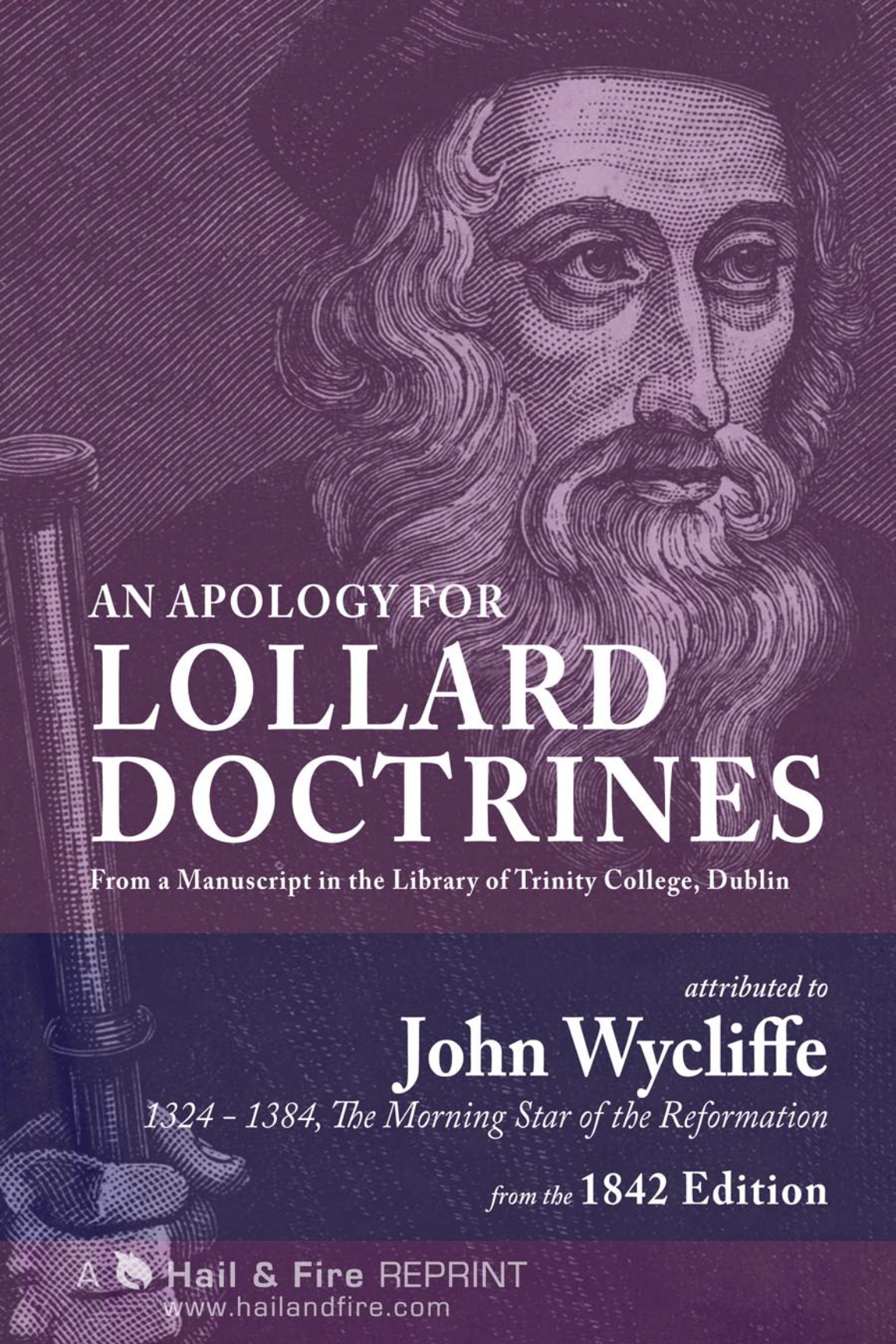

AN APOLOGY FOR LOLLARD DOCTRINES

From a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin

attributed to

John Wycliffe

1324 - 1384, The Morning Star of the Reformation

from the **1842 Edition**

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"An Apology for Lollard Doctrines from a 14th Century Manuscript preserved at Trinity College, Dublin," attributed to John Wycliffe, in the 1842 Edition, is here reprinted by Hail & Fire, 2009.

Category: Religion, Christian, Reformed Protestant

John Wycliff
English Protestant and Reformer (1324 - 1384); known as the Morning Star of the Reformation.

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AN APOLOGY

FOR

LOLLARD DOCTRINES,

ATTRIBUTED TO WICLIFFE.

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D. V.P.R.I.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND TREASURER OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.



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INTRODUCTION.

It will naturally be expected that the following treatise should be introduced to the reader by some account of the manuscript from which it has been transcribed, and some statement of the grounds upon which it has been attributed to the pen of Wickliffe.

The manuscript is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, among the valuable remains of ancient literature collected by the celebrated Archbishop Ussher, and presented by King Charles II. to the University.*

It is on vellum, containing 219 leaves, each $6\frac{2}{5}$ inches by $4\frac{2}{5}$; a full page having 31 or 32 lines, very neatly and accurately written, in the usual secretary hand of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. The last leaf is much wormed, and the volume ends imperfectly.

Its contents are as follow:—

* It is marked in the Library, Class C. Tab. 5, No. 6.

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I. A tract entitled *Credo* (being an exposition of the Creed); beginning, "It is sooth that bileue is grounde of alle vertues." Fol. 1, a. This piece is attributed to Wickliffe by Bishop Bale. See Lewis's List, No. 152.*

II. A short Commentary on the *Pater noster;* beginning, "We schall bileue that this pater noster that Crist hymsilf techith to alle cristen men, passith alle othere praiers." Fol. 2, a.

III. A Commentary on the *Ave Maria;* beginning, "Men greten commonly our lady goddis moder, and we supposen that this gretyng saueth many men." Fol. 3, b. See Lewis's List. No. 154.

IV. Of the "vij eresies." This treatise is divided into seven chapters, each treating of a distinct heresy. At the end we read, "Expliciunt vij hereses contra pater noster." It begins thus: "For false men multiplien bokis of the chirche, now rendyng bileue, and now cloutynge eresies." Fol. 4, b.

The Lord's Prayer in the former tract was divided into seven petitions, or "axyngs," as is usual with divines, and each of the seven heresies described in the present tract has reference to one of the seven "axyngs" of the Pater noster. The tract appears to have been especially

* Life of Wiclif, Oxf. 1820, p. 205. Bale, Cent. vi. p. 454.

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directed against the Friars: as may appear from the "heresies" it describes, which are as follows:—

1. "That special preier applied bi her prelats, is better than general; as oon *famulorum* * seid of a frere, is better than a *pater noster*."
2. "That thes prelats ben hedis of goddis reume ..... and so alle thes freris ben men of hooli chirche, that God wol here gladlier than ony othere comoun men."
3. "That thei can bowe the wille of our Lord God to brynge a soule to heuen, bi maner of her preiyng."
4. "That the sacrid oost is no maner breed, but either nowȝt, or accident withouten ony subiect."
5. "That prestis haue power to assoile men of synne."
6. "That men of priuate religioun be more thick saued."†
7. "That if we worchen bi conseillis of thes newe ordris, that leuen the ordenaunce of Crist, we shal nedely be saued."

The tract ends fol. 6, b. The next two leaves are blank.

V. A treatise on the ten Commandments; beginning, "Alle maner of men schulden holde goddis biddyngis." Fol. 9, a.

This is the tract entitled by Bale "Compendium X. Præceptorum," which he describes as beginning *Cujus-*

* Alluding to the *Commemoratio pro vivis* in the Canon of the Mass, "Memento Domine famulorum, famularumque tuarum *N* et *N*," in which special mention is made by the priest of the persons for whom he intends to pray.

† *More thick*, i. e. more numerously.

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*cunque conditionis fuerint homines.** It is divided into two parts, corresponding to the two Tables of the law, the first consisting of twelve, the second of twenty-eight chapters.

VI. A treatise on "Feith, Hope, and Charite;" beginning, "For it is seid in holdyng of our haliday, that we shulden occupie the tyme in prechyng, and deuout hering of the lawe of God." Fol. 27, a. This tract is divided into six chapters; and is probably the same as that mentioned by Lewis, No. 274. There is a copy of it in a volume preserved in the library of New College, Oxford †

VII. A tract entitled at the end "Opera misericordie corporalis;" beginning, "If a man wer sur that he shulde to morowe come bifor a iuge, and other lese or wynne alle the goodis that he hat, and eke his lijf therto." Fol. 30, b. It is divided into six chapters.

This is also in the volume belonging to New College, Oxford, and is entitled, "The seuen werkys of mercy bodily."—It is mentioned by Bale and Lewis.‡

VIII. "Opera caritatis;" beginning, "Sith we shulden serue our parishens in spritual almes, as thei seruen vs in

* Bale, Cent. vi. p. 454. Lewis's Catal. No. 153, p. 205. No. 273, p. 213. Comp. also, No. 278, p. 214.

† See *British Magazine*, Feb. 1836, p. 136.

‡ Bale, ut supra. Lewis, No. 155, p. 206. No. 257, p. 211.

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bodili sustenaunce." Fol. 35, a. This tract is divided into four chapters. It is attributed to Wicliffe by Bale and Lewis, and is to be found in the volume, already mentioned, belonging to New College.*

IX. "Septem peccata capitalia;" a treatise on the seven deadly sins, beginning, "Sith bileue techith vs that every yuel is other synne, or cometh of synne, synne shulde be fled as almaner of yuel." Fol. 38, a.

The seven sins are thus enumerated: "Pride, Enuye, Wraththe or Ire, Sleuthe, Couetise, Gloterie, Lecherie."

This tract is divided into thirty-two chapters and ends on Fol. 63, a. There are copies of it, according to Lewis, in the Bodleian Library, and in the King's Library.†

X. "De Ecclesia et membris ejus;" beginning, "Cristis chirche is his spouse, that hath thre partis, the first part is in bliss, with Crist hed of the chirche, and conteyneth aungelis and blessid men that now ben in heuene." Fol. 63, b.

This tract is ascribed to Wicliffe under the titles *De ecclesiæ dominio,* and *De ecclesia Catholica.*‡ It is divided into ten chapters, and ends fol. 75, b. where we read "Explicit tractatus de ecclesia et membris ejus."

* Bale, ibid. Lewis, No. 156, p. 206, and No. 258, p. 211.

† Lewis, No. 259, p. 211.

‡ Lewis, No. 58, p. 191. Baber, p. 42.

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XI. "De apostasia et dotatione ecclesiæ;" beginning, "Sith ilche cristen man is holden to sewe [*i. e.* to follow] Crist, and whoever faylith in this is apostata." Fol. 76, a.

This tract is divided into four chapters, and ends fol. 80, b. with the note, "Explicit tractatus de apostasia et dotacione ecclesiæ."

The second chapter is headed in rubric *De dotacione ecclesiæ*, and is perhaps the same which Bale mentions under the same title as a distinct tract, and which he tells us begins *Utrum clerus debuerit dotationem.** In the MS. before us the second chapter begins, "As to the possessiouns and dowyng of clerkis, bileeue shulde teche vs that it doith hem harm to kepe Cristis religioun, and harm to lewid men."

XII. "Tractatus de pseudo freris;" beginning, "For many beren heuy that freris ben clepid pseudo or ypocritis, anticristis or fendis, or ony siche name." Fol. 81, a.

This tract is divided into eight chapters; it is full of curious matter on the controversy with the religious orders, but does not seem to have been known to Bale, Lewis, or Baber. It ends fol. 95, b.

XIII. "Of the eight woes that God wished to freris;" beginning, "Crist biddeth vs be waar with thes false pro-

* Lewis, No. 51, p. 191.

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phetis that comen in clothing of sheepe, and ben wolues of raueyn, and thes ben specially men of thes newe ordris." Fol. 96, a.

This is another tract of great interest, unknown to Bale; it consists of an elaborate parallel between the Scribes and Pharisees of the Gospel, and the mendicant orders of the fourteenth century. It ends fol. 101, a, with the note, "Her enden the eighte woois that God wishid to freris. Amen." This is probably the same tract which Lewis describes as a commentary on the text *Væ vobis Scribæ et Pharisæi hypocritæ*:* of which he says there is a copy in the King's Library.

XIV. "Exposicio evangelii M^t^. 24. *Egressus Jesus de templo, &c.*" beginning, "This gospel tellith myche wisdom that is hid to many men; and speciali for this cause, that it is not al red in the chirche." Fol. 101, a.

This is the tract entitled by Bale *De Christo et Antichristo,* of which there are copies, according to Lewis, in the libraries of Trinity College, and of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.†

In commenting on the verse, "And thanne schal be greet tribulation what maner was neuer bifor fro the

* Lewis, No. 277, p. 214.
† Lewis, No. 5, p. 131.

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biginnyng of the world," our author applies the prophecy to his own times, in the following words:—"But so general strijf as now is among many rewmes, was neuere herd bifore fro the bigynnyng of the world, for al our west lond is with oo pope, or with the tother, and he that is with the ton, hatith the tother with alle hise."

This fixes the date of the tract to the period of the great Western Schism which began A. D. 1378.

It ends fol. 116, b. with the note "Explicit Euangelium."

XV. "Of anticrist, and his meynee," [i. e. his train, family, or followers;*] beginning, "Dauid seith, Lord sett thou a lawe maker vpon hem. Hit semyth to me, seith Austyn, that this signifieth anticrist." Fol. 117, a.

Bale mentions a tract under the title *De Antichristo et membris,* in two books; it begins, as he tells us, with the words, "Quemadmodum Dominus Jesus ordinavit,"† and therefore is most probably not the work now before us, but the tract usually known by the title, "How Antichrist and his clerks travailen to destroy Holy Writ,"‡ which has been published by the "Religious Tract

* *Meynee,* or *Meiny,* from the French *Mesnie.* See Nares's *Glossary* in voc. *Meiny.*

† See Lewis, No. 6, p. 182.

‡ Lewis, p. 155.

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Society," in their volume of the Writings of Wickliffe (Lond. 1831), from the MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The piece published by the Tract Society, however, does not appear, from what they have given of it, to have been in two books.

XVI. "Of antecristis song in chirche," beginning "Also prelatis, prestis, and freres putten on symple men that thei seyen, that Goddis office or seruyce ben not to be songen with note." Fol. 124, a.

This work seems to be a continuation of the former, and has escaped the notice of Wickliffe's biographers.

XVII. "Of praier a tretys," beginning "Also bischops and freres putten to pore men that thei seyn, that men owen not rather to praye in chirche thenne in other place." Fol. 126, a.

It ends fol. 127, a, with the note, "Explicit tractatus de oratione."

XVIII. A tract entitled "Nota de confessione," and beginning "Two vertues ben in mannes soule by whyche a man shuld be rewled in hoolynesse in mannes wille." Fol. 127, b.

It is divided into thirteen chapters, and ends, fol. 138, a, with the note, "Explicit &c."

XIX. A tract without title, beginning "Crist forsothe

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did al that he couthe to obeye to lordis, and mekely and softly speke to hem. But to scribes and to pharisees he spake sharply." Fol. 138, b.

XX. A tract entitled "Nota de sacramento altaris." This title has been blotted with ink by a modern hand, so however that the words are still legible. It begins "Cristen mennes bileeue tauȝt of ihū Crist, God and man, and hise apostles, and seynt Austyn, seynt Jerome, and seynt Ambrose, and of the court of Rome, and alle treue men, is this, that the sacrament of the auter, the which men seen be twene the prestis handis, is verre Cristis body and his blode." Fol. 145, a.

XXI. A tract without title, beginning "Crisostom seith, that fischers and buystouse men, makynge iche daye nettis with here hondes, founden Crist, whom prestis studiynge al day in goddis law founden not." Fol. 146, b.

XXII. Another tract without title, beginning, "Seynt Barnard spekith thus to Eugenye the pope, Supposest thou whether thise tymes wolden suffre, if two men stryuing for ertheli eritage, and axing dome of thee, thou woldest answer the voyce of thi Lord God, Man, who ordeyned me domesman upon ȝou." Fol. 152, a.

XXIII. A tract without title, beginning, "God moueth hooly chirche bi many maner of spechis to knowe the treuthe of his lawe, and therbi to come to blisse. And

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thus God spekith bi summe men, as if two persones dispitiden to gidre, the which we clepyn reson and gabbyng, whech ben Crist and the fende." Fol. 154, b.

This tract is in the form of a Dialogue, in which the speakers are Christ and the Devil. All the foregoing treatises from No. XVI. to this inclusive, appear to have been omitted in the lists of Wickliffe's writings.

XXIV. Another tract without title, written as if it were a continuation of the former, but which from its subject appears to be distinct. It is on the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and begins, "And for noither man ne womman may perfitly do the seuen werkis of mercy, withouten the seuen ȝeftis of the holy gost." Fol. 161, a.

This may perhaps be the tract mentioned by Lewis under the title "De vii donis Spiritus Sancti."*

XXV. Another tract without title, and written also as if it were a continuation of the preceding, beginning "Clerkys knowen that a man hath five wittes outward, and other fiue wittes inward." Fol. 162, b.

Lewis mentions a tract entitled "Seven bodily wittis,"† but the initial sentence which he quotes does not agree with this.

XXVI. A treatise without title, beginning "Here are questiouns and ansueris putte, &c." Fol. 164, a.

* Lewis, No. 245, p. 211. † Lewis, No. 256, p. 211.

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This is the work now for the first time published. It occupies 88 pages of the manuscript, and ends fol. 218, a.

XXVII. A short tract without title, on the mystical interpretation of Jacob's ladder, beginning "Hit is writen in the first book of holy writ, that ther weren thre patriarkes in the peple of God." Fol. 218, a.

XXVIII. Another short tract, beginning, "Thes ben the nyne poynts that our Lord Ihu answerid an holy man that coueit to wite what mi3t most plese vn to God." Fol. 218, b.*

XXIX. A tract without title, beginning "Of the dedis of mercy God will speke at the dredful day, and dome to all his chosun stondyng on his ri3t side, Come ye blessed childre of my fadre," &c. Fol. 219, a.

This tract is unfortunately imperfect, and ends on the next page; the volume wants some leaves, and the last two leaves are much wormed, although perfectly legible.†

It seemed desirable to give this lengthened account of the volume from which the following treatise is taken, not only from the great interest of the collection, comprising

* This little tract has been printed in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Journal," No. 11, (May 1841,) page 183.

† Some account of this volume was given about three years ago in the British Mazagine, vol. xiv. p. 275, as one of a series of papers on the MSS. of Wickliffe in the Library of the University of Dublin.

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as it does many works, which, if Wickliffe's, have not been noticed by his biographers; but also, and chiefly, because the principal evidence, if not the only evidence, upon which Bale and others appear to have depended in attributing to our Reformer the works of which they have given catalogues, was undoubtedly the company in which those works were found, in such collections as that now before us.

The writer of these pages has already publicly declared his conviction, that we are to this day unable to decide with any certainty what are Wickliffe's genuine works, and what are not.* Bishop Bale, from whose Catalogue of the Reformer's works all subsequent writers have copied, appears to have transcribed without much discrimination the titles of all that he found in the MSS. to which he had access, or which were attributed to Wickliffe by his enemies, or by his friends, and the existence of a tract in any collection, containing one or more of the pieces usually attributed to Wickliffe, was with Bale evidence sufficient to induce him to enter it among the Reformer's writings.†

* See the Preface to "The Last Age of the Church." Dublin, small 4°. 1840. London (Leslie).

† Bale himself says, "Edidit . . . . . partim Latine, partim in lingua vulgari, opuscula quæ sequuntur, quorum majorem partem ex

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It is not, however, quite certain that the following treatise has been noticed by Bale, unless it be the same as the work to which he gives the title of "*Replicationes et positiones*, lib. 1.;"* and from the remark that has just been made, it appears that, even if it had been more distinctly included in his Catalogue, his authority would not have been of itself sufficient, without other evidence, to satisfy us that it was really from the pen of Wickliffe. The only positive evidence that can be alleged in favour of such a supposition, being its occurrence in a volume which as a MS. is coeval with the Reformer, and which contains so many of the treatises that are commonly attributed to him.

Of evidence on the other side in disproof of the hypothesis that Wickliffe was the author, the most satisfactory would arise from allusions, if any such could be found in

adversariorum scriptis collegi." But the Catalogue itself bears internal evidence of having been in great part derived from the MSS. many of the works being enumerated in the order in which they occur in MSS. still extant. In neither case, however, can much authority be given to Bale's enumeration of the Reformer's writings, and in particular no inference can fairly be drawn from his omissions.

* Bale, Cent. vi. p. 455. Lewis, No. 231, p. 210. Bale also mentions "Positiones variæ, lib. i." and "Determinationes quædam, lib. i." but as he has not quoted the initial sentences of any of these works it is impossible to identify them with that now before us.

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the Tract, to events subsequent to the Reformer's times, or from quotations of writers who flourished after his death.

With this view the quotations have been diligently examined, and as far as possible verified, and the Editor believes that nothing will be found in the treatise, which, so far as these considerations are concerned, might not have been written by Wickliffe. But, as there are a few cases in which the Editor has been unsuccessful in determining the author of a passage cited, this conclusion must necessarily be received as liable to some uncertainty.

It has been suggested, indeed, as a circumstance inconsistent with the supposition that Wickliffe was the author, that the passages of Scripture cited throughout the treatise, are quoted not from Wickliffe's own version, but from some other translation. But if this criterion be applied to the Works admitted to be Wickliffe's by the common consent of his biographers, and cited as such in evidence of his opinions, it will be found to conclude equally against them. Take for example the following version of St. Matt. xxiv. 27, 28, which occurs in the tract entitled by Bale *De Christo et Antichristo*, and which is admitted to be Wickliffe's, its date being fixed, as we have seen by internal evidence,* to a very late

* See No. XIV. p. xii. supra.

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period of his life. The corresponding passage from the printed text of Wickliffe's version is given in juxtaposition for the convenience of the reader:—

The Tract De Christo et Antichristo.

As the leyting cometh out fro the eest, and apperith vn to the west, so shal be comyng of mannes sone to the day of doom: and wher euere the body be, shulen theglis be gederid; and anoon aftir tribulacion of thoo dayes, shal the sunne be maad derk, and the mone shal not ȝyue his liȝt, and sterris shulen falle from heuene, and vertues of heuenes shulen be mouyd.

Wickliffe's New Testament.

As leiyt goith out fro the est, and aperith into the west, so schal be also the comynge of mannes sone, where evere the bodi schal be; also the eglis shulen ben gaderid thidir. And anoon aftir the tribulacoun of tho dayes, the sunne schal be made derk: and the mone schal not ȝeue her liȝt, and the sterris schulen falle fro heuene, and the vertues of heuenes schulen be moeued.

This is a passage in which the similarity to the printed Version is much greater than usually occurs: but it sufficiently proves that we can draw no inference, as to the authorship of any work attributed to Wickliffe, from any such deviations from the text of his Version.

Besides, even allowing the objection its utmost weight, can it in any case prove more than that the tract in which such deviations occur, if by Wickliffe, was composed at a period of his life prior to the completion of his English Version? But not even would this inference be perfectly safe; for we know that it was the custom of

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our divines, so late as the reign of Charles I. to translate for themselves such passages of Scripture as they had occasion to cite; and that notwithstanding the existence of a Version allowed by public authority, and with all the facilities of reference afforded by the art of printing.*

The state of the case, therefore, seems to be, that there is no positive evidence against the supposition that the following work may be Wickliffe's; whilst on the other hand there is no decisive reason for attributing it to him, beyond the fact of its being found in a collection of his acknowledged writings. It may be said, also, that it is evidently the work of a man of learning, well skilled in the canon law, and in the theology of the day, and that it appears, from several expressions, to have been delivered to an assembly of judges, before whom the author was called upon to defend his opinions. Thus he says at the very outset, "First I witness before God Almighty, and all true Christian men and women, and you," &c. And he frequently alludes to some former discourses of the same kind; as, p. 6, "And thus I graunt now, as oft I have knowlechid before many witnesses," &c. and, p. 7, "To this I seid thus, I reheirsd a doctor that seid thus,"

* See for example the works of Bishops Andrewes, Hall, Saunderson, &c.

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&c. These circumstances are all consistent with the supposition that Wickliffe was the author, although it may not perhaps be easy to fix upon the precise period in the recorded events of his life, in which such an apology for his doctrines may be assumed to have been delivered.

There is another source of internal evidence from which it is possible that some light might be thrown upon this question, at least so far as indicating the shire or province in which its author lived. This, however, is a subject which the Editor, being an Irishman, is necessarily incompetent to investigate; and he has therefore thought it safer to leave the discussion of it to others, than to undertake to enter upon it with such imperfect information as he might perhaps have gleaned from books. He felt also that the attempt to fix the locality of an author of the fourteenth century, from the provincial idioms to be found in his writings, must in every case be somewhat precarious: unless we can be supposed to have fully satisfied ourselves that the phrases which are now found to characterize a particular shire, were also peculiar to that shire five centuries ago. And at all events it seemed certain, that no conclusion drawn from such premises against the supposition that Wickliffe was the author of

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the tract before us, could be deemed perfectly decisive of the question, without a more complete application of the same test to the other writings usually attributed to him, than it is in the power of the Editor to undertake.

It remains now to give some account of the contents of the treatise, which may perhaps help the reader to understand it; and then, a very few remarks on the manner in which it is now for the first time printed, will close all that the Editor has to say in the way of introduction.

It has been already said that the work is an elaborate defence or apology for the principal tenets of the Lollards, pronounced before some court of delegates or judges, by an individual, who if he was not Wickliffe himself, must have been one of his early followers, and a well read theologian of the day.

He thus states his object at the commencement of the Treatise*: "First, I witness before God Almighty, and all true Christian men and women, and you, that it hath not been nor is, nor ever shall be mine intent or purpose to say anything against the Catholic faith; neither [with] intent to beguile or deceive any man or woman, in any-

* See p. 1. The extracts here made are given in modern English, for the convenience of the reader, and (for the most part) in what may be called a translation. In the foregoing extract a conjectural emendation, suggested in the note (p. 115), has been adopted.

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thing unprofitable to the eternal salvation of their souls, nor contradicting the words or sentence of any Saint, speaking faithfully."

The following is a list of the propositions which appear to have been objected to our author, in the order in which he has stated and defended them.

I. "That the Pope is not the vicar of Christ, nor of Peter." p. 1.

This he explains to mean, that, if the Pope neglect his duty, he must be considered as having forfeited his claim to the office whose functions he has failed to perform. And the principle assumed in this assertion is defended by various quotations from the canon law, and from holy Scripture.

This was the well known doctrine of Wickliffe and his followers, upon which they grounded their constant assertion that the clergy had no right to their tithes and temporal endowments, except so far as they discharged faithfully their spiritual duties.

The doctrine that the Pope is not the vicar of Christ or of Peter, was attributed to Wickliffe in the Council of Constance, where we find among the articles condemned, the following :—"Credere debet Catholicus, quod nec Imperator, nec universalis ecclesia, nec Deus, de potentia absoluta, ordinare potest, quod eo quod quis succedit, et

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post Petrum vocatur in facie ecclesiæ Romanus episcopus vel Papa, eo ipso sit caput vel pars ecclesiæ cui obediendum est." And again,—"Papa fingit mendaciter, quod est summus vicarius Jesu Christi in terris. Sed benedictus Deus qui istud caput ecclesiæ in parte contrivit, et divisit in partes contrarias caput hujusmodi benedictum."*

II. "That the Pope selleth indulgence." And "That he may give no indulgence, neither to men in purgatory, nor to them that are prescit, that is to say, that are to be damned, or are now damned." p. 7.

His defence of this point is comprised in the assertions, that the apostles gave no indulgences: that such indulgences can be of no value, unless we can be sure that the Pope who grants them is himself saved; whereas we are certain that many popes who have granted such indulgences are damned. That the indulgences bear internal evidence in themselves of being fictitious, and of none effect; and that the sale of indulgences, if the indulgences were of any value, would be simoniacal and sinful.

Wickliffe's opinion upon this subject, as stated in his articles condemned in the Council of Constance, was as follows: "Quantum ad indulgentias, privilegia, et regula-

* Orthuinii Gratii Fasciculus (ed. Brown), tom. i. p. 273. See also *Rationes et Motiva*, art. 8. "Si papa est præscitus et malus, et per consequens membrum diaboli, non habet potestatem super fideles ab alio sibi datam, nisi forte a Cæsare." *Ibid.* p. 282.

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tionem ecclesiæ in lege nova, patet quod foret expediens toti ecclesiæ, quod omnes novitates hujusmodi sint sopitæ. Omnia tamen talia videntur esse phantasmata, nec fundata rationibus, nec Scripturâ."*

And in the "Rationes ac Motiva," given by the council for condemning his opinions, the 41st article attributed to him is thus expressed: "Fatuum est credere indulgentiis Papæ."†

III. "Of cursing two points. 1. That the ministers of the kirk ought not to curse and to wary. 2. That the kirk may not righteously curse a righteous man." p. 13.

The first he explains by saying that the ministers of the Church may curse, provided they do not use the power for their own private ends, but for the glory of God.

To the second he answers by distinguishing two senses in which the curse of the Church may be righteously denounced. First, when the person cursed justly merits such a sentence. And, secondly, when the curse is pronounced according to the forms of law. In this latter sense, when the evidence goes against a man who is really innocent, the Church may, nevertheless, be blameless in pronouncing sentence against him, in so far as the

* *Ibid.* p. 275.

† Orth. Gratii Fasciculus, tom. i. p. 294. See also Jo. Wiclef *Trialogus*, lib. iv. cap. xxxii.

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curse is pronounced legally and in due form: but in the other sense, a righteous man cannot be lawfully, or in the sight of God, rendered accursed, by the sentence of the Church. This is confirmed by a dissertation on the different senses of the word *curse*, and by citations from the canon law.

In the "Rationes et Motiva," already referred to, the 11th article attributed to Wickliffe is, "Nullus prælatus debet aliquem excommunicare, nisi prius sciat ipsum excommunicatum a Deo: et qui sic excommunicat, fit hæreticus ex hoc, vel excommunicatus."*

IV. "That Christ was cursed." p. 25.

This is explained by distinguishing the three senses in which a man may be said to be cursed. First, by sin, when by his guilt he excommunicates himself. Secondly, when he is excommunicated by the Church, as a means of leading him to repentance. Thirdly, when he is cursed by men unjustly.

In this last way only can Christ be said to be cursed; and that in three senses, either as having taken upon Him that nature of man, which was under a curse: or in His own Person, as having been cursed unjustly by man

* Orth. Gratii Fasciculus. *Ibid.* p. 283. Comp. also Art. 30. *Ibid.* p. 289.

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and condemned to an ignominious death; or lastly, in His members, who are one with Him, and in whom, when they are unjustly condemned, He also suffers excommunication.

V. "That each priest may use the key to every man." p. 28.

This proposition was a favourite one with the Lollards, and was levelled against episcopal jurisdiction; the meaning being, that every priest not only has power, but is bound, to exercise his office independently of the license of his bishop, and even in opposition to an express prohibition. It is in this sense that our author here defends it, and it was thus that a similar proposition was frequently defended by the Lollards: take for example the sixth conclusion alleged against William of Swinderby. "That ech priest may assoil him that sinneth, contrition had; and notwithstanding forbiddings of the bishop, is holden to preach to the people the gospel." To this he answers, "Thus I said not, but thus I said, and yet say, with protestation made before; That ech true priest may counsel sinful men that shewen to him her sins, after the wit and cunning that God hath given him, to turn fro sin to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the gospel, I say, that no bishop ows to let a true priest, that God hath given grace, wit, and cunning to do that office; for both

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priests and deacons, that God hath ordained deacons and priests, ben holden by power given hem of God, to preach to the people the gospel, and namely and somely popes, bishops, prelates, and curates," &c.*

Our author here uses the same form of argument, viz. that, inasmuch as all power of binding and loosing is from God, a priest, who has received that power from God, possesses it as fully as a bishop; and that originally, by the testimony of St. Jerome, the order of priest was the same as that of bishop. These were the well known errors of the Lollards, and our author (p. 30) incidentally mentions the consequence that was commonly drawn from them by his sect, namely, that confirmation might be ministered by priests.†

VI. "Iche prest is holdun to preche." p. 30.

This was another favourite doctrine of the Lollards, closely connected with the former. Its meaning is, that the office of priesthood in itself imposed the duty of preaching, without any necessity of license from a bishop,

* Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 534. Lond. fol. 1684. So also in the "Rationes et Motiva" at the council of Constance, the 34th art. attributed to Wickliffe is, "Licet alicui diacono vel presbytero prædicare verbum Dei, absque authoritate apostolicæ sedis, vel episcopi authoritate." Brown, Fasciculus, tom. i. p. 291.

† See what has been said on this subject in the Note on p. 30, l. 22.

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and even in opposition to the bishop's inhibition; and whether the priest had cure of souls or not. Our author's argument is this: "Every man is holden to do what Christ enjoineth him to do: but Christ enjoineth every priest to preach; therefore every priest is bound to do so."*

VII. "If any hear the mass of a priest that liveth in lechery, and knoweth him to be such, he sinneth deadly." p. 37.

In proof of this position our author relies chiefly upon the decrees of the two Roman synods under Nicholas II. and Alexander II. in the years 1059 and 1063, in the first of which it was ordained that no married priest, or, as the synod expressed it, no priest having a concubine, should celebrate mass, or assist at its celebration; and in the second, the laity were enjoined not to hear the mass of such a priest.†

Applying these canons to priests guilty of fornication, our author maintains the extreme position of his sect, that to receive the ministrations of such priests is a

* See the Note on p. 31, line 29.

† These enactments are given rather inaccurately in Gratian's Decretum, *Dist.* xxxii. c. 5 and 6. They will be found in the councils. (Hardouin, tom. vi. col. 1062, c. and 1139, c.) The decree of Alexander II. was the dangerous example afterwards followed by Gregory VII. of calling in the assistance of popular indignation in support of ecclesiastical canons. See Bowden's Life of Gregory VII. vol. ii. p. 25.

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mortal sin; and that ignorance of the real character of the priest does not excuse the laity from this guilt, unless due inquiry has first been made. He then quotes several other decisions of popes and other ancient writers, condemning profligacy in the clergy, which, however, are more or less inapplicable to the question, because they do not make the people the judges or punishers of the delinquents.

The principle assumed in this proposition was the ground of many similar conclusions in the theology of the Lollards; as for example, that the incontinence of the clergy released their parishioners from the obligation to pay tithe; that the priest in deadly sin cannot consecrate the Body of Christ, nor minister efficaciously the other sacraments.* And these principles continued, even to the period of the Reformation, to produce such pernicious effects, that it was thought necessary to affirm

* See the second and eighth conclusion objected against William Swinderby. Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 533, 534. So in the "Rationes et Motiva," already so often quoted, Wickliffe is made to say in the 15th article, "Nullus est Dominus civilis, nullus est prælatus, nullus est episcopus, dum est in peccato mortali." (Brown, Fasciculus, tom. i. p. 284). And again in the 17th article, "Populares possunt ad suum arbitrium Dominos delinquentes corrigere." (*Ibid.* p. 285.)

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of Joel, ii. 16, "Sanctify a fast," and by a passage from one of S. Gregory's Homilies. The right use of fasting, however, is asserted, and the benefits of it, when so used, enumerated.

XI. "That the priest is not holden to his canonical hours, except he be to sing [i. e. to officiate]." p. 44.

To this our author answers, "I deny not my having said this, from fear of the danger to which I am exposed by the law; for if it were proved in evidence against me, though it were false, if I denied, I should still be condemned as guilty. And on the other hand I grant not that I said it, that I lie not against myself, for I wot not that I said it, and man's mind [i. e. memory] is slender. If I have been in fault, I ask forgiveness, and I will mend."

After this confession, he takes occasion to urge, that if priests feel themselves so strongly bound to their canonical hours, imposed upon them by human authority, how much more should they esteem the obligation of that charge which they have received from Christ himself.*

It appears, therefore, that our author's doctrine on this

* See the articles, under the head "Contra Orationes," attributed to Wickliffe in the Council of Constance. Brown, tom. i. p. 269. Also those under the head "Contra Missas et horas." *Ibid.* p. 276.

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head was much the same as that of William Sawtrey or Chantris, priest; the seventh article alleged against whom, in his examination before the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1399, was, "That every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the Word of God, than to say canonical hours;" which proposition (although he afterwards recanted) he at that time admitted to be a fair statement of his opinions: his own words are, "And also I say, that every deacon and priest is more bound to preach the Word of God than to say his canonical hours, according to the primitive order of the church."*

XII. "That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, dwelleth the substance of the bread." p. 45.

Here our author plainly alludes to some former work or discourse on this subject. "And in this matter," he says, "I remember that I have spoken and rehearsed the words of the Apostle, and other doctors, that they speak on this matter; for Paul saith, the bread that we break is the partaking of the Body of Christ."

He goes on then to quote several passages from the Decretum, which, however, seem to bear but little on the subject. Amongst the rest he quotes the famous canon *Ego Berengarius,* as if it were a testimony in his favour.

* Fox, vol. i. p. 587.

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He distinctly asserts the Real Presence, although he denies transubstantiation. The following passage (p. 47) deserves to be here quoted: "This is that we say, and in all manners strive to prove, viz. the sacrifice of the church to stand together in two things, and to be made in two things together: that is, the visible species of elements, and the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ: the sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament, that is the Body of Christ; as the Person of Christ standeth together of God and man, for he is very God and man. For every thing containeth in itself the truth and the nature of those things that it is made of; this thing that is seen is bread, and the cup that the eyes shew; but this that faith asketh to be in form of the bread is the Body of Christ."*

This is in full agreement with the doctrine maintained by Wickliffe in the *Trialogus*, lib. iv. c. 2, sq. and by most of the early Lollards.

XIII. "That churches are not to be worshipped, nor sergs [i. e. candles, tapers †] to be multiplied therein." p. 48.

In support of this proposition our author quotes Jerome,

* This last clause is very obscure, and is probably corrupt in the original. It is here emended conjecturally; the meaning appears to be "that which faith discerns under the form of the bread is the Body of Christ."

† See the Note on p. 48, line 8.

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from the Decretum; also William de St. Amour, Chrysostom, the Decretals, and the Decretum. His remarks are chiefly levelled at the abuses then so prevalent, of superstitious offerings of candles, &c. in the churches, and the traffic carried on, within the sacred edifices themselves, of the trinkets necessary for such purposes; from which he digresses into the subject of simoniacal practices among the clergy.

XIV. "That priests to sing may not first make covenant, without simony." p. 52.

This proposition our author supports by citing some passages from the canon law, and other authorities against simony. See the notes, p. 152, sq.

XV. "That the pope, cardinals, bishops, and other prelates beneath [i. e. of inferior degree] are disciples of Antichrist and sellers of merit." p. 53.

In proof of this proposition he quotes the well known passages of St. John's epistle, to shew that all who are contrary to Christ in their life or faith may be rightly called Antichrists. He then shews by extracts from the writings of several popular authors, that this accusation might fairly be brought against the prelates and clergy of the day. The writers quoted for this purpose are Robert Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln, in his famous sermon before the Pope and Cardinals, at the Council of Lyons,

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A. D. 1250;* the sermons of Odo,† and the *Verbum Abbreviatum* of Peter Cantor Parisiensis.‡

XVI. "That there is no pope ne Cristis vicar, but an holy man." p. 58.

In defence of this proposition our author cites the words of Holy Scripture, and of Gratian, St. Jerome, Pope Symmachus, St. Gregory, and St. Bernard, to prove the necessity of holiness in the priesthood, and the vanity of the dignity of sacerdotal functions without this higher qualification.

XVII. "That a judge giving sentence against an innocent man, sinneth mortally." p. 60.

In this proposition he evidently has reference to the proceedings against the Lollards; he proves it by quoting the definition of a judge from Isidore, and by stating the obligation which rests upon every judge to discern the truth and decide according to the right. For this he quotes St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, and many passages of Holy Scripture. He argues also that it is no excuse to a judge who condemns the innocent, that he has

* Published in the *Fasciculus rerum expetend. et fugiend.* Ed. Brown, tom. ii. p. 250.

† See the Note on p. 56, line 9.

‡ See the Note on p. 53, line 12.

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given sentence and conducted the trial in accordance with the forms of human law, because the Divine law, which forbids the condemnation of an innocent man, is of superior obligation. He states also another class of objections and refutes them. As "that God Himself condemneth the righteous along with the guilty, and Christ gave Himself to the death. Abraham was ready to slay his innocent son, Sampson slew himself in slaying the Philistines, David slew the Amalekite (2 Sam. i.) for a crime of which he was not really guilty. And thus by these examples it seemeth that man may give sentence, yea, even to slay the innocent." To these objections he answers, first, "God may do what He will, and therefore in some things it is not enough to us, God doth thus, therefore we may do thus." Secondly, Abraham "was not in will to slay his son," but acted by the command of God, and was blessed of God for his faith and obedience. Thirdly, "Of Sampson men say, either that he had the command of God, or repented after;" and as to David, "all his deeds are not to be followed," nor was the Amalekite innocent in the sight of God, for he thought to have pleased David, and to have obtained a reward for slaying Saul, and "for his lying he was a murderer," and therefore deserved his fate.

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XVIII. "That a priest assoiling a feigner (a hypocrite), sinneth mortally." p. 66.

This assertion our author maintains without any attempt at qualifying it. For the priest [he reasons] who assoils a hypocrite, must either do so from carelessness, or ignorantly, recklessly, and by error. And in either case he is guilty of sin; whether he pretend to absolve, *as author*, from the punishment of sin, or *as minister*, to promise that God will do so. He sins, moreover, in that he gives occasion to the guilty man to trust in the absolution, and to continue in his sin; and also because by such an absolution "the priest beareth false witness, and professeth himself to know and to do what he neither knoweth nor doeth, and depriveth God of His majesty, making the man to trust in leasing, and so to do sacrifice to the devil."

These views are supported by the authority of the Prophet Ezekiel, St. Gregory, St. Bede, and St. Ambrose. He sums up his doctrine thus: "The priest may know that he hath not power to assoil, except so far as God giveth him commandment; now God saith thus: If thy brother sin, rebuke him: and if he forsake his sin, cease thou to rebuke him: but if he will not forsake his sin, proceed against him before witnesses: and if he will not hear you, be he then unto thee as an heathen man, and

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a publican. And whomsoever ye so bind, shall be bound, and whomsoever ye bring out of sin,* the punishment shall be remitted him. He commandeth not here to curse him that sinneth not, nor to assoile him that abideth in sin; but, on the contrary, to assoile him that forsaketh his sin, and excommunicate him that continueth in his sin."†

XIX. "That marriage made in the third or fourth degree, although contrary to the ordinance of the Church, is rate and stable." p. 70.

He explains this to mean, that such a marriage cannot be held null, so that the man should be free to marry another woman, or the woman another man. And his argument is this: with the dispensation or confirmation of the Church such a marriage is valid; but the Church could not ratify it, unless it were previously ratified and valid in the sight of God; therefore the marriage is not in its own nature contrary to the law of God, for, if it were, no dispensation or ratification by the Church could render it lawful. This opinion he supports by some passages

* Our author's gloss upon the words *quemcunque solveritis in terra*, "wam þat ȝe bring out of synne" is remarkable. It is not to be taken as a translation, but as an exposition of the passage. In the printed text of Wickliffe's New Testament the words are rendered "what ever thingis ȝe unbynden on erthe, tho shulen be unbounden also in hevene." Matt. xviij. 18.

† Page 70.

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from the Decretum, in which it is admitted that the law forbidding marriages within certain degrees of consanguinity is of human institution merely, and no part of the law of God.

On the whole, he concludes that marriages within the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity ought to be avoided; but that when made they are valid, and cannot be regarded as null, or as marriages made within the degrees forbidden by the law of God, for these he admits are unlawful and void.*

XX. "That the Church by solemnising matrimony in a degree forbidden, erreth, consenting to sin, and authorising sin." p. 71.

This position is thus proved. The marriage of cousins in the third and fourth degree is forbidden only by the law of the Church. It is therefore no sin in itself, but only by the law of the Church. Now St. Paul saith, "If I build again the thing that I throw down, I make myself a transgressor;" therefore the particular Church that celebrates a matrimony forbidden by the law of the universal Church is a transgressor; authorising the sin of those whom she should have warned against a violation of the law, and thus consenting to sin.

* The eighth of the Articles attributed to Wickliffe, and impugned by William de Wodford, is "Quod causæ divortii ratione consanguinitatis vel affinitatis, sint infundabiliter humanitus ordinatæ." See Orthuini Gratii Fascicul. ed. Brown, t. i. p. 190, and p. 213.

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XXI. "That Canon Law is contrary to God's law; and that decretists, as to that part of wisdom that they have of the world's wisdom, are Egyptians.* And that by the science of Canon Law holy writ is blasphemed, yea God Himself who is the lawgiver. And that it were well if this science were in a great measure driven as chaff out of the Church." p. 73.

These assertions are defended by extracts from several writers. The first is from an author who is not named, who objects to the canon law; that it tends to strife and debate, and is therefore contrary to the spirit of the Gospel; that it is of human origin, and that it is too closely allied to civil law, and that "from the commixture of these two laws is in diverse ways sown great seed of discord in the Church of God." St. Chrysostom is also cited, for the sentiment that "man's law" is busied in carnal things, and putteth carnal things present, before spiritual things to come. The other writers cited are "Parisiensis" (i. e. most probably Peter de Poictiers, commonly called "Cantor Parisiensis"†), Gregory, Austin, Odo, and some whose names are not given. One very long extract, from a writer who is cited as "an other witti in that same law," the Editor regrets very much his inability to trace to any author whose works are printed or within his reach. This writer, as our author quotes

* *Egyptians*, that is enemies of the true servants of God, and holding them in bondage, as the Egyptians did the children of Israel.

† See Note on page 53, l. 12.

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him, urges eighteen formal objections against "the new law," by which term he probably intends the additions made to the five books of the Decretals of Gregory IX. by Popes Boniface VIII. Clement V. and John XXII. between the years 1298 and 1326.* Most of his objections have reference to the temporal power and exemption from secular dominion, claimed for the clergy in the new decretals. As that no priest or clerk should be subject to secular lords: that the lands of the Church should pay no tribute; and that simony, heresy, usury, adultery, perjury, should be punished by the ecclesiastical courts only. He objects also to the abuses which, though not actually enjoined in the law, were nevertheless tolerated or permitted; as the superabundant wealth of the clergy, their being engaged in secular employments and offices, their bribery and corruption; the right of prescription; the abuses of indulgences and remissions; the neglect of the ancient custom of requiring the assent of the people in the ordination of ministers; the com-

* The "Liber sextus Decretalium" was added by Boniface VIII. in 1298. The five books of Clementine Constitutions were compiled under Clement V. but published by his successor John XXII. in 1317. And the twenty constitutions of this latter Pontiff, now commonly known by the name of *Extravagantes*, were published about the year 1326.

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pounding for penance with money; the simoniacal abuse of proctorships, customs, and other expenses; the grants of privileges and exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction; corrupt decisions of law in matrimonial causes; cases in which a judge is compelled by the law to pronounce a sentence which he knows to be false; cases of unjust excommunication; decisions of lawyers in cases of marriage between cousins; and contradictions between the law and the words or precepts of holy Scripture.*

XXII. "That no man is Christ's disciple unless he keep Christ's counsel." p. 81.

In explanation of this position our author divides the counsels of the Gospel † into two classes, the first consist-

* See the Articles condemned as Wickliffe's in the Council of Constance, No. 38. "Decretales epistolæ sunt apocryphæ, et seductivæ a fide Christi, et Clerici sunt stulti qui eas student." Orthuini Gratii Fascicul. ed. Browne, tom. i. p. 292.

† It may be well to remind the general reader that theologians distinguish between the *counsels* and the *commands* of Christ. The latter are absolute, founded on the principles of immutable morality, or our natural duties to God and man, and are consequently equally binding upon all men, in all places and under all circumstances, and absolutely necessary to salvation. The *counsels* of Christ on the other hand relate not to things necessary, but to things expedient, leading us not to holiness, but to higher degrees of holiness, not to salvation, but to higher degrees of glory. "Hæc est differentia," says St. Thomas Aquinas, "inter *consilium* et *præceptum*, quod *præceptum* importat necessitatem, *consilium* autem in optione ponitur ejus cui

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ing of those which are counsels of perfection to all Christians: as the three counsels of poverty, continence, and obedience; the second consisting of those which are addressed to some and not to all, as when our Lord said to the young man in the Gospel, "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have riches in heaven." And he concludes, that, in reference to the former class, no man is Christ's disciple unless he keep Christ's counsels. It is true, he admits, that in a general sense all men are Christ's disciples, who by the law of nature follow His teaching: and that in an especial manner those that followed Him by the knowledge of the law of Moses, may be said to have been his disciples; but in the highest sense are they His disciples who follow Him in the Gospel, and to these it is necessary to obey His counsels, unless they would go back, like Judas, and walk no more with Him. For He Himself has said that no man may be his disciple unless he

datur: et ideo convenienter in lege nova, quæ est lex libertatis, supra *præcepta* sunt addita *consilia:* non autem in veteri lege, quæ erat lex servitutis. Oportet igitur quod *præcepta* novæ legis intelligantur esse data de his quæ sunt necessaria ad consequendum finem æternæ beatitudinis, in quem lex nova immediate introducit; *consilia* vero oportet esse de illis per quæ melius et expeditius potest homo consequi finem prædictum." *Summa Theol.* 1, 2, q. 108, 4.

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renounce all things that he hath and take up his cross and follow Christ. Our author concludes thus: "it followeth plainly that, though a man be Christ's disciple in some degree, nevertheless in some degree [i. e. in the highest degree, as just explained,] he is not Christ's disciple, but if he keep Christ's counsel."* It would seem, therefore, to be our author's meaning that all counsels of perfection, except such as were specially addressed to an individual, are binding upon all Christians as such, and have the force of commands.

XXIII. "That each man is holden to do the better." p. 83.

This position appears to have reference to the former, and to signify that in a case of interference or opposition between a commandment of God and a counsel, or between two counsels, the commandment, or the counsel which is of superior obligation, should be preferred. Our author has not expressed himself very clearly in his defence of this position, which is chiefly occupied in defining three senses in which a thing may be said to be better than another, viz. in its nature, form, or virtue. But the quotations he has given from the Scriptures, and from St. Jerom, appear to show that his meaning was as stated above.

* Page 82.

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XXIV. "That Images of the saints are not to be worshipped." p. 85.

In defence of this proposition the author quotes St. Gregory the Great, and a writer whom he describes anonymously as "another;" also the second commandment, and other passages of Scripture.

He then states as an objection, that these passages refer to the images of the heathen, in which they worshipped the devil, not to the images "brought in by the Church." In other words that the Scriptures prohibit not every use of images, but only that use of them which would substitute them as an object of worship in the place of God: and for this he quotes the Decretum.

To this he answers that doubtless no true Christian men do honour the images of the saints as God: but others who are not true Christians do; and there are many ways of committing idolatry; as first, when a man "setteth in his affection anything before God." Secondly, "of undue order and cause;" and this in three ways, as giving to a creature what is due only to God; or honouring God irreverently; or honouring the creature for God. He asserts that many fall into these errors: "that many believe the image to be God, and many believe God's virtue to be in the image subjectively, and therefore are more affect to one image than to another, which is doubtless

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idolatry, as true men say." These abuses he maintains should be amended; and confirms his opinion by passages from St. Austin, St. Clement, St. Chrysostom, St. Bernard, St. Jerom, and the Archdeacon.

XXV. "That the Gospel written is not to be worshipped." p. 90.

This proposition is levelled against the superstition of hanging "the Gospel," that is a few verses of the Gospel, about the neck as a charm. This he refutes by the authority of St. Chrysostom, St. Jerom, and St. Austin; and he adds, that when men hear the Gospel in the Church and are not saved, and inquire "whether the Gospel is in leaves of words, or in virtue," they are to be answered, "If it were in the leaves, thou hangest it reasonably about thy neck; but since it is not in the leaves of the parchment, but in the virtue, and by hearing thou art not healed, therefore in vain thou hangest the leaves about thy neck."*

He then states the objection, "But if thou say, by the touching of Christ's body many were healed, and by the touching of his clothes, as the Gospel sheweth, and the Apostle sent napkins to put on men shaking with devils, and the devils were driven away. And it is said that a woman made an image of Christ, and an herb by touching

* Page 91.

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thereof received the virtue of healing.* Therefore men may trust in such things." To this he answers, first "That Christ is more excellent, more full of virtue, than creatures."† Secondly, "they that were healed, were not healed simply by the touching, but for the trust that they reposed finally in God." Thirdly, "that such things were at first permitted, and miracles wrought for rude men, to confirm them in the faith. But now that all is plain and open, it is vain and superstitious for the people to have such things." And for this he quotes Chrysostom and Bede.‡

XXVI. "These are two other points. One, that charms in no manner are lawful. Another, that it is superstitious to hang words at the neck." p. 92.

In defence of these positions our author quotes the

* This story is told of the woman whose issue of blood was healed by touching the hem of our Lord's garment. See Note, p. 91, l. 24.

† In the original "more excellent and vertuosar than other creatures." This would seem to a modern reader to imply that Christ was a creature. But such was not our author's meaning, nor the import of his language, as it would have been understood in his own day. The word *creatures* is grammatically in apposition with *other:* as if he had said "more excellent than others, i. e. than creatures." Comp. Luke x. 1. Rom. viii. 39, in our English Version.

‡ In this part of the work our author repeatedly refers to some former discourse or treatise. "I have rehersid the sentence of Chrysostom, p. 90. "And to this I seid thus," p. 91. "And to theis I have said thus," p. 92. See p. xxi.

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Mosaic law and the prophet Isaiah, confirming his doctrine by citations from St. Austin and the Decretum. He shows by these authorities that witchcraft, charms, enchantments, and divinations in every form are unlawful, both by the law of God, and by the law of the Church. And that Christian men, when visited with sickness or any kind of peril, should have recourse, not to charms, augurs, or diviners, but to God; that after the example of Job they should confess their sins to the Almighty, and beg His forgiveness, "and take then such medicines as God hath made and commanded, and deceive not themselves vainly, nor incur further indignation." For St. James has said, "Whoso needeth any wisdom or help for anything, let him ask of God, and all that is needful shall plentifully be given unto him."*

He then proceeds to enter more at length into the subject, defining the charms and enchantments forbidden, to be such as are "brought in by accursed devils and by suggestion of devils, contrary to the commandments of God, or else by man's vanity and folly, without authority of God Almighty, in which men hope for help without Him, or even in opposition to Him, like heathen men or infidels." He then defines the various kinds of charmers,

* Page 94.

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as enchanters, ariolers, aruspicers, augurs, dreamers, necromancers, geomancers, hydromancers, piromancers, sortilegers, &c. concluding "that, since God hath forbidden these things, as well as holy doctors and the Church, it is vain and superstitious, and a species of idolatry, to use such things against so many commands, authorities, witnesses, and counsels."

He next supposes an objector to urge that "such things are useful, because God hath given virtue to herbs, to words, and stones, and men often see by the evidence of their senses that such things help." To this he answers, "it is true that God hath given virtue to all things that He hath made, and hath ordained how they shall be used, and to what end. And therefore ought every man to use them as He ordaineth, but not in a way contrary to His ordinance, or without it. This, therefore, gives no proof that these things profit when hung about the neck, unless we find it written and bidden so to use them." And again, "when men say such things help, this is not certain without better proof." He then proceeds to point out some of the causes to which the apparent success of such charms is to be attributed, and concludes by an earnest exhortation to trust in the goodness and providence of the Almighty, and not in the

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unlawful and uncertain aid of charms, forbidden alike by the authority of the Church, and by the testimony of Holy Scripture.

XXVIII. "That the vow of religion is against Christ's Gospel." p. 100.

Here our author first explains "that the name of religion is taken in many manners." As first "for the truth that ruleth a man to serve duly his Maker" Secondly, "for the act and state proceeding of this religion." And thirdly, "materially, for the persons thus inclined." The present question, however, relates chiefly to the second signification of the term, in which those are called *religious*, "who depart from other people by sects [or orders], founden by traditions, and other sensible rites."

He then explains the nature of a vow, and shows that it may be wise or unwise, profitable or unprofitable, lawful or unlawful. Hence he says, "four things are required to every vow that obligeth," viz. "first, principally, that it be made to God." Secondly, "that it be in such things only as are good and profitable to the salvation of the soul: and not in things evil, or unlawful, or noyous [i. e. injurious] to any man, nor letting to any commandment of God, or counsel of Christ." Thirdly,

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"that it be made with deliberation." And, fourthly, "that it be wilful."

He concludes, therefore, that "if the vow of religion [i. e. the vow taken upon entering one of the religious orders or the monastic state] be thus circumstanced, then it is pleasing to God, and in accordance with the Gospel; else if it be in a contrary manner begun, followed, or continued, who doubteth that it is not sin?"

He then enumerates several ways in which "the vow of religious men or of any man" may be against the Gospel, and therefore unlawful; as when men vow "that they will not eat flesh, till they be avenged of some man:" or "to fast, or to go pilgrimage, for to do their lechery or vengeance on some man." Also when men "bind themselves to keep any estate or degree," or to observe any monastic rule, "more for the sake of highness of the world, or worldly riches, or lust of flesh." Again, he instances in the case of the friars, their obligation to live by begging, "which is against the Gospel;" their vow to abstain from meats, "against Christ's freedom, that biddeth His disciples eat such things as men set before them;" for which "forbidding men to be wedded, and abstaining from meats," they are also reproved of the Apostle, 1 Tim. iv. Further, "when they vow to keep

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an obit, or other rites, although God promiseth no reward for keeping such, but rather reproves them :" when they so vow obedience to the superiors of their several orders, as to "put their will under man's will, more than under the will of God," that they may not do even what God biddeth them do, if their superior bid them refrain, or do the contrary ; and "when religious men are letten by their vow from preaching of God's Word, and from fulfilling the deeds of mercy ;" in all these cases, he concludes, " it is certain that their vow is against the Gospel."

In confirmation of these views, he quotes the book *On Contemplative Life*, commonly attributed to St. Prosper ; also St. Bernard, and Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, with many passages of Scripture ; concluding with the words of St. James, "If any ween him [i. e. suppose himself] to be religious, not refraining his tongue, but deceiving his heart, his religion is vain. Religion clean before God, and before the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless, and motherless, and widows, in their tribulation, and keep himself unspotted from the world."

XXIX. "That religious men are bound to bodily works." p. 105.

This he proves by testimonies of holy Scripture : also by the authority of St. Augustine, the Decretum of Gratian, and the rules of St. Francis and St. Benedict ;

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in which last, special times and hours are set apart for the labour of the friars.

XXX. "That it is not lawful for the religious to beg." p. 108.

This he explains, that "though it be lawful to every man to beg in need, nevertheless it is not lawful to any man without need," or for the purpose of "gathering much worldly riches, or to enable him to waste his time in idleness, or waste himself and his goods, and those of other men, in lusts and in other vain curiosities."

He then shews in what sense begging may be lawful, but asserts that "wilful begging of stalworth [or able-bodied] men is forbidden to every Christian man, by the Apostle of Christ, and by God Himself;" and that St. Paul commands the excommunication of such as "walk disorderly, working not at all." (2 Thess. iii. 10—14.) From which our author reasons thus:—"And since no man ought to be cast out from the communion of Christian men, except for deadly sin, it followeth that he sinneth mortally, that wilfully and wittingly bindeth himself to such a state, contemning travail,* as that he beg for ever."

* The words "contening traveil" (p. 109, l. 13) are printed exactly as they stand in the MS. but "contening" is probably a mistake for "contemning." The omission of a line over the *e* would make the whole difference.

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This position is defended by many texts of Scripture, and by the authorities of Augustine, the Decretum, the Glossa ordinaria, Jerome, Prosper, the Golden Legend, and St. Gregory.

The foregoing brief summary of the contents of the treatise, and of the arguments employed by the author, may be of some use, it is hoped, in assisting the reader, to whom the antiquated language of the original may be an impediment. It may serve also to establish the truth of what has been already said, that the treatise contains nothing inconsistent with the supposition that Wicliffe was its author. No writer of a later date than Wicliffe appears to have been cited in it; and the general moderation of its tone and doctrine would seem to indicate, that it proceeded from a man of learning, and was composed at an early period of the great religious movement of which Wicliffe is regarded as the leader.

It remains now to say something in the way of explanation, and something perhaps also of apology, for certain peculiarities of the present publication.

The Editor has taken great pains to furnish an exact transcript of the MS. from which the work has been printed: even its obvious errata have been religiously retained (except where they were corrected by the original scribe), and all conjectural emendations, however

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necessary or certain, have been reserved for the notes.* This seemed the indispensable duty of an Editor who had undertaken to print from a single manuscript; not only to preserve such traces of the true readings as even the mistakes of transcribers sometimes enable us to discern, but also because it appeared desirable to retain exactly the orthography of the original.

No attempt has been made to represent the *contractions* of the MS. which would have served no useful end, even if it could have been effected without getting type expressly cast for the purpose; but the use of two Saxon letters ȝ and þ has been retained, because they appeared to form an essential part of the orthography of the period to which the MS. belongs.

For this, however, the Editor feels some apology to be necessary, as the use of the þ especially was persisted in

* The only deviations that have been permitted are, first, in the case of proper names, the name of God, &c. which are written in the MS. sometimes with small, and sometimes with capital initial letters. In the printed tract capital letters have been uniformly employed. Secondly, in the punctuation; which has been conformed to the sense, and to the modern notation. The punctuation of the MS. is highly capricious and irregular, and no object would have been attained by attempting to preserve it. The marginal summaries, and references to the Scriptures and Fathers, although the greater part of them occur in the original, have been in some cases added by the Editor for the sake of uniformity.

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l. 31) for "teaching;" *bi thwex*, (p. 38, l. 11) for "betwixt;" *thwo*, (ib. l. 13) for "two;" *throwiþ*, (p. 40, l. 26) for "troweth," i. e. believeth. These peculiar spellings could not have been retained or noticed, had the character þ been every where replaced by *th* in printing the treatise.

Less objection seems to have been made to the retention of the letter ȝ; and it was, in fact, impossible, without altogether reducing the words in which it occurred to modern spelling, to find any real substitute for it. It is now generally represented by the soft or quiescent *gh*, as in such words as *thought*, *though*; but frequently also by *g*, hard, and by *y*. In some words it is represented by *h*, and in some it is now altogether dropped. For example, it is now soft or quiescent in *tauȝt*, taught; *riȝt*, right; *liȝt*, light; *hiȝt*, hight, [i. e. promise,] &c. It is represented by hard *g*, in *aȝen*, against; *forȝet*, forget; ȝ*efing*, giving; ȝ*ate*, gate; ȝ*af*, gave, &c. It has become *h*, in ȝ*el*, health; ȝ*ed*, heed; ȝ*erd*, herd (i. e. shepherd); ȝ*er*, hear, &c. It is *y* in ȝ*owe*, you; ȝ*et*, yet; ȝ*ong*, young; ȝ*ere*, year; ȝ*eld*, yield; *enpliȝed*, employed; *byȝar*, buyer; ȝ*ha*, yea. And it has been

between ȝ and þ) is probably characteristic of Scotch MSS. The Editor has not observed any such use of *th* as distinguished from þ in the English MS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth century to which he has had access.

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altogether dropped in the modern spelling of *ȝerþ*, earth; *fruȝt*, fruit; *ȝerle*, earl; *abiȝd*, abide. In some cases it has been used for *z*, as *þowȝand*, for thousand; *solempniȝid*, for solemnized, &c.; but in these cases *z* perhaps ought to have been printed, although no difference can be observed in the MS. between the ȝ used for *g*, *gh*, *y*, *h*, &c. and the ȝ used for *z*.

On the whole it appeared impossible to substitute for these letters their modern representatives, without admitting a principle that should have led to the translation of the whole treatise into modern spelling, a task which the Editor had not undertaken to perform. Nor did it seem to him that, while the antient orthography in other respects was retained, much additional inconvenience could result to the reader from the presence of the two letters ȝ and þ. Those who took the trouble to read the tract at all, and who were resolved to master the other difficulties which its language presents to a modern reader, would become familar enough with those letters before they had perused half-a-dozen pages; and it is hoped that such readers will perceive that without those letters, the transcript of the orthography of the period, which it was the Editor's object to put in print, would have been inaccurate and incomplete.

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The other instance in which the Editor has to return his thanks to the Council of the Camden Society for deferring to his judgment, is in reference to the title that has been given to the treatise. That title is of course without authority from the original MS., and when the work was first proposed for publication to the Council, some Members were of opinion that it bore internal evidence of a date later than the life of Wicliffe. But the Editor not being able to concur in the reasons alleged* for this view, and being convinced that the work contained nothing that might not have proceeded from the pen of Wicliffe, was anxious that the question of the authorship of the treatise should not seem to be in any way decided by the title given to it in the present publication, and he therefore proposed that which now stands on the title-page, retaining the abbreviated title of "Wicliffe's Apology," on the upper margin of every page; —a proposal to which the Council cheerfully acceded.

The Editor has to acknowledge having received much valuable assistance in the laborious work of collating the proof sheets with the original MS. from his friend the Rev. Richard Gibbings, of Trinity College, Dublin. The

* The principal of these reasons has been already alluded to, p. xix.

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errata, for which the reader's indulgence is solicited, occur chiefly in those pages which had not the advantage of his revision.

Some apology is due to the Society for the long time that this volume has been passing through the press. The delay has been occasioned chiefly by the great difficulty of verifying the author's references, and by the occupation of the Editor's time by his official duties.

JAMES H. TODD.

Trin. Coll. June 13th, 1842.

P.S. A learned friend, to whom the Editor shewed these sheets, has suggested that some readers may perhaps misunderstand what has been said, p. xvii. respecting the difficulty of deciding what are Wicliffe's writings and what are not. It may be well therefore to say that the Editor does not by any means intend to assert that we are not now able to determine whether any of the ancient tracts attributed to Wicliffe are really his. On the contrary, there can be no doubt that with respect to many of these treatises we have every reasonable proof, as well from the testimony of friends as of enemies, that they are the production of Wicliffe. But what has been said is, that we are to this day unable to give any satis-

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factory criteria of his genuine writings; we are unable to decide, for example, such questions as that which presents itself with respect to the author of the following treatise; and in the case of by far the greater portion of the tracts that have been attributed to Wicliffe, as well as of those which exist in our libraries on similar subjects, and which have escaped the notice of his biographers, we seem at present to have no means of ascertaining with any certainty their real parentage, beyond the evidence afforded by the authority of Bale, or the catalogues compiled by writers, who in many cases do not so much as profess to have seen, much less to have perused, the treatises they describe.

Until all these writings are collected and published, under the care of competent editors, the learned world will not be in a condition to discuss the genuineness of any tract attributed to Wicliffe, or to decide upon the real character of his doctrines.*

J. H. T.

* See the Preface to "the Last Age of the Church," a tract supposed to be the earliest of Wicliffe's writings, and published from an unique MS. copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, by the Editor of the present volume.

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WICLIFFE'S APOLOGY.

HERE are questiouns and ansueris putte þat are writun here aftir.

First, I witnes bifor God Almiȝty, and alle trewe cristunmen and wommen, and ȝowe, þat I haue not ben, nor is, nor neuer schal, of myn entent ne purpos, to sei any þing aȝen þe general feiþ; neiþer entent to bigile, or deseyue, ani man or womman, in ani vnprofitable to perpetual ȝel of soule; ne agein seying to þe wordis, ne sentence, of ani seint, seying feiþfulli. But if þei sem ani tyme to uari, onli in word, I purpos to take and vndirstond her wordis to veri and feiþful witte, and so to acorde hem to gidir, and to acord wiþ ilke of hem in ilke trowþe. Preying also ilke man to reduce me in to þe riȝt wey aftir þe gospel of our lord Jħu Crist, and wey of þe apostlis, prophetis, and doctours, if I haue gon biside þe wey, in ani þing in þeis pontis, or in ani oþer, to be put forþ heraftir; knouing, if I finali abode in error, I were to be punishid perpetuali.

I. The Pope not the vicar of Crist, nor of Petir.

On þat is put is þis; þat þe pope is not þe vicar of Crist nor of Petir. I knowlech to a felid and seid þus, wan he filliþ not in dede, ne in word, þe office of Petir in ȝerþ, ne doiþ not þe þing in þat office þat he is holden to do: but doþ contrarili, and so in dede he is not þe vicar of Petir in dede. And þis steriþ me to fele þus:

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Ro. viij°. þe apostil Poul seiþ þus; If ani man haue not þe Spirit of Crist, he
Glose. is not of him; þat is, as þe glose seiþ, he þat haþ not þe Spirit
aftir witt or dedis, he is not of þe body of Crist. Also þus seiþ
Jerom. seint Jerom; Noght alle bischoppis in name ar bischoppis in dede;
þu tend° to Petir, but considir Judas; þu takst vp Steuen, lok
ageyn to Nicol; þe kirkis dignite makiþ not only a cristun man.
Corneli centurio, 3et vncristund, is clensid wiþ þe Hooli Goost.
Daniel, 3et a barne, jugid þe prestis. It is not li3t to stond in þe
place of Petir and Poule, and hald þe place of hem þat regnun in
heuen wiþ Crist. Sonnid salt is not worþ, but þat it be cast forþ,
Austeyn. and soilid of suynne. Also Austeyn seiþ, Nout ilk þat seiþ pes to
3ou, is to be hard as colver or a doue. He þat haþ not in him þe
resoun of gevernauns, ne haþ not wipid a wey his defautis, ne
mendid þe crime of his synnes, is more to be seid a vnschamfast
hound þan a bischop. Not alle prestis ar had for prelats, for þe
Gregor. name makiþ not þe bischop, but þe lif. And Gregor seiþ; Poul
seiþ, blam þu not an heldar man; but þis reule is þan to be kept
in him, wan þe synne of þe heldar man drawiþ not be his
ensaumple þe hertis of þe 3ungar in to deþ; but wan þe heldar
gifiþ ensaumple to þe 3ong to deþ, þer is he to be stregun wiþ
scharp blamyng, for it is writoun, Al 3e be grynnies of þe 3ong.
And eft, Waried þe barn of an vndrid 3ere. And þis is put after
Decreis. in decreis, Weþer þe priuilege of dignite is not to be tan a wey from
hem to wham Austeyn, Jerom, and Gregor tak a wey þe name of
þe bischop, or heldarman, þat he may be correctid of wudlowtis.
Austeyn. Also Austeyn seiþ, He þat desiriþ bischophed, he desiriþ a good
werk; he wold expound what is bischophed, for is it þe nam of
werk, and not of honor; it is Grek; and þer is seid a word, þat he
þat is maad a prest, tak he 3ed to þe þingis þat he is maad prest to,
doing þe cure of hem; scopos is locand vp on; þer for, if we wil, we
mai calle bischoppis, locars up on, þat he þat lufith to be a prest
not furþer to, vnderstond him not to be a bischop; þus seiþ

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Austeyn. But if þu sei he sekiþ ai to furþer, it be howfiþ þat it be schewid in dede; for seynt Jam seiþ, Feiþ wiþ outun werkis is deed; so to seke to profit is but deed, but if it be put forþ in dede after power. And as feiþ is forþfillid of þe werkis, so is also desir. And ellis desir sleþ þe soule; þerfor seiþ Crist to Petre, þrise, Simon of Jon, lufist þu me? feede my schep. þerfor as Gregor seiþ, He þat is chosun in to schepherd, he howiþ to feed wiþ word, and ensaumple, and sustinaunce of body; þan if he be conuicted not to luf, ne to do þe office of Crist, in þis he is conuict not to be his vicar. Also þus seiþ Crisostom; Sin Jħu was temptid, he ouercam hunger in desert, he despicid auarice in þe hille, he strak ageyn veyn glorie vp on þe temple; þat he schwe to us, þat he þat may ageynsey his wombe, and despice þe goodis of þis world, and desire not veynglorie, he howiþ to be maad Cristis vicar, and preche Cristis riȝtwisnes, and for þoo þre chimneis ich low of þe fendis blowing is sett in fire. And þus seiþ an oþer; It is wel wetun þat Crist was mekist man, pure, and moost obedient to God; it is not þan inconuenient his vicar to be moost lik him in þeis þre, namly. Now deme þis fiȝting kirke, if þe pope be moost mek, reseyuing wrongis don til him; if he be purist man as to seculer lordship, moost hatyng to be enpliȝed wiþ seculer bisines; and þe þrid, if he be moost obedient to God, and to his lawe, most content of þe boundis of his lawe, not presumand to put to his lawe, ne to minys þerfro. For soþ, if þe pope do þeis befor oþer men, þan is he, by for oþer men, þe folower of Crist; ellis is verified in him þe sentence of Crist, He þat is not wiþ me, he is ageyn me. And Crisostom seiþ, He þat desiriþ primacy in ȝerþ schal fynd confusion in heuen, and he schal not be countid among þe seruaunts of Crist þat tretiþ of primacy; nor no man hast to be seen more þan oþer, but þat he be seen lower þan oþer; for he is not þe ritwisare þat is more in honor, but he þat þe riȝtwisare, he is þe more. Ensaumple lediþ us to þis same þus; If a man haue an

S. Jam. ijº.

Jo. xxiº.

Gregor.

Crisostom.

Another.

Matt. xijº.

Crisostom.

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hired plowman in to serueys to dwel wiþ him, to do ani dede, and feiþfully to serue to him in to þat werk, and þat seruaunt obliche him to do so, ȝefing feiþ to þis; if he felle not aftir in dede and tyme aftir his hiȝt and couenaund, but goþ a wey þer fro, and leuiþ to wirke, and doþ contrarily directly, and in to þe harme of his maistir, it is certayn þan, þowe he be his seruaunt of dette and oblisching, naþles he is not his seruaunt in filling of werk, and so not in dede; but raþer aduersari, fals trespasor, and traytor. And þus it semiþ in þe propos. If ani chosun of God himselue, and of þe puple, in to pope, or prelate, and ordend in to vicar of Crist to his office in ȝerþe, and he hiȝt it; whan he filliþ not in dede, but doþ contrarily to his behest in degre, he semiþ not to be þe vicar of Crist in dede. And so, þowe he be his vicar vp degre and dignite, and oþer tyme in dede, wan he doþ þe dedis of þe office, þerfor þe pope ioi not, or ani prelat, or oþer in þe nam of dignite or of state, wan it is not to perpetual blis to þe soule. But al dred more lest þei geit þer of harme to þe soule, and tymung for defaut of trespase; for þi þat in swelk þe synne aggregiþ bi resoun of þe degre; for þus it is writun, Joi þu not of þe vnpitouse sonis, if þe drede of God is not befor hem; for better is oon dredan God, þan a þowȝand vnpitouse. And better to die wiþ out barnes, þan to lef vnpitouse barnis aftir. And efte þus seiþ Crist; Joi ȝe not for spiritis are sogetis to ȝowe, but joi ȝe þat ȝor namis are writun in heuen. And eft seiþ þe gospel, Makiþ worþi frutis of penaunce, and wil ȝe not sei wiþin ȝor self we haue þe fadir Abraham, for God is miȝti of þe stonis to reise þe sonis of Habraham; for now is þe axe sett to þe rote of þe tree, þerfor ilk tree þat makiþ not good fruȝt, schal be kyt doun, and cast in to þe fire. And eft Jerom seiþ; It is not liȝt to stond in þe place of Petir and Poule, and hold þe chaur of hem þat regnun wiþ Crist; for þer of it is seid; þei are not þe sonis of seyntis þat holdun þer placis, but þei þat vse þer werkis. An Gregor seiþ, We þat are prestis how

Ecclus. xvi°.

Luc. x°.

Matt. iii°.

Jerom.

Gregor.

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to ask to knowe, not of dignite of place, ne of kirkis, but of nobley of maneris; not bi clerte of citees, but bi purte of feiþ; places ne orderis makun not vs nekist God, but oþer good meritis ioynun to gidir, or ellis departen, þat is wit, as to mede merit and blis. And Crisostom seiþ; A cristun man falliþ strongli in to synne for two causis, oþer for gretness of þe synne, or for heiȝt of þe dignite. *Crisostom.* Also of þe dedis of Boneface þe martir; If þe pope ben tan rekles of his and his breþer's ȝele, vnprofitable and slow in his dedis, more ouer and stille fro good, þat more noyeþ to him and alle oþer, þan he lediþ wiþ him silf going bifore to helle peple wiþ outun nowmbre, to be dongun wiþ him wiþouten ende, wiþ mani digingis. þerfor, siþ þe office of Crist [on] þe ȝerd was to liue most purist and mekly, and to preche bisili þe word of God to þe peple, and to calle hem aȝen to þe lord God, fadir of alle, and in to þe vnite and prosperite of body, and cam to serue and not be seruid, and to ȝif his lif raumsum for mani, and bi þis haþ ȝefun to vs mani good þingis, and to fille þis ordeynid Petir, seying to him, lufist me? feed my schep, and folow me, and in him he biddiþ þe same to alle successors of Petre, as als in Petir a gaf to hem power of bindyng and lowsing, and þus ordeynd him his vicar, and þus his successor; and Petir himsilf þus fillid þe office of Crist, in liuing, and in teching, and in þoling; and þis same he biddiþ to his successors, as is opun in his pistil. But þei þat do not in dede, it is clere þat in dede þei hald not, ne do, his office, ne office of Crist; and þus it semiþ þat þei are not led be þe same spirit. þerfor as be þe dedis of Crist in his persoun, and bi þe dedis þat he dide in Petre, moost goodis are comyn to vs in þis tyme, and in tyme to come, so it is to drede, þat bi þe slownes of þe pope, and of prelats succedand in his place, and bi her peruerse werkis, moost iuil comiþ to vs, boþ of synnis and of peyn, now in þis tyme, and ay to dwell wiþ vs, but if we mend. *Bonef.* *Joh. xxi°.*

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And þus I graunt now, as oft I haue knowlechid bifor mani witnes, þat þe lawfulli ordenid his Cristis vicar, or wan he doþ, or biddiþ, ony þing in þe nam of Crist, as if Crist do þat bi him, þat þan he is þe vicar of Crist in dede, and þan it is to obey to him, as to Cristis vicar, and as to Jħu Crist. And so to folow after þe sentence of þe apostel seyng; Be my folowars as I am Cristis. And eft, ȝe tok me, he seiþ, as an aungel, ȝe as Crist Jħu, for Crist spekiþ in me, and he þat dispiciþ our teching, dispiciþ not man, but God þat ȝaf his Holy Gost in vs, for Crist seiþ, he þat heriþ ȝow, heriþ me, and he þat dispiciþ ȝow dispisiþ me, þat is, wan ȝe spek of my spirit. But not so wan ȝe spek of a noþer spirit. But wan þe pope goþ a wey fro Crist, and doþ þe contrari, as is be for seid, or doþ þe contrari, þan is not he Cristis vicar, ne it is not to obey ne folow him in þeis þingis. þus haue I oft seid; and, as I suppose, cordandli wiþ holi writ, and feiþful doctors, and autentik decreis. And it semiþ me, þat it be howfiþ me to sey þus, for it is knowun þat many popis han synnyd, and ben snibbid; and sum tan in heresy and deposid. And, þerfor, þei are not to be folowid sympli in al þing. Also non lyuyng in þis frel lif is simply wiþout synne, non but Crist, holi writ witnessiþ. Also ani in popehed aftir Petir is not holier, nor mor confermid in þat office, þan he, and he, aftir þe Holi Gost taking, synnid opunly in siȝt of þe puple, constreyning þe gentil to be com Jewes in obseruaunce; werfor Poule aȝenstod him in þe face, and redarguid him, for he was reprouable. þan it semiþ to me, þat it is helsum to þe pope, and to prelatis, and to þe peple, and worschipful to God, þat þe peple be riȝtly enformid, how þei owe to accept þe pope as þe vicar of Crist, and how þei owe to bowe fro him; þat þe peple, deseyuid ani tyme, worschip not God and þe fend to gidir, ne ani tyme þe fend in þe sted of Crist, and þe wrathe of God com boþ on þe peple and on þe prestis.

1 *Cor. xi°.* *Gal. iv°.* 1 *Thes. iv°.* *Luc. x°.* *Gal. ij°.*

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Oþer two poyntis þat are put and askid are þeis. On, þat þe pope selliþ indulgence. An oþer, þat he may 3ef non indulgence noiþer to man in purgatori, neiþer to hem þat are prescit, þat is to sey þat are to be dampnid, or are now dampnid.

II. *Indulg. That the Pope sellith indulgence. That he may 3ef non indulgence neither to man in purgatori, neither to hem that are prescit.*

To þeis I seid þus; I rehersid a doctor þat seid þus; We owe not to tak as feiþ indulgencis, now sale worþ, for þi þat are not þus grauntid of our lord Jħu Crist. And, sin sophisticacoun falliþ ofte in þis matir, feiþful men askyn, vnder peyn of þrowing hem a wey, þis witnes; feiþ of holi writ is sufficient to reule alle holi kirk, but men redun not þat ani of þe apostles grauntid silk indulgencis. And feiþful curats owen to sorowe as wel of þe spoling of þer sogetis, as also of þe synne of þe spoliars, for Crist seiþ, Blessid be þoo þat mornun, for þei schal be coumfortid. *Matt. iij°.* Blessid be þoo þat hungrun and þristun ri3twisnes, for þei schal be filled. Blessid be þe merciful for þei schal gete mercy. It semiþ to mani, þat it were wark of mercy to opun þe trowþ of þe feiþ in þis part, þat þe pope haþ not power to graunt silk indulgencis for so li3t price. Also abodily þing of how euer litil price howiþ not to be bout but wiþ þis wisdam; þat þe by3ar be profhabili sekir of þe þing sold. But þe pope mai not siker ani man þat aftir his dede, or be forn, he schal haue so mikil indulgencis; þerfor prouabily silk marchaundise owiþ to be left. For þe pope wat not, ne of himsilf, if he be sauid of God, or prescit to be dampnid, þat if he be prescit, silk indulgencis rennun not forþ a3en þe ordinaunce of God, ordeyning aylastingly þe contrary; þerfor, wan þe pope may not procure silk indulgencis generaly to himsilf, it is euident to many þat silk marchandis are suspect of coueytise of symonie. It is not a3en þe feiþ, or prouable a3en þe trowþ, þat mani popis þat be word onli hau grauntid mani large indulgencis are dampnid; þan how may þei defend þer indulgencis bifor God? Also, a duke, or an 3erle, stonding ny a 3erþli king, and þe king grauntid a fredam or priuilege, it is not inferrid of þis, þat

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þe duk, or ȝerle, grauntiþ þis fredam or priuilege, but raþer it longiþ to þe kyngis dignite; þan, sin þe king Crist is king of kings, heiar wiþ out comparisoun þan ani pope, þan þe king is souereyn to ani ȝerle or duke, it semiþ mikil more euident þat it longiþ to þe gretnes of God to graunt singlerly þeis priuilegs or fredam; for it folowiþ not, if a bedel, or criare, schewe þe fre graunt of his lord, þan þat þis seruaunt, þus schewand, grauntiþ swilke maner of fredam; mikil more if he pronounce wiþ out autorite or lif, contrariously, aȝennis þe lordis wille. And in þis caas are comynli grauntars of pardoun. Also, a feiþful curat owiþ to notify to his sugets, were is pardoun, sikirar, largar, and for les price, to be bout to his sogets. But þe popes bulle techiþ, as it is seid, a pope to a maad and grauntid, at þe instaunce of a king, two þouȝand ȝer, als oft as a nobil man seiþ it bi twex þe consecracioun and Agnus Dei. And þus prouabli a feiþful man miȝt in ȝering mani messis geit on a day þewenti þowȝand ȝer of pardoun. Swilk a wis marchandis for hel of soul, miȝt a curat sey to his parischings. Also, putting to ouer for lewid men, þat can not þis orisoun, þat þei schal haue as mikil or more indulgencis for þe pr. nr. as oft as þei sey it, and as gret charite and mekenes deseruing indulgens. Also, aȝen swilk feynid and on groundid indulgens, howiþ a feiþful prest to multiply quek resouns, weil he hungriþ and þristiþ riȝtwisnes of þe law of God, for by suelk sophymis of anticrist, þe lawe of God is despicid, and riȝtful is put in veyn hope, and vpon ilk side a liuar in þis world is falsly iapid. þerfor, lif a man a iust lif, and tryst he of þe parting of merit þat God gifiþ men frely as him likiþ. And alle feynid arguments of anticrist are not worþi to be rehersid. God seid to Petir, Wat þu byndist vpon ȝerþe it schal be boundoun also in heuin. And þe pope is Petir's vicar, þerfor it be howfiþ to trowe þat þis feiþ is verifiȝed of him. Ilk feiþful man graunt of þe gospel þe first. And suppose of þe secound word, þof it be euident of dede him not be þe vicar of Petre, syn Petir

Matt. xvj°.

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was not hardi to accept þis foule hardy presumpcoun, but suppose þat Petre or aungel of heuun accept to lowse or to bynd, he may not do þis, but in as mykil as it soundiþ to þe hed of þe kirk abouyn. And as þis consonaunt is vnknowen to þe japer, so þis fendly marchaundy is vneuident to þe feiþful peple knowend þis; þus seiþ þe doctor. Also a doctor in þe lawe, Barthelmew in casis, seiþ þat dais or ȝeris of indulgens are not daies ne ȝeris of heuen ne of purgatory, but þei are daies of þis world. Also þe law seiþ, Pardoneris ow not to graunt indulgens of þer wil of dede, ne dispens vp on wowis, ne asoil of swering, mansleyng, or of oþer synnis þei þat schriuis to hem, ne forȝeue þingis iuil tan awey and vncerteyn to wōme to restore for a quantite of money ȝyuen to hem, ne forȝeue þe þridde or þe fourt part of penaunce enioinid, ne to draw sum tyme a soule fro purgatorie, as þei feynun falsly, ne graunt pleyn remissioun of synnis, ne asoile a pena et a culpa, for alle priuilegis up on þeis or ani of hem are aȝen callid in. þe Clementyns de pe. cº. abus. h. Barth. in Casibus. If it be askid weþer þe pope selle indulgencs and merits of seynts, or þat men of þe kirke selle þer orisouns preyours or gostly suffragis; here I sey þus, It semiþ me spedy to aferm no þing folily. But it semiþ mekenes to seke how bying and sellyng synfully may falle in swelk þings, þat feiþful folk eschew þe warliar; and þan þe dede semiþ and witnessiþ herd and vnderstonden and oþer circumstauncs. Ilk man deme þe sikirliar þing þat semit to him. To selle is þe hauer to ȝeue his þing for price tane, and bi his resonable nature to reseyue þing for price ȝeuun, and þus bying and sellyng dubli grauntid and dubli ȝeuing. þer to selle is seid as for to ȝeue to selling. Werfor wan I by meit for money, I selle þe money þat þe toþer man bieþ, as I bye þing þat þe toþer selliþ. I bye þe met; in þis þat I reseyue for price ȝeuun. And I selle þe money in þis þat I giue it for price. And it semiþ þat bying and selling of man is many fold; þe first heuinly; vpon þe rewlis of wis-

Barth.

Clementins.

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dam; þe secound is on þe gespel, vpon þe rewlis of prudence; þe þrid is worldly, up on þe rewl of mannis lawe; and þe fourt is fendly. Be þe first, gostly þings ai lastand are bout for temporal þings þat are falling and passing. Of secound is seid, þat Cristis disciplis went in to þe cyte to by met. Of þe þrid is comyn among men. Of þe fourt is seid þat Achab was sold to do iuil in si3t of þe Lord. þeis wel vnderstondun, it semeþ wel þat popis, cardinalis, and oþer prelats, prestis, and oþer religiouse, may medfully and graciously selle indulgencis and merits of seynts and preyours and gostli suffrages, as þei may graunt be cristun men swilk þings or benfets and deds of mercy and oþer goodis; and þus may oþer bye. And mani may not tak part of grace ne of blis but if þei bye it vn sum maner, and it be sold hem; it semiþ bi þis þat Crist bou3t us a3en, and for our good dedis behit vs heuenly kyndom. þus blessid martirs for gloriouse martirdom deseruid to haue perpetual crounis. þus þe apostil did alle þings for þe gospel þat he schuld be maid perseyuer þer of. Als þus seye we, o maruelous marchandies, þe maker of man kynd takyng a soulid body of þe virgyn, demd to be borne, and forþgoing man wiþ out seed, may gif vs his godhed, swilk feiþ is ai mad in hope trust and charite. And þus if þe pope, or ani oþer, ani tyme feiþfully and charitably graunt and hi3t to ani man indulgens, or part of merit of seynts, part of preyours, abstinens, wakyng, obediens, or oþer deds, iustly, and on Goddis plesaunce, and graciousli, for her good deds, oþer þat þei be relesid of synnis, or of peynis, or þat þei be þe more sterid to þe feiþ, or to plese God, blessidli þei selle swilk þingis to hem. And a3en worde swilke þenkand to do þe deds of God iustli, and graciously þe dedis of mercy, þat he be maad perseyuar of swilk þings, boþ þei bien and sellen blessidli. But if þe pope, led bi coueytise, or oþer, as symonie, or wiþ þe spirit of pride, as if þei wiþ here biginning disposid alle þings, and graunt swilk þingis to ilke man, 3ha wiþ out merit, or wiþ out God ledar before,

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but as if folowid, and schuld proue, and schuld conferme wat þat him list to be don, as now is presumid of many; or led wiþ þe spirit of lust of flesche, graunt or behi3t ani swilk þingis, oþer for mony or oþer 3erþli bodili temporal good and fleschly þingis, or preyour or fauour of meed, or fleschli þings, or for swilk luf, haterad, or drede of swilk men, or for vndeu seruise, or oþer vndeu cause and vnpertinent, who schal þan dout but þat þe pope and oþer selle swilk þingis synfully, and for symonie, and þus alle þat persewen for swilke indulgens, or benfices, or oþer graces, wiþ swilk froward inwit, who doutiþ þat þei ne bi3e sinfully, or veriliar enforce to bye þing þat schal not geyt? Also if þe pope, and oþer men of þe kirke, wil not graunt indulgens or benfics to hem þat þei be grauntid to frely, but if money or sum oþer þing be 3euen to hem, or if minstris of þe kirke wele not frely minster to hem þat þei [schuld?] frely minster to, not but if mony or oþer þing be 3euen to hem, who dowtiþ þat ne swilk men sellen synfully swilk þings? þis semiþ be þe sawis of feiþful doctours, put in þe canon, so and þei þat wenun to bye indulgens for þer temporal goods, and wenun to be assoilid or for 3euun be hem, þof þei abi3d in þer synnes, nor mak not satisfaccoun dewly of þer synnis on oþer syde, but also eft turnun a3en þer to; byen synfully, and wenun to haue þat is takun a wey from hem. And also swilk are in defaut þat hopen not, ne turnen not to be for3euun of þer synnis; wan þei mend hem vp on Cristis bidding, 3ha if þe prest wil not minster to hem, not but if money be gyuen to hem, and for þis þei selle þis iuil wille. Also how blam worþi are þo minstris þat wan men and women are foundun in synne, anoon þei forbed hem þe sacraments of þe kirke and comynng of cristun men, and enioyn hem gret penaunce, but if þat þei fynd better grace. But as sone as mony is 3euen þei reysen þe synnars to þe takyng of þe sacraments and comyning of þe folk, and joynun prestis to reseyue hem, and minster to hem, þof þei leue not þer synne, but contenun it more orribli, and

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oft leue hem tul a tyme to contune þer inne. A howe cursid marchaundise of men of þe kirke, to selle soulis in synne to þe deuil for þer godis! And also þer oune soule; in part takyng of þe defaut, and for þe sacrilege þat þei do in reif of goodis. A howe gret schrewidnes, fraude, gile, and reif, and peruersite now regneþ in þe kirk, as is opun be þe dedis! Certis now is fillid þat is seid in þe psalme, For I sawe wickidnes and contradiccoun in þe cyte day and ny3t. Wickidnesse schal compasce here vp on her wall, and traueil in her middis, and vnritwisnes and vsere and gile an [are] not fallen from here stretis. In how many gret casis may it be, þat now regniþ in þe kirk synful marchondise; bryng to witnes; examyn þe sawis; discusse þe dedis; opun and comyn fame traueyliþ, þat in þe court of Rome mai no man geyt no grace, but if it be bowt, nor þer is noon grauntid, but if it be for temporal meed; for þis þat þe pope reseruiþ to himsilf, and to þe chaumbre, as graunting of sum benfics, and þe first fruts of sum oþer, þat he gifiþ; and translatyng of bischops; and al þis is don, as it is seid, for coueyties, and þat is seruant of idols; þei þat persuen for indulgencs, exempcouns, and priueylegs, sey how þei geyt nowt wiþ out bying; swilk are comynly grauntid to þe riche and my3ty of þe world. Wat of graunting of indulgencs, an abbot of gret riches 3af þre vndred marke, to geyt to his abbey, þries in þe 3eere, þe same indulgence þat þe kirk of Rome is wont to graunt to hem þat visitun a place þat is callid porciuncula. Nout only, but also [a] cardinal gaf at his dying al his good, to haue þe same grauntid to a riche abbey were he was be fore monk, as men þat are hold trewe men witnessen. What more? A clene man was in þe court, and spak to hem þat had gret gouernaile in þe court, and praid him to 3if him ordres frely. Wel, he seiþ, I schal 3eue þe frely. And þou schalt 3eue me foure floreynis, and I schal ordeyn þe a bischop aftir noon. And he ansuerid, Soþli, I haue but foure katereynis. Forsoþe, he seiþ, and þu schalt hau non ordres here.

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And þus he went wiþ out ordres. And nowe how þe pricis are ekid, and how mykil him behowuiþ to ȝeue þat schal geit benfics, þei telle þat bring swilk new þingis fro þe cowurt.

Nowe ilk man discuse wedir swilk marchaundis be synful, and ai be war of þe perel, and see þat we sey no fals witnes a geyn ani man, but ioi we euer to gidir in trowþ.

III. *Of cursing twey points.*

Of cursing twey poynts.

A noþer is þis þat is put and askid, þat þo minstris of þe kirke owe not to curse and to wari.

1. *þat þe ministris of þe kirk owe not to curse.*

Certs to þis I sey þei owe boþe to curse and wari, but neuer for iuil wille ne veniaunce, but for luf of ritwisnes. And raþer for þe breking of þe bidding of God, þan for worldli goodis or pride of þe world and flescli lust.

2. *þat þe kirke may not riztwisly curse a riztwys man.*

An oþer is þis þat is putte, þat þe kirke may not riȝtwisly curse a riȝtwys man. To þis I seid þus, þat in two maner of þing, is seid iust; first sympli, or after trowþ, as þat vnrytwysnes is not inne. In þe secound maner is a man seid iust, onli in name or aftir present riȝtwisnes. And þus as doctors seyn, a sentence of cursyng is seid to be ȝeuun justli, on two maners. On after trouþ, wan it is don wit just cause, juste ordre, and iust entent. A noþer, wan it is don onli up on comyn form o lawe. And þus it may be as it semiþ sum tyme, þat þow þe kirke curse iustli, as to form, a iust man, neþles it [is] not iust as to soþfastnes; as wan þer is no cause of þe fulnes of þe kirke cursing: vnriȝtwisnes of þe cause is þo syn going be for of þe obstinat, wan þe synnar wil not dewli obey ne amend riȝt. þat is þat þu dost þo dom in nam of þe kirke, feiþfully wilyng þe mendment of þe synnar, helful, to þe worschip of our Lord Jħu Crist, and due ordre procedand up þe gospel. But suppose her þat þis iust is þat is ordeynid be God to do a þing, or to suffre, to comyn, or to minister in ani maner, or ȝend in þe nam of Crist, and he willing to perform obediently and fille þe wark þat

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God haþ ȝeuun to do, suppose he þat þis is iust. And þan I suppose þe kirke mai not iustli curse him, as he may not sequester him fro þis þat God joiniþ him to do, but if God wille þat he be sequestrid; nor þe kirk may not iustli priue þe comyning of cristun men, nor taking of þe sacraments, nor part taking of good þings, wyle he is iust, not but if God wil þat it be done; nor þe kirke may not iustli punisch nor bid punische swilk on, bifor þat God bid; nor non may denounce swilk on cursid, not but in þe forme þat he is cursid; nor þe kirke mai not iustli lede ani man in to synne, nor bid do synne, ne contune þer inne, þe wilk he putt owt of comyn and harmiþ, as it semiþ bi þe speche of feiþful men; nor mai not iustli wari him, ne pray iuil to him, ne punisch him, for he will do wel and fille Godds bidding, and amend his mis. In ani swilk maner þei mai not curse ani swilk iust man.

But it semeþ me þat it spedeþ a litil to seeke þe witte and þe sawis of feiþful men, owe [how?] þei speke of cursyng, for þer is mani maner of cursyng. þe first and þe warst, and þat is dedely synne, bi þe wilk a man synning, puttiþ him self out of cominyng of feiþful men, þat is to sey, vndisposiþ himsilf to tak part of þe merits of þe kirk, as it is of ilk man deed bi synne; and þus owiþ no man to curse ani man, for God may not autorise þat actyfe cursyng; nor Crist was not þus cursid, for he synnid neuer. But passyue cursyng, þat is peyn be it self wiþ synne folowand, is iust; wilke is proper God to ȝeue, and is iust medicyn þat þo synnar owiþ for to take þankfuly, and be sory for þe cause þerof: þer is also a noþer cursing, þat is preying of iuil or effectual warying or cursyng þat is iust, departing fro comyning of feiþful men, and fro þe taking of þe sacraments. And a noþer by wilk a man cursiþ a noþer contrarily to þe lawe of Crist, and þat but only in nam or pretendid.

þerfor to spek of þe cursyng of þe kirke, [by] þe wilk þe kirk denounciþ opunly a synnar to be put out of comynyng, and be for-

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fendid him þo comyn feleschip of feiþfulmen, and taking of sacraments, þat he do þe raþer penaunce, and infect not oþer, and þat þis be ritful boþ up þe side þat is cursid and up on þe kirk side cursing, be howfiþ þe kirk to temt warly. For as þre condicouns mak martirdom faire, þat is to sai, riȝtwisnes of þe cause, charitable pacience of þe martir, an vnriȝtwisnes of þe persewar, and so þat cursing be riȝtwyse longen in a contrari maner; þat is to say, riȝtwisnes in the kirk cursing, cause of vnriȝtwisnes in þe man cursid, and enemy of þe obstinat. And þus it may be, þof þe kirk curse a iust man iustly, as to form of vsing of lawe; naþles it is not iustly as to þe cause of soþfastnes, nor it may not, wyle þer is no cause of vnriȝtwisnes in þe man, ne obstynacy, ne ritwisnes in þe kirk, þus doing; þat is, wile God biddiþ not þe kirk curse, þus þe vnriȝtwisnes of þe cause is synne going biforne, for wilk þe man schuld be cursid. Enemy of þe obstinat, wan þe synnar wil not dewli obey ne a mend. Riȝtwisnes of þe kirk doing execucoun is wan þe kirk a cordiþ wiþ Crist, and þe kirk aboue; of mek charitable feiþful entent, þenkyng helful correccoun of þe synnar to þe honor of God, procediþ in dewe ordre up þe gospel.

But, for to haue þe more clere and vndeceyuid knowyng of þis mater, cursing and assoling in mater of domis, and geuing of sentence in ani maner of dome, priuey or comyn, and in mater witnessing, and in materis to be don, þolid, susteynid, aprouid, confermid, canoniȝid, autenkid, or to be helpid, in ani maner of cause a geyn ani man, or for ani þing, me semiþ now spedy to sey summe þings.

First, I tak as feiþ, þat no creature mai do iustli, wele, meritorili, perfitly, vnsinfully, effectuali, ne perseuerantli ani þing, not but if God wirk þat þing bi him, and in him; þat if he do, or presume to do þis þat God wirkiþ not bi him, he synneþ, and his wark schal be in veyn, and idil, and schal not stond in profit. þis semiþ þus, Crist miȝt not, þan mikil more non oþer creater mai þat Crist

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Jo. uº. miȝt not, semiþ þus; for he seiþ in the gospel, þe Sone mai not of himsilf ani þing, nor nouȝt, but as he seþ þe Fadir doing; þat if he schuld do ani þing þat God schuld not bi him, schuld do vniustly. For þus he seiþ: If I bere witnes of misilf, mi wittnes is not trewe, it is Fadir þat beriþ wittnes of me; and as þe Fadir beriþ witnes of him, and biddiþ him bere witnes and speke, so he beriþ witnes and spekiþ. War for he seiþ; þe words þat I speke, I speke not of misilf, but þe Fadir dwelling in me he doþ þe dedis, and as he gaf me bidding so I spek. And so is ilk man holdun to spek, and do, and witnes, as þe Fadir giffiþ bidding to hem. And þat no creater mai do iustli ani þing, not but if Crist do it bi him, semiþ þus. Ilk power in heuen and in ȝerþe is ȝeuen to Crist. Also þe Fadir haþ ȝeuen al dome to þe Sone, and al wysdam is of þe Lord God. þerfor wiþ out Crist is no iust power, dome, ne *Apoc. iij.* wisdam; he haþ þe key of Dauid; he closiþ, and þan no man opunniþ; he opunniþ and þan no man closiþ. If he dyng down, þan no man biggiþ vppe. If he close, þan is þer no man þat may opun, ne iustli aȝenstond him, nor no man mai sey þis schal be don, but if he bidde. And he giffiþ power, and wisdam, and seiþ: *Joh. xuº.* Wiþ outen me ȝee mai no þing do. And for þis seiþ Poule: We *2 Cor. iijº.* may not of our self þenk ani þing as of ourself, but our sufficiens *2Cor.xiijº.* is in God; and no werkis in vs and no þing mai we aȝen þe trowþ, but for þe trowþ. And for þis seiþ þe prophet: Lord, þu hast *Is. xxujo.* wrout al our warkis in vs. And mani swilk witnes. And so, sin no creater mai do iustli ani þing wiþ outun Crist, þan þe kirk may not, noþer general kirk, ne particuler; þe kirk in heuen, ne þe kirk sleping in purgatory, ne þe kirk fiȝting in þis world, aggregat, or gedred to gidre in on of Crist, and of al chosun to be blessid wiþ him wiþ outen ende, lepun vp to gidir in to oo spirit and concorporel and conperseyuers and felows of þe heiȝest of Crist, and of his godly kynd. As Petre seiþ in his epistil, and Poul of Colocenses: Weþer it be þe kirk particuler, as were two or þre are

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gedrid to gidir in Cristis name, and of þe kirk; or if it be a persone ordeynid to do ani þink in þe name of Crist and of þe kirk, he mai no þing do iustli, but in maner befor seyde, þat Crist do it bi him.

And þus is opun þat þe kirk mai not iustli curse ne bles, but as he haþ befor ordeyned to be doun, and do it be þe kirk; þe kirk mai not ellis curse iustli, þat is noþer sequester ani man fro comyning of feiþful men, ne fro part takyng of sacraments, ne for bid him ne to do ani þing, ne joyn him penaunce, ne denounce, put out of comyn, ne bid iuil to him, ne curse him in ani maner, be wat nam þat cursing be callid; þe kirk may not do it iustli, ne vnblamfully, not but in als mikil as Crist haþ ordeynid to be doun, and doiþ it bi þe kirk, and confermit it. And riȝt so of soiling; oþer wis may not þe kirk bring a man out of synne, ne forȝef þe peyn, nor man siker, ne pronounce, ne hiȝt him to be soylid, in ani maner for ani cause. Ne oþer wyse howiþ ani man to dred ani curse, not but in als mikil as it is ȝeuen vp Cristis bidding, ne oþer wise ioi of assoiling; ne reste hemsilf siker þer for. Oþer wyse ow ȝe not to drede it; þat is, ȝe ow not to drede it þat it schal greue ȝow, or noy ȝow, as at God to mak ȝow sinful, or to be punischid, nor ȝe ow not cesse, ne abstene fro ani good wark, but vp þat Crist for bediþ it him. þis sentence is clere of manifold witnes of þe feiþful opunning of holi writt, and publischid expresly and ympliȝeþly, and of þe sawis of feiþful doctours, witnessing and expounding; and of þe decreis of þe kirk conferming. In canoun it is writun þus, of þe words of þe pope Leoun; þe priuylege of Petre dwelliþ were euer þe dome is ȝeuen aftir his equite, þat þe fersnes be noþer to mikil ne to litil, were no þing schal be bounde ne lowsid, not or Petre byndiþ or lowsiþ. Who euer deserue to tak þe sentence of daming, if he wele perseyuer in his wit, no man mai relesse him. And also Jerom seiþ, If ani man be put out nouȝt be riȝt dome of hem þat are abouen to þe kirk, if he went

Leoun.

Jerom.

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not out be forne, þat is, dide not so þat he deseruid to be put out, he is no þing hurt in þis þat he semiþ to be put out fro men be dom not riȝt. And þus it is don þat sum tyme his [he?] is wiþ inne þat is cast out, and he is wiþ out þat semiþ wiþ inne. þus seiþ he. *Gelazi.* And Gelaȝi þe pope seiþ, He þat sentence is ȝeuen aȝen do he awey þe error and it is voyd, and if it be vniust, so mikil he owiþ to charge it þe lesse as at God and at his kirk. Wickid sentence mai greue no man, and so disire ȝe not to be assoilid þer of be *Austeyn.* wilk ȝe holdun ȝou not boundon. þus seiþ he. And Austyn seiþ, Vp on þe general feiþ, no man mai noi þe kynd of God, ne þe kynd of God mai not noi ani man vniustly, ne þole ani be noiȝed *Col. iij°.* vniustly; he þat noiþ, as þe Apostel seiþ, schal reseyue þis þat he *Rabanus.* noiþ. To þis acordiþ Rabanus and oþer doctours mani; of wilk ȝet it is spedi to rehers summe. þer is a cursing þat is dedli synne þe wilk þe man synning puttiþ himsilf out of comoun; þat is, vndisposiþ himsilf to tak part of merits of þe kirk, os it is of ilk ded be synne, and be swilk cursing is man waried to God. And þus no man ow to curse ani man, sin God mai not autorise þis cursing actif, for þus was neuer Crist cursid, for he synnid not. But cursing of peyn be it self folowand is iust, þe wilk longiþ to God to ȝef. þer is anoþer cursing, bi wilk þe kirk denounciþ opunly a synnar put out of comyn, and forbediþ him comyn feleschip of cristun men, and þe takyng of sacraments, þat he mend þe raþer, and smot not oþer. And of þis curse þe kirke spekiþ most famously. And þis is callid þe cursyng of þe kirk. To whas riȝtful ratifiyng, als wel on his syd þat is cursid, os on þe side of þe kirk cursing, þe kirk be houuiþ to tent to þre condicouns þat are requirid to þis lawful cursing; þat is, vnriȝtwisnes in the cause, enuy of aȝen stonder, and riȝtwisnes of þe kirke doing execucoun. þe first semiþ þat no man is þus cursid but materaly for synne. Ilk synne is vnriȝtwysnes or brynging it in, þerfor to þis lawful curse is requirid þe vnriȝtwisnes of þe cause; ne it is aȝen þis, but acording

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þat man be cursid, for þe honor of God, and profit of himsilf, and of þe peple, wiþ mani final leful leke causis os it semiþ of þe peyn of dampnid men. þe secounde circumstaunce semiþ of þis, þat to lawful cursing is requirid þrefald broþer correcting, and but he dwel obstinat to þe fourt peyn þat is dede of þe kirk; for it is a prescripcoun fro comyning of feiþful men; ellis þis cursing is not lawful. þe þrid circumstaunce semiþ of þis, þat is it [it is?] not possible to be put of comyn of men, but þat if it be þerfor þow a persoun prescit curse bi autorite of þe [kirk], neuer þe lesse he presupponiþ þe kirk. And þus it semiþ al onli in effect an heretik schuld vnderly þe curse of þe kirk; but it semiþ þat ilk synning to þe deþ is an heretik; as a3en ward a heretik is he þat synniþ to þe deþ, for ilk swilk pertinatly contrarily techiþ to holi writte. And swilk curse, syn it is iust medicyn of þe gilty, schuld be tane þankfully, for he is not perid þerby, but betteryd, or ellis his malice swagid. But he schuld do a wey þer of, and take þe medicyn, schakyng a wey synne from him be absolucoun of sacrament, and mekly taking a noþer absolucoun of iurisdiccoun of him þat cursid, by was vertewe he my3t comyn wiþ cristun men and tak sacraments. And þow þat medicyn be good for þe tyme, neuerþeles þe hele folowand is fare better. And bi resoun of þat prohibicoun fro comyng of feiþful men and reseyuing of sacraments, syn it is not a sacrament supposid þat is it leful to a lewyd man in þe vertew of þe kirk to curse and louse; but wan ani after þe þridde correpcoun dwelliþ inobedient, he owiþ not only to be denouncid a cursid, þat of sume is callid þe lesse curse; but comyn of feiþful men and takyng of sacraments owun to be defendid him; þat is callid þe more curse þan þe kirke haþ ordeyned resounably; þat þe kirk performe it solemply, candel slekennid, bell rogun, and þe cros turnid vp so doun. neuerþeles it intendiþ þe good of him þat is cursid charitabli, and profi3t of þe kirk. And it semiþ be a noþer doctor to bring forþ a noþer curse, be wilk i

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is leful to curse þe iust man, wiþ outun his demerit, of forbeding him comyn of men, and taking of sacraments, þat he geit mede of his obedience, and þe sinnar be mad redy, or for summe oþer swilk cause. But certeyn I am þat þis curse may not be done wiþ outun resounable cause; ne þe nakyd wille of þe prelat is not inowe þerto; ne a man is not holdun for swilk curse to leef þing þat he is holdun to do bi Godds bidding. Neuerþeles he mai medulfully cesser fro summe dedis for a tyme, and deserue for obediens. And if ani can ground þis maner of cursyng I consent.

But how þat we spek of curse oiþer it þat is dedly, or peyn consequent þer of, or ellis warying, or it þat is sequestracoun of þe iust man fro comyn, or it be wilke þe iust man be cursid as contrari to Godds lawe, þat is but only in name or pretendand, or ani oþer, it semiþ þat noun owiþ to curse ani principali for money, for his proper cause or wrong don til him.

Þis semiþ bi ensaumpul of Crist and Moyses, and swilk oþer; and also be doctors and laws of þe kirk: for bi lawe canoun no man howiþ to curse in his owne proper cause; for vnder þe autorite of Gregor þe kirk writiþ þus; Among mani quarells a nobil man, Ysidore, pleynid him to be cursid of þe [thy] broþer hed, and wan we lere of þe [thy] clerk þat was present for wat cause þis was don, he maad knowen for non oþer cause, but for he had greuid þee. Wilk þing noiȝiþ vs riȝt gretly, if it be so; þu schewist þee to þenk no þing of heuenly þings, but tokunist þee to haue an ȝerþli conuersacoun, til þu haue done cursing for venging of þi selue; þat is defendid bi holi rewlis. Werfore fro hene forþ be wel bisy abowt. And presume þu neuer to do aftur swilk þingis, for defence of þi noune iniurie; for if þu do ani swilk þing, wyte þu wel it to vengid after in þi self. Werfor þe glose of Ion seiþ, Þe bischop mai not curse ani man for wrong don to him, nor mai not be iuge in his oune cause, þat is to vnderstond, namly, it is leful to no man to curse principali for his oune proper cause.

Gregor.

Ion.

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þis semiþ be ensaumple of Crist, for he wold not curse hem þat denoied to him harborow and lifelod, but reprouid his disciplis askyng veniawns; and wan he was waried he waried not aȝen, wan he was punischid, he manest not aȝen, but mekly be toke himsilf to him þat iugid him vniustly; and þe peyn of oþer synne bare, and prayed for his cruciars. *Luc. ix.* 1 *Pet. ij.*

Also be ensaumple of Moyses, wan þe peple synnid in to God, he vengid it; and wan þei greuid him he þolid, and ȝaue þe cause to God.

Also it be howuiþ þo synne to be notory and greuows, for wilk cursyng schuld be done. Were þe Archedecoun seiþ, þat þe more curse is to be ȝeuun for contumacy alone; and þis he groundiþ be mani lawis. And al oþer lawis þat semen to sey, þat man how to curse for crime of vowtre, þeft, and swilk oþer; so þat vndirstond for contumacy descendend of swilk crime. And he seiþ Lincoln to be of þe same sentence, and Innocent, seing þat man is not to be cursid only for þe crime, if he wil amend him. And þe sentence of Crist acordiþ in þe gospel; were cursing is groundid. Were for þe kirk seiþ, None of bischoppis priue ani man fro comyning of þe kirk, wiþ outun certeyn and opun cause of synne. And resoun is þis, for ilk cursing vniustli also cursiþ himsilf, for he synniþ dedly. And Austeyn seiþ, as is be for seid: No man mai noye kynd of God. *Archedecoun.* *Lincoln.* *Innocent.* *The kirk.* *Austeyn.*

Of þe wilk semiþ þre notable conclusiouns: first, þat God mai not curse ani man ne suffur him to be noiȝed to his pering, but himsilf be first in cause; for þe curse of þe kirk takiþ not a wey riȝtfulnes ne vertu, ne inferriþ not synne, but schewiþ departing fro comyn of seynts, and defendiþ medicinable comyning wiþ þe kirk or sacraments of it. Were for seiþ Archedecoun, efter þat he schewiþ þat þe keyes of þe kirk only byndun and lousun, wan þei are confermid to þe keyes of Crist, þat bynding or lousing of þe prelat is not þe cause why ani is lousid or boundun in heuin. But *Archedecoun.*

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more to come . . .