* watris alle, *pat* ben above hevenes, blesse *je* to *he* Lord; *je* alle vertues of *he* Lord blesse to *he* Lord.

Here *inken* men *pat* bi *je*ese watris whiche ben above hevenes ben undirstonden alle partis of hevenes, above sunne, planetis, and sterris. For *jes* *je*ere partis, for *je* liʒt, ben clepid hevenes comounly, and *je*ese ojer partis of hevene *pat* ben cleer as watir ben clepid watris above hevenes, for in hem ben *je*ese *je*ere partis picchid. And it is licly to trewe men *pat* *jes* watris ben of *je* same kynde *pat* ben *jes* watris bineʒe *je* moone, but *jei* dyversen in propirteeis; for watris *pat* ben above *je* moone ben stable and cleer and everlaʒinge; but watris *pat* ben bineʒe *je* moone, remuynge, freele, and partable. And so watris *pat* ben above moun wel be preised, for *jei* ben solit, but watris byneʒe may be dyvyded, for *jei* ben boje hevy and groos; and dyverse of siche qualitees stondiŋ in substanca of o kynde. And vertues *pat* ben in hevenes ben powers *jerof* to rule *jes* erʒe, as ech part *pat* is in hevene haŋ vertu to move erʒeli ʒingis.

Benedicite sol et luna Domino: Benedicite stelle celii
Domino: *Je* sunne and *je* moone blesse *je* to *he* Lord; *je* sterris of hevene blesse *je* to *he* Lord.

*Je* sunne and *je* moone ben passinge liʒtis, and after hem ben *je* sterris, and summe of hem ben clepid planetis, as fyve, wiŋ *je* sunne and moone; *je* whiche men of astronomye clepen severne planetis of hevene, and stonden in *jes* ordir: Saturnus is *je* higeste planete, siŋ Jubiter, and siŋ Mars. But *je* sunne is as a kynge, and stondiŋ in *je* myddil of alle planetis, and haŋ
pese pre above hym, and oþere þre bynephe him; þe whiche ben clepid of filosofris, Venus, Mercurius, and þe moone is lowiste planete, and takip liȝt, wiþ oþere, of þe sunne. And alle þese sevne ben erraunt sterris, for chaungeable movynge þat þei han, for þei ben summtyme joinde togidere, and summtyme oon æsein anöþer. And þis fallip for þese alle for þrop movynge in her whelis, but above Saturnus ben sterris þat ben alle in o wheel, and þes ben eþere 伊利cic fere, and maken o figure in her wheel.

Benedicite ymber et ros Domino: Benedicto omnes spiritus Dei Domino: Reyn and deew blesse þe to þe Lord; alle wyndis of God bless þe to þe Lord.

Here þes þre children of Jewis nemen creaturis bynephe þe moone, but þei nemen not þes foure speris bi þe ordir þat filosofris doon. þei seyn þat undir þe moone is a spera of sotil fier, and in þat is a spera of þe eir, and in eþer spera of þe watir, and in þe myddil of þe world and lowiste, spera of þe erpe. þis resoun moved þes clerkes to putte a sotil spera of fier; þei seyn þe gros fier among us is boþe hoot and drie and liȝt, movynge upward; and al þis þing it doop bi kynde; and þus a cleene fier in his kynde mut be moore liȝt hoot and drie. And alle þe speris ben brokely, but so ben speris above þe moone. Clerkis seyn þat reyn comeþ þus; þe planetis, and algatis þe sunne, drawn up of þe watir and of oþere moist plankis a sotil body fer into þe eir; and in þe myddil of þe eir is it kyndely cooldid a-nyȝtis, for þis matir is kyndely coold, and þere wantip heete of fier and liȝt, and þus coold makip þis moist matir renne togidere in smale dropis, and þus þei geten hevyynes, and come doun in forome of rein. But summtyme þese planetis of hevene, æsein þe tyme þat þe sunne goop doun, listen up a sutil matir but a litle space fro þe erpe; and fro þe tyme þe sunne be hid, þe coold of þe nyȝt engrosip þis matir, and so it comeþ doun anoon in moore sutil forome þan reyn. Þere lien manye wyndis here; as summte wyndis ben in beestis, and summe ben closid wipinne þe erpe, and summe blowen frely

1 So in Q and FF; T and U read þese. 2 lowest, Q, U; lowers, FF. 3 So in U; movyd, Q, FF; moveden, T. 4 brokel, U; brokeli, FF.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

bitwene þe erþe and sterris of hevene; and þis wynd is clepid here, spirit of God, for dyversyte of oþere. þis wynd is in his kynde eir medlid wiþ watir þat comeþ of þe erþe. And planetis, wiþ sterris of hevene, and hurtlinge of cloudis moven þis wynd now to o place, now to anoþer, after þe chaungyng of þe mover.

Benedicite ignis et estus Domino: Benedicite frigus et estas Domino: 
Fier and swiinge blesse þe to þe Lord; coold and somer blesse þe to þe Lord.

It is knowen by bileve how al þis world profitþ to man þe while he serveþ in grace to God, and ellis it Æstþ ægens man. þus comeþ fier þat we usen; and þe brennyngþ þerof heetþ þeþ men in coold tyme, and helpþ to diþe her mete and drinke. And þus coold in his tyme doþ cumfort to mannys body, and heete of somer bringþ forþ fruyt, þat man schulde not lyve but if þis were.

Benedicite rores et pruina Domino: Benedicite gelu et frigus Domino: 
Dewis and hoor frost blesse þe to þe Lord; frost and coold blesse þe to þe Lord.

Summe ben dewis þat moisten þe erþe til forþ dayesa in hoot tyme; and whanne þe coold haþ froþen þis matir, þanne it is clepid hoor frost. Frost is moore, and lastþ lengir; and coold is commun to manye þingsis. And as þese tempren mannis body, so þei tempren erþe and fruyt.

Benedicite glacies et nives Domino: Benedicite noctes et dies Domino: 
Yise and snow blesse þe to þe Lord; nyþis and dayes blesse þe to þe Lord.

No dreede yis helpþ manye men to passe overe watirs to manye cuntrees. Snow helpþ to tempre þe erþe; for a good snow is worþ a dungyng, for it holdþ heete wipinne þe erþe, þat it crepe not out bi smale holis; and so it qwikeneþ þe roote of growinge þingsis wipinne þe erþe. It is knowen þing to clerkis, þat snow is gendrid hiþ in þe eir, whanne watry matir mych in quantite to regard of þe substantive is froþen and soþallþ doun,

1 til forþ daies, U; til forth daies, Q; til fro þe daies, FF.

a The expression 'til forth dayes' seems to mean, till far on in the day, 'dayes' being in the genitive case.

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and hāp whiȝtnes for cleer and stable matir. And siȝn men mai not evere traveile, God hāp ordeyned nyȝt and day, nyȝt for to reste, and day for to traveile; and no drede eir in þese tymes temperiþ þe erþe and qualitees. And alle þes pingis techen men boþe of virtues, and of vicis, and of hevene, and of helte, to desire þat oon and drede þe topir.

*Benedicite lumen et tenebrae Domino; Benedicite fulgur et nubes Domino: Liȝt and derknes blesse þe to þe Lord; leytis and cloudis blesse þe to þe Lord.*

Liȝt cumfortiþ mannis siȝt, and qwemþ bodies here in erþe, and take her reste, and figuren derknes of synne, and ærafter derknessiþ of helle. And derknes is Goddis creature, siȝt God ha], ordeyned it among opere; and so not ech creature is substaunce, at may dwelle by himsilf. Clerks knowen, at cloudis hurtlyn and bringen þeir of þer partis; and whanne þe breken bi violence þat werun fast togidere bifore, þanne þei maken a greet noise, which noise men clepen undir. And, for siȝt is swiftir an heeryng, as liȝt comeþ þan eir trembliþ, þeir men seen liȝtnynge bifore and ærafter þe þundir of cloudis. And al þis serveþ Cristen men to mysti comownynge of Cristis lawe.

*Benedicat terra Domino, laudet et superexaltet eum in secula: Blesse þe erþe to þe Lord, hérie and overhize it him for evere.*

Þe erþe serveþ wel to God whanne it holdiþ þe myddil of þe world, and gaderiþ plenteuousli liȝt of hevene, and bringiþ forþ fruyt as God biddiþ. And for þis cause haþ God ordeyned erþe to be þicke and stable, to turne æcein þe liȝt of hevene, and feede fruyt þat growiþ þerneinne. And for stablenes of þe erþe, þat schal laste after doomesday, and blesse God above tyme, seyen þese childrin þat þe erþe blesse God.

*Benedicite montes et colles Domino: Benedicite universa germinancia in terra Domino: 3e hillis hōþe moore*

1 So in FF; siche, T, U; for, Q. 2 leytis, U; leyte, FF. 3 So in U; sunner, Q, FF; sunner, T. 4 So in U and Q; seyn, FF; siȝn, T. 5 blesiþ, U; blissiþ, FF; blesse, Q.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

and lasse, blesse to pe Lord; alle þat buriauen in erþe blesse ye to pe Lord.

It is knowne þing þat hillis holden stoones and metal-oor, and bryngen forþ manye eerbis þat woldin not so wel growe in valeis. And, for cause þat þes¹ þingis schal have no stide at doomesday, þerfore seþ Goddis lawe, þat hillis and valeis schulen be playned, and erþe schal take a round figure, and hevene and erþe and watir schulen reste.

Benedicite fontes Domino: Benedicite maria et flu-mina Domino: Wellis blesse ye to pe Lord; sees and floodis blesse ye to pe Lord.

Men fynden opinly what good doon wellis to mannys kynde, for manye tymes men schulden wante drinke, ne were þe servise þat þei take of wellis. And comounly in hoot somer wellis ben coole, and hoot in wyntir. It is knowne þingis to clerkis þat in porís² depe undir þe erþe is watris gendrid and rennynge and springynge up at a place, so myche þat in manye placis where no watir seemþ to be, men moun so depe hole þe erþe, þat good watir and plenteuous wole springe. And for þis watir renneþ in somer up cold erþe, whanne poris ben opin, þerfore watir comounly is moore coold in somer tyne. In wyntir, whanne it is frost, þe poris of þe erþe ben closid; and heete in þe erþe of somer bifoire is lettid to come out by smale holis. Þerfore þe watir þat comeþ bi siche pooreþ haþ heete in wyntyr, and smoke comeþ out and wellip. For sych a cause eten men betere in coold tyne þan þei doon in hoot tyne, whanne heete is scaterid wipoute-forþ. Sees in dyverse cunntrees han dyverse propirtees; as oure sees of Yngelond ﬂowip twies in þe day and in þe nyþ, for þe moone þat moveþ þes watris lokiþ so til oure Brytayn see, þat what bi riþt liþt and reﬂectid, in nyþt and day, it moveþ it twies. Summe oþere sees ﬂowen nevere, and summe but oones ﬂowen in a moneþe, and aftir þat heven lokiþ upon hem, þei han dyverse propirtees. Sees gendren manye ﬁschis to substaunce of mankynde, so þat, bi manye mennis cast, þere ben mo and moore ﬁschis in þe see þan ben beestis upon londe, for þe space and matir is moore.

¹ So in U; of þingis, T.
² poores, U.
And þerfor seiy Daviþ in þe salme, þat men þat weenden to þe see, þei seen þere þe wondir werkis þat God haþ maad in þis world; for no man suffisiþ in þis liif to telle fully þe kynde of fyschis. And þe see conseyveþ wip fischis manye ðopere précious þingis, as þen salt and margaritis, and manye ðopere précious stoonys. Clerkis seyn þe see is salt, for þe kynde salt is þus gendrid; whanne gravel is hatt wip þe sunne, and sokid longe wip þe watir, it takip kyndeli a savour þat men clepen saltnes. And herfore in summe londis han men salt for gravel. And siþ þe see ebbip and flowip fro þe souþ into þe norþ, it is needful þat salt be medlild wip manye sees, and not al oonli wip sees, but wip watris where þe see flowip. And here may men se causes þat ben axid in þis matir. It is axid comounly whi floodis in lond ben not salt; and here men seien comounly þat floodis and wellys ben salt whanne ful cause of saltnes is founde in þes wellis, but þe see is comounly salt, for it takip moore þe liþt of hevene; for it is moore, and neer hevene, and moore disposid to take liþt; but bankis and manye ðopere causis letten flodis to take þus liþt. Also, gravel of þe souþ see is neer þe sunne, and moore hoot, and þis is medlild wip ðopere sees, and makip hem salt bi rubbinge; so þat ful cause of saltnes makip fulnes of salt. And herebi may men se whi salt is boþe whiþt and cleer; for salt, for greet part þerof, is of þe kynde of watir, and watir, whanne it turnip to sadnes, mut be cleer by kynde. And sicþ watir, medlild wip erþe, mut nede be whiþt in þe same kynde. But þit men axen comounly, whi salt is dissolved þus, but cristal and ðopere stooþes ben not losid as oþir salt. Here seien clerkis þat diversye bodies ben maad sad in diversye degrees, and summe bodies may be dissolved and summe not, as manye stooþes. And of þe firste clerkis þeven a rule, þat þo bodies þat ben hardid by coolde ben losid by hoot, and hardid by hoot ben losid by coolde. As þys and leed ben hardid bi coolde, and þei ben neischid ðeþin by hoot. But, for salt is hardid bi hoot and drie, þerfore it is kyndely neischid bi body of contrary qualite, as ben bodies coolde and moist. And þus salt is hoot bi kynde, and haþ hise virtues by þis ground.

1 nescid, U.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Benedicite cete et omnia qui movent in aqua Domino: Benedicite omnes volucres celi Domino: Whallis and alle pingis moved in watris, blesse ye to be Lord. Alle foulis of hevene blesse ye to be Lord.

It is comounly seid þat a whal is þe moost fisch in þe see; and so by þis greet fisch ben undirstonden alle ðere fischis, boþe schel fische and scalid fisch, or of what kynde þat evere þei ben. Alle þei turnen to mannis help, and doon þe office þat God haþ ordeyne. And þus as beestis upon þe lond drawn in erþe to tempre her body, so fischis in þe flood drawn in watir to tempre hem. But as beestis ben sotiler þan ben fischis in her schap, so þei ben moore venemous, moore anoyouse unto man; and þus fischis ben neer to elementis, and more religious for to ete, þan ben foulis or beestis of erþe, for þei ben neer mannys kynde. And þit þe first book of holy writ, þat men clepen Genesis, sceþ þat boþe fischis and foulis comen of substaunce of þe watir. And þit God schewiþ his craft to putt hem so fer a twynne, for þis lord can ordeyne of alle þingis as him likþ. But watir is neer hevene in kynde þan is erþe, of which ben beestis; and þus boþe fisches and foulis kepenn sum propirte of watir.

Benedicite omnes bestie et pecora Domino: Benedicite filii hominum Domino: Alle kynde of beestis and wandringe beestis blesse ye to be Lord; and mennys sones blesse ye to be Lord.

Here may we wyte þat þes beestis weren werks of þe sixte day; and man was maad on þe same day, and of slyme of þe erþe, as fischis and foulis weren boþe maad of God. On þe fiþe day beestis ben moore general þan beestis þat goon on her feet; siþ wormes and addris ben beestis, but þei helpen not to mannis werk, but ðere beestis, þat drawn in þe plouȝ, and helpen to bere men, as hors. And it is needful to teche men to blesse to God bi gode werks, as þese beestis taken lore of men, and serven to hem to mannis worship.

Benedicat Israel Domino: laudet et superexaltet eum in secula: þe folk of Israel blesse ye to þe Lord; herie it and overhiþ him for evere.

Men ben holden to serve God by double servise here in erþe. Summe ben laboreris, as beestis þat þis song haþ spoken of;
and summe ben moore witti, as angels, and þese schulen serve God moore híjly. And for þis servise stondíþ moore in spirit, þerfore it lastíþ aftir doomesday. And Israel, þat is, man seinge God a is not taken onli for Jacob, but for al his kynde þat comep of him, and algatis for his goostli kynde.

_Benedicite sacerdotæ Domini Domino_: _Benedicite servi Domini Domino_: _Prestis of þe Lord, blesse ye to þe Lord; servauntis of þe Lord, blesse ye to þe Lord._

Among alle folk þat serven God as doon þe children of Israel, preestis schulden moost serve him, and teche oþere men to serve him. Þei shulden large Goddis servauntis, boþe in hem and in oþere men.

_Benedicite spiritus et anime justorum Domino_: _Benedicite sancti et humiles corde Domino_: _Spiritis and souls of just men blesse ye to þe Lord; Holy and meke men of herte blesse ye to þe Lord._

In þis vers may ye se how no men but just men serven God meedfully, for to wynne þe blis of hevene. We moun se more in þese wordis how just men han two lyves; contemplatif and actif; and in boþe Þei þei shulden serve God. We may se furþir how þes men þat God hap ordeyned to blis ben here holy and confermyd, and meke algatis of herte.

_Benedictio Anania, Azaria, Misael Domino_; _laudate et superexaltate eum in secula_: _Ananye, Azariæ, Mysael, blesse ye to þe Lord; herie ye and overhize ye him for evermore._

Sipin gode deedis, in Goddis myraclis, oblischen men moore to serve God, þese þre children schulden specyally serve God for hise ȝiftis. God sente his angel to hem and ledde hem saaf in þe furneyes, and made þe erþe coold and good, and bente þe Caldeys wipoute. What man schulde blesse God but þese þre þat weren þus holpen?

_Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu_; _laudamus et superexaltemus eum in secula_: _þe fadir and þe sone and þe holy goost herie we, and overhize we him wipouen eende._

Þis vers han Cristen men doon to, over þat it is in Danyelis

*a See note at p. 57.*
book, to teche þat þei shulden herie God as þese þre children of Israel; and specialy þese Cristen men þat have þus grace of God þat þei qwenchen þe flawme of synnes, as þese þre children bi myracle of God qwenchiden þe flawme of þiris. For þis brennyng wip synne of soule is moore perelous þan þe þopir, and þerfore men schulden moore herie God for sawyng fro þis brennyng. And oure Chirche haþ wittily specified first þe Trynyte, and aftir by a syngular name toold þe oonheed of God.

_Benedictus es Domine in firmamento celis; laudabilis et gloriosus et excelsus in seculis: Blessid artow Lord in þe firmament of hevene; and worþi to be heryped and glorious and overhized for evermore._

Þis vers makiþ a knott to þis song of þes children, where we maken an opin schrift þat God is passingly blessid. Not þat God haþ nede to be blessid of us, for God is blessid in himsilf as myche as ony þing may be, and oure word and oure blessing may not alarge þis blessing of God; but by þis meke confessioun and joie of Goddis blessing we hopen þat God wole blesse us, boþe here and in hevene.

[QUICUNQUE VULT: COMMONLY CALLED THE ATHANASIAN CREED.]

_Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut tenet Catholicam fidem._ It is seid comounli þat þere ben þre credis. þe first is Apostlis, þat men knownen comounly. Þat ðopere is crede of þe Chirche þat declariþ þe former crede. Þis þridde crede is of þe Trynyte, þe whiche is sungun as a salme, and was made in Greek speche of oon þat is clepid Athanasie, and was aftir turnyd to Latyn, and sum deel amendid, and ordeyned to be seid at þe first hour. Þis Salme

* With reference to the statement in the text, the following summary of the account given of this creed in the learned work of Dr. Harold Browne, Bishop of Ely (Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles), may be not out of place. Ecclesiastical writers, down to and including Baronius, assigned the creed to Athanasius without hesita-
tell is myche of þe Trynyte, and it is no nede ech man here
to know it, siþ a man may be saved if þat he bileve in God,
and hope þat God wole teche him afterward þat is needful.
And so, as men seyn comounly, men bileeven in two maners.
Summe bileeven expresly þat þer is but o God; and summe
bileeven confusely, howevore God wole þat þei tronw; and
if þei lyven on oper syde riȝty, as God wole þat þei lyven, þei
ben in good wey afir to come to blis. For our crede schulde
be medelid wiþ love and bileeve, so þat bileeve taȝte oure witt
how good þat oure God is, and siþ þe Holy Goost taȝte
how we schulden love oure God. And herfore seip þis1 salm,
whiche is lesse þan gospel, þat, Whosoevere wole be saaf, it is
needful biforn alle ðopere þinges þat he hoolde þe comoun bileve, for
þerbi is man saved. And it seemeþ not inowȝ men to sey bi
word þat þei trowe fulli as hooly Chirche trowiþ; for þus-seyn
Paynymys and manye out of þe bileve; siþ men seien comounli
þat all han sicb bileve. And so love and good liif ben needful
to riȝt bileve. And God forbode þat men bileeven þat ech
man þat schal be saaf mut trowe expresly ech word þat here
is seid; for feue or noone ben in þat staat, or Grekis or
Lateyns. And þit to us fallþ, Engliseh to telle þat litil þat we
bileeven; for bileve is of truþe, þat is biforn oure langagis;

1 So in U and Q; T has þe first salm.
and, as we seyn, God ȝeveþ bileve boþe to children and to men, alif þei ben not of power to lerne bileve of her briþeren.

Quam nisi quisque integrum inviolatamque servavit, absque dubio in eternum peribit: þis comyn feþ is of þis kynde, þat but if ech man keþ it hool and unfilid, wip-outne doute he schal þerische wipouten ende.

Þere ben summe þat trowen to oon article, and of anoþer article þei trowen þat it is fals, as Jews and Paynyns trowen to o bileve, and trowen not to anoþir, and þerfore þei failen in hool bileve. And it is al oon a man to have noon1 armes2, and to be woundid to þe deþ on oon hoole of hise armes. And here may we se how bileve is taken here for truþ þat men bileeven, groundid in God. And on two oþere maners men taken bileve. Sum tyme bileve is clepid a qualite, by which a man is namyd a trewe man in God, and þis bileve is a maner of a trewe soule. On þe þridde maner is bileve take for a pouþþ þat a man haþ in deede of þe first bileve. And þus bileve is liþtist to falle fro a man. But we schulen undirstond, þat manye men neden not to have opin knowleche of alle pointis of bileve, but þei moten nedis bileve þat þer is o God, and love him and serve him wipoutne þynne damnable. And þus men trowen generaly al þat is to bileve, and failen in no poynþ, as doon untrewþ men. Oþere þat have moore witt of God, schulden trowe moore; and algatis ech man schulde keþ him fro fals bileve, þat he trowe not contrarye to oure feþ.

Fides autem Catholica hoc est, ut unum Deum in trinitate, et trinitatem in unitate veneremur: þis is comoun bileve, þat ech man schulde trowe, þat we worship o God in trynyte of þersoanes, þe which God is trynyte in oonheed of godheed; þat is to seie, we schal trowe þat þere is but o God, þe which God is þre persoanes, and þes þre persoanes ben þe same God.

Neque confundentes3 personas, neque substantiam separantes. And þus schal we trowe, neþer medlynge þese þre þersoanes, ne deþartinge þe substance, of God in þese persoones.

1 So in U; none, Q; on, T. 2 armys, U. 3 So Q, U; con-fundantes, T.
Dat is to seie, we schal not trowe /dat  pe Fadir mai be  pe Sone, ne pe Sone pe Holy Goost, ne pe Holy Goost pe Fadir; but  þes ben  þre persoones, /dat noon is anoþir, ne part of anoþir; and alle  þese  þre persoones, and ech bi himself, be  þe same substaunce, and so  þe same God.

Alia est enim persona patris, alia filii, alia spiritus sancti; sed patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti una est divinitas, equalis gloria, coeterna magistias:  þere is oþir persoone of  þe fadir, and oþir of  þe sone, and anoþir of  þe holy goost; but of  þes  þree persoones is o godheed, and evene glorie, and comyn magiste wiþouten eende.

We schal trowe  þat  þe Fadir is  þis persoone of  þe Fadir; and so  þes oþere two persoones ben persoone of  þe Sone and persoone of  þe Holy Goost.  So, alle if  þese persoones ben oþere, and ech is oþir fro  þe oþir, naþelees noon of hem is oþere fro  þe oþir in kynde, siþ  þere is o kynde comoun to hem alle. And so is o Godheed comoun to hem alle, siþ ech of  þese and alle  þes ben  þe same God. And bi  þe same skil alle  þes ben even in glorie, and magiste of hem alle is lastinge wiþouten eende, for  þis glorie and magiste is not but  þis Godheed. And so if men seiden  þat  þis same glorie and magiste were of  þree persoones, þei seiden soþli and not contrarie herto. But glorie and magiste seyn sum tyme relacioun, whiche clerkis seyn ben dyverse in resoun.

Qualis pater, talis filius, talis spiritus sanctus:  Whiche is  þe fadir, sich is  þe sone, and sich is  þe holy goost.

In  þis holy Trinyte is noon sich qualite as is in creaturis; but on sum maner mut we speke, to telle  þis maner of God, which maner is not oþir þan God; for tungis failen in tellinge of God for  þe excellence of him. And so it is toold aþirward, what is  þis qualite of God, in which  þes  þre persoones ben ech evene to oþir.

Increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus spiritus sanctus:  Unmaad is  þe fadir, unmaad is  þe sone, and unmaad is  þe holy goost.

For alle  þes  þre persoones ben  þe same God, which is wiþ-

1 So Q, U; magestas, T.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

oute bigynnyng and also wiþouten eende; and so noon of þese þre persoones may be maad of nouȝt.

**Immensus pater, immensus filius, immensus spiritus sanctus:** þe fadir is wiþoute mesure myche, and eke þe sone, wiþ þe holy goost.

For þer is a comyn greetnes of alle þes þre persoones, and it seþ no quantite, ne streechinge of Goddis partis. For þis holy Trinuty is wiþouten ony part, but at ech part of þis world is þe holy Trinyte, and if þis world were more, þere were þe Trinyte, for God may not faile to be in place, ne to þing þat he haþ maad. But if þere were a voide place wiþouten hevene wiþoute mesure, God were everywhere in þis place; but þer is no sich voide place.

**Eternus pater, eternus filius, eternus spiritus sanctus:** Þe fadir is wiþoute bigynnyng, and also wiþoute eending, and so ben þe topir two persoones.

And so al þis Trynyte, siþ ech of þese is þe same God, þat may not be mesurid ne maad.

**Et tamen non tres eterni, sed unus eternus; sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus:** And naþeedes, if God be sich, þere ben not þre Goddis siche; for þere is but o God, of what kyn maner þat he be; and so þere ben not þre unmaad, ne þre þus grete, ne þre wiþouten eende; but alle þes þre persoones ben o God, þat is sich.

But here may men betere sey in Latein þe sotilte of þis materie, for articulis wiþ case, gendre, and noumbe helpen here for to speke. For alle þese þre persoones of God ben þus myche wiþoute eende; but þei ben not þre Goddis þat han siche qualitees, but þei ben þre persoones þat han sich propirtees.

**Similiter omnipotens pater, omnipotens filius, omnipotens spiritus sanctus; et tamen non tres omnipotentees, sed unus omnipotens:** Also almyþi is þe fadir, almyþi is þe sone, almyþi is þe holy goost; and naþeedes not þre Goddis ben almyþi, but o God is almyþi.

We schal bileeve of oure God þat he is a sovereyn spirit, o kynde and o substaunce, o God and o beinge; and he is wiþout part, and fulli sich as we han seid; and þis God hap
power to knowe himself, and to willen himself. This power is 
the first persoone, this wisdom is the secundse persoone, and this 
wise is the tridde persoone; and all these be ben o God. And 
so these names, that moten nedis accorde to al the Trinote, ben 
seid singularly of oure God without part. And this these be 
persones of God ben Almysti, and all God, sith ech of hem 
is Almysti, but this same Almysti God. And clerkis seyn that 
God is Almysti, for if he wil that ouste be done, he doop it in his 
tyme, and this may nooping do but God, for angels wolen that 
be ben made, but sit that mai not make hemself. But all these 
persones ben o kynde, that is the mystie as we han seid. And 
thus sey this credo after,—

\textit{Ita Deus pater, Deus filius, Deus spiritus sanctus; et} 
tamen non tres dii, sed unus est Deus. \textit{Ita Dominus} 
pater, \textit{Dominus filius, Dominus spiritus sanctus; et} 
tamen non tres domini, sed unus est Dominus: \textit{So be} 
fadir is God, be sone is God, be holy goost is be same God; and 
nafeless per ben not bre goddis, but o God is alle these pre. And 
so be fadir is Lord, be sone is Lord, and be holy goost is Lord; 
and zit bre ben not bre lordis, but o Lord is ech of these.

And this rotten resoun of men that Foolis maken wipouten witt, 
is not worpi to be teeld for the lewidnes yerof; if this God be this 
Fadir, and the same God be his Sone, thanne is this Fadir this 
Sone, for o God is the bope. These Foolis moten lerne filosofye, 
and how manye pingis may be a comoun ping.

Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam Deum 
ae Dominum confiteri Cristiana veritate compellimur, 
ita tres deos aut dominos dicere Catholica religionem 
prohibemur. And to this Witt speki this crede, that we ben 
needit bi Cristen troupe to graunte that ech of these pre persones 
is ful God and ful Lord, and he the same ech oone is; and 
that we ben forfendid of God to sey that perse ben the goddis, 
or that these pre persones ben the lordis, bi general religioun. 
For o God and o Lord is comowne to these pre persones.

\textit{Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus.} \textit{Wip} 
this sentence that is seid, is ordir bitwixt these persoones. But 
this Fadir is maad of noon, ne maad of noust, ne bigeten; sith this 
Fadir is the first persoone, that may have no principle of his being.
**EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.**

Filius a patre solo est; nec factus, nec creatus, sed genitus: *De sone is of pe oon fadir, not maad, ne maad of nouȝt, but borun.*

And here clerkis mooten wake her wittis, and undirstonde two birþis. *Pe first is not makynge of þing, but cause þerof wipouþte eende; as, if pe sunne were nevere maad, as error of clerkis hæþ seid ofte, þit þe sunne wolde cause his liȝt eþer wipinne or wipouþte. So þe first persoone of God bringþ forþ þe secunde persoone as God, for power to knowe himþilf knowþ himþilf fulli. And þis þing was wipouþte bigynnyng, and it may have noon eende aftir. And þis birþe or beringe is þe first þat may be, and of þis comþ bodili bigetinge, whanne o kynde bringþ forþ anoþir.*

*Spiritus sanctus a patre et filio; non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.* And here moten men wake wel, to knowe how þis þridde persoone comeþ al oonli of þe firste, and we seyn þis Holy Goost comeþ boþe of þe Fadir and of þe Sone. For þis Fadir and þis Sone ben o principle of þis þridde persoone; and herfore we seeþ in þis crede þat þe Holy Goost comeþ of þe Fadir and of þe Sone, not maad, ne maad of nouȝt, ne bigetten, but comynge forþ. For as we teelden of double birþe, so þere ben two comynge forþ; þis comynge forþ þat we tellyn here is wipouþte bigynnyng and eending, but it is a bringinge forþ wilful of two persoones. And þus þei may not be o fadir, ne þis þridde persoone her sone; but bileeve techþ us, þat as God knowþ himþilf, for he may knowe himþilf, so for þese two þingis God restþ in his owne wille, siþ God hæþ good wille to himþilf, bi þis power and þis knowing. But undirstonde we not þes persoones as þere bodies, or þere substantes, but as o symple subsantaunce þat is comoun to hem alle.

Unus ergo pater, non tres; unus filius, non tres filii; unus spiritus sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti. And herfore we moten nedis confesse, þat þere is o fadir, not þre fadirþs, o sone, not þre sones, oon holy goost, not þre holy goostþs.

And þus þer ben but þre persoones wipinne in þe Godheed, al if manye ben wipouþte.

1 So in U; brynggyng, Q; bring, T.
Et in hoc trinitate nichil prius aut posteriorius, nichil majus aut minus; sed tota tres personae coeterne sibi sunt et coequales: And in his trinuty is nouȝt bifoare ne aftar, moore ne lesse, but alle þre þersones ben evene wipoute bigynnyng and eende, and evene in power and in godheed.

Here moten men knowen, for heretikis, how þere ben two furþerhedis and two hyndirhedis also, þat men spoken of in þis matir. For þe first furþerheed is forþerheed of comynge forþ, and þe toþer forþerheed is furþerheed of kynde. And in þis trinuty is þe firste furþerheed þat here is spoken, siþ o þerson comeþ of anþir, and þere is ordir in þese þersones. Þe secunde furþerheed is not here, siþ o kynde is also þese þre, and þe same godheed; and þe same godheed is togydere Fadir and Sone and þe Holy Goost. And God wolde þat we Lateins amendide Grekis, suynge þe Sone, as we have amendid hem in þis point, addynge þe Sone to þe Fadir, and seyn soþ þat þei ben o principle, bringynge forþ þe Holy Goost. But we failen to Goddis Sone in suynge þe manheed of him.

Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et unitas in trinitate, et trinitas in unitate veneranda sit. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate senciat: And so we gaderen hem, as it is bifoare seid, þat boþ eoonheed in godheed, and trinuty in þersones, and trinuty in þis oonheed, be to þe worþchiped over oþere þingis. And whosoevere wole be saaf, þus feele he of þe trinuty.

If he feele not þus expresly, loke þat he feele þus in comoun.

Sed necessarium est ad eternam salutem, ut incarnacionem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Cristi fideliter credat: Bisyde þe godheed of þes þre þersones, is needful to konwe þe manheed of þis secunde þerson, and so trouve it trulī.

For Crist is giaunt of two stubauncis, of godheed and of manheed, and bigynnyng of oure bileeve, of oure heelpe, and oure blis; for hadde not Crist þus be man, we schulen nevere þus han be saved. And in Crist, boþe God and man, is heeleþe

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1 From Q; om. T, U.  
2 So in Q; ut, T, U.  
3 So in U; gyaunt, Q; T has graunt.
of mannys kynde. And it is hard to bileeve þe Trinitye, but it is moore hard to manye to bileeve two kyndis in o persone; for riȝt as in þe Trinitye þre persoones ben in o kynde, so in þe incarnacioun two kyndis ben o persone. And herfore techiþ ourle bileeve,—

Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus Cristus Dei filius, Deus et homo est. Deus est, ex substantia patris ante secula genitus; et homo est ex substantia matris in seculo natus. Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens: Þerfore it is riȝt bileeve þat we bileeve and knoweþe, þat oure Lord Jesus Crist, Godís sone, is boþe God and man. He is God of his fadris substauunce, borne spiritually bifoere þe world, and he is man of his moderís substauunce, born and maad man in þe world.

And so he is parþiþt God, as he was bifoere þe world, and he is parþiþt man, maad of a resonable soule and of mannis flesch. And so he is bicomen oure broþir, not maad of godheed and of flesche, wiþoute mannis soule in þis flesch, ne of godheed and of his soule wiþouten verri body of man; but Crist haþ verri bodi and soule as oþere briþren þat he haþ, of þe same kynde þat þei ben, al if he myȝte not synne as þei.

Equalis patri secundum divinitatem, minor patre secundum humanitatem. Here moten men lerne, for heretikís, how þei schulen speke in þis matir. For as trynauntis 1 bigilen foolis in matir of þe Trinitye, so þei bigilen oþere trynauntis 1 in þe incarnacioun of Jesus Crist. And herfore bileeve techiþ us what we schulden trowe of Crist, and how we schulden graunte of him þat falliþ to his clene manheed, and also to his clene godheed; siþ Crist is boþe þes two togidere, and so, evene to þe fadir bi his godheed, and lesse þan þe fadir bi his manheed.

And siþ Crist is þes two kyndis bi myracle and dyvers resoun, graunte we boþe þese of him, as we graunten of þes two kyndis. And siþ Crist is boþe God and man, graunte we þat he is evere wiþ þe Fadir, and þerewiþ lesse þan þe Fadir, for his godheed and his manheed is sich, and þese two ben not contraries.

1 truantes, U.
Crist is evene wiþ þe Fadir, and Crist is lesse þan þe Fadir,  
*siþ Crist is boþe þees kyndes; but þif Crist were evene wiþ þe  
Fadir, and þerwiþ lesse þan þe Fadir,*¹ bi þe same kynde of  
Crist, þanne two contraries folowiden him. And þus grauntip  
Crist in þe gospel, wipoute cloutinge of ðepere wordis, þat þe  
Fadir is moore þan he, and al þat þe Fadir haþ is his. And if  
we graunten to þis witt þat Crist is not evene wiþ þe Fadir, for  
his manheed is not evene, þis is not contrarie to þe toþer; as,  
sum man renneþ, sum man renneþ not.

_Quo licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus  
est Cristus: But if Crist be God and man, and so two kyndis,  
and boþe of hem, hapelees Crist is not two persoones, but oon,  
Þat is boþe God and man, and þis persoon is godheed, and  
þerto it is manheed. And so schal we graunte of Crist wipouten  
drede, bi þese two kyndis, boþe þat þat falliþ to his godheed,  
and perwiþ þat falliþ to his manheed._

_Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed  
assumpionem humanitatis in Deum: Crist is o persoon, not  
by turnynge of Godheed into flesch, but bi takynge of manheed into  
godheed._

For Crist took manheed þat he bifoire was not, and lefte not  
godheed þat he was evere. And þit godheed may not be man-  
heed, alþif þei ben o persoon.

_Unus autem³, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate  
persone:_ And þus, Crist is algatis oon, not by confusion of  
his subsaunce, but bi oonheed of his persone, þat is þoþe þes two  
substaunces.

And so Crist bigan to be þis, but he bigan not to be per-  
soune, as Crist was not twies persoon, ne³ twies man by his  
deeþ. And so þe godheed of Crist is not medlid wiþ his man-  
heed, ne neþer of þese kyndis turneþ into oþir, but þese kindis  
ben hool in Crist.

_Nam sicut anima racionalis et caro unus est homo, ita  
Deus et homo unus est Cristus: For whi? as a resonable  
soule and flesch is boþe o man, so in Crist boþe God and man is o  
persoon in Crist._

¹ The words between asterisks are supplied from U: they are found also  
in Q, but om. in T.  
² Unus omnino, Q.  
³ So U and Q; not, T.  

_WYCLIF._
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

And so pis soule, pat is, pis man, is no part but al pis man, and pis soule a man is spirit, and schal lyve after pat he is deed.

Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

And jus we graunten to enemyes pat Crist suffride for oure heele, wente doun into helle, and on þe þridde day roos fro deep. First he suffride bi his flesch, and wente to helle by his soule, and roos bope bi his Godhede and bi his manheed þat he quikenede. But Crist left nevare to be þis spirit, al if he left oonys to be flesch. And þus he hap power to put his liif, and to take it aȝein.

Ascendit ad celos; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos:

And þus Crist stiede to hevenes, sitit on þe righ side of þe fadir almyȝti, and fro þens he is to come to deeme qwiike men and dede.

Crist stiede bi his manheed, þat was moved bi his godheed, and passide manye hevenes, and restiþ evermoore in glorie, and at þe day of doom schal come to juge boþe qwiike and dede, þe whiche han served him truly, and doon unkindeli aȝens him.

Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et redditi sunt de factis propriis rationem:

To þis comyng at þe laste day schal al maner men arise, and þeye resoun to Crist of her owne dedis here.

Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam; qui vero mala, in ignem eternum: And þes men þat han do goodis schulen go to liif wiþouten eende, and þes men þat han doon yvelis schulen go to fier wiþouten eende.

And we speken here of good and yvel, by hem þat dyen here in þese.

Hec est fides catholica, quam, nisi quiscum fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit: Þis is general bileve, þe which but if ech man truwe truly and stidedfastly, he may not herewip be saaf.

And al if þis crede accorde unto prestis, naþelees þe hizer prelatis, as [popes cardinalis]a and bishops, schulden moore specialy cunne þis crede, and teche it to men undir hem. Amen.

a The words have been erased in Bodl. 288, but I have supplied them from U and Q.

WORKS. VOL. III.
II.

**pE TEN COMAUNDEMENTIS.**

[The following tract on the Ten Commandments is found in at least two different forms, beginning alike, but soon diverging. The one here printed is that found in the beautiful MS. Bodl. 789. The other may be seen in the following MSS., Laud 524, and Univ. Coll. 97. There are two other MSS., according to Shirley's *Catalogue*, at Dublin and in the British Museum; but I have not examined either closely.

The version found in the Laud and Univ. Coll. MSS. is considerably fuller than that here printed; but it is at the same time tamer, and less characteristic. It might have been written by any well-meaning priest living at the time, but the Bodl. MS. contains quite different touches. The attack upon non-preaching priests at p. 87, the assertion of the ultra-Puritan doctrine of dominion being founded in grace (p. 88), and the exhortation to the reading of the Scriptures (p. 90), if they do not prove the tract to have been by Wyclif, at any rate show it to be of Wyckliffite or Lollard origin. Now not one of these passages is found in the mild and colourless commentary of the Laud MS. I am inclined to think that the author—and I see no reason why it should not have been Wyclif—found a pre-existing commentary, which he used as the vehicle for the introduction of his views. The tract is ascribed to Wyclif by Bishop Bale, under the title 'Compendium Decem Praeceptorum.']

**Alle manere of men schulde holde pe comaundementis of God, for wijouten holdynge of hem may no man be savyd. And so pe gospel**¹ tellip how oon askide Crist what he schulde do for to come to hevene. And Crist seide, *3if jou wolt come to blisse, kep myn comaundementis.*

**Primum Mandatum.**

_Jis is pe firste maundement of God. God spak alle þiise wordis:_ I am Lord þi God, þat ladde þe out of Egipt, and

¹ So in BB; V has *as þe gospel.*
brouȝte þe out of servage, þere þou servedist men. þow schalt not have bifoire me alyen Goddis. þow schalt noon ymage have, graven wiþ mannys hoond, ne no leeknesse in hevene ne in erþe ne in watris; þou schalt not loute hem, ne worschiphe hem, for I am þe Lord þi God, a stronge gelous lovere; I visite wickidenesse of fadris into þe sones, þe priddle and þe ferþe of hem þat hatiden me, and I do merci unto þousandis of hem þat loven me and kepen myn hestis.

But, for manye men wenen þat þei kepe þiise maundementis, and ȝit þei lyven þere-aȝens, þerfore men schulden wite þat what maner þing þat a man loven moost, he makiþ his god; and so, syþþ þe al synne stondþ in love, everi heed synne is brekyng of þis heeste. And so þiise ten hestis ben as ten mirouris þat men may se hemself þyne. And siþþ þei ben þre synnes, as Seynt Joon seþþ, þat enwrappþ alle òpere, in þre maneris may a man breke þis maundement,—in þes þre, love of fleische, and love of eiȝe, and pride of liíf. And so glotouns and lecchouris breken þis heeste; as Poul seþþ, þat þes glotouns makyn hire beli hire god. For God biddþ þe seede þe in mesure, and ȝit þou passist þis mesure for lust of þi beli; þi fleische stirþ þe moore to do þat þi fleische askþþ; and so þou makist falsli þi beli þi god. And on þe same wise þe coveytous man makiþ his mawmet þe temporal goodis, as Poul seþþ þat averycþ is service of mawmetis. And so þe proude man makiþ þe seend his god. Þus it is in dede, howeþere oure mouþ blabre. And so preestis þat prechen moore to have a loos, ȝipir for wynynge of worldli goodis, ȝipir lustis of hire beli, makyn fals leeknesse in hevene and erþe and water. And þus mai men knowe how þese maundementis ben broykyn, boþe of preestis and of seculeres. And so in trust of ymagis many ben disceyved, in hope of help or helþe in a maner neede, as þe olde lawe and þe newe witnyssen. Þe Dedis of Apostlis, in þe seventeenþe chapter, seþþ þus; Siþþ God is Lord of hevene and of erþe, he woneþ not in templis maad wiþ hondis, ne he is worschipid wiþ mannys honde, for þat he haþ neede of any þinge þat man dopþ, siþþ he þiveþ unto alle liif, and wynde enspirynge, and al ȝipir þing. And of oþþ þinge he made al mankynde for to inhabite on al þe face of þe erþe, and tymes and termes, or habitatioun; for to
seeke here God. For in him we live, and in him we stir, and we ben also his kyn, as poetis seyn. And siȝte we ben þe kyn of God, us auȝte not suppose þat þat perteynyȝþ unto God is like unto gold or silver or ston, of þe craft of gravynge, or of mannis hond-worchrype. For þat þing þat is his to men, is abhominacioun before God. But, for we knowyn him litil, we loven him þe lesse. And þif we undirstoode þe miȝt of þe Fadir, þe wisdoom of þe Sone, and þe goode wille or grace of þe Holî Goost, we schulden be war to kepe hem soundeli, for bodeli þingis distractiþ men to kepe hem riȝt. And þis is sumdeel þe resoun¹ of þe firste maundement.

2 Comaundement.

Þe secounde maner maundement of God perteynyȝþ to þe Sone. Þow schalt not take þe name of þi Lord God in veyn, neþer in word neþer in lyynyng. Eche man takip Goddis name in veyn, þat sweriþ bi his name more þan is need. Crist techiþ in þe gospel to have oure wordis þus, þe, þe, and nai, nay, wiþouten ony oøþ. Ïere he doubliþ his wordis, as if he wolde seie,—þif þe seie þe in youre soule, seie þe wiþ youre moup, and be þe trewe men. For God techiþ bi Jeremie þe prophete, wiþ þe condiciouns it is leefful to swere. First þat þei be war þat þei swere treuþe, and þat þe cause of hire oþ be to schewe riȝt, and siþen, þat in jugement be it need to swere; and ellis schulde alle men kepe hem from oþis. For it is writen in Ecclesiasticus, þe þre and twenti chapitre, þere he seip þus; A man much sweringe schal be fulflied with wickidnesse, and veniaunce schal not go awey fro his hous. For soþe wiþ werst ȝeldinge schal be fulflied þe hous of him. But we schullen wite afterward, þat everi man beriþ þe name of God printid in his soule, for ellis he miȝte not be, as Seynt Austyn seip;—in þre þingis, mynde, resoun, and wille, and alle ben o substaunce. And so þe gospel techiþ þat þou schuldist on þre maners worshipe þe name of þi God, þat þou hast wiþ þee. Þow schuldist love þi God of al þin herte, of al þi soule, and of al þi mynde.

¹ corrected: resoun in Bodl. 789.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

Panne thou lovest thi God of al þin herte, whanne þi witte and þi power is oonli set on him, þat everi eende of þi werk is worship to þi God. Thou lovest God of al þi soule, whanne thou ordeynest al þi lif to worship of þi God. Also thou lovest þi God of al þi mynde, whanne thou forȝetist not þus to þenke on þi God; but þekinge is in dede as it is in mynde. On þis wise schulde men worshippe þe Trinite. And whanne a man doþ þat he schulde not do, or leveþ þat he schulde do, he takiþ in veyn þis hige and holi name. For no man is maad but to serve God, in doynge his wille or suffrynge peyne.

III Mandatum.

In þe þridde maundement God biddiþ have mynde to halwe þin holiday. In sîne daies þou miȝte worche, and in þe sevenþe day is reste of þe Lord God. In þat day þou schalt do no servile werk, ne no werk of synne, þou, ne þi sone, ne þi douȝter, ne þi servaunt, ne þin hand-mayden, ne þi werk-beest, ne þe straunger in þin hous. For in sîne daies God made hevene and erþe, and al þat is þerinne, and restide in þe sevenþe day.

Now it were to wite how men schulen halwe and kepe here holi dai. And siþ þe moost servile werk is worchinge of synne, eche man schulde on þe holiday kepe him out of synne, siþ þe Crist himself scip þat hosoevere doþ synne makþ himself servaunt to synne. And no þinge is worse þan þe occasioun. For we schulden spende þe holiday in heriynge of God, and ellipsis we synnen greetli in faylinge of his service; for þe moost hige service þat man can serve God þerinne, schulde he schape him to do on þe holidai. But God wole þat freedom of his lawe be kept, and specialli as Poul techip. But he war þat þou kepe þiise four feestis principalli, Christemasse and Estre, Ascension and Whitsountide, and þe Soneday þourþ þe ȝeer. For no feeste ne service is plesynge to God, but in as myche as it scharpþ a man to love oure Lord Jesus Crist. For upon þe Sunday God made þe worlde, and on þe Sunday God roos fro deep to lyve, and on þe Sunday he sente þe Holi Goost; and, as clerkis seyn, upon þe Sundai schal be þe laste jugement þat ever man schal have. And Cristene men schulde lerne
bi techinge of priistis, and bisie hem devoutli on þe holiday
to studie on virtues, and on þe ten comaundementis, and on þe
sevne dedis of merci, bodili and goostli, and speke wip men,
and specialli wip hem of hevenli þingis, and putte awai giles and
wrongis and opir synnes; and leerne we to love God in parfit
charite, and eende þerynne.

Pe IIII Comeundement.

Pe fourþe comaundement is þis. Þou schalt worschipe þi
fadir and þi moder, þat þou be longe lyved upon erþe, and þi
neþbore as þi self. And whoeuer loveþ his neþbore, loveþ
his God, and dwellþ in God and God in him. And so þes
twei braunchis of charite mowe not be departid, as Seynt Joon
seip in his firste pistil. He þat loveþ not his broþir þat he seeþ
wip eþe, how loveþ he his God þat he seeþ not? So as God
haft more resoun of love, for he made þe of nouþt, and kepþþ
þe, and medþ þe. And herfoþe seip Crist, He þat loveþ his
eldris moore þan him is not worþþ of him. And he worschipþ
his fadir and moder as he schulde do, þat kepþþ hem in nede,
bôþe bodili and goostli. So schulde ech man understonde þis
worschip as Poul techþþ. 3if þei ben nedi, helpe hem in resoun,
but make not þi kyn riche to gete þe a name, if þei suffice to
fynde hemosilf bi hir owene travail. For Crist cam of poore
men, and leet his modir be poore, and his poore cosynes; and
whanne þei askiden worschip and richesse of þe world, he
denyede hem þat, and ordeynede hem passiouns; and bileve
techþ us þat he dide al for þe betere. And so schulde we
serve him, 3if we been his children, and love him moore þan
þe worlde or oure veyne name.

Pe 5þþe Comeundement.

Pe 5þþe comaundement of God biddþ, Þow schalt not sle
þi broþir; and it is undirstonden of unskilful sleynge. And
here men seyn, þat men þat be killid bi mannis lawe been not
slayn of men, but þe lawe sleeþ hem, and hire owene dedis.
But witeþ wel, þis maundement is sibbe to many synnes. For
Seynt Joo seip, he þat hatiþ his broþir is a mansleer, þhe, ofte tymes moore to blame þan he þat sleeþ his bodi, for þe synne is moore. And bi þis skile a bac-bitere is a man-sleer. But, as clerkis seyen, upon sixe maneris is þis consent doon, and men schulden wel knowe it. He consentiþ to þe yvel þat wirchip wip þerto; he þat defendiþ and consciiliþ þerto; he þat bi whos auctorite is þe yvel don; or he þat wipdrawiþ his helþe or scharp reprevynte, whanne he miȝte don it and schulde bi Goddis lawe. And among alle synnes bi whiche þe seend bigileþ men, noon is moore sutil þan such consent. And þerfore þe prophetis of þe olde lawe tolden men hire periles, til þei suffriden deep; and in þis cause þe apostilis of Crist weren mattrid, and we schulde, þif we were trewe men. But cowardise and de-faute of love of God makþ us sterþe abac, as traytours don. And what troun we of þe Cherche, þat sellen men leve to synne, and givþ hem leve to last þerinne for an anuel rente bi þere? And persones þat leeven to traveile in here office, bi power of lordis and þyvynge of money, ben suffrid to lyve þus wiþouten prechinge. And so ofte tymes ben priiþis irre-guler, for þe multitude of souls þat þei sleen þus; and þis irregularite is moore for to drede þan irregularite chargid of þe worlde. For ofte tyme hit falliþ þat bi a medeful dede men been maad irreguler bi jugement of þe world, but bi þis irregularite ben priiþis dampeed of God.

þe VI Comaundement.

þe sixte comaundement is þis; þou schalt do no lecherie, bodili ne goostli. Goostli leecherie is whanne a man forsakþ þe love of his God for love of a creature; and þis leecherie is moost for to charge, for no lecherie is synne but þif þis be þere. And syþen ech mannis soule schulde be Cristis spouse, what leechour þat synneþ þus synneþ in avouterie, for he brekip þe marriage þat schulde be bitwixte Crist and him. But bodili lecherie is hard for to vencuse or maistir, in men þat norschen¹ here fleische stronge in kynde, for kynde meveþ to þe dede,

¹ should be norischen.
but not to þe synne. And heer seyn clerkis on þis wise, þat specialli in þis synne moot a man be coward, and þie occasioun þat meveþ to þis synne, and truste not in strenþe ne in witte. For what man was strengere þan Sampson? or who wiser þan David? or hwo moore witti þan Salomon his sone? and alle weren brennt wiþ þe fier of lust. And if þou wolt be Cristis clene child, fle as Godis coward þe cumpanye of wymmen. þe secounde medecyne þat helpþ aþens þis synne were to kepe þi bodi fro lusti fode, for fleisch þat is yvel fedde deliteþ þe lasse to þis synne. þe þridde medecyne aþens þis synne were a man to be bisy in clene occupacioun, for such lust comþ not but if þouþt go bifoþ. And þerfore occupie þi þouþt and þi bodi in clene occupacioun, and so fle þis synne, and be Cristis spouse, and dwelle þerinne.

**VII Mandatum.**

þe sevenþe commaundement is þis; þou schalt do no þefþe,—siþþe God þi fader is treuþe; and þif he be þi fadir, þou schalt not noye þi broþir in bodi ne in godis; ne þou schalt not desire no godis of him unskillfulli, to have in harmynge of þi neiþebore, pryve ne apeert. As comunes, bi false opis in chaffarynge and in questis, up trust of absolucioun, or on feyned pardoun, þat dewe restitucioun þenkeþ nevere to þelde; and marchauntis bi usure, under colour of treuþe þat þei clepyn chevysaunçe, to blynde wiþ þe puple,—for þe devyl schameþ to speke of þis þefþe,—and lordis, þat bi extorsiouns oppresse þe puple wiþ tyrauntrye and raveyne, aþens Goddis lawe, not dredynge him þat is Lord of alle. So eche man in his degree is boundoun to serve God. And þif he wante þis service, he is no lord of goodis bi no trewe title. For he þat stondþ in grace is verrey lord of þinges; and whomever failþ by defeute of grace, he failþ riþt title of þing þat he occupieþ, and unablþ himsilþ to have þe goodis of God. And so curatis of þe Chirche stelen þe goodis of God, þat comen in bi þe roof, and not bi þe dore, þat is Crist, ben nyþt þeves and dai þeves of simonie

* See the prefatory notice.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

of benefices, and sillynge of sacramentis. And herefore seip Crist, herde of alle herdis, pat piise ben stronge peves and cursid of God. As Zacharie pe prophete seip, he sau\ a book fleynge in pe eire, pat was of twenti cubitis longe and ten of breede; and he axide pe aungel of God what it miȝte be, and he seide, It is pe curse of God pat gop to alle peves houses. And siphe pis was sent for worldli goodis, se Anticristis clerkis au[3]ten sore to drede, pat pus lurken under lordis, as peves doon in wodis. Crist seip, pat may not lye, pat piise ben eves, siren ei taken godis of Crist, wipouten his leeve pat is cheef Lord, if ony suche been.

Phe VIII Comaundement.

In phe eiȝthe comaundement Crist forbedip alle men to speke fals witnesse aȝens here neiȝeboris. And pis is needful to execute phe lawe; for Goddis lawe and mannis lawe axen witnesse, and of suche witnesse comep jugement of man; and falshide of witnesse makip fals jugement, and so error in witnesse strechip ful fer. For many been diseritid and many been hangid by suche fals witnessis; and of pis spryngip mani fals eyres. Whoso witnesse fals, he witnesse aȝens treupe; and siphe God himself is treupe, he witnesse aȝens God. And so, whanne he witnesse fals, he takip God to witnesse pat pat ping pat he seip is trewe and of God; and siphe pat ping is fals, as muche as in him is he makip his God fals, and bringip him to nouȝt; for God may not be, but ȝif he be trewe. And ȝus berip noon fals witnesse but ȝif he reverse God. And alle phe seyntis in hevene and alle creaturis witnessen of here God aȝens him pat liep. But her seyn wise men, bi witnesse of seintis, pat pe craft of liyngge is evere moore unleefful, for it comep but of pe feend, pat first made lesynge. And if it were leefful, it worschipide Crist, pe meene persone of God pat is pe firste treupe. And perfor I dar seie, bi witnesse of hevene, pat noȝt contrariep Crist moore pat Dop doȝ lesynge. So pat if a man miȝte bi a prive lesinge save al pis worlde pat ellis schulde perische, ȝit schulde he not lye for savynge of pis worlde.
Wyclif's Works.

Pe IX Commandement.

In þe nynþe commandement God forbedeþ þe to covete þi neiþebores hous, ne noon opere þingis þat ben unmevable; as ben suche þingis as ben not on lyve, ne of power to meve hemself fro o place to anoþir. For no man haþ wrongli eny suche godis, but grounde of his havyng be fals coveitise. And as a weed is wel purgíd of a loond whan þe roote is drawyn away, so þiise foure maundementis ben wel kept whanne þe fals coveitise is fulli quenchid. And herfore seip Seynt Poul, þat þe roote of all yvelis is wickide coveitise in a mannys soule.

Pe X Commandement.

Pe laste maundement of God is boden in þese wordis;—þou schalt not desire þe wiif of þi neiþebore, ne his serveunt, ne his maide, ne þis oxe, ne his asse, ne no þing þat is his. And so in þis maundement is desire forboden, for ofte it falliþ þat þe synne is moore groundid in yvel wille þan þe dede wijpouteforþ. And herfore Crist oure hevenli losche forsendiþ suche desire.

And þus þese ten maundementis ben lawe surest of alle, and moost of autorte, and eke of moost nede. And siþe þiise ten lawis techen al þe wille of oure Lord, þis lawe schulden be holden, and opere lawis despisid, but if it be groundid in þis, and declare þis lawe. And so, siþe lawe of þe emperoure, and lawe of þe pope, is worse bi a þousand part, þat letten knowynge and doynge of Goddis lawe, and many men þenken þat Goddis lawe itsilf schulde be redde and learned and sued in rede, for hope of hevenli mede and drede of peyne to come, as þe prophete seip.

If þou kepe þiise maundementis þat God haþ bedyn þee, þe Lord schal make þe heijer pan alle folkis of kynde, and þere schullen come upon þe al þiise bessyngis. Þou schalt be blessid

1 The space of rather more than a page is here left vacant in the MS. dele and.

2 What follows is an abridged translation of the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy. It does not agree exactly with either of the Wycliffite versions, but is nearer to the earlier one than to the later.
in citie and in felde, and þou schalt be blessid, and þe fruyt of þi wombe, and þe fruyt of þin erpe, and þe fruyt of þi bestis. Blesside schullen be þi bernes and þi rekis; þou schalt be blessid in goynge and out-goynge; þin enemyes þat risen æzens þe schullen falle in þi siȝt. Bi o wei þei schullen come æzens þe, and bi seveñe þei schulen seele fro þi face. And upon þi werkis of þin hondis þe Lord schal bless to þee. And þe Lord schal opin his beste tresour, hevene, þat he þyve reyn to þi lond in his tyme. þou schalt leene to many folkis, and þou schalt not borwe to ŵoper. þe Lord þi God schal sette þe in þe heed and not in þe tailæ. þou schalt be evermoore above, and not undir, if þou kepist þe comoundemtis, and bowist noþer to þe riȝt side, ne to þe left side, ne hast not folwid alien goddis, ne heriede hem, ne worschipid hem. And þif þou kepist not þe comoundemtis of God, as I have seide bifore to þe, cursid þou schalt be in feelde and in toun; cursyd be þi bernys, and cursid be þe fruyt of þi wombe, and þe fruyt of þin erpe, and of alle þi bestis, ingoynge and out-goynge. And þe Lord schal sende upon þe hunger and blamynge in to alle þi werkis, in whiche werkis þou hast forsakyn him. And þou schalt have pestilence and fevure, cold, and brennynge hete, and corrupt aier. And þe Lorde schal caste þe doun bifore þin enemyes, and be þi careyn etyn wip beestis and foulis. And þe Lord schal smyte þe wip biel of Egipte in þe part of þi bodi bi whiche þou seendist out þi filipheedd; scabbe forsoþe and þicche, so þou mowe not be helid. þe Lord schal smyte þe wip maadnesse, and blyndenesse, and woodnesse of þost; and þou schalt grope in myddai, as a blynde man in darknessis. In alle tyme wrong chalenge suffre þou, and be þou born doun wip violence, ne have þou þat delyvere þee. A wiif take þou, and anoþer man slepe wip here; an hous bilde þou, and dwelle þou not in it. Plaunte þou a vynes, and kite þou no grapis of it; þin oxe be slayn bifore þee, and et þou not of it; and alle þin oþere

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* Probably an error for *reliz*; the word in the Vulgate version being *reliquiae*. Laud 524 has *releves*.

*b* A note in the MS., in a hand of the same age, has here, *biel, þat is a wounde*.

*e* The word in the Vulgate is *prurigine*.
beestis to pin enemies. Pi sones and pi douȝtris be pei takyn of oþir puple; pe fruyt of pin erpe, and alle pi travelis, ete pe puple ȝat ȝou knowist not. And be ȝou evermore wrong chalange suffringe, and born doun alle daiès. And pe Lord schal smyte þee wiþ moost yvel biel in knees and in sparlyveris¹, and mowe ȝou not be helid fro þe sole of þe foot unto þe nolle¹. And þi fadris and þou schullen serve to alien goddis, of tree and stoon. Muche seed ȝou schalt prowé into þe lond, and litil þou schalt gedre, for wormes schulen devoure alle þi fruytis. þe Lord forsoþe schal ȝyve to þee a dredful herte and failynge eieyn, and a soule wastid wiþ privey sorwe; þou schalt drede nit and day, and þou schalt not trowe to þi liif. Eerli þou schalt seie, Who ȝyveþ to me eeven? and at eeven, Who ȝyveþ to me eerlich? for drede of þin herte for þe þingis þat þou schalt see wiþ þin eieyn. Ferpermore all þe veniauncis þat ben not writen in þe volym of þis lawe, þe Lord schal bringe upon þee, to þe tyme þat he have alto trodyn þee. And þe schulen leve fewe in noumbre, þat weren bifore as sterres of hevene for multitude, for þou herdist not þe word of þi Lord God.

¹ The first Wycliffite version reads sparlyuers and nol.
III.

THE PATER NOSTER.

[It has been shown in the Introduction to this volume that there is no valid reason for connecting this tract, or the short commentary on the Ave Maria which follows it, with the other pieces included by Dr. Shirley under the general title of *Speculum Vitae Christianae*, the authorship of which has been clearly traced to Archbishop Thoresby. The authority of Bale, such as it is, may, I think, be produced in favour of ascribing this tract to Wyclif. In his longer list we find, Super Oratone Dominica, *inc.* ‘Docet nos Dominus Jesus Christus.’ This commencement is sufficiently near to that of the tract before us to make it probable that the same work is referred to, especially as it is immediately followed in all the four MSS. (V, Y, CC, GG) which contain it, by the tract Super Salutatione Angelica, or on the Ave Maria, the first words of which, as given in the Catalogue of Bale, manifestly agree with those of the extant work. Again, the tract on the Ave Maria, with which in all the MSS. this tract on the Pater Noster is so closely linked, bears in the Harleian text the name of Wyclif. No internal evidence points to Wyclif or any one else; but the fine concluding passage proves the writer, whoever he was, to have been a man of an elevated way of thinking.

The text is founded on a beautifully written MS. in the Bodleian Library (Bodl. 789).]

We schal bilee þat þis Pater Noster, þat Crist himself tauȝte to alle Cristene men, passiȝ opere prayers in þese þre þingis; in auctorite, in sotilte, and profit to Cristis Cherche. It passiȝ in auctorite,—for Crist, boþe God and man, made it for Cristene men to usen it; and he is moost of auctorite, as oure bilee techiȝ. And heerfor þe Gospel of Mathew seip þat Crist baad us praie þus. It passiȝ also in sotilte,—for we schal understonde þat in þese seven askingis is sótelli conteyned alle

\[1\] *ar*, V.
poynsis of þe worlde in whiche lieþ any witte; and so schortli to
comprehende so mucho witte in pleyne wordis, is a sotilte of
God passynge witte of men. Þe þridde, we schal suppose þat
no praier in þis world be moore profitable to man, siþþe Crist
himsilf heriþ alle.

Þe firste askynge of þe Pater Noster stoondeþ in þese
wordis;—

Oure Fadir þat ert in hevenes, halwid be þi name:
In whiche wordis we mowen leerne, þat men worþi to be
herd moten be knyt togidere in charite and meeknesse of herte.
Siþþe alle Þe holi Trinite is fadir of us alle, and holi Cherche is
oure moder, we schulden love ase breþeren. And siþþe God
is so hiþe in hevene above alle his angelis¹, and we ben so lowe
in erþe, wrappid wiþ many mischeves, we schulden bi resoun
be meekke and buxum to þis Lord, and meekli praie to oure
fadir þat halwid be his name; so as his name is holi in himsilf,
so be his name halwid and stedefast in oure soule. For whanne
oure soule was maad to þe leeknesse² of þe Trinite, Goddis
hiþe name was preentid þerinne.

Þe secunde askynge of þis praier stoondeþ in þese wordis;
Þi rewme come to þee;
into þe blisse of hevene. And as þe firste askynge answeriþ
to þe Fader, so þis secunde askynge answeriþ to þe Sone. For
he is þat noble man þat cam doun unto þe erþe to gete him
a rewme, and aftir tournede aþen. Þe rewme of þis Fadir is
clepid holi Cherche, þat at þe day of doom schal go hennys
to hevene.

Þe þridde askynge seþ þus;
Þi wille be doon; as it is fulli doon in hevene, so be it doon
and³ in erþe:

And þis þridde askynge answeriþ to þe Holi Goost, for he
is good love of þe Fader and þe Sone. And al þif þese askyngis
moten needli be fullillid, neþþeles mannys soule, lift up wiþ
charite, is wiþ desire hiþed wiþ God, and þat is a praier. Þus
we seien, blessid be God, and oþer þingis þat nede moten be.
And þes þre askyngis be to þe holi Trinite. And þerfore we
schapen oure wordis oonli to God.

¹ So Y; V has aunghlis.
² lyknesse, Y.
³ om. Y.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

The secunde part of pis praiere conteyne foure askyngis.

First we prayenoure fader,—

To give us oure eche days breed to day:

And pis may be understanden wel on pere maneris togedre, as Seint Austyn seip a, bi wit of God Almihti. First we asken oure bodili foode, for to serve oure fader; after we aske pec sacrament, to have mynde of oure fader; and after we asken Goddis woord, to fede wip oure soule. And for we have neede of alle pes eche day, perfore Crist clepeth hem, oure eche dayes breed. And for we shulden be trewe and ete oure owene breed, and not wip wrong ete oure neijeboris breed, perfore Crist techieth us to aske of him oure breed. And for Crist wolde pat oure hope were fresshid in him, oure post and oure mynde and al oure desii, perfor he biddieth us aske pis mete of him to day.

The secunde askynge of pis part is seid in pese wordis;

For3if us oure dettis, as we for3ive to oure dettouris:

The first petition of the second part.

The second.

The secunde askynge of pis part sue? in pese wordis;

For3if us oure dettis, as we for3ive to oure dettouris:

The secunde part of pis praiere conteyne foure askyngis.

First we prayenoure fader,—

To give us oure eche days breed to day:

And pis may be understanden wel on pere maneris togedre, as Seint Austyn seip a, bi wit of God Almihti. First we asken oure bodili foode, for to serve oure fader; after we aske pec sacrament, to have mynde of oure fader; and after we asken Goddis woord, to fede wip oure soule. And for we have neede of alle pes eche day, perfore Crist clepeth hem, oure eche dayes breed. And for we shulden be trewe and ete oure owene breed, and not wip wrong ete oure neijeboris breed, perfore Crist techieth us to aske of him oure breed. And for Crist wolde pat oure hope were fresshid in him, oure post and oure mynde and al oure desii, perfor he biddieth us aske pis mete of him to day.

For3if us oure dettis, as we for3ive to oure dettouris:

The first petition of the second part.

The secunde part of pis praiere conteyne foure askyngis.

First we prayenoure fader,—

To give us oure eche days breed to day:

And pis may be understanden wel on pere maneris togedre, as Seint Austyn seip a, bi wit of God Almihti. First we asken oure bodili foode, for to serve oure fader; after we aske pec sacrament, to have mynde of oure fader; and after we asken Goddis woord, to fede wip oure soule. And for we have neede of alle pes eche day, perfore Crist clepeth hem, oure eche dayes breed. And for we shulden be trewe and ete oure owene breed, and not wip wrong ete oure neijeboris breed, perfore Crist techieth us to aske of him oure breed. And for Crist wolde pat oure hope were fresshid in him, oure post and oure mynde and al oure desii, perfor he biddieth us aske pis mete of him to day.

For3if us oure dettis, as we for3ive to oure dettouris:

The first petition of the second part.

The second.
Leed us not into temptacioun:

So it is that Crist was temptid, and God temptid man for love, but hard it is and gressous peyne to be lad into temptacioun. Whanne a man of his folie fallid into pe myre of synne, riȝtful jugement of God wol make him synke deppere. And herfore we prayen oure fader that he lede us not in to temptacioun, lest we comen nevere out.

And herfore pe laste askynge of pis part is seid in pisse wordis;

But, gracious Fader, delyvere us from alle yvel:

Pe werste yvel of pis worlde is wickidenesse of synne, siȝte a man for no þing schulde willen to synne, siȝte for pis worlde, ne nouȝt þat is þerinne, schulde any man do synne. But siȝte summe synnes ben moore worse þan oþere, in pis last askynge we prayen delyverement of þe worste. Pe werste is þe develis synne, þat man dieȝ ynne wiþouten repentance, þat evere schal be punysschid; and þis þe gospel cleþiþ synne aȝens þe Holi Gost. God for his grete merci kepe us fro þis yvel, and þanne schal we have everlastynge freedam.

In ðe eende of þe Pater Noster, Amen is þe signet of þe Lordis praier, whiche word þe Ebru translatoure, Aquyla, interpretid, 'and þe Lord confermede.' Ciprian on þe Pater Noster seþ, whateuer oþir wordis þe desire of him þat praieþ fourmeþ in bifoire-goynge, þat it be cleer, oþir addiþ afterwarde, þat it encreesce, we seie noon oþir þinge þan þat is conteyned
in ðe praiyr of ðis Lord, ðif we praien riȝtli and covenabli. For whanne a man seiþ, Lord, be þow glorified in alle folkis as þow erti glorified in us, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þat, ði name be halwid? And whanne a man seiþ, Lord, schewe þi face to us, and we schulle be saaf, what oþer þinge seiþ he þan þat, ði rewme come? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, dresse my steppis up þi spechis, what oþir þing seiþ he þan, ði wille be doun? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, þif not povert ne richessis to me, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þis, þif us to-day oure eche daies breed? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, have mynde of David and of al his myldnesse, and, þif I have ðolden yvelis to hem þat ðolden yvelis to me, falle I voyde fro myn enemyes, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þis, Forþive to us oure dettis, as we forþyven to oure dettoures? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, do awey fro me þe coveitise of þe wombe, what oþir þing saþ he þan þis, Leed us not into temptacioun? Whanne a man seiþ, My God, deþyvere me fro myn enemyes, what oþir þing saþ he þan þis, Delyverus us from yvel? And þif þou rennest aboute bi alle þe wordis of holy praierys, þou schalt fynde noþing whiche is not conteyned in þis praiyr of þe Lord. Whoeuer seiþ a þing þat may not perteyne to þis prayer of þe gospel, he praiþ bodili and unþustli and unleeffulli, as me þenkiþ. Whanne a man saiþ in his praiery, Lord, multiþlþ myn richesses, and encreese myn honouris, and seiþ þis, havyng þe coveitise of hem, and not purposynge þe profit of hem to men, to be bettir to Godward, I gesse þat he may not fynde it in þe Lordis praiyr. Þerfore be it schame to aske þo þingis, whiche is not leefful to coveyte. If a man shameþ not of þis, but coveytise overcomþ him, þis is askid, þat he deþyvere fro þis yvel of coveytise, to whom we seyn, Delyverus us from yvel.

**HERE ENDIþ þE PATER NOSTER.**
IV.

PE PATER NOSTER.

[The only ground for ascribing the following treatise to Wyclif, besides internal evidence, is the fact of its being found in a volume of Wyclif's sermons at Wrest Park. (See Shirley's Catalogue, No. 64, English works). The style much resembles, I think, that of Wyclif. There is a remarkable passage near the end, where the writer speaks of the obstacles thrown in the way of those who were endeavouring to preach the gospel generally among the people, but mentions no definite forms of persecution. Hence I should judge that, if by Wyclif, this treatise is, compared with most of his English works, of early date, composed after he had sent out the 'poor priests,' but before persecution had commenced.

Two other copies, for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Bond and Mr. Furnivall, have come to light since the appearance of Dr. Shirley's Catalogue; one at the British Museum (Harl. 2398), the other in the possession of Mr. Corser. The present text is taken from a correct transcript of the Harleian MS., made by Mr. Brock.]

SYPPE PE PATER NOSTER IS PE BASTE PRAYER ṭAT IS, FOR IN IT MOT ALLE OPER PRAYERS BE CLOSED YF YEY SCHULLE GRACIOUSLYCHYE BE HURDE OF GOD, PEFORE SCHOLDE MEN KUNNE ĠIS PRAYOUR, AND STUDIE PE WYT PEOROF. AND SYPPE PE TREUPE OF GOD STONDEP NOUȝT IN ONE LANGAGE MORE ĠAN IN ANOHER, BOT WHOEVERE LYEȝ BEST, TECHEP BEST, PLESEȝ MOST GOD, OF WHAT LANGAGE EVERE HE BE, PEFORE ĠIS PRAYERE, DECLARED EN ENGLYSSCHE, MAY EDIFYE PE LEWEDE PEPEL, AS IT DOȡ CLERKES IN LATYN. AND SYPPE IT IS PE GOSPEL OF CRIST, AND CRIST BAD IT BE PRECHED TO PE PEPEL, FOR PE PEPEL SCHOLDE LERNE AND KUNNE IT AND WORCHE PEFTER, WHY MAY WE NOUȝT WRYTE IN ENGLYSSCHE PE GOSPEL, AND OPERE PYNGES DECLARYNG PE GOSPEL, TO EDIFICATION OF CRISTEN MENNUS SOULES, AS PE PRECHEOUR TELȡ IT TREWELYCHYE AN ENGLYSSCHE TO PE PEPEL? FOR BY PE SAME
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

resoun þat it scholde nouȝt be wyte, it scholde nouȝt be preched. Þis heresyne and blaspheme scholde men putte oute fro here hertes, for it spryngeþ up by þe fende, þer as Crist sayþ, þe fende is fader of lesynge. And so þe kynreden of Pharyseys is cursed of God, þat loveþ nouȝt Jesus, as Seynt Poul sayþ, bot letteþ þe gospel to be lerned of þe peple. For yf þer be any sotilte lyȝtere þan oþer, for to kunne a craȝte þat is nedeful, he þat can þis sotilte and wol nouȝt teche þe lerner able þerto, he is cause of his unknunnyng. And so wrytyng of þe gospel in Englysshe, and 1 of goode lore accordyng þerto, is a sotilte and a mene to þe commune peple, to kunne it þe betere. Who loveþ lasse Crist? who is acursid of God, bot he þat letteþ þis mene? for he is Sathanas contrarie to Crist. Bot þes wyckede kynrede wolde þat let þe gospel sleþe; bot, for þey bere þe name of Crist, þey preche somwhat þerof. And þus dude þe Machamete and Surgeoþ þe monk, whanne þey made a lawe after þer owene malys and toke somwhat of þe gospel to a fleschlyche understandyng, so þat þurgh þe lore of hem heþene folk to þis day beþ oute of here byleve. And þus þis evele kynredene 2 telleþ nouȝt hollyche þe truȝe of þe gospel, for þey leveþ contrariouslyche þerto [as her dedes shewen] 3; and Crist bydþ þis his children deme after þe werkes.

Leve we now þis mater, and speke we of þe Pater Noster þat Jesus Crist made. Þis holy prayer is ful of wyt, and conteyneþ vij axyngeþ. Þe fyrste axyngeþ answereþ and perþeyneþ to þe worshcep of þe Godhede. Þe fyrste perþeyneþ to þe Fader, to whom power is apropyed, of whom, as sayþ holy wryt, is alle power in hevene and in erþe. And þe secunde answereþ to þe Sone, to þe whiche wysdom is apropyed; as Seynt Poul sayþ, In him beþ alle tresoures of kunnyng and of wysdomhud. Þe þrydde answereþ to þe Holy Gost, to wham is apropyed love; and þerfore sayþ Seynt Jon, God is charite, and he þat dwelleþ in charite dwelleþ in God, and God in him. And þe oþer foure axyngeþ perþeyneþ to proþytþ and helþe of mankynde, bôþe gostlyche and bodylyche. And so þis blesseþ þe vyrge in þe speciale poynþes, in

1 From EE; om. DD. 2 kynrede, EE. 3 From EE; om. DD.
auctorite, in sotylte, and profynt to Cristes Churche. In au-
torite it passeþ, for Crist, boþe God and man, made it, and
tauþte it his disciples; and syþ he is þe wysdom of þe Fader,
men scholde hertelyche love þis prayer by cause of þe makere,
and wyt conteynede 1 þer-ynne. In sotylte it passeþ, for in so
schort a prayer is conteyned so muche wyt þat no tonge of man
may telle it al here in erþe. And syþ þe a craft of gret sotylte is
muche y-preysed of worldlyche men, muche more scholde þis
sotylle gospel, þis worþy prayer, be loved and preysed of Cristes
dere children. It passeþ oþer prayers in prophyt to holy
Churche, for al þyng þat nedþe to a man gostlyche and body-
lyche, is conteyned in þis prayer. And syþ þe it is so schort,
and so muche medelyd þer-ynne, to hem þat þe of goed wylie,
none excusacioun is to man rekened in þis prayer.

Wherfore, whenne þe disciples axede Crist how þey scholde
praye, Crist seyde to hem, þey scholde nouȝt wylne to speke
muche as heþene men doþe; þey weneþ 2 to be yherde in here
muche speche. Wille þe nouȝt þer-fore, seþ Crist, be lyche to
 suche men. Bot whanne þe schulle praye, seþ þus, Fader
oure þat art in hevenys, yhalwed be þy name. And so he tauȝte
hemoute þis prayer; bot be þou syker, noþer in Latyn noþer in
Frensch, bot in þe langage þat þey usede to speke, for þat þey
knewe best. And here is a reule to Cristen men, of what lan-
gage evere þey be, þat it is an heye sacrifice to God to kunne
here Pater Noster, þe gospel, and oþer poyntes of holy wryt
nedeful to here soules, and þey to do þer-after, wheþer it be
ytolde to him or wryten in Latyn, or in Englyssche, or in
Frensch, or in Duchyssche 3, oþer in eny oþer langage, after
þat þe peple haþ understondying. And þus clerkes scholde joye
þat þe peple knewe Godes lawe, and travayle hemself busylyche,
by alle þe goede menes þat þey myȝte, to make þe peple knowe
þe treuþe. For þis was þe cause þat Jesus Crist bycam man,
and suﬀrede deþ on þe croys, so þat by kepyng of his lore þe
peple myȝte ryse fro deþ, and come to þe lyf þat haþ none ende.
And yf any clerke wolde contrarye þis, who schal be damptned
bot suche a quyke fendþ?

1 So in EE; þat conteynþþ, DD.
2 the whiche weren, EE.
3 Duþbe, EE.
Therefore he sevene askynges of his prophetable prayer scholde men lerne, and reule hemselfe perafter.

There firste askyng, pat is answeryng to Fader, is seyde on his maner, Faderoure pat art in hevenes, whalwed be hy name. Of his wytty lore of Crist may be meved pre questions. There firste, why we seyeoure Fader, and nought my Fader. There secunde, why we seye, pat art in hevenes, raþer þan, in hevene. There þrydde, why we seye, halwed be þy name, seþ þe þame of God in himself may nouȝt be appaired noþer amended.

As to þe firste, we schulle wyyte þat Crist, whanne he tauȝte ous to seyeoure Fader, he betoke ous mekenesse, and bad ous þe praþ, and þat we, so lowe and so synful wrecches, whanne we hadde mynde of heynesse and þe power of ous God, and þerto of grete grace of þis rych Lord, we scholde love him þe more, and myldelyche aske of him, as þe childe of þe fader, þyng þat ous nedeþ. For þe grettere þat a lord is, and þe more gracious þat he is to pore men, þe more he is to be loved. And þerfore seþ þe Crist, Lerneþ of me, for I am meke and mylde of herte, and þe schulleþ fynde reste in 3oure soules. Wherefore we alle scholde be meke, and specialyche prestes, and nouȝt boste of here holynesse and gode dedys þat þey supposeþ þat þey have ydo, but wylne for to have of gode dedys of here broþeryne, as here broþeryne desyreþ to have part of herys, and so sulle þey nouȝt to opere part of here meritys, namore þan þey wille bye part of opere mennes. For boþe it is symonye, and also it longeþ to God to partye suche meritys, and it is nouȝt in erþelyche mannes powere. Late God þerfore dele [hit] as him lykeþ. þus techeþ God in þe gospel, and seþ þus, Whanne þe have do alle þyng wel, seþ þeþ, we be unprofetable servantþ. And þus knowynge ous owen wyckednesses mekelyche in þis prayer, we schulde clepe Godoure Fader, and nouȝt my Fader, by styynkyng þryde holdingþ ous self worþyer to God þan opere trewe men.

As to þe secunde poynþ, why we seye þat art in hevenys, raþer þan in hevene, we schulle understonde þat hevenes in þis place beþ understonde Cristen mennes soules, þe whiche, as holy wryþ seþþ, beþ þe seeles of God. And so alle þylke þat schulleþ be in blysse after þe dome, ryþtwylcheþ may be cleped...
holy Churche. But now holy Churche is seyd to be disposed on dyvers maners. First it fyght here in erpe, and restethe nouȝt clerlyche fro synne, bot yit by travaile and sorwe of herte desyreþ to come to blysse; wherefore it is ryȝtylyche yclepyd þe fyȝtyng Churche. To þis Churche spekeþ Crist, and seþþ, Beþ stronge in bataille, and fyȝteþ wiþ þe olde serpent, þe devil, and þe schulle take everlastyng kyngdom. On þe secunde manere is þe Churche yseyd to be disposed, for þulke þat beþ passed out of þis worlde, and yit beþ nouȝt come to reste of lyf in blysse, bot restþ þat beþ in purgatorie, and suffreþ payne for synne, abyding þe mercy of God to delyvere hem out of payne. And whanne þe Churche is þus disposed, it is ycleped þe restynge Churche; and her-of spekeþ Seynt Poul whanne he seþþ þat fuyr schal preve þe worke of everyche. On þe þrydde manere is holy Churche yseyd to be disposed, for þulke þat þat beþ ypassed fro sorwe and Payne to joie everlastynge, have overcome þe synne and sorwe of þis worlde, and beþ passed Payne, þat comeþ bot for synne, and have wonne þe reste of everlastynge blysse; and herefore it is ycleped þe Churche of overcomyng. Of þis Þ Churche spekeþ þe prophete and seþþ, Seyntes schulle joye in glorie. And so al holy Churche schal be overcomyng after þe day of dome, and be oute of myschef of þe worlde and alle opere paynes, and be in joye wiþ here spouse Crist Jesus, þat techeþ man to be meek, and to suppose Þopere as goed oþ betere þan he, by þe dedys þat he seþþ reuled by Cristes lawe; and so to seye mekelyche in prayer, Oure Fader þat arþ in hevenes, and nouȝt in hevene, as þf he supposeþ nouȝt his broþer as goed as himself.

As to þe þrydde questioun, how þe name of God [may be halowed, we shuln understonde þat þe name of God] 8 in himself may nouȝt be holyer þan it is, and yit it is seyd to be maad holy whenne Cristen mannes soule 4, lyche þe holy Trinite, is reuled by brennyng love after Cristes lawe. For take a berille-ston, and holde it in a cleer sonne, and soþe maist pou wiþ tendre gete fuyre of þat ston, to do þerwiþ what þe nedep. Ryȝt so put al þy mynde, al þy

1 So in EE; abydeþ, DD. 2 So in EE; þus, DD. 3 From EE; om. DD. 4 So in EE; mennes soules, DD.
soule, to þe verray sone of Crist Jesus, and þou schalt cacche hete, and brennyng love to þy God, and þou schalt have lyȝt of understondyng by þe techyng of his lawe, as muche as is nede-
ful to þe, and ensample of goede lyvynge to þy neyȝebores
bysyde. And ryȝt as þe berille-ston take nouȝt heteth for to ȝevé
lyȝt bot by þe sonne, and þe sonne schyne nouȝt in þe
berilleston for to make himself bryȝtere or hattere, bot þat
þe berille may take heteth and ȝeve lyȝt bot þe sonne, ryȝt so
Crist techeþe ous nouȝt to prayþ þat his name be halwed,
for þat we scholde make him more holy in himself, bot
þat we þurgt þresynget of him, and trewe reulyng after his
lawe, mowe be maad holy and brenynge in charite to God
and to ous euen Cristen; as þe tendre
wex makeþ no
preynte in þe seel, bot þe seel makeþ a preynt in tendere wex.
Also þes proude clerces, symoniers, silleres of pardoun and
indulgences, of confessiouns and ȝper holy dedys, false law-
yours, wyckede jurïours and cursedë advocatþ, disseyvable
notaries, and alle fals aquestis, grete swerers, vengeable fendys,
þroughe men, and coveytous glotouns, and lecheours, bacbiters,
and pursuers of Gods trewe servantþ, and ȝper suche lymes of
þe fende, may nouȝt medefullychse seye, Fader oure þat art in
hevenes, yhalwed be þy name, tylle þey amende hem of here
evel lyvynge. And þerfor seyþ Crist in his gospel, Noȝt every
man þat seyþ to me, Lord, Lord, schal entre into þe kyngdom
de hevenes, bot he þat doþ þe wil of my fader schal entre into þe kyng-
dom of hevenes.

Þe secunde part of þis worþy prayer, þat in a maner is
apropried to þe Sone, is seid in þes wordes, Come to be þy
kyngdom. Þe kyngdom of God in holy wryt is understonde on
dyvers maners; and so here it may ryȝtlyche be take for þe
fyȝtyng Churche, þe whiche wolde desyre to regne in blyss
wiþ Jesu Crist her spouse, as sone as it is his wille. For upon
þis condicion we scholde desyre, as Seynt Poul techeþe ous, to
passe out of þis wrecchede lyf and come to þe blyssse ever-
lastyng, for þat is muche betere. And syþþe Crist is þat noble
man þat cam fro hevene into þe lowe erþe, to take ous for his

1 So in EE; untendere, DD. 2 jurïours, EE. 3 aquestis, EE.
4 So in EE; fro þis, DD.
kyndom, þat byfore were y-lost þurgh Adamis synnes, and þat suffred ðe ðe on þe rode-tree, and bouȝte ouþ alle æsen to joye of þe Fader, for savacioun of mankynde, wel may þe trewe Cristen peple be clepyd Godys kyngdom. And ryst as we beþ tæȝt in þe fyrst axynge, to destroye pryde by verraye mekenesse, whanne we seyeþ, Fader ouþ þat art in hevenys, halewede be þy name, ryst so we þe þytaȝt in þys secunde axynge to destroye enuye æzens ouþe even Cristen wip parſyte charite, whanne we seyeþ, Come to þe þy kyngdom. And as it is nedeful in þe firste axynge, to destroye pryde by verraye mekenesse, whanne we seyeþ, Fader ouþ þat art in hevenys, halewede be þy name, ryst so we þe þytaȝt in þys secunde axynge þat we have hope, þat alle þylke þat we supposeþ be his kyngdom schulde regne wip him in blyssy of hevene.

Þe þrydde axynge of þys holy prayer, þat is answeryng to þe Holy Goost, is y-seyde in þese wordes; Be þy wylle ydo in erþe as it is in hevene. By þese wytty wordes we beþ þytaȝt to have gode wille to ouþe even Cristen, and to reule ouþe soules after þe Holy Goost, and nouȝt after þe lyste of þe flesche; for þe spiryt coveþ þe contrarious to þe flesche, and þe flesche to þe spiryt, as Seynt Poul telleþ. And ryst as in þe fyrst axynge we beþ þytaȝt to have parþyþ feþþ, and in þe secunde gode hope, so in þe þrydde we beþ þytaȝt to have parþyþ charite to God and ouþe even Cristen. For þe most of þese þe vertues, as Seynt Poul techeþ, is charite. For feþþ and hope schulle cesse in man whanne he comeþ to blyssy. For instede of feþþ he schal have clere syȝt in soule of þe godhede of Crist, and clere bodyliche syȝt of2 þe manhede of Crist; and instede of hope he schal be syker, and have parþyþ joye; and so feþþ and hope schulleþ be ychanged, and charite schal waxe more and more, and laste wiþoute ende. And þus seþ Seynt Poul, þat now we seeþ God by myrrour and in þer syȝt, by Scripture and feþþ; bot þanne we schulle see him as he is, whanne we comeþ to blyssy, wyþ eye of body and eye of soule. Þefore praye we God þat his wylle be don here in erþe among synful men, þurgh amendeþent of here lyf, as it is ydo yn hevene among

1 From EE; om. DD.  
2 So EE; in, DD.
his glorious seynʒ wiþoute medlyng of synne. Nowt þat he ne may make his wylle to be do in erþe wiþoute oure prayere, bot þat we, in charite þus prayenge, mowe be corouned in hevene blysse. But, for þat it is corrupt ¹, it greveþ þe soule, as Seynt Poul telleþ. And yf we seye þat we have no synne, we deþeyþ ous self, and treuþis is nowþ in ous, as Seint ² Joon telleþ. Þerfore, whyle we beþ in þis world, we may nat so parfytyliche do þe wille of God as seintʒ in hevene, for corrupcioun of bodyliche unstabelnesse of lyf. And Þerfore Crist techeþ ous utterlyche to praye, Be þþ wille ydo in erþe as it is ydo in hevene; bot nowþ so parfytyliche in erþe as it is in hevene. And þus, as we beþ ytauþ þis þirste and in þe seconde axynge to destroye pryde and enviþe wiþ mekenesse and charite, so we beþe ytauþ þis þridde axynge to destroye wrappe wiþ verray love of herte. And Þerfore seþ Crist, I þeue you a newe maundement þat ye love togedere as I have loved you.

Þe secunde parte of þis Pater Noster is yordeyned of God for þe infrimite of man, as þe þirste perteyneþ to þe worschepe of þe godhede; and it conteyneþ þe peticious, and þese, wiþ oþer foure, makeþ sevene axynges in þis holy prayer. Þe þirste of þes foure is seyd on þes wordes. Oure echeday bred þef ous to day. Þis peticious, as Seynt Austyn telleþ, ryþfulliche is understonde in þe maners. Ferst þat þis breed betokeneþ oure sustaineunce, and alle oþer sustaineunce, and alle oþer necessaries nedeþful to oure body. And for God ³ made alle þynges to help of mankynde, Þerfore we scholde axe þes þynges of God as wilfullyche for oþer as for ous self; and þus wiþ goode wille and largenesse of herte we scholde desire oure neþybores profyte, as we wolde þat hy ⁴ desired oure. And þis is þe remedye ægens þe ⁵ cursed covetyse. And for man nedeþ everyche day bodilyche sustaineunce, Þerfore þese necessaries may wel be cleped ech eþes breed. Also by þis breedþe, in þe seconde manere, ys understonde þe lore of Godes worde. For ryþt as brede saveþ a mannes herte, and makeþ him stronge to bodyliche travaye, so þe worde of God makeþ saad a mannes

¹ for the body that is corrupt, EE.
² So in EE; seintʒ, DD.
³ From EE; om. DD.
⁴ be, EE.
⁵ om. EE.
soule in þe Holy Gost, and stronge to worche after þe lore þerof. And þis breed is more nedeful þan þat oþer firste breed, as þe soule of man is worþyere þan his body. For whanne þe body lyþ stynkyng in þe grave, panne þe soule is parfyghtlycheyclensed fro synne, and joyeþ in blisse of Jesus Crist here spouse. And þus yf, þurgh þe negligence of oure byschopes and prelaty, and oþer false techers þat beþ in holy Churche, þe truþe of Godes word be nouþt ysowe in þe peple, praye we Jesus Crist byschepe of oure soule, þat he ordeyne prechours in þe peple to warne hem of synne, and telle hem þe truþe of God. And he þat enspiryde þe prophets wiþ kunnyng and wysdome, and tawþte þe apostles þe weye of al truþe, lyþte oure hertes wiþ understondyng of his lore, and graunte ous grace to worche þerafter. And specialiche, for ous nedeþ eche day þis breed, þerfore pray we mekelyche, Oure eche dayes breed þeye ous to-day. On þe þrydde manere, by þis eche dayes breed is understonde þe sacrament, verray Godes body in forme of breed, þe whiche was ybore of þe mayde Marye, and sufferde harde payne and deþ upon þe croys, to delyevere man fro payne and deþ wiþouten ende. And þerfore Seynt Austyn seþ, þat yf we have rescyved oure Creatour dayes of oure lyþ, ous nedeþ to have þis byleve, and so every day rescyve God, and þus every day to praye, Oure eche dayes breed þeye ous to day.

Þe secunde peticioune of þis secunde part of þis Pater Noster is seyd on þes wordes, Forþeye ous oure dettes as we forþeye þoure deltoures. By þese wytþe wordes of oure Lord Jesus Crist, mowe malicious men and venerable wrecches knowe þat þey beþ in þe weye to helleward, as longe as þey dwelleþ in here cursede malice. For by þes dettes beþ understonde þe synnes aþens Gode; and so everye day ous nedeþ to praye God forþeyeþnesse of oure synnes. And Crist techeþ ous, þat we schulle praye God forþeyeþnesse on þis condicioun, þat we forþeye þerþe. And so, yf we praye God to forþeye ous oure synnes as we forþeye hem þat trespassþe aþens ous, and þerto holde malice in oure herte, we þey oute of charite, and makeþ oure synnes more grevous byfore God, and aþeþ verray vengeaunce to ous self of God þe hye Justice. And þerfore techeþ Crist and seþ, Bot yf þe wolle forþeye þerþe men þe trespassþ þat þey have trespassed

The second.
to 30w, ne my Fader of hevene shal nouȝt forȝeve to 30w ȝoure synnes. Þerfore God byddeþ ȝous to putte away al malice of ȝoure hertes, þat we may be ysaved. Lo þe goednesse of God! how it ȝous to penaunce draweþ, and techeþ ȝous to fleye slouȝe for to turne to him. And þerforþ techeþ þe bouke of Wysdom, þat we scloldye nouȝt taryþ to be ytturned to God; for yf we do, we synneþ in slou þe of Godes service.

Lyft up, wrecheþ, þe eyȝe of ȝoure soules, and byholdeþ him þat no spot of synne was yyne, what payne he suffrede for synne of man. He swatte water and blod, to wassche þe of synne; he was ybounce and ybete wip scourges, þe blod renynþg adoun by his sydes, þat þou scholdest keþ þy body clene in his service; he was corouned wip scharpe þornes, þat þou scholdest þenke on him and fleye alle cursede malice; he was nayled to þe croys wip scharpe nayles þurȝhe honden and feet, and ystonge to þe herte wipþe a scharpe spere, þat alle þyne fyve wyttes sclold be yrueled after him, havyngþ mynde on þe fyve precious wounds þat he suffrede for man. And ryȝt in al þis grete payne þis innocente prayde for his enemys to his Fader, and seyde, Fader, forȝeve hem þis gyſt, for þey wyteþ nouȝt what þey doþ. Lat þis sterþe: ȝowre hertes to putte away slouȝe, and to serve God wip verrey busynesse, to worche after his lawe, and so mekelyche praye oure Fader to forȝeve ous oure trespasses, as we forȝeveþ oure trespassours.

De þrydde peticioun of þe secunde part of þis² holy praiere folweþ in þese wordeþ: *And lede ous nouȝt into temptation.* By þese wytty wordeþ may we lerne, þat þe deþel teþem men evere to an yvel ende, and God temptede neþere man bot to a goþt ende; for þus we redeþ þat he temptede Abraham, and it was aritted³ to him into ryȝtwyssnesse. Bot þe deþel temptede Crist, to make him to synne in glotynyþe and veynglyorie and coveteþye. And so Crist teþem ous nouȝt to praye þat þe be nouȝt ytempted þe þeþe, syþþe þat temptaciuon of þe þeþe þrofyetþ muche, yf it be wipþonds. For, as Seynt Jame seþþ, þat man is blessed þat suffreþ temptacion for whanne he schal be prevyd, or whanne þat he is prevyd, he schal þake þe coroune of lyþ þat

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1 *stare*, EE.  
2 So in EE; *bis*, DD.  
3 *arretid*, EE.
God hath beheyzt to hem pat lovez him. And þus Seynt Poul was tempted of þe synne of lecherye, wherefore þryes he prayde God þat he myȝte be delyvered of his temptacioun. And God answerede him Þzen, My grace sufficeth to þe. And he himself knowelecheþ þat þis temptacioun was nedeful, laste he scholde have had vayn glorie of þe þryve synþes þat he sawe, whanne he was ravsched into þe þrydde hevene. Þerfore praye we nouȝt God þat we be nouȝt ytempted, syþe it is so profyt-able, bot praye we God þat we be nouȝt overcome, and þat he lede ous nouȝt into temptacioun. Þat man is yseyde to be lad into temptacioun, þat þurgh his wyckeþ and unrepentant herte continueþe evere in his wyckeþ lyvynge, and so is overcome in temptacioun. And þus it is to be understande þat God hardede Pharaohis herte for þe mysbyleve þat he hadde to God, and þe malice þat he wrouȝte to Godes peple. And so, as we beþ ytauȝt in þis ȝoper prayere and axynge to destroye sleuȝe in þe service of God in verray busynesse of herte, to knowe his lore and worche þerafter, so we beþ ytauȝt in þis peticion to destroye gloteny and lecherye wiþ discrete abstinance and chastite of herte. And for þes two beþ synnus of þe flesche, and þat on noryscheþ þat ȝoper, is a þe more perilous yt a man in him falle. Þerfore praye we oure Fader þat he lede us nouȝt into temptacioun, ne suffre ous nouȝt to be overcome in þes synnes, ne in none ȝoper. For yt we beþ, oure wyckeþ lyvynge and oure wyckeþ þouȝtes beþ cause þerof, as God seþþ by Jeremye þe prophete.

Þe fourþe peticion and þe laste of þe secunde part of þe Pater Noster is yseyd in þis manere: Bot delyvere ous from yvel. We schulde understande þat every synne is yvel; and so of alle synnes þat beþ yrkezen in þis ȝpraier we schulle praye God þat he delyvere ous, boþe of yvel þat we dop in þis worlde, and of yvel of payne þat wyckede men schulle have onelyche for synne. For payne comeþ nevere to man bot because of synne. And

1 So in EE; conteyneþ, DD. 2 bit is, EE. 3 So in EE; wordes, DD.

* A glance at the commentary of De Lyra will show, that while the Fathers spoke doubtfully as to the exact meaning of the 'stimulus carnis' from which Paul suffered, the grosser mediaeval mind interpreted the words unhesitatingly of the temptation of sensuality.
so on fyve maneres comeþ payne for synne. Payne come to Crist to bigge mannes synne; and payne comeþ to dampnyde men forto venge synne in þis worlde; and payne comeþ to Cristes children to purge hem fro synne; and payne comeþ to oþer men to schewe þat God hateþ synne, and to kepe hem þerfrom; and payne comeþ to wyckede men to punysche hem evere for synne. And so, as God is þe beste þyng in þe worlde, so synne is worse þan any oþer þyng; and þus men scholde flee synne as al maner of yvel. But sithe synne ægens þe Holy Gost is worst of all oþer, for, as Crist seþ, þat schal nouȝt be forȝeve in þis worlde ne in þat oþer worlde, þerfore specialiche praye we God to délyvere ous from þis yvel. Þat man synneþ ægens þe Holy Gost, þat to his lyves ende is rebelle ægens God, [and so dyþe in dispeir, and goþe to payne wiþeouten ende. And he is rebel ægens God] 2, þat is rebelle ægenst his lore. And þerfore seiþe Crist 3, whoso loveþ nouȝt me, he keþe nouȝt my word. And þus everyche man þat loveþ nouȝt Cristes lore, he loveþ nouȝt Jesus Crist, and þus, as Seynt Poul seþ, he is accursed of God. And þerfore seyde Crist to þe Jewes þat were contrarie to his lore, and pursuuede him for truȝe, þat þey scholde deye in here synnes. And so þes men þat contrarieþ to þe gospel and to þe epistle, and wolde lette it to be ypreched, and pursuwe þe trewe telleres perof, loveþ nouȝt Crist, and þus þey schulde deye in here synne, bot yf þey amendem hem whyle þey haveþ tymne.

Wel we wyteþ þat þe scríbes and þe Pharyseus and þe princes of þe prestis, in Jesus Cristes tymne, were more contrarious to his lore þan were oþere commune peple; for þorghe 4 entysyng of hem þe peple cryde, Do him on þe croos. Þe scríbes were wyse men of þe lawe, and also þey were þe clergie of þe Jewes. Þe Pharyseus were men of reliquioun, þat made customs, and kepé hem for lawe; and þus þey sette more by here lawes þat þey hadde maade, þan þey dude by þe lawe þat God ȝat to hem and to þe peple, þat was sufficiente to be reuleþ by 5. Bot þus, under colour of perfeczioun, þey were departed in customs, in cloþyngis, and in many oþer doyngis fro þe commune peple, as

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1 So in EE; DD has by synne.  
2 The passage within brackets is from EE; om. DD.  
3 These three words are from EE.  
4 From EE; om. DD.  
5 So in EE; DD has reuled by him.
\[ WYCLIF'S \ WORKS. \]

\[ \text{pe maner of religious is nowe. A Pharise is as muche for to seye as departed in doynte; pey bere\ph here names. Jes yprocrityte were most contrarie to Crist, and pe peple wrou\st\te muche after here lore. And perfere Crist, as pe gospel wytesnesse, ey\st\te tyme seyde wo to hem. And ones pey reprefede Crist, for his disciple wesche nou\st\t here honde\s whanne pey scholde eete, as here custome was; and Crist axede hem, why pey breke Godes hestes for here feynede lawes. Byholde now wel pese condiciouns, and loke where men do\p after hem o\p\p worse, and so pou schalt yknowe pe kynreden of pe Phariseus. And pe\s fayners of holynesse pursue Crist in his membres, as pe Phariseus pursuede Crist bodilyche. And yf pey seye \hat God is here fader, and his lawe pey kepe and here reule bope, understonde \hat Phariseus breke pe lawe \hat God yaf to hem and to pe peple, for here feynede reule \hat hy himself ordeynede. And \p\p, yf pe\s yprocrityte seye\f \hat hy\p kepe\f here reule and Godes lawe bope, bot byholde here dedis. For pe Jewes seyde to Jesus Crist, \hat God was here fader; bot Crist answerede hem a\p\p, \hat yf God hadde be here fader, pey scholde have yloved him. And yf pe\s were trewe Cristene men, pey scholde nou\st pursue Cristes membres for prechynge of pe gospel. And so by here dedys pou schalt knowe hem, and perfere Crist bydde\p to trowe to pe workes. And perfere tehce\f Seynt Johan, \hat whoso bryng\f nou\st pe lore of Crist, pou schalt nou\st to him seye, Hayl, in confortyng of his synne, ne rescyeve him into \yn hous, for yf pou do, pou art partyner of his synne. Praye we perfere hertelicheoure Fader, \hat he delyvere ous from yvel of Phariseis, \hat is synne a\p\p pe Holy Gost, and yf ous grace to love his lore in herte, and to werche perafter in dede, \hat we may come to him in blyse, and wonye wi\p\p him in joye wi\p\poute eny ende. Amen. \]

\[ 1 \textbf{tei}, \textit{EE.} \quad 2 \textit{om. EE.} \]
V.

AVE MARIA.

[This tract is mentioned by Bale, under the title 'Super Salutatione Angelica.' It also, as has been already mentioned, bears the name of Wyclif at the end, in the Harleian MS., 2385. If written by the reformer, which seems to me very probable, it must have been an early composition. The language used respecting indulgences (p. 112) is less trenchant than that which he was accustomed to use in his later years, and the general tone of the composition milder. This tract is found along with that on the Pater Noster, No. III, in all the MSS. which contain the latter.]

Men greten comynli oure Ladi, Goddis Moder, and we suppose that his gretynge savep many men. For we taken as bileve that sche is blessid in hevene, and Crist wol do at hire praynge among alle openere seyntis: al if we trowe that neither Crist ne sche wole do for men, but it be resonable, and men ben worhi to ben holpen. And so many men folili truste to suche praier.

In þre parties comunli þis preier is devyded. Þe firste part conteyneþ wordis of Gabriel whiche he seide unto oure Ladi;

Hail, ful of grace, þe Lord is wiþ þee:

Þe seconde part been wordis þat Elizabeþ spak to hire, whanne sche seide;

Blessid be þow among wymmen, and blessid be þe fruyt of þi wombe:

Þe pridde part haþ two wordis encresid, for devocioun. First men seien, Heil, Marie, þat Gabriel lefte in his gretynge, to teche us þat he was homli and knowen wiþ þis ladi, and þerfore wolde he not nemne þis name of Marie. Þe seconde word

a Y has here 'And so now men truste to be holpyn fully in suche prayer,' which completely alters the sense.
is Jesus, added to Elizabeth's wordis; and pis word lefte þe gospeler, to teche þat Marie hadde but a child, and þis child was Jesus, þat is Savyour of mankynde; but þis ful longe after þatoure Ladi was greet þus. þe firste word, þat is Ave, re-
versiþ þe name of Eva, to teche us þat oure Ladi contrariede Eve in lyyng. For as Adam and Eve weren cause of dam-
pnacioun of mankynde, so Jesus and Marie ben cause of mannis salvacioun. þe seconde word of þe angel seiph, oure Ladi was ful of grace. And man may be ful of grace on þe maneris bi Godis lawe. First of himsílf, as Crist was þe firste quyke well of grace, for of Crist spronge grace unto alle men after him. And oure Ladi was ful of grace as a stronge ful of water, and þat grace plenteousli boþe to ðopere men and wymmen. Seynt Stevenes was ful of grace, þat suffride to his lyves eende for to bringe himsílf to blisse; and so ben manye ðopere seintes. And so God is wiþ alle creaturis, but speciali wiþ men þat schal be saved, but moore speciali wiþ þe chaumbre of his manhod, þat was oure Ladi Marie. But boþe þe angel and Elizabethe seyn þat oure Ladi is blessid amonges alle wymmen þat ben, for gendrure of such a child. And so þe bigynnynge and þe endyynge schulde be blessid of Jesus, þat is fruyt of þe wombe of oure Ladi Seinte Marie.

þe þridde part of þis gretynge addiþ to two wordis to þe gospel, þat ben Marie and Jesus, and ben two devoute wordis. But, for it is hard men to grounde hem, siþe Goddis lawe seiph þat men schulden not upon greet peyne adde unto Goddis word; it is seid þat þe pope giþþ greet pardoun to men þat adden þes wordis. And bi þe same skyle þat men schulden trust to any pardoun *men schuld truste to þis pardoun*, be it foure score dayes or moore. And as þe pope may giþe pardoun bi addinge of þes two wordis, so maye he adde ðopere mo, and wiþdraue, as him likiþ, and so turne Goddis lawe into lawe of Antecrist. Þeþer mooten men graunte þis weie, or seie þat þis was yvel doun, or seie þat heer was first a defaute, kep unto popis to amende. And þerfor þenken many men þat þo wordis of þe gospel weren wiseli sette in þe gospel wiþouten

1 om. Y. 2 The words between asterisks are from Y; om. V. 3 From Y; om. V.

Wyclif.
any variynge. And many men ſenken over,—if suche pardoun miſte be grauntid liȝti ſip lasse travall, hit schulde be grauntid generalli unto men ſat devoutli seiden ſes names. And so myȝte pardoun be geten, to seie eche day our Ladi sauter, ſhe, ten þousand þeeris in o þere¹. Truste we unto wordis of þe gospel, and worschipe we Jesus and Marie ſip alle oure miȝt.

¹ So in Y; V has day.
VI, VII, VIII.

[The three short pieces which follow, and which are included by Dr. Shirley under the heading of Speculum Vitae Christianae, are of little importance. That on the Apostles' Creed is attributed to Wyclif by Bale, under the title 'In symbolum fidei.' It certainly gives indication of Lollard sentiments. The two other short pieces follow Tract VI. in the Lambeth MS. (Y), but are otherwise, apparently, unknown. The text of all three is founded on a transcript from the Lambeth MS.]

VI.

[ON THE APOSTLES' CREED.]

Hyte soj pat beleve is ground of alle vertues, and perchore eche Cristyn man schulde be sad in beleve. Per be pre credys in je Chirche,—crede of je Apostelys, and crede of je Chyrche, and crede of Attanasy, pat was a gret doctour. But of je fyrste crede schulde Cristyn men speke, ffor yt is more comyn and more schortyr pat eny oþer. Ne bysy we us nat what pat apostyl made, ne what party of is holy crede, and whan pat apostelys gaderyd yt; ffor oure beleve techis us pat God ordeynyd hyt al, and bad pat men schuld cun hyt, and teche yt to oþer. And ȝif prelatys faylyn in þis, Christ seyde þat stonys schulde cry; and secker lordys schuld, in defawte of prelatys, lerne and preche þe law of God in here modyr tonge. Ne study we nat how many partyes ben in þis holy crede; ffor soj it is þat alle þese partyes ben conteynyd in þre. And herfore men seyn þrys, þat þey trow in God. Ffyrst þey trow in þe Ffadyr, for he ys fyrst persone; aþyr þey trow in Jesus Crist, be dyvers artyclys; and syþe þey trow in þe Holy Gost. And eche on of þese þre partyes contenys many partylys. But we schul wele wyte, þat þese thryngys ben wel

\(^1\) qu. eche?
sotel and divers. Trow in God, and to God, and trow God; 
pat ys þe lest. Pat man levys in God, þat cleves to hym be 
charite; and þus eche man þat ys in hed synne is owt of 
his beleve. That man trows to God, þat beleven þat he is 
trew and ryȝtful in al þynge þat he seyp; and þus do unkende 
men, þat trow not in hym. Pat man trows God, þat trows 
þat he ys; and so do develys þat trow not in hym.

Þe fy rst part of þis crede conteynys þre articulys. Ffurst þat 
men schulde trow in þe fy rst Person, þat ys þe Fadyr of hevyn 
and power of God. And so schulde men trowe þat he is 
almysty; so, if he wyl aȝt be don, he dos hit whan hym lykys. 
And so þe pridde artycule stondys in þis, þat he made of noȝt 
bope hevyn and erpe. And þit schul men trow þat Almyȝty ys 
comen to þre personys. Almyȝty ys þe Fadyr, almyȝty ys þe 
Sone, and almyȝty ys þe Holy Gost. ȝit schul not men trowe 
þat pesic ben þre almyȝty goddys, but on God Almyȝty.

The secunde part of þis crede begynnys at Jesus Crist, and 
towchis xiiij artyculis þat stondis in ordre. Ffurst men schuld 
trow in Goddys word, or his Sone. Aftyr men schuld trow 
þat he becom man, stondynge his godhed, þat he myȝt not lese. 
The pridde tyme we schuld trow, þat þe Fadyr of hevyn has but 
on suche sone, eyvn wip hym in kende, and þis ys Jesus oure 
Lord, be godhed and be manhed, sythen he made us of noȝt, 
and bowȝt us fro synne. The iiiij artucle of þis parte seys, þat 
Crist was consevyd of þe Holy Gost, nat as oþer men gete 
childryn be kynde; sethyn þis person ys no man, but þe Holy 
Gost, þe whycye ys lyf be sum propryte. And most tokyn of 
lyf þat God wold schewe to man was, þat he wold take oure 
kende, and become oure broþer. And þerfore we beleve þat oure 
Lord Jesus was consevyd of þe Holy Gost wiþowe mannys 
genderynge. The fyfte tyme we schuld beleve, þat oure Lord 
Jesus was born of þe virgyn Marie, as of his owne modyr, þat 
was ever virgine wiþowe knowynge of man, alþow Crist tok 
of hire materê of hys body. And seȝyn sche norischyd hym 
withynne, as oþer childyr ar norschid; but he went owt of here 
body be myracle, as he was formyd. The vj tyme we schul 
trowe, þat aftyr xxxij þer he suffrid hard passioun, undir Pounce 
Pilate, for to by mankynd and mayntene trewþe. And so he
was don on þe cros, and aften ded and beryyd. Sethen his sowle went to helle, and toke owt þe sowlys þat he ordeynyd to save before þis world was made. And sethyn, upon þe thrydde day, his sowle com to his body, and quykyd hyt as befor, and ros owt of þe sepulcre. And sethyn, when he hadde eft þyme schewyd to his discipulis his resurreccioun, he steyʒ up to hevyn as þey saw opunly. And þer he syttyd now, in best sete þat may acorde to man, an[d] þat ys callyd þe ryʒt syde of God þe Fadyr. And at þe laste he schal come doun here to man, and jugge sum to blysse and oþer to helle, for ever-more to be þere withoutyn dwellynge here.

The thrydde part of þis crede begynnys at þe Holy Gost, in wham we schul trow, sethyn þat he ys God. And vj articulis ben knyt to þis part of þe crede. Fyrst we schul trow þat þer ys general chirche of angelys and seyntys in hevyn, and of alle þat schul be savyd; and þis, aftar þe day of dom, schal be withouten synne with here spowse in endles joye, and iche on have joye of oþer. And no man here in erþe ys parte of þis chirche, but if he come to hevyn be his holy lyvynge. And þus men lakkyys knowynge wheþer þey ben partys of holy Chirche, þor þey schuld nat boste of heynes in here prelacy. But þey mot leve aftar Crist þif þey schul be savyd; þor þus techis oure beleve, however Antecrist werke. And so þis Chirche has þre statys be processe of þyme. Fyrst he wandrys here in erþe, and sethen he slepys in purgatory, and aftar he restys in blysse of Crist þat ys here spowse. And so, as sum men þynke, þese popys ne þese prelatys ar nat parte of holy Chirche, but of synagoge; sethen þey mot leve aftar Crist þif þey schul be savyd. Þus techis oure beleve, howevyr Antecrist grucchis. And schul we trowe so¹, þat ech parte of þis Chyrche commovys and helpis oþhir, boþe here and in hevyn. But in hevyn þey schul yn reste have joye of here blysse. And so schul we trow, þat ech part of þys Chyrche schal have ful remissiou of synne þat yt has don in body and in sowle, with glorye in ham bothe, and so evyr lyve in blysse. Amen.

¹ read, so schul we trowe.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

VII.

[ON THE FIVE OUTER WITS.]

The be-hovys to know thy fyte wyttys, þe utyr and þe ynnyr, and to spend hem in good use, and in þe lovyng of God. þe fyrst ys syȝt of eye; þe toþer heryng of ere; þe þyrd tast of mowþ; þe þerþe smellynge of nese; þe fytþe handlynge or towchyng of membris. Kepe so þy syȝt, þat þou se noþyng þat ys not leful to se, or may harme þy sowle. And kepe þy heryng so þat þow here no eyyl speche, or þynge þat is nat honeste ne profitable. And kepe so þy tast, þat þou swolow no more þan ys nede, or myster 1 to þy bodily sustynaunce. And kepe so þy smellyng, þat yt make þe nat to ete over moche, ne delite not over mekyl in smellyng; ne ugge þou not wiþ sekenesse of þyn evyn Cristyn. And kepe so þy towchyng, þat þou wiþdraw þe fro schameful towchyng, or handlyng bare of man or of womman. Handyl þou not unhonestly þyself, ne noon oþer, ne let non oþer towche þe unhonestly. For ðif þy flesche neghþ þe ony towchinge unclene, þou may not þe dede eschewe.

VIII.

[ON THE FIVE INNER WITS.]

Deþe ben also þy fyte inwyttys; Wyl, Resoun, Mynd, Ymagynacioun, and Thogth. Lok þat þy wyl be good and holy, and loke þat þy resoun rewle þe, and nat þy fleschly lust; and loke þat þy mynde be good and honest. And lok þyn ymagynacion be spedyng in lovyng of God, and not be set to harm or schame; and loke þy thowȝt be groundyd in þe joy of hevyn. And drede þe peyne of helle, and þynk not over mekyl in þe vanite of þe world, but þynk devotly on þe passion of Crist.

1 read, mynisteris.
in wo and in wele, and he schal helpe þe in al þy nede. These be þe wittys þe whiche God has gevyn us to know hym wiþ, and to rewle us thorwþ wysdam, and leve\(^1\) holy lyf, as good servauntys of God schuld do, and eschewe perelys of synne, and for to come to þat joye þat God has ordeynyd us to be made fore, to þe wiche joy he us brynge, þat deyde for us up on þe rode. Amen.

\(^1\) read, lyve.
IX.

[ON THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS.]

[The evidence connecting the following tract with Wyclif may be deemed tolerably satisfactory. Besides being mentioned by Bale, under the title of De Peccatis fugiendis, it is the first tract in a small MS. volume (Bodl. 647), nearly all the contents of which are known or reputed to be by Wyclif. The Bodleian Library has a second copy of it (Douce 273), and there is a third at Dublin (Trin. Coll. Dubl. c. v. 6). The text is based on Bodl. 647, a MS. written in the West Midland dialect. The internal evidence proves the tract to be of Lollard origin, but no more. Yet the passage about the right to resume church endowments if misused, (p. 154), sounds like the voice of Wyclif; as does also the rough humour in the comparison (p. 139) of the feats of a knight to those of a hangman. The mention of the romance of the 'batel of Troye,' were it necessary to understand it of the version made by Lydgate, would indeed fix the date of the composition to a period subsequent to Wyclif's death. But, not to speak of the old and well-known French version of Guido delle Colonne, which had been long in circulation, an English metrical version is known to have been made by John Barbour, author of the Brus. See Morley's English Writers, vol. ii, part 1, p. 432.]

SYNNE IS FOR TO DREDE1.

CAP. I.

Sip byleve teches us pat everiche yvel is ouper synne or comes of synne, synne schulde be fled, as al maner of yvel. And sip no jing is fled by wisdome of mon, bot if po harme of pat jing be knowen, everiche trew mon schulde wel knowe.

1 These words appear as a sort of heading to the treatise in the Bodleian MS.
synne, and so schulde he knowe þo frut þat buriones þerof. Al maner of yvel is ouþer synne, or elles peyne, þat comes bot of synne. And so in fyve maners comes peyne for synne. Peyne come to Crist for to bye synne, and peyne comes to dampened men for to venge synne. Peyne comes to Gods childer to purge hom of synne, and peyne comes to mony men to kepe hom fro synne, and peyne comes to ouþer men to schewe þat God hatis synne. And so, as God is þe beste þing in þo world, so is synne þo worste þing in þo world. And so, where alle ouþer þingis ben Gods creatures, synne is made wiþoute God, as Seynt Jon seis. So þat synne is clepid noght for þis enchesoun; for noþing is creature in þat he synnes, and so nouþer fende ne mon is yvel bot for synne; and so synne is worse þen ony creature; and God hatis more synne þen any ouþer þing. Synne is so yvel, þat for al þis world a mon schulde not synne, þe, lijly in his þost; ne God may not bidde a mon for his godenesse do synne; ne synne may not serve God, alþof hit profite. Ne synne of oure first fadir myȝt not be bot bot by God and mon, þat is above angel. If þou fleest deþ and ouþer maner peynes, fle þou more synne, for hit is myche worse. For peyne is gode medicyn þat Crist hymself toke to heele mon of synne, for savyng of his right. Ffor rightwisenes of God may not suffer synne, but if he punysche hit, even after þo malice. And þis is cause þat þo peyne þat Crist sufferd for mon mot be principal cause to make aseþ for synne. God may suffer peyne, but he may not synne, ne he may not suffer synne, but in his owne creature peyne is joyned þerwiþ. For elles al were noght, and synne were more þan God, and mayster owver his right. And so þo worste servise þat a mon may have is servise to synne, for þo Lord is worste.

If a mon synne ageyne þo Holy Gost, hit may not be for-gyven, more þen synne of þo fende. þat mon synnes ageyne þo Holy Gost, þat to his lyves ende is rebel ageynes God; and þis mon mot have synne wiþouten ende, siþ in þat ouþer world is no medeful penaunce. Synne is calde dedly, for hit brings in deþ boþe to body and to soule wiþouten any ende; and synne is cald venyal, for Gods Son forgyves hit. Men schulden be war wiþ al synne, for perel þerof, siþ þei knowen not dedly
synne fro venyal, as þei witten nevere wheþer þis synne schal evere have ende, or þat þis mon schal be damned for hardyng in his synne.

**CAP. II.**

Al maner of synne þat comes to mon is of sum enemye contrarye to his soule. þo fende, and þo worlde, and monnis owne flesche, stiren hym to coveyte ageynes Gods wille. And so ich one of þes haves thre synnes, for ich one takes at other, and þese maken seven. Pride, envye, and wrath ben synnes of þo fende; wrath, slouthe, and avarice ben synnes of þo world; avarice, and gloterye, and þo synne of lechorye, ben synnes of þo flesche. And þus we haven seven, and þese seven cisters ben so knytted togedir, þat one brings in alle þo oþer cisters. Bot of þo synne of pride is first for to speke.

Pride is wicked liif of a monnis hyenesse. As God askes ordir in al þis worlde, so everich part of þis worlde ordeynes he to serve hym in a gode mesure, acordyng wiþ anoter. And if mon or aungel passe þis mesure, þen he synnes in pride ageynes his God. And so hit is seide þat pride bygan wiþ first aungel þat wolde be even wiþ God; not þat ne Lucifer wiste þat God moste be above hym, bot he coveyted an ordir in servise of God whiche þat God wolde not, bot oþer meke servise. And so hit semes þat iche mon synnes in pride in þat þat he synnes ageynes his God. And so for sex causes falles a mon in pride. FÞirst for hyenesse þat he hafs of giftis of grace; as men þat ben ypocrisis hyen hom in holynes, and somme men hyen hom in witte þat God haves gyven hom, and sum men hyen hom in giftis of kynde, as sum men ben proude of bodily strenght, and sum men ben proude of bodily bewte. Somme men ben proude of godes of fortune, as of happe þat hom fallen, or richesse of þis worlde. And on þo sevent maner may a mon be proude by alle þese causes, or mony of þese togedir. And whenever a mon loves to myche his owne hyenesse for any of þese giftis, he synnes in pride. And so a proude mon mysusis Gods giftis, when he þonkes not his God mekely for hom. Bot sith Seynt Poul seis, and byleve teches us, þat a mon haves noght but þat he haves of God, iche mon
shulde mekely serve his God aftir þo giftis þat he hafs of hym. As he were a fole worthy to be scorned, þat had godes of men onely to serve hom, and were proud of þes godes in þat þat he mysused hom, and made hymself unworthy for to use þese godes, and be punischid for hom, and for to leese hom. And so iche proude mon hyes hymself for þat þat he schulde have sorowe, as an ypocrite schulde bisy hymself to large his holynes. But now he dos þo contrarie, for he feynes hym holy by mony fals sygnes; and þis is one condicioun of þo fadir of falshed. And by þis ypocrisye ben mony men desseyved, and specialy by falshed of prelatis and prestis. And falshed is ground of schewyng of þis synne; ffor iche holy mon hafs holynes of God to profit to his neghtbore by þe wey of treuthe, and not for to gab to hym veylyn by his falshed. And by þis fendes synne ben mony men disseyved.

CAP. III.

Also mony men ben proude of hor conyng; ffor, as Seynt Poule seis, Science blowes men; þat is to sey, mony for conyng hyen homself to myche, and bosten by pride. On two maners may men synne for hor conyng; as somme men gyven hom to conyng of monnis science, þat is unperfite to regarde of oþer, for science of God and science of kynde is myche more perfite þen crafft made of mon. And þitte clerkes and seculeres studyen in monnis lawe, and done mony wronges for monsuse þerof. Bot for þo service is foule in hymself, one cister of pride, þat is covetise, is taken wiþ þis science, and marres þo Chirche. As laweres for hor covetise distourblen myche folk, and so þei synnen ageyns homself, and eke ageyns þo puple. And þus synnen men of craftis of honde; for wiþ what craft þat a mon may most wynne richesse, þat gladlyest he uses, and leves Gods science. Bot science of God is most nedeful, sith iche mon mot nede serve his God; and science of God techis Gods wille. And no mon may serve a lord, bot if he witte his wille, and herfore dyvynite is evere more nedeful. In þo state of innocense mon schulde have coned divinite, and in þo state of synne mon mot nede serve God. And he serves hym not wil, but ȝif he kepe his comaundementis; bot how schulde he
kepe hom, but if he knewe hom? And so iche mon here mot nede con divinite, somme more and somme lesse, if he wil be saved. Ffor in þo state of blis schal iche mon be a divyne, better þen any mon is here, for þerin stondes his blis. And so, if men traveilen wel here in þis service, þei ben more disposid to con hit in heven. And þitte þese wrecchid craftis, for þei ben more wynnyng, maken men more proude in hit and in araye. But men þat schulden be professoures of science of God synnen many weies aboute þis science. As somme men hiden þis tresoure, and delen hit not aboute; and ȝette þo more þat hit is delid, þo more hit encresis. And þis is myche more synne þen to hyde gold. Somme men þer ben, professoures of divinyte, þat feynen lesyngis by lawes of men, and whan þei schulden preche Gods lawe to þo puple, þei tellen lesynges, or ȝeþer fablis, þat ben unpertynten to þo lawe of God. And summe men done auoultrye wiþ þo lawe of God, and turnen hit oute of his kynde, to plese wiþ þo puple. And so wiþ beggyng, and pride of hor speche, þei sellen Gods worde, as who schulde selle an oxe. Nereþoles Crist teches, siþ þat his science is frely gyven to him, hit schulde be frely delid. And, for telyng of Gods lawe schulde moste profit his Chirche, þo fende is ful bisye to lett þis gostly profite.

CAP. IV.

Bot as men ben proude for ȝiftis of grace, so þei ben proude of ȝiftis of kynde. As somme men ben proude of strenght of hor body, and boþe men and wymmen ben proude of hor bewte, and somme ben proude of hor grett kynde. But generaly, if þou wilt þe pride in þis, þenke hou þou haves borowid al þis of God, and he hafs lent to þe al þis to þis use, to serve hym in mekenesse aftir þese ȝiftis. And if þou kepe þis reule, what gode evere God hafs lente þe, þou kepis þe fro pride, as aungels in heven. If God hafs lante þe bodily strenght, kepe hit to his servise, and not to þo noye of þi neghtbore; and so þenke mekely, be þou nevere so strong, how feble þat þou schall be byfore þat þou dye. And if þou be proude of schappe þat God hafs gyven þe, þou schulde wil knowe, by witte þat he hafs lante þe, þat in iche ston, or other foule body, is as feyr schap as
any of these things. And so some men of generous heart, or.pdf

or strenuous heart to scheme to make them small wastes, or strenuous heart to scheme to make them strong legs, seem to change God of gifts that he has given him, and amend him in his craft as if he failed to remember. And in this pride of men who wear the making of their bodies, so that commonly, from head to foot, men deform their bodies by their foul attire, as pictures of the cloak and garlands of hedges, and tattering of clothes, being opened witneses. A manner of attire that comes to men's bodies must be measured by this rule. If he would flee pride with sorrow and meekness, realized by reason, he should look at what attire would do profit to his body, and after this end get for himself his clothing. Men should remember how God made them in their state of innocence without any clothing, as angels or bests; and because of his sin this ape made them clothing; and this is no matter of pride but of sorrow. And so in all manner of attire should reason rule men, as they did not sin in pride of quantity or quality; as a cleric or a friar may sin by pride in value of his clothes and largeness of hom, and have as much pride in wearing a knight as in his strait apparel; and more harm be done in wasting of God's good. And nerepenses we should know, that costly dispenses harm unto poor men against rightwisnes. And so all manner of pride harms to Christ's Church. And if you ask of proud men reason of this, these apes say that such attire makes them apply, and you must confirm them to the world, as they ask. But Lord! where is reason of men that speak yours! For right as a last schulde sample a schoo, so schappe of body, that hasn God schapen mon, schulde sample his cletyng, as myche as hit helps hym. And Seynt Poul biddles us file as syle to confourme us to the worlde, sith hit is our enemy.

* I cannot understand 'leefing.' The reading of the Douce MS. is leesynge, which perhaps means 'loosening' or 'loosening;' the lax drapery of the priest or friar being contrasted with the close-fitting attire of the knight.
**EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.**

**CAP. V.**

Bot as anentis fairnes of a monnis body, hit is right veyne ping, if hit be wil soght, sith sayrnesse wil fade wip wynde and sonne, and nowther mon ne wommon schulde pryse hym of his bewte, if he þenke wil how he schal be deed. Ffor mon when he is deed is mony weyes more foule þen any oþer caryone of oþer dede bestis. Lord, what schulde move þe to be proude of þis fairnesse, sith hit profites not to þo soule, and is of litel last-yling? And, as Seynt Bernarde seies, a mon while he lyves is a seck ful of drytt, and þat is litel bewte; so if al þo filthe þat a mon haves wipinne were turned outwarde, hit were a grett peyne to be nye such a mon, bothe to hym and to oþer. Herye we mekely þis Lord, þat hydis þis filthe.

And as anentis pride of monnis kynn, Adam was most gentil mon aftir Jesus Crist, and he come of erthe, as oure byleve teches. And so iche mon, þe, Crist, was made of erthe, and so ben wormes and monny foule bestis. And so hit is a folye, a mon to be proude for nobley of his kynn, for alle we comen of erthe. And comynly gentil men and hye in þo worlde ben synful men as oþer men ben, and no men ben more bonde, sith þei serven to synne. And sith synne is þo worst þing and foulest in þo worlde, no bondage is more þen to have synne. And sþ oþre kynraden was synful, and so bonde to þo fende, how schulde men bot schame to be proude of hor kynn? If we take hede to stories of men, lordes of þo worlde by trechorie and raveyne ben comen to hor lordschipps; and þis makes no gentil mon; and bondage to men, 3if a mon be virtuouse, makes a mon to be fre to God. Ffor þo first bondage come bot of synne, and bondage to men come of tyrauntrye; and so as two brether ben bothe illiche noble, so alle men schulden be even gentil in kynde. Have we nobley of oure fader and moder, þat ben Jesus Crist and his spouse, holy Chirche; ffor by þis noble kyn we schal be gentil in heven. Off þis kyn we schulden have joye, and not of erthly kyn; ffor þei were somtyme beggers or servauntis to foolis. And herfore Jesus Crist come bot of pore

1 So in BB; W has *farnesse.*
2 *sack, BB.*

*The reference is perhaps to a sermon of St. Bernard's* De triplici genere cogitationum nostrarum. *Opera, Paris, 1586.*
kyn, and wolde not make hom riche to þo worlde bot in virtues. Ne he schamed not of povert of his kyn, bot taght us more to be glad of kynraden in virtues; for joye is of suche kynraden in þo blisse of heven. Bot nedders and wormes ben felowe to dampned men, as þei weren felowes to thefes lyvyng here in erthe. And so, if we take hede, he þat is proude of his kynn, he hafs pride for to be fer fro þo state of innocense; and certis þis is no mater of pride.

**CAP. VI.**

Þo thridde þing þat moves men for to be proude, is godes of fortune, as riches of þis worlde. And as havyng of soche godes is þo lest of thre, so by þo leest evydense is a mon proude; for richesse by fortune falles fro a mon, as by theft or robrye, or perilis of þo see, or by wastyng of þingis for defaute of hom; and God forbede þat godenesse passe þus fro a mon; as, if he serve treuly to God in charite, he is als gode pore as when he was riche. And sith God acountes a mon aftir þat he is gode, not aftir þat a mon is riche is he gode to God; sfor þen Crist and his apostils were noþing worth. And þat richesse of þis worlde be matir to be proude, witteneses experiene, and wittenes of Gods lawe. Ffor hit is seid comynly, þat evere þo more gode þat a man haves, evere þo better he is, and þo more to telle by; and in wittenesse herof, riche men ben worschippid, and travelen ful sore to have suche richesse; and hit were a folye to putt men in suche peril, bot if þei were þo better for wynnyng of suche richesse. And one mon is more worth þen ben two ofer, when he is taken prisoner, or schulde be solde. Soche mony resouns, with comyne experiencye, techen us þat richesse is matir of pride. Bot resoun of kynde teches þo peril þat a riche mon is inne by havyng of his richesse. Ffor if he spende yvel þese godes, þei don hym myche harme; and if he spende hom wil, þo occupacioun of hom lettis hym fro better servise þat he schulde serve God. And herfore nowþer in state of innocense, ne in state of blis, schulde mon be þus riche. And herfore teches Poul, for sikernes of prestis, þat þei schulden have fode and hillyng nedeful to hom, and herewip holde hom payed, sfor more wolde tarye hom. And so richesse
of pis worlde ben nedeful for pis weye; bot be men war for pride of hom, and mony oþer perilis. Ffor, as Seynt Poul seis, riche men of pis worlde smaken\(^1\) herfore hyenesse and hopen in a fals grounde. And hit is al one, mon to be proude for richesse, and to be proude for a weght þat he is cloutid wip. Bot who schulde be proude of a nede\(^2\) cloth, þat be beris hevyly for a trespas þat he did? If mon had stonden in state of innocense, he schulde not have ben þus occupied wip richesse, ffor alle þinge schulde have ben comyne, as hit is in hevene; and iche mon schulde have had fre use of godes þat he wolde. What evydence schulde mon have to be proude nowe in synne, for losse of, is fredome and hevynesse of erthe? And so ben we certeyn by Crist and his apostels, þat such habundaunce of godes makes us not better to God. And even aftir þat we ben gode to oure God, ben we onely gode to ðis worlde, or any oþer þing.

CAP. VII.

Sith þo fende temptis first men to pride, he castis mony weyes hou he schal desseyve hom. And so he castis byfore hom mony maters of pride; if he fayle in one he takes in anoþer, and if he take in mony he is þo better payed. Bot we schal undirstonde þat þis fals gylor fayles in iche resoun þat he makes to mon; ffor as God is grounde of treuthe, so he groundes falshed. And herfore were hit gode to witte þo cautelis of þis giloure; for iche mon loves treuthe, and flees to be disseyved; þe, þof he luf falshed, þitte he lufs treuthe. Se we hou þis giloure fayles in his resouns. He temptis men to ypocrisy, to hyen hom of hor holynesse; and if þei done þus, hor holynesse flees fro hom, and so þei hyen hom falsly of þing þat þei have not. Þis is þo love of þo fende, fader of falshed. If þo fende move men to pride of hor connynge, he makes hom foolis by þis fals pride; ffor iche mon here in erthe hafs more of unconnynge þen he hafs of connynge, if he loke wel. And so mon schulde lerne to knowe mekely, þat inalsmyche as he is proude of connynge, he drawes to hym unconnynge þat he wolde fayne fle. If þo fende tempt men of bodily strenght, and þei salle in pride by movyng of þis giloure, þei ben made so myche unstronoge in

\(^{1}\) smachen, BB.  
\(^{2}\) nedy, BB.
hor soule; and so þei losen more strenght for semyng of lesse strenght. And þus if men ben proude of bewte of hor body, þei losen als myche þo feyrmesse of hor soule; and þo soule with his purtenaunses is better þen þo body. If þo fende move men to be proude of hor kynn, þei fallen in þat fro kynraden and childerhed of God, and þen kynraden of kynde is litel for to preyse. And so, if a mon presume ageyns his God to amende his schappe, he foules his mule, and is more yvel þen foulenesse of body. And pus, is fals faytour fayles in richessis when he moves men to be proude of horn, as he lyed to Crist when he heght hym to gif hym a lle rewmes of þo world for to worschip him; bot he had not þat he hyght, for his first forfeture. And so, if a man faUe in brygge, for worldly riches, he forfeti a gegeyne þo cheef lord, and nogh thaves byrgh. And us, if pride be chasid fro a monnis soule, alle hir cisters wil fle, for þei ben not wiþouten hir.

**Cap. VIII.**

Po next cistir of pride is synne of envye. Envye is cald an yvel wille of a mon, by whiche he wilnes harme falle to his neghtbore, and if hit he fallen, he joyes hym þerof. And so, riȝt as pride, þo first of þese seven, is unordynel wille of a monnis owene hyenesse, so envye, þo secunde cister of synne, is unordynel wille of mon to his neghtbore. And so envye algatis sownes to yvel, and is most even contrarie to charite. And here clerkis disputen how envye may be, sith no mon may wilne a þing bot if hit þenk hym gode, or elles þat gode comes þerof; bot nowþer falles to envye. Bot here schal þo fende witte þat envye is his synne, for hym þenkes þat þing gode þat

\[bryke, BB.\]
is harme to anoþer; and so, as Gods children have likyng in
gode þing, so þo fende and his childer have likyng in harme.
Ffor þo fende hafs no profite of his felowship; ffor more
felowschip shewis more consense in hor yvel wille; and þat dos
hom more harme. And so, as godenes profites to a gode mon,
so wickednesse plesis to an yvel mon. And so iche envyouse
mon is an opun fole, ffor hym þenkes þat þing gode þat is yvel.

As men tellen in fablis of two men in a cyte; þo first was
envyous; þo secounde was covetous. Þo justise of þo cyte
ordeyneð to make a crye, þat wheþer of þese two men asked
oght of þo juge, þo secounde schuld have þo double þat þo first
asked. Þese two men comen at tyme and þo stede1 ñ
signed, and stryven among homself, wheþer schuld first aske.
Þis envyouse mon þoght þat if he asked first he schulde do
myche gode to his first brother. Þo covetous mon þoght þat
if he asked first his broþer schulde have þo double to hym;
and so hit was ordened þat þis elder broþer schulde aske first
what he wolde. And so þis envyous mon moste nede stonde
to þis decre; and he had sorowe to do profite to þis covetous;
and þerfore he asked þat his eye schulde be put out, undir-
stondyng þat by þis his broþer schulde be pure blynde; and
þo juge of þo cyte made parforme þis sentense2.

Þis justise of þis cyte may be God Almyghty, þat puttes in
monnis fredame to chese gode or yvel; and by his godeþ

1 So in BB; W has, at tyme assigned.

A somewhat different version of
this fable, in French of the thirteenth
century, may be seen in the Recueil
of Barbazan (I. 91; ed. 1808). St.
Martin meets the two men on a
plain, and on parting company with
them, says that if one of them will
ask him for something, he shall
have it, whatever it may be, but
the man who has not asked shall
receive double. Urged on and me-
naced by the covetous man, the
envious man asks that he may lose
an eye; and the rest of the story
agrees with the version given in the
text. Barbazan took this fable from
a MS. of S. Germain des Prés,
No. 1830.

A third version is given in the
appendix to Robert's edition of La-
fontaine's Fables (II. 509; Paris,
1825). In this version (which bears
the name of Ysopet-Avignon, who
professes to have translated it, and
his other fables, from the Latin),
Phoebus occupies the place of St.
Martin, and the language and whole
air of the fable are of much later
date.

From what source our author
derived his version of the fable I
cannot determine. The Gesta Ro-
manorum will immediately occur to
the literary reader, but this fable is
not found there.
choyse his brother schulde fare þo better. Þis justise is Lord bothe of Gods cyte and of þo cyte of þo fende, for bothe men\(^1\) ben his creatures. Bot þo envyous mon, of þo cyte of þo fende, chesis to harme hymself to harme his neightbore. Bot þis riȝtwise juge by his trewe jugement jugis þis envyous mon to be pure blynde; ffor he is juge of alle, and jugis men by hor wille. And so þo envyous mon is blynde by boþe his eyne, bothe by eyne of his body and eyne of his soule; ffor whatsoever he sees in kynde, bodily or gostly, harmes to hymself to lyve þat evere schal laste. And þus envyous men ben þo fendes childer, and don harme to homself, and profiten to Gods cite. If þou aske resoun why þei don þus, þei ben wijout resoun, and herfore resoun dampnes hom.

**Cap. IX.**

Bot, for to speke more of þis fendes synne, þo Chirche is divyded in þese thre partis;—in prechours, and defsendoure, and þo þridde part ben laboreres. Prechoures schulden be prestis; for Crist, heð of þe Chirche, bad his discilpis to preche þo gospel to alle maner men, and þus he wan þis worlde. And gode marke how Crist, þat was God and mon, bad his gostly knyghtis go in to al þo world, not for to feght wij colde armes of body, bot wij armes of charite, þat is Cristes gospel. And so he bad not leesynge ne fables be prechid, but treuth of þo gospel, for þat is virtu; ne he bad not onely preche to men þat gaf hom, bot to alle maner of men wijouten acceptynge of persones. And so, on a stille maner, Crist forfended symonye and beggyng and covetise unto alle his prechoures. For as þei token frely hor connyng of God, so schulden þei frely dele hit to þo peple.

þo first part of þo Chirche schulde be next Crist, for hit schulde be next heven, and most ful of charite; bot þo\(^2\) part by þo fende traveles by envye. Þis part schulde be al of one religione, as prestis, and dekens lyvyng clerkes lif; bot þo fende hafs chaungid þis part in mony coloure, as seculers and religiouse; and bothe have mony partis,—as popes and cardinalis and bischops and archdekens, munkes and chanouns, hospiteleres and freris. And sith of þese ordires one lufts more his

\(^{1}\) om. BB.  
\(^{2}\) þis, BB.
broþer þen he lufs a mon of a straunge ordire, and wil defende his ordir by personel affeccion, hit is no wondir þat charite be putt aweye, ffor hote humoure þat is partid wil souner waxe colde. And so Cristen men byleven, by ordynauunce of Crist, þat hit were better to clerkes to be alle of one sute 1, and þen myghten two oþer partis lif with hom in more charite. Ffor now may men se þat foure ordires of freris þat ben late founden by ordynauence of men, kepen hem not in charite amonges homself; sith not onely one ordir hafs envye to oþer, but one persone in one ordir, for worship or office, haves envye to his broþer for hor dyversite. And for þis cause one ordir wolde have anoþer aweye, bothe for hit harms hym in name and in beggyng; and one begger is woo þat anoþer lettes hym. And þus hit is of oþer ordires of religiuon. By ordynauence of Crist preistis and bischops was 2 al one, bot eftter þe emperoure departid hom, and made bischops lordis and preistis hor servantis; and þis was cause of envye, and quenchid myche charite. Ffor ordynauence of Crist stondis in mekenesse, in unyte, and charite; and variaunce of richesse, and hyenesse in statis, gendren envye, as comynly variaunce of worship and richesse gendres envye amonc mony men. And so if possessioneris weren broght to þat state þat Crist ordeyned to his clerkes, þen schulden men have charite, bothe wip seculere clerkes, and also wip religiuouse.

Cap. X.

Þo secounde part of þo Chirche is calde defenderes, as lordes and knyghtis, and oþer men of armes. Envye regnes in hom for mony enchesouns. Ffor þei coveytyn by pride worschip and richesses, and lordschip of clerkes makes lordes to pore. Ffor we schal undirstone þat holy Chirche, as ho 3 is oure moder, so ho is a body; and hele of þis body stondes in þis, þat one part of hir answere to anoþer, aftir þo same mesure þat Jesus Crist haves ordeyned hit. As in a monnis body, if humoures ben uneven, on oþer hole members comes sekenes anoon, or feveres of body, or oþer straunge sekenesse. And þus hit mot be in body of þo Chirche, ffor oure Lord Jesus Crist

1 secte, BB. 2 bene, BB. 3 sebo, BB.

K 2  

Envy among lords and knights.
is auctor of kynde, and ordeynes better lawes to membres of his Chirche þen he ordeynes to partis of a monnis body. And so men seyn, Surely þo Chirche schal nevere be hool, byfore proportionus\(^1\) of hir partis be brought augeyne by þis hevenly leche, and medicyne of men. O, if hit were a charite to hele a seke mon, how myche more charite were hit to hele þo Chirche our moder! Mercye faylis to men þat helpe not þis seke wommon, ffor more charite men schulden have to hir and to hir membres. And þis defaute of charite brynges in envye, and makes men of armes feght and to stryve; ffor batels ben un-
yndely\(^2\) officis to þese defendoure, bot to mayntene by strenght þo ordynaunce of God. And here hom fayles charite, when þei leven þis better and esyer algatis, and taken þo fendes office; ffor hitt falles to fendes by pride and envye one to feyht wiþ anoþer, as Gods lawe telles; and clerkes office schulde be to drawe men to pees. Bot nowe þei moven un-
yndely, bothe in worde and in dede, men for to werre ageyns Gods lawe. And so many principlis þat þo fende haves founden unto þese grete werroures, ben even augeyne charite. Ffor þei taken for a lawe, þat hit is leveful for hom to anoye hor enmye on what wey þat þei may. Bot charite of Crist biddles þo con-
trarie, þat men schulden love hor enmyes, and do hom gode for yvel. And so þis part of þe Chirche faylis in multitude and humours of charite, and travels in envye. And so, as virtu in prestis quickens þo Chirche, so synnes or vices þat regnen in hom maken þo Chirche venymous in two oþer partis; and specialy synne of consense of clerkes, þat þei hiden Gods lawe fro oþer partis bynethen hom. For þo virtu of charite schulde be most in clerkes; envye is moste in hom when þei ben turned to yvel. Bot nowe, to plese þes lordis, clerkes hyden Gods lawe, and pursuen prestis for prechyng of treuth.

**Cap. XI.**

þo þridde part of þe Chirche travels by envye for mony enchesouns, bot thre ben most comyne. One is defaute of prechyng in whoche þei schulden be tauȝt more to telle by

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\(^1\) So in BB; W has *propositiousus*.  
\(^2\) So in BB; W destroys the sense of the passage by reading *ben nowe kyndely officys*, unless *nowe* is used for *no*. 

*Envy among labourers.*
charite pen any worldly gode. For pis lore fayles hom bothe in
worde and dede, for more covetouse ben none pen ben pes
prestis. Po seconde cause of envye among po laboreres is pat
pei ben to chargid and spoylid in hor godes by two partis above
pat schulden deffende hom, for freris, persouns, and ojer men
pat robben po Chirche, maken hom to swete hor owne blode by
hor ypocrisye. And sip seculer lordes schulen mayntene horn
pat pei ben to ch_rgid and
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And sym be prestis deffende horn bothe in his G
po body for to go
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chulden lede hit in Gods wey. Bot Crist seis
in his Gospel, pat if a blynde lede a blynde mon in po wey, pei
fallen bothe in po dike. And pis po wey of charite, pat schulde
be brood to alle men, is streyned by envye, and lettis men to
see Crist. And so po fend haves cast a boon, and made pes
honndes to feght; and by a bal of talow lettis hom to berke.

And so uneven deylng of godes of pis worlde genderes myche
envye among pes worldy men. And so partis of pis comyne,
and specialy marchaunts, moven po pis enve by desseyt of hor
craftt. And as lordes schulden be mendid by prechyng of hor
bispopis, so lordes schulden amende marchaunts and ojer
folk, pat in po pridde part of po Chirche sowen by hor enve
seed of dissiencioun, and synnes pat distoublen rewmes. For
al po pere men of po comyne, for hor bisye travel, synnen lesse
in enve and in ojer synnes pen done men above hom pat
traveilen not pus, nerepoles for mony causis fallen pei in enve,
for everiche synne brynges in anojer; and alle oure pre
enmys, and specialy po fende, worchen to iche synne, and one
helpis onojer. And specialy if a mon be partid fro God, pat
schulde be his foundement to ageynstonde synne, he-is a house
upon gravel, pat is light for to move. And so, by lore of Seynt
Poule, iche membre of holy Chirche schulde be as membre of a mon, and iche schulde helpe oþer; for kyndely monnis hond helpis his heved, and his eye helpis his foote, and his foote his body; so þat membres of a mon þat ben more foul, ben more helpyng to a monnis body, ne one membre lettis not anoþer for to worche, bot raper helpes hit wiþouten envey, and iche one dos his propir werke, and so stondis monnis body. And þus schulde hit he in partis of þo Chirche; bot departyng fro þo stok lettis siche helpe, and somme men, as deede lymmes departid by synne, helpen not þo Chirche, bot rather don hit harme. And þus done men þat ben departid fro þo rote of charite. And herfore membres of þo Chirche drawen alle in one zok, and ben alle of one wille, as þo Chirche telles. And herby may we suppose who ben of holy Chirche, and who membres of þo fende, and maken þo wicked Chirche; Þfor charite is a cloth þat partis þat one Chirche fro partis of þat oþer, as holy men seyn. And þese two clues, of predestina-cion and of prescience of God, joynen þese two bodies. And þo token, þat þo puple is þus partid in willes, teches þat þei ben not of one Chirche. For Gods lawe schulde be reule to schape men of one wille, bot parting fro þis lawe departes men fro charite, and so hit departis men fro membres of Gods body, and so fro membres of holy Chirche, and þen ben þei fendis.

**Cap. XII.**

Ire is þo thridde cister approprid to þo fende. Bot þere ben two ires, gode ire and yvel. Gode ire is, when a mon is wroth in Gods cause, and not to venge his owne cause, but to venge Gods wrong. And þus is God seide in his lawe bothe wroth and wode; and þus weren holy prophetis medefuly wroth, as Moyses was a meke man, and wroth on þis maner. Wrathe þat is synne is by pride of mon, and principaly for monnis cause, unskilful wille of vengeaunce. And alþof mony yprocritis excusen hom fro þis ire bi colore of þo firste ire, nereþopes þo juge above schal juge at þo day of ire hou þat treuthie stondes. Envie and ire ben dyverse in maner; Þfor envey stondes in yvel þoght, and schewes hym not forthward; and envye, modir of ire, haves maner of þo fende; bot ire distourblis monnis witte,
and moves his body, and neghes neer to vengeaunce of a monnis neghtbore; as Caym was fadir of ire, sleeynng his brožer. Bot ire þat is in God is al in ðer maner. For by þo reule of Austyn, take awey movyng and distourblyng of witte, and al þinge þat is unperfit, and kepe wille of vengeaunce, as right-wisenes askses, and such ire is acordyng to God. When God takes gret vengeaunce, and hastily 1 wipal, þen is maner of wodennes acordyng to hym; as here God by his ire snybbes his servauntis, bot at þo day of dome he dampnes hom scharply. Ffor iche fende serves to God, suffryng þat he is worthy; and so ire þat God snybbes wiþ mon sownces to reprove 2 þat he blames 3 po fendes childer. Ffor no man asks wyseþly þat God chastise hym not, bot takes rather mekely þo peyne þat God sends hym, ffor elles he were unbuxum scoler to his mayster.

And þus þre harmes fallen of ire. Ffirst, a monnis witte is lettid in his worchyng, and mon is made by his foly like unto beestis. And þus movyng of spiritis lettis oft men to herberow þo Holy Gost, þat lufs reste in soul. And soche men taken not hete of charite, as þo sonne makes not hoot watir þat renne hastily; and in figure of þis, Caymes heved tremblid, and despeyred for to have remyssioun of his synne. Ffor he was distourblid in resoun, þat is heved of þo soule. And so movynges of mon withinne maken a den to þo fende to reste hym inne, derkyng and aspying when he may anoye mon; and þis is þo secounde harm þat comes of ire. þo þridde harme of ire stondes in þis, þat hit spoyles a mon of godes wiþouteforth. He þat sleþs his broþer leesis hym a frende, sith Crist sceide þat Scariot was a frende to hym. And not al onely lesis mon by ire frenschip of þat mon þat he sleþs unjustly, bot frenschip of his frendes, and luf of God and angels. And as a mon by suche ire lesis his strenght, so he lesis his catel for harme þat he dos. Ffor al þof þo fende make hym strong for tyme of his ire, nerepoles he mote nede be feble þerafter. And þus, among synnes, ire is ful contrarious to felouschip and charite þat schulde be in þo puple. And herfore biddes þo prophete to bewar wiþ þat man þat hafs his spirit in his nose and hastily takes vengeaunce.

1 bastilibe, BB. 2 reprofe, BB. 3 blamed, BB.
Cap. XIII.

Iche mon þat is vengeable by unskilful ire, is like to a fende þat blasphemes ageyns God, to whom is propre to take vengeaunce of his sogett. Ffor no mon scholde take vengeaunce bot if God move hym, and teche hym as his instrument how God wil have vengeaunce. And þus iche irrosse mon blasphemes ageyns God. And herfore by comyne lawe schulde no mon make batel, bot if he have leve of prince of þo puple. And certis an erthely prince is comynly proude, and wantis witte to teche when men schulden feght; and herfore it is lickly þat prince of þo worlde is auctor of batels þat men now usen. Ffor wil I wot þat Crist is kyng of pees and charite, and moves men to pacience, as to his monhed falles. And here may we se how þo fendes argument disseyves þo puple, and moves hom to feght. Þo fende takes a soth, þat in þo olde lawe was leethylene men to feght by auctorite of God; and sith þo same God is now, why schulden men not now feght? Bot here we graunten þo fende þat in þo Olde Testament hit was leethylene to feght, *as Gods lawe techis us; and now in þo newe lawe were leefful to feytht* a, if suche circumstansis weren as were in þo olde lawe; and elles schulden men be in pees for luf of oure God. Sothly in þo olde lawe men foghten wip Gods enmyes, to venge Gods injurie, and by noone oþer cause; and now þer schulden men now, if hor feghtynge be leethylene. Þo seconde circumstauence of leethylene feghtynge askes þat by auctorite of God þo feghtynge be made; and þat God telle hom, and bidde hom feght þus, and þen schulde God mesure men, and teche hom to feght. And if men kepyn þis, þei schulden not feght now ffor no men. Bot fals men sturen now to batel; ffor tym is comen þat Ysaie spekes of Crist,—þat men schal welle hor swerde into plowgh-schares, and þo irne of hor speres into sythes or sikles. Þo thridde cause þat men schulden holde in feghtynge and werryng, is þat þei schulden by charite do dedes of hor feghtynge, loovyng God and hor neughtbore, þe, men þat

1 takeþ for a sothe, BB.

* The words between asterisks are omitted in W, evidently by a mistake of the copyist.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

pei feght wiþ. Ffor Seynt Poule biddles þat alle oure dedes be done in charite; and by Gods lawe we schulden luf oure enimyes, and so make hom frendes by þo strenght of charite. And sith no mon schulde feght bot wiþ þese thre maners, hit is knowen þing þat men schulden not now feght. And herfore Jesus Crist, duke of oure batel, taght us lawe of pacience, and not to feght bodily. If God rowne in þin eere, and bid þe feght in his cause, as God taght by prophetis in þe Olde Testament, feght fast in Gods cause, as he hymself biddles þe, and elles holde þi pees, as Crist did wiþ his clerkes. And se þis apis argument, þat if men feght sumytyme, wiþ þes þre causis, þen men schulden feght now. For now is tyme of pees, and þo Chirche is olde, and none of þese casis fallen þat men schulden feght wiþ, bot even þo contrarie sueþ, as iche mon schulde knowe. And so þo fende, fadir of ire, autorises þis feghtynge; and his lymmes suen hit, moved of hor mayster.

CAP. XIV.

Bot ðitte argues Anticrist, to mayntene mennis feghtynge, þat kynde techis þat men schulden by strenght ageynstonde hor enmyes. Sith a nedder by hir kynde stynges a mon þat tredes on her, why schulde we not feght ageynes oure enmyes? for elles þei wolden destrye us, and dampne hor owne soules. And þus for luf we chastisen hom, as Gods lawe techis us. And so, sith oure enmyes wolden assayle us, bot if we sayliden hom byfore, sith we loven better ouresel, we schulden first assayle hom, and þus we schal haf pees.

Here me þenkes þat þo fende disseyves mony men by falsenes of his resouns, and by his fals principis. Ffor what mon þat hafs witte connot se þis fallas? if hit be levesul by strenght to ageynstonde violence, þen hit is levesul to feght wiþ men þat ageynstonden us. Wil I wot þat aungels ageynstode fendes, and mony men by strenght of lawe ðageynstonden hor enmyes; and ðitte þei killen hom not, ne feghten not wiþ hom. And wise men of þo worlde holden hor strenghtes, and þus ven-
cuschen hor enmyes wiþouten any strok; and mon of þo gospel ven-
cuschen by pacience, and comen to reste and to pees by

1 sexes, BB. 2 So in BB; ageynstoden, W.
suffryng of deth. Right so may we do, if we kepen charite; 
þof men ravischen oure lordschipp, or elles oure meblis, we 
schulden suffre in pacience, 3e, þof þei diden us more. Þese ben 
þo counseils of Crist. But here þo world grucches, and seis þat 
by þis wise weren rewmes destroyed. Bot here byleve techis us, 
þip Crist is oure God, þat þus schulden rewmes be stablid, and 
oure enmyes vencusched. Bot peraventure mony men schulden 
lese hor worldly richessis. Bot what harm were þereof? sith 
in þo state of innocense alle men schulden comynly wante suche 
lordschipp. Bot þo fende takes ensaunple at wormes of venyme, 
and by a naked propurte teches men to feght; bot mony òper 
ensaunples of pacience of bestis schulden teche us to suffre, for 
myche more gode. And a fendis conscience reulis hym þat 
bringes of þis, þat if he were þus pacient his enmyes wolde kille 
hym. As if a mon wolde sey, þat if he keppid Cristis counseil 
þo fende wolde fordo hym, for he is more þen Crist. And if 
we feghten þus for luf, hit is not luf of charite; òfor charite sekes 
not propur gode in þis lif, bot comyne gode in heven by vir-
 tuouse pacience. And wil I wot þat worldly men wil scorne 
þis sentense; bot men þat wolden be martirs for þo love of God 
wil holde wiþ þis sentense; and þei ben more to trow, for þei 
have more charite and better ben wiþ God. And disseyt of 
love is wiþ men þat feghten, as wiþ fendes of helle is feyned 
fals luf. Bot at Domesday schal men witte who feghtis þus 
for charite; òfor hit semes no charite to ride ageyne þin enmye 
wil armed wiþ a scharpe sper, upon a strong courser; òfor 
þitte þo cosse of Scariot was more token of charite. And so 
Gods lawe techis men to cum bifoire in dedes of charite 
and werkes of worschhip; bot I rede not in Gods lawe þat Cristen 
men schulden cum byfore in feghting or batel, bot in meke 
pacience. And þis were þo mene whereby we schulden have 
Gods pees.

Cap. XV.

þitte þo fende argues þat men feghten wil; for by virtu of 
feghtynge men have grete name and honoure and worschippis, 
þat ben mede of virtues. And titil of conquest is þo beste of 
alle; bot conquest may not be wiþout gret feghtynge, and so
oure batil is leveful; or elles wil hit sue þat in alle þis world, men occupyen hor lordschips by unjust titil, and so schulde iche mon feght wiþ his broþer for default of titil. Lord, siþ Crist approved þese knyghttis, and bad his apostils selle hor cootis and bye hom swerdis,—wharto bot to feght? and of dedes and wordes of Crist is feghtynge approved, why is hit not leveful? Bot here we answeren aftir þo first sentence, þat werres and feghtynge ben now unleveful. And to þo first resoun we answeren on þis wyse; þat name of þo worlde þat þo fende hafs hyed is a grete evydense þat batil is cursed. Ffor mony men ben preysid now for fendes werkes, and honour and worship þat þo world gyves hom is comynly for vicis and not for virtues; ffor worldly men tellen more by vicis þen by virtues. Lord, what honour falles to a knyght, for he killes mony men? Wil I wit þat honge-men killen mony moo, and by more just titel, and so by vertue, and so schulden þei be preysid more þen soche knygtis. And bochere of bestis dos oft tyme his offis by right and by charite, and so he dos hit wil; bot bocher of his breþer by not so gret evydense sleeves men in charite, and so not so justly. Why schulde not þis bocher, for his better dede, be preysid more þen þis knygt þat þo world hyees? sith more virtuous dede is more for to pryse. And so hit were better to mon to be bocher of bestis þen to be bocher of his breþer, for þat is more unkyndely. Þo passioun of Crist is myche for to preyse, bot sleeyng of his tormentour is odious to God. Lord, siþ kynge of al þis world preyses so myche passioun, and hatis such accioun 1, why schulde not men do so?

As to titil of conquest, we schulde undirstonde þat if God bid conquest, hit may þen be leveful,—as childer of Israel had justly hor rewme. Ffor sith God is Lord of alle þes worldly godes, he may gif mon right to what þing þat he wil. And so, if rewme have forfeetid ageyns þis cheff 2 lord, in payne of þis trespas he gyves hit oþer folk. Bot mon schulde not dreme þat puple haves so synned þat God wil punysche hom þus, bot if God telle hit hym. Ffor four hundred wynter synneden þese Amorees, and God justly suffrid hom in londe of byheest. And to suche a conquest mot conquerouris be worthy for to

1 occupacioun, BB.  
2 cheffe, BB.
have þis londe whoche þei schulden conquere. And þo thridde; if God gif hit hom, and move hom to conquest, þo titel is gode inoghe if þei contynuen in gode life. Bot hit is likly þat mony conquerours faylen in tyme of grace in mony of þese. Bot one þing I wot wil by lore of God's lawe, þat if a mon occupye a lordship unjustly, and his eyr aftir hym be a just mon, God þat is cheeff Lord approves his lordship; þfor gift of God is best titel, þe, better þen heritage. And so just lif of eyres schulde clere hor conscience. And þus schulde no mon feght wip oþer by titel of conquest, bot if God bad hym. And so, as Baptist telles, God approved knyghtis to deffende his lawe by strenght, al þof þei slee no men. And Crist bad sille mennes kootis and bye hom swerdes, not to feght bodily, bot to speke mekely, bothe in cause of God and worldly causis; and þes ben two swerdes þat Crist seis ben inoghe.

CAP. XVI.

Bot þitte men replyen of þis new dede, þat þo pope approves croyserye, and to hym schulden men trowe. Herinne¹ is seid pleynly in oþer placis þat þo pope may synne, and clerkes þat ben to him ward. Þfor he is not more confermed þen Seynt Petre was; and he, aftir he had taken þo Holy Gost, synned, as Poul seises. Why myght not Anticrist synne? He is Anticrist, þat by ypocrisie reversis Jesus Crist in his fals lyvyng. Crist forsoke to þo fende temporal lordship; Anticrist gedris hit wip mony a fals titil. Crist was most servisable of any prest of erþe; Anticrist is most daungerouse, and closid in a castel, and comynes not wip men by forme of þo gospel more þen a spirit in cloos; how schulde he be Cristis vikere? Mekenesse and servise and povert þo worlde schewis þo fals feynyng of such an ypocritle. And in þis fals gabbyng is groundid mony oþer,—as assoyling of synne, and mony oþer privylegies, bi whoche he bigyles þo folk. For þei may not se hom; and þei schulden trowe þat he seies, as he falsely feynes, as blaspheme falsehed, þat he makes medeful to slee Cristen men, and mayntene his lordship, þe, more medeful, as he seis,

¹ hit, BB.
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pen to deffende Cristis lif. And þus byleve of Cristen is turned up so doune.

And in consence of þis synne synnen clerkes comynly; for siþ consence to a synne foules mon in þo same synne, and on sex maners may a mon consente, hit is known by prestis dedes how þei consenten in þis. He consentis þat helpis to do a wickid dede, or deffendis þis synne on o maner or onoper; he þat cōunseils þerto, and he þat approves hit; and he þat is stille to helpe men ageynes hit, and he þat stirtis1 o bac for to reprehende hit.

Þo pope is stirtour2 of þis feght, and synnes more þen feghters,—as þo bischopis of þo temple synned more þen Pilate, or knyritis þat slowen Crist, for prestis autorisiden þis synne. But who schulde have autorite to deffende þo popis lordschip, his state, or elles his lif, by such maner of feghting? Ffor wil I rede þat Crist blamed Seynt Petre, for he wolde deffende Cristis lif by Smytyn of swerde. Also I rede þat Crist wolde not take vengeance of Samaritanes, when þei helden his owne godes fro hym and his apostils, and denied hom þus bothe mete and herbow. Bot Crist seide he was not comen to lese þus mennis lyves. Also Crist is a gode hyrde for þis condicioun, þat he puttis his owne lif for savynge of his schepe; bot Anticrist is a wolff of raveyn, for he dos ever þo reverse; he puttis mony thousande lyves for his owne wrecchid lif. And by forsakyng of þing þat Crist biddles prestis forsake, he myght cees al þis stryve. Why is not he a fende? Þo prestis þat feghten in þis cause synnen foule in homycide; ßfor if men-sleeung in seculeres be odiouse to God, myche more in prestis þat schulden be Cristis vikers. And clerkes consenten in prechynge and mayntenynge of þis cause, and in cowarde dombenesse for a foule luf, and seculeres in mony wises consenten to þis synne. And þus prestis ben irreguler, and seculeres helpen hom. And þus al þis worlde is fouly in discencioun; and I am certeyn þat þo pope and alle men of his counsell con not make a spark of resoun to prove þat he schulde do þus. And þus bolnyng by ire, and specialy in

1 sturtis, BB. 2 autour, BB.
clerkes, distourbles þo Chirche mony weyes, and lettis men to wynne heven. Bot byleve schulde teche us to be meke as Crist was, and þen schulden we fare þo better, bothe to body and soule. If we have ire in Gods cause, kepe we þat wip mekenesse and wip prudence of God, and so schal we plese hym.

CAP. XVII.

þo fift synne of þese seven is calde sloute in Gods servise; and þo world helpes þo fende boþe in þis and ire. We schal witte þat ydlenesse in servise of God norischis oþer mony synnes, and þus plesis þo fende. And herfore seis þo Gospel, þat þo fende aspyes wheþer servauntes of a monnis house ben ydel and proude, and if he fynde þat hit be so, he dwellis wip þat mon. Lord, if a gode housebonde wil not his hyne be ydel, myche more of God, þat lufs clene travel. And þus we reden of aungels, þat nowþer nyȝt ne day þei ben ydel in Gods servise, but blisfully serven hym. Mon in state of innocense schulde be kepþ fro ydlenesse, þfor, as Gods lawe seis, he schulde have kept Paradis; and myche more in state of synne schulde mon wake in Gods servise. Ffor þo fende is a theff to wake on mon bothe day and nyȝt; and if he se hym nappe or ydel, he temptis hym to monnis harme. If he slepe in Gods servise þo theff spoylis fro a mon godes þat God hafs gyven hym, to helpe hym fro þo fende. If mon wake in ydlenesse, þo fende aspyes þat þen is tyme to tempt mon to serve hym, for þen he þenkes to spede his cause. As, if a mon have to a lord any cause for to spedde, he chesis a tyme when þo lord is ydel for to here hym. And so þo fend aspyes tyme when mon leves to serve God, and þen he moves to serve hym, in lustful servise of þo flesche, or in servise of þo world, and putt byhynde Gods servise. And in þat mon is fals ageyne þo firste commaundement, and þen þo fende sees his tyme to move mon to serve hym. Ffor iche mon mot sumwhat do, as a spere in pleyne place, moved in a grete wynde, mot nedes be moved sumwhyder; after þo movyng of þis wynde mot þo spere take his weye. So iche monnis soul is a spere þat nedely mot sumwhat do; and if þo Holy Gost lede hym not to Gods servise, þo fende ledes him to his; for sumwhat mot a mon do.
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Lord, if monkynde in þo stat of innocense, when he had in hym strenght, and was not bysett wip enmyes, schulde not be ydel bot serve his God bisily, ffor elles he schulde by ydelnesse have fallen fro þo state of innocense,—how schulde he be ydel now when peril is myche more?

And here schulde a mon witte to what state a mon is calde of God, and aftir þo office of þis state serve his God treuly, as dyverse membres of mon serven þo body in hor kynde. And as dyverse partis of mon served unkyndely to mon if one toke þo servise of anoþer and loft his owne propir werke, so dyverse partes of þo Chirche have propir werkes to serve God; and if one part leve his werk þat God haves lymyttid hym, and take werke of anoþer part, synful wonder is in þo Chirche. And herfore is iche mon nedid to witte what state he stondis inne, and kepe þo servise of þat state, for elles he synnes in ydelnesse. And so, if a mon synne, he falles in ydelnesse of his werke. And if þis synne be in a mon, hit haves sum cistir couplid wip hit. For nestes mot men here in erthe serve God or elles þo fende; and so as virtues ben knyttid togedir, so ben vicis in hor maner. And also hit sues þat iche mon is nedid to con his byleve, ffor a servaunt of a lord mot nede witte what he schulde do. And þus byleve of holy writte schulde teche men of hor state, hou þei schulden serve hor God, lest þei synned in ydelnesse; and þus byleve is nedeful to iche mon of þis worlde.

CAP. XVIII.

And þus schulden Cristen men witte þat sum servise is comyne to alle statis of men, when þei have discrecioun; and iche mon is holden to kepe Gods comandementis, and to serve hym bisily in al þat God haves gyven hym. Bot, as we seiden byfore, thre partis of þo Chirche schulden in þre dyverse maners serve treuly hor God,—as prestis, and gentil men, and laboreres of þo worlde. As prestis have a state hyest of alle oþer, so God askes of hom more parfit servise; and ydelnesse in prestis is more dampnable, þo moste hye servise þat men have in erthe is to preche Gods worde, þat falles unto prestis. And herfore more streytly God askes of hom þis servise, ffor herby schulden prestis make childer in God, and þat is a werke of God, þat hafs
weddid þo Chríche. Ffeyre hit is to have a son þat were lord of þis worlde, bot myche feyrer hit were to have a son in God, þat schuld cum to heven as lyme of holy Chríche.

And herfore Jesus Crist occupied hym mooste in þo werke of preychyn, and laft oþer werkes; and þus diden his apostils, and herfore God loved hom. Also he dos better þat bettir kepis Gods heestis. Þo first heest of þo seconde table biddles us worship oure elders, as fadir and modir, bot þis schulde moost stonde in worship of holy Chríche. Ffor ho is oure modir þat we schulden most luf, and for hir dyed Crist, as oure byleve techis us. Bot ho is most worshippid by preychyn of Gods worde, and so þis is þo most servise þat prestis schulden do to God. And þus a wommon seide to Crist þat þo wombe þat bare hym and þo teets þat he sook schulden be blessid of God; bot Crist answerid þat rather schulden þoo men be blessid, þat heren Gods worde and kepen hit in lyvyn. And þis schulden prechoure do more þen oþer men, ffor þei schulden here þo worde of God þat schulde speke in hom, and þis worde schulden þei kepe more þen oþer tresoure. And ydelnesse in þis office hyndris most þo Chríche, and gendres moste þo fendes childer, and sendes hom to his court. Also þo servise is better þat haves a worse contrarie; bot contrarie of preychyn is worste of alle oþer; and herfore preychyn is þo best, if hit be wil done. And herfore Jesus Crist, when he steyghe to heven, enjoyned specialy to alle his apostils to preche þo gospel frely to iche mon. And also when Crist spake last wiþ Petir, he bad hym thryes upon his love for to fede his schepe; and þis wolde not a wise bider do bot if he loved hit wel, ffor þo office of gostly herde stondes in þis. And, for þo bischops of þo temple tellid Crist to do þis dede, þerfore Crist tolde hom þat at þo day of dome Sodom and Gomor schulden better fare þen þei; for lettyng of gostly seed, siþ þat hit is better, is worse þen þo spilleryng of bodily seed. And þus if oure bischopis prechen not in hor persone, bot letten trew prestis to preche to hor schepe, þei ben in þo synne of bischopis þat kilden Jesus. praying is gode, but not so gode as preychyn; ffor no prest wot, þat dwelles wiþ us, wheþer his preyer be better þen preyer of þo puple. And þis is done herfore, for no prest schulde chaffere wiþ his owne

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preyer and money of men. Ffor a prest wot not þo valew of his preyer; bot þat mon chafferes ageyns God and resoun, þat knew not þo valew of his owne chaffere. And so in prechynge and preying wip hert, and gyvyng of sacraments, and lernynge of Gods lawe, and gyvyng gode ensample by clennesse of lif, schulde stonde þo lif of a prest if he lif wil. Etyng and slepyng and honeste of pleying schulde a prest take unto þis ende, þat hit profite to hym to do þese fyve first.

CAP. XIX.

Gentil men of þo worlde schulden serve hor God in giffes þat he haves gyven hom, and specially in þis; þat þei deffende Gods lawe by powere of þo worlde. And þus þo prestis schulden wynne godes to þo Chirche, and gentil men deffende hom by powere ageyns yvel men. Bot no mon haves any offis to serve his God, þat ne he schulde serve hym more if God giþ hym wherwith. And þus fendes childer schulden be chastised wip strenght, þat þo Chirche myȝt profite aftir Gods lawe. Fsegting and werryng is non offis to þis part of þo Chirche, bot if God bidde hom for deffence þerof; and þen schulden þei holde hom in mkenesse and mesure, as hor God techis hom. Justyng and huntyng and hawkyng, wip ðer pley þat may be done wipouten synne, þei schulden take in mesure, in als myche as þei helpen for to serve God. Bot if prestis leven hor offis lymyttid unto hom, and usen chesse and tablis and hasarde or tavorne, þei passen unkyndely fro þe offis of prest. Ffor þei schulden hunte þo fende, and destrye synnes, and bisye hom in Gods lawe, and taste of his swettnesse, ne take not þis state bot if þei wil holde þese boundes. Ffor covetise of wynnyng and ydelnesse of reste bryngen mony prestis to serve þo fende.

And as garmentis of pride schulden be þer fro knyghtis, so spoyling of pore men, al if þei ben hor ternauntis. Rightwisnesse of Gods lawe schulden þese knyghtis knowe, and mayntene hit in hom and in ðer bothe; for myghty deffendyng of þo lawe of rightwisnesse falles to knyghtis, by a holy purpose for to serve God and mayntene his lawe. If þere ben feble men, as clerkes or comynnes, þat stonden wip Gods lawe and

1 So in BB: om. in W.

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have mony enmyes, hit longis to knyghtis to deffende hom fro þese enmyes. And herfore seis Baptist to knyghtis of Rome, þat if þei wolden wynne heven, þei schulden holde hom in þese boundes. ‘Oppresse þe not þoure breþren, ne do hom non injurie; bot þe covetise of godis, and be payed wiþ þoure sowdes.’ And for þei schulden passe comynes in knowyng of Gods lawe, þei schulden teche comynes to holde rightwisenes. And þis is þo cause why God approves þis state, and þis hom worldly worship wiþ powere and rentis; and if þei leven þis office, þei forfeten ageyns God, and serven Gods enmye, and ben Gods traytoures. And so to hor servauntis schulden þei have charite, ne punische hom in no wey, ne take of hom no servise bot by þo waye of charite and profite to hor soule. And as God luþs more mon þen mon schulde luþ God, so lorde of hor godenesse schulden luþ more hor servantis þen hor tenauntis loven hom, for þis is Gods lawe. And, for luþ dos mony þinges, for hit is not ydyl, þen lorde schulden helpe hor tenauntis, and defende hom in right. And so if þei weren oppressid by unkynde braunchis, as prestis or freris, lorde schulden helpe hom, as kepere of a vynes schulde helpe þo vynes, and kutt away suþflu þat growes in hom; as unkynde braunches, þat growen in þo roote, schulden be kutte away for profite of þo tree. And alþof lorde schulden comynly do þus, nereþoles gretter lorde, and specialy kynges, ben more to blame if þei faylen in þis. Ffor as hor mede is more if þei don wel hor ofcis, so blame is more and peyne for defaute. þis schulden prestis telle lorde, or elles þei ben to blame.

Bot somme trewthis ben hid in þis mater þat men wil not assent wiþ, for þei con not þo termes; as, God is obschid to mon by his owne fredome, and God by his just lawe may take no servise of mon, bot if he gif mon þo better þen he takis of hym. And so God is more holden to mon þen mon may be to God, ffor even als myche as he is holden gisf he to mon. Lef, sithe 1 lorde schulden vikers of godhed of Crist, lete hom sue godhed in maner of hor governayle.

1 lese, sitben, BB.

* The rendering of this passage does not agree with either Wycliffite version.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

CAP. XX.

Moreowver hit were to witte how comynes schulden fle þis synne, and serve God and mon a. By þo lawe of God þei schulden serve mekely to God and to hor lorde, and do trew servise to God and to hor maysteres, not servynge at hor eye, and ydel in hor absence; ffor, as Seynt Poule seis, þei serven first to God, and God may not be aweiye, ne noping híd fro hym. 3e, by þo lawe of Crist, if þo lord be untrew mon and tyrant to his sogettis, þit schulden þei serve hym, ffor þei schulden serve to God in mekenesse and charite. I haue not redde in Gods lawe þat sogettis schulden seght wiþ hor worldly soveraynes, and so gete hom pees; bot Crist taght us by paciense to vencusche oure enmyes, and wynne þo blisse of heven, bot not wiþ oþer stryvnyng. O, if killynge of men be foule þing in knyghtis, more in hor sogettis, þat schulden be meke and pacyent. And so þenk þen trew þat no mon schulde take vengeauce bot if God bid hym, for to venge Gods wrong. Þis lawe schulden men teche þo folk, and putte on bak þo fendes lawe; and þen schulden men have pees, and stryves schulden slepe.

Alle we seyn we loven Crist and holdyng of his lawe; bot when he bad his apostils preche, he wente hymself to heven, ffor þei schulden at þat tyme have more mynde on his wordes fro he had reproved hom. He bad hom do þis offis, go into al þo wolde, and preche to eche mon þo gospel. He bad not wende to Jude 1 and preche only þere, ne to þo folk of Israel for þei weren of his kyn, bot preche generaly bothe to state and mon. Bot þei schulden not preche cronyclys of þo world, as þo batel of Troye b, ne oþer nyse fablis, ne monnis lawes, founden to wynne hom þo money, ffor Crist biddes his clerkes preche þo gospel, and by þat þei wan þo world and scounfítiden þo fende. For he þat trouwe þis worde, and aftirward is cris-

1 Judee, BB.

a The studiously un-democratic tone of this chapter is very notice-
able, when one remembers the charge continually brought against Wyclif and his followers by their contemporaries, of exciting the com-

b See the prefatory notice.
tened, and lastis in pis lore, schal be saaf in heven, and he pat
trowes hit not schal be dampted in hel. Bot helpe is fer
fro pe trewehe of peo opeh thre japes. And pe deaufte of
prechynge of pe lawe of Crist distourblis al pis worlde, and
makes stryff among men. Gods lawe techis subjeccioun and
pees, and techis pe menes herto, and forbedes pe contrarye.

This schulde pe folk be taght to kepe hom fro synne, and to
use hom in virtues. Bot pis is not by werre, sith pe puple pat
travels in weris schal evere be worse in virtues, and pis is
worse pe myche losse of worldly godis. And we schal witte
by Gods lawe, pat a gode comynate makes hom have gode
hedis, for pe pei disserven of God; and synne pe pat is in
comynate God ordeyns to be punischid by wickednesse of
hor soverayne; and perfore pei schulden fle synne, ffor pe two
partis of pe Chirche suen iche to opeh. Bot iche mon schulde
witte pe al pis worlde is led by lawe; and so holdyng of Cristis
lawe floures in pees and charite, bot holdyng of Anticristis
lawe brynges in stryff and envye. And pe may men knowe
jo fruyt of pe two lawis. Anticrist bisyhes hym to sommen
men, and curse hom, and pryve hom of her godes, and putte
hom efte in prisoun. And pis lawe is more taght and dred and
executid, for pe fende and comynat hafs more maystrye of men
pen Crist and his lawe, for pe pat is thynde sowen. Ffor marke
contreys and comynateys, and herby may peou knowen hom.

CAP. XXI.

Pe fift synne of pe seven is cald comynat, or avarice of
worldly godis, and marris mony men; and hit fallis to men
when pei coveiten to myche godes of pe worlde, and to lil
 gostly godes. And desire, wiþ bisynes, may juge men in pis,
ffor what a mon desires he travels more aboute hit, and sorowis
more of losse of hit, pen of a ping lesse loved. And by pis,
as Greggor seis, may men knowe hor owne luf. And pe

\[1\] So in BB, and W may have had the same reading originally, but the
word has been partly erased, so that it now stands be.

\[a\] three japes. That is, romances, fables, and human laws. See pre-
ceding page.

\[b\] S. Greg. Moral. lib. xxxi. cap. 13. 'Dum [hypocrita] animarum
damna aequanimiter tolerat, jactu-
when laboreres of þo worlde travelen in hor offis, þei schulden have hor eye to God, and first and moste do for hym. Ffor he is untrew to God þat liiftis not up his eye to hym, and knowes not hym lord of alle, to whom eche mon mot nede serve, and to worship of his God dos al þat he dos. And so to knowe Gods lawe, and specialy to serve God, is holyday ordeyned, and to fille þing leffte on werk day. And so clerkes, þat schulden lif contemplatif lyve, ben worse þen mony men of þo world þat lyven actif lif. Ffor he þat serves treuly to God and his mayster, and kepeth hym fro grete synnes, as mony serveautis done, lifep better lyve to God þen þes hye prelatis þat ben negliqent to serve God by his lawe. Ffor God curses soche prelatis as traytoures to hym, and soche comyn lyvers loven God ful wil.

And so, if we loken avarice, hit faylls in mony wyse. Ffor whoever is avarous, he is ydolatroure, and makes worldly godes his God, and þat is a falsehed ageyne þo first maundement of God, and worse þen lif of Paynym. And þerfore Seynt Poul calles ydolatrye of soche men service of mawmetis, as done heethen men. And hit is light for to prove, supposyng þis reule, þat what kynd þing a mon loves most he makes his God. And if men out of byleve schulden be fled as paynyms, mony of us schulden be fled, for þei ben more perilouse. And so covetouse men ben aboute, as foolis, to turne þo ordyneunse of kynde þat God hymself hafs made; ffor God haves putte hymself hyeste of alle þinges, and aftir hym monnis soule, for þus þinges schulden be loved; and erthly þinges lowest, ffor þei schulden be leeste loved. And herfore erthe is defouled under feet of men, to teche þat mennis affeccioun schulde be litel to þo erthe. And herfore Cristis apostils were taght of hor mayster to shake þo powder of hor feet to men þat denied hym. Bot þo covetouse mon dos al contrarye herto; and when

1 So BB; lyven, W.
he coveitis to be lord þus ageyns Gods wille, he forfeitis ageyne þo Lord of alle, and þus is made most pore mon. Ne vauntage herby haves he none ofer, bot by luf is drawn to helle, and þat is ferrist þing fro heven. Ffor loved þing drawes men to hit, as þo stoon of adamaunt drawes irne unto hym. And herfore God biddis men most love heven and hevenly þinges. And se we hou þo avarous mon coveitis un-kundyely to fille his soule wiþ þing þat on no wyse may fille hit. Ffor monnis soule is ordeyned þus to be filde wiþ hir God, and vanyte of þis worlde makes hir to long aftir hym, ffor ho haves not kyndely ende to whiche monnis soule is made. And herfore þo avarouse a mon, evere þo more he haves of worldly gode, evere þo more he longes, ffor he is ferther fro his ende.

**Cap. XXII.**

Bot se we hou þis avarice marres þre partis of þo Chirche. Ffor þese prestis and þese clerkes, þat schulden be ferrest fro covetise, ben most engleymed þerwiþ, for þei forsaken Gods lawe. þei schulden be payed by Gods part, as wiþ dymes and offerandes, and gif hom al to hevenly lif, as aungels þat were sende fro God, and drawe men fro þo world by virtu of hor mayster. Bot now no more covetouse men schal men fynde in erthe, ne ferrer fro hevenly lif, ne more wrappid wiþ worldly causes. And hit semes to mony men þat þei gon hedlyngis to helle, and drawen men aftir hom þat þei schulden bere to heven. Ne we ben not sufficient to speke ful of þis covetise, for þo synne of symonye entris us into avarice, and by stiryng of þis synne we wedden hit al oure lif. Ffor soche lawes and occupacioun þat wynnes us þis worldly mucke, we suen hom for al oure lif, and leven lif þat falles to prestis. Ffor sith prestis haf ful certeyne worldly godes to hom in mesure, for þei schulden travel night and day to coke for mennis gostly fode, and teche hem by Gods lawe hou men schulden leve perels of þis worlde,—if þei faylen in þis, þei ben traytours to God and mon. Ffor prest is a spyere in his castel, to loke ofer perels of schepe; and if he be blynde in his soule for pouder of

*At this point there is a gap in Douce 273 (BB). extending to p. 154.*
temporal goodis, or slepe for lust, as swyne done, and þus perel come to schepe, þo Lord þat owis þo schepe by skil schulde dampne hym for negligense. And so, þof we se not nowe þo hardnesse of oure jugemt, Gods lawe techis us how God wil harde deme us.

And sith, as we seyden byfore, who þat coveytis worldly godes more þen profite to his soule, or is nedeful to his lif, he synnes in avarice ageyne his God and his soule, hit semes þat persones comynly taken beneficis for avarice. Ffor if þei token for heele of soule, þei wolden bisily do hor cure, for negligence of þis offis dampnes hom ful grevously. And sith þei resten in worldly godes, and leven þis offis in whiche is mede, hit semes þat þese godes þei sought, and not soule heele, in þis offis; and þis is symonye to God, and cursis hom in hor entre. And als long as þei dwellen in þis symonye, þei don harme to hor floc in gyvyng of sacramentis, in syngynge or preylynge, or what evere þei do. And þus blynde hirdes and negligence done harme to þo Chirche. Lord, wheþer þo first juge, þat is welle of resoun, schal dampne þus for neglignynce hyred hynes of his floc, and schal spare more thefis, þat bothe letten to do Gods service, and spoyle þor schepe bisily, and recken nevære of hor soules, and hou þei faren! And þus don somme bischope, erchdekenis, and officials and servauntis to hom, þat clippen þo puple and spoyle hom. And þus somme hyrdes in hor entyre synnen sore in symonye, and in contynuaunce þeroft grevously agreggen hor synne, and maken þo fendes knott in hor dying in þis synne. Lord, sith no puple schulde gif hor prestis by þo tiill of almes norischyng and hillyng to do hor prestis servise, if þei frauden of þis servise, and harmen men as fendes, wheþer men ben holden by Cristis lawe to laste in þis almes? Wel I wot þat Gods lawe byndes not men to þis, for þen God nedid men to synne and do hor owne dampnaicoun. And alþof harme may cum herof, in foole jugement of sogetis, so more harme may lightly cum in foole askynge of almes. Covetise of clerekes falles bothe in bying and sellyng, and also in procuryng of soche beneficis. Covetise is in freris, in sellyng of hor prechyng, in schryvyng, in birying, and in hor fals counselynge; so þis semes þo worste synne þat is amonge men.
Wyclif's Works.

Cap. XXIII.

Tho secunde part of tho Chirche fayles not of avarice, siþe all men of nobly, fro kyngis unto squyeers, synne in pis covetise ouþer more or lesse. Ne hor owne covetise is not ynoȝe to hom, bot if þei comynen wiþ clerkes in hor cursid covetise. Oure byleve techis us þat not onely þese men synnen þat don þo wicked dede of synne, bot þese [þat] consenten. Loke sîx maner of consence, and aseye mennis dedes, and þou schalt se þat lordeþ consenten to synne of clerkes. Ffor þei norischen and defenden symonye of hom, and þerefore hit is resonyable by ryghtwisenes of God þat þei ben parcyneres of þis grete synne. Lordes senden lettris for soche avaunsementis, þei speken by mouthe for doying of þis synne, and mayntenen in hor servise clerkes ful of symonye; hou may þei be excused of synne to God? þei done first perpetuel harme in apperynge of þo chirches, and avaunsen hor foolis to grete benfices, and at þo last schal þei witte þat þis dos hom harme. For most avauntage þat þei have of suche symoneres is þat þei lasten in hor servise, and wasten pore mennis godes; and þus*, if hit be wil soght, dos hom algatis harme. Hit is a trayturye to God, to be his special vikere, and hyre wiþ Gods godes men to serve God, and sîthen put hom in hor offis, and drawe hom fro Gods servise; sith servise þat þei schulden do is fedyng of þo Chirche, and feghtyng wiþ þo fende in deffense of Gods part. Suche fals traytorye dos no gode to rewmes. Hit were better þat lewid men diden to lordeþis ottis, and al þo lordschip of prestis were purgid fro horn; ffor better and lighter and treulier schulde hit be done, and moo gentil mennis childer, aftir hor eyris, schulden be helpid by þis offis, þat now ben in myschef. Lord, wheþer hit were worschip to lordis of þis world to se in hor presence soche synnes done, and pore mennis godes on þis wyse wastid! If þei were lightid wiþ light of byleve, to se al aboute resoun of þese dedis, þei schulden have schame herof and drede of þo perel. þei have perel ynoȝh of her owne synne, þof þei clouten not on hom synne of hor servauntis. And in þis same consence ben lerid and lewid, þat reproven not þis synne, bot helpen þerto,—bischops and prechouris.

* Read þus.
confessoures and counseyloures, þat schulden crye ageyne þis, and defende Gods cause. Bot blyndenesse of Gods cause makes traytors unknowen. Welle of þis traytorye is þo popis court, and a streem herof ben courtis of bishops, and anoþer streem ben courtis of lordis. And þis synne flowes to possessioneres and freres; and so hit owverflowes al þis wyde worlde.

Þere is anoþer avarice approprid to lordes, þat comes of hor pride and hor grete costis, þat nedes hom to spoyle hor tenaunts and hor neightboris, and to seght wiþ rewmes, wiþ whoche þei schulden have pees. Richees of þis world þat God hafs graunted lordes schulde be sufficient to hom, wiþ a litil prudence. Þei schulden þenke hou þei ben dedly, as oþer men ben; þei broghten noght into þis worlde, and naked þei schal wende away. And schort tyme þat þei dwellen here, þei have bot hor sustynaunce, bot if þei oght profiten to hor soule, and ordeynen wisely hor godes, for day of dome schal cure when þei schal nedely acounte.

**CAP. XXIV.**

Þo þridde part of þo Chirche is þo comynate of men, þat hafs mony partis smytted wiþ avarice, and specialty marchaundis, and men þat wolden be riche, so þat few men or none ben cleene of þis synne. Bot men of lawe and marchauntis, and chapmen, and viteleres, synnen more in avarice þen done pore laboreres. And þis token hereof; for now ben þei pore, and now ben þei ful riche, for wronges þat þei done. Men of lawe ben somme of þo lawe of londe, and somme of þo lawe of þo pope a, þat holden Cristen court. Bot þis name is ofte fals, and named by þo contrarye, when þis is byfore oþer Anticristis court. Þese laweres comynly ben men wiþouten mercy and wiþouten charite, as hor dedes schewen. Þei ben knyttete by covenaut to mayntene hor wynnyng, þat þei schulden take no losse, bot þus selle hor wordes. And, as Austyn seas b, þei sellen hor right-wisenes, and now þei sellen falsehed, and so þei sellen þo devel,

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a Either of the common, or of the canon law.

b In the only passage bearing on the professional honesty of lawyers that I can find in his works, (Epist. CLIII) St. Augustine says pretty nigh the contrary.
and þus þei parten hom fro God and wedden hom wip þo fende.

And þis same marchaundise is wip thre oþer. Bot usure is a comyn synne þat mony men usen; and þis is forfendid in þo olde lawe, and more in þo new lawe, when luf schulde be more. Lord, what charite is wit hym þat leeyes his neȝhtore worldly gode for a tyme, and after askes þo same, or þing als* myche worth, and owver þis encrees? So þat, when al þing is sought, he selles pure tyme; bot by proporute of God he is lord of tyme, and so charite is awye bothe to God and mon. He may not by covenaut have so mykel encrees, bot if bytwene hym and oþer be bying and selling. He wil be certeyn of þat at he byes, and sumwhat he selles, or ellis hym fayles right. He selles not þat þing þat he leeyes in a maner, for he askes þat hool in ende of a tyme; ne he selles not wynnyng þat comes of þis catel, flor mon selles not a þing þat nevére was his, ne þing þat stondes in fortune; and oft þere comes no wynnyng. And so, if al þinge be sough, he selles not þing, bot lenght of tyme by whiche he leeyes þis money. And so, sith lenght of tyme and tyme is al one, he selles tyme to his neȝhtore, and þat he may not; for God onely is Lord of tyme, and wil þat tyme be comyne to alle maner of creature þat dwellis in þo tyme. Ne chaffaryng of tyme profitis not to mon, flor as God ordeynes tyme to mon, so mot hit be. And blessid be þis Lord, þat okeris on þis wyse. He leeyes mon frely giftis of grace and giftis of kynde to have for a tyme; and eft, in ende of tyme, he askes aconyte, what þis mon haves profited wit gode of God. If he have myche profitið, þo Lord is þo better payed, and al þo encrees þo Lord gís hym, for þo Lord is riche inoghe, and dampnes ydelnesse. And everiche servaunt in erthe þat profitis not to hymself, þis is usure of luf, and not usure of avarice. Wil I wot þat mony a caas fallis in þis mater, and answeres and resouns to excuse oker, bot God þat wot al þinge schal juge men by hor purpose, flor bothe he puttis mede and synne in mennis purpose. Bot þo usurere wolde not leee to men þese gode, bot if he hopid wynnyng, þat he lufs

* Here ends the lacuna in the Douce MS.
more pen charite. Mony ofer synnes ben more pen pis usure, bot for pis men cursen and haten hit more pen ofer synne.

Bot ofte tymne ofer avarice is more synne pen pis. Hit is a myche synne to holde conyng of God, and profite not werwip to pin even Cristen. Of er comyne laboreres ben not wipouten avarice, when pei done injuries to hor even Cristen, not onely for wynnyng of pis worldly gode, bot pure for enuye and veniaunse of hor brojer. And somme men pleten by costes and dispensis, and wynnyng geten pei none, bot likyng of hor veniaunse. Bot we schal undirstonde pe se ben pre lawes, lawe of God, and lawe of mon, and lawe of jo fende. Lawe of God dos gode for yvel, and monnis lawe gode for gode; bot jo lawe of jo fende dos evere more yvel for gode. And pis lawe is myche usid of jo fendes childe.

CAP. XXV.

Jo sixte synne of pese seven is called glotorye; and hit falles to jo flesche. Bot bothe jo fend and jo world tempten mon to pis synne, when pei supposen victorye; ffor bi fallyng in pis synne pei haf mon lightly to hor propur synne, by cautels of hor temptynge. Glotorye falles pen to mon, when he takes mete or drink more pen profitis to his soule. Ffor few men synnen in abstinence, pei have habundance of pis fode, and jitt pei wil not take of hit. Bot certis hit may falle to a mon pei he synnes in abstinence, when he fedes not his horse pei schulde bere hym to serve his soule. Ffor iche mon schulde be a knyṯt, and ryde here in worldly travel; ffor by pis travel schulde a mon make blis to his soule and gete to hit jo joye of heven, for mede of his travel. Ffor, as jo gospel techis, mon is here as wommon pei travels of childe in anguische and noye. And if jo childe be wil borne, pei is, a cleene soule, in house of his deth hit partis fro his body; pei he joyes for his peyne pei he suffrid here, ffor his peyne is turned to blis pei he schal evere have. And so pis Lord pei we serven wil pei we eete and drink als myche as profitis us, or we schulde aske by resoun. If a mon, to chastise his body, take pese þinges in abstinence, if he have prudence þerwip, jo abstinence is medeful. And so, if God sende hym wantyng of pese godes, and he þenke al is
 gods, and that he has myche more synned, that his abstinence is worth, and sonkes God in charite; his abstinence is gode and medeful to his mon. Lord, men abstenen in werre, with myche fastynge and peyne, to wynne worship of this worlde and to anoye hor enmyes; but for to wynne this blis of heven and dis-counfite this flesche, pei wil not gladly fast this, for that flesche is hor god. And herfore seis Seynt Poule that glotouns ben oute of this feith, sith pei maken hor wombe hor God, that pei loven more pen homself, and so more pen trewe God, alfof be he above mon, which he schulde luf more pen mon, for God is bettir pen mon in kynde. And certis this is a foule sac and stynkyng that mon makes his god. And mon is more foule by synne when he hafs chosen hym suche a god, and forsaken oure gode God that so myche hafs done for mon.

And here may we se po maner of glotorye. Ffor glotorye is not onely in meete and drink, but in al oper thing that schulde norische a mon; and so, as temperure of iche bodily thing schulde norische a mon, distemperure perinne may be calde glotorye. So foole fastynge is glotorye, and so, sith excessis in mesure is calde glotorye, iche synne is glotorye or suyng perof; ffor he is a glotoun that travels oute of mesure to con mony pinges, that don his soule harme. And this may we se that iche glotoun is a foole, as mon when he synnes travels in foly; as iche synful mon synnes for sum gode, and po contrarie falles that po foole covetytis. As, po glotorous mon covetytis to haf lust, or elliis to have strenght or beute of body, but po contrarie falles of alle pes pinges, sith a glotoun by his synne schortis his lif, and makes hymself feble in strenght of his body, and a stinkyng caryoun by resoun of his glotorye.

CAP. XXVI.

And this pre partis of po Chirche synne in glotorye, bot clerkes more schamely, for ioni schulden kepe more temperance. Upon fyve maners synnen men in excesse of eetyng and drinkynge, and comynly clerkes. Ffirst when a mon eetis or drinkes byfore po tyme that resoun schulde aske; as glotouns of drinke wil drinke in pe morowe, and that, as ioni

1 So in BB; W has sek.
seyn, askes dronkenes owver even. Sum mon to hastily eetis or drinks, and þat ageyne physik dos harme to his body. And somme men deynteuous \(^1\) norischen hor body, as spendying Gods gode to costily in glotorye. And sum mon to lustfuly eetis or drinks, and þat distemperes a mon in body and in soule. And somme men taken hom tyme to eete saverly, and evere þo more þat þei wasten þo better þei payed; þe, þei holden hit a booste to eete myche or drinke. And God wot wheþer proude clerkes synnen in þese maners; þe, religiouse men, as mounkes or freris, wasten more meete or drinke þen profitis to hom. *Ffor, as mony men seyn, monkes haf grete kuppes, and purchascen pardoun to men þat drinken depe of hom* \(^2\), and in hor bred and hor drinke asken þei a mesure, and stryven for defaute þerof more þen defaute of virtues. As þei asken noumbræ and grettenesse of eyren, so þei asken large-nesse of flesche and of fishe; and þus þei harmen homself in mortherynge of meete. And so þei synnen in excesse of wak-yng and fastyng; and biddyng of hor psalmes, and forme of hor clothynge, and synnges of hor silence, done homself harme, and occupyen hor wittes in lernyng of þese þinges. And al suche excesse smakes glotorye.

Bot blessid be þo Lord þat askes of mon mesure and noumbræ and weght of a clene lufl for virtues of God may no mon disuse; and herfore schulde iche mon covyte myche of hom. Bot bishços or abbotis or oþer grete prelatis holden a grete avaunt \(^3\) to be gode meete-gyveres, and coste myche of Gods godes in quantite of meete and in qualite þerof, by whiche þei passen hor neyghtbores; and by resoun herof maken fals suggestiouns, and seyn þat þei have nede of so myche rent. And þis schewes openly whoos childer þei ben. Ffor þo fadir of leesynes, god of alle glotouns, is god of hom, to whom þei alle serven. Ffor he þat worships fals goddes mote nede have mony. And þus, if we taken hede to noumbræ of þese prestis, and quantite of hor fode þat þei consumen, no folc in þis worlde maken more waste. And if þei schulden feste men wiþ

\(^1\) to tenderly, BB.  
\(^2\) The passage between the asterisks is omitted in BB.  
\(^3\) vaunt, BB.
hor meete, þei maken more waste þen any oþer men. And sith seyntis seyn, and resoun approves hit, þat richesses þat clerkes have schulden be pore mennis godis, þei done wronge to pore men in alle suche excesse. Hor chekus and hor body beren wittenesse of hor lif, hou þei lyven in glotorye of pore mennis part. Lord, sip Crist schal dampne men at þo day of dome for þei fede not pore men, as þo gospel seis, hou schal þei be damped þat professen povert, and maken hor suggestioun in getyng of hor godes þat þei schulden fede pore men, and aftir al þis mortheren pore mennis godes, as traytours to God. Per ben mony mon-sleeres, bot þese ben þo foulest, ffor þei sleen pore men, hor owne body and soule. Of þis serves dowynge, augeyn Gods maundement, to norische soche fentes and traytours to pore men. Þus speken seyntis of almes gyven to clerkes, hou hit is turned to theste, to raveyne, and sacrilege.

CAP. XXVII.

Þo secounde part of þo Chirche synnes in glotorye, and specialty in costily meetis and drinkes. And alþof gentil men schulden costilyere fare þen prestis, þei ben not excusid fro þo synne of glotorye. Ffor he þat wil kepe hym fro drenchyng of water, kepe hym fro þe bryne for to be siker. Soth hit is þat lordes schulden reule by drede and powere, and so þei schulden be costily in fode and in clothynge. Bot þei may passe resoun by pride of hor state; and herof comen mony perels by wey of suche glotorie; and þus þei rennen in dette, and wasen hor godes; and aftir þei pillen hor tenauntis, and distourblen rewmes, and so þei ben worse þen theves by cause of þis glotorye. For soth hit is þat grete cause of stryffe in þo puple is unjust partyng of worldly richesse. Þo puple is childische, and takes more hede to suche þing þen þei done to virtues or richessis of þo soule, ffor gostily þingis þei seen not, and knowen hom to litil. Lordes by suche glotorye fallen offt in sikenesse, and so ben deede or hor tyme, by hor owne hondes. Ffor, as clerkes seyn comynly, glotorie slees mo men.
.EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

pen dos swerde. And on pis wyse glotouns ben mon-sleers; and when pei loven homself so litil, no wonder poif pei sleen hor brether. Glotorye distourblis lordis to have hor hoole wittes. Ffor when po body is undisposid, hit serves not wil po soule; and pen pei reulen amysse homself and po peeple undir hom. And of pis springes lecchorye, and mony synnes aftir hit; and pus po fende by one synne brings a mon to mony. And pus fro po brinke ben mony led into po grete see, and peere ben pei drenchid.

And lustis and defaute of reule is cause of pis synne. For mon schulde wil witte, pat ofte comyne meetis ben more holsum to men pen ben peese riche meetis wip hoot spices, and oft tymes comyne drinkes dos more gode pen peese hye drinkes, made costily by craftis. And pus mony men supposen pat God hafs gyven to reumes bothe meete and drink pat is most acordyng to hom. So if po reume of England were reulid wil by resoun, ping pat comes forth in po lond wolde suffis hit to meete and drinke. Bot wil I wot pat God hafs ordeyned one lond to be plentifulous in one maner of ping, and one in anofer, for cause pat pei schulden comyne in charite. Bot pis is to myche leeft by werris and covetise; for mony men byen wyne for lustis and for wynnyng. For alpof wyne be nedeful for lordes and sacramentis, nerepoles God Almyghty askes ping in mesure. And so mony drinken wyne pat were better lif wip ale. We schulden trist and knowe of oure gode God, pat he wil pat his servauntis have gode mete and drinke, to remounte hom in hor body, and herby serve hym better; bot in al pinghe he askes mesure, as God is in al pinge. And pus, by ensample of glotorye of lordes, apis pat ben lesse pen pei synnen mony weys, when pei ben to costily and to lustily in fode. Ffor prelatis and abbotis be1 ensample herof, passen lif of lordes, and wasten pore mennis meete. And pis makes po lordschip pat pei ben dowid wip; ffor herfore pei leeven prestis state, and taken lif of lordis.

CAP. XXVIII.

Po pridde part of po Chirche synnes to myche in glotorye, as men pat haf myche worldly gode, and perwip ben to lustily; as

1 by, BB.
burgeis and marchaundes and oþer riche comynes. Hom þenke hit is a grete avaunt to spende myche in household, and make grete festis to lorde; and herof comes myche yvel; ffor by þis ben parties made, and mony wrongis mayntened. Ffor þo synne of covetise bringis in þo synne of glotorye. And not onely riche comyns synnen þus in glotorye, bot mony pore laboreres ben blemyschid by þis synne, and specialy in dronkenesse, for uneven norisching. Ffor now þei hungrin and thirsten, and þerwip travelen fast, and now þei komen to meete and drinke, and taken to myche þerof; and soche mot nede passe mesure, as swyne eten'hor meete. þis we seyn, for soche men schulden warly ete and drinke, and take sum drinke on werk day, and not spende al on holy day; ffor þis þing unables hom to serve God on holy day, and makes hom to feght as wode men, þe, more þen beestis done, ffor beestis kepen more mesure in etyng and drinkyng.

Hit were to long to telle þo harms þat comen of dronkenesse, ffor soche men, as beestis, serven þen not Crist,—ffor Crist is wisedome of þo Fader,—and þei faylen þen in resoun, and ben þen as hors and mule þat wanten undirstondyng. Lord, sith hit is schameful to be in state of a beeste, myche more schulde hit be to passe beeste in foly; and so done þes dronken men for tyme þat þei ben drunken. A mon schulde not by resoun, to wynne al þis worlde, ne to wynne þo blis of heven, chese to lese his witte; for þen hit did hym no gode, lordschip ne blis of heven; as men seen þat beestis coveyten not monnis lordschip. Bot sþ þen men fallen by dronkenesse fro resoun worse þen beestis, who schulde not by pure skile fle to be drunken? And by þis skile al synne schulde algatis be fled, for synne makes a mon noght in þat þat he is synful. Ffor þitt a mon is sum þing in þat þat he is myche or litil, and so in þat þat he is whit 1, slepynge, or restynge; bot no mon is oght worthe in þat þat he synnes. And herfore, as Austyn seis, synne makes mon noght a.

1 witty, BB.

a S. Aug. Enarratio in Ps. 143. "Homo vanitati similis factus est. Pec-
cando vanitati similis factus est. Nam quando est primum conditus, veritati
similis factus est; sed quia peccavit, quia recept digna, vanitati similis
factus est."
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

And if you say that hit spedes a mon to be dronken ones in a moneth, for myche gode comes therof,—suppose we to phisians that he taken soth, but wil I wot that more gode comes of mennis synne; bot schulden men synne herfore? sith that Poule seis nay. If gode cum of synne hit is a grace of God, and men schulden not putt hom in his caas to wynne al his worde, for in his he tempten God, and written not wheher his right-wisenes wil profyte mercyfully to mon when he synnes thus. And if you sey, mon fallyng in dronkenesse ryses sone therof, and better is disposid for to do his werk, or what that he schulde do, here you spakes as a foole, as alle proctoures of synne. For you woste never wheher you schalt dye in tym of this dronkenesse, and nere make asethe to God for synne that you fallis inne. Bot Gods lawe techis us to lyve evere in that state that we be redy to hym, what tym of that he calles us. And amonge oher causes, herfore haves God ordeyned that tym of deth be uncerteyne to men that dwellen here in erthe, for we schulden evere be redy whenevere God calles us to ende in his servise, and take of him that blis of heven. Mony soche blyndennessis colouren mennis synne and maken hom Gods foolis, for icche synne comes of folye. If you worlde holde men foolis for o luf of Crist, hit is a gode token in men that lyve wel, for we schulden take as bileve that mon when he synnes dos hym harme, to body and to soule, to his lif and to that oher.

CAP. XXIX.

That sevent synne is lechorye, and stondis in his ping, that mon mysusis lymes or powere of his body, that God haves ordeyned unto men for his kyndely gendrure. And undir-stonde we by mon, bothe mon and wommon. And on fyve maners is his synne done. Ffirst, when a sengle mon delis vip a sengle wommon, and his tho chapitre calles a symple fornicioun. As God hafs ordeyned instrumentis and powere to do his dede, so he ordeynes mariage and feyth of wedded folk. And his in icche lechorye is sum ping by kynde, and sum ping ageyns kynde; and þerinne stondes synne. Ffor synne is so feble and noþt worth1 of hym, that hit myght not be bot if gode

1 worthy, BB.
of kynde groundid hit. And he þat excusis synne, or preysis hit herfore, excusis þo fende and dispreyses God. Þo secounde maner of þis synne is calde avoutrye, and falles on thre maners; when weddid synnes wîp weddid, or weddid wîp unweddid; and þat is on two maners. And þis is a gratter synne, for feyth in þis is broken, and mony harmes comen herof, as feghtynge and disherityng, leesyng of godes and virtues, and þat is moste of al. Þo thridde maner of þis synne is lecchorye wîp virgyns. Ffor he þat moves hom herto, ouþer mon or wommon, is by-gynner of þis synne and mony oþer þat folowen. Þo fourt maner of lecchorye is bytwene kyn, or ellis bytwene affinite, and þis is grett synne. Ffor everiche suche couplynge schulde be for luf and charite, and herfore hafs monnis lawe ordeyned þat kyn and affinite schulde not be weddid þus togider, for hit is no myster. And dispensacioun wîp þis lawe wynnes myche money. Weddyng of fadir or modir wîp hor owne childe is agens Gods lawe for resonable causes. Þo fift maner of lecchorye is þo synne of Sodome, and is more unkyndely þen any oþer lecchorye. And þis synne may mony weys falle unto men, or elles to wymmen, for mony kyns causes. And among oþer synnes þis hatis God myche; and hit cryes unto God to have veniaunse þerfore.

Bot bisyde þis bodily lecchorye of men þere is gostly lecchorye, þat God chargis more. Iche synne may be calde a maner of voutrie, sith God schulde be spouse to iche monnis soule, and þis weddyng is broken by iche hedly synne; and more synne is none þen to breke þis spousched, for hit is most hye and most for to kepe. And here asken prestis hou hor synne is calde 2; for hit semes þat hit is bot simple fornica-cioun, and so þo lightist of oþer maner lecchorye. But me þenkes þat þis synne of prestis is more grevous; for as þei schulden be more hye in virtues þen oþer men, so þei synnen most grevousely in brekyng of Gods spousched, as lecchorie of a noun is comynly more grevous þen simple fornica-cioun of anoþer wommon. Trist we not to lightenesse of þis lecchorye, ffor hit is grevous for to dampne a mon, sith Seint Poule seis þat no

1 bedely, BB.  
2 clepyd, BB.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

maner lecchoure hafs part of heritage in þo reume of God. Ne triste we not to lewe þis synne by oure owne powere in tyme of oure elde, alþof we synnen in þoukthe 1, ffor certis we witte not what tyme God wil calle us. And þis synne is ful lustful in men of nowne powere, and þei may synne as myche as þonge men in dede.

CAP. XXX.

Bot se we owvur how þis synne is partid in þo Chirche. And hit semes þat prestis synnen myche in avoutrie, bothe religious and oþer. And by þis skile wil we witte, þat þoukthe of hom, and state of complexioum, and hor fode and ydelnesse, wil dryve hom to þis synne. And herfore men þat knowen hor dedis seyn þat þei synnen here mony gatis, sith more grevos avoutrie þei chargen to litel, and he þat is untrew in more reckes litel to be fals in lesse. Ffor prestis ben weddid wip God by holdyng of his lawe, and þis bond is dissolvyd bothe in lif and offis. For þei schulden lif on Gods part, and preche treuly þo gospel, bot bothe þese hav prestis schamefully forsaken, and ben weddid wip þo contrarie to hor lyves ende. And so þei have taken Anticrist and forsaken Crist, and more foule devorse was nevere none made. Hor bodily lecchorye cryes in þo Chirche bothe prively and aþerly, by holdyng of hor lemmons and by getyn of hor childer, as þei were weddid men. Lord, sith Seynt Poule wolde nevere ete flesche bifoare he sclaundrid his brother, hou may prestis for schame synne comynly wip wymmen, þe, þat schulden be hor childer! Ouþer Gods lawe is fals and þo popes lawe bothe, or þese men schulden be prived of almes of þo puple. Ffor oure bileve techis us þat þei harmen homself, and þo puple þat þei schulden gostly serve in clennes. Bot cursid be þat lawe þat þus nedis a mon to harme hymself and his broþer, ageyyns þo lawe of God.

And by myche more skile fro freiris and possessioneres schulden men wipdrawe hor almes, when þei synnen more, bothe by wastyng pore mennis godes by more falsched and lecchorie, and lesse servyng unto men, bothe bifoare God and

\[1 \text{þowte, BB.} \]
mon. Bot, for strenght of Anticrist, men þat wolde bygynne þis moten gedire hom togedir, and onely holde wip Gods lawe. Lord, who wolde not despise þis, þat mouthe and hondes of þis prest þat makes and tretis Gods body schulden be polute wip a hoore! And if he abstyne hym fro masse, and resseyve þo sacrament, sith he resseyves hit gostly wip an unclene blyve, he dos more despit to Gods body þen if he caste hit in þo lake; for synne is more unclene to God þen any bodily filp. And þus þo prest brekes his vow, ouþer prive or apert, sith he vowed to serve God at tyme þat he toke þis state, to lif þo lyve þat fel to a prest, and clenly do his offis. And sith þat gostly sacrilegie is fals takyng of holy gode, hym semes to synne in sacrilegie when he withdrawes his holy service, and so he serves in myche more to be hangid þen a theff. And as hangyng in helle is more grevous þen hangyng here, so punysching of God is more grevous þen monnis punyschyng. And so, sith place agreggis synne, as comynate of men schulde wil knowe, so holy state agreggis synne in prestis þat synnen þus. As hit is more grevous synne to do lecchorie in holy Chrche þen in oþer unholy placis, so hit is of synne of prestis. And þus þese traytoures don despit to God þat þei schulden most serve; and þei desseyven þus þo puple, þat þei schulden serve in helpe of soule. And more traytoures ben þer none, bothe to God and to his Chirche.

Cap. XXXI.

þo seconde part of þo Chirche is smyttid wip lecchorie, as ben gentilmen and hor wifes bothe, as if þei holde hit bot a gamen, one to lyve by oþers wif. And if freris enterlasen, þo synne is more perilouse. We sufficen not to telle harmes þat comen of þis synne; ffor by þis ben fals traytoures bothe to God and to mon. And he mot nede be fals to iche mon þat he delis wip, þat on þis wyse is traytouir to his God. And þus ben fals eyres geten in rewmes, and mariai of cosyns, and dishonoure of faderes. Hou schulde rewme by soche beestis stonde in gode governayle? Ffor certis beestis wipouten witte gone not þus togeder. And of þis comes feghtyng, bothe wipinne and wipoute; ffor, as philosoforis seyn, bothe mon and
beestis ben pure batelouse in tyme of pis dede; and men bi pis fals luf ben made pure hardy to assayle hor enmyes, by soly pat ledes hom; ne hit it is no nede to aske wheper pis synne be costily, and brings injurye bothe to God and mon. And herby is hit lesse excusid, pat comynly pese lecchoures have wives of hor owne, fayre re þen þei synnen wiþ. Hou schulde God teche pese foolis to holde his lawe and luf hit, sith soche foolis ben wode and unable to holde Gods lore?

And most synne þat sues aifter þis avoutrie is, þat þei ben unstable to stonde for Gods lawe and his right. Ffor þese men þat ben þus divided by luf of lecchorye, ben unstable as wedir-cokkes, and wil turne wiþ one foul wynde. Lord,hou schulden soche men be vikers of godhed, and execute þo wille of God, þat no weye may be turned! And sith þei ben by þis offis in þis hye state of þo Chirche, no drede by levynge of þis dede þei ben vikeres of þo fende. And sith wommon is chaumburleyyn of hert of mon þat lufs hir, falsehed of soche wymmen turns mennis hertis wiþ þo wynde. Ffor if hor purpose and hor luf stode in God and in his lawe, þei schulden be more sad in hit þen in any oþer þing; but þei schewen opunly contrarie by hor dedes. Lord, sith lawe ofoure God is algafis wiþouten were, and þis synne is so foule, hou schulden þese two dwelle togedir? Gods lawe is wiþouten wan, as þo holy psalme seis, bot monnis lawe is comynly unstable, and eke fals. For who con excuse þis lawe by whiche lordes ben oblischid to prisoun men to hor deth, þat ben cursid by Anticrist, al if þo cause be deffence of Gods lawe þat may not fayle? Certis, þese lordes bynden hom by þis lawe to serve þo fende. And þus gostly lecchorie comes to men by false lawe.

Bot se þo filth of lecchorie, hou mon schulde kyndely hate hit. Iche mon by lore of kynde schames to do hit opunly; and sith þo soul of iche mon is principal part of hym, 3e, al þo persone of þo mon, as byleve techis us, sith lecchorie puttis doune þo soule, and makes þo body mayster of mon, hit semes þat hit turnes mon fro monnis kynde to kynde of beeste. And þus is synne in monnis body, when hit hafs lordschip þus on

1 þis is a, BB.
his soule, and so ageyns al aungel kynde, for soule hafs kynde of aungels. And þus þis synne specially puttis blame in monnis body, not onely for hit wastis þo body, bot for hit puttis þo body above þo soule. And þus is þis a stynkyng synne bothe bifoire God and mon, and wastis and fordos þo gode bothe of body and of soule. And of þis schulden lordis gedir witte, and forsake þis lecchorye, for hit harmes gretyly to persone and to comynate.

**CAP. XXXII.**

Þo þridde part of þo Chirche is not clene of lecchorie, for þei gone togedir as bestis. And þis is knowen to bischop\(^1\) clerkis, for þei spoylen hom in chapiters, as who wolde spoyle a thef; and by hor feyned sommenyng\(^2\) þei drawen hom fro hor laboure, to tyme þat þei have grauntid what silver þei schal paye; and þen by feyned cursyng þei maken hom paye þis robbyng. And by þo knott of leesyng þei schewen to whom þei serven. Þei seyn, as þei mot nede, þat þis þei done by charite, and putten enplaster of cursyng for heele of monnis soule. Bot þis is open gabbyng, as men may wil knowe, sith be\(^3\) streyt covenant þei sellen tyme of synnyng, þat þus longe schal he not be lettid for so myche money; and by so myche as hit is fals is þis robrye worse. And þis falshed schulden lorde lette, and make þis puple be punischid by opun penaunce in hor body, as fastyng, or schameful beetyng; and þus were not hor laboure lettid, bot hor synne wil quenchid. Bot by þo gospel medicyn prestis schulden preche to hom, and move horn by Gods lawe to leve suche synne, and fro þei weren thries

\(^1\) **byscops**, BB.  
\(^2\) by, BB.

*Chaucer's Sompnour, whom the energetic Archdeacon employed in enforcing church discipline, will at once occur to the reader:—*

\*'He had a sompnour redy to his bond,  
A slyer boy was noon in Englond;  
Fei priely he had his espiale,  
That taughte him wher he might avayle.  
He couthe spare of lecchours son or two,  
To techen him to four and twenty mo.  

Withoute mancument, a iewel maun,  
He couthe sompne, up payne of Cristes curs,  
And they were glad to fille wel his purs,  
And make him grete festis atte naile.*  

*Freres Tale.*
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warned, no more comyn wyth hom þen wyth a hethen mon, for þei ben cursed of God. Lord, where slepis þis gode lawe, and when schal hit be wakened? Certis, not before coveytise of þese clerkes be quenchid. Al þof comynes ben as beestis in doyng of þis synne, nereþoles by luf and drede þei may be drawen þerfor.

Hit is seide þat mony comynes wil chaffere in þo new feyre, and þus chaunge hor wyfes and ly in avotrie. Certis suche lechchorie schulden prestis better amende, or seculer lordeþ, þen done clerkes of chapiter. Hor personþes schulden telle hom medicyn, hou þei schulden fe þis synne. Þei schulden fe dalyaunce wip wymmen, and dwellyng in privye placis, for hit is hard to touche þo picche and not be fouli þerwip. Þo secounde medicyn ageyn þis synne is mon to chastise his flesche wip fastyng and wip travel, and óþer privye penaunce; Þfor flesche þat is wel chastisid stires late to lust; and he lufs to litel his God þat wil not suffere þus for hym. Þo thridde medicyn / ageyne þis synne is to þenke on Gods lawe, and wipdrawe þoght and wille fro þis dede of lechchorye. What is he þat trowes not þat he schal answere unto God of alle þo dedes þat he haves done ageyne þo ordynaunce of hym? God haves ordeyned monkynde þat hit schal be above beest, and by his resonable werk gete þo mede þat evere schal laste. Beestis ben moved by kynde to do þis werke when hom liste, bot God hafs gyven mon powere and instrumentis to do þis werk, to do hit by Gods lawe. And þat may he do levefully, bothe to susteyne monkynde, and to wynne þo blis of heven. Soche resouns, wip clene lif, schulden prestis telle þo folk, and move first to 1 luf of God, to leve þis synne. And sith wip aw ye þenke, mon, hou þou hafs of God bothe powere and appetit, and þerwip kyndely instrumentis, to serve hym 2 and not þo devel; and fayle not in þis trew servise, for scharpe vengeaunce takis God for suche.

EXPLICIT: DEO GRATIAS.

1 by, BB. 2 So in BB; W has eybe. 3 So in BB; om. W.
X.

PE SEVEN WERKYS OF MERCY BODYLY.

[The interesting double tract which follows is ascribed to Wyclif by Bale under the titles 'De operibus corporalibus' and 'De spiritualibus operibus.' But the fact of the chaptering in the New College MS. being continuous shows that the two were considered to form one work,—composed, it would seem, not long after the holding of the council convened at London by Archbishop Courtenay in May, 1382. (See p. 175.) The evidence of style seems to me strongly in favour of its being authentic. The text is based on the New College MS. (Q), with the advantage of collations from the only other known copy, in the Library of Trinity Coll., Dublin (CC), obtained through the kindness of Mr. Hunt, Assistant Librarian, and Mr. French.]

3IF a man were siker þat he schulde to morowe come biforn a juge, and oþer lese or wynne alle þe godes þat he hadde, and also hys lif to, he wolde drede þis jugement, and bisie him ful fast to redye hym and hys to have þe sentence for hym. But where is oure bileve of þe day of dom, when we trowen þat we schal come biforn þe heyest juge, and be juggid of oure lif and all þinge þat we have, to wynne it ever in blisse, or ellis for to lese it ever more in payne of helle, wiþ fendis and þer angelis? Þis schulde be our ðeip, and siþen schulde we have hope, be oure gode lif after þe lawe of God, to be glad in charite, and so þe sentence þeven for us. But siþen oure bileve techip us þat Crist jugis for none but bi titil of hys mercy, ne he hap no mercy but only on hem þat ben merciful, eche man schulde lerne for to be merciful. And herfore seþ Crist in þe boke of hys gospel,—Blessid be merciful men, for þey schal have mercy!

Þer ben seven werkis of bodily mercy, and oþere seve werkis of goostly mercie; and þes loveþ Crist more, as he loveþ þe
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soule more þan þe bodye, for it is better. But, for bodily werkis arunne more knowen to us than arunne goostly werkis, þerfore bygynne we at þes bodily werkis, for so dos þe gospel. Crist seil, when he schal come at þe day of dome, þer schal be gederid before him alle maner of folke; he schal depart hem atwynne, as herdmen don schepe fro gete. Schepe þat schal be savid schal be on hys riþ honde, and gete þat schal be damnyd schal be on hys left honde. And þanne schal he seie to þeise þat schal be sayyd, Come my blessid fadur childur, and take þe blisse of heven þat was ordeyned to þou before þe world was made. And for cause of þis blis Crist tellip be ordre sixe werkis of mercy, whereby þei schul have blis. I hunred, he seil, and þanne ȝe fedde me in my membris; I þristed, and ȝe ȝaf me drynke; and when I was a gest, ȝe herbet me in ȝoure house, and gedered me to rest. I was nakid and ȝe cled me, seke and ȝe visitide me, I was in prisoun and þen ȝe comen and visitid me. Þe seven werkis of mercy is seid in þe book of Thobie, biriynge of dede men þat han nede þerto. Alle þes seven werkis of mercy don men to Crist when þey don hem to hys membris devoutly in hys name; for as he hirtus a man þat hirtis hys lymes, so he dos for a man þat doþ for hys lymes.

CAP. II.

But here meven many men, wheþur it be werkis of mercye to do þes dedes to hem þat schal be damnyd in helle, siþen it is certeyne þat non of þes ben Cristis lymes, and þe gospel makes no minde of reward of þis almes, but if it be don to membris of Crist. But þis semes hevye and agayn resoun, siþen no man but God wote who schal be saved, ne who is ordeyned to blisse or ordeyned to be damnyd. And only þei þat schul be blessid ben membris of Crist, and þus no man for doute schulde do þes werkis of mercy. But here we seyn þat iche man schulde be war in wirchynge þat he norische not lymes of þe fend; for if he do þis wytyngly, he werres a þe bend Crist, and mayntens lymes of þe fend to wirche aþens Crist, and þis is opyn traytorie, as iche man may see. And herfore iche Cristen man schulde have bisie descrecioun to whom he did þis almes, lest he reversid Crist; and so schulde he al only do

The seventh—burying the dead—in the book of Tobit. Tob. ii.

Ought works of mercy to be done to the evil and reproued?
almes to suche, þat he supposes by holy signes kepyn Goddis lawe, and is in sadde purpose to stonde þerfore. For if a man do þis almes to hym þat lyveþ yvyl æsen þe lawe of hys God, and stondis wip þe fend, it is al on to norische hym, wityngly or lickly a, and holde wip þe fend agayn Jesus Crist. And þis may we se wel in bodyly ensample, when þou refreschid on siche wise enemye to þi frende.

And herfore Crist askes two þinges of þin almes, þat þou do it in hys name, and also discretely. For many men may as ypocritis aske in Cristis name, and in lyfynge or wirchinge do agens his lawe. As b, þif freres by gabbingis blasfeme upon Crist, and in multitude and howsynghe ben chariouse to þe peple, men schulde not do hem almes for to lyve þus, for þanne þei mayntene enemyes of Crist ægens him sylf. As, if þei see þat all þese godes ben don to Cristis worschipe, and afterward ben despendid to honour of God, sothe it is, but þis is not ynow to þee, for þe fend may not do but if þat it turne to þe worschipe of God, mawgret he hys wille. As, when þe fend temptid Crist, hys dedis were wickid, and þit it turned to worschipe of Crist and profit of hys Chirche. And þus Crist ordeyned hou hys prestis schulde serve hym be gode lif and good dede, and not by fals wordes. And syngynge, or peyntid housis, was lityl presy whole Crist. But Crist haþ lymytid in hys lawe who schulde have suche almes,—pore men and blynde, pore men and lane, pore men and fefel, þat neden suche helpe. And so þes starke beggeres don wronge to suche pore men; for ypocrisie, by Poule seynghe, is most privey synne þat dos harme to þe Chirche in þe laste daies. And þus schulde riche men of þis worlde do suche almes to pore men þat þe gospel lymites to helpe, and be not desseyved be fals novelries, ne þei schulde axe prof þat may no wey faile, ne to lyþly þyve þer godes c, but be discrete in almes and founde hem in Goddis lawe, for þat may no wey fayle.

a That is, knowingly or probably.

b Here, and frequently, Wyclif uses ‘as’ in the sense of ‘for instance.’

c That is, rich men should neither wait, before giving alms, till it be proved to demonstration that the object is a deserving one, nor on the other hand should their liberality be lavish and undiscerning.
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Cap. III.

But it were to witen of perpetual almes, whether it be any of pe seven werkes of mercy; and certeynly, but if it be, it is opun erroure. And þis may we see by ten lawes, þre of þe old lawe and seven of þe newe, þat tellen opunly how prestis shulde lyfne a pore lif, as men did in state of innocence,—wipouten superflyyte, as Crist him silf lyved; wipouten beggyng as freres, or dowynge as orpele bishopis and monkes, and orpele calde possessioners; al þis is unleful or Goddis lawe is false. If nobul-men be bishopis, let hem þenke on Crist, þat was most nobul man þat evere was in erthe, for hys Fadir was God and hys modur Marie, and boþe þese ben best in kynde, as Crist himself is. And sithen Crist, nobulest man þat may be in erthe, was porest man of alle whan he chese to be bishope, orþer shulde þis lordis kyn be pore as Crist was, or ellis holde hem in staat of lordis of þis worlde. And Y am certeyne, lord-schipe þat God haþ þeven lordes of þis world were ynowe to hem alle þif it were not yvel departid. And on þis resoun schulde men þenke, boþe lordes and þer kyn, and orþer take mekely þe staat þat Crist chees, or ellis holde hem in þe worlde as her kyn does, and defend Goddis lawe, or ellis be þei false. And so þe staat of monkes schulde alle be pore men and so alle opur clerkes þat han possessiouns. And if þei reverse þe sentence of þis worde, þei ben dowble and fals, and so hatid of Crist, and most cursed men þat ever God suffred. And so schulde men loke, by resoun of Goddis lawe, wheþer it were medeful and a werke of mercy to make riche bishopis, and lett hem of þe werke þat Crist ordeyned hem to do, and drawe folke fro þe world, or ellis for to make hem to lyve so worldly þat non synes so lustly, ne meduld hem wip þe worlde, þan don suche bishopis; ne have more wast meyne, ne more wast dis-pence make of Cristis and pore mennis good. And so þes irreligious þat have possessiouns, þei have comunly rede and fatt chekis, and fatt and greet belies. But Lord! what mede were it to feden and norischen þus Anticrist martres! Men schulde þenke on Goddis worde seyde by Ezechiel, þat þes were

1 So in the MS.; read erthe.
foure wickidnesse don of men of Sodom, pride in herte, and fulnesse of mete and of drenke, abundaunce of richesse, and ydulness of travel. Lord, what devocioun were to grounde suche an ordre? For, as Goddis lawe scip, alle þes ben wickidnesse, and it is no devocioun to founde such wickidnes. And sipen þes foure were wickidnesse in seculer men, muche more þei were wickidnesse in prestis, þat Crist forbedis to lyve suche lyf or þus have possessiouns. And so, as it is seide, òpere Goddis lawe is fals, or it is unleful prestis to lyve þus. And sipen God biddiþ a man to wirche in þe state of innocence, and þis abundaunce of richesse makis men to be ydul, men may se hou þis dowynge contraries þes two lawes, and þe state of innocence, and comawndement of God. But Lord! what werke of mercye were to make suche ordres! And so þese fyve lawes of þe Olde Testament schulde be fyve barly loves, and scharpoy moevo men to holde þe Olde Testament and þe ordynance of God; and þes, wip òpere seven loves of þe Newe Testament, schulde moeve men to destrie privat religions, and put þe persones of hem in ordre þat Crist made.

CAP. IV.

But here men seyn þat it is soþe, when a peril is neyghe, þanne men drede it and seken helpe on many wyeyes. As, if I trowed þat be þe lawe of man my cause schulde be jugged to morue, I wolde be bisie and dredeful þat it went on my side; but nowe þe day of dome is fer fro our lyvynge, and our juge is merciful, and we may myche plesse him before þat tyme come; whi schulde we þan drede it more þan òpere men done, sipen helpe may come so liȝtly? Well I wot þat þus men speken þat saveren þe worlde, and þese ben men out of þe feip for mercy and longe tyme. But wolde God þat suche men knewe þus myche of dyvinite, þat þe day of jugement, þat is present to God, is ful neye bisidis us ¹, and tyme mut nede come, and þanne schulde þei have more bileve of þe day of dome þan þei have of any werke þat men don in þis lif. For well I wot þat suche werkes may liȝtly be put of, if God wil þat it be so, and þerfore ben we uncerteyne. But we ben certeyne of oure feip

¹ So in CC; by sy sidus, Q.
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pat domsday mut nede cum, and we mut answere to Crist of alle pat we han don. And pus us ow not to be lefe of jugement of men. And so pis greet dome of God passes dome of men in cerceyn of commynge and in drede of perel. And, as clerkis wyten wel pat travelen in resoun, nojinge is more nye tan pe day of dome. Ffor sipen a man may see sum jinghe pat is passid, and Goddis siȝt wiȝouten mesure is more tan siȝt of man, ūanne God may see alle jinghe pat ever was passid before, and bi pis same resoun alle jinghe pat schal be; and so alle pe day of dome is present to God. Lord, who cowthe undirstonde pat a sparke of fire, turnede aboute in derke nyȝte, semes to make cercul, but mennus siȝt holdes pret of jinghe bifoere seen for a littyly schort while, til alle pe fire be turnede? And so pe greet siȝt of God holdus togedur alle jinges pat han ben and alle pat schal be; and so a thousand ēer ben frescher in Goddus siȝt tan is yisterday in pe mynde of man. And pus presens or neignesse schulde not moeve a man to drede not pe day of dome, sipen it is nye God. And ȝif you tristist on Goddis mercy, triste to hys riȝtfulnesse, pat he ȝyves not man mercye but if ēi deserve it. And evere pe lenger pat ȝou lyfest to lyve bi Goddis lawe, evere pe harder it is to ēe to come agayne. And if ēou speke of seynsis, more wis amonge opere seide and last written(pat ēi ēouȝt ay on ēis tyme. For when I ēenke, seis Jerom, on ēe day of dome, I trembul in myn hert for peryles pat schal ūanne falle; ffor wheþer pat I ēte or drynke, me ēenkus pat ēa angel trumpe sownes in myn ere, and biddis rise to juggement. Pis juggement schulde men drede for ūes þree skylles.

CAP. V.

But men here moeven comunly, of what maner jinghe men schulde gif þer almes to lymes of Crist. And it is no drede þat ne men schulde knowe bisile þat þes godes were justly geten of whiche þei do þer almes. For sipen iche almes þat men don þei ȝyven first to God, and God þankes not for suche godes

a The wisest among them have said, and it has been among the last things that they have written, that, &c.

b Something like this may be read in St. Jerome’s Commentary on Joel, but I have not discovered the precise passage here quoted.
pat ben not justly geten, it is open pat of just havynge schulde almes be don. For siþ ȝyynge is not worþe but if God approve it, but God approves not unjuuste havynge of þinge, þanne it is non almes to dele of suche catel. Lord, hou schulde God approve þat þou robbe Petur, and gif þis robbere to Poule in þe name of Crist? Þou puttes here on Crist consense of mayntenynge of þeste. And if þou seist þou ȝyvest þis gode in þe name of God, þat makis more þi synne ȝif þou lokest wel, for here þou takest witnesse of God þat he approve þi doiynge. And bi þis skil þis robberes, þat seyn þei gatt þis godis in greet peryl and travel, spoken ageyne hem self, and accusen hem to God, and putten on him þer wickynesse. But undirstonde þat many men don almes of þer godes, and þit þe wan hem wickidly, but after þei amendid hem; as sum wan justlye þer godes, and sipen forfeuted aȝen God. And for tyme of þis forfeiture þei don screwidly þer almes, for God askes clennes of hert when men don þer almes.

But here men dowten comunly to whom men schulde restore þe godes þat þei have geten wip þwronge, siþ þei schulde not do þer almes of suche goten godes biþore þei had restored þer þeste to men þat schulde have hem, and make amendis to God by þe lawe þat he askes, and to him þat he is bounden to. But ofte tymes it may falle þat þese men ben dede, or ellus he knowes hem not, or þei dar not comme to him; how schulde he do almes þat is a riche robbere, and is wrappid in suche cases? it semes þat he may not be safe. And here freris gaderen myche gode of suche maner robberis; and boþe þe ȝyver and þe taker don wronge to þer neiȝtboare. And herfore many men supposen þat werke of þise freris schal þe sunner fayle, for deaute of riȝt grounde. And so summe seyen þat þese freres serven of þis office, to be resett of robbers, and to susteyne wronges bytwix cuntreis and cuntreis, and not for to quench þem.

But to þis doute may men answere by resoun of Goddes lawe, and sey þat suche robbers schulde first have contricion,

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*It is commonly said that the proverb ‘robbing Peter to pay Paul’ arose out of a transfer of lands belonging to Westminster Abbey to St. Paul’s Cathedral in the seventeenth century; but this passage proves it to be at least as old as the fourteenth century.*
and be in hole purpose never synne so after, and make restitu-
cioun to þes men þat þei schulde. And, for þis is seldom seen, 
herfore þis synne is greet, and wrappes hem in gnari of þe 
fend, of whom þei kunne not delyver hem. But first, me þenke, 
þei schulde restore men þat þei have robbid, or ellis neyghe 
neibores þat hadde riȝt to þese godes; and if þis may not be 
don, aspie pore men of þe gospel, and ȝyve hem wisely Goddis 
godis, and lyve in penal povert. But ȝit men doun comunly, 
wheþur men schulde paye þer dette to þes men þat þei wote lyve 
in wickid life. And it seemes nay, by resoun of God, for suche 
men ben unworþi to have ony godes, ȝhe, to have life ȝovun of 
þer God; how ben þei worþi to resseyve þer dettes? sijen þei 
han lost titil of alle riȝtfulnesse. But here men þenken by 
Goddis lawe, þat men schulde stire suche schrewes to serve 
trewly þer God boþe bi worde and dede, and paye hem her 
dettes, and hope of þer mendentment. Ffor as God wole þat þei 
lyve, so he wole þat men ȝyve hem. And herfore techip Seynt 
Poule þat Cristen men þat ben servauntes serve wel þer heþen 
lordes, by resoun of þer God. And so we graunt wel þat suche 
resseyven unjustly and to þer dampancioun dettes þat men 
payen hem, and ȝit þer dettoures medefulli ȝyven þes godes.

**CAP. VI.**

But here mut men moeue sumdel of speche of þes freres, þat 
in London, at þer counsell of trembulynge of þe erp ȝ, sceyde, 
for to plese prelatis and persones, þat it is an errore to susteyne 
þat dymes ben pure almes, and þat men þat ȝyven hem may 
wiþholde and ȝyve hem to opere pore men, for synne of þer curat, 
and faylynge of hys service. But many men wondren here why 
þese freres seyd þus, sijen þei wold þat þes dymes were ȝyven 
unto hem, and þes persones were destried, and no prest were 
but þei. Her workes schewes þis wel, howevere þei speke by 
scyde. And so it seemes to sum men, þat þis was a fagynge of 
þe fendus childur, by lore of þer fadur; as if þei wolde bringe 
of þis, þat almes ȝyven to freres schulde not be pure almes, fro 
it were brouȝt in custome, sijen custom makis lawe, and dette

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*a This allusion to the earthquake which occurred during the sitting of Archbishop Courtenay's synod in 1382, on May 19 (Fasc. Zianiorum, p. 272), fixes so far the date of this treatise.*
over almes; and so might freres be fulli fals, and aske þe puple þer almes be titil of custome, al ȝif þei were unworþi and traytours to rewmes. But trist we not to fals freris, ne fayle not in treuþe, for þei beren venym in þer tayle, speke þei never so faire. And to þer speche of dymes, siþen þei ben almes, þei ben pure almes, and not ellus but almes. And so lyved Crist wiþ hys apostlis on almes of þe peple, þat was pure almes al if it were dett, siþen al þis [is] dett þat God askes and nedes man to ȝyve. And so, if freres ben moeved here to seye þat dymes of persones ben not pure almes, for þei ben here wiþ dett, þei mut seye þat þes persones lyven on pure almes, þat han dymes, and serven not ne ministren to þer parischenes, for hem wantis titul of dett be þe lawe of God. But what frere þat seis þus is not a pure frere; for boþe he is a fals frere, and þerwip a fende. And certis a pure God rulis not such a frere. For, as þei schulde seie, God is not pure God siþen he is boþe God and man, and þes ben diverse kyndes; and schortly þer is no creature þat ne it haþe diverse resones of diverse names, and Þytt it is a pure þinge. Leve we lesingis of þes freres, and seye we þat dymes ben boþe almes of God, and almes of þe parischenes; ne schame we not to be sustened of suche maner almes, siþen Crist and hys apostlis were susteyned be suche. For, as Seynt Poule teches, We schulde be payed of lode and hylynge, and aske no more þan nedes; and þit Poule proves be Goddis lawe, if we serven treuly, þes godes ben dette over resoun of mannis lawe.

But to the dowte of dymes þat is tocht after, wheþer parisch- enes may leffuly holde dymes fro persones for synne of þes persones,—and freres seyn þat þis is heresie. O God! if freres wolde þenke on þe power of God, what þinge he may do by men, and suffer fendes worche, and þanne schulde þei graunt þis power þat þei here denyen. þei have forgeten þer owne powers þat þei seien þei han, and doynge of miracles of þe sacrid hoste a. But leve we þeise uncrafti wordus of þes freris, and

* This is evidently an allusion to the miracle recorded by Knyghton (col. 2651), as having happened in the church of the Black Friars, on the Friday in Whitsun-week, 1382, to the knight Cornelius Clonne, to confirm whose wavering faith in the Eucharistic mystery, the host was said to have exhibited itself to him under the guise of flesh.
speke we to þe purpose of matir þat is touchid. And ðeertis me þenkes þat parischenes may in certeyne cases wiþholde dymes fro hym þat is calde þe persone, as þei may medefuly holde godes fro þes freres, or fro Jewes or Sarrasenes, þat ben ·lesse evil þan þei. But not iche parischen schulde, whan ever he wolde, holde fro hys person be hys owne juggement. But marke we wel þat we have not titel to þes dymes be mannus resoun of dett, as ðe ðer worldy men pleten þer dettoures in forme of mannis lawe. But serve we trewly as God biddus to our sugetis, and þei ben holden to serve us in temporal godes; and ellus, as me þenke, us failis riht to-dymes.

ÞE SEVEN WERKYS OF MERCYゴSTLY.

CAP. VII.

Sijen we schulde serve our parischenes in spiritual almes, as þei serven us in bodily sustainaunce, it were for to speke of seven werkis of mercy þat we calle spiritual; þat ben better þan þes first, and þen clepid comunly by þes seven wordes,—Teche, Counsel, Chastise, Cownfort, Fforgif, Suffer, and Pray. Þanne a man teches anoþer bi þe lawe of charite, whan he teches hym for to love þe biddynge of God. A man cownseles anoþer as he schulde do, *whanne he moeveþ him to a weie þat ledþ surely to hevene. A man chastisþ anoþer bi word or bi deede*1, or ellus bi wiþdrawynge of bodily helpe, whan he helpus þat he leefes þe synne þat he was inne. A man cownfortes anoþer when he solaseþ hys sowle to drawe in Goddis þock, for hope of greet mede. A man forgysþeth anoþer trespas þat he did to him, whan he askes not veniaunce bi resinu of hys trespas, but helpus him to Godward, to turne to gode lyf; and þis may man do sumtyne, and punische men by charite. But ofte tyme suche punischynge saverþ of pride or covetise, and herfore it were nedeful to purge þis charite, and loke þat sixtene condiciouns suei it, as Poule telliþ. And þanne symonye of freres and covetise of lawers schulde be

* The passage between asterisks, wanting in Q, is supplied from CC.
exiled fro þe folke, and Goddus word schulde renne, and iche
man schulde kepe charite to oper. And þe first condicioun of
charite is, a man to suffur. Be lawe of charite a man schulde,
suffur anoþur, and muche more a prelate schulde wisely suffur
hys sugettis. And syn a man schulde pray for helpinge of hys
enemies, as Crist did, with Steven, and resoun nedis þerto,
miche more schulde a prest preye for hys sugettis.

And as a mannis soule passes hys bodye, so þes seven
goostly werkes passen þe seven oper. And herfore eche Cristen
man is holden to þes seven, but more is prelatis, as þei ben
heyer in state. And so men of holy Chirche schulde beware of
þis heresie, þat bodily almes is better þan is gostly almes, and
evere þe more þat it be þe bettur it is. And þus þe send blynnþ
prestis to covyete to be riche, for, as þei seyen, þer almes
schulde bie þer soule fro peyne. þei schulde white þat Crist him-
self was most pore man, and ordeyned hiis apostlis to do þis
secounde almes, and not to do þis bodyly almes for unperfitt-
enesse þerof. For siþen almes stondes in wille and profite to þi
broþur, wheþer is better, wille schewid to bringe mannis soule
to blis, or ellus to fede hys bodye þat lastis but awhile? And
herfore badde Crist to Petur þat he schulde fede hys schepe by
þe mete of hys word, as he loved him. And so Petur fedde þe
folk in techinge of Goddus word, and lafte bodily fedyngyn, siþen
it fel not to him. And þus schulde prestis and prelatis do, þat
ben Petur vikers. Syn þis werke is better, þe leynge is more
synne. And þis fends heresie desseyves þe Chirche, whan þei
tellen more bodily dette þan bi gostly dette. And meddelynge
of þise two detts confoundus Cristis lawe; for if a man schulde
not were wollen and lynnyn togedur, miche more he schulde
not medule þe resones of þeise almes, and specialty syn þe
wersse doþ harne to þe bettur.

CAP. VIII.

We schulde beleve þat þese werkes passen ðeþer werks of
charite, and defaute or fraude in hem harms more Cristis
Chirche þan defaute of worldly godes, if men of þe world
kouthe se it. And herbye apostlis of Crist gendrid Cristis
childur; but now oure Chirche is bareyne for defaute of suche
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sede; for now men loken after bodily pinge, as bestis, and lesen pingus spirituale, for hem saylis feip. And herfore Crist preyse more heringe of Goddis word, and good kepynge of it, ³an beringe of hiis modur. And syn it was a holy pinge þus to bere Crist, and norische him in hiis þowthe by bodily gode, and þitt be witnessse of Crist it is miche more holy to here Goddus word and worþily kepe it, and þitt more þan þis is to preche wel Goddus word, þanne it semes þat þis is moost heyre werke of oper, and þus þe mede of þis werke passes oper medes. And herfore sais Seynt Joon, I have no more grace of þis, þan to here my childur wandur in treuthe of þe gospel, for frute of such sadurhede schal be joye of heven, of childur þat men geten to heven, and þis passes al þe joye of þe worlde. And herfore men seyn þat doctours han passyng coroun in heven. But þe fend, bi pride and covetyse of þe worlde, lettis frut of þis sede by bryngynge in of Anticrist. Alle þes ben Anticristes, þat chaleyngen by tityl of Crist for to synne worldyest and lustyest of oper; suche on is a mydday fend, opun ævens Crist. And so, as hirdes in heven have joye of þer childur þat þei have goten to heven be vertu of Goddis seed, so þese fendes schal in helle have sorowe of oper childer, þat þei have brouȝt unto helle be lawe of þe ende.

Þis schulde Cristen men defende as þe feiþ of Crist, þat þe most holy werke, and most duwe to prelatis, were to sowe Cristis seed by charite among þe peple, and so stonde for Cristis lawe to suffringe of deþ. And herfore seis Crist þat no man hadde more lufe þan on þis wise put hiis lyf for profit of hiis frendis. And so did Crist and Baptist, and ³ere Cristis martires, þat seid þe treuþe of Goddus lawe for Cristis love and hiis Chirche, and suffred deþ wiþ good will for kepynge of hiis lawe. And siþen þis is þe best werke þat man may do in erþe, þe most cursid werke þat Anticrist haþ fownden were to lette þis sowynge of Jesus Cristis worde. O if oure prelates lettid trewe prestis to preche Cristis gospel and charge not þe peple, and bringe in suche prechours þat reversen Cristis lawe, and pylen her herers ¹ ævens Cristis lawe, how opun kalendis it were of lordschipe of Anticrist! And alle þes may be brouȝt inne

¹ So in CC; þus hererers, Q.

3 John 4.

To spread the gospel, and uphold it if need be, even to death, is the noblest of all works of mercy.
by lyttul and lyttul, of leyynge of Cristis lawe and ypocrisie of þe fendus.

CAP. IX.

To þis travelen þeise newe sectus, be helpe of Anticrist, and forsen hem by prelates of þe emperoures lawe. For freres in her prechinge fordon prechinge of Crist, and prechen lesyngus and japes plesynge to þe peple; and if þei touche a worde þat is in Cristis lawe, þei cutten it so, and reven it fro fowrme of Goddis wordes, þat þe peple schal not wite what þis word menes. And so þes freres faren wiþ þe worde of Goddis lawe worse þen fendus turmentours faren wiþ þer cloþis. For þei docken Goddis word, and tateren it bi þer rimes, þat þe fowrme þat Crist yaf it is hidde by ypocrisie. And so þes fendes prechen sutilte of hemself, and leven to preche of Jesus Crist, and þus men ben desseyved. And certis, as þe word of Jesus Crist is better þan þes cloþes, and use wiþ profite of hem schulde profit more to man, so þes ypocritis of þe fende don more harme to þe Chirche þan dos þes turmentours þat þus desfowrmen þer cloþes. Oi sîpen Seynt Petur teche, þat if a man speke ouþ he schulde schape him for to speke as he spake Goddis wordis, how miche more schulde þeise prechours hold þis rewle, and put away japes and lesynges in þer prechynge, and speke wordes of Goddis lawe, (for þei ben of vertu to teche men þe riȝt weye, hou þei schulde come to heven), and leve all oþer wordes but if þei helpe þe prechoure to declare þe word of God, as releffe fedus men. And herfore Jon Baptist answered prestes and Phariseis, and prechid not hys heynesse, but þe worpinesse of Crist, and seid himself was a voyce criynge in wildirnesse, and grounded hiis word on Goddis lawe in Ysaye, and so tolde what office God hadde ordeyned hym. And þe same he ordeynes to iche prechoure of hys word, to make redye Goddis wyes, and make riȝt þe paþis bi whiche owre God schulde come, in hiis membris þat lufen hym, sone and schortly to heven by riȝtwisnesse of þeise biw-eies. Þis schulde be þe werk of prechours, or Goddis lawe is fals; and he þat seis þe reverse blasphemes in Crist, and seis þat helpe of men schulde be taken fro hem, and Crist schuld ordeyne men to be damphalted
by Anticristis lawes. But, for iche Cristen man schulde hy- dowse þeses wordes, beleve we þat ordenaunce of Jesus Crist is best, bi þe whiche he ordeyned hiis prestes to despise þis worlde, and teche hiis puple þe riȝt weye þat ledis hem to heven, boþe in maner of lif and worde of þer prechynge. And so prestis schulde teche, be trewe lawe of God, how men schulde come by þe strynge to þe blysse of heven, and not go downward to helle, ne tarie be croked weies. And if þou doist away synne, þou rediest Goddis weye, and removest stockes, heye, and stobul, as Seynt Poule teches.

CAP. X.

And þus is Goddis lawe reversid by Anticrist clerkis, þat gode is calde evyl, and evyl is cald gode. But wo worpe hem þat speken þus, as Ysaie synges. And so wo schal come to hem þat turnen werkes of mercy to felenesse of werkes of þe fende, to drawe sowles to helle; as he þat turns Cristis lawe, and richeþ1 prestes to þe world, is seide to do hem almes, for he contraries Crist and makes hem gloriose to þe worlde, þat Crist forbede many weies. And þus ordynaunce of Crist is put aback be þe fende, and where men seyden þat it were gode sowles go to blis, now seis Anticrist indede, it is gode hem to go to helle; and where weyes þat Crist hadd ordeyned to governe hiis Chirche schulde be susteyned and kepte, siþen God himself biddus so, Anticrist seis apertly þat it were greet schame to lyve or to speke so, siþen þe world askes þe contrarie. And so þei ben greet heretikes, þat spoken of Goddis lawe, or agayn Anticrist lawe, as enemyes to þe Chirche. And he þat spakes þat God assoyles or cursus for hiis lawe schal be halden for a foole, siþen Anticrist contraries. And so assoylynge stonden in billus and wordes, and so we chargen sensible þinges, and leven Goddis lawe, as God were aslepe and Anticrist were ful lord. For beleve schulde teche us þat no man were cursud but if God cursid him for faylynge in hiis lawe, ne no man is assoyled but if Crist assoyle him for mayntenynge of hiis lawe, hou evere þe world blaber. And herfore schulde þes lordes begynne at hemself, and amende þes errours þat regnen

1 So in CC; richesse, Q.
amonge þe peple, before þei go to straunge londes to werre wiþ þere enmyes. But certis men han non enmyes more þan is þer homely meynes; and here þei schulde begynne to wirche by þe rule of charite. For who luþes more in charite hys enmyes þan hys frendes? or who wolde prick to Cawnterburie, to fyst þer wiþ hys enmyes, whan he hadde in þe myddys þis lond moo enmyes alle aboute hym? And þus þe lawe of charite, and also þe werkis of mercy, schulde moeve men to chaunge þer ordre and sumdel trowe to Crist; for alle þe harme þat comes to men is for chawngynge of Cristis ordynaunce.

Lorde! gloriouse were þi Churche if it stode clenly bi þe ordynaunce of Crist, wiþowten fendes novelies! þan schulde men begynne to werre on enmyes nexst hem, as mede and nede and kynde teches Cristen men.
XI.

FIVE QUESTIONS ON LOVE.

[This short but highly interesting piece is a letter written by Wyclif to some unknown friend, who had put five questions to him respecting the love of God. Bale mentions it under the title of 'Ad quinque questiones;' and the Wyclif MSS. at Vienna and Prague contain several copies of a Latin version of it, the ending of which however appears to be different. Its authenticity can hardly be doubted. The text is founded on New Coll. 95 (Q), the only copy known to exist.]

A special friend in God axiþ bi charite þes fyve questiouns of a mek prest in God. First, what is love. Afterward, where is love. þe pridd tyme he axiþ hou God schuld medefullly be loved. þe fourþe tyme he axiþ hou a trewe man may knowe wheþer he love his God in þe fourme þat God axiþ þat a man love him. þe fiþe tyme he axiþ, in what staat of þis lif a man may best love his God, and more medefullly to come to hevene. Alle þes questiouns ben hard to telle hem trewly in Englishe, but þit charite dryveþ men to telle hem sumwhat in Englishe, so þat men may beste white bi þis Englishe what is Goddis wille.

To þe firste questioun þat is axid seien men on þis maner; þat love is a maner of werk, þat comeþ of a mannis wille to wolde good to loved þing; and so love is in mannis herte, and man oper maner in lovyng a. But to þe prid questioun answerþ Crist in Jones gospel. Crist seih,—He þat haþ my maunde-

* This, the reading of the only MS., appears to be corrupt. A collation of the Latin version of the tract, copies of which exist in five MSS. at Vienna, (see Shirley's Catalogue, p. 22) is much to be desired.
mentis and kepǐh hem in his lif, he is þat ilk þat loveþ me. And þus he makǐh redy love to God, þat studiþ wel Godis lawe, as þe first Psalmse seip. As to þe fourþe questioun,—a man may wite bi himself wher he þenkip on Goddis lawe and loveþ it and kepǐh it, and þanne Crist seip þat he loveþ God. As anentis þe fiþe questioun,—it is knowyn bi Goddis lawe, þat þer ben in þe Chirche þre statis þat God hape ordeyned; state of prestis, and state of knyþtis, and þe þridd is staat of comunys. And to þes þree ben þre opere, comyn and leeful bi Goddis lawe,—state of virgyns, and state of wedloke, and þe state of widewis. State of virgyns is þe hiest, bi witnesse of Crist and seynitis in hevene. Sum state is here good for o man, and sum is good for anoþer; and God moveþ a man to his best state ʒif he lette not bi his synne.

But foure statis, of þe emperour clerkis, of munkis, of chanouns, and of freris, semyn perelous, and not ordeyned of God, but suffríd for manþys synne. And þerfore men schulden be war to take of þes foure stātis, for ðoper statis þat God haþ ordeyned bringen men bettere to blis·of hevene; and he is a miche fool þat leevþ þe bettere and chesþ þe worse. And þus it helpþ heere to Cristen men, to studie þe gospel in þat tunge in whiche þei knowen best Cristis sentence. For our bileve techþ us þat ech Cristen man is holdyn heere to sue Crist in maner of lyvyng, sum ferrer and sum nerrer, aftir þat God þyveþ him grace; and þe þat sueþ Crist most nyse loveþ him most, and is most lovyd of God. And siþ lif and dedis of Crist, and his lore, ben in þe gospel, it is opyn to profit of men to studie þis bok, to love Crist.

But over þis axiþ þis frend of God, what wil Daviþ hadde in þes two versis þat he seip in þe Sauter,—and þei ben comynly known in Latyn,—O Lord, I confesse to þee þat I am þi servaunt, in bodic, soule,—and I am son of þin hand·mayden, for Y am trewe child of holy Chirche. Þou hast brokun my bondis, of synne, and bondis bi whiche my soule loveþ my flesche; þo þee I schal sacre an ost of heriyng. And þus Y schal clepe inne to me þe name of þe Lord, to dwelle in me. And þes same wordis maie martris seie, þat loven so miche Goddis lawe, þat þei wole suffre peyrte of deep, for love and
mayntenynge of his lawe. And bettere cause of martirdom schewid God never to plesen him. And siþ a man mut nedis die, and Goddis lawe haþe nowe manye enemyes, a man schulde wisely putt him forþ to suffre now þus gloriously.

War, man, lette not for synne,
Prest, knyþt, þemon, ne page,
þif þee wole of God have large wage:
Amen, Amen, Amen.
XII.

[ON THE SUFFICIENCY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.]

[Of this striking 'fly-leaf' the only copy known to exist is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (AA). It appears to be entered by Bale in his catalogue twice over, once as 'De Sathanae astu contra fidem,' *inc.* media multa diabolus quærit, and again as 'De veritate scripturæ,' *inc.* diabolus quærit multis modis. It is strange that it should never before have been printed.]

The send sekip many weyes to marre men in bileve, and to stoppe bodily pis, pat no bookis ben bileve. For 3if you spekist of the Bible, panne seyen Antecristis clerkis, how provest you pat it is holy wryt more thanne another writen book? Here we seyen, as Crist seith, that kynrede of hordom sekip signes. And perfore men moten use cautels, and axe hem questiouns azen, whether Crist lefte his gospellis here for to counforte his Chirche. And 3if thei seyen that he ride, axe hem whiche ben pes gospels, and hem we clepyn holy wryt. And þus we axen of opir partis þat trewe men clepyn hooly wryt. But, for Cristen men schulde speke pleyntly to Antecrist, we seyen that hooly wryt is taken on þree maneres comynly. On the firste manere Crist him silt is clepid in the gospel holy wryt, whanne he seip þat þe writynge may nõst be fordon þat þe Fadir hap halwid and sent into the world a. On the secounde manere holy wryt is clepid truþis þat ben conteyned and signyfied bi comyn bibliis, and þes truþis may nõst faile. On þe pridde maner holy wryt is clepid bookis þat

* This mistranslation of John x. 35, 36, is found in the earlier Wycliffite versions, but is corrected in the later.
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ben writen and maad of enk and parchemyn. And þis speche is nouȝt so propre as the first and the secunde. But we taken of bileue þat þe secunde writ, of truþis writen in the book of lyf, is holy wryt, and God seþ it, and þis we knowen by bileve. And as oure siȝt makeþ us certyn of þat þing þat we seen, so oure bileue makþ us certyn þat þes trewþis ben holy wryt. Ʒif holy wryt on the þridde manere be brent or cast in the see, holy writ on the secunde manere may noȝt faile, as Crist seþ. In Dei nomine, Amen.
XIII.

OF WEDDID MEN AND WIFIS
AND OF
HERE CHILDREN ALSO.

[The only known copy of the following tract is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 296 (for a description of the manuscript, see the Introduction to this volume). It is not mentioned even by Bale, and the only reason for ascribing it to Wyclif is that it is found in a volume which Archbishop Parker, in the sixteenth century, believed to contain only tracts of Wyclif's composition, and under that belief bequeathed to the college. St. Augustine's being called here 'Seynt Austyn,' instead of simply 'Austyn,' as in the Homilies, appears a suspicious circumstance, yet capable perhaps of explanation, if we suppose the tract to have been composed by Wyclif in his younger days. But, whatever may be thought of its authenticity, it possesses sufficient intrinsic interest to justify its appearing, for the first time, in print.]

CAP. I.

Our Lord God Almy3ty spekiþ in his lawe of tweie matrimoynes or wedlokis. Þe first is gostly matrimoynye, bitwixe Crist and holy Chirche, þat is, Cristene souls ordeyned to blisse. Þe secunde matrimoynye is bodily or gostly, bitwene man and womman, bi just consent, after Goddis lawe.

Of þe first matrimoynye spekiþ God bi þe prophete Osie to holy Chirche; and to ech persone of holi Chirche God himself seïþ, I schal spouse þe, or wedde þe to me, in riþwisnesse, in dom, in mercy, and in feïþ; and I schal wedde þe wïþouten ende. Þis is þe first matrimoynye and best, as God and þe soule of trewe men ben beter þan mennys bodies. And þis beste matrimoynye is broken for a tyme bi brekyng of saad seïþ, and defaute of riþwis lyvyng. And herefore God seïþ
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oft bi his prophetis, þat his peple dide fornicacioun and avoutrie, for þei worschipen false goddis; and Seint Jame seip þat men þat loven þe world ben gostly avoutreri. For þus writþ he; þee avouteris, wite þe not þat frenidishte of þis world is enemye of God? And þus alle men þat loven more worldly worschiphe or goodis of þe world þan God and his lawe and trewe lif, ben avoutreri gostly, þif þei weren Cristene bfore; and þis is worse avoutrie þan brekynge of fleschly matrimonye.

Of þe secunde matrimoyne, þat is bodily, spekiþ God in þe firste bok of holy writt, whanne he maade matrimoyne bitwene Adam and Eve in Paradis iu sate of innocenc, bfore þat þei synned. And for þat God hymself made þis ordre of matrimoyne, and he not so made þes newe religions, it is betre and more to preise þan þes newe ordis. Also Jesus Crist wolde not be borne of þe virgine Marie, ne conseved, but in verrey matrimoyne, as þe gospel of Luc, and Seynt Ambrose, and òpere seynitis witnessen. Also Jesus Crist was present in his owene persone wiþ his modir in bodily matrimoyne, to approve it, as þe gospel of Jon techþ, whanne he turned watir into wyn. Also þe Holy Gost warneþ Cristen men, hou in þe laste daies summe heretikis schullen departe fro feþ of Goddis lawe, ðevinge entente to spiritis of error, and to techynge of develis, spekynge lesyngis in ypocrisie, forbedynge men and wymmen to be weddid, and techynge men to abstene hem fro metis, þe whiche God hap maad to be eten of trewe men, wiþ þankyngis and hereyg of God. Also þis bodily matrimoyne is a sacrament and figure of þe gostly wedlok bitwene Christ and holy Chirche, as Seynt Poul seip. Also, þis wedlok is nedful to save mankynde bi generacioun to þe day of dom, and to restore and fulfille þe noumber of angelis, damded for pride, and þe noumber of seynitis in hevene, and to save men and wommen fro fornyacion. And þerfore he þat forbediþ or letiþ verrey matrimonye, is enemye of God and seynitis in hevene and alle mankynde. And herefore man ponischide fornyacion and avoutrie in þe olde lawe bi stonynge to deþ, and in þe lawe of grace bi dampanynge in helle, but þif men be verrey contrit þerfore.

And herefore, siþ fornicacioun is so perilous, and men and
allowed by
God; evils
of enforced
celibacy.

wymmen ben so frele, God ordeyned prestis in þe olde lawe
to have wyves, and nevère forbode it in þe newe lawe, neiþer
bi Crist ne bi his apostlis, but rãpere aprovede it. But now,
bi ypocrisie of fêndis and fals men, manye bynden hem to
presthod and chastite, and forsaken wifis bi Goddis lawe, and
schenden maydennes and wifes, and fallen foulest of alle. For
many ben prestis and religious, in doynge and oþere a, for to
have lustful lif and eisý, þong and strong of complexion, and
faren wel of mete and drynk, and wolent not traveile, neiþer in
penaunce, ne studie of Goddis lawe, ne techynge, ne laboure
wîp here bondis; and herefore þei fallen into lecherie in dyvers
degrees, and in synne ægenst kynde. For many gentil-mennis
sonys and doubtres ben maad religious ægenst here wilne, whanne
þei ben childre wipouten discretion, for to have þe heritage
holly to o child þat is most lovyd. And when þei come to age,
what for drede of here frendis, and what for drede of povert in
cas þat þei gon out, and for ypocrisie and flatirynge, and faire
bihestis of þes religious, and for drede of takynge of here
bodi to prison, þei doren not schewe here herte ne leven þis stat,
þou þei knowen hemselfe unable þerto. And hereof comeþ
lecherie and sum tymes morperynge of many men.
Neþelis, þouþ matrimonye be good and gretly comendid
of God, þit clene virgynite is moche betre,—and wedlok also, as
Seynt Poul seþ opynli b; for Jesus Crist, þat lyvede most
perfitly, was evere clene virgyn, and not weddid bodely, and
so was his modir evere virgyn, and Jon Evaungelyst. Seynt
Austyn and Jerom specially witnessen wel þis in many bokis.
Neþelis virgynite is so heye and so noble þat Crist comaundid
it not generaly, but saide, who may take, take he it. And
þerefere Poul þaf no comaundement of virgynite, but þaf conseil
to hem þat weren able þerto. And þus prestis þat kepen clene
chastite in bodi and soule doun best; but many taken þis charge
not discretly, and sclaudren hemselfe foule bifoare God and
his seyntis, for newe bondis maade nedeles of synfult men. And
þis is a gret disceit of þe fend under colour of perfeccion and
chastite. For he stireþ men to heþe poynтыs of perfeccion,

a I cannot understand this phrase.
b If the text is not corrupt, the reference must be to 2 Cor. xi. 2.
when he knoweth or supposeth hem unable, not for here goode, but for to falle foulere and depere in more synne, as Seynt Austyn techeth. And thus he sendeth Sathanas transfigureth or turneth hem falsly into an angel of liȝt, to discyve men bi colour of holynesse.

CAP. II.

See now how his wedlok oweth to be kept in boþ sides. First his wedlok shulde be maad wiþ ful consent of boþe partis, principaly to þe worschipe of God, to lyve clenly in þe ordre þat he made, and bringe forþ childre to fulfille þe chosen noumber of seyntis in blisse, and not to have flescly lustis wiþoute reson and drede of God, as mulis and hors and swyn þat han no undirstondynge. For þe angel Raphael warned Tobie, þat þe sende hap maistrie upon siche men þat ben weddeth, to have þus lustes of flesch as bestis wiþoute reson and drede of God. Also þis contract shulde not be maade bitwixe a yonge man and an olde bareyne widewe, passid child-beryng, for love of worldly muk, as men ful of coveitise usen sumtyme,—for þan come þoonde deabet and avoutrie and enemyte, and wast of goodis, and sorowe and care nowþ. And it is a gret dispit to God to colour þus here wickide coveitise, lecherie, and avoutrie bi þe holy ordre of matrimayne. And many men synnen moche, for þei defoulen many wymmen, and letten hem fro matrimoyne, and undon hem in þis world, and sumtyme ben cause of here dampnacion; for þei ben maad comyn wymmen, whanne þei han lost here frendishipe, and kunnynge no craft to lyve by. Many hotte and coragious men wolen not take a pore gentil womman to his wiþ in Goddis lawe, and make here a gentil womman, and save here owene soule, but lyven in þe develis servyce al here lif, or þe more part; and defoulen many templis of God to gret peril of here soule, and abiden to have a riche womman for muk, and þanne wasten here goodis in harlotrie and nyse pride, in avoutrie on gaie strumpatis, and evere lyven in wrath and chydyng, and in bondage of synne to þe fendis of helle. Also summe myȝty men marien here children, where þat here herte consenteth not wilfully, but feynen for drede. For comynly þei loken alle aftir richesse and wor-

What constitutes a true marriage: evils of mercenary and ambitious marriages.
pinesse to þe world, and not after goodnesse of virtuous lif. And so God and his side is putte bihynde, and þe devel and þe world and þe flesch han now here maistrie.

For þre skillis may a man knowe fleschly his riȝtful wif ¹, þe firste for to geten children, to fulfille þe noumbe of men and wymmen þat schullen be savyd; þe secunde to kepe his wif fro lecherie of ðopere men; þe þridde is to kepe himself fro lecherie of ðopere wymmen. And no party may kepe him chastle fro þe dedis of wedlok wiþouten assent of þe toþer comynly, for þe man haþ power of þe wifis body, and þe wif haþ power of þe mannys body, as Seynt Poul seþ. And ȝif þe partie desire ² to be chast, suffre he wiþowten his owene luste þe toþer part in dedis of matrimoynye, and he getþ him þank of God, boþe for suffrynge of his make, and for þe wille þat he haþ to chastite; for God takþ reward to þe goode wille, and not onely to þe dede. Also men seyn, ȝif boþe parties assenten wilfully to perfite chastite, boþe of wille and dede, þat it is betre þan to use forþ þe dedis of matrimoynye; and ȝif þei assenten boþe parties at þe begynnynge to lyve evere chast, wiþouten bodily knowynge, þat it is þe best kept matrimoynye of all ðopere, as diden oure Lady and Josep, whanne þei ben weddid. Loke þat eche partie lyve wel anentis God and þe world, and stone eche ðopere to charite, riȝtwisnesse, and mekenesse and pacience, and alle goodnesse. And be ech man war þat he procure no fals devours, for money, ne frendischipe, ne enimy; for Crist bidдиþ no man departe atwyn hem þat God haþ joyned; but only for avoutre þat part þat kepþ him clene may be departid fro þe toþeris bed, and for noon ðoþer cause, as Crist seþ hymself. And ȝit þanne þe clene part myȝt lyve chast evere while þe toþer lyveþ, or ellis be reconseled æzen to þe part. Neþeles þe clene may dwelle forþ wip þe toþer lyveþ þat forfetis ³, bi weie of charite. And men supponþ þat þat weie is gret charite, ȝif þere be eyvydence þat þe toþer part wolle do wel afterward.

¹ corrected; wille, X. ² corrected; desverie, X. ³ text corrupt; if lyveþ be struck out, the sense is restored.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

CAP. III.

See now how þe wif oweþ to be suget to þe housbonde, and he oweþ to reule his wif, and how þei boþe oven to reule here children in Goddis lawe. FIrst Seynt Petir biddiþ þat wifis be suget to here housbondis, in so moche þat þif ony bilee not bi word of prechynge, þat þei ben wonnen¹ wiþoute word of prechynge bi þe holy lyvynge of wymmen, whanne men biholden þe chast lyvynge of wymmen. And þes wymmen schulden not have wiþouten forþ tiffanyge of her, ne garlondis of gold, ne over precious or curious cloþinge, but þei schulden have a clene soule, peisible and meke and bonere, þe whiche is riche in þe siȝte of God. And sumtyme holy wymmen, hópynge in God, honoureþ hem in þis manere, and weren suget to here owene housbondis, as Sara, Abrahamys wif, obeischid to Abraham, clepynge hym lord; and wymmen wel doynge ben gostly douþris of Sarra. Alle þis seip Seynt Petir. Also Seynt Poul spekipþus of housbondis and wifis; I wole þat men preie in eche p[lace, lizthyng up clene hondis, þat is, clene werkis, wiþouten wraþþe and strif. Also I wolde þat wymmen ben in covenable abite, wiþ schamefastnesse and sobirnesse ournyng hem or makynge fair, not in wiþpen here, ne in gold, ne in margery stones, or þerlis, ne in precious cloþ, but þat þat bicomþ wymmen bihetyng pite, bi goode werkis. A womman oweþ to lerne in silence, wiþ alle obedience and subjeccioun. But Poul seip, I suffre not a womman to teche, þat is, openly in chirche, as Poul seip in a pistel to Corynthis, and I suffre not a womman to have lordischipe in here housbonde, but to be in silence or stillnesse. For, as Poul seip in many placis, þe housbonde is heed of þe wif; and Poul telliþ þis skille, þat Adam was first formed and Eve aftirward, and Adam was not discyved in feip, but þe womman was discyved in feip, in trespasyng ægenst Goddis commaundement. Alle þis seip Poul in dyverse placis of holy writ. Also Poul biddiþ þat bischopis and prestis techen wifis to love here housbondis, to be prudent and chaste and sobre, and to have care of þe hous, and benynge and under-

¹ corrected; X has wymmen.

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lont, or suget, to here housbondes,—pat pe word of God be not blasphemyd. And pat olde wymmen schullen be in holy abite, not puttynge fals cryme or synne to otere, ne suynge 1 to moche wyn, and to be wel techynge, so pat pei teche prudence. Also Poul techil pus,—pat wymmen ben underlont, or suget, to here husbondis, as to pe Lord. For pe husbonde is hed of pe woman, as Crist is heed of pe Chirche, he is saveour of pe body perof, pat is, pe grete multitude of alle worpi to be sayyd. But as holy Chirche is suget to Crist, so be wymmen sugetis to here housbondis in alle pingis. Husbondis, loveo your wifis, rigt as Crist lovede holy Chirche, and toke himself wilfully to payne and de for holy Chirche, to make it clene and holy; and made it clene bi waschyng of watir in pe word of lif, to 3eve pe Chirche glorious to himself, not havynge wem ne revelynge 2 ne ony siche fille, but pat it be holy and wipouten spot oter wem. And housbondis owen to love here wifis as here owene bodies, for he pat lovep his wif lovep hymself. For no man hatid evere his body, but norischip and forperip it, as Crist do hol Chirche. For we ben membris of his body, of his flesch, and of his bones. For pis ping a man schal forsake, or leve, his fadir and his modir, and schal cleve to his wif, and pei schullen be tweiyne in o flesch. Pis sacrament is greet, but I saye, seip Poul, in Crist and in holy Chirche. But forsope, 3e husbondis, eche by himself, love he his wif as hymself, and drede pe wif here housbonde. 3e children, obieschip to your eldris, fadir and modir, in pe Lord, for pis ping is riptful. Worschip e fadir and e modir,—pat is pe firste comaundement in biheste; pat Crist be wel to pe, and pat pou 3 be longe lyvynge upon erpe. And, 3e fadris, nyle 3e stirre yourue children to wrappe, but norische hem and brynge hem forp in disciplyne, or lore, and chastisyng of God. Alle pis seip Seynt Poul togidre. Also Poul comaundip pus in anoher pistel; Wymmen, be 3e underlont to yourue husbondis, as it bhovep in pe Lord. 3e men, love yourue wifis, and bep not bitter to hem. Children, obieschip to yourue eldris bi alle pingis, for pis is plesaunt to pe Lord. 3e fadris, stirlep not yourue chil-

1 corrected; sonynge or sonynge, X. 2 ryveling in Wycl. Vers. 3 supplied; not in X.
dren to indignacion, lest pei of litel Witt offendhen, or trespasen, a3enst God or man a.

Here sturdy husbondis and cruel fis3teris wiþ here wifs, wiþoute resonable cause, ben blamyd of God. But manye, whanne pei ben drounken, comen hom to here wifs, and sumtyme fro here cursed strumpatis and jectouris of contre, and chiden and fis3ten wiþ þer wif and meyne, as pei weren Sathanas brollis; and suffren neiper reste, pees, ne charite be among hem. But dere schalle pei abie þis bitternesse, for 3if pei wolen have mercy of God þei moten have mercy of opere men, þouþ þei hadden discervyd betynge,—amende hem in faire manere.

CAP. IV.

Of þis may weddid men and wifs knowen, hou þei owen1 lyve togedir, and teche here childre Goddis lawe. For at þe bigynnymge a childe may esily be taut, and goode þewis and maneris, accordynge wiþ Goddis lawe, esily be prentid in his herte; and Þanne he may esily holden hem forpe, and encresse in goodnesse. And þerfore Poul biddip þat þe fadir norishe his children in þe lore and chastisyngge of God; and God com-aundip in þe olde lawe þat þe fadris schulden telle to herre children Goddis hestis, and þe woundris and myraulis þat he dide in þe lond of Egipt, and in þe Rede See, and in þe watir of Jordan, and in þe lond of biheste. And moche more ben fadir and moder holden to teche here children þe bileve of þe Trinbye, and of Jesus Crist, howe he is verray God wiþouten bigynnymge, and was maad man þorouþ moste breynynge charite, to save mankynde bi stronge penance, hard torment, and bittir deþ. And so alle comen in poynþis of Cristene bileve, but þei ben most holden to teche hem Goddis hestis, and þe werykis of mercy, and poynþis of charite, and to governe wel here fyve wittis, and to drede God bifore alle opere þingis, and to love him most of alle þingis, for his endeles myþt, endeles wisdom, endelesse goodnesse mercy and chariteb. And 3if þei trespasen

1 corrected; bowen, X.

a The foregoing passages from Scripture do not agree with either Wyclifftte version.

b The collection of didactic pieces in the Lambeth MS. 408, called in Shirley's Catalogue (p. 38) Speculum Vitae Christianae, corresponds closely to the catechetical materials here.
agenst Goddis hestis, þei owen to blamen hem þerfore scharply, and chastise hem a thousand fold more ſan for dispit or un-kyndenesse don aſenst here owene persone. And þis techynge and chastisyng schulden in ſewe þeereis make gode Cristene men and wymmen, and namely gode ensaemple of holy lif of olde men and wymmen, for þat is best techynge to here children.

And Cristene men, aboute many prestis, chargen godfadiris and godmodris to techen þe children þe Pater Noster and þe Crede; and þis is wel don; but it is most neðe to teche hem þe hestis of God, and þeve hem good ensaemple bi here owene lif. For þou þei ben cristenyld, and knowne þe comyn poynsis of bifleve, þit þei schullen not be savyd wiþoute kepynghe of Goddis hestis, but be ful hard and depe damnyd in helle, more þan heſene men. And it hadde betre be to hem to neuer have rescyved Cristendom, but þif þei enden trewely in Goddis comaundementis, as Seynt Petir techiþ pleylyn.

But summe techen here children jeestis of bataillis, and fals cronyclis not nedful to here souls. Summe techen noveleries of songis, to stire men to jolite and harlortie. Summe setten hem to nedeles craftis, for pride and coveitise; and summe sufren hem in ydelnesse and losengerie, to bredden forþ strumpatis and þeves; and summe wiþ grett cost setten hem in lawe, for wynynge and worldly worshippe, and here to costen hugely in many weies. But in alle þis Goddis lawe is putt bihynne, and þerof spekiþ unneþis ony man a good word, to magnifye God and þat, and to save mennis souls. Sume techen here children to swere and stare and fiȝte, and schrewle alle men aboute, and of þis han gret joie in here herte. But certis þei ben Sathanas techeris, and procuratoris to ledge hem to helle, bi here cursed ensaemple and techynge, and norischynghe and meyntenynge in synne; and ben cruel sleeris of here owene

1 corrupt; perhaps we should correct, above alle many prestis; for we can hardly give to the words the sense of the Greek idiom οἵ δέμφι Περικλῆα.
children, 3e, more cruel þan þou þei hackeden here children as small as morselis to here poot or mouþ. For bi þis cursid techynge, and endynge þerin, here children bodies and soulis ben dampnyd wiþouten ende in helle. And þouþ here bodies weren þus hackid never so smale, boþe bodi and soule schal be in blis of hevene, so þat þei kepen trevely Goddis comaundemtis. And of siche necligent fadris and modris, þat techen not here children Goddis lawe, and chastisen hem not whanne þei trespasen ægenst Goddis hestis, Seynt Poul spekiþ a dredeful word. He þat hap not care of his owene, and most of his homly in houshod, haþ rescelyved1 þe seþ, and he is worse þan a man out of Cristendom. And siche fadris and modris, þat meyntenen wityngli here children in synne, and techen hem schrewdnesse, ben worse þan þe cursed fadris þat killeden here children, and offr hem up to stockis, worschipynge false maunmetis. For þo children in here þougþe weren dede and distried, and diden no more synne; but þes children of cursed fadris and modris, þat techen hem pride, þeþte, lecherie, wrayþe, coveitise, and glotonye, and meyntenen hem þerinne, ben holden in long lif, and encresen in synne to more dampanacion of ech party. And þus litel wonder þouþ he2 take vengaunce on oure peple boþ old and þong, for alle comynly dispisen God, and han joie and myrþe at his dispit and reprovyng. And God mot ponische þis synne for his riþtful majeste.

**Cap. V.**

But þouþ husbondis han þus power over his wifis bodi, neþeþes þei oven to use þis doynge in mesure and reson, and sumwhat refreyne here foule lustis, and not take superfluyte of hot wynes, and spised alle, and delicat metis, to delite hem in þis ocupacion, but þenk þat þei ben gestis and pilgrimes in þe world, and han not here a dwellynge-place for evere. And þerfore þei moeten þeþe hem to holynesse, wiþouten whiche no man schal se God; and abstynen hem fro fleshly desiris þat fiþten ægenst þe soule, as Petir and Poule techen bi auctorite of God hymself; and þenke on þis word of Seynt

1 error of scribe; correct denied.  
2 supplied; not in X.
But ben wifis war þat þei stiren not here husbondis to wraþe, ne envye aȝenst here neiȝeboris, ne to falsnesse and overe moche bisynesse of þe world, to fynde to costy array. For þe wif was made to be an helpere lich to þe husbounde, eche to helpe oþer in clennesse and holy lif, and trewe anentis God and man. But þif þe husbonde be stired to vengaunce and pride and envye, þe wyf oþeþ to stire hym to penaunce and pacience, mekenesse and charite, and alle good manere of Cristene lif. And whanne Goddis lawe biddiþ þe husbonde and þe wif love eche oþer, be þei war þat þei turnen not þis love al to fleschly love, and not to love of þe soule, for þei ben bolden moche more to love þe soule þan þe body, for God loveþ þat more þan þe bodi, and for þe soule Crist diede. And certis love of þe body is verrey hate, but þif it be in helpe to save þe soule, and kepe it in holy lif.

But þit þe grete defautis fallen many tymes in weddid men and wymmen. þe firste defaute is, as Seynt Jon wiþ þe gildene mouþ seip, þat þei maken sorowe þif here children ben nakid or
pore, but þouȝ here children ben nakid frō virtues in soule, þei chargen nopīng. And wip moche traveile and cost þei geten grete richessis and heīȝe statis and benefis to here children, to here more dampnacion ofte tymes, but þei wolen not gete here children goodis of grace and virtuous lif, ne suffre hem to resceyve siche goodis, frely proprid of God, but letten it as moche as þei may; and seyn, ðif here child drawe hym to mekenesse and povert, and flee coveitise and pride, for drede of synne and for to plese God, þat he schal nevere be man, and nevere coste hem peny, and cursen hem, ðif he lyve wel and teche ðopere men Goddis lawe, to save mennis soulsis. For bi þis doynge þe child getiþ many enemyes to his eldris, and þei seyn þat he sclaundriþ alle here noble kyn, þat evere 1 weren helde trewe men and worschipfull.

þe secunde defaute is, þat wifis þeven here husbondis goodis to stronge beggeris and riche, and ðopere curleris, to geten hem swete morselis, and sum tyme spende here husbondis goodis aboute holouris and lecherous, þe þe while here husbondis traveilen fare 2 in ferre contreies or grevous traveiles. And to holde holy and excuse þis wickidnesse, wifis many tymes don a litil almes opyny, and fynden ypocrisis to seyn massis, and maken þe sely husbondis to meyntenene siche ypocrisis in here falsnesse, to robbe þe pore peple, and to lette trewe men to teche Goddis lawe, and to favoure false sclaunderis of here breþren. And ðif wifis favoren and meyntenen siche ypocrisis, and stiren here husbondis þerto, for prive lecherie bitwen hemself, and for fals sykernesse þat þe ypocrisis maken to hem, þouȝ þei dwellen stille as swyn in synne, it is so mochel þe worse.

þe priddde defaute is þis; þif Almyȝtty God, of his rīȝtwisnesse and mercy, take here children out of þis world bi fair deþ, þes riche wifis wepen, grucchen, and crien aȝenst God, as God schulde not do aȝenst her wille; and axen God whi he takip raþere here children fro hem þan pore mennis, siþ þei may bete fynde here children þan may pore men heren. See now þe woodnesse of þis grucchyng! It is gret mercy of God to take a child out of þis world; for þif it schal be saaf, it is
Wyclif's Works.

delyverid out of woo into blisse, lest malice turnyd þe undir-
standynge of þe child to synne, and þat is gret mercy of God,
and herefor alle men schulden be glade. Þif it schal be
dampnyd, þit it is mercy of God to take hym soone to deþ,
leste it lyve lengere, and do more synne, and þerfore be in more
peyne. And sip þei grucchen þus ægenst Goddis riȝtful dom,
þei putten on God þat he is unriȝtful,—unwitty,—þat he knowþ
not whanne is best tyme of þe child, and out of mercy and
charite ponysche so sore þe child and his eldriþ.

But certis þan þei ben cursed Luciferis children, weïward Anticristis, and
unkynde heretikis and þe blasphemes. Þerfore be þei glade, and
þanke þei God for al his mercyes, and benefices, and riȝtful

Also loke þat ech parti enforce hymself to kepe þis ordre
maad of God, and breke it not for no temptacion ne likyngge of
flesch. And hereto helpen many resones. First, for God þat
is auctor of þis ordre loveþ it to be kept in clennesse, and
present in every place, and for his riȝtwisnesse mot ponyschen
hym þat brekip it. And no defoulynge þerof may askape un-
peyned, for he knowþ alle þingis, be þei nevere so preve; and
nopþing, be it nevere so myȝtty, may ægenstonde his ponyschi-
ynes. Also þenk how soone þis stenkynge flesch, þat now
delitþ in lecherie, schal turne alle to aschis, and poudre, and
erþe, and wermes mete; and for so schort likyngge to lese
everelastynge blisse, and to gete everelastynge peyne in helle,
in body and soule, were a cursed chaunge; and no man wot
hou soone he schal die, and in what staat. Also goode angelis,
keperis of men and wymmen, schewen to God a grevous pleyn
t, whanne þis holy ordre is þus broken, and Cristene soulis,
templis of þe Holy Gost, ben þus wickidly bleckid wiþ filpe of
synne, and maad liche to þe fendis of helle. And for þis skille,
men and wymmen schulden be wel occupied in goode werkis,
and not ydel; for ydelenesse is þe develis panter, to tempte men
to synne; and lyven in devout preieris and resonable and
abstynence of mete, and namely of hote drynkis and myȝtty,

1 dele and.

* The treatise seems to have originally ended at this point.
and visite here pore neiȝeboris þat ben bedrede, and clóþe hem, and herberwe hem, to gete remission of over moche likynge in fleschly dedis; and evere crie to God, wiþ gret desir and good lif, þat he graunte hem grace to kepe clenly þis holy ordre, and do verrey penaunce for here olde synnes, to ende in perfit charite, and so evere have here verrey spouse, Jesus Crist, in blisse of hevene wiþouten ende. Amen.
XIV.

DE STIPENDIIS MINISTRORUM.

[This tract, with the Latin title as given above, is mentioned in Bale's list of Wyclif's writings. The text is based on a careful transcript from C. C. C. C. 296, which has had the benefit of a revision by Mr. W. Aldis Wright, of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Dublin MS. C. III. 12, also contains this tract, of the authenticity of which I entertain little doubt.]

HOU MEN SCHULLEN FYNDE PRESTIS.

DENKIP wisly, ye men þat fynden prestis, þat ze don þis almes for Goddis love, and helpe of 3oure soulis, and helpe of Cristene men, and not for pride of þe world, to have hem occupied in worldly office and vanye, and þei criynge in mennus eris. For 3if ze don, it is for worldly pride; for to have a grete name of grete almes-doeris ze lesen 3oure mede, and money þat ze spenden þus, and getten wrapþe of God, as Crist seiþ opynly in þe gospel. And 3if ze fynden hem for Goddis love, and helpe of 3oure soulis, and gostly helpe of Cristene men, ze schullen fynde hem to lerne Goddis lawe, to know hou þei schulde serve God in holy lif, and techen oþere men þe gospel, to save here soulis þerbi. For þei neden to have bokis of holy writt, as þe bible and exponitouris on þe gospellis and pistelis, more þan Graielis * and oþere bokis of song; and ben more bounden to lerne holy writt, and preche þe gospel, and Goddis hestis, and werks of mercy, þan to seie matynes and masse and evensong bi Salisbury uss. And in what place or werk þei plesen most houre God bi holy lif, and stiren men to kepe Goddis hestis, in þat place and þat werk þei profiten most to here maistris and alle Cristene men. And be

* Graiel, or Grayel, is a corruption of Graduale, the name given to the collection of short passages, chiefly taken from the Psalms, which are sung at mass between the epistle and the gospel. By a licence of language each such separate passage has come to be called a Gradual. Compare Halliwell's Archaeol. Dictionary, sub voce.
EXEGETICAL AND DIDACTIC.

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[Text starts here]

pes maistris pat fynden prestis wel i-war, pat pei suffren not hem to lyve in synne and ydelnesse and vanuyee, and pat pei meyntenen hem not perinne. For pan pei meyntenen Goddis enimys in dispisyng of God, and so bicomem Goddis traitours hemself; namely, whanne pei knowen pe opyn defaute of here prestis, and may so soone amende hem, or ellis not fynde hem forp. zif pei don not pis, pei ben gilty and consentouris and auctouris of here synnes. And loke pat peis maistris cherische and meyntenene here prestis in goode lif and trewe techynge and lernynge of holy writ, agenst Anticristis 1 clerkis and here cruel censuris. And pis schulde make Goddis prestis of holy lif and trewe techynge encrees, and synne be dispisid and forsaken, and vertues lovyd and hauntid, and goode Cristene peple drede God and his lawe, and love hym before alle ilings, and pes maistris to have moche panc of God and alle his halwes, and costen no more pan pei don nowe, ne so moche, but lasse and betre for bope partis, and for Cristene and hepene.

God forbede pat 2 ony Cristene man understande, pat pis here synsyng a and criynge pat men usen now b be pe beste servyce of a prest, and most profitable to mannus soule. For Jesus Crist and his apostlis useden it [not 3], ne chargeden prestis perto; but pei preiden devoutly and stilleliche, in nyttis and hillis, and precheden pe gospel opynly and frely, and dieden perfere. For, as Austyn c and Gregory witnessen, preire is betre don bi compunction and wepynge and holly desir of riptwisnesse, pan bi grete criynge and blowynge of mannus vois. Perfere seynt Gregory ordynede pat prestis schulden 3eve hem to prechynge of pe gospel, as pe cronycle of Sistrenpe d tellep.

1 corrected; aunerisitis, X. 2 corrected; pan, X. 3 supplied

conjuncturally.

a incensing.

b Compare the description of the ‘newe preyngi bi grei criynge and hey song’ in Tract XVIII of this volume.

c The passage in St. Augustine referred to is perhaps the Enarratio in Ps. xxxvii. § 14. That quoted from St. Gregory may be the following passage in lib. xxii. of the Moralia, § 43: ‘Aeternam ... vitam si ore petimus, nec tamen corde desideramus, clamantes tacemus. Si vero desideramus ex corde, etiam cum ore conticescimus, tacentes clamamus.’

d ‘Sistrenpe’ must mean Cistrensis, i.e. Ranulf Higden; but I have not been able to discover the passage here cited in the Polychronicon.

The new system of loud intoning is not the best way of serving God or benefiting our neighbour.
XV.

A SCHORT REULE OF LIF.

[Bale does not appear to have known of this interesting tract, the only known copy of which was in the MS. C. C. C. C. 296, until I found a second (Laud 174) among the Laudian MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Though it is destitute of external evidence, except such as it may be supposed to derive from its presence in the Corpus volume, the character of the style and composition dispose me to consider it authentic. It has been printed by the Religious Tract Society, in the work entitled British Reformers; Dr. Vaughan also reprinted the greater part of it in his 'Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe.' The text is based on the MS. Laud 174.]

A SCHORT REULE OF LIF FOR ICH MAN IN GENERAL, AND FOR PRESTIS AND LORDIS AND LABORERIS IN SPECIAL, HOW ICH MAN SCHAL BE SAVVD IN HIS DEGRE, IF HE WILE HYM SIFF.

First, whanne þou risist or fulli wakist, þenk on þe goodnesse of God; þfor his owne goodnesse and non ọper nede he made al þing of nouȝt, boþe angels and men, and alle ọper creatures good in her kynde. Þe seconde tyme þenk on þe gret passion and wilful þep þat Crist suffríd for man-kynde. Whan no man mijoȝt make satisfaccion for þe gilt of Adam and Eve, and ọper moo, ne non angel owe ne myȝt make aseþ þerfor, þan Crist of his endeles charite sufferid so gret passioun and peynful þep, þat no creature myȝt suffre soo myche. And þenk þe þrid tyme, how God haþ savyd þe fro deþþ and ọper miscevis, and suffrid many þousyndis to be lost þat niȝt, sum in watir, sume in fyer, sume bi sodeyn deþþ, and sume to be damnyd wipouten ende. And for þeise goodnesis and mercies þanke þi God wip al þin hert, and preye hym to ȝive þe grace to spende, in þat day and

1 corrected; angles, FF.
evermore, alle ye mightis of ye soule, as mynde, reson, witt and wille, and alle ye mightis of ye body, as strenghe, bewte, and ye five wittis, in his servise and his worschipe; and in no thing forfete yisnys his comauundementis, but redi 1 to performe werkis of merci, and to give good ensample of holi lif, boye in word and in dede, to alle men aboute ye.

Loke afterward pat you be wel ocupied, and in no time ydul for temptacion. Take meete and drinke 2 in mesure, ne to costli ne to licorouse, and be not to corious peraboute, but such as God sendip, wip tresip take it, in such mesure pat you be freischer in mynde and wittis to serve God, and algatis yank hym of his gift. Over pis loke you do ri3t and equite to alle men, boye to sovereynys, peris, sogetis, or servantiis; and stirre alle men to love tresip and merci, and over pes charite; and suffre no man be at discencion, but acorde hem if you maist on any good maner. Also most of alle jinges drede God and his wrape, and most of all jingis love God and his lawe and his worship; and aske not principalli worldly mede, but in all pin herte desire ye blisse of hevene, up merci of God and pin owne goodnesse of lijf. And penk myche of ye dreedful dome and peyntes of helle, to kepe ye ou3t of synne, and on ye endles gret joies of hevene, to kepe ye in vertuous lif and you up pi kunnyng teche ojer ye same doyng. And in ye ende of ye day penk where you hast afendyd God, and how myche and howe often, and perfor have entere sorwe, and amende it wil you may; and penk how manye God hap suffrid periche pat day manye weyes, and summe to be dampnyd wipouten ende, and how graciousli he hap saveyd pe, not for pi desert, but for his owne merci and godnesse. And perfor yank hym wip al pin hert, and preye hym of grace to duelle and ende in his trewe service and veri charite, and to teche ojer men ye same doyng.

If you be a prest, and nameli a curate, lyve you holili, passyng ojer in holy preyere and holy deseir and penkyng, in holy spekyng counselfyng and trewe techyng, and ever that Goodis hestis and his gospel be in pi mou3, and evere dispice synne, to drawe men perfr. And pat pi dedis ben so ri3tfull, pat no

1 corrected; red, FF.  
2 corrected; dringe, FF.
man schal blame hem wip reson, but þin opyn dedis be a trewe book to alle sogettis and lewid men, to serve God and do his hestis þerbi. Ffor ensample of good, and opyn and lastyng, sterriþ rude men more þan trewe prechynge bi nakid word. And waste not þi goodis in gret festis of riche men, but lyve a mene life of pore mennyss almes and godis, boþe in mete and drynk  and cloþes; and þe remenand þive treuli to pore men þat have nouȝt of þer owne, and may not labore for febulnesse or sekenesse, and þan þou shal be a trewe prest boþe to God and man.

If þou be a lord, loke þou lyve a riȝtful lif in þin owne persone, boþe anentis God and man, keping þe hestis of God, doyng þe werkis of mercy, reuling wel þi fiv wittis, and doyng reson and equite and good conscience to alle men. Þe seconde tyme, governe wel þi wif, þi childryn, and þi homely meyne in Goddis lawe, and suffre no synne among hem, neþer in word ne in dede, up þi myȝt, þat þei may be ensample of holynesse and riȝtwisnesse to alle oþer. For þou schalt be dampnyd for here yvel liȝf and þin yvel suffrance, but if þou amende it up þi myȝt. Þe þride tyme, governe wel þi tenantis, and maynteyne hem in riȝt and reson, and be merciful to hem in þer rentys and worldly mercimentis, and suffere not þi officeris to do hem wrong ne extorcions, and chastice in good manere hem þat ben rebel aȝens Goddis hestis and vertuous lyvyng, mor þan for rebelte agens þin owne cause or persone. And holde wip Goddis cause, and love, rewarde, preyse, and cheriche þe trewe and vertuous of lif, more þan if þei don only þin owne profisȝt and worschip; and maynteyne trewli, up þi kunnyng and miȝt, Goddis lawe and trewe prechours þer-of, and Goddis servantis in rest and pes, for bi þis reson þou holdest þi lordchip of God. And if þou faylest of þis, þou forfeist agens God in al þi lordchip, in bodi and sowle; principalli if þou maynteynest Anticristis disciplis in her errours aȝens Cristis lif and his techyng, for bylyndnesse and covetise and worldli frencipp, and helpist to slaundere and pursue trewe men, þat techen Cristes gospel and his lif. And warne þe pepul of here

1 good lif, X.   2 corrected; dryng, FF.   3 So in X; myȝb, FF.
grete synes, and of fals prestis and ypocritis þat disceyvyn Cristen men, in feïp and virtuous lif, and worldli goodes also.

If þou be a laborer, lyve in mekenesse, and trewly and wylfully do þi labour; þat if þi lord or þi mayster be an heþen man, þat by þi mekenesse and wilful and trewe servise, he have not to gruche aȝens þe, ne scelndere þi God ne Cristendom a. And serve not to Cristen lordis wiþ gruchyng, ne onli in here pres-sens, but trewly and wilfulli in here absens, not only for worldly drede ne worldly reward, but for drede of God and good con-science, and for rewarde in hevene. For þat God þat putþ þe in suche service whot what stat is best for þe, and wile rewarde þe more þan alle erþeli lordis may, if þou dost it trewly and wilfulli for his ordinaunce. And in alle þingis bewar of gruchyng aȝens God and his visitacion, in grete labour and long 1, and grete sikenesse, and ober adversities, and bewar of wræþ, of cursyng and waryying, or banning, of man or of best. And ever kepe pacience and mekenesse and charite, boþe to God and man. And þus eche man 2 in þes þre statis owþ þo lyve, to save hym self and help oþer; and þus schulde good lif, rest, pees, and charite be among Cristen men, and þei be savyd, and heþen men some convertid, and God magnified gretly in alle nacionys and sectis, þat now dispisen hym and his lawe, for þe wikkid lyvyng of fals Cristen men b.

At þe day of doom Crist chal seye to þat waryd companie þat on his lif þond schal be, for þei did not þe werkis of mercy,— 1 Wende þe for-waryd wrecsis, aweye fro me, into þe everelastyng fer of helle, ordeyned to þe devel and alle his angelis. þere schal be weeping and gnashyn of teph, as þe þat ben hatid of God and al his halewys.’ And whan þe for-cursid schal see þat þei þus þen damnyd, and knowyn þer is no helpe ne mersy to fynde, þan may þei seye þe wordes of Job—wiþ syþyng ful sore; þat day mot periche þat I was born onne, and þat carful niþ þat I was conceyvyd onne; þat ne I hadde be fed in my modir wombe. Wher-to, my

1 So in X; FF om. in gret labour. 2 So in X; FF om. and þus eche man.

a ‘Cristendom,’ like Cristenibum in German, means Christianity, not Christendom.

b At this point the tract ends in the Cambridge MS.; nor does there appear to be any real connection between the subject of the additional paragraph found in Laud 174, and that of the rest of the tract; I have accordingly printed it in smaller type, as of doubtful authenticity.
modir, settist þou me on þi knees, and weysche me, and rokkid me, and fed me on þi brest? Alas þat wyłe! so myche swynk sche looste, þat nor-chyd a brond to duelle in helle fier! For requiem þat prestis synggyn, ne non oþer þyng, schal helpe þem in her gret woo þat dyen in dedly syne. For in hem God hadde non rest þe wyle þei lyvedyn here in syne, and þerfor schal þei never have rest þe wile God is in hevene. And as þei [founden]¹ non ende of syne þe wyle þei lyveden here, þerfor schal þei never fynde ende of here peyne þere. Seynt Bernard beriþ witnesse þer-to, þere he þus selþ, þat synne þat wiþ penance is not here fordon, or wiþ sorwe of herte hap not here amended it, wipouten doute he schal periche wipouten ende*. Ffor soply to þe riþwisdomous man it fallþ, þat þei ben never wipowtyn peyne whan þei been dede, þat here synne wolde never leve þe while þe lyveden here. And þerfor Jeremie selþ,—riþ as a þeef is confondid whan he is takyn, so schal be confondid þe hous of synful men. Alas! what schame and repref schal be whan þe Kyng of kynggis schal sitte wiþ al hys meyne of seyntis, and schal blame synful man, brynggyng in his nekke fardel of his wlckidnesse in siþ of al þe world! And þerfor, breþeryn, leve we synne, and serve we God þe Fadir of our Lord Jesus Crist and oure Savyour, to whom be glorie, joie, worship, and honor, unto world of worldis wipouten ende. Amen.

¹ supplied conjecturally.

* St. Bernard says (*De Conversione*, cap. iv.) 'Poenitentiam agere, est in aeternam.' But I doubt whethere this be the precise passage referred to.
PART II.

CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.
XVI.

[Simonists and Apostates.]

[Of this tract, in English, there is only one known MS., that at New College, Oxford, (Q in the present edition). But there is a Latin version of it among the Wyclif MSS. at Vienna,—a fact which forms the principal ground for ascribing it to our author. Its position in the New College MS., between the 'Letter to Urban,' and the 'Letter on the Love of God,'—pieces of undoubted authenticity,—is also pretty good proof that the compiler of that MS. considered it to be from the hand of Wyclif. There is no sure indication of date; but from the absence of allusion to certain favourite topics of the reformer's last years, such as the doctrine of the Eucharist and the papal schism, I am inclined to infer that it is a comparatively early production. This tract is No. 56 in Shirley's Catalogue.]

Deth ben two maner of heretikis of whiche England schuld be purgid, and symonieris ben pe first. And alle siche ben symonieris þat occupien bi symonye þe patrimonye of Crist,—be þei popis, be þei bischopis, curatis, or provendereris. And lite prestis or none ben clene of þis symonye. For to spek generali of þis synne of symonye, it is uneful chaffaringe wiþ spiritual goods; and so boþe partis ben bleckid wiþ þis synne. Þif freris sellen her prechyng, her preying, and her schryvyng, þe symonye is þe worse in siche ypocritis. If þes possesioners bien hem þus rentis, and propringe of chirchis, wiþ ðepere privyleges, þei ben opyn heretekis to harm of þe Chirche. And þus þif seculer prestis, oþer more or lesse, bien her dignytyes, to be greet in þe worlde, and leven þe servise of God and profit to his Chirche, þei ben opyn heretikis, and ðepere þat mayntenen hem.

þe seconde heretikis in þe Chirche ben apostataas ¹, and ben

¹ corrected; apostataes, Q.

P 2
alle siche ṭat gon abac in Cristis ordre, for ṭei trownen not fully ṭat Crist was most pore man. And mony degrees of ṭe Chirche ben bleckid wip ṭis heresie; as alle men ṭat coveiten more siche statis for worship of ṭe world, or richesse ṭeoro, ṭan for worship of Crist and profit of his Chirche, and for medeful lif to sue Crist in povert. Alle siche rotid in ṭis ben apostataas; and ṭiif ṭei mayntenen ṭis error ažens Goddis lawe, ṭei ben perelous heretikis to harm of Cristis Chirche. And siche wolen depart men fro God and hevenlie ẓifis, and dis- troye rewmes by synne and discenciouns. And herfore alle Cristen men schulden fle ṭis perel. And ṭus ṭap God meved men now to speck of heretikis more ṭan ṭei diden bifoire, to discryve hem bi Goddis lawe. For certis holy Chirche schal never be wiotype debate, ṭe while siche heretikis ben so ṭick sowun. And siche men ben heretikis ṭat ben aženns Goddis lawe, or in word or in lif, alle ṭif ṭei holden wip mannus lawe; and jugement of prelatis makiṭḥ not siche heretikis, but ṭe send and synful lif, ṭat partis hem from Goddis lawe. And ṭevis in ṭe Chirche, moost heretikis of alle, wolen clepe trewe men heretikis, and unable her witnesse; as a ṭe in a derknesse biddiṭ a trewe man stonde, for he wold ṭat no man spak aženns him. And heere we schulden leeve mannus lawe and jugement of ṭe world, and holde hool Goddis lawe, and mak it oure juge. And men weren traytours to God ṭif ṭei hidden ṭis sentence; siṭ opyn werkis of heretikis crien hem to ṭe Chirche. And armis of men ṭat tellen ṭis schulden be on two maners; ṭei schulden knowe Goddis lawe, and so bi werkis knowe heretikis, and arme hemisif wip patiense, and above wip charite, and putte hem to perel of deḥ for distroying of ṭis synne. ‘Fac quod in te est, et sic perficis illud; propheta dicente, Zelus domus tue comedit me.’

This looks as if Wyclif, supposing him to be the author, had adopted the notion of the spiritual Franciscans, so much debated in the fourteenth century, concerning the absolute poverty of Christ. See Milman’s Latin Christianity, vol. vii. ch. 6.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

XVII.

[CHURCH TEMPORALITIES.]

This tract, which has never before been printed, is entered in Bale's list (the identity being proved by the recurrence of—substantially—the same initial words), under two different titles, 'Cogendos sacerdotes ad honestatem,' and 'De Civili Domino.' Lewis, in his list of Wyclif's works, enters the same tract three times over; see Nos. 57, 115, and 145. For the reasons assigned in the note on p. 218, I think it probable that it was composed about the year 1378. There are two known MSS.,—one at C. C. C. Cambridge, the other at Dublin; the present text is founded on the former.

For pre skillis lordis schulden constreyne crerlis to lyve in mekenesse, wilful povert, and discrete penance and costly traveile.

Opyn techynge and Goddis lawe, old and newe, opyn en-saumple of Cristis lif and his glorious apostlis, and love of God, drede of peynes and Goddis curs, and hope of grete reward in ye blisse of hevene schulde stire alle prestis and religious to lyve in gret mekenesse and wilful povert of ye gospel and discrete penance, and traveile to stoppe pride, coveitise, and fleischly lustis, and ydlinesse of worldly men, and renne faste to hevene bi riȝt weie of Goddis comaundermentis, and to forsake trist in welpe of pis fals world, and alle manere falsenesse þerof; for ye ende of pis false worldly lif is bitter deþ and stronge peynes of helle in body and soule wipouten ende.

Pre þingis schulden meve lordis to compelle clerkis to þis holy lif of Crist and his apostlis. þe firste is drede of Goddis curs and peynes, in þis world, in purgatorie, and helle; and desirynge of Goddis blissynge, and pees, and prosperite of
rewmes. De secunde is wynnynge of holy lif, bope of clerkis, lordis, and comyns. De þridde is strenghinge of rewmes, and distroiynge of synnes in eche staat, and þe Chirche. First, kyngis and lordis schulden wite þat þei ben mynystris and vikeris of God, to venge synne and ponysche mysdoeris, and preise goode doeris, as Petir and Poul techen. And hereforetechip Seynt Ysidre in þe lawe of þe Chirche, þat þis is office of kyngis and lordis, bi drede and bodely rigor [to]¹ constreyne men to holde Goddis lawe, whanne þei wolen not bi prechyng of prestis; and God schal axe rekenynge of worldly lordis, where holy Chirche encrese bi here gouvernaile. Þanne, siþ prestis leven mekenesse, and taken worldly pride and bost, and forsaken wilful povert of þe gospel, and taken worldly lordischipis bi ypocrisie of veyn preieris, wiþ brenynge coveitise, wrongis, extorsions, and silynge of sacramentis, and leven discret penaunce and gostly travelle, and lyven in glotonye, wastynge pore mennys goodis, and in ydnellesse and vanyte of þis world, lordis ben in dette to amende þes synnes. For ellis þei loven not God, for þei don not execucion of Goddis hestis, and venge not wrong dispit of God; but þei venge wrongis don to hemself, and loken þat here owene comandementis ben keppt up grete peyne. Also Poul seip, þat not only men doyng synne ben worpi of deþ, but also þei þat consenten to hem. Þan, siþ lordis may amende þes grete synnes of pride, coveitise, and extorsions, and symonye of clerkis, þei ben damnable wiþ þe synneris but ȝif þei don; and þan þei ben cursed of God for brekyng of his hestis, and for þei loven not Jesus Crist. And grete venganca comeþ for meyntenynge of synne, and brekyng of Goddis hestis, as Goddis lawe schewiþ in many placis. And siþ adversities and werris comen for synyns regnynge þat ben not amendid, lordis schulden have neþer prosperite ne pees til þes synnes ben amendid. For no man wiþstondyng þus Goddis lawe, schal have pees. For lordis han here lordischipis bi God to distroie

¹ supplied.

* There is a passage to this effect in the Decretum of Gratian (Pars II, Causa 23), quoted from S. Austin: but I cannot discover any dictum of Isidore on the subject.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

synne, and meyntene r1jtwisnesse and holy lif; þanhe, þif þei paen not to God þis rente, wite þei wel God mot ponysche hem, as he techip in his lawe. And certis, þif lordis don wel þis office, þei schullen sikerly come to þe blisse of hevene.

CAP. II.

Þe secunde profit is wynnynge of holy lif on eche side. For nowe prelatis and grete religious possessioners ben so occupied aboute worldly lordischipis and plea and bysinnesse in herte, þat þei may not be in devocion of preiynge, and þouȝt of hevenely þingis, and of here owene synynys and oþere mennys, and studie and prechynge of þe gospel, and visitynge and con-fortynge of pore men in here diocisis and lordischipis. And þo goodis þat ben overe here owene sustenaunce and necessaries, þat schulde be departid among pore men most nedi, ben now wastid in festis of lordis and riche men, in festis and robis and þifis of men of lawe, in alle contrees where here lordischipis ben, and in riche clerkis of þe Chauncerie, of þe Comyn Benche and Kyngis Benche, and in þe Checher a, and of justicis and schereves and stiwardis and bailis, þat litil or nouȝt comeþ to hem, or here chirchis and coventis, but name of þe world, and þouȝt and bisynesse and care and sorowe. And for drede of losse of þes temporaltees, þei doreν not reprove synne of lordis and myȝtty men, ne frely dampeν coventise in worldly men, ne in meyntenynge of fals plee; for þei ben opynly smytteν in alle þes synynys, and many moo. And þus is trewe techynge of Goddis lawe, and ensaumple of holy lif, wiþ-drawn fro lordis and comyns for þes worldly lordischipis of clerkis, and symonye, pride, extorsions, and alle manere synne and meyntenynge of synne is brouȝt in.

And þit þei have parische chirchis aproprid to worldly riche bishopis and abbotis þat han many þousand mark more þan

1 corrected; þan, X.

a The three courts,—of the Common Bench (or Common Pleas), of the Exchequer, and of the King's Bench,—were, as is well known, finally established as separate tribunals on the ruins of the Aula Regia by Edward I, who abolished the office of Chief Justiciary, and transferred much of his jurisdiction to the Court of Chancery, the authority of which thenceforth rapidly increased.
ynowe. And þis appropringe is geten bi fals suggestion maad to Anticrist, be lesyngis maade to lordis, and coveitise and symonye, and wastynge of pore mennis goodis. And þit þei don not þe office of curatis, neiþer in techynge, ne prechynge, ne vegynge of sacramentis, ne rescelyynge of pore men in þe parische; but setten þere an ydiot for viker or parische prest, þat kan not and may not do þe office of a good curat, and þit þe pore parische fyndþ hym. And no tongue may telle in þis world what synne and wrong comeþ herby. For, as Robert Grosted seþ, whanne apropiacion of parische chirchis is made to siche religious, of alle elevis þat comeþ bi weiward curatis is maad a perpetuacion. And þus þei han worldly lordinchipis, and reulen not þe peple ne meyntene þe lond as lordis. And whanne care of soulis and dymes and offynys, and governe not þe peple in techynge and prechynge and sacramentis, as curatis, and han richessis and tresour more þan eny worldly man, and traveilen not þerfore as marchauntis and laboreris. And, as Bernard seþ, þei taken þe wynynge and giftis of eche degre in þe Chirche, and traveilen not þerfore. And þerfore þei shulden be where is noon ordre, but everelastynge errour and peyne. Þis covetise, symonye, and moo symys, schulden goo away fro cleris þif þei hadden no seculer lordinshipis; and holy lif and povert schulde turne to hem, and newe techynge and good ensaumple to alle manere men.

CAP. III.

Þe þridde profit is stablyynge of rewmes and distriyynge of symys. For parische chirchis approprid þus schulden frely be ȝoven to cleris able of kunnyynge and lif, and trewe techynge in word and dede. And þanne schulde þe clergie be strengere, and peple of betre lif. And seculer lordinchipis, þat cleris han ful falsly ægenst Goddis lawe, and sende hem so wickedly, schulden be ȝoven wisly bi þe kyng and witti lordis to pore

Third reason: because the wealth and temporal power thus taken from the Church, would, if distributed among laymen, greatly strengthen the kingdom.

1 text of X corrupt.

*The reference is perhaps to a passage in a sermon by St. Bernard on the conversion of St. Paul (Opera, i, 956, ed. Paris, 1690), where he says, speaking of bad priests, 'Nunc autem dati sunt sacri gradus in occasionem turpis luci, et quaestum aestimant pietatem.'
gentilmen, þat wolden justli governe þe peple, and meyntene þe lond ægenst enemyes; and þan myȝte oure lond be strengere by many þousand men of armes þan it is now, wiþouten ony newe cost of lordis, or taliage of þe pore comyns, [and]¹ be dis-
chargid of gret hevy rente, and wickid customes brouȝt up bi coveitouse clerkis, and of many talliagis and extorsions, bi whiche þei ben now cruely pillid and robbid. And þus bi restorynge of lordischipis to seculer men, as þei duwe bi holi writ, and bi bryngynge of clerkis to mekenesse and wilful povert and bisy gostly traveile, as lyveden Crist and his apostlis, schulden synne be distried in ech degree of þe Chirche, and holy lif brouȝt in, and seculer lordis moche strengpid, and þe pore comyns relevyd, and good governaile, boþe gostly and worldly, come ægen, and riȝtwisnesse and treuȝe, and reste and pees and charite. And hereto schulde ech Cristene man helpe, bi al his wille, herte, kunnynge, and powere.

And þif worldly clerkis of þe Chaunserie or Chekir seyn þat þe kyng and lordis may not þus amende þe clergie, and turnen here temporaltees into seculer mennis hondis, for drede of curs, seie þat þei blaberen moche of Anticristis curs and his clerkis, and magnyfien þat for here owene pride and coveitise, but þei speken not of curs of God, þat oure lordis rennen inne, for þei meyntenen not Cristis ordynaunce in þe clergie. And to Luciferis clerkis, þat it is al on to blabere þat oure lordis may not take ægen þe temporaltees fro Anticristis clerkis, and to blabere þat oure lordis may not holde and meyntene Goddis hestis and Cristis owene ordynaunce. Be þes worldly clerkis war, þat þei conseilen not oure lordis to renne inne to Goddis curse, to meyntene heïze prelatis and religious, ægenst staat of apostlis and here owene profession, for gold, robis, and fees, þat þei taken of Anticristis clerkis. But wite lordis wel, þouȝ alle clerkis in erþe cursen hem, for as moche as þei traveilen wiþ clene conscience to brynge clerkis to þis holy lif, ensaunplid and comaundid of Crist, and to restore seculer lordischipis to seculer men as þei schulden bi Goddis lawe,—þat God and alle angelis and seyntis blisse hem for þis riȝtwisnesse; and þan ne

¹ supplied.
Invocation.

Wyclif's Works.

mannis curs harmeþ noþing, ne enterditynge, ne ony sensuris þat Sathanas may feyne a.

Almyȝty God, stire our clerkis, our lordis, and oure comyns, to meyntene þe riȝtfull ordynaunce þat Jesus Crist maade for clerkis, and to drede curs of God, and not curs of Anticrist, and to desire spedly þe honour of God and blisse of hevene, more þan here owene honour and worldly joie.

a This bold declaration seems to refer to the attempt of Gregory XI in 1377 to procure a formal condemnation in England of nineteen conclusions attributed to Wyclif, several among which (particularly the sixth, seventh, seventeenth, and eighteenth), embody opinions similar to those propounded in the present tract. See Lewis' 'Life of Wyclif,' p. 46. For instance, the ninth conclusion ran thus: 'Si Deus est, domini temporales possunt legi-
time ac meritorie auferre bona for-
tune ab ecclesia delinquente.' And
with regard to the efficacy of church 'curses,' or excommunications, the
ninth conclusion maintained,—'Non
est possibile hominem excommunicari ad sui dampnum, nisi excommunicetur primo et principaliter a se ipso.' The four following con-
clusions are all in the same strain.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

XVIII.

DE PRECATIONIBUS SACRIS.

[This tract, never before printed, is found in Bale’s list under the title ‘De precationibus sacris.’ It is contained in the Corpus volume, and in two MSS. at Dublin. I do not see that any reasonable doubt can be entertained of its authenticity. There is no means of fixing the date of composition exactly; but the absence, in a tract of this length, of all reference to either of those topics which were of gravest interest to Wyclif in his last years, the papal schism and the doctrine of the Eucharist, inclines me to place it in or before 1379. The text is based on C. C. C. 296.]

HOW PREIERE OF GOOD MEN HELPIP MOCHE, AND PREIERE OF SYNFUL MEN DISPLESIP GOD, AND HAMEIP HEMSILF AND OFERE MEN.

Our Lord Jesus Crist techiç us to preie evermore, for alle nedful þingis bope to body and soule. For in þe gospel of Seynt Luk, Crist seip þat it is nede to preie evermore, and Seynt Poul biddiç Cristene men preie wijpoute cessynge, or lettynge. And þis is understonden of preiere of charite, and not of preiere of mannis voys, as Seynt Austyn declariç wel ã; for ellis myȝte no man fulfille þis heste, to preie evermore. For as longe as a man lyveþ just lif, kepyng Goddis hestis and charite, so longe he preieþ wel whateverhe he do b; and whoevere lyveþ beste, he preieþ best. Also Seynt Jame seip, þat þe besy and lastynge preier of a riȝtful man is moche worþi. And per while Moyses was in þe Mount, and held up his hondis, and preiden for his folk, his folk hadden victorie of here enemys; and whanne he cessed to preie þus, his peple was

ã See the very beautiful passage here referred to in St. Augustine’s Enarratio in Ps. xxxvii. § 14.

b He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.’

James v. 16.

Coleridge’s Ancient Mariner.
overcomen, as þe secunde book of Holy Writt techiþ. 3if prestis dwelliþ in þe hill of heþ gostly lif, and aspien disceitis of þe fende, and schewen hem to þe peple bi trewe prechynge, and holden up here hondis, þat is, opyn goode werkis, and lasten in hem, and preien bi brennynge desir to performe riȝtwisnesse of Goddis lawe and ordynaunce, Cristene peple schal have victorie of þe fende of helle and cursed synne, and þan schal reste and pees and charite dwelle amonge hem. And 3if prestis cessen of þis holy lif and good ensaumple, and þis desir of riȝtwisnesse, Cristene peple schal moche be overcome bi synne, and have pestilence and werris and woþynouȝ, and, but 3if God helpe, þe more endeles woþ in helle. Also kyng Ezechie bi holy preiere and wepynge and sorowe gat remission of his synnys, and iȝten þeer of his lif; and þe sonne wente abac, or turnede 1 æzen, ten lynes in þe orologie, as Ysaies book witnessiþ. Also þe sonne and þe mone stonden stille al day, to pursue Goddis enemyes, wilynge to quenche Goddis name, his lawe, and his peple, bi þe holy preiere of þe noble duk Josue.

Perfore seiþ Crist to his disciplis,—3if ȝe axen my Fadir ony þing in my name he schal þeve it to þow. But we axen in þe name of Jesus whanne we axen þing nedeful or profitable for savynge of mennis soulis, so þat we axen þis devoutly, of gret desir, and wittily, or mekely and lastyngly, bi saad feiþ, riȝtfuly hope, and lastynge charite. And whatsoever we axen þus, we schullen have of þe Fadir of hevene. Also Crist seiþ þus in þe gospel, 3if ȝe, evele men, kunnyng þe childreþ, whiche goode þingis hen þoven to þow, how moche more schal þoure fadir of hevene þeve a good spirit to men þat axen him. Dann, siþ kynde techiþ synful men to þeve goodis to here children, how moche more wole Godde, auctor of goodnesse and charite, þeve to his children þat he loveþ so moche gostly goodis profitable to þe soule. Perfore axe of God hevenely goodis, as grace, wille, witt, and myȝt, to serve God to his pleasaunce,—and not worldly catel, but in as moche as it is nedeful to susteyne þis lif in truþe and service of þi God.

1 corrected; turnende, X. 2 corrected; X has, þeve evele men kunnyng þe childreþ.
Prior to Christ teaching us, at whatever we pray and choose we should believe and trust without any doubt to have it, and it shall be done to us. And if two or three of you consenten togedre of any thing on erthe, they shall be done to them. And therefore Christ taught and commanded us to pray the Pater Noster, that is best and liest and most siker prayer of all.

For that containeth all needful thing, and profitable for body and soule, and no error ne singularite aensure Goddis will; and Jesus Crist made it, and commanded it in schort words, for men schulden not ben hevy ne were to seie it, ne commid to lerne it. And herfore Seynt blamest men that leven this Pater-Noster, taute and comandid of God, and chesen singular preieris made of synful men. And herbi it is opyn, that holy men, dwellynge in charite to God and alle men lyvyng in erthe, bope frendis and enemys, Cristene and stopen, profiten moche by devout preieres, but most bi holy lif, and brennynge desir of riȝtwisnesse.

CAP. II.

See now how wickid mennis preiere plesis God, and harmeth hemself and pe peple. God himself seith to evele men that preien to hym in nede on his manere: 'I have clepid and ye han forsaken, and han dispisid alle my blamyngis, and I schal liepe in your perischynge, and schal scorn me whanne that ping ye han dred schal come to you. Yanne pei schullen clepe, and I schal not here; pei schullen rise hereliche, and pei schullen not fynde me; for pei hadiden disciplyne,' that is, lernynge and chastisyng, 'and pus resceyveden not pe drede of pe Lord. And pei assentiden not to my conseile, and depraveden and mysdemeden al my correccioun,' that is, reprovyng wynynge and chastisyng of synne. And bi pe prophete Ysaie God seith pus to wickide men: 'Ye princes of Sodom, here pe Lordis word; pe peple of Gomor, perseyveh wip heris pe lawe of oure Lord God. Oure encence is abhomynacioun to me; I schal not suffre youre neomye a; that is a principal feste, 'and Sabaoth and

\[a\] A mistake of the scribe for second Wycliffite version at this 'neomenye,' which is found in the place.
oHERE FESTIS; OURE COMPAYNES BEN YVELE; MY SOULE HATH HATID
OURE FESTIS OF CALENDIS AND SOLEMNITIES; PEI BEN MADE TO ME
HEVY AND NOIFUL. AND WHANNE [3E 1] SCHULDEN HOLVE FOR YOURE
HONDIS, I SCHAL TUNNE MYN EIJEN AWEY FRO YOU; AND WHANNE 3E
SCHULDEN MAKE MANY PREIERIS, I SCHAL NOT HERE, FOR YOURE HONDIS
BEN FUL OF BLOOD, PAT IS, OF WRONG SLEYNGE OF MEN, OR FOULE
SYNNES. ALSO GOD SEIJ PAT PE PREIERE OF PAT MAN PAT TUNEP
AWEY HIS ERE, PAT HE HERE NOT PE LAWE, IS ABOMINABLE OR
cursed. ALSO God seij bi pe prophete Malache: ‘ AND NOW
TO YOU, PRESTIS, IS PIS COMAUNDEMENT, 3IF 3E WOLEN HERE. AND
3IF 3E WOLEN NOT PUTTE ON YOURE HERTE TO 3EVE YOU GLORIE TO MY
NAME, SIJP 2 PE LORD OF COMPAANYES, OR HOSTIS, I SCHAL SENDE INTO
YOU NEDYNESSE AND SCHAL CURSE TO YOURE BLYSSYNGIS; AND I SCHAL
CURSE TO HEM, FOR 3E HAN NOT SEET PIS COMAUNDEMENT ON OURY 3
HERTE. LOO, I SCHAL CASTE TO 30W PE ARNIE, AND SPREDE ABROOD
UPON YOURE FACE PE POST, OR DIRT, OF YOURE SOLEMNYTE.’ ALSO
BI PE SAME PROPHETE SEIJ GOD TO PRESTIS AND MISTRYS OF PE
TEMPLE; ‘WOO IS AMONG 30W, PAT SCHAL SITTE, AND ENCENCE MYN
AUTER WILFULLY AND FRELY, WIPOUTEN MEDE?’ AS WHO SEIJ, NOON.
‘PE LORD OF COMPAANYES SEIJ, PEIR IS NO WILLE TO ME AMONG 30W,
AND I SCHAL RESCEYVE NO JIFTIS OF SACRIFICE OF YOURE HOND.’ AND
GOD SEIJ BI PE SAME PROPHETE TO PRESTIS, ‘3E HAN COVERID PE
AUTER OF PE LORD WIP TERIS AND WEPYNGE AND MORNYNGE,’ PAT IS
OF WIDEWIS AND POIRE MEN PAT [3E] OPPRESSEN, AND DISCEYVEN,
‘SO PAT I SCHAL NOT MORE BIHOLDEN TO PE SACRIFICE, AND I SCHAL
NOT RESCEYVE ONLY PLEASAUNT PING OF YOURE HOND.’ PERFORE SEIJ
DAVYD; ‘3IF I HAVE BIHOLDEN WICKIDNESSE IN MYN HERTE, PE LORD
SCHAL NOT HERE BI GRACE;’ PAT IS, 3IF I WILFULLY AND GLADLY DO
WICKIDNESSE. AND GOD SEIS TO PE SYNFUL MAN, ‘WHI TEELLIST
YOU MY RIPTWISNESSE, AND TAKIST MY TESTAMENT BI PI MOUP?’
AND PE HOLY GOST SEIJ OF Judas Scariot, ‘His preiere be maad
INTO SYNNE.’ AND OURY LORD JESUS SEIJ, ‘PIS PEPEL WORSHIPIP
ME WIP LIPPIS, BUT HERE HERTE IS FERE FRO ME. BUT PEI TECHEN
LORIS AND MAUNDEMENTS OF MEN, WORSHIPEN ME WIPOUTEN
CAUSE,’ PAT IS, SICHE MEN AS TECHEN AND CHARGEN MENNIS LAWIS
AND TRADICIONS AND COMAUNDEMENTS, MORE PEAN HOLY Writt AND

1 not in X. 2 a mistake for seij. 3 should be zoure.
Goddis hestis, veynly and falsly worschipen God. Also Jesus seiþ to wickid men; 'What seie þe to me, Lord, Lord, and don not þe þingis þat I comaundede?' For Jesus seiþ, 'Woo to þow, Scribus and Phariseis, ypcoritís, þat eten widewis houses, preiynges longe preieris; þefore þe schulle take grettere jugement.' And in þe gospel of Seynt Jon is writen þus: 'And þe witen þat God herif not synful men, but syn ony man worschipþ God and doþ his wille, God herif hym.' And whanne a preest seiþ his masse out of good lif and charite, and makiþ þe sacrament, he etiþ and drynkþ his own damnacion, not demynge wisly þe body of oure Lord, as Seynt Poul techiþ in holy writt. Þerfore Crisostom seiþ on þe gospel of Mathew⁸; As a þing may be wiþoute odour or savour, but odor may not be wiþouten sum þing, so a good dede wiþouten preiere is sumwhat, but preire wiþouten goode dede is nouȝt. And Seynt Austyn seiþ on þe Sauter; þif þou passe mesure in mete and drynk, and lyve in glotonye and dronkenesse, whatsoever heriyingis¹ þi tonge speke, þi lif blasphemeþ God b. Þerfore Seynt Poul seiþ, Many men knowlichþ þat þei knowen God, but þorowþ here dedis þei denyen God. And Seynt Gregory writtiþ þus in many bokis, A man seeþ in grevous synnys, þerwhile he is overchargid wiþ his own, he doþ not awey oþer mennis synnes. For it is knowen to alle men, þat whanne he þat dispiseþ is sent forþe to preie, þe herte of him þat is worþi is stired to more wrapple and vengaunce. Soþly it is writun, þe sacrifies of wickide men ben abominable to þe Lord; þe vowis of sacrifices of just men ben pleaunt. For in þe dom of God Almyþty, it is not soȝt what is ȝoven, but of whom. Þerfore it is written in holy writt; þe Lord biheld to Abel and to his ȝifitis. Whanne Moyses schulde seie þat þe Lord tok reward to ȝifitis, bisily he sette bifore þat God biheld Abel; of whiche þing it is schewed opynly þat þe offerere pleside not of ȝifitis, but ȝifitis pleseden of þe offerere or þevere. Forsoþe þe heiste

¹ supplied conjecturally; heredipgis. X.

⁸ S. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. cxlvi: 'Si modum naturae debitum immoderatione vocacitatis excedas, et vitiolentia te ingurgites, quantas libet laudes Dei lingua tua sonet, vita blasphemat.'
God approve\) not \(\text{pe} \ 3\text{iftis} \text{of} \ \text{w}i\text{ckid} \ \text{men}, \ \text{ne} \ \text{b}i\text{holdi}\)\ in here offryn\(\_g\)is, ne schal have mercy of syn\(\text{nys}\) in \(\text{pe} \ \text{mu}l\)titude of here sacrific\(\_es. \ \text{Al} \ \text{pis} \ \text{seiv} \ \text{Seynt} \ \text{Gregory} \ \text{in} \ \text{pe} \ \text{popis} \ \text{lawe.}

\text{CAP. III.}

\text{Now see} \ \text{how} \ \text{streit} \ \text{is} \ \text{manny}^{\text{s lawe} a\text{genst} \ \text{synful} \ \text{mennys preiere.} \ \text{Pe} \ \text{pop}e \ \text{comau}ndi\)\ in his lawe, \(\text{pat} \ \text{no} \ \text{man} \ \text{here} \ \text{pe} \ \text{masse} \ \text{of} \ \text{pat} \ \text{prest}, \ \text{whanne} \ \text{he} \ \text{whot} \ \text{wi}p\text{outen} \ \text{doute} \ \text{pat} \ \text{he} \ \text{ha}\)\ a concubyn\(\_e \ \text{o}r \ \text{lemman;} \ \text{and} \ \text{pis} \ \text{lawe} \ \text{is} \ \text{confery}d \ \text{of} \ \text{pe} \ \text{holy} \ \text{Seyne} \ \text{under} \ \text{gret} \ \text{curs. \ \text{Over} \ \text{pis} \ \text{seiv} \ \text{pe} \ \text{Pope} \ \text{Alisaundre a}; \ \text{We} \ \text{comau}n\(\_d\) \ \text{and} \ \text{bidden} \ \text{pat} \ \text{no} \ \text{man} \ \text{heire} \ \text{pat} \ \text{prestis} \ \text{masse,} \ \text{whom} \ \text{he} \ \text{whot} \ \text{wi}p\text{outen} \ \text{ony} \ \text{doute} \ \text{to} \ \text{have} \ \text{a} \ \text{lemman,} \ \text{o}r \ \text{a} \ \text{womman} \ \text{prively} \ \text{weddid. Wherof also} \ \text{pe} \ \text{holy} \ \text{Seyne} \ \text{con}\text{fermede} \ \text{pis} \ \text{lawe,} \ \text{and} \ \text{seiv} b, \ \text{Whatev}er \ \text{man} \ \text{of} \ \text{prestis,} \ \text{of} \ \text{dekene,} \ \text{o}r \ \text{sub-dekene} \text{, holde and wedde opynly a concubyn\(\_e,} \ \text{or} \ \text{forsak\(\_i\) not \(\text{ji}f \) he have wedd}\text{id here, aftir} \ \text{pe} \ \text{statut} \ \text{of} \ \text{Seynt} \ \text{Lionir} \ \text{pe} \ \text{pope,} \ \text{o}r \ \text{Pope} \ \text{Nychol,} \ \text{of} \ \text{chastite} \ \text{of} \ \text{clerkis,} \ \text{we} \ \text{comau}nden \ \text{on} \ \text{Goddis} \ \text{halve,} \ \text{and} \ \text{bi} \ \text{au}ctorite \ \text{of} \ \text{Petir} \ \text{and} \ \text{Poul,} \ \text{and} \ \text{algatis a}\text{gen-seyn,} \ \text{pat} \ \text{he} \ \text{synge} \ \text{no} \ \text{masse,} \ \text{and} \ \text{rede} \ \text{ne} \ \text{gospel} \ \text{ne} \ \text{pistel} \ \text{at} \ \text{masse,} \ \text{and} \ \text{pat} \ \text{he} \ \text{dw}\text{elle} \ \text{not} \ \text{in} \ \text{pe} \ \text{quere} \ \text{at} \ \text{dy}vyn \ \text{service,} \ \text{wi}p \ \text{hem} \ \text{pat} \ \text{ben} \ \text{obeischaun}\) \ \text{to} \ \text{pat} \ \text{constitution} \ \text{of} \ \text{chastite} ; \ \text{and} \ \text{pat} \ \text{he \ \text{res}c\text{eyve} \ \text{not} \ \text{part} \ \text{of} \ \text{pe} \ \text{chirche.} \ \text{Also} \ \text{Pe} \ \text{Gregory} \ \text{seiv} \ \text{pus:} \ \text{ji}f \ \text{fe}r \ \text{ben} \ \text{ony} \ \text{prestis, dekenys,} \ \text{o}r \ \text{sub-dekenys,} \ \text{pat} \ \text{lyve} \ \text{in} \ \text{synne} \ \text{of} \ \text{fornycacioun,} \ \text{on} \ \text{Goddis} \ \text{halve,} \ \text{and} \ \text{bi} \ \text{auctorite} \ \text{of} \ \text{Seynt} \ \text{Petre,} \ \text{we} \ \text{for}b\text{eden} \ \text{hem} \ \text{pe} \ \text{entre} \ \text{of} \ \text{pe} \ \text{Chirche} \ \text{til} \ \text{pe} \ \text{di} \ \text{pennaunee} \ \text{and} \ \text{ben} \ \text{amen}d\text{id. \ But} \ \text{ji}f \ \text{ony} \ \text{of} \ \text{hem} \ \text{have} \ \text{leve}r\text{e to dwelle} \ \text{in} \ \text{here} \ \text{synne,} \ \text{none} \ \text{of} \ \text{3ow} \ \text{presume} \ \text{or} \ \text{be} \ \text{hardy} \ \text{to} \ \text{here} \ \text{here} \ \text{office} \ \text{or} \ \text{service,} \ \text{for} \ \text{here} \ \text{blessynge} \ \text{turne}p \ \text{into} \ \text{cursynge,} \ \text{and} \ \text{here} \ \text{preiere} \ \text{turne}p \ \text{into} \ \text{synne;} \ \text{as} \ \text{oure} \ \text{Lord} \ \text{witnessi}p \ \text{bi} \ \text{pe} \ \text{prophete}

\text{1 corrected; so-dekene, X.}

\text{a Probably Pope Alexander II, (1061-1073), who wrote a letter to this effect to the Dalmatian church.}

\text{b By the 'holy Seyne' seems to be meant Gregory the Great, though I have not discovered the passage cited in his works. If he be meant, the words 'or Pope Nyehol' must be taken for an interpolation of the writer, for the first pope of the name of Nicholas flourished not earlier than the ninth century.}

\text{WYCLIF.}
Malachie. I schal, seip God, curse to yowre blessingis. Soþly þei þat wolen not obeie to þis most holsum precept rennen into synne of ydolatrie, þat is, honouryng of false goddis, witnessynge þe holy prophete Samuel and Seynt Gregory. It is synne of whicchis, of men out of Cristene byleve to not be obedient; and to wille not to assente and acorde is synne of ydolatrie a.

Also it is written þere þus; þif ony bishop, or prest, or dekene, fro hennys forþ take any womman, or forsake here not þif he have taken ony, salf he fro his owen degre til he come to satisfaccion, and dwelle he not in quere of men þat syngyn Goddis servyce, and take he not ony part of þinges of þe Chirche. Also þif ony bischop consente, bi preiere or pris, to foryncacion of prestis or dekenys in his parische, or þat he impugneþ not bi autorite sich synne don, be he suspendid of his office, þat is disposed as þe lawe seip. Also Austyn seip, þat soþly no man doþ more harm in þe Chirche þan he þat doþ weyardly, and haþ name of ordre of holynesse or presthed. For no man presumeþ to reprove hym whanne he mysdoþ, and þe synne is drawen gretyly into ensample, whanne a synful man is worshipid for reverence of ordre. And so þat bischop þat amendip not synne of siche men, is more worþi to be clepid an¹ unchast hound þan a bischop.

Nowe siþ lecherie makiþ prestis unable to entre into holy Chirche, and seie masse, and have part of tipes and offringis, and þat men schullen not here her servyce, whanne here synne is opyn, moche more schulde þes peynes renne for grettere synnys, as pride, enyve, coveitise and glotonye, usure, þeþte of Goddis word, and symonye, þat passip alle oþere synnes. For þe grevousere synne is worþi more peyne. For pride makiþ men forsake God, kyng of mekenesse, and take Lucifer to here fals kyng, as God seip in Holy Writt; and enyve and wrâþþþ makiþ men forsake God of charite of mercy and pacience, and bicom children of Bellial, as Goddis lawe, reson, and seyntis

¹ This is a translation of an entire canon of Gregory VII; see Decretum, Pars I, dist. 81, can. 15.
techen. Coveitise and usure maken men forsake God of
treupe and rihtwisnesse, and worschipen false goddis, as Seynt
Poul selp. Glotonye and dronkenesse makip men to wor-
schipen false goddis, and forsake Almytity God in Trinyp, 
that is God of mesure and reson. For Poul selp, that glotonyys
maken here stynkyng beley her God. And yfite of Goddis
word, and eyvyl ensaumple to Cristene men, is worse than bodily
synne of Sodom, as Goddis lawe and Grosted writyten; as
Goddis word and mannis soule ben betre than seed of mannis
body. And thus yfite and gostly lecherie of Sodom don curatis
and prestis, whanne be techen not trewely bi word and goode
ensaumple holy writt, as pe wise clerk Grosted shewip. Man-
sleynge is not only bi dede of hondis, but also bi consent
and counsel and auctorite. And yfip prestis yps consenten
to false werris, and many thousand depis, pei ben cursed
manquelleris and irreguler, bi Goddis lawe and mannis, and
reson yerto.

Symonye is so grete heresie that alle synnes ben countid for
noynt in comparison perof, as pe lawe selp; insomoche that ech
synful prest may seie masse, and make pe sacrement, pous he
do it to his dampeynge; outaken¹ a prest comynge to his
ordre bi symonye. Panne selp no man comep to his ordre or
benefice wiouten symonye, almost man may drede of irreg-
ularite, and privyng of benefisics, and lesynge of salaries, and
of degradynge; and that here prieere is cursed, and pei in weie
deympanation, fro his cursed symonye. For whomever comep
to presthod or benefice bi yfite of money-worp, bi prieere or
servyce, comep in by symonye, as Seynt Gregoir and pe lawe
techip. And whoevever comep to his ordre or benefice, mot bi
mekenesse seke Goddis worschipie, and helpe of Cristene soulis,
and for devocioun to lyve in holynesse and yeve good ensample.
But to lyve in pride and lustis of fleisch, as ydelnesse, glotonye,
dronkenesse, and lecherie, comen not in bi Crist, but bi pe
fend; and [he is?] Goddis traitour and heretik til he amende
his entente, and do wel his gostly office, as Crist tauyte. And
ful fewe ben clene to preie for pe peple, for gretnesse of here

¹ should be out-taken. ² bis in X.
owene synnes in here entre, and evyl contenaunce, and meyntenaunce, and excusynge of here synne, and oþere mennis synne, for money and worldly rank, æsenst God in his riȝtful dom, and for hard endurynge in here synnes.

CAP. IV.

But æsenst þes lawes, boþe Goddis and mannis, and resoun, and seynis, þe fend techiþ his disciplis a newe glose, to seie þat þouþ men ben not worpi to be herd in preiynge for here owene good lif, þit here preiynge is herd in merit of holy Chirche, for þei ben procuratours of þe Chirche. Certis þis is a foul soffyme, a foul and a sotil discet of Anticristis clerkis, to coloure here synne þerbi. For þis glose is foul, but contrarie to Goddis wordis; and none of þese grete holy doctours knewen þis feyned sotilte of wordis til þe fend was unbounden. Whi schulde God here graciously sich a cursed mannis preiye, for he dispisiþ God in his holy servyce, and falsly disceyvþ Cristene men, and evyl takþ þe honour of prested, æsenste Goddis heste? For God comaundiþ bi Seynt Poul þat no man take to hym honor but he þat is clepid of God, as Aaron. And þe peple gessiþ to fynde a trewe servaunt of God, and clene of lif, and devout, to helpe hem æsenst here synnis and combraunce of þe fend; and þif he be not sych, he disceyveþ soule Cristene peple. For God biddiþ þat his prestis ben holy, for he is holy; and þat no prest havynge notable filþe of his body ¹ schal mynystre in þe peple, þat is, þat no prest havynge filþe of orible synne in his soule presume to do þe holy office; for þif he do it in þis cursed lif he getiþ himself dampnacion, as Seynt Poul seip.

Þes Anticristis sophistris schulden knowe wel, þat a cursed man dop fully þe sacramentis, þouþ it be to his dampnynge, for þei ben not autouris of þes sacramentis, but God kepiþ þat dygnyte to hymself; but of preieris is al þe contrarie, as þes autorites of holy writt and seynis bifoire seide schewen. For þif cursed mennis preiye were þus herd of God, whi tellþ not

¹ corrected; of bis and bodily, X.

Q 2
God pis poynt in his lawe? but þe contrarie he telliþ opynly. Whi schulde þan popis ponische men, and suspende hem fro masse whanne þei ben opyn lechoris? whi schulde God seie þat sych a synful mannis preiere is abhominable, and þat God curseþ to here blissyngis? þes weiward ypocritis glosen þus expressly ægenst Goddis word, flor þei dreden laste þe peple knewe here cursed lif, and þat curseþ here preieris, and þerfore sette not bi hem, and þanne here worschipe and wynnynge cessþ, and þe peple wole bisien hem to lyve wel, and do almes to pore nedi men, as Crist techiþ, and not fynde siche ypocritis þat þus blasphemen God.

Wonder it is whi men preisen so moche þis newe preiynge, bi gret criynge and hey song, and leven stille manere of preyne, as Crist and his apostils diden. It semeþ þat we sekenoure owene lkyynge and pride in þis song more þan þe devocion and understondynge of þat þat we syngen, and þis is grete synne. For Austyn seip in his confessions, As oft as þe song delitiþ me more þan þat is songen, so oft I knowleche þat I trespassè grevously a. Þerfore seip Poul, I have leveþe wordis in my witt þan ten þousand in tonge. Poulis witt is in devocion and trewe understondynge; þe tonge is þat a man understondiþ not, and haþ no devocioun. O Pater Noster seynge wip devocion and goode understondynge, is beter þan many þousand wipouten devocion and understondynge. And þis newe preiynge occupieþ men so moche þat þei han no space to studie holy writt and teche it. But Austyn axeþ, Who may1 excuse him fro prechynge and sekynge and savynge of soulis, for love of contemplacion? siþ Jesus Crist cam fro hevene into þis wrecched world to seke soulis and save hem, bi opyn ensample of holy lif and trewe prechynge. And Gregory seip in his Pastoralis, þei þat han2 plente of virtues and kunnynghe of Goddis lawe, and gone into desert for reste of contemplacion, ben gilty of as many soulis, as þei myþten

1 The scribe at first wrote schal; then added may in the margin, forgetting to draw his pen through the schal.
2 corrected; bat, X.

S. Aug. Conf. Lib. x. cap. 33: 'Cum mili accidit ut me amplius cantus quam res quae canitur moveat, poenaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallem non audire cantantem.'
profiten to in kunnynge to men dwellynge in þe world. Where þis newe song schal excuse us fro lernynge and prechynge of þe gospel þat Crist tauȝte and bad? Þerefore, þe prestis, lyveþ wel, preieþ devoutly, and techþ þe gospel trewely and freely, as Crist and his apostils diden. Amen.
XIX.

LINCOLNIENSIS.

[This curious tract was overlooked by Dr. Shirley; nor is it mentioned by Bale or Leland; nor do Lewis or Dr. Vaughan appear to have seen it. The only existing copy, so far as appears, is found in the MS., Bodl. 647, between the Vita Sacerdotum (Shirley, No. 53) and Of the Eucharist (Shirley, No. 54). From this MS. of course the text is transcribed. The occasion of writing seems to have been the imprisonment of some of the poor priests, which may not improbably have taken place under the letters patent of Richard II, granted to the Archbishop after the Council of London in July, 1382. (See Lewis' Life of Wydiffe, App. No. 22.) The date of the tract therefore I should be inclined to fix somewhere about the end of 1382. Its position in the MS., between two tracts, the authenticity of one of which is beyond dispute, while the other has at least the authority of Bale, not to speak of internal evidence, in its favour, tends to make it probable that Wyclif was the author; at the same time, it cannot be denied that it contains nothing which might not equally well have been written by one of his followers, as Herford, or Repyndon, or Aston.]

Lincolniensis generaliter describit sic claustralem egressum de claustro et sic fratrem; talis, inquit, est cadaver mortuum de sepulcro egressum, pannis funebris involutum, a diaboło inter homines agitatum.

Pere is, he seis, a deed caryone cropun of his sepulcre, wrapped wiþ clothes of deul, and dryven wiþ po devel for to drecche men. Do we gode whil þat we have tyme, for Judas slepes not nyght ne day, bot studyes by alle his cautels hou þat he may slee Crist in his lymes. Bot his malice and his faderes is known by his werkes; alþof Crist leti hom noye his ser-vauntis. Bot sith bothe mede and synne stondes in wille, men may witte by his werkes whos clerke he is. Sith Crist and
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Anticrist contrarien togedir, and freris pursuen moste men þat
tellen hem hor sothes, þei schewen hom Anticrist clerkes, con-
trarie to Crist. For Crist was more innocent þen any freris ben,
and suffred more reproves of his gode dedes, and þitte he suf-
fred most mekely, and cast hym not to vengeunce. If þo freris
do þo reverse, þei are Anticrist clerkes; and for drede þat hor
ypocrisy schulde be knowen to þe puple,—and ypocrisie is
nought but if hit be hid,—þei are wode when þei are reproved
ought of hor vices; as a horce unrubbed, þat has a sore back,
wynses when he is oght touched or rubbed on his rugge. And so
shulde men rubbe oute þe defautes of freris, and thriste oute þo
quyter of hor olde synnes, for þus dide Crist wip þo Phariseses.

And one þing I telle hom, þat hor nue ordir dos hom to
soule heele more harme þen gode. For al þo holynesse þat þei
do to þe Chirche her moder myght þei do wipoute suche wed-
dyng to hor sygnes; Þor so did Crist and his apostels, lyvy-
ynge wip þo puple. And þerfore fle ypocrisy, and be scolere
of treuth; and ouþer seme þat þou art, or be þat þou semes.
Oþer Gods lawe is fals, or þe reume of Englonde schal scharpy
be punyschid for prisonynge of pore prestis. And when þo
grounde is sought oute, þo cause of hor punyschynge stondes
in two poynites; ouþer þat Anticrist schulde schame of hor lif,
and hor wordes contraryen to hym, or for þei grauntid openly
þo feythe of þo gospel, as þei grucched in jugement, þat þo
bred of þo auter is verrey Gods body, as þo gospel seis and
comyne feithe holdes. And sothly a Sarasene or a hethen
prelate wolden not þus punysche Cristis prests for grauntynge of
þo gospel. And one þing I sey boldely, certen of þo gospel;
þat alle þo freris of þis lond, or ouþer blasphemes, connot dis-
prove þis feythe þat we telle.

And þof alle Cristen men schulden be on Cristis side, and
reverse Anticrist wip alle his disciplis, nerepols knyghtes
schulde more scharpy stonde in þis cause, Þor by titel of þis
servise þei holden of Crist, and kepen þo ordire of knyght, in
more perfeccioun þen þo ordire of freris or of munkes. Þerfore

* Namely, in the judgment passed
by the Council of London in 1382
against Wyclif; which related chiefly
against the Eucharist.
the gospel approves of it by Seynt Jon Baptist. And such a
covent of freris, or of munkes ouþer, was never in Cristendome
as Mauris a and his fellowes; and hit is likely that his private
religious makes not such a legioun of seyntis in heven. On
his schulde knyghtes þenke, and do servise to Crist, for þere are
none feller fendas þen are wickkid prestis, as schewes Cay-
phas and Scaryot, and mony soche ofþer. Alle Cristen men
schulden þenke on þis faythe of þe gospel, how Crist schal cum
at þe day of dome, and reprove dampned men for hor un-
kyndenesse, and when he was in prison þei visited hym not.
Gedir we oure wittes, and knowe we wisely þat hit is more [to] 1
assent to unskilful prisorynge, þen for to absent us fro visitynge
of prisouns. And on þing is known in Cristen mennis byleve,
þat whoso wiþdrawes his helpe fro cause of Crist, he consentis
to þo synne þat he schulde destrye. And so everiche Englische
mon þat helps not soche persouns is reproved of Crist as a fals
servaunt. Somme schulden helpe by preyer, and somme by
gode speche, somme by worldly pouste, and somme by
gode lyve. And trowe not þat wikkednesse of freris or igno-
rance of prestis excuses not seculer lorde to autorise hor
dedes. As knyghtes and alle Cristen men schal be dampned
of God bot if þei do servise þat þei owe to hym, so prestes are
dampnable, þat God schewes periles by whom he wil punysche
þo puple, for hydynge of hom, as þo prophete seis. And þis
worlde neded prophetis to speke and drede no mon. Amen.

1 supplied conjecturally.

a St. Maur, or Maurus, according
to the account given of him by
Gregory the Great in his Dialogues,
was the son of a nobleman, by whom
he was brought, when only twelve
years old, to Subiaco, and placed
under the care of St. Benedict.
Though the founder of a flourishing
branch of the Benedictine order, he
never was more than a deacon.

Does the writer mean to say that
St. Maur preserved, after he joined
St. Benedict, his secular rank and
status as a nobleman? or merely
that he and his fellows as they were
the first monks in the West, so had
never been equalled since? There
is another reference to St. Maurus
in the tract De Sobismate.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

XX.

VITA SACERDOTUM.

[Bale names this tract under the title 'De Vita Sacerdotum,' but in the only MS. known to exist it is headed 'Vita Sacerdotum.' The MS. In question is Bodl. 647. The manner in which the Council of London is referred to at the opening of the tract seems to show that it was written within a few months after that event; that is, in 1382, or early in 1383. Although Wyclif was at this time disabled by paralysis from active participation in the movement which the Council was designed to repress, there is no reason why we should not believe him to have sent, as in this tract, from his retirement at Lutterworth, words of encouragement and counsel to the partisans of reform. The aim of the treatise is to advocate the gradual resumption of all lands and temporal dignities held by the clergy, and their restoration to the state of poverty taught and practised by Christ and his apostles. It is in fact a re-assertion, more or less, of six out of the fourteen conclusions condemned as erroneous by the Council of London.]

CAP. I.

*Jo peril of freris is *jo laste of eght, *pat falles to men in *his waye, as Seynt Poule telles; and Austyne nootis *pis is *jo moste. And, for dede doynge shewes more *jo sothe, telle we how freris *a desseyved late oure rewme at Londen, in *jo counscile; *pei wolde disseyve oure bispochipis, and so lordis and comynes *pat dwellen in *pis rewme. *Pei seide as byleve *pat *pis is an heresyte to sey, *pat men of *jo Chirche have temporal pos-

* A sort of pious pun is here essayed, founded on the identity of meaning existing between the word 'freris,' etymologically taken, and

the 'false brehren,' named by St. Paul as the last of the eight 'perils' through which he had past.
Wyclif's Works.

Sessionouns is ageyns holy writte, whosoever affermes hit. Suppose we þese sophistris desseyven not þo puple by hor fals wordes, bot speke we to þo purpose. Wil we woot þat prestis in þo olde lawe had housyng and dwellynge and mony oþer godes, bothe mebles and unmebles, as Gods lawe lymytes; as freris have nowe places and rentes and myche worldly gode geten of þo puple. Bot if þese freris schulden speke to þo purpose and plesyng of bishops, þei schulden meene þus; þat þis dowynge of þo Chirche in temporale lordschippe stondis in Gods lawe and meryt of þo Chirche; for if hit quenchi or forbid meryt, hit were a grett harme, and reversid Gods lawe, in which is al treuþe.

Nowe se we first wittenesse of þo olde lawe, when prestis schulde sonneste þus have worldes gode. Þo first boke of holy writte spekes even þus:—God seide to Aaron and prestes of his sorte, In þo londe þat 3e dwelle inne schal 3e no3t have, ne 3e schal have no part of hor heritage, for God is part and heritage of alle his prestes. Bot Levy childer gaf I alle Þo tythes þat comen of Israel to her owne possessioun, for hor bisye servise þat þei served me in þo tabernacle, as I oderneyd hom. Lord! if prestis by a worde of God taken gredily hor tythes, why schulde þei not, by anoþer worde of God, kepe hom fro þo lordschippe?

Also, in þo fyff boke þat is of Gods lawe, biddes God þus to his owne prestes,—Nowþer prestes, ne dekens, ne none of hor kyn, schal haf part ne heritage wiþ oþer folke of Israel, for sacrifices and oþrynge I gif hom to eete, and none oþer þing schal þese prestes take of possessiouns of hor breþren, as I myself bidde; sfor I myself haf gyven me to be hor heritage. O if God so scharply biddes þese negatifes, and Crist hymself kept hom straytel in his persoun, who are more heretikes þen þese þat done hit ageynes hym?

Also þo prophete Ezechiel biddes þus in Gods persoun,—Dere schal be none heritage gyven unto prestes, for I am hor heritage, better þen al erthe; and no possessioun þe schal þif hom, sfor I am possessioun to alle my prestis. Ffor sacrifices for synnes, and vowes þat men byheten, and þo first of bestis, wiþ oþrynge of oyle, schal falle to prestis, as God hymself
biddles. O Lord! if prestis of þo Testament were so straytely bounden by þo biddyng of God to holde hom to hor scharpe part, when richesse was þus leveful, how myche more schulde we kepe þis nowe, when Crist, God and mon, lyved so porely! Here may we se how þese fals freris loken ofer Gods lawe, asscribes and Pharisees.

Also God in state of innocense putte [mon] 1 in Paradise for to werke þerinne, and also for to kepe hit; hou schulde he make prestis lordeis nowe, ageyns his owne ordynaunce? Bot servise þat God had or hafs lymitid to prestes wil fynde hom at þo fulle, þow þei ben no lordeis. Bot hit semes to mony men þat freris passen þis state, and þat þo fadir of leesynge haves putte hom in rewmes to be ydel, and to begge, and to waste rewmes. O Lord! siþ God putte mon to wirke in state of innocense, why schulde he not so nowe? Wil I wot þat þo Psalme seis of fendis childer, In mennis travel ben þei not, and herfore are þei proude. Also in iche lawe is ydelenesse forfendid, and no state of monnis lif, ungroundid in resoun, schulde be taken of any mon, for drede of þo fende, bot if hit be fully groundid in servise of God. But sithe bisynes of beggyngese may not be groundid in þo lawe of God, how schulde hit þen grounde freris? And so fyye barly loses of scharpe barly bred schulde teche þese freris what þei schulden trowe, and not dampne as heretikes men for Gods lawe.

CAP. II.

For Crist made two festis, and þed þo comyn puple; and at þo seconde feste were þo seven loses; þerfore by seven wittenesses of þo newe lawe techen we þat prestes schulde not þus spoyle þo puple. Fyrst Crist seis by Seynt Luke, þat everiche preste þat renounses not alle þinge of whiche he haves possessioun, may not be his disciple, ne so nyghe sue hym. And how God undirstondes þis renunysyne, teches he by lif of Crist and of his apostlis. Lord! siþ Crist seis þat men of þo worlde may not be his disciplis, wheþer þis be nowe fals? Also, Crist teches

1 supplied conjecturally.
pat no disciple schulde be above his mayster, bot hit suffices to
po disciplo to be suche as his mayster. Bot Crist, mayster of
alle, was so pore a mon pat he had not by monhede, ne titel of
mon, so myche of worldes richesse to hil his hed inne. Lord!
wehhe clerkes suen Crist in his large lordschipps!

Also, when po apostils stroffe whiche schulde seme more,
Crist of his grett wisedome declarid pis doute, and seide pere
ben two lordschippes, worldly and gostily. De first fallas to
kynges and lordes of pis worlde, and no way to prestis, pat are
on Cristis syde; bot he is more amonge hom, pat more mekely
serves. Lord! wehhe po emperoure by his grett wisedome
haves reversed po ordynaunce of Crist, whiche pat Crist hymself
made! Also po gospel of Seynt Poule apostil, pat was ravisched
to po pridde heven, and sawe Gods privatte, gif best este prestes
for a reule for to lif pus. Have we, he seis, norischment to
body, and hillynge to po same, holde we us jerof payed. Lord!
wehhe prestes of pis world passen pis reule! Also, Seynt
Petre, prince of apostis, biddes pat we be not lordes amonge
clerkes, ne myche more pat we lif as lordes of pis worlde; bot
we schal be fourme of mekenesse to oure flock. Also, Seynt
Poule seis, pat Crist was for oure leef bope pore and nedy mon,
to make us gostily riche. Bot everiche mon pat schal be saved
most sue Crist in maners. Lord! how kepe pese freris pis, pat
studen to be riche? Sip everiche secular lord schulde be
pore in soule, who pis pese prestes leve to be pus riche in wille?
Also, alle po apostis seide togedir, pat hit was not levenful to
hem to leve Gods wordes, and serve pore men at e meete by
way of bodily almes; myche more hit were unlevenful to prestes
to wlappe hem bisily in nedes of pis worlde. Bot so done pese
hye prestes, and oper pat have pis state. Lord! what nede
were pese freris to dampne men as heretikes, pat seyn pat Gods
lawe forbedes prestis pus to be lorde? Somme men seyn pat
pounder of temporale goes makes pese freris to owverloke po
lawe of hor God, as dogge lokes ofer towarde Lincolne, and
litel sees jeroff a.

a A Lincolnshire proverb, I suppose.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

CAP. III.

Pis schulde be myn obeydycenge; counseile þese bishopes þat þei trowed not to þes fals Anticrist clerkes, for þei desseyve homself, and oþer þat delen wip hom. Bot as hor ordir hafs no grounde to be of Cristis Chyrche, so hor wordes haf no grounde stable in treuthe. þat may men see by heresye of freres þat þei sownen in þo Chyrche, of þo sacred ooste.

Bot here þei reply lewdely ageyns men of treuthe, and seyn, by þis resoun devocioun of lوردes schulde be quenchid, and hor elders wante gostily helpe. Bot þese freres schulden knowe, þat hit is non almes to reverse Cristis ordynaunce, and to harme his Chyrche; bot by þis foule dowynge are algatis harmed clerkes and lوردes and comynes wipal. Clerkes ben apostatas, and breken Cristis ordir; lordis be poord or made pore, and nedid mony gatis to werre, and to begge, and spoyle hor owne pore tenhauntes; and so comynes be charged more þen þei schulde. And so synful erroure of devocioun of lوردes schulde be quenchid, and þo lawe of Crist schulde be reysid. And if anyping schulde helpe lوردes elders, þat schulde be quenchynge of erroures þat hor elders founde; as no mon of witte wil sey þat contynuauence of a synful dede is medeful to deede men; as no mon wil sey, þat hit were medeful to breke Cristis ordynaunce, and putte þerfore an yvel; as no mon wil sey þat ignoraunce of lوردes, þat wenen þat þei done wil, schulde in þis excuse hom; sip Poule by more coloure schulde be excused, and neverpeles hymself seis þat he synned gretly ageyns Crist and his Chyrche, and was a foule blasfeme. We schal trowe in þis to þo ordynaunce of Crist; for he was al myghty, al witty, and wilful; and so þes founed lوردes are like to a leche þat gyves a mon in fevers wyne, ageyns his heele. And so reysinge up of ordynaunce of Crist schulde profite generaly to queke and to dede.

a This may perhaps refer, amongst other attacks and replies, to the public 'determination' made at Oxford by Friar Wodeford, as he himself informs us (Brown's Fasciculus, p. 218), against Wyclif's treatise De Religione. This Wodeford was afterwards commissioned by Archbishop Arundel to prepare a condemnation of eighteen condemned propositions of Wyclif's; this work he executed in the compass of a rather bulky treatise, which he dedicated to the Archbishop.
And þis byhoves iche mon sey þat he holdeþ wiþ Crist, as freris wil confesse þat hit were non almes to dowel hom as monkes, and charge hom wiþ mukke. Lord! hou were hit almes to destyue Cristis ordynaunce, better þen reule of freris, in his speciale presis? And so þese blynde bosardes spekin ageynes homself, and ageyns bischopes and seculer lordeþ, and ageyns comyns, and al holy Chirche. Who schulde þonke þese fendes for suche procurynge? And if þou sey þat þo fende lufs lastynge in synne, and boostynge of errores þat elders have done, þis schulde move þe for to reverse þo fende, and trowe not unto þeris, bot stonde on Cristis ordynaunce.

CAP. IV.

Bot þitte Belial brolles blabur for his syde, and seyn þat mony seyntis have suffred and approved suche dowynge of þe Chirche and worschipful dedes; hou comes þo witte in þat disproves hom? Here we answere to þo freris, certeyne of oure fayth, þat no custome in þo Chirche, confermed of popes, ne done bi hor seyntis, is for to preyse, bot in als myche as Jesus Crist confermes hit. Bot siþ Crist spake nevere ageyns hymself, and he ordeyned and bad his presteþ to lif þus, al speche of men þat seyn þe contrarye is schewid opyn folye by autorite of hym. And so þese seyntis þat þei alleggen synned ful feele siþe; and no mon schulde in þis sue hom in lyvynge, bot onely in als myche as þei sued Crist. Bot teche men þat þese seyntis in þis sued [not] 1 Crist, bot rather dien adyeyns Crist, and synned grevouslyþ; but þou may suppose forgyvenesse of þis synne by hor gret contricioun, if þat þe like.

Bot þitte þese fals freris replyen for hor partye, and seyn þat clerkes done almes better þen hor patrouns wolde evere have done, or couthe, or myght; and wiþ al þis þei may liþ pore lyve as beggers. Who wolde not preyse hom for hor gret charite, þat þei discharge þus lordes, and take on hom suche bisynes? And suche solempne servise as comes of suche dowynge may do myche gode, bot harme may hit none do. Bot ypcrites speken here as God were on slepe; þei þenken not on þo lawes

1 supplied conjecturally.
CONTRROVERSIAL TRACTS.

That God himself gaf. First pei take fals, and per of pei grounde hom, for almes askes ordir that Jesus Crist ordeyned. He ordeyned not to do suche almes, but to do gostily almes, and take suche of þo pulple. Bot as freris wolde tourne lordschipphe fro seculer lorde, so þei wolde tourne sustynaunce fro curatis þat Crist ordeyned. Ffor as hon layles groundyne of hor fals sectis, so wolde þei reverse þo ordynaunce of Crist. Þo apostlis þat weren tauge by Crist, seide hit was not gode to leve hor prechyng and hor first lyve, for servise to lordes; and myche more schulden prestes sey so of seculer lordschipphe.

As to þo secounde worde, þat prestes may þus lyve, þis worde is fer fro þis þat prestis lyven as þei schulde. Ffor what mon þat haves þus godes and lordschipphe of þis worlde, þat he ne haves his hert tourned to pride, and sumdele fro God and occupyng of his soule; and schal lette him fro prestes werkes? He is a gret folc þat þus temptis God, and puttis hym to suche perel ageyns Cristis biddynge. And so God dispreyses hom for þis gret folye, as he dispreyses freris, al þof þei helpen þo worlde for to brynge forth childer on þer mennis wyfes, to make hor owne childer aftirwarde soehe freris. And so þese freris knytten hor tale wiþ an opun falsehed, þat suche worldly glory may do no harme in prestes. Lord! if seculer lordes wolden þenke hou God haves putte hem to grete worschip of þis worlde, in state of his Chirche, to stonde for his ordynaunce ageyne Anticrist clerkes, and aske of þese freris grounde of hor ordires,—siþ þei sey þei connot se þat ne prestes schulde be lorde, and myche more þat ne þei schulden feght and haf sumtyme wyfes, for so hadden prestis in þo Olde Testament! On þis wyse þese newe ordiris marren þo pulple, as if þei wolde tourne upysdoune al Cristis ordynaunce. Bot certis þei ben bot bastarde braunches, cropun in by þo fende; and rekelesshed of lordes and folye of clerkes schulden be cause, if þese freris springen on heght.

* The meaning is,—they interpret Scripture falsely, in that they ground their own practices concerning the receiving of alms on the command-ment of Christ.
Lord! sîp hit is Gods lawe þat prestes schulde lif þus, and þei schulde be meenes bitwix God and þo puple, what wondir is hit of werres and wikkednes of þo worlde? Ffor alle men þat schulde stonde for Gods lawe, and lyven as tyrantus for to mayntene hit, synnen ugly in þis ageyns hor God. Ow! sîp in monnis cause men travel so bisilye, and þo cause of God schulden Cristen men luf more, what blyndenesse lettes men to helpe Gods cause? Ffor bylyde devocioun schulde noþing lette, as hit is seid bifoire; sîp Crist teches us treuþe; ne olde-
nesse, ne drede of movyng of rewmes, schulde lette þes lordes to stonde in cause, sîp þei dar go in werres þat ben more perilouþe, and Gods helpe wil ferre, and hor mede is lesse. And so þo fende and his childer haf cowarded lordes. Bot sith 
men schulde counsel to pees, as Crist did, hit semes þat by his 
yewe men schulde stable pees. And herfore spakes a clerke 
þus in þis matir; þat kynge and lordes myght esily do þis wip-
outen gret coste or travel of hor body, þat þei conferme not 
þese erroreþ þat hor elders did; and sone þo ordynaunce of 
Crist schulde tourne ageyne.

Ow! whate confessoures have lordes þat tellen hom not þis 
perel; bot seyn hom þat devocioun and right of þo lawe schulde 
neðe hom to conferme olde done erroreþ! Hit is no drede, 
whoever teche þis lore of þo fend, he is an opun heretike and 
Anticrist clerke. O sith oure bileeve teches us, kynge of Eng-
londe haves ofte in his honde, and oute of þe deede honde, þo 
lordschippe of Anticrist, what moves hym so folily to 3îf hit 
ageyne? Freris and prestis schulden preche þre poyntes. 
Ffirst, þat þes prestes schulde not be soche lordes; nowþer 
bischopes, ne religiouþe, ne none oþer prestes; and oþer Gods 
lawe is fals, or þis is Gods wille. Aftirwarde, þei schulde teche 
þat whosoevere approves þis, confermes hit, or streyynes hit, he 
synnes ageyns God; for he mayntenes erroreþ ageyns Gods 
ordynaunce. And so at þo laste schulde men sey opunly, hou 
lordes schulde gete by processe of tyme hor owne lordschippe 
oute of þo fendeþ hondes. And right as fendes gate hit by stotil 
ypocrisye, not sodeynly bot by processe of tyme, so schulde
men sowcandely wynne hit aseyne. And þen were þo puple on Gods halve discharged of novibre and maners of prestis and freris. Ffor a fewe prestes þat helde Gods lawe wolden more profite to rewmes þen nowe done many. And þus myght lordes be lorde in quyete, and þo puple taught clene Gods lawe, and not be þus taxed for defaute of godes, þat are nowe occupied by þese newe ordires. In þis myght men se trewe clerkes to God, and profitable to rewmes by iche part of hom. Þen schulden Caymes castels of þo newe ordires be voydid fro fendedes, as Crist taught in dede; and þen schulde temporal godes multiplye in rewmes as þei first did, to worchippe of God. Amen. 

a. the error of those who support them in so doing. 

3. the duty and expediency of a general but gradual re- 

sumption by the latty of hands held in mortmain.
XXI.

DE PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM SCHISMATE.

[Bale enumerates among the writings of the reformer De Papa Romano, inc. 'pro eo quod haec insolita dissensio,' and also De Pontificum Romanorum schismate, inc. 'ob inauditas lites inter hos duos.' These appear to be two different names for the following treatise. The De Dissensione Paparum of the Vienna catalogues seems to be a different treatise, being very much shorter than this; (see Shirley's Catalogue, pages 25 and 60.) The date of composition may be fixed in the last months of 1382, when the southern and eastern counties were resounding with the din of preparation for the richly indulgenced expedition to Flanders, under the leadership of Bishop Spencer; (see note at p. 246.) The only MS. known to exist is that in Trinity College, Dublin, C. III. 12—AA in this edition—from which a careful transcript has been made for the Delegates by Mr. T. French.]

For pis unkoupe discencioun pat is bitwixe pis popes seme p to signyfie pe perillous tyme pat Poul seip schulde come in pes laсте dayes, herfore schulde true men declare pis to pe peple; ffor knowynge of perels makip men warlyer to flee hem. And firste it seme, pat discencioun of pis popehede is for covetise of worschipe and wynnyoge of pis world, pat bi cautele of pe sende is knytted to pis office. Ffor jif pe pope hold clenly pat pat Crist 3af to Petir, he schulde have goodis of vertues, and traveyille wip povert, and noon of pis worldlyche glorie, sipe pat Crist forbeed it. But who wolde þanene stryve þus ffor þe popis office? And so it were a medycyne, pat men þat han power drow awey þes bronndes þat norisheþ þis fire. And so em-perour and kyngis, þat synned in þis dowynge, schulde restore to seculer men þat þei bi foly alyende; ne þe graunt
was nouȝt leeful on neiȝer on nor þe ofer partye, siȝte hem wanted leewe of God þe cheif Lord, and bi title of þis office þei holden. And ȝif þis matier of stryfe were þus take fro clerkis, boȝe among hem and seculeris schulde be pees and charite. And it seȝe þat þat man, be he pope or ofere, þat wolde nouȝt assente to þis chaunge, hatiþ Goddis lawe; ffor alle worldly goodis ben nouȝt so goode as charite. And God himself forbediþ such lordschipe in clerkis; and so, ȝif men wolde bygynne to distroye þis foul strijfe, þei schulde mayntene Goddis ordeynance; and þanne were it doun. And so, what clerk or seculer wolde nouȝt fayn do þus, he is nouȝt in Goddis half, but servaunt to þe devyl. And so of þis it seȝe, þat what persoone or comunte traveyll to restore þe pope to þis worldly dignite, traveylliþ aȝens Crist in cause of þe fende. Ffor Crist in his owne lawe forbediþ his prestis suche lordschipe, and fleede it in his owne persoone, and þis kepte his apostolis. And of þis it seȝe þat Crist grauntið never assoylynge of synne and þe yne for to do þis dede, siȝte it were aȝens his lawe, his wille, and his ordeynance; but mede þat God grauntiþ to men þat travaien þerinne, graunteþ he to suche men þat maynteynþ þis ordeynance. But bileve teche us, þat what þing is grauntide her is a false feynynge, but a Crist graunte it. And herfore it seȝe þat men ben nouȝt holden to trowe þat it is trewe, whatever þe pope grauntiþ, ffor in þis he may erre, and varie fro Cristis jugement. But Crist grauntiþ never, ne ordeyneþe no þing, but ȝif it soune in resoun, in pees, and in charite.

And her þenkiþ many men, þat in caas of þis discencioun may men se whiche ben servantis to God, and whiche loven þe fendis cause and bisily serven to him. Ffor alle þes þat traveyllen to bitte Cristis ordeynance in staat of his firste prestis, reversen his lawe, and in þat þei haten God and serven þe fend. And herby may trewe men se; ȝif frerys or ony ofer men lyen in þis to þe peple, and spoyle þem of here goodis in colour of her lesnyngis, þei ben traytourls to God, and traytours to þe Chirche þat þei dwellen inne, and ben holden to restoren þing þat þei have spoylid. And herfore schulden trewe

* meaning, except.
Wyclif's Works.

men trowe lasse pis court, or pes freris, and axe goode ground of newe pingis pat pei telle men. And hereinne semi pe peple, al 3if we seen it no3t, pat men fallen inne to helle, and drawen ocer wi3t hem; and pis is mor perel imame ony bodly deep. And of pis may trewe men se, pat ri3st as pe fend bi o castynge in of a venemed boon, pat is, dowinge of clerkis a3enes Cristis ordynauence, ha3p venymed Cristene men, bo3pe seculeris and clerkis, and meve3p men of armes to batayls and stryves, so by on openynge of tresour of his lesyngis, pat he may asoyyle men bo3pe of peyne and synne 3if pei wele holde on his side a3enes Cristis ordynauence, he ha3p hight his clerkis alle rewmes of pe world. Ffor by spiritual power, pat men may no3t se, ne grounde it in bileeve, ne prove it bi resoun, pe fend may ly3teste bigyle pe peple, and make hem trowe falce bi his sotel lesyngis; as he may meve his vi3r to seie, pat he ha3p power to assoylle men fully pat helpen in his cause, and to curse all hem pat a3en-standi3t it; and pis may he ly3tly gete lordschipe of alle pe world. But as pe fend byhi3te to Crist falsly al rewmes, so my3te falsehede walken in purchas of pis lordschipe. But by pis blynde falsehede schal Cristis cause slepe. And so it seme3p to many men pat Sathanas hadde envye to pe ordynauence of Crist, pat his clerkis schulde be pore men. Ffor bi vertu of pis povert, Petir and o3ere apostilis conquered of the fendis hond many of his servauntis, and herfore he meved hem for to trowe pe Chirche. And ofte he tau3te his clerkis to feynen hem a power pat pei may asoyylle men, howevere pei haue synned, and 3eve hem hevenly 3iftis, howevere God ordeyned of hem. And pe fend ha3p many clerkis to meve pe peple to trowe pis; and so he wole cursen alle men pat meven to Cristis ordynauence. And 3if ony kyng lette his peple or his tresour to goo out of his rewme in Antecristis cause, he wele curse bo3pe pat kyng in his rewme, and aftir, whanne his children ben my3ty and willful, take to him pis rewme for his former cursynge.

Cap. II.

Sip pe fend is kyng of children of pruyde, he coveytip in bateylle to have pe victorye, and herfore he temptip hardest
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

...men in our of her deep, in hope to overcome hem at the laste ende. And herfore, siþ he knowiþ bi wordis of holy wryt at the day of doom is nere þis tyme, al þif he know noþt evenly how longe hap God ordeynede before þis day schal come, herfore more bislylyche he temptip Cristis Chirche. And as Seynt Poul seip, þe tyme is more perillous, and herfore schulde ech man make him sylf stronge, and kepe þat þe fend cast him noþt doun; for him þat he overecomeþ, and holdip him byneþen, he hap a grete hope to vencuscbe hym for evere, and so after his deep evere to dwell wip him. And herfore, siþe man is procuratour to þe fend ffor to tempte his broþer, as we may se by Eve, perfore he castip to have many sectis þat bisyen hem faste aboute newe þingis, boþe in newe lawis and sensible sygnes, boþe bi boþe þes schal Cristis ordre be best [shent]; siþ mannes ocupacioun aboute ony þing mot nedilyche be best for contrarie werk. And herfore cleþ Crist men of newe sectis kynrede of hordom, þat sechiþ suche signes. And as Crist seip, wiþ Poulis his apostle, þe synne of ypocrisie schulde regne wip suche men, siþ þei feyne holynes by sensible sygnes, and coveytise wiþ oþere synnes beþ huge in her souls. And þis mevede þe fend, aftir þe dowynge of þe Chirche, to use þe monk Sergyus, and turne men of þe Chirche to all þe secte of Saresenes, þat is now ful large. And so it semþ to sum men, þat monkis or false cardinals may bygile þe litil flock now lefte of Cristen men, ffor so þei dide whanne Cristendome was more and more of myþte. And Antecristis sect is more bi many ordris, so þat, aftir Cristis speche, Goddis chosen schal be discyved her þif it may be, in reversynge of false Cristis. And so, as many men þenken, þe best remedy in þis wer to lyve holy liþ, and trowe holly þe gospel, for boþe in noumbre and speche schal Antecristis clerkis passe trewe men

1 Cor. xii. 29.

...supplied conjecturally.

a The story is well known of the Nestorian monk of Bassorah, called Bahira by the orientals, and Sergius by the western writers, who is said to have predicted the great career of Mahomet to his guardian Abu Taleb, and to have instructed him in ecclesiastical affairs and the tenets of Christianity. See p. 99 of this volume for another mention of Sergius.
in God, for he be picker i-sowe. But grope we wel her ground, wheyer it be Goddis, or ellis provid bi resoun, and lefe we alle oęer.

And now in oure dayes, out of þe nest of Antecrist is come an hard maundement, and seip to men in sentence, þat hoso confermereth Antecristis ordeynance in dowynge of þe Chirche, and lettþ Cristis ordynance, he is fully soyled, and wendþ striþ to hevene wiþouten ony peyne her or in purgatorie. And ho-evere lettþ þis decr, and holdþ on Cristis side, he is deplyche cursid and pursued wiþ Antecristis clerkis. Ffor þei seie, hoso lettþ decr of þe pope to pursue his adversarie, he is þus cursid a; and hoso pursueþ him and dowþ þe toþer pope, ægens þe ordeynance of Crist, he is þus blessid. And sþþ þe Crist was maad man I herde nevere more blasfemye. Leve, wer he noþ traytour to God and to man, þat in absense of God reversid his ordeynance, þat God him silf haþ maad for savynge and tenþernesse, ffor love of his spouse, and gabbed her on God, þat God haþ yeve him leve to graunte her in erþe boþe pardoun and blyssse to breke Goddis firste ordeynance, and conferme þe ordeynance þat þe fend tauþte þe emperour? And he were traytour to rewmes þif he spoylede here peple and tresore of þes rewmes bi suche feynede lesyngis; for temporal goodis and spirytnal rebbed he fro þes rewmes. Certis, sþþ þe world was maad þe fend feyned nevere more lesyngis to spoyle rewmes of tresore and peple þat makþ hem stronge, þanne to seie þat ho-so lettþ to take folke or tresore at wil of þe pope, to distrye his mennye, he is cursid of God and schulde be deed by man; and aftþ sendþ freris and oþer falce clerkis, to make þe peple to trowe, and meþþ hem to þis sentence. O þif Antecrist and his clerkis in her grene growynge overleyn þus rewmes,

1 corrected; confermerneþ, AA.

* This seems clearly to refer to the bull of privileges granted by Urban VI, in the year 1382, to the Bishop of Norwich, one of which runs as follows: 'Item, habet potestatem excommunicandi, suspendendi, interdicendi, quasiuncumque personas rebelles, seu impedientes ipsum exercere potestatem sibi commissam, cujuscumque status, gradus, praeminentiae, ordinis, loci, conditionis, extirpares, etiamsi regali, aut regiali, vel imperiali, seu quavis alia ecclesiastica vel mundana, praefugant dignitate.' Walsingham (Rolls edition), II. 77.
and biglyp trewe men, what weleþ þei do whanne þei beþ fully stablid? And þis is þe falseste conquest þat evere þe devyl haþ cast, for þus myȝte he liȝtly ȝeve rewmes to his servaunts, and make hem of nowun power to aȝenstonde his cautels. And þus is heresy of þe fend pypplischid in londis, þat he haþ maystrye overe Crist, and his servants overe trewe men. And more falsenesse of þe fend here we never feyned. Stonde we stablyche in feiþ þat Cristis lawe techep, for it was nevere more nede for cautels of þe fend. He feyneþ false dremes of power of Cristis vikir, þat Crist myȝte nevere graunte to such a false cause. And truste we in þe helpe of Crist in þis poync; for he haþ bigunne to helpe us graciously, in þat þat he haþ clofe þe heved of Antecrist, and maad þe ton þart fiȝte aȝen þe toþer. Ffor it is no drede þat synne of þe popes þat haþ be longe con-
tynued, haþ brouȝt to þis dyuisioun. And so, þif boþe þes hevedis lastiþ, or þe ton bi him sylf, þanne schal þe laste errour be wors þan þe firste. And so emperrour and kyngis schulde helpe in þis cause, to maynteyne Goddis lawe, and conquere her heritage, and distroye þis foul synne, savynge þe persones. And þanne were þeþs founde, and symonye distroyed; for while þis rote lastiþ, durþ bataylle and symonye. And þif þes lordis loveþ God, þei loveþ Goddis lawe; and helpe him in þis cause, for to hem it longiþ; and more glorious conquest dude nevere Cristene kyng.

**CAP. III.**

But feynyng of ypocris wole stonde faste aȝen, and criþ to alle men þat aȝenstondiþ þis, [þe ¹] beþ heritikis and wickid men, and fewe aȝenst òpere. But counfort it is þat þes þre resouns meþþ noþt. þe firste meþþ noþt, siþ Crist him sylf was clepid blasfeme, þat is heretik most of alle òpere; and in a fend, Belzabub, þei seide he dide his dedis, ffor servyce þat he dide to þis prince of fendis. So whanne many wickid men defameþ

¹ supplied conjecturally.

*See Vol. II, p. 166, where this matter of the dexterous use of dreams by the friars, in furtherance of the ends of the papal court, is mentioned more in detail.*
a good man, and have ye noon evyidence of his schrewid dedis; hit is a greet evyidence þat, for he schame þer synnes, þat þei accuse him falsely, al ȝif he be clene. And bi þis same answere we may avoyde þe seconde word; siþe þe Jewis seide þat Crist was not on Goddis halfe, ffor he dide myracles and helpid men on holy day; and þerfore þei seide þat none men þat koude good trowid to þis wickid man, but cursid and founed peple. Ffor, as þei seide, no Pharise ne prince of þe prestis trowid to þis false man, but þei þat knewe not þe lawe. And so han þei seid of Cristis trewe servant. And to þis þride evyidence,—it is knownen þing, þat whanne þe world is peyred, and Antecrist haþ maystriue, þere be þe many fendis sones þaȝens any trewe man; as in tyme of Hely was þe nyȝe left aloone, þaȝens seven hundrid prestis þat serveden to Baal.

But take we more evyidence of schrewidnesse of þe toþer side. Ffor þei gronde not her speche in resoun ne in Goddis lawe, and feynen þat Jesselyn* seþ so, and neiþer Jerom ne Austyn. And certis Jesselyn knewe litil of remyssioun of synne, or ellis of spiritual suffragies, þat God him ony grauntip. How schulde men trowe Jesselyn in glosynge of þe popis lawe, siþe þe toon pope falliþ þe toþurs bullis? Also men schulde have suspect boþe þe popes dedis, siþ þei beþ not grounded in þe lawe of God; but, as þei knewe no sovereyne, as Lucyfer here mayster, þei sechen veniaunce to hym silf, and lesiþ pacience and charite. And certis it is no love of God to maynteyne such prelatis, ffor wantynge of her charite seþ þat þei beþ fendis, siþþe for lasse avarice Crist clepid Judas a fend; and it seemþ no wisdom to be ladde bi many Scarioþs. And take heed to þe mynystris of þes prelatis; þei þyeve leve to prestis, to monkis, and to freris, to traveylle in her cause, al ȝif þei sle man, and suche þat have be comynly most viscious men of opere. Lord! siþþe in þe oolde lawe, whanne it was lefe to fiȝte, Goddis folke was vencuschid for synne of oon

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* This is Zenzelinus (or Genzelinus) de Cassanis, a doctor of laws, and, according to Pancirolo (De Claris Leg. Intrep.), a French-

man, author of the received commentary on the ‘Extravagantes’ of Pope John XXII.
man, how schulde þei nóþt be vencuschid in þe newe lawe, for
more synne of many men? Certis þere is no cause but ȝif
God have forsake hem, and letþþ hem serve deplyer her damps-
nynge in helle; as beestis þat beþþ displeird, men bisyeþ nóþt
to reule hem. A! siþþe kyng Daviþ, þat was so just a man,
was lettid to make a temple, but Salamon þat lovede þees was
ordeyned of God to make þe temple of stoon, myche more
schulde popis, and prestis her servauntis, schede nóþt Cristen
mennes blood in her owne cause. And certis, siþþe þei han
forsake pacience and charite, it semeþ þat God forsakþþ hem
as for his owne children, þfor whos werkis men worchen, his
children þei beþþ.

And take noon heed to þe persones þat telleþ þes wordis, but
take heed to þe sentence and cause þat þei spekeþ inne; and lok
wel in holy wryt wheþer it seie nóþt so. Lord! where it be
Goddis wille to lette to preche þe gospel, and þey leve and
counseil to prestis to slee men? Hit semeþ þat suche dedis
schewþþ whos þep þes prelatin; þfor every man her mereþ1,
and specially prelatin, schewen bi her werkis whos children þei
beþþ. Ffor þes þat traveyllen wel for þe children on
Goddis half, and þei þat traveille by werþþ to have richesse and
worldly glorie þeþþ children of þe fynd and enemyes to Crist.
And herfore is Crist clepid þeysible kyng, and þe fynd kyng of
alle þe children of pride. A! ȝif a man þyȝþþe chese to holde
Cristis biddinge, and forsake welþþe of þe world and al world-
lyche glorie, þfor to make þeþþe bytwixe him and òþere men,—
ȝif he lefte þis Cristis biddynge, and takþþ lore of þe fynd, who
wolde nóþt seye þat ne he wer þe fyndis child? But þes þepis
myȝþþe leve hiȝnesse of þe world, and þis worldly richesse, as
God him silf haþþ beden hem, and þanne þis striþþ schulde cesse
bitwixe hem and òþere men. And ȝif þe fynd lette hem by
love of worldlyche þingis, ho dредþ þat ne þanne þei þe þe
fyndis owne children? But lordis schulde compelle hem to
leve þis þendis lesynge, þfor God biddþþ his servauntis compelle
men to entre his weye. And ȝif þu seie þat no þan schulde
speke æþens þe pope, comun dedis teþþþ us þat he may liȝþþly
synne; and for he is capteyn over alle þe children, þpereþþ his

1 The text at this place appears to be corrupt.
synne is more, and more harmynge to þe Chirche. And her-
fore seyntis biforn, wittynge þat he is noþt God, ne confermyd
in vertues, as aungels þþ in hevene, weren ful bisy bi Goddis
lore to reprove þe pope. As Poul reprevyd Petir for a lîst
trespasse, Bernard reprevyd Eugenye for he was to worldly,
and left þe office of apostil, and took office of Antecrist. Why
schulde noþt men now reprove popes, þif þei don now
wersse? siþ alle men schal sue Crist, and stonde for þe truþe;
but Crist reprevyd Petir, and reprevþ ech yvel pope. And
at þe leste Cristis children schulde flee an yvel pope, and sue
him noþt but in as myche as he sewiþ Crist, ne trowe him noþt
but in as myche as he spekiþ Cristis lawe; and þif he do con-
trarie, flee we hym an Antecrist. Ffor no resoun ne no lawe
nediþ us to sue þe fend, ne forsake oure God, ne þe lawe þat he
hâþ þeven us. Wel we wytten by Goddis lawe, þat þe heyȝeste
in þis Chirche schulde nexte sue Crist, and moost flee þe
world; ffor so techiþ Crist, þat þe moost in his Chirche schulde
be mooste meke, most pore, and moost servysable.

Cap. IV.

But here Antecristis clerkis wole preve bi manye wyeyes, þat
þe pope, þat is viker of Crist and of Petir, hâþ power in þis
Chirche to do what he wole, siþe Crist biheiȝte to Petir þat
what he byndiþ in erþe schal be bounde in hevene, and so what
he unbyndiþ. Ho may denye þis biuleve but þif he be an
heretik? But here schulde þe fendis children lerne here logyky
and her phylsophie, þat þei ben noþt heretikis in falce undir-
standinge of þe lawe of Crist. Soþ it is þat Crist hiȝte to
Petir þis power, and to opire apostilis, by suche manere of
wordis, and to alle here successouris in persone of hem. But
suppose þat a prest forsake þe liif of Petir, and bidyngye of his
maystir our Lord Jesus Crist, and goo annoþir weye as þe
world axiþ, what is Cristis word sibbe to suche, a prest of

- St. Bernard (Ep. CCLXVIII) repoved Pope Eugenius III. his
former friend and follower, for having promoted an unworthy per-
son to some ecclesiastical dignity. The language, however, is carefully
restrained, nor can I find in any of
St. Bernard's letters to this pope
what would justify the strong asser-
tion in the text.
Antecrist? Certis eche bettre prest, in whiche beþ þes condiciouns, myste bi more colour seye he is Petris successour; fffor as Crist chargiþ more mennes dedis þanne her wordis, so he chargiþ more vertues þanne worldlyche name. Ne noon eleccioun of man is worþi biforn God, but whanne it accordiþ to chesyng of Crist. And herfore þe apostlis, whanne þei were ful of God, chesen Mathy by sort, and noþ bi falce cardynars. And as sort may faille þif Crist reule it noþ, so may chesyng of false men, aftir þat þe Chirche is dowid, and as myche more perilouslyche, as man þat is perverted is a quik fend, worse þanne oþere sortis. And so men schulde putte in þe ordeynance of God suche eleccioun of prestis, and wedde hem noþt wip þis staat, and trowe more to her werkis þan to chesyng of men; ffor þus Crist biddiþ men trowe to his werkis, and þus took Clement þe office of Petir, and as soone forsook it, whanne he myþte more profyte in an noþere office a. And so schulde Cristis prestis do, or ellis þei leven Goddis reule, þat biddiþ of two þingis þat men schulde chese þe better, and more for Cristis Chirche; for ellis þei lyven æzens God, þat ordeyned men þe bettir, and biddiþ men to chese it. And þif mennes lawis reversiþ þis lawe of God, woo be to þes lawis, and to men þat usen hem. Ffor þus seþ þe profete in text of oure bileve. And so, þif mennes lawe or custom of þe Chirche lettþ resoun and lawe of God, woo be to it. And more harm in þis mater þat falliþ to prestis is, þat þei makþ hem a lawe aftir lawis of þe world, and þat þei kepe more bisyli þan lawe of þe gospel. And þif her dowyng or her staat nedþem to do þus, woo be to þis dowyng and such staat of þe world, sipþe it nedþ to forsake God and his lawe.

Here may we se þat prelatis, feynynge for staates wheþir þei beþ Petris successouris or suers of Crist, han more þing for to preven þan þei cuenne come aweye wip. Ffirste, þei schulde teche þat þei suen wel þes heedis; and þif þei teche þis wel, þei schulde noþt stryve for dygnitees, ne telle so mychel by hem

a This seems to be the author's mode of reconciling the opinion of St. Jerome, confirmed by the Epistle of Clement himself (supposing it to be genuine) to the Church of Jeru-
as bi werkis of þe gospel; ffor ðif þei do, þei schewe in dede þat þei sue noȝt þes heedis; and so of privylege þat Crist haþ graunþid unto Petir beþ þei noȝt worþi to have part by such a falce title. But suppose þat þei wer vikers of Petir, þit þer is anoþer þing þat þei schulde fulfile, þat in byndynge and losynge þei beþ conformed to Crist, ffor ellis þei makþ a false knotte, and falselyche semeþ to loose. And herfore is nede to hem to have þe keye of science, þat þei kunne bynde and lose aftir þe Chirche above; ffor ellis þei gabbe on hem silf, and ðoþ noȝt as þei seyen. Her mayst þou se, how popes and ðere prélatis rut argue in þis wise; what evere Petir byndiþ or losiþ, or ellis his verrey viker, is þus bounde or losid of God in þe Chirche of hevene; but þis pope or þis prélatis is verrey Petris viker, and byndiþ or losiþ by þe keye of Goddis kunynge; þerfore it is bounde in hevene or losed, as he seip. And ðif þou seie þat þe lawe none schulde trowe Cristis viker, but þif þe schulde trowe him in byndinge and losynge, and so we schulde trowe what evere þe pope seip, ffor al þe boot of Petir flocced in uncerteyn,—here we schal wite how tresethe and hope and charite beþ divers, and how þere beþ diverse þingis to trowe and to hope and leve; and so we schulde sorwe for synne, and hope to be assoyllid of God and of his viker, ðif it be as we hope. And ðif we faille in þis sorwe, or bigge noȝt oure synne of God, we bygile oure silf in condiuon of byndynge or losynge. And so þi confessour can nouȝt wyte wheþer þou be bound or soyled, but bi supposynge þat he haþ of þi trewe speche, ffor þere is no more heresie þan man to bileve þat he is assoyllid þif he þeve hym monyee, or ðif he leye his hond on þin heed, and seie þat he assoyllip þee. Ffor þou moste by sorowe of herte make aseeþ to God, and ellis God assoyllip þee noȝt, ðan þene assoyllip noȝt þi viker.

How evere þe pope speke, þis is þe lawe of God, and alle þingis þat wole sue herof schulde Cristen men graunte. And by þis schulde prélatis ceese to boste of her power, ffor soþe it is þat assoyllynge is propred unto God, and his viker in erþe tellþ his lord wille; and þif hym fayle kunynge, he lyþ on his lord. And so many men mysosþ her power, þat is þe secunde keye in assoyllynge of prestis. And here may we se,
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

pat it is not believe, pat if a man seem to be assoyled of the pope, thanne he is assoyled so for the popes affermynge, for the pope may erre ofte in presumpcioun of his keyes. And God forbeede pat it wer bileve to trowe of eche man, pat his man is assoyled or cursid as the pope seip; for thanne bileve, pat schulde be oon, were falce and diverse in many men; for the confessed and the confessour were cause of oure bileve. But God forbeede pat hit were so, for thanne seip were uncerteyn. A man may make his owne hope, and confessour helpe to, but hope and bileve be ful divers.

CAP. V.

Here grucchi Antecrist, and seip pat by his skyle the pope hadde no power to certifie men confessed of him, pat he be assoyled of Crist, for he can nouȝt teche his, and so schulde perriche Petris keyes, groundid in Cristis graunte. And herfore men seyen comunly, pat whom so ony prest assoyli, he is assoyled of God by vertu of his keyes. Ne men schulle no more penaunce thane prest enjouyneth hem, for God haȝe þe prest power to deme after his owne wille, for ellis it were a needele þing to schryve men þus to prestis. As anentis þis, me þink þat men schulde trowe þat he be nouȝt assoylled ne bounde of her synne, but in as myche as God him sylf doþ it. For siþ God is lord of alle, agens whom is symme i-do, siþ ony man synneþ agens ony creature, þis lord mut first forþe his wrecþe; and hit wer as unsemelyche man to forȝeve þe wrecþe of God, as siþ þe werst boy in þis rewme for þe kyngis wrecþe, and specially siþ God is more overe þe pope and eche prelat her, þanne þe kyngge of Ingelond is more þanne a boy; and God is neþe to ech soule more þanne ony man may be. And graunte in presence of þis lord, wiþouten his autorite, [of 1] trespace don unto him, were a foul presumpcioun. And so prestis be but servauntis to telle þe wille of God, þat God forþeþ þe synne, siþ þat men beþ worþi. And þis knowynge schulde prestis have, and knowe Goddis mercy, þat siþ men make aseeþ to God, God wole þanne assoyle hem. And error

1 supplied conjecturally.
in pis bileve disceyveþ many men. And herby may we se,—as power ðeve to servauntis, is nott wittily ðeve, but ðif þei kunne here ofice, so God geveþ nott to men power for to assoyle, but ðif he ðeve hem kunnynge þat falliþ to her ofice. And so it may be ofte tymes, þat prelates feyneþ hem power, al ðif þei have no such power, þfor þei beþ unable. And siþ God mute graunte þis power as prope to him sylf, and he may nott erre in knowynge of unable prestis, herfore men may be disceyved in hope of suche power; and herfore men schulde telle þe peple of þis power of God, and teche men to affye in þis, and nott in mennes power.

But wel I woot þat þis bileve wynneþ nott us þe peny, ne makiþ us nott to be worschipid, ne þe peple soget to us; but pupplischinge of Goddis lawe schulde nott be lefte herfore. Bi þis may men se answere to þis resoun,—þat no pope here in erþe, but ðif he have revelacioun, can telle men þat þei beþ assoyled of synne þat þei beþ schryven of, sîþe he can nott telle þat men haveþ contricioun. And as þe popis lawe seþ, in grauntynge of his pryvylegie he grauntip nott suche indulgence but to contrit and confessid. Þe, ðif þe pope seie contrarie, or freris, or seyntis in hevene, men schulde nott trowe to hem in þis, sîþe þei seie byside þe feþþ. And siþ no confessour in erþe kan wyte where men be contrit, but suppose bi her owne wordis þat þei seye soþe in þis, hit is open þat þes confessours wyttip ne bileveþ þat her confessid beþ contrit, but liþty suppose þat þei seie soþe of hem sylf, and bi þis þei suppose þat God him sylf assoyliþ hem, and þanne beþ þei wel assoyled. And þei beþ Goddis bedels to telle truly his sentence, and oþir wise may þei nott assoyle men of here synne. And siþ þe pope seþ þat he assoyliþ ech confessid and contrit, in þat þat he seþ þat men beþ confessid and contrit, hit semeþ þat þe pope presumeþ to seie þat þes men haveþ contricioun. And certis þes popis or cardinals can nott wyte of hem sylf, þwether þei have contricioun, but by a liþt hope, sîþe þei knowe nott difference bytwixe attricioun and sufficiant contriciouna, þat God acceptiþ

The true doctrine is not a lucrative one, but must not therefore be abandoned.

a The reader of Pascal and of Boileau will here be reminded of the famous controversy concerning attrition and contrition which shook the Church of France in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits contend-
for synne. And so it seme <pat> <pes> wordis smachen presum-
cioun, and <pat> no<st> groundid in <pe> lawe of God. And so sum
men <jenki> <pat> al <pis> sacrament is no<st> fully groundid in al
holy wryt but in general wordis, and special <pat> unknown;
and herfore men schulde no<st> graunte special <pat> <pei>
knowe no<st>. And her may men se <pat> Petris keyes schulde no<st>
perriche, but be furbusched and clensid of <pe> rust of heresie,
and blasphemye of confessouris schulde be leyd adoun, and
<pis> were profyt to our Chirche and hatynge of blasfeme con-
fessors. For in her absoluicouns sayli> sumunly Petris keyes,
and <pei> feyne ofte to assoylle, and <pei> assoylle no<st>.

And herfore many prestis <pat> dre<di> hem <ffor> to lye <sei>e<1>
no<st>, I assoylle <pee>, but, God of hevene assoylle <pee>; and <si>f
<pei> sie <pat> <pei> assoylle, <pei> speke by reputacioun, and nou<st> bi
wytynge ne bi tryowyng, <ffor> God chargi> hem no<st> herto. And
so <pis> confessioun <pat> is maad to man, ha<pe> ofte tymse be varied
in varyinge of <pe> Chirche. For first men confessid to God and
to <pe> comun peple, and <pis> confessioun was used in tymse of
apostlis. Si<p> men were confessid more specially to prestis, and
maad hem juges and counseilers of here synful lijf. But at <pe>
pridd tymse, si<p> <pei> fende was losed, ordeyned pope Innocent
a lawe of confessioun<2>, <pat> ech man of discrescioun schulde ones
in <pe> <eere> pryvyly be confessid of his propre prest, and addede
myche to <pis> lawe <pat> he kowde no<st> grunde. And al <si>f <pis>
popis ordeynaunce do myche good to many men, nepesles many
men penken <pat> it harmep <pe> Chirche. Hit doi> many men
good, for scheene and drede of here schrisfe drawi> hem fro
many synnes, and maki> hem drede so aftir. And so<2> <pis

1 corrected; sibhe, AA.
2 corrected; in AA.

ing that attretion, that is, sorrow
for sin out of a motive of fear, to-
gether with the sacrament of pe-
nance, was sufficient to cleanse
men’s souls and make them fit for
heaven, while the other side urged
that contrition, or sorrow for sin out
of a motive of the love of God, was
indispensable. He will remember
that terrible sarcasm of Boileau, who
makes the Almighty invite the de-
fender of the sufficiency of attrition
into Paradise, with the words—

* Entrez au cie: venes, combî de mes lousages.
Du boun d’aime Dieu d’abuser les ânges.*

* The law enforcing private con-
fession, which was established at the
fourth Council of the Lateran in 1213.
sacrament is nedful to synful men, but not so nedful as is confession maad to God, for that is evere nedful if God schal assoylle men. The harme that come of his schrifte is ful grete in the Chirche; for many prestis, bope more and lasse, blasfeme in here power, and faillip in the keye of kunnynge in thes feyned absoluicioun, and fallip in heresie, prestis and her sogettis, but if prestis purge the keye of here kunnynge, and stondip in boundis of bileve. But his [is] open heresie that men taken of his sacrament, that men that bep confessid schal suffer evere paine that men haþ do azens God, for no man in ernþe, ne eungel in hevene, but if God telle him specially, can taxe such a penance. And herfore bookis seyen that penance is arbitrarie, now more and now lasse, after that prestis lykyn. So ofte tyme sum prestis for the lasse synne enjoyneþ more penance, and sum for the more synne lasse penance; but how evere that enjoyneþ, God þe hie juge, aegen whom men synneþ, taxeþ evere the penance, that prestis knowþ nouþ, as þe knowþ noþ grievousnes of synne. But it seemþ generally, that men that schal be saved haveþ penance ordeyned of God, in þis liif and in purgatorie, that þe prest haþ no wytt ne power to enjoyne men. And so men that schal be dammned haveþ noþ fullyche assoylyed of synnes þat þe han be schryfen of, for þe schal come azen. And þe faille in alþe her dedis þat þe do to God, and so þe haveþ noþ contricioun as men ordeyned to blisse, for þeþ men bi her grace seemþ noþ þis dedelyche. But what pope or confessour wot ho haþ suche synnes? And herfore [þei] blasfemen, assoylyng of peyne and gilee; and so many men schryveþ hem ofte in veyn to her confessours; and cause of þis vanytee beþ prestis or confessid. But schryve þe to God and laste in contricioun, and God may noþ faille ne he wole assoylyle þeþ.

CAP. VI.

Off þis may men se how perilously men spekip, and wijoute fundement, þat grauntþ pleyn absoluicioun of synne and of

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Footnotes:
1. supplied conjecturally.
2. Id.
peyne to alle men, confessid and verreylyche contrit of synne, pat pei havep don, whiche travayllip faste in cause pat pei coveytep, be hit nevère so seculere and fer fro Goddis wille. Ffor pere is no cause more seculere in pis world, pan is to dowe pe Chirche and maynteyne pe dowynge; and herfore pe popes grauntip pis pleyn absolucioun. But pei schulde þenke how in pis graunt pei schulde charge þes þe þingis,—matere, and forme, and ende of her graunt. Her matere schulde be truþe and fullynge of Goddis lawe, her forme schulde be trewe wordis groundid in Goddis lawe, and her ende schulde be profyt of her modir holy Chirche, for to come to hevene bi menes pat Crist haþ ordeyned. Lord! sip Crist is trewþe, as he himself seþ, as truþe in pis world or bigynnynge þereof, and he himself techeþ, boþe in hif and word, þat 1 his prestis schulde be pore and have non suche lordschip, as it is schewed bi twelf lawis of God, Lord! wher he þat is God, þat may not be chaunged, haþ hereinne chaungid his purpos, and loveþ more prestis lordþchip þanne he loveþ onþing þat he himself comaundid? Ffor wel I woot þat þis assoillynge is falce and ful of venym, but þif Crist himself be autour þereof. And wel I woot, sip God approved never biòre so large absoluciouns for nouþ þat he comaundid, þif he approve þis assoyllinge, þe þing for whiche he assoyllip plesip more to him þanne ony opir comaundement. And trowe þis ho evere wole, ffor I may not trowe it; sip Crist boþe in dede and word contrarie þus þis dowynge, and wel I woot þat he is God, þat may not reverse himself. And þif he hadde purposid so myche to dowe his prestis, boþe þere were resoun þereþo, and he wolde have told it. Resoun may þere non be, but þif a blaspheme seie, þat now in ende of þe world, whanne avarice is more, and Cristis Chirche haþ more nede of prestis þat sleeþ more coveytise, Crist haþ ordeyned þe contrarie to his Chirch in his prestis. But it wer oone to seye þus and to seie þat Crist hymself is turned into Antecrist; but wher were more blasfemye?

But leve take heed to Cristis wordis, how he tellip of þis mater. In þe oolde lawe he biddip þat prestis schulde have

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1 corrected: _and_, AA.
no part of heritage of 
pe peple, for God schulde be here part; 
pat is to sce, pat ofrynghis and dymes 
pat be Goddis rentis 
schulde be yeve unto prestis for servyse 
pat 
serve God. 
Lord! ho wot no3t pat ne suche wordis, wiþ so scharpe nega-
tyves, byndip evere and for evere, as we wytip in 
pe maund- 
mentis? And in 
pe Newe Testament Crist scip, 
pat suche 
schulde be 
pe 
be his disciplis; and 
pane 
be fendis 
clerkis. And sip God by suche lawis ordeyned fruyt of 
pe 
erpe to men, for to serve him by forme of his or- 
dynaunces, 
what wondir is 3if God wiþdrawe his hond fro erpe 
ychye fruytis? 
And sip 
seme 
a greet cause of barynnesse of erpe, fforsop it 
is 
pat no venjaunce sendip God to men, but 3if pat venjaunce 
be ordeyned to synne 
pat is cause 
peroef. And her may we se 
how we faile in slme of 
pe wordis of Goddis lawe, as we faille 
in mater. And herfore in oure dayes seip Antecristis clerkis, 
pat among all lawes 
pat evere God suffride, be bophe his testamentis falseste of all 
opere; and herfore men schulde 
glose hem aftir her owne wilte, and 
pe 
wordis of 
hes glosatouris 
passip Goddis lawe.

As anentis 
pe pridde poyn, pat is, onde of Cristis clerkis, 
bileve techebp us 
pat 
Crist wolde drawe his children to hevene-
ward, by holy lyvynge of his prestis aftir pe 
staat of innocence; 
so pat men 
pat bophe set in worldlyche liif and werquis, schulde be 
ravychid herfro by word and liif of Cristis prestis. Lord! where 
hes 
be 
ningis stere 
prestis for to fihte, or to be seculer lordis, 
or to implye hem wiþ worldly nedis? Wel I woot, by 
pe cours of 
pe Oolde Testament, whanne prestis wer rewleris of 
pe peple 
and leders of batayls, 
pane 
be were west ladde, and slowen 
oure Lord Jesus Crist. So many men 
penkip, 
3if prestis leveb 
Cristis ordynance, and 
lyveb as seculer lordis, and fihte as 
tyrants of 
world, 
peti schal slee Crist in his membris and 
make an ende of 
his liif, ffor 
pes passip wickidnesse of prestis of 
pe oolde lawe. 
Ffor 
pane 
be 
myste have wyfes, and fihte undir 
kyngis, but now oure mayster Crist forbed 
pes to his prestis. 
And so 
pes prestis of Antecrist, 
pet 
feynep 
pet Crist assoyliip 
men, more 
pane evere 
de 
dise before for servyce pat 
pet 
servede

1 corrected; strep, AA.
CONTRIVERSIAL TRACTS.

him, for mayntenyng of these prestis dedis, and seip that it is Cristis bateylyle and nost mennes cause, puttip heresie on Crist; and so pis is an opyn blasphemye, pat men schulde honnour for to here.

But her these false freris florischen pis falsehede, and seyen that Crist baad his apostlis celle here cootis and bie hem swordis, and so it is leeful, in defense of Cristis riht, to Cristene men for to fisete, bope prestis and optr men. But her schulde these freris teche to whom Crist spak these wordis, and whever he spak of cote and sword bodily or goostly. Hit semeq, siip none of Cristis apostlis dide pis of bodily swordis, but Crist forbede that he schulde fisete, or have swordis mo than two, hat he mened nost of bodily sword, but of sword of pe spirit, hat is Goddis word; and pis accordip wip Cristis dedis, and lore that he tauhte biforn. And as Crist faunte wip suche sword, so schulde alle his prestis, and plese men wip meke speche, se, if he leese her cotis and al her temporal goodis, and specially her lordshippe. Al siip freris, as he seyen, suep most pe lore of Crist, whi woole he noth bigge bodily swordis, and fisete pis in Cristis cause? But certis her wordis and her dedis teche that pe fend is her faadir; for Crist wolde by these and pacience pat his cause wet endid, and herfoe he repreved Petir for smytynge wip a swerd. Here may we se how pis cause is fully forged wip falsehede. And so pis mede pat is feyned is founde of pe fend her fadir, and is noth groundid on charite ne profyt of Cristis Chirche. And so freris schewip hem prooctours of pe fendis cause, and traytours to God and his Chirche bi her bisynesse in pis cause.

CAP. VII.

But 3it Antecrist grucchep, and seip that pis is blasphemye, for it reype fro prelatis power pat Crist 3af hem, and bi pis heresie oure Chirche schulde perishe for defauhte of helpe. For no prelat may assoyle, ne graunte hevenely suffragies; but doctoris seien pat he pope hap power grauntid of God of alle meritis in hevene, more banne nede was; and so, by pe passioune of Crist and ophere seyntis meritis, may he pope dele to

1 corrected; spirit, AA. 2 corrected; caus, AA.

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men as myche as he wole. Ho schulde be brent of þe pope but suche heretikis? Her me þenkþ þat Antecrist presumeþ above Crist and al þe holy Trynite, as Seynt Poul seþ. Ffor he seþ noþt onely of truþ þat it is heresye, as bischopis putte on Crist þe Friday þat he diede on, but he seþ þat he forþeþ þe offence of God, God unconseild bifor, to whom evere he wole. And certis þus may no man do of an eryely lord, for eche man hæ þo greþ mestrie overe his owne wille, þat no man may constrayne him to þe eve if but hym like; and myche more þe wile of God, þat evere more mote be, may not be grauntid but þif God graunte it firste. As, þif þe pope graunte þe good wille of Crist, þat is good wil biforn þe pope graunte it, and þif good will by Crist hæ graunte it. And so neþere God ne man may graunte anoþers good wil, but þif þe Lord of þis good will graunte it himself. And certis no synne is forþeþe but bi good will of God; and so prestis may telle þe peple, as servauntis or bedels, þat men han þe good wille of God þif þe don on þis wise. And þis office hæ þe pope graunte þe good will of God, and so prestis may telle þe peple, as servauntis or bedels, þat men han þe good wille of God þif þe don on þis wise. And þis office hæ þe pope graunte þe good wille of God, and noþt to boste ne to lye on þe will of God; but riþt as prestis of þe oolde lawe hadde power and kunnynge to telle ho wer leprous and ho were clene of lepre, bi sygnes þat God tauȝte hem, so in þe newe lawe hæ þGod tauȝte his prestis by what spiritual sygnes þe wille of God, by what sygne þei schulde knowe goostly lepre, and bi what sygne þei schulde seie þis lepre is forþeþe, þif þe man confessid to prestis seie soþi of himsilff. And þis is Jeroms sentence upon Cristis word seid to Petir a; and certis þis holy doctour koude more of holy wryt alle þe popi, or freris, or ony Antecristis clericis. And so þe prestis have power, but noþt evene wip God, ne þe graunte noþt forþeþennesse of Goddis offence but as trewe mennis 1 bytwixe God and þe peple.

1 should be menses?
And certis þe boost of Antecrist schulde be ceessid herby, þat he wot noȝt of himsylf, ne of his broþer þat lyveþ bi him, wheþer God hâþ ordeyned him to helle or ellis unto blisse, for þe manere of þis laste ende þat he schal make to God. And certis, ȝif he schal be dampted, þe pope assoillip him noȝt of alle deedely synnes þat he hâþ don ægænst God, ffor one stykþ wîþ him þat no man may assoille, sîþ Crist seþ þat unkyndnesse do ægens þe Holy Goost, schal neiþer be fornþe her ne in þe toþer world. On þis bileve schulde men þenke, whanne þei blowe her boost þat þei assoille men of alle synnes þat þei have do. And ȝif þis feþ were toold to popis and to cardynals, and prelatis undir hem, by þe grace of God her bargeyn of assoyllinge. and eke of cursyng, schulde bygile fewer folk, þat schulde hooly trist in Crist.

And herby may men se, þat in þe resoun þat is mad is false-nesse take of trewe men, þat þei bynemþ prestis her power. But evene þe power þat Crist ȝaf to prestis, þat is toold to hem; and how þei schulde noȝt to myche gabbé on Goddis poweþ, and take uppon hem falsylyche more power þan God hâþ graunted hem. And þus may men se þat holy Chirche schulde stonde stable ȝif men affiþede hem in Crist, and stode mekely in her degree, and noȝt covetyd more power þan Cristis lawe lymyþþem. Ffor noþing displesiþ God more þanne suche blasfeme covetyse. Ffor among alle propretees þat fallþ to oure God, þis is oon principal, þat he forþeyþ offence in him, sîþ every erþelyche lord hâþ suche a privylege. And þus assoyllþ God bïforo, and his viker aftþ, ȝif he acorde to Goddis will and telle truly Goddis sentence. And ȝif he covetye for to graunte principally þe will of God, he covetyþþt to be God, and is werse þanne Lucifer; sîþ þe manhede of Crist covetyed neuere suche hiþenesse, but mekid him evere to his God, and herfore is he híþed þus. Ne absolucioun maad to men is noȝt betered by suche pride, sîþ evene as God wole assoyllþ men, and no more bi þis presumpcioun, be þei clensid of her synne; and proude prestis beþ myche þe worse. And so schal we graunte, þat ȝif men makiþ aseþþp to God, by contritioun of here herte, her synne is forþeye hem, ȝif þei speke wîþ non òþere prest. For Cristis lawe is fre and schort. Trowe we, whanne Crist
forçaf synne oþer to men or wommen, as Petir or Poul, or Mawdeley or Baptist, or oþere seyntis, þat he sente hem to oþere prestis to be assoylið, as we usen now? And we schulde trowe, þat ȝif Cristis lawe axed evere suche absolucioun, Crist wolde noȝt forȝete it, but fulﬁlide it, as he dide Moyses lawe; and herfore badde he leprous men go and schewe hem to prestis. And so is nedful in þe Chirche to have prestis of Goddis lawe, to telle þe peple by what signe þei schulde hope her synne is forȝeve hem, and what privylege þei schulde have of God, for servyse þat þei servede him. But hope schulde stonde in such þingis, and noȝt bileve, þat schal be comun.

And so þis founed fantasye of spiritual tresour in hevene, þat eche pope is maad dispensour of þis tresour at his owne will, þis is a liȝt word, dremed wiþouten ground. Ffor þanne eche pope schulde be lord of þis hevenly tresour, and so he schulde be lord of Crist and oþere seyntis in hevene, þe, ȝif he were a fend, as was Judas Schariot. Lord! whi schulde God of hevene make þis fend suche a lord? siȝt it is propre unto God to dele suche meritis, and alle meritis þat beþ in hevene beþ fully rewarded, so þat none is ydil, but nedlyche mut be do. And so is 1 applicacoun or delynge of merit, presumed of þes popis, is proprid unto God, and so þis founed blasfemye [is] 2 blabred wiþouten grounde, [to] 3 to suppose þat eche pope be God, more mayster in his liȝt þanne he is in his deep, whanne oþir men beþ bettre. A! siȝt þes merites be wiþouten ende, so þat, ȝif 4 eche man were maad bi him a seynt, þe meritis þat leveþ schulde sufﬁce for alle seyntis, what charite is in þe pope ȝif he dele hem noȝt largely, and make boþe him and his passynge seynfis in hevene? Certis ȝif ony of þes men be damened in his tyme, hit semeþ him failþ charite, and þanne he is a fend. ȝif he hadde a lumpe of feþ, and witt of Goddis lawe, he schulde schune suche feynyngis as open heresye. Witte and charite lastþ in hevene wiþ oþir glorious ȝisþis, but meritis beþ passid 4 in her kynde, but fruyt of hem leþþ. And so it were lasse heresye to seie, þe pope is lord of blisse and witt and of charite, and þus þis may he dispense, and take þeroþ to him at his owne will, and aȝenst selle

1 dele is. 2 supplied conjecturally. 3 corrected; ȝif þat, AA. 4 should be passynge?
to oþere men, for noþing may lette him. And so it semeþ þat þis tresore is better wiþouten mesur þanne alle þe worldly lord- scheþe þat þe pope haþ of þe emperour. For ȝif he solde bere 1 peneworþ of þis goostly tresour, hit wolde come to more moneye þanne al þe world is worþe. Lord! how riche is þis man for havyng of þis tresour! And ȝif þou seie he may noþt selle ne parte but as God lymyte, for ellis myȝte he putte in blisse enemye to his God, certis þanne is þis tresour veynlyche in þis office, siþ, magry his, God mote dele as resoun and good liþ axiþ. So ȝif þe pope be deed, or falle in synne, he haþ noþing hereof. Lord! how helpeþ he his God to parte þis goostly dole?

Cap. VIII.

Off þis may men se, how falsely freris seyneþ ȝisfe of þis tresore to ech pope of Rome. Ffor certis God may noþt be acceptour of persoones, but evere þe betre man rewardþ he more. Ffor þe pope is noþt betre for he forsakþ Goddis hestis; how schulde he be tresorer to God wiþouten resoun? Also, siþe in þe Chirche above is no meryt in his kynde, siþe seyntis beþ passid þe state of merrit and come to staþt of blisse, þe tresour þat þe pope dispensþ schulde be lisse in his kynde, and he is yvel tresourer, but ȝif he take him sum þerof, and yvel mynystreþ to his God, siþ God takþ fro him all, þee, every part of þis blisse þat he myȝte kepe in his soule a. Also, siþe þe pope myȝte take þis blisse into his soule, and be most blisful fadir, as he assenteþ þat he be clepid, no pope schal be dampered, siþe blisse may never be lost; and so he is conferred in þis liþ more þan Petir or Poul, ffor certis þei hadde her a staþt þat stood noþt wiþ her blisse. Lord! wherþer blisse be suche a þing þat may be take fro seyntes in heuene, and putt in soulis of erþely men, as þe pope lykiþ? þis is þe lewedest heresie þat evere was founde of freris.

But, for þe secunde heresie, of byinge of swerdis, semeþ to have more colour by wordis of þe gospel, þerof it were good for to speke more. And siþ Jerom witnessþiþ, he is an open

1 this is the reading of AA; query bi þe?

a The meaning of the latter part of this sentence is to me inscrutable.
heretik þat expouned Goddis lawe to ðepere wit þan God meneþ, sferis schulde avise hem wel byfore þei seid þat Crist baad to his apostlis to bie hem swerdis, þee, þif þei selle here cotis þerfore. For it is certeyn, þif Crist baad it, he dide it for greet resoun, and for cause þat þes apostlis schulde use þes swerdis aftirward; for it were no wisdom to bie þus þingis þat men schulde noȝt use, but be combed þerwip; and it is noȝt semely to feyne þis use of swerdis but for to þiȝte wip hem, as Petir dide aftir. And so it semep þat Crist baad his apostlis þus to þiȝte; for keryynge of mete, or scredyynge of trees, schulde not be þe ende þat þei schulde now bigge hem swerdis. But þif Crist wolde þat þei schulde þiȝte wip swerdis, þat þei schulde þus bigge, hit were wondrin whi he blamed Petir, þfor he faȝt wip Malcus. For it is noȝt likly þat Crist blamed him for cowardise, þfor sþ Crist helid Malcus ere, he wolde noþt he hadde hurte him worse, ne his will ne his biddinge chaunged noȝt so soone to þe contrarie. Also doinge of Crist is beste and liȝtteste þat men can divyse; but Crist myȝte liȝtly have vencushid his enemies by word or bi aungels, alþif he hadde noȝt woundid hem; þfor Crist hadde many lygiouns of aungels at his biddinge, and whanne Crist seide þis schort word, his enemies wenten aback and fell to þe erþe. Lord! what nedide þe apostlis to þus have bore swerdis? Also, whanne Crist comaundip ouȝt, he wolde þat it be don; and men þat reversen it synnen in þe levynge. But þe apostlis synned noȝt in levynge of yren swerdis; þanne Crist spak noȝt in veyn to bidde hem bie such swerdis. Ne þe pris was noȝt covenable, apostel to ȝeve his kirtil þfor suche a bodïlyche wepene to bete wip þe erþe; þfor, as Seynt Poul seïp, suche þiȝtyng is in veyn. Also, Crist was noȝt in lore contrarie to himsilf; but he taȝtÞe his apostlis to vencushe bi pacience, and in suche pacience þei schulde have peysible her liȝf; and þif a man wolde Smyte on þe ton cheke, þei schulde ȝeve him þe toþere; and ho bynymep hem her cootis, þei schulde ȝeve hem here mantil. Lord! wheþer þei schulde þiȝte for bynemyng of suche swerdis! þis fals cæle lore lernede nevere þes martirs as Antecrist haþ now brouȝt in; sþe glorious knyȝtis, as Seynt Maurus a and his felawis, wolde noȝt þiȝte for

1 Cor. ix. 26.

a See note on page 232.
her liif, but mekely suffrid deep. Lord1 where pis heresye schulde meve kny\textvisiblespace{}tis for to fi\textvisiblespace{}gte for lordschipe of Antecrist, \textit{pat} Crist himsilf hap forbeden? Also, \textit{pes} apostlis hadde no\textvisiblespace{}t synned 3if \textit{pei} hadden bou\textvisiblespace{}t\textvisiblespace{}t\textvisiblespace{}e suche iren swerdis, 3if Crist hadde bede hem bie suche, for \textit{pei} hadde do his biddynge. But he seide, two is inow, \textit{pat} he wist wel \textit{pat} \textit{pei} hadde. But it is open \textit{pat} \textit{pei} hadde synned to bigge more wepene \textit{han} inow. But sipe \textit{pei} hadde suche swerdis inowe, byfore \textit{pat} Crist hadde seid \textit{pes} wordis, hit seme\textvisiblespace{}p \textit{pat} \textit{pei} hadde no\textvisiblespace{}t medfully do, bigginge suche swerdis mo \textit{han} inowe. And \textit{bus} blasfemye of \textit{pes} freris mene\textvisiblespace{}p \textit{pat} Crist was a fool, and scornefulllyche wi\textvisiblespace{}houten cause he spaak \textit{pes} wordis to mennes lore. But certis of\textvisiblespace{}1 Crist may no\textvisiblespace{}t be fool, ne speke wordis wi\textvisiblespace{}houten greet witt, sipe he may no\textvisiblespace{}t be fool suffering freris be in his Chirche, albo\textvisiblespace{}p \textit{pei} meve bishopis to fi\textvisiblespace{}gte and \textit{perto} spoyle \textit{pe} pore peple wi\textvisiblespace{}p beggynge of blasfeme lesynge, openly prechide \textit{agenst} \textit{pe} gospel.

And so it seme\textvisiblespace{}p \textit{pat} \textit{pes} wordis of Crist mene\textvisiblespace{}p two juridici\textvisiblespace{}ouns, as spiritual and seculer; sip Crist wolde no\textvisiblespace{}t \textit{pat} seculer fel to his apostlis, sipe \textit{pei} clene use prechinge; but, as Seynt Poul techi\textvisiblespace{}p, \textit{pat} Crist mene\textvisiblespace{}d swerd of \textit{pe} tunge, \textit{pat} is, spiritual swerdis and lyflyche word of oure God. A! quyk is Cristis word, as Seynt Poul seip, and scharper \textit{han} ony two-eged swerd. Sipe it picche\textvisiblespace{}p to \textit{pe} soule, \textit{pis} swerd of Goddis word is nedeful apostlis for to have, whanne \textit{pei} be\textvisiblespace{}p pursued to \textit{pe} deep, as Crist ensaumplid in his wordis. But sipe Crist my\textvisiblespace{}t\textvisiblespace{}e no\textvisiblespace{}t fi\textvisiblespace{}gte wi\textvisiblespace{}p swerd of yren, and he tauer\textvisiblespace{}t no\textvisiblespace{}t lore to his apostlis \textit{pat} he taug\textvisiblespace{}t no\textvisiblespace{}t do in dede, sip he bigan to do and teche, it is open \textit{pat} he baad no\textvisiblespace{}t bie swerd of yren for to fi\textvisiblespace{}gte, ne to booste here enemyes, bo\textvisiblespace{}p for \textit{pe} tyme was derk, and Crist lyvede no\textvisiblespace{}t by biggynge \textit{pat} my\textvisiblespace{}t\textvisiblespace{}e be cause of fi\textvisiblespace{}gte\textvisiblespace{}yne make pees amongst men, but mekenes and pacience was mene to Crist to make pees. And two swerdis be\textvisiblespace{}p inowe, to fi\textvisiblespace{}gte herwi\textvisiblespace{}p fendis children,—one to teche hem scharplyche and bolde\textvisiblespace{}lyche \textit{pe} word of God, annopir to telle hem mekelyche \textit{pe} mede \textit{pat} sue\textvisiblespace{}p of Goddis lawe. \textit{Pe} bookeler to \textit{pis} goostly fi\textvisiblespace{}gte is a man to holde his pees in tyme: and \textit{bus} tau\textvisiblespace{}t Crist wi\textvisiblespace{}p bo\textvisiblespace{}p his hondis whanne he was pursued to \textit{pe} deep; and \textit{pis}

1 dele of.

The true and spiritual interpretation of the command.

Eph. vi. 17.

Heb. iv. 13.
lore is comyn to alle þat ben Cristis discipulis, and profytable and soyt il whanne we beþ pursued of men. And God þese we cowde use þis lore whanne we speke wiþ wrapful men! þanne schulde Goddis lawe walke, and ىrous men be vencushed. But God þeþ þes bolde freris use noþ swerdis to þiþte wiþ men, whanne þei telle hem Goddis lawe, and freris defaultis وضوع it; for þe compeny of freris myþte þanne conquer many londis, and seie þat þei have riþ of God to alle þat goodis þat beþ þerinne, but God þese þat þei dide no worse, in false consence and falce counseil. Oþir freris dremeþ lasse yvel, þat þes two swerdis were two fleisch knyves, wiþ whiche þei slowe þe Paskcal lombe, and aftir Petir faþt wiþ þe ton. But trowe noþ þis feynynge of freris, siþe it wanteþ groundinge; ne it is not liklyche þat Crist, þat dide alle his dedis bi resoun, schulde carie a swerd in a scaberge for to slee a sely lombe. And here manþ men supposen, as reule þat faillip noþt, þat word groundide first in freris is an open lesynge. But ho is more perilous folke to rewmes þat þei dwellip inne, þan beþ suche ypocritis? þat seien þat þei beþ mediatours bytwixe God and man, and telle alle men Goddis wil, and gabben on þe wille of God, and make men to serve þe fend. þei spoyle noþt oonly of rewmes tresour and mennes bodies, but þei sendip soulis to helle, and doþ hemsilf aftir.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

XXII.

THE GRETE SENTENCE OF CURS EXPOUNDED.

[The following pamphlet, of which a complete analysis is given by Dr. Vaughan in his Tracts and Treatises of Wyclif, and of which Lewis also, in his Life of the reformer, made considerable use, is known to exist in one MS. only, the Corpus volume at Cambridge, so often referred to. The text of this volume is not in a good state, having been evidently written by a careless scribe; of this the frequent conjectural emendations at foot of the page will supply evidence. The text as here given to the reader is founded on a transcript made at Cambridge, which my friend Mr. W. A. Wright has been good enough to examine with the MS. before sending it to me. This transcript I have again compared with a transcript made for Lewis about a century and a half ago, and now among the Rawlinsonian MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

With regard to authenticity, it seems to me impossible to come to any certain conclusion. The treatise does not occur in Bale's Catalogue, nor is it ascribed to Wyclif by any early writer; in fact, there is no external evidence whatever in support of its having been written by Wyclif beyond the circumstance of its being found in the Corpus volume. The internal evidence, so far as date goes, is satisfactory enough. The Council of London is referred to in ch. xix, as having recently taken place, and in ch. xxv Bishop Spencer's war in Flanders seems to be spoken of as actually going on; this would fix the date of composition to 1383, about a year before Wyclif's death. With regard to the style, opinions may differ; but it does not seem to me to be precisely that of Wyclif, but more appropriate to some fiery follower of his, who had reached a point of intense exasperation not exhibited in the undoubted works of Wyclif.

The author's choice of subject, and the title of the work, have great light thrown upon them by a document printed by Mr. Maskell (Monum. Ritual. Eccl. Angl., vol. ii. p. 286) from an early printed copy of the Sarum Manual in the Bodleian Library. The heading of this document is—'Isti sunt generalis articuli majoris excommunicationis in lingua materna, et dicantur
"hoc modo." I shall extract from what follows such portions as directly illustrate our text:—

'Godemen and wynmen, it is ordeyned by the counsell of all holi Chirche: First of our holy fader the pope of Rome, and his cardinals, and all his counsell, sithen of alle archebishopes and all the clergie, that every man of holy Chirche that hath soule for to kepe, shold shewe among them fourthe sithe bi yere, the articles that ben written in the general sentence, that is for to seyn, the points that longen to the great curs; that on is the first Sonday of Advent, that other is the first Sonday of Lenten, and the nexte Sonday after Witsounday, and the first Sonday after the Assumptyon of our Lady.'

The document proceeds to explain for the information of the laity the terrible effects, here and hereafter, of church cursing, especially of the 'great curse,' which is now in question. The next clause which our pamphlet refers to runs as follows:—

'So that first and foremost, we denounced acurse, all tho that holy Chirche folden depriven of any right or profyte, either by law written, or elles by good custom which hath ben holden and used of old tyme: and in this point falleth iii manner of folk: first all tho that steleth holy Chirche goodes in what place so they ben don for to kepe: or elles that stele unhalowed thynges out of holy place, or thinges that ben halowed out of place unhalowed, and all tho that wytyngly breke and destroye any poynct of fredom that longeth to holy Chirche: and this is nought all onely understand of the fredomes that longen generally to all holy Chirche, but also of other special fredomes, which that some chirche hath more one than another.'—Capp. ii, xxiv, 'Grete sentence, &c.'

Two clauses follow (relating to church courts and assault on persons belonging to the clerical order), which are not specially referred to; then comes:—

'Also we denounce all tho acursed, that malicousli stele or destroye the goodes, that longeth to manere, or to grangues of any men or women of religion, or of archebishop, of bishop, other of any other place of mennes of holy Chirche, wythout special leve of them that have the goodes to kepe.'—Cap. xix.

Several clauses follow, designed for the protection of the persons and property of the clergy, which the pamphleteer does not notice; then comes:—

'Also all tho ben acursed by al holy Chirche that breke or destorb the unite and the pes: first of our lorde the kyng, and sythen of his kyngme, by power, or by counsell, by word or by werk: or elles by any way to herte or to compace hys deth, or any point of traytoure of hym or of his lond: and all tho that falsli withhold his heretayge or any other ryght, that hym ought lawfuilly to have: and all tho ben acursed, that geve mede, or elles take any manere geftes for to lette pes, and for to procure strif in any degre, other more or lasse, among Cristene folk.'—Cap. x.

'Also they ben acursed in hevun and in erthe, that falsli forswere them upon the holydam: and knoue wel that it is fals whenne they begynne to swere, in questes, or in acises, or in any other fals cause: and all tho that hyre suche men, or make them to be hyred, or mayntene them, or teche them, eyther by word or werk, for to lette trcwe matrymony, or lawful herytage, or testament, or ought elles that is trewy ordeyned. and also all tho advokatis of lawe of holy
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Chirche, that in ple of matrimonye, or any other trewe cause make wytyngly, and with any semed false exceptions for to destroye, or lette, or tarie a trewe cause, that it may nought speedly be discussed, and ended after the cours of lawe.'—Cap. xii.

'Also all tho ben acursed, that for hate or for mede, or any other encheson, sciaundre falsi, or defame any man or woman, so that they be brought fro good fame unto wykked, wherefor that thei have nede to purge them bi the lawe and ben therefor grety greved, and anoyed in body and in soule.'—Cap. ix.

Of the numerous clauses relating to the important subject of tithe, the following is the only one which the pamphleteer directly notices:

'And that Crystene men and women be hard bounden on payne of dedly synne nought alle onely be the ordenaunce of man, but first and formost be the ordenaunce and the commandament of all myghty God them selfe, but in the olde lawe and also in the newe, for to paye trewly to God and holy Chirche, the tenthe part of all maner of thinges that they have by yere; also wel the tenthe part of all maner encrese, that they winne trewly by the grace of God, both with here travaille and also with here craftes; also the tenth part of al maner of fyshes and foules and bestes bothe wild and tame, and of al manere frutes that growe out of the erthe, wytnessed wel Seynt Austyn in hys decre, as it is wryten in the lawe of holy Chirche. And what venience that our Lorde God taketn upon thys world, by encheson of them that with nought paye ther tythes, and also for them that falsly tythe, and in what manere that our Lorde God hath granted iii thinges to all them that trewly ti ther tythes, and also Goddis lawe, for to acurse al tho by name that wyl nought paye ther tythes, as it is written in many places in the lawe of holy Chirche.'—Cap. xvii.

Sanctuary.

'And also ye shal knowe wel that all tho ben acursed, that in vyolence drawe out any man or woman, that fieth for help and socure unto holy Chirche: or elles out of any other place that is halowed, but in certein poyntes that the lawe geveth leve. Or lette them to have sustaunce ther while thei ben there, and al tho that gave therto help or counsell.'—Cap. xxiii.

Wills.

'Also all tho ben acursed that lette or procure to lette the testament, and the laste wil of folk whan they deye, of thynges that ben ther owne, and that they maye skilfullly bequesthe bothe by lawe of holy Chirche and by custome: whether it be testament of wyves, or of widedowes, or of any other wymmen: but al onely of theym that ben bounden, wher that it is ordeyned so by olde custome of the conte, and of them that ben bounden men to religion, the whiche shulde by lawe of holy Chyrch have noyng of ther owne, and also that be sworne and charged with executoris, and fulfills nought the dedes wil as ther charge axeth.'—Cap. xiv.

Taxation of the clergy.

'Also all tho seculer men whych that be reweleres and leaders of cytees, and of townes, yt they make any unlawful taxes, or talages, or any exaccones on prestes and clerkes, and men of holy Chirche, and constreyne them by there levewd power, or elles by any way for to do, or destroye, the jurisdiccion of prelates of holy Chirche, but yt thei leve such doynge for evre, whych tyme that they be amonestted lawfully therto, elles they ben acursed in thys gret curs,
and may nought be assayed or thei have mad ful amends, both to them that they have so greved, and also to holy Chirche.'—Cap. ii.

Magna Carta.

' Also tho that breake any point of the kynge great chartre or chartre of the forest, in wiche chartre is writen the freedoms of this lond, that divers kynges have graunted to everi man: in the grete chartre ben xxxv pointes and the chartre of the forest comprehended xv pointes; and all archbishops and bishops that longen to Engeland have acursed all tho that breake wytingly any of all these pointes, the wych sentence of cursynge hath ben often confermed by the court of Rome.'—Cap. xxiv.

Forgery, &c.

'And all tho ben acursed, that false the popes letters or is seel, or any other letters or seel that ben autentik, and all tho that them purchase, and all tho that use wytingly suche false purchased letters.'—Cap. xvi.

'And also all tho ben acursed that stele, or destroye, or falsifi with holde chartre, or testamente, or any other maner letters, that longen til other men; wher for thei lese their heritage, or any right that they shulde have by lawe. And all tho that use false weightes, or false yerdes, or any other false measures for to deceive the people with, and all tho that false the kynge's moneye, or clippeth or maketh lasse bi cause of their profit.'—Capp. xiii, xxi.

Heresy and Simony.

'And all heretikes ben acursed, and all tho that maynte ne heresie: and all tho that use symonye: and all usurers: and all tho that make, whanne usure ys taken, that ye be nought restored agen, and all tho that live on such craft: and all tho that be cursed bi name: and all tho that wilfully slee them selve.'—Capp. i, iv.

Theft.

' Also we denounce acursed all open theves and robbers, and all that them receyve wytingly, or gyve them help or counsell.'—Cap. xx.

Parricide.

'And them that in violence drawe blod on her fader or moder, and this is understondo bothe of bodili fader and moder, and goostly.'—Cap. xxii.

But the version of the Great Curse from which these extracts are taken is confessedly an incomplete one; for at the end of the next clause occur the words—' and many other poyntes also longe unto this greate sentence.' This explains the fact that the offences anathematized in the last five chapters of the pamphlet are nowhere particularly described in the document now under consideration. Careful search would probably lead to the discovery of a fuller version than that here cited from.

CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

HERE bigynnep þe grete sentence of curs expounded.

Cap. I.

First¹, alle heretikis azenst þe feip of holy writt ben cursed solemnly foure tymes in þe þer, and also meyntenouris and consentoris to heresie or heretikis in here errorr. Sip þen heresie is errorr meyntened azenst holy writt, as Seynt Austyn and oþere clerkis seyn, who evere meyntenecþ ony errorr azenst Goddis lawe is an heretik, be he prest, be he lord, be he pore, be he riche, or of what evere degre. Þanne ȝif oure clerkis þat lyven worldly, in pride, pompe and covetise, and ydelnesse fro gostly traveile, understonden þat þis is Goddis will[e] and his lawe, þei ben in open errorr azenst holy writt; and ȝif þei witen þat þis lif is azenst Goddis techynge and his ensaumple, and ȝit holde it forþ for lust and ese of body, and meyntenene it in word or dede, þei ben expresse heretikis and cursed Anticristis, whom no man schulde rescueye in to his hous, ne grete h.m in þe weie.

Also, who evere understondþþ holy writt oþer wise þan þe Holy Gost axiþ is an heretik, as Seynt Jerom² and oþere seyntis witnesseen. But oure worldly prelatis understonden wrongfully holy writt in mater of prechynge of Cristis gospel; þerfore þei ben cursed heretikis. For whanne Seynt Poul axiþ, hou men schulden preche but ȝif þei ben sent, þei understonden, but ȝif men ben sent of þe pope, or oþere worldly prelatis, where Seynt Poul understondiþ sendynge of God; so þat ȝif worldly prelatis wolen þat [þei²] prechen not þe gospel wip-outen here licence, þei schullen not speke þe treuþe of þe gospel to save Cristene souliþ, þouþ God stire hem nevere so moche þerto, bi wynnyng of hevenely blisse ȝif þei don it wel, and bi everelastynge peyne ȝif þei don it not treuely and wilfully and

¹ corrected; frist in MS.
² supplied conjecturally.

* S. Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. v: ‘Quicunque igitur alter Scripturam intelligit, quem sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat quo con- scripta est, licet de Ecclesiâ non recesserit, tamen haereticus appellari potest.’
frely, as Crist bad his disciplis. For if here understandynge sue perchis open errour, pat an angel of God schal not do Goddis massagis to save Cristene soulis, for a worldly prest, Anticrist and cursed heretik, and in cas a dampnyd fend, as Judas was, lettip Goddis biddynge mercy and charite, pefor pei pat understanden perchis sendyng ben in open heresie. For pe Holy Gost understandip not perchis part of holy writt as perchis worldly prelatis don, but evene perch contrarie. For certis a prest may be sent of perchis worldly prelatis wip here lettris and selis, and sit be an heretik, bi symonye, bi lesyngis put on God to meyntene his ypocrisi, and robbynge of perch comyns, bi flateryng and beggyng and opere disciteitis, and not sent of God but bi perch fend, whois werkis he prechip and dop, and perchfore cursed of God and alle his trewe servauntis. Perchfore sendyng of perchis worldly prelatis is not ynow3, wipouten sendyng of God, as Seynt Poul mene." And God axip trewe1 lif aftir his lawe, and trewe prechynge of perch gospel, wip clene entent, not for worldly name, ne coveitise of worldly muk, ne bacbytynge of pore prestis and hyndryng of Cristis ordynaunee, and meyntenyng of worldly lif of clerkis, as false prophetis prechen now, but trewly to dispise synne and teche vertues, for honour of God and helpynge of Cristene soulis to heveneward.

Also, oure worldly clerkis lyven not only ajenst holy writt in word and dede, but also meyntenen perch worldly lif bi ypocrisi, bi fals excusacions and false expounyng of holy writt, and hard persecucion of pore prestis pat prechen Cristis mekenesse, his wilful povert, and gostly bysynesse, and witnyssen pat prelatis schulden sue Crist in perch speally. For perchis pore prestis ben sclaundrid for heretikis, cursed and prisoned wipouten answere, for as moche as pei stonden for Cristis lif and techynge, and meyntenauence of perch kingis regale and power of secular lordis, and savynge of Cristiano mennus soulis, ajenst Anticristis tirauntrie, and ypocrisi of his weiward disciplis, pat envenymyn and distroien holy Chirche. And of perch discrivyng of heresie may men se, how eche man pat meyntenep [God]dis comandemetis is a cursed heretyk, for in pat he meyntenep

1 corrected; trewe, X.
error against holy writ. And blind entent, or blind devotion, excuseth not these worldly clerkis, wher these fautouris, no more than Petir was excused fro Sathanas, and Poul of blasphemye notwipstondynge here blind entent, against Goddis wille, for goodnesse and riwtwisnesse, as hem pouyte. Moche more worldly clerkis and here fautours schullen not be excused against this open meke and pore and travelouse Iff of Crist and his apostlis, for no solty ypocrisie of Anticrist, and blynde devotion of gluteneouse manquelleris, for pride and covetise.

CAP. II.

All these ben cursed solemnly, that spoile and taken awaye ony riht of holy Chirche, or defrauden\(^1\) holy Chirche of ony dewte\(^2\). Here Cristene men, tawit in Goddis lawe, clepen holy Chirche pe congregacion of juste men for whom Jesus Crist schedde his blood, not for stones and tumber and erpely muk, pat Anticristis clerkis magnysien more than Goddis riwtwisnesse and Cristen soulis. Than these prelatis and curatis pat wijdrawen pe rihtful prechynge of Cristis gospel fro Cristene men, pat ben holy Chirche, ben acursed of God and alle his seyntis: for this trewe techynge is most dewe to holy Chirche, and is most chargid of God, and most profitip to Cristene men, if it be wel don. Perfore, as moche as Goddis word and blisse of hevene and Cristene soulis ben betre than erpely goodis, so moche ben these worldly prelatis, [pat\(^3\)] wijdrawyn pis grete dette of holy techynge, worse peves and curseden sacrelegires than bodily peves pat breken chiris and stelen chalicis, vestementis, or nevere so moche gold out of hem. First, thi ben greuously acursed of God for pis roberie of Cristene men, whanne thi wijdrawen Cristes gospel fro thi eris of Cristene pple. Thi secunde tyme thi ben more greviously acursed, whanne thi letten and forbarren opere prestis to teche trewe and frely Cristis gospel, whanne thi hemself kunnen not or wolen not for here bodily ese, or may not for worldly occupation. As whoso were, up payne of hangyng and drawyng, to fede many lege men of oure kynge, and toke perfore wagnis

1. because they will not preach the gospel themselves;
2. because they prevent true ministers from preaching it;
3. supplied conjecturally.

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ynowe, and wastide hem, and suffride þe kyngis lege men die for hunger, or þede þe castel and hemself to þe kyngis enemys,—he were a cruel traitour and sleere of all þes men; and ȝit more traitour, ȝif he lette ðopere knyȝtis 1 of oure kyng to vîtele þes men aseged, and rescowe hem of here enemys. So it is of þis worldly prelatis and curatis, þat taken cure of soulis and tîpes and ofryanís to teche hem Goddis lawe, and purge hem of synnes þoruȝ preier and prechynge and good ensemblæ, last þe devel þat evere ensegiʒ manヌus soule cumber hem in synne and bringe hem to helle. þe þridde tyme þes weïward prelatis ben most grevously cursed of God; for whanne þei kunne not preche þe gospel, or may not, or wolen not, or letten ðopere pore prestis to helpe Cristene soulis bi techynge of Goddis word, þei graunten leve to false prechouris þat sowen lesyngis, and bi flaterynge and ðopere veyn preieris norischên men in synne, and robben þe peple bi fals beggynge þat þei putten on Crist, seiyng þat he beggede as þei don. For þus þei wiȝdrawen trewe prechynge of þe gospel fro Cristene men, and neden hem to ete and drynke venym of Anticristis lesyngis and flaterynge, and to be robbid of here catel bi ypocrisie of stronge beggeris. As knyȝt, chargid of þe kyng to kepe his castel and his men, and hereto hadde wageis ynowe, and wolde not do þis office, but lette ðopere þat wolden save þes men for pite, but øver þis he nedide hym 2 to be governed bi here enemys, and þei schulden have here goodis for to slee þes men in þe castel, in þis poynȝ were 3 most opyn traitour to his kyng, so it fallip bi oure weïward prelatis, þat prechen not Cristis gospel, but letten ðopere pore prestis to teche trewely and frely Goddis word, and senden feris þat colouren here open synne, and prechen falsis and lesyngis, and robben þe pore peple bi stronge beggynge and nedles.

Also our worldly prestis lesse and more drawn fro holy Chirche, þat is, þe congregacion of just men, þe grete dewete of good ensaumple of here owene lif, þat schulde be a bok and mirour of here sugetis, to kepe Goddis hestis, and seynis and reson witnesse. Perfore Crist dide first in dede þat þing he

1 corrected; knyȝtis in MS. 2 should be hem. 3 corrected; be were in MS.
taunte aftir bi word, and whanne Crist hadde wascyn his disciplis feet for mekenesse, he seide þus, I yeve to þou ensample, þat ȝe do as I have don. But now inside of ensample of mekenesse and charite and holy devocion in Goddis servyce, þei þyven ensample of pride, wrappe, vengeaunce, coveitise, ydelnesse, glotonye, leccherie, and opere vices, to wipdrawe fro holynesse and devocion. And siþ techyng in dede, doying and meyntenynge of open errour in lif, is as evyl techyng or worse þan techyng þi nakid word, certis þei ben opeyn heretikis, strongly meyntenynge here errour ægenst Goddis lawe, as he is worse þat betip me wrongfully, þan he þat manassip me or dispisip me only in word.

Also oure worldly prelatis and prestis robben holy Chirche of þe tresour of wilful povert and mekenesse, and maken Cristene men blynd wip powder of worldly goodis, bi pride and coveitise, and robben seculer lordis of here heritage and temperal power, þat God ȝaf hem to meynten his lawe and his ordisynce in clerkis. And þis is don bi blynd devocion of seculeris, þat knowen not Goddis lawe, and by ypocrisie of worldly clerkis and silyng of here preiere. And where Crist maad his spouse, and namely of clergie, fair bi briȝt cloþes of wilful povert, schynyng to God betre þan dop any gold to men, þes worldly clerkis han als to-bleckid Cristis spouse wip drit of erþely goodis, coveitise and pride and worldly bysynesse, and robbed here pore of here cloþis and goldying of wilful povert, mekenesse and gostly bisynesses of studyng and techyng of holy writ, and preiynge, and opere werkis of penaunce. And whanne þe kyng and seculer lordis perseyven wel þat clerkis wasten here auneetris almes in pompe and pride, glotonye and opere vanytees, and þei wolden take ægenst þe superfluyte of temperal goodis, and helpe þe lond and hemself and here tenauntes,—þes worldly clerkis crien faste þat þei ben cursed for entermetynge of holy Chirche goodis. As þif seculer lordis and þe comyns weren no part of holy Chirche, but only proude prestis, ful of coveitise symonye and extorsions and alle opere synny. And þus Anticristis clerkis feren
`e kyng lordis and comyns, `at `ei dar not mende `e open `ehte of cursed clerkis, mmyspendyngge `e almes of lordis and temperaltees in symonye glotonye and wrong purchas of secular lordischipes, a`enus Goddis lawe, notwijstondyngge `at `e kyng is Goddis viker, to venge synne and wrongis don in pis rewme generaly of mysdoeris. But summe of Anticristis clerkis seyn aperty, `at `e lond shal be enterdite, and alle men `erinne cursed, ra`ere `an `ei wolen be brou`t to `e meke staat `at Crist putte hem inne. And ra`er `ei wolen rere baner `egen `e kyng and his lordis and comyns, `an temperal lordischipis schulden turne to `e kyng and lordis, and `ei on spiritualte, as God ordeyned. And schortly to seie, ra`ere `an `e king and his lordis and comyns schulden meytene Cristis ordynance in his clergie, and distroie opyn symonye heresie and extorsions and robberie `at Anticristis clerkis done in oure lond, `es worldly prestis wolen curse and enterdite men and rewmes, and reren open warre `egen oure kyng lordis and comyns in oure owene lond. And loke eche wise man where `is be traiterie and open heresie, and tirantrie of Antecrist and his cursed prelatis and veyn religious.

Cap. III.

3it worldly clerkis and veyn religious wijdrawn `e ri`tis of holy Chirche many maneris. For where `ei han many rentis and lordischipis for to fynde `erteyn noumbre of prestis and bedrede men in hospitalite, `ei han unne`e half, or `e pridd part, `e noumbre of prestis, and lyven lustful lif in costi metis and wyn; and in glotonye, drounkenesse, lecherie, and grete festis wasten `er goodis, where `ei schulden lyve in abstynence and penaunce, and devoute preieris for here goode doeris and comyte of Cristene men. And where `ei schulden fynde many pore men in mete and drynk and herbore, and sumtyme clopis, `ei wasten pore mennus lifo in grete festis of riche men, and robis and fees of men of lawe, and herboryng of riche lordis, not for charite, but in hope of morewynnyng of worldly goodis at `e laste in here dep, and graunte of aproprynge of parische chirchis, and amortisyng of temperal lordischipe more `an
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

nedip. And alle this is sotel marchaundise wiþ pore mennus liflode and holy Chirche goodis; and where in many abbeies schulden be, and sumtyme weren, grete houses to herborne pore men þerinne, now þei ben fallen doun, or maad swyn-kotis, stablis, or bark-houses. And þus, as Judas staal þe money ȝoven to Crist and his disciplis to lyve þerby, so þes worldly clerkis and religiouse taken huge noumber of temporal goodis undir colour of almesdede and hospitahte, and stelen þes goodis of pore men, and wasten hem nedles in gret array of þe world, in gaie houses, and festis of lordis and riche men, and opere vanytees.

Also many bishopis and religiouse and seculer lordis wiþdrawen riȝtful reulyng of Cristene soulis, bi makyng and presenting of unable curatis. For where þei myȝtten lyȝtly fynde many, able bope of kunnyng and good lyvynge to teche Cristene men Goddis lawe, þei presenten and maken, for love of here kyn or servyce or worldly love, and sumtyme bi money takynge priynge, many unable curatis, þat kunnen not þe ten comaundementis, ne rede her sauter. And þit þei holden hem in here worldly office, and taken to hem moche of þe chirche goodis; and suffren hem not to goo to þe scole and lerne þe gospel, to governe here parischenis, but halden hem in balies office, or stiwardis, or kechene clerkis, and suffren wolves of helle to strangule here parischenis soulis, bi dyverse synnes and harde customes, of veyn sweryng, lecherie, and alle opere vices. Also þif eche man þat wiþdrawip ony riȝt of holy Chirche is þus acursed, þanne eche man þat wiþdrawip fro 1 ony good þouȝt or dede or counfort fro his breþeren, is acursed. For eche goode þouȝt, speche, and dede, and counfort of careful men, is dwe to God and holy Chirche, for þe prophete seip, I schal blisse God in eche tyme; his heryg schal everemore be in my mouþ. But what holy man in þis lif scapiþ uncursed? siþ no man lyveþ but þif he faile sumtyme in þouȝt, word, and dede, or in counfort of men in disese. Þefore it semeþ, þat covetise of worldly goodis haþ mad worldly cursed clerkis to heie æsenst Goddis dom. Certis sum men understonden, þat þe cruel manquellere

1 dele fro.
of Rome, not Petris successour but Cristis enemie, and pe emperours maistir, and poison under colour of holynesse, makiþ most unable curatis, and so wiþdrawiþ most pe riþtis of holy Chirche. For he avaunsiþ many lewid men, sumtyme techereris and disciplis of his owene lawe, not of pe gospel, sumtyme þenne clerkis, þat kunnen not good in regard of curatis, and takþ of men moche gold for leed and þe friste fruytis, and forbarren clerkis of Goddis lawe, kunnynge and wel-lyvynge men, lest þei aspie his heresie and ypocrisie, and warnen Cristene men þerof. And þe weyward clerkis of Sathanas maken þis cruel manquellere, prisoner and brenner of Cristis servauntis, to be well ground and roote of alle þe mysgovernyngge of þe Chirche. And þit þei maken blynde men bleive, þat he is hed of holy Chirche, and þe most holy fader, þat may not synne; and he distroieþ þe feiþ of holy Chirche, mekenesse, pacience, and charite, and desire of hevenely blisse. Þerfore, as þe trewe clerk Robert Grosted wroth to hym, he is cause well and grounde of distruction of Cristene fell'a and good religion, bi makynge of evyl schepherdis, and privlegyes, suffryng of synne, siþ he may best distroie it, and most is holden þerto.

**Cap. IV.**

Also, alle symonyentis þat bien or sullen spiritual þingis for temperal þingis unlefful, ben cursed solemnelli, boþe bi Goddis lawe and mannis. But þre degrees ben in symonyentis: summe ben symonyentis in ordre, summe symonyentis in beneficis, and summe symonyentis in sacramentis. Of symonyentis in holy ordre ben þre degrees. Summe come to ordre of presthod, dekenhede, or opere ordris hiere or lowere, by þeyngge of money; and þes ben no prestis ne dekenes, but han only þe name, and ben ordrid to þis ende for to be heretikis, whos blissing turneþ into cursyng, and her preier into synne, as Seynt Gregory techeþ and þe lawe canoun a. Þerfore seþ þe Chirche lawe in decretalis, þat every synful prest may seie a masse, out taken a symonynt, whom eche synful man may lefully acuse,

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Siney is also accursed; of which there are three kinds:
1. that relating to ordinations;

controversial tracts.

3e, an hore may acuse him, hat he be remevyd from pe ordre hat he mystaki. For, as Seynt Ambrose se1, in his caas curs is to pe severe and to pe takere*; for hat hat sich on sevep is is gold or money, and hat ping hat he rescveyvep is lepre of synne, and curs to pe takere and to pe severe. Summe by symonye komen to siche ordris for preciere of lordis, or opere worldly frendis, not bi clene entent and wor5inesse of kunnynge and lyvynge, but only bi favour of men, and pes in pe cursed heresie of symonye. And bope pe sevep and rescseyvere of ordris in his caas schulden be degradid, for pei make marchaundise bi giftis of pe Holy Gost, and maken pe Holy Gost servaunt of synful men, and, in caas, of fendis, as moche as is in hem. Perfore pei ben worse heretikis than opere hat maden pe Holy Gost lesse pan pe Fadir and pe Sone, as the lawe of canoun witnesip. Pe pridd tyme, summe komen to ordris bi symonye, bi servyce to lordis or prelatis or opere officeris, servyng long tyme to men for his ende, hat pei may be ordrid, or bihetyng to serve after hat pei ben ordred longe tyme, where pei ben not wor5pi to pes holy ordris bi kunynng and goode lif. And pes fallen in pe same damynacion wi5 pe firste, for it is al on to 3yve money and to serve pus for holy ordris, bifeore or after. Pe fourpe tyme summe komen to holy ordris, not for devotion and love of God, but for to lyve in worldly lordischip, and have welfare of mete and drynk, and gay clopis, and ese, and rejoischen hem erinne, and bisien hem not aboute Goddis lawe ne holy lif, but in lecherie and vanyte and ydelnesse and worldly myrpe. And in pe rigful dom of God pei ben symonyentis, as was Symon Magus. For pei sullen to fendis of helle here soule, here body, and tyme, and catel, for to have and use unwor5ipi pe holy ordre of presthod. And perfore Seynt Jon Crisostom seip, hat po prestis hat don not justly here office after Goddis lawe semen ordeyned of men and not of God, and anenctis God pei ben non prestis. And his undirstonding he hadde of pe canoun of Cristis apostlis; for, as his Seynt Jon seip, treupe in lif, hat a man drede God, makip a man a lewed man; and, as who seip, no clerk, but treupe in lif and prudence, hat is, know-

* The reference is perhaps to St. Ambrose, *Exp. in Luc.*, Lib. IV. § 53.
wyclif's works.

yng of creaturis bohe epely and gostly, and usyng of every in
his degre, and wise teychnge of Goddis lawe after pe nede of
pe peple, makip a man to be a prest. Perfore seip Seynt Austyn,
hat he hat desirep pe stat of bischop for to have worschipe
and reverence of men and worldly goodis, owep to understonde
hat he is no bischop; and pe same sentence seip Seynt Gregory
in his Pastoralis. And pe same reson seip of prestis; and
perfore Seynt Austyn biddip, hat sich a sovereyn hat spekep not
good cleanely for hymself, but worldly worschipe and temperal
wynnyng, hat he schal not riken him among Goddis servauntis.
For certis, as Crisostom, and Origene, and lawe canoun wit-
nessen, siche a weiard prest makip Goddis hous a den of
jeves.

Cap. V.

On pe maneres ben men symonyentis in beneficis, bi 3ifte
of money to pe patroun for presentacioun, or to prelat for
collacion, or seyng institucion, or induction, or bi brocage
maade to mene persones for to have ony beneficis of pe chirche.
And pis is cursed heresie, for it presumep to sille pe Holy Gost,
as pe lawe witnessip; siip it presumep to sille pe 3itpis of pe Holy
Gost, hat schulden be 3oven frely to alle men, as Crist biddip.
On pe secunde manere don many men symonye,
whanne pei serve lordis or prelatis undwe servyces longe tyme, for to have
a benefice in pe ende of here servyce. And herefore pei biheten
to serve lordis and prelatis in worldly office on here owene cost,
annd dwellen in here courtis absent fro here chirchis; and pis is
cursed marchaundise wip temperal servyce and benefices of pe
Chirche. And oure Lord Jesus drof alle siche out of pe temple,
in token hat pei ben not approved of him in pe Chirche, but
schullen be drenen to helle bi jugement of God, siif pei lasten in
pis synne to here dep. And perfore seip Seynt Gregory and pe
lawe, pei pei pei don siche symonye schullen be damnyd in
everelestynge fier of helle, but siif pei resygnen here beneficis,
and in tyme of dep ben founden in scharpe penaunce.

On pe pridde manere don men symonye bi tunge, hat neiher
seven gold ne servyce to lordis, ne prelatis, ne mene persones,
but bi flateryng and preier of my3ty men comen to benefices,
more than bi holynesse of lif and ablete to per office. For these comen not to these benefices bi Crist, pat is dore of holy Chirche, but bi þe fend, to whom þei maken sacrifice for love of worldly heienesse and erþely muk, þat þei seken more than Goddis honour, or profit of Cristene soulis. Þerfore þe Chirchis lawe witnessþ, þat þif a man come to benefice bi symonye, Þe, don bi his frend, hym unwytyynge, he mot resigne it, and ellis he may not be savyd. For, as Crist seip, he is a nyȝt þef and a day þef; and a þef may do no verrey penaunce, but þif he restore þat þing þat he haþ takyn awaye, as Seynt Austyn seip; namely, þif he be of power þerto. And þis symonyent is of power to resigne; and þerfore he mote nedis resigne his benefice wilfully and frely, wiþouten desiring to have it aȝen, as Seynt Richard of Armaȝw techip. For bi rigour of þe lawe he schulde be degradid, for þe blasphemey þat he dide to God in sillyng þe Holy Gost, as moche as was in hym. And certis, howevyr we speken of dispensacion of þe Bischop of Rome, þis symonyent mot do verey penaunce, and gete a newe riȝt or title, bi grace of God and ablete of kunnyng and wil to his office, wiþ open just lif and verrey techyng of his parischenis, and ellis he holdip his benefice to his damnacion; and namely þif he waste pore mennes liflode, in pride and riche array, in glotonye and drunkenness, and grete festis of riche men, as officeris of þe bishop, and getteris of countre. And þes þre menes of symonye ben wel groundid in holy writt and reson, and Seynt Gregory and Seynt Bede declaren hem wel, wiþ þe comyn lawe of þe Chirche. But what man comþ now to ony fat benefice or prelacie wiþouten æfte of money or servyce, or flateryng and preier boþe of himself and òpere grete men of þe world? For now many lordis axen moche for presentacion, and longe worldly servyce of þes clerkis, bìfore here benefices and aþir; and of privy æftis and preieris is noon ende in mannus witt. Who getþ ony fat benefice of þe Bischop of Rome wiþouten siche flateryng and preier, and gold for his dede lede, and þe first fruytis, and omage, and swerynge, opere þan Crist and his apostlis diden? And certis his takeyn of þe first fruytis is no

A By the 'dede lede' is meant of course the lead of the seal attached to a papal bull.
lesse heresie þan takynge of lordis for ȝifte or presentynge of here benefices, but þat he doþ more general heresie, and more traitourly to God; for he schulde be his chif viker in holy lif, and trewe techyng, and riȝtful governaunce of Cristis Chirche, and now is most open his traitour under colour of holynesse, and sutely wastip rewmes, drawing from hem moche gold and goode curatis, where lordis maken lesse evyl curatis, and spenden þe gold þat þei taken among men in þe same rewme. And certis, what clerk, lord, or comyner æstenstondþ not þis cursed heresie bi his power, wipþouten doubte he schal be pertener wiþ 1 þe first 1 fynderis of þis error, as Seynt Gregory techiþ and þe lawe canoun.

**CAP. VI**

ȝit on þes þre maners don many men symonye in sacramentis, as ordris, masse synging, confession, and alle þe sevene sacramentis of holy Chirche. First in ordris; who evere þeveþ holy ordris for money to himself or his servauntis, or for preier of men, or þank of hem, þouþ he take no money, he doþ symonye, and silleþ þe Holy Gost as moche as is in him, as witnesseeþ Seynt Gregory, Seynt Bede, and oþere seyntis, wip lawe canoun. But Lord! who comeþ to ony holi ordris wipþouten extorsion of money for barbour fees, and grete raunsons for letteris? And siþ þis money is taken bi maistri for ordris þat men taken, for ellis þei schullen not be ordrid, or ellis ponyschid to þe double or treble, and here weddis taken, who may excuse oure bishopis from extorsion of symonye? And feyned excusacion, þat þei taken þis not for ordris ðeyvyng but for cost of wrytyng and oþere officeris businesse, accuseþ hem more þan excuseþ. For þei taken for wryttyng and selyng of a litel scrome, wip sixe or sevene lynes, twelve pens or two schillyngis; and certis þis is foul extorsion. For hem nedeþ no lettre wipþ here seel bi Goddis lawe; but witnessynge of here felowis and oþere trewe men is ynowþ, hou þei weren ordrid at siche a tyme. And hem nedeþ not many tymes to be schavyn, and ȝif it were nede, þei myȝten be schavyn at a comyn barbour, and clippen 2 alle a þeer

1 corrected; wþ, frist, X.  
2 corrected; clipsyne, X.
for the money that here barbour taketh at onys. And certis that han worldly goodis at full to fynde here officers in her servyce, and to helpe pore men at nede, your that robben hem not azenus here wille, and maken hem to bie here ordis azenus the gospel and comyn lawe expressly. Certis it semeth, that alle doyng in pis mater is cursed corserie of symonye, syvynge the sygne of holy ordis for temperal drit. And so fast that eleven in pis mater is cursed corserie of symonye, and worldly go for money, yne en joywe, and oure temperal wmen may litly see. For in Rome, of ordinall, Goddes hestis, or contricion for synne, or paying of dettis to pore men, owe that nevere so moche and ben in power to paye; and we enjoyen penaunce as us likep, and namely to seie massis, and offre to the heie auter, and certeyn ymages for oure wynnyng. But we spoken over litel for to visete, and offre to pore men, and maken broken briges and causeis where men and bestis and catel perischen ofte. And whif men foolishly avowen to go to Rome, or Jerusalem, Caunterbury, or other pilgrimagis, that we chargen more than that grete avowe maad of oure Cristendom, to

1 corrected; spreyng, X.

by abusing, for unworthy ends, the power of the priest over his penitent in the sacrament of penance;

* If these petty extortions at the time of ordination were really of common occurrence when our author wrote, it was not for want of endeavours to put them down on behalf of the rulers of the church. A constitution of Archbishop Stratford, dated in 1342, expressly decrees that no more than sixpence shall be demanded for the letters of orders (the "litel scrowe" that the writer speaks of), and that nothing else shall be paid on any other account, either to marshals, porters, door-keepers, or barbers. The business of the episcopal barber was to shave the head of the candidate for ordination, so that the corona, or round bald space on the top of the head, might be trim and seemly. A constitution of Archbishop Boniface (temp. Henry III) orders all the clergy to observe this as well as other proprieties of clerical costume. Lyndwood tells us that the circular form of the corona was regarded as the emblem of the absence of dirt and uncleanness; *quid ubi angulus ibi sordes." See Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, art. De Censibus, and Gibson's *Codex Jur. Eccl. Angl.* Tit. vi. Cap. x.
kepe Goddis hestis, and forsake þe fend and alle his werkis. For þouȝ men breken þe hieste comaundermentis of God, þe lewideste parische prest schal assoile anoon, but of þe founed vowis maad ofoure owene welle, many time aðenus Goddis wille, noman schal assoile but grete worldly bischopis, or þe most worldly prest of Rome, þe emperoures maister and Goddis felawe, or God of þe erþe. And þei wolen not dispense wip þes vowis, but ȝif þei han þe cost þat men schulden make, inward and outward. Lord! why kunnen not men of reson see, þat þis is open covetise, and coloured under holynesse, and cursed symonye, and blaspheme heresie? It passeþ mannus witt to telle what pride and coveitise of prestis is norischid herby, and what synne, boþe lecherie, and extorsion, and heresie, and blasphemye, is brouȝt up herby. But neþeþeþe confessioun maad to trewe prestis, and witty in Goddis lawe, dop moche good to synful men, so þat contricion for synnes before don come þerwip, and good lif and keepinge Goddis hestis, and werkis of mercy don to pore men, sue after.

by the ex-tor- tion of ex-or-bi-tant mar riage fees;  

Hou þe sacrament of matrimonye is brouȝt and sold men may openly se. For no man schal be weddid but ȝif he paie sixe pens on þe bok, and a ryng for his wif, and sumtyme a penie for þe clerk, and covenant makynge what he schal paie for a morewe masse, and ellis he schal not be weddid þouȝ he lyve in neveþ so gret lecherie. And hereto þei techen men þat þei schullen not seeþe þe wordis of sacrament bifoþe þe banes be cried in þe chirche; and sumtyme it was don for good entent; but now it is turned into coveitise and raveyn and symonye. But þe lewideste heresie þat evere Sathanas foond is putt þorþ for excusynge of þis olde roton synne. For prestis han many þeer seld þus þis sacrament, þerfore it is now lawe and privelie

1 corrected; bis, X.

* For a similar denunciation of this practice see vol. ii. p. 381.  
* This surely was not a very heavy tax upon matrimony. Taking into account the altered value of money, the fee of sixpence, near the end of the fourteenth century, may be considered equivalent to fifteen times that sum at the present day, or seven and sixpence. Now seven shillings and sixpence, I am told, is the ordinary fee given by a labourer here in Oxfordshire to the clergyman that marries him; and probably the rate is much the same in other counties. The Registrar, of course, will not marry him under half a guinea.

Neither Lyndwood nor Gibson supplies us with any information on the subject of this note.
of þe Chirche. But certis þis is not ho[ly] Chirche, þat wol[n]þing but treuþe and equyte, but it is Anticristis clerkis and synagoge of Sathanas.

And in many places þe same errore regneþ of þe sacrament of cristendom and of þe laste anonytynge, and sumtyme in bëry-ing, for many coveitouse prestis axen greedly money for þes doyngis, or ellis þei schullen not be cristened, ne oytndid, ne biried wipouten mortuarie. And for al þis is neiþer Goddis lawe ne reson alleggid, but old totynge of wrongful takynge of poore mennus goddis, aþenst here wille and Goddis comaundemente expresly. And of confirmacion of children, and crowning of benetis, renneþ þe same extorsion in summe placis. But whi þat pore prestis and lewid men, in tyme of ned, may lawfully baptise children, and not conferme hem, is gret wonder among men of reson; siþ Crist commaundid his disciplis to baptise alle men, and chargide hem not to conferme men, as bischopis usen. For bi baptym schal a child come to hevene wipouten siche confermyng, but not bi sich confermyng wipouten baptym. And siþ a prest sacrip Goddis body, and makiþ breed and wyn turne into Cristis flesch and his blood, bi vertu of his ordre and Goddis wordis, whi may he not blisse a 3ong child wiþ a rag and oyle? It semeþ þat bischopis holden þis

a Mortuaries were 'a kind of ecclesiastical heiriots, being a customary gift claimed by and due to the minister in very many parishes on the death of his pari-hioners. They seem to have been originally, like lay heiriots, only a voluntary gift.' So far Blackstone (quoted in Todd's Johnson's Dictionary), bringing out clearly the actual legal compulsion to the payment of mortuaries;—while, with professional euphemism. Dr. Cowell in the Interpreter prefers to insist on the theoretical spontaneity of the offering. A Mortuary, says he, 'is a gift left by a man at his death to his parish church. for the recompense of his personal tythes and offerings not duly paid in his life-time.' The payment of Mortuaries was enjoined by statute (13 Edw. 1), and also by several archiepiscopal constitutions.

b crowning of benetis.] By this appears to be meant the ceremony of making the corona (see note on p. 233) on the head of a benet or exorcist, which corona, together with the tonsure, or cutting off of the hair below, so as to leave the ears exposed, constituted the tonsura clericalis, and was if not an order itself, at least a predisposition and preparation to orders. See Lyndwood, art. De Vita et Hon. Cler. The exorcist was called a benet, because of his frequent use of aqua benedicta, 'eau bënte,' in the performance of his functions. (See Prompt. Parvulorum (Camd. Soc.), and Mr. Way's useful note.) But why benets are singled out by our author rather than the two inferior orders of Os- tivaris and Lector, I have not been able to discover.
more worþi and nedful þan Cristis body and þe sacrament of baptym; þerfore to magnyʃie here staat in pride and chargyng of Cristene men, þei reserven þis newe conʃermyng to hemself, and putten þe more travaile, and more worþi and nedful sacraʃmentis, on pore prestis. And in þis þei schewen her vanyte and worldly dignyte.

CAP. VII.

But now is nede to telle, hou prestis cryen her masse for money, and sillé þe sacrament, þat is Cristis flesch and his blood. Alle þo þat ben maade prestis, more to lyve in worʃchipe of þe world, at gentleʃmennys staat, and for worldly myrþe and bodily welfare and ese, þan to lyve in devociʃon and profite to Cristene soulis, to sue Crist in mekenesʃe and gostly travæle, in priʃere and studyynge and techyng of Cristis gospel, and to be ensaunple and myrʃour of paciʃe, chastite, and þopere vertues, ben smyttid whe þe world, and on sum maner sellen þis worþi sacrament, whanne þei seyn masse for money, or name of holynesʃe, or bodily nede, more þan for devociʃon of Crist, of helping of soulis in purgartorie, and of gostly love to make men vertuouse in lif, and namely in unyte in charite. For but þif men wolen here prestis for tene mark a, sixe, or sevens, þei wil not dwelle þer hem in honeste place to cumpayne, and seie here masse, but goo where þei may most gete for here song, þouþ þei schullen worse serve God þere þan at þe first place, where men wolden þyven hem resonable liflod þe, moche more þan Crist or ony of his apostlis toke for himself. And to þis ende many drawen hem to grete cîtes, where is occasion of moche synne, not for to distroie it, but raþere encreʃse it be taverne goyng, pleʃyng at þe tablis, chees, and þopere vanytees. And fewe drawen hem to scole, to lerne holy writ, and edife hemself and þopere Cristene peple. But who may seie þat þes prestis sellen not foule her masse? siþ þei seken more grete salaries and lỹkyng of þe world þan to seie here masse in clennesʃe of lif, and brennyng devociʃon to Crist for his passion, in whos mynde þis holy sacrament was ordeyned

a See vol. i. p. 291, note a.
of Crist himself. *Pus farip* pe most del of bischopis and grete prelattis, pat seyn here masse, more for presence of lordis and grete placis, for to be holden holy and have offryngis and *'iiftis*, pan for devocion or compunacion of here synnes and her breiperen synne, and to make pees and charite. And *pus it* farep of persones, munkis, and freris, pat don here servyce and massis more for name of holynesse and wynnyng of worldly muk, pan for clene love of God, and gostly helpe of Cristene soulis.

And eche prest deme wisly himself, whi he seip his masse, and in what life; for *ziif* pei ben not in clene lif, charite, and devocion, but in pride, coveitise, lecherie, enyve, glotonye, or opare grete synnes, pei dispisen God ful gretyly, and as moche as is in hem pei slen him, and don hym more dispite and vileyne pean diden Judas Scarioth and Jewis, pat naieded him on pe croos, and leiden him in a cold stone. For Seynt Poul seip, Who *pat rescuyvep* bis sacrament unworshiply, etip and drynkyip his dampnacion. And Seynt Joon Crisostom1 seip, We selen Crist in us, whanne we lesen feip and charite of Crist. And Seynt Bede seip, We sellen Crist whanne we forsaken treuepe, and taken falsnesse and meyntene it. And Seynt Austyn seip, *Pat Cristene men trespassen*, and don more dispit to God, whanne pei dispisen him bi pride, coveitise, and fals swerynge, *pan pe Jewis* *pat naieden him on pe croos*; and namely *pes heretikis*, bi siche symonye as is bistro seid, for all symonyentis ben worpi to be forsaken of alle trewe men. And but ziif pei amenden hem after good monestyng, *peii schullen be chastised and brouhte doun bi straunge poweris, pat ben seculer lordis*; for in comparison of *pe heresie of symonye*, alle synnes ben counted for noupt, as *pe lawe seip expresly. A l Lord, how moche is oure kyng and oure rewme holpen bi massis and preiers of symonyentis and heretikis, ful of pride coveitise and enyve? *Pat haten so moche pore prestis, techynge Cristis lif and *pe gospel*, to meyntene holy life of Cristene peple and *pe kynges regalie, pat pei cursen hem and prisonen hem wiipouten answere, whanne pei ben redi reulid in

1 corrected; *Cristostom, X.*
alle goodnesse and treupe after holy writ; namely sippemoure
prelates lyven in open extorsion and Luciferis pride, and sullen
men leve to lye in synne of lecherie and avoutrie for annuel
rente, and preto lyyen in pompe of worldly array and glorotyne
and drouneses, and wasten pore mennus liflode in grete
festyis and fate hors, and eten and drynken pore mennus lif,
and bilden grete paleis in Cristene mennys blood, and ben
clopid and slepen þer inne. Where þei plesen God in offfrynge
þis sacrament of unyte and pees, þe while here hondis ben ful
of þe hote blood of Cristis children and eires of hevene? Whanne þei taken bi rayne and extorsion pore mennus
goodis, and wasten hem in festis and oþere vanyctes, þan þei
eten and drynken pore mennus blood and her lif; for þei
spendiden here blood for getyng of þes goodis þat þes worldly
prestis wasten þus, and bi þes goodis þei schulden sustynhe here
lif. And þis sentence is wisely taken of Goddis word bi þe
prophetis, as Robert Grosted and oþere docturis declare
pleynly, and certis þes weyard heretikis stiren God ræþere to
vengaunce þan mercy, as Seynt Gregory proveþ; and here
blisynge turneþ in to cursyng, and here preier in to synne.
And Seint Poul seeþ, þat þei defoulen Goddis Sone as moche
as is in hem, and þerfore, as to hem self, þei offeren defoule
bred, as Seynt Gregory and Seynt Jeron witnesseen, wiþ þe
comyn lawe of holy Chirche. Certis Jewis suffrinden Crist to
be leid in a clene stoon after his deþ; but þes viciouse prestis,
ful of pride coveitise and heresie, putten his bodi in here soule,
þat is fouler a thousand fold þan ony stynkyngg privey in erþe.
And sippem here foule soule is in þe deþelis possession, þei
bitaken Cristis body into þe fendis power as moche as in hem
is. But neþeles, as seiying of þe masse in unclene lif, and
wþpouten devociion, and unworþy rescevyngg of þis blessed
sacrament, ful moche and neer hondis, most displesþ God, so
seiying of masse wiþ clennesse of holy lif and brennyngg devo-
ciion, ful moche and neer hondis, most plesþ God Almyþtey,
and profiþp to Cristene soulis in purgatorie, and to men lyvynge
in erþe, to wþpstonde temptacions of synne, and encresen pees
and charite. þerfore þenk 3e, clene prestis, hou moche 3e be
holden to God, þat þaf 3ou power to sacre his owene precious

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CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

body and blood of breed and wyn, whiche power he grauntid nevere to his owene modir ne anguish of hevene. Perfore wip alle youre desir and reverence and devotion do 1 youre office and sacramentis.

CAP. VIII.

Of pis may men see hou perilous it is to coveite prelacie or gret benefice in pe Chirche, sip no man almost come to hem wipouten pride, veyn glorie, and symonye. Perfore seide Seynt Gregory and pe comyn lawe of pe Chirche, pat honour or prelacie schulde not be yoven to hem pat seken and coveiten it, but to siche men as fleen honouris and dignyte; and pe same seip Seynt Austyn and Crisostom, wip opere doctoure. For Crist techi us bi Seynt Poul, pat no man schal take honour to hym, but he pat is clepid of God, as Aaron was. Perfore Moyses and pe holy prophete Jeremye, halewid in his moder wombe, excusiden hem mekely whanne God badde hem take pe ledyng and governyng of pe peple; and pe holy prophete Ysaye durst not take pis offis at Goddis profer, til he was clensed fro synne bi angelis mynystracion, and enflawmed wip Goddis science and charite. Perfore Seynt Gregory and Seynt Austyn fylleden at al here power to be bischopis, but soußten to lyve in devocion and studie of holy writt and in lowe degre, and coveitiden not pe heynesse of pe statis, but wip sorowe and grete drede of God, and for grete nede of Cristene soulis, token pis staat, not of honour, but of travelle and bysynesse, as Austyn and Jerom witnesseen. Lord ! what stirep us foolish, ful of ignoraunce and moche synne, pat kunnent not governe o soule wel, to seke so bisily grete statis where we schullen governe many pousand, and for pe leste of hem alle answere ât domes day to pe blood of Jesus Crist,—gilti of schedyng perof yif ony persiche bi our defaute. Where strong schampions and pileris of holy Chirche dredden so sore to governe a fewe soulis, whi roten festues seken so moche charge? Certis it is ful sop pat Seynt Jon wip pe gilden mou p seip, wip lawe canoun, pat what clerk sekip or desirep prelacie or primacie

1 corrected; io, X.

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in erpe, schal synde confusion in hevene. And who wolde desire sich dignyte of þe Chirche, in whiche he muste forsake his owene profit, and be servaunt of alle men, and bounden in tyme to take wilful deþ for oþer mennys helpe, and answere for so many soulis to Crist, ryful domesman? Certis, seiþ þis seynt a, no man but he þat drediþ not Goddis harde dom. Þerfore seiþ Seynt Austyn and þe comyn lawe, þat no þing in þis world is more travelous, more harde, and more perilous þan þe office of bishop, prest or dekene, to do it wel as oure emperoure Crist comaundiþ; and þif it be evyl don, no þing is more wrecchid ne more dampnable in Goddis dom. But what was þe good reulynge of þis staat he lernede nevere fro child-hod ne ful age of man. And þerfore Seynt Austyn criþ in þe story of his lif, þat he felide nevere God so moche wroþ aþenus hym, as whanne, in peyne of his synnes, he suffride him take þe grete charge of bishopis staat. Þerfore he fleþ algatis citees where bishopis weren olde, lest þe peple wolde have hym bishop. Þerfore me þenkeþ treuly, þat who evere comeþ wel to ony benefice in þe Chirche, he seiþ not dignyte ne honour of men undir him, but traveile and servyce, and dispit of worldly hienesse, as diden Crist and his disciplis, and oþere holy doctouris and bishopis, as Seynt Martyn, Seynt Colas, and siche opere. And loke þat no worldly clerk excuse hym 1 . . . . makeþ him take his office; for Seynt Gregory seiþ in þe lawe, whanne a man comeþ to siche a staat as bringþ wiþ hym worschipe and ese, þif he come þerto of his owene desire, he fordoþ to himself þe vertue of obedience.  

And þerfore Moyses forsoke þe ledynge of þe peple as fer as durst for wrapþe of God. And wanne bodely traveile and diseese is putt bi sovereyn on þe suget, but þif he take it þanne of his owene desire, it is not plesaunt to God. Þerfore Seynt Poul forsok riches and honour of þe world as dritt, and wilfully putte him to travel and peyne and martirdom. And in tokene of þis

1 Several words are lost here, through their having been inadvertently cut off when the MS. was bound. The sense seems to require the insertion of some such words as 'for þat love of soulis.'

obedience Crist fledde awayn pe peple wold have maad
him kyng, as pe gospel of Jon witnesseþ; but he offred hym
self willfully to Jerusalem, to suffre peyne, woundis, and dis-
pitouz deþ for opere mensus nede and profitt.
And certis oure worldly clerkes myȝten longe ynowȝ be
wipouten hem, bifoarte trewe prelatis wolden prese on hem;
and þif þei weren opyn trewe men in Goddis cause, þei schulden
sunere¹ gete pursuyng cursing and prisonyng, or breynnyn,
of worldly covetousse prelatis, þan fatte benefices or grete dig-
nytees. Þerfore Seynt Gregory techip in his Pastoralis⁸, pat
whanne bischopricheses weren pore, and bischopis weren þe
first in martirdom for Cristene feip, þanne it was worþi grete
preysynge to coveite a bischopriche. But now, siþ bischop-
riches ben riche, and many worldly byssinesses knyȝte þerto,
it is not do but dredeful to have bischopriches. Þerfore Seynt
Bernard wrot to Egenye² þe pope, þat he drede no vermyng so
moche to come to þe pope as foul lust to be lord; and þiþ
comyngly in þat tymo popis weren poysond, for coveite of þe
staaþ þat opere men hadden þerto. And to refreyne synful
ydothys fro siche statys and benefiçys, seip lawe canoun, he þat
passiþ opere in honour or dygnite of þe Chirche, he is most foul
of alle but þif he passe opere men in kunnyngge and holynees.
Of þes few wordys may worldly fools see here pereles and
sclundris, and do no symonye for holy ordris ne benefiçys ne
sacramentis, bi feyned colour of dispensyng and privlegie,
and customes of Anticristis weïward colegge and synagoge
of Sathanas.

¹ corrected; sumere, X. ⁹ read Eugenye.

* There is nothing about the poverty of bishops in the passage
from St. Gregory's Pastoralis here cited. He was considering the
text, 'If any man desireth the office of a bishop he desireth a good
work;' and observes,—'Quamvis
notandum, quod illo in tempore
hoc dicitur, quo quisquis plebis
præcisat, primus ad martyrii to-
mentum ducesatur. Tune ergo lauda-
bile fuit episcopatum quaerere,
quoquo per hunc quemque dubium
non erat ad supplicia graviora per-
venire.' (Past. Pars I. cap. 8.)
Also alle þo þat putten sclaundre or eyl fame on ony men, for whiche hem nediþ to be purged, whanne þei don þis maliciously, ben solemnyly acursed by Goddis lawe and mannys. Here worldly prestis, þat ben bounden to sue Crist and his apostlis in lyvyng prechyng and abstynence, as Seynt Jerom and here owene lawe witnesseen, owen to drede ful sore of þis riyftul curs. For sïþen in wordis and dedis, and rescyeving of here gostly office, þei seyn and crien þei suen Crist and his postlis, þei seyn in dede þat Crist and his postlis lyveden þus worldly, and diden not here office, as þei faren now. And certis, þif Crist schal be holden verrey prophete and techere and verrey God, he rout purge hym of þis sclaundre; for ellis his lif lawe and techyng is fals, and alle his disciplis gone in þe same sclaundre. And þis wickid fame is put on Crist and his apostlis bi malece, and for coveitise of worldly goodis; for þei desserveden not to have þis foule name of worldly lif and negligence and sleyng of Cristene soulis. Þan it is putt on him for malice, and coveitise of worldly clerkis, and for to colour here owene raveyne, bi whiche þei stelen fro lordis and comyns here temperal lordischip and goodis. Certis in þe olde lawe a blaspheme þat despisid God, puttyng fals errour on him, schuld be stoned to deþ of alle þe peple; and in þe lawe of grace alle men schulden caste stones of charitable correpcion or reproving. And þif it be resonable þat a man schal be hangid for stelyng of fourtene pens, moche more schulden ¹ þes blasphemris of God, þat stelen so many lوردischipis and temperal goodis from comynte of seculeris, and wasten hem in synne. It is grete synne to gabbe on a pore man; it is more to gabbe on an holy man, and defame hym; but most synne it is to gabbe on Crist, hedde of alle seyntis and lorde of alle lordis. Also it is grete synne to lie and disceyve men bi lesyng of here temperal goodis; more to disceyve in spiritual goodis, as vertues and good lif; but most to disceyve men in feiþ and myrrour of Cristis lif, þat is grond of alle rightful lif after.

¹ corrected; sculden, X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

For no seyntis lif is worþ, but in as moche as it is acordyng wiþ Cristis lif; þerfore it is worse a þousand fold to robbe Cristene men of þis tresour, þan of alle erþely goodis þat evere weren or schullen be.

Also worldly proude clerkis, ful of coveitise and ypocrisie, sclaundre pore prestis as heretikis, for þei techen holy writt, and namely þe gospel and þe pore lif of Crist and his apostlis, aþenis here worldly lif, to distroie synne and norische holy lyvynge in prestis lordis and comyneris; and seyn and meyneten faste, in word and dede, þat heresie is ful feip of þe gospel, and saad treuþe of holy writt is heresie, for it is aþenis here proude worldly lif. And herefore þei fallen into Goddis curs and alle his seyntis, þat for þis sclaundere lordis and comyneris doren not here þe gospel and Goddis hestis prechid of pore prestis in Goddis name, but ben constreyned to here fablis and leysngis prechid, and flateryng, in stede of Goddis word. And of þe noumbe of Goddis curses set in his lawe upoun siche ypocrisit is not esy to wise men to sette a terme, for witty men may not fully comprehende alle þes curses in þis lif.

Also þei sclaundren foule oure modir holy Chirche, þat is Cristis spouse, wiþ here coveitise and customes and privelegies. For whanne þei bryngen up newe sleþis of coveitise and jobbynge of lewede mennys goodis, þei seyen þat alle þis is for honour and devocion of God and holy Chirche; and þif ony man wþþtonde hem in þis, þei feynen him acursed, and enemye of God and holy Chirche. As, þif a pore man have longe founden moche wex, brennynge bi fore a rotyng stok, þif a trewe man teche þis pore man to paiue his dettis, fynde his wif and children breed and cloþ, and þif he may streccche sþþere, to do his almes to pore bedrede men, old and feble, crokid and blynd, as God biddip, þei boþe ben holden cursed and enemyes of holy Chirche, for as moche as þei don Cristis biddying, and more mercy to here pore neiþeboris, and leven unskilful devocion and blynde mawmete and foul ypocrisie of prestis. But certis God blissip alle siche merciful men, and graunteþ hem þe blisse of hevene. And þes coveitouse prestis, ful of mawmetrie, crien faste Sathanas curs and tirauntrie aþenis Cristis
breþeren, eyris of hevene. Moreover þei crien faste, ȝif coveítouþ prestis han be in possession of opere mennus goodis fourty þeer or þrîtis, wrongfully, ægenst Goddis bidding, þei may not be taken from hem on no maner; for þe vertu of prescripccion, bi long custom of synne, hapþe made hem lordis, and holy Chirche approveþ þis, and curseþ alle men contrarie herto, in wille word or dede.

Also þei chalengen fraunchise and privylegie in many grete chirchis, þat wickid men, opyn þeves, mansleeris, þat han borwed here neþeþoris goodis and ben in power to paie and make restitucion, þere schullen dwelle in seyntewarie, and no man empeche hem bi processe of lawe, ne oþ sworn on Goddis body and used. And þei meyntenen stify þat þe kynge mote conferme þis privylegie and neste of þeves and robberie of þis rewme, ægenst Goddis hestes, riþwisnesse, and his opyn oþþ, bi whiche he is sworn to do justice and equite to alle his lege men. And for þis privylegie, þat is opyn heresie, þes proude worldly clerkis wolen coste and fiþte to meyntenene it forþ, for wynnyng of worldly dritt; but for to meyntenene privylegie of Cristis gospel, or Cristis mekenesse and povert, wolen þei not coste a ferþing, but spende many þousand pound to make it heresie, and curseþ prisone and brene alle men þat techen trewely þe gospel, and þe pore lif of Crist and his postlis. Certis it were grete synne to sclaudre þe Quene of England, or Empresse, wiþ synne of avowtrie, where siche were ful trewe and clene and chast to here laweful husbonde; it is a þousand fold more synne to sclaudre holy Chirche, Cristis spouse, whiche Chirche, as Seynt Poul seþ, is a pilere and foundement of trewþe, wiþ here cursed ypocrisie and robbynge of Cristen mennis goodis bi long custom of wrong and synne. Certis alle Cristene men schulden crie out on þes cursed heretikis, þat sclaudren Crist and holy Chirche his trewe spouse. For in þis þei maken holy Chirche a bande of here synne, and resceitour of here raveyn, and sclaudren holy Chirche wiþ þe cursede dedis of Anticristis chirche and synagoge of Sathanas. And þus þei seyn good evyl and evyl good, for to have Goddis curs.

1 The MS. has a word here which is undecipherable.
Also alle men þat distourblen pe pees of holy Chirche and þe kyng ben cursed solempnely bi Goddis lawe and mannys. Certis pees of Cristis Chirche stondeþ in verrey sadnesse of feip, hope, charite, mekenesse, and pacience, and holding of Cristis ordeynance, and verrey pes of þe kyng and his reweyne, and verrey subjection, and riȝtful domes, and just ponyschyng of mysdoeris, and relevyng of pore men, faderles children and moderles, and pore widewis. And who evere doþ most aȝenst þe poynris, disturblþ most þis verrey pees, and no man ellis. First, alle worldly clerkis þat wolent not holde hem payed wiþ holy writt and þe ordynance of Crist, to lyve in mekenesse, wilful povert, and besy travell in gostily werkes, as Crist and his postlis diden, disturblen verrey pees of holy Chirche and Cristendom. Lord! how grete hyndryng of Cristen feip is it, þat so many clerkis leven holy writt, and namely Cristis gospel, and studyen heþene mennys lawis and worldly coveteouse prestis tradicions, maad of here owene willardis dom for here pride and covetise, and charge hem more þan Goddis hestis! Siþen Goddis lawe is liȝt, swete, and esy, and best wolde brynge men to hevene, and at þe fulle occupie alle prestis wittis in þe world til þe day of dom. And oþere tradicions of synful men ben ful of erour, and maken many snaris, or gnaris, to lette men in þe weie to hevene, þat before was siker and pleyn, wþoute ony lettid.

Lord! what charite is it for hem þat schulden be most gostly prestis to make werre in alle Cristendom for here worldly cause and stynkynge lordischipe, aȝenst Cristis biddyng and lif, and graunte ful absolucion and relessyng of alle peynes in purgatory, for to seele eche Cristene man oþer, as don þes proude prestis of Rome and Avynoun, wiþ here worldly clerkis on boþe sidis. Certis þei disturblen verry pees of al holy Chirche and alle Cristendom þerto. Lord! what mirrour of mekenesse is þis, þat bishopis and prestis, monkis chanons and freris, þat schulden be meke and pacient and lambren among wolvys bi

1 corrected; distribulen, X. 2 cor.; oft, X. 3 cor.; and, X.
techyng of Crist, ben more proudly arraied in armer and opere costis of werris, and more cruel in here owene cause þan ony opere lord or tiraunt, þe, heþene emperours! For þei wol en wipouten pite and answere curse, prisone, slee, and brene trewe prestis, þat techen pleynly Cristis lawe and his lif ægenst here pride coveitise and ypocrisie. Lord! what ensaumle of pacience þeven þes worldly prestis and religiose, þat schulden þeve alle here goodis and here bodely lif to kepe opere men in pees and in charite, as Crist and his lawe techen, and now pursuen men so cruely for a litel trespas or nost, bi londis lawe, bi Cristen court, clepid in name, but in dede Sathanas trone, and bi open tirauntrie,—þat a man mytte soonere gete grace and riȝtwisnesse at þe kyng or emperour þan \(^1\) at hem, for Goddis drede is not in hem, ne love of God and desire of hevene, but þe world and joie þerof and pride of Lucifer and cruelte of Sathanas. And seke wisely in alle here dedis, and þou schalt fynde þat þei seken worldly heynesse, and prosperite of worldly muk, and ese of body, and wombe joie, and noris-chyng of synne for annuel rente, and pilyng of here sugetis boþe lerid and lewid, and casten to distroie holy writt, and myrrour of Cristis lif and his postlis, and alle men þat techen it.

And þus þei clepen reste and encresyng of þis cursed worldly lif, þe pees of holy Chirche. But certis Crist cam \(^2\) in to þis world to distroie þis fals pees, as he seip hym self, and to make pees bitwixe God and Cristene men bi feiþ and holy lif, and forsaking of worldly muk and joie, and bi suffryng of peynes in body for trewe techyng, and holdyng of mekenesse and charite. But whoeveuer wol be about to meyntene þis [pees \(^3\)] of God, and distroie fals pees of þe fënd, of þe worldly and fleschly temptacions, he schal be cursed pursued and slayn wipouten pite or open answere. And þus þei cursen Crist and alle his trewe servauntis, in þis world and in hevene, for þei alle wol distroie þis reste in synne þat þei clepen pees of holy Chirche. And þus þei coloure alle here cursed synnys under name of Cristis spouse, and falsly sclaundren hir and oure Saviour Crist.

\(^{1}\) corrected: þat, X. \(^{2}\) col.: eham, X. \(^{3}\) supplied conjecturally.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

CAP. XI.

Jit worldly clerkis and feyned religious breken and disturblen moche þe kyngis pees and his rewmes. For hir prelaties of þis world, wiþ prestis lesse and more, crien faste, and writen in here lawis, þat þe kyng haþ no jurisdiccion ne power of here persones, ne goodis of holy Chirche. And þit Crist and his postlis weren most obediant to kyngis and lordis, and tauþten alle men to be suget to hem and serve hem, trewely and wilfully, in bodily werkis and tribut, and drede hem and worschiphe hem before alle oþere men. First þe wise kyng Salamon put doun an heie bischop þat was fals to hym and his rewme, and exilide him, and ordeyned a good prest for him, as þe pridde bok of Kyngis tellip. And Jesus Crist paiede tribut to emperour, and comaundid men to paiæ him tribute. And Seynt Petir comaundid in Goddis name Cristene men to be suget to every creature of man, eþer to kyng, as more hie þan oþere, eþer to deukis, as sent of him to þe vengaunce of mysdoeris, and preisyng of goode men. Also Seynt Poul comaundid bi auctorite of God, þat every soule be suget to hieris poweris, for eþer is no power but of God; princes ben not to þe drede of good werk, but of evyl werk. Wilt þou not drede þe potestate? do¹ good and þou schalt have preisyng þerof, for he is Goddis mynystre to þe into good. Soþly, þif þou hast doun evyle, drede þou, for he berip not þe swerd wipoute cause, for he is Goddis mynystre, vengere into wræppæ to hym þat doþ evyl. þerfore þorouþ nede be þe suget, not only for wræppæ but for conscience. Paie to alle men dettis, boþe tribuyt and custom, (for þingis borun aboute in þe lond,) and drede and honour and love. Andoure Savyour Jesus Crist suffrid mekely peynful deþ of Pilat, not excusynge him for his jurisdiccion bi his clergiene. And Seynt Poul proferide hym redy to suffre deþ bi dom of þe emperours justice, þif he were worþi to deþ, as Dedis of Apostlis techen. And Poul appelide to þe

¹ corrected; to, X.

He did not claim 'benefit of ecclesiastical rather than by a secular court.
hepene emperour fro þe prestis of Jewis, for to be under his jurisdiccion and to save his lif. Lord! whoo hare maad oure worldly clerkis exempt from kyngis jurisdiccion and chas-tisyenge, sippen God ȝeviþ kyngis þis office on alle mysdoeris? Certis no man but Anticrist, Cristis eneme; sipen clerkis; and namely hie prestis, schulden be most meke and obedient to lordis of þis world, as weren Crist and his apostlis, and teche ðepere men boþe in word and rede to be myrroure of alle men, to zif þis mekenesse and obedience to þe kyng and his riȝtful lawis. How stronge þeves and traitours ben þei now to kyngis and lordis, in denying þis obedience, and in ȝevynge ensaumple to alle men in þe lond for to be rebel aȝenis þe kyng and lordis! For in þis þei techen lewed men and comyns of þe lond, boþe in wordis and lawis and opyn rede, to be fals and rebel aȝenis þe kyng and ðepere lordis. And þis semþ wel bi here newe lawe of decretalis, where þe proude clerkis have ordeyned þis,—þat oure clergie schal paie no subsidie ne taxe, ne helping of oure kyng and oure rewme, wijouten leve and assent of þe worldly prest of Rome; and ȝit many tymes þis proude worldly prest is enemye of oure lond, and prively meynteneþ oure enemyes, and 1 weren aȝenst us wij oure owene gold. And þus þei maken þis alien proudest prest of alle ðepere, to be cheef lord of alle goodis þat clerkis han in þe rewme, and þat is of þe most pert þerof. Where ben more traitours boþe to God and holy Chirche, and namely to here lege lord and his rewme; to make an alien worldly prest, enemye to us, cheef lord of þe most pert of oure rewme?

And comynly alle þe newe lawis þat clerkis han maad ben sutilly conectid by ypocrisie, to bryng þe down power and regalie of lordis and kyngis þat God ordeynede, and to make hem self lordis, and alle at here dom. Certis it semþ þat þes worldly prestis distroien more kyngis regalie and lordis power, þat God him self hare ordeyned for governaunce of Cristene men, þan God distroieþ þe fendis power. For God setteþ him a terme what he schal do and no more, but he suffriþ his power to laste, to profite of goode men, and just ponyschyyng of mys-

1 read 10.
doeris; but þes worldly clerkis wolen neve re cesse ȝif ȝei may, 
til ȝei han fully destroyd kyngis and lordis, and here regalie 
and power.
Also þes newe religious, and namely freris, distroien and 
disturblen þe pees and reste of þe kyng and his rewme; for 
þorouþ privei confession þei norischen moche synne, namely 
lecherie, avoutrie, and synne æغنnis kynde, extorsions and 
robbere and usure, for to have pert þerof, and tellen not þe 
treuþe in confession, for drede of lesyng boþe frendischipe and 
wymning, and meyntening of here feyned ordre. And bi þis is 
strif and debate among curatis and here children in God ¹; and 
in many tymes open fiþting for mortuaries and prechyng; and 
þei dorein not seie þe treuþe ægenst þe worldly prestis of Rome, 
þouȝ he robbe nevere so foul houre lond bi symonye and false-
hed of perdon and privylegies, whanne þei knowen wel þe 
treuþe, for drede þat he wold take awey þes þre poyntis, þat is, 
prechyng, schryvyng, and biryng. And for esy penaunce of 
money þat þei enyoynen men, for trentalis a and masse pens, 
and makynge of gaie wyndowis and grete housis, þat þe world 
may see and preise, þe moste vicious men, as avoutreris, 
extorsioneris, usureris, and open þeves, gon to þes ypocritis, and 
forsaken here owene curatis þat wolden sumwhat telle hem þe 
perilis. And herefore of fals purchas, of wickid extorsion and 
roberie, comeþ nevere restitucion for siche privye schriftis and 
penaunce of masse pens; and where þei regnen most in hous-
hold, prechyng and stryvyng, þere regneþ most synne. And 
siþen discencionis wipinforþ, and open werris wipoutenforþ, 
comen most for synne and norischynge of synful men in here 
myslyvyng, þes weyard and coveitit confessouris disturblen 
most þe pees of þe kyng and his rewme, siþen þei norischen 
moste synne bi fals prechynge of lesyngis, fablis, and veyn 
cronyclis,—bi sikernesse of letteris of fraternyte and synguler 
preieris, and disceyven men of þe treuþe of Goddis word, and

¹ corrected; good, X.
perverteth almesedde fro pore bedrede and feble men to hemself, 
bic colour of ypocrisie. And for pis ende pe holy prophete 
Helye seide, pat kynge Acab disturbede pe lond of Israel. And 
comyny pe peple of God hadde evere pees and vittorie but for 
here owene synne, as pe processes of Goddis law schewip. 
And certis if men taken regard 1 to pe ground of holy writt, 
bope pe Olde Testament and Newe, and to lyvyng of Crist and 
his postlis, and to pe lif and governaunce of oure worldly clerkis, 
pe may openly se pat oure worldly lynde clerkis ben most 
traitours of Crist and his lawe, and most traitours to pe kynge 
and his rewme, and moste distroien pees of holy Chirche and 
Cristene londis.

CAP. XII.

Also alle pe pat forsweren hem are justly cursed of God and 
man. First, bischopis maad of pe court of Rome, who 2 sweren 
to go and converte hepene men in placis of here bischoprichis, 
don not in dede pis office, but dwellen in Engelond, and bicomem 
riche bischopis suffragans, and pillen and robben oure peple for 
halowyng of chirches, chircegerdis, auertis, and ornamentals of 
pe chirche. And thus pei ben ³ries forsworen; first, for pei 
levyn to converter hepene men to bileve, of which pei taken cure 
willfully; pe secunde, for pei don not treuely here office to 
proft of her maistris to whom pei ben sworon. For pei sullen 
here sacramentis, and þinges þat perteynen to sacramentis, þat 
pei schulden do frely as Crist comandip, and distroie synne bi 
here power, þat þei norischen now for money and favour of 
worldly men. Pe þride tyme, pei don not treupe and proft to 
þe kynge and his lege men, as bope þei and here maistris ben 
sworen, but falsly robben his lege men of here goodis for þeyng 
of spiritual þinges, and kepene moche of þis muk to hemself, and 
wasen it in gay mytris and ryngis and oþere worldly vanites; 
and þis doyng þei ben grete traitours to God, to here kynge, 
and to here maistris. Þepore, as capital traitours and cheif 
heretikis, þei schulden be hurled out of our rewme, but þif þei 
wolen treuely make satisfaccion, and do treuely here office.

1 corrected; reward, X. 2 corrected; and, X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Also alle bischopis and possessioneris, sworn to be trewe and holy to pe kingis conseil and profit, se men oplynly forsworen. For pei drawen alle pe wynnyng pat pei may fro pe kyng to hemself, and pei proude prest of Rome, makynge him chefl lord of moche part of pe rewme and of pe kyngis power, makynge pe conseil of pe kyng knowen to him, as pei ben sworn to pe pope. And of pis office serven freris, confessouris of grete lordis and ladies, and pis noriscip hate and envye and debates and werris myche in Cristene peple.

Alsooure bischopis ben sworn to meytene pe honour and dignyte of Petre and Poul, but pei moste distroien it of alle men in erpe at here power. For here honour and dignyte was to kepe Cristis conseilis of gostly wilful povert, mekenesse, pacience, and charite, and to be servauantis of alle men to save here soulis; and pei, under colour of hem, desiren to be gretteste lordis of pe world bi ypocrisie, to get moche drit of pe world by pleting cursing and fiȝtting, to sclaudre of God and alle his servauantis.

Also men of lawe and jurours han non conscience to forswere hem for twele pens and her dyner, and make many false eires; and many lordis, pat schulden be piloris of riȝtwisnesse and meytene pore men in riȝt, wolen hire questis, and constreyne hem bi manas to forswere hem, for enemye pat pei han to a man, or for covetise of wynnynge. Viteleris, marchauntis, and chapmen, forsweren hem alle day for muk of pe world, pat unnepis may ony trewe word be among hem. Pe same weie, officeris of lordis, [who] ¹ swer to do riȝt to alle men, and tweely lok pe lordis profit, gederen to hemself, robben pe tenaunitis, and maken pe lordis pore. How men breken pe solempe of professiou maad in here cristendom, to forsake pe devel and alle his werkis, and kepe Goddis hestis, it is liȝt to se and hard to amende. Of our religious possessioneris and ojere, how pei kepyn here professiou of povert, chastite, and obedience, is no word to speke nowe, for alle ben fosworen or ellis . . . . ².

¹ supplied conjecturally.
² a word dropped out here.
for noon of hem alle kepip it, but stryveþ ægenst Goddis reule and here owene, and ægenst alle men pat traveilen to brynge hem to Cristis reule.

CAP. XIII.

Alle þo þat maken false eiris ben cursed greviously of God and man. First, prelatis and lordis þat maken evyl curatis, as eiris of Cristis office, to kepe Cristene soules bouȝt wiþ Cristis precious blood, rennen sore in þis curs. Also clerkis, þat pur-chasen hem lordischipis, and putten out lordis sones and cosyns and nyȝ blood, rennen in þe same curs; for þei holden hem out bi ple, bi cavyllacions and false questis, hirid for money and frendischip, and dryven to forswere hem for drede of here lordischip and tirauntrie. For þei holden it wel spendid and geten, al þat þei may purchase wiþ riȝt or wrong of seculer mennis goodis, and holde it or 1 bi many þeris, for þanne vertu of prescripccion, þat is, havyng of oþere mennis goodis bi long tyme, makeþ hem lordis of whatevere þing þei wrongfully sette hond onne. But certis Crist [2], lord of treuþe and riȝtwisnesse, is not ground ne autour of þis wynnynge, but Sathanas fadir of lesyngis, to whom þei maken sacrifice and omage for þis falsly geten lordischip.

Also þes feyned religious, and oþere worldly clerkis, amortisen many grete lordischipis bi fals title and gret ypcrisie. For þei feynn to lordis þat Crist is maad eir of alle here goodis, and he forbedþ clerkis to have siche lordischipis, and in his owne persoþe wolde noon have, ne his apostlis, but fleted þis as venym, as al his lawe and here lif schewen. And bi þis amortysynþ þei wolen nevere cesse, til alle þe seculer lordischip of oure lond be in here hondis, clene away fro seculer lordis. For þei seyn þat þei may lawfully have al þat men wolen þeve hem, and alle þat þei may purchase by sotel mensys, bi preising of here preieris and oþere gostliy helpe, and stelyng of chartris, and distreynyng of jonge eiris; and no man may take ouþt from hem, ne þei þeve ne selle ony lordischip out of here hondis. And þus litel and litel þei may gete al þe rewme into here owene hondis. Trewely

1 omit or.  
2 corrected; Cristis, X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Crist haþ alle þes lordischipis wel, whanne seculer men han hem and spenden hem wel, moche betere þan whanne Luciferis heretikis wasten hem in glotonye, lecherie, and worldly vanye. And þei drawen þes lordischipis fro þe comynyte of Cristene men, þat is holy Chríche, and murþeren hem in a litel covent of Sathanas synagoge, þat ben moche worse þan heþene mys-creauntis. And so bi name of holy Chríche þei distroien holy Chríche, and magnифien Anticristis chríche; as who wolde under þe baner of þe kyng of Engelond disseyve bi treson his lege men, and bryng þem into his enemys power.

Also þes mendynauntis, Menours, falsly and sutely maken wrongful eiris; for þei maken þe worldly bischoþ of Rome, þat schulde be most perfít in gostly povert and mekenesse, and most forsake þe world, after Crist and Petir and Poul, to be chef lord 1 of alle here goodis, prevey and apert. For þei may no lordischiphe have of hem, for here heie perfít povert, and of þis false makynge of lord and eier þei han bullis as privlegies. Wi ben not þes cursed traitours?

Also religious and grete colegies and cathedral chirchis maken many false eiris; for þei maken hemself, þat ben riche, un-kunnyng, and unable, to be successouris of Crist and his postlis, and cure of mennus souls, and to be eirys perpetual of tîþes and offreyngis, þat schulden be pore mennus lîfliode. And alle þis is doun bi fals suggestion, symonye, and peirynge of govnernance of holy Chríche, for þei ben riche at þe fulle, and [do] 2 not þe office of a curat neiþer in techynge ne releuyng of parischenys and helpynge þe Chríche as þei schulden, but alle

1 corrected; lordis, X.
2 supplied conjecturally.

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* The bull vesting all the property, houses, church furniture, &c., of the Franciscan Order in the Holy See, reserving to them the usufruct only, was promulgated by Innocent IV (1243–1264), a wise and resolute pope. But the more rigid and ascetic members of the Order—the Spiritualists—deemed this arrangement an unworthy compromise, and succeeded in obtaining from Nicholas IV (1285–1292), himself a Franciscan, a bull sanctioning the opinion that Christ practised an absolute poverty. A reaction ensued; and after John XXII (1315–1334) had annulled the bull of Nicholas IV by one which was published among his own Extravagantes, and so came to be regarded as incorporated in the canon law, the pious half-measure of Innocent IV seems to have been at length generally acquiesced in by the Order. See Milman's Latin Christianity, vols. vi. and vii.
goþ to nost and to Anticristis covent. And certis it is not in manny\'s witt to telle alle pe harme þat comþ hereof, boþe bodely and gostly. And of hem þat geten false eiris of mennus wives, bi privy schryvyng and ðepere homly daiaunce, avyse eche man who ben siche.

CAP. XIV.

Alle þo þat letten þe juste wille of a dede man ben cursed solemnely of God and man. Þe trewe testament of Jesus Crist was maad on Schire Þorisdai at nyȝt, in whiche he biquæþ to his disciplis and here successouris pees in hem, and tribulacion and perseveruc for his lawe in þis world. But worldly clerkis breken foule þis worþi testament of Crist, for þei seken pees and prosperite of þis world, and pees wiþ þe send and here flesch, and wolen suffre no traveile for kepyng and techynge of Goddis law, but raþere pursuen pore men þat wolde teche it, and so maken werre ægenst Crist and his peple for havyng of worldly muk, þat Crist forbediþ to alle his clerkis. In þe lif of Crist and his gospel, þat is his testament, wiþ liþ and techynge of his postlis,oure clerkis schullen not fynde but povert, mekeheþes, gostly traveile, and dispisyng of worldly men for reprovyng of here synnes, and grete reward in hevene for here goode lif and trewe techyng, and wilful sofforyng of deþ. Þerfore Jesus Crist was pore in his lif, þat he hadde no house of his owene bi worldly title to reste his heed þerinne, as he hymself seip in þe gospel. And Seynt Petir was so pore þat he hadde neiþer silver ne gold to þewe a pore crokid man, as Petir witnesseþ in þe bok of Apostlis Dedis. Seynt Poul was so pore of worldly goodis þat he traveilede wiþ his hondis for his liflude and his felowis, and suffride moche persecution, and wakyng of gret þouȝt for alle chirches in Cristendom, as he hymself witnesþiþ in many placis of holy writ. And Seynt Bernard wriþþ to þe pope, þat in þis worldly aray, and plente of londis and gold and silver, he is successour of Constantyn þe emperour, and not of Jesus Crist and his disciplis. And Jesus conformyng þis testament seide to his apostlis after his risyng fro deþ to life, My Fadir sente me and I sende 30w,—þat is, to traveile, persecution, and povert and hunger and marturdom in þis world,
and not to worldly as clerkis usen now. Bi þis it semeþ, þat alle þes worldly clerkis havyng seculer lordischipe, wiþ aray of worldly vanyte, ben hugely cursed of God and man, for þei doun ægenst þe riȝtful testament of Crist and his postlis.

Also þei taken mynystracion of dede mennus goodis ægenst here juste wille, under colour of holynesse, and turnen þe goodis to here kychynys and ðopere nedelis offices, and þat is worse, to here glotonye and drounkenesse, and festynge of riche men, and suffren dede mennis wifes and children and ðopere pore men fare ful harde and in gret myschief. Also þei taken dede mennis goodis for provynge of testamentis, ægenst here juste wille, and ægenst þe statute of oure kyng, and sumtyme in fraude of þis statute, where þei schulden take but eiȝte pens at þe moste. Þei feynen hem pore to aconten for alle þe goodis, and þan for aquitaunce taken moche gold of þe dede mennis goodis; for ellis þei wolen make executours to coste moche bi somonyng fro place to place, þouȝ þei ben redy to counte for alle þe testamen. And þit bi Goddis lawe and mannys þei schulden not entermete hem þus of testamentis ne worldly occupacion. Perfore, ægenst holy writþe popis lawe, and kyngis statute and good conscience, þei robben comyns of oure lond of many þousand pound; and al þis is doun bi ypocrisie of Anticrist under colour of holynesse. And bi so moche þei ben worse þan outlawwis and comyn þeþys, for þei doun þis robberie aperty, and justifien it bi colour of holynesse, þat no man may ægen-stonde hem wiþpouten open werre. And þei meyntenen þis cursed þeþe boþe bi seculer power and spiritual swerd and colour of holynesse, bi feyned privylegies of holy Chirche, moche more þan doun ðopere comyn þeþes and outlawwis, and perfore þei ben cursed heretikis, worþi to have more peyne þan ðopere strong outlawwis.

Also þes worldly clerkis and religious, dowid wiþ temperal rentis and londis, breken foule þe riȝtful wille of here dede founderis; for þei wasted moche here goodis in pride and gret festis and newe bilyngis, where here founderis wille was to

\footnote{Some such word as pompes or richesse has been omitted through error of the scribe.}
fynde many meke prestis, and devout in Goddis servyce, and hospitalite of pore nedy men of pe countre. And alle þis goodnesse is wipdrawen boþe of meke prestis and devout bedemen, and herboryng and fedyng of nedy men; and proude worldly clerkis, þat han no savour in Goddis servyce, brouȝt up, and þit fewe in noumbe, þere þe founder ordeynede manye; and þei ben myrrour of pride, coveitise, slowþe, glotomye, and drounkenesse, and namely of lecherie and meyntenynge of synne, where here foundere wolde have hem mirrour of mekenesse, devotion, and abstynence, and stoppyng of synne. And þus þei ben endurid in here errour worse þan Sodom and Gomor, and dispisen God in here lif, and disceyven here founderis as Cristene peple bi here veyn criyng, whoos preier God curseþ, as he witnessþ bi þe prophetite Malachie.

Cap. XV.

Alle þo þat falsen þe kyngis chartre and assenten þerto ben cursed solemnely of God and man, puppliched foure tymes in þe yeer. Sip þe kyng seip in his chartre, þat he seveþ þis maner or lond into siche an hous of prestis or religious, into pure and perpetual almes, þei falsen þis chartre whanne þei clepen hemself lordis of þis worldly goodis, and denyen þat þei ben almesmen or bedemen, namely þif þei denyen in dede gode condicions for whiche þe kyng seþ af þes goodes. Moche more þei ben cursed þat falsen þe chartre of alle kyngis, þat is, holy writt, in whiche God chargþ alle his prestis to lyve in honest povert, and forsake secular lordischip, and bisie hem in spiritual office, as Crist and his apostlis diden.

Also þei falsen þe kyngis chartre bi grete treson, whanne þei maken þe proude bishop of Rome, þat is cheef manquellere in erþe and meyntenbour þerof, to be cheief worldly lord of alle goodis þat clerkis han in oure rewme, and þat is almoþ alle þe rewme or þe more pert of it. For he schulde be most meke and pore prest, and most bisy in Goddis travaile to save mennus soulis, as weren Crist and his postlis, sip he cleþ þim-

1 For as perhaps we should read and, but the MS. is obscure at this point.
self chief viker of Crist. And hereby þes worldly clerkis ben traitours to God and here lege lord þe kyng, whos lawe and regalie þei distroien bi here power, and false traitouris to þe pope, whom þei norischen in Anticristis werkis, for to have here worldly staat in richessi and lustis meytnten bi hym.

Also whanne þei geten leve to amortise ony lond or rente, þei certifien to þe kyng þat þis schal be to encresse of holy Chirche and stablyng of his rewme, and up þis condicion þei geten it, where it is to distruccion of Cristis Chirche, and peinynge of alle þe rewme, and norischyng of debate bitwixe clerkis and lordis and here tenauntis. And þit whanne þei geten leve to amortise twenti markis worþ lond bi a writt, ad quod dampnum, þei amortisen moche more þan þe kyng grauntid hem leve þerto. And whanne many londis schulde falle into þe kyngis [hondis]1, bi eschet or oþere juste menes, þes worldly clerkis and veyn religious meden gretly þe kyngis officeris and men of lawe, to forbarre þe kyngis riþt, and maken hemself lordis wrongfully. And þus bi þe kyngis goodis þei maken his officeris and lege men to forsware hem, and defraude here lege lord. But, Lord! where ben falsere and cursedere traitouris in erþe? Also many worldly peyntid clerkis geten þe kyngis seel, hym out-wittynge, and senden to Rome for benefices moche gold; and whanne þe kyng sendiþ his pricey seel for to avaunce goode clerkis, and able boþe of good lif and gret kunnyng to reule, þei bryngen forþ hereby many worldly wrecchis, unable to reule o soule for deaute of kunnyng and good lyvyng, and þus usen þe kyngis seel æsenst Goddis honour and þe kyngis, and profit of Cristene peple, where þe kyng undirstondiþ to do wel bi here suggestion. And þerfore þe kyng haþ many cursed peynted clerkis aboute hym, þif he take hede to here lif, kunnyng, and reulyng of þe Chirche. Also men of lawe þat faveren lewide clerkis in þis wrong for wynnyng and worldly frendi-schipe, rennen in þis same curs; and so don confessours and conseilours þat tellen not þis disseit boþe to kyng and oþere men, and namely prechouris, þat schulden warne men of þis peril.

1 The word was evidently omitted by accident.

X 2
Alle þo þat falsen þe popis bulle or bisphere letteris ben cursed grevously in alle churches foure tymes in þe þeer. Lord! whi was not Cristis gospel putt in þis reverence among oure worldly clerkis? Here it seemþ þei magnyfien þe popis bulle more þan þe gospel; and in token on þis þei ponsychen more þo men þat trespassen ægenst þe popis bulle þan þo þat tres-

passen ægenst Cristis gospel. And hereby men of þis world dreen more þe popis leed, and his comaundement, þanne þe gospel of Crist and Goddis hestis; and þus wRECchis of þis world ben brouth out of bileeve, hope, and charite, and rotid in heresie and blasphemye, þe, worse þane ben heþene houndes.

Also þenne clerkis þat kunnem not rede and understonde a vers of þe Sauter, ne telle Goddis comaundememts, bryngen forþ a bulle of leed witnessynge þat þei ben able to governe many soulis, ægenst Goddis dom and opyn experience of treuþe; and to pursue þis false bulle þei cosen and travelen and fiþten many tymes; and for geten1 of þis false bulle þei þyven myche gold out ofe rewme to alynes and enemies, and many per-

sones ben dede herefore in oure enemies hondis, to coumfort of hem and oure confusion.

Also þe proude prest of Rome settiþ ymagis of Petre and Poul and his leed, and makiþ Cristene men to bileeve þat alle þat his bullis spoken of is don bi here auctorite and Cristis; and so, in as moche as he may, he makiþ þis bulle þat is fals to be Petris and Poulis and Cristis, and in þat makeþ hem false. And by þis blasphemye he robbiþ Cristendom of bileeve and good lif and worldly goodis, and makiþ hem to serve Anticrist and synne, whanne þei weren to serve God and charite. And of þis falsyng is noon ende in mannis witt, for it encresseþ evere more, in newe fyndyngys of blasphemye, and robbynge of Cristendom boþe of gostly goodis and worldly, and namely whanne þei bryngen þe seele or baner of Crist on þe croos, þat is tokene of pees, mercy, and charite, for to slee alle Cristene men for love of tweie false prestis þat ben opyn Anticristis, for

1 read getynge.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

to meyntene here worldly staat, to oppresse Cristendom worse 
þan Jewis weren, azensf holy writt and lif of Crist and his postlis. 
And almost alle men in þis world assenten and meyntenen þis 
false sleyn of Anticrist and his felowis; and þif any pore men telle 
þe treueþ of holy writt azensf þe tirauntrie of Anticrist and his 
officeris, nouþt ellis but curse hem, prisoine, brenne, and slee, wiþ- 
outen answer. Nowe it seemþ þat Jones prophécie and Apo-
calisps is fulfilled, þat no man schal be hardy to bye and sille 
wiþouten token of þe cursed beste, for no man schal now do 
ouþt in þe chirche wiþouten false bullis of Anticrist, not takyng 
reward to worchying of Crist and Holy Gost in mennus soulis, 
but alle to his dede bullis, bouþt and seld for gold as men byen 
or sillen oxen or bestis.

Cap. XVII.

3it, alle þo þat mystipen ony goodis ben cruelly cursed foure 
tymes in þe þeer. Here men wondren moche whi worldly pre-
latis and feyned clerkis cursen not for defaute of werchis of 
mercy doun to pore nedy men, as Crist techiþ; siþen þe gospel 
telliþ þat at domesday Jesus Crist schal reckene generally wiþ 
men for werkis of mercy; and þif þei han not don hem þere as 
Crist biddiþ, þei schullen be dampyd wiþouten ende. But of 
tipes schal Crist speke þanne no word, but þif men graunten þat 
tipes ben werkis of mercy and almes, as is fedyng and cloping 
of pore men. Certis it seemþ alle þis cursyng is for here owene 
coveitise, not for synne of þe peple and trespas azens God, for 
þanne þei schulden more curse þere where more synne and 
more dispit azens God and his lawe; but þis is not don, as alle 
witti men may opynly see; þerfore þei cursen wrongfully, and 
so cursen hemself, and envenymen þe peple þat þei diden wiþ.

Þe secunde tyme men wondren more whi worldly prestis 
cursen so faste þe pore peple for þei païen not here tipes at here 
likyng, þe while þei ben a pousandfoold more cursed of God, for 
þei don not here gostly office in trewe prechyng, and holy 
ensaemple of lyvyng, and monystryng of sacramentis. And þit 
God chargiþ a pousandfolede more þes dettis of gostly dedis,
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**WYCLIF'S WORKS.**

Pan alle þe muk of þis world. And as men of lawe techen, he þat is riȝtfullly cursed may not lawefully curse anoþer man, siþen he is dede gostoþly, and out of holy Chirche.

Þe þridde tyme men wondren most whi covetous prestis and worldly clerkis cursen so faste and cruelly in here owene cause and wynnyng, siþen þei schulden schewe mekenesse and patience in here owene cause and wrong, as diden Crist and his apostlis. And siþ Crist, verrest bischop of alle, cursede not for his tiþes, ne whanne men ȝaven him neiþer mete ne drynk ne herborne; and he blamyde his cosyns and apostlis for þei wolden have do vengaunce on þis peple; but Crist seide þat mannis Sone cam not to lose mennus lyves and soulis, but to save hem, as þe gospel of Luk witnesþe, whi cursen oure weiard curettis so many mennus soulis to helle, and bodies to prison, and loos of catel, and sumtyme to deþ, for a litel muk, whanne þei ben cursed of God for symonye don in here entre, and levynge of prechynge and ensaumple of holy lif, and þerfore þe tiþes ben not dewe to hem, but only peyne and helle? Many tymes þei ben cruel tormentours, þat slen a soule boþt wip Cristis precious blood, þat is betre þan alle richessis of þis world, for sixe pens or foure. Salamon provyde bi witt ȝoven of God, þat whanne tweyne horis stryvede whos was þe child þat lyvede, þe child was hern þat wolde have it on lyve, and not hern þat wolde have it deed. Moche more þes ben not gostly fadris of Cristene soulis, þat wolten dampe hem to helle bi here cursynge for a litel rotyn dritt. But þei ben worse þan ony tormentours of heþene houndes; for þei tormentiden þe body, and not þe soule everemore; but þes Sathanas children casten bi alle here power to sleþ þe soule in everelastynge peyne. Certis þes weiard curatis of Sathanas semen in þis poynþ worse þan fendis of helle, þat turmenten no soule in helle but only for everelastynge synne; and þes Sathanas clerkis cursen soulis to helle for a litel temperal dette, þat þei wolen paye as sooþe as þei may, and many tymes whanne it is not dette, but bi long errour and þefte and custom brouþt up, aþenst Goddis comaunderment and good reson and charite.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

CAP. XVIII.

And yet these cursed pore men for tīpes, whanne pei may not paye for povery, and whanne curatis schulden yeve hem of here owene goodis; and if beggyng were lienf, pei schulden begge at riche men for to releve here pore breþeren, and alges be trewe procuratours for pore men at grete lordis and riche men, as Seynt Poul, bi comyn assent of apostlis, was for pore men in here nede. Also pei schulden not resseyve offerynys and giftis of men þat weren at debate and discord, as Goddis lawe and mannis witnessen, wip Declaryng of Seynt Jon Crisostom upon þe gospel of Mathieu,—ne of usure and wrongful geten goodis, lest pei weren pertener of þe synne, but stire hem to make hem restitution, and leve here synne, and schewe in dede þat pei seken more profit and savynge of Cristene souls þanne here owene wynnyng or worschipe, as God doþ bi his Godhed, and Jesus Crist bi his manhed, and alle his disciplis after him.

At þe laste men wonderen hugely whi curatis ben so chariouse to þe peple in takynge tīpes, siþen Crist and his apostlis token no tīpes as men doun nowe, and neþer spaken of hem, to [be 2] paiet þus, neþer in gospel ne in pistol, in þe perfit lawe of fredom and grace, but Crist lyvede on almes of Marie Maude- len and opere holy men and wymmen, as þe gospel tellþ, and apostlis lyveden sumtyme bi labour of here hondis, and sumtyme taken pore liffode and cloþ, 30yn of fre wille and devocation of þe peple, wipouten axing or constreyng. And to þis ende Crist seip to his postlis, þat pei schulden ete and drynke siche as men setten bifoire hem, and take neþer gold ne silver for here prechynge and 3eyng of sacramentis. And Poul, 3eyng a general reule for prestis, seip þus, We havynge fode and cloþis to hile us, wip þes þinges be we apayed. And Jesus Crist and Poul proveden, þat prestis prechynge trewely þe gospel schulden lyve bi or of þe gospel, and no more of þe tīpes. Certis, as tīpes were dewe prestis and dekenes in þe olde lawe, so þanne was bodily circumcision nedeful to alle men, but not nowe in þe lawe of grace. And þit Crist was circumcidid,

1 corrected; sanyd, X. 2 supplied conjecturally.
but we reden not where he took tythes as we don, and we reden not in alle pe gospel where he paiede tythes to hie prestis or bad ony man do so, but bope he paiede tribut to pe emperour for hym and his, and comauandide opeare men to do so.

Lord! whi schullen oure worldly clerkis charge more Cristene peple wiþ tythes, offringis, and customes, þan diden Crist and his apostlis, and more þan men weren chargid in þe olde lawe? For þanne alle prestis and dekenes and officeris of þe temple weren susteyned bi tythes and offryngis, and hadden noon oþere lordinship; but now o worldly prest, þat is more unable þanne oþere, bi vertu of Anticristis bullis haþ alle þe tythes and offrynges to himself, and oþere prestis more kunnynge in Goddis lawe and of clounner lif, han no þing but temperal almes. And in o countre is o maner of þing, and in anoþer faste bi is contrarie maner; and þif tythes weren dewe bi Goddis comauandement, þanne every where in Cristendom schulde be o maner of tiþyng. And þit men axyn now more tythes, of many þinges þat God spac not in þe olde lawe. Wolde God þat alle wise men and trewe men wolden enquere where it were betre for to fynde goode prestis bi fre almes of þe peple, and in a resonable and pore lifode, to teche þe gospel in word and dede, as diden Crist and his postlis, þan to paie þus tythes to o worldly prest negligence and unkunynge, as men ben now constreynd bi censures and bullis and newe ordynaunce of prestis. þif þis meke lif com æcen, symonye, coveteise, negligence and striþ and pleþ and worldlynesse [of'] prestis schullen down, and trewe techyng of Goddis word, and ensaumple of holy lif, and pees and charite, schullen regne in Cristendom. þif þis be betre þan þis newe ordynaunce of proude and coveitouse prestis, as men moten nedis graunte, for lyvng and ensaumple of Crist and his apostlis, who maade Anticrist and worldly prestis so hardy to charge Cristene men wiþ þis newe ordynaunce þat [is'] more costy and profitable? Siþen Crist and alle his disciplis hadden nevere ony power but to encresyng of holy Chirche, and edifiyng of Cristene soulis to heveneward, who þat Anticrist and his worldly prestis þis power to hyndre and peire þo goode

1 supplied.
reulyng of holy Chirche bi so gret charge and cost? 3if þis first ordynaunce of Crist and his postis come aßen into Cris-
tendom, þan schal Cristene peple be fre to take her tipes and offryngis fro weiwird prest, and not meyntene hem in here
synne, as þei ben now constreynd bi Anticristis power and
censures, and frely and wilfully þyve a resonable liflode to goode
prestis: and þis were moche betere and esiere, boþe for prestis
and comyns, boþe for þis world and þe toþer.

CAP. XIX.

Also þei cursen alle men þat beren out ony goodis of maneris
or graunges of men of þe Chirche, aßenst þe wille of here
keperis. Here men wondren moche whi þei cursen not alle
hem þat beren out ony þing of lordis placis and pore mennus
houses, siþen þei ben many times more cursed of God þan þe
firste. It semeþ þei reken nevere of here neiþberis harm so þat
here lust be performed. But men wondren more whi þei cursen
þe kyng and his trewe officeris, þat for félonye or dette or eschet
taken his owene goodis, aßenst þe wille of a false prest traitour,
out of þes graunges, and taken noon hede wheþere þei don þis
bi processe of lawe or ellis bi extorsion and tirauntrie. And
it semeþ þat þei understonden þis, how evere it be taken, wrong-
fully or justly, bi here newe dampnacion þat þei maden at
London in þe erþe schakyng, where þei saiden þat it is errour
to seie þat seculer lordis may at here dom take temperal goodis
fro þe Chirche, þat trespassþ þi long custom 8. 3if þis be errour,
as þei seyn falsly, þanne þe kyng and seculer lordis may take
no Þerþing ne Þerþing-worþ fro a worldly clerk, þou þe owe
hym or his lege men nevere so moche good, and may wel paye
it and wole not. And þus þe kyng schal be cursed, 3if he do
riþtwisnesse in his rewme on his lege men, and brynge a
Sathanas out of his olde synne and þefte, whiche þing þe kyng
is bounden for to do bi Goddis owene word. And siþ þe
persones schullen have more privylegie þanne worldly muk
annexid to hem, siþen þei ben bete in kynde and gronde of

8 This, according to Walsingham (vol. ii. p. 59, Rolls edition), was
denned as erroneous at the Council
do London in 1382.
privylegie of þes goodis, moche more þe kyng hāþ no power of þe bodies of clerkis. And þis menen þei in here opyn lawe, bi whiche þei maken clerkis exempt fro seculer domesmen, til þei ben degraded bi dom of bishopis. Of þis wrongful sentence ȝoven of bishopis in þe erþe to don, wiþ good reson suen þes poynis, þat þouȝ a collegie of clerkis, or covent, or religious, ben open þeves, and robben and sleen þe kyngis lege men, ȝit þe kyng may take no ferþing-worþ good fro hem, for alle worldly goodis ben temperal þingis, and, as þei seyn, noon seculer lordis may lawfully take temperal þingis fro þe Chirche þat trespassiþ bi long custom.

Also, þouȝ comynte of clerkis and religious sende gold and goodis of þe rewme to aliens and enemyes wiþoutenforþ, and resseten many þousand enemyes in here paleis and grete houses, stronge as castellis, to robbe slee and brenne alle men in our lond, ȝit no man may take ony goodis fro hem bi þe same reson.

Also, þouȝ an hous of monkes freris or clerkis ymagynen to poysone þe kyng, queene, and alle þe lordis of oure rewme, as þei han biforesh þis tyme boþe popis emperours and kyngis, ȝit þe kyng wiþ alle his lordis mayn not ponysche hem in o ferþing-worþ of good. Also, þouȝ a frere monk or prest, bi comyn assent of þe covent, defeoule quen biforesh þe kyngis eyen, and moche more in privey chaumberis, ȝit þe kyng may not ponysche þe leste of hem in o ferþing-worþ of good.

Also, þouȝ þe clergie bi comyn assent caste þe kyngis deþ, quenys, and of alle þe gentel blood of þe rewme, and conspiren to be kyngis in hemself, and make oon of hem kyng of alle þe world, ȝit þe kyng wiþ alle his lordis may not ponysche hym in o ferþing-worþ of good. And siþen þe bodies of clerkis ben betere þan goodis of þis world, siþ þe kyng hāþ no power on here goodis þat ben lesse, he hāþ no power of here bodies þat ben betre in kynde, and cause of privlegies of here goodis. And þus þe kyng is constreyned bi Anticristis lawis to suffre and meyntene opyn þeves and mansleeris, and traitours of God and alle men, in here opyn cursed synne. And þouȝ clerkis myȝtten lawefully have seculer lوردishipis, ȝit þei han justly forfeendid hem alle, siþen bi comyn assent þei han conspired þus
against Goddis mageste, ye kyngis regalie, wel groundid in holy writ, and ażenst here owene solempne op. But þes blynde moldewerpis, evere wrotyng in þe erþe aboute erþely muk, schullen wite bi holy writ and Cristene bileve, þat þouȝ þe kyng, Goddis viker, take temperal goodis fro worldly cursed prestis and Anticristis religious, ful of pride coeitise symonye heresie and blasphemye, and meyntening of ðore mennus synynys, þit þe kyng takip not þes goodis evyle from holy Chirche, but justly takip þes goodis of holy Chirche, evyl occupied bi Sathanas clerkis, and restauréþ hem to holy Chirche. For þanne bi Goddis auctorite he takip þes goodis from Anticristis chirche, þat is traitour and enemye of God, of þe kyng his viker, and alle men, in Goddis half, and restauréþ hem to holy Chirche, whanne he depertiþ hem wisly to just men, to helpe of pore men, and encresyng of vertuouse lif boþe of prestis lordis and comuneris.

And in þis poynþ þes worldly clerkis and feyned religious fallen into Luciferis pride, and into heresie ażenst þe crede of Cristene men. For þei holden hemself men of holy Chirche and noon ðore, where þe crede seþ þer is on general holy Chirche of alle men and wymmen þat schullen be savyd, and of goode¹ angelis, and Jesus Crist is hed of þis holy Chirche. And as Judas was a þef and no membre of Crist, ne pert of holy Chirche, þouȝ he mynistride² þe ordre of bischopod, but was a devel of helle, as Crist seþ in þe gospel, so, þif þes worldly clerkis schullen be dampynd for here cursed synnes, as coeitise ypocrisie symonye and dispeir, as Judas was, þei ben fendis of helle and no Cristene men, ne membris of Crist, ne pert of holy Chirche. And þus þe beste of hem alle woot not where he be a man of holy Chirche bi Goddis apprevyng, or ellis a fende of helle now damnyd in Goddis knowyng. Þerfore þei schulden meke hem self boþe to God and man, and leve þis fendis pride and Anticristis tirauntrie, and open tresoun and blasfemye ażenst God and his viker þe kyng.

¹ corrected; goodis, X. ² corrected; mysurde, X.
Alle þeves and alle þat reseten hem wyttyngly, and alle con-
sentours to hem in synne, ben cursed of God, and foure tymes in
þe þeer of men, in alle parische chirches. First, alle clerks of
our lond semen cursed in þis poyn, for in eche parische chirche
a comyn þef and mansleere schal be resseyved fourty daies at
þe lest, and no lawe passe on hym to make restitucion, þoug
he be of power, and to ponysche him justly for chastisyng of
þere mysdoeris; but after fourty daies he schal forswere þe
kyngis lond, and þanne many tymes he robbeþ more and sleþ
mo men, in trist of siche refute. And þis makip many stronge
þeves and cursed manquelleris in ourle lond; and to meytene
þis resset and norischyng of þeves, oure worldly clerks wol
coste and traveile and lyve and die; and þerfore þei ben stronge
scheames heretikis, to meytene þis opyn errour ægenst Goddis
lawe.

Also grete houses of religion, as Westmynstre, Beverle*, and

The privilege
of sanctuary

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* contains ample information about these pri-
ileges of sanctuary attached to cer-
tain churches. To Westminster
Abbey the right was conceded, ac-
cording to Stow, the historian of
London, by an express charter of
Edward the Confessor; but Wido-
more doubts the authenticity of this
charter, and considers that the pri-
ilege probably followed soon upon,
and as a consequence of, the canoni-
zation of King Edward. High and
low sought and benefited by the
privilege; amongst others, Eliza-
beth, queen of Edward IV, first in
1470, and again in 1483, and the
poet Skelton, who died in sanctuary
in 1529.

The story of the sanctuary at St.
John's collegiate church of Beverley
is like a golden thread of romance
running down through the dim
records of six hundred years. The
common belief about this famous
foundation (originally the work of
St. John of Beverley early in the
eighth century, but afterwards de-
stroyed by the Danes)—a belief
attested by a charter of Henry V,
was, that when King Athelstan, re-
turning victorious from Scotland in
the year 925, redeemed by a lavish
grant of lands and liberties his
knife, which on the march out he
had left upon the high altar, he did
so in these words, 'As fre make I
the, as hert may think or eigh may
see.' Or, as it is in a metrical ver-
sion, also given by Dugdale, of the
same transaction, which is probably
as old as the middle of the thir-
teenth century,—

Swa mikil fredom give I pe,
Swa hert may thunk or eigne see.'

This church of Beverley, however,
was not exempted from the ordinary
jurisdiction of the Archbishop of
York; rather it was he who exer-
cised, or superintended the exercise
of, the great franchises which it pos-
sessed. The privileged circuit,
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

opere, chalengen, usen, and meyntenen þis privyledge, þat what-
evere þef or felon come to þis holy hous of religion, he schal
dwelle þere alle his lif, and no man enpeche hym, þouȝ he owe
pore men moche good and have ynuȝ to paye it. And þouȝ
he robbe and slee every nyȝt many men out of þe fraunchise,
and every 1 day come ægen, he schal be meyntened þerto bi
vertu of þis opyn heresie. And þes feyned clerkis crien faste,
þat þe kyng and alle þe lordis ben bounden bi vertu of here ðop,
in whiche þei sweren to meyntenene holy Chirche and riȝtis þerof,
for to meyntenene þis open þefte ægenst Goddis heste and here
owene ðop, in whiche þei sweren to doo riȝtwisnesse to eche
man and meyntenene eche man þerinne. And þus þei maken
holy Chirche and her lege lord þe kyng patrons of here þefte,
under colour of holyнесse and devocion. But certis þes placiȝ
ben synagogis of Satanæs, dennes of þeves, and worse þan
Sodom and Gomor, as þo þat resceyven not Cristis word in þe
gospel; and þes ben cursed ypcrītis, and weïward traitours to
God and here lege lord þe kyng and alle Cristendom, and þei
ben confirmed in þis heresie, þat þei wolen lyve and die þerfore.
Also alle curatis and prestis þat comen not to þes statis bi þe

1 corrected; evere, X.

within which fugitives from secular justice were protected, was called
the Leuga, and is described in the Domesday survey. A stone chair,
called the Fríd-stol, or stool of peace, stood on the right of the
high altar; to this chair those who sought sanctuary repaired, and in it
they were seated during the cerem-
ony of admission. The form of oath, administered by the arch-
bishop's bailiff to the suppliant, is
preserved in one of the Harleian
MSS. No. 4392, being a register of
persons who sought sanctuary for
various crimes in the reigns of
Edward IV, Henry VII, and Henry
VIII. It ran as follows:—

Sir, tak hede on your oth. Ye
shall be trew and faithfith to my
lord Archbishop of York, lord off
this towne, to the provest of the
same, to the chanons of this chirch,
and all othir ministers thereof.

'Also ye shal bere gude hert to
the baillie and xii governors of this
town, to all burgesses and comyners
of the same.

'Also ye shal bere no poynted
wapen, dagger, knyfe, ne none othir
wapen ægenst the kyngs pece.

'Also ye shal be reydy at all your
power, if there be any debate or
strif or odre sothan case of fyr
within the towne to help to success
it.

'Also ye shal be reydy at the obite
of Kyng Aedelstan, at the Dirige
and the Messe, at such time as it is
done, at the warring of the bel-
man of the town, and do your
dewe in ryngynge, and for to offer
at the messe on the morne, so help
you God and thies holy evan-
gelists.'

And then gar hym kissè the book.

annexed to cert-
tain churches
is greatly
abused.

The rulers both of Church and
dore, þat is, Crist, þat is to seie, bi mekenesse to seke Goddis worship and savyng of mennus soulis, but for pride coveitise and bodily welfare, ben nyȝt þeves and day þeves, as Crist seip in þe gospel, and Seynt Austyn expouned þe so. And sifen alle ressetours and meynteneris of siche wityngly ben cursed, and þe pope ressetip hem and meyntenip hem, and bischopis also, and þe kyng and parischens, alle þes semen cursed þeves, sifen þei may not be excused bi ignoraunce of Goddis lawe and here open dedis to knowe and wite hou þei ben þeves. And parischens ben so constreynd bi Anticristis lawis to meyntene hem in here þefte; for þouȝ þei knowen þat here curat is a cursed þef, wiþdrawynge trewe precychynge and ensaumle of good liþ, and dide grete symonye in comyng to his benefice, þit þei schullen not be suffrid to wiþdrowe here typeþes here, as long as a grete prelat of Anticrist wolde suffre him in his synne, for money or negligence or favour. But of alle þeves, þe pope makynge siche curatis bi his bullis for gold, and lordis and opere prelatis presentynge siche unable clerkis for here worldly servyce and money, ben in þe grete hienesse of robberis, and meyntenours of opyn þeves. And þei may not be excused bi ignoraunce, for Seynt Poul seip, he þat haþ not cure of his owene, and most of his homely meynne, he haþ forsaken þe feip and is worse þan an unseipul man þat nevere toke Cristendom. For þei may openly see þat þe dedis of þes curatis ben opynly contrarie to Cristis liþ and his lawe, and to many siche; as þei maken curatis of many þousand soulis þei wolden not bitake kepyng of a fewe hoggis, and holde hem from her office of kepyng of hoggis, as þei doun a from kepyng of soulis; þefore þei setten more pride bi a fewe hoggis þan bi many þousand soulis bouȝte wip Cristis precious blood.

Also alle tyrantus and extorsioneris and conselours and consentours þerto, fallen in þis grete curs, for alle þat þei han þus is þefte, bi Goddis jugement and resoun; and alle curatis and prelatis þat taken typeþes and offrynigs, and doun not here spirytiual office, of God ordeyned 1 in his lawe, ben cursed þeves;

1 corrected; ordeyneþ, X.

a That is, as the curates withhold themselves.
for his hire is not ordeyned to hem but for doyng of his spir-
ritual office. And þerfore Seynt Poul biddip, þat he þat werchip
not, eþe not. Also alle þat mysusen here goodis in wast, pride,
glotonye, or ðopere synnes, or þat wipholden werkis of mercy fro
nedi men in tyme of grete nede, rennen in grete curs, for þei han
and holden þes goodis aȝenst Goddis comaundement, to harm of
hem and ðopere men, as Ambrose and Austyn witnesseen in many
placis. Alle þo þat mysusen þe myȝtis of here soule or body,
and drawen hem fro Goddis servyce and holynesse into þe fendis servyce and synne, fallen in þis same curs; for þei stelen
Goddis goodis from his servyce and worschipe, as moche as in
hem [is 1], and bi hem maken sacrifice to þe fend, in whos
servyce þei spenden hem.

Jit alle þo þat disseyven here neȝeboris in ony chaffare or
servyce, bi false oþis, false cauþelis, and false weȝtis or mesures,
ben stronge þeyvy, for alle þat þei getten þus þei geten falsly,
aȝenst Goddis comaundement, bi colour of holynesse and
equite; and þerfore þei lasten stille in her synne wiþouten
peyne of mannys lawe, comynly more þan don ðepere open
þeyvy. Also stronge beggeris, under colour of holynesse, rennen
faste in þis curs; for soþely bi many sleȝtis expressly aȝenst
Goddis comaundement, þei robben þe pore peple fro moche
good, and bederede men from here lifloede, and bryngen þe
peple in heresie many weyes. For þei maken þe peple bileve
þis, þat it is betre to þewe here almes to riche men and stronge
þan to pore men and nedy, as Crist comaundip. Þerfore of
alle þeyvy þes semen most cursed, for þei robben contynuely,
boþe of temperal goodis, of mennus children, and of gostly
goodis, and sleen soules and bodies boþe of riche and pore
under colour of holynesse. And alle þei þat may distroie þis
synne and doun not, assenten þerto, and fallen in þis curs;
and þis cursyng and þefte woundep almost al Cristendom.

CAP. XXI.

Alle þo þat clippen þe kyngis money, and þat kyetten mennus
purses, ben solempnely cursed in parische chirches. Here it

1 supplied conjecturally.
sene\v{e} \(\text{\v{e}at\v{e}}\) pe proude worldly preste of Rome, and alle his
fauteurs, ben most cursed of clipperis and purse-kerzeris, for
\(\text{\v{e}i\v{e}}\) drawen oute of oure lond pore menens liffode, and many
\(\text{\v{e}is\v{e}}\)ousande mark bi \(\text{\v{e}ere\v{e}}\) of \(\text{\v{e}kyng\v{e}}\)s monny, for sacramentis and
spiritual \(\text{\v{e}ing\v{e}}\)s, \(\text{\v{e}at\v{e}}\) is cursed heresie of symonye, and \(\text{\v{e}ak\v{e}}\) al
Cristendom assente and meyntene \(\text{\v{e}is\v{e}}\) heresie. And certis \(\text{\v{e}ous\v{e}}\)
oure rewme hadde an huge hill of gold, and nevere \(\text{\v{e}jere\v{e}}\) man
toke \(\text{\v{e}er\v{e}}\) perof, but only \(\text{\v{e}is\v{e}}\) proude worldly prestis collectour, bi
proces of tyme \(\text{\v{e}is\v{e}}\) hil moste be spendid, for he taki\(\text{\v{e}}\) evere
money oute of oure lond, and sendi\(\text{\v{e}}\) nou\(\text{\v{e}}\) ben but Goddis
curs for his symonye, and auralcursed Anticristis clerk to robb
more \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) lond, or wrongfyl privylegie, or ellis leve to do Goddis
wille, \(\text{\v{e}at\v{e}}\) men schullen not do wi\(\text{\v{e}}\)outube his leed and biynge
and sillyng. But \(\text{\v{e}ous\v{e}}\) oure kyng take taliage of \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) peple as he
may lawefullly, for nedefull helpe of \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) lond, \(\text{\v{e}it\v{e}}\) \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) money
dwelli\(\text{\v{e}}\) still in oure rewme, to proffit perof in manye pertis.
Also worldly prelatis and cleri\(\text{\v{e}}\)s kerven foule pore menens
purses, whanne \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) wasten \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) chirc\(\text{\v{e}}\) goodis, \(\text{\v{e}at\v{e}}\) ben menens
sustenaunce, in pride glotonye lecherie and \(\text{\v{e}jere\v{e}}\) vanye\(\text{\v{e}}\)s. For
\(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) ben procuratours or tresureris of pore men in takyng
dymes and offryngis, and as wel \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) my\(\text{\v{e}}\)tten take it out of here
purses openly and devoure it, as \(\text{\v{e}us\v{e}}\) to gete it bi extorsion,
wrong customs, and Anticristis censuris, more \(\text{\v{e}an\v{e}}\) \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) schulden
paye bi Goddis lawe and good conscience. For \(\text{\v{e}if\v{e}}\) \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) kit\(\text{\v{e}}\)de
\(\text{\v{e}us\v{e}}\) openly here purses, \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) schulden reckevere it bi comyn lawe,
but of \(\text{\v{e}is\v{e}}\) sotel kityng of here purs \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) geten no remedie, but
evere ben more robbid and more; and \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) ende for whiche \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) ben
\(\text{\v{e}us\v{e}}\) robbid is many tymes to fynde hautis and hou\(\text{\v{e}}\)dis,
and riche pelure, and proude hors, to hie prestis and curatis,
\(\text{\v{e}at\v{e}}\) schulden be myrrour of mekenesse and chastite and costly
traveyle and hevenly lif.

Also somenors bailles and servauntis, and \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) men of lawe,
kitten perelously menens purses, for \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) somenen and aresten
men wrongfully to gete \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) money out of his purs, and sumtyme
suffren hem to me\(\text{\v{e}}\)ntene hem in wrongis for money, to robbe
\(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) men bi false mesures and we\(\text{\v{e}}\)ttis, and in \(\text{\v{e}is\v{e}}\) \(\text{\v{e}e\v{e}}\) kitten
bo\(\text{\v{e}}\) partis purses. And men of lawe contryen ofte newe
sotel poyn\(\text{\v{e}}\)tis, to delaye just proces of lawe for money, and

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hyndryng of rijtwisnesse in þe peple; and þis is don so sotil
under colour of lawe, þat a pore man is betre to forsake his
owene goodis þan to calenge it and plete þerfore. And þif his
purse were opynly kit, he schulde get sum rekenere þerof, but
now bi colour of equite al is stopp. But of alle purs-kitteris
false confessours ben þe weuste; for whanne þei schullen make
wickid men to restore þing wrongfully geten, and to cesse evere
after, bi trewe witnessynge of þeyne dewe þerfore, þei assoilen
wickid men liȝtfully, for to have pert of here þeȝte, and hereby
þei norischen evyle men in here wrongis and robbyng of þe
peple.

CAP. XXII.

Alle þo þat leyn hond on fadir or modir in violence ben
cursed of God and man. Men leyn here hondis, þat is, here
werkis, in violence on ¹ God and holy Chirche, here gostly fadir
and moder, whanne þei sclaundren God and holy Chirche wip
here worldly weiward lif, and dispisen him bi grete opis and
false and nedeles, and opere grete synnes. For, as Seynt Austin
seþ on þe Sauter a, þes wickid men dispisen God more þan þe
Jewis þat naileden him on þe cross, and in here wille þei cruci-
þien Crist, whanne þei wolcen not forsake here synne for his
love ne dere. Also þei leyn hond violently on Crist, whanne
þei sclaundren and pursueng wrongfully ony membre of Crist,
and namely for tellynge of treuþe and reprovyng of synne, as
Crist and his postlis tauȝte. Whanne þei crien þat alle men
leiynge hond on a clerk bi violence be cursed, whi ben not alle
oure worldly prelatis hugely cursed, þat violently and wiþouten
answere prisonen prestis, redy to be justified bi holy writt and
reson, and to lyve after Cristis lif and his postlis, and helpe
opere prestis þerto? Certis, whanne worldly prelatis and clerkis
bi here false glose and fals lif distroien þe treuþe of Cristis lif
and his postlis as moche as þei may, þanne þei sleen Crist and
his postlis, as Seynt Jon Crisostom witnesseþ b.

¹ corrected; þat in, X.

a S. Aug. Enarr. in Psalm Ixvii, sermo ii. 'Minus enim peccaverunt
Judaei crucifigentes in terrâ ambu-
lantem, quam qui contemnunt in
celo sedentem.'
b S. Joan. Chrys. in Matt. v. ho-
milia ix. 'Qui autem veritatem
Christi denegat, ipsum denegat
Christum,' et seq.
Also in ðat ðat þei faveren false prechouris and wicked men, þei leyn hond in violence on Crist and his prophetis, and fyßten cursedly agenus oure moder holy Chirche ; for in ðat þei meyntenen Goddis enemys, to lese and dampne children of holy Chirche þorú false techyng and evyl ensaumple.

Also alle ðat taken and meyntenen false causes ben cursed preously, as þei ben worþi, boþe of God and man. Here worldly clerkis wip here fawtourys renne full in þís curse ; for þei meyntenen here worldly lif agenst þe trewe techyng of Crist and his lawe, and wole not leve her worldylnesse for prechynge ne peyne, in þís world ne in þe tóþer. Also lordis holynge grete lovedaies, and bi here lordischip meyntenenge þe fals pert, for money frenedischip or favour, fallen opynly in þís curs, and so don men of lawe, wip alle false witnesses þat meyntenen falsenesse agenst treuþe, wityngly or unwityngly. For in alle þís fals meyntenyng þei holden wip þe fend agenst God, and as moche as is in hem, þei fordoun þe riþtwisnesse of God, and so God himself, and magnýfen Sathanas more þan God. And bi þís poynt many ðat semen ful holy and devout ben gretly acursed ; for þouþ þei ben devout in preyers and siȝte of men, þit here meyne schal holde wrongis at lovedayes * , and bere doun treuþe and pore men in here riȝt, bi colour of lordis knelynge in þe chapel. And þe colour of holynesse blyndþ moche of þe peple, þat þei perseyven not þe treuþe but beren it doun, and holdþ wip falshed, and seyn þus,—þes grete lordis and wise men wolde not holde wip þís pert but þif þei knewen þat it were trewe, siþen þei ben so devout in here preyeris, and knowen Goddis lawe and mannis so fully. And bi þís doyng þes hie lordis and men of lawe ben maistris of errour, techyng it in

* In Titus Andronicus, act i. sc. 2, Saturninus, after announcing his intention to reconcile enemies and pardon offences, says—

'This day shall be a love-day, Tamora.'

The word occurs also in the Vision of Piers Plowman. The passage in the text throws indirect light on this old custom, instituted to prevent litigation; we see knights and yeomen kneeling in the castle-chapel, a general gathering in the hall, statements from both sides, arbitration and reconciliation. But as to the exact form of procedure upon such occasions, I can nowhere meet with information. The Paston Letters may perhaps contain something which would throw light on the matter; but so far as I could examine a book in many volumes, unfurnished with an index, my search was sterile.
word and dede, and constreynen pore men to holde forþ, bi
manas of bodi and loos of catel and òpere persecucious, and
perfore þei ben not only heretikis but princes of heretikis, as
þei þat chefly meyntenen òpere men in synne and compelle hem
þerto. Clerkis þat don evyl and meyntenene it bi sotilte of word
ben sly or sotel heretikis, but þes lordis of prestis, þat ben bis-
chopis, and òpere officeris þat meyntenen òpere men in synne,
ben sotil mastris of errour and princis of heretikis. And
worldly lordis þat don wrong, and constreynen pore men to
assente to here wrong, ben rude or boistouse heretikis. And
comynly alle mysdoeris fallen in þis curs, for þei meyntenen
a fals quarele azenst God and his seyntis.

CAP. XXIII.

Alle þat drawen men out of þe chirche or seintuarie, whanne
þei fleen þeder for sukour after here manslaȝter or þe þeþte, ben
cursed hugely of oure prelatis, lesse and more. Here men
wondren moche whi alle manquelleris schullen have þis fraunch-
chise of þe sche, siþ God grauntide it only to hem þat sleen bi
ignoraunce, or happily, not wilfully, and bi noone enmyte; and
alle siche as sleen a man wilfully bi enmyte, and bi chastyneg
and aspyenge bifiore, schulden be drawen, þe, fro þe auter, to be
deed bi Goddis comaundement. And Salamon þe wise kying
dide þis in dede; but bi oure privylegie, siþ a kying or seculer
justis do þis comaundement of God and just ponyschyng of
wickednesse and disturblery of þe pees, he is cruelly cursed of
oure worldly clerkis,—but blissed of God, whoos byddyng he
fulfillip. And þus þei cursen hem þat God blisseþ; þerfore þei
ben cursed of God, and alle þat consenten to hem in þis poynyt.
But in alle Goddis lawe redde we nevere, þat þeves schulden have
refute in þe chirche. Whi don oure worldly clerkis þis? it
semþ for coveitise, to have part of here pelf. It semþ þei
cursen openly hemself, for þei rescyeven þeves wittyngly, and
alle siche ben cursed bi here owene sentence. And in þis þei
disturblen pees of þe rewme, for just ponyschyng of mysdoeris
schulde make goode pees in þe peple, and þei letten þis bi here
privylegie; and also þei letten restitucion, þat is due bi Goddis
biddyng.
Also þei cursen alle hem þat ben negligent to enprisone cursed men; but here þei cursen hem þat God blisseþ many tymes, for oft þei cursen wrongfully trewe men for prechynge of þe gospel, and treuþis suynge þerof, æzenst open synnes, for þis prechynge is æzenst here lust, and schewþþ here foule ypocrisie and symonye. And God blisseþ þes trewe prechours and alle þat faveren hem in þis; þanne þes worldly clerkis cursen þe kyng and his justices and officeris, for þei meyntenen þe gospel and trewe prechours þerof, and wolen not prisone hem for wrongful comaunderment of Anticrist and his clerkis. But where ben foulerere heretikis þan ben þes worldly clerkis? þus cursyng trewe men, and styrynge þe kyng and his lege men to pursue Jesus Crist in his membirs, and exile þe gospel out of oure lond. And many tymes þei maken þe kyng and lordis pursue trewe men and þe gospel, whanne þei wenen to pursue heretikis hardid in here errore, and to distroie [hem] 1, and meyntene Goddis worship; and þus þei maken þe kyng and grete lordis to become turmentours of Sathanas, and do more malice and peyne to Goddis servauntes þanne þe devil dar do himself. For þou a just man be cursed wrongfully, þe fend dar not noye in his soule no weie, ne in his body, for drede of God; but whanne þe fend dare not dere a just man, þanne worldly clerkis maken þe kyng and lordis, for blynd pite, to turmente his body as he were a strong þef, and caste him in a depe prisone, to make òpere men aferd to stonde wip Goddis part æzenst here heresie. And þus þei bitraien oure kyng and lordis, and robben hem of rït bileve and rïtsful dom and werkis of mercy, and stoppen Goddis word, and letten verrey pees of Cristendom. Lord! where ben more cursed heretikis þan þes weiward traitours? þat þus sleen Crist and his postlis and prophetis, and bitraien þe kyng and lordis to do wrong æzenst God and his servauntis, and robben Cristendom of feþ, hope, and charite. Certis I wolde þat lordis wolden wisely prisone hem þat ben cursed of God, for brekyng of his hestis, but þif þei wolen leve here false swerynge and nedeles, and fraudes þat þei usen eche to òpere; for þis curs is evere rïtsful, and mannis

1 supplied conjecturally.
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curs is þe wrongful. Þanne þe kyng schulde synde how worldly clerkis, þat lyven in pride, glotonye, and lecherie, and don not here office, þeyngne ensample of holy lif and trewe prechynge of holy writ, ben kommen in bi symonye, ben cursed heretikis, and he schulde prisone hem faste, but þif þei wolden amende here defautis bi þe lawe of God. And þis prisonyng moten þes clerkis graunte just, but þif þei setten¹ more prise bi mannis wrongful curs þan bi þe riȝtfull curs of God Almyȝty. And þis were open heresie and blasphemye; and siche blasphemes bi þe olde lawe of God schulden be stoned to deþ bi þe comyn peple; and in þe lawe of grace alle men schulden scarpfely blame here synne, and but þif þei wolde leve it, holde hem as pupplicanis or heßen men, and not comune wiþ hem, as Crist taȝt and his postlis.

CAP. XXIV.

Alle þat don sacrilegie, þat taken holy þing oute of holy place, or unholy out of holy place, or holy þing out of unholy place, ben grevously cursed in þe chirche. Here men wondren of þis sentence, for comynly alle prestis beren holy þing out of þe chirche, as dymes and ofrýngis, þat þei clepen holy, and spenden hem sumtyme ful evele; and siche ben cursed bi þis sentence. And þif þei seyn þat þei have leve þerto, seie þat God ȝeveþ no leve whanne þei don not here office þefore. And prestis spenden hem evele in worldly vanyte, glotonye, and lecherie, and ðanne algatis ben þei riȝftfully cursed of God on double manere; oon, for þei don not here office þat Crist chargiȝ so moche,—anoȝer, for þei wasten þus pore mennus goodis, ægenst Goddis lawe and mannis. Þe secunde tyme men wondren of þis sentence; for þif alle ben cursed þat take unholy þing out of holy place, þan eche man þat doþ out of Dedly synne of his soule, halewid in baptym, is cursed; and namely þif he do any venyal synne oute of his soule þat is in charite, for þan he doþ unholy, þat is synne, out of his soule, þat is holy place; and ðanne Crist and alle his seyntis mosten be most cursed of all men, for þei moste did þis unholy þing out of

¹ corrected; setten, X. ² dele of; the meaning is, 'driveth deadly sin out of his soul.'
menicus soulis, and autoriseden it. And if pei seyn þat pei
understonden only of worldly goodis, seie þat smoke of erþely
muk blyndþ hem so moche þat pei taken non hede to God and
vertues, and where þei blaberen trewe or fals.

Þe þridde tyme men wondren most, siþ charite only schulde
make men to curse for synne don æsten Goddis hestis. Whi
oure clerkis cursen not hem þat taken lordis goodis of here
maneres and places, and pore mensus goodis out of here
houses and feldis? siþ þis is many tymes more synne, and dis-
turblþ more pees of þe lond. It seneþ þes clerkis loven not
here neiþeboris as hemself, and þat þei pursuen not þe synne in
here curs, but only here owene wynnyng; and herefore þei for-
seten æsten alle þe maundementis of God; for þei loven neiþer
God ne here neiþbore as þei schulden, and þanne utterly þei ben
cursed of God and alle his seyntis.

Also oure prelatis cursen alle hem þat don æsten þe Grete
Chartre ¹ and þe Chartre of forest. And alle þis is lawe cyvyl ²,
and þe pope forbedþ prestis to here lawe cyvyl, and putþip on
hem grete peyne if þei don it. And þei may not knowe þes
poynsis but if þei heren hem; þan þei ben nedid to falle
blyndly in þis sentence. Þerfore it were more profyt boþe to
body and soule þat oure curatis lerneden and tauþten many of
þe kyngis statutis, þan lawe of þe emperour. For oure peple is
bounden to þe kyngis statutis, and not to þe emperours lawe,
but in as moche as it is encosid in Goddis hestis. Þanne moche
tresour and moche tyme of many hundrid clerkis, in unyversite
and oþere placis, is foule wastid aboute bookis of þe emperours
lawe, and studie aboute hem. And if oure clerkis studien þes
bokis of þe emperours lawe, for reson þat þei fynden in hem,
Lord! where þes blynde foolis schulden not fynd more reson
in þat lawe þat God, autor of reson, made himself, for most
profit of men, boþe to body and soule? And if men seyn, þat
studie aboute þe emperours lawe wipdrawþ men from studie
and knowyng of holy writt, and for to encresse more þe studie
of holy writt þe pope Wolfe þat prestis here not ne studie lawe
cyvel, certis þis is ful soþ, and þe popis entent is good in þis.

¹ corrected; charite, X. ² corrected; cruel, X.
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But pis lettyng of studie and knowyng of holy writ is more don bi pe popis lawe than bi pe emperours, for it is lengere, and more stondið in singuler wille of pe pope and his cardynalis than in reson, oþerwise than doþ pe emperours lawe. And mo clerakis drawn to pe popis lawe, and þerby leven holy writ, for wynynge of worldly muk and veyn worship of pis world; and pe pope forþerip hem in þes poynis, and hindriþ men of dyvynyte, and techiþ alle men to don þe same bi his ensample. Þerfore þe Cardynal Odo seip, þat þe popis law and þe emperours ben þe twyne calvys of gold þat lettiden Goddis peple worshiphe him in Jerusalem; so þes twey lawis drawn men fro studie and knowyng of holy writ, and dewe worshipynge of God. For evere as a man owip to worshiphe God bifore alle þingis, so owip eche man, and namely a prest, to studie and knowe holy writ bifore alle oþere lawis. Þerfore prestis biheter to God þat þei schullen evere þenke of Goddis lawe; and Jesus seip in þe gospel, þif ony man love him, he schal kepe his words; and God comaundid in þe olde lawe þat þe kyng schulde studie in bokis of his lawe, and þat þis bok schulde not passe fro his eien. Þerfore Seynt Gregory witnessiþ, þat evere as a man loveþ a kyng, so he loveþ his lawe. It semeþ þat curatis schulden raþere lerne and teche þe kyngis statutis, and namely þe Grete Chartre, þan þe emperours lawe or myche part of þe popis. For men in oure rewme ben bounden to obeche to þe kyng and his riþful lawes, and not so to þe emperours; and þei myȝten wonder wel be savyd, þouȝ many lawes of þe pope hadden nevere be spoken, in þis world ne þe toþere.

CAP. XXV.

Alle þo þat comunen wiþ cursed men ben cursed bi oure prelatis, namely þif þei don þis wittyngly. Here it semip þat God is cursed bi þis sentence, for no cursed man may be in þis

The constitutions of Cardinal Otho, framed at a 'Concilium Pan-Anglicum' held in London in the year 1236, are printed as an Appendix to Lyndwood's Provinciale (ed. Oxford, 1769). But I can discover no passage in them at all resembling that quoted in the text, which indeed would be a strange admission for a cardinal to make; nor can I discover any other work by a Cardinal Otho or Odo, which the writer can be referring to.
lif but 3if God wittyngly comune wiþ hym, and 3eve him beyng
and sustenaunce to his lif, where he be wrongly cursed or
riȝtfully. And ȝit he is redy to 3eve him grace and forzevenesse
of his synnes ȝif he ax it worþilý; and God ȝeveþ him grace
bifore þat he axe it, ȝe, in herte. And siþ oure gode God may
not be cursed, þis sentence semeþ to large. And ȝif men ben
wrongfully cursed, þerfore wrongfully pursued,—þei þat comynen
wiþ hem, and helpen hem, and don werkis of mercy to hem,
ben blissed of God. For Crist seiþ in þe gospel, Blissed be þe
mercyful, for þei schullen have mercy. And þouþ men ben
nevere so opynly cursid, ȝit men may lawefully comynen wiþ
hem, for to drawe hem into good lif, and not to coumforte hem
in here sýnne; and þus boþe God and goode men may lawe-
fingly comynen wiþ cursed men wittyngly, in wrongful curs and
riȝtful. But late worldly prestis answere here, where a man þat
oweþ dette to a cursed man may wittyngly comune wiþ
him, and paie him his dette; and it semeþ bi þis sentence, cried in
þe chirche, þat ȝif he do he is cursed, for wyttynge he comuneþ
wiþ a cursed man. þanne, bi here owene dom, siþ curatis and
prelatis þat breken openly Goddis hestis ben riȝtfully cursed of
God, sugetis schulden not coumforte hem ressecevynge here
sacramentis, ne tíþe ne offre to hem ony goodis, for þan þei
comynen wyttynge wiþ cursed men, þat þei schulden not do
for alle þis worlde, bi here owene sentence.

Also, siþ sicke curatis don not here office in good lyvving and
trewe techyng, and comen not into here benefices bi þe dore,
þat is, Crist, but symonye, pride, and coveitise, þei ben þeyys,
as Crist seiþ in þe gospel, and cursed, for þei wijdrawen riȝtis
of holy Chirche. þanne here sugetis ben ressettours of þeyys,
and meyntenors of hem in here synne, and so cursed bi here
owene sentence, and for consent to synne, as Seynt Poul seiþ.
And ȝif lawieris seyn þat þis were sop ȝif men weren þus cursed
bi sentence ȝovyn openly of prelatis, certis myche more þis
peyne renneþ when God curseþ justly for brekyng of his hestis.
And þe comynte of prelatis cursen in comyn lawe for symonye
and wijdrawynge of holy Chirche riȝtis, and not o singular
prelat for his owene pride and coveitise; for ellis þes lawieris
moten sette more priss bi a wrongful curs of a worldly preste,
sumtyme cursed of God, and in cas a dammed fend, þan bi þe moste riȝtful curs þat God can þeve; but þis were al on and to drede a worldly cursed wrecche, and in cas a fend of helle, more þan God Almyȝtty and alle his sugetis, and magnysie siche a frend more þan grete God of hevene and erþe, and alle creaturis. Þerfore þis peyne mot renne for just cursyng of God, and not everemore for cursyng of worldly clerkis, for þei deon ofte wrong.

CAP. XXVI.

Alle mensleeris and brenneris of houses and corves ben cursed openly in parische chirches. Here men of armes, þat sleen and brennen in wronge werris, ben openly cursed boþe of God and man; and alle counseilours to wrongful werris ben in þe same peril, wiþ alle prechours þat stiren men and herten hem in þes werris, and alle penytuanceris þat tellen not to hem þe treuþe, but assoilen over liȝtly, for money or worldly favour. And it seemþ þat alle prelatis in oure lond þat consenten to þes werris, 3e, þouþ þei ben riȝtful, ben irreguler bi here owene lawe. For siþ he is irreguler þat writþ a lettre of dom wherof o þef is damyped to deþ, or sittþ in place as associated wiþ þe domesman, moche more þes worldly prelatis þat sitten in Perlement, and conseilen þat oure gentelmen schullen goo out of oure lond to werre wiþ Cristene men, where many þousand ben slayn, ben irreguler bi Goddis lawe and mannis. For be many resons þes worldly prelatis don werse in þis cas þan 3if þei killeden sudeny many men bi here owene hondis. And siþþe pope and oþere clerkis, lesse and more, myȝtten soone fordo þes werris and make þees in Cristendom, and leven þis grete dede of charite for worldly wynnynge or frendischipe or bodily desese, it seemþ þat þei ben irreguler, and cause of alle þis werre. And eche man avysse hymself wel, þat þouþ men han nevère so grete riȝþ bi worldly title, 3it þe werre is wrongful bifore God, but 3if it be don principaly for charite, to distroie synne of men, and not for coveitise of here goodis, ne pride, ne enemye of hem; for no

* The writer evidently refers to the expedition to Flanders in 1383, which, from the language used a few lines below, would seem to be still in progress, or at any rate only just over.
man schulde do ony of þes þre for ony good in þis world, for þus he leesip ¹ charite.

And sîp Crist in þe gospel grauntip a hundridfold and everlastynge lid in hevene to eche man þat forsakiþ for his love hous or lond, or ony worldly honour, whi wole not þes prechours preche opynly þis gospel, þat men myȝten leve werris and sufre persecution paciently, as Crist tauȝte for þe beste? Whi wole not þe proude prest of Rome graunte ful perdon to alle men for to lyve in pees and charite and pacience, as he doþ to alle men for to fijte and slee Cristene men, and to helpe þerto? Certis þis prest wîp his fals prechours, þat ben princes of manquelleris and werris, ben openly contrarie to Crist and his postlis, and so open Anticristis, maistris of Sathanas. Þit weïward prelatis and curatis, þat techen not Goddis word to here sugetis, but suﬀren hem be stranglid wîþ wolvys of helle, ben cursed mansleeris, as Crist, bi schewyng of Seynt Gregory, seî in many placis of his lawe; and not only sleeris of bodies in þis world, but comynly of body and soule bi deþ of synne, and everelastynge deþ of boþe in helle wipouten ende.

Alle worldly and oþere sovereigns þat þeyyn evely ensaumple of open synne to here sugetis and neȝeboris, distroien and brennen Goddis hous and temple, þat is mannis soule, in as moche as [is] ² in hem. And oure Savyour Crist principaly curseþ siche men in þe gospel; for as moche as mannis soule is betre þan erþely muk, so moche ben þes gostly distroieris or brenneris worse þan brenneris of worldly houses. For sumtyme in sum cas þei may lawefully brenne placis of erþe, but nevere Goddis housis, þat is, mannis soule. And þit þe more þat a worldly clerk bi evely ensaumple slaundrip þus Cristene soules, þe more he is preised and benefised among grete men of þis world. And certis alle þis meyne is hugely cursed of God for þis meyn-tening of synne.

CAP. XXVII.

Alle comyn mysdoeris of Cristene peple ben expressly cursed of God and man. Here alle men owene to drede sore, and

¹ corrected; lees, X.
² supplied conjecturally.
eche man for himself; for he is a comyn mydoere þat comynly doþ grete evyl, and opynly and longe contynueþ þerinne, and cesseþ not for drede of God ne schame of þe world; and namely, þif he meytene ôpere men in evyl. Loke now wher þis bishop of Rome wiþ his court do þus in his wengis, boþe possessioneris and religious and mendynaunts. First, bi his worldly [lif] he drawþ þe comynte of clerkis from holy writt, and so distrioþ moche þe feþ of holy writt; boþe bi his worldly lif, and false expounyng of Cristis lif, for to colore his lif and his felowis, þat suen þis world and likyng þerof. And he stirþ men bi grete perdon to breke opynly Goddis hestis, and he envenymeþ comynly alle Cristendom wiþ his symonye, and robbþ it of goode men and vertues, and lettþ treue prestis to holpe men to heveneward bi prechynge of þe gospel. And he norischeþ most men in synne bi his exempcions, privylegies, indulgencis, and general perdon; and makþ men triste more in his doyng þan in God Almyȝtthy and his mercy. And certis of his comyn 2 mysdoyng, privey and apert, kan no man fully telle but God himself.

Also tirauntes ben ofte tymes comyn mysdoeris; for seculer tirauntes robben þe pore peple, and namely here owene tenauntes and sugetis, bi extorsions, bi wrong mercymeþnis, and newe customes and chargis, þat þei hilden pore men and leven hem half quyk. So God seþ þi his prophetis. But tirauntes of þe chirche, as he prestis wiþ here officeris and ôpere curatis, ben worse comyn mysdoeris. For þei robben here sugetis bi grete extorsions, bi suspending, cursing, and enterdityng; and pursueþ to mannis lawe more cruely þan alle ôpere tirauntes. And þei maken solþiþ delaþes whanne men ben presentid to grete chirchis, to make hem longe stonde voide, þat þei may have þe profitis in þe mene while; and þei silleþ sacramentis, as ordis, and ôpere spiritualte, as halwyng of aueris, of chirchis, and chircheþerdis; and compell men to bie alle þis wiþ hok or crok. þit þei taken moche money of open synful men, and norisch hem in open synne for annuel rente, [and] 3 so silleþ Cristene souls to Sathanas for

1 supplied conjecturally. 2 corrected; comyn, X. 3 supplied conjecturally.
here owene muk. And what trewe prest or pore man speketh openly aženst þis cursed marchaundise, he shal be sumoned, suspendid 1 fro prechyng and treuþe-seyng, or cursed, prisoned, or exilid.

Many men of lawe ben comyn mysdoeris, for comynly þei meynteynen þe false pert, for money or favour or drede of men, and letten þe treuþe bi alle here witt and power, and bi here suteltes turnen þe cat in þe panne, and tarien pore men in here riʒt, þat it is betre to hem for to leve here owene good, þan to calenge it bi worldly dom. Þit þe kyng and ðopere lordis, wip comyn justicis, semen comyn mysdoeris; for þei suffren wickid tyrauntis oppresse pore men bi extorsions and ðopere wrongis, whanne þei may liʒtly amende it, and ben so sore chargid of God to helpe pore men, and be to hem as good fadir and modir, and eie to blynde men, and on hand and foot to þe crokid, as Job was, as holy writ telliþ. And þis necligence and consente of grete lordis makiþ hem ful gilty and cursed in þe dom of God. Also alle comyn swereriþ bi Goddis herte, bonys, nailis, and sidis, and ðopere membris a, and false and veYNC swereriþ, wip lecchours, and alle ðopere þat comynly don aženst ony of Goddis hestis, for þei ben comyn mysdoeris, rennen fully in þis sentence.

CAP. XXVIII.

Alle false conspiratours ben cursed of God and man. Conspiratours ben þo þat by comyn assent don wrong or ony falsnesse to here neʒeboris. Here it semeþ openly þat alle freris, worldly clerkis, and possessioneris, ben openly cursed; for þei conspiren falsly aženst þe gospel and Cristis 2 pore prestis; and

1 corrected; suspending, X.
2 corrected; Crist, X.

*a The use by the Host in the Canterbury Tales of the profane oaths 'for Goddis bones,' and 'by Goddis dignitee,' elicits a remonstrance from the Parson;—

'What eilith the man, so sinfully to swere?'
To which the immediate reply of the Host is,—

'I smell a loller in the wind?'

this no doubt being a frequent theme of expostulation and censure with the Lollard pamphleteers and itinerating preachers, with whom England swarmed in the last twenty years of the century.
CONTRIBUTIONS.

For the fullest and most accurate information on the subject of English Guilds, see the work entitled "English Gilds" (Early English Text Society), edited by the late Mr. Toulmin Smith, with the excellent preliminary essay of Dr. Brentano, of Aschaffenburg.
conspirep azenst treupe and charite, and comyn profit of pe lond, and ponyschip hem pat helpen frely here neieboris.

Also it seme pat marchauntis groceris and vitileris rennen in pe same curs fully. For pei conspiren wickidlyn togidre pat noon of hem schal bie over a certeyn pris, pou3 pe jing pat pei bien be moche more worpi, and pei knowen wel pis; and pat non of hem schal sille betere chepe* yan anop3er, pou3 he may wel for3 it so, and it be not so moche wor3 as ano3er mannis chaffer; jus he schal be ponysched sore zif he do trewe and good conscience. Certis alle pis peple conspirep cursedly azenst treupe, charite, and comyn profit. Summe trewe men seyn, pat summe parische prestis conspiren to selle sacramentis for a certeyn pris, and to lette trewe men to preche pe gospel, for drede last pei tellen out here cursed ypcrisie and symonye and heresie. And zif it fare jus wip hieren penytanzeris, bope of bishopis and popis,—and sum men supposen pat pei don,—it is moche pe verse on alle ordis, for tanne pei ben cursed of God and man, and maken pe peple cursed perto.

CAP. XXIX.

Alle pat wipholden unresonably ony goodis axid pri3es in pe chirc, fallen into pe grete sentence of curs. Pis sentence of curs seme pat reasonable to good understondyng, for Seynt Austyn seip, zif pou fynde ou3t of opere munnen and quitest it not, pou hast ravyschid pat jing, or stolen, or taken bi ravyne b. Dan sip Crist himself hap axid solemnely, bi he redyng of his gospel and opere placis of holy writt, generaly in churchis, ri3t seip and good lyvyng and due reverence to him, pei pat wipholden pes goodis ben justly acursed of God himself, pat may not erre. Also, sip God himself, and bi his prestis bope hap axid jus many pousand tymes pat prelatis and curatis, more and lesse, do trewely here gostly office in trewe techyng

Those of the clergy who will not preach the gospel nor lead good lives, fall under the curse pronounced against those that withhold other men's goods unreasonably.

* 'Chepe' meaning to buy, (knussen, cheapen, &c.) the customer that bought any article in the market for a low price, got it 'good chepe,' i.e. made a good bargain for it. Similarly, to sell 'beter chepe' is to sell at a better bargain for the buyer, or, as we say, cheaper.

b S. Aug. Sermo clxxviii. § 9. 'Quod invenisti et non reddidisti, rapuisti.'
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

of ðe gospel and his comanumenteris, wip open ensaumple of here owene good lif, to be myrrour to here sugetis, ðei ðat wiþholden ðes goodis ben riþifully cursed of God and alle his seyntis. And siþ God and trewe prestis han axid ðus many tymes, ðat curatis schulden lyve in mekenesse symplenesse and sobernesse, and spende al ðat leven over here resoneable susteynance in relevyng of pore men, ðei ðat wiþholden ðes goodis of holy Chirche, and spenden hem in pride glotonye lecherie and worldly vanye, ben openly cursed bi ðis sentence, and many opere ful trewe and resoneable.

Also, siþen God and his presteis han openly axid ðus oft tyme in chirchis, ðat prelatis and curatis ben not busi in lordis courtis, in worldly officis, but be busi on here gostly office, and resident at hom wip here scheep, ðei ðat wiþholden ðes curatis in here worldly servyce, for here gostly office, fallen fully in ðis riþiful curs. But more ðis weïward steffadris of mennus soulis, ðat for coveitise of moo benefices, and gederyng of erþely dritt, procuren ðis, and ðyven moche money to be ðus in worldly office; for ðei procuren faste to poisone here lordis, hemself, and ðe peple, wip Goddis curs and here owene. Oure bischopis ðat pressen to be chaunseler a and tresorers and governours of alle worldly officis in ðe rewme, to dredeful sore 1, for ðei may not wel togidre do her gostly office and worldly, for Crist and alle his postlis, wip alle here witt, kouden not and wolden not entremente wip worldly office, but fledden it as venym. And certis oþer ðes bischopis ben wittier and myþtir ðan Jesus Crist and his postlis, or ellis ðei ben open foolis cursed of God and man. For ðei moten nedis be traitours of God and his peple in ðe sovereyn medicyn of soulis helþe, ðe while ðei ben ðus busi aboute worldly occupacion. And alle ðis ðei don for worldly pride and wynnyng, and for ðat ðe kyng and lordis schulden have no power to brynge hem to meke and gostly lif of Crist and his postlis.

Also, siþ God and his prehours han ofte axid in chirchis

1 something seems omitted.

* The writer seems to glance principally at William of Wykeham, who was chancellor for several years under Edward III, and again for a short time under Richard II, from 1389 to 1391.
solempnely, that alle riche men do treuely and wisely [3eve'] pe residue of here goodis, over her owene sustenaunce and öper niedis, in werkis of mercy to pore feble lame and blynde, þei þat wþholden þes goodis fro þes pore men, and wasten hem in pompe and glotonye and öpere vanyeis, rennen in þis sentence. Also, sif prelatis and curatis han axid so ofte dewe obedience reverence and love, and unyte of her sugetis and parischenes, freris þat wþholden þes sugetis from here parisch chirches, and her sacramentis þere, for here owene coveitise and pride, fallen fully in þis sentence. For þei wþdrawen ðopere mensus rãttis to hemself for coveitise, and maken discision, and disturblen pees and charite, and namely whanne þei taken almes of riche men, þat is sustenaunce of pore bedrede men, to hemself bi suteypocrisie, as fals beggyng whanne it is no nede, and maken grete festis to riche men, and bilden wast houisen, and namely hie kechenes and grete chaumbris for lordis, ægenst here owene reule and profession; and to pursue trewe men þat prechen þe gospel ægenst comyn synnes, and so Crist himself, ægenst þe lawe of God expressly. Þus many men rennen in þis poynct of curs, and namely ðopere, whoso sekip wel.

Men wondren moche whi prelatis and curatis cursen so faste, sif Seynt Poul and Seynt Petir comaunden men to blisse and not have will to curse; and Jesus Crist bissed his enemys, and hertely preiede for hem, þe while he was nailed on þe croos of hem. More men wondren whi þei cursen so faste for here owene cause and wordly muk, and not for reprof don to Crist and his majeste; sif men schulden be pacient in here owene wrongis and dispite, as Crist and his disciplis weren, and not suffre o word be don ægenst Goddis honour and mageste, as bi fals and veyn opis, and ribaudrie of lecherie, and ðopere filpe. Most men wondren whi worldly clerkis cursen so faste for brekyng of here owene statutis, privylegies, and weiward customes, more þan for open brekyng of Goddis comaundemtis; sif no man is cursed of God but only for brekyng of his hestis,—whatevere worldly wrechhis blaberen,—and no man

1 supplied conjecturally.  
2 corrected; houyng, X.  
3 corrected; breken, X.
is blissed of God and schal come to hevene, but only he þat kepþ Goddis hestis, and namely in hour of his deþ,—have a
man nevere so many þousande bullis of indulgence or perdon,
and letteris of fraternity, and þousynde massis of prestis
monkis and freris.

Perfore an holsum counsel is þis, þat prelatis and curatis leve
þes poynites of sentence, for many of hem be as false as
Sathanas, and teche Goddis hestis and Goddis curs, and peynes
of helle dewe to men but þif þei amende hem in þis lif, and
what blisse men schullen have for kepyng of hem; and þat þei
teche trewely Cristis gospel in word and ensample of holy
lif; and þe mercy of God, and hienesse of his blisyng; and
blisse to alle þat enden in riþt bileve, and hope to God, and ful
charite to God and man. God graunte us þis ende: Amen.
XXIII.

[THE CHURCH AND HER MEMBERS.]

[Two good texts of the following treatise are extant—one at the end of the volume Bodl. 788, which contains the Sermons; the other in the volume of Wyclif tracts at Trin. Coll., Dublin, marked C. V. 6. The Bodleian MS., which has been transcribed for the present edition, appears, on a comparison with the text of the Dublin MS., as printed by Dr. Todd in his Three Treatises by John Wycliffe, to be considerably the more accurate of the two.

The treatise is ascribed to Wyclif in Bale's catalogue under the title 'De Ecclesie Dominio,' inc. 'Christi ecclesia est ejus sponsa.' It is impossible to say whence he derived this title, which however accurately enough describes the work, or at any rate all the early portion of it. There is no title, but only a descriptive heading, in the Bodleian MS. The Dublin MS. gives* as the title 'De Ecclesia et Membris ejus.' Perhaps the scribe invented this title, on the hint given him by the descriptive heading in the Bodleian MS. ;—perhaps he confounded the present work with the long Latin treatise, De Ecclesia et Membris, written by Wyclif, which is frequently referred to by Walden in his Doctrinale, and catalogued by Bale with the incipit 'Suppositis dictis de fide Catholica.' That Wyclif was the author of the present treatise I see little reason to doubt. The mere fact of its being found in Bodl. 788 is an evidence in its favour, since all the remaining contents of that volume are unquestionably by Wyclif. The style, the mention of 'Caymes castelis' (p. 348, note), the language held respecting the Eucharist in Ch. VI,—all tend to identify Wyclif as the writer.

From the manner in which the expedition to Flanders is spoken of in Ch. V, as an event of the recent past, I should infer that the treatise was written in the early part of the year 1384.]
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

HERE DIGYNNE A TRETICE ṢAT TELLIF KNOWLECHE SUMWHAT OF ṢE CHIRCHE AND HIR MEMBRIS.

Cristis Chirche in his Spouse, that haþ þree partis. Ṣe first part is in blis, wip Crist heed of þe Chirche, and conteneþ angels and blessid men þat now ben in hevene. Ṣe seconnde part of þis Chirche ben seintis in purgatorie; and þes synnen not of þe newe, but purgen þer olde synnes. And many erroors fallen in preiynge for þes seintis; and siþ þei alle been deed in bodi, Cristis wordis may be taken of hem,—sue we Crist, in oure lif, and late þe dede birie the dede. Ṣe þridde part of the Chirche ben trewe men þat here lyven, þat schulen be aftir saved in hevene, and lyven here Cristen mennis liif. Ṣe first part is clepid over-comynge; þe myddil is clepid slepyng; þe þridde is clepid fiſtinge Chirche; and alle þes maken o Chirche. And heed of þis Chirche is Crist, boþe God and man; and þis Chirche is modir to ech man þat shal be saaf, and conteyneþ no membre but oonli men þat shal be saved. For, as Crist vouchip-saaf to clepe þis Chirche his spouse, so he clepþ curside men fendis, as was Scarioth. And fer be it fro Cristene men to graunte þat Crist haþ weddide þe fend; sith Poul seþ in oure bileve þat Crist comounþ not wip Belial. And here we takun as bileve þat ech member of holi Churche shal be saved wip Crist, as ech membre of þe fend is dam peny; and so þe while we fiſten here and witen not where we schal be saaf, we witen not where we ben membris of holi Churche. But as God wole of þre þingis, þat we knowun hem not in certein, so he wole for greet cause þat we witen not where we ben of þe Chirche. But as ech man shal hope þat he schal be saaf in blisse, so he shulde suppose þat he be lyme of holi Chirche; and þus he shulde love holi Chirche, and worschiphe it as his modir.

And by þis hope, bineþe bileve, shulden be two synnes fled; pride of men and coveitise, bi title þat þei ben men of holi Chirche. For no pope þat now lyveþ woot where he be of þe Chirche, or where he be a lym of the fend, to be dam peny wip Lucifer. And þus it is a blynd folie þat men shulden fiſte for þe pope more þan þei fiſten for bileve; for many siche fiſten
for ye fend. And take we pis as bileve, or treupe pat is next bileve, pat no man pat lyvep here woot whep er he shal be saved or dampned, al 3if he hope bynep bileve pat he shal be saved in heven. 3if ony man be taugt of God pat he shal be saved in hevene, noon or sewe men ben siche; and asaye hem bi hem silf, forpei schulden have noon evidence to seie pat God hap told hem pis. Pe first bileve pat we schulden have is, pat Crist is God and man; and how he hap him bi his Godhede, and how he lyvede here by his manhede. And pis oure hope and bileve ben temperid in Cristen men.

CAP. II.

But aftir pes two godliche virtues, we taken sumpyng as bileve, and sumpyng bi comune croniclis; and hopen pat charite movep us here. After that Crist hadde dwelt here long ynow3 wiþ his apostlis, aboute þree and þratti þeer, as him likide, aftiward he was kild of þe Jewes, and aftiward þe þridde day oure God aroos from deþ to lyf. And aftir þe fourtiþe day fro þat he was schewid to his disciplis, Jesus stiede in to hevene, and rengnede ever þere wiþ his Fadir. And so þe first part of þe Chirche rengneþ þus in hevene with Crist; þe secounde part sleþ þit, as longe as Crist likip; þe þridde part of þe Chirche fštþ here aftir Crist, and takip ensaumple and weie of him to come to hevene as he cam. And ever more þe Hooli Goost governþ wiþ hem al Cristis Chirche; for as þes þree persones of God ben o God and not manye, so alle dedes and werkes of þe Trinite mai not be departid from oþir. For as al þat þe Fadir wole, þe Sone wole, and þis Goost wole,—so al þat o persono doþip, þes þree persones done. Aftir þat Crist was stied in to hevene, aboute ten daies, as he hadde ordeynid, he sente doun þe Holi Goost, and moveþ apostlis to do his dedes; and þei wenten and prechiden faste among Jewis and heþen men. But Jewis ægenstonden hem faste, and heþene men token him wiþ wille, and rescveyveden þe Holy Goost, and bicamen Cristene men. And þus apostlis of Crist filliden bi Goddis grace þis world. But longe aftir, as croniclis seien, þe fend hadde envie herto; and bi Silvestre preest of Rome he brouȝte in a newe

1 omitted; CC.
gile, and moved pe emperour of Rome to dowe pis Chirche in pis preest. For, as the fend tauȝte pis kynge, pis dede cam of greet almes; for þei pouȝten not how þe Chirche shulde sue Crist in his lawe. But trewe men supposen here, þat boȝte þis emperour and þis preest weren moved of God bi tymes to trowe þat þei synneden in þis dede. But bisie we us not where þei ben seintis, and how þei were þus moved of God; for al þis is byneþe bileve, and men mai trowe it þif þei wonen.

Whan þis lif was þus changid, þe name of this preest was changid; he was not clepid Cristis apostle, ne his þisciple of Crist, but he was clepid the pope, and heed of al hooli Chirche; and afturward camen oþer names bi feynyng of y pocritis; as sum men seien, þat he is even wiþ the manheed of Crist, and hierste viker of Crist to do in erþe whatever him likþ; and summe flourishen oþir names, and seien þat he is moost blissed fadir. But cause herof ben beneficis þat þis preest þyveþ to men; for Symon Magus travailide nevere more in symonie þan þes preestis doon. And so God wolde suffre no lenger þe fend to regne oonli in oo siche preest, but, for synne þat þei hadden do, made devisioun amongis two, so þat men myȝten liȝtlier in Cristis name overcome þes boȝte. For as o virtu is strengere if it be gedrid, þan if it be scatrid, so o malis is strenger whanne it is gederid in o persone, and it is of lesse strengþe whanne it is departid in manye; for þanne oon helpþ aþen anóþir to confounde Anticrist.

And þis moveþ pore preestis to speke now herteli in þis mater. For whanne þat God wole helpe his Chirche, and men ben slowe and wole not worche, þis sloþe is to be dampeed for many causis in idil men. And myche more ben þei dampeable, þat letten Goddis lawe to shyne. Þes men taken noo witnes of adversaries to þis pope, and ben Jewis and Sarasynes, Grekis and Yngdis, wiþ many oþir; but þei taken þe lyf of Crist as bileve, and þeroun grounden hem; and þus þei seien, þif þis pope contrarieþ to Cristis lyf, he is þe moste fendis viker and Anticrist þat is here; and sich Anticrist and noon oþir þenken many þat Goddis lawe spekiþ of. Bileve telliþ how Joon seide, þat now ben many Anticristis; but þif oon is moost of
opir, pat gilep man bi ypocrisye. For oon mai seie pat he aloone is Cristis viker here in erpe, and he hap power singuler to taxe gracis as him likip, for so dide Petir, aftir Crist, and many opir after Petir; and bus yer is oon emperour, and oon heede in a communete. But here yenken trewe men pat ye send faillip here, and goip unstable bi two weies, and reversip Goddis lawe.

First shulde ye send grounde pat pis pope is Petris viker, and so viker of Crist, in pat pat he suep Crist. For bileve techip pat ye chesyn maad of man is fals signe, and incompleet for to make Cristis viker; but workis of a mannis lyf shulde make a man sue Crist. And bus Crist biddip ye Jewes, pat pei shulden trowe to his werkes; and bus verry Cristis viker shulde be poerre man of opir, and mekerst of opir men, and moost travelle in Cristis Chirche. But chesynge of cardinalis, and parting of benefices, and takyng of newe names, ben ful er fro pis staat. Bus lyvede Petir, aftir Crist; and chalengide no siche names, ne to be heede of holi Chirche, but how mekely he myste serve it. But ech apostle in his cuntre wroute aftir Cristis lawe, and noon of hem hadde aftir nede to come to Petir to be conferred. But oonhede on heede of holi Chirche is Jesus Crist here wiip us, pat is ever in pe myddil of pei pat ben gedrid in his name. And pat man is out of resoun, pat trowip pat Clement in Petris tyme was more pan Joon evangclist, or any apostle that lyvede wiip him. And 3if we trowen to chronicls here, hou pat Clement left his office and procureid opir to helpe him, as Poul helpide Petir, and Petre suffride mekeli pat Poul snybbide him whanne he erride, we mai see opunli how pes popis fallen fro Petir, and myche more pei fallen fro Crist pat myste not erre in onypling. Trowe we pat Crist lefte to preche, and seelde officis of pe Chirche, or wolde juge of unknowun ping to him, or make him more pan he was? Alle pes pings pat popis doon techen pat pei ben Anticristis; for Crist myste not take a name, but 3if it were mekenes and treupe.

And 3if ye seie pat Cristis Chirche mut have an heede here in erpe, soip it is, for Crist is heede, pat muste be here wiip his Chirche unto pe day of dome, and everywhere bi his Godhede. For siip veriue of a kyng mut be strecchid by al his rewme, myche more pei vertue of Crist is comuned wiip al his
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

children. And if you seie that Crist mut nedis have sich a viker here in erpe, denye you Cristis power, and make his fendi above Crist. For bileve techip us, pat noo man mai grounde his viker oonly on Cristis lawe, but on presumpcioun of man; and sich hyenesse of emperours haþ destried her empire; and, if pat God wole, hes popes shal destrie hemosilf, the, here,—for no drede the bi ben distried in helle bi jugement of Crist. And so whatsoever reasoun men maken of Crist, of Petir, or oþer good ground, it goþ opinli aþen sich a pope for þe grete diversite; and so whanne þes men fallen resoun, the tristen to mannis helpe, and feynen bi ipocrisie how myche good þei don aþen. But God cursip by Jeremye hem that affien þus in man.

CAP. III.

Here men taken sumwhat soþ, and doon dremyng to þis treuþe. The seien soþli, that Cristis Chirche is his hous to kepe his meyne;—and summe in þis hous ben sones, þat shulen ever dwelle in hevene and take her fadris heritage, the, if þei trespassen for a tyme,—and summe ben serveautis in þis hous, al if þei shulen aftir be damnep. And so it is greet diversite to be in þis Chirche; and of þis Chirche þes wordis ben soþli seid, and notabli to mannis kynde. But whanne dremes come aftir, þei maken a fals feyned tale. Þei seien,—whanne Crist wente to hevene, his manheden wente in pilgrymage, and made Petir, wiþ al þes popis, his stewardis to reule his hous, and þat hem ful power herto bifoere alle oþir preestis aluye. Here þis dreme takun amys turnep up so doun þe Chirche. For Petir was a trewe help wiþ Poul and Joon and oþir apostlis; but noon of þes serveautis dremeden þat he was heed of hooli Chirche, or þat he lovede Crist more þan ony of his breþren dide. It is licli to many men þat Petir lovede Crist more in a maner þan ony of þes oþir apostlis, but he was taunt to strive not herfore; for oþir apostlis in oþir maner loveden more Crist þan dide Petir,—as Poul traveilide more in þe Chirche,—and Joon lovede Crist more hevenliche. For Joones love was in quiet and clene, as seintes loven in heven. Which of þes is more hiþ now is but foli us to dreme. Wel we witen þat Crist
wole taken, of what state āt him likē, a man, aftir āt he is worpi, to more blis or more joie; but aftir bileve of hooli writt, āt telliē of Petre and oþir apostlis āt ēi ben now blessid in hevene,—for noon fel but Scarioth,—taken we bisme bileve of many oþir, āt ēi ben seintis, as of Clement and Laurence, and oþir āt ēi Legendea spekiē of. And of summe we han more evidence, and of sum lasse, binepe bileve.

And summe þenken a greet evidence, āt if þe pope canonise þis man, þanne he mut nedis be seint in hevene. But trowe þei þis men āt wolen. Wel Y woot āt þese popis may erre and synne, as Petre dide, and þit Petre dremede not þus, to shewe āt men ben seintis in hevene. But it mai falle āt manie men āt ben canonisid by þes popis ben depe dampned in helle, for þei disseyven and ben disseyved. Afferne we not as bileve, āt þif a man be chosen pope, þan he is chosen to blis, as he is here clepid blessedeste fadir. And many trowen bi þer werkes þat þes ben depperst dampned in helle. For þei chargen hemsilf as ypocrītis, boþe in office and in name; and so þei sitten in þe firste place here, and at þe laste day of dome þei schulen be in þe laste place, þat is, þe deeperste place of helle. Holde we us in bondis of bileve, þat stondiē in general wordis and in condicionel wordis, and juge we not here folili. But we mai seie bi supposal, þat we gesse þat it is so; and whoever hāþ more evidence, his part shulde sunner be sup-posid. But here ben þree grete heresies þat disseyven many men. First, men supposen þat eĉ pope is þe moost blessid fadir; but þis speche lastiē but a while, til þat þe pope mai avaunce men. But heere we seien soply, þat þes men þat clepen hem blessid, disseivn hem and flateren hem, for þei hopen to have wynnyng of hem. For wheþir is þis pope moost blessid in þis liif or aftir þis lyf? He is not blessid in þis liif, for blis falliē to þe toþir lyf, and þis liif is ful of sorowe and synne, þat suffriē not blis wiþ it. And þif men speken largeli, many men ben here more blessid þan þe pope; for hyenes of þis state makiē not bi himsilf man blessid, for ellis eĉ pope were blessid, al þif he were falsly chosen of fendis; and Scarioth shulde be blessid, for he was chosen of Crist himself. And it is no nede

a The Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine.
to argue here for to disprove þis foli, for it is more fals in him-
silf þan ouȝt þat men shulen bringe herof.

þe toþir heresie, þat comeþ of þis, disceyveþ many simple
men; þat þif þe pope determine ouȝt, þanne it is soþ and to
bileve. But Lord! where ech pope be more and beter wiþ
God þan was Petre? But he erride ofte, and synnede myche;
þe, aftir he hadde take þe Holi Goost. Lord! wher Crist
clepidyme Sathanas, and bad him go aftir him, and þit þer
was no cause of his errour, wherfore Crist clepidyme þus?
And so whanne Petre denyede Crist, and swore fals for a wom-
manes vois, he erride in þis foul synne; and þerfore he wepte
aftir. Also, aftir takynge of þe Holi Goost, Petre erride, as
Poul seþ, whanne he wolde not dele with Gentiles for tendir-
nesse of þe Jewis. Lord! wher men of worse liff mai sunner
erre in þer judgement! And ever þe moo þat ben of siche, ever
þe sunner mai þei erre; for Scarioth made oþir apostlis to erre
in companye of Crist, and it were to fals a feynying, to seie þat
holi Chirche hangoþ on þes, for þis feyny can not teche þat ony
of þes is of þe Chirche. And of þis comen many heresies, as
of assolyingis and indulgencis, and cursingis, wiþ feyned pard-
ons, þat make many men have conscience and trowe more to
þe pope in siche a cause þan þei trowe to þe Gospel. And men
moten erre here in bileve, and take ofte fals as bileve. þis
heresie schulden men fee, for fals mainteinyng makþ heretikes,
and to assente wiþ suche falseheed bringþ in ofte heresies; and
Crist wole not assente wiþ þes, for þei mai not be soþ.

Cap. IV.

Se we ferþer how þis stiward may erre in ordenaunce of the
Chirche; and bigynne we at þe freris, þe which ben brouþ
last in. It is licly þat Cristis preestis, þat stooden til þat monkes
comen, turneden to myche fro Cristis lawe, and monkes lyveden þan wel beter. But þes monkes stoden awhile, and turn-
den souner to coveitise; and aftir monkes camen þes chanouns;
and after chanouns camen freris. And so greet defaute was in
prestis biforme, þat þes newe ordis camen in. But as þes newe
ordris changen in cloþis, in bokis 1 , wiþ oþer ritis, so þei varien

1 So in CC; bechis, A.
in Goddis office fro þat þat Crist bad his preestis do. So, ʒif apostlis weren now alyve, and sawen þus preestis serve in þe Chirche, þei wolden not clepe hem Cristis officeris, but officeris of Anticrist. Suppose we þat þes newe ordris, stondinge alle þes olde ordris, ben chargious to þe Chirche in worldli goodis þat þei dispenden. For noombre of preestis brouȝt in bi Crist was sufficient for Cristis hous, and for þe same hous ben now moo and worse; and þis hous is lesse by hem. Who mai denye þat ne þis noombre of þes officeris is now to myche? And so þis stiward haȝ chargid þis hous wiþ newe rehetours, a, to harm of it. And siþ Poul techiþ in bileve, þat þei shulden not be chargious to þe Chirche, and þat þei have no power but to profite, not to harme, it semeþ bi good resoun þat þis stiward passiþ his power, and failiþ in governaunce of þe Chirche, aþen þe reule þat Crist haþ tauceþ; and so he is not Cristis stiward, but stiward of Anticrist. What man can not se þat a stiward of an erþely lord, [þat] 1 whanne many servauntis done amys, holdiþ stille, and bryngiþ in newe þat done worse bi litil tyme, failiþ soule in his office? And so servauntis upon servauntis weren charious to þis hous; and ʒif þer firste office was good, and þis is now al oþer, þe changyenge of þes newe rehetours shulde do harm to þis hous. And þus it stondiþ in þe Chirche of þes newe servauntis þat ben brouȝt in.

And newe lawes ben maad to hem, and newe customes þat þei bryngen in, by whiche þei spuylen on newe þe puple, but fruyt of þer profit failiþ. And siþ Petre hadde not þis power, ne Poul, ne ony oþir apostle, þis stiward of Anticrist mut nede come in bi þe fend. O! siþ in þe olde lawe weren preestis and

a Several explanations have been proposed of this word, the general sense of which clearly is 'servants,' menials.' But since rebete and reþetinge, in the sense of 'refresh,' are of frequent occurrence in Chaucer, the proposal of Dr. Todd to consider rehetours a noun of the agent formed from rebete, and to derive it from the old French word rebaiere, rebetier, seems to me preferable to the ingenious solutions proposed by writers in 'Notes and Queries.' ʒhat meant enjoyment, baþer to enjoy oneself; therefore rehetours might mean lazy apolastic fellows, idlers, supernumeraries with little or no work to do,—a class which in those days of 'maintenance' infested, as we know, the great country houses and castles of the nobility. See Todd's Three Treatises by Wycliffe. Dublin, 1857.

1 supplied conjecturally.
dekenes myche chargid in berynge of þe tabernacle, in sleying of beestis, and oþir ritis, and þit þe kynrede of Levi sufficide to al þes officis, myche more in tyme of grace, whanne Goddis service is liȝter! And so, siþ þe tenþe part of þe fruyt sufficide for al þes clerkes, how shulde not þis suffice now for fewer clerks and lesse of spensis. We mai not pynche at þis lawe, þat God himsylf ordeyned first, but siþ we putten blasphemye on God þat he ordeyned folily. And herfore Cristis apostlis, and oþere disciplis longe aftir hem, were not bisie aboute dymes, but helden hem paiied on a litil, þat þe puple þaf hem redily. And so housing and cloþing þat Poul seþ shulde be now. But now men seien þat preestis ben moost gredy purchasour in erþe, and han to hem þe fourþe part þat shulde be in þer breþeren hondis; and þis þei seien is mortified, and patrimonie of Crist þat was done on þe eros. And to defende þis patrimonie ben manye newe lawes ordeyned, and cursing for sacrilege in whomever þat reveþ þis rente. And, for prestis han ynoþ of suche goodis mortified, þerfore þis styward casserþ wiþ appropryng of chirchis; and so þe puple dwellþ untaught, and unlerned in goostli helpe. Who shulde be blamyd herfore but þis styward, þat doþ þis wiþouten leve of þe lord, but opynli aþens his biddyngþ? Siþ ony man shal be dambynþ, þis styward shal be depperste dambynþ; and algatis for he feynþ power, and newe lawes þat God made never. And siþ þis blaspheme gabbþ upon God, and seþ þat al þis is Goddis werk; but in þe Olde Testament shulden siche blasfemes be stoned to deceþ. And þus bringing in of newe ordres, wiþ service þat þe pope confermeþ, techen þat he is traitour to God, and turnþ þe Chirche up so doun.

Lord! where he were not chargid at þe fulle, as apostlis werenþ but siþ he took more charge upon him bi his newe foundun ordenaunce, certis þe apostulis dursten not do þis, and þit þei hadden more grace of God, and travelliþen more bisili to growynþ and profiting of þe Chirche. And no drede al þat þe pope haþ over, more þan hadden apostulis of Crist, he shal streitly rekene þerfore, siþ Crist is Lord of alle lordis. And so it semeþ þat þe pope is more holden to Crist þan was Petre, bi as myche as he haþ more of staat and worldly goodis. But
sum men seien, pat state in helle, and punisching for pis ðepte, moten maken asép herfore, siþ good service failþ here. And so þe pope seþeþ wood, and blyndid by þe fenc, whanne he takþ more charge upon him þan he nedþ for to have, or here or in þe toþer world, for ony state þat God haþ ordeyned. And þus it seþeþ þat he dispeirþ of comyng of þe day of dome, as þif he caste neveþ to rekene wip God þat muste be heierste Juge. And so, þif men avise hem wel, but þif þei han oþþr title þan ben bullis of þe pope, or graunt of him, þei shulen be dampned. And þis title of Crist oure God were ynowþ to Cristene men, as it was in Petris tyme, alþif þe pope shewide not þus his power bi fals bullis of Petre and Poule, þat semen to be æzens Cristis lordschip. þus mai men see, þat þis styward doþ more þan he haþ leeve to do; and þes newe ordis, groundid on him, and not on grauntynge of Cristis lawe, ben a flok of þe fendis children, but þif þei leeven þis mannis title.

Cap. V.

And here men noten many harmes þat freris don in þe Chirche. Þei spuyle þe puple many weies by ipocrisie and oþþr leesingis, and bi þis spuylþing þei bilden Caymes Castelis a, to harme of cuntreis. Þei stelen pore mennis children, þat is worse þan stele an oxe; and þei stelen gladlith eiers,—Y leeve to speke of stelyng of wymmen,—and þus þei maken londis bareyne for wiþdrawyng of werkmen, not al oonli in defeute of cornes, but in beestis and oþþr good. For þei reversen Goddis ordenaunce in þre partis of þe Chirche; þei maken men to trowe fals of hem, and letten almes to be ʒovun bi Goddis lawe; and þus þei letten bi gabbitis office and lif of trewe prestis, for þei letten hem for to preche, and speciali Cristis gospel. þei moven londis to bateillis, and pesible þersones to plete; þei maken many divorsis, and many matrimonies, unleveful, boþe

a Caymes Castelis.] Dr. Todd, in a note on this phrase, quotes a passage in lib. iv. cap. 33 of the Tri- alogus, in which Wyclif explains that he calls the monasteries of the friars 'Caym's castles,' because the four letters of the word 'Caym' (which Wyclif imagined to be the right way of spelling Cain), designate respectively the Carmelites, the Augustinians, the Jacobites (or Dominicans), and the Minorites (Franciscans).
bi lesingis maad to parties, and bi pryvelegies of þe court. Y leeve to speke of fiȝting þat þei done in o lond and oþir, and of oþir bodili harms þat tungis suffisen not to telle. For as myche as þei dispenden, as myche and more þei harmen rewmes;—as þei han, in þis laste journe þat Englishemen maden into Flandres, spuylid oure rewme of men and money more þan þe freris han wiþ hem. And no drede to Englishemen, þat ne þei han pro-curid þis iourne, boþe in preching, and in gedering, and in travelling of þer owne persone. And freris þat semen un-coupable here, moten algatis graunte þer assent; for oo maner of consent is, whanne a man is stille and telliþ not. And þif freris forsaken þis now, and seien þat þei assentiden not herto, þei usen þer olde crafte of gabbing, and encresen harm algatis. But as spiritual þing is betere þan bodili þing þat we mai see, so spiritual harm is more þan bodili harm þat þei don. First whan þei maken freris, þat ben worsid bi þis makyng, þei don hem a goostli harm, and al mankynde wherof þei ben. And if þou seist þat noone freris ben, but þif þei ben þe betere to God, for holynes of þer companye makþ many goode þat ellis wolde be shrewis, stryve we not wher þis mai falle, but graunte we on þe toþer side, þat many wolden be lesse yvel out of þes ordris þan in hem. And siþ þei witen not who is beterid by entryng into þes ordris, þei doon as a bylynd man castiþ his staf, to brynyge ony to þer ordre. Crist seþ þat Pharisees ben to blame for þis dede, and Scarioth was þe worse for beyng in þis holi cumpanye; for ellis he hadde not þus traied Crist, and be mooste unkynde traitour. And siþ coventis of freris ben shrewis, for þe more part or moche, no woundir þif þei en-venyme men þat comen þus unto hem. For þei moven men to olde erreurs þat þei han holde among hem, as þei tellen to greet avaunt þat þei ben charious to þe puple in þer sinful begging. And þit þei blasfemen in Crist, and seien þat he beggide þus, to mantenye þer owne synne. Suche blasfemyes ben foundun and contynnued in þes sectis, þat unneþes þei ben ever purgid fro service þat þei ben brouȝt in.

As Crist techiþ in his gospel, how þat men shulde snybbe þer

* See the prefatory notice
brethren bi þre tymes, and afterward forsake þer companye as venym, þes sectis han fordone þis gospel; for neiþer þei doren þus snybbe þer brethren, ne forsake hem at þe fourþe tyme; for þif þei done þei shulen be deed or emprisonyd longe tyme, or ellis hastili be kild. And whanne synne rengnep among grete men, and þei dremen of worldli harm, þei doren not snybbe men of þis synne, lest þer ordre leese worldli helpe. But where is more heresie, þan to love þis ordre more þan God, or to do yvelis for hope of good, þat Poul forfendiþ men to do?

Also þes sectis inpungnen þe gospel, and also þe olde lawe, for þei chargen more þer owne statute, alþif it be æzens Goddis lawe, þan þei done þe lawe of þe gospel; and þus þei loven more þer ordre þan Crist. As, þif it were nevere so myche nede to go out and preche Goddis lawe, to defende our modir holi Chirche, ȝit þer ordre lettip þes, but þif þei han þer priours leeve, alþif God bidde to do þis. And comunly þes pryvat prioures letten þer felowes here to go out; and so, be þei never so riche, þei shulen not helpe her fleishli eldris; for alle þer goodis ben þe housis, sîþ þei han nouȝt propre but synne. And þis errour reproveþ Crist in Phariseis, þat siþen þe gnat, and swolowen þe camele, for þei chargen lesse more harm. Also þes Phariseis chargen moche þer fastingis and oppir þingis þat þei han founden, but keping of Goddis mandementis þei charge not half so myche. As, he shulde be holde apostata þat lefte his abite for a day, but for leevyng of dedis of charite shulde he noþing be blamed. And þus þei blasfemen in God, and seien, whoso dieþ in þer abite shal nevere go to helle, for holynes þat is þerinne; and so, æzens Cristis sentence, þei sewen an old cloute in newe cloþ. For þer ordre, þer seien, is gedired of þe olde lawe and þe newe; and ȝit þei han founden herto newe þingis þat þei kepen as gospel; and þus þei chargen þer owne fasting, and opper ritis þat þei kepen, more þan biddingis of Crist, for þei ben no newe mandementis to hem. Sich hid synnes among freris done more harm to Cristene men þan ben þe bodili harmes which þe world chargip more. And þus errours in þe world ben liȝtli mayntened bi freris, for wynnyng of worldli good or worldli worship þat þei coveiten, as letris of fraternite ¹. And

¹ Some word appears to have dropped out.
dowyng of oþir preestis, alþif it be aþens hemsilf, is stifli susteyned bi freris. And so men suffisen not to telle unsensible errors þat þei susteynen; and þit for privilegie of þe pope noon oþer man dar blame hem, for þei ben exempt fro Goddis lawe bi privylegies þat þei han getun. But Petre was not þus exempt fro sharp snybbing of Poul. And heiling, þat Joon forfendide, haþ noo vertue among þes freris a; for þei saluten ofte sendis, more þan þei doon Cristis children.

CAP. VI.

Lord! where þe pope pinke good to conferme siche newe ordris! Certis synne of siche children turneþ into heed of þer fadir, as Helias sones maden þer fadir to be punishid sharply of God. And generalli, whoso synneþ for advantage of himself, his synne makþ disavantage of þat þat he weneþ turne to good. As, þes two popis han now no more enemyes, ne more hid, þan ben þes freris; for summe holden wip þe o pope and many and grete wip þe toþir; and þei enformen þer countreis to holde stifli wip þer pope. And no drede, þif cuntreis turne fro þe oo pope to þe toþir, þe freris wolden turne also, for þei obeishen to þe puple. And þus love ungroundid in God, but oonli in temporal goodis, mut nedis faile and do harm, for al siche love is sinful.

Sip þes sectis ben so harmful to our modir hooli Chirche, and, as bileve techþ us, þe Chirche may be purgid of þis, it were sumwhat for to speke of þis purging of þe Chirche. For alþif it shal not fulli be turned in þis lyf, but first in hevene, and þit it may be purgid in part, and in þis purginge stondþ mennis mede. And no man is excusid here of consenting to þis synne, but þif he helpe on sum maner; for eþch man mai helpe sumwhat. Sum men shulden helpe bi resoun þat is taken of Goddis lawe, and summe by worldli power, as erþely lordis þat God haþ ordeyned, and alle men bi good liif and good preieris to God, for in him liggip þe helpe here aþens þe cautelis of þe fend.

a The meaning is, that St. John's prohibition to say God speed to those who bring not the true doctrine is disregarded among the friars.
WYCLIF'S WORKS.

And ðus popis, bischopis, and freris, shulden helpe here to purge hemsilf; for bileve techiþ us ðat ech man is endettid to God, as ech man is endettid to opir, to helpe him algatis goostli and bodili. Dette is not to charge, but ðif it turne to goostli help; and ðus spekiþ Crist in þe gospel of dette in þe Pater Noster, and also in o parable, bi which he moveþ men to mercy. And ðus seiþ Poul, ðat he is dettour to ech man, but bi ordre. And ðus prelatis shulden helpe þe Chirche, as þe freris shulden helpe hemsilf. But more part of þis world errep here, and cleþip harm helpe; but lawe of Crist shulde reule men here, to wite how men shulden come to blis.

Men speken here of a liþ helpe to which men ben comunli holden, ðat men shulden on þis maner comun comune wiþ freris, and ellis not. First, to seie ðat þei putten not on freris ðat þei ben heretikes, for þanne men wolden not dele wiþ hem, ne nurishe hem in worldli goodis; but men han hem suspect of heresie for many causis. First, for ðei varien ðus in bileve of þe sacrid oost. And ðus ðei schulden telle at þe bigynnynge what þing þei trown pat it is,—wheþir it be Goddis bodi or not. And here ðei mai not be excusid; for mynystrel or joȝelour, tumbler and harlot, wole not take of þe puple biþore þat ðei han shewid þer craft; and siþ freris crafte stondiþ in þis, to teche þe puple þer bileve, and þe puple trowiþ comunli þat þis oost is Goddis bodi, here freris shulden bigynne, and telle men where þis be soþ. And ðif ðei seien þat þis oost in no maner is Goddis bodi, flee þes freres as heretikes, for Crist and his Chirche seien þe contrarie. Þif þei seien þat þis oost is Goddis bodi, and manye freres seien þe contrarie, þis word techiþ not þat ne þei gabben in comun bileve of þe Chirche; and þefore men shulden abide witnes of þer comune seel, and biþore dele not wiþ hem, but have hem suspect of heresie. Þif þei seien þat þis oost is an accident wiþouten suget, as colour and figure, and þus it is not Goddis bodi, wel we witen þat olde bileve, groundid in þe wordis of Crist, seiþ þat it is Goddis bodi, as þe pope sumtyrne seide. And it is not ynow þat freris erren in colour and figure of þer abitis, to prove þat þis sacrid oost is colour and figure of breed. And þis defamyngel shulde þe pope seke out wiþ greet traveile; for þes sectis han sclaundryd him, as he and hise hadden errid in bileve.

WYCLIF.
And it is not ynow to seie þat þer is Goddis bodi, for beter þing þan Cristis bodi is everywhere for þe godhede; and men axen not what is þere, but what is þat þat men worshipen so. And þit freris seien, þat þei trowun here as holi Chirche doþ in þis mater. So seien Jewis and Sarayynes. But, frere, telle me how Y shulde trowe. And þif þei seien þis mater is sutil, and men mai not undirstonde it, wel we witen þat God bindi not men to bileve ony þing which þei mai not undirstonde,—as we seien of þe Trinite. And þif þei seien þat þis sacrament is Goddis bodi, as it is in hevene, þes freris speken as idiotis. For we axen of þis sacrid oost þat men seen bodili brekun and etun comunli, and it is moved as ðer oostis.

And þeus, whatever a frere seiþ, trewe men shulden leeve hym here as suspect of heresie, bifore he have wel put þis of. Aftir þis myȝte a man axe, sif God tolde of newe sectis þat shulen come into þe Chirche, to charge and harm of þe Chirche, how groundþ þis frere his orde, and in what tyme it bigan. And sif o frere contrarieþ anoþer in þis mater, and nouȝt is proved, men shulden avoide þis frere til he hadde here tauȝt þe treuþe. Þis strif is mater of gabbing and of synnyng among manie; and þus for profit of þe Chirche shulden freris worche to quench þis strif. Carmes seien þat þei weren bifore þe tyme þat Crist was born. Austyns seien þat þei weren many hundrid wynters bifore oþer freris. Prechouris and Menours seyn þe reverse. But noon groundþ here his word, as noon of þes newe ordis groundþ þat he cam in bi Crist; and but þis grounding be in dede, dremes and confermyngis ben nouȝt. On þis maner shulden trewe men seke wisely þe soþe, and purge oure modir of apostemes þat ben harmful in þe Chirche. To þis shulde þe pope helpe, for to þis dette weren apostlis bounden,

Another is to show, that not one of the new Orders was founded by Christ.

The Carmelites pretended that their Order was founded by the prophet Elijah, when he retired to Mount Carmel to escape the wrath of Ahab. But the wide extension and notoriety of the Order date from the time of St. Simon Stock, an Englishman of the thirteenth century, concerning whose marvellous vision consult Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, May 16. The Augustinian friars, or the Hermits of St. Austin, claim to have been founded and placed under a special rule by the great Bishop of Hippo. The Friars Preachers (Dominicans) and the Friars Minors (Franciscans) were, as all the world knows, founded near the beginning of the thirteenth century by SS. Dominic and Francis.
and not to lordschippes of moneie, but in as myche as it helpide herto. And siþ it letþþ comunli, popis shulden flee þis, as dide apostlis; for ellis þei seiden wiþ oþer foolis, þat helpe were harm, and good were yvel.

CAP. VII.

Aftir þis shulden men wite of þe popis power in assoilinge, in graunting of indulgencis and oþer privyleges, wiþ cursing. For riþt as þe popis clerkis feynen þat þei done miraclis whanne evere þei syngen a, moo and more woundirful þan ever dide Crist or his apostlis, so in assoiling and cursing þei feynen hem unknowun power; and in fablis of þis power þei blasfemen and harme þe Chirche. And þus comeþ in errour into þe Chirche, as it doþ of þe sacrid oost; for noon mai comprehende þis power, siþ it is wiþouten noumbre, siþ Crist 3af þis to Petre, and oþir popis þat camen aftir.

Here Cristene men bileven þat Petre and Poul and oþir apostlis token power of Crist, but not but for to edifie þe Chirche. And þus alle prestis þat ben Cristis knyæðis han power of him to þis eende. Which of hem haþ moost power, is ful veyne for us to trete; but we supposen of preestis dedis, þat he þat profitþ more to þe Chirche haþ more power of Crist, and ellis þei ben ydil wiþ þer power. And þus bi power þat Crist 3af Petre mai no man prove þat þis preest, þe which is Bishop of Rome, haþ more power þan oþer preestis. For siþ oure bileve seþ, þat þer is noo power but of God, chesinge of þes cardinalis 3yveþ not sich power to þe pope. And it seþ not þat God mut 3yve, when þes cardinalis han þus chosen, but apostlis dedis þat popis doone shulden bere witnes of þer power; siþ fleyinge to hevene of assoild spiritis, and comyng æzen, bereþ no witnesse. And wordis þat Crist seþ in þe gos-pel ben to liþli undirstonden. Crist seþ to his apostlis; Y am wiþ you alle daies unto þe ende of þe world; but what maken þes wordis for þis pope? Þes wordis techen generali, þat Crist shal be wiþ his lymes þat he haþ ordeyned to blis riþt to þe dai

a That is, sing the mass.
of dome; but how shulden men wite þat þis pope is ony of hem þat Crist spekiþ to? Certis þis pope woot not himsylf, and haþ litle mater to hope it; for in goode werkis and suynge of Crist shulde þis pope grounde his hope. But þit in anóþir word þat Crist seide unto Petir, groundiþ þis pope his power, þat it is so myche over opir; Crist biihté to Petre, þat whatever he bindiþ in erþe it shal be bounden in hevene, and so of þis assoiling. But þis resoun is ful of folie for many causis, whoso takþ hede. Soþly Crist seide þus to Petre, and so he seide to oþer apostlis; whi shulde Petre have power bi þis more þan oþir apostlis of Crist? Also men shulden wite here, þat þes wordis þat Crist seide to Petir ben noþing for þis pope but þif he sue Crist and Petir in lyf. And suppose þat al þis be soþ; þit eche preest of ony apostle shulde have power to do good to þe Chirche, but not so myche as here is dremed. For ellis Petre synned many weies; for Petre uside not þis power; who shulde excuse hem of þis synne?

Also men shulden undirstonde what it is to bynde man above erþe. And men moten nedis seie here, þat þanne a preest bindiþ man above erþe, whanne he bindiþ man after God, and not for fleish ne coveitise. And so þis pope shulde teche men þat he bindiþ þus above erþe, and neiþer in þe erþe, ne undir þe erþe, but evene after þe keies above; but þis wolde he nevere teche bifore þat Gabriel blowe his horn. And þif he teche þat þe Chirche above byndiþ þus, or assoilþ, at þe instaunce of hym, þit he proveþ not his grete power. And þus grounding of Goddis lawe failliþ shamefulli here, þat þif Crist seide to Petre, whatever he bonde above þe erþe is bounden in hevene, þanne it sueþ of þis pope, what þing he feyneþ him for to binden, it is so bounden of God. But certis þe lewiderst man in þis world myste shame of siche a resoun. Ferþermore, þif we þyven þis pope siche power as he feyneþ, þif men taken hede to hise dedis, he shulde shame of siche power. For lawe of charite wolde teche, þat þif he hadde siche power, he shulde assoile alle hise sugetis fro peyne and fro trespas; for þanne he brouþte alle men to heven, and suffride no man go to helle. And siþ charite stondiþ in þifís of God to þis eende, he were to slowe in Goddis service, and disuside þe þifís of God, but þif he dide
here ḣat he myȝte, and were merciful to men. And ȝif ȝou seist ḣat neiȝer Crist ne Petir did ȝus to alle men, certis ȝei hadde not sicȝh power as ȝis pope feynep in him; and ȝus Crist myȝte not assoile ṣen, but after ḣat he saw his Fadir vouchsafe. Lord! siȝ Crist assoilide not ȝus, ne Petre, ne ony ȝeþer apostle, and ȝis pope seeþ not in God ḣat he wolde ḣat it be so, what spirit shuld e move ȝis pope to feyne sicȝh assoilinge boȝe fro peyne and fro synne, and aftir chaffare ḣus ȝerwig? Siȝ he toke freely ȝis power, Crist biddiȝ ȝat he shulde freli ȝyve it; but now he assoilij never ȝus, but for frendship or wynnynge; and he takij noon hede to God, wher God wolde ḣat it be so, and where ȝis man lyve an yvel lyf and be ordeyned to be dampned. And certis noo pope ȝeþer ḣan Crist can telle how nedeful ȝis dede is, or how unmedeful is anoþer; how shuld he ḣanne assoile ȝus? For he mai not asoile here of a litel bodiȝ peyne, as myȝten Petir and ȝeþer seintis; how shuld he assoile souls of ȝe peyne of purgatorie? Prove he his power by ȝis lesse, and suspende assoiling of moneie. And siȝ ȝeþes popis ben not assoilid ȝus of peyne and trespas, for ḣanne ȝe popis weren alle seintis, and confermed by ȝer state, it were to seke ȝeþer signes, bi which ȝeþes popis shulden be blessid, for ȝei failen in charȝe, bi princlpis ḣat hemsilf seien.

CAP. VIII.

It were for to wite over ȝis, how popis ȝyven ȝes beneficis, and confermen and acursen men whanne hem likij and mysliȝt men. And no drede, siȝ ȝei knowun not whanne Godhede doij ȝus, ȝei shulden not difyne here but ȝif God shewide hem ȝis; for it is peril to gabbe on God, and in matir of mennis helpe. And so it is a greet peril to feyne siche power, but if it be groundid. And siȝ ȝeþes popis ben not hardy as blynde Bayard, ȝei moten seie ḣat ȝei speken ofte wip God, ȝat techij hem ḣat it mut be ȝus, and so ȝes popis mai not erre. But who herde ever more blasphemye? siȝ ȝei cunnen not telle ȝingis to come, touching ȝer state and ȝer desire; for o pope aȝens anoþir tellij opinli ȝer errour here.

1 Query, medeful.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

But, for yvyng of benefices makiþ hem boþe greet and stronge, it were to wite of þis power, and of þe lawes þat þei usen. And siþ Crist uside not this power, but forsoke þe power in jugement lesse yvel \(^a\); as þis power were in vein yf þe Chirche were undowid, it is knowen to trewe men þat þis is not groundid of Crist; but þe pope, as he blasfemep, and seip þis dowying is þe patrymonie of Crist, so he feyneþ newe lawes to teche to parte þes benefices. And þis lawe haþ he maad, þat yf two men ben of o date, whoever presentþ first, shal be avaunsid bifore. And so he haþ ordeyned many lawes,—how þat men shulen oones be schryven, and oones þe æer be comuned of her propre preest, whomever he wole ordeyne. Bi þes two unfamous lawes mai men wite wiche ben oþþir, for þer is noo lawe but Goddis, or lawe groundid in Goddis lawe. First it semep, þat þis partyng of benefices is opyn folie. For whanne þe pope avansiþ a shrewe, he autorisþ his shrewidnesse, and speciali whanne þer ben betere, þat wolden take siche an office; and þe pope haþ noo wit, ne bidding of God, to take him þis. And þus ofte, for preiynge and moneie, he avaunsiþ lymes of þe fend; for al þes ben his children; and he shal answere for þes soulls þat his children leesen to helle, and for oþþir shrewidnessis þat þei done. Lord! when þe popis synne were not now to him, al yf he gete noon on oþþer side? as, yf he bouþte not for þe firste fruytis, or oþþir frendshipe of þe world, synnes of oþþir truauntis þat he avaunsiþ, and envenymþ myche folk.

Oþþir wordis þat here ben spoken excusen him not bifoþre God, þat þe pope mai do no symonie, for alle benefcis ben hise. For yf he were clene for a tyme, alle weren hise bi title of grace; þit for þis averouse pride shulde he leese al þes þingis. And no drede þis lawe of þe pope is opinli æzens treuþe, and so æzens Jesus Crist, þat is boþe God and man. It fallþ ofte bi þis lawe, þat a tryaunt and a fendis lyme is put bifoþre a lyme

\(^a\) Christ would not exercise secular authority as the Popes do; but even shunned, when he refused to arbitrate between the two brothers respecting their inheritance (Luke xii. 14), a responsibility which involved 'less evil' than the wide-reaching jurisdiction now claimed by the Popes.
of Crist. For ofte þes coveitouse triauntis gone before goode simple men; þus bi vertue of siche lawis ben ofte þe fends lemes maad maistrys, for to lede symple men, but whidirward but to helle? And þus, bi vertue of mannis lawe, man shul go to be confermed of a fend, þat techipt men how þei shulen worche æzens Crist. For many prelatis by coveitise and symonie ben ofte fends, and þei serven þer maistry, to wiþ-drawe men fro Cristis lawe. And no woundir þif men gone þikke to helle bi þe leding of suche prelatis.

And as anentis þe seconde lawe, of shrifte, þat þe pope haþ made, no drede it doþ myche harm, al þif it do to summe profite; and it fordoþ Cristis privlege, þat where Cristene men shulden be free, now þei ben nedid to hire a preest, and þus be suget to þe fend. For aftir þat þis prelate ordeynèþ ben sugettis nedid for to do; and þus freres and religious wymmen mai soone assente to leccherie. Lord! in tym of Jesus Crist, whanne þe Chirche florishide myche, were men not bounden to shryve hem þus, as Crist, Baptist, and apostlis. Lord! where þe pope haþ ordeynèþ þat Cristis weie sufficiþ not now, so þat mennis doing bi scolie of Crist be damned wiþouten opir synne, for þat þe pope haþ ordeynèþ him partener to foræve synnes wiþ Crist? And in caas þat men ben martris in Cristis cause, [þei 1] shulden be damned, for þei shulden rowne wiþ a preest, and for worse leve þe betere. Shrifte to God is put bihynde, and shrifte more shamefull also; but privy shrifte newe founden is autorisid, as nedeful to soulis heele.

CAP. IX.

It myȝte seme to many men þat myche of þis is hid speche, and men shulden speke opinli to þe world, as Crist dide, for to telle more clereli what is oure last entent. For þif it were a trewe sentence, God myȝte move men hereafter, boþe lordis and clerks, to drawe to þis sentence. And herfore we wolen seie opinli þe sentence þat we conseyven; and þif God wole vouche-saaf, it mai aftir be declarid more. Oure ground is comune bileve, þat Crist is boþe God and man, and so he is þe beste

1 supplied conjecturally.
man, he wyserst man, and moost vertuous, that ever was or ever shal be. And he is heed of his Chirche; and he ordeyned a lawe to men, and confermede it wiþ his lyf, for to reule holi Chirche, and teche how that men shulde lyve; and al his mut passe al oþir, siþ þe auctor is þe beste. And grutche we not þat many men þenken ful hevy wiþ his sentence, for so þei diden in Cristis tyme, boþe wiþ his lyf and wiþ his lawe. Of his ground we gessen ferþere, how us þinkiþ, at men shulden do.

But we granten at þe firste, lat if ony man wole shewe us þat we speken ægens Goddis lawe, or ægen good resoun, we wolen mekeli leeve of, and holde Goddis part bi oure myte. For we ben wiþholden wiþ treuþ, and wiþ Goddis grace shulen ever last þerinne. Us þinkiþ þat þe Chirche shulde here holde his ordenaunce of Crist; and ever þe streiter þat it helde þat, evere þe betir it were to it. And þus bastard braunchis shulde be kutt fro þis tree; and þus þe pope, wiþ his cardinalis, and alle preestis þat been dowid, shulden leeve þis dowing and worldli glorie þat þei han, and neþer lyve ne do ouþt, but þif it were groundid in Cristis lawe; for þat lawe is charite, and groundþ al þing þat is medeful. Þif þat God wolde fouche-safe to þyve þes preestis of his grace, þat þei wolden mekeli leeve þis, and lyve in Cristis poverte, þe miracle were þe more, and more wolde profite to þe Chirche.

Aftirward men þenken þat al þes newe sectis or ordis, boþe possessioneres and beggeris, shulden ceese bi Cristis lawe. And þif þei wolden leeve þes for charite, and lyve purely aftir Crist, þer merit were þe more, and þei myþen encreeþe þe Chirche; and þif þei wolden not do þus, þei shulden be honestli constreyned. Both worldli goodis and comunyng shulde be wiseli drawun fro hem, and kynþis, wiþ lordis of þe world, shulden be confortid bi Cristis lawe to stonde and defende þis sentence, as þei diden aftir Cristis deþ; and trewe prestis shulden telle þe comunes how þei shulde kepe charite, and obeiþe upon resoun, as Poul tecþip hem to do. And God myþte move summe of þes ordes to leeve þer ritis, and take Cristes lawe, for þei hiden now ypocrisie, and ben ydil fro many goode dedes. Lord! what stiward were he þat wolde ordeyne newe rehetors to ete mennen mete and do hem harm, ægens Cristis ordenaunce?
Orde and parish priests be maintained, not by tithes, but by free-will offerings.

Wyclif's Works.

Yet pridde point, of curatis, us pinkip shulde stonde þus. Pei shulden lyve on þe puple in good mesure as Poul biddiþ; but þe puple shulde not be artid to 3yve hem dymes ne ọper almes; but þer goode wishes shulden move to 3yve hem freeli þat were nede, for þus lyvede Crist with his apostlis. What preest shulde not be paied herof? And þus shulde þe Chirche drawe to acord bi Crist, þat ledip þe daunce of love. 3if oþir men wolden be preestis, lyve þei þerafter, and shewe þei bi dede þat Crist haj made hem preestis, for þis passiþ lettris of bishopis. And þus þe puple myȝte wiþdrawe þer almes fro wickide preestis, and þe pride of preestis shulde be stoppid, bi which þei en-venymyn þe puple. 3if þis be not doone anoon, 3it it myȝte drawe to þe good; for Cristis lyf was þe beste, þat shulde en-saumple alle oþir.

Here men arguen many weies aȝens þis sentence þat here is seid, and speciali for þe pope, þat panne were holi Chirche for-done, sip Petre was pope and many ọper seintis, and who shulde contrarie þis? But here han men seid ofte, þat it were good to obeishe to Petre, and ọþ þat siche a captein were in þe Chirche; but name of þe pope hidiþ venym. Men seien þat it cam first yn bi folie of þe emperour, þat reiside him an enemy boþe to God and to þe world. And 3if þou aleggist seintis lyves, noon of hem is to preise but in as myche as it acordiþ to Cristis lyf and his lawe; and sis Cristis lawe is more opyn, slepe þe fablis, and rengne his lawe. It is no nede here to dreme, how holi eende þes men maden, for men mai trowe it whoso wole, and many ben seintis wiþouten þis trouþe. Al ọper office of þe pope myȝte be done mekely, as myche as it wolde turne to worship of Crist and profite of þe Chirche, by a trewe preest, as was bi apostlis, al 3if þes bullis of leed slept-en. It is licly þat Petre suede more Crist in brennyng love þan diden ọper apostlis þat weren wiþ Crist in Petris tyme, and so Petre was more servisable, more meke, and more pore; for fervour of love of Petre made him in þis more love Crist. But aftir þat þe Chirche was dowid, no man hatiþ þis more þan þe pope; and þus he is not Cristis viker but raþir Anticrist him-

*and is used for an, in the sense of 'if.'
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

silf. 3if he wolde be meke and pore and servisable, as Petre was, and take no more werk upon him þan þat he myȝte wel do in dede, þanne he myȝte be Petris vicker, bi grace of Crist heed of Petre.

As anentis þes newe ordris, þei semen alle Anticristis proctours, to putte awey Cristis ordenaunce, and magneþ þer newe sectis; and þus hem nedþ þat þan Crist to susteyne hem. For Crist told þat bi siche habitis, ne siche ritis of Phariseis, but þi werkes of charite, bi preching among þe puple.

CAP. X.

Now were it for to speke last of censures, þat þe fend blowyþ, as ben suspendingis, enterditingis, cursingis, and reisingis of croiserie. But first Cristene men shulde bylve, þat alle suche feyned censures don noon harm a Cristene man, but 3if he do harm first to himself. Bi hem may his bodi be sleyn, and he be pursued many weies; but Crist seþ, þat mai no lye,—Blessid be þe whanne men cursen 3ou, and whanne men pursuen 3ou, and seien al maner of yvel aȝens 3ou, for me and my lawe. As Cristis apostlis weren confortid, holde þou þe in Cristis lawe, and sue þou him in maner of lyf, and drede þou not alle þe censures þat Anticrist can blowe aȝens þee; but as he meneþ to harm þee, he doþ þee good mangree his. And as þe assoling serveþ of nouȝt, but as it acordþ wiþ Cristis keies, so þe cursynge noieþ not, but as Crist above cursþ. And herfore Crist told þut litil bi cursingis of þe hie bishopis, but confortide his disciplis of þes cursingis and þes pursuyngis. For þei putiden men out of chirche, and pursueden hem in Cristis tyme, but apostlis wolden not leeve to preche for al þis pursuynge. And o confort is here; þat a man mai serve God in clene wille þat he haþ, as longe as he haþ lyf, and 3if his wille lastþ, aftir, whanne Anticrist haþ slayn his bodi, in more blisse þan bifoire, as oure bleve techþ us. And þus drede we hem not for censures þat þei feyneyen, but drede we ever oure God, lest we synnen aȝens him. And so double drede fallþ in sich cursingis of Anticrist. Oon, lest we ben not worþi to have grace to cleve to God and stonde stif in his mandememtis,—and þanne God
cursiþ us; and þus cursing is to drede, for cursing of God for our synnes. Also men shulden be in charite, and loven þes men þat cursen þus; and so men shulden drede þer curs, lest it harne hemsilf and þe puple. For þif þei cursen undiscrely, as þei don ever whanne þei cursen not for love of þe Chirche, or for love of oþer men to whom þei leien þis medecine, þanne þei cursen hemsilf first, al þif þei knowun not þis foly. And bi sich blyndenesse in cursing many curseris emblemyshen hemsilf, and þerwip þe comune peple. Such cursing is to drede; such drede passiþ mannis lawe, and comeþ to lawe of charite, and axiþ not curseris assoilinge, but Goddis purging, þif it wolde be.

As anentis suspendinge and enterdityng þat ben feyned, we trowen þat þei doon myche good, and noon harm but to foolis. For þif þei wolden suspende hemsilf fro alle þingis but Goddis lawe, it were a graciose suspendinge, for hem and for oþer men; for þanne Goddis lawe myȝte freeli renne bi þe lymytis þat Crist had ordeyned. And he is a cursid man þat leeveþ to do þat God biddiþ, and for sich feynynge of censuris,—þhe, þif deþ sue aftir.

As anentis croiserie, summe of Cristis Chirche ben enformed how þei shulden not trowe to þe pope for ony bullis þat he sendiþ, but þif þei ben groundid in Goddis lawe. And þis grounding shulden men take wiþ reverence, and leeve þis leed. For men shulde take as bileeþ þat þei shulden neiþer trowe to Crist ne Petre a, but in as myche as þei grounden bi Goddis lawe þat þei men shulden trowe þus. For Crist lettþ fulli in his lawe, how men shulden trowe to him and hise; and þus no þing untouchid in þis lawe shulde be dun or axid to do. But who shulde axe more þan Crist, or more obeishe to þe pope þan to Crist? And we ben certein þat Crist may not axe oþir obedience; whi shulde þe pope? Men shulden bi hooli lif of Crist trowe þat his lawe is compleet, and axe noon oþir ground of þis lawe, for Crist is þe firste and þe laste. And so, þif þe pope assoile men a pena or a culpa, or whatever pardone he grauntþ for þing þat is not charite, forsake it as þe fendis biding, þat is contrarie to love of Crist. Wel I woot þe fend

a There must surely be an error of the scribe here.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

mai feyne more pardone þan God wole graunte to ech man þat wole slee his broðr; but God 1 forbode þat we trowun þis, as þe pope may graunte to day, and to morowe perseyve his folye, and revoke þe formere error. But who shulde bileeve siche bullis? for wel we witen bi Goddis lawe, þat God øveþ þe pope no power, but for to edifie his Chirche, bi charite þat God haþ toold. Crist was þe beste herd, and so he puttide his lyf for his sheep; and þe pope mai not opinier telle þat he is Anti-crist or a fend, þan for to putte many mennis lyves for þis office þat he presumeþ. For Cristis lyf was myche betere þan al þis office or þes popis. How shulde men fiȝte for a persone, þat þei witen not where he be a fend, or tauȝt of God to do þus? Sip þei ben certein of medeful dedis, certis þat man were a fool þat wolde take þis uncerteine weie, and leeve þe certeyn witt and feþ for wordis ungroundid in Goddis lawe. And many þenken þat þes prelatis þat ben upon Cristis side shulden have joie of þis sentence; for it is for alle good men. And if ony can disprove it, men wolen revoke it, and treuþe shal shyne, and it shal have moo witnesssis, and þis is more to Goddis worship.

But here men dreden blasphemye, and òþir cautelis of þe fend; þat men gon not bi resoun ne bi Goddis lawe in þis mater, but putte þe pope here heierste juge, as ðif he were god in erþe. And he, wiþ his part þat loveþ þe world, quenche men þat speken þis, and axen noon oþer proof þerof. And sip þe fend haþ þe strenger part here þan þe part of treuþe þat is wiþ Crist, Crist wole suffre, for formere synne, þe fendis side have maistrie þit. But in o bileeve men resten, þat day shall come of þe laste jugement, whanne þe fendis side shal lurke, and treuþe shal shyne wiþouten lettyng; and þat day abiden men, bi reule of lawe þat Crist haþ 30vun.

Wel we witen þat þe synne and disturblyng of þe Chirche stondiþ myche in defaute of love of Crist and his lawe. And þus bringinge in of sectis, and of lawes þat Crist made not, quenchiþ þe love of Crist and of his religioun here. And þus men shulden stonde in þe mesure þat Crist haþ 30vun of þes

1 corrected; Goddis, A.
two, bothe of sectis and of lawis; for bringinge in of pes doleful harm. And so marke pis as greet synne, whanne men passen in ojer of pes, alif pe fendre colour it, and medle good wiþ pe yvel; for þus dide Machamete in his lawe, and þe fend doleful þus comunly; and confermyng of men is nought but ʒif God conferm before. And siþ þis point is perilous, men shulden be seker þat God conferneþ. And þus þis reule failþ now to weie love aþer þat it shulde be, so þat love þat shulde be more were more chargid in mannis soule. And þus, siþ men shulden love more Cristis ordenaunce and his boundis þan ony þat komen after, and Crist haþ ordeyned 1 at þe fulle, men shulden leveþ pes novelries as contrarie to Cristis ordenaunce, and love þe mesure þat Crist haþ ʒovun, for so diden Cristis apostlis.

And wite we wel þat alle þes autours of þes novelries done harm to hemself and to þe Chirche, and to þer neiþboris. Also whi shulden not love of Crist move men to holde his boundis? And þus it semeþ to many men, þat þes newe ordris and þer fautours failen over myche in charite, for in love of Crist and his Chirche, siþ Cristis religion were algatis beter, perfectere, sekere, and liȝtere. For Crist autour passiþ in þes; and we shulden drede Poulis sentence, þat who þat loveþ not Jesus Crist, he is cursid of God; and þis cursing is moost to drede. And generaly, worst þing is more costly and more hevyþ; and þus it lettþiþ feble weie-goeres, to be taried wiþ sicþ þing. And erroir in weiynig of þis love makþiþ many fals weddingis; as men ben weddid wiþ þer habitis, and þer custumes, and þer singular maners, as ʒif þei were Cristis commaundementis; and ʒit þei ben ful feble in kynde. And men blasfemen in þis point, for þei putten a reule of love to ordeyne an yvel þing to be more loved, aþen þe ordenaunce of God. And þis is opin blasfemy, siþ God appropriþ unto him to weie þingis, how þei shulden be loved, and to make hem oþer betere or worse. And þus auctours of accidentis hyen hem above Crist, as ʒif þei wolden maken a newe world, and change goodnesse of þingis. But þes goddis varien; as oon loveþ o maner, and anoþir loveþ anoþir, and haþiþ þe maner of his broþir; and þis techiþ wel

1 corrected; ordeyneþ, A.
ynowʒ þat alle þes ben false goddis. And þus þe crafte of love of þingis is moost nedeful to al oþer; for no man mai come to blis but bi vertue of þis crafte; and no man mai synne but for error in þis crafte, as blessid men doone Goddis orde- naunce, and damnded men loven þe contrarie. And alle þes newe orðris ben dividid in þer love, as oon loveþ oon and anoþer anoþer, and so hatþ his contrarie. But Crist, whanne he lovede hoolliche his Chirche, wolde not make it faire wiþ þese orðris; and eche man is holden to love liche after þat Crist loveþ, and to hate þat he hatþ, and þanne is his hierste vertue stablid.
XXIV.

[FIFTY HERESIES AND ERRORS
OF FRIARS.]

[Three MSS. of the present tract are known to exist,—one in the Bodleian, another in the Corpus volume at Cambridge, and the third at Trinity College, Dublin. It was printed by Thomas James, Bodley's librarian, in the year 1608, with as much accuracy as could be expected in that age, when scholarly criticism was all reserved for the classics. Dr. Vaughan, who has given the entire tract in his Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe (London 1845), has contented himself with reprinting the text of Dr. James. The text here given is based upon Bodl. 647, with which the Corpus MS. has been collated.

Bale mentions this treatise in his Catalogue of the Reformer's works, under the title 'De Fratrum Nequitias.' Other external evidence of authorship there is none. The date of its composition was probably the last half of the year 1384 (see the note to ch. xxiv). So far it would be quite possible to assign it to Wyclif; but it is perhaps equally probable that it was written by one of his disciples. The language used in ch. xxii rather points to some ex-friar as the author, such e.g. as Peter Patteshull, who, having been originally an Augustinian friar, abandoned his Order, and joining the Lollards in London, 'learned that he had done well in deserting a private religion, and betaking himself to the public or general life' of Christians (Walsingham, sub anno 1387).

It seems probable that the form of the treatise was suggested by the proceedings of the Council of London, which extracted from the writings of Wyclif twenty-four conclusions for condemnation, ten as heretical, and fourteen as erroneous. In reply, the writer of our treatise charges the friars, the most active opponents of the Lollard movement, with holding more than twice as many 'heresies and erreours' (ch. I) as Wyclif had been charged with. The unmeaning title 'Objections of Freres,' given to this tract in Dr. Shirley's Catalogue, and also by Lewis, has no other authority than a marginal note, in a hand of the seventeenth century, found in the Corpus MS.]
FIRST, freris seyn þat hor religioun, founden of synful men, is more perfite þen þat religion or ordir þo whiche Crist hymself made, þat is bothe God and mon. Ffor þei sey þat iche bischop and prest may lawfully leeve hor first dignyte, and after be a frere; bot when he is oones a frere, he may in no maner leeve þat and lyve as a bischop or a prest, by þe fourme of þo gospel. Bot þis heresie seis þat Crist lacked witte myst or charite, to teche apostlis and his discipulis þo beste religion. Bot what mon may suffer þis foule heresie to be putte on Jesus Crist? Cristen men sey þat þo religion and ordir þat Crist made for his discipulis and prestes, is moste perfite, moste esy, and moste siker. Moste perfite for þis resoun,—for þo patroune or founder þerof is moste perfite, for he is verrey God and verrey mon, þat of moste witte and moste charite gaf þis religion to his der-worþe frendis. Also þo reule þerof is moste perfite, sith þo gospel in his fredome, wiþouten error of mon, is reule of þis religion. Also knyghtis of þis religion ben moste holy and moste perfite,—ffor Jesus Crist and his apostils ben chef knyghtis þerof; and aftir hon holy martiris and confessors. Hit is moste esy and light; for Crist hymself seys þat his ȝok is soffte, and his charge is light, siþ hit stondes al in luf and fredome of hit, and biddes nopinþing bot resonable þing, and profitable for þo keper þerof. Hit is moste siker, for hit is confirmed of God, and not of synful men; and no mon may distrie hit, or dispense þerageyns; bot if þo pope or any mon shchal be saved, he mot be confirmed þerby, and ellis he schal be dampered.

Bot men sey þat oþer newe ordiris and reulis ben noëst worth, bot if þei ben confirmed of þo pope, and oþir synful men; and þen þei ben not worth, bot if þei ben confirmed of þo devel, in caas þo pope schal be dampered, for þen he is a devel, as þo gospel seis of Judas. And þus men seyn þat Cristis religioun in his owne clennesse and fredome is more perfite þen any synful monnis religioun, by als myche as Crist is more perfite þen is any synful mon. And if newe religiouns seyn þat þei kepen al þat Cristis religioun biddes, þei sparen þo sothe. For þei lacken þo fredome and mesure of Cristis religioun, and ben...
bounden to errors of synful men, and þerby ben letted to profite to Cristen mennis souls, and not suffred to teche freely Gods lawe, ne kepe hit in homself. Ffor by þo first and moste commandement of God, þei ben holden to love God of al hor hert, of al hor lif, of al hor mynde, and of alle hor strengthes, and hor neighbors as homself. Bot who may do more þen þis? þen may no mon kepe more þen Cristis religion biddes. And so, if þis new religion of freris be more perfit þen Cristis religion, þen if freris kepen wil hor religion, þei ben more perfit þen Cristis apostils; and ellis þei ben apostataas. And if men ben apostataas, þei leeven þo better ordir, and taken anþer lesse perfit. And þo ordir of Crist in his clennesse and fredome is moste perfit, and so hit semes þat alle þese freris ben apostataas.

CAP. II.

Also freris seyn prively þat hit is apostasie and heresie for a prest to lyve as Crist ordeyned a prest to lyve, by forme of þo gospel. Ffor if þer be any frere þat is a prest, cunnynge in Gods lawe, and able to travel to sowe Gods wordis amonge þo puple, if he do þis offis frely, goynge fro cunte to cunte where he may moste profite, and ceesse not for prioure ne any oþir satrap, and charge not singuler habite, and begge not, bot be payed with comyne mete and drinke, as Crist and his apostils were, þei wil poursue hym as apostata, and drawe hym to prisoun, and sey þat he is cursed for þis dede. Ffor þis fre goynge aboute and fre prechinge is leeveful to suche a frere, sith hit is ensaumplid and comandid of Crist, and not to be cloosid in a cloyster, as hit were Caymes Castel a. And so freris schulden be nedid to leeve þis lyvyng of cloyster, and feyned obedience by singuler profession, and to dwelle amonge þo puple, to whom þei may moste profite gostly. For charite nedid Crist and Baptist to cum oute of desert to teche þo gospel to þo puple, til þei were deed; þerfore myche more charite schulde dryve freris to cum out amonge þo puple, and leeve Caymes Castels þat ben so nedeles and chargeouse to þo puple, sith þei

a See note on p. 348.
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cannot occupy his own self so will in such solitary life and contemplation, as aforesaid. And to his same end Christ ordained all his apostles and disciples to live an open good life, in meekness and willingness and discrete patience, to teach simply his gospel to his people, and not be concealed in great cloisters and coverts, as Caymes Castels. And hit seems an open doyng of Anticrist to suffer not preists to freely do his offices of Crist, but are held, upon pain of prison, to be relaid in his after his will of a simple idiot, and, in caas, a damanged dwell of helle. And so ther seems no meane to hold these sectis togedir, but if hit be his blasphemy, to prisoun a mon for als myche as he dos after his will of God. And his new profession is harmful for many skilles, for hit is not ensaumplid of Crist, ne any of his apostles, and he taught us all that was needful and profitable.

Also his profession serves of nought but if hit be to make foolish do more after his erreours of synful men, then after his condemnation of God. For by virtue of Cristis teaching, iche man is holden to do after iche oper, in als myche as he teches Cristis comandment or counsell; and more may no mon bynde anoper. Also Crist gaf his disciples power of iche werk that turns to profite of hor soulis, and helpe of oper men; and his fredome is letted by his profession made to synful men, and, in caas, to sundis of helle. But here men wil not distrie freris, ne slee hom, ne curse hom, bot distrie hor erreours and save his persones, and brynge hom to that lyvynge that Crist ordrayned prestes to lyve inne, for that is algatis his best, to his moste worship of God, to moste profite of holy Chirche, and to freris also. But what mon schulde not helpe herto, upon al his power, witte, and will?

CAP. III.

Also freris seyn, if a mon be oones professid to hor religiou, he may never leve hit and be saved, þof he be nevere so unable þerto, for al tym of his lif. And so þei wil nede hym to lyve in such a staate everemore, to whiche God makes hym evere unable, and so nede hym to be damyped. Alas! outh on suche heresie, þat monnis
ordynaunce is holden strenger þen is þo ordynaunce of God! Ffor if a mon enter into þo new religioun, ageyns monnis ordynaunce, he may lawefully forsake hit; bot if he enter ageyns Gods ordynaunce, when God makes hym unable þerto, he schal not be suffred by Anticristis power to leeve hit. And if þis resoun were wel declarid, sip no mon wot whiche mon is able to þis new religion a by Gods dome, and whiche is not able, no mon schulde be constreyned to holde forth þis new sect. And þus þis new religioun may not laste but if hit be by þis blasphemye, to constreyne a mon unable by Gods dome to holde þis new sect, and suffer him not to cum to fredome of Cristis ordir.

**CAP. IV.**

Also freris seyn, if a mon be professid to hor holy ordir, he schal not preche frely and generaly þo gospel to Cristen men withouten license of his sovereigny for virtue of obedience, be his sovereigny nevere so cursid mon of lif, and unconnynge of Gods lawe, and enemye to Cristen monnis soule, and, in caes, a soule de vel of helle,—þof þis mon professid have resseyved of God nevere so myche connynge of Gods lawe, and power and wille to wurche after þis connynge. And so þis mon schal nedis be dampned for mysspendynge of Gods tresoure; ffor sip Gods lawe seis þat he is outhe of charite þat helpis not his broþer with bodily almes, if he may, in his nede, myche more is he outhe of charite þat helpis not his broþers soule wip techinge of Gods lawe, when he sees hym renne to helle, þhe, by ignoounce. And þus to magnyfi and mayntene hor roten sectis, þei neden men by ypocrisie, fals techinge, and stronge peynes to breke Gods heestis and leese charite. Oute on þis fals heresie and tirauntrye of Anticrist, þat men ben nedid strongly to kepe more his lawes, and obeeche more to hom, þen to Cristis commaundements evere rightful!

**CAP. V.**

Also freris seyn and mayntenen, þat begginge is leveful, þo whiche is dampned by God, bothe in þo Olde Testament and in þo New. For in þo fyveth boke of holy writt, God seiþ to his

a So in X; W has the words transposed.
puple, Algatis a nedy mon and beggar schal not be amonge 
3owe. Also þo Holy Gost tau3te Salomon to preye þese two 
þinges of God:—God, make vanite and leesinge wordis fer fro 
me, and gif not to me beggyng, or beggyngnesse\footnote{beggynnesse, X.}, and richesse\footnote{So in X; W omits and ricesse.}, 
bot gif oneliche þinges þat ben nedeful for my lyvelode in 
avauentre, lest I, fulfilde, be drawen to renaye, and sey, Who is 
Lord? as who sey, I knowe no Lord; and lest I be compellid 
or made of force by nedynesse to steele, and to forswere þo 
name of my God. Also þo Wise mon seis, Hit is a wicked or 
weyward lif to seke herberow fro hous to hous; and he schal 
not do tristiliche, þere he schal be hereberowid, and he schal 
not open his mouthe. Also Crist biddes his apostils and his 
disciplis, þat þei schul not bere a sachel ne scrippe, bot loke 
what meyne þis is hable to here þe gospel, and eete and drinke 
þerinne, and passe not þennes, and not passe fro hous to hous. 
Also Seynt Poule laborid or travelid wiþ his hondis, for h 
ye o Sally God brewe, gile hoon, fischid after Cristis resurreccioun. Also Seynt 
Poule biddes þat men þat wil lyve in ydelnesse and curiouste, and not travel, 
schulde not eete. 

Also Seynt Clement ordeyned þat Cristen men schulden not 
beeg opunly. And, for to putt away þis beggyng, Seynt Aus- 
tyne makes twoo bokes, hou munkis oven to travel wiþ her 
hondis for her lyvelode\footnote{The reference is to Deuteronomy 
xx. 4, where the Wycliffite versions, 
following the Vulgate, translate as 
in the text. The authorized version, 
following the Hebrew, gives quite 
another meaning: 'Save when there 
shall be no poor among you.' or, 
as it is better given in the marginal 
reading, 'To the end that there may 
be no poor among you.'}. And þo same techis Benett to his 
munkis, and Seynt Bernarde; and so does Fraunceys to freris. 
And Jerom seis þat munkis schulden travel wiþ hor hondis, not 
onely for nede, bot raþer to exclude ydelnesse and vanyte. Ffor 
in state of innocençe God ordeyned mon to travel, and after- 
ward in þo state of synne God gaf þis labour to mon to his
penaunse. Ÿen sith iche open beggynge is þus scharply dampned in holy wriþt, hit is a soule errourre to mayntene hit; bot hit is more errooure to sey þat Crist was suche a begger, for þen he moste have ben contrarie to his owne lawe; bot hit is moste errooure to contynue in þis dampned beggynge, and robbe þus, ageyns charite, þo pore puple, and make hom to byleve þat Crist was suche a begger, and þat þis beggynge is wil done.

CAP. VI.

Also freris seyn in dede, þat hit is medeful to leeve þo com-aundement of Crist, of gyvynge of almes to pore feble men, to pore croked men, to pore blynde men, and to bedraden men, and gif þis almes to ypocris, þat feynen hom holy and nedy when þei ben strong in body and haven over myche richesse, bothe in grete waste housis, in precious clothis, in grete feestis, and mony jewels and tresoure. And þus þei sleen pore men with hor fals beggynge; siþ þei take falsely fro hom hor worldly godis, by whiche þei schulden susteyne hor bodily lif, and deceyven riche men in hor almes, and mayntenen or counforten hom to lyve in falsenesse, ageyns Jesus Crist. For siþ þer weren pore men ynowe to take mennis almes, byfore þat freris comen in, and þo erthe is howe more bareyn en hit was, ouþer freris or pore men moten wante of þis almes. Bot freris by sotil ypocrisie geten to homself, and letten þo pore men to have þis almes.

CAP. VII.

Also freris chargen more brekyng of hor owne tradiciouns þen brekyng of þo comauandementis of God. Ffor a frere schal as a heinous siþ more be punysched for brekyng of one of hom, þen for brekyng of Gods heestis, for brekyng of Gods heestis is not charged of hom. And in þis þei schewen hou þei loven hor owne wor-ship more þen Gods; and þus þei taken to homself þo worchip þat is appropred to God; and so ben blasphemes and heretikis. And so þei chargen more hor bodily habite þen charite and

1 beddere, X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

Also freris feynen hom, as ypocritis, to kepe straytly hopo gospel and povert of Crist and his apostils; and ʒitt pei moste contrarien to Crist and his apostils in ypocrisie, pride, and coveitise. Ffor pei schewen more holynesse in bodily habite and oþer signes þen did Crist and his apostils; and for hor synguler habite or holynesse þei presumen to be even wiþ prelatis and lordis, and more worthy þen oþer clerkis; and in coveitise þei con nevere make an ende, bot by beggynge, byqueethyng, by birying, by salaries and trentals, and by schryvyngis, by absolu- ciouns, and oþer fals meenes, cryen eveer after worldly godis, where Crist usid none of alle þese. And þus for þis styntyngge coveitise þei worschippen hopo fend as hor God.

Also freris drawen childre fro Cristis religioun into hor private ordir by ypocrisie, leesingsis, and steelyngye. Ffor þei tellen þat hor ordir is more holy þen any oþer, and þat þei schul have hier degree in blis þen oþer men þat ben not þerinne; and seyn þat men of hor ordir schul nevere cum to helle, bot schul deme oþer men wiþ Crist at domesda. And so þei steelen childir fro fadir and modir, sumtyme soche as ben unable to þo ordir, and sumtyme soche as schulden susteyne hor fadir and modir by comauandement of God; and þus þei ben blasphemes, takyng upon hom ful counsell in doutouse pinges, þat ben not expressely comauandid ne forbeden in holy writt, sith siche conseil is approprid to þo Holy Gost. And

1 So in X; W has worldly.  
2 queþinge, X.

Pretending to follow Christ strictly, they are the most covetous of men. 
By false professions fears induce parents to give up their children to them.
Also freris for pride and covetise drawen fro curatis hor office and sacramentis, in whoche lyen wynnynge or wurschip, and so maken dissencioun bitwix curatis and hor gostly childre. Freris drawn to hom confessioun and biring of riche men by mony solit meenes, and messe pens, and trentals, bot pei wil not cun to pore mennis dirige, ne resseyve hom to be bired amonge hom. And pei cryen faste pat pei haf more power in confessedioun pen ocher curatis; for pei may schryve alle pat comen to hom, bot curatis may no ferfuer pen her owne parisheens. Bot curatis seyn, pat sith pei schul answere before God for po soulis

1 *bap*, X.

They medde in parish work, and so cause ill-will between priests and their parishioners.

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a See p. 299, note.

b "pore mennis dirige." In the office for the dead, according to the use of Sarum, at the vigils (which were recited daily unless hindered by the occurrence of the greater festivals) nine psalms were ordered to be sung, followed, when the body was present, by nine different antiphons; but when the body was not present, by one and the same antiphon, which was either *Placebo*, the 9th verse of Ps. 116 (114, Vulg.), or else *Dirige*, part of the 8th verse of the 5th psalm (Dirige in conspectu tuo vitam mean). These vigils, celebrated always on the day before the masses for the dead or for the repose of souls, and connected with those masses, must have made the word *Dirige*, loudly repeated nine times after each psalm at the beginning of the antiphon, so familiar to the ears of our forefathers, that one cannot wonder at the employment of the word to express funeral obsequies generally. See the Sarum Breviary (Paris, 1554) and Mr. Way's note on *Dyryge* in the Camden Society's edition of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*. 
of hor sogettis, þei wil knowe hor lif; and freris seyn hit is no nede, for þei haf more power þen þo curat; and þus discencioun and hate is made bytwix curatis and hor childer. And pride and covetise of freris is cause of al þis, and mony oþer synnes. And þus, for þei maken discorde amonge Cristen men, þei ben hatid and cursid of God Almyghty.

CAP. XI.

Also freris comen in under þo name of seyntis, and forsaken þo seyntis reule and lyve, and putten hor owne errors to þo seyntis, and sclaundren both hom and God. For if men spoken of Fraunceys, he usid and tauge myche mekenesse, povert, and penaunce, and Menoures now usen þo contrarei. For þei maken statuis of hor owne wille, and hom þei kepen faste, and maken men to wene þat Fraunceis made hom. Bot Prechours seyn þat Dominyk foundid hom, and þen he kept Austyns reule, sith he was a chanoun bifeor; for ellis he was apostata if Austyns reule were gode. Bot Austyn wolde algatis sue þo apostils lyvyn, and Prechoures done even þo contrarie. And frere Austyns founden hom on Austyn þo grete doctor; bot his reule spekes noþt of freris; and so þei ben groundid on leesingis, for þei have no patroun seynt. And of þo Carmes knowen men nouþer founder ne reule. And so þo freris þat haf founders done ageyns her founders teching and Cristis also; and colouren hor owne wicked lawes under name of þese seyntis; and so ben groundid on leesingis, and sclaundren hor patrouns and Crist also. And oþer freris, þat have no patrouns, lyven aftir homself, and putten hor erroures on seyntis, and so sclaundren hom and Crist. And so ypocrisie regnes, and synne is mayntened by colour of holynesse.

CAP. XII.

Also freris pursuen treue prestis, and letten hom to preche þo gospel, notwitstondynge þat Crist enjoyned presthed and preching of þo gospel. And so þei departen þat þing þat God joyned togedir; and so, als myche as in hom is, þei fordone Gods ordynaunce. And so þei harmen Cristen men more cruely þen þo Soudon of Sarazenes, for þei ben neer and more
malicious. For sith Crist charges alle his prestis to preche
treuly þo gospel, and þei pursuen hom for þis dede, þhe, to þo
fyer, þei wil slee prestis for þei done Gods biddinge. And per-
fore þei ben mon-sleers and irreguler, and cursid of God, for
þei letten his puple to be saved, and so neden hom to be
dampned. And sith þo principal poynst and ende of Cristis
dyinge and his passioun was to save monnis soule, and þo
principal werk of Sathanas is to leese monnis soule, þei ben
traitoures to Crist, and anguells of Sathanas transformed into
gangel of light, and cruel traytoures of all men.

CAP. XIII.

Also cappèd freris, þat ben calde ¹ maystres of dyvynite, have
hor chaumber and servise as lordis or kynges, and senden oute
ydiotis ful of covetise to preche, not þo gospel, bot cronyclis,
fabis, and leesingis, to plesse þo puple and to robbe hom. And
what cursidenesse is þis to a deed mon, as to þo world and pride
and vanye þerof, to gete hym a cappè of maysterdome, by
preyer of lordis, and grete giftis, and makeynge of huge feestis of
a hundrid and mony hundrid poundes, and þen be ydel fro
teching of Gods lawe, bot if hit be seelden ², before lordis and
ladies or grete gederyngis for name of þo worlde, and þen to
leeve hor povert and symplenesse þat he is bounden to, and
devoure pore mennis almes in waste and feestynge of lordis
and grete men, and so þif sclaunder to his breper and oþer men, to
lyve in pride and covetise, gloterie and ydelnesse, and leeve þo
servise of God as þof þei were exempt from alle godis. And
ȝitt forfendyng ³ of þese covieshous foolish þat ben lymytoures,
gos myche symonye, envye, and myche foule marchaundise;
and who can beste robbe þo pore puple by fals beggyng and
oþer disseytis, shal have þis Judas offis. And so a neste of
Anticrist clerkis is mayntened by sotil cautelis of þo fende.

CAP. XIV.

Also freris schewen not to þo puple hor grete synnes stably
as God biddes, and namely to myghty men of þo worlde, bot

¹ clepid, X. ² seldom, X. ³ perhaps it should be for sendyng.
flaten hom and glosen and norischen hom in synne. And sithe hit is þo offis of a prechoure to schewe men her foule synnes, and peynes þerfore, and þeris taken þis offis, and done hit not, þei ben cause of damanacioun of þo pule. For in þis þei ben foule traytours to God, and eke to þo pule, and þei ben nursis of þo fende of helle. For by flatryng and fals byheestis, þei leten men lyve in hor lustis and counforten hom þerinne. And sumtyme þei pursuen óper trewe prechoures, for þei wil not glose myghty men, and counfort hom in hor synnes, but wil scharply telle hom þo sothe; and þus myghti men hire by grete costis a fals traytour to lede hom to helle. And ensauple men may take, how þeris suffren myghty men fro þeere to þeere lif in avowtrie, in covetisca, in extorsiouns doyng, and mony oþer synnes. And when men ben hardid in soche grete synnes, and wil not amende hom, þeris schulden fle hor homely cumpanye, bot þei do not þus, lest þei leese worldly frencchip, favoure, or wynnyng. And þus for þo money þei sellen mennis soulis to Sathanas.

CAP. XV.

Also þeris by lettris of fraternite a disseyven þo pule in feyth, robben hom of temporal godis, and maken þo pule to trist more in deed parchemyne, seeled wiþ leesinges, and in veyn preyers of ypocrites, þat, in caas, ben damnëd devels, þen in þe helpe of God, and in hor owne gode lyvynge. Comynly þese lettris ben poudrid wiþ ypocrisy, covetisca, symonye, blasphemye, and òþer leesinges. Wiþ ypocrisy,—for þerinne ben tolde wiþouten ende1 mony gode dedis, and sumtyme ben fals, and more to schewe hom holy, to gete worldly godis, þen to save mennis soulis. Wiþ covetisca,—for þei done þis to wynne þo penye; for a pore mon þat may not gif hom, be he neveuer so trew to God, schal not have hom, bot a riche, be he neveuer so cursid, schal have soche lettris, and wenes þat he is sikere ynowh herby, do he neveuer so myche wrong to pore men. Wiþ symonye,—for þei sellen þis spiritual gode for temporal godis, and

1 nede, X.

* For some account of these letters of fraternity, see vol. i. p. 67.
\[\text{Wyclif's Works.}\]

\[\text{Matt. xx. 22.}\]

\[\text{Their heresy concerning the Eucharist.}\]

\[\text{\textbf{Cap. XVI.}}\]

Also freris perverten \textit{po} right feithe of \textit{po} sacrament of \textit{po} auter, and bringen in a newe heresie. Ffor when Crist seis \textit{pat} \textit{po} bred \textit{yat} he brake and blessid is his body, \textit{pat} sey hit is an accident wijouten sugett, or noght. And when holi writt seis openly \textit{pat} \textit{pis} sacrament is bred \textit{pat} we breken, and Gods body, \textit{pat} seyn \textit{pat} hit is nou\textit{per} bred ne Gods body, bot accident wijouten sugett, and noght. And \textit{pis} \textit{pat} leeven holy writt, and taken new heresie on Crist and his apostils, and on
Austyn, Jerom, Ambrose, Ysider, and oher seyntis; and pe Court of Rome, and alle trew Cristen men pat holden po feith of po gospel. Ffor Crist seis pat, pis bred is my body; and Seynt Poule seis, Po bred pat we breken is po comunycacioun of po Lordis body; and Seynt Austyn seis, pat pat ping pat we seen is bred. Bot as to faith fully tau3te po bred is Cristis body, Ambrose seis pat ping pat is bred schal be Cristis body. Jerom seis, pat pat bred po whiche Crist brac and gaf to his disciplis is po body of oure Saveour, ffor Crist seis, pis is my body. Berengarie, by approvynge of po Court of Rome, seis pus;—I knoweleche wi l, herte and wip moutbe pat pis pat is leyd on po auter is not onely po sacrament, bot verrey Cristis body. O Lord! what hardy devel durste teche pese freris to denye pis openly holy writt, and alle pis seyntis, and po Court of Rome, and alle trew Cristen men, and to fynde pis heresie, pat pis sacrid oost is accident wipouten sugett, or noght? sith pis is not tau3te openly in holy writt, and resoun and witte is ageyns pis. And Austyn, in pre or foure grete bookis, seis expressly pat noon accident may be wiþouten sugett, and alle wise philosoforis acorden here wiþ Austyn. Lord, what schulde move Crist Almyghty, al-witty, and alle wel willynge, to hide pis byleve of freris by a thousande yeer, and neveer to teche his apostils and so many seyntis po right byleve, but to teche first pese ypocrites, pat comen neveer into po Chirche til po foule fende Sathanas was unbounden? Herby schulden alle Cristen men knowe po freris heresie, and not resseyve hom into hor housis byfore pat pei confessiden under hor general seel po right bileve of Cristen men, and had forsaken hor olde heresie.

1 So in X; om. W.
2 So in X; W has wil.
Also freris bylden mony grete chirchis and costily waste housis, and cloystris as hit were castels, and þat wipþoute nede, where-thorw parische chirchis a and comyne weyes ben payred, and in mony placis undone. And so þei techen in dede þat men schulden have heritage and dwellynge cyte in erthe, and forgete heven, ageyns Seynt Poule. Ffor by þis new housinge of freris, þof hit rayne on þo auter of þo parische chirche, þo bylynde puple is so disseyved þat þei wil ræper gif to waste housis of freris þen to parische chirchis, or to comyn weyes, þof men catel and beestis ben perischid þerinne. Byfore þat freris comen in þer was more puple, and þo erthe more plentifuluos; and þen were chirchis ynowe. What skil is hit now to make so myche cost in new byldyng, and lete olde parische chirchis falle doune? And if men seyn þat in þese grete chirchis God is feyre served, certis grete housis make not men holy, and onely by holynes is God wel served. Ffor in heven, þat was so feyre, Lucifer served God untreuly, and so did Adam in Paradise. And Jesus seis þat þo grete temple of Jerusalem, þat was a hous of preyer and sumtyme Gods hous, was made a den of thefis, for covetous prechoures dwellden þerinne. Bot Job served God ful wel on þo dunghil, and so did Adam oute of Paradise, and Crist beste, when he preyed in hilles and desertis, and Baptist eke. And þerfore Crist and his apostlis maden no grete chirchis ne cloystris, bot wenten fro cuntrey to cuntrey, preching þo gospel, and teching men to do hor almes to pore men, and not to waste housis. Ffor Crist tauȝte men to preye in spirit and treuthe, þat is, in gode wil and devoçioun and holy lyvynge. And to destrie þis ypocrisie, he ordeyned þo temple of Jerusalem schulde be destried, for synne done þerinne.

a As bishops and [monastic] corporations were in mutual hostility, so the parochial clergy found opponents and dangerous rivals in the richly privileged Mendicant Orders, who were indefatigable in their attempts to appropriate the lucrative functions of the priesthood, and to decoy the people from the parish-churches into their own.'—*The Pope and the Council*, p. 167 (English translation, Rivingtons, 1869).
Freris also destrien obedience of Gods lawe, and magnifyen singuler obedience made to synful men, and, in caas, to devels; whiche obedience Crist ensaumplid neve, noujer in hymself ne in his apostils. Ffor by teching of Seynt Poule iche mon owis to be sugett to ojer in þo drede of Crist, þat is, in als myche as he techis hym Gods will, and no mon schulde oobeche more to any mon. And evere þo more þat a mon were, þo more schulde he þus meke hym self, as Crist did to alle his apostils. Bot freris tellen no3t by þis obedience, bot if þei maken singuler professioun to sinful foolishis, þat mony tymes techen and comaunden hom ageyns Gods wille; and seyn, þat in suche þinges as ben not expressely comaundid ne forfendid in Gods lawe, þei schulden algatis do after hor sovereignty, 3he, þof hit be unwittingly ageyns Gods wille. And sith hit is approprid to þo Holy Gost to gif ful counsel in soche poynentes, þei maken hor synful prioues even wip þo Holy Gost; and where þei schulden be governed in soche douty poynentes by þo Holy Gost, þei leeven his counsel and reulynge mony tymes, and taken hom to þo reulynge of a synful fool, and, in caas, a dammned fende in helle. And þus þei leeven obedience þat Crist tauȝte and ensaumplid, as unperfite and not sufficient, and pryson more feyned obeydence to synful foolishis, þat þei taken of hor owne presumpioun, as if soche foolishis hade founden perſiter obedience þen evere did Crist, God and mon.

Also freris forsaken perfeccioun of hor ordir for worschip of þo world and covetiise, and ben not suffrid to take þo fredome of þo gospel, for to preche Gods worde to þo puple. Ffor freris ben made bischopis,—3he, mony tymes bi symonye, and sworne strongly to go and preche and convert hethen men; and leeven þis gostly offis, and ben suffragans in England, and robben men by extorciouns, as in punysching of synnne for money, and suffren men to lye in synne fro 3eer to 3eer for an annuel rente. And so in halowyng of chirchis and chirche-þerdis and
auters, and comynly alle òper sacramentis, for money. And þus þese freris, bischopis, lyven comynly evere after in symonye pride and robberye, and þus þei ben exempt by Cayaphas bischopriche fro alle gode observaunsis of Gods lawe, and of hor owne ordir, and be fre to lyve in synne, and to robbe oure lond, and enemyn 1 hit by mony cursinges. And so þei beren oute first þo golde of oure lond to aliens, and sumtyme to oure enemies, to gete of Anticrist þis fals exempcioun, and evere after lyven in robbynge of pore men, and mayntenen myche synne, cursinge, and symonye, þat is passing heresie. And òper bischopis of hom þat have diocisis in þis lond, forsaken povert and penau.Once and obedience, for þei loken to be maysters of all freris of þat ordir in þis lond, and to lyve in pride, lustis of hor flesche, ydelnesse, and spoiling of þo puple more suttily þen òper. And þus a frere schalle dwelle in courtis of lordis and ladies, to be hor confessours, and not displeese hom for noþing, þof þei lyven in nevere so cursid synnes, for to lyve in his lustis, and to gete falsely muk to Anticristis covent, and lette pore men of hor almes. And herto he schal have leeve and comandement upon vertue of obedience; bot he schal no leeve have to go generaly aboute in þo worlde, and preche treuly þo gospel wipouten beggyng, and lyve an open pore and just lif, as Crist and his apostils diden, for þis were destrying of hor feyned ordir. And þerfore þei loven more þe pride, covetise, and lustis of hor owne flesche, þen þo worship of God and heele of monnis soule. And þus þei maken sacrifice to Lucifer, to mammon, and to hor owne stenkynge bely.

CAP. XX.

Also freris prysen more hor rooten habite þen þo worschipful body of oure Jesus Crist. Ffor þei techen lordis, and namely ladies, þat if þei dyen in Fraunceys habite þei schul nevere cum in helle for vertu þerof; and certis þis is an open heresie, damp-nynge alle þat tristen þus into hor lyves ende. Bot a mon may have þo sacrament of þo auter, þat is verrey Gods body, in his

1 envenyme, X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

mouthe, and streyght fle' to helle wiþouten ende, and þo more be dampped for þo yvel takynge of þis sacrament. Soche heretikis ben unable to be amonge Cristen men.

CAP. XXI.

Also freonis beggen wiþouten nede for hor owne riche secte, and not for pore bedraden men þat may not go, and have no mon to sende for hor lyvelode, bot raþer drawen riche mennis almes fro soche pore men. And herfore charite is outlawed amonge hom, and so is God; and leesinges, covetise, and fends, ben enhabited amonge hom. For þei disseyven men in hor almes, to make costily housis, not to herberow pore men, bot lordis and myghty men; and techen men to suffer Gods temple, þat ben pore men, to perische for defaute. And þus þei ben traytoure to God, and his riche puple, whom þei disseyven in hor almes, and monquelleres of pore men, whose lyvelode þei away taken fro hom by fals leesinges, and herfore þei ben irreguler bïfore God, and despisen hym, and harmen þo puple when þei seyn masse or mateynes in þis cursid lif, as holy writte techis, and Austyn and Gregor declaren fully.

CAP. XXII.

Freris also kepen not correpcioun of þo gospel ageyns hor breþer þat trespassen, bot cruely done hom to peyneful prisoun. Bot þis is not þo meke syngye of Jesus Crist, for he and his apostils prisoneden not synful men in þis lif, bot scharply reproved hor synne, and at þo laste, when þei wolden not amende hor, tauþten gode men to comyne not wiþ hom. Bot þese freonis schewen here tiarauntrie at þo fulle, whoso knewe wil hor peynes and tourmentis. And hit semes no wisedome ne profite to gif freris power to prisoune men. Ffor when þo kyng by his officeris prisounes a mon, þat is comynly done for gret and open trespas, and þat is gode warntyng to oþer mys-doers, and sum profit comes to þo kynges ministers. Bot when freris prisouen her breþer, þo peyne is not knowen to men, þof þo synne were nevere so open and sclaunderouse, and
If's weye & at dos harme to per lege men, and profite of kynges ministris is awey. And when po potestatis of freris ben proude, coveteous, and synful, and haten po treuth, pei wil soone prisoun trew men pat reproven hor synnes, and spare ojer schrewes, pat pei may flater hom and mayntene hom in hor synne, and so, byside po kynges leewe, tormenten trew men, for pei wolden do Gods heestis. And sith po kyngis graunte is occasion herto, po kyng is holden to revoke and lette freris prisonyng, lesthe he be gilty of po synne at comes oerby, sith he may destrie hit and dos not. And fus deede beggers, freris, lippen up to kynges power, and mony tymes more en po kyng dar do, and maken po kyng po fendas tormentour to prisoun trewe men, for pei seyn po sothe. And so po kyng stoppis Gods lawe to be knowen in his lond, and norischis yvel men, and prisounes gode. Ffor peis deede and mony moo schulde po kyng/ releve po prisounyng, and make clerkes by-reulid i aftir po gospel, by symplenesse and holy lyvynge.

CAP. XXIII.

Also freris maken oure lond lawelesses, for pei leeden clerkes, and namely reulen prelatis and lordis and laydies, and comynes also; and pei ben not reulid by Gods lawe, ne lawes of po Chirche, ne lawes of po kyng. Ffor pei glosen Gods lawe as hom likes, and ben exempt fro bishopis and ojer ordinaries, and leeden po bishop of Rome as hom likes. And men seyn pei ben not lege men to po kyng he ne sugett to his lawes; ffor po po steelen mennis childer, hit is seyd pei gos no lawe upon hom. And pat semes evil, for pei robben po kynges lege men by fals beggyng of sixty thousande mark by seere, as men douden resonably, and 3itte pei ben not punisched herfore. And fus lawelesse freris, by hor fals reularyng, maken our lond laweless, ffor pei letten clerkes, lordis, and comyns to knowe po treuth of holy writt, and maken hom to pursue trew men to po deth, for pei techen po comaundementis of God, and crien to po puple po soule synnes of fals freris. And fus falsenesse

1 to be reulid, X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

is mayntened, and fals men ben raysid to grete astatis, and treuthe is putt on bac, and trew men ben pursued, 3he, to prisoryng, to losse of alle hor godis, and to scharpe jugement, for als myche as pei wolden destrie synne þat was openly and cursidly done, and in poyn for to fordo oure lond. And of þis reuling ben freris moste gilty, for pei leeden prelatis, lordis and ladies, justisis and oþer men by confession, and tellen hom not spedily hor synnes; ffor if pei tolden hom hor synnes, and þei wolde not amende hor, þo freris þat ben hor conses-soures schulden leeve hom up, as Crist and Poul techen. Bot þei done not þus, for þen þei schulden leese wynnyng and favor of þo worlde. And þus, for love of money and wilfare of hor body, þei leeden oure lond oute of þo lawe of God and al rightwisenes.

CAP. XXIV.

Also freris ben irreguler procuratours of þo fende, to make and mayntene werris on Cristen men, and enemies of pees and charite. For freris counseilen and opunly prechen, þat men schulen fle to heven wijouten peyne if þei wolden goo and slee in hor owne persone, or mayntene and fynde one at hor coste, to slee Cristen men. And þo ende was to make Cristis viker moste riche to þo worlde, þo whiche viker schulde be moste pore, suynge in þis moste hycly Crist and his apostlis. Bot Crist dyed to make pees and charite; and if men myghten þus frely graunte pardoun, þei schulden, ðhe, to lese hor owne lif, graunte pardoun to make pees. Zitte þei prechen no pardoun ne mede to make pees and charite, and zitte þei ben bounden of God to make men siker to have þo blis of heven, if þei wil treuly procure for pees and charite. Bot of þo pardoun þat men usen to day fro þo Court of Rome, þei have no sikernesse by holy writte ne resoun, ne ensaumple of Crist or his apostlis. And so of oþer werris and debatis, þat freris myghten lette if þei wolden. And sip þei done not, bot raper counseilen þerto, and counforten men þerinne, and tellen not þo periles of hom, þei ben cause and procuratoures of alle werris, and specialy of

1 so X; W has of.
This were in Flaunderis. For þei prechiden þat, and hadden hit forth, ægeyns þo kyng, þo duke a, and oþir lordis and clerks, and scharply pursuendo prestis þat stoden by charite and profite of þo rewme. And so þei weren þen above þo kyng, lordis, and trew prestis, and robbiden þo kyngis lege men by fals leesinges of many thousande poundis, þat þos þo kyng schulde now be taken, andoure lond conqueerid or destried, þo kyng myght not reyse so myche to helpe hymself and his lond. And certis here was tresoun to God and þo kyng, and false disseyte of alle men, bothe of catel and of soule, and lettinge and destrieyng of pees and of charite.

Cap. XXV.

Freris also ben Scarioths childre, bitrayinge trew men of þo gospel, and so Crist, for money. And for money þei senden soulis to Sathanas, by ensample of hor yvel lyvynge, by counsell to werris, and norishinge and counfortinge men in synne, for lustis of hor flesche. Ffor, in pleesinge of bishopis and oþer men, þei prechen ægeyns povert of Crist, and seyn þat prechours of þo gospel and Cristis lif ben heretikes, worthy to be brende. And so, for giftis of bishopis and oþer men, and worldly favor, þei sellen treuth of þo gospel, and so Crist, as Judas did. Ffor Seynt Bede and Seynt Ambrose seyn, sith Crist is treuth, he þat for money seis falsenesse, and leevs þo sothe, dos suche synne as Judas did. And so þei counseilen to werris, for þei wynnen myche þerby; and for defauete of charite þei senden soulis to helle, when men by hor counseile taken fals werris and enden in hom, wenyng þat þei done wil, and þerfore dyen wiþouten sorwe of hom. And for to hert men in þis cursid werringe, þei gone with hom into werre, and ben hor confes-

a That is, the Duke of Lancaster, for he was in power in 1383, the year of the expedition to Flanders. The form of expression also seems to show that this was written before 1386, in which year, owing to the departure of John of Gaunt for Portugal, his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, obtained a commanding influence at court. At the same time the enterprise of Bishop Spen-

or-
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

soures, and sumtyme sleen men in hor owne persone. And þus þei ben Anticristis martiris, and fleen to helle, to drawe oþer men þider after hom.

CAP. XXVI.

Also þeris destroyen þis worlde moste of alle cursid men, ffor þei bacbyten gode clerkis, and seyn þat þei distourblen þo worlde, and flateren yvel clerkes in hor synne. And so þei preysen lordis þat ben tyrauntis, extorsioneris, and yvel lyvers, aud ladies also. And þei dispisen lordis and ladies þat bygynn- nen to leeve pride and vanyte of þo world, and seyn hit was not myrie, sithen lordis and ladies taken rewarde to þo gospel, and lafften hor aunsetris maners þat weren wurschipful to þo worlde. And so, of riche men and oþer, þei preysen hom þat bringen hom myche money, wij wronge and mony disseytis, and seyn þat þei ben holy; bot oþer men þat gyven not þeris muche more þan ynowhe, þei lakken at þo fulle, þof þei done hor almes myche better to hor pore neghtboris. And sith God seiþ þat yvel techers ben cause of destruccioun of þo puple, and Grosted declarid hit wil, and þeris ben principal yvel techers, þei ben principal cause of destroyinge of þis worlde. Ffor þei ben confessoureis, prechoureis, and reulers comynly of alle men, and þei techen hom not hor foule synnes, and periles of hom, bot suffren hom in hor synnes, for wynnynge of stinkynge muck and lustis of hor owne bely, þat is foule wormes meete and a sack of dritt.

CAP. XXVII.

Also þeris ben moste rebel ageyne þo techinge of Cristis gospel and moste out of patiense and pite, ffor þei ben moste unpacient ageyne reprovyng of synne and destroyinge þerof. Ffor a lord wil mekelier suffer scharpe despisinge of his litel synne, þen þei wil suffer meke and softe reprovyng of hor grete heresies. Ffor þei ben wode þat mennes almes schulde be rightly departid amonge pore men, nedye, feble, crokid, and blinde,—ffor þen þei seyn þei ben undone. Bot þei ben of veyne religioun, as Seynt Jame seiþ, Ffor þis is a clene religioun, wiþouten spott anentis God þo Fadir, to visite fadirles and
modirles childre, and widows in hor tribulacioun, and to kepe
a mon unfoulid fro þis worlde, þat is, fro pride, covetise, and
vanytees. Bot freris done al þo contrarie, for þei visiten riche
men, and by ypocrisie geten falsely hor almes, and wipdrawen
hit fro pore men. Bot þei visiten riche widows for hor mucke,
and maken hom to be biried at þo freris; bot pore men comen
not in þere. And willeful povert þei forsaken, and ben moste
covetouse of alle men, and boosten more of hor holynesse, and
ben moste dislavy of hor veyn speche and worldly. And, as
trewe men tellen, freris seyn apertely, if þo kynge and lordis and
þær men stonden þus ageyns hor fals beggyng, and wil not
suffer freris to robbe hor tenauntis, bot gif hor almes to hor
pore neyghboris, freris wil go out of þo lond and cum ageyne
wip bright hedis. And loke wheþer þis be tresoun or noon.

CAP. XXVIII.

Also freris techen and mayntenen þat holy writt is fals, and so
þei putten falsenes upon oure Lord Jesus Crist, and on þo Holy
Gost, and on al þo blessid Trintye. Ffor sith God Almyghty
tauȝte, confermes, and mayntenes holy writte, if þis wryting be fals,
þen God is fals, and mayntenour of error and falsenesse; bot
certis þen he is no God. Þitte knewen we nevere þat any sect
wold sey þat lawes of hor God were fals, and þerwip byleve on þo
same God, bot þis despit done þese blasphemes to þo holy Trintye.
Alas! who may suffer þis blasphemye? þat Crist in whom is 
a tresoure of witte, wisedome, and treuthe; couthe not or wolde
not sey trew wordis and sentence, bot synful folis haf trew
maner of speking, contrarie to þo speche of oure Lord Jesus
Crist. Ffor if þis be sothe, synful folis, ȝhe, in caas, devels of
helle, ben wiser and trewere þen is Jesus Crist. And when þis
cursid grounde is sought, hit stondes in þis error; ffor I am
mayster of vanyte, and of heresie mysundirstonde þo wordis of
God, þerfore þei ben fals. Bot þese heretikis schulden knowe
þat hit sues of hor cursid grounde þat God is þo falsest þing

1 dilavy, X.

* That is, with helmets on their heads.
in erthe or heven or in helle. Why? for men falsely under-
stoneden moste falsenesse of hym; and þus myght iche Pay-
nyme or Sarazen make oure God fals as hym likes. Bot why 
seyn þei þat holy writt is fals? for þei ben wonte so myche to 
leesinges and falsenesse, þat þei taken falsenesse for treuthe. 
As men seyn, a mon may so long be norischid litel and litel by 
venym, þat he wenes þat hit be holsum meete and gode. Also 
holy writt dampnes hor foule ypocrisie, beggyng, covetise, and 
oþer synnes; and þefore þei seyn þat hit is fals, to colore by 
hor falsenesse. Also holy writt preysis myche Cristis religioun, 
and tellis how newe sectis, ful of ypocrisie and covetise, schulden 
cum and disseyve Cristen men, and biddes hom knowe hom by 
hor covetise and ypocrisie. And herfore þei seyn, as Sathanas 
clerkis, þat holy writt is fals.

Cap. XXIX.

Freris also ben stronglier weddit wiþ hor roten habite, ageyns 
þo fredome of þo gospel, þen þo housbande is wiþ his wif by 
ordynaunce of God. Ffor þo housbande may lawefully be 
absente fro his wif by a moneth, an half 3eer, and sumtyme 
seven 3eer, and, by comyn asent of hom bothe, by al hor lyve. 
Bot if a frere be oute of his roten habite, 3he, an hour, he is 
apostata, þof he love more God and serve hym better, and 
profe more to Cristen men. And þus þei putten more holynesse 
in hor roten habite þen evere did Crist or his apostils in hor 
cloþis, ffor Crist was thries on a day oute of his clothis, and 3itt 
he was not apostata. Bot þei chargen so myche þis roten 
habite, for herby þo puple wenes þat þei ben holy, and gyven 
hom more dritt þen is nedeful or profitable. And herfore iche 
duarye drawes oþer to helle,—þo freris, for hor fals takyn 
of almes when no nede is, ne þei have leeve of Gods lawe þerto,— 
þo blynde puple, for þei drawen hor almes fro hor pore and 
nedy neighboris, where þei schulden do hit by þo heest of God, 
and mayntenen freris in hor fals beggyng, ypocrisie, and oþer 
synnes mony.
CAP. XXX.

Also freris techen þat hit is not leeveful to a prest or anōper mon to kepe þo gospel in his boundis and cleneness, wipouten error of synful men, bot if he have leeve þerto of Anticrist. And þus þei seyn hit is not leeveful to a Cristen mon to do Gods comaundement, bot if a fend gif hym leeve þerto, as if þo leeve and comaundement of God be not ynowh herto. For þei seyn þat a prest þat has bounden hymself to errours of synful men by new professioni, may not go to þo fredome of þo gospel, and lif þerafter as Crist taȝte prestis, bot if þei have dispensacioun of þo pope. And I suppose þat he be Judas, and schal be dampned; þen he is a devel, as Crist seis; and þen hit is pleyne, sith þis prest may not kepe þo gospel in his fredome wipouten his leeve, and he is in þis caas a devel, þen a prest may not kepe þo comaundementis of God wipouten leeve of a fend. Bot for to gete þis leeve is oure golde gyven to aliens, and sumtyme oure enemyes; and þitte þo prest schal be bounden comynly to þo roten habite, and be exempt fro godenesse, and boldid in synne.

CAP. XXXI.

Also freris ben ressett, and a swolowhe of symonye, of usure, of extorsiouns, of raveyns, and of theftis, and a nest or hoorde of mammons tresoures. Ffor þof men lyven in symonye, þei wil not counseil hom and charge hom in schritte to resigne hor benefice, bot counforten hom to holde hit stille, and bringe hom myche dritt _rof, and þei wil undertake for hor synne. And so of usureris, þei chargen hom not spedely to make restitucioun, bot räper colouren þis synne, to be partyner of þis wynnyng. And so of oþer robberie, þei resseyven hit prively, and so mayntenen and colouren thefes in theffte, where oþer lege men schulden be punisched þerfore. And so þei ben more covetous þen þo wicked Jewes þat bouȝten Crist, for þei wolden not take þo money of Judas, and do hit to hor money ne tresoure, for hit was þo price of Cristis blode, for Crist was solde and trayed to deth for þat money; bot freris wil resseyve money, geten by as grete synnes or more, to make grete housis
and grete festis to lordis, and not bye a felde to birie inne pilgrimes, as þo Jewis diden, bot ræþer leyen hit up in hor tresoure, to mayntene wronges ageyns hor curatis and oþer pore men, by fals plee at Rome, and marchaundise in England.

**CAP. XXXII.**

Freris also cryen loude þat pore prestis ben heretikes, for þei techen by Gods lawe hou clerkis schulden kepe willeful povert of Cristis gospel, and þo kyng and lordis owen to compelle hom þerto. And þus þei dampnen holy writt, and þo kyngis regalie. Ffor sith pore prestis have tauȝte, bothe in Englishe and in Latyn, hou mony open lawes, bothe in þo Olde Testament and in þo Newe, forfenden alle prestis and dekenes to have seculer lordship, and þes lawes ben confirmed by Cristis lif and his apostils, and freris seyn þat þis is heresie, þei dampnen openly holly writt. And sith þo kynges regalie askes by olde statute þat þo kyng may in mony, in caas, take temporalties fro clerkis, and freris seyn þat þis takyng is error ageyns Gods lawe, þei dampnen þis rightful regalye. And so þei dampnen þo rightful regalie of oure kyngye, and also oure kyng and lordis, as heretikis, if þei mayntenen þis rightful lawe to stable pees of oure rewme. And sith by Gods lawe þo offis of þo kyng and lordis is to preysse, rewarde, and mayntene gode and rightful men, and to chastise scharpwycked men, and constreyne clerkis to holde þo state þat Crist putt hom inne, and algatis willeful povert, ffreris sey, if þo kyng and lordis done hor offis of Gods lawe, þat þei ben foule heretikes. Bot why schulde þo kyng mayntene in his lond soche traytoures bothe to God and hym, and cruel enemyes of alle Cristen men?

**CAP. XXXIII.**

Also freris ben theves, bothe nyght thesis and day thesis, entryng into þo Chirche not by þo dore, þat is Crist; ffor wijþouten autorite of God þei maken new religiouns of errours of synful men. And þitt þei maken worse reulis evere þo lenger þat þei lasten, and þei seken not mekely þo worshipp of God,

1 *regalie, X.*  
2 *in many caases, X.*
and profite of Cristen mennis soulis, and pis ping pei mosten do, if pei comen in by Crist. Bot pei chesen and fynden a new ordir, lesse perfit and profitable pen is pat pat Crist made hymself, and so pei maken dyvisioun in presthed, ageyns þo com­
and his lawe, pei moten nedis be drawen up, and þo ordynance of Crist mot stonde in his clennesse and perfeccioun.

CAP. XXXIV.

Also freris by ypocrisie bynden hom to impossible þing þat pei may not do; for pei bynden hom ouver þo comandementis of God, as pei seyn homself; bot pei may do no more þan þo comandement of God. For God biddes in his moste com­
and, þat þou schalt luf þo Lord þi God of al þi lif, of al þi mynde, and of alle þi strengthis and myghtis. Bot who may do more þen þis? No mon; þen pei bynden hom to more þen pei may do. And sith hit is not counsell of Crist to make synguler professioni to a synful ydiot, and, in caas, a deevil, and þei bynden hom to siche oon, þat þei done over þo counsel of Crist. Bot al þat is over þo counsel of Crist is algatis yvel, sîþ Crist counsell to iche gode þing. And þus many blynde foolis bynden hom to þo hye counsels of Crist, þat connot kepe þo leest comandement. Bot se ypocrisie of hom! sith iche counseile of Crist is comandement for sumtyme and summe circumstaunsis, hou bynden þei hom to more þen to comandementis? Not by þo counsels, for þei ben comandementis. Bot þei feynen þis to drawe þonge childre into hor roten habite, and ơper foolis, þat knowen not þe perfeccioun of Cristis ordir.

CAP. XXXV.

Freris also ben worse heretikis þen weren Jewis, þat wolden kepe cerymonyes of þo olde lawe wiþ fredome of Cristis gospel. Ffor þo Jewis kepten resonable lawes, made of God, and medeful for tyme þat God ordeyned hom; bot freris kepen now lawes feynd of erroures of men, moo þen God ordeyned in þo olde lawe, and more uncerteyne. For to day þis lawe is holden amonge hom, and to morowen destried, bot þus uncerteyne was not Gods lawe. And þese lawes of freris ben more ageyns þo
gospel; for þo lawes of þo Olde Testament were figure of Cristis comyng and passioun, and ledden men to þo gospel; bot new lawes of freris ben not suche figure, and letten men to holde fredome of þo gospel. O Lord I sith gode lawes, ordeyned of God, mosten nede ceese for fredome of þo gospel, myche more moten yvel lawes, ordeyned of errour of synful men and worldly, ceesse, and lette not men to kepe þo gospel in his fredome.

CAP. XXXVI.

Also freris ben adversaries of Crist and disciplis of Sathanas, not þeldinge gode for yvel, as Gods lawe techis, ne gode for gode, as kynde and monnis lawe techen; bot þelding yvel for gode, as þo fendis lawe techis. For þei casten and ymagynen þo deth of trew men þat desiren and travelen to delyver hom fro þo fendis mouth and everlastinge deeth, and to bringe hom to þat staate in whiche Crist ordeyned prestis to lyve inne. And þei proferen freris þis condicioun, if þei wil teche by holy writt or resoun, þat freris ordir and lyvyngne is beste for prestis, þei wil gladly be professid to þo freris ordir; and if prestis may teche, bothe by holy writt and resoun, þat hor ordir is better þen freris, sith Crist hymself made hor ordir, and not freris, þei preyen freris for luf of God to take þat ordir, and to leve hor singuler ordir, in als myche as hit drawes hom fro þo fredome of þo gospel. And þus þei pursuen prestis, for þei reproven hor synnes as God biddes, bothe to brene hom, and þo gospels of Crist written in Englisehe, to moost lernyng of oure nacioun. And þus, for þo grete almes þat men gyven to freris, þei letten men to con Gods lawe, and so letten hom to be saved, ffor þei may not be saved wipouten connyng and kepynge of Gods lawe. And so freris neden oure lond to be dampten wip fendis in helle.

CAP. XXXVII.

Freris also ben worse enemyes and sleers of monnis soule þen is þo cruel fende of helle by hymself. Ffor þei, under þo habite of holynesse, leden men and norischen hom in synne, and ben special helpers of þo fende to strangle mennis soulis.
For þei han name of holynesse and of grete clerkis in reputacioun of þo puple, þat þo puple tristis not to few trew men, prechinge ageyns hor covetise, ypocrisie, and fals desseyt. And þo freris, for luf of a litel stinkyng mucke, and wilfare of hor foule bely, sparen to reprove þo cursid synne of þo puple. Ffor comynly if þer be any cursid jurour, extorsioner, or avoutrer, he wil not be schryven at his owne curat, bot go to a flatryng frere, þat wil asoyle hym falsely for a litel money by þeere, þof he be not in wille to make restitucioni and leeve his cursid synne. And þus, if þo foule fende myght be schewed in his schappe to þo puple, as men seyn he was in tyme of Seynt Bartholomew, þo puple wolde be ferde to dwelle in his servise, þat is synne. Bot þo cursidnesse of synne is hid, and þo puple is made siker by fals pardouns and lettris of fraternite, þof þei alle breken þo heestis of God and kepen not charite. And certayne þen is þo devel siker of bothe partyes.

CAP. XXXVIII.

Also freris leden and norischenoure prelatis, oure lوردis and comyns, in grete blasphemye ageyns God. For þei techen all þis puple to recke lesse of þo moste rightful curse of God, þen by þo wrong curse of mon synful, þof he be a dampned devel. Ffor þei callen þo curse of God þo lasse curse, and þo curse of synful mon þo more curse. Ffor þof a mon be nevere so cursid of God, for pride, enveye, covetise, or avoutre, or any oþer, þis is not chargid ne pursed, nouþer of prelat ne lord ne comyns. Bot if a mon wijstonde onys þo cytacioun of a synful prelat, þhe, after þo comaundement of God, þen he schal be cursid and prisouned after fourty dayes; and alle men schulen gow upon

1 So X; om. W.

* The wonderful tale may be read at large in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, how Polimius, an Indian king, had a huge idol which was tenantid by a devil, and how St. Bartholomew undertook, if the king would receive baptism, to produce his god before him bound with chains. The demon, like the racoon in the American story, owned himself beaten at once, came out of the idol in the presence of all the people, and after obediently breaking it in pieces, was allowed by the apostle to retire into the jungle.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

hym, þof þo mon be pursued for treathe of þo gospel, and be blessid of God. And þus synful mennis dome, and, in caas, of þo fendis, is more dred and magnifyed þen is þo rightful dome of God Almyghty.

CAP. XXXIX.

Freris also destrien þis article of Cristen mennis faith, I byleve o comyn, or general, holy Chirche. Ffor þei techen þat þoo men þat schul be damped ben membris of holy Chirche. And þus þei wedden Crist and þo devel togedir, þfor Crist is gostly weddid wiþ iche membre of holy Chirche, and summe of þese, as þei seyn, schul be dampeed; and þen, as Crist seis, þei ben fendis; þerfore by hom Crist and þo devel ben weddid togedir. Bot God seis by Poule, þat þer is no comynynge ne consent to Crist and to Belial. And þen may þer no weddinge be bitwixe hom. Bot þis general holy Chirche is þo congregacioun of Crist, þat is hed, and alle gode aungels in heven, and alle men and wymmen, in erthe or in purgatorie, þat schulen be saved, and no moo. For Crist seis, þat noone of his membris schal perische, for no mon schal take hom out of his hondis. And Jon Evaungelyst seis of fals techers, þat þei wenten out of us, bot þei were not of us. And þerfore Crisostom seis, þat þoo þat kepeth not Gods lawe, bot dyen out of charite, weren nevere Cristis body, þo whiche schal not regne wiþ hym. And sith iche part of Cristis gostly body, of whiche Austyn spakes as holy writt dos, schal regne wiþ hym in blis, þen no mon þat schal be dampeed is part of Cristis gostly body, and so part of membre 1 of holy Chirche. Bot freris seyden þus, for men schulden gyf hom myche money to preye for alle, bothe gode and yvel, and also to plese bishops and possessioneres.

CAP. XL.

Also freris seken bisily hor owne worldly worship, and putten þo worship of God byhynde, ageyns þo techinge of Jesus Crist and Seynt Poule. 3he, þat is worse, þei taken upon homself

1 part ne membre, X.
glorie þat is appropried to God, and so maken hom even wiþ God. For þei seken faste, by grete giftis and veyne costis, to be calde maysters of dyvynite, and speke biforn lordis, and sitte at þo mete wiþ hom, and not to teche treuly þo gospel to alle maner of men, by meke lif and frely, as Crist biddes. Also to be confessoures of lordis and ladyes, and algatis to be myche tolde by, and fare wil, and not seke pore men, þof þei have more nede. And so of ðer bisynesse of freris, whoso takes gode siȝt to hom. Ffor if a frere do wil litel, þat schal be preysid algatis, bot þof anóþer mon do myche better, þat schal be lacked or despised. Also þei schulen swere by hym þat þei callen patroun of hor ordir, and leeve God bihynde, and þitt þei done so for worship of hor owne patroun and hor owne sect. And noþoles God techis to swere by hym in nede, and not by his creatures. Bot for hor proude sweringe and ydel, þei dispiçen God and hor patroun also.

CAP. XLII.

Freris þitte hyen, þitt¹ falsely, homself above Crist. Ffor where Crist biddis þat men trowe not to hym, bot if he do þo werkis of þo Fadir of heven, freris chaſlegen þat men triste and obeeche to hom, as nedeful to soulis heele, when þei done not þo werkis of God. Ffor ellis þei may not aske þat men do after hom, when þei witten not wheþer þo þinge þat þei comaunden is ageyns Gods dome or þerwip. And þus no mon schulde do after hom, bot when þei techen certeynli þo heestis of God, or his counseils, leste men, doynge after hor techyne, in þis do ageyns þo wille of God. Bot farewil þen þis new feyned obediense, wiþ þis new professioun.

CAP. XLII.

Also freris falsely enhansen homself abowe Crist and his apostils, for þei wil not be payed wiþ Cristis reule in þo gospel, to teche trevely þo gospel, and have mete and drinke frely of a gode mon and devout to God, ne be apayed wiþ fode and hyllynge, as Crist and his apostils weren. Bot þei robben

¹ om. X.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

curatis of hor offis and gostly worship, and letten hom to knowe Gods lawe, by holdynge bokis fro hom, and wipdrawinge of hor vauntages, by whoche pei schulden have bokes and lerne. And also pei robben lordis of hor rentis; and somme by more ypqcrisie taken fre annuel rentis of lordis cooferis; and pei robben po comyns of hor lyvelode by ypqocrisie, and fals beggyng, damped by Gods lawe. And þus at þo bygynnynge þei feynen hom moste pore of alle clerkis, bot at þo last þei passen ale oþer in grete housis, and costily librarias, in grete feestis, and mony oþer prides and covetisis. And evere þei passen foule Crist and his apostils; ffor where Crist had not to reste inne his heved, freris, feyned beggers, have lordly plasis, þat almoste þorw Englond þei may iche nyght lye on hor owne.

CAP. XLIII.

Freris also of grete cautel bynden novycis to unknowen þing, for þei wil not suffre hom knowe hor privetees of hor reule and hor lif, til þat þei ben professid; and þen þei schulen not be suffred to leeve hor reule, þof þei witten wel þat þei may not kepe hit. And þis is openly ageyns Cristis techinge in Jones gospel. Ffor Crist seis þat he spake opunly to þo world, and in hyddenesse nop ing; and freris done here fully þo contrarie. For firste þei schewen grete devocioun and swettenes of holy lif to 3onge childre, til þei ben professid, and þen maystren hom by tyranntrie to do mony þinges ageyns hor conscience, and so neden hom to go to helle or to prisoune, and sumtyme to cruel deth.

CAP. XLIV.

Also freris ben wasteris of tresour of oure lond by mony blynde and unskilful maners. Ffor firste þei bynden hom blyndely fro fredome of þe gospel, and þen spenden myche golde to gete hom dispensacioun, and mony tymes bringen

1 _paci_, X; probably by mistake for _palaci_.
2 So in X; _byldynge_, W.
3 So in X; _blynden_, Bodl.
veyne pardouns, quienals, and oþer veyne privilegies. And in al þis þo gold of oure lond gos oute, and symonye, and curse, and boldenesse in synne comes ageyne. And God wot wher privitees of oure lond ben þus schewed to oure enimyes. And God wot wher matrimonye be þus departid for money by soche freris, makynge fals suggestioun, and fals poursuyte after. Also hit semes þat in þis þei magnifiþ a synful catyf, and, in caas, a dampned fende, more þen God Almyghty. For þei dar not by fre graunt of God do a gode þing to plesse hym þerwip, bot if þei haf leeve of suche a synful catyf. And if þei have leeve of suche an unwitty catyf, þei dar do, ageyns Gods pleseinge, an unresonable þing, and synful, and sclaunderouse to alle Cristen men.

CAP. XLV.

Freris also by Lucifers pride hyen homself, and holden hom holier þen alle oþer oute of hor sect, for as myche as þei bynden hom to new tradiciouns of synful men, þo whiche ben ful of error, over þo moste sufficient reule of Jesus Crist, þat lefte no profitable ne nedeful þing out of his reule. Ffor þof a presst or bischop do nevere so treuly þo offis þat God bad prestis do, þitte þei seyn he is more holly if he cum to hor newe feyned religiou and obediense. Bot síþ boostinge and rejoysching of synne is one of þo grettest synnes of alle, and þese freris boosten so myche of hor synful errour, hou þei have founden a better religiou þen Crist made for his apostils and prestis, hit semes þei ben moste synful and cursidly proude over alle oþer wicked men. Ffor hit semes þat þei maken homself wiser þen Crist, more wity and more ful of charite, síþ þei techen better wey to heven þen did Crist, as þei feynen.

CAP. XLVI.

Also freris setten more by stinkyng dritt of worldly godis þen þei done by virtues and godis of blis. Ffor if a Caymes Castel

* 'Quenal' seems to be a corrupution of quinquennale, by which was meant, an arrangement for sayyng mass for a departed soul during the period of five years. Triennale (English, triennial or trienial) and annuale, are similar arrangements for three years or one year. See Du-cange, Triennale.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

of freris haf myche dritt of worldly godis, þof þo freris þerinne
ben ful of pride, covetise, symonye, and fals robberie, by fals
beggyng and flatereing, þitte þei seyn þat riche hous is better
þen a pore hous of freris, þof þei lyven in mekenesse, povert,
and penaunce, and myche holynesse. And þei travelen more
for to gete dritt of þis world þen to gete þo blis of heven; and
þei comenden more a frere þat con sotely and thicke gete þis
worldly dritt, þen anoþer þat con do and teche myche virtuous
lif. And þus þese freris maken sacrifice to fals gods, for hor
covetise, and forsaken God Almyghty; sýþ þei loven more
worldly mucke þen virtues and þo love of Jesus Crist.

CAP. XLVII.

Freris also schewen and wittenessen in homself Anticristis
miraclis, right as Lægar, and oþer reysid by Crist, shewiden
and wittenessiden Cristis miraclis. Ffor as Lægar and oþer weren
verely deede, and verely reysid by Crist to lyve of kynde and
grace, so þese freris feynen hom deede to pride of þo world and
oþer synnes, bot þei ben reysid by Anticristis doyng to pride of
staatis, covetise, and sotil mayntenynge or colouringe of
synne. Ffor þof men ben cursid avouteris, extorsioneris,
and wrongeful mayntyneris of falsenesse and debatis, þitte
freris wil colore þese synnes, and undertake for þese synful
men, if þei wil giþ hom myche dritt and maytene hor veyne
sect, and comende hit more þen Cristis owne religioun. And
þei ben quicke to stryve, pleete, and seght bodily for worschipis
and staatis of þis world, and so þei ben deede to mekenesse,
charite, and gode religioun, and ben reysid to cursid lif of
synne; and þis is Anticristis myracle.

CAP. XLVIII.

Also freris ben soule envenymed wiþ gostly synne of Sodome,
and so ben more cursid þen þo bodily Sodomytis, þat weren
sodeynli deede by harde vengeaunce of God. For þei done gostly
lecchorie by Gods worde, when þei prechen more hor owne
fyndyngis, for worldly mucke, þen Cristis gospel for savynge of
mennis souls. And when þei leeven to preche þo seed of Gods
word and leesen hit, by whiche men schulden by gostly gendrure
be made Gods sones, þei done more synne þen þof þei losten monnis seed, by whiche þo body of mon schulde be gendrid. Ffor þo mysusing of þo better virtue is more synne. Bot þo seed of Gods word is better þen þo seed of mon; þerfore hit is worse to mysspende þat þen to myswaste monnys seed. And Robert Grosted declaris þis resoun wil ageyns yvel curatis.

**CAP. XLIX.**

Freres also ben moste privy and solit procuratoures of syn- monye and foule wynnyenge, and biggyenge of benefis, of indulgensis and trinels, pardouns, and vayne privilegies. Ffor men seyn þei wil gete a grete þing of þo pope, or of cardinalis, in Englond better cheep þen oþer procuratoures, and þei ben more wily, and more plesauntly con flater þo pope in his court, and most prively make lordis to mayntene þo pope and his robbinge oure lond of tresoure by his pardouns, privilegies, and þo firste fruytis of benefis in oure lond, and dymes and subsidiis, to werre on Cristen men for stinkynge worldly lordschip, þat God haves forbeden to hym and alle prestis. And in fals confession þei stiren lordis myche herto, and neden to distrie þo lond, when þei mayntenen þo pope in þis fals robbynge.

**CAP. L.**

þitte freres ben moste perilouse enemies to holy Chirche and al oure lond, for þei letten curatis of hor offis, and spenden comynly and nedelis sixty thousande mark by þeere, þat þei robben falsely of þo pore puple. Ffor if curatis diden hor offis in gode lyve and trewe prechinge, as þei ben holden upon payne of dampnynge in helle, þer were clerkis ynowhe, of bishops, parsouns, and oþer prestis, and, in caas, over mony to þo puple. And þitte not two hundrid þeere agone þer was no frere; and þen was oure lond more plentifulous of catel and men, and þei were þen strengere of complexioun to labour þen now, and þen were clerkis ynowe. And now ben mony thousande of freris in Englond, and þo olde curatis stonden stille un-

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2. *subsidius, X.*
amendid. And amonge alle synne is more encreesid, and þo puple chargid by sixty thousande mark by þeere, and þerfore hit mot nedis fayle. And so freris suffren curatis to lyve in synne, so þat þei may robbe þo puple and lyve in hor lustis. Ffor if curatis done wil hor ofsis, freris weren superflu, and owre lond schulde be dischargid of mony thousande marke. And þen þo puple schulde better paye hor rentis to lordis, and dymes and offringis to curatis; and myche flatering and norisching of synne schulde be destried, and gode lif and pees and charite schulden regne amonge Cristen men. And so, when al þo grounde is sought, freris seyn þus in dede, Lete olde curatis waxe roten in synne, and lete hom not do hor offsis by Gods lawe, and we wil lyve in lustis so longe, and waste veyneliche and nedeles sixty thousande marke by þeere of þo pore comyns of þo lond; and so at þo laste make discencioun bytwene hom and hor childre, for dymes and offeringes þat we wil gete prively to us by ypocrisie, and make discencioun bitwene lordis and hor comyns. Ffor we wil mayntene lordis to lyve in hor lustis, extorciouns, and oþer synnes, and þo comyns in covetise, lecchorie, and oþer disseyts, wiþ fals sweringe in mony giles; and also þo curatis in hor dampnacioun, for leevynge of hor gostly ofsis; and so be procuratoures of þo fende for to drawe alle men to helle. Þus þei done in dede, however þei feynen in ypocrisie of pleesing of wordis. Off þese fifti heresies and erroirs, and mony moo, if men wil seke hom wil out, þei may knowe þat freris ben cause, bygynnyng, welle, and mayntenyng, of perturbacioun in Cristendom, and of alle yvels of þis world. And þese erroirs schulen nevere be amendid, til freris be brouȝt to fredome of þo gospel, and clene religioun of Jesus Crist.

God for his endeles mercy and charite make verrey pees, unite, and charite, amonge Cristen men, and bringe alle prestis to Cristis clene religioun, wiþouten errourr of wronge by lawes. Amen.
XXV.

DE BLASPHEMIA, CONTRA FRATRES.

[The only MS. of the following tract known to exist is contained in Bodl. 647 (W). In the Catalogue of Bale it bears the title ('De Blasphemia, contra Fratres'), here prefixed to it. Wyclif's Latin treatise, 'De Blasphemia,' also mentioned by Bale, but without first words, and frequently quoted by Walden in the Doctrinale, is an entirely different work. I can discover in this tract no reliable indication of the date at which it was composed. Although Bale is our only authority for ascribing the authorship to Wyclif, I am disposed, from the evidence of style, language, and turn of thought, to consider it authentic.]

[PARS I.]

Hit is seide þat thre þinges stoublen þis rumpe, and specialy heresie, þat haf þre parties; bot of blasphemye, þat is þo worste, is bot litel spoken. And, for wickidnesse of þis vice, þo bishopis of þo temple putten blasphemye upon Crist, to do him to dep. For, as þo Psalme seis, and þo gospel beris witnesse, þei scharpid hor toungis and cried togedir, What kepe þe witenesse? þe have herde his blasphemye. Blasphemye is in a maner sclaundring of God. And so in þre maners may mon blaspheme in God. Fýrst, when worþynesse appropried to God is unworþily putt to a pore creature. Þo secounde, when unperfeccioun is putt upon God. Þo þridde, when divynyte is denied for God, þat mot acorde to hym for his grett

1 Some unlucky binder has cut away the greater part of the heading in the MS; it seems to have been 'Pars Prima Blasphemiae.'
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

I. Blasphemous doctrine respecting the Eucharist.

lordship. And if blasphemye be scaterid amonge mony men, nerepoles pis heresie is comynly wip freris. And wip thre blaspemyes pei blyenデン po puple. Po first is hor heresie of po sacrament of po auter. Po seconde is blasphemye of beggyng of Crist. Po pridde is hor blasphemye of graunt of gostily helpe to hem пат wil bye or pourchasse to be Anticristis broper.

As to пат first, we seyn, siker of oure feyth, пат пат whyte пинг and rounde пат пат prest sacris, like to пат unsacrid oostis, and is broken and eeten, is verrely Gods body in пат fourme of bred. Ffor Crist toke bred in his hondes, blessid hit, brake hit, and bad alle his disciplis eete пат eperof. Ffor as he hymself seide, пис is my body; and everiche Cristen mon is fully certeyn пат alle blasphemyes in пат world may not fals Crist. Bot here пат fals blasphemes gropen after weyes, and seyn пат би пис пei schewe Gods body and not пат bred. Bot witte пei wil by Cristen mennis bileeve, пат пат wordis of Crist ben not so naked of witte, to telle his apostils пат his body is his body, for пат knew пei first. Also, пат of al Cristis shewyng were straunge to пат bred, hou shulde пат есе blasphemes, by virtu of пат wordes, proffe пат bred tournes to noж, and accident leeves wipouten any sogett, or пат Gods body is newly пере? Also, as everiche Cristen mon moste graunt, Crist schewid wyn in пат chalis, пат he cald his blode. Lord, why shulde he not shewe by пат same skil bred, пат he toke in his honde and comaundid to eete hit? For everiche Cristen mon may wel witte, пат Crist seide not пат по metal was his blode; ne Crist undirstode not пат accidentis were his blode, ne he schewid not his blode wipinne his body, bothe for his wordis were пат wipouten witte, and also пат his wordis were fals, for пат tyme пат he spake hom. Оf пис may we se пат Crist was a gabber, или пат was sop пат he seide, пис bred is my body.

And herfore Seynt Jerome, пат couthe more of holy writte пат alle пат men now on lyve, for he was lenger taut, wrytes пис. Here we, he seis; пат bred пат Crist brake, and gaf his disciplis to eete, is his owne body, фfor he hymself seis пат пис

* S. Hieron. ad Hedibiam, § 2.

Their explanation of the words of instruction novel and untenable.
is my body. And to dampne wordis or sentence of þis holy mon were a foolish tourne, to scorne of þo damper; as we shulden scorne þes heretikes, þat leven Cristis wordis, and feynen wordis or sentence wipouten auctorite. As somme seyn, þat is þo sentence of þo gospel, not þat þis bred is Cristis body, but þat þis bred schal be Cristis body. Somme ben not payed of þis, but þat of þis bred schal be Cristis body. Þo þridde seis, þat Cristis body is not new made, ne getis not new mater þat was in þo bred; so þat not of þis bred is makid Gods body, but þat þes accidentis bitoken Gods body. Mony soche sentencis ben feyned of freris, by whom Anticristis clerkis reversen Cristis sentence. By þis mot we graunte þat þis bred þat Crist brak is verrely his body, or elles sey þat þis holy gospel is fals, or ellis uncrafuly cloute to wordes of Crist. And sith everiche mon þat wipouten auctorite of Crist puttes witte to Cristis wordes þat God askes not, is an heretike, hit is open þat soche feyners ben alle blasphemes.

Bot ageynis þis grutches Anticrist, þat þis sacrament shulde togedir be bred and Gods body. Bot, as he feynes, when þat Gods body bygynnes to be þere, þen bred turnes to nost, and accident leeves. Þes foolis shulden undirstonde þat Baptist, when he was naked, holly ceesid not to be Jon, ne non oþer þing. And so þes blasphemes passen Juwes in fooly, for Juwes known þat hit is bred when þei kyndely eten hit; and so þese freris and Pharisees ben madder þen Juwes and falser þen Paynings, sip þei trowen nowþer þat hit is Gods body, ne bred, ne creature þat ever God made. Bot feythe of þo gospel techis us to trowe þat þis is verrey bred after þo sacringle, for Crist hymself seis, þis bred is my body; bot what foole con not se þat ne þen hit is bred? Also þo gospel techis Cristen men to preye aftir þis iche day bred, or owne substaunce. And Austyn techis þat by þis bred Crist undirstode þis sacrament. Also þo apostlis knewen Crist by brekyng of þis bred; and þis bred was þo sacrament, as Austyn seis, wiþ þo popis lawe. And Seynt Poule, þat owver oþer knew of Gods priveytes, calles þis sacrament, bred þat we breke.

Owe, wheþer weshal se Anticrist so myghty þat he shal dampne Cristen men for þei graunte þo gospel! Wil I wot
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

\[\text{by the side of ours,}\]

\[\text{for it is contradicted by the plainest evidence of sense,}\]

\[\text{The friars quarrel with the new translation of the bible.}\]

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that we may amonge Sara\'ens trowe and tech\'e \textit{his} gospel wip-outen any pynsychyng; bot alle Cristen men shulden have freris suspecte, \textit{that} \textit{pei} dar not putt out her fei\'e to \textit{po} puple, and putt hit by oure feythe, and stonde \textit{pery}. And certis one of \textit{ese} \textit{pre} \finges \textit{semes} to 
\textit{meet}e hom,---\textit{hat} ou\'\textit{er} \textit{pei} con not, or dar not, or \textit{pei} travel by en\'y. God helpe us few Cristen men \textit{hat} stonden in \textit{his} feythe, \ffor leesynes and flateryynes of freris spreden ful wyde. And, as Crist \textit{s}c\textit{h}\textit{e}\textit{wi}d \textit{b}re\textit{d} before \textit{po} sacringe, and bad hem all eete \textit{per}of, so he \textit{sh}\textit{e}w\textit{id} \textit{a}f\textit{t}i.

\text{And as Anticrist marres men in hor wittis, so he destries virtues \textit{hat} shulden cum of hom. \ffor amonge alle bodily wittis, moste certyne of alle are gropynge and tasytyng, as philosophers seyn. Bot gropynge \textit{pei} marren by hon fol\'y sentence; \ffor no bodily \fying we knowen more certynyly \fpen hardenesse and soffennesse of \fhis holy bred. For when hit is new baken, hit brek\'en in a maner, and varies in sounde fro olde baken bred; bot olde bred, in moyste tyme, brekes not \fpus. \fBot, as philosoferes seyn, hardenesse and soffennesse, frelenesse and towghnesse, with soche qualifyees, may now\'er qualite ne quanti te sogetten. Ow, whe\'er God, \textit{hat} is treu\'e, ordeyned Cristen men for to be marred in hor wittes in \fpo sacrament of tre\'\textit{t}t, more \fpen Juwes or Paynims erren in hor feythe! And so \fpo sacrament of \fpo chalis may opinly shewe, \ffirst, swettenesse of wyne, and aftir sournesse, as prestis knowen wil. Lord, whe\'er swettenesse and sournesse ben sogettid in figure! And here mennis innwittis mot algatis erre in knowynge and jugynge of difference of substauence; as, if mony oostis, sacrid and unsacrid, were mengid togedir, a blaspheme \textit{hat} knewe not \fpo medelynge of hom, kouthe not knowe accident fro bred, ne telle what is \fhis more \fpen a 
\text{b}ee\textit{st}e. And if tonnes of wyne were sacrid by\'3onde \fpo see, now\'er vyn\'yners of Eng\'\textit{lon}d\'e couthe taaste \fhis likoure, ne prestis my3t syngge wip soche accidentis. And so \f\textit{hes} fals men mot algatis dowte whe\'er alle soche men 
\text{faylen in hor jugementis.}

\text{And afti\'er soche errours in kyndely wittes \textit{pei} make men to erre in science and vertues, as \textit{pei} mot curse grammaries \textit{hat} Englishen \fpo gospel, \textit{hat} \fpo apostlis knewen Crist in brekyng.
of bred, for þei myght make hor scolers to trowe þat þo sacra-
ment of þo auter were bodily bred; as þo gramarien were to
blame þat taught þus hir childer, þat þo hounde schynes aboven
þo sonne*. For if gramariens shulden construe þis þus,—þo
apostils knew Crist in brekynge of accydent wipouten suggett,
þen nowþer þei ne þo puple wiste what þei mente; as þis were
erroure in gramer to teche, for, þis bred is nedeful to mon, þat
þing is nedeful to mon. And here Anticristis clerkes maken
homself perple ; hit nedes not to suen. Owe! þis blasphemye
pervertis boþe logik and science of kynde. Bot moste harm in
þis mater stondes in þis; þat þei perverte þo seythe of þo gospel.
For þo gospel seis, þat Crist toke bred in his hondes, blessid
hit, and brake hit, and gaf his disciplis, and bad hom ich one,
Eete þe of þis; for, as he seide, þis is my body. By þo first
þis, þei sey þat bred is shewid, and by þo seconde þis is al
anoþer þing. And so þei blaspheme in Crist and mystaken his
worde. For as1 everiche gode mon by resoun con se, þat as
þo wisdome of Crist shulde first schewe bred, so schulde he
aftir schewe þo same bred; ffor elles þis were a causel wipouten
any witte, Eetis alle of þis, for þis is my body.

And herfore lordis and comyns and alle trew men schulden
juge þo blasphemès in hor wronge partye. Ffor so myche may
prelatis erre, þat hit is worthy þo puple to juge hom, as þo
bischopis of þo temple were nedid to forsake to juge Crist, þat
is trewth of þo gospel. And right as a blaspheme in þo olde
lawe shulde be stoned of al þo puple, so alle Cristen men
shulden gostily stone blasphemès. Bot who is a Cristen mon,
bott he þat trowes þat bred is Cristis body, as þo gospel seies?
And so by erroures þat growen of þes blasphemès is holy Chirche
lettid to profit in virtues. Ffor if mon trowid holly in þo lawe
of þo gospel, and durst not cloute þerto nor drawe þerfro, þen
shulden þei be mekelly Cristis disciplis and þe soche blasphemès,

* The friars impute to gram-
marians, who undertake the trans-
lation of the Bible, the desire, by
the way in which they render this
passage, to bring down the sacra-
ment of the altar to the level of
common bread,—which would be
like saying that the dog-star shone
more brightly than the sun. Such
appears to me to be the meaning of
this difficult passage.
as vertues techen; for bope vertues and vyces ben knyttid
togedir, and þen shulde Cristis lawe be worshippid as hit is
worthy, for hit suffices by hitself to reule Cristis Chirche, wiþouten
þo popis lawe or any suche oþer. And as men thar not renne
to Rome, ne to any one, to fecche by leeve of Crist or ellis to be
made Cristis membre, so men thar not go þider for to cum to
heven. Ffor, as everiche mon had a tyne streghht unto heven,
so haves he Crist above hym, þat wiþouten oþer prelatis sufficis
to gif grace and al þat men neden. Mony þinges ben hidde
here þat Cristen men may fynde, and witte wel þat of vanye
tues more vanye.

Bot þitte ageyns þis sentence meefes Anticrist, and, as an
heretik departid fro treuth, he wandris unwarly unto wronge
wayes. þo first is in derkenesse of resouns of scole. þis wil
we passe owcer, certeyn of oure feythe þat þei shal nevere hirte
oure sentence of þo gospel, bifoere þei con Porfyry, wiþ Aristotlis
textis. þo secounde wey þat þei walken is trist of new witte-
nesse. þo first wittenesse and þo moste is þo pope and his
cardynals, whom þei have hyed so myche, and evened him with
Crist, þat as þei sey he myght not synne in leedyng of his
Chirche, so he myght not erre in articles of þo trouth. Bot
blessid be God, þat schewes us in dede þat one þat men callen
pope may erre in þes bothe. And one þing I sey, certen of
resoun, þat no mon in þis worlde may lightlyer or gresvouslyer
synne, for his fote is festid at pride by hynesse of state, and þo
fende temptis hym more, for hope of more harmynge bycause
of his synne. And one þing is certen, þat he is not confermed,
in þat þat he hyes him and varyes fro Crist. And evere þo moo
of soche men ben gedird togedir, þo strenger þei ben to Anti-
crist, and þo ferrer fro Crist; as agh t hundrid prestitis on Baal
syde were not so stronge in God as Hely hym one. And here
may we se hou falsely þo fend bigiles þo Chirche wiþ his fals
principle, þat if þo more part of soche men assenten to a sen-
tence, þat al holy Chirche shulde trowe hit as gospel. And so,
þof þo pope and alle his cardynals determen as gospel, þat þo
sacrament of þo auter is accident wiþouten sugette, neverpoles,
for þei con not grounde hem on Gods lawe ne resoun, holy
Chirche shulde not trowe hom, bot have hom suspect.
Lord, wher feythe of þo gospel gyven to Cristen men, þo whoche lastid þo thousande þere þat Sathanas was bounden, wolde not suffice nowe when Sathanas is lowsid! Þfaythe of þo gospel seis þat heven and erþe shal passe, and chaunge fro state to state, bot þo wordes of Crist schul not þus passe. Ów I what wodenesse þen were hit, any Cristen mon to leve þo wordis of Crist, þo gospel, and trowe to fals wordis! Bot worshippid be þo lore of sothfastnesse þat mevyd þis courte to confesse þis feythe, as schewes pope Nychol a. And þitte afftir, when þis courte was fer fro þo trewth, hit determyned not þis feyned sentence þat men holden nowe, al þof wode glosatoures had wrytten in þis mater more than þei knew of, or elles couthen grounde. And þitte alle þes freris þat procur for Anticrist, mot cloute to leesynge to textis and glosis. And so þo fende haves counseilde wip Anticrist his viker, and heght hym Gog and Magog to bigyle þo puple; and comettis þis fantasye,—þat if þei maken men to denye hor wittes and Cristis wordis boþe, þat þis sacrament is not verely bred, but þing þat þei knowen not, he schuld make hom lightly to denye afftir þat þis were Gods body, or what he wolde. And so myþt he lightlere make hom lye by wyfes, and disuse temporal godes, or do what þei wolde, and sey þo puple shulde not trowe soche þinges, bot trowe þo sawes þat Anticrist lyes, for wittes of þo puple erren ful ofte. For we may als opunly knowe þat þis is bred, as we may knowe þo synnes of Anticrist. Bot one þing lettis, þat þen þei myþt not wynne þo money of hor soggettis, þat þei nowe spoyle; and so, by hydynge of synne þat þei nowe selle, þei shulde not feble þes rewmes þat þei nowe bygile. Ne alle Anticristis clerkis con not telle þo cause, why accydentis schulden leve wipouten sogett, bot if hit were to signyfie one of þese þinges,—ouþer þat soche men ben partid fro Crist, or elles þat blessynge of prelatis are verely cursynge, or elles to make þo puple to trowe þat þei passe God. Ffor howevere þei blaber here wip hor lippes, hor soule may not understonde what are

a The reference is, I think, to the recantation of Berengarius, incorporated in the Acts of the council held at Rome in the year 1059 under Nicholas II, in which the former declares that he accepts the faith concerning the Eucharist prescribed to him by ‘Nicholas and this holy Synod.’ Concilia, ed. reg. vol. xxv. p. 591.
Controversial Tracts.

pese accidentis; ne God may not undirstonde an accident wi'poute a sugett. Bot anentis pofirst of pese, Austyn seis ppat as mon may not be wi'pouten his God, so an accident may not be wi'pouten his sugett. And if we close Austyn, ppat pis may not be by kynde, by ppo same skil shulde we putt on Austyn ppat he shulde denye al holy faythe, for none of pses articles may be wi'pouten myracle. And so ppo first and ppo laste ben falsely feyned, for al ppoefi be partid fro God, nepoles God syndes hom, and puttes hom to payment.

God wolde ppat Anticristis clerkes, ppat perverten oure byleve, and chargen more wordes of Ambrose ppen wordes of ppo gospel, wolden pjiif us leve to treuly close Ambrose. When he seis ppat aftir ppo sacringe ppo sacrament shulde not be holden bred, ppis seynt undirstondes, as he ofte telles, ppat it shulde not be trowid aftir principaly bred. Ffor ppis Ambrose seis ppat pping ppat was bred is nowe Gods body; and wil may we witte ppat Ambrose seis not ppat bred gos to noght, as Anticrist seis. As anentis pis cursid blessynge falsely feyned, hit is knowen ppat Crist curside ppo fige tre more mekely ppen pese men feynen ppat ppei blesse pis bred. Ffor pjitte aftir Cristis cursynge was ppo tre dryed, and substaunee lefft, as ppo gospel seis. Bot, as ppes seyn, aftir hor blesseyng leves nowpher mater, neforme, ne part of pis bred. Ffor, as ppe seyn in sentense, ppei blesse pis bred to noght in forme of noght. Bot schilde us fro soche blessynge of blaspheme prestis! And sip noght ppat was bifoere in bred tournes into Gods body, or any per creature, as ppei mot nedely sey, how falsely ppen feyned ppei ppat ppo bred of ppo auter tournes into better! For by ppo same skil hit tournes into Cristis soule, and into his Godhead. Sothe hit is ppat pis bred tournes into Cristis body. Ffor, as Seint Ambrose seis, hit shal be Cristis body. And so ppo substaunce of bred, offerd in ppo auter, shal be turned into substaunce of Cristis owne body, and nowpher schal be broght to noght, for ppei ben not contrarye. Lett we pses blasphemes take hede, how Crist, bifoere ppo sacrynge, bad alle eete of pis bred; bot everiche blaspheme schulde

a This dictum is taken from a treatise on the Ten Categories, falsely ascribed to St. Augustine. See his Works, vol. i. App. p. 34 (Benedict. ed. 1679).

b See vol. i. p. 379, note.
schame pat Crist shulde bidde hom do ping contrarye to his purpose, pat were not for to do. And herefore wiþouten dowte Crist wolde pat þis bred were lastynge til it were his body, and aftir were eeten, for elles mot þei putt tregetrye and falsenes in Crist. And sith bodily eetyng was bidden of Crist, and þis bodily eetyng myȝt not be, bot if hit were bred, þen þis bred lastis aftir þo sacrynge. And þus Seynt Poule and þer apostils usiden suche eetyng; for gostily eetyng of Cristis owne body was not taȝt by schewyng of bred, bot by brekyng of bred, as Seynt Poule seis. And ðer wittenes in þis mater is multitude of doctoures. Bot siþ Seynt Austyn forbedes þat ony man trowe hym, bot if he grounde hym in resoun, or elles in Gods lawe, myche more of alle þese doctors, siþen þo fende was loused, no mon schulde trowe hom, bot þei grounde hom þus. And myche more of oure popis wiþ alle hor cardinals. And so, þof we had an hundred of popis, and alle þo freris: in þis worlde were tourned unto cardinals, þitte schulde we more trowe þo lawe of þo gospel þen we schulde trowe al þis multitude.

II PARS BLASPHEMIAE.

þo secounde blasphemede grounden þes freris, for þei feynen falsely beggyng in Crist; and hereby þei peyren þo Chirche, and spoylen þo pore puple. Þei supposen sothely þat Crist was pore, for Seynt Poule seis þat Crist was made bolþe pore and nedy, for þo luf of mon. And þis we graunten hom, and more þerto, þat Crist was a beggar, as þo Salme seis. Bot, for to knowe fraudes and falsenesse of freris, moste we knowe what is beggyng, and maner of beggyng. No creature beggis bot mon-kynde one; ne nevere shulde have begged bot for his owne synne. And so begges a mon, þat askes purely, for Gods luf, helpe of any þing to releve him of his wrecchidnes. And by dyversite of þinges þat we beggen of, and by maner of beggyng, may we knowe kyndes of beggyng. Everiche mon is nedid to begge of his God, for we asken of hym oure iche dayes bred, and in þat we begge of hym, as Austyn beres wittenes a. Bot speke we of beggyng of mon and beggyng of

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temporal gods; and so somme beggen of men in worde, and somme beggen in dede. And of þoo þat beggen [in] worde, somme seyn treuly and expressly hor owne myscheffe, for to be releved as þei shulde be, and such beggyngye is algatis of synne of þo puple. And somme cryen by worde aftir temporal gods in yvel maner, aftir more þen þei schulde have; and suche willeful beggyngye lackes groundyngye of resoun. Ffor of Crist I rede not þat evere he beggid in worde, ne he myþt not begge more þen hym nedid. Sothely in þo olde lawe was beggyngye forbeden*, for hit gos oute of kynde more þen is nede; siþ bestis by kynde taken hor fode, ich one by hymself, als myche as hym nedes. And if him wante strenght, by tendernesse of þouthede, kynde hafs taught þo first beste to norische his owne issue. In elde þei bisye hom noþt, siþ hor soule lastis not aftir. And so iche mon schulde, by þo wey of kynde, take þat hym nedes of temporal gods; and if hym wantid witte in kyndely power, he schulde be releved by men þat God sendes more. And so, sith beggyngye is unkyndely to bestis, myche more to mon þat God luþs more, ffor God haves gyven a mon bothe powere and witte, for to begge not, bot if he be nedid by unkyndeness of mon. And herfore men wischen þat yvel mot he spede þat begges on þis wyse, bot if he have nede; for slouthe of covetyouse men, þat shulden gif bifore, and helpe þo pore men, is cause of þis beggyngye, or elles slouthe in covetyse of þese stronge beggers. And þus forbedes Gods lawe þat any mon be begger. And as God haves gyven men tole, to begge þus in nede, so haves he gyven men power to helpe homself as bestis; and he þat mysuses þis powere reversis Gods ordynynse. And herfore techis Austyn munkes to travel; and so algatis hit is synne a mon to begge þus; for if he willefully begge, and haves no nede, he is a schrewid begger, reproved of God. If he be nedid to begge for synne of his neightbore, defaute is in his neightbore, al þof he be clene; and so suche beggyngye moste smake synne, ouþer in hym þat begges, or in hym þat first schulde helpe hym. Here may we se þat Crist begged not þus, siþ he had no nede, but evere was occupied in ouþer better.

* The reference is to Deut. xv. 4; see p. 371, note a.
werkes; and of Crist 1erned Seynt Poule to travel wip his Hondis, and fleysh suche beggynge, in hym and his folowers.

Bot, for Seynt Petre expownes þo prophete, þat Judas pursued Crist, mon nedy and begger, hit were for to witte hou Crist was a begger. Ffor hit semes þat Crist beggid, not onely in his membres, bot in his owne persone, as he was pore and nedy; and so þo moste honeste beggyng ordeyned of God, and likeste to þo state of innocense, acordid to Crist; and þat he seide in dede defaute that he was inne, and asked not in worde helpe for his myschef, not by almes of mon ne pleynynge to hom. And þis seyinge in dede, wipouten Cristis bisynes, was þo beggyng þat þo Palmes puttes to Crist. Bot as in byinge of a hors, mon byes hym not to bye þo heer of þis hors, ne none oþer lymme, so Crist bisyed hym not for þis bodily almes, bot for to worschip his Fadir, and profite to þo puple. And ne were Gods lawe, þis speche were ful straunge, ffor men speken comynly of beggyng by mowthe, not by mevynge of royce, bot by expresse wordes; and þus menen men þat seyn þat Crist begged not.

And siþ freris beggen on þis wyse by autorite of Crist, hit semes þat þei conseyven þat Crist begge þus. Bot Seynt Richart of Armawhe proves on feir maner, þat were an heresye to putt upon Crist suche maner of beggyng, and mayntene hit stify. For feyth nedes us to trowe, þat al þat Crist did, he did hit on þo beste maner wipouten defaute; bot what nede of profite shulde mefe þis Lord, for to begge þus wipouten any cause? Nede drof him not þerto, siþ Crist hungred nevere bot when he chees to hungre so, and þif ensamiple of penaunce. Bot Lord! what profit were hit Crist to begge þus, siþ he myght mefe men to gif hym when hym nedid, wipouten any bisynes of askynge of hom? And siþ þis were algatis þo better to Crist and to þo puple, what shulde mefe þo blasphemes to lye þus on Crist? Also, siþ Crist did ever more þo beste, what shulde mefe hym to occupye his mouthe wip suche beggyng? Certis, siþ Crist ches to be unchargeaunte to þo puple, ne gif non occasioun of avariše to oþer, þei shulden fle þis doynge, and occupye hom better,—speciali siþ he forfended to begge in his lawe. Also, siþ freris seyn þat beggyng groundes hom, and puttes hom in hyer
degre of al þis Chirche, why wolde not Crist byfore þo comynge of freris teche þis beggynge, to profite of his spouse? Hit semes þat he shulde not bid, to lousyng of þo fende. Bot, as Seynt Hildegar seis in hir prophesye, þis beggynge abode þis perilouse tyne, when fals ypocritis disseyven þo puple a. Also, sip þo gospel is ful of dedes of Crist, and sufficyent in treuth to governe Cristis Churche, if þis beggynge of freris were taken of Cristis lif, sumwhere in þo gospel shulde hit be groundid. Bot þo gospel leves hit, þat holdes al treuth. And so þo blaspheme freris, to grounde hor ordir, putten Crist out of state of innocense, and putten folie in his werke, sip he wrot unwarly. Mony fayre resoun makis þis holy bishop to convicte in þis falsnesse of freris.

Bot sip þer freris were heretikes and blasphemes in Crist, bot if þei groundid þis beggynge in lawe of þo gospel, þei bisien hom ful faste to seke hom a grounde. Þo first and þo myghtiest resoun of freris to prove beggyng in Crist, stondes in þis; Crist askid þo womman watir to drinke, and þitte he was an alien, for he was a Samaritan; myche more wolde he be homely to his owne kyn. Bot here þo blynde blasphemes mosten lerne hor logik. Þfor lewid men wol wel, þat hit sues not, þof þo Lord aske of his owne þinge þat hym nedes, þen he moste begge þat þing of his servaunt. And so, if Crist bad þo wommon gif hym a drinke, neverjoles he beggid not þis drinke of þo wommon. And wolde God þat soche freris beggid not bot water, or elles oþer elementis, þate by kynde shulden be comyne! And, for freris may not feyne oþer drinke bot water of þo welle þat Crist shulde aske, þei feyne falsely þat Crist asked watir to drinke. Bot hit is not semely þat he wolde þen drinke watir, sip he sende his disciplis to towne to bye meete, and a fastynge mon lufs litel suche drinke. Also þo

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a St. Hildegaris was abess of the convent of St. Robert on the Nahe near Bingen. She lived to the age of 82, dying in the year 1180. The passage here alluded to is probably contained in the Eleventh Vision of the third book of Scivias, the name which she gave to the book of her Visions; for this particular vision deals with the state of things existing in the Church in her own time, and to exist after her death. But the work not being indexed, I have been unable to light on the passage. See the Liber 3 virorum et 3 virginum, Paris, 1513.
gospel telles not that Crist askid water, ne that he dranke water when that hit was drawn. And so it semes that feynyng of freris expownes this gospel as heretikes done. But hit is more semely, sip that welle was depe, and Crist loved that womman in shewynge of myraclis, that he shulde make this water by myracle springe up, and sithen drinke therof if he had nede. And herfore olde sentence is acordyng with this gospel, that Crist spake here of spiritual eetyngye and drinkynge; for when his disciplis bad him eete, he seyde he had mete to eete that pei knewen not. And so when this wommon by devocioun of feyth that Crist hir hert, then he dranke with hir. Lord, weper God begge of mon when he askes his wille, or Crist beggid of this wommon when he mevid hir hert, and gaf hir water of lif, and filled hir for evere!

Bot zitte that freris fablen of beggynge of Crist, and seyn he beggid of Zachee bope meete and house. Bot here that ydiotes faylen in discrevynge of beggynge. For if a bayle aske rent to the lord, he begges not this rent of the lordis tenaunte. Ne if a mon aske his dette of anothe, he begges not this of hym, for dyversite of titel. Miche more Crist, that was bope God and mon, and had by state of innocense lord 1 of al this worlde, that he asked of his owne, as a lord shulde, pinges of his servauntis that he had myster of and nede, he beggid not, but nedid his servauntis thorw mercy. And lefe loke that wordes that Crist seyde to Zachee, weper that sownd beggynge or lordship in Crist. Zachee, hyinge cum doune of this lordship in Crist. Zachee, hyinge cum doune of this tre, for I mot this day dwelle in this house. A riche mon wolde penke spyte of a begger, that bad him hastily cum doune fro a sight that hym liked, and seide that he moste herberow this begger; for suche a mon wolde sey sone to suche a begger,—Begger, zitte myghtes that aske weper that I wolde. Bot that gospel techis that Crist did mercy unto this riche mon, and beggid not of hym.

Zitte that foles blabur to prove that Crist beggid, sip he sende his disciplis to Jerusalem, to fett him an asse and hir foole for to ryde on. Bot this blayndenesse of this blasphemes gos this same waye, for that blabur heresy that God asked not. And

1 an error probably for lordship.
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sip þere"is no beggynge of soche comyne bestis, þo freris shulden schame to forge suche beggynge; specialy sip þo Lord bad his disciplis, þat if ony mon seide owght unto hom, þei¹ schulden sey þat þo Lord had myster of hom. þei schulden lerne, þat name of Lord, taken by hymself, sygnifies God, Lord of all lorde. And, for hit were to streyte to lordship of Crist to be a special lord of Jude or Jerusalem, þerfore he bad þat þei schulde calle him Lorde. Bot þitte þo freris casten out oder blynde resouns, þat Crist beggid a house, to eete inne his maundye, ffor, as þo gospel seis, he had none of his owne, and so he toke almes bothe of men and of wymmen; why schulde we not sey þat ne Crist was a begger? Bot here we seyn to freris, as þo Psalme seis, þat Crist was to geder bothe riche and pore, and herfore he ordeyned þo apostils to sey þat he was Lord of alle lorde; and þitte had he myster. And so Crist was moste pore mon þat evere was oute, and þerto most riche mon, and also moste curteyse. And so in al his povert he beggid not by voyce, bot meved folk to gif him, for more mede of hom. And so, þof Crist toke bodily almes, neverepoles he gat better ageyne gostily almes, and beggid nevere on þis maner þat þo freris feynen. And so he bad, as verrey Lord, to go to þo cyte, and sey to sum myghty mon by þis token, þat, þo mayster seis, I make Paske wiþ þe. And at þis lordely worde of þis maister, þis burgeys of þo cyte schewed hom a grett house strewid. Lord, wheþer þis menes beggynge of Crist! Bot þes blynde blasphemes con not depart beggynge fro povert, for boþe acorden sumwhat.

Bot se we wheþer þes newe sectis seyn sop upon Crist, þat þei suen hym in lif bifore alle oder men; bot hit semes nay. Fœrst, when þei sey þat þei ben pore as Crist, þo fend hafs clothid hom in a cope to bringe in more deceyte. Certis þei have feele rentis, bot Crist had nevere one. Crist was herberowid in symple houses of oder comyne men; þese freris have in propur a houses of coste. Crist þat was al wyse had bot twelve disciplis; þese founed freris rekken nevere how

¹ corrected; þe, W.

* As their own.
mony pei have. And, for Crist chees his disciplis, and gedrid hom of mony, pe freris steelen lesse childer wipoute discrecioun; herfore pei have Scarioths moo pe apostils. Bot loke how pe freris kepenn pe lawe of pe gospel. Crist wolde pat nowper he ne his were chargeauent to pe puple; pe freris loken how myche pei may gete of godes of pe comynes, to carye to hor castel. Ffor by pis entent pei make horn a cyte, as Caym, to carye to. Bot ouþer Seynt Poule seide fals of propurtees of charite, pat hit sekes not his owne gode, but godes of comynes, or elles pe freris reversen pe rewles of charite. I rede not pat Crist wip alle his apostlis toke more of pe comynnes pei he gaf ageyne. Ffor in his two feestis pat he maken by myracle, he fed pe puple in als myche as he and his apostils token of pe puple; and spiritual giftes pat Crist gaf pe puple was wipouten mesure better pe hor hitsetes. If freris, in more spense of housyng and mete, in clothynge, in juwels, chargen more pe puple pei Crist wip his apostils, how suen pei Crist in pis maner of lyvynge? And so hit were al one to grounde soche ordiris of beggers, and grounde Anticristis clerkis and blasphemes of Crist. Ow l sip Seynt Richarde, bishop of Armawh, proves ageyne freris by mony feyre resouns pat pei faylen opunly fro Cristis religion; and harmen pei Cherche and pe comynes bothe; how ben oure bishops and freris now knyttid togedir, bot as Herowde and Pilate were made fals frendes? And pis knotte lastid not, for hit was yvel groundid in hate of Crist, and of his lawe; so hit semes here. And harmyng of pe puple may we sone se; sip heven lokes lesse to fruyt of pe erthe, monnes strength is lesse, here lyve is shortere, pe tymes is lesse sesounable, and charite withdrawn. What shulde mefe Anticrist to double pe rentis of pe pore puple in suche yvel tymes? Ffor byfore pat freris comen by cautel of pe fende, pe puple gaf no more rente for so myche to hor lordes. And al þinge acountid, pei gyven nowe to þo ordiris wel nyhe als myche as pei did to hor lordes. And so frutis of worlde godes faylen in þo grounde. And sip yvel partynge of soche godes is cause of discencioun, þo fende hafs caste þis snare for to bryge men, ffor charite is exiled, and envye is kyndelid. And þis semes þo caste of þo fende of helle, þat he
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schal destrye lorde and hor tenautes, and leve none in þo world bot Anticrist clerkes. And so, in þis þat freris ben chargeaunt to þo puple, þei suen hor mayster Anticrist, and not Jesus Crist.

Þo secounde waye þat þei go fro Crist and his lawe is wed-dyng of hor newe ordiris, and dyversen fro Cristis lawe. Men may opunly se hou freris telden more by hor newe ordir and hor ordynaunse, þen þei do by Cristis lawe, or profit of his Chirche. Ffor þis þei suen scharpelyer, and punyschen herfore; and þis privey horedame makes myche harme. As Crist biddes, undertake thryesoure broþer, and at þo fouth tyme forsake horn as hethen men. Bot þese private ordiris bidden al þo contrarye; for he þat sues þis gospel is holdun sclaunderer of his breþere, destroyer of horn house, and of hor newe religioun. Ffor oft sithe he shulde telle apertely þo fautes of his breþeres, and oft fi horn as cursed men þat his reule ageyne þis. Ffor oft his gode breþere ben putt into prisoun, and moste schrewis of oþer have hede to go aboute, and use frely horn malice as procuratouris of þo fende. And sith hit is al one to luf a lord and his lawe, ofte tyme þei luf more horn ordi þen Crist. And in mony caas fredom of þo gospel meste be forsaken for hor newe tradiciouns.

Bot þitte þo blasphemes blaburen ageyne þis sentense, þat bothe resoun and holy writte acorden togeder, þat whoso edifyes þo puple shal lif on þo puple; bot sîþ freris in lif and worde edifyen moste þo puple, hit semes þei schulde first take almes of þo puple. Bot wayte we whydir þo blasphemes drawen. Þis resoun meenes þat no maner of comynes schulde gif temporal godes to lordis or persouns, bifoþe þo freris were served of þat at þei craven. Bot hit were al one to holde upon þis sentense, and destrye þo ordiris þat Crist made, and mayntene his enemyes. And þus bigan Anticrist to reverse Crist, not mending defautes þat were in Cristis ordir, bot makyng newe ordiris and sectis, as he wolde passe Crist. Bot feyth and kynde techis us, þat ordir of Crist is better, and þat he ordeyned his Chirche as beste wolde be, nouþer to myche ne to litel, bot in gode mesure. Bot þo bastarde braunchis of þo newe ordiris spronge in wijpoute auctorite of God. Ow! what wise mon

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wolde make a hye house, and putte tymbre bynethe, and stoories
aboven? or elles above more hevye þinge þen þo foundement
wolde bere? þo foundement of þo Chирche ben comyners and
laboreres; bot if moo ordiris and sectis ben clotirde on hom
þen schulde by resoun hele hom wip charite, defaute is in ordy-
naunce of maker of þo Chирche. And so soth hit is, if freris
travel more to profite of þo Chирche þen oþer men done, þei
schulden upon resoun be susteyned of þat Chирche, if þei come
to þis werke by autorite of God. Bot Seynt Poule techis þat
soche schulde not be hevye to þo puple þat þei techen, bot lyve
on litel, as foules. Bot þese raveyners robben þo puple, and
done not hor devere. And so resoun wolde aske þat noumbre
of prestis schulden stonde in mesure, and travel in hor offis;
and if þei were ydel, or elles to monye, withdrawe of hor sus-
tynaunce, and spende on oþer maner þo tresor of God, and not
norishe his enemies. Bot howevere þese blasphemes bosten
þat þei travel more to profite of þo Chирche þen done oþer
prestis, one þinge men known, þat sith þei comen in hafs þo
Chирche payred in everiche membre.

How blessidful were þo Chирche to renne aftir Crist, if it were
only payed of þo ordynaunce of hym, and broght up no newe
lawes, ne no newe sectis, bot amendid mysdoeris by Cristis
owne lawe, and bringe hom ageyne to þo lyve þat Crist hymself
ordeyned! And þen þo dowynge of þo emperoure had nouþer
comen in, ne his prelatis had not blasphemed þus ageynes
Gods lawe, ne þese private religiouse schulde nouþer on þis
wyse have stourblid Cristis Chирche, ne pervertid his ordir.
Ffor chaunouns, munkes, and freris schulden noþt þen have
stonden in sted, bot few pore prestis schulde have sufficid to þo
Chирche by pure Cristis lawe. Bot here cryes Anticrist þat by
þis blaspheme holy Chирche schulde perishe, and Crist be un-
worshipped; þe, and seintes in heven, patrouns of þo ordiris,
schulden be sclaudrid of hor moste gloriuswerkes. Bot
wolde God þat Anticrist wolde gedir his wittes, and witte þat
hit were better to hye Cristis ordenaunce, þen ordynaunce of
Benett or Domynik or Fraunces. Ffor we owe to trowe þat
Crist myght not faythe, nouþer in ordenaunce ne lawe sufficient for
his Chирche; and whossoever reverses þis sentense blasphemes
in Crist. Here may we se þat þei take fals, for þus þo Chirche schulde be saved and Crist more worshippid, þo fendes host owvercomen, and Cristendome confortid. For multitude of cowardes harms Cristis batel, fflor þei knowen nowþer his armes, ne his feghtyng. As aneyntis þo patrouns schulde we wil trowe, þat þei did not poynt devyse as oure Jesus did; and herfore erroure in secte of hom brynges men to more. Ne bere not to hevye þat þo seyntis erred. Ffor Seynt Jon seis þat if we seyn we synnen not, we deceyve oureself, and passen oute of treuthe. And so, siþ þoo seyntis diden not þo beste in foundyng of þoo ordiris, bot synned venyaly, hit were a gret folye to sue hom in þis erroure, and leve þo ordynaunce of Crist þat may not be amendid. And herfore Poul durste not, ne none oþer apostil, founde newe sectis bysyde þo ordir of Crist. Bot þre þinges of þis sentence may we suppose, þat þei keppid þo ordiris better þen þei nowe ben, so þat þes newe ordiris ben ofte newe made. Also þo seyntis wolde not þat hor sect were weddid wiþ hor tradiciouns, and laft Cristis lawe. And þo þridde we supposen, þat þo seyntis sorowed in tyme of hor deth, fflor alle soche errourys. And so, for oþer godes þat þei did ofte, suppose we þat þei ben nowe in heven, and so we dampnen not þo seyntis, but putt Crist byfore.

Lord, siþ Poul presumed not to founde soþe sectis, why schulde foles and ydiotes take þis upon hom? Specialy siþ folye were to one unwyse to take a flok of Gods folke, þat lastid bot for his lif; myche more an ydiot schulde not giþ a reule to alle his sect, lastynghe for evere, whiche reule were not expressid in Gods lawe. And so þes sectis sclaunderen her owne patrouns, amendynghe hor defeutes, and passynghe fro hor ordiris. And so al þof þese newe ordiris profiten to Cristis Chirche, neverþoles not so myche as fendes in helle. Ffor þei made meryte of Crist, and mony oþer merytis, byfore þat freris komen. And so, if þei wil be purgid, turne þei to Cristis ordire, and þen thar hom not aske confermynghe of þo pope.

1 corrected: founded, W.
III PARS.—OF LETTRIS OF FFRATERNITIE.

Nowe of þo thridde blaspheme is for to speke, for freris founden hor ordires fully in leesynge. Þei seynen first, þat Crist beggid as þei, and herby þei lyve by leesynge upon leesynge; and for to spoyle more þo puple, þei seynen hom a powere to graunt men gostily helpe more þen þei have of Gods lawe, or elles may þei helpe homself. Þei graunten letters of brotherhed under hor comyne seele, þat hor breþer schal have part of alle hor gode dedes, bothe in lyf and in deth, and rekkenen mony werkes. Bot first may men se, hou þis maner of doynge savers heresye in proude ypocrites. For þes gostily suffrages þei sellen in a maner, siþ þei graunten not comynly, bot pere þei hope wynnynge. And more booste of þo fende herde we nevere, sith quantite of merytes is hydde fro seyntis, and chaffers wiþ soche linges, unknowen to þo partyes, were presumptuose foly upon bothe sides. Also, sith þei supposen þat hor naked graunte is als myche worthe as graunte wiþ hor lettres, þen hor lettres serven of noght bot for to jape þo pepul. And in þis þei suen not Crist, as þei falsely seynen, for he grauntid nevere socche lettres of þing þat he gaf; and þus þei passen þo apostels, bot in ypocrisy. Also þis charite of freris schulde streche to alle gode men; and siþ hit is als myche worthe by graunte as by letter, þen introduccioun of socche lettres serven of noght bot if it be to bleere mennis eyne wiþ threde, and wiþ gaye wrytynge. Also, siþ Cristen men wot wil þat no man aftir his deth shal have part of meryt but if he go to heven, and, as freris seyn, þei may graunt iche Cristen mon part of hor meryt aftir his deth, þen may þei graunt iche Cristen mon for to be saved; and so hom fayles charite, if any of homself or elles any Cristen mon be damuned in helle. Also, men of þo gospel schulden do prively hor almes, so þat hor lift honde wiste not what hor right honde did. Bot þese freris seyn þat þis is a passyng ostly almes; þen þei schulde do hit prively, and not conferme hit opunly by hor charteres. And mony þenken þat þes two þinges mefen hom; Þirst to seyne hor holynesse, makynge trompe before hom, as ypocrites done, and spoylen
pore mennes godes by maner of rentis, and to be confedrid with hom as wiþ hor owne breþeren. Also hit were inogh to
freris to have breþerhed of þo puple, þat ben comynly better þen þo freris, þof þei come not unkyndely to spoyle hor breþren;
þfor þei haf no skil to selle þo letters þat ne by þo same skil þei
shulde begge soche lettres of oþer men, whom þei schulde
suppose to be better þen þei. And if þei did þus, þei did as þei
wolden þat men did to hom; and þis is þo lawe of gospel and
tynde. Also, þese freris wot not wheþer þei shal be saved, or
wheþer þei ben now viserde devels, as Schariot was; and if
þei ben suche, þei graunten not part of hor merytes to men þat
shal not be saved. And herfore hit is a fendis presumcioun
to selle þus hor merytes þat þei knownen noþt, þfor þo gospel
biddes, þat as þei take frely, so schulde þei frely gif to oþer.
Ffor hit were no kyndenesse þus to venyme hor gift, as þo
Pharisee venymde his dedes, for a privey boste þat he made to
God. Also þei wot not wheþer hor breþren þat þei chaﬀere
with shal evere be saved. Bot no mon schulde deceyve his
broþer in bodily chaﬀer; myche more þes freris schulde not
deceye þo puple of þing þat þei knownen not.

And, certis, þer is no witte in þo wordes þat trewauntis
casten oute in þis mater, þat evere þo better part schulde be
supposed; and þus men schulde suppose þes freris to be saved,
and by merytes of hom þo puple to be also. Bot certis þere is
no worse worde to grounde þes freris. For bi þis resoun iche
mon shulde suppose þat he shulde cum to heven withouten helpe
of freris. Also Hildegar seis, þat þes cursed sectis schal be
destroyed and dampened in helle, for hor ypocrisie and deceyte of
þo puple. Þen þis schulde be supposid, sith hit semes soth, for
þat God demes is evere þo better. And so schulde men sup-
pose þat soche ypocrites ben deppere in helle þen any oþer
men. And if men schulde holde hor pees in þing þat [þe]¹
knowen not, why boosten þese freris so boldely of privetees of
God? Also þes foune freris taken on hom a þing þat is pro-
pred to God, as partyng of blis, þat aungels in heven presumed
nevere; and so þes synful wrecches byheten here in erthe, þat

¹ supplied conjecturally.
Also no mon shulde ȝif occasioun to his broþer for to be deceyved in falsacioun 1 of his soule. Bot mony, for sikernesse of meryte of þese freris, ben to negligent in hor owne werkes, and dreden not to do injurye to hor breþer. Ffor siþ þei may be asoyled lightly of freris, and after have ful part with hom in þo blis of heven, who wolde drede to do his wille for a litel money? And þis is þo welle wherwip þo fende blyndes þo puple, and gendres wronges in þis worlde, and moves hem to feght. And so þis folye of freris unables homself, and eke þo puple þat chauffaren þip hom. And þus þei make hom pertyners of hor peyne in helle, ffor more folye in chaffere suffred God nevere. To bye a catte in þo sakke is bot litel charge: to bye chirchis by symonye semes sumwhat siker: bot for to bye þus heven and broþerhed of Crist, hit semes chaffere of Lucifer, and withouten grounde.

Owe! wolde God þat þese freris, þat ben so bolde to graunte by letter and comyne seele þinges þat þei knowen not, dursten graunte hor byleve, what is þo sacred oost. Bot þese apostatas stirten abak where þei shulden go forth. And so wolde God þat þo cabbis made by myracle, if þei myght, alle hor leesyngis withouten any suget, for þen shulden þei not noye us as þei nowe do. Ffor comynly þese blasphemes, when hom wantes answers, and wil blynde þo puple, þei feyneyen on God miracles þat he nevere did. For if men aske hor groundyenge, þei stonde stille as foles, or tellen straunge tales noþ to þo purpose; as wyccches feyneyen of dede men þat þei myght not quicken, [þat þei] 2 were translate to felowschippe and dwellynge wiþ gods. Bot þo craffte of hor leesynge moste þei nede haunte, for elles þei myght not be mayntened wiþin holy Chirche. But wolde God þat þei lyed not þus upon Crist, and feyneyen hym to do

1 corrected: savacioun, W.  
2 supplied.
myracles of hor accidentis þat he nevere did, ne profiten to men, ne no mon may se hom, ne where þei ben groundid.

Bot ageyne þis arguen þese Anticrist clerkes, and feynen þat þei have verey lordship of hor medeful dedes, as fer forthe as ony mon haves lordship of temporale godes. Bot by suche lordshippe hit is leveful to graunte men temporal godes at þo wille of þo Lord; þen by þo same skil hit is leveful to freris to graunte men hor merytes, or partis of hom. And þus þese apes arguen by wey of likenes, and done more harme to men þen þof þei cutted hor throtes. Ffor herby þei myght bye mennis synnes, and laye hor soules in wedde, þat ofer mennis soules shulde be saved, þe, þof God wil þo reverse. Bot for to falle to þo answere. Byleve techis us þat no mon may levefully chaunge any godes, bot if he have leve of þo cheff lorde. Nevereþoles summe godes ben more nyghe God, as vertues, þat may not be gyven of none bot of God, ne nouþer mon ne fende may dysuse vertues. Bot þitte go we nerre to þese ypocrites, and telle hom þat merytes and delyng of merytis ben dyverse in hor kynde, as þei con knowe hit. Ffor as gyvynge of vertues and gyvynge of grace ben appropd to God, so delyng of merytes; for in þo same mesure þat God approves merytes, deles he þo merytes to whom þat hym likes. Bot merytes of men ben dedis or lyves, þat God of his grace acceptis to mede. Bot þitte þes blasphemes blabur hereageyne; and seyntes in heven gyven foure maner of mede, and so erthely men schulden dele hor merytes. Bot certis þes apis travelen in veyne as þei did ever, for seyntis in heven gyven hor blis, as none of us in erthe hafs powere to gyve. And þitte suche gyvynge and delynge dyversen; for seyntes gyfen accydentaly blisse, when þei be objectis to glade ofer seyntes; bot God hymself deles, as he acceptis seyntes. Ne God bisyes hym not makynge soche doole, ffor lette a mon able hymself, and þo dole is done. Bot Lucifer wolde be like to God. Þese blasphemes wol refe God his owne stede, and dele merytes of men after hor wille.

Þitte forþpermore, þese ydiotes scharpen hor tounges, and seyn þat popis graunten pardouns, and merytes of seyntis þat nowe ben in heven; and sith freris have fully and frely powere of popis, why may þei not dele hor propir desertis? Bot loke...
now ṭat ṭese ypocrisites wolden here passe popis. For popis graunten no pardoun to men bot if ṭei be byfore verrely con-
tritte, bot ṭese freris in hor lettres speken of no contricioun.
And right as ṭei passen Crist in multitude of coventes, so ṭei passen ṭo popis in graunting of suffrages. Bot I counseile ṭat iche mon trayste fully in God and in his owne gode dedis, by whoche he shal be saved, and tryste not to myche to popis ne freris, for hor graunte avayles of noght, bot in als myche as hit is conformed to ṭo Chirche aboven.
And hereonne wolde ṭat men ṭoght, ṭat taken as bileve ṭat ṭo pope wiþ his cardynals may not erre, in ſinges ṭat towches ṭo blyleve of Cristis comyne Chirche. Comyne blyleve seis, ṭat nouþer men in erthe, ne seyntis in heven, may do owght approved of God, bot if God hymself do hyt bifore. Bot who wot ṭat by ordynaunce of God ṭus myche penaunce is done for his synne? or ṭat ṭus myche pardoun is ordeyned of God? or ṭat ṭus longe tyme shal cum bifore ṭo day of dome? And ṭus hit is of a hundred dedis of popis, ṭat boþe hor cardynals and hor chirche approven. And siþ in mony soche caas ṭei contraryen Gods wille, hit semes of hor dedis, and of right blyleve, ṭat ṭei reversen oft tyme ṭat Cristen men shulden trowe; ffor ofte tyme ṭei faynen hom to do by hor powere, and nouþer ṭei wot wheþer hit be so, or Cristen men shulden trowe hit. And wil I wot ṭat Cristis worde, seyde unto Petir, Whateuer ṭou byndes upon erthe schal be bownden in heven, and whatever ṭou lesis upon erthe shal be lesid in heven, was seyde to Petir, and successouris of him ṭat verrely suen Crist and Petir in maners, ne erres noþ in byndynge ne lesynge of men fro ṭo right jugynge of ṭo Chirche aboven. Lord, wheþer þis be blyleve, þat þis pope dos go amonge alle þo articles of þo trowthe þat evere Crist taught? þis is none of hom, ne ordeyned to be trowed. For þen were þo pope conformed, and nedely most þei be blessid, bothe in erthe and in heven, be he nevere so schrewid. And so hor bulles ben not gospel, bot ofte tyme fals, þat fayles nevere of Cristen blyleve. And herfore triste we to þo rightwysenes of oure owne werkes, and laste we in þo faythe of þo lawe of Crist, for al suche fals faynynge moste

a See vol. i. p. 136, note b.
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nedely perische. Bot as þo witte of þis word,—þis is my body,—is mony weyes chaungid as Anticrist wil, so þo witte of þes wordes seide unto Petir. So þat lawe of þo emperoure, and chesyng of heretikes, neden Crist to gif suche powere to his traytoure. Bot as hungre of one and dronkenesse of an-oþer techis þat Poule undirstode bodily fode, so worldly lif of emperoure pretatis techen þat þei ben not þo same þat Crist spake to.

Bot if þese freris with hor preyers deceyven þo Chirche, and maken þo puple to trowe þat one masse of hor is better to God þen oþer of comyne prestis,—(and herof serven hor sygnes, and hor feyned varyaunce, to schewe hor ypocrisye to þo lewid folke; and herby men seyn þat one frere takes mony grete salaryes of dyverse men togider for one tyme, bot hom unwittyngye, ffor hor speciale preyeris þat þei slepen inne ben, as þei sey, better þen oþer comyne preyers; bot herfore thorw defaute of right byleve þo fende deceyves þo Chirche by soche fals procuratours)—We shulde understonde, þat whoso lifs bette, he preyes more profitably to iche Cristen mon. And þus Seynt Poule biddes men preye wipouten lettyngye. And so þat prest þat lyves better synges better masse; ffor masse and þo ooste ben dyverse þinges, siþellis freris myght not feyne of hor massis þat þei ben better þen masse of a fende. Scarioth was a fende, as Crist hymself seis, and, as freris seyn, soche prestis syngen right. And herbi may we se what prestes singes beste; for Crist songe beste of alle by generale preyer; and certis þo beste helpe þat men myght gete by preyerere were to dresse Cristis Chirche aftir his owne ordenance. And þus specialte of preyerere blyndes mony men. Ffor generale preyerere is better þan speciale, siþ it comes of more large charite, and is abowte better and more comyne profite.

And herfore Crist taught us moste generaly to praye. Bot profitable applyinge is appropred to God, as he moste part merytes aftir þat men ben worthy. And so hit falles oft tymes, þat a fer straunge mon had more mede of foundynghe of abbeyes and chauntryes þen he þat haves founded hom, for he is more

His mass is the best who leads the best life.

General prayer is better than special.

* The variations in the singing of the mass, which the different religious orders were, and still are, authorized to use.
worthy. And his sayth shulde move men to sue Crist, and coveyte noght private suffrages, but more procure treuly aftir comyne profite. And so specialte in preyere is noþing worþ, bot in als myche as hit scharpes to preye for generale þinges; as, when a man preyes for a certeyne persone, his entent shulde be more principaly for þo comyne Chirche. As, when men preyen for one persone, for he is profitable helpe to holy Chirche, men preyen more principaly for þat holy Chirche. And þus ypocrisye of freris enables hom to God, sith þei schulde prively lyve hor holy lif, and bothe by worde and sygnes schewe hor lownes, and þen were þo servyse of masse and oþer doynge more profitable to men þen hit nowe is. Bot þo sacrament þat is sacrid in þo masse is nouþer better for one prest ne for oþer. For in his kynde hit is bred, noght mendid bi þo prest, and in þat þat hit is Gods body, hit is ilike gode, whosoevere sacres hit.

And here knowe we mony þinges, byneþe oure byleve, þat we shulde graunte hom, ne denye hom, ne dowte hom; bot supþe hom, gesse hom, or hope hom. As if a mon asked me wheþer þis bred were Gods body, I wolde nouþer byleve þat, ne dowte þat, ne denye þat, bot suppose þat hit were so, bot if I had contrarye evydence,—as, if I had evydence þat þo prest were not sacred of God, or þat God wolde not wirke wiþ hym for his yvel lyvyng. And so evere worshippe Gods body in heven, and þo sacrament of þo auter upon a stille condicioun. And so what þing þat a mon myght more medefuly do, and have more medefuly mynde on þo body of Crist, schulde he do, and in caas leve herhyng of masse. Bot for þo more part, heryng of masses scharpes men, and moves men to haf medeful mynde of Crist. And so if þo pope asked me wheþer I were ordeyneyd to be saved, or predestynate, I wolde sey þat I hoped so, but I wolde not swere hit, ne ferme hit wiþouten condicioun, þof he grettly punyscht me; ne denye hit, ne doute hit, wolde I no wey.

And so, if prelates opposed me, what were þo sacrament of þo auter in his kynde,—I wolde sey þat hit were bred, þo same þat was byfore; ffor þus teches þo gospel þat we shulden bileve. And if þou aske forþer, wheþer hit be substaunce of material bred, nouþer wolde I graunte hit, ne doute hit, ne denye hit, byfore audyticþþat I trowed schulde be harmed þerby, bot
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sith\(^1\) that I supposed or reputed that hit is so. And these prelates that wolde wrynge oute anoþer absolute answere, saylen bothe in logik and divinye, and schewen hom unable to examyne of heresye. Ffor it falles to soche men to teche Þo bileve by suf-fícýent foundynge, and eschewe erreoures. As, for no mon con grounde accýdent wiþouten sugette, no mon schulde aferme Þat Þís were Þo sacrament. And, for fewe prelates knowen accýdentis and sugettis, men schulden bywar to bringe Þis in Cristen mennis byleve. Bot accýdentis wiþouten sugette now-þer knowes mon ne God, as Austin teches and resoun proves. Bot Þo fende haves blyndid Þus Anticrist in Þís matir, Þat he contraryes to hymself, and knowes not lays erroour; as he seis Þat Þís sacrament is an accýdent withouten sugette, or elles Þat in Þís sacrament is suche an accýdente. And Þitte he contraryes hymself, pat quantite and qualite sugetten oþer accýdents, and everiche part Þerof. Also iche part of Þís accýdente hafs Crist and Cristis body, and so none of Þese accýdentis is wiþouten sugette.

And so, if Þese thre poynites of blaspheme and thre kyndes of heresye were fully declared, nouþer prelates ne Þeris Þat nowe bisye hom Þús schulde clerely excuse hom, Þat ne Þei ben suche. Ffor Þei undirstonde omys Þís pointe of Þo gospel,—When Þou art cald to heven reste in Þo laste place, and kepe Þe in mekenesse wiþouten ypocrisy. And so hit is likely Þat alle Þo bishopes of Rome Þís thre hundred þere and more were fully heretikes, ffor Þei undirstonden not Þís Þat Poule teches, When we have fode and hylynge, be we payéd of Þís. Þere ben mony heresyes of folis in Þís mater, and folæ wordis shulden be lafte, and not to longe tretid. Make we an ende of Þís mater, and speke we of oþer þinges. Ffor somme folis þer be Þat will be payrid in yvel, and noþing amendid, by devote wordes. Bot geder we þes þre partyes of Þís synne of blaspheme, and make we Þeþe fautours of Þís grett synne, and make hom as blasphemes in Crist and his seynte. And as anentis Þo first, Þat is, Þo sacred ooste, no mon schulde here hom, ne grete hom, ne suffer hom Þat denye Þo gospel, in Þís or in oþer

\(^1\) perhaps we should read say.
mātr. And, for frēris and oþer religious ben suspect in þis hereseye, men schulden not comyne wip hom bifore þei schewid þo fayth by suffyciēnt wittenes, and with a wyse asker. Ow! sith everiche parishe chirche hafs mony sacred oostis as mediciyne to þo soule for seke parischens, he were a schrewid leche þat wolde not telle his sugettis of what kinde were þo medicyne þat he gyves hom. And so, if we loved oure fayth and Cristis lawe, as we shulden luf if we wil be saved, we schulde not slepe þus in þis cause, bot warly wake. Bot negligence of Gods cause shewes þat we hate God. And cautels of blasphemes þat perverten oure fayth schulden be schaken away by scharp dy-vynes. For þes folis leeven þo letter of þo gospel, and seyn þat we schulde not aske what þing þat is, bot trouve þat þere is verey Gods body. Bot þo gospel telles not what þing is þere, but seis þat þis brede is Cristis owne body. For wil we witten þat in iche knotte of a stree is better þing þen Gods body, for þo holy Trinýte. And siþ we worshippen not soche sensīble streees, and worschipped þis sacrament, resoun schulde dryve us þat hit is better þing þen oþer comyne bodyes. Bot wil I wot þat frēris seyn þat hit is worse þen venyme. Alle men schulden thriste oute þis roten of oure faythe.

As to þo secounde blaspheme, of beggyng of þes frēris, everiche Cristen mon þat lufs Jesus Crist schulde crye out on hom þat seyn Crist begged þus, siþ þat hit is blasphemye ageyns oure God. Alle we sey þat we luf Crist moste of alle þinge, bot negligense in oure dedes wittenes þo contrarye. And I am certayne, at þo day of dome schal þo sothe be proved. Who wolde not sey þat he were fals to his erhly lord, þat herde him be sclaundred and openly despised, and þitte wolde nowþer reverse hit, ne have sorowe in his hert? Ow! how shal men be saved, þat loven better erthly þing þen þei luf oure God and oure Lord Jesus Crist?

And to þo þridde blaspheme, of lettres of frēris, he loves nowþer God ne his even Cristen þat ageynestondes not þis heresye. For þei blaspheme in God, and desseyven þo puple, and harmen homself where þei myght ellis be gode. Bot sith we schulde sue Crist in maner of oure lyvyng, and Crist spake scharply ageyns þes Pharisees, we mot nedely scharp oure
tounges ageyns þese freris; ffor þo erroures þat þei have ben so longe rootid inne wil not elles be avoydid, ne oþer men excusid. But siþ Crist keppid charite to þese Pharisees, he were not a trewe mon, ne suer of Crist, þat wolde not speke þus ageyns erroures of freris. Ow! if knyghtes and comynes, and alle Cristen men, wakid to þis resoun and did hit in dede, siþ no mon schulde susteyne blasphemes of Crist, and siþ þis secte of beggers blasphemes in God, alle men schulden lette hom of hor cursed werkes. And more esy lettynge con I not se bot þat iche Cristen mon gif hom no bodily gode, bifoer þei schewid wrytten þat Crist begged so; for ellis þei are suspect of open blasphemye. And siþ no mon schulde gif þo freris gode, bifoer þis cause were descided bytwene bywse men, God schulde ordeyne his servauntis to stonde for þo treuthe. And, for ech Cristen mon schulde destrie blasphemes, þei schulde seke þis ute þat regnes in freris. Þei sey þat God haves byheght hom þat þei schal do myracles wiþout any nowmbre in sacring of þo ooste. Bot certis þese myracles may þei not teche, as þei may not profit to þo Chirche of Crist. As anentis hor chaffere by lettres of fraternyte, schulden myghty men aske hom groundynge of hor sentense; and so of hor ordiris, þat þei þus preyse, and seyn þat þei passe þo ordir þat Crist gaf. And so þei preyse hor patrounes, and putten Crist byhynde. Lord, who herde evere a more blaspheme, þen þat yditiote seyn hor patrounes schulden passe Crist! Wil I wot þat Seynt Poule, for reverense of Crist, durst not grounde sohe ordiris as þo folis did. Ne grucche we not þat þes patrounes ben cald þus yditiotes. For holy wrytte calles disciplis of Crist yditiotes*; and byleve teches us þat þei ben nowe seynites. Bot of holynesse of þese patrounes may trowe who so wil, for byleve nedes not to trowe þat þei ben seynitis; bot I suppose þat þei did mony folly werkes by blynde-nesse of yprocrisyte, and after were purgid, and so þei ben now in heven, as God vouchessafe. And so iche Cristen mon, if he wil be saved, most hold stiffly wiþ þo lawe of Criste.

* In Acts iv. 13, the Vulgate has idiotae, and the Wycliffite versions yditiis.
XXVI.

DE APOSTASIA CLERI.

[This tract is printed from a transcript made for the Delegates by Mr. French from the only known MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, (C. V. 6; CC in this edition). It has been already printed, in black letter, by Dr. Todd, in his Wycliffe's Three Treatises (Dublin, 1851). It seems to me impossible to decide whether it is really by Wyclif or not. Bale certainly mentions a 'De Apostasia' in his Catalogue, but gives no first words; and it is more likely that he was referring to the Latin treatise of that name, which forms part of the Summa Theologiae (Shirley's Catalogue, p. 8) than to the present tract. The style has a general resemblance to that of Wyclif, and a remarkable expression at p. 440, about a 'lump of talow strangling the houndis,' recalls a similar expression in the Sermons (vol. i. p. 247). On the other hand, the phrase 'in mong,' for 'among,' is never used elsewhere by Wyclif to my knowledge; and the frequent use of the first person plural looks like some inferior member of a party rather than its leader. No indication whatever helps us to settle the date; all that can be said is, that as the subject of the Eucharist is not referred to, there is, so far, some ground for supposing that it was written before 1381, the year in which Wyclif began publicly to impugn the received doctrine.]

CAP. I.

Sçp ilche Cristen man is holdon to serve Crist, and who ever faylipe in þis is apostata, it is likliche to many men þat þe mor part of men, bi her viciose lijf, ben combred in þis heresy. But al þif kny3ts and alle men shulden be religiose, neverþelesse spek we of apostasye of prests.

Þre maner of prestis fallen in þis synne. Þe firste is peple of privat religioun, þe secunde is þe multitude of emperours pre-latis, þe þridde is prestis wiþoute þise two firste. We shal sup-
pose of our bileve, pat ilche man pat is ordeyned of God to be damned is apostata to jugement of God, as pe riȝt resoun shewiȝ of pe apostasie. And ȝif apostasie is stondynge bihynde, hou myche stondiȝ bihynde ilche siche pat shall be damned? mor pe Goddis derlyng pat shall afterward be saved wisliche, al ȝif he semeȝ grevousliche unkynde for pe tyme. Fferpermor we shal suppose pat bodyliche abyte, or wantyng þerof, makaȝ not men religiouse neyȝer apostataes, al ȝif þey semen siche bi jugement of men; for oonliche charite þat sewiȝ it makaȝ men religiouse, or of Cristis ordre. But it is knoen bi lawe of our God, pat alle þes bodiliche signes ben straunge fro charite; for charite stondiȝ in soule, and not in siche signes. But Lord! wheþer weddynge wiȝ siche signes helpiȝ to holde religioun of Crist, and love hym of hert? siȝ it is certeyn þat Cristis religioun stondiȝ in love of God of al our herte. And it semeȝ þat siche signes drawen fro love of Crist þo þat setten so meche trist in hem, and bynden hem to kepe perpetually. For þey needen a man to take heede to sensible ping, but heede to sensible þing wiȝdrawiȝ fro God. Also oblishyng of men un-freaȝ hem to God; but it is greet oblishyng to be bonde to perpetual kepyng of siche maner signes, siȝ it falliȝ ofte þat Goddis lawe askiȝ to do dedis þat Crist biddiȝ, and leve siche signes; and so byndynge to siche signes lettiiȝ fredom of Crist. Also, siȝ Crist is al witty, as our feiȝ techiȝ us, and he þaf us not siche signes, but raȝer reprove þem, it semeȝ þat þis ordre askiȝ not siche signes. And herfor it semeȝ þat Crist seiȝ, þat knyrede of hoordom sekiȝ siche signes; and þis is a cause whi signes of þe old lawe shulden cease, bi fredom of þe comyng of Crist. Of þis it semeȝ þat signes to wiche men ben oblishid ben not groundid in þe lawe of grace, but raȝer techen us to leve signes. And cerimonyes of þe olde lawe, betere þan þes, ben tauht to be left bi lore of Poul.

And herfore it semeȝ þat privat religiouse ben hyndred bi her ordris to kepe Cristis lawe; alȝif it falleȝ þat somme men ben beterid bi bynding to þise chargis, þat ellis wolden be wylde. But al ȝif it falleȝ prouyte to summe men to be bounde to a stake, or chargid wiȝ stones, neverȝeles religion þat wisdom haȝ ȝyven us byndiȝ us not to kepe siche rewlis, for, as to þe
mor part, it falliç pat resoun of Goddis law shulde occupie men betere. And so, 3if observaunce in lyves of fadris profyte to many men pat brouște hem to hevene, neverþeleses it wer a pur open folye to make herof a rewle for al and for ever. For God haþ ordeyned somþing to profyt for oon man, and pat same þing to noye for anoþer; and ofte to þe same man somþing wer good for a tyme, and somtyme to hymself wold þat þing noye. And þerfor he haþ ʒiven witt and resoun wiþ his lawe to man, to chese what wer good for hym; ne it may not be þat ʒif man fayle not to God, þat þe spirit of God fayle hym, to shewe hym what he shulde do, betere þan þese 1 ordris can. And so men þat oblishen hem to kepe siche ordris, or ellis to founde hem evere to laste, semen to reverse God in his ordinaunce, and turne upsodoun wisdom of kynde. And herby Aristotle a soyliç an argument, bi whiche it myȝte seme to folis þat kynde falliç to man, siþ it ordeyneþ armur and defence to bestis, and to man it ordeyneþ noon siche þing. Þis philosophie assoylil þis folye bi þis, þat kynde haþ ordeyned to man boþe wit and hondis, bi þe he may take when he wole, and leve when he wole, armur and oþer help þat is meche betere. O, wheþer Crist knewe not elerliche þat comeþ of privat religions, siþ he left hem! It semeþ þat al siche religion smacchip blaspheme in shadewe of pride, for it reversiþ in a maner þe ordynaunce of Crist. And 3if þei seyen þat many seynts han ben in þis ordre, certis many moo han ben in Cristis ordre. And it is hyd to us whyche of hem ben seynts; and siþ it is hyd to þe pope, and to al his covent, confirmacioun of hym makip litel feyþ; but it myȝte make feyþ to hem þat knewen his revelacion; for þe popis autorite makip not seynts in hevene. And so martirdom, wiþ hooli lyf after Cristis lawe, makip mor evydene þat þis is a seynt. But siþ we shal suppose þat many holi confessors han ben in þise ordris, þat nowe ben in hevene, two þingis ben to seye of liþ of siche men. Þirst, þat þei lyveden diverseliche fro þise newe sects, and loveden God and his lawe, and leften siche signes. And so þise new sects shulden kepe mor Cristis reli-

1 corrected; þis, CC.

* Aristot. De partibus Animal., lib. iv. cap. 10. (Dr. Todd’s note).
DE DOTACIONE ECCLESIE.

CAP. II.

As to the possessiouns and dowyng of clerkis, bileve shulde teche us that it doth hem harm to kepe Cristis religioun, and harm to lewid men; for Crist seip that noo man may be his discipul but if he renunce alle siche pingis. And hou he shulde renunce, Cristis lijf techiþ, and liþ of his apostlis that com in after hym; and ensaumple of siche deds exponeþ best Cristis lawe. And þus bi process of tyme is þe Chirche peyred, bi turnyng fro Cristis lawe, and bi love of þe worlde. And her-for seip Poul, þat covetis is roote of all yvelis þat komen to Goddis Chirche. And comynge inne of freris þat shulden quenche þis synne makaþ it mor fervent, as watir fier of smylis. And siþ þei ben apostataes þat gon abac in Cristis ordre, few or none of siche prestis ben clene of þis heresy. For þei forsaken Crist in kepyng of his lawe, and Crist seip þat man mot kepe it þif he love hym. But siþ love of worldliche pingis drawþ fro love of Crist, hou myche is love of prests drawe now fro God! Wantyng of workis of þe gospel, and werkis of þe world, dampneþ our prestis in defaute of þis love. And þit þei poudren blasphemye in among þis apostasye, for þei seyen þat þei haven mor power of Crist þan ever he wolde give to Petre or Poul. For in spiritual power þei ben even wip him, and in worldliche power þey passen hem; siþ Petre seip he havede neþer silver ne gold, and Poul laborede wip hise hondis; and so her power, gederid togeder, in so myche passþ power of Petre.

And þif ony man seip þat our prestis haven not so myche spiritual power as Petre, þey wolþen curse hym and dampne
hym, and use siche power þat neþer Crist ne Petre semeþ to have had; siche fals power feyneþ Antecrist; and þat may be clepid Luciferis power. But siþ ilche power is of God, as Poul seþ, and þise men reversen God. as her liþ shewþ, summe men may trowe þat hem faillþ power, and þat þei feyñen falsliche þat þei ben vikeris of Crist; for likliche hem wantþ to be þe leeste membre þat Crist haþ ordeyned to be of his Chirche. And not- wiþstondynge þis, Cristis Chirche shulde live, þif alle siche prelats wanteden þerinne; for whoever trowþ in Crist, and lastþ to his lyves ende in þis feþ, he shal be saved wiþouten siche prelatis; siþ in tyme of apostlis, and when þe Chirche þryvede, siche pre- latis wanteden, as Goddis lawe techiþ. For þe apostlis wenere fellowis, and ilche oon suffisede to converte þe peple in þe name of Crist, wiþout autorite borewid of oþer. But God forbede þat lordship þyven of þe emperor shulde chaunge or destrie þis lawe of Crist; for Cristis lawe, al ðif it be contrarie to þis dow- yng, is mor myȝty and groundid in resoun. And so in þis poynt ben heretiks many in þe world. For Petre was cheveteyn of oþer apostlis for his mekenesse and service þat he did to oþer, and not for his lordship ne his sterne power.

CAP. III.

But her grucchiþ þe world, and grenneþ on trewe men, and seþ þat þei ben heretiks, and casten destrie al holy Chirche and feþ þerinne. Also þei seyen þat seculer lordshipis asken degrees; for þif alle omer oon, þer omer noon ordre, but ilche man myȝte ylyche comaunde to oþer, and so seculer lordship wer fully destroyd. Also þei seyen, þif þer omer noon ordre of popis and bishopis, þer shulde be noon ordris of abbots and priors; and so al religioun shulde be distryst; and so shulde perish makynge of prests and doyng of sacraments, as holy Chirche usiþ. To assoyle þise dowtis, men moten arme hem and pacientliche dispose hem to deye for Crist, and fals not þe gospel for favor of men, but seye fulliche þe soþe, for Crist is ever present. And so it semþ to trewe men, þat ordris of religioun þat Crist groundid not shulden be fordone, for Crist is al witty and al sufficient in his werkis.
As to the first grucchyng, shal Antecrist grenne at the day of dom, and bete togedre wit his e tep, for his sharp reprovyng of sentence of the gospel. For thenne wo shal be to alle siche, that clepen good yvel and yvel good. And Zebedeus sones travel-eden in pis foly, as we alle done; and askeden bi her modir heynnes of the world, that the oon myst sitte on oon side of Crist, and the oher on oher syde, in his kyngdom. But Crist, willyng al good, ordeynede hem to suffre anoyes in pis world, and bi pis to come to heynnesse in hevene. And þus pise folis seyn, þat men þat ben aboute to brynge Cristis Chirche to þe state þat Crist ordeynede, ben aboute to distrye holy Chirche. And it seemþ þat þif Crist com in his owne persone, and tauȝte and comaundede þis stat to be holden, he shulde be holden a fool and fals heretik; and þif he travelede herto he shulde be persewید; for so doþ Antecrist aßen his membris, þat over softliche seyen his sentence. And þip al bileve is in þe gospel, and we travelen and worchen þat þis gospel wer knowe and kept, it is openne þat we wolden destrie but heresies, for we wolden destrie errors contrarie to þe gospel.

As to the seconnd, we seyn þat seculer lordis shulden holde wip þis sentence of þe gospel, and mayntene it wip myȝt. For in mong alle þe men þat evere weren her in þe, noon heyede mor þen Crist seculer lordis; for he chees to be bore when þis lordship florishede moost in þe empyr of Rome. Crist yaf tribute to þe emperor; Crist wolde not so myche lessen seculer lordship, þat he wolde have a litel hous to hyde his heved inne; Crist comaundede to yuve þe emperor þat was his; and to destrie lordship of prestis of þe temple, for seculer lordship shulde be holde bi hymself. And Crist norished þe tenuants of seculer lordis; he helede hem and fedde hem, and pilede hem not; so þat he yaf hem mor bi myracle of his godhede, þen he took of þe world wip alle his apostlis. And for þise sixe kyndenessis, bysyde goostliche suffragies, þise seculer lordis han be to unkynde to Crist. And soone in his absence, when he was set in hevene, þe emperor reverside him, and ffordide his
ordynaunce, and makede hise bishopis haywardis a of pe world, and took fro hem pe kepyng of Crists sheep. And so pe last offiss ṭat Crist saf to Peter, and bad hym ūries up his love per-
forme his offiss, took pe emperor fro hym ṭat seyȳ he is Petris viker, and makede hym perpetuel hayward of his drit. But, for it is to hard to kyke azen pe spore, wite ȳee, seculer lordis, ṭat ṭis harmef 30u. For it takip away help of soul fro 30u and fro 30ur peple, and to-terip 30ur lordship ṭat 3ee tellen myche by, and evere shal mor and more, til ṭis unkyndeness ben somdel amendid. And wite 3ee wel ṭat 30ur folye, bi whiche 3ee wenien to plese God, shal not excuse 30u to God at ṭe day of dom, for Crist and his lawe shal witnesse azen 30u. And sip Poul was not excusid bi ṭe olde lawe of persewyng of Crist in his eonge membris, meche mor ṭe emperor, ṭat bi mannes lawe persewede ṭe soule of Crist in his tendre n embris, shal not be excusid, sip he drawip hem to helle.

But ferper we shulde knowe, ṭat seculer lordship ṭat clerkis hanne nou smacchip imperfeccioun on many maner, and comep not to ṭe perfectioun of ṭe ordre of Crist; as seculer lorshipis asken worldliche degrees, and so heyȝnesse in worldliche goodis, but Cristis lordship askip goostliche degrees, and heyȝnesse in vertues, ṭat God oonliche ȝiveȳ. And herfor, when stryf of ṭis was in mong ṭe apostlis, Crist determynede ṭe cause bi word and bi dede. Crist puttede a ȝong man in myddl of hem, ṭat was meke in many vertues, and seyde,—Whoevere mekip hym as ṭis ȝong man, he shal be holden mor to ṭe jugement of God. But ṭis world haþ put awaye ṭe sentence of Crist; for alle prestis and seculers seken her own goods, and ṭat is aȝeyn ṭe charite of Poul. And, for ṭe world knowiþ not heyȝnesse in vertues, God hymself shulde clepe his servauntis as he wolde, and leve ṭe worldis maner of sensible þingis. And so ṭe rewele of religiou of Crist biddiþ, ṭat ilche man obeshe to ṭer, not for ṭe world, ne for worldliche maundements, but in as myche as biddiþ Goddis wille. And 3if a best bad a man do siche, he

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a. 'Hayward' is explained by Phillips (New World of English Words, 1662) to mean, 'a keeper of the common herd of the town, who is to look that they neither break, nor crop hedges; from the French words Havy [baie], a hedge, and Garde, custody.'
shulde obesho to beest in þe name of God. And herfor Goddis lawe techiþ hise men, þat God obeshede to mannes voys, and Crist obeshede and servede to Scarinoth.

And herby we may see an onswer to þe þridde resoun. Sequestre we al mannes lawe, supposynge Cristis ordynance; al þe drede of florishyng of men of þe world; and þanne it sewiþ þat we shal graunte, þat alle degrees of emperor clerkis, alle þise religions of monkis, chanouns, and freris, shal slepe as þei diden in tyme of þe apostlis. For alle þise semen to smacche worldliche heýnesse, and men ben clepid to degre þat God clepede not, and þis is errour and synne on ilche syde. But neverþelees þe ordre of Crist shulde be þenne mor perfyð þan it is noon, by meddyng of mannes ordynance; and preists shulden have betere ordre in ministring of sacraments, for Crist wolde leve in goode prestis power þat holy Chirche neediþ.

And, as þe pope þeyneþ, he byndiþ to-day and lousiþ tomorewe; and so in byndyng and lowsyng ben many fals gabbyngis. And þenne wyndis of treuþis shulden blowe awey þe heresyes, and cler þe eyr of holi Chirche, þat is now ful troble. þenne shulde lyf of grace come doun fro God, and lyȝte ilche man aftir þat he wer worþi. And þenne shulde þis blasfemye be blowen awey, þat grace and power of God mot nede first come to þe prelat, and þenne be departid of hym, how evere he wolde sille it in mong hise suggets, þat nouȝt may be wiȝoute hym. And certis it wer lesse error to seye, þat þe bemes of þe sonne crooken, þat shyneþ freliche in bodyes after þat þei ben disposid, þen to putte þis error on þe Sonne of riȝt-wisnes. For Crist is in ilche mannes soule þat loveþ hym owterliche, and neediþ not þe help of þis cursid prelat; for Crist may not of his riȝtwisnes þus accepþe persones. And þenne shulde grace come to men, as hevene scateriþ reyn; but now castiþ Antecrist to hepe hise disciplis, so þat ilche may strengeþ oþer in her malice; as þif hevene of oon cloude sende gushyng of watir, and overflowede som erþe, and som wer left drye. Þus

* It must have been such expres-

sions as these which originated the charge against Wyclif, contained in the sixth of the twenty-four articles condemned at the Council of London, that he maintained ‘Quod Deus debeat obedire Diabolo.’
Crist sente hise apostlis, when þei weren rype, to diverse londis, to sowe wateris of wisdom, and closede hem not in cloysteris as Antecrist doþ. So ȝif we taken heede to apostasye þat goþ evene æcen þe ordre of Crist, þer ben fewe bisshopis, possessio-ners, or frers, þat þei ne ben apostataes, al ȝif þei holden her sygnes. For take we heede to þe lyf þat men first ledden, and to þe lyf þat men leden now; and we shal fynde þat alle þise ben gon abac. And sþ þei ben as myche now holton to serve God, and somwhat mor for takynge of temporal goodis, it semep þat þei ben bounde to mor þen þei may. And siche apostataes marren mucche1 of Cristis ordre. And þus, ȝif alle bisshopis possessio-ners and frers weren wislyche examyned wheþer þey weren heretiks,—ȝif þey seyden nay, wiþoute revelacioun fewe men or none weren holde to trowe hem; for it semep open bi her wikkid deds, þat þei ben apostataes fro Cristis religion. But siche heretikis wolten bleþeliche dampne opere men of heresyes, for here witt is blyndid.

CAP. IV.

Bi þis may we see how þikke groweyn eretikis in þe rewme of England, and in opere londis, þat men clepen Cristen men. For ȝif alle symonyents weren markid out of Cristendom, and alle apostataes, wiþ alle blasfemes, þe multitude of heretikis wer mor þan þise opere. For þer ben fewe prelats now in þe Chirche, ne fewe opere men, þat þei ne ben heretiks; sþ assent to heresie makþ an heretik. And þerfor we supposen þat God movede men to speke now of heretikis, to make hem mor knowen; for noon man doiþ mor harm in batel of Crist. For þei stonden biþynde, and fyþten not wiþ þe fend, ne wiþ þe world, ne wiþ her flesh, as Poul seþ; and þis is cause whi þe world peyþep, and charite of many cooldþ. Þe ground of þis malice stondþ in prestis, þat ben þus coolid wiþ temporal goods. For þey shulden be capteynes in batele of Crist, but now þei ben cheve-tyens on Antecrists syde, and letten bi ypocrisye opere to fyþte. And ȝif fewe trewe men wolden worche or speke æcen þis traterie þat is in Goddis enmyes, þey quenchen hem as heretiks, bi

1 corrected; meche, CC.
cautel of he send; as bishopis diden wiþ Crist in tyme of his passion. And in mong alle he malices of he sendis werkis, þer semeþ noon mor to harme Cristis peple. As, þif a greet lord shulde be susteyned wiþ herbis þat groweden in a orchard, and weren nyþ rype, þat man þat come into þis orchard, and kyttede þise herbis, and destriede þe rotis, dide to myche harm to peyrynþ of þis lord; and especialliche þif þer hele sustynaunce stood in þise herbes. Goode Cristen men þat holden Cristis lawe ben siche herbis to folc þat þei dwellen wiþ; herfor Antecrist lettiþ siche seed be sowen or growe in mong Cristen men. And to performe þis malece, Antecrist þaþ cast to be knyttid wiþ kyngis and use her power; and þus venemep hymself þe lordis and þe peple. But he groundip not in Cristis lawe þe deds þat he doþ, but oþer in mennes lawe, or glosyng of freris. And þit blyndnesse of þe peple norishþ her enmyes; for love of God is quenched bi blyndyng of þe world, and þise fewe Cristen men þat haveden som lyþt of God, ben drawen abac bi þise apo stataes. And certen þei ben cowards and of to lytel seþ, for þif þei loveden Crist mor þen her oþen lijþ, as þe gospel teþþ hem, þei shulden putte her lijþ for þe lawe of Crist; and þanne wolde Crist helpe his Chirche, and putte siche knyþþis to worship in hevene, and glorifie her body deed for Cristis love. But defaute of blywe lettiþ þis profyt, and especialliche of freris, for þei procureþ bisiliche part for Antecrist, and sowen þikke lesyngs wiþ her ypocrisie, and maken Cristis lawe fade bi her fals signes. On þis wyse þe send þaþ ben many day abowte to vencushe Cristen men bi Antecristis clerkis; and þus he þaþ drawe many to his lordship, and especialliche bi heretikis, þat parten men fro Crist; and þis shall never ceess biþor Cristis lawe be worshipid, and Antecristis lawe despidis as heresie.

Lord! siþ Cristis lawe sufficiþ of itself, hou lytil shulden men recche of Antecristis lawe, but despise personeþ and brollis þat holden þerwiþ! þif þow wolt wite which is Antecristis lawe, loke you what lettiþ Cristis lawe to be holde in worship, and to be performed bisiliche in dede. And so alle þe lawis of þis newe religiose þat ben not well groundid in þe lawe of Crist, semen Antecrists lawis, and lettyng of Cristis lawe. And þis newe ordynauncis, ungroundid in þe gospel, helpen þe send,
and letten þe lawe of Crist. And so siche prelates shulden be Cristis houndis, and berke bi hise lawe, and not bi lawe of wolves. Lord! what lettiþ þise houndis to berke, and lede Cristis sheep aftir his lawe? Certis it semeþ þat dowyng of þe Chirche, and too myche worshipynge of Antecristis lawe; for a lumpe of talowe strangliþ þe houndis, and lettiþ hem boþe to berke and to byte; and occupying of men in Antecristis lawes, þat speken oonliche of worldliche goods, drawiþ fro Goddis lawe, and makþ to love þe world. But sþ bileve techiþ us, þat at þe day of dom þe book shal be opened, and ilche of us shal wite wheþer we han loved Crist mor þen ony oþer þing, and þerfore be jugid to hevene or to helle, hou shal we þenne onswer to askynge of our juge? Wel Y woot þat Crist haþ ordeynyd men to live in his lawe, and þen be knowen bifor many juges, wheþer þei haven faverede mor Cristis lawe or þe worldis. Worldliche excusacioun shal not þenne assoyve, ne onswer by procuratorye, ne suttile of werkis; but þif we ben coupable we shal þenne be domb, ne alle þes newe habitis shal not þenne profyte; but þif we have þenne bryde cloþis, we shal for evere be damptned. þise cloþis ben of charite þat evere more shal last: and her is an ende.

* This strange expression occurs also in the Sermons. See vol. i. p. 247.
XXVII.

[SEVEN HERESIES.]

[The text of the following tract is based on a MS. in the Bodleian Library,—Douce 274. There is another copy of it at the British Museum (Harl. 2385), and a third at Dublin, (Trin. Coll. Dub. C. V. 6). Though not mentioned by Bale, its authenticity can hardly be doubted, both on account of the direct evidence supplied by the Harleian MS. (see notes at the beginning and end of the tract), and because the style, and the reference to previous labours in the same field (p. 443) both point to Wyclif as the author. There is no direct evidence of date; but as, in the passage just quoted, frequent previous statements of his doctrine on the Eucharist are applied by the author, it is probable that the tract was composed quite at the close of Wyclif's life, in 1383 or 1384, because, as has been said so often, he did not begin to teach that doctrine publicly till 1381.]

SEPTEM HERESES CONTRA SEPTEM PETICIONES.

For fals men multilien mony bokes of þe Chirche, nowe reendynge byleve, and nowe clowtyng heresies, perforce men schulden be ware of þese two perilles, þat fals men pynchyn in þe Pater noster. Þai say forst, þat speciale prayere aplied by hor prelatis is better þen generale. As, one Famulorum saide of a frere is better þen a Pater noster, wiþ oþer þinges even; ffor þo Pater noster is moste generale, and þe Famulorum moste special, of alle þe prayers þat God heris. But we schul beleve þat no prayer is worþe, but in als muche as God hym selfe heris hit, and applies þis prayere to profite of þe man. Lord! wheþer God hym selfe wolde gladlier here þe prayere þat a false man hade contreved to hym, þen þe generale prayere þat he hym

* The Harleian MS. commences thus:—'Here ben severe heresies þe Pater Noster. ¶ Wyd.'
selfe made? Wele I wote þat þis preyere is ful of witte and charite, and conceves alle þe gode þat a man schuld aske of God. Hit is one to say þus, and to heghen Anticriste over oure Lorde Jesus Criste, þat is oure alle fader. Þe generale of þis preyere lettes not oure Lord God to here syn gulere personys, aftur þei ben worþi.

SECUNDA HERESIS.

Þe secunde heresie of þe secunde askyng sais, þat þese prelatis are hedes of Gods rewme, for þei ben hedus of holy Chirche by vertue of prelacie. Ande þese freres bene men of holy Chirche, þat wole here be gladliere hedes of holy Chirche þen oþer comyne men. Lord! siþen God and iche membre of his Chirche bene weddid togedre, as oure bivele sais, wheþer ony of þese prestus schul be dampned in helle? Wele I wote þat none schal be dampned but devellis; ande if ony of þese devellis were captyyne of his Chirche, þen God and þe devell were weddid togedre. But as oure bivele sais þat þer is no comynynge wiþ Crist and Belial, þen þai ben not weddid. Herfore schal we trowe, as holy men tauþt of two thowsande þere before þat Sathanas was bounden, þat holy Chirche is of þoo þat God has ordeyned to dwelle wiþ hym in blisse, of what state so þai be, prestes or seculeres, lordis or comyners, ladies or pore wymmen, þat endles loven God. And so some partie of þe Chirche regnes above in heven, and summe slepis in pur-gatorie, and summe feyntes here in erthe. But at þe day of dome schulle alle be gedrid togedir, and regne in heven wiþ hor spouse, oure Lord Jesus Crist. So if þat prelatis or freres or seculers sewe no Cristis spouse, ne membris of his Chirche.

TERTIA HERESIS.

Þe thrid heresie of þe thridde askyng sais, þat þai knowe þe wille of oure Lord God to bringe a soule to heven by manere of hor preyyng. But certis we schul trowe, þat God may not be moved but as he has ordeyned bfore þe worlde was made;
and after a man deserves while he lyves here schal he be rewardid after his lyfe, ouþer in blisse ouþer in peyne, notwithstanding ourp reyere. But wel I wote þat God may helpe soulis in purgatorie, and make hom schortlie to dwelle þerinne, after þat þei have made hom worthi for þe tyme þat þei have lyved here. But we schal understonde þat God acceptis þe lyfe þat men lyven here wele, ande approves hit for soulis, and þeraþur hit is medefulle for soules þat bene in purgatorye. Ande if we knowe not þe privete of God, þit neverþoles we wote þat hit is fully riȝtwysenes, þat prayer of a man þat God hath ordeyned to blisse is more worthy þen a thowsande of hom þat schal be damned. Ffor þe fyrst is Gods childe, and ordeyned to have his blis, þe secund is the fensyd childe. And pray he never so muche, he getes not þe blisse of heven, for he makes hym not worthi. Ande þis faiþe shulde move men not to selle hor prayers, but iche man life bisili, iche after þe lawe of God; ffor after þat a man deserves in his owne person syne schal he be rewardid, in heven or in helle. But gode lyve of a man may helpe hym þat lyves wiþ hym, to amende his owne lyfe, and so come to blisse. And so private almes done synyngulerlyche, þat Crist hymself taþt not, dos littel gode or none to donor of siche almes for to come to heven.

QUAR&AElig; HERESIS.

þe ferthe heresie of þe ferthe askynge says, þat þe sacrid ooste is no maner of brede, but ouþer nouþt, or accident wiþouten ony sogett, and so worse þen stones or ony ouþer body. And when ony suche men asken þe sacrid ooste, þai ȝyven hom worse þen stones, as þai falsy feynen. Ffor þis were aȝeynes holy writte, as Crist hymself sais. Lordus and prelatus con not distroye þis heresie, ouþer for hor negligence, or for þo wiles of Anticrist. Lord! if þese grete lordus wold ȝif þese prestis no gode, ne freris, bifoire þai schewid her bileve in þis poyn, and groundid hit in Gods law! and so þai myȝt come to bileve, and knowe þese fals heretikis. We have oft tymes saide a þat þis sacrid ooste is verrey Goddis body and verrey breede, for so sais holy writte, and seyntus of Crist thowsandis.

a See prefatory notice.
QUINTA HERESIS.

Pe fyft heresie, contened of pe fyft askyng, says, pat prestis have powere to assoyle men of synne, whom ever pe pope lymytes, at hys owne wille. Ande absolucions and indulgencis bothe fallen in mannes chaffare by bynyng and sellynge; and so men may lightly for money be assoyled bothe of peyne and of synne, be þai never so synnesful. But oure bileve techis us, þat no synne is for3yven but if God hymself forgif furste of alle. Ande if his trewe vicare acorde to Gods wille, he may assoyle of synne as vicary of his God. But if he discorde from juggement of his God, he assoyles not, boste he never so muche. Ande herfore hit is nedeful þat a preste have two keyes, of powere and of cunning, to acorde to Gods wille. Ffor if he want þis connyng he nouþer byndes ne assoyles; ne hit is not byleve þat ne he may erre in þis. Ande amonge alle heresies or blasphemyes in oure Chirche, þis is one þe moste þat men bene deceyved inne. And if a man speke herof by þo law of God, he schal be prisoned, or done to deth as an heretike.

SEXTA HERESIS.

Pe sexte heresie, contened of pe sexte askyng, sais, þat men of private religioun bene more thikk saved þen men þat kepe trewly comyne Cristus religione; ffor, as þai say, þai have helpe of hor owne breþer, specially in houre of hor deth, of body and of soule, and so bene not lad in to sendus temptation. But oure bileve techis us þat comyn Cristus religioun passes al religioun of þese newe ordis. Lorde! whedur we schuld trowe þat Benet and Dominik, or Ffraunces, schuld passe þe wise-dome of Criste? Or whedur hit be wisedome to obeysche to siche prelatis, and leefe þe wille of Crist, þat is God and þine abbot. Wele I wote þat þe Chirche was rewlud by Cristis ordynaunce, bifore þese ordis coomen inne, better þen hit was sithen. Ande so, sithen þese religiouse dyen in þis false triste, and have lyved in ypocrisy for þe more parte of hore lyve, hit
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

semes that suché gone prively til helle, and so be led in to fendus temptacioun, for that ben hardid in errore of hor private ordris. And herfore clepid Crist Nichodeme fro that ordre of Phariseus, savynge hym and destroyynge of hit. Wipouten doute that ordynance that Crist hym selfe ordeyned, if hit were holden clene, hit were the beste of oper; for therby in ilke degre mystriche man be saved. For that wolde charite growe more, and envie be more distroyed. Thre membris of that chirche, as prestis, kny3ttus, and laboreris, wolden be sufficient wipouten more diversite. God kepe his Chirche. Amen.

SEPTIMA HERESIS.

That seventh heresie and that last, that is contened of that seventh askyng, sais, that if we wirke by counsel of these newe ordris that leven that ordynaunce of Criste, we schal nedely be saved. And herby bene men lad in to fendus temptacioun, and wrappid wip synne ageyne that Holy Goste; and pis is that wersste synne that ever may falle to ony man. Wele I wote that freris wold not here pis publicht in that pepul, for fallyng of hor ordre. But sithen it is not groundid in bilee, he is not on Gods halve that lettis hit for freris. Ande we schulde trow that foundyng of abbAYS and frerus and 1 lettys mon that ne that mowe falle in that last synne. And herfore alle maner of men schuld know Cristis ordynaunce, and travaile therfore that hit were cleny kept; for hit is moste light, most profitable, and moste medeful. O Lord! if al that peple in Yngelonde traveyled in alle cuntryes, and falsed that kyngis wille, movyng to discordis ageynes that pes of that rewne, who wolde not say that suche a peple were perilouse in Yngelonde? mykел more if newe religious be skaterud in Cristendame, and gabben on that wille of Criste that is ourte kyngge, and moven not to pes and acorde as Crist and his apostilles did. What wonder is hit, thatow batellis and oper perellus come, that Crist has bifo re saide? God kep his Chirche fro fals ypocrites and ungroundid newe statis, not

1 something appears to be omitted.
foundid in Crystes lawe. Wele I wote þat many¹ say þat monye of hom are seyntus; but nowþer is þis bilee, ne groundid in resoneᵃ. Omnis plantacio quam non plantavit pater meus, eradicabitur, dicit Dominus in evangelio Johannis.

Explicit tractatus qui vocatur speculum vite Christianeᵇ.

¹ corrected; the MS. has may.

ᵃ The words 'groundid in resone' are immediately followed in the Harleian MS. by 'ut patet per'
ᵇ The purport of this explicit has been fully discussed in the Introduction to this volume.

Wyclif, written in the same hand.
XXVIII.

OCTO IN QUIBUS SEDUCUNTUR SIMPLICES CHRISTIANI.

[The text of this short piece is founded on a transcript from the Corpus MS. 296. There are two other copies known, both of which are at Trinity College, Dublin; of these one is imperfect at the end. Bale includes this tract in his list of Wyclif’s works, though giving it the erroneous title, whence derived it is impossible to say, of ‘De Episcoporum Erroribus.’ There is no means of fixing its date with accuracy. It is vigorously written, and I am disposed to regard Wyclif as the author.]

[XE]E ben eiȝte ðingis bi whiche simple Cristene men ben diseveyed, þat ben þes eiȝte; holy Chirche, lawe, religion, obedience, cursyne, þe goodis or riȝt of holy Chirche, maundeament and conseil, dedly synne and venyal.

Ffirst, whanne men spaken of holy Chirche, þei undirstonden anoone prelatis and prestis, monkis and chanouns and freris, and alle men þat han crowne & þou þei lyven nevere so cursedly ægenst Goddis lawe,—and clepen not ne holden secularis men of holy Chirche, þou þei lyven nevere so treuely after Goddis lawe, and enden in perfect charite. But neþeles alle þat schullen be saveyd in blisse of hevene ben membris of holy Chirche, and ne mo. And Crist seiþ, and Austyn, and Cry-sostom, and many moo seyntis, for non of alle þes schal perische wipouten ende, as Crist himself seiþ. And so comynly

* That is, all men that have the tonsure.
\textit{Wyclif's Works.}

\textbf{po \ patri ben clepid men of holy Chirche ben enemyes perof, and
synagoge of Sathanas, and po \ patri ben membris of holy Chirche,
as ben good Cristene men \ patri kepen Goddis hestis, ben not
holde men of holy Chirche, but aliens \ perstro. And \ pas \ we
demen foliliche more bi signes \ patri 1 men han maade, who ben
men of holy Chirche, \ pan bi gode lif and endeles lastyng in
chamte, bi whiche God biddip us deme wisly and ripthfully.

Also, whanne men speken of lawe, anoon men taken it of
mannis lawe, and not of Goddis lawe, as \ if \ mannis lawe were
more worji and more principal \ pan Goddis lawe. And \ pis
foro dip muche \ pe reverence and studiyng of Goddis lawe. For
herefore, and for worldly wynnyng and worschipe, men lerne
mannis lawis, as \ pe \ popis and emperouris and kyngis, and
studyen not Goddis lawis, \ patri techen virtues, and to suffren
myschiesis and dispisit, and to wynne \ pe blisse of hevene. And
herfore God and his lawe and virtuous lif ben unknownen and
dispersid, and synne and cursesdnesse norisched and myntened,
and many men rennen to helte, and fewe gon to hevene.

Also, whanne men speken of religion, anoon \ pei undirstonden
religion maad of synful men wiip many errouris, and not of \ patri
holy religion \ patri Criste, God and man, made hymself for his
apostils and prestis; alle and \ if \ a religion founde of synful
men, wiip pride and ypocrisie, were betre \ pan \ pe clene religion
in his clene fredom \ patri Crist made. And \ pues \ pei \ patri holden
Cristis clene religion, as prestis, wiipouten cloutynge to of er-
emouths of foolis and synful men, ben holden seculer men, or
seculer prestis, \ pou3 \ pei kepen nevare so wele \ pe gospel, and
techep it frely and trewly, as Crist and his apostils diden. But
\ if \ pei han a newe habite, founden of mannis folye, and have
maad singuler profession to synful men, and, in cas, to fendis,
\ pei ben holden men of religion, \ pou3 \ pei ben nevare so proute,
coveitous, envyous, lecherous, or ophere synnes. And \ pus, for
pride and ypocrisie, \ pes newe religions fordon \ pe reverence and
\ pe name of Cristis clene religion, and maken \ patri it is holden
for noon, as \ if \ foolis or synful men wolden fordon Goddis

\[1\] corrected from \ pan in the MS.

\* Meaning \textquoteleft \textasciitilde \textasciitilde as if.\textquoteright

\textit{Wyclif.}
makynge. And so þei seyn prively, þat synful men ben more myȝtty, more witty, and fullere of charite, þan ne was Jesus Crist, to teche a perfitere weie to hevene þan evere Crist dide himself. For siþ Crist was endeles myȝtty, endeles witty, and endeles ful of charite to save mennis soulis, what schulde lete him to teche þe best religion of prestis, siþ in hem hangip moche þe good lif and techynge of þe peple? Whethþer Crist bi a þou-sand þer and more taȝte nevere to his apostils and opere prestis þe beste religion, to serve him inne and to plese him, but to kepe þis til now, wiþinne þese two hundrid þere a, whanne Sathanas was unbounden, as Seynt Jon seïp in þe Aapolips, and siþ telde nevere in þe law of grace who schulde bigynne þes newe perfite religion, ne whanne it schulde come. Of þis may men see, þat oþer Crist was unwytty, unwytty, or not ful of charite to þeve þe best religion to apostlis and opere prestis; or ellis þes newe religious ben foolis, takynge þe worse religion maade bi errors of synful men, and levynge þe beste religion and most perfite and most liȝt and most siker, made of Jesus Crist. Also whanne men speken of obedience, anoon it is take for obedience maad to man ful of synne and unkunnynge, and not for obedience to do Goddis hestis; as siþ obedience don to þe conseil or biddynge of a synful creature, were more worþi þan obedience don to comauement or conseil of God. And þus new ypocrisit seyn þat it is more mediful, aftir unkunnynge profession, to do after þe biddynge of synful man, or errors of a fool, and, in cas, of a devel of helle, þan to do after þe hestis or conseilis of God. And þus þes new ypocrisit wip here newe obedience distroien obedience of Goddis lawe, and comyn lawe of men, and chargen only here owen obedience founden of hymself. For bi Goddis lawe eche man owip obeische to oþer, in as moche as he techeþ him Goddis wille and good lif; and speialy to bispopis, þat han cure of alle men in here diocese bi charite and comyn lawe. But þe new religious dispisen þis, and seyn, þou art not myn ordynarie; and geten hem exemption fro bispopis and opere men, þat schulden distroie here synnes

4. By obedience, they understand mere domestic obedience.

a The Franciscan Order was first founded by St Francis of Assisi in 1209; the date of the institution of the Dominicans or Friars Preachers is a little later, 1217.
and norische virtues. And þus þei ben exempt bi gold fro God, trewþe, and charite, and only bounden to here synful potestatis, and, in cas, to fendis; and herefore þei holden hem most perfitt, for þei forsaken alle good perfeccion.

Also, whanne men spoken of curs, anoon it is taken for mannis curs, and not for Goddis curs, as þif1 mannis curs were more principal and more worþi þan Goddis curs. And herefore foolis clepen Goddis curs þe lesse curs, and mannis curs þe more curs2, as þif synful man were more þan God Almyþty. And herbi folis drenen more mannis curs, þat is unriþtful, and, in cas, of devyl in helle, þan þe moste riþtful curs of God Almyþty, for trespassynge ægenst his comaundementis. And herefore folis ben so blente, þat for drede of mannis curs þei leven Goddis hestis, and done þe contrarie of hem, and so rennen into Goddis curs. And þei drenen more a synful man, and, in cas, quyk devel, þanne Almyþty God ’in Trinitie. For þei leveþ þe hestis of God undon, for drede of mannis curs, and don a wrong heste of man, and, in cas, of a devel, to plese him; and þus þei fallen fro bileeve and hope and charite. For Crist tecþ in þe gospel, whanne men ben cursid wrongfully for the trecþe of God, þan God himself blessþ, and þan mannis curs, þat is onriþtful, doþ moche good to him þat suffreþ it meklely and paciently. And þei loven not God of alle here herte, þat wolenn not suffre for his trecþe and his love a veyn blast of a fool, and, in cas, of a devyl, þe whiche harmeþ hem not, but doþ hem moche good, þif þei lasten stably in trecþe of mekenesse pacience and charite.

Also, whanne men spoken of goodis of holy Chirche, or riþt þerof, anoon it is taken for worldly goodis, and not for goodis of virtue, or for worldly riþt to plede and curse, and stryve for tþes and chrichis, and œpre prophetis of worldly muk, and not for riþt to lyve vertuous lif in good pacience and pees and charite, and to suffre gladly wrongis peynis and disceitis, for to kepe vertuous lif, þat is betre þan al þis world; as þif styngynge

1 corrected; the MS. has and þif as.

* See the introductory notice to 'The Grete Sentence of Curs,' page 267 of this volume.
muk, or drit, or worldly goodis, were betre þan pacience charite and oþere virtues. And so ypocris clepen þe worldly lord-
ischipis þat prelatis han, aþenst Goddis lawe, boþe old and newe, and aþenst Cristis lif and his apostilis, þe patrymonye of Jesus Crist don on þe cros, for to fere seculer lords to taken aþen here owen goodis, and governe hem riȝtfuly, and to brynge clerkis to Cristis owene ordynaunce. And þit þat bryngynge aþen is nedeful boþe to lordis and clerkis, for ellis þei ben boþe out of charite, þif þei may redresse þis wrong don to Crist and his ordynaunce, and don up here kunynge and myȝt. And þus riȝt of worldly goodis is magnyfied overmoche and falsly, and riȝt of virtues and grace and virtuous lif is not set bi, as þif þe Chirche were wrecchidly groundid in worldly muk, and not in vertues and goode lif. But certis holy Chirche is set in virtues and good lif; but certis Anticristis chirche is set in pride coveitise and oþere synnes, and most settiþ bi worldly muk and pride, aþenst Crist and his apostilis.

Also whanne men speken, aþenst prelatis and religiouns, of Cristis povert, mekenesse, and oþere virtues, þei seyn þat þo ben conseilis of Crist, and not comauundementis. And þerfore þe bishopp of Rome, þat is most contrarie to Cristis techynge and lif, may dispense as he wolþe; þat þouȝ men bynden hemself nevere so stronge to þis povert and perfeccion, and þit may vel a don it in dede, þei ben not holden to fulfille it, whanne Crist þeveþ hem þerto myȝt, witt, wille, and grace,—for Anticrist þat haþ feyned to dispense, aþenest Goddis wille, and aþenst here owen avowe and profession. And in þis þei seyn þat it is betre to lyve in siche worldly astaat, þan in clene povert of Crist and his apostilis; for þis dispensyng þat be fro þe lasse perfeccion to þe more perfit lif, for ellis þei weren peired aþenst God, and þerto hade nevere creature undere God power ne leve. And over þis newe religions seyn, þat þei ben more perfit þan oþer prestis, þat kepen pressthod wiþ fredom of þe gospel, as Crist ordeynede it, for þei kepen boþe Goddis hestis and conseilis. But certis, howeuer þei bynden hem to þe conseilis, þei kepen

* vel must be for wel. 'And in addition carry out their vow well in practice.'
In truth, what is of counsel to some, is of precept to others.

8. Dangerous and unauthorized practice of distinguishing between mortal and venial sins.

evele þe commaundementis, and, in cas, kunnen hem not. And it is grete folye to bynden hem to þe more, whanne þei kunnen not and kepen not þe lasse.

But it semeþ þat it is ypocrisie þat þei seyn, for every conseil of Crist is to sum man and sum tymé a precept. As, whanne God þeveþ a man knowinge þat þis conseil is Goddis wille, and myst and wille and wisdom to governe him þerinne, þan þis, þat is conseil to summe òpere, is a precept to þis man; for ellis he loveþ not God of al his herte, al his liþ, or wille, of alle his mynde and alle his myȝtis. But many han þe name of religious, for worldly pride and sikernes of welfare to þe body, and not for devocion of holy liþ and peyneful. And summe ben discyved in yongþe bi íȝtis and false bihestis, and grucchen evere afarward; and þes kepen neiþer preceptis ne conseilis; but þif þat symonye be wel souȝt, þei ben heretikis in þe bigynnynge, in þe myddil, and þe ende of here liþ. Ffor whomeþer entreþ into religion more for worldly pride or coveïtise, or lustful liþ of his body, þan for holynes of liþ, to sue Crist and his apostilis in penance and wilful povert, he doþ symonye, and þan he is an heretik.

Also whanne men speken aþenst synne, anoon þei seyn, þouȝ þis be synne, þit it is venyal, and not dedly, and venyals ben waschen away wiþ prerieris of a Pater-noster, wiþ halþ watiþ, wiþ pardon, wiþ bischopis blissyngye, and many òpere lîȝte weies, as men feynen. But trewe men seyn, þat þei knowen not in þis liþ wiþ revelacion which is venyal and whiche is dedly, and þes termes, venyal and dedly, ben founden up of newe men, wiþouten auctorite of holy wriþ, and þerfore þei ben suspect. For certis it stondiþ not algatis after mannis dom in þis materë. For many tymes a man demeþ þat þis synne is venyal, and God demeþ þat for þis synne þis man schal be dampyd, and also aþenward. And so manye opynyonis ben founden of newe men, whiche synne is dedly and whiche venyal, þat unneþe ony man undirstondiþ anoþer of hymself. But it cordiþ most to holy wriþ resoun and proprete of word, þat þis synne is dedly for whiche a man schal be dampyd in helle, and alle òpere ben venyals; and þanne it is reservyd to God, to wete wiche is dedly and which is venyal. But allagatis a man most first be
purged of dedly bifo[r]e þat ony venyal ben forþoven; and siþ no man wot where hymself be out of dedly synne, it is a presupcion to seie þat his synne is but venyal. And as to pardons, and haly watir, and blyssyngs of bishopis, it is a feyned þing, for pride of statis and covetise of worldly muk, and to blynde þe peple, and to make hem over litel to drede synne. Þerfore do eche man his bisynesse, to flee alle manere of synne, and to have grete sorowe and lastyng[e for his synnys, and mynde on Cristis riȝtwisnesse and wisdom, to ponysche and knowe þe foulnesse of synne, and on Cristis passioun, deþ, and mercy, to forþeve synnes for verrey repentaunce. And putte ech man his fulle trust in Goddis mercy, and in his owen goode lif; and not in false pardons, ne vanytees, þat men graunten aftir mennys deþ, for love of money. For sich japis availen not, but discyven men þat men trusten in hem for evere. As a man is in charite, kepynge þe hestis of God, so Crist þeþ hyr part of alle goode dedis as he is worþi, and neiþer more ne lesse schal he have, for no creature undere God.
[Dr. Shirley could not have observed, when he included this Lollard rejoinder to charges brought against the sect in his catalogue of Wyclif's works, that the same heads of charge, in a Latin version, are given in Knyghton under the year 1388, and that their vindication could not therefore have proceeded from Wyclif, who died at the end of 1384. After describing the opening of parliament in the February of 1388, the arrest of the judges which immediately followed, and the impeachment of Vere, Archbishop Neville, and the rest of the king's friends, Knyghton goes on to say that 'his diebus' the Wycliffites, 'qui et Lollardi dicit sunt,' continued to pour forth their errors with infinite clamour, heat, and pertinacity. Of these errors, he says, some are here inserted, while others which have been noted already are here repeated. Then follows a list of twenty-five points, which substantially agrees, point for point, with the list in the present treatise, the order only being slightly different. He then states that the Lords and Commons petitioned the king to take measures for the extirpation of these errors, and that the king did so, but ineffectually, 'because the hour of correction was not yet come.'

The treatise had been transcribed for press before I had found out all this; otherwise I should hardly have included a piece clearly not written by Wyclif in the contents of this volume. Yet the historical interest of the piece is sufficient to make me not regret its appearance, to say nothing of its own merits as a vigorous piece of writing, which are certainly considerable.

The date of composition, if we take Knyghton's account of the circumstances under which the articles were 'put upon' the Wycliffites to be correct, must have been either in 1388 or 1389, for the articles were not framed till 1388, and Pope Urban, who is mentioned as the reigning pope in the first article, died in 1389.

The work named in Bale's Catalogue under the title 'Super Impositis Articulis' may have been, as Dr. Shirley conjectured, this very treatise. But this remains quite doubtful; for to 'imponere,' or 'put upon' a party
or an individual the maintenance of certain errors was the phrase in common use (see Fasc. Ziz.); and it was a process continually going on until the Lollard movement was suppressed; so that the 'artifici' of Bale might have been something quite different.

The text is founded on the only known MS., Douce 273, in the Bodleian Library.]

_Pese bene _p_0_ poynuts _p_at w0rldely prelatis at _p_0_ sug- gestione of freru_ _putten on po3e Cristen men, and what _p_ai graunten ande what _p_ai denyen._

1. _p_0_ prime, _p_at _p_is pope Urban _p_e _p_sixte berep not _p_e strengthe of Seint Petur in erje, but _p_ai affermen hym to be son of Anticriste, and _p_at no verrey pope was fro _p_0_ tyme of Silvester pope.

2. Also byschopus ande freris putten on pore men _p_at _p_ei seyne, _p_at _p_0_ pope may not graunte ony indulgencis, ne ony ogeber bishopis, ande _p_at alle men tristynge in sooche indulgencis ben cursid.

3. Also prelatis ande freris putten on pore men _p_at _p_ei seyne, _p_at _p_0_ pope may not make canons, _p_at is, reulis, or decretales, or constitucions; ande if _h_e make ony, no _m_an is holden for to kepe hem.

4. Also bishopis ande freris putten on pore men _p_at _p_ei seyne, _p_at of onely contricione of hert al synne is done away, wipouten schript of moupe; ne _p_at_schript of moupe is nedeful, _p_e, where plenty or leyser of a preste may be hadde.

5. Also bishopis ande freris putten to pore men _p_at _p_ei seyne, _p_at ymages of Cristis crosse, of _p_0_ crucifixe, of _p_0_ blessid Vergyne Mary, ande of ogeber seintis, in no manere bene worpi to _[be1]_ worshchipid, but _p_at alle men worschypynge in ony manere _p_oo ymages; or ony peyntyngus, synnen and done ydolatrie; and _p_at God dose not ony myracul by hem; and _p_at alle men goynge pilgrimage to hem, or manere worschyp- pynge, or putting lighttiis or ony devociones before _p_oo ymagis, ben cursid.

1 supplied conjecturally.
6. 70 sexte tyme, prelatis ande freris beren upon pore men \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei seyne, \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at alle prestus ande dekenes ben holden for to preche \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o gospel openly by reson of ordur taken, \( \dot{\text{p}} \)of \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei have not pepul ne cure of soulis.

7. 70 sevenc tyme, prelatis and frerus beren upon symple men \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei seyne, \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at nou\( \dot{\text{p}} \)er cursynge of pope ne of byschop byndus.

8. Also prelatis and frerus beren upon symple men \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei seyne, \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at hit is not to besche to seyntis for to pray for lyvynge men, ne \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o Letany is not to be seid. Sopely \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei affermen \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at God may do alle \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ingis wipoute hem, ne hit is not bileve \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ai bene seyntus whom we clepen seintus; but \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ai prechen mony of hem for to be in helle, whos halidayes \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o Chirche halowes here in erpe \( ^8 \) . . . . . ne men oven not for to byleve ne stonde to \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o canonysynge of \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o seyntes made by \( \dot{\text{p}} \)e courte of Rome in \( \dot{\text{p}} \)is part.

21. Also byschopis and freris putten to pore men \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei seyne, \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o holy Trinity in no manere schulde be worschip-pid, fygurid, fourmed, ne peyntid, in \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at fourme by whicke comynly hit is peyntid, by al \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o Chirche of God.

22. Also prelatis and freris putten to pore men \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei seyne, \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at hit is not leefull to a preste for to sette to hire his bysyynes or werkes.

23. Also byschopis curatis and frerus putten on pore men \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei seyne, \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at no persone, ne vicare, ne prelate, is excusid fro personele residence, to be made in \( \dot{\text{p}} \)er benefices, in dwellynge in servyces of bischopis, or of archebyschopis, or of \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o pope.

24. Also prelatis ande prowde curatis and freris putten to pore men \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ei seyne, \( \dot{\text{p}} \)at persones and vicars, not seyynge masse, ne mynystrynge sacramentis of holy Chirche, bene wor\( \dot{\text{p}} \)i for to be removed and o\( \dot{\text{p}} \)er for to be ordeyned in hor stede; for \( \dot{\text{p}} \)ai bene unwor\( \dot{\text{p}} \)i, and wasters of \( \dot{\text{p}} \)o Chirchis godis.

\( ^8 \) A leaf is wanting in the MS. here, containing the points or heads from the ninth to the twentieth. The reader, however, can easily supply them for himself from the commencements of the several chapters in which the points are discussed. The words \( \dot{\text{p}} \)e men . . . in \( \dot{\text{p}} \)is part form the conclusion of the twentieth point.
25. Also byschopis and freris putten to pore men þat þei seyne, þat men of þo Chirche schulden not ride on so stronge horses, ne use so mony jewellis, ne precious clothes, ne delicate metus, but renounce alle þinges and þyve hem to pore men, goynge on feete, and takynge stafes in hondes, recevyynge þo state of pore men, in þyvyng ensaumple of holynes by þeir conversacione.

To þese poyntes pore men onsweren by autorite of holy writte and of seyntus, and by open dedis of men þat may not be denied; makynge þis protestacione, þat if þei erren in any poyn of þeire onsweryng, þei submytten hem to be correctid openly to þo kynge and his chivalrye and þo cleryg and comyns, þe, by deþe, if hit be justly demed lawefulle.

POINT I.

Furste, þat þis pope Urban þo sixte beres not strenght of Seint Petur in erþe, but þai affermen hym to be þo son of Anti-criste, ande þat no verrey pope was siþ þo tyme of Silvester pope.

Here Cristen men seyne pleynly, þat whatever pope or oþer preste, in maner of lyvynge or techynge or lawis-makynge, contrarius Crist, is verrey Anticrist, adversary of Jesus Crist and of his apostlis, ande of alle Cristen pepul. Sees inwardely, alle þe Cristen pepul, þo meke life of Jesus Crist, pore and symple to þo worlde, and full of brennynghe charite, and puttyng hym selfe to penaunce and travayle in prechynge and prayinge, and willeful schedynghe of his precious blode, for to make pes and charite and for to save mennes soules. Ande sees þe þo open lyif of popes, how proude þai bene, þat Cristen kyngus schal kysse þer fete, and wiþ þer fote þai schal kroune þo emperoure, þer lorde and founder, ande þat emperours, barfot, leden openly, as men sayne, þer bridelis a, and þat all men þat schal wiþ hem speke schul kisse þer fete, and calle hem moste holy faderis, and moste blessid and moste mercyful and gracius. And loke wheþer þis be contrarie to Cristis mekenes, þat

a Such a scene took place at tween the Emperor Frederic Bar- Venice, on the reconciliation be- barossa and Pope Alexander III.
weysche his disciplis feete, and coome not for to be served but to serve oþer men, and to gis hys lyfe for redempcioun of mony. And he coome not to seche his owne glorie by manhed, but in alle þingus to do þo wille of his Fadir of heven.

þo secunde tyme, See, 3e Cristen peple, þo willeful poverte of Jesus Crist, how he hade nouȝt by worldly lordschipone on howse where he myȝt reste his heved, but lyved by temporale almes of Mary Mawdeleyne ande oþer holy wymmen, as þo gospel sais. Ande see 3e wisely, wheþer oure popis, makyng stronge palayces wiþ pore mennus lyvelodis, wiþ al þer glorie of richesses and jewelis, acorden wiþ þis porenes of Criste.

þo thrid tyme, See, þee Cristen pepul, þo charitabul lyif of Crist, ande loke wheþer oure popis contrarien hym. Where he was moste bisye in spirituale occupacione, þese popis bene most bisy in delyne of beneficiis to hem þat moste muck brynggen or worldly favour. Where Criste willefully gafe tribute to þo emperoure, þese popis robben Cristis rewmes by þo furste frutes of mony þowsande poundis, by manyschynge of suspending and enterdytynge of londis. Where Criste mekely travelid wiþ grete penaunc upon his fete for to preche þo gospel, þese popes, more þen emperoures, resten in palaycys chargid wiþ pretious, in þer feete and in al þer stynkynge carione, ande prechen not þo gospel to Cristen men, but crien ever aftur worldly glorye and riches, and make newe lawes for to magnyfie þer worldly state, þat Crist and his apostlis durste never do. Where Crist gafe his precious blode and lyif for to make pes and charite, þese popis maken ande mayntenys werre þoroweout Cristendame, for to hold þer worldly state, moste contrarie ageyne Crist and his apostlis, ande herto spenden þo almes of kyngis, and oppresen Cristen rewmes by newe subsidies. And, þat is werst, þai senden indulgencis, foundid as þai faynen on Cristis charite and his dethe, to sic alle men contrarie to þeire lustis. Certis þis semes contra-

* In writing thus the writer might have had in his mind, either the expedition of Bishop Spencer to Flanders in 1383, or the crusade against the king of Castile, indulgence and preached in England by Urban’s order in 1386, in favour of John of Gaunt, who had views on the crown of Castile. See the curious fragment of a sermon in Fasciculi Zizaniorum (Rolls publications), p. 506.
rious to Crist and his lovers. Seynt Robert Grosthede sais 
that his court is cause, well, and begynnynge of destruccion 
of Cristendame, and loser of al þo worlde. Ande trewly, if þai 
be þus contrary to Crist in lyvyng and techynge, as þer open 
dedis and þo world crien, þai ben cursid heretikis, manquellars 
bodily and gostly, Anticristis, and Sathanas transfigurid into 
aungelis [of?] liȝt. Ande, as þis worþi clerk Grosthede proves, 
ande[3] certis no man is verrey pope but in als myche as he 
sewis Crist; and in so myche Cristen men wole do aifter hym, 
ande no more, for alle bulles and censuris, for no creature 
of God.

POINT II.

Also bishopis and freris putten on pore men þat þai sayne, 
þat þo pope may not graunte ony indulgencis, ne ony oþer bishopis, 
ande þat alle men tristyng in suche indulgencis ben 
cursid.

Cristen men seyne þat þese indulgencis, by maner as þai 
bene tied in writyng, done mykel harme to Cristen soulis 
and sownen erroure ageynes þo gospel. Ffor Crist ne his 
apostlis never usid suche, ande þit þai tawȝten al þat was nedeful 
for salvacioun of mennes soulis. Also þese indulgencis maken 
men for to bivele not to þeir crede, ffor if þai bileveden þo 
comunyng of seintus, þat is, þat iche man in charite has part of 
Cristis passione and of alle þo meritis of ilk seint, as þo crede 
technis, þai wolden not coste so muche aboute dede lede, and 
suffer þer por eynghbouris in so open meschief, and renne to 
Rome wiþ pore mennus lyvelode. Also þo pepul bileveþ more to 
suche dede bullis þen to Cristis gospel, for þai bileven to have 
more þonke of God for spendyng of þer money at þo ordyna-
naunce of þo pope, þen to spende hit on pore men as Crist 
biddis in þo gospel.

Seynt þese indulgencis bene fals, for so mony þowsand of þeris 
as þai speken of schul never be before þo day of dome, and 
after þai serven of nouȝt. Also a synneful man in þese indul-

gencis presumes more þen Crist and his apostlis wrouȝten in 
erthe, and maken hem heȝþer þen God. Ffor God gyves none

1 supplied conjecturally.  
[2] unde
indulgence from everlasting pain, no but 'til him that finally
endis in charite; and that synful man, grantor of his pardon,
grants to many of his own doing. By these bullis
riche men drede nout to synne,
and the world is goten to worldly Prelatis by hem.
And these pardouns bene not granted generally for fulfilling of God's
hestis and werkis of mercy to moste nedy men, as Crist biddis,
but for syngulere cause and syngulere place, as if Anticrist wolde be chefe lorde and parter of Cristis passioun, and martir-
dame of seintis, and over holy werkes. Perfore iche man do very
penance for his synnes, kepe Goddis hestis, ande do werkis of
charite; ande 3e schul have parte of alle Gods dedis in al holy
Chirche, als myche as Gods mercye and riȝtwisenes wille, ȝof
alle popis ande her bullis were synally laide to slepe. Ande more
ȝen a man diserves by gode lyif ending in charite schal he
never have, for alle ȝo bullis in erthe.

POINT III.

Also Prelatis and Freris putten on pore men ȝat ȝai sayne,
ȝat ȝo pope may not make canouns, ȝat is, rewlis, or decretalis,
or constitucions; ande if he make ony, no man is holden for to
kepe hem.

Here Cristen men seyne, ȝat no pope may make lawfully ony
lawe contrary to ȝo gospel, ne superfute, ne by his lawes with-
drawe men fro studyiug ne kepynge holy writte, ne sette more
bisynes ne prys by suche newe lawis ȝen by ȝo gospel of Jhesu
Criste. If he do ageynes ȝe, he is cursid of God ande of alle
his seintis. Ande no man schulde receyve suche lawes, nouȝer
for lyve ne dethe. Ande thyn ȝe popis lawis semen ful but
contrary to hem self, and olde lawes made of holy men con-
trary to newe decretalis, made of synful men for worldly powere
and godis, in suppressing of kynges state and destroyng of
obediens of prestis to lordis, ȝat God commaundid ful myche,
Cristen lordis schulden perfore avyre of ȝe lawes, ȝat venyme
come not in under colour of holynes, lest ȝo ordynaunce of
Crist in holy lyvynge, trewe techynghe, and costly occupacioun,
be destroyed or hyndrid, ande Anticristis ordynaunce, and
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

worldly pompe, and worldly occupacioun of his proude prestis, and robbynge of comyns by fals statutis and customys, be magnified into destruccione-of Cristis religione. And sijen mennes wittis bene febler þen elder seintis wittis, and ooure lyve myche schorter, and holy writte so depe of understondyng, and ever nedeful and profitable, whi þen schul Cristen men be chargid wip so mony statutis of worldly prestis, þat þai may nout knowe holy writte for studying of hem? Ande if þai fayle in one poynyt of þese newe statutis made of covetouse men, þai schal be more punischid þer for brekynge of alle Goddis hestis. Sijen mony of þese newe lawis of worldly prestis bene contrary to Gods wille, and lewid men written not whiche þai bene, ande also þai done away þo fredame of Cristis gospel, ande oppressen Cristen men wrongefully, hit nedis þat Cristen men entermete hem not of hem, for dred of gostly veneme, til þai bene fully declarid, but holde hem to þo gospel and Goddus commandmentis, to werkis of mercy, and iche man do treuth and charite iche one til oþer.

POINT IV.

Also bischopis ande freris putten upon pore Cristen men þat þai seyne, þat of onely contricion of hert al synne is done away, wiþouten schrift of mouth, ne þat schrift of mouth is nedeful, þhe, where plenty or leyser of a preste may be hade.

Here Cristen men seyne boldily, þat verrey contricion of hert, þat is never wiþouten speciale grace of God and charite, does away alle synnes bifoire done of þat man þat is verrey contrite, þof alle prestus nowe in erthe were unborne. Ande wiþouten verrey contricion is no remissione of synne, what ever men blabiren. Moreover confessione made by mouthe to a wise preste of lyvyngæ, þat bope can, and for grete charite techis þo treuth of Gods dome, dos muche gode, and to suche hit spedis þat men schewe hor lyif. Ande certis confessione made to a vicious preste, unknowyne holy writte, hauntynge his office fro worldly wynnyng more þen for charite to save mennys soules, þo suying of his counsel dos miche harme, and ledis mony soulis to helle. Ande sithen comynly alle grete prelatis been ful of symony and covetise, wrong wastyng of pore mennes lyvelode,
ande cursid man-quellers for defaute of trewe prechyng, sechyng 
þeir worldly glory more þen salvacion of Cristen soulis, þat is 
ful perilouse to constrayne lewde men to sewe þeir counseile, 
and leefe cunnyng prestis and clene of lyf, doyng þer office 
aftur þo heste of Crist als fer as mannen dome stretchis; sithen 
he þat slees hymselfe has no charite of oþer.

Ande þis poynct comys ofte by þer newe decretalis, aȝeyne þo 
olde decre made of Seint Austenn, and grounde of holy writte 
and resoun. Certis, as holy prestis of lyvyngne, and cunnyng 
of holy writte, han keyes of heven, and bene vicars of Jesus 
Crist, so viciouse prestis, unkonnyng of holy writte, ful of 
pride and covetise, han keyes of helle and bene vicaris of 
Sathanas, deceife mannhes soules by feyned jurisdiccione of 
Anticrist. Ande sithen þese new lawus of confessioun done 
away þo liberte of Cristis gospel and resoun, and bene horde of 
synne, and mayntenynge of alle pride and cursidnes boþe of 
clerkis and lewid men, hit is nede þat men do verrey penaunce 
for her synnes, and triste to Cristis presthode þat never may 
faile, and seke trewe prestis ande witty of Gods wille, and do 
aftur hem in als muche as þai teche Goddis dome, and no 
ferþer for no creature.

POINT V.

Also bischopis ande freris putten to pore Cristen men þat þai 
seyne, þat ymagis of Cristis crosse, of þo crucifixe, of þo blessid 
Vergyne Mary, and of oþer seintus, in no maner bene worþi to 
be worschipynge, but þat alle men worschipynge in ony manere 
þoo ymagis or any payntyngus, synnen ande done ydolatry, and 
þat God dose not ony myracle by hem, and þat alle men doynge 
pilgrimage to hem, or ony manere hem worschipynge, or put-
tyng lighttis or ony devocions before þoo ymagis, bene cursid.

Here Cristen men seyne, þof ymagis myȝtten be sufferid for 
lewid men, in defaute of prechyng þat prestis schulden do, 
noþoles ymagis þat representen pome and glorie of þo worlde, 
—as if Criste hade bene crucified wip golden cloþis ande golden 
schone, and as hys pore apostilis hade lyved in worldely glory, 
and oþer seintes also, and herinne haden plesid God,—bene 
false ymagys and bokis of heresyde worþi to be destroyed,
nomely when ðo lewid pepul honouris hem for God and seyntis, and done more honour to hem þen to God and Cristis body. And as þo nobul kyng Ėzechye distroyed þo neddur of bras when þo peple did ydolatrie þerby, noutwiþstandynge þat þat same serpent was made by Moyses at Gods biddynge, myche more þese false ymagis made of synnefull men, siþen nouþer God, ne Crist by his monhede, gafe never commandement to make þese, ne counseile, ne his apostillis in al holy writte. Þerfore Cristen men schulden worship þo holy Trinite and seintis, ande not þese ymagis, as Seint Gregorie techis in his registre a.

A l grete blyndenes is in þo pepul, þat þai costen so myche aboute a roten stock, ande offeren fãste þerat, and suffren a pore man, verrey ymage of þo holy Trinite mad of God hymselfe, for to lye in muche meschief, and seken not hym to helpe hym by þer powere; siþen God commaundus þis upon peyne of dampnacione, and of þat oþer offrynge he never bad ne counselid in holy writte. Hit semes þat þis offrynge to ymagis is a solite caste of Anticriste and his clerkis, for to drawe almes fro pore men, and cumber worldly prestis with muck, þat þai nouþer know God ne hemselfe, but maken sacrificse to Sathanas by glotomy, lecherye, pride, slouthe, envie, and many oþer synnes. For þai ben verreyly wode, if ony trewe man tech þo hestis of God and werkis of mercy to ony nedy man, for defaut of which werkis men schul be dampned wiþouten ende. Certis, þese ymagis of hemselfe may do nouþer gode ne yvel to mennis soulis, but þai myþten warme a mannes body in colde, if þai were sette upon a fire, ande þo silver ande jewelis upon hem wolden profite to pore men, and þo waxe for to liþt pore men and creaturis at þer werke. If men wilde have ymagis of tre or stone or oþer wyse payntid, be þai suche þat techen þo povert ande peynus of seintis, and forsakyng of worldly vanite after Cristis lyve and his seintis, and þen let þo waste coste of ymagis be delud ferth fully to pore men, ande not to stockis ne to stonys, þat never have honger colde ne þrist, ne to riche

a Gregory the Great (Epistles, IX. 108, and XI. 13) forbids that images should be adored, but reproves those who broke them, apprehending such adoration. He speaks of them as the books of the unlearned.
Wyclif's Works.

Bishopis munkis and riche prestis, pat have myche waste tresoure, and wasted pore mennes lyvelode to þer dampnacione, if þai ben nout founden doyng verrey penaunce þerfore. And þen many ymagis made of hem schal sone cees, and ymagis of þo holy Trinite be worschipid and holpen.

POINT VI.

Also prelatis and freris beren upon pore men þat þai seyne, þat alle prestis ande dekenys bene holden for to preche þo gospel openly, by resoun of order taken, þof þai have not pepul ne cure of souls or not.

Here Cristen men seyne stedefastly, þat iche preste ande deken is holden by þo ordynaunce of Jesus Criste for to preche þo gospel to Cristen peple, boþe by ensaumple of holy lyfe, and faithful ande sadde techynge, ande willefully suffer tribulacion þerfore, if hit come not for worldely savour and wynnyng of muck, but princepally for þonke of God and love of savyng of Cristen souls, þof al he do no symony for a benefice upon synneful mennes departynge. Ande if a symonyent bischop yve hym not lettre of newe licence, for þo autorite of God ande charge taken of hym, by his grace dispendyng in charite, his cunningys is ynogh for to do his office, þof a worldely preste cry oute æseynes holy writte ande charite, blasphemyng þat a trewe preste schal not do mercy ne charite to his broþer withouten his lettre and leeve, as if he were Goddis mayster, and þat men schulden more obeysche to hym and his cursid blasphemy, þen to God Almytty and his rigþful commaundement of charite. In þo olde law dekenys crieden þo commaundementus of God, ande in þo newe lawe þai prechid þo gospel, as Seint Steven and oþer. Also in þo olde lawe boþe Cristen kyngus and hethen, as Josias, Nabugodonosor, ande oþer, prechiden God ande his myraclis; myche more prestis, angelis of God by þer office, as God seis by þo prophete Malachie, schulde preche þo gospel. Ande Crist bad his disciplis preche þo gospel to iche creature; ande by þo same gospel pat prestis have autorite for to make þo sacrament of þo auter, þat is verrey Cristis body, by þo same gospelle han prestis autorite for to preche. And als generaly as þai have þat one, als generally þai
have that over. Also those two and seventy discipulis hadden powere for to preche, and perto Criste sende hem, in whom alle prestis bene understonden, as holy docturis ande comyne lawe witnesseen. Also Seint Gregore techis in his Pastorallis, and in those comune lawe, that who ever comes to presthode takis those voyce of a crier for to crye bifore that dome, and elles he stiris that wrathe of God aeynus hymselfe. Seynt Jerome sais on those Sauter, that every preste verrey owes to have schewing of Gods worde, that he teche alle men. Also Seinte Austyne upon that gospel of Jon seis, that everiche Cristen man schal drawe fro synne whom ever he may, by worde, by monestynge, by chastysynge, if those charite of God be in hym. Ande to this acorden Crisostome ande mony over. Lo! worldly prestis for peire pride ande covetise willen nout suffer Gods angelis to do his message, lest peire heresie, symony, and cursidnes were knowen, but raper willen make alle men dampted in that that in hem is, for mayntenynge of ther heresie.

POINT VII.

Also prelatis ande freris beren upon symple men that sayne, that noupur cursynge of pope ne of bishop byndes. Here Cristen men witnesseen hardly that no wrongeful curse of ony prelate in erthe byndis aneyntys God. But when that cursen wrongefullly, stondynge pacience and charite in hym that is cursid of hem, he is blessed of Almyghty God in Trinite and alle his seintis. And no creature of God may harne this mannes soule this stondynge, ne pyne his body no but to his sovereign glory, ande blis wipouten ende. Over this we seyne, that no man schuld bere fals witenessynge ageynus his brother, seynge hym cursid whom God and alle his aungellis blessen, by evydence of man, for kepyng of his lawe, that a synneful a prelate openly reverse Gods dome by his lettre cursynge hym. For no faith-

\footnote{That neither papal nor episcopall anathema are binding.}

\footnote{S. Greg. Reg. Pastoralis, Pars I, cap. 4. 'Praeconis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit: ut ante adventum judicis qui terribiliter sequitur, ipse sci licet clamando gradiatur.'}

WORKS. VOL. III.
FUL CRISTEN MAN MAY WİJDRAWE CHARITABLE COMMUNYNG AND HELPE IN GODS CAUSE FOR BLASPHEME LETTRES OF COVETOUS PRELATIS, WHEN HE KNOWIS NO NOTABLE DEFAUTE IN HIS BROFTER, BUT PERCEVYES PLEYNE TRUETH AND GODE RESOUN, PAT HIS BROFTER SPEKIS AND MAYNTENYS. PERFORE NO TREWE CRISTEN MAN SCHORTLY WİL RENNE INTO GODDIS CURSE FOR A BLASTE OF SATHANAS, NE FOR WORLDLY JANKE AND FLÂTERYNG OF ANTICRISTIS CLERKIS.

POINT VIII.

Also prelatis and freris beren upon pore symple men pat þei seyne, pat hit is not to beseche to seintis for to pray for lyvynge men, ne þo Letany is to be seide. Sothely þai affermem þat God may do alle þingis wiþout hem, ne þat hit is bileve þat þai bene seintis whom we clepen seintis, but þai prechen mony of hem for to be in helle whos halidais þo Chirche hallowis a.

Here Cristen men seyne þat þo maner of prayynge þat Crist tauȝt, for to pray to God for hys worschipe to be encresid and for commyne profite of holy Chirche, is bettur þen ony oþer manere founden of synneful men for syngulere affeccione. Noþoles men may wele pray to oþer seintis, þat þai be meenys bytwixe Crist ande hem, in als mucche as hit stiris hem to love more God, and no forþer, so þat þai know wele þat no seint in heven may graunte ony þinge, ne spedis, ne but as God grauntis hit furst. Ande nouþer God ne alle his seintus willen heren men for no rabul of wordis, ne curiouse florischyng in ryme, ne but aftur þer holy desire and charite ande gode lyve, for þer aftur God lokys. Ande sithen God is moste myȝtty for to helpe us, moste witty in knowyng what is spedeful to us, and lovyng for to ȝyve us þat us moste nedis and helpis, and no seint may do ony þinge wiþouten his leee, and he a þousande folde more redy to here and helpe þen ony creature, hit were no grete

a This opinion, that many who are called saints are in hell, the holding of which by the sect the writer of the tract does not dispute, indicates a later stage of development, and is enough of itself to show that Wyclif was not the author. Wyclif’s opinion, repeated in various places of his works, was, that many who are called saints had done wrong, e.g. the founders of the Mendicant orders, but that, as they had probably repented before their death, they might charitably be supposed to have got to heaven.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

perile if we directen oure prayers to God onely, as Crist and his modur diden, and his apostilis, and tauȝten us to do so; for onely God may do alle þinge withouten hem, and þai mot nedis pray for us, so þat we serve God trewly, for alle hyngus in hym. And no dout Cristen men myȝtten be saved by þat feith þat Criste tauȝt in kepyng of his hestis, þof þai be not chargid iche ðere wiþ newe articlis of bilee and newe servyce, for þo olde þat God ordeyned is ynoȝȝe. Ande a thousand þowsandis bene moo seintis in heven þen we kanonyssen in þo kalender; and siþen popis and prelatis, as þer dedis openly schewen, ben unconnyng in holy writte and holy lyfe, prouedly lyvyng, fulle of fleschly affections and covetise, by fals wittenessis þai moone söne be deceeved in canonyssyng of sum riche man. Ffor comynly, if ony trewe man wille impugne or contrary þeire worldly lyf, ande telle out þeire cursidnes to þo pepul as God biddis, þai wil not canonyse hym þow he dye in þis poynþ, ande be never so fervent in charite, as hit felle of Robert Grosthede 8. How gloriusse a cause he had, ande pleyne treute, and comynye profite of holy Chirche, and what gloriusse bokis he wrote, more þen any oþer grete seintis of þis londe, to comynye profite of al Cristendame!

Certis, þis court wil enforce hit to dampne bycurysyne or prively murthur trewe men þat tellen þo treute of prestehode, groundynge hem upon Criste ande his lawys, schewynge þo state of kyngis ande lordis, how falsely hit is borne doune by ypcorsy and blasphyme power of Anticristis clerkis. Perfore Cristen men wilen bilee to Criste ande to his lawe and holde hem seintis þat ben expressid in holy writte, ande alle oþer suppose bynethe [bilee] 1, as þai han evydence. Ffor þese worldly

1 supplied conjecturally.

8 Foxe, in his Acts and Monuments, quotes largely from Ranulf Higden, Matthew Paris, and the author of the Flores Historiarum, on the subject of the denial of canonization by the court of Rome to Robert Grosthede, and the marvelous apparition of the holy bishop to Innocent IV, who, being frightened out of his wits, desisted from the design which he had formed of having Robert's bones exhumed. What such stories really show is the strength of the nascent principle of nationality, which made English monks of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries uphold and honour their brave countryman, who had stood up manfully against the innumerable encroachments, knaveries, and exactions of the Roman Curia.
clerkis may crie that a grete seint is damned, for he contraries per lustis, ande that a cursid fende that died in open heresie is a grete seint in heven, for he was frend to hem or enrichid hem. When prestis ande clerkis weren bisye in studyynge of holy writte, and forsoken worldly pompe and vanite, and lyveden in mekenes, sympulnes, charite, and gostily travaile aftur Cristus techynege, hit was grete eyudence that God schewid to hem who was saved. But nowe, hem turned alle to þo worlde and pride and covetise, men drened lest God suffer þo fende to disseyve hem in mony dedis þat þai done; as cronyclys schewen þat one pope canonyses, anöer dampnes, and açeynward; ande holy writte wittenessis þat Anticrist schal deceife by false myraclis hem þat hadde no charite ande trewthe. Perfore hit is no poyn of blyve þat, if þai done or seyne ony þinge, þat God approves hit.

POINT IX.

Also prelatis ande freris putten to Cristen men þat þai seyne, hit ys not to gise dymes to a persoun beyng in dedely synne, ne offryngus, ne devociouns of money owen to be made in puryfyngis of wymmen, ne in halowyng, ne in syngynge of massis for dede men.

Þis poyn, as mony oþer ande almoste alle þer poynutus, bene medelid wiþ lesyngus. Wherfore Cristen men seyne pleynly, þat if hit be known þat persouns comen to þer benefices by symony, or lyven in notary fornicacione, or done not þer offices by ensaumpul of holy lyfe in trewe prechynege, but couchen in lordis courtis wrappid wiþ seculere offices, ande contynuen openly in þese cursidnessis, men schulden not receyve hem for persouns, ne gif to hem tythis, leste þai bene acursid for consent ande mayntenynge of oþer open synne. For if þai bene symonyens þai bene heretikis, cursid of God and alle his seintus, as Gods lawe ande mannes lawe wittenessen in many placis. For if þai be open lechouris, þo lawe forbedis hem to say a masse, and þo pepul is forbiden in þo same lawe þat þai here not þer masse, ande þat suche prestis take no part of þo chirche godis, as þer owne lawe wittenessis a, wiþ gode

a. See ante, p. 224.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

resoun and grounde of holy writte. And if pai lyven proudly, wiþdrawyng techyng of Gods worde, wrappynghem in secu-
ler e offices, pai bene cursud and manslearsande thesís ande
ravynouris, as Goddus lawe ande mannesande resoun witte-
nessen; as Seynt Austyne, Gregore, and mony moo proven.
Ffor if he is cursud pat wiþholdís ony dewte of holy Chirche
pat God commandis, muche more pai bene cursid pat wiþ-
drawn ensaumple of holy lyife ande trewe techyng, siþen
pis is moste dewte, ande moste medeful and nedeful, and beste
meene to helpe holy Chirche. Mony bokis boøe of Gregore
and Austen seyne playnel, pat þe schepard slees Cristen soulis,
when he is stille and cries not ageyne her synnes. And Ysaie
sais, pat suche bene doumbe houndus pai may not berken.
And Seint Austeyne in þo comyne lawe sais, pat suche a bischop
is ræper an unschamefast dogge þen a bischop. Cristen men
schulden have fredome in al þer doyngle nowe to offer or leve,
weþer þeire conscience reulid by Goddis lawe ande resoun
thynki beste; and pai schulden not be constrayned for a blynde
devocioun or worldly schame, for to bringe money to hem pat
pai knowen for to have no nede, ande for to waste pore menny
lyvelode in tavernys and rybawdery, and suffer þer neyghburis
in myche meschefe, and þai hemself endette hem for siche
offrynge.

POINT X.

And prelatis and freris putten to symple men þat pai seyne,
pat þo pope, cardynalis, archebishops, bischopis, archedekenys,
denys, and alle grete personys of þo Chirche, bene cursid.

Here Cristen men committen þís to Goddis dome and to þer
owne conscience, and to wise demyng of þo pepul, weþer þai
bene cursid for per symonye, pride, covetise, ravayne of pore
mennys godis, levyng of prechynge, and for lecherye, glotony,
and cursid lesyngus, and manquellyng, boøe of mannus bodies
and soulis. þo grete clerk Grosthede proves by holy writte and
grete resone, in a sermone þat he prechid in Rome, and gafe
hit written to þo pope and mony cardynalis, and in mony moo
sermones, þat þo pope wiþ his courte was cause ande grounde
of alle yvelis in þo Chirche, not onely for he distroyed nout
open erroris, when he is moste bounden þerto, and best may, but also for he makis unable curatis, þat bene lesars of þo worlde. Also þo pope pursues more cruely Jesus Crist in his membris þen kyng Herode and Jewis, þat diden nayle hym on þo crosse. Also þo pope settis more pris by temporale dritte þan by mannys souls, ande by seculere frendeschipe and favoure of fleschely love þen by þo blode and deth of Goddis Son, þat was rannisome for mannys soules. And he techis alle seculere lordis, and alle þo world, for to do þo same cursidnes. And curatis þat prechen not þo gospel, wiþ clene lyvyng and for love of mannys soules, bene dede in himself, sleares of mennys souls, Antecristis heretikis, and Sathanas transfigurid into an aungel of lyþt, and þat þai bene more abomynable to God and to þo court of heven þen þo cursudde synne of Sòdome, þat for hidouse synne sanke into helle. Þis clerk proved playnly alle þese scharpe poyns, ande mony moo; ande al þo popis court couth not say nay by holy writte and reson; and if hit be nowe worse þen hit was þen in his tyme, so myche þai bene more cursud. Avyse hem wele how hidousely God by his prophet cursis wayward curatis, and how playnely Seint Jerome, Gregore, and Austyne, and nomely Seint Bernarde and Grosthed, crien out on þer open heresies, and deme þai þen hemselfe wheþer þai bene cursid or nay. Hit semes playnly þat Judas was not so cursid as þai, for ravayne of pore mennys lifelode done under colour of holynes passis þo crueltie of alle robbers, as Seint Jerome wittenessis in his epistilis, and Bernard also; and for þai betrayen mony þowsandis of soulis to fendys of helle, for to be devourid of hem in everlastynge dethe, for temporale avaunsyng of sum one man, where Criste Gods Son died moste payneful deth for ich one of hem, as Grosthed wittenessis in þo same sermone. And Judas knowlachid his trespas, and restorid þo money falsly taken; but þese prelatis contynuen in þer heresies and blasphemyes, and restoren not to pore men þer godis taken by extorsioun. And if ony trewe man for Gods sake crie aþeynes þese heresies, þai pursuen hym to dethe by lesyngis, and murtheren hym wipouten open onswere, lest þo pepul conceyve þo trouthe of Gods lawe and amende hem. Þis cursidnes did not Judas, ne Nero, ne
Julianus apostata, ne Mathamet, ne Sergius ḫo munck, his techer.

Wherfore if Ḫai amenden hem not in ḫis worlde by verrey penaunce ande satisfaccioun, Ḫai schul be depper dampened ḫen Judas Scarioth, as hit semes by mony resouns. Wherfore now Judas may wele fourme a pleynt of dissherytyng of his riȝt and possessione aȝeynes worldly prelatis. Ffor a ṭowsand ṭere ande more Judas was in possessione of ḫis name, Judas werst marchaunt*; but as Ḫai done more traytory, and undur coloure of more frendship, after moo beneficis receyved of God, so Ḫai bene worse marchaundis. Ṭherfo, lest Ḫai feyȝten in helle wiþ Judas and alle develis, ande Ḫai wiþ hem aȝeynewarde, hit semes by sum skille Ḫat Ḫese symonyens bene worse ḫen Lucifer if Ḫai amenden hem not, for Ḫai bene warnyd by his peyne, Ḫat he was not bifo. Also Ḫai synnen of malice wittyngly, as he did, ande bene in state of medeful penaunce if Ḫai wil accept hit, Ḫat he was not, ne never schal be. Also Ḫai bene lower of kynde ḫen he, and in mysses Ḫat he was, and Ḫai wil be aboven God, where he desirid to be even to God. Also Criste is mannes broþer, and suffrid bitter deth for man, Ḫat he dide never for Lucifer. Also for littel penaunce ande schort tyme, if men willen, he wole forguye alle ḫer synnes ande bringe hem to ḫo blis of heven, and ḫerto grauntis us longe tyme, Ḫat he dide never to hym. Also he made us to his owne ymage and lickenas, Ḫat we never rede of auengel. Also Ḫese symonyens drawen moo soulis to synne and to helle by ḫer cursud lyfe, ande felle censursis, and solte tirauntry, ḫen alle ḫo develis of helle schuld do wiþouten hem. Mony of Ḫese resouns makis Seint Austyne, for to prove ḫo gretnes of mannes synnes. Pre-

* For instance, in the first of St. Bernard’s Sermons In Coena Domini he says, ‘O Juda infelix, o discipule pessime, mercator nequam! Tibi coena parabatur, et a te dator coenae tradebatur.’
POINT XI.

Also prelatis and freris putten to symple men þat þai sayne, þat no man schal entur into þo kyngdamé of heven but if he forsake all þinges, in gyvyng hem to pore men onely, sewynge Jesus Crist in þo manere of hem.

Here is open lesyng made for hate, for to make alle men feyʒt ageynes þo treuth of Jesus Crist. But not forþþ Cristen men seyne boldly, þat no man schal entre into þo blis of heven but if he love God and his lawe more þen al erthy gode and his owne lyife, ande make restituccione of wronge-goten godis upon his powere, and lyve in trewe meknes and charite, and helpe his pore neygheburis at nede as he may resonably, and dye in þis charite, þat he wolde raþer be hongud quarterid and brent, ande a þowsande tyme lesen his lyif, if he myʒt, raþer þen one breke ony commandeiment of God, or ellis he loves not God over alle þinge. Seculere men may have worldly godis ynowe wipouten noumber to us a, so þat þai gete hem trewly, and spende hem to Gods honoure and furtherynge of treuth and helpe of þer Cristen breþur, and þat þai suffre not Anticristus clerkis to distroyen seculere lordschipis, and rob þer tennauntis by feyned jurisdiccion of Anticrist. But prestis moten lyf in symplenes, and forsake þo worlde, and trewly teche Cristes gospel, ande knowleche hem servauntis of alle men, and lyve in grete travaile, penaunce, and holy devocione, and do satisfacione for þer owne synnes and þo peple boþe, if þai schal come to heven. But þai wolde algatis be lordis of þis worlde, æȝyne Criste and his lawe, and drawe alle men for to holde æȝynes Gods treuth, lest þai be brouȝt to þo meke and pore and charitable lyvyng of Crist and his apostilis. But no drede Anticrist and his proude clerkis schal downe wip þer pride, and þo treuth of þo gospel be knowen ande kept and worshippyd, mawgre alle þo develis of helle, and alle þer false mynystris; ffor Anticrist in his moste pride schal sodeynly be brouȝt to grounde.

a according to us, in our opinion.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

POINT XII.

Also prelatis at þo suggestion of freris beren upon pore men þat þai seyne, þat a man or wouman offrynge to a preste a peny, axynge þo masse for to be songen for hym, boþe þai and þo preste so receyvyng þo peny bene acursid.

Here is playne lesynge by malice put on pore men. But Cristen men seyne, þat a man offrynge at þo masse schal not purpose for to bye hit, ne desire more part þeroff to hymselfe þen to anocher pore man, more worþi aneyntis God, for he were out of charite and a symonyen and an heretik. If þo preste be a devoute man and clene of lyfe, ʒyve hym frely what hym nedis upon þi state, and if þou se þat hym nedis not, or be a cursid schrew, dele þi peny to a pore man þat has nede, and occupie þe in forþinkynge of þi wickyd lyf, havynge mynde of þo stronge peynus of helle, wip þo gretenes of Goddis mercy and þo hyʒe blis of heven. And turne þe clenly to Goddis heestis, werkus of mercy wip poyntis of charite; and all gode prestis in erthe, and alle gode men and wymmen, and angeliis and scintus of heven, prayen for þe evermore.

POINT XIII.

Also prelatis and freris beren upon pore men þat þai seyne, þat alle þinges amonge clerkis schulden be comyne.

Here Cristen men sayne, þat alle þinges þat clerkis have bene pore mennes godis, and þo clerkis ben not lordis of hem but procuraturis, as Gods lawe and mannus law wittenessen. Ande clerkis schulden holde hem apayde wip fode ande helyng, as Seint Poul sais. Seint Bernarde sais, What ever þou haldes to þe of þo auter, over a streyte lyvelode ande symple clolging, hit is not þine but is oþer mennes, hit is thefte, hit is sacrilege. Ande este Bernarde sais, Seye, ʒee bishoppis, what dos golde in ʒoure bridel? hit dryves not away cold; ʒoure bestis gone honourid wip gemmys, precius stonys, and jewelis, ande ource sidis bene nakid, seyne pore men. þai bene ource godis þat ʒee

12. That for a man to offer money for a mass brings a curse both on the giver and on the receiver.

13. That the property of the clergy ought to be in common. As to property, the sect really holds with St. Bernard.

S. Bern. Epist. II. (Opera, Paris 1586). 'Denique quicquid praeter necessarium victum ac simplicem vestitum de altario retines, tuum non est, rapina est, sacrilegium est.'
wasten, and we þo heritage of Crist, boust wiþ his blode, and we hongryn ande þrusten ande ben nakyd. Hit is cruelly drawen away from us þat 3e wasten in 3oure pride. Two yvelis comen þeroff. We sufferen myche meschefe, ande in 3oure wast þe sleen us, and 3e, doyng vanite, peryschen þerfore, as Seynt Jerome sais; for to receyve þinge for to 3yve to pore men, and ony þinge wiþdrawe þeroff, passis þo cruelte of alle robbers. See þee þerfore, prelatis and abbotis, þat han mony godis of 3oure founders for to spend in hospitalite of pore men, and wastyng hem in pompe and glotonye and feestus of rich men, how strongly 3e bene acursud of God and of alle his seintus, and traytouris to 3oure founderus, and robbers and monquellers of Cristen men. How hidously schal pore men crye aȝeynns 3ow at domesday for 3oure cursid synnes! Þerfore make 3e nowe alle 3oure godis comyne to pore men in nede, and lyve in penaunce, prayer, ande holy teching in dede and worde, leste Crist dampne 3owe for traytouris and monquellers and scheders of his blode for 3oure unpityuousnes.

POINT XIV.

Also byschopis and freris beren symple men on hande þat þai sayne, þat hit is aȝeynes holy writte þat clerkis have temporale possessions.

Here Cristen men tellen only holy writte, and autorites of grete seintus, wiþ sum maner of reson. In þo iiiij boke of holy writte God seis þus to Aaron and oþer prestis; In þo londe of hem, þat is, in þo childer of Israel, 3e schal welde no þing, ne 3e schul have part amounge hem; I þi part ande þine heritage in þo myddel of þo sonnys of Israel. Sopely to þo sonnys of Levy I gafe alle þo tithys of þo sonnys of Israel into possesione, for þo servyce by which þai serven to me into þo tabernacle of þo bond of pes. Ande aftur hit sewys, Þai schal welden, or have in possessione, none oþer þinge, but be apaide wiþ offrynge of tithes, which I have departid into þo uses of hem, and necessaries. In þo fifte boke of holy writte God seis þus; Prestis and dekenys, and alle þat bene of þo same lynage, not haf parte and heritage wiþ þoo oþer men of Israel, þat is, wiþ princis and comyns, for þai schal eete sacrifices of þo Lord ande offryngeus
of hym, and þai schal take none oþer þinge of possessioun of þer breþeryn; for sothe þo Lord hymselfe is þo heritage of hem, as he spake to hem. By þo prophet Ezechiel God seis þus,—

Sôþely heritage schal none be to hem, I þo heritage of hem; and þe schal not þyve to hem possessioun in Israel, I forsothe þo possessioun of hem. By Israel is undurstonen alle Goddis ppele; for, as Seint Poule sais, þese þingus bene writen for us. Ande as clerkis taken tithes amonge Cristen men by virtue of þis lawe, myche more þai schulden abstene hem fro oþer possessiouns of þer breþerin, for þo generale forbedyng of God Almyhty; sithen Crist, God ande man, and alle his apostilys kept hem fro seculere lordschip, as þo gospel sais. Crist, God and man, seys in þo gospel, þat þo servaunt is not more þen þo lord, ne þo disciple aboven þo maystur. But Jesus Crist hade not by worldly lordschipe whereupon he schuld bowe his heved; þen Cristen prestis, disciples of Crist and servauntas of hym, schulden not be so grete worldly lordis aboven þer mayster. Ande God, Lord of alle creaturis, Jesus Crist, seis to his disciplis, Perfore so ech of þow þat schal not renounce alle þingus þat he has in possessioun may not be my disciple. And how þis renounssyng almost be done, þo pore lyfe of Crist and of his apostilis schewis pleynly. Lord! sithen Petur and his felawis myztten not be apostilis of Criste til þai haden forsaken nettis and botys, þhe, and þer kyndely fader, how may oure hyȝe prestis take þo state of apostilis, and be grettur worldly lordis þen erlis ande dukis, kyngus unklis ande kyngus sonys, in þo riches londe of Yngelonde.

Seint Poule, ravschid to þo thrid heven, 3yves a generale rewele to prestus, saying þus aȝeynus covetise of þo wolde, We, havynge fode and wiþ what þingus we be hiled, be we apayde. Lorde! sithen Crist and alle his apostilis, so wele doyng per offices, haden nevermore ne never ordeynden no but a pore lyfelode to hem þat preche þo gospel, who maken oure prestus worldly lordis and chefe governouris of alle worldly officis ande nedis in þo rewme? and þai þerþorowe doumbe fro preychynge and spirtuail ocupaciouns. No wonder ðerfore if þo rewme be yvul governyd, sipen þo chefe governouris ben symonyens,

1 So BB; read richeste.
heretikis, cursid of God and of alle holy Chirch wiþouten cesyng. Seint Petur seis to alle prestis, Fede 3e þo folke of God þat is amonge 30we, not by constreyynyng but willefully, for cause of love of soule-wynnyng, not as beyng lordis in clergy, but be 3e made fourme or ensaumple of inwitte or wille þat is meke ande symple, as Crist was, siþen Seint Petur, more þen alle þo popis aftur hym in Rome. And God in Seint Petur forbed prestis for to be lordys in þo clergye. Whi bene þese hye apostotaas clepid generally, My lorde of Caunturbury, of ¥orke, and oþer? Lorde I sithen men bene acursid doynge a 3eynys þo popis lawe, as his symonyens blaberen, how cursid ben eþe Luçierys chil-dren, so openly doynge aþeyn just lawe of Crist chef pope, and of Seint Petur, and of Cristen bi-level þat bene more, Jesus saide to þem, Kyngis of folkes lordschipen, or bene lordis of hem, and þat þat have powere on hem bene clepid wel-doyng, or 3yvyng benefitis. For sothe þe not so, but he þat is more in 30we be he made as þonger, and he þat is biforegoar be he as a servaunt. And by Mathewe Crist seis, us, þe witten for princis of folkis lordschipen, or ben lordis of hem, and þat bene more haunten powere into hem. Hit schal not be so amonge þowe ; but who ever schal willen for to be made þo more amonge 30we, be he 3oure mynyster, and who ever schal willen to bene furste amonge 30we be he 3oure servaunte; as þo Son of man come nout to be served but for to serve, and 3yve his lyfe redempcioun for mony a.

Allas! how durne worldly prestis take so grete lordschipe upon hem, siþen Crist so playnly forbedus hit, ande tellis by his owne ensaumpul þo servyse and mekenys of hem? How stronge heretikis bene þai, þat maken lordis for to swere to mayntene hem in her open erroure, æseyne þo gospel and lyvyng of Crist. 3it Seint Jerome writis expressly, ande hit is sette in decresse b, þat clerkis schulden be taken fro worldly officis. And in tokyn of doynge away alle temporaltees, clerkis bene schaven þo hede, and schul have no þinge but dysmus and of-

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*a* These translations do not very closely resemble either Wycliffite version, but are nearer to the older than to the later one.  
*b* The 88th Distinction of the first Part of the *Decretum* of Gratian is very full and explicit on this subject.
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fryngus, as dekenys in þo olde lawe. Seint Bernarde in a sermon of apostilis seis, þat a preste havynge temporale possessione schal nout have Goddis part. And þo grete clerk Origene and Seint Jon Chrysostom holden þo same way. Seint Bede says in a pistil to Enberthe archebyschop of Jorke, þat þo ʒyfftus of kyngus, ʒyfing temporaltrees to prestis, were moste foltische a. An aungle cried in þo ayer when þo chirche of Rome was dowyd with halfe þo empiry, þat þis day venym is sched into þo Chirche of God, treuly seynge þo pride symony ande tirauntry in þo Chirche sprungen fro þat tyme, and leevynge of spirituale occupacione. Cursid venym has strangangelid almoste all Cristen pepul. Certis as seculere schullen not, whilis þai bene lordis, take presthode ande riʒtis annexid þerto, myche more prestis, ande nomely in state of pore apostilis, as bishopis faynen hem to be, schullen not take seculere lordschip and powere annexid to þo state by Gods ordynaunce; sijen Crist commaundus in þo gospel, ʒelde ʒe to þo emperoure þoo þingus þat bene of þo emperoure, and to God þoo þingus þat ben of God. Ande no man depart þat þinge þat joyned no worldly preste. . . . . . excuse1 his heresie of possessions havynge by þis, þat Jesus Crist was a kynge, as þo prophet and þo gospel wittenessen; for Crist was kynge of alle creaturys by his godhede, and by his manhed gostly kynge for to governe soulis ande virtues, ande never worldely kynge. For þo gospel sais, Of his kyngedame schal be none ende; ande in þo gospel of Jon he seis, My kyngedame is not of þis worlde. Ne no worldly prest excuse his heresie of possessions-havynge by his ypocrisie, þat þai bene not lordis of þer godis, but onely procuratouris; þat þey spenden treuly upon pore men, as resoun

1 So the passage stands in BB. It may be restored thus: Ande no man deport þat þinge þat [God hal] joyned. [Ande] no worldly preste, &c.

What Bede seems to deprecate, in the Epistle to Egbert Archbishop of York (Gallandii Bibliotheca, vol. xiii. p. 261) here referred to, is rather the foundation of sham monasteries, built by laymen, and occupied in part by them and in part by bad monks who had been expelled from real monasteries, endowed also by the ruling powers with lands, and privileges which exempted them from taking any part in the burden of national defence, than the grant of temporalities to the clergy in the ordinary sense of the words. The whole Epistle is very remarkable and interesting, and throws a strong light on the condition of society in Northumbria in the year 735.
ande nede axen. Let al þo worlde deme wisely by þer open
dedis, ande tirauntry on retenauntis, ande sittynge in parlement
above grete lordis, seyynge þat no parlyment may be holden
wiþouten hem, whêþer þis be feyned ypocrisie or treuth. Lorde!
siþen Jesus Criste al witty, þat couthe best depart temporale
godis to pore men, wolde not take þo kyngedame, as þo gospel
sais, þow þo pepule wolde for love have ravyschid hym þerto,
(and ʒit he was verreyly soþ of kyng David, and ʒyþt not erre
in ony doyng), how þen durne þese erthy moldy-warpis take so
grete burthen of worldly dritte upon hem? siþen þer wittes ben
þinne, þer strynthe littel, þer tyme schort, to study ande teche
holy writte, to lyve in prayer and devocione, and visite seke men
in soule. Lorde! whêþer þai cun better þen Criste, and bene more
myʒtý for to do temporale and spirituale office togedir, þat one
of þes is an open fole and a cursid! Loke ʒe lordis who hit
is, siþen ʒe schullen recken of þo governaile of þo Chirche.

ʒit, siþen Cristis apostolis, freschly fulfillsid wiþ wisedame,
strenght, and charite of þo Holy Gost, wolden nout aboute
money redy at þer fete, for to dele hit to pore men þere
redy, but ʒave hem to prechemyng of Gods worde and prayere,
as holy writte witenessis, what blyndenes of covetise strifs þese
ydiotis, unmyʒtý and fer lowere in charite, to marre hem wiþ
so myche drit, more þen alle Cristis apostilis dursten? Whêþer
of þese two bene folis and wode, byhold wisely, ʒe lordis, for ʒe
beren þo swerde princepaly for to distroye errouris in þo
Chirche. Certus, Crist, God Almyʒtty, durste never take
worldly office ande suche dome upon hym, as þo gospel sais, for
þen he had robbid þo emperoure of his lordeschipe, ægyne his
owne techynge. What spirite dryves þes Anticristis to seculere
office, ande to wlappe hem in seculere nedis, ande leve þer spirit-
uale office undone? Certis hit semes, Sathanas, for pride and
covetise, and mayntenynge of þer cursid heresies, blyndis hem
in payne of þer synne, til God take vengeaunce at onys upon
hem and alle þer fautors. Ware, ʒee lordus, lest God take
vengeaunce on ʒow and ʒoure pepul, for suffrinya and maynten-
ynge of þese heresies; siþen God has ʒyven ʒowe þo swerde for
to mayntene his lawe, and bitaken his Chirche to ʒoure powere,
and grete kyndenes schewid to ʒowe in groundyng, worship-
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pyng, and conffirmyng 3oyr e state, and made alle men, prestis ande oþer, sogett þerto. He schal aske strayte rekeñyng of gode, how þe have governyd his Chirche. Þerforþ, as þe wil be saved biforn God, distroyes Anticristis tiraunty in his ypocrifis, and mayntene 3oyure state in þat fourme þat God made hit, ande bringis prestus to þo meke ordynauunce of Jesus Criste, and helpe 3oyure selfe and 3oyure pore tennauntis wip þo waste godis to whiche þer etakis, havyng þo nome of prelatis and prestis, makyn sacrifise to Belial, by pride, covetise, glotonýe, lecchefye, symonye, and alle cursideness. Ande if þe wil nout do þis riȝtwisenes purely for þo love of Crist, þat has done to þow so mony benefetys, 3oyure londe and 3oyure pepul schal be conquerid of emnyes, ande þee 3oyure self darempned wipouþt ende. And ȝif þe wille for pure love do þis riȝtwisenes, þe schal gete pleyne remyssion of alle ȝoure synnus, so þat þe kepe ȝowe selwe for þis riȝtynes purely for ȝow love of Crist, þat þou synonye and þon estoden, as þyf jaye and þeye þai ne þo pepul understoden, as ȝyf jayes and þeyes chatiriden; and hit þai underestonden iche one oþer in þeire

POINT XV.

Also prelatis prestis and freris putten upon pore men þat þai sayne, þat Goddis office or servyse ben not to be songun wip note, and þat God deleytis not in suche manere songe.

Here Cristen men sayne pleynly, þat Criste and his apostlis pryadyn devoutly wipouþt siche songe, and þai never tauȝtten in worde ne dede, ne openly counseiled in holy writte to þis songe, ande myche more þai never chargid man herwip in al holy writte. Þerforþ prestis schulden bisye hem to cunne ande teche holy writte in worde and dede, and be in devoute prayere in spirit and trethe, as Crist and his apostlis diden, and not fulfille þo eëris of hem and of þo pepul wip cryyng of þinge þat nouþer þai ne þo pepul understoden, as ȝyf jayes and þeyes
kynde. Lorde! wheper pis songe dispose men for to understande po sentence of holy writte, and for to mourne for þer synnus, or ellis to pride, vanite, daunsyng and lecchery, wip wayne spendyngynge of tyme. Seint Austyne sais in a boke of hyg Confessione a, Als ofte as po songe delitus me more þen þo þinge þat is songun, I knowlache me for to have synned horribly. Loke 3e lordus, þat schulden lif justely ande devoutely, seychyne grace of God to reule 3owe and 3oure pepul aftur pis lawe, wheper þes proude, ful of covetise and envie, ben in þis case or nay. Loke wheþer þai lyven in glotonynge, drunkennes, and leccherie, for jolite of þer chauntynge; ande þen what ever heriynge of God þo tunge sounys, þo life blaspemys God b, as Seint Austyne sais on þo Sauter. Seint Poule biddus us synge and say psalmus in oure hert to þo Lord. Seint Jerome in a Pistile to Ephesyanys, as þo lawe wittenessis c, seys þis, Here þis þinge, jonge waxen men, here þai to hor office of seyng psalmus to God, if bytaken in þo Chirche, þat hit is to be songen, not in voyce, but in hert; neþer þrotis ne chekys bene to be anoynntid wip medicine, in manere of foule songis, þat swete notis of spectacli or taverne songis be herde in þo Chirche. Perfore, as Seint Gregore techis in þo lawe, dekenys and mynysris of þo auter schullen not chaunt ne synyg but rede þo gospel; and if ony man do þeraþyngus, Gregori cursus hym. Hit semes þo dekenys and prestus han als much nede in oþer chirchis for to do kepe clene lyele, and do þo office ordeyned of God and of þo apostilis, as in Rome; þen þo same state and peyne schuld be in oþer chirchis as þere, sþen þis statute has grounde in holy writte and resoun; and als myche or more þis songe lettis dekenys ande mynysris of þo auter, in oþer placis as in Rome, fro clenennes of lyfe and prechyng, and almes dedis þat God biddis.

jit Seint Jon Crisostome on Mathew d, where Criste biddus

dorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine liniendae sunt, ut in ecclesia theatralis moduli audiantur et cantica.'

d See S. Chrys. Hom. XX. in Matthaueum.

Ancient authorities quoted against it.

a See above, p. 228, note.
b See above, p. 223, note b.
c Decretum, Pars I, Dist. 92, Can. 1.
d Audiant haec adolescentulius; audiant ii, quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est; Deo, non voce, sed corde cantandum; nec in tragoec-
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Matt. vi. 7.


Lam. ii. 5.

Against the multiplication of hallowings and ceremonies.

that we shul not speke much in prayer as heþen men done,—soþely þai wenin þat þai bene herde in þer mushc speche,—þere sais Seint Jon, þat thre grete harmys comyn of prayer þip crye, þfurste þat men þus cryinge byleven not þat God is present in iche place, and siche crye leþis oþer men fro prayer, and þo crier schewis to oþer men sumtyme þat nedis not ne spedis.

Lorde! wheþer þis sotile and swete knackynge to þo eeris makis us to pray þip sorowes þat mowne not be tolde outhe? On þis maner þo Holy Goste askis for us, as holy writte techis, þat is, as Seint Austyne and oþer seintus declaren, þo Holy Goste makis us to pray wiþ suche mournyng, ande þo prayer þat he makis in us ys arettid to hym, siþen he is princepale doar þeroff, and we dulle instrumentis of hym. Lorde! wheþer þis chauntyng of Kyries, Sanctus, and Agnus, wiþ Gloria in excelsis and Patrem a maken þat men heren nout þo wordis but onely a sowne! makus men to have savoure in þese dytees, þat schuld stire hom to moste compuncccione for synnes, and to most de-vocione for hyþenes of þo Trinite, þat is touchid in Sanctus, and bitter passione ande stronge benefices of Criste, touchid in Patrem, wiþ huge unkyndenes and horribul traytory of synnes, touchyd thryes in Agnus Dei. As heþen men skorned þo sab-batis of Jerusalem in þer conquestis, for synnes of prestis and lordis and comyns, as Jeromy weyleþ, mychte more oure enmyes, fendus of helle, seynge oure halidayes wiþ þis nyse knackynge, þat fyllus þo eeris ande spoylys þo soulys fro virtues, wiþ over mushc costlewe pride, glotony, ande leccherye, wiþ false opis, scorne us.

Ande al þo court of heven has abhonynacion of oure lewed halowyng; for we halowen to oure wombe ydelenes and Sathanas, and done werste werkis of synne in dispysynge of Almyþty God and alle his lovers. Lorde! siþen we be so feble of witte, febul of bodily myþte, and of ful schort tyme, ande holly writt so harde, and plentynous of swete sentences to whiche God byndus us sore, what resoun is hit to bynde us to

* The Kyrie Eleison and Gloria early in the mass, the Sanctus just before the canon, and the Agnus Dei before communion. But what is the Patrem? Probably the prayer beginning ‘Qui pridie quam patere,-tur,’ for in it the word ‘Patrem’ occurs.

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newe songe and newe serymonyes of dyverse uses al day, pat we never mowe do bope togedur? Ande sihen synne is so playne, and more encresid herby, and we bounden upon payne of dampnacioun for to preche ande crye holy writte aȝcynes þo fendis ooste, when a drunken preste, in luste ande welthe of þis lyife, has syngulere affeccion to a man or a cause for temporale dritte, all prestis in þat diocese schul be gnarid wiþ a newe ȝock or cerymony ever more; and none ende is made of suche serymonyes, þat tarien mennys conscience, and leten hem fro better occupacione.

Jit, þow Salisburye use may sumtyme occupie wele summe slowe wrecchiis, hit is no reson to bynde alle prestis þerto, or to suche anoþer, when God sturis hym to studye and teche holy writte, þat is muche better, or for to mourne for þer synne, ande hertly occupie hem wiþ þo Pater Noþter. For God seiþ þat he is blessid þat syngus or knackus swete notis, ne þat kepis þo ordynale of þis cerymonyne or þis, but he is blessid þat nyȝt and day þinkis in þo lawe of God, þat is, for to understonde hit and lif þeraffur, and teche hit trewly, and willefully suffer trubulacione for þo gospel in savyng of mennus soulis, as Criste and his apostilis diden. Lorde! wheþir a congregacione of drunken prestis, in lustis of þo worlde and of þer balyes, con ȝyve a better reule of occupacione to prestis þen Criste and his apostilis diden? or ellis wille þai charge hem wiþ so myche chauntynge ande so mony cerymonyes, þat prestis mowe not fulfille þo charge and office of Crist, þat is beste, moste esye, ande moste siker for prestis and alle lewed peple? Perfore synge we in hert by holy desire, seyyng þis almus by clene werkis and heryyngus and ymynus to God for his large ȝiftus of mercy, wiþ brenynge charite in studyynge understondynge and techynge holy writte, ande receyve we resonalbe customs made of men in als miche as þai helpen us to þis grete gode, and encresen 1 ooure love to God and ooure breþerin. And þif þai letten us fro better doyng, and encresyng of Gods worschipe, and helpe of Cristen soulys, for þat tyme suspende alle suche cerymonyes, leste þai take þo grace of God in vayne, leefynge þo better ande chesynge þo worse.

1 corrected; encresynge, BB.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

POINT XVI.

Also bischoppis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, hit ys not leefull for to swere in ony manere.

Trewly here is þo sothe sparid, as in mony wrytyngus and prechyngeus hit is openly knowne. But here Cristen men sayne, þat hit is not leeful to swere by creaturis, ne by Goddus bonys, sydus, naylus, ne armus, or by ony 1 membre of Cristis body, as þo moste dele of men usen, for þis is æeyne holy write, holy doctouris, and comyn lawe, and grete peyne sette þeruppon. Hit is nout leeful for to swere nedeles for a veyne thing, as mony men usen, ne for yvelle will to harme oþer men, for þis is æeyne þo maundement of God fully, ne to forswere hem for hate ne love ne drede ne wynnynge, ne for lyve ne deth, as mony men chargyn ful littel; for þis false sweryng schulden kyngus punysch by þer office, ande suffer not suche false men in þer londis, as Seint Austyne sais. þit, no man schulde swere, nouþer for life ne dethe, no but wip þese þre kondiciones, þat is, in treuthe, in dome, and in rightwisenes, as God sais by þo pro- phet Jerymye. If hit be nedeful for to swere for a spedful treuthe, men mowe wele swere as God did in þo olde lawe, Crist in his gospel, Seint Poule in his pistile, þo aungel in þo Apochalipse, wip declarynge of Seint Austen, Crisostom, Jerom, and mony moo.

POINT XVII.

Also prelatis ande frerus putten to pore men þat þai schulde say, þat þat ilke þinge þat was brede bifore þo consecracione in þo sacrament of þo auter, after þo consecracione or halowing is not Cristus body, but a signe of þat þinge, and not þo ilke þinge.

Certus here is openly schewed þo malice of freris, wrongfully accusynge pore men. Noþoles þese wordis of freris ben nout craftily settæ; ande þit þis sentence is þo olde heresie of freris ande munkys, and men of þo newe lawe, æeyne þo gospel ande olde seinitis and þo olde lawe. For freris and munkis, and þer

1 corrected: be ony by, BB.
folowars of scole, seyne þat þat ilke þinge þat was brede bifoere þo consecracione, is turned into nouȝt, þat þai clepen annibilat\footnote{annibilatum.}, or brouȝt to nouȝt; ande þo sacrament þat men sene wiȝ bodilie een, is not Cristis body, but accident wiȝouten sogett, or nouȝt, as þai han playlyn said in Oxenforde scole, and in many placis of þo londe boȝe seide ande written. But Cristen men seyne pleynly, as Crist techis, Seint Poule, Seint Austyne, Seint Jerom, and alle Cristen pepul bileven, þat þo sacrament of þo auter is verrey Cristis body in forme of brede, ande þai wol no ferþer þen holy writte ande olde seintus teche, for no newe knackynge of sotile cavellaciones, or multitude of synneful wrecchis. Crist toke brede in his hondus, blessid, brake hit, and yave hit to hys disciplis, seynyng, Þis is my body; þus Cristen men bileven fully. Ande Seynte Poule seis in holy writte, þat þis sacrament is bred þat we breken, ande este, Prove a man hymselfe ande so ete he of þat brede. Ffoure tymes Seint Poule clepis hit brede in holy writte. And þo holy Trinite, authorisyng Seint Poule to write Cristen mennys bileven, clepis þo sacrament þo same word, brede. Lorde! whet'er Cristen men schulden be tourmentid by Anti-cristis clerkis, þat þai schullen not graunte þo wordis of God and Cristen bileve! siþen Seynt Austyne seis, as þo comyne lawe wittenessis\footnote{Decretum, Pars III, Dist. 2, cap. 58. Quod videtur, panis est, et calix, quod etiam oculi renuntiant. Quod autem fides postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis.' Our author's translation of these words is not, it must be confessed, very exact. Nor are they taken from St. Augustine, but from Bede; the first portion of this chapter only being derived from the former, namely, from his second sermon, De verbis Apostoli.}, pat þat þinge þat is sene is bred, þat, sothely, þat þo feithe askis; þenne brede is Goddus body. Seint Jerome sais in his pistiles, þat þo ilke brede þat Criste blessid, brake, and yafe to his disciplis for to ete, is þo body of oure Savyoure. Þo comyne lawe of decrees wittenessis, when prelatis weren sumwhat gostly, þat þo bred and wyne þat bene put in þo auter, aftur þo consecracione [ben]\footnote{not onely þo sacrament, but þo verrey body and blode of oure Lord Jesus Criste. Ande siþen holy writte spekis not of accident wiȝouten sogett, ne resone schewis, ne philosophurs tellen hit, ne revelacion of}, ne resone schewis, ne philosophurs tellen hit, ne revelacion of
God proves hit, ne olde seyntis þat beste couthen holy writte, ande were saddest in ðeythe affermed hit not, but fully þo contrary; ande siþen Seint Austyne, namely wysest of alle doctouris holden siþen þo apostilis weren, þat¹ seis in mony bokis þat none accident may be wijouten sogett ², wheþer schullen [men] ² be constrayned by Anticristis powere to forsake holy writte and resone and beste seyntis, for an unknown þinge þat plesus to a multitude of worldly moldywarpis, ful of pride, covetise, sþymonye, heresie, and blaspheme? Criste for his precius blode move worldly lordis to love his lawe; mayntenynge hit, þat Cristen men may frely telle holy writte, and comyne lawe and bileve of Cristen peple; ffor, porow Goddis grace, nouþer for lyfe ne dethe þai wille no ferþer, but crien oute on þo open synnus ande heresies of Anticriste and his fautouris.

POINT XVIII.

Alþo bischopis prestis and frerus putten to pore men þat þai seyn, þat a preste beyng in dedely synne nouþer makis þo sacrament of þo auter, ne cristynes, ne þyves ony sacrament.

Sikerly here is feyned þinge putte on pore men, wijouten evydence of þer seyynge. But Cristen men sayne, þat a preste beyng in dedely synne may make and þyves sacramentis to salvation of hem þat worþily receyven hem, and consenten not to þo prestus synne; as, if his synne be privey, and als sone as þai knownen hit, þai done þer bisynes for to amende hym by mekenys and charite. And if he wille not amende hym, hym owe to be eschewid as a hethen man, as þo gospel techis. But þo preste in þis case mynystris to his owne dampnacion, as Seint Poule sais, þat is, if he amende hym not in þis lyve. And he displesis God ful muche and deceyvuþ þo pepul of gostly helpe and teris God to vengeaunce þen to mercy, as holy writt, Seint Gregore, and oþer doctouris tellen. If þo preste unworþily sey masse, and receyve þo sacrament unworþily, he receyvuþ dampnacion to hym, and is gilty of þo body and þo blode of þo Lorde, as holy writte sais; þat is, as

¹ dele þat. ² supplied conjecturally.

See p. 409, note a.
holy doctours sayne, he is gilty as he þat betrayed Crist, and as he þat naylud hym on þo crosse. Ande if his synne be open, þo pepul owes nout to receyve sacramentus of hym, lest consent to his synne make hem parteners in peyne, nomely of open fornicacione, open covetyse and raveyne of pore mennum lyvelode, þat is mawemtry, as Seint Poule tellsis, and of symonie, þat is cursed heresie, þat makis þo doar and alle þo maynteners þeroff cursud of God and of al holy Chirche. 

Ffor Seint Jon Evangelist sais in his Epistle, If ony man come to 3ow and bringe not þis doctrine of þo gospell, nyl þee receyve hym in to 3oure howsis, ne say þee to hym, Hayle. Sothly he þat schal say to hym, Hayle, comyns wip his yvel werks. Lorde! how unkynde is þat childe þat wittyngely i þis presen where open despite and deth of his fadur is done, and consent þerto! þus done yvel Cristen men, þat receyven sacramentis of prestus knowen in open grete synnes biforesaide; for þerinne, als mucho as in hem is, þai crucifien Jesus Criste and approven his deth. Perfore Cristen men schulden bisye hem for to here reverently and devoutely Goddis worde, and receyve sacramentis at prestis of clene life, and amende vicious prestes by gode counselyng and ensaumple of gode lyife, and els eschewe þer companye as cursid men. Ffor Seint Poule sais, wip lecherous covetous men, or drunkenlewe by custome, Cristen men schulden not take mete.

POINT XIX.

Also byschopis ande frerus putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat men owen not ræfer for to pray in chirche þen in oper placis. Here Cristen men sayne, þat in iche place where a man is he owes for to pray God in spirite and treuthe, þat is, wip wille and devocioun and clennes of lyvynge. Crist says; Tyme comys when nouþer in þis hille ne in Jerusalem men schullen worschipen, but hit byhoves for to worschippe God in spirite and treuthe; þat is, þat þo hert by clen desire, and al þo man, be kepynge of Gods heste, worschippe God trewly; ellis wil Criste say to hem, What say þee to me, Lord, Lord, and do not þo þinge þat I say; ande eft, þis pepul honouris me wip þer lippis, soþely þer hert is fer fro me. Forsoþe þai worschippe
me wiþouten cause, techynge þo doctrynys ande þo maunde-
ments of men. Seint Poule sais, I wole þat men prayen in
iche place, liftynge clene hondis, þat is, gode werkyng, wiþouten
wrath ande strife. Also David seis, My soule, blesse þou to
þo lorde in iche place of his lordschip. Men of God dreen
to pray in mony grete chirchys, leste þai ben cursid and ab-
hominabul. þo comyne lawe sais, A chirche þat is halowid
by covenaut-making is raþer cursid þen halowed. Crist sayde
of þo temple of Jerusalem, Myn hows schal be clepud a hows
of prayere, soþely þe have made it a den of thes. If als open
symony, extorsioun, fals oþis, and false causis, bene mayntenyd
in grete chyrchys nowe as was þen in Jerusalem, þen as unclene
and unholy bene þai as Jerusalem, þat was destroyed by heþen
men. Moreover þo place halowis not a man, but a man
halowis þo place, as þo storye of Machabeis and comyne lawe
seyne. Ande cursid pepul defoules þo londe in whiche hit
dwells, as God wittenessis ofte by his prophetis, how þo londe
of byheste was polutid for ydolatrye and oþer synnes of Jewis.
And þo erthe was cursid in Adams werke, as God seis in þo
furste boke of holy writte. þen hit semys þat grete churchnys
where symonye is done, false oþis, fals covetise, takynge
wrongly oþer godis by extorsioun of feyned correctione, sell-
ynge of sacramentus, and nomely of Cristus body, when men
seyne more þo masse for money and worldly favoure þen for
devocione,—alle suche chyrchys bene gretely polutid and cursud
of God, nomely for selynge of leccherie, and fals swering upon
bokus. Síþen þo churchis ben dennis of thes and habita-
tionis of fendis, hit is gode þat Cristen men bere no false witte-
nessynghe, saying in dede þat suche chyrchys ben holier þen oþer
placis where is lesse synne, ande þat [þai]¹ mowne in pes serve
God in hem þerfore, sithen Criste sais in þo gospel, þo rewme
of God is wiþinne 3owe, ande Seint Poule seis, þat Cristen men
ben þo temple of þo Holy Goste, consent þee not þerfore to þo
symony of byschopis, ne covetise of oþer prestis, for þo feyned
blessynghe of heretikis to whos blessyng God cursus, as þo pro-
phete wittenessis; as Seint Jerome sais, wiþ þo comyn lawe, 
whatever þai blesseen God cursis.

¹ supplied.
Esfe men mowe say þer Pater noster medefullly under þo cope of heven, as Crist dide in þo hille in nyȝtus, ande þo apostilus in prisone and ðer placis, þof þai do symonye for halowyng heirchis and þer þerdis and auteris. Ffor now comynly none is halowyd wiþouten symonye of fals suffrygans, forsworn mony wayes. Be þe not made thrallys to heretikis and fendus, by ypocrisie of þes needes halowyngus, þat comynly is verrey cursyng, but pray þe whereever ande when God þyves þow moste devocioun ande fervour of charite. Crist seis, When þou shalt pray, entre into þi couche, and þi dore schytte, pray þi Fadur in hydde place. Seint Austyne sais, What þou to bysechynge God sechest an holy place and convenable? clense þou þine inwarde þingis, þat is, þi soule and conscience, and alle yvel covetise put away fro þennes; mak redy to þe a privye place in pes of þine hert, willynge to pray; pray þou in þi selfe, and do so, broþer, þat þou be þo temple of God.

Soþely here God heris graciously where he dwellis. þus Cristen men willen devoutely comyn to þo chirche, where prestis bene gode ande clene, and Gods word wele tauȝt, ande sacra-
mentis frely mnystrid, not solde for mony; and where symony reynus openly, wiþ fals opus, ravyyn, pride, and mayntenynge of leccherye and ðer synnus for mony, þai will flee þennus, leste þai consent to open mawmetry and ðer cursidnes. Ffor þo hoore-hows is not so cursid as mony suche templis bene; ffor more cursid synne reynus in hem, and lesse schameles, undur coloure of holynes ande riȝtwysenes, þen at þo hoore-hows þat alle men knowen is nouȝt; þow popis ande bischopis halowen horedame by receyvyng of mony, ande bene partyners þeroff, wers þen þai þat done it in dede. For þo suffryng of lecchery is expressly aȝeynus Goddis commaundement, ande receyvyng of þis mony is mayntenynge þeroff, for whiche þo bischope, by Goddis lawe and comyne lawe of þo Chirche, schulden be degradid, for hit is open mayntenynge of open erreoure aȝeyn Cristen menus bileve. And so no doute oure byschopis, mayntenynge hit openly and stedfastly, ben cursid heretikis and were þe 1  God to vengeaunce.

1 This is all that I can make out of the strangely abbreviad word in the MS.
POINT XX.

Also bys chopis prestus and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat þo festys of Steven, Laurence, Nicholas, Kateryne, Margarete, and of oþer seintis, ben not to be worschipid ne bene to be halowid, for þat men wote not, as þai sayne, wheþþer þai bene dampedn or saved; ne men owen not to byleve ne stonde to þo canonysyg of þoo seyntus made by þo courte of Rome in þis part.

Here is open malice and untreuthe putte on Cristen men. Ffor of Seint Steven men bene certeyne by holy writte þat he is a gloriosse martire, ande trewly prechid, boþ of þo Olde Testament ande þo Newe, when he was onely deken, which men sayne nowe is æseyne þo lawe and dewe obedience, and in þis þai distroyen his martirdame, or ellys þai sayne nowe open falshede, þat dekenys owen not to preche. Of Seint Laurence, Seint Nicholas, Seint Kateryne, and Seynt Margarete, virgyne, Cristen men dowten noþinge þat þai bene glorious seyntis, but supposen hit sothe, and not as article of þo bileve þat iche man mot bileve upon payne of dampnacioun. But of oþer þat lyveden late, and bene clepid seyntis, and seen grete heresies of open tirauntry of worldely prelatis, ande tolden nout þo treuthe and suffiriden þefore persecucion, as did Grosthede þat was pursued of þo pope, and mony trewe Menourys, as men sayne, but raþer faveriden hem [in] 1 þese open erroirusis, men witten never wheþþer þai died fynaly wijouten satisfaccioun for þer synnus, ande endid in charite. Ande if þai haden bene open trewe men, as Grosthede was, in withstondyne þo pope, þai schulden have bene hatid als myche as he and oþer trewe men weren. Certis, þoþ lewid men ande symple resten in þo crede, ande knowen nouþer one ne oþer wheþþer þese late men ben seintus, hit is none heresie, so þat þai kepe Goddis hestis.

Of þes grete halidayes men wondryn, þurst what þo holy Trinite has trespassid æseyne þes worldly prelatis, þat his

1 supplied conjecturally.
Sonenday may nouȝt be doubl e feste\(^a\), als wele as þo festes of mony oþer þat littel profiten to holy Chirche, and han doubl e festis one or two; ande whi Seint Poule, þo solempe þert and apostle of alle þo apostilis, þat travelid more þen alle oþer, has no doubl e feste ne haliday by hymselfe in þo provynce of Caunterbury, nouþer Conversion ne Passione. And þít he did more honoure and profite of holy Chirche þan mony bowsandis, whos dayes men halowen more þen þo Sonenday. What have alle þo apostilis of Criste agilitid in þo syȝte of symonyen clerkis, þat one symple seint, þat longe lyved in luste of þe worlde, litul or nouȝt tauȝte and wrote to edificacioun of Cristen soulis, has more worschiphe and solemnepite þen alle Cristis apostilis and disciplis\(^b\)? What have alle þo foure doctouris of holy Chirche trespassid, þat þei alle haven not one haliday amonge lewid men, as wele as mony confessourus of synglere bishoperiches? Hit semys þat syngulere affeccion, and acceptynge of persons aȝeynes Goddus lawe, ande lesse worschip of great seyntis, wyrchys myche þat is done in þis halowynge. What has Seint Jon Baptiste trespass, þat his day of martirdame is not halowid doubl e feste, as wele as martirdame and translacioun of Seint Thomas? Wheþer Baptiste hade worse, and was lesse holy þen Thomas? Mony Cristen men wonderyn whi prelatis chargen more goc_\(\text{goc}_\) bodily werk done on a lyȝt haliday, þen cursid pride, open blaspheyme of God by fals swerynge, done on a Sonenday, wip glotony, leccherie, drunkennes, open marchaundyse, fals cove(_:)

\(^{a}\) According to their dignity, and the degree in which they are permitted to displace variable feasts, the festivals of saints, in the modern Roman ritual, are rated as greater-double, double of first class, double of second class, and semi-double.

\(^{b}\) The description must be intended for St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was for many years the king's chancellor, and led a worldly life before he was made archbishop.
CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS.

doynge treuth and charite, hit were ynowe þat þai hadden no moo gnaris.

POINT XXI.

Also bischopis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat þo holy Trinite in no manere schulde be worschipid, fygurid, fourmed, ne payntid, in þat fourme by whiche comynly it is peyntid by alle þþ Chirche of God.

Here Cristen men supposen þat þese prelatis menyn of þis þinge, where a þinge is payntud as if þþ Fadir of heven were an olde hore man, þo seconde persoun a man crucified, þþ þrid persone a white culvyr. Of þis paynting men supposen, þat hit bringus symple men of cunynge into grete erroure, þfor by þis þþ Fadir moote be eldur þen þþ Son if þis payntyng be trewe, and þai paynten þþ Trinite, þat is spirite and no creature. Þai make þþ godhede of þþ Trinite a man, and þat þþ secunde persone by his godhede is man, and whenever þþ Trinite was, þþ secunde persone was man. God kepe men fro þis foule heresie! By þis payntyng þþ Holy Goste is not like to God þþ Fadir, ne to God þþ Son, whiche erroure be fer þþ Cristen mennys soulys. Ne men supposen þat alle Cristen chirchis have þis payntyng, as þese prelatis and freris seyne. Þfor in heven, þat is chefe Chirche, is not þþ þayntyng; and, in case, mony Cristen chirchis wolen nout receyve hit; þerfore hit is none heresie, þow þis ymages be lefte, siþen God expressly commaundis in holy writte, þou schalt nout make to þe a graven ymage, þat is of þþ godhede, ne eche lickenes in heven aboven and þat is in erthe bynethe, ne of þþ þingis þat bene in watur under erthe, ne þou schalt worschip hem in erthe. Þis commaundement is ever in stryngthe, ande if prestis sufferyn and counforten þþ þeþ peþleþ for to worschip fals ymagis for wynnynge of offerynyng, þai bene cursud heretikis. And if þai ensourmen not þþ þeþþþþ, þat þai offer not to þer pore neygheburis made to þþ ymage and liknes of þþ holy Trinite, but by blynde devocion drawn þer lyvelode away for þer wynnynge, þai ben cursud monquellers, and worschipen false goddis. If þai techen in worde or dede, þat hit is better and more plesus to God for to offer to dede stockys or stonyþ þen to pore men, þat God com-
maundis up payne of dampnacione, þai techen open heresie. If þai sayne in worde, þat hit is beste a man to do after his owne devocioun, þai sayne aȝeynes Crist and faylen foule in charite; for þai schulden preche openly þat it is beste þat iche man con-fourme his wille to Gods heste and counsaile, raþer þen after blynde devocioun, þat God never bad ne counseylid þerto. Þerfore Cristen men schulden honoure þo Trinite in verrey bileeve wiþouten erreoure, ande holy lyvynge wiþoutens ypocrisie, and brennyng charite to frende ande enmye wiþouten cessyng, ever encresynge þerinne, ande worschippyngne ande helpynge pore men made to Goddis ymage ande lickenys, wiþouten meyntenynge of nedeles beggars, þat stelen þo lyvelode of verrey nedy men and bedraden. And þis is ynowe to come to heven, wiþouten novelrie of covetous prestis and crasty payntouris, þat crien more on grete Dyan þen on Gods hestis.

POINT XXII.

Also prelatis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, þat hit is not leefful to a preste for to sette to hire his bysynes of werkis.

Here is þo sothe sparid, for sopely a preste may lawefully hire his wrtyngne, his travaile, of techynge, byndynge of bokis, and mony ober honeste travelis, as Seint Poule, worþi many þowsandus prestis, gat his lyvelode wiþ a ful symple crafte, as holy writte wittenessis. But to þo poyn. Men seyne playnly, þat a preste may leeffuly take a resonable lyvelode of gode man, or mony wiþ one wille, so þat he do trewly his office ordeyned of God. And if worldly covenant-makyng make þat he wille not do his office wiþouten worldly sikernes and worldly plee, charite and resoun of almes acorden not þerto. Ffor þis is fulle symonye, more chargyng muk þen spirituale office of presthod. Lete prestis lif wele, þat þai be lyþ of worldly men by holy ensaumple, and sithen þai bene Goddus angeli, do þei þeir message, techynge þo gospel, and be þai devoute in prayeris, desirynge and sekyngne grace þat þei mowne be þo folowers of Crist, and God will not faile hem in nede. If þai done not wele her offices þat God ordeyned, but lyven viciousely, þai ben
Jewis and manquellers, and not prestus of God, þow þai bene
demed of þo worlde boþe wise and holy; as Seint Jon Crisostome
wittenessys by techynge taken of Cristis apostilis.

POINT XXIII.

Also bischopis curatis and þreis putten on pore men þat þai
sayne, þat no persone ne vicare ne prelate is excusud fro per-
sonele residense to be made in þer beneficys, in dwellynge in
servycis of byschopis, or of archbyschopis, or of þo pope.

Here Cristen men sayne, þat none suche curate schulde be
absent fro his gostly chuldryn for worldly pompe, wombe joy,
and worldely bysynes in þo bischopus courtis. Ffor hit is more
synne to a byschope to robbe pore paryschens of þer gostly
leche, and øper spirituale helpe þat þo curate is bounden to, þan
to a worldly lord. And þere comynlyr is more ravayne ande
glotonye hauntid þen in lordis courtis; more symonye on one
day þen in some lordis courte al his lyve. Ande cursidnes wip-
outen noumber in oure knowynge is done þere under colour of
holynes, þat is nout so colourid in many lordys courtis. Hit
were lesse harme þat mony of suche curatis weren heerdis or
laboreri, for þer symonye and øper cursudnessis, þen þat þai
barkyden in bischopus howsis for to encres more synne, so þat
gode prestis diden whe curatis offices to þer paryschys.

Certi in þo popis courte regnys þo same cause and more,
ledynge of gold out of oure rewme, wip mayntenynge of false
plees and debatis among Cristen men. Ande if ony of þese
curatus were trewe angelis of God, techynge and witteness-
ynge openly to povert of Crist, ðæþe myþten sone be
tongide out of court. But fro þo moste to þo leste alle studyen
aboute covetyse, ande iche preste mayntenys øper þerinne, til
scharpe vengeaunce come upon hem alle. What pope or bischop
prayes ony trewe preste for to dwell in his court, for prechyng
of þo gospelle and werkis of penaunce or gostly occupacioun,
but ræper for hunndaunce a and prosperite of worldly wynnyng.

a So I read the word in the MS.; there seems to be an error of the scribe,
for which I cannot suggest a correction.
And ever more þo pepul is robbid of gostly fode, and helpe of almes, and ensaumple of holy lyfe, ande gostly counfort of þer curate. Þerfore it is ser gretter synne for þo pope to mayntene þis robrye þen in a lowere man, al be hit þat it is dedely synne who ever do hit.

POINT XXIV.

Also prelatis and prouede curatis and freris putten to pore men þat þai seyne, þat parsouns ande vicaris, not seying masse, ne mynystrynge sacramentus of holy Chirche, bene worði for to be removed, and oþer for to be ordeynede in her stede, Þfor þai bene unworþi and wastres of þo Chirche godis.

Here Cristen men sayne, when þo curatis bene not excusud by sekenys, but lyven in jolite of þo worlde, ande nouþer prechen þo gospel, ne devoutely prayen wiþ clere conscience, ne bisyen hem not to lerne þo gospel to lif þeraftur, worldly occupacione schal not excuse hem fro thefte ande raveyne ande sleynge of mennyis soulsis before Criste, juste domes man, if þai amenden hem not by tyme, siþen holy writte [seys] ¹ þat he þat travailys not schal nout ete. Þes þat done not curatis office schulde not have frutis þat longen to þo office, nomely when þai bene stronge of body, and lyvyn in ydulnes of worldly vanite. Ande þowe suche unable curatis, contynuyng in þer defautis openly, were putte oute, and holy prestis ordeynde in þer stede, 3yvynge ensaumple of holy lyfe, trewly prechynge þo gospel, and mekely visitynge þo pore paryschens, and helpynge þam at þer myȝt, hit were no grete heresie aȝeyne holy writte; but it is cursid heresie for to mayntene hem in cursid lyfe, for to robbe þo peple of gostly fode and office of curate, and þit to waste þer godis in lecherye, glotonye, and fals pride, ande vanite of þo worlde.

POINT XXV.

Also bischopis and freris putten to pore men þat þai seyne, þat men of þo Chirche shuldene not ride on so stronge horsys, ne use so mony jewelis, ne precius cloþis, or delicate metys,

¹ supplied conjecturally.
but renounce alle þingus and ȝye heȝ to pore men, goynge on fete, and takynge stavys in hondis, receyvyng þo state of pore men, in ȝyyng ensaumple of holynes by þer conversacion.

Here Cristen men thynken no grete heresie, þowe worldly prelatis, in amendement of symonye, ydolatrie, and sleyng of mennys bodies and soulis, renounce alle vanitees and waste godis, and selle þer fatte horsis and alle þer waste jewelis and waste clothis, delynge hem to pore men, and stoppe a taxe of sex or seven fro þo pore comyns, and go mekely on þer fete, and preche trewly þo gospel, as Criste ande his apostilis diden.

Ande þis myȝt wele be done, þof þai laften grete pikid stavys, wip daggers in þo ende, for we redyn not þat Criste and his apostilis usiden suche stavys, ne weppyns of debate. Ande þow þey crieden oute on pride and glotony, ydelnes and lecherye, and extorsions þat þai have done and mayntenedyd in oþer men, and do grete penaunce and travaile al þer lyfe, and ȝyyven ensaumple of grete mekenys, paciens, povert, and charite, as Jesus Crist did and hys apostilis, hit were no grete heresie. Ande if one trewe byschope or moo, if God wole, writen þer open heresies, of symonye, of hyndryng of þo kyngus regal ande seculere lordschip, ande all grete synnus by whiche þai blyndiden þo pepul, as holy writte dos of errour of Seint Petur and of alle þo apostylys, and of þo open heresie of Seint Poule, wip David, Maudeleyne, and mony moo, hit were no grete heresie, for to brenne pore prestis þeperfore. If pore men erriden in ony of þes sentences, or ony oþer, þai wolden ful fayne be amendid of þre clerisy, wele lyvyng and wele lerynyng in holy writte. For oþer worldely clerkyss, blyndid wip covetise pride and envie, and wlappid in seculere office, as þai leden hem selfe to helle, so þai wolyn make lesyngus to oþer men, flateryng heȝ to regne in þer lustus, and seyne þat gode is yvel and yvel is god. Ffor þo wyse man sais, Into an yvel-willed soule wysedame schale not enter, ne dwelle in a body soget to synne.

þeperfore Cristen men willen knowlache holy writte and þo lyvyng of Criste for þer rewle, and wolen do aftur ony man in als myche as þai knowen sickerly þat he acordus þerwithe, and no ferþer, for lyfe ne dethe, wip grace and helpe of þo holy Trinite.
God for his grate mercy distroye errouris and heresies of Anticristis chyrche, and make knouen po treupis of holy Chirche, and encresse riȝtwysenys, pes, and charite, and lyȝte po herties of lordus, to know and distroye po heresies of po Chirche, that pride of prestis lese not pis worlde.

Amen. Explicit.
PART III.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.
XXX.

[CONCERNING THE EUCHARIST.]

No. I.

[The following short piece exists nowhere but in Knyghton's *Chronicle*, bk. v., col. 2650. His account of it is, that after having been cited by the Pope—Gregory XI—to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury and sundry learned doctors in the church of the Black Friars, London, Wyclif appeared there on the day appointed, renounced all his errors in order to escape death, and made the confession 'I knowleche,' &c. Now, Knyghton's narrative of these transactions, as will more clearly appear when we come to consider the longer declaration concerning the Eucharist (No. 2), is confused and inaccurate; and as Walden, who is in every way a more trustworthy guide, in his detailed narrative of these very transactions, says nothing about *this* confession, but *does* give a much longer confession in Latin, beginning 'Saepe confessus sum et adhuc confiteor' (*Fasiculi*, p. 115), the first part of which agrees in its general drift with the short piece we have before us, I am forced to adopt the conclusion that the short piece before us is merely an abstract in English of the longer Latin *Confessio*. It is difficult to imagine for what purpose such an abstract would have been made. It would not have proceeded from the Lollards, for their practice was to give to any documents or manifestos which they might be handling, not a more, but a less, 'uncertain sound;' instead of circulating as Wyclif's an English abstract of his *Confessio*, which was absolutely inoffensive to the hierarchy, they would have been more likely, in translating it, to exaggerate the divergence from received tenets which that paper presents. I can only conceive that some zealous and orthodox priest or friar, perhaps, like Knyghton himself, an inhabitant of Leicester, might have made this abstract of the contents of the celebrated *Confessio* (for that it was celebrated, the number of answers which it called forth, and which are found in the *Fasiculi*, demonstrates,) in order that, being shown about to the illiterate laity, it might convince them that Wyclif had been obliged or induced to abandon his novel views on the Eucharist. It would take too much space to quote passages from the *Confessio* confirmatory of the opinion given above; nor is it necessary, as the *Fasiculi* is a book

* On the question of the genuineness of Knyghton's Fifth Book, see Appendix.
generally accessible; but I think that a careful consideration of the two documents in connection with each other would induce most critics to take the same view.

The Confessio was written in the early summer of 1381 (Fasciculi, p. 115, note 1), William Barton being then Chancellor (Wood's History and Antiquities of Oxford University).

The text given here is not taken from the printed edition of Knyghton in the Decem Scriptores, but from the MSS. in the British Museum (Tiberius C. VII. and Claudius E. III.) from which Twyden originally printed the Chronicle.

I knoweche þat þe sacrament of þe auþer is verrey Goddus body in fourme of brede; but it is in anoþer maner Godus body þan it is in hevene. For in hevene it is sene fote in fourme and figure of flesshfe and blode. But in þe sacrament Goddus body is be myracle of God in fourme of brede, and is he nouþer of seven fote, ne in mannes figure. But as a man leeyes for to þenk þe kynde of an ymage, wheþer it be of oke or of ashe, and settyþ his þouþt in him of whom is þe ymage, so myche more schuld a man leye to þenk on þe kynde of brede, but þenk upon Crist; for his body is þe same brede þat is þe Sacrament of þe Autere; and wiþ alle clennes, alle devocion, and alle charite þat God wolde gif him, worshippe he Crist, and þan he receyves God gostly more medefull þan þe prist þat syngys the masse in lesse charite. Ffor þe bodely etyng ne profites nouth to soule, but in als mykul as þe soule is fedde with charite. His sentence is provyde be Crist þat may nouþt lye. For, as þe gospel says, Crist, þat nyght þat he was betrayede of Judas Scarioth, he tok brede in hise hondes, and blesside it, brak it, and gaf it to hise disciplis to ete. Ffor he says and may not lye, His is my body.

* The use of this singular phrase, which, so far as I know, occurs nowhere else, appears to me to show clearly the connection between this piece and the Latin Confessio, which I have tried to establishe in the prefatory notice. In the latter, the terms 'septipedalis' and 'septipedalitas' occur several times, apparently in the same sense as that which we now give to the words 'extended' and 'extension,' used as philosophical terms. This usage appears to have grown out of the belief mentioned by Dr. Shirley (Fasciculi, p. 558) that the place in the Holy Sepulchre where Christ's body was laid was seven feet long. The substitution of 'extended' for 'sene foot' or 'seven foot' would, I think, convey the precise meaning of the writer.
XXXI.

[CONCERNING THE EUCHARIST.]

No. II.

[Besides being given by Knyghton, the profession of faith which follows is found in one independent MS., Bodl. 647, with ‘Johannes Wycliff’ as a heading to it. It is also included in Bale’s Catalogue.

The account which Knyghton gives of the circumstances under which this profession was made, seems at first sight to be straightforward enough, but when pressed, turns out to be a mass of inconsistencies. After entering in his Chronicle the short confession ‘I knowleche,’ &c. (see prefatory notice to No. 1), Knyghton gives, without a break, a copy of the twenty-four conclusions condemned as heretical or erroneous in the Council of May 1382. Archbishop Courtney, he proceeds to say, after examining these conclusions, appointed a day on which Wyclif was to appear before himself and six other bishops at Oxford, so that the business might be settled. He adds that on the day named Wyclif appeared, and gave in the statement ‘We believe as Crist,’ &c., namely, this tract which follows; after which the archbishop considered the conclusions in Council, and condemned them. Now this last statement plainly refers to the proceedings of the Council of London, which took place therefore, according to Knyghton, after Wyclif had given in the statement in question. And yet the statement itself, speaking of ‘pis counseil of freres at Londoun wip erbe-dyn,’ affords decisive evidence that it was written after the Council had sat.

Knyghton’s narrative, therefore, cannot be relied upon to establish the sequence of events; and all that we can say as to the date of the piece is, that it must have been written between June 1382 and Wyclif’s death in 1384. The difference in tone between it and the short confession ‘I knowleche,’ is very marked; in that scarcely a trace of heterodoxy can be detected; in this, consubstantiation is broadly asserted.

The text is based on Bodl. 647, collated with the MSS. of Knyghton’s Chronicle before referred to, namely, Tiberius C. VII. and Claudius E. III.]
JOHANNES WYCLIFF.

I BILEVE ①, as Crist and his apostels have tauȝt us, þat þo sacrament of þo auter, whyte and rounde, and like to oper bred, or oost sacred ②, is verrey Gods body in fourme of bred; and þof hit be broken in thre partyes, as þo Kirke uses, or elles in a thousande, evere ilk one of þese parties is þo same Gods body. And right as þo persoun of Crist is verrey God and mon — verrey godhed and verrey monhed — right so holy Kirke, mony hundred winters, haves trowed þo same sacrament is verrey Gods body and verrey bred, as hit is fourme of Gods body and fourme of bred, as teches Crist, and his apostels. And perfore Seint Poul nemmes hit nevere, bot when he calles hit bred; and he byoure bileve toke in þis his witte of God. And þo argumentis ③ of heretikes ageyns þis sentence are light for to assoyle to a Cristen mon ④. And right as hit is heresy ⑤ to trowe þat Crist is a spiryit and no body, so hit is heresy ⑥ to trowe þat þis sacrament is Gods body and no bred; for hit is bothe togedir.

Bot þo moste heresy þat God suffred cum ⑦ to his Chirche, is to trowe þat þis sacrament is accydent wipouten subgett ⑧; and may on no wyse be Gods body ⑨. And if þou sey, by his ⑩ skil holy Kirke hafs ben in erroare mony hundred wynters, for Crist seis, by wittenesse of Jerome, þat þis bred is my body, soth hit is, specialy sithen þo fende was loused, þat was, by wittenesse of þo aunget to Jon þo Evangeliste, aftir a þousande wynters þat Crist was styed ④ to heven. Bot hit is to suppose þat mony seyntis, þat dyed in þo meene tyme, before hor deth were purged of þis errore. Ow! how gret diversyte is bytwene us þat trowen þat þis sacrament is verrey bred in his kynde, and bytwene heretikes þat tellen þat hit is an accydent wipouten

① We beleue. HH. ② and lyke tył oure brede or ost unsacrede, HH. ③ argument, HH. ④ lyth to a Cristene man for to assolve, HH. ⑤ HH and II omit the words between asterisks. ⑥ come, HH. ⑦ accident torþ a subsants, HH. ⑧ Here HH and II insert the following sentence; For Crist sayde, be wittesse of Joban, þat þis brede is my body. The words For Crist occur also in W, but are scored through. ⑨ þis, HH; ibis, II. ⑩ stevenyde, HH.
LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

sugett! For before þat þo fende, faðir of leesynge, was loused, was neve þis gabyngye contreved. And how gret diversite is bitwene us þat trwony þis sacrament in his kynde is verrey bred, and sacramentaly Gods body, and bytwene heretikes þat trwony and tellen þat þis sacrament may on no wyse be Gods body! For I dar surely sey, þat if þis were sothe, Crist and his seyntis dyed heretikes, and þo more partye of holy Kirke byleved nowe heresye. And herfore devout men supposen þat þis counsel of freris at Londoun was wiþ erthe dyn. For þei putt an heresye upon Crist and seyntis in heven; wherfore þo erthe trembled, faylande monnis voice answerande for God, as hit did in tyme of his passioun, when he was dampned to bodily deth.

Crist and his modir, þat in grounde have destroyed alle heresies, kepe his Kirke in right byleve of þis sacrament. And move we kyng and his reume to aske scharply of clerkes þis office; þat alle possessoris, on Payne of leesynge of alle hor temporaltees, telle þo kyng and his rewme, wiþ sufficiant groundynge, what is þis sacrament; and alle þo ordiris of freris, in Payne of leesynge of alle hor legeaunce, telle þo kyng and his reume wiþ gode groundynge what is þis sacrament. Ffor I am certen, for þo thridde part of clergye þat defendes þis sentence þat is here seyde, þat þai wil deffende hit on Payne of losyng of hor lyve. Amen.

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1 contryvede, HH. 2 beleyth, HH. 3 and, HH. 4 bery done, HH. 5 ansueride, HH. 6 þe, HH. 7 bis clerkus, HH. 8 þe, HH. 9 of, HH. 10 bise doutes, HH.; thyse doutes, II. 11 on Payne of ber lyf, HH. 12 om. HH, II.

As printed by Lewis and Dr. Vaughan, this passage makes mere nonsense; but if they had consulted the MSS., all difficulty would have vanished. Men think, says Wycliff, that it was for this reason that the late council in London was signalized by an earthquake, namely, because its members put a heresy upon Crist; the earth itself, in the absence of a protesting human voice, answering for God. Dr. Vaughan, in the attempt to amend Lewis' version, makes matters worse; he boldly writes, 'In truth, landman's voice answered for God.' (Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe, p. 302.)
XXIII.

[LETTER TO POPE URBAN.]

[There can be little doubt that the original of this letter was written in Latin, in the form preserved by Walden in the Fasciculi Zizaniorum, p. 341, and to be seen in a number of MSS. now at Vienna. The English version, as preserved in two MSS. (one at the Bodleian, the other at New College), is a heightened and amplified composition; probably it was prepared by Wyclif’s followers chiefly with a view to home consumption. The differences between the two versions are indicated in the notes.

Of the authenticity of the letter there can be no doubt. Walden, in the Fasciculi, introduces it with the heading, 'Copia cujusdam literae magistri Johannis Wycliff missae Papae Urbano VI. ad excusationem de non veniendo sibi ad citationem suam, a.d. mccclxxiv.' It was written therefore in 1384, the last year of Wyclif’s life, when he was affected by paralysis, and incapable of making the long journey to which the Pope invited him.

The text is founded on the Bodleian (647), collated with the New College MS. (W and Q in this edition. The latter I believe to be a copy of the former, so far at least as this letter is concerned.)

I HAVE joy fully to telle to alle treue men þo bilee þat I holde, and algatis to þo pope; for I suppose þat if my fayth be riyftul and gyven of God, þo pope wil gladly ¹ conferme hit; and if my fayth be errour, þo pope wil amende hit.

I suppose over þís, þat þo gospel of Crist be hert of þo corps of Gods lawe ²; for I byleve þat Jesus Crist, þat gaf in his owne persoun þís gospel, is verrey God and verrey mon, and be þís hert ³ passes alle ðer lawes.

I suppose over þís þat þo pope be moste oblischid to þo keping of þo gospel among alle men þat lyven here; for þo

¹ om. Q. ² be herte of Goddis lawe, Q. ³ om. Q.
pope is hyeste vicar þat Crist has here in erthe. Ffor more-
ness of Cristis vicar is not mesured by worldly morenesse, bot
bi þis, þat þis vicar sues more Crist by virtuous lyving; for
þus technis þo gospel, þat þis is þþ sentence of Crist.

And of þis gospel I take as byleve, þat Crist, for tyme þat he
walkid here, was moste pore mon of alle, boþe in spirit and in
havynge; for Crist seis þat he had nost for to reste his hed on.
And Poule seis þat he was made nedy for our love. And
more pore myȝt no mon be, nouȝer bodily ne in spirit. And
þus Crist putte fro hym al maner of worldly lordschip. Ffor þo
gospel of Jon telliþ þat when þei wold have made Crist kynge,
he fled and hid hym fro hem, for he wold non such worldly
ynesse.

And over þis I take as byleve, þat no mon schuld sue þo
pope, ne no seynþ þat now is in heven, bot in als myche as he
sues Crist. For Jon and James errid when þei coveytid worldly
ynesse; and Petir and Poule synned also when þei denied
and blasphemed in Crist; bot men schuld not sue hom in þis,
for þen þei wente fro Jesus Crist. Off þis I take as hool-
some counsell, þat þo pope leewe his worldly lordschip to worldly
lordis, as Crist gaf hom,—and move spedely alle his clerkis
to do so. For þus did Crist, and tauȝ þus his disciplis, til þo
fende had blyndid þis world. And hit semes to sum men, þat
clerkis þat dwellen lastandly in þis error ageyns Gods lawe, and
flees to sue Crist in þis, ben open heretikes, and hor fautours
ben partyneris.

And if I erre in þis sentense, I wil mekely be amendid, ȝhe,
by þo deth, if hit be skilful, for þat I hope were gude to me.
And if I myȝt travel in myn owne persoun, I wold wip gode

1 in vertuous lif, Q. 2 any, Q. 3 And, Q.

a In Walden’s Latin version only
the references to these texts are given.
The two sentences which follow are
not in Walden; probably they were
inserted by the disciple who trans-
lated the letter. They are also
omitted both by Lewis and Dr.
Vaughan, although they are found
in both the extant copies of the

English version.
b Lewis, who is followed by Dr.
Vaughan, cuts down this long sen-
tence to—‘for James and John errid,
and Peter and Powl sinned.’
c This sentence is not in the
Latin; it is also omitted by Lewis
and Dr. Vaughan.
wille go to þo pope. Bot God \(^1\) has nedid me to þo contrarye, and taugt me more obeche to God þen to mon \(^*\). And I suppose of oure pope þat he wil not be Anticrist, and reversen Crist in þis wirkyng, to þo contrarie of Cristis wille; for if he summone ageyns resoun, by him or by any of his, and pursue þis unskilful summonyng, he is an open Anticrist. And merciful entent excusid not Peter, þat ne Crist cleped hym Sathanas; so blynde entent and wicked counseil excuses not þo pope here; bot if he aske of trew prestis þat þei travel more þan þei may, he is not excusid by resoun of God þat ne h: is Anticrist. For oure byleve techis us, þat oure blessid God suffris us not to be temptid more þan we may; how schulde a mon aske such servyce? And þerfore preye we to God for oure pope Urban þo seþ \(^2\), þat his olde holy entent be not quenchid by his enemyes. And Crist þat may not lye seis, þat þo enemyes of a mon ben specialy his homely meyneþ; and þis is soth of men and fendis.

\(^1\) supplied from Q; om. W. \(^2\) siste, Q.

\(^*\) From this point to the end the English version bears only a distant resemblance to the Latin.
XXXIII.

[A PETITION TO THE KING AND PARLIAMENT.]

[Although Lewis in his Life of Wyclif, and Dr. Milman, following Lewis, have unhesitatingly assigned the following petition to Wyclif, and assumed as a fact that it was addressed to the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 6th of May, 1382, and although I am far from disputing either conclusion, yet it is necessary to show that the evidence on which they relied is extremely slight. For the authorship we have no other authority than that of Bale, who includes the piece in his Catalogue. Dr. Milman writes as if the articles of this petition were mentioned by Walsingham among the opinions which he states Wyclif to have laid before this Parliament, in which case we should have had the authority of Walsingham for ascribing them to Wyclif; but this is not the case,—although, by mixing up these articles with the opinions which Walsingham does ascribe to Wyclif, Dr. Milman (Latin Christ. viii. 192) makes it appear so. Only one of the opinions, the sixth, named in Walsingham's schedule (Rolls edition, II. 51) bears any resemblance to any of the four articles of the petition. However, among the 'Conclusiones Johannis Wycliffe,' which William Swinderby, one of Wyclif's followers preached, according to Walsingham, at Leicester on the Palm Sunday and Good Friday of 1382, all the four articles, expressed in somewhat different language, may be found. It seems highly probable therefore that Wyclif did address such a petition to this Parliament; for, (1) he did not broach his sacramental doctrine, which is the subject of the fourth article, before 1381; (2) it is not likely that he would have presented his petition at the short session of the Parliament which met in November, 1381, and which was completely engrossed with the recently quelled rebellion; (3) after the Council of London (begun May 19, 1382) had sat, he would hardly have thought it worth while or prudent to urge upon Parliament the adoption of tenets which that Council had formally condemned.

Owing to an extraordinary blunder of the scribe who wrote the Corpus MS. (X), this petition, though twice before printed, has never yet appeared]
in its genuine shape. How it occurred, it is now impossible to say; but the fact is certain, and may be verified by any one who carefully examines the MS., that the scribe has tacked on the conclusion of the tract Of feyned contemplatif lyf, &c. (Shirley, No. 26) to this petition, and transferred the genuine ending of the petition to the end of the tract. The MS. itself affords not the faintest trace of any consciousness on the part of the scribe that by this odd transposition he was making utter nonsense. The two passages where the breaks occur run as follows: I have indicated the place of each error by an obelus:—

"Lord! where these worldly pretis wisere than + distried. Ye false feip taughte of Anticrist and of his false cursede disciplis is his, yat ye sacrament yat men seyn wip bodely eise," &c. Of feyned contemplatif lyf, p. 170 of MS.

"Ye fourthe article is his: yat Cristis teachinge and brieve of ye sacrament of his owne body . . . . may be taust openly in chrichis to Cristen puple, and ye contrarie teachinge and fals bleave, brount up by cursed hypocrits and heretikis and worldly pretis, unkunynge in Gods lawe + ben alle ye apostis of Crist: it seme yat pei ben, or ellis foolees. Also Crist wolde not take ye kyngdom," &c. Complainte to King and Parliament, p. 297 of MS.

Dr. James, however, in his edition of the Complainte published in 1608, 'skimmed o'er the ulcerous place' by taking liberties with the text; he makes it run thus: 'the contrarie teaching and false believe is brought up by cursed hypocrits . . . . . unkunning in Gods law, which seeme that they are apostles of Crist, but are fools.' In Dr. James, writing in 1608, this might be pardonable; but it is difficult to understand how Dr. Vaughan, though he must have felt the utter incongruity of the last part of the fourth article with the commencement, couldreprint Dr. James' text without thinking it necessary to consult the original MS. The error is so plain, that I have here restored the text to what there can be no doubt was its original state, by transferring the concluding portion of the tract Of Fyned contemplatif lyf to its proper place in the fourth article of the petition.

The text is founded on the copy contained in the Corpus volume so often referred to. There is another MS. at Dublin (C. III. 12), but it breaks off imperfect just at the place where the erroneous transposition occurs.]

Plesey it to oure most noble and most worpi King Richard, kyng bope of Englonnd and of Fraunce, and to ye noble Duk of Lancastre, and to opeere grete men of ye rewme, bope to seculers and men of holi Chirche, yat ben gaderid in ye Parlement, to here, assent, and meyntene ye fewe articlis or poynitis yat beni seet wipinne pis writing, and proved bope by auctorite and resoun; yat Cristen feip and Cristene religiou ben encresseed, meyntened, and made stable, sip oure Lord Jesus
Crist, verrey God and verray man, is heed and prelat of pis religioun, and shedde his precious herte blood and water out of his side on þe cros, to make þis religioun perfít and stable and clene, wipoute errour.

Þe firste article is þis; þat alle persones of what kynne privat sectis, or singuler religioun, maad of sinful men, may freely, wipouten any lettinge or bodili Peyne, leve þat privat reule or neue religioun founden of sinful men, and stably holde þe reule of Jesus Crist, taken and ðoven by Crist to his apostelis, as far more perfít þan any sich newe religioun founden of sinful men.

Þe resoun of þis axinge is shewyd þus. Þe reule of Jesus Crist ðoven to apostelis, and kept of hem aftir Cristis ascencioun, is most perfít to be kept for staat of lyvinge in þis world; and eche reule of what kynne privat secte, or singuler religioun maad of sinneful men, is lesse perfít þan þe reule ðoven of Crist of his endeles wisdom, and his endeles charitee to mankinde. Þerfore it is leveful to eche man or persone of þis singuler reliogion and professioun to leve it, cleve haste to þe reule of Jesus Crist as more perfít. Þis resoun is pleyn to eche man of wit and discretiou, and nameli to clerkes; sip men of þe popes lawe witnesseþ pleynly, þat a man may lawfulliy, þee, ægenst his soverains wille, go fro þe lasse perfít religioun to þe more perfít. Whi þanne may not a man of privat reliogion forsake þat, and take Cristis clene reliogion, wipouten error of any sinful fool, as most perfít? And þat Cristis reule, in his owne clenessse and fredom, is most perfít, is shewid by þis skile. Ffor in as muche as a patron or a foundour is more perfít, more mysþy, and more witty, and more holy, and in more charite, þan is anoþer patroun or foundour, in so muche is þe firste patrouns reule betere and more perfít, þan is þe secounde patrones reule. But Jesus Crist, patroun of Cristene religioun ðoven to apostelis, passeþ wipouten mesure, in mysþt, witt, and good wille, or charitee, þe perfeccioun of everi patroun of eny privat secte or singuler; þerfore his reule is most perfít.

Also, þat Cristis clene religioun, wipoute cloutynge of sinfulle mennis errours, is mot perfít of alle, is schewyd by þis skile.

1 þis þus, X.
For opere Crist myȝte yeve sich a reule most perfit for þis lif to be kept, and wolde not, and þanne he was envious (as St. Austyn proveþ in opere materes); or ellis Crist wolde ordeyne sich a reule and miȝte not, and þanne Crist was unmyȝty,—but it is heresie to afferne þat on Crist;—or ellis Crist miȝte and couþe, and wolde not a, and þanne he was unwitty,—but þat is heresie no man shulde suﬀre to here. Þerfore 1 Crist boþe miȝte, and couþe, and wolde ordeyne sich a reule most perfit, þat owt to be kept for staat of þis lif. And so Crist of his endeles wysdom and charite ordyneþe siche a reule. And so on eche side men ben needid, up peyne of heresie and blasphemye, and of damnyng in helle, to beleve and knowleþ, þat here religioun of Jesus Crist [3oven] 2 to apostilis, and kept of hem, in his owne freedom, wipouþe cloutinge of sinneful mennis errour, is most perﬁt of alle; and so to lette no man to forsake privat religioun, and keþe Cristis clene religioun, wipouþe newe wronge tradiþiouns of synneful men, þat ofte erreden in her owne lif and tech alþe.

Also Crist, in makynge þe reule and ordre of apostils, was in þis tyme, and hevere biforn and evere aftir, al myȝty, al witty, and al ful of good willé and charite, to make perfit reule; þerfore he made not oonly a perﬁt reule, but most perfit of alle. But eche patroun of privat reule was unmyȝtie and lettid, boþ in þisþis of kynde and grace, and not al wytty, but in comparisoun of Crist an ydiot or fool, and not so well willinge to make so good and perfit as Crist. Þerfore he made a reule lesse good and lesse perﬁt; and herof it sueþ pleynly þat Cristis clene religioun is most perﬁt of alle.

Also apostiles and here folewers, kepinge þe reule 3oven to hem of Crist, wonne most merite and þank of God in þis kepinge biforn alle opere tymes. Þerfore þif alle Cristene men, boþe in old tyme and newe, hadden kept þe same reule of Crist in his owne clennesse and freedom, [þei] 4 shulde have discervered most þank of God in degre possible to hem. Þerfore no newe secte

1 þat þerfore, X. 2 supplied conjecturally. 3 corrected; and in MS. 4 supplied conjecturally.

* evidently it should be, 'miȝte and wolde, and couþe not.'
of religioun, straunge fro Cristis secte, shulde have begunne, but þat þat was first shulde have be kept in his clennesse, of siche newe finders up of noveltries and patrons. Also hit were now as good, and of as muche merit, to kepe þe reule of Jesus Crist, as it was at þe begynnynge; sýp Cristis reule is ynowȝ, and able for alle men on lyve, of whatever complexioun 1 or ageþ þe þen ben cf. But þis reule was kept of Jesus Crist and his apostlis, and here beste severes, by fyte hundred þeer aftir his ascencioun, wiȝouten eny finding of any siche newe plauntynge or reliquioun; in whiche time holî Chirch encressede and profìtede most, þfor þanne most alle men disposeden hem to martirdom at ensample of Crist. Perfore it were now noþ oonli meritorie or medful, but moost medeful to þe Chirche, to lyve so, in alle þinggis and by alle þinggis.

Also, boþe monks and chanouns forsaken þe reules of Benet and Austyn, and taken wiȝouten eny dispensacioun þe reule of freres, as most perfìt. But þe reule of apostelis is utterly and algatis most perfìt. Perfore men may forsake privat reules in religioun, maad of sinful men, and take þe clene religioun of apostelis, þat ys preched wiþ fredom of þe gospel, wiȝouten dispensacioun of worldly clerkes, þat in caas [are] 1 queke develes, as Crist Judas Scariot 2. Also, þe pope may dispence wiþ þe reule of ech privat secte or religioun, and haþ dispensed and ðitt dop, but he may not dispence wiþ Cristis reule ȝoven to apostlis; þerfore þe reule of Crist ordeyned to apostlis is more perfìt þan any reule of privat religioun, and most perfìt of alle. And herof it sueþ openly þat men may lawfully forsake privat religioun, and kepe Cristis religioun in his clennesse, sýp it is most perfìt, moost esy, and liȝt for to kepe, and most siker to bringe men to hevene, and to heiest degre of blisse.

And þif oure adversaries of þis privat religioun stryve algatis, þat here reules ben more perfìt þan þe reule of aposteleþ, whi þanne so manie persones, as who so saþ, wiȝoute noumbre? Of ech sicþ privat secte, by licence of þe pope, ben maad, some chapeleyns of houshold, summe chapeleyns of honour, summe bissishopis dowid wiþ seculer lordshipes, summe bissishopis among

1 supplied conjecturally. 2 text corrupt; omit Crist.
hepene men, and dore not come to her children. But [what] professioun a frere be of, anon, ʒif he be chosen þerto, he acceptiþ þe office of þe pope or cardinal, of patriark, of erche-bisshoþ, of bissheþ, and forsakþ his owne staþ. Siþ Crist saiþ in þe gospel, þat no man puttinge his hand to þe plouþ, and lokynge bacward, is worþy to have þe kyngdom of God,—þat is, no man takynge perfþt staþ of povente and mekenesse and penaunce, is able to be saved ʒif he turne aþen to wordly lif, pompe and pride and covetise, and ese of body, and slouþe, and riot, and gay cloþinge and costy,—þerfore þei chaungþ not þe more perfþt for þe lesse perfþt, for þan þei were apostatas, but þei purchasen þe more perfþt for þe lasse perfþt. Þerfore þe clene religioun and reule of presthod, by forme of þe gospel, is more perfþt þan any reule or religioun maad of sinful men. Also, noþing þat is abhominable and reproved of seyntis shulde not be brouþt in of oþere, by ony colour or cauteel. But þes newe sectes ben siche, þat ben of flessh, as Saint Poul saiþ in his pistel. Þerfore siche sects shulde not be brouþt in, to charginge of þe Chirche, but alle Cristen men shulde caste awey, and holde faste þe unite, fredom, and clennesse of þe reule of Jesus Crist.

Paraventure þes ypocrites sayen, to exclude alle þes resouns and manie mo, þat þe reule to which þei make professioun is not straunge, ne diverse fro þe reule of apostilis þat Crist ordeynede, but it is utterly þe same, and non oþer. But þe contrarie of þis excusing is opinly shewyd bi route þe laste resouns bifore said. Ffor ʒif þes newe reules weren alle on wiþ Cristis reule ʒoven to apostilis, [he] ʒ shulde have taught hem [boþe] and ensaumpled, boþe in his lif and spekinge and writing, wiþ sermons and ritis and customes þerof; but dide not þis, neiþer in his liþ, neiþer in his deþ, neiþer in his resurreccioun, neiþer in his ascensioun. And ʒif þis excusinge were soo, þe sectis of þfreres shulde not have begonnen aboute a þousand and tweyn hundrid þeer of Crist, siþ þei were bifore þe tyme, þe, as sone as þe reule of apostles. But þe contrarie is opin in croniclis. Hit sueþ also of þe same þat Cristis apostlis hadden boþe monkes, chanouns, and freris, ʒif men taken monkes chanouns and freris

1 supplied to complete the sense. 2 dele not. 3 supplied conjecturally. 4 dele boþe.
for men that professen sich privat sectes; but this is opinion fals. Also, Cristis reule 30ven to apostilis is lich and of o forme, to alle men that maken professiou nyerto, to speke of substaunce of the reule. But reules of these privat sectes be full dyverse and contrarie, as to substaunce of these reules; siu summe of hem receyven dymes and dotaciouns, as don these possessioners, but some forsaken alle siche types and possessiouns, as freres mendinaunts.

But, to discende doun in specialte, full mane articlis of reulis of siche sectes ben openly contrarie to the apostilis reule; siu it is leveful to ech trewe man of Cristene religioun to converte a man of wrong feip to Cristene, but this is forbidden in the reule of frere menours; siu oonly feip to ministres, and non ohere, is licence grauntid to receyve freris to here privat sectis, notwythstanding that everemore freris don the contrarie. And Crist receyvede penyes, but pe shulden not by here owene reule receyve penyes, neioper by hemself ne by mene persone. Also Crist, prechinge the gospel, entrid into places bope of wommen and men, as the gospel of Luk tellep. But [it] is forbidden to freris to etren into abeyes of wommen; but freris glosen these reules to the contrarie; but Fraunceis here foundour comaundid hem in article of his dep that pe shulde not receyve gloses upon his reule. Also, 3if Cristis reule, 30ven to apostelis, and the reule of privat sectis weren al on, wipouten resoun men leven the frirste and professeden the toper, but 3if it were to shewe here ypcrisie. Also, 3if this feynynge be so, it seme that it is as perfitt and medeful to kep Cristis reule [as these reule] of Fraunceis or Dominik, or eny sich ohere man. Also, 3if these reules ben alle on, and in nojing diverse, tanne siche a reule shulde not be clepid reule of Fraunceis ne Dominik, ne ony sich ohere, but reule of Crist; for so it shulde be of more auctorite and more comendid. And so these gospel owhe to be kept,

1 deles feip. 2 supplied. 3 The scribe must have omitted these words, which are necessary to complete the sense.

* The reasoning here reminds one of the famous dilemma of the Caliph Omar, when consulted as to the preservation of the Alexandrian library. 4 If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed.—Gibbon, ch. ii.

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wijpouten ony foulinge, of alle Cristene men, wijpouten sich novelries, and putte no þing þerto and drawe no þing þerfor; and if þis þing were don, sich privat sectes shulde be superflue and waste, as flies lyvinge in þe eyr. And it was non nede þat Ffraunceis, Dominik, or eny sich oþer newe man bysiede him aboute makying of þis reule of apostelis, þat freris feynen to be hern; for þat reule was maad of Crist, God and man, and kept of apostlis, and conformed by þe Holy Gost, and atte þe fulle declared by a þousand þeer and two hundrid biffero Ffraunceis, Dominik, or anye frere of such privat sect, were in to þis world.

þe secounde poynyt or article ys þis; þat þo men þat unresonably and wrongfully han damnpned [þe kyng]¹ and al his counsail, be amendid of so gret errour, and þat here errour may be publisshid to men dwellinge in þe reume.

þe resoun of þis axinge ys shewyd þus. Noþing oweþ to be damnpned as errour and fals, but þis if it savour errour or unriȝtwisnesse aȝens Goddis lawe. But neiþer þe kyng ne his counsayl deede unriȝtfully, for as muche as he took away þe possessiouńs of summe prelatis þat trespacedden, whoos contrarie freres han determined opinly. Þerfore resounably men shulden assente to þis axing. Ffor summe freris writen þus in Coventre a, among articlis þat pei damnpned as heresye and error, þat it is errour to saye þat seculer lordis may levefully and medefullly taken away temporal goodis, þovén to men of þe Chirche b. But siþ oure kyng hap don so, and oþere kynges his predecessoures han don so manie tymes, by laweful cause, as perreyynge to here regalie, and of comun lawe, by counsail of piecers of þe rewme, it sueþ þat not oonly oure kyng now present hap errid, but also his predecessours, and generally al his counseillores, as lords and prelatis, and alle men of þe Parlement councelîng þerto.

¹ supplied conjecturally.

a. That those are in error who dispute the king's right to deal with Church temporalities.

¹ As Coventry was the native place of John Ball, one of the ring-leaders in the insurrection of 1381, the friars there would be likely to take the lead in repudiating his tenets, and those of his friends, particularly after the insurrection was quelled.

b. This is the seventeenth of the twenty-four conclusions condemned by the Council of London. See Fasciculi Ziz., p. 280.
Also, 3if pis be error touching þe helpe of mannis soule, þanne it is aïens holy writ; and þanne, 3if a man susteyne or meynteyne pis error, he is an heretik. But ful manie kingis, lordis, prelatis, and oþere wise men han susteyned þis and meynteyned, and þut don, as perteynynge to þe kynggis regalie, and of comune lawe; þanne ben þes freris, alle kyngis, lordis, and prelatis, and alle wise men of oure reaume, ben heretikes. Also, siþ þis is an old custome, þe whiche oure kyng, lordis, and prelatis ben sworen to susteyne and meynteyne, 3if þis be error, as freris seyen opinly, it sueþ by freris þat alle þes ben forsworn and heretikes. Also, 3if þis be error as freris feynen, þat þouþ an abbot and al his covent ben open traitours, conspiringe into deþ of þe king and quene and of oþere lordis, and enforce hem to distroie al þe reaume, þe kyng may not take fro hem an halfpeny ne ferþing worþ, siþ alle þes ben temporal goodis. Also, þouþ oþere clerkis senden unto oure enemys alle þe rentis þat þei han in oure lond, and what evere þei may robbe or stele of þe kinggis legemen, Þit may not oure kyng ponishe by oo ferþing ne ferþing worþ.

Also by þis ground of freris, þouþ monkes or freris or oþere clerkis, whatevere þei ben, slen lordis tenauntis, þe kynggis liegemen, and desoulen lordis wyves, 3e, þe quene, þat God forbid, or þe empriess, 3it þe kyng may not ponische hem by oo ferþing. Also hit sueþ pleynly þat men cledip men of holi Chirche may dwelle in þis lond at here likynge, and do what kynne sinne, what kynne tresoun, likeþ hem; and naþeleþ þe kyng may not ponische, neiþer in temporal goodis ne in here body; siþ, 3if he may not ponisse hem in þis lesse, he may not in þe more; and also, þouþ þei maken on of hemself kyng. And so no secular lord may lette hem to conquere alle secular lordship in þis eorþe; and so þei may sle alle lordis and ladies, and here blod and affinite, wipoute any peyne in þis lif, or in body, or in catel. þee, lordis, seeþ and undirstondþ, wip what ponissing þei desire to be chastised, þat þus unwarly and wrongfully han dampyyd 30u for heretikes, Þfor as mucþe as þe don exe-

1 dele ben, or else the preceding words ben þes freris.  
2 corrected:

Monstrous and absurd consequences which flow from this doctrine.

See ante, p. 314.


in cucioun of riȝtwisnesses, by Goddis lawe and mannys, and namely of þe kyngis regalie. For þe chief lordshiphe in þis lond of alle temporalties, boþe of seculer men and religious, perteynéþ to þe kyng of his general governygnyng. Ffor ellis he were not kyng of alle England, but of a litel part þerof. Þerfore þe men þat bysyen hem to take away þys lordshiphe fro þe kyng, as don freris and here fautours, in þis poynþ ben sharper enemys and traitours þan Frensshe men and alloþer naciouns.

Also it perteynéþ to þe kyng, þe while a bishop or an abboti see is voyde, to have in his hond al here temporaltees, and at his owne wille to þeve hem to prelati. Þerfore þe kyng may take away þes temporaltees from prelati, whan laweful cause exitþ. Also þe kyng owip graunte no man fredom to do synne or trespas, but to take away þe fredom. But men of þe Chirche had fre licence to trespace, ȝif þe king myȝte not bireve here temporaltees whanne þei synned grevously. And so Seynt Poul techiþ þat eche man be sugett to here potestatis, for þer nis no power but of God, and þo þing þat ben of God ben ordeyned. And so þei þat wipstondeþ power, wipstondeþ Goddis orynynance; for whi? Princes ben not a dred of goode werkes, but of eyele. But willoþ not drede a power? do good, and þou shalt have preisinge þerof,—þat is, of him þat is ordeyned in þe hiȝe astat,—for he is Goddis ministre, or servaunt, to þe in goode. But ȝif þou have don eyele, þanne drede; for he bereþ þe sword not wipoute cause; ȝifor he is Goddis servaunt, vengere in wræþe to him þat doþ eyele. And þerfore by nede, or of nede, be þe suget, or undurlout,—not oonly for wræþe, but also of conscience. Al þis seþ Seynte Poul, of whiche auctorite it is to knowen to alle men, þat clerkes owen to be suget of nede to þe kynggus powere; ȝifor Seynte Poul, þat putteþ alle men in subjeccioun to kynggis, outtakeþ nevere on. And so seculer power owþe and is bounden to ponissh by just Peyne of his swerd, þat is, worldly power, trynauntsis rebellinge ægens God and trespassing ægens man by what kyn trespas; and, þat is more, to chastise his sugetis by Peyne or turment of here body. And no drede muche more he may ponissh heem by takynge away of here temporaltees, þat is lasse þan bodily Peyne. Þerfore seculer lordis don þis riȝtfully, sþ þis is don by comaunde-
ment of þे apostole and by ordinaunce of God. Þerfore it is pleyn of þes resouns and auctoritees; and seculer lordis may levefully and medefully, in mony causes, taken awey temporal godis joveñ to men of þe Chirche.

Þe þridde article is þis;—þat boþe types and offeringis ben joveñ and paid and receyved by þat entente, to whiche entente or ende boþe Goddis lawe and þe popis lawe ordeyneyed hem to be paid and receyved; and þat þei be take awey by þe same entente and resoun, þat boþe Goddis lawe and þe popis lawe ordeyneyen þat þei shulden be wijdrawen.

Dis axingë is resonable for manie skilles; for þe entente of þe makere in everi lawe shulde be kept, and most þe entente of God, þat may not erre. Soply þus saip Goddis lawe, in þe Firste Book of Kyngis, þat þe synne of Levyes children was full gret before God, for þei wijdrawen men fro sacrifise of God, taking by strengþe or violence þat part of þe sacrifice þat perteyneyed to þer post. And God seip afterward, Y spekynge have spoken, þat þin hous and þi fadris hous shulde ministre and serve in my siȝte evermore; but now God saip, by þat þing fer fro me; but whomever shal worshippe me I shal glorifie him, but þei þat dispisen me, saip God, shul ben unnoble, or wijoutë honour. Of which auctorite it is pleyn and opin, þat þe þinggus þat ben duwe to prest shulde not be axed by strengþe or violence or cursinge, but be joveñ frely, wijoutë exaccioun or constreyynyge. And 3if þe prest be reproved of God for his synnis, he shulde be put out of his office, and þere sacrifises shulden not be joveñ to him, but taken fro him, as God commaundeþ from þe heyȝe prest Hely; and anoþer trewe man, walkinge in Goddis weyes as dide Samuel, schulde be ordeyneyd to resceyve siche sacrificës. Also in begynnynge of Tobie men vinden þus:—Whan prestis of þe temple wenten to calveren of gold to honour hem for goddis, of Jeroboam kyng of Israel made, Tobie ofride trewely alle his firste fruytes and tîpis, so þat in þe þridde þeer Tobie ministred alle his typis to proselitis \(^1\) and commelingis, or gestis, and wijdrôuȝ hem holilich fro þe wickede prestis. And þe book saipþ þat þe litul child kepte þes þingis, and opere siche,

\(^1\) corrected; \textit{persolitis}, X.
after þe lawe of God. Perfore ȝif oure prelatis or oþere prestis, whatovere þei ben, ben opinly blecked by sacrifise of maumetrie, as wiþ covetise, þat is opinly sacrifise of fals goddys, and oþere grete sinnes, as pride, symonye, and man-quellinge, glotonye, dronkenesse, and lecherie, by þe same skil typis or offerings shulde be wiþdrawyn from hem by Goddis lawe, and be ȝoven to poeure nedy men, at ensaumle of riȝtful Tobie.

Also Seint Poul, spekinge to Tymothe, bishop, saiþ þus;—Be we paiwed wiþ þes þingis, ȝif we han liflode and to be hiled wiþ. And Seint Bernard spekiþ þus in þis matere;—Whatevere þou takist to þe of þin outrage¹ þat is, dymes and offerings, beside simple liflode and streit cloþinge, it is not þyn, it is þece, raveyne, and sacrilege a. Wherof hit susþ pleynly, pat not oonly simple prestis and euratis, but also sovereyne curatis, as bisshipis, shulde not axe here sugetis by construyng more þan liflode and hilynge, whan þei don away alle manere waast, boþe of money and worldly array. Also Crist wiþ his aþpostis lyvede most povere lif, as it is known by alle þe processe of þe gospel, noþing chalenginge by exaccioun ne constreynynge, but lyvede simpel mish and scarly ynowþ of almes, frely and wiþfully ȝoven. Perfore þo þat pretenden hem to ben principal folwers of Cristis steppis, shulde lyve and walke as Crist dide, and so lede ful povere lif, takinge of þingis frely ȝoven as miche as neede is for here gostly office and no more, and perwiþ be apaied.

Also þe popis lawe comaundip, in þe beste part þerof, þat prestis, opyn lechours, taken no part of porcioun of goodis of þe Chirche; þerfore it is lefful to parisshenys to wiþholden here tīþes for opin fornicaeioun of here curat, and turne hem into bettre use. And mucche more þei may and ouen to wiþdrawe here typis for grete synnis and opin,—as for simonie, þat is heresie, 

¹ Probably written by mistake for *autrage*, altaragium, the offerings made by the people to the altar; see Ducange *sub voce*. The word ‘*autrage*’ does not appear to occur elsewhere; but that it was in use can hardly be doubted. Peter Langtoft in his Chronicle speaks of ‘*alterage,*’ changing the word but little, as was natural in a churchman and a man of letters, from the original Latin. But in the time of Chaucer and Wyclif the popular mode of pronouncing and writing ‘*altar*’ was *auter* or *auter*; *alterage* would therefore become *auterage* or *autrage*. The words of St. Bernard are ‘*Quicquid . . . ex altario retinues.*’

² See ante. p 473, note
as he popes lawe saip, and for covetise, pat is wurshipinge of false goddis, as holy writ seip; and for pride, envye, glotonie, and dronkenesse, siþ boþe by Goddis lawe and mannes lawe God curseþ siche mennis blissinge and preyngis. And Seint Austyn and Seynt Gregory techen þis in manie bokes, by holy writ and resoun.

Also comunly, whanne parische chirkis ben appropid to men of singuler religiou, such appropriacioun is mad by fals suggestion, þat siche religious men han not ynow3 for liflode and heling; but in treuþ þei han over muche. Also comunly siche chirkis ben appropid by symonie, as þei witen betere hemself, payinge a gret summe of moneye for sich apropria-cioun, ¾þ þe benefice be faat. But what man led by resoun and good conscience shulde paie to siche religious men tipes and offringis, goten by falsnesse, lesyngis, and symonye? But suppose þat siche parische chirkis weren leefullly goten, ¾it, siþ þei ben superflu to siche men, þe tipes and offringis shulden ben ¾ove to povere needye men, as Seynt Jerom and þe popis lawe techen. And þerfore þe trewe grete clerk, Robert Grosted, Bisshop of Lincolne, writeþ to þe pope, þat whan appropriacioun of parische chirkis is maad to men of religiou, of fourtene grete sinnes, or defantis, þat comen of evel curatis, is mad a perpetu_cioun, þat is, endeles confirmacioun.

Also, by God and his lawe curatis ben muchel more bounden to techen here sugetis charitably þe gospel and Goddis hestis, boþe by opin prechinge and ensaumple of good lif, for to save here soulis, þanne here sugetis ben holden to paie hem tipis and offringis. And of þis suen tweye þingis. þe firste, ¾þ curatis don not here office in word and in ensaumple þat God comandij, þanne here sugetis ben not bounden to paie hem tipis and offringis. Siþ þe principal cause for whiche tipes and offringis shulde be paied is awye, þe payinge of tipes shulde cesse. Also, curatis ben'more cursed in wiþdrawyng þis techinge in word and ensaumple, þan ben parischenys wiþdrawinge tipes and offringis, þouþ curatis dudon wel here office.

A, Lord God, where þis be resoun, to constreyne þe pore puple to fynde a worldly preest, sumtyme unable boþe of lif and konynyng, in pompe and pride, coveitise and envye, glotonye
and dronkenesse and lecherie, in symonye and heresie, wip fatte hors, and jolye and gaye sadeles, and bridelis ryngynge be þe wye, and himself in costy cloþes and pelure, and to suﬀre here wyves and children and here pore neyboure perische for hunger þrist and cold, and oþere mischieves of þe world! A, Lord Jesus Crist! siþ wipinne fewe þeeris men paiede here tipis and oﬀringis at here oﬀen wilfe free, to goode men and able, to grete worschip of God, to proﬁt and fairnes of holi Chirche ﬁȝtinge in eorþe, where it were leveful and needful þat a worldly prest shulde distroie þis holy and approvید custome, constreyynge men to leve þis fredom, turnynge tipis and oﬀringes into wickeðe uses, or not so goodle as þei weren don before tymes! þe fourþe article is þis,—þat Cristis techinge and bileve of þe sacrament of his owne body, þat is plenly tauht by Crist and his apostelis in gospellis and pistillis, may be tauht opinly in chirchis to Cristen puple, and þe contrarie techinge and fals bileve, brouȝt up by cursed ypocritis and heretikis and worldly b prestis, unkunnyng in Goddis lawe, distried. þe false feip tauþte of Anticrist and of his false cursede disciplis is þis, þat þe sacrament þat men seen wip bodele eiþe bitwene þe prestis hondis is neiþer bred ne Cristis body, but accidentis wipoute suget, and þis is neiþer groundid in holy writt ne reson ne wit, ne tauþte bi þe moste wiseste olde seyntis, but only by newe ypocritis and cursed heretikis, þat magniﬁyen here oßen fantasies and dremes, and feyned power and myraclis, more þan Cristis techynge and his apostlis, and Seynt Austyn and Seynt Jerom and Seynt Ambrose, and many moo, wip þe determinacion of þe trewe court of Rome, þat is sett in þe beste part of þe popis lawe. þerfore be þis heresie exilid fer fro Cristene men. þe riȝtte feip of Cristene men is þis; þat þis worschipful sacrament is bred and Cristis body; as Jesus Crist is verrey God and verrey man. And þis feip is groundid in Cristis owen word, in þe gospel of Seynt Mattheu, Mark, Luk, and bi Seynt

4. That Christ's teaching respecting the Eucharist may have free scope, and the contrary teaching be destroyed.

The teaching of the friars contrary to the ancient doctrine.

The true belief.

a So Chaucer on the Monk:—

b The Dublin MS. breaks oﬀ in the middle of this word.

c From this point the matter in the Corpus MS belongs to a diﬀerent tract; see Prefatory notice.
LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

Poul, and pleynty in holy writt, and bi Austyn, Jerom, Ambrose, and most holy seyntis, and most kunynge in holy writt. And herto accordep reson and witt at pe fulle. In pes gospellis is pe forme tauht of Crist, pat oure Lord Jesus Crist at pe soper toke bred in his hondis, and blissid it, and brak it, and yf it to his disciplis, and seide, Ete pe alle of pis; pis is my body. And so of pe chalis; and comaundid hem to don pis sacrament in mynde of hym. And Seynt Poul, pat hadde his gospel not bi man but bi revelacion of Jesus Crist, seip pus in his firste pistol to pe Coryntheis, Ne is not pe bred pat we breken pe comunynge of oure Lordis body? And certis he undirstondid pat it is so, aftir pe specche of holi writt. Perforu in pe same pistol to pe Coryntheis, aftir pe forme of consecracion he cleip pe tymes pis sacrament bred. And pe gospel of Seynt Luk seip, pat Cristis disciplis knewen him in brekyng of pe breed; and pis breed was pe sacrament of pe auter, as Seynt Austyn wrtip. And in Actibus Apostolorum is seid pus: And Cristene men weren dwellynge in techynge of apostlis, and in comunynge of brekyng of brede. Sip Seynt Poul seip, pe breed pat we breke is comunynge of Cristis body, axe pes heretikis where pis were sacrid breed or unsacrid; and pei moten seie pat it was sacrid, for ellis it were not comunynge of Cristis body. Panne moten pes heretikes nedis seie pat pis sacrament is bred pat we breken. And sip Crist may not lie, pis breed is his body, as he seip in pe gospel. Also in canon of pe masse, after pe consecracion, we clepen pis sacrament holy breed of everlastynge lif, and chalis of everlastynge helpe 

Also [in] 1 pe storie of pe feste of pis sacrament we clepen it pries breed, and seyn, bred of angelis is maade breed of man, and, hevenly bred pevep ende to figuris of pe olde lawe; and, in pe same, pis is verrey breed of children b. And in pis ympne of pe

1 supplied.

a 'Panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et calicem salutis perpetuae.'

b 'Ecce panis Angelorum
Factus cibus viatorum,
Verum panis filiorum,
Non mittendus canibus.
In figuris praedictarur,
Cum Isaac immolatur,' &c.

From the sequence 'Lauda Sion,' sung on the festival of Corpus Christi.
feste we reden ðus, Goddis sone man made verrey bred of his flech by vertue of his word, and wyn his blood a. And in þe secret of þe medil masse, on Cristismasse day, we preie þus, pat þis substaunce of herþe brynge to us þat þing þat is gostliche, þat is Cristis body b. Þanne þis substance schal not be turned to nouȝt, but be sacrid, and so dwelle after þe consecracion. And Seynt Austyn seï in a sermon þat is writen in þe popis lawe, þat þing þat is seyn is bred, and þat þing þat eïsen schewen or tellen is þe chalis, but it is, as moche as þe feïp axeþ to be lernyd, þe bred is Cristis body, and þe chalis, þat is, wyn in þe chalis, is Cristis blood c.

Also Austyn seïp in a sermon, and is writen in þe popis lawe, þe schullen not ete þat body, ne drynke þat blood, þe whiche blood þe men þat schullen do me on crois schulle schede out; forsoþe þe same and not þe same; þat same body and blood invisibly, and not þe same visibely. And þif it be nede þat þis sacrament be halwid visibely, nevereþeles it is nededul þat it be understood unvesibly. Also Jerom in a pistil þat he made to Elvidiam, seï þus, Here we þat þat brede þat Crist brak, and blissed, and þaf to his disciplis to ete, is þe body of our Saveour. And in þe popis lawe, wïp grete congregacion of bischopis and clerkis, and grete avisement, is writen þus; I bïleve wïp herte, and knowleþ bi mouþ, þat þe bred and wyn þat ben putt in þe auter þen after þe consecracion, not only þe sacrament, but þe flech and blood of Jesus Crist in treuþe.

Þanne, siþ þes auctorites of Crist and his apostlis ben algatis soþe, and also auctorites of þes seynis and clerkis, siþ þei accorden wïp holy writt and reson, seie we þat þis sacrament is verrey bred, and also verrey Cristis body, and teche we þis treue bïleve to Cristen men opynly; and late lordis meyntenen

1 corrected; þat, X.

a 'Verbum caro panem verum
   Verbo carmen efficit;
   Filiæ sanguis Christi merum.'

b 'The Word made flesh makes by his
word real bread his flesh.' But
Wyclif seems to have understood
it, 'makes his flesh real bread.'

c Ut sicut homo genus idem

refulsit Deus, sic nobis haec terrena
substantia conferat quod divinum
est.' But as the secret is said before
consecration, it is difficult to see
how Wyclif could derive from these
words any support for his views.

6 For this reference, see ante,
p. 484, note.
LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

jis treuße, as þei are bounden up peyne of dampnacion, siþ it is opynly y-tauȝt in holy writ and bi reson and witt; and dampne we þis cursed heresie of Anticrist and his ypocris and worldly prestis, seyynge þat þis sacrament is neiþer bred ne Cristis body, but accidentis wiþouten suget, and þerunder is Cristis body. For þis is not tauȝt in holy writ, but is fully æsenst Seynt Austyn, and holy seyntis, and reson and witt. For Austyn seþ in many bokis þat þer may non accident be wiþouten suget a.

* See p. 409, note.
APPENDIX.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF KNYGHTON'S CHRONICLE.

Any matter which affects the genuineness or authenticity of the original sources of our national history is so important, that I shall be excused for examining, with such minuteness as may be necessary, the opinion expressed by Dr. Shirley, in a note at p. 524 of the *Fasciculi Zianiorum* and elsewhere, that what is commonly called the 'Fifth Book of Knyghton's Chronicle' proceeds from another and unknown hand.

In order that my reply to it may be intelligible, it is necessary to reproduce the chief portion of Dr. Shirley's note, which is as follows:—

'It is of some importance to the history of this time to correct the error by which this fragment has been ascribed to Knighton, who is a dry and comparatively worthless commentator on Higden's *Polychronicon*. The writer of the fifth book is a partizan of the Duke of Lancaster, and, as such, very valuable, as with the exception of some Lancastrian fragments, which Walsingham unconsciously embodies, he is the only writer of that day on the less popular side. It is in these words that Knighton concludes his preface:—"Insuper opus inceptum, videlicet a conquestu regni Angliae, in V partes protearel curavi, in quarum duabus primis XVII (read XVI) capitulorum numerum praecedentis libelli, seriem et ordinem literarum de vocabuli mei expressione sumptarum observando, perorare curavi. Tertiam vero partem et quartam, propter prolixitatem sermonis et eventuum inexplicabilem concursum et finis incepti operis inexplicablem visionem, absque tali capitulorum ordine transcurrendo annotare laessitus praeoccupavi. Sicque totum laborem praesentis operis in quinque partes sive libellos distinctos protelando orditus sum." It will be seen,

* See ante, p. 499.
I think, on a careful reading of this sentence that *quinque* has been substituted for *quattuor* by some one who was perplexed by finding five books, but who has fortunately not seen that it was necessary to recast the whole sentence in order to make the *quinque* suit. It was evidently Knighton's intention to make the fourth book contain the events of his own lifetime, as I have no doubt it does. And if we examine the Chronicle we shall see that each of the first two books contains sixteen chapters, the first letters of which form the acrostic Henricus Cnijthon, Henricus Cnithonn, while the third book is only partially divided into chapters, the fourth not at all.'

It seems to me that Dr. Shirley has entirely misapprehended Knighton's meaning, and that, owing to his not having read the sentence, nor examined the Chronicle itself, with sufficient care. He did not observe,—nor did John Selden, when he wrote for Twysden the critical introduction to the *Decem Scriptores*,—that not the first two, but the first *three* books of the Chronicle give in the initial letters of the chapters the acrostic of Knighton's name. Yet this, if we read him carefully, Knighton distinctly asserts. For the clause 'in quarum . . . curavi,' may be translated as follows:—'In the first two of which [i.e. of the books treating of events after the Conquest] I have taken care to complete the number of seventeen [should be "sixteen"] chapters of the preceding book, by observing the succession and order of the letters which form my own name.' Now this is what he has actually done. The first two books after the Conquest, Books II. and III. of the entire Chronicle, do, in the number and initial letters of their chapters, conform to the 'preceding book,' Book I. of the entire Chronicle, which treats of events before the Conquest. In the third and fourth parts after the Conquest, Books IV. and V. of the Chronicle, he has been unable, for the good and sufficient reasons which he gives, to follow the same plan in the numbering and initialling of the chapters. This is exactly what we find to be the case with Books IV. and V; the initial letters are just what they may happen to be, and the number of chapters much exceeds that in the first three books. The only oversight which I can detect in the whole passage is the statement that the work 'videlicet a conquestu Angliac' was divided 'in V partes.' It should be 'in IV partes; for
though the entire Chronicle has five parts or books, the portion 'a conquestu Angliae' has only four. With this slight alteration, the whole passage becomes consistent both with itself and with the actual condition of the Chronicle; and so far from furnishing any evidence against the authenticity of the Fifth Book, bears conclusive testimony in its favour.

I cannot myself detect any difference of moment between the tone in which church matters are spoken of in the Fifth Book, and that which prevails in the rest of the work. Nor can I trace any difference in respect of style or language.
GLOSSARY.


A.

Advontere, avontere, adultery, l. 71.
Afiie, to trust, i. 59.
Aftir, afterwards, passim.
Agilte, to incur guilt, iii. 490.
Agregge, to aggravate, iii. 164.
Alardid, larded, ii. 52.
Alargen, to enlarge, l. 93, 316.
Aleis, alleys, passages, i. 110.
Alper-fadir, i. 126.  A.S. caldor, chief, or prince; as in Eng. alder-man.
—— kyng, l. 289.
—— maistir.
Ancre, anker, anchorite, l. 167.
Anemptis, anentis, concerning, l. 33.
Apaied, apayde, content, satisfied, l. 237.
Apperynge, impairing, deterioration, ill. 152.
Auestis, questers, procurators, i. 103.
Araile, to fasten to rails, i. 99.
Arette, to reckon, to number, ill. 481;
—— W.V.
Artre, to constrain, ill. 360.
Artoy, art thou.
As, for instance, passim.
Aseip, satisfaction, compensation, l. 17, 55.  Fr. asseiz.
Asiddell, indirectly, i. 324.
Askape, to escape, iii. 200.
Aspie, snare, ambush, ii. 363; W.V.
Assoyve, assoyve, to absolve.

Asterten, to get away from, escape.
At, that, ill. 417.
Atake, to overtake, ii. 278.
Atempre, temperate, ill. 14.
Attende, to beware, l. 223.
A twyn, atwynne, apart, separately, ii. 30, 46.
Aventid, blown away, l. 219.
Aw3e, aue, iii. 167.
Azenward, ajeynward, vice versa, ill. 452, 468.

B.

Bagge, to swerve, i. 191.
Baily, bayle, bailiff, l. 24; iii. 414.
Bask, bitter, acid, iii. 42.  A Westmoreland word acc. to Hall.
Batelouse, pugnacious, iii. 165.
Bayle; see Baily.
Bede, to offer, i. 60.  Ger. bieten.
Bedraden, bed-ridden, iii. 372.
Bekenynge, confession, ii. 79.  Ger. bekennung.
Ber-lepis, carrying-baskets, i. 17 n.
Besant, besaunt, a piece of money, i. 253; W.V.
Besem, besom, broom, i. 119.  A.S. besma.
Betoke, perf. of beteche, to recommend, iii. 101.

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GLOSSARY.

Beuperis, bewperis, god-fathers, i. 299 ; ii. 381 n.
Biclippe, to embrace, ii. 30.
Biel, boil, iii. 91.
Bigge, to buy, ii. 44.
Bigginge, byging, purchase, redemption, i. 69 ; ii. 281.
Bi-hard, bardly, ii. 100.
Biheten, bihoten, to promise, i. 60, 99.
Birle, birlen, to give to drink, ii. 103 ; iii. 43. A.S. byrlian, and byrle, a cup-bearer.
Birpun, burthen, iii. 21.
Bise, fine linen, i. 1. Lat. hysius.
Bitake, to recommend, iii. 479.
Blibere, to talk much or foolishly.
Blec, blekke, to spot or stain, i. 147.
Bleckdo, stained, iii. 200.
Blente, blinded, iii. 450.
Blepeliche, cheerfully, i. 106.
Blepелиест, most blitlessly, i. 277.
Boll, bull.
Bollun, swollen, ii. 261.
Bolu, to swell out, ii. 266.
Bonere, kind, debonair, iii. 193.
Bonernessey (derived from the foreg.), kindness, affability, ii. 351.
Bood, perf. of bid, abode, i. 99.
Boosen, to stuff or puff out, iii. 124.
Boot, buot, boat, i. 349.
Borowe, boru, pledge, surety, iii. 10 ; W.V.
Boruheed, suretyship, ib.
Bosis, bosses, iii. 124.
Bour-woman, chamber-woman, ii. 9.
A.S. bur.
Bregge, to abridge, ii. 407 ; W.V.
Bretais, battlement, i. 191 ; brigate in W.V.
Briteysing, a battlemented parapet, i. 191.
Brocage, brokerage, iii. 280.
Brollis, children, brats, iii. 195, 439.
Broltel, brittle (?), i. 268 ; W.V.
Bryge, to catch (?), iii. 416.
Brygge or brype, breach (?), iii. 128.
Burioum, burgeon, bud, iii. 30.
Burioune, burioune, to burgeon or sprout, i. 15 ; ii. 175.
Buxum, iii. 94 ; from A.S. hugan, to bend; Ger. beugsen, pliant.
Byheste, promise, i. 237.
Byknowe, to confess, ii. 243.

C.

Canel, canal, ii. 335.
Caste, practice, proceeding, iii. 95.
Catel, chattels, property, i. 184.
Cauciuon, a bill, i. 22. Vulg. cautio.
Causel, a clause, iii. 406.
Cautellous, crafty, i. 223.
Cault, device, stratagem, i. 96.
Caym, for Cain, iii. 241.
Chaffare, to chaffer, bargain, i. 286.
Challenge, accusation, iii. 91.
Chapman, a trader, i. 153.
Chariousue, of great charge, expensive, iii. 170.
Chastyng, chasing, iii. 323.
Chauel, chawle, jaw, jowl, ii. 169 ; W.V.
Chaumbren, to economize, ii. 124.
Chaunsable, changeable, iii. 22.
Chepyng, market-place, i. 98.
Chesouns, cause, i. 128.
Chevely, chiefly, i. 14.
Cheveteynes, echiefains, i. 128.
Chulle, to sole or patch (?), ii. 280.
Cister, sister, iii. 121.
Clam, pinching, binding, iii. 29.
A.S. clam.
Clammen, to plaster, ii. 93.
Clarifie, to glorify, i. 387.
Cleke, to convoy by stealth, i. 300.
Clepe, to call.
Clergie, learning, iii. 54.
Cloitre, to cloister (?), iii. 418.
Coffyne, basket, i. 121 ; from cophinus.
Conmeiing, new comer, stranger, iii. 514 ; W.V.
Companeage, something eaten with bread, i. 19.
Conceve, to comprise, iii. 442.
Conjourison, conspiracy, i. 302. Lat. conjuration.
Conteke, reviling, i. 49 ; W.V. and Cant. Tales, i. 2005.
Coolis, coals, ii. 121.
Corde, to agree, i. 101.
Correpucioum, reproof, iii. 383 ; W.V.
Corserie, horse-dealing, so roguery (?), iii. 283 ; M.
Corve, box, basket, iii. 329 ; Hall.
Cos, cosse, kiss, iii. 128 ; W.V.
Countre, to encounter, to meet, i. 207.
Cover, to recover, ii. 289.
GLOSSARY.

Coystily, costly, i. 369.
Cratche, a manger, i. 317; W.V.
Creese, to increase.
Cristendom, Christianity, baptism, iii. 196, 285; W.V.
Croche, crocche, to seize, to usurp, l. 139. Fr. accrocheer.
Croke, to suworse, turn aside, ii. 289.
Croude, a fiddle, ii. 73; Nares. Welsh crouth.
Croyserie, a crusade, i. 367.
Culver, culvr, dove, l. 78. A.S. culvre.
Curleris, vagrants (?), iii. 199.
Currous, couriers, messengers, i. 229.
D.
Debletis, little devils (?), ii. 328.
Dedein, indignation.
Deel, deal, mourning, iii. 60, 230. Fr. déuil.
Defien, to digest, i. 89 and n.
Defoule, déglue, l. 103.
Defyd, voided, put forth, l. 88.
Delve, dolven, to dig, bury, ii. 99.
Deme, to judge, iii. 448.
Dere, to hurt, iii. 324; M.
Dereworpe, precious, beloved, ii. 274; W.V.
Deever, devere, duty, ii. 399; iii. 418.
Devours, divorce, iii. 192.
Deynely, dignely, with dignity, ii. 62.
Deynte, humble amazement, ii. 9.
Dilavy, dilavi, lavish, profuse, iii. 388.
Dilavyness, looseless, copiousness, ii. 298. Lat. diluvium (?).
Discrasid, weakened, scattered, ii. 215.
Connected perhaps with the Fr. ésarer.
Discrevyng, discerning, iii. 414.
Dispense, expense, i. 191.
Disquette, to break in pieces (?), l. 246.
Disserve, to be of service, i. 333.
Dijten, p.p. dijct, to equip, clothe, ii. 387; W.V.
Dole, doole, dealing, distribution, iii. 423.
Dopen (for droopen ?), to drop, i. 246.
Doren, to dare, i. 242.
Do to, to add, iii. 70.
Downyng, endowment, i. 96.
Downe, dove, i. 78.
Drecche, to trouble, i. 115; iii. 60; A.S. drecan.
Drede, in phrase 'no drede,' without doubt, l. 400.
Dreint, dreynt, drowned, i. 400.
Dritte, dirt, i. 89.
Drown, drew, perf. of drawe, i. 392.
Drunklenewe, given to drink, iii. 486; W.V.
Dwelling, tarrying, delay, i. 293.
Dwellinge, permanent, i. 304.
Dwyne, to dwindle, ii. 34.
Dytee, ditty, iii. 481.

E.
Eche, each.
Eerne, eagle, iii. 35.
Eft, afterwards, i. 51.
Eggyng, sharpening, persecution, iii. 20.
Eire, heir, l. 252.
Eke, to increase or augment, ii. 202.
Elde, age, i. 28.
Enchesoun, cause, reason, i. 8; W.V.
Old Fr. enceoir, enbaison.
Encortif, fatted (?), iii. 36.
Ende, a region or district, as in Audley End, Dale End, &c., i. 10. Ende-kyn means country-kinsfolk.
Engleymed, slimy, iii. 150; Hall.
Enke, ink, ii. 2.
Enleven, eleven, i. 361.
Enpeche, to prevent, binder, iii. 317.
Enplaster, a plaster, iii. 166; W.V.
Enporid, impoverished, ii. 278.
Ensegen, to besiege, i. 155; W.V.
Ententif, attentive, iii. 36; W.V.
Enterlasen, to interfere, iii. 164.
Er, or, ere, before that, i. 284.
Erberfs, gardens of herbs, i. 28.
Ernes, pledge, earnest, i. 142; ii. 277.
Erpe-dene, earthquake, i. 244.
Eten, etene, a giant, ii. 111. A.S. eten; Icel. jötunn.
Even, own, fellow, i. 31.
Even-worpy, equivalent, comparable, ii. 332.
Ey, egg, ii. 153.
Eyren, heirs, iii. 157; W.V.

F.
Fage, to speak fair, to coax, i. 44; ii. 6; W.V.
Fagynge, plausible, i. 56.
Faioure, flatterer, i. 72. From fage (?).
Fardel, burden, baggage, iii. 208.
Glossary

Fayn, feyn, to be glad, i. 246.
Faytoure, impostor, ii. 128 ; P. P.
Felle, fele, many, i. 64 ; ii. 415.
Ferredful, terrible, ii. 21.
Felnes, cruelty, i. 55.
Fenne, dirt, dung, ii. 16.
Feringis, terrors, fearful sights, i. 220.
Fermour, farmer, i. 23 ; W.V.
Ferour, ferour, furrier, a worker in iron, i. 407.
Festu, mote, straw, iii. 289. Lat. festuca.
Feyre, a beauty, iii. 167.
Flem, to banish, ii. 376; M. A.S. flyman.
Flete, to float, i. 290.
Flewgh, shunned, iii. 412.
Flite, to flee, flit, ii. 404. Chaucer.
Floce, to drift (?), iii. 252.
Floon, bolt, dart, i. 186. A.S. flán.
Folde, to bend, to turn aside, ii. 126; W.V.
Foldische, foldish, foolish, i. 309; W.V.
Forbarren, to obstruct, i. 279.
For-do, to do away with, destroy, i. 77; W.V.
Forfende, to forbid, to hinder, i. 241; W.V.
Forberhed, furberheed, priority, iii. 78.
For-bi, on that account, iii. 472.
Forhinken, to repent, i. 279.
Forhinking, repentance, ii. 201; W.V.
Forjeve, to remit, iii. 253.
Founede, founyd, foolish, infatuated, i. 131. O.E. fond.
Fratoyr, freytor, a refector, i. 293 n.
Frentikes, madmen, i. 26.
Frushe, frusche, to crush, i. 201. Fr. froisser.
Fuylen, to foul, i. 313.

G.

Gabbinge, idle talk, lies, i. 58.
Gar, to make, iii. 42 n.
Gegliotes, quason wentshes, ii. 233.
Geldren, gildren, gildrid, to ensnare, ii. 322. From 'gilder,' a North country word for snare; Hall.
Gendrure, generation, i. 391.
Gete, goats, ii. 281.
Getere, iii. 281. See Jectour.

Gilour, deceiver, i. 129; iii. 127.
Girde, to cut, smite, i. 388; W.V.
Glat, glet, mucus, iii. 32.
Glavere, to talk idly, to tattle, i. 181.
Compare Lowl. Scotch clavers.
Glose, interpretation, explanation, ii. 403.
Gnare, a snare, ii. 363; W.V.
Gnaren, to snare, i. 96.
Gnastinge, gnasbing; W.V.
Gode, I pray you, iii. 130.
Grane, snare, noose, ii. 173; W.V.
Graunten, to guarantee, i. 23.
Greggen, to beap up; W.V.
Gre-hound, greyhound, ii. 359.
Greipid, prepared, iii. 17; W.V.
Grenne, to grim, iii. 434.
Grete, to lament, i. 141.
Grucche, grutch, to murmur, iii. 434.
Gurle, to growl, gurgles, ii. 249.
Gylore; see Gilour.

H.

Haccis, batch, part of a door, iii. 16.
Hanke, to entangle, iii. 28.
Hatte, to be called, i. 365; W.V.
Haunte, to pursue, practise, iii. 423; W.V.
Hayward; see Heyward.
Hedly, principal, capital, iii. 162.
Heendly, courteously, ii. 53; M.
Heerde, a shepherd.
Hegge, hedge, i. 29.
Heght, promised, iii. 128.
Hele, to exalt, i. 27.
Hele, to pour, i. 32; W.V.
Hele, health, salvation, iii. 28; W.V.
Hele, wbole, iii. 439.
Helen, helhe, to cover, iii. 418.
Hereberow, herberwe, a barbour, lodging, i. 172; iii. 371.
Hereliche, early, iii. 221.
Heris, hern, herne, theirs, ii. 261; W.V.
Herris, binges, iii. 16; W.V.
Herye, to praise, to glorify, i. 107.
Heste, commandment, i. 38.
Heten, higte, to promise, i. 101.
Heved, head, iii. 435.
Heynes, highness, elevation.
Heywards, lit. hedge-wardens, i. 104.
See note at p. 436, vol. iii.
GLOSSARY.

Hidlis, a secret place, iii. 29; W.V.
Hidousen, hydowsen, to be terrifised at, i. 269; W.V.
Hilden, to fly, iii. 331; W.V.
Hilynge, hillynge, clothing, covering, iii. 35, 126.
Higt, is or was called.
Ho, he, iii. 131.
Holes, holys, hullis, peascods, ii. 71.
Holet, little hole (?), ii. 281.
Holouris, suboremongers, iii. 199; Chaucer.
Hosteler, innkeeper, i. 32.
Hoten, to promise, plight, iii. 30.
Husebonde, a householder, i. 98.
Hy, they, iii. 105; M.
Hydwose; see Hidousen.
Hynderheed, posteriority, iii. 78.
Hyne, a bind, labourer, i. 140; iii. 34; W.V.

I.
Ilche, each, iii. 431.
Illiche, yliche, alike, similarly, i. 47; ii. 49.
Inwittis, mental faculties, ii. 307; W.V.
Irrous, angry, i. 16.
I3en, eyes.

J.
Jape, jappe, trick, gibe, i. 410 n.
Jectour, a braggeart, boaster, iii. 193; gettour in Hall. Lat. jacto.
Jeeste, a gest or romantic story, iii. 196.
Jourur, sawearer, iii. 394.

K.
Kitte, to cut, i. 99, 104; W.V.
Knacce, to knock, play, iii. 482.
Knackynge, knocking, strumming, iii. 481.
Knave, male, boy, i. 345; W.V.
Knodyn, kneaded, i. 223.
Knoweliche, to acknowledge, i. 196; W.V.
Knytchis, bundles, i. 97; W.V.
Koud, known, ii. 246.
Kynde, nature, i. 104; W.V.
Kynedelis, offspring, brood, ii. 33; W.V.

L.
Largerly, more largely, i. 176.
Leepe, lepis, basket, i. 64; ii. 262.
Leeve, leve, to be left, to remain over, ii. 286; W.V.
Lef, leeff, glad, ready, ii. 298.
Lefe, I pray you, ii. 257, 414.
Leir, mould, soil, iii. 31. Lair in Hall.
Leiste, leyse, to laugh, i. 150; W.V.
Lemman, lemon, a lover, i. 49.
Lendis, loans, i. 275.
Lerid, learned, iii. 152.
Lesar, destroyer, iii. 470.
Lese, lose, to destroy, mar, hurt, i. 327; W.V.
Leser, destroyer, iii. 31.
Lesewes, meadow pastures, ii. 254.
Lesyngis, lesnings, lies, i. 222.
Lettrure, literary knowledge, i. 221; W.V.
Leve; see Lefe.
Leytis, lightning, iii. 66.
Ligge, to lie, ii. 419; W.V.
Lippe, to leap, iii. 384; W.V.
Litt, few.
Lijt, easy.
Loore, teaching, doctrine, i. 214.
Loovynge, praise, i. 107; M.
Los, loos, praise, fame, ii. 271.
Loser, destroyer, iii. 459.
Losingerie, deceit, flattery, iii. 196.
Loste, i. 49. See Lese.
Louke, to lock, shut up, iii. 42.
Louten, to bow down to, worship, i. 377, 89; W.V.
Lyme, limb, i. 70.

M.
Magry his, maugre his, in his despite, iii. 263.
Make, fellow, associate, i. 277; iii. 192.
Manasse, menace, i. 103; W.V.
Mangery, a meal, feast, i. 4.
Marre, to perplex, li. 29, 117.
Marwe3, marrew, iii. 36; W.V.
Maugre, mawgrey, in spite of, i. 6; W.V.
Maundy, the supper on Maundy Thursday, iii. 415.
Mawmet, an idol, W.V.
Mawmetry, idolatry, W.V.
GLOSSARY.

Maynè, l. 53. See Meyne.
Meblis, furniture, movable, l. 67.
Medle, to mix, i. 10; W.V.
Meefe, to move, iii. 407.
Menge, to mix, iii. 405; W.V.
Merritory, meritorious, l. 61.
Meselis, lepers, i. 71; W.V.
Meselrie, leprosy, i. 199.
Meshe, mychef, uneasiness, discomfort, l. 67. (Mysese in W.V.)
Mete, perf. mat, to measure, ill. 25.
Meynè, meyne3, a company, retinue, W.V. passim.
Moldwarp, molworp, a mole, i. 402; W.V.
Mone, the moon, i. 107.
Moneste, to admonish, ii. 270; W.V.
Morenesse, increase, augmentation, l. 386; ii. 64.
Morewnynge, morning, i. 266.
Morynge, the making greater, i. 65.
Morw 3yve, morow-3yfe, original documentation, l. 142.
Mote, mut, must.
Mou3he, a mothe, l. 373; W.V.
Mowe, to be able, i. 368 n.; W.V.
Mustre, a muster or review, ii. 360; W.V.
Mut-hall, moot or meeting hall, ii. 123.
Mychines, muchness, greatness, i. 319.
Myschif, penury, ii. 211.
Myster, need, iii. 162, 414; M.

N.

Neddir, neddur, adder, i. 187; iii. 463; W.V.
Neer, nearer, iii. 69.
Neer-hondis, pretty nearly, iii. 288.
Neet, oxen, iii. 36; W.V.
Neighbours, neighbours, iii. 368.
Nehge; see Neige.
Neishe, to soften, iii. 68.
Neije, to draw near, i. 281; W.V.
Nempnen, to name, i. 79; W.V.
Nentis; see Anentis.
Nevere-be-lattir, nevertheless, iii. 27; W.V.
Nexte, the last, i. 14.
Ney3e, nigh, l. 157.
Nolie, the back of the head, iii. 92; W.V.
Not = ne wot, knows not, ii. 263; W.V.

Not, nouz, nothing.
Noun, nowm-power, want of power, ii. 100; W.V.
Novelty, novelty, i. 20; Chaucer.
Noye, to hurt or vex, iii. 433; W.V.
Noyous, annoying, vexatious, i. 84; W.V.

O.

Occure, occur, to put to usury, i. 259; W.V. See M.
Ofte-sipe, often times, iii. 32.
Oker, usury, i. 259.
Okyr; see Occure.
Oonhed, unhed, unity, i. 144; W.V.
Ourne, to adorn, iii. 193. Lat. orno.
Onuher, ow3ywhere, anywhere, everywhere, everywhere, i. 262. A.S. aguher.
Overmeste, uppermost, i. 340.
Owe, O! iii. 404.

P.

Paas, pace, step, ii. 364; W.V.
Pagyn, pageant, l. 129.
Palis, a palisade, i. 25.
Panter, drawing-net, iii. 200.
Parischens, parishioners, iii. 374.
Parre, to confine, shut up, i. 25; Hall.
Paske, Pascha, Easter, Passover, W.V.
Past, past, paste, ii. 286; W.V.
Paste, to knead up, ii. 195.
Payed; see Apaid.
Payren, peiren, to degenerate, iii. 418.
Peiren, to impair, l. 85; W.V.
Pelure, fur dresses, iii. 520.
Penaunt, penitential, l. 38.
Peys, weight, ii. 321. Fr. poids.
Philargis (?), i. 110.
Picche, to fix, i. 137; W.V.
Pike, to scratch, scrape, i. 103.
Pilen, to pillage, strip, ii. 419; W.V.
Pite, pity, iii. 193.
Platrowe, platform, i. 194.
Plee, plea, pleading, ii. 250; W.V.
Plete, to plead, i. 114.
Plye, to complain.
Pleynynge, complaining, iii. 412; W.V.
Point devys, perfectly, i. 122.
Pointel, poyntel, a stylus, i. 364; W.V.
Poot, pot, iii. 197.
Post, placed, situated, i. 242.
Pouste, power, iii. 44.
GLOSSARY.

Powne, to pound, crush, i. 89; W.V.
Pows, the pulse, i. 151.
Prou, prowe, advantage, i. 95; ii. 206; 
Chaucer.
Provenderes, prehenders, iii. 211; 
see Promptorium Paradivum.
Pulment, a relish eaten with bread, i. 
99. Lat. pulmentum.
Putis, bartlots, i. 293. O. Fr. pute.

Q.
Queeme, qweem, to please, suit, iii. 37.
Queemely, becomingly, ii. 361. Ger. 
bequemlich.
Queemful, pleasing, iii. 9; W.V.
Queerne, a mill, ii. 408; W.V.
Queynt, expert, skillful, ii. 250.
Quienal, see vol. iii. 398 n.
Quyke, lively, vigorous, i. 109.
Quyter, filth, iii. 231; W.V.

R.
Rabul, rabble, iii. 466.
Refe, to take violently, iii. 423. A S. 
raisen; Engl. bereave.
Refete, to refresh, i. 352.
Refute, refuge, iii. 316; W.V.
Rehetours, a class of servants, iii. 
346 n.
Rekke, perf. rou\t, to reck, care for, ii. 
114; W.V.
Relif, reliefe, relyfe, remnant, scrap, 
l. 17, 121; iii. 180.
Renaye, to deny, iii. 371.
Resoun, to reckon with, call to account, 
i. 55.
Ressett, receptacle, iii. 390; W.V.
Retenauntis, retine (7), iii. 478.
Reume, rewme, kingdom, W.V.
Reve, to sunder, tear away, iii. 180.
Revelyn, wrinkle, iii. 194; W.V.
Rial, royal, i. 169.
Rijtwisnesse, righteousness, proportion, 
i. 168; W.V.
Route, rowte, to snore, to belch, i. 209; 
Hall.
Route, a mob, company, i. 39.
Rownen, to whisper, i. 224.
Rownyng, whispering, ii. 87.
Rybadwery, debauchery.
Ryven, to tear, i. 103.

8.
Sachil, a satchel or bag, i. 177; W.V.
Saut, an assault, ii. 365; W.V.
Schende, shende, to disgrace, ruin, iii. 
190; W.V.
Schir, scheer, iii. 36.
Schrappen, to scrape, ii. 27.
Sclaudrid, offended, scandalised, i. 71; 
W.V.
Scrydenye, shredding, shopping, iii. 264.
Scripul, a scruple, ii. 201; W.V.
Scrowe, a scroll, ii. 61.
Scurre, skoure, to scour, ii. 363.
Seketour, an executor, ii. 214.
Sene-fote, seven-foot, iii. 500 n.
Senevye, mustard, ii. 194; W.V.
Serkels, circles, i. 33.
Sewe, sue, to follow.
Sewere, follower, iii. 511.
Shaggid, schoggyd, tossed about, i. 374; 
W.V.
Sharris, plough-shares, i. 321.
Scheete, to shoot, i. 410; W.V.
Shente, shamefull, ruinous, ii. 109.
Shir Thursday, Maundy Thursday, i. 
325 n.
Shrewis, depraved or worthless per- 
sone, i. 241; W.V.
Sibbe, of kin, cognate, iii. 86.
Sibberide, sybred, kindred, i. 376.
Sidir, sydre, cider; from sicpea, i. 363.
Sidennes, synennesse, length on the side, 
i. 62.
Silkir, secure, certain, i. 157.
Sip, adv. afterwards, than.
Sipis, times, ii. 325.
Sittinge, fitting, seemly, i. 80.
Sijen, iii. 350. See Syen.
Skape, to escape, iii. 41.
Skillful, rational, reasonable, ii. 257.
Skillfulli, rationaliy, purposefully; W.V.
Skip, a measure of corn, i. 22; Hall.
Sle, slee, p. p. slave, to slay, i. 224; 
W.V.
Sleu\i, slothful, iii. 34.
Slidir, slippery, ii. 4; W.V.
Smatche, smacche, to smack of a thing, 
i. 27.
Smytte, to soil, make dirty, iii. 164, 215. 
Ger. schmutze.
Sna\peren, to stumble, ii. 367; W.V.
Snoken, to sneak about, ii. 83.
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Snybbe, to reprove, snub, ii. 76; W.V.
Soffyme, sophism, iii. 226.
Soj, sohe, sothe, true, truth.
Sol, sbrane, i. 16.
Soopsawe, a proverb, iii. 6; W.V.
Soude, soude, pay, wages, i. 335; iii. 11; W.V.
Souel, souvil, sowel, sottage, i. 63; ii. 137; W.V.
Souken, to suck, drain, i. 219; W.V.
Souner, sooner, nearer, i. 235.
Soverain, a superior, iii. 509.
Sowcandely, suddenly (?), iii. 241.
Sowe, perf. sue, sewe, to sew, i. 259.
Sparlyveris, calves of the leg, iii. 92; W.V.
Spede, success, iii. 466.
Spotel, spotil, spotle, spittle, i. 30; W.V.
Sprengen, p. p. spregon, to sprinkle, ii. 240; W.V.
Spreynd, sprinkled, ii. 287; W.V.
Squyere, squire, iii. 152.
Stalworpe, stalwart, iii. 18; W.V.
Steffadris, step-fathers (?), iii. 335.
Stemme, to put to silence, i. 43.
Stemme, meaning voice, command, is in Hall. Ger. stimme, O. E. steven.
Stien, stye, stythen, to ascend, climb, i. 42, 261; W.V.
Stier, stiger, mounter, climber, iii. 18; W.V.
Stondis, times, iii. 27.
Stree, straw, i. 428; W.V.
Streng, string, iii. 34.
Stronde, stream, ii. 338; W.V.
Sturblen, to disturb, trouble, li. 99; W.V.
Sudarie, napkin, ii. 99; W.V.
Suen, sue, to follow; W.V.
Suyynge, suitable to, following, i. 76, 375.
Suyngli, accordingly, ii. 106.
Swelewe, to swallow, i. 70.
Swinge, beat (?), iii. 65.
Swolowhe, slough (?), iii. 390.
Syn, to sift, strain out, ii. 383. Dan. sie, a sieve.

T.
Tale-wis, talkative, gossipping, ii. 9.
Taliage, tax, i. 57; W.V.

Tarien, to impede, delay, l. 96; iii. 126.
Tellen, to count, make account of, l. 51.
Teme, threme, i. 16.
Temporary, mild, li. 326.
Tendre, tender, iii. 102.
Tenten, to give heed, ii. 294.
Thar; see par.
Thropis; see prop.
Tiffynge, adornment, iii. 193; W.V.
Tillen, tollen, to draw, i. 139; ii. 322; M.
Tole, tole; see Tilen.
To-tere, ill. 436.
Toun, enclosed land, farm, l. 22 n.; W.V.
Tour, tower, i. 191.
Traie, traye, to betray, give over, l. 306; W.V.
Tregettrye, conjuring, iii. 410; tre-getour in W.V.
Trenchours, trenchers, dishes, i. 115.
Treryn, qu. terryn, to excite, stir up (?), iii. 488.
Triacle, remedy, antidote, i. 166. Gr. ἄθροισις.
Trinel, trynale; see iii. 400 n.
Trowaunt, trauant, truant, vagabond, i. 283, 293.
Trove, to trust, believe, i. 368.
Trynauntis, tyrants (?), i. 97.
Turne, jurisdiction, court, i. 48.
Twynnen, to separate, iii. 34; W.V.

U.
Ugge, to shrink from, iii. 117.
Ugglynesse, horror, iii. 34.
Uggynge, dismal, horrid, iii. 34.
Umbre, shade, i. 355.
Underlout, subject, submissive, iii. 194; W.V.
Unholden = unbehelden, under no obligation, i. 309.
Unnayt, vanity, iii. 29; M. A.S. unnet.
Unnepe, unnepis, with difficulty; W.V.
Unnable, ignominy, ii. 271; W.V.
Unordynel, without order, chaotic, i. 2.
Unpower, inability, i. 371.
Unbank, ill - will, malice, i. 256; Chaucer.
Up, upon, iii. 88.
Uplondish, inland, i. 197.
Uttir, outer, i. 250.
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V.

Vencusshe, to vanquish.
Veniable, revengeful, ii. 189.
Vignters, vines, iii. 30.
Vlroun, in phrase in viroun, all round, ii. 311.
Vlsrde, disguised as by a visor, iii. 421.
Volatilis, poultry, i. 49 n.

W.

Wageringe, wavering, ii. 154; W.V.
Waltid, rolled, ii. 204; W.V.
Wariede, waryed, cursed, iii. 17; W.V.
Warlyng, weriyng, cursing, ii. 336.
Warly, swayl, i. 22, 53.
Warnesse, circumspection, i. 200; W.V.
Wawen, to wave, shake, i. 70, 72; W.V.
Wedde, pledge, iii. 423; A.S. wed.
Wedir, weather, i. 269.
Weelde, welde, to overcome, rule over, ii. 21, 23; W.V.
Welle, to weld, i. 321; W.V.
Wem, a blemish, i. 77; iii. 165; W.V.
Wene, to think, i. 83, 274.
Wermode, wormwood, i. 89; W.V.
Werre, to war, i. 115.
Wexinge, growth, size, i. 84.
Whilnesse, turning, ii. 297; W.V.
Wicknesse, wickedness, ii. 330; W.V.
Willard, a wulf man, iii. 295.
Wilne, to will, iii. 128; W.V.
Wite, to know, i. 168; W.V.
Wipoutenfor, externally, i. 81.
Wlappe, to swap, i. 333; ii. 142; W.V.

W.

Wlatening, loathing, iii. 37; W.V.
Wlatsumnesse, loathsomeless, ii. 195; W.V.
Wode, wood, mad, furious, iii. 40; W.V.
Wonyen, to dwell, iii. 29; W.V.
Woniying, a dwelling, abode, iii. 21; W.V.
Woodnesse, madness, rage, i. 153; W.V.
Woot, wote, knows, i. 221; W.V.

Worshippe, to glorify, ennoble, i. 286.
Worpe, to become, i. 326; ii. 277.
Wortzerd, a vegetable garden, i. 331; W.V.
Wrathpe, to anger, provoke, i. 371.
Wrepe, wrath, iii. 253.
Wroten, to root up, i. 406.

Y.

Ydel, empty, vain, i. 119; W.V.
Yliche; see lliche.
Ympne, hymn, iii. 482.
Ynow3, enough, i. 311.

P.

par, dar, need, ii. 272, 323. Ger. darf.
parve, to be without, lack, iii. 38.
perfe, unleavened, i. 187; W.V. A.S.
beorf.
pewes, qualities, habits, ii. 274; W.V.
post, excrement, iii. 222; W.V. A.S.
poist.
poust, thought, i. 335.
pristen, to thirst for, iii. 22; W.V.
prop, porp, village, i. 66.
purie, toibrill, penetrate, iii. 27.

J.

jape; see Jape.
jate, gate, i. 349.
see, sow, ye, you.
seer, year, i. 327.
seft, gift, iii. 453.
jelde, to yield, repay, iii. 43; W.V.
sete, to pour, melt together, ii. 147; W.V.

jeve, p.p. joven, to give.
jhe, yea.
jicche, itch, iii. 91; W.V.
gift; see jeft.
git, yet, furthermore.
gok, yoke; W.V.
goldes, gilds, i. 67.
gool, Tule, ii. 301.
jourle, to boul, i. 200; W.V.
jowle, 3ongle, youth.
joven, given, iii. 511.
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