



JOHANNIS WYCLIF
TRACTATUS
DE BLASPHEMIA.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE VIENNA MS. 4514.

WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

BY

MICHAEL HENRY DZIEWICKI.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. The Manuscripts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. Authenticity and date of the work.

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

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

It is barely possible and extremely improbable that this is merely an episode inserted into *De Blasphemia*, which may have been written at a later date. Not to mention the fact that it fits into the rest of the text quite as well as any of Wyclif's numerous digressions, there is another argument in favour of *De Blasphemia* being written in 1381. We have an allusion (pp. 89, 247) to a recent condemnation of Wyclif's theory of the Eucharist in Oxford. This condemnation is usually ascribed to the year 1382, May—November.¹ Now, Mr. Matthew² has proved — conclusively, in my opinion — that the date 1381, summer, usually given to the first appearance of Wyclif's doctrine on Transubstantiation, is in reality the date of his condemnation at Oxford. We have thus two separate indications, each pointing to the latter half of 1381 as the date of *De Blasphemia*.

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

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

² English

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

III. Contents of *De Blasphemia*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ch. I. Wyclif begins as usual with a short definition and division of blasphemy. It is committed, 1st, when we ascribe to God attributes that are not His; 2nd, when we deny His real attributes, and 3rd, when we ascribe His attributes to creatures. St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiae*, 2^a, 2^{ac}, qu. XIII, art. 1, *Ad 2^m*) gives this division almost in the same words, but does not name the authors from whom he takes it¹, and points out that the division is not a

¹ A quibusdam dicitur.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ St. Thomas, for instance.

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

We should believe Scripture, he goes on to say, and care little for what either the Pope or the Sects may affirm on this matter. Pope Innocent's decrees¹ may be wrong; and, infallibility depending upon personal holiness, there is a strong case against that ambitious Pope. Yet we should, out of respect, explain the decree, understanding 'transubstantiation' to mean 'conversion.' The Friars, however, take it to mean annihilation of the substance of bread, so that nothing remains but the accidents; of what sort, they are unable to say. This is blindness. The accidents indeed remain in the act of our mind that contemplates them; but the activity of the subject is lost sight of, not destroyed.

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

¹ *Firmiter and Cum Marthae.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

place¹ not under his jurisdiction and in a matter which thou, babbler as thou art! canst not even conceive? Most surely, I may retort, thou art an arch-heretic (*coronatus hereticus*) unless thou shovest that he is a heretic whom thou thus blindly accusest." This, Wyclif goes on to explain, refers to his own views on the Eucharist, which he contends are far more orthodox than those of his opponent. Yet that man would burn him without suffering him to reply! And Bishops are to be deposed for suffering heretics; whereas Christ Himself suffered Judas, *and suffers this apostate too!*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is not reasonable to force the faithful to confess once a year '*proprio sacerdoti*', for a *proper* priest is too often not to be found; the obligation is either too loose or too strict, since it obliges to confession even those that have not sinned¹, and does not oblige even the greatest sinners to confess oftener; the law, besides, takes no account of exceptional cases, of deaf persons, wanderers, &c. There are also logical difficulties; for every instant a new year begins. And it is impossible to remember all the sins of a whole year; but, if they are not confessed in detail, how can a proper penance be assigned? Priests are now completely blinded, and unfit to be the confessors of a true Christian; they do not follow the law themselves. Besides

¹ See p. XXV, l. 9, 10.

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

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

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

a wicked priest, he no longer has the right¹ to ordain. And if the Bishop cannot ordain, then the priests he has consecrated are mere laymen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Johannes Straw, qui fuit post Walterum Tylero maximus inter illos. Walsingham II, 6.

exactly the point of view of those who call the excesses of the French Revolution ‘a sort of wild justice.’ He points out the fact that the clergy possessed superfluous riches; but he does not admit that they ought to have been put to death on that account. Rather let them live, but be deprived of their temporalities. The clergy, who had prompted the late war, were responsible for the great numbers of soldiery in the country, whom they irritated rather than appeased (pp. 191, 192). What had the Archbishop to do with the Chancellorship, that most secular function of all? He was evidently a traitor¹ (p. 194). If the clergy does not reform, we shall yet see worse disasters (p. 195). It must, however, be admitted that the punishment inflicted was excessive: 1st. In *degree*, the people having no right to take away life. 2nd. In *quality*. There was no form of justice, only a mere outburst of popular indignation. 3rd. In *manner*; for they did not punish according to the fault; they rebelled against the secular powers, and they did not wait to take the advice of the whole kingdom (pp. 196, 197). On the other hand, we must not forget their grievances. Let neither the secular powers, nor Rome, nor the clergy, any longer rob the people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

means of a general dispensation from their vows. Wyclif avails himself of the objection that the destruction of the Friars would put an end to scholastic degrees in the University, to inveigh against the *Fratres pillati*, or graduates among the Friars, who, as it appears, enjoyed certain privileges very likely to excite the envy of such of their brethren as were less intelligent or (according to Wyclif, p. 244. ll. 31—37) less fortunate than they: such as, for instance, exemption from preaching, from the Choir, and from all acts of obedience (*omne quod sonat in obedienciam*). So that, while they praise obedience, they make it the greatest reward not to have to obey! This is unscriptural in every way, as is also the fashion after which their General domineers over them (p. 246). An abrupt transition brings us again to the Eucharistic controversy, and Wyclif's condemnation in Oxford, and the 'Catholic Doctor' who spoke in Wyclif's favour, whom (in *De Apostasia, Introduction*) I have supposed to be Wyclif himself, though I am not quite sure of that now. It seems, however, that this hypothesis cannot be reasonably doubted. He more than once speaks of himself in the third person¹, and the arguments of the 'Catholic Doctor' melt into the text in such a manner that it is hard to see where they end and where Wyclif takes up the argument for his own part. There is no need to give the details of these arguments; the most striking of them have already been dealt with in *De Apostasia*. Wyclif concludes that the Oxford condemnation was a temptation of Satan, occasioned by ignorance of the interpretation of Scripture. (p. 250). The rest of the chapter contains nothing new.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CAPITULUM PRIMUM.

29^a | Restat succincte de blasfemia pertractandum. Est Blasphemy may autem blasfemia *insipiens detraccio honoris domini*. Et be defined as a dicitur a *blas* (quod est insipiens) et *femina*, que quasi *detractio from God's honour*.
5 rane *blaterant*, communiter nimis stulte.

Committitur autem blasfemia tribus modis. *Primo* and is of three modo, quando deo attribuitur quod sibi non convenit; kinds:
ut ponendo quod deus nimis severe puniat, vel quod 1. when we sit iniqitas apud deum. *Secundo* modo, cum removetur ascribe unjust attributes to God;

10 a deo quod sibi convenit; ut legitur de Rapsace 4^{to} Reg. 18 et 19. Et *tercio* modo, quando pure creature XVIII, attribuitur quod deo proprium est. Et ad istum sensum 17-37 XIX, Judei sepe imposuerunt Cristo blasphemiam, ut patet 4-8 Matth. 9, 16 et Joh. 10. Et isto modo Herodes, Act. 12 legitur blasfemasse; et principes populi sunt proni incitare in istam blasphemiam.

Joan. Et patet scrutanti intime quod, sicut simonia et X. 36 apostasia consecuntur ad quocunque mortale, sic et Act. XXVI, 65 blasfemia, que convertibilis est cum illis. Nam, eo ipso XIII, 23 quo quis peccat mortaliter, wult vitam istam esse bonam, 20 et per consequens non reprobata, sed approbatam a deo: quod est manifesta blasfemia. Wult enim implicite attribuere deo auctorizacionem peccati, quod propter

1. Incipit liber de blasfemia duodecimus in ordine C. Explicit de officio pastorali incipit eiusdem de blasfemia. Capitulum primum D.
2. succincte C. 4. femia AB. 5. rana latrat A; ib. blaterant E.
6. tribus modis blasf. CDE. 7. attribuitur D; corr. E. 9. apud D;

ib. modo *deest* BCDE. 10. Rapsate C. 11. *Rēgō* (= quarti regum) A; quarti DE. 12. attribuitur D; corr. E; ib. ad *deest* A. 14. et *deest* ABDE; ib. Herodes *deest* A. 17. simonia CDE. 18. consequuntur C; ib. quodlibet C. 20. peccator blasphemat *in marg.* C; ib. wlt CDE; ib. illam ACDE. 21-23. et per consequens non reprobacionem, sed approbationem a deo, quod est manifesta blasfemia wult enim implicite deo attribuere auctorizacionem peccati A. 22. wlt CDE. 23 deo attrib. CDE; ib. auctorizacionem D.

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

Rabshakeh, we deny his real attributes; 3. when we ascribe God's peculiar properties to His creatures, as was done in Herod's case.

Rulers are much exposed to this sin.

Simony and apostasy imply blasphemy under each of the foregoing heads;

1. inasmuch as the man who sins mortally wishes God to authorize his evil act;

2. because, hoping for impunity, he derogates from God's justice, which must fall on every sinner; 3. because his acts implicitly make his own will a supreme law.
We may argue thus for every mortal sin.

Et per hec intelligi potest Augustinus super illo psalmo 146 "Laudate dominum, quoniam bonus est psalmus". "Qui", inquit, "psallit, non sola mente psallit; sed, assumpto eciam quodam organo quod vocatur psalterium, accendentibus manibus voci concordat. Vis ergo psallere? non solum vox tua sonet laudes dei, sed opera concordent cum voce tua. Cum igitur voce tua cantaveris, silebis aliquando. Vita sic canta, ut nunquam sileas; vita tua semper laudet. Negocium agis, et fraudem cogitas? De bono opere tuo laudas deum, et cum blasphematur deus de malo opere tuo, opere tuo blasphemas deum." Et sequitur: "Si vero modum vescendi immoderacione voracitatis excedis, et vinolencia te ingurgites, quantaslibet laudes dei lingua sonet, vita blasphemat." Et isto modo loquitur Apostolus Thym. 1^o vocans se ipsum „blasphemum", quia erravit a lege domini. Et i Tim. 1, 13 utinam nostri prepositi non plus errent!

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

it is of no use
to praise God
with the tongue

if you
blaspheme

Him by an
imtemperate life.

In this sense
St. Paul calls
himself a
blasphemer.

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

1. competere CE; ib. wlt CD. 2. auferre a Deo DE. 3. wlt CD;
ib. homini implicite dare C; implicite homini dare DE. 4. regulam C;
5. voluntate E; ib. deo deest C. 6. petitio (in marg. corr.) A;
petitio C; peccato corr. in marg. petitio D; peccato cui superscriptum est
petitio E. 7. quia pro quod E; ib. ^{et}⁹ pro aliquod E. 8. autem
deest ABDE; ib. est et C. 9. potest intelligi C; ib. Augustinus in
marg. A. 10. laudare in marg. C; ib. est deest A. 11. assumpto D;
12. opera tua CDE; ib. tua deest A. 13. alii pro aliquando A.
14. opere tuo in marg. B; deest A; opere tuo linea rubra delet. E.
21, 22. blasphemare deum opere in marg. C. 24. ligna A; ligna tua CDE.
25. Thym A; i. Thymoti primo DE. 26. in pro a B.
27. errant B. 29. radix blasphemie Roma in marg. C. 30. in signis
linea division E. 31. simillimus B.

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

talis ex psalmi discordia blasphemat cum in vita, sequitur quod et omnis talis sit radix blasphemie; imponit enim deo expresse vitam sibi persimilem, quod a deo tolleret omnem laudabilem dignitatem. Implicat eciam totum evangelium esse falsum; ipsum enim affirmat Cristum vixisse vitam pauperem, mundo odibilem, quia laboriosam et humilem, cunctis suis fratribus ministrando, ut hic supponitur. Hic autem vivit omnino contrarie, et ad hoc promovet omnino suos discipulos; ita quod de cristianismo, seducto per tales aspirantes ad seculare dominium (quod Cristus in se renuit et interdixit suis discipulis), intelligi potest illud Ysa. 3^o: *Effeminati dominabuntur eis.* Mos enim feminarum est, quo ad opera virilia ociari, in lautis esibilibus et stramentis mollibus delectari, et post ista ac ornamenta splendida ex excellencia sui nominis blaterare. Sic effeminantur antichristus cum suis satrapis. Nam tamquam alter costree resident in suo sumptuoso | pallacio, cuius sumptus non solum male sunt tyrannice capti, sed pessime, quia blasfeme de bonis pauperum summa yppocrisi spoliare. De lauticiis vero, de pulvinaribus et eorum lectisterniis, clamat mundus. Et non solum carte plumbate sed codices testantur eius excellenciam blasphemam, post ornatum stultissimum ac monstruosissimum; primo cameraller 25(more feminine) cum suis complicibus intimatam, et post late per mundum publice proclamatam. Sic quod, ubi Cristus non habens ubi caput suum reclinet, visitavit pedestris humiliiter civitates et patrias quas sanando in struxit, Antichristus trahit ad ociantes pedes sue superbie totum mundum, quem non reficit, sed inficit; non sanat, sed contaminat; non instruit in lege domini, sed seducit in scola blasphemie antichristi.

Matth. VIII, 20

2. et deest CDE; ib. imponit ACDE. 3. per similitudinem A. 4. implicat evangelium esse falsum *in marg.* C; implicat DE. 5. Cristum affirmat C. 8. antichristus *pro autem* A. 11. qn̄ *pro quod* C.

12. Ysa. 3^o A; Ys. 3 C. 12, 13. clementati qui dicuntur dominari *in marg.* C. 13. *after eis in marg.* nota; morem feminarum B; mos feminarum in papa est factus *in marg.* C. 14. strameti A. 15. hac A. 15, 16. extollentia C; ib. suis D; ib. blaterari A; laterare C; blaterare DE.

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

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

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

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

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

So much is Christianity depraved by those aspiring to secular rule, which Christ

Himself refused and forbade it to His disciples, that Isaiah's words are now fulfilled concerning the effeminacy of our rulers:

Who, like women, delight in luxury and pride;

the world proclaims, and we have written evidence of their luxurious feasts and their feminine love of show both in private and in public.

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

Every morning Unde cardinales, proximi complices huius hominis,
 the cardinals must go to him docentur valde mane accedere ad suam presenciam,
 with a numerous and splendid train cum numerosa sumptuosa et monstruosa familia equitatus,
 of horsemen; non propter loci distanciam vel difficultatem itineris,
 sed ad ostendendum magnificenciam suam mundo et 5
 contrarietatem sui ad Cristum cum suis Apostolis. Exteris C.
 and strangers are ordered to beg for leave to kiss his feet; vero visitantibus hunc patrem iniungitur quod, ipso
 sedente in altum, in ornatu splendido, eciam usque ad
 pedes cum genuflexione petant humiliter pedum oscula
 which, called blessed, are not so, because of his worldliness. beatorum. Quod si per "pedes" in scriptura significatur 10
affeccio mundane glorie, ac non beata sed reprobata sit
affeccio mundane glorie ac eius factorum, nichil falsius
 quam talem hominem esse beatum; et per consequens
 Christ, after His resurrection, forbade Mary to kiss His feet: Antichrist exacts this. beatitudo sua non ebilit ad pedem vel ad talum. Cristus enim mandavit Magdalene volenti post resurreccionem 15
osculari, ut assolet, pedes suos: *Noli, inquit, me tangere*, Joan. nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum. Et anticristus blasphemae exigit nedum pedum oscula, sed declamacionem blasphemam quod organa eius abiectissima sint beata. Cristus enim noluit feminam osculari pedes suos post resurrecionem, immortales indubie et beatos, ut tollat presumptionem blasphemam a ministris false fингentibus se esse Cristi vicarios. Pedes autem cum Christo ascendencium ad gloriam sunt beati, et non esca vermium, membrum putridum et fetens sudor affectionum membra diaboli. 25

Yet Christ's feet and His followers' are blessed and immortal; not so those of the members of the Devil.
 Before His resurrection, Christ allowed Himself to be touched, that sins might be effaced or diseases cured. But the pope has not this motive. Christ's forbidding Magdalene to kiss His feet, whilst allowing

Perante autem Cristus pertulit sed non presumpsit pedes suos cum lacrimis osculari a femina, ut patet Luce 7^o; quia devota contricio et parcium Cristi corporalis taccio delent crimina viatoris. Ideo ante mortem viando propter faciendam multiplicem sanitatem voluit tangi a feminis, ut patet Luc. septimo et octavo. Sed cum defscit ista causa in papa, non subest racio quare sic extollitur super Cristum. Sed Augustinus, super secundo capitulo Joh. omelia 121^a notat quod Cristus post resurreccionem voluit tangi a feminis; cum Matth. 28 35

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

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

D. dictis Magdalene latet absconditum sacramentum. Et she representing the church of the Gentiles who were not yet converted, and being besides too much attached to Christ as man.
5 tertio, videtur dicere quod tam allegorice quam tropologice fuit sensus domini Magdalene singulariter nunciatus, quod ipsa figurante ecclesiam gencium, fuit ipsa ecclesia post ascensionem plenarie convertenda. Et quantum ad tropologiam ipsa Magdalena imperfecte consideravit Cristi humanitatem, non considerans quomodo fuit equalis patri divinitus. Ideo fuit ex hinc prohibita ipsum tangere; quasi diceret, *quia nondum ascendi in consideracione tua ad equalitatem patris*, ideo, ut istam imperfeccionem cognoscas et corrigas, *noli me tangere.*

12 Sed Crisostomus videtur dicere quod apparuit Marie in consimili corpore quale habuit ante mortem; et ideo dispidente dote claritatis, creditit ipsum resurrexisse ad vitam communem ducendam cum discipulis, sicut ante. Unde et voluit dominum familiariter tangere, sicut et prius. Sed hanc opinionem repellit, quasi signando causam quare apparuit corpus suum non esse gloriosum, per hoc quod ostendendo veritatem resurrectionis sue per quadraginta dies fuit informaturus ecclesiam ante suam ascensionem: unde monuit eam ire ad apostolos, 25 quos vocavit "fratres suos". Quod si isti sancti iam viverent, videntes blasphemam exaccionem oscularum pedis romani pontificis, considerantes quod mos est auctoris scripture gravidare ipsam multiformi sentencia, consonanter dicenter quod hec mulier, effeminatos signans, 30 prohibetur ad talia blasfema oscula anhelare.

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

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

motive be
interest or
mistaken
devotion;

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

We must either
deny the Gospel
or believe this.

Christ counsels
us to take the
lowest place at
the wedding
feast, when
called:

Which is meant
not of bodily
but spiritual
calling, place,
and feast,
as Grossete
points out.

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

vel ex devocione blasfema, omnino culpabitur. Quia autem tales cecati et palliantes factum, ac excitantes ad facinus, sunt cause huius yppocrisis, ideo Job 34 XXXIV, dicitur, *quod deus regnare facit yppocritam propter peccata populi*. In osculato est omnino culpabile, quia non potest parificari Cristo, ut tantam dignitatem recipiat. Quod si parificatur apostolis, non excedat honores huiusmodi ultra quam illi suscepserant ad augmentum sui meriti ex confessione humili, et ad utilitatem populi honorantis. Ideo illi, instar Cristi, ceperunt benefacere dignificantes se per opera quoad deum, et mundanos honores respuerunt. Anticristus autem facit omnino contrarium. Ideo vel oportet negare evangelium, vel credere quod hec facit ad maximum sui obprobrium, Lue. nam Luce 14 mandavit Cristus: *Cum vocatus fueris ad XIV, 8 nupcias, non discumbas in primo loco, ne forte honoracione sit invitatus ab illo, et veniens is qui te et illum invitaret, dicat tibi: da huic locum; et tunc incipies cum rubore novissimum locum tenere.* Constat autem ex fide et testimonio sanctorum quod Cristus loquitur de vocatione, de locacione et de cenacione spirituali, non corporali; quia, ut deducit linconiensis, aliter quilibet fidelis affectaret in nupciis carnalibus locum novissimum, et foret in eis intollerabilis contencio, inordinata invitatorum cumulacio, et omnino doctrine Cristi irrisio. Ideo 25 E. per nupcias intelligitur sponsacio Christi et ecclesie, que perpetuitate complebitur in cena novissima. Ad has quidem nupcias multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi, ut Matth. loquitur Cristus Matth. 22^o; quia quoctens interno instinctu, sacramentis ecclesie vel predicacione evangeli ad Christi amorem et ministerium sunt instructi, tocis a domino sunt vocati. Ille autem discumbit in loco novissimo, qui pie reputat se minimum electorum. Debet autem omnis Christianus reputare se electum, cum debet habere spem, eciam si fuerit reprobatus. Et ista posicio potest 35 among the elect.

2. osculantij [et] osculato nocte quomodo in marg. C; 3. ad deest B; ib. causa DE; ib. ypoeristis DE. 5. vero est pro est C; 6. Christo alia manu in marg. add. D. 8. huiusmodi deest A. 9. et deest DE; ib. populi deest DE. 10. Christi deest C. 12. fecit C; ib. omni A. 13. after ideo, vel in marg. add. D. 14. hec deest B. 15. Christus mandat C; mandat Christus DE. 17. te deest D; in marg. add. E; ib. fuerit A; ib. yeis vices pro veniens D; vices E. 20. sanctorum testimonio C. 22. lincoliensis DE. 23. corporalibus CDE. 20. Residere in novissimo loco in nupciis in marg. A; vocatio ad nupcias spirituales in marg. C; ib. ecclesie D. 26, 27. que perpetuata in marg. add. E. 28. electi C. 31. vel pro et A; ib. instructi deest A. 32. discubuit A. 34. se reputare electum DE. 35. debet pro potest A.

in reputacione omni Cristiano competere, quia Paulus, qui vidit archana, reputavit se apostolorum minimum. Sed in die cum ewacuabitur imperfectum quod ex parte est, erit per sumnum judicem invitantem posita aliena locacio, cum quilibet predestinatus correspondenter ad suam humilitatem et meritum erit in gloria exaltatus; unde superbus, presumens de dignitate acquisita humanitus, erit indubie, si non resipuerit, ad *locum norissimum* ad magnam sui confusionem in die iudicij condemnatus; locus novissimus istius ordinis est locus inferni, de quo locatus non exeat donec reddat quadrantem novissimum Matth. V, 26 ut dicit Cristus Matth. 5^o. Illum quidem locum omnes tales superbi eligunt in effectu. Si ergo papa reputat se patrem sanctissimum, quomodo presumptive eligit locum primum? nec dubium, nisi papa isti consenserit, posset faciliter destruere istum stilum.

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

O si regnum nostrum post mortem Urbani Sexti non foret seductum per satrapas, sic quod liberet se a tali capite et generacione hac pessima (ut dicitur Act. secundo) Act. II, 40

1. repugnacione A; *ib.* cum *pro* omni A. 3. in die iudicij B; *ib.* evanescatur CDE. 5. locatio D; *ib.* correspondenter C 6. exaltus A 7. acquisita C; adquisita corr. ex quesita E. 8. in die C; *ib.* respicit CD; corr. E. 11. nec *pro* donec A. 13. tales in marg. add. D; *ib.* superbie D. 14. pater sanctissimus in marg. C; *ib.* non *omnes* MSS. 16. possit C. 19. blasfemia C 20. ymno CD. 22. discordia vite usurpatum nomen in marg. C. 21. impertinens CD. 25. ergo C. 26. 27. mundana exaltatio temporalium accumulacio quid arguit etc. in marg. infer. C. 28. simonie A. 29. necessitatem B; meritum *pro* necessitatem ACDE. 31. 32. videquaquam C. 33. Sixti A. 35. actuum DE.

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

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

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

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

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

obedience to the abiciatque istam blasphemiam quod est de necessitate
 pope is necessary, the salutis facere fidelium obedienciam et duci per talem
 reign of Antichrist capitaneum, patenter destructa foret anticristi blasfemia!
 would be ended. Sufficit enim fidelibus quod ipsi pure diligent et teneant

It is enough to legem Cristi; quia (Act. 4) dicit fides apostolorum quod
 love Christ and keep His law, non est aliud nomen sub celo, in quo oportet nos salvos
 by whom alone fieri, nisi nomen domini Jesu Cristi. O si fideles fratres
 we shall be saved. | cum aliis constanter publicarent istam sentenciam, |

Act.

IV, 12

F.

30^b

postposito omni amore privato, preciosa foret mors sic
 decedencium ex purgacione gloriosa ecclesie ab antiqua
 blasfemia, et ex amacione obstaculi tardantis ecclesiam

ab ordinacione perfecta primeva! Tunc enim posset
 regnum nostrum obedire cuicunque docto esse vicario
 Cristi per opera, sicut debuit obedire sancto Petro,

non in fraudulenta temporalium substraccione, non in
 membrorum anticristi subdola perfeccione, nec in blas-
 feme instrucionis seminacione, sed in spiritualium legis

Cristi predicacione. Ista enim foret vera obediencia
 Cristi vicario, a qua saltans et blasfemia priorem exigens
 indicat, ut sic, se esse vicarium anticristi. Tunc enim

fructificaret fides in regnis ut antea, amoto obstaculo
 diaboli prohibente. Oportet enim motum populi, tam-
 quam motum elementi vel mixti, non ex se fieri, sed
 a deo generante et ministro dei prohibens removente.

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

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

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

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

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

G. Sed triplex blasfemia huius capituli contra trinitatem
beatam est parumper amplius reseranda. Prima est de
potestate abscondita; secunda de sapientia simulata; et
25 tercia est de ficta benevolencia ad edificationem ecclesie.

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

and 3. the long standing of these abuses.

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

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

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

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

22. triplex blasfemia in { potestate
sapiencia
benevolencia } anticeristi *in marg. infer.* C.
23. parum C; *ib.* reserando A; reservanda C. 25. est *in marg. add.* A;
ib. benivolentia ADE. 26. Luciferi A. 27. simulare CBE. 28. sub-
dole *deest* C. 29. in *fro* et CDE; *ib.* absolucione *deest* A. 31. in
istis *deest* B.

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

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

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

As for human laws, they are null unless based on Christ's laws and right reason; still, they must be set aside with prudence, on account of the visitat practiset prudenter apparencia mundo incon-

danger of such steps.

A layman who quin tantum meretur secularis ex tanto fervore caritatis follows Christ's counsels has as much merit as a 'Religious', for Christ's Apostles took no vows. comprens Cristi precepta atque consilia, sicut religiosus privati ordinis | adinventi, secundum votum obedienciam et alios ritus perficiens; quia aliter Cristus et eius apostoli imprudenter vel improvide tantum fructum religionis preterissent. Non enim legitur apostolos vel eorum discipulos vovisse tantam obedienciam, fecisse talem professionem vel servasse talem tradicionem humanaam in suo modo vivendi, sed rationabiliter respusse.

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

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

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

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

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

Item, votum vel promissio obediencie facta deo est infinitum melior, sic quod ista superaddita non valet, nisi quanto promovet vel habitat Cristianum ad illam. Sed obligacio adiecta sepe ad hoc difficultat vel impedit, ergo contempni debet ut stolida. Maior supponitur ex fide. Nam omnis homo, sicut et omnis natura creata naturaliter, dicit se obedire deo, quod est eis obligacio maxima. Cristianus eciam dicit in oracione dominica se dimittere debitibus debita sua; et profitetur ac 30 yovet se credere in deum. Sicut sacerdos dicit cottidie: *da mihi intellectum domine, et scrutabor legem tuam;*

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

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

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

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

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

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

no action that *et custodiam illam in toto corde meo*. Nec dubium linders us from doing our first duty, can have any merit.

quin quodlibet tale votum vocale debet esse infinitum solempnius quam votum faciendum cristiano. Et iterum, certum est quod in istis fit deo obligacio, votum et professio, non obstante carencia tradicionis humane; 5 et hoc si fidelis dicit effectualiter, meritorie, et non derisorie, ista deo. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin obligacio facta homini non valet nisi de quanto iuvat ad observandum obligacionem factam deo, quia de tanto

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

est opus hominis meritorium placens deo. Et quod 10 minor sit vera patet ex dictis. Nam talia conventicula ligant religiosos, vel faciunt eos timidos ad dicendum veritatem in causa dei: faciunt eos gravidatos peccato publico ex consensu, et difficultant ad discendum et servandum tradiciones hominum. Nam, suspensa tota 15 occupacione talium in pura observancia legis dei, quis dubitat quin hoc foret meritorius observanti? Mirum I. itaque est quod diabolus sophista introduxit istam blasphemiam, cum caret auctoritate scripture, racione et colore. Existens ergo in inicio quo primus Cristianus istam 20 religionem instituit, examinaret rationem, auctoritatem et utilitatem solicite antequam induceret talem sectam.

Objections:

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

Non enim movet quod in lege veteri fuerunt religiosi, ut filii prophetarum; in tempore Christi fuerunt religiosi, ut pharisei, saducei et essei; quod in veteri lege 25 nazarei sanctificabantur cum voto, ut dicitur Numeri 5^o. Num. Nam volens sic iudaizare notaret exemplar, ne addendo VI, vel diminuendo deficiat in auctoritate exemplaris; quia modica declinacio in principio facit culpam. Religio autem quam Christus instituit in lege sua docet quod, 30 dimissa observancia veteri vel adinvencione nova, sit in illa autorisacione facilis et delectacione secura fidelibus militandum. Unde hec adinventa novitas, habens unum laudabile, habet mille culpabilia a diabolo indubie adin-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. neutris *in marg.* add. D. 3. obmittens A; *ib.* commendat CDE.
 5. obmittere A; omittere CE. 6. possidonium C. 8. igitur C.
 9. privata religio ad quid obligat *in marg. sup.* C. 10. illiberius D;
corr. E; *ib.* sic igitur C. 12. dispense C. 13. diaboli obediencia C;
 dyaboli DE. 14. *in marg.* nota B; *ib.* ne ne C. 15. inquit ei CDE;
ib. infide C. 16. ergo D; *ib.* solnet C; solveret E. 21. sibi ADE.
 22. privati *deest* A. 23. pervyo C. 26. posset ABE. 28. ad perfectionem DE. 29. quia *deest omnes* MSS. 31. ergo CDE; *ib.* hoc CDE.
 32. pertinet omnes MSS.

6. St. Aug. *De Coniugiis Adulterinis, ad Dollentium*, l. 4, cap. XIV (Migne, t. XI., p. 459). 20. It seems here that Wyclif contradicts himself when he speaks of the ‘sacred obedience due to the Pope’. The contradiction does not exist in reality, however, the passage only shows that Wyclif would have considered a Pope who thought like himself as the ‘real Vicar of Christ.’ Or he may be arguing from his opponents’ point of view.

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

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

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

Galat. II, 4;
V, 13

Eccle. V, 3

15

L.

quod rationabilis dispensatio et ecclesie magna unio
foret cum irreligiōe captivatis taliter dispensari, ut
patet Ecclesiastici 5^o. Si papa tardat in isto, deus
dispensat, ut votum irracionabile dimittatur. Non enim
5 complet votum sed aggravat peccatum, qui vovit im-
provide fratrem iniuste occidere vel quicquam aliud
imprudenter, et complet. Ideo lex Christi precipit quod
talis voti irracionabilis caveatur complecio, et de obli-
gacionis stulticia fiat contricio. Sic enim sine dispen-
satione humana cessavit apostolus a voto blasphemie.

Ymmo, videtur quod papa vel quicunque qui posset
taliter captivatos liberare, nedum peccaret graviter, sed
committeret blasphemiam omittendo. Tunc enim unice
15 purificaretur cristiana religio, et abiciens sanctos pre-
positos privati ordinis studeat facta christi et faciat illis
factis plene similiter.

Nam Bernardus, ut supra exposui, ponit eundum
ordinem monachorum qui fuit laicorum conversorum in
Jerusalem habencium omnia in communi. Anzhelmus
20 eciam, in epistola quadam que sic incipit "Cristianorum"
sic loquitur: "Est" inquit "quedam generalis professio
prime similis, quam nos docuit dulcissimus pater et
frater noster piissimus Jesus; id est monachatus, quod
idem est apud nos quod fuit discipulatus apud apostolos";
25 et probat posterius quod eam rite recipiens mundatur
ab omni crimen actuali. Ista, inquam, professio stat
in castitate contra carnem, in paupertate contra mun-
dum et in obedientia facta Christo contra diabolum.

Quod si aliquis Cristianus professus non fuerit, aut
30 fidelis in professione non consummaverit, non superabit
ad celi gloriam triplicem inimicum. Unde Lanfranchus,
in quadam epistola, scribit: "Si ego Lanfrancus manu

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

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

Lanfranc holds
that spiritual
danger justifies
withdrawal
from a
monastery.

1. ordines primate quomodo dispensarentur *in marg. sup. C.* 2. de-
spensari B; dispensare CDE. 5. vinit C. 6. quicunque *pro* quic-
quam C. 7. imprudenter E. 11. vmo DE. 12. liberare taliter
captivatos C; liberare totaliter captivatos DE. 13. committeret E; *ib.*
omittendo DE; *ib.* unte E. 11. obiciens CDE. 10. sanctis C;
corr. ex tactis DE. 17. Bernhardus CDE. 1^o—10. *nt supra* — Jerusalem
m marg. add. D. 17. ponit *in marg. add. E.* 18. laicorum C;
conversorum *alia manu add. E.* 10. hunc inde *pro* habencium A.
20. quadam *deest* CDE. 22. persone CDE; *ib.* pissimus D. 23. id
est *deest* B; *ib.* monachus A; monachatus id est disciplinatus *in marg.* A.
25. 26. ab omni mundatur C. 20. professio in quo C. 28. et *pro*
in C; ib. dyabolum DE. 30. consumavit A; conf. inmaverit *corr. ex*
confessuauerit C. 31. Lanfrancus *in marg.* B; Lanfranchus *in marg.* C.

16. *De Apostasia*, p. 3. 20. I can find no letter extant that
begins thus. 32. Lanfranc. Ep. LX. *Ad Rudolphum Abbatem*
(Migne, 1. CL., p. 549); Bened. ed. 329.

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

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

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

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

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

i. non deest A. 5. laxaret papa religiosos ad ecclesie edificationem in marg. inf. C. 6. qua A. 6. 7. Clemens angelis mandavit ha in marg. C. 7. decedentis A; corr. DE; decedentis D (corr. ex decedentis); decedentis corr. ex decidentis E. 7. 8. purgatorie A. 8. in marg.: Nota blasphemiam cuiusdam bulle papalis B; ib. perdicant B. 10. reddens AC. ii. dyabolo CDE. 13. ante ea ACDE; ib. commiserat C. 14. volumus A; nolumus CDE. 15. aliquatus A; aliquatenus DE. 17. caute pro tanto C. 19. obligent D. 20. dimissorie A. 21. tantum in eos C; ib. impossibile C; mundus invaluit in religiosis in marg. sup. C. 23. blasfemia in sapientia in marg. C. 24. manifeste pro tacite C; manente habere tacite (man-
teste in marg. add.) DE. 20. non deest CE. 21. ut pro nisi E; nisi (alia manu corr.) C. 23. et deest C; ib. sentencia pro sciencia D; sciencia corr. ex sentencia E. 30. Jesu Cristi C.

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

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

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

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

III. Feigned benevolence.

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

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

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

que deus plus ponderat fuit improvidus ordinando remedia.

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

Secundo, contra veritatem singuntur mendacia, cum vita Cristi docet tam verbo quam opere quod aufugit detestans in se et in suis vicariis tale dominium. Qua⁵ fronte igitur blasfeme singuntur ista debere pape competere jure Cristi? Si igitur iste due persone tolluntur, necesse est spiritum sanctum tolli. Ideo inevitabiliter sequitur quod papa non amat salutem anime subditi sed sua stercora; quia, deficientibus illis, non laborat¹⁰ more apostoli lucifacere animabus, ut patet de nacionibus barbaris convertendis. Nec tantum sollicitat fulminare censuras pro crimen sicut pro temporali stercore, cum crimen pro temporalibus faciliter summe simoniace potest emi. Et hec racio quare prudentes divisi a nobis¹⁵ nolunt duci regimine talis ducis. Caucius enim sequeretur Cristum, fugiendo hanc generacionem pessimam anticristi, cum subditi sunt ei consentanei ex consensu. Et tantum inveterata malicia invaluit, quod unius simplicis momentanea rebellio parum proderit, cum satraparum²⁰ suorum persecuzione sit statissime extingendum.

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

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

Ideo videtur tunc a generacione ista saltem in mente auffugere et ad proteccionem Cristi confugere, reliquendo destruccionem anticristi cum suis satrapis dei miraculo. Scimus quidem quod oportet ut viis nobis absconditis²⁵ istud eveniat, sicut scimus quod *personarum acceptio non est apud deum; sed in omni gente vel loco qui ipsum dilexerit, acceptus est illi*, et eo acceptior, quo fuerit tradicionum anticristi et complicum suorum detectabilior. Seminacio itaque blasphemiarum et fructus³⁰ sui modi crescendi docet patule quod minera blasphemie ita jacet.

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

15. Allusion to the Western schism.

CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.

A. Ulterius restat detegere ramos huius blasfemie. Nec dubium quin omnis consentaneus, cooperans, defendens vel consulens, omnis etiam auctorisans sectas ut illud 5 foveant vel defendant, sicut omnis ocians a reprehensione vel spirituali juvamine ad destruendum hanc sectam Cristo contrariam: omnis enim, inquam, talis est ramus vel adiacens huic arbori maledicte. Et sic paucet vel nulle secte sunt inter nos, quin sapient eius fructum; 10 mille autem sunt meandri reputati pro nichilo, per quos sathan introducit maiora scelera, ut sunt 1. tradicionum humanarum exaltacio, 2. scole legis Cristi depressio et 15 3. in malo sub apparenzia boni coniuracio.

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

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

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

1. Cautela quidem diaboli est sub simulacione ypponistica sanctitatis introducere sectam suam. De primo 15 dixi alibi diffuse quomodo lex pape contenciosa subtrahit sub foco sanctitatis ab informacione, ab execucione et a dilectione legis dei, cum tamquam contraria sese dirimunt. 2. In legis Cristi depressione sunt mille cautele 20 diaboli, ut sunt pro gloria scole in disputacionibus morosa occupacio, pro humana gloria contrariacio, et (quod pessimum est) legis Cristi depravacio: ut nostri, inter bona que seminant, dicunt quod scriptura sacra secundum maiorem partem sui est summe heretica et 25 blasfema. Et horror huiusmodi distrahit multos ab atten-

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

cione legis dei, dirimit eius auctoritatem ex varia multitudine glosatorum, et ad tantum extraneat logicam scripture quod nullus modus loquendi est illis abieccior.

Evil under the semblance of good, as shown in the doctrine of the Eucharist.
It is idolatry to adore as God what is not God; and they absurdly say that the Host is God; this is the greatest of all lies.

Et de isto patet diffuse alibi. 3. Quantum ad tertium patet quod pars anticeristi tot habet complices, quorum quidam subtilius et quidam expressius sunt contrarii legi Cristi; ut in sacramento sub pallio sanctitatis sunt hereses et ydolatrie simulate, ut patet de sacramento

It is idolatry to adore as God what is not God; and they absurdly say that the Host is God; this is the greatest of all lies.
In qua materia si ydolatre sunt quicunque qui adorant creaturam non deum tamquam deum, patet 10 quod tam de clero quam populo multi sunt idolatre: cum multi credunt et adorant hostiam (que de facto est panis in natura et corpus Christi in figura) ac si esset naturaliter et idem p̄ceptice corpus Christi et sic deus, cum notum sit quod corpus Christi est Christus et per con- 15 sequens deus noster, ut patet in materia de incarnatione. Et tamen ad tantum ydolatre nostri insaniunt, quod dicunt non esse aliud naturaliter corpus Christi in celo glorificatum et objective beatificans cives celi, quam est hostia quam sacerdos conficit, tractat et manducat; et 20 sic de aliis inconveniencie, que recitavi paganos deridendo deducere. Nec potest ista impossibilitas heretica, ad quam sequitur deum non esse et omne aliud inconveniens excusari; quia deus veritas odit omne mendacium: ergo multo magis tantum mendacium de se ipso. 25

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

Item potest committi blasfema ydolatria colendo creaturam abjectam non deum tanquam ipsa sit deus: ergo, posita aliqua ydolatria, oportet concedere istam ex peculiaritate populi, ex abieccione signi culti, et ex preciositate corporis blasphemati esse ydolatriam gra- 30 vissimam. Item nullus est fidelis ydolatra quin fingit B. se deum suum colere devote in suo ydolo; sed quia devocio est mendax, ydeo non placet deo veritatis. Cum ergo eadem sit racio in tali cultu, videtur quod sit ydolatria perhorrenda. Nec dubium quin ex defectu 35

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

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

5. Et omnino culpandi sunt fratres qui habent codices suos plenos hoc testimonio, tam novos quos apprecentur ut ewangelium, quam antiquos; et tamen non iuvant predicanter hanc fidem in populo, sed fidem suam blasfeme reticent et depravant, ut codices ipsorum sunt pleni: *quod non videtur corpus Christi in sacramento oculo corporali; quod sacramentum illud risum corporaliter ab eis in manibus sacerdotis nec est nec esse potest corpus domini ydemptice, nec pars eius.* Et tamen dicunt: Talia non sunt predicanda populo, ne eius devocio extinguitur; sed permitti debet in eius ydolatria sordescere. Cuius causam ego non video nisi ut populus, propter questum et reverenciam mundanam presbyteri, seducatur: et sic sunt indubie ydolatre ex consensu.

Eph. IV. 3 Nam secundum apostolum ad Eph. 4, *Una est fides.*

20. Eandem ergo fidem, quam apud se abscondunt de hostia, debent revelare populo, ne peccet idolatria. Sciunt, inquam, quod sequitur: *hoc est sacramentum quod oculo corporali conspicimus: ergo, non est ydemptice corpus Christi.* Sciunt eciam quod sequitur: *| multe sunt hostie consecrate distantes localiter, et quantumcumque contrarie in accidentibus variate: ergo, nulla earum est ydemptice corpus Christi.* Et sciunt, tertio, quod sequitur: *hoc sacramentum est accidens* (ut fingunt ex fide); ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus Christi.* Sicut ergo credunt antecedens ex fide, sic predicent et consequens, cum multi sunt ydolatre pessimi, non credentes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wyclit's position.

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

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

3. ecclesiā D. 4. wlt CDE; ib. fide deest CDE. 8. impertinens C. 6. quod diffinire B; quod pro quo C. 10. erit B. 12. aut pro vel DE. 13. dei CDE. 14. scandalisare CDE. 16. scire veritatem de eukaristia congiueret in marg. sup. C. 21. dyaboli DE. 25. dicentes in marg. B. 26. ecclesiā D. 32. panis consecratus quomodo est corpus Cristi in marg. sup. D; ib. erit B. 33. tropice BCDE. 34. obscure locutus est cristus de sacramento propter meritum in marg. sup. C; ib. utilitatem sic C. 35. est locutus sic DE. 38. interpretarentur ABDE.

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

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

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

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

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

1. martirum DE. 3. theologis factis avaris quid secundum est in marg. inf. C. 4. multiplicata C. 8. fidelis quid eligeret in marg. sup. C. 9. deus de illa CE. 12. vel pro et C. 16. in marg.: Nota abusiones Innocencii IIIⁱⁱ; Innocencii tertii condicione non bone, tamen debet glosari propter reverenciam in marg. inf. C. 17. quod deest A. 18. obiurgat omnes MSS. 21. solvet C. 22. ybernia anuatinus A; ybernia CE; hibernia D. 24. annos corr. ex annis E. 27. quam propter ea pro priori B; papa CDE; priori deest A; ib. debet sibi CE. 28. propter pro ob CE. 29. de transsubstanciacione in marg. sup. C; ib. imponit B. 30. debet firmiter B; firmitter in marg. add. D. 31. Quintuariensis A; Cathuriensis C; Canturiensis D; Caturiensis E.

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

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

But the Friars have taken transubstantiation as a destruction of the substance, and so the Sacrement is mere quantity: of what sort, they know not,

and are much embarrassed to choose.

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

The other explanation contradicts Scripture, the

virum alium; et sic mutantur pape, sopito priori nomine, sine destruccióne. Et quantum ad dictum suum de celebrazione missarum, capitulo, *Cum Marthe*, patet quod ambigue procedit et non decretive in ista materia. Unde fratres sequentes subtiliaverunt infundabiliter et irrationabiliter ad gravamen et perturbationem ecclesie, ponentes per "transsubstancialacionem", "destrucionem substancialis"; | propter existenciam accidentum per se 33^b ponunt sacramentum altaris esse nude quantitatem. Sed non explicant (ut nec sciunt) de sex generibus quantitatis famosis, sub quo genere quantitatis eukaristia sit contenta. Vident enim quod non sit numerus, locus aut tempus. Et de longitudine, latitudine et profunditate quidam, licet inevidenter, eligunt sextum genus; et sic, facta rarefaccione vel condensacione per totam, ponunt 15 totam quantitatem sequentem, eciam si ponatur quantitas successiva, non esse sacramentum vel aliquam eius partem: et non est conveniens eorum testimonium, ut patet diffuse alibi.

Et movet hic cecitas! Post consecrationem manent 20 accidencia sensibilia in actu considerandi, sopita actualitate subiecti ex consideracione animi: ideo ponunt tale accidens sine subiecto quolibet existente, et undique inductis blasphemis opinionibus oneratur ecclesia. Sicut enim intrans domum et vident ymaginem, non suspendit 25 consideracionem suam quo ad naturam ymaginis, utrum sit de queru, buxo vel salice, sed totam intencionem et devacionem suam suspendit in signato; consimiliter est de Eukaristicie sacramento. Non tamen propterea sequitur quod natura ymaginis destruitur vel desinit 30 quoad deum. Magna itaque foret seduccio, quod scriptura E. sacra vocat sacramentum regulariter panem, ut loquitur canon misse, quod tam multi sancti et leges ecclesie

2. distraccione B; 4. disertive B; non decretive in marg. C. 5. subtiliaverunt *deest* A; subtiliarunt CE; in marg. add. D. 6. quantitatis *pro* altaris A. 11. genere quantitatis ABD. 14. sic *deest* B. 15. facto A: *ib.* vel corr. ex et D. 18. eorum *deest* ACDE. 19. diffuse D. 20. eos *pro* hic ACDE; *ib.* cecitas monet fratres in marg. C. 21. considerandi D. 22. obiecti B; *ib.* consideracione D; *ib.* anni *pro* animi A. 23. quomodo libet CDE. 24. opiniones blasphemie in marg. C; *ib.* sic *pro* sicut C. 25. non *deest* ACDE. 26. consideracionem D. 27. de *deest* B. 27, 28. intencionem *et deest* A. 28. suspensiō devacionis in marg. C. 30. desint A. 31. cum id eras. *pro* denū E. 31, 32. sacra scriptura CE. 32. regulariter panem sacramentum A; *ib.* et *et omnes MSS.* 33. ecclesie *deest* A.

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

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

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

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

A threatold seduction;

I. dissimulation,
II. fictitious
miracles, and
III. great absurdities.

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

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

1. tam *deest* CE; *delet* D; ib. erant CE. 2. sanguis C. 3. sanguis CE; sanguis Christi *ut merum in marg.* C; ib. *sit pro fit* D; *post fit add.*: que E. q. ecclesie *in marg.* add. D. 4. 5. glosa CE. 6. 7. amvectens A; ib. palliatas CE; palliations D; ib. sic foret C. 8. glosare D; glosare E; ib. *eis deest* B. 9. o. antiquis sanctis quidam imponunt ignoranciam *in marg. sup.* C. 10. ecclesiam seducunt tripliciter quidam *in marg. inf.* C. 11. 12. quotidie CD; quotidie E. 13. est eukaristicie est C. 14. 15. deus verus CE. 16. sonat eis CE; ib. comodum C. 17. sed *in marg. add.* D. 18. 19. 20. 21-23. after subtiliant naturam hostie supra panem non sacramentum sicut non subtiliant B; *pro* sacramentum, sacramum C; consecratum DE. 22. nec *fro* non. 23. autem A; ib. baptismi sacramenti quidditas *in marg. sup.* C. 24. baptizantis D; ib. aliud ACE. 31. aliud A; ib. minimis ABCD; muminis E. 33. vel eorum aliquibus *deest* CE.

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

This
disagreement
shows their
gross ignorance
and
dissimulation.

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

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

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

and implies the
horrible
blasphemy that
God annihilates
the bread.

multi cum signis suis seducunt ecclesiam, qui ignorant propria instrumenta. Revera Paulus propter infinitum minus malum simulacionem Petri in faciem sibi restitut. *quia reprehensibilis erat*, ut dicitur gal. secundo. Et patet vocatorum militum Cristi infidelis recordia. Gal. II, 11⁵

Cuius causa est quia querunt lucrum temporalium et non salutem sui vel subditi, sicut nec docendam fidei veritatem. Quod si Cristianus subtraheret bona sua a prelato infideli ut pagano, quanto magis ab infideliori domestico plus nocivo! Ipse enim non docet fidem sed fabulas atque mendacia, nec ministrat sacramenta ecclesiastica sed venena, cum, stulto stulcior, ignorat quiditatem, virtutem et alias veritates sacramenti. Sine causa ita et injuste occupat bona ecclesie, cum cumulus temporalium prelatos infatuat et facit eos in debito officii sui mutescere. 15

Quantum ad secundum, patet consideranti dicta adversariorum subtiliancum in ista materia; quia ipsi F. propter defectum veri miraculi nefande subtiliant. Tres quidem sunt hereses in materia de eukaristia, quibus tota die nomen domini blasphematur. Dicunt enim pro 20 magno miraculo quod ipsi cum deo conficiunt, quod, virtute benedictionis qua panis a deo bono benedicitur, ipse panis destruitur funditus ad non esse. Non sic autem sencierunt antiqui doctores catholici et leges ecclesie de bonitate dei, cum dicunt concorditer quod 25 panis ille secundum nullam partem eius destruitur, sed virtute benedictionis vere fit sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Doctor solemnis concedit quod manet post con- 34^a secracionem panis aliquitas; ymo grossus decretista, glosator ordinarius, videtur dicere quod panis remanet, 30 quamvis homines nesciant quo devenit. Omnes infideles horrerent istam crudelitatem irrationabilem posse com-

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

28. In *De Apostasia*, this admission of an ‘aliqualitas’ of bread remaining is ascribed to Henry Goethals of Ghent (p. 75, l. 32). Franklin’s *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes latins* gives him the title of “Doctor solemnis”. And Wyyclif calls him so, in *De Ecclesiis*, p. 317, l. 26.

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

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

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

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

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

2. totum sic B; totum *in marg.*, *add.* D. 3. pars eius C E; *ib.* remanet *deest* B. 4. esse suum C D E. 5. competere *deest* A; *ib.* secunda blasfemia *in marg.* C; *ib.* contra pro qua C. 6. colligitur A; tollitur C. 9. dimensive *in marg.* C. 10. punctum C. 11. tercia blasfemia *in marg.* C; *cave in marg.* D. 15, 16. Omnes dotes que sunt in celo corpus Christi non sunt in sacramento *in marg.* D. 17, 18. a deo benivolo C D E. 18. benivole A. 19. miracula cessant *in marg.* C. 19, 20. simoniacus D. 20. quotidie C; quotidie E. 21. primum E. 23. quia pro qui ABD. 24. ut *in marg.* *add.* D; *ib.* populo C. 25. ipsummet C; ipsimet corr. ex ipsummet E; *ib.* profiteantur B. 30. imperfeccius C. 31. substancia *deest* A. 32, 33. Eukaristia perfectior in natura et in accidentalibus *in marg.* inf. C; *ib.* sit in natura sua C D E.

Which
damnable
heresy
dishonours
Christ more
than our
doctrine.

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

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

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

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

honorabiliter omnino oppositum. Tantum ergo honorem tribuimus eukaristicie ut ipsi attribuant quovismodo, et infinitum maiorem inferioritatem vel dedecus ipsi sibi attribuant quam fideles quos vocant hereticos. Iudicet ergo populus naturali ingenio inter illos. Revera, me⁵ seminante tale dogma in populo, ipsi diffamarent me undique tamquam hereticum destruendum. Et cum ipsi in maiori dampnacione pertinaciter perseverent, patet quam patule obviant sibi ipsis.

Secundo, dicunt quod posicio (que est differencia quantitatis) est ad omnem punctum hostie concomitanter cum corpore Christi; quia aliter omnia membra Christi forent confuse sine ordine locata. Et sic inquietunt quod infima pars corporis Christi in hostia est vertex capitis; sed suprema pars corporis Christi in hostia, supra caput, ¹⁵ sunt pedes continuati cum tybiis. Intima etiam pars corporis Christi in hostia, ut fingunt, est cutis cum ossibus loco cordis, sed extrema pars corporis Christi sunt viscera cum spiritibus; sic quod nisi deus suspenderet continuacionem parciū, foret corpus Christi ibi ²⁰ monstruosissimum. Cum enim ibi sit posicio parciū (que est differencia quantitatis), oportet ipsos concedere caput Christi esse ibi supra collum, sicut corpus Christi

est in ecclesia sub celo et supra terram. Nam definitivē est in loco, sicut modo est deitas et anima hominis. ²⁵ Conceditur esse supra se, quia secundum se totam est per situm supra quem est, ipsa anima secundum se totam: quod est evidens de corpore Christi in hostia, cum omnes partes eius locantur sic inferius atque superius. Nam discontinuatis partibus illius hostie, vel ³⁰ sine motu locali, corpus Christi foret totaliter sub et supra; ergo a pari, facta continuacione et multiplicacione corporis Christi, ut modo. Ex quibus cum infinitis difficultatibus intricat hec secta se ipsam atque ecclesiam.

Ulterius videtur concedendum vel relinquendum sub ³⁵ dubio quod caput Christi in hostia continuatur cum pedibus et quelibet eius pars quantitative cum qualibet.

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

Nam quelibet talis pars est inmediata cuilibet et est according to
glutinatum et continuatum paratum; nec scitur quod them whatever
deus suspendit actionem naturalem; ergo non est ne- is most
gandum simpliciter, quod quelibet talis pars continuatur wonderful is to
be believed.

II. 5 cuilibet. Et confirmatur ex fundamento istius sentencie.

Nam deus posset hoc facere, et redundaret in difficultatem credendi ac mirabilitatem operum dei; ergo, ut arguunt in simili, catholice debet credi. Et confirmant infideles per hoc quod quidquid est inter labia et palata oris hominis erit in ipso ore; sed omnia membra corporis Christi sic sunt inter palata capitis Christi et labia, ergo sunt in ore Christi et per idem ex omni parte eius concava. Et sic de infinitis inconvenientibus, que tam fideles quam infideles obiciunt.

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

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

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

1. cuilibet *in marg.* add. D. 2. glutinatum A. 3. quo A; igitur CE.
8. confirmant C. 9. quicquid C; quicquid E. 10. oris — capitis deest A. 10. est pro erit CDE; ib. si pro sed CD. 11. sic sunt deest C; ib. pallata D. 12. in pro ex CDE. 13. inconvenientibus A; ib. inconvenientia ex posicione non fundata intert *in marg.* sup. C. 15. Greci consciunt in magna quantitate *in marg.* C; ib. Cave *in marg.* D; ib. sequuntur CDE. 17. hodie pro hostie CDE. 18. non deest A. 19. prime AB; persone C; pr' D; ib. simul ABC; semel DE. 21. populus idolatrans *in marg.* C. 22. credunt A. 21. hec ACDE. 22. Cave *in marg.* D; ib. autigere CE. 26. sicut CDE. 27. et deest CP. 27-33. sic esset — sic corpus *in marg.* inf. add. D. 29. caput E. 36. cellario CE. 31. positivis CD; i. capitis AC; capitis E; ib. sicut CDE. 33. ventrem ad *in marg.* add. D. 34. caput A; occiput CE; acciput D.

finitis conclusionibus monstruosis. Ymmo, sicut canis comedit, ut inquiunt, corpus Christi, sic sacerdos in penam penitentie combureret corpus Christi; et sic veritatem cremaret hereticus. Nec est racio quod gradus positivus includat negacionem, ut singitur, quin per idem omnis⁵ positivus gradus vel terminus positivus; et sic neganda foret multiplicatio corporis Cristis in hostia.

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

Satis ergo est tollere adversariorum sophismata contra antiquam sanctorum sentenciam, licet non sit extranea superflue introducta, ut decretum *Ego Berengarius* mani-¹⁰ feste dicit quod panis et vinum erunt post consecrationem tam sacramentum quam corpus Christi et sanguis. Et idem dicit decretum beati Ambrosii de consecracione, dist. 2^a, cap. *Omnia quecunque*, cum quotlibet dictis sanctorum.¹⁵

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

Three replies. Either 1. to deny the consequence;

or 2. to admit that Christ's Body is each Host figuratively;

or 3. to say that Christ has a figurative as well as a natural body, the first only multipliable.

Et videtur sequi, si hoc sacramentum est corpus Christi I. tunc corpus Christi est hoc sacramentum; et sic quotlibet corpora forent corpus Christi, vel non forent multe hostie consecrate. Hic autem audivi responsionem triplicem. Prima negat hanc consequiam: *hoc sacramentum est* 20 *corpus Christi*: ergo, *corpus Christi est hoc sacramentum*. Sicut, resolvendo sensum, non sequitur: *hoc sacramentum figurat sacramentaliter corpus Christi*, ergo, *corpus figurat sacramentaliter istum panem*. Secunda responsio concedit consequiam, et consequens quod debet aptari con-²⁵ sequenti iste sensus: *corpus Christi est hoc sacramentum*, hoc est, *corpus Christi figuratur per hoc sacramentum*: et sic corpus Christi est quotlibet corpora separata, ad sensum conformem. Tercia responsio dicit quod duplex est corpus Christi, scilicet in figura et in natura; et 30 sic Christus habet multa corpora in figura (ut loquitur beatus Jeronimus), sed nullum eorum est corpus Christi quod naturaliter et personaliter actuatur per animam suam in celo, sed unum aliud corpus quod satis equivoce dicitur corpus Christi. Ego autem, quia volui excutere 35

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

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

Joan.
II, 21 ista sophismata, declinavi ad logicam baptiste, dicentis Wyclif prefers
se non esse heliam, ut per hoc populus evitet hanc the latter,
ydolatriam, quia credit panem sacramentum esse denying that
Act. ydemptice deum suum: sicut apostolus alloquitur athe- Christ's natural
XVII, nienses act. 17. Et revera non magis fuit illa communitas body is in the
25 ydolatrie dedita quam modo infidelitate oneratur ecclesia. Sacrament,
Non igitur mirum si misse talium infideliū nocent because of the
ecclesie. Ideo fidelis theologus predicaret cum apostolo popular error,
contra tales ydolatras, et pius laicus pocius conducteret which is us
10 eos, ut non sic celebrent sive orent. Quia revera nec rank idolatry
3 Reg. prophete baal, de quibus 3ⁱ Reg. 18 nec sacerdotes baal,
XVIII, de quibus Daniel ultimo, fuerunt magis heretici ydolatre
19 et seq. quam tales sunt. Condescendendo ergo logice divine
Dan. que Matth. 5, concedit baptistam esse heliam, et Jer. 24,
XIV, 2 concedit Jesum nostrum esse David, cum aliis tropicis
et seq. locucionibus similibus, defendo contra sophistas per ali- A second
XXIII, quam istarum trium responsionum, et specialiter per piece of wood.
5 terciam, veritatem.

Secunda via qua complices pape seminant de ipso A second
blasphemiam est heresis in qua de ipso infundabiliter blasphemie of
fingunt potenciam et indubie ut sic impetunt in Cristi the Sects is the
veritatem tamquam anticeristi discipuli. Sicut enim addendo worship of the
ad pape Innocencii stulticiam de sacramento altaris intro- Pope as Christ's
ducitur ydolatria per magnam partem ecclesie; sic colendo Vicar; which is
25 papam ut Cristi vicarium, vel secundum rationem falsam worse than the
spiritualis potencie quam pretendunt, committitur plus adoration of a
detestanda atque blasfema ydolatria; quia honores piece of wood.
divini attribuuntur membro luciferi, quod est ydolum
detestabilius truncō pictō, cum ipse non continet in se
K. 30 tantam maliciam. Et hec racio quare Petrus vocatus
ad militem, non imperans ut miles sibi veniat, non

i. declarari A; declinari CDE; *ib.* logicam baptiste amplexatus *in*
marg. sup. C. 2. *hec AC;* *ib.* devilet CE. 3. *sacratum sed in marg.*
corr.: sacramentum D; sacram E. 4. 5. attenientes DE. 7. ergo D.
9. laveus E. 10. nec *deest AB;* *in marg.* D. 11. *beel CE;* *corr. ex*
baal D. 13. sunt tales CDE; *ib.* condescendo C; *ib.* igitur CE.
14. quia A; *ib.* 20 A; XI CE; XII D. 15. alii C. 16. defendo A;
detendēdo D. 16, 17. *a^caz* C; *a^rā* E. 17, 18. per terciam *deest* A.
19. contra complices C; contra *in marg.* D; *delet* E. 20. *in deest* CE;
quam *pro* in qua D. 21. *et deest* A; *ib.* *ut sic in marg.* A. 22. *sicud* D.
23. *ad deest* E. 24. *idolatria committitur nūdier in marg. sup.* C; *ib.*
ecclesie D; *ib.* sicut A. 25. *pretendit* CDE. 27. *ydolatria atque blas-*
temia C; *ydolatria atque blasphemia* E. 29. *in se non continet* D.

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

Fearing invenitur in aula regia sed in domo symonis leprosi IX, 43;
 idolatry, Peter, corriarii iuxta aquam, ut patet Act. 10. Petrus autem
 Paul and X 6
 Barnabas, venit humiliter, non equester cum sumptuosa familia,
 refused to allow sed pedester. Quando autem Cornelius, procidens ad
 honours to be paid to them pedes Petri, oravit eum, dixit Petrus postquam elevavit 5
 until the people were instructed, eum: *Ego, inquit, ipse homo sum sicut et tu.* Et con-
 formiter fecerunt Paulus et Barnabas, ut legitur act. 14. | 35^a
 Quando autem noverunt populum in fide instructum Act.
 quomodo Cristus est caput totius ecclesie, et quomodo XIV.
 non debet honor impendi prelati eius, nisi de quanto 10
 Cristo impenditur in membris suis, tunc suscepereunt
 honorem humiliter cum timore. Quod si papa nesciat
 But if the Pope
 exacts such
 honours to be
 paid to him
 personally, both
 he and his
 worshipper are
 guilty of
 idolatry.
 quod sit membrum ecclesie et tamen exigat fieri appro-
 priate sibi, *ut sibi*, honores insolitos; quis dubitat quin
 sit blasphemus ydolatra, sicud et persona taliter eum 15
 colens? quia secundum rationem falsam veritati (que
 Cristus est) contraria, colit, ut sic, membrum luciferi;
 quia, si omnes prelati nostri resperuerent blasfemos
 honores, bene esset ecclesie ab ydolatria expurgate.

The first thing is to disburden the Church from riches.
 Quod non erit antequam exonerata fuerit mundi 20
 diviciis. Et inferiores clerici habentes de diviciis, de
 decimis, vel aliis elimosinis ultra vite necessaria, re-
 cognoscant in superhabundantibus elemosinis et specialiter
 in decimis se esse procuratores pauperum non dominos.

The wealthy among the clergy should acknowledge that the poor, if servants of God, ought to have wherewithal to serve Him.
 Wealth lessens, instead of increasing, the influence of the priesthood.
 Quod enim *domini est terra et plenitudo eius*, sequitur XXIII,
 demonstrative fidelibus, quod deus wult cuicunque servo 1
 suo de bonis suis dividi prout opus est serviendo deo
 debite ad implecionem sui officii: patet ex hoc quod
 aliter deus non esset primus paterfamilias summe
 iustus. Et illud principium consideraret prelatus, videns 30
 quantum temporalium habundancia adauget sibi sacer-
 dotis officium ultra apostolos; et equa lance notata
 videret, quomodo non auget sed minuit ministerium
 sacerdotis; per hoc enim magis mundo, voluptati et
 dominacioni intenditur et de officio quod Cristus exigit 35

1. leprosi *deest* ADE. 2. coriarii E. 3. *venit in marg.* add. D.
 5. unde *pro* cum. 6. *Ego enim* A; *ib.* *ipse inquit* CE; *ib.* *homo ipse* D.
 7. 18 CE. 9. *caput* C. 11. *nescit papa si membrum ecclesie est in*
marg. C. 15. *sicut* DE. 17. *est Cristus est* D; *ib.* *sit pro sic* C. 18. *quod*
pro quia ACDE; *ib.* *nostrи prelati* CE; *ib.* *blasphemos* E. 19. *dotacio*
in marg. C. 20. *tuerit exonerata* C; *merit exonerata* DE. 21. *de*
diviciis deest ACDE. 22. *elemosinis* CDE. 23. *habundatibus* D.

24. *procuatores* A. 26. *dective* CE; *ib.* *vnicuique* CE. 27. *dedi* A;
ib. *finiendo* C. 28. *qua* CE; *corr.* *ex quod* D. 29. *primus deest* C.
 30. *consyderaret* D. 31. *adaugens* BCD; *ib.* *sibi deest*. 32. *ultra apo-*
stolos in marg. add. 33. *videt* C. 34. *mundo magis* E.

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

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

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

Yet temporal lords require to have riches and power.

And traders may possess a moderate competence, in so far as their state needs it.

Those especially who charge too dear become unjustly rich.

30 Et deus wult tertio quod clerici instar sui et apostolorum strictissime habeant de bonis infimis, ut patet

I. Tim. VI. 8., quantum est necessarium ad complendum suum

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

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

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

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

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

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

In signum autem capitalis dominii Jesu Christi debent cuncti superhabundantes dare sibi in suis pauperibus redditus decimarum, et specialiter clerici superhabundans. Nam ex adinvencione humana sub Greg. 10 nunc tarde sunt clero perquisite decime, ut narravi superius. Sic uero deus est naturaliter dominus capitalis cunctorum in mundo conversancium; ita naturaliter debent sibi dare redditus decimarum; egeni, spiritualem decimam, et superhabundantes in bonis infimis cum hoc dabunt signanter decimam bonorum fortune. cum deus sit dominus super universitatem creatam, sic uero denarius excedit novenarium. Unde sub tempore legis nature 25 M.

As it was from Abel et Cayn dederunt deo decimas, ut patet Genes. 4 Gen.
the beginning: sed quibus darentur | reliquit deus humano arbitrio, IV, 3, 4
tithes, at first burnt offerings, docens naturaliter hoc principium quod dentur ad
were later given to the priests maiorem utilitatem ecclesie. Ideo in principio, quando
and to the poor, nemo eguit illis decimis ad vescendum, cremabantur 30
decime, ut vel sic instruatur ecclesia caritative in decum
ascendere. Nunc autem dabuntur sacerdotibus et levitis
tempore legis Mosayce; et nunc pauperibus, quibus
naturaliter sunt debite, ut patet thob 1^o. Tob.
IV, 7

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. ita *deest* D; *ib.* nota de decimis *in marg.* D. 2. 3. tributa egencium decime *in marg.* C. 3. igitur CE. 5. requirunt CE. 6. Christi *pro* ubi A. 8. homicidiorum reus *in marg.* C; *ib.* tribunates A. 9. pauperibus C. 10. sibi igitur D; *ib.* aut *deest* D; *ib.* comparare ABCE. 11. desiderat D. 12. de novem partibus *in marg.* C. 13. quidquid D; *ib.* ex *precepto* A; ex *dicto* B; *ib.* mediocriter CDE. 16. Quid A; Quicquid C; quidquid D; quicquid E. 17. non *deest* A. 18. erogandum DE. 18. 19. Si — invadimus *deest* CE. 20. igitur CE. 21. sicut CDE; *ib.* aut *pro* nisi A; in B. 22. titulo CDE. 23. Christus *deest* C; *ib.* debet hic D. 23. 24. honores pro quanto suscipient prelati et dominii *in marg. sup.* C. 26. aufgere CDE; *ib.* ymo E. 28. rebelles *deest* A; rebellum legi C; rebelles legi CE; cohercere rebelles *in marg.* C. 29. illi D; *ib.* trahendi ABCD. 31. igitur CE. 32. mercacio periculosa quare *in marg.* C.

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

estimating fair colum taxandi iustum valorem talis laboris sic mercantis profits for their trouble and perils; how much more should the clergy avoid all worldly traffic!

et vie periculum, ymmo taxacio continuacionis status mercantis est sibi incognita propter eventus innumerabiles causales. Multo magis clericus Cristi, et specialiter sacerdos superior, debet cavere negociacionem ad peri-
colum sui et ecclesie magis ambiguam, vel statum prosperitatis mundane in quo iacent anime ampliora pericula. Primus enim mercator posset facilius iuste N. exequi mercandiam talem ex integris quam prelatus, et sic habundare diviciis. Nam expressius prohibetur a 10 Christo, plus retrahitur a cariori officio, et omnino periculosius blasphematur in honore mundo per mercandiam sacerdotis quam per dictam laici mercandiam; et omnino de periculo mundani honoris, gracia lucri symoniace perquisiti, et summe de blasfema exaltacione 15 potestatis prelati propter collacionem symoniacam pre-
positure vel beneficii spiritualis.

Especially as regard the collation of benefices,

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

Nothing proves better that they

Jack this spiritual power, which God may give to an unknown priest.

Aliter enim numquam sic blasphemaretur de potestate prelati, implicando quod plus potest in colacione talium quam Petrus potuit sive Christus. Sic quod patet sedule 20 attendenti quod maior pars blateratorum de potestate prelati est heretica et blasfema. Nam quia potestas est insensibilis, fingi poterit et fictione mendaci seduci populus. Apostoli autem non de magnitudine talis potestatis contenderant, sed ad plus laborandum pro 25 edificatione ecclesie effectualiter secundum formam ewangelii laborabant. Unde non potest quis patencius ostendere se esse expertem talis potencie quam pompando de tali potentia sine correspondente opere. Deus enim non dat talem potestatem propter locum, propter tradicio- 30 nes elacionis humane vel propter famam vel apparen-
tiam humane glorie, qua fingitur quod talis dominatur toti mundo, tamquam frater domini et amicus. Sacerdos enim mundo incognitus, qui similius sequitur Cristum in moribus, habet potestatem regendi et edificandi eccl- 35

1. labore AD; talem laborem *omnes* MSS. 2. vmo E. 6. atque CE.
 6. 7. status prosperitatis mundane periculosus *in marg. inf.* C. 10. hun-
 dare C. 12. blasphematur E; *ib.* homine A. 13. laici E. 16, 17. vel
 prepositione beneficij A. 18. blasphemare D; *ib.* potestati C. 19. impli-
 cando CD; *ib.* habet CE; *ib.* collacione CDE. 21. blacterarium AD.
 22. prelat est *in marg. add.* D. 22, 23. potestas que insensibilis ideo
 excusabilior videtur *in marg. D.* 23. et deest B; *ib.* mendacij B; *ib.* se-
 ducti B. 24. aut A. 25. contenderent D. 27. posset ACD E;
 gloriatio prelatorum de potestate causatur *in marg. sup.* C. 28. esse
 deest AD. 30. propter locum *in marg. add.* D. 31. eleccionis CDE.
 33. taquam D. 34. cognitus C.

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

Et quantum ad evidencias, patet quod sunt tante racione vacue quod blasphemus verecundaretur in presencia

O. animalis irrationalis ipsas exponere. Nam ex illo Matth. 16,
Matth. emungunt potissime fietam potestatem blasphemam: *Quod-*

XVI,¹⁰ *cunque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis etc.*

^{36*} Sed cum beatus Jeronimus dixit: "Sacerdotes nostros ratione blasfemi intellectus istius verbi supercilium phariseorum induere"; notarent primo sensum dicti Christi. Oportet enim subintelligere talem condicionem, *potestate* (scilicet clavum) *non errante*; quia, ut tradiciones sue coguntur dicere, clavibus suis de valde possibili errantibus, nec solvunt nec ligant subditos suos quo ad deum, sed intricant se ipsos fingentes superficie tenus nodos vel dissoluciones nodorum. Et illa ficio fingenti est nociva, et captivato est vel nociva vel impertinens quo ad deum. Notarent secundo, quod ipsi, ex sanctitate vite et imitacione morum sequendo Petrum similius, sunt illi quibus ex merito consonant dicta Petro. Si enim scolam humilitati et paupertati Christi contraria exercent, nullus sacerdos in mundo est magis a dicta potestatis participacione alienus. Christus enim dixit,

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

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

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

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

1. regimen ecclesie in quo consistit vii attenderetur *in marg. sup.* C. 2. et *deest* C; et *pro* in DE. 4. *in deest* E. 5. confiniter C. 5—o. Sic — Et quantum *deest* A; *in marg.* D. 8. faciliter CE; *ib.* christi legem C. 9. cautele A. 11. raciones C; rationalis BCD; irrationalis (ir.al. manu add.) E; *ib.* ipsa A; corr. D. 12. ptem C. 13. etc. *deest* CE. 15. ratione *deest* C; *ib.* supersilium B; supersilium DE. 16. secundum dictum C. 18. clave errante non solvitur *in marg. inf.* C; *ib.* ut *deest* B. 20. possibiliter CE; corr. ex possibili D. 22. after ficio a word effaced A. 23. est ingenti CDE; *ib.* et *deest* B; *ib.* captivatio BC; *ib.* noticia (prima rice) C. 23, 24. impertineat C. 25. mutacione corr. ex imitacione D; imitacio morum petri et apostolorum prelatis indicatur *in marg. sup.* C. 26. petri corr. ex petro D. 28. exercerent C; *ib.* adiecte CD. 29. principio CE.

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

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

Matth.
V, 14

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

Words of
Origen, bearing
on the subject.

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

Let the Pope remember that all his power is siderans 30^o similitudinem vite sue ad vitam Petri, but the utterance of God's

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

29. *Origenes*, Comment. in Matth. (Migne, t. XIII, series Graece, p. 1010; ed. Ben., p. 520). The quotation is probably from memory, as it varies much from the original.

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

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

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

A warning to the Friars and monks, who persecute those that spread Gospel truth. Et non obstante fide et spe habenda in Iesu, eciam in religiosis deletur caritas; et potestatem anticristi blasfeme paliant, ac contra seminantes veritatem ewan-gelicam | instant sophistice, vel patule persecuntur: sic ^{36^b quod, dominante dolo, vocata ecclesia est plena blas-femia. Nam sive religiosi proprietarii, sive angelus de celo, consensit isti blasphemie, sive approbando, sive tacendo vecorditer, gracia prosperitatis mundane, nisi iudeat ad partem Cristi eternis ignibus deputabitur.}

3. psalliant B; palliant CDE; *ib.* et E. 4. sollicite ABC; *ib.* patulo C; *ib.* persequuntur C; persecuntur *corr. ex secuntur* D. 5. dominate A. 6. sive *deest* C; sive exproprietarii sive angelus CDE. 7. concederit C; consenserit DE. 8. dampnabitur ACD; dabitur *in marg.* E.

A.

CAPITULUM TERCIUM.

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

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

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

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

Christ's vicar must have great virtue, which neither

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

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

Christ nor his electors give: quod vel electores dant sibi talem gradum virtutum, vel quod oportet deum sibi assistere sic donando; ergo principium non est verum. Electores vero non habent potestatem conferendi talem gradum sibi ipsis; quomodo ergo conferrent hec dona extranee persone quam tam⁵ contrariando elegerant? Unde dissinio dei est Iac. ca^o I^o: Jac.
 "Quod omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum^{1, 17} desursum est, descendens a patre luminis; in qua donacione nullus communicat homo mendax. Et secundum videtur nimis blasphemum quod electores regulariter deum necessitant tantum dare: tunc enim essent indubie plus quam deus. Item, deus non eo ipso assistit electo per gratiam quo Cristum ipsum elegit; sed quelibet eleccio Christi est infinitum melior quam eleccio cardinalium vel romani populi, qui elegit Silvestrum;¹⁵ ergo non oportet deum sic assistere cuicunque eleccioni romani pontificis. Maior patet de eleccione Scarioth, quem Cristus indubie virtuosius et sic melius elegit, quam cardinales vel alii scirent eligere romanum pontificem. Et patet minor ex supereminencia virtutis Christi a qua²⁰ cuncta sua opera processerunt, et ex fructu eleccionis Scarioth, ut dicetur posterius. Locus autem civitatis Rome est in pertinens sanctitati, ut patet in tractatu de papa, et testatur scriptura 2 Mach. 5^o.^{2, Mac. V, 17}

Every election is null that does not aim at choosing one of the elect; now these aim only at giving worldly power. Item, deitas in eleccione hominum ponit gradus,²⁵ B. quia aliter foret ecclesia ordine destituta; sed nulla eleccio electorum pape est valida, nisi de quanto exemplata fuerit ab eleccione divina: ergo ipsi non eligerent regulariter papas, ponendo eis imperium pontificum. Sicut enim sunt disparates in bonitate, ita videtur³⁰ (cum non sit potestas nisi a deo; ad Roma. 13^o), Rom. quod sunt disparates in potestate. Si enim sunt prescriti esse membra diaboli, quomodo daret eis dominus paritatem potestatis cum predestinatis quibus dedit potestatem filios dei fieri? Periculosem itaque est blasfeme mentiri, Joan. 1, 12 quod quilibet papa est paris potestatis cum Christo humanitus, cum Petro, et quilibet alio sancto papa. Et patet minor argumenti, ex hoc quod oportet deum

5. igitur C. 6. Jacobi 1. C. 12. assisteret B. 14. quam eleccio deest C. 15. rōni A. 16. debet pro oportet C. 17. rōni A. 19. rōnū (et sic postea) A. 20. Christi deest A. 24. 2 deest A; ib. Machabeo^z C. 25. eleccō AC. 26. ordinacione. 29, 30. potatum, sed in marg. corr. pōtificum C. 33. mēbⁿ A. 33, 34. potestatem A.

prevenire in omni accione laudabili vel illaudabili cuiusque creature.

Item, foret blasfema presumpcio, in his que concernunt salutem magni populi temere diffinire; sed sic est in quacunque eleccione Romani pontificis, si non esset ad hoc revelacio: ergo, sic eligere foret blasfema presumpcio.

Maior patet ex hoc quod blasfema foret presumpcio dare homini medicinam ex qua verisimiliter vel probabiliter crederetur quod ipse perderet vitam istam corpoream.

10 Multo magis foret blasphemum mentiri sic deo. Et minor patet ex hoc quod, instituens quemquam in Romanum pontificem dat magnam occasionem credendi quod ipse sit precellenter electus dei, et quod suis monitis regulariter est credendum. Istud autem fallit

15 ut plurimum. Ideo periculosum videtur seminare in 1. Cor. ecclesia tale mendacium. Non enim aptatur ad hoc

1. 27 regula dei dicentis in sancto apostolo primo Cor. 1º:

In firma mundi deus eligit, ut forcia queque confundat; ut, inquam, ostendatur, non mundana prudencia, non 20 terrena potencia, sed divina, elegit deus apostolos ad conquirendum sibi regnum ecclesie, ut confundat queque terrena forcia tamquam inutilia ad hunc finem. Qui autem innititur eligere plus mundi potentes, plus in mundana sapiencia prepollentes, ut loco Christi presint 25 ecclesie, contra Christum innititur *terrene sapientie, ani-*

Jac. mali et diabolice.

III, 15 Item, eo ipso quo quis statuit quemquam capud ecclesie, statuit eum predestinatum, cum solum talis sit pars ecclesie, ut hic supponitur. Sed nimis blasphemum 30 esset electores statuere vel diffinire predestinationem

huiusmodi: ergo et suum convertibile. Considerarent

37^a itaque electores | pape quam potestatem et fidem necessitantur fideles sibi tribuere, et cavendo de periculo accionis improvide, expectarent revelationem divinam

35 vel omitterent super se huiusmodi onus cumulare. Sic

Act. I, 23-26 enim fecerunt capitales apostoli, act. 1º, in elegendo

Mathiam apostolum; quod foret longe minus, quam eligendo summum et simillimum Cristi vicarium. Eligere

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

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

5. in pro ad B. 10. multum B. 14. requiritur A; requitur C.

15. quam pro ut C. 17. aplo 1º A. 18. forciora B. 23. autem

deest AC. 24. ppoles A. 30. diffamare A. 31. generis pro ergo A;

igitur pro ergo C. 32, 33. nūcial sed in marg.; necessitantur A; ne-

cessitant BC. 34. aconita A. 35. obmitten C; ib. Sicut AB.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. humilem A. 4. sumus A. 6. hōre A: onore BC; *ib.* p̄tēsione A.

9. 10. p̄m̄ pn̄m̄ A; p̄m̄ pn̄cipiū B. 11. pxi A. 13. et ex A.
11. amplectanda B. 20. est deest B; *ib.* magnus A; maximus BC.
23. aliis ectam B. 25. profundius deest; zp⁹ A.

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

D. *christiana* in fine, omnis veritas est in scriptura: non est credendum romano pontifici, nisi in veritate: ergo, non est credendum, nisi in scriptura, in qua est omnis fundacio veritatis. Item, Cristus summus pontifex fundavit se humanitus etiam contra diabolum in scriptura, ut Matth. patet Matth. 4. Et sic fecit in omnibus factis suis, ut IV, patet discurrendo per ea que scripta sunt de illo. Qui ergo est Romanus pontifex, qui deditur fundare se in lege Domini vel scriptura, cum sit potissimum et dignissimum fundamentum? Si enim deditur se fundare in illa, dicens se habere potestatem interpretandi ipsam quomodounque voluerit, et supplendi eius defectus, tunc blasphemat ut demonium meridianum. Et illud revocaret illum a condendis articulis fidei ut novis 15 legibus sed debet illa a deo complete condita, tamquam servus humilis, declarare. Et cum debet usque ad sobrietatem sapere, debet humiliter in sancta ignorancia reticere; et idem est iudicium de tota ecclesia militante. Et patet impossibilitas secundi principii anticeristi.

20 Tercia conclusio: Blasphemum foret papam vel alium plus credere, magis diligere vel exequi magis solicite leges proprias, quam legem Christi et dei. Patet ex hoc, quod lex ad legem se habet ut legifer ad legiferum. Sed blasphemum foret in istis equiparare pure creaturam 25 creatori: ergo, blasphemum foret equiparare vel super-addere legem creature propriam legi dei. Voco autem legem creature propriam, quam statuit et nescit ipsam clare elicere ex scriptura. Item, proporcionaliter ut quis diligit Christum debet diligere eius legem; ut hic 30 supponitur et alibi declaratum est. Sed cum omnis fidelis debet infinitum plus diligere Christum quam aliquam pure creaturam, videtur quod proporcionaliter debet diligere legem Christi. Omnes, inquam, fatemur quod diligimus deum super omnia; sed dileccio legis 35 dei iudicat veritatem. Item, proporcionaliter ut affectus noster est ad aliquid, sic exequimur eius complecionem. Si affectus noster, ut dicimus, debet esse maxime in legem Christi, ergo debemus proporcionaliter exequi eius

Matth. VI, 10 complecionem. Omnes itaque dicimus deo illud Mt. 6^o:

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

2. igitur C. 5. q̄ eccl̄ A. 7-10. qui — enim deest A. 8. qui non *omnes* MSS. 12. libuerit BC. 14. vel C. 16. declarare *in marg.* C. 23. se habet deest B. 24, 25. blasphemum — ergo deest B. 28. celare A; clare elicere ipsam C. 35. sue pro dei A. 36. ad ali⁴ A; a'd C; ib. exe² A. 37-39. Si — complecionem deest A. 37. Sed pro si C; ib. circa pro in C.

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

Et patet falsitas tertii principii anticristi.

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

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

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

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

These errors are very dangerous, for they create

Ex istis tribus principiis potest fidelis colligere quod 5 omnes privati ordines, qui non habent aliud fundamentum quam determinacionem papalem, cessare debeant. Et per idem omnes determinaciones romani pontificis, que non sunt patenter elicibiles ex scriptura. Et patet quam 10 levius est evidencia: si romanus pontifex cum quotquot 15 episcopis decreverit quod eukaristia sit accidentis sine subiecto, vel tales ordines [confirmaverit, ergo verum. 37^b] Secundo, videtur quod totus clerus debet dimissa solitudine legum papalium, legi Christi intendere, etsi dicatur quod totales huiusmodi sit lex Christi; quia, cum 15 diabolus transfiguratus se in angelum lucis, nec auctor legis dignatur fundare tradiciones suas in lege divina, ideo est pium et securum catholice quiescere in illis 20 legibus que sunt patule in scriptura. Et patet 3^a ut sepe asserui, quod non est color, si ex istis tradicionibus multa bona eveniunt, ergo sunt a fidelibus exequenda. Nam ex peccato primi angeli et primi hominis, ymmo 25 ex quoconque malo, occasionaliter et per gratiam dei multa bona eveniunt. Ideo non est color, si ex privatis ordinibus et propriis legibus cum suis defensionibus multa bona proveniunt, ergo non sunt iniuste. Ideo 30 oportet ad legem Christi, ut regulam directivam, attendere: et ipsis iuxta positis videre ipsas non in aliquo dissonare: quod videtur difficile, cum vel propter talia privata lege dei dimissa omnes eis afficiuntur vel, lege dei postposita, nimis remisse eam exequimur. Et quomodo cunque loquimur, factum nostrum et conscientia dictant ista 35 implicite esse vera. Quis, inquam, religiosus non nimis appreciatur tradiciones privatas, ut in studio, in valore et observacione plus eis attendat, vel minus respiciat legem Christi? Et conformiter de studentibus alias leges hominum factum clamat istud, eciam negatum a nobis, quo ad conscientiam esse verum. Nec sunt dissimulandi errores predicti, quia continuata obliquitas a rectitudine

1. *tacit C; ib. tamen omnes MSS.* 2. *taciamus quod non omnes MSS.*: *ib. fit C.* 3. *cum C.* 4. *thiſ A.* 12. *igitur.* 13. *debet deest C.* 15. *tamen B.* 16. *nec deest A.* 19. *qui B.* 20. *sic pro sepe A.* 21. *igitur C.* 30. *afficiuntur AB; ib. ut pro vel AB.* 32. *dēant A.* 33. *implicita AB.* 38. *diffundi A.* 39. *obliq'sara^{an} A.*

Cristi preparat ad ruinam. Religiones itaque private, et divisiones affidaciones indurate sue regule, generant divisiones et sectas proprietarias in ecclesia sancta dei. Ex hoc enim querunt refuge que sua sunt, vel non querunt (vel nimis

man seeking
his own
welfare;

F. 5 remisse) bona communia que sunt Cristi. Et patet fideli quod affeccio proprietatis in homine interiori preponderans sapit symoniam, apostasiam, blasphemiam, et dampnabilitatem perpetuam; et per consequens subversionem populi in ducibus qui traherent ad concordiam 10 legis dei. Si inquam totus populus foret unius secte cristiane, tanquam vir unus, et tota sollicitudo discordie versa foret ad studium concordie legis dei, quis dubitat quin ecclesia foret concordior et disposicior ad amorem? Ideo. ve illis qui auctorisant et seminant sectas tales!

whence comes
apostasy,
simony and
blasphemy.

15 Posset enim populus ad tempus tenere sectas momentaneas, sicut fecit apostolus act. 2^o; sed tota indignitas Act. II, 44 consistit in disposicione indissolubili istorum rituum.

Their laws
should not have
been made
perpetually
binding;

Per hoc enim equiparat blasfemus tradicionem suarum observancias legi dei: quod deus non potest. Ideo videtur, 20 quod secte iste novelle sapiunt omnino blasphemiam, cum repugnat sapiencie divine ordinare hos particulares ritus cuicunque persone date secte perpetuo observandos. Ideo deus legitur dedisse maximas, totum genus hominum obligantes. Et quantum ad modos vivendi, cum possunt 25 et debent secundum personas, etates, et alias circumstancias quantumlibet variari, deus reliquit istam variationem prudencie humanae. Quis ergo posset statuere quod totum genus date secte debet sic vivere? Papa enim non potest istud debitum statuere; sic nec potest 30 aptitudinem tocius secte future cognoscere.

God gives
commandments
binding all men
in general, but
leaves each man
free to choose
his way of life.

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

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

3. sancta deest B. 4. refuge corr. ex refugere A; ib. minus; in⁹ A.
5. bō ymō q̄ A; ib. ymmo pro communia A. 7. et blasphemiam A.
15. in marg. nota B. 16. 20 C. 21. observandas A. 24. vivendi
deest BC. 27. igitur C. 31. in marg. obiecicio B.

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

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

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

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

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

Item, omnis occasio scismatis, apostasie vel blasphemie debet tolli ab ecclesia. Sed precipua occasio omnium istorum est prelatorum graduacio humanitus adinventa: ergo rationabiliter debet tolli. Minor argumenti patet ex hoc quod ex hinc prelati querunt gloriam suam, non gloriam domini Jesu Christi, contra apostolum I. Cor. 10: ^{1 Cor. X, 31} *Omnia in gloriam Christi facite.* Quis, inquam, prelatus ex divisione predicta non querit honorem suum humanum eciam plus quam honorem Christi? Vel ad minimum dividitur cultus sive intensio honorandi propter gradacionem istam adinventam. Facta ostendunt quod singuli (quia omnes) quasi querunt gloriam suam. Ista enim est occasio quare venit dissensio de qua loquitur apostolus II. Thess. 2^o: ut patet de secta machometi et aliis. Si enim essemus in reputacione omnes fratres, sicut fuerunt apostoli, nec aliquis reputaretur maior, nisi ut foret absconde apud deum virtuosior, cessaret con-

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

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

^{Matth.} tencionis elacio. Et ista videtur doctrina Cristi, Matt. 23^o;

^{XXIII. 8} *Nolite, inquit, vocari rabi; unus enim est magister vester, et omnes vos fratres estis,* etc. Et istam sentenciam

pulcre declarat beatus Jeronimus cap. 18^a ad Ewandrum,

⁵ ubi declarat primo ex fide scripture multiplicis, quod olim omnis sacerdos vel presbiter fuit episcopus, et e

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

contra; 2^o declarat quod dyaconatus est inferior sacer-

docio; et 3^o dicit quod diutina consuetudo vel humana

ordinacio, licet mutet nomen, non potest tamen mutare

10 officii dignitatem. "Quid", inquit, "profers michi unius

urbis consuetudinem? quid paucitatem, de qua ortum

est supercilium in leges ecclesie vendicas?" Si, inquam,

consilium romanum ordinat dyacones suos cardinales et

ut sic prestanciores aliis episcopis, quid hoc ad fidei

15 veritatem? Unde conclusio huius sancti est quod qui-

cunque, presbiter sive episcopus, precellunt in moribus,

sunt maiores. Cum enim convertibiliter sequatur: *Petrus*

est maior quoad deum: igitur Petrus est maior; Deus

autem non appreciatur adiacenciam temporalium, nisi

20 forsan reprobando: manifestum est quod quicunque fuerit

H. maior in moribus est maior eo ipso. Unde Jeronimus,

ubi supra: "Ubiunque", inquit, "fuerit episcopus, sive

Rome sive alibi, eiusdem meriti eiusdemque sacerdotii

potencia diviciarum et paupertatis humilitas vel subli-

25 miorem vel inferiorem episcopum facit. Ceterum, omnes

apostolorum successores sunt". Ideo, ut declarat eadem

epistola, "primo indifferenter nominabantur presbiteri; sed

quod postea unus electus est, qui ceteris preponeretur,

in scismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque

30 trahens ad se, ecclesiam Cristi rumperet". Unde in epist.

ad Demetriadem, que sic incipit: *Omnibus divine scripture*

paginis ewangelium antecellit, sic scribitur: "Ac dicis,

supra Petrum fundatur ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio

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

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

2. est enim C. 3. omnes enim BG. 7. inferior omnes MSS.

9. ordinatio deest C; ib. tamen deest A. 14. sint pro sic C; ib. alienis A.

18. ergo C. 21. J'09 A. 23. romane A sed in marg.: Rome.

31. demet'and, A.

12. Hieronymus, Ep. Ad Evangelum. Migne, t. XXII, p. 1194 (ed. Bened. 1083). 15. It is a remarkable fact that many

bishops who are cardinals are so only under the title of deacons. As is known there are three classes in this Church dignity, bishops, priests, and deacons. A man who is only in Minor

Orders may be a cardinal deacon, it being supposed that he intends taking Sacred Orders; should he marry, however, he loses his dignity.

32. Hieron. Migne, t. XXIII, pag. 279 (ed. Bened.).

loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni celorum accipient, et ex equo super eos ecclesie fortitudo solidetur: tamen propterea inter 12^{sim} unus eligitur ut, capite constituto, scismatis tollatur occasio". Sic igitur. sicut nomen est eversum in sacramento altaris, vocando 5

But everything illud accidens sine subiecto; sic eversum est nomen,
is changed officium, et dignitas prelatorum. Deus enim ordinavit
now: instead of humility, pride gives quod regulariter pauperior, humilior et servicior pro
greatness in the tollendo scismate foret maior. Sed diabolus, mundus,
Church. et caro dogmatisant quod fama populari celebrior, mundo 10
dicior et strepitu temporali potencior sit in ecclesia
Cristi superior: et illud blasphemum mendacium confundit
ecclesiam.

And this is the cause of many blasphemies. Item, propter talem principatum sunt prelati et eorum sentencia plena blasfemia: igitur est rationabiliter subtrahenda. Antecedens patet de multiplicacione legum papalium, ut de eleccionibus, de provisionibus, et similibus, que sunt sepe manifeste contraria legi dei. Cum igitur ista causant principia pollitice conversacionis ecclesie, et "modicus error in principio sit causa pergrandis in fine";²⁰ manifestum est quod oportet ex ista contrariacione a voluntate divina ecclesiam errare multipliciter in progressu.

Among others, Et idem patet de indulgenciis, privilegiis et aliis blasphemis
of indulgence, patentibus vendicatis. Quoad leges adinventas, dictum
and of new laws. est in tractatu de religione 2^o cap. Nam manifestum est 25
quod ewangelizantes et multo magis statuentes contrarium
legi dei, ut ecclesia ipsum observet, sunt anathematizati.

Ignorance is no excuse; and the Church will never be cured until delivered from this evil. docet apostolus Gall. 1^o. Nec dubium quin omne falsum vel irrationabile est preter ewangelium, quia illud sibi contrarium. Nec excusat ignorancia sic statuentes a blasfemia, quia apostolus fuit blasphemus, putando se parare obsequium deo; ut patet Thimo. 1^o. Multo magis qui gratis seminant leges ad regulandum ecclesiam que

2. quo *pro* equo *omnes* MSS. 3. XII C. 6. ipsum *pro* illud C;
ib. est *deest* C. 8. *sim̄or* A; servitivior(?) B. 10. quo A. 11. populari A. 12. *indam* A. 14. *p̄nlatū* (*sic*) A. 18. sepe *deest* C; *ib.* *deī* A.
23. blastemis B; blasphemis C. 23, 24. *blasfēmīs* *poīmō* A. 24. *poīmō* C.
26. scientes A. 28. *glla* A. 26. est *deest* B; *ib.* aliud A; aliquid C.
27. ignoranciam C; *ib.* a *deest* C. 29. deo *deest* A.

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

I. in immediate obviant legi dei. Et pro ista sentencia faciat Crisostomus opere imperfecto, omelia 5, et declaratum est in fine libri tertii. Nec unquam evacuabitur ab ecclesia ista legum blasfemia, quamdiu ecclesia stat fedata temporalibus, extra religionem quam Cristus instituit; quia omnes tales satrape dicunt implicite quod sunt sapienciores et in providencia meliores domino Jesu Christo. Ideo dicit Crisostomus: "Non", inquit, "potest mens humana directicare quod sapientia divina dictabat.

10 Sic enim ait Salomon, proverb. 30: *Non addas verbis
Prov. dei nec detrahas ride.* Quis enim est ausus hec, facere
XXX, 6 se sapienciem quam putat deum?" O quam multi sunt
blasfemi isto anathemate innodati! quia omnes qui falsum
vel irrationabile statuunt, aut preter autoritatem scripture
15 pro sponse Cristi regime.

Debent igitur sacerdotes Cristi fragmenta panis scrip-
38^h ture | colligere, et panem venenosum extra eius formam
abdicere; quia aliter non induunt forniam Cristi discipuli,
sed scelestissimi anticeristi. Cum enim Cristus precepit
20 apostolis *colligere fragmenta, ne pereant.* ut patet Joh. 6.

Per quod notatur secundum sanctos, quod prepositi
ecclesie, gerentes vicem apostolorum, debent colligere
cum sollicitudine subtile sensus in scriptura implicatos ad
pascendum ecclesiam; cum autem, secundum Augustinum.
25 in scriptura sit omnis veritas, ille prelatus nimis blasphemem
degenerat, qui, dimisso ignito verbo domini, intendit
pro pascendo populo verbis fallacibus adinventis. Nam
Deut. idem foret hoc facere, et extollendo anticeristum supra
IV, 2 deum, Cristum deserere. Ideo, deuter. 14^o precipitur et
30 proverb. 30^o repetitur quod *homo nec addat nec subtrahat
verbis dei.*

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

9. direccare A; *ib.* dictabit B. 11. *dethasm* A. 12. putat quam
omnes MSS. 24. enim *pro autem omnes* MSS. 25. sacra sit B.
26. *ig'to* A. 27. *populo deest* A. 29. *Cristum deest* A; *ib.* 1^o B.
30. non AC.

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

CAPITULUM QUARTUM.

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

Constat ex fide quomodo nedum in principio quod A. est verbum. deus creavit mundum (scilicet celum et terram, que inter omnia eius opera sunt maxime distanca tam naturaliter quam localiter), hominem autem cum instrumentis suis posuit deus in medio, ut secundum amorem, qui est pondus anime, deo et celestibus constanter adhucereat, et terrena, nisi de quanto sunt ad hec necessaria. religiose postponat. Unde omnis apostasia in declinacione ad temporalia est fundata. Deus autem, 10 sicut docuit in apostolo suo Jacobo precipuam partem religionis sue esse hominem *se custodire immaculatum* 1, 27 ab hoc seculo: sic posuit, secundum evidenciam exempli triplicis. quomodo homo aspiraret religiose ad celestia. et apostasiam qua meus afficitur opacis terrestribus 15 declinaret. Primum est exemplum naturale quo deus ordinavit celum spere sublunari influere regendo inferiora. et secundum lucem ac tenebras cum aliis vicissitudinibus temporum alternari. Secundum est exemplum sacramentale, in quo deus posuit panem qui est basis corporalis alimenti, ut figuret fidelibus et sit quodammodo corpus Cristi. Sed tertium exemplum est supernaturale, in quo deitas et humanitas sunt personaliter idem homo. Et omnes istos gradus deus instituit, ut revochet hominem a temporalibus ad eterna. 25

The error concerning the Sacrament argues a want of that unworldliness

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

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

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

Nemo enim wult inordinate commutare temporalia pro eternis, spiritualia pro temporalibus, nisi qui inordinate afficitur ad terrena, et per consequens non sine hoc committitur symonia. Et ita videtur obligacio, de quo 5 psal. 124^o: *Declinantes autem in obligaciones adducet Ps. dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem.* Et 2^o, nemo excedit CXXIV. 5 limites Cristi religionis, nisi cuius animus nimis afficitur ad terrena. Ideo docet Jacobus, quia secunda pars religionis est hominem *se immaculatum custodire ab hoc 10 seculo.* Unde orat ecclesia, "ut sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus eterna"; "ut deus doceat nos terrena despiceret et amare celestia" et "ut terrenis 15 affectionibus mitigatis facilius celestia capiamus".

B. Ex ista sentencia ecclesie cum experientia et fide 15 scripture colligitur quod omnis heresis vel peccatum in militante ecclesia stat in libra in qua affectus ad temporalia et eterna. Appendiculum autem breve temporalium preponderatur, dum omnes querunt que sua sunt secundum rationem qua illis sunt propria, et non secundum 20 rationem qua sunt communia communis dominii Jesu Cristi. Et sic longum appendiculum eque libre quo affectus viatoris eterna respiceret non libratur. Ipsum enim brachium, propter carenciam ponderis quod fidelis in lance affectus acciperet, non curatur. Et tamen, sicut 25 celum est corpus supremum, latissimum, clarissimum et plenum influencia luminis et sanctis spiritibus, sic terra est corpus insimum, strictissimum, opacissimum et plenum corrupcionibus atque demonibus. Et hec creditur racio quare diabolus tantum allicit hominem ad terrena. 30 Sophista enim, rationi contrarius et primus apostata, It is the devil's work. nititur ducere scolam suam ad metam blasphemie: quod fit, quando falsitati plus applauditur quam fructui veritatis. Unde diabolus, propter hoc quod suggit sangwinem

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

All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal.

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

5. after 124 dicitur C. 11. edoceat A. 12. cestia A. 14. Et *fro ex A.*
16. affectionis BC. 18. sua *deest* A. 20, 21. *gma dni chu X* C.
24. accipiet A. 28. corporibus B; corrupcionis C. 33. suggerit A.

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

"There's one come down to fetch his dues;
A kiss, a coll, a sip of *blood,*"

(*The Witch*, by Middleton.)

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

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

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

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

ex spiritibus quibus letificarentur et alleviarentur *filiis*^{Ps. IV, 3} *hominum gravi corde*, dicitur proverb. 30 sanguisuga. ^{Prov.} XXX, 15 *Sanguisuge*, inquit, *due sunt filie dicentes, affer, affer.* Constat quidem quod ecclesia militans resultat ex popularibus tamquam terra, ex mundi potentibus tamquam lignis, et ex clericis tamquam herbis. Diabolus autem, latens in paludibus vel locis putridis, habet de clericis et mundi potentibus duas perversas filias, scilicet yppocritis et tyrrannos. Cantus autem eorum precipuus est scopare populum, spoliando ipsum temporalibus, dicendo 10 suis tyronibus: *affer affer*. Et sicut arbusta spinosa ac herbe mortifere de terra germinant et per accidens proficiunt, licet multum in particulari officiant; | sic 39^a est de dictis yppocritis et tyrranis.

Sunt autem in clero duodecim filie sanguisuge cum 15 suis complicibus: scilicet, papa, cardinales, episcopi, archidiaconi, officiales, decani, rectores, presbiteri, monachi, fratres, ostiarii, et questores. Sed (quia granum et palea possunt abscondi sub istis nominibus) ideo suppono quod de pseudo-talibus fiat sermo, quod ex eo discerni 20 C. 25 statui 30 procreantur. Non enim licet nominare vel acceptare officium cleri in ecclesia, nisi de quanto in lege Christi fuerit approbatus; sed necesse est ut diabolus, onerans ecclesiam cum ritibus et temporalibus, oneret eam eciam cum suis officiariis, qui blasfeme spolient pauperes et simplices matris ecclesie. Consideremus ergo statum expropriatarum statui innocencie simillimum, quem Christus vixit et docuit suos apostolos laborando spiritualiter observare; et consideremus, quot officiarii in clero sic laborando retainent istum statum. Et tot sunt fideles servi Christi. Alii autem sunt complices anticristi; et servata ista sentencia, non oneraretur ecclesia cum raptoribus et discolis dissipantibus scolam Christi. Quicunque enim, pensato suo ministerio per se edificativo ecclesie, ipsam 35 alleviat, non onustat: et ipsam secundum viam virtutum trahit ad celestia, non deprimit ad terrena: omnis, inquam, talis est fidelis servus Christi et adiutor domini, ac penna columbe, que ipsam transvehat per mare huius

I. et omnes MSS.; ib. litificaretur A. 2. 3^o A. 5. potentatibus BC.
II. suis deest A. 21. procurantur C. 22. acceptare deest C. 24. est
deest A; ib. honerans eciam C. 28. falsissimum A; simillimum pro
talsissimum C. 35. edinicate AB; edificacio C. 38. Christ deest BC.

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

Et patet quomodo pseudopapa discernitur a fideli. Si enim querit que sua sunt, detrahens subditos suos 5 peccati pondere ad infernum, quis dubitat quin terrenorum cupiditas ipsum faciat anticeristum? Primum autem venenum notabile post Cristum effusum in ecclesia dicitur ortum ex dotacione romani pontificis, sub Constantino cesare et Silvestro, de qua dist. 96, *Constantinus imperator*. Primo autem blasphematur, extollendo Silvestrum super omne quod dicitur deus, quod non potuit peccare, sic recipiendo dotacionem ecclesie. Quod est contra decretum Cipriani, positum dist. 8. "Si solus," inquit, "Cristus audiendus est, non debemus attendere 15 quod alius ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid qui ante nos omnes est, Cristus, prior fecerit." Et idem sententiat Augustinus in sermone *de vita clericorum*, posito 17^a quest. 4 ca^o ultimo sub his verbis: "Quicunque wult, exhereditato filio, heredem facere ecclesiam, querat 20 alium qui suscipiat, non Augustinum: ymmo, deo propicio, neminem inveniet. Quam laudabile fuit factum sancti Aurelii cartaginiensis episcopi! Quidam enim, dum filios non haberet, nec speraret, res suas omnes, retento sibi usufructu, donavit ecclesie. Nati sunt ei filii: 25 reddidit ei episcopus omnia; nec opinanti ea, que illi donaverat in potestate habebat episcopus non reddere, sed iure fori, non iure poli."

D. Ecce primo quomodo sancti horruerant, quando parum lapsi sunt a Cristi pauperie, quod super ipsos cumuletur 30 lapsus gravior. Et indubie vel oportet dicere quod Augustinus in hoc dicto dissensit tali dotacioni, et impetratus fuit non fore aliquam in futurum, vel quod tamquam infidelis in ista lege dissipuit. Sed retento primo membro, patet evidencius quod sancti prelati tenerent hodie 35 eandem sentenciam. Nunc enim est ecclesia plus temporalibus inviscata, et impetracionibus subdole plus sunt invente.

9. quo C. 9. 10. Constancius C. 17. Augustinus *in marg.* A.
18. *in marg.* nota B. 22. catha C. 23. nec speraret deest A.

24. usu fructuum B. 25. *omo* C. 26. donaverit B. 33. depuit A;
desipuit C. 34. plati A 35. istam *pro* eandem C; *it.* ecclesie A.
36. impetraciones plus subdole C. 37. invente A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And these
endowments
weaken the
secular power:

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

Ex quibus colligitur quod nec pontifices nec claustrales eligerent dotacionem huiusmodi; sed fatue susceptam resignarent in manibus secularium dominorum. Sic enim recte fecit beatus Aurelius episcopus, qui fuit propterea ab Augustino merito commendatus. Nec valet dicere quod illud fuit opus supererrogacionis, ad quod prelati nostri non hodie sunt asstricti; quia hodie imminet maior necessitas, et prelati debent esse in hoc ita perfecti sicut fuit Aurelius. Aliter enim licet eis quantumcunque irreli-giose vivere, propter istam *excusacionem in peccato*.¹⁰ Similiter, episcopus habuit reddere *iure poli*, ut dicit ^{Ps.} *Augustinus*, et per consequens iure dei qui dictavit ipsum ^{CXL, 4} debere reddere. Sic enim voluit *Augustinus*: ut recitat de eo beatus Possidonius.

Nec valet 2^a excusacio in peccato, qua dicitur quod secularis memoratus intelexit condicionem tacitam in casu quo non habuit filios vel heredes: quia per idem in omni dotacione subintelligi debet talis condicio: et omnino quod deo sit placitum. Cum igitur supersunt filii imperatorum, regum et secularium dominorum, videtur quod clerus dotatus debet reddere *iure poli*. Item, ex ordinacione divina ecclesia debet constare ex mundi potentibus, ad quos necessaria est temporalis possessio. Sed hoc clerus possessionatus nititur extinguere opere vel consensu: ergo, ut sic, resistit ordinacioni divine.²⁵

Assumptum patet, romanorum 13. et sepe alibi; ymmo ^{Rom.} ex dicto Ysidori, posito 23 q. 5. ca^o *principes*. Et minor ^{XIII, 2} argumenti patet, notando | omnes possessiones que sunt ^{39^b} in manu pape et cleri, ac quanta foret secularis potestas illis dominiis correspondens, que ex hinc de ecclesia tollitur, et in occupationibus ex hinc deterioratis nomen domini blasphematur. Nec dubium quin hoc perpetratur consensu cleri, ad hoc multipliciter procurantis. Et cum hoc fit instinctu diaboli deteriorantis brachium seculare et dampnificantis ecclesiam, manifestum est quod potenter debent in isto potestate resistere. Ad hoc enim E. portant gladium, secundum apostolum. Et testatur Ysidorus ubi supra. "Intra Ecclesiam," inquit, "potestates necessarie non essent, nisi ut, quod non prevalent sacerdotes efficere

^{3.} restituissent C. ^{12.} ius qui A. ^{14.} possidanus A; possideus C. ^{20.} imperatoris C. ^{22.} potentantibus A. ^{25.} igitur C. ^{30.} dominis B. ^{31.} occupantibus C. ^{32.} perpetrat AB. ^{38.} n*ecce* E*cclie pro intra* ecclesiam A. ^{39.} ut *deest* AC.

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

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

Quam, quero, racionem reddent deo seculares domini, qui propter sanguinem, peccuniam vel desidiam, permettunt yppocritas. ymmo. cum suis conducunt, perdere Cristum et suam ecclesiam? Nam per dotaciones cecas symonia, apostasia et blasfemia sustentantur; et per consequens, irato domino, bella, dissensiones et infidelitates alie sustentantur. Cum enim oportet deum dare pacem 20 et caritatem hominibus, si eis infuerit; homines autem illi adversantur blasfeme ordinacioni divine ineptando clerum contra Cristi monita, ut sit mundo plus deditus, quomodo transfundenter deus per clerum huiusmodi concordiam et amorem? Quin pocius, iuxta beatum Gredorium, deus, aliunde placatus populo, subtraheret exhibe ab eis spirituale suffragium. Istam igitur cecam pietatem (quin pocius gravem stulticiam) portabunt principes, cum presumtuose contraveniendo ordinacioni divine privant se cleri suffragio, et, quod plus est, ut sic, multipliciter perturbant rem publicam, tam temporalia quam spiritualia blasfeme et improvide dispensando, ex quo tamquam calendis diaboli causatur dissensio. Servicium enim factum diabolo est maxime difficile et sumptuosum, maxime intricabile et onerosum, ac per consequens 35 maxime carens retribuzione laudabili, cum sit deo et nature contrarium.

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

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

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

3. regnum *deest* A. 5. igitur C. 6. expellant B. 8. eciam AC.
 10. disciplina ecclesia C; *ib.* ecclesie *pro* in ecclesia B. 13. deo reddent C.
 11. segniciem A. 15. conducunt *struck out* B. 16. ceteras AC.
 17--19. et — sustentantur *deest* A. 19. suscitantur C. 23. clericus C.
 27. verius BC. 28. sumtuose AB. 29. seculi *pro* cleri A.

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

femant in Cristum, mencientes quod ipse dominatus fuit civiliter, et vixit seculariter. In cuius signum vocant totum questum cleri "patrimonium crucifixi". Secundo F. blasphemant de papa et aliis prelatis cesareis, mencientes quod iure generacionis Christi debent summe seculariter;⁵ dominari. Et tertio blasphemant in vendicando potestatem spiritualem Christi, mencientes quod habeant potestatem excommunicandi, absolvendi, dispensandi, indulgendi et abscondite transmutandi, ultra hoc quod ratione vel scriptura sciunt ostendere, vel Christo debere competere.¹⁰ Et tandem blasphemant quod sunt fratres et amici Christi, tanquam iuramento vel pacto cum eo confederati; quod quicquid pretenderint se facere in nomine Christi, illud faciunt eo ipso. Et hinc volant blasphemie de innumerabilibus milibus annorum, quibus fingitur stulte ipsos¹⁵ a pena et a culpa absolvere. Sed si plus elongantur a Christi in modo vivendi, servando eius precepta et consilia, quid illis et generacioni Christi salvande? Sicut enim secundum legem mundanam, requiritur carnalis generacio ad successionem hereditariam, ita secundam²⁰ legem divinam requiritur ad spiritualem generacionem filiorum dei, successio hereditaria quoad mores Christi, quem oportet filios suos proxime generare. Et ita cecatur generacio signa querencium, quod plus attendunt ad leges humanas, quibus prelatus mundanus²⁵ instituitur, quam ad conformitatem operum quibus scola Christi mandat credere. Signum autem evidens est quod tales prelati sunt anticristi discipuli, si non amant dominum Jesum Christum sequendo eum in moribus, sed pompant de potestate sua quam deus non revelavit.³⁰ Christus enim wult nec se ipsum nec apostolos suos, nisi mediante revelatione, detegere huiusmodi potestatem. Nam, ut *data est sibi omnis potestas*, sic debet ad ipsum^{Matth.}^{XXVIII,} referri, et cristiani humile ministerium publicari. Unde¹⁸ sterilitas fructus potestatis huiusmodi signum est quod³⁵ hypocrite blasphemant de potestate Christi, quia si adesset operaretur magna, tam in prelatis quam in populo; cum

t. mencientes A. 3. petrocinium A. 4. mencientes A. 6. vendendo A. 11. tamen *omnes* MSS; *ib.* tres A. 12. tantum *pro* tamquam *omnes* MSS. 14. hic B; huic A. 18. sicud AC. 19. humanam C; *ib.* cai"lis A. 36. ipse A.

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

the secular
power of
Christ,

the authority to
excommunicate,
etc.,

the assumed
friendship and
brotherhood
with Christ:

for which they
should prove a
spiritual affinity
with Him,

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

white their power more nearly resembles that of Lucifer.

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

Item. Cristus precepit apostolis suis doctrina multiplici nec diligere mundum nec mundalia; sed yppocrite, finio gentes se esse Cristi vicarios, hec diligent excessive. Ergo, cum sit tantum contra doctrinam et mandata Cristi sequitur quod sunt discipuli anticristi. Sunt yppocrite Joan. multipliciter mendaces, simulantes falsitatem contrariam XV, 10 veritati. Et assumptum argumenti patet Joh. 15. Quia 15 vero de mundo non estis, sed ego elegi vos de mundo, propterea odit vos mundus. Mementote sermonis mei, quem ego dixi robis: Non est serrus maior domino suo. Et eadem sentencia exprimitur Joh. 2, Joh. 18 et Thi. 6. Et XIV, 33 iterum Luc. 14 sic concludit: Sic omnis ex robis, qui non G. 20 renunciaverit omnibus que possidet, non potest esse meus discipulus; ubi non dubium quin loquitur de renunciacione civili: primo, quia debuerunt renunciare in seculo omnibus terrenis secundum preponderantem affectionem. Ille ergo qui elegit iustos cognatos de mundo, intendebat 25 quod plus renunciarent seculo quam homines temporales.

Job XI, 25 Similiter, ut Augustinus notat, apostoli et vicarii Cristi it is impossible otherwise to conquer the king of pride: debent singulariter comittere bellum adversus regem super omnes filios superbie; qui, cum sit princeps mundi, habet 20 milia bellancium contra Cristum; hoc est, 30 universitatem temporalium ex prevaricancia duplicancium contra denarium mandatorum. Quis ergo singulariter sic agonisans contra diabolum indisponeret se inviscatus in rethi diaboli? Quin pocius, sedens in fide filii, computat omnes sumptus, orando, contemplando et exhortando? Illi enim sumptus sunt necessarii ad expugnandum diabolum. Etsi Cristi vicarius non comisceat se cum mundo, tamen tota cogitacio, tota intencio, et tota

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

4. "Similis ero Altissimo."

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

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

Christ's deeds are no less formal; and deeds are of more weight than words. He primo, quod iste magister optimus, factum preponderans, had not where to lay His head. *cepit facere et docere.* Sic enim reprobatur phariseos

Matth. 23, ex duplicitate verborum; dicunt, inquit, et non faciunt. Absit autem talis duplicitas in Christo; ymo ex fide capimus quod Cristus exemplando exposuit ad quem sensum voluit discipulos suos mundum relinquere. et illum sensum sermonis sui exponere. Ideo, cum Cristus fuit summe pauper exproprietarius, ipso dicente, *Mat. 8., VIII, 20* quod non habet tantum proprietatis de mundo, ut habeat domicillum vel locum proprium *in quo caput suum reclinet.* Ad istum ergo sensum mandavit Cristus suis presbiteris mundum relinquere: quod servatum est quoque glosator diabolus comovit scribas suos scripturam subvertere.

Reason and faith agree in this: riches are fides ecclesie. Constat quidem quod talis status pauperrimus only in so peritatis est similius statui innocencie et statui glorie, far as they help heavenward, which superfluity cannot do: food and raiment should be enough for us.

Et concordat cum hoc lex nature, naturalis ratio et H. observarunt. Et ita patet ex fide quod affluencia temporalia non expedit viatori, nisi de quanto promovet ad beatitudinem aquirendam. Sed planum est ex eadem fide quod non promovet, sed tardat, omne quod habet ultra vite necessaria, et secundum modum quo recognoscatur hec secundum istam rationem dari a deo: ergo, cum hoc fieret innitendo divine providentie in talibus, querendo *primum regnum dei et iusticiam eius,* ut Cristus docuit, videtur quod ille modus habendi temporalia sit magis consonus hic in via. Et super hac lege videtur fundari regula apostoli 1. thi. 6. quam papa et omnes episcopi debent specialiter observare, *habentes*

4. positi A; ib. esse meus A. 14. 21 B. 16. expōnit A. 30. distinctionem pro divine B; ib. prudencie AB.

alimenta et quibus tegamur hiis contenti simus. "Alimenta" dicit generaliter cibum et potum cum medicinis in quantum ad medelam anime promovent; et secundum modum magis aptum ad hoc, qui indubie est modus, quem

⁵ Cristus constituit et servavit. Et confirmari potest ex lege

^{Jer.} veteri. Nam Jerem. 35. patet quomodo deus comendat XXXV, rechabitas, quia ad preceptum Jonadab filii recab no-
⁶⁻¹⁹ luerunt vinum bibere, nec edificiis vel agriculture inten-
² Tim. II, 4 dere. Cum ergo Cristus, deus et homo, precepit suis

¹⁰ tam multipliciter verbo et exemplo, ut in nichil *negociis* secularibus implicentur, videtur prelatos nostros ex reca-
bitarum opere iudicandos. Nam secundum apostolum

^{1 Cor. 1^a} cor. ultimo: *Si quis non amaverit dominum Jesum*

XVI,²² *Cristum, anathema sit.* Et secundum evangelium Cristi

^{40^b} 15 Joh. 14. *Si quis diligit Cristum | sermonem suum serrabit.*

^{Joan.} Ex quibus videtur colligi quod tales prelati sunt ex-
XIV,²³ communicati atque heretici; et per consequens pro nullis

² Thes. graciis vel ministeriis spiritualibus consulendi. Et ista

^{III, 14} videtur sententia apostoli 2^a Thess. 3^o. *Si quis, inquit,*

²⁰ *non obedierit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate et*

non comisceamini cum illo, ut confundatur; quia, ut docet

^{Tit.} apostolus ad thyt. 3^o, *Hereticum hominem debet fidelis*

^{III, 10} *post correpcionem duplarem evitare;* et multo magis non

debet fidelis dare illis taliter suas elemosinas contra

²⁵ *Cristum.*

Et si obicitur de silvestro et aliis, non dubium quin in hoc peccant graviter, et potest esse quod fructuose postmodum sunt contriti; sicud creditur quod longe aliter ipsi quam prelati moderni occuparunt elemosinas

³⁰ eis datas; cece enim in ecclesia deteriorando procedunt.

I. Ex ista itaque venenosa radice credit fidelis totum dominium seculare cristianismi infectum; quia tam dominium quod clerus occupat, quam dominium eciam principum seculi. Dominium autem quod clerus occupat est spolia

³⁵ contra voluntatem dei plus quam tyrannice occupata; quia blasfeme contra mandatum Cristi ad magnam per-

Luxurious
prelates will be
judged by the
Rechabites,

and
anathematized
as heretics for
not loving
Christ, as they
do not keep His
command-
ments.

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

². cum *deest* A. ⁷. *recabite in marg.* A; *recabitas* C. ⁹. *igitur* C.
¹⁰. in *deest omne*; MSS. ²⁶. *quin deest* B. ²⁸. *sunt deest* C.

²⁹. *occupaverunt* C. ³⁰. *Ecce* C. ³¹. *Et pro ex* A; *ib.* ^{1^a} *itq³* ē A.

³³. *qq* = *quam pro* quod C; *ib.* *eciam deest* C. ³⁵. *occupate* A;
occupare C. ³⁶. *blastemum* A; *blasphema* BC.

tubacionem sue ecclesie. In cuius signum, propter strictitudinem anguli semidiametrorum in terra concurren-
cium fiunt angustie, dissensiones et bella, et specialiter de vocato patrimonio crucifixi et in secta cristiana: quod indicat, cum caput nostrum Cristus non potest deficere,⁵ quod vocata membra discordant a capite, a quo recipierent celestes influencias per observanciam mandatorum.

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

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

In tantum, quod si Cristus prelatus incognitus visiteret peregrine prelatos istius ecclesie presencia corporali, instaretque importune contra vocatos eius vicarios, sicut ¹⁰ olim instituit contra minorem avariciam sacerdotum, est evidens quod excommunicarent eum in curia romana et nisi veritatem revocare voluerit, condemnarent eum ad ignem tamquam hereticum et blasphemam. Sic enim persecuntur eius membra, qui remissem nimis et vecor-¹⁵ diter dicunt modicam scintillam conversacionis Christi et obligacionem, prelatorum precipue, ad sequendum ipsum in moribus: ut, si tamquam rex substerneret mercandia ecclesie sicut olim, et preciperet servis suis per totum imperium quod non debent presbytero Christi possessionem, ²⁰ nec permittant eum quitquam occupare ultra formam quam Christus instituit eis, quam maniacus reputaretur rex et quam excommunicatum decretum edicere! quia dampnabiliter causatur quod mundus aliter exigit hodie in prelatis, cum oportet eos seculariter vivere, eo quod ²⁵ aliter in despectum et disparenciam potestatis presbyteri periret dignitas prelatorum. Ista autem interpellacio blasfema preponit mundum domino; quia quod mundus requirit preponderat, cum, dimissis Christi consiliis, querit fictam appareniam quoad mundum. Talem autem ³⁰ maioritatem sophisticam non quesierunt apostoli, quando Petrus latuit in domo coriarii et Paulus arti scenofactorie

2. *angeli omnes* MSS.; *ib.* semidyametrum C. 6. *accipite* A.
 9. *plafos* *ip* *iftu* A: *prelatos deest* C. 10. *q3 = quia A;* = *q3 quod C:*
ib. *importue* A; *imptue* C. 12. *et deest omnes* MSS. 14. *cum B.*
 15. *et nimis* C. 17. *eum;* *in marg.* ipsum A. 19. *ecclesie deest* C.
 20. *debet omnes* MSS. 22. *mai'acg* A. 28. *blastemo* B. 29. *fiff*; A.
 32. *cañary* A; *ib.* *scenotōe* A: *scenevectr* B.

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

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

Fomitem autem huius majoritatis mundane ministravit Constantinus romane ecclesie. In cuius penam creditur imperium enervatum. Nam vix invenis principem vel 15 hereditatem terrenam quin sit isto toxicō maculata. Nam, vel in occupationem anticristi laceratur dominium, vel secularis omittit causam Cristi corrigere vel expresse consentit mammone anticristi. Ideo non mirum, si sic venenatum rethe temporalis dominii illaqueat multos 20 inviscatos diaboli. Oportet ergo conformiter brachium seculare concurrere, et fomitem venenose divisionis in ecclesia romana extingwere. Nec oportet timere periculum, habito oculo simplici et manu prudenti, quia pro reparacione status cleri quem Cristus instituit labo- 25 ratur. Et ex fide capimus quod non peccatur sed promeretur, in quantum ex parte Cristi intencione simplici laboratur. Sicut ergo Cristus laboravit ad destruendum peccata sacerdotum, phariseorum, et scribarum, eorum fastu et questu inficiente ecclesiam, instituendo sacerdotes 30 condicionis opposite: sic debet princeps fidelis, dei vicarius, sacerdotes suos plus evagantes extra normam Cristi corripere, et specialiter elemosinas suas substrahere. Aliter enim cum bonis Cristi fovet proditorie partem contra ipsum. Et cum istud peccatum tantum publicatur ex parte utriusque brachii, manifestum est quod 35 durante hac heresi non permanebit ecclesia inturbata, sed necesse est bella, lites et prodiciones undique seminari.

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

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

2. ip̄o q̄o aio A. 3. per deest B. 6. dispensarent C. 10. m̄st̄or AC;
ib. quo fro qua A. 11. gaudetur B; ib. eo maior C. 12. n̄fōtēz A.
13. q̄fati⁹ A. 14. ip̄ū = impium A; ib. oneratum A. 15. ista toxica AB.
18. mamōē A. 19. vēnatū A; ib. relaqueat BC. 20. fūt̄os A; inviscatos A; in visco C; ib. concorditer B. 21. igitur C. 33. fovent C.
37. bella et lites C.

And first of all, Et cum oportet a causa morbi incipere, manifestum
 the root of blasphemy must est quod oportet primo humiliari caput huius blasphemie;
 be put down; ebulliente enim fonte huius scaturiginis venenose, necesse
 the money which the est partem diaboli multum prevalere. Si enim totum
 clergy has would be most dominium in manu cleri prudenter dispersum fuerit⁵
 useful to strengthen the in manu brachii secularis, optatum foret medium
 secular arm; for the king is ad pacificandum et instruendum rem publicam secun-
 to the kingdom like the heart dum religionem apostolicam pauperum clericorum. Unde
 to the body, and death ensues if his power is too much weakened.
 ymaginatur quidam quod rex, cui primo et ultimo
 inest vita politica, sit quasi cor in medio corporis,¹⁰ vallatus possessionibus regni sui: et deficiente seculari
 dominio partibus regni per innaturalem eius accumula-
 lacionem clero, necesse est ut, corde appropinquante
 morti politice, inordinate spoliet partes sibi subiectas,
 et discrasia suboriatur in toto corpore policie. Talis¹⁵
 enim est ordo in humano corpore prope mortem cordis,
 quod primo et ultimo vivit, trahentem cum impetu
 substanciam parcium exteriorum.

2. *after* quod: durante hac heresi quod C. 3. ebulliente C. 4. m^m A;
 nimium B. 12. regis BC; B. p i n^oalem A. 16. Christi *pro* est B;
 fb. corde B; cordis *deest* C.

CAPITULUM QUINTUM.

A. Secunda coniugacio membrorum filie sanguisuge sunt cardinales apostate. In illis enim, ut cardine, vertuntur valve duplicitatis late vie que dicit ad baratum. Unde 5 illis iuxta nomen et syllabas quatuor *car-di-na-lis* descri-
The college of
Apostate
Cardinals is the
hinge (*cardo*) of
the door of the
broad way; the
syllables' and
letters of the
very word can
be made to
affirm their
wickedness;
justly, if they
harm the
Church.

Matth. bunt quidam quod cardinalis est CARIOR Diaboli NAtus,
XII, 3^o Illicium Seminator. Cum enim secundum fidem, *qui non*
est cum Cristo contra Cristum est; illi autem *non con-*
gregant cum Cristo secundum legem suam membra
to ecclesie secundum rationem comunem universalis Christi
dominii, sed *dispergunt*, dum querunt fastum et questum
proprium; et quantum in eis est solvunt, multiplicando
capita, unitatem: quod si habent preminenciam in hac
blasfema apostasia, manifestum est quod sunt tales.
15 Nomen enim impositum preter exemplum scripture non
habet tantam vim numinis ut excludat cathanas diaboli
et imprimat veritatem domini eo ipso. Tales igitur,
sicut servando legem Christi magis proficiunt, sic apo-
statando magis officiunt. Unde quidam, notando to literas:
20 *cardinalis*, dicit quod universitas malicie in nomine
illorum includitur: ac si diceretur *Cardinalis*, quasi
Custos Apostotarum Regni Diaboli, Iuvans Nequissimum
Ad Legem Iudicis Sopiendam.

Sed quomodounque fuerit de istis verbis extra-
25 ordinariis, in maiori parte veris, certum videtur quod
officium illud cum nomine fuit culpabiliter et sine
auctoritatis evidencia introductum. Nam institucio cuius-
cunque romani pontificis in summum ducem et proximum
Christi vicarium fuit stulta: ergo quocunque accessorium,

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

i. 5 red ink C. 5. silabas omnes MSS. 6, 7. ē cat'or dia^t nato
litū sei'ator. A. 7. suscitator B. 8. contra ipsum est BG.
ii. disperdunt BG. 13. habet A. 18, 19. apostolado A; apostofado C.
19. to deest C. 24. extra deest C. 26. istud C.

ad roborandum vel consulendum istam stulticiam. Assumptum patet, eo quod non subest potestati terrene pontificem talem statuere. Ideo foret nimis magna blasfemia, hoc temptare. Et iterum, foret ewangelica sapientia omnes sacerdotes esse socios regulatos inmediate per unum abbatem dominum nostrum Jesum Cristum. Sic enim fuit tempore apostolorum, quando crevit ecclesia; et

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

sentencia ista consonat cum scriptura. Item, non licet vel angelo de celo onerare ecclesiam vel introducere novos ritus inedificabiles vel infundabiles in scriptura.¹⁰ Sed ritus cardinalatus est nimis per se inedificatus ecclesie et infundabilis in scriptura: ergo, non licet ista statuere. Maiorem suppono ex fide, cum aliter licet sponsam Christi (et sic Christum) dampnificare. Et istam perfidiam destruit apostolus ad Gall. 1^o. Minor autem¹⁵ argumenti patet ex hoc quod ante hoc nomen vel ritum Gal. I. introductum plus profecit ecclesie; et cardinales, deposito nomine et onore ecclesie, et ablatis fastu et questu, plus undique proficerent. Notet, inquam, cardinalis, B. in quo secundum legem Christi prodest ecclesie, in quo²⁰ non efficacius proficeret dimisso lucro, nomine et honore. Nec dubium quin in isto excessu apostotat, quia contra regulam quam Christus instituit ad edificationem ecclesie retrocedit. Et patet, cum potestatem istam supra Christum vendicat, quod blasfemat.²⁵

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

Item, terminus potencie et officii ministri ecclesie, ne evagetur in devium, est signandus: sed nullus, si non ille, quem Christus instituit. Cum enim Christus sit omnipotens, omnisciens ac summe benevolus, patet quod racio necessitat eum incorrigibiliter ordinare, et specialiter cum³⁰ in primitiva ecclesia foret messis plurior et laboricum copiosius, ordinaret deus plurem maneriem ministrorum. Tunc autem non ordinavit nisi diacones et presbyteros. Idem autem sunt presbyteri et sacerdotes sive episcopi,

- | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|--|---------------------------|
| 2. patet <i>deest</i> B; patet ex eo C; <i>ib.</i> potē ^o A. 3. nimina <i>pro</i> nimis magna B. 5. esse sacros regulatos C; <i>ib.</i> nnicum C. 12. igitur C.
<td>13. suppositionem A; <i>ib.</i> licet C. 16. patet <i>deest</i> A. 18. cum <i>pro</i> et BC.
 <td>20. quod <i>pro</i> in quo <i>omnes</i> MSS. 22. apostol^m A. 27. demum A.
 <td>29. et <i>pro</i> ac C; <i>ib.</i> bēniō AC. 30. cum <i>deest</i> B; <i>ib.</i> incorr^t B.
 <td>31. in <i>deest</i> B. 31. laboritimum B. 32. plēm A. 33. enim B.
 <td>34. sunt <i>deest</i> BC.</td> </td></td></td></td> | 13. suppositionem A; <i>ib.</i> licet C. 16. patet <i>deest</i> A. 18. cum <i>pro</i> et BC.
<td>20. quod <i>pro</i> in quo <i>omnes</i> MSS. 22. apostol^m A. 27. demum A.
 <td>29. et <i>pro</i> ac C; <i>ib.</i> bēniō AC. 30. cum <i>deest</i> B; <i>ib.</i> incorr^t B.
 <td>31. in <i>deest</i> B. 31. laboritimum B. 32. plēm A. 33. enim B.
 <td>34. sunt <i>deest</i> BC.</td> </td></td></td> | 20. quod <i>pro</i> in quo <i>omnes</i> MSS. 22. apostol ^m A. 27. demum A.
<td>29. et <i>pro</i> ac C; <i>ib.</i> bēniō AC. 30. cum <i>deest</i> B; <i>ib.</i> incorr^t B.
 <td>31. in <i>deest</i> B. 31. laboritimum B. 32. plēm A. 33. enim B.
 <td>34. sunt <i>deest</i> BC.</td> </td></td> | 29. et <i>pro</i> ac C; <i>ib.</i> bēniō AC. 30. cum <i>deest</i> B; <i>ib.</i> incorr ^t B.
<td>31. in <i>deest</i> B. 31. laboritimum B. 32. plēm A. 33. enim B.
 <td>34. sunt <i>deest</i> BC.</td> </td> | 31. in <i>deest</i> B. 31. laboritimum B. 32. plēm A. 33. enim B.
<td>34. sunt <i>deest</i> BC.</td> | 34. sunt <i>deest</i> BC. |
|--|--|--|---|--|---------------------------|

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

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

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

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

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

1. euge^{um} B. 8. 9. magnam partem attributam *omnes* MSS.
II. dispartiri AB. 18. ca^{it.} lib^s (*et in marg.*) cardinab^s A. 19, 20. in
altero testamento BC. 25. excedr^t A. 28. caucoe C. 30. sine *in*
marg. suppl. C.

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

indispositus ad regendum ecclesiam, quia indisponit se quoad deum, a quo reciperet omnem veritatem sui regiminis. Ideo implice, licet mendaciter, dicit quod

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

contra voluntatem Cristi ex se et anticristo regit ecclesiam; aliter enim submitteret se Cristo, servando legem quam Cristus instituit ad hoc opus, et excuciendo superbos ritus et onerosos cum quibus Cristus non coagit. Talis, inquam, est eo superbior quo est ipse ad edificationem ecclesie inutilior, et in singendo gradum alio rem quoad deum multiplicacionis. Et hec ratio, quare apostoli non miscuerunt se cum mundanis honoribus vel mediis ad eosdem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. multiplic AC. 14. cardinalis A. 15. hanc per hoc A; ib. hanc before viam deest A. 18. h' A. 21. in m'no AC; ib. correspondenter C. 23. omitt A. 24. Nota in marg. A. 25. scilicet deest A. 8. episcopis B. 30. 5 AC. 31. adquirendum AC. 32. X^c A. 7. ut postea suppl. C.

quod de suis elemosinis corporalibus vivit totum brachium seculare. Et sic, ubi in sinceritate et veritate est tota conversacio Christi, in yppocrisi et mendacio est tota conversacio anticristi. Cristus enim vixit vitam pauperitatem, non habens temporaliter proprium, ubi caput suum reclinet, ut hic supponitur. Anticristus autem supponit se dominum orbis; et certum est quod in falsitate mendacii, quia si illud ius possidet, constat

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

Math. IV, 8, 9 quod titulo sathanae (4^o Math.) Cristo mendaciter

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

¹⁰ promittentis quod *omnia regna mundi* sibi daret, *si cadens ipsum adoraret*: quod facit anticristus totidem vicibus quot legem sathanae et comodum temporale veritati Christi preponderat. Nec dubium quin mendaciter et blasfeme istud regnum occupatur; quia titulo quo ¹⁵ ista possessio foret patrocinium crucifixi, qui sic vivens possessionem talem contulit anticristo vicario suo! Est eciam anticristus tamquam filius sathanae sibi ipsi contrarius, quia a Christo non poterit tenere illud dominium, nisi, servando legem suam, foret precipuus sequax vite ²⁰ Christi. A quo cum olim forefaceret, patet quam iuste perdidit titulum quoad Christum. Et cum diffitetur se habere illud a principibus seculi pro servicio quod Christus et seculares domini limitarunt, non superest a quo, nisi a sathanae, possideat regnum istud. Et verificata est

25 prophecia apostoli 2^a tessel 2^o. *Quod anticristus extollitur*

² Thess. II, 4 *super omne quod dicitur deus.*

Math. XII, 25 Sed consolacio est in Christo dicente, Math. 12. *Omne sathanam eicit, adversus se divisus est, quomodo ergo stabit regnum eius?* Sathan enim qui secundum Ysid. vocatur adversator, potest dici dictus anticristus cum suis membris, qui adversatur deo, homini et sibi ipsi. Et cum terrenum regnum inficitur ista labe, et regna tam spissim insurgunt adversus regna, patet *quomodo*

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

42^a 35 *sathan sathanam eicit.* Non solum | promotus anticristi, adeptus ecclesiasticam dignitatem, verum eciam diabolus in forma religiosi conquirit sceleratissime sub foco patri monii crucifixi. Ideo cum partes huius regni non sibi G. cohereant, ut prophetizatur dan. 3^o, necesse est ut hoc

2. mindar A. 7. se esse B. 8. quod A. 9. 11 B. 10. promittendi omnes MSS. 10. 11. si — adoraret deest C. 12. quo A. 16. anticristus omnes MSS. 29. sathass fatham A. 33. cum pro et cum B. 37. 38. proⁱⁱ A. 39. pba² A; ppheta² C.

regnum corruens desoleatur. Secundum autem, terrenum regnum, oportet soveri in timore et pietate sub spe tercii regni adquirendi, pro quo rogamus, Mat. 6: *Adveniat regnum tuum.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whence has the Pope power to command such penalties?

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

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

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

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

mundo? et sic de ruina habitacionis talium et exclusione
communicacionis politice cum republica. Quomodo in- Ezech.
super inhabitabitur in herede, cum lex dei Ezech. ponit XVIII,
in libertate arbitrii filiorum vel patrisare vel degenerare 2
et secundum hoc retribucionem recipere? et sic undique 5
de ignorancia condignitatis pene inflicte; sic quod tollerabilius foret cardinalatum non esse quam tam spissim et tam perseveranter sub forma legis perpetue blasphemare.

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

2^o principaliter arguitur, quod omnes tales prelati 10 G.
forent heretici et per consequens tam in actionibus suis
quam passionibus forent reputandi tamquam | heretici 42^b
et tractandi: consequens inopinabile. Hic dicitur quod
in finali iudicio multi cognoscentur heretici qui modo
reputantur archieristiani. Ideo distingwitur communiter, 15
pocius pro modo loquendi quam pro veritate rei, quod
dupliciter dicitur hereticus: scilicet *vere* et *nuncupative*.
Vere, quem deus noscit prescritum ab ecclesia propter
sua scelera; et solum talis est de facto hereticus. Sed
nuncupative hereticus est quem iudices vel iniqui reputant 20
hereticum; et hoc est impertinens ad esse hereticum.
Cristus enim fuit reputatus summe hereticus, quia blasphemus et propterea occidens. Unde probabiliter creditur
quod nostri prelati, sicut fuit in veteri testamento, damnant multos tamquam hereticos, et secundum divinum 25
iudicium est e contra. Et sic omnes prelati nostri presciti
vel peccantes mortaliter sunt heretici; et sicut est in talibus
iudicium erroneum, sic plurimum nocent ecclesie, quicquid fecerint. Iudicium autem infallibile de hereticis atque
catholicis est quod omnis qui servaverit legem Cristi 30
est catholicus, et solum talis. Et quicunque dissolverit
legem Cristi est hereticus, et solum talis. Et in utroque
sunt multi gradus et iudicium ecclesie variatum.

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

Sed inter omnes blasphemias istius materie, una de maximis est quod nemo creditur esse hereticus nisi 35
a papa vel iudice sibi subdeputato fuerit iudicatus
pro tali; et tunc est hereticus eo ipso. Nam sic iustificaretur iudicium sacerdotum condemnancium Cristum
ad mortem, et nostri prelati extollerentur super omne
quod dicitur deus, cum tantum variando a Cristi vita 40

3. lex dei C: *ib.* Execielis B. 8. et iam perseveranter *deest* A.
13, 14. et — modo *deest* A. 10. pocius *deest* AC 18. prescritum *deest* AC.

24. lege vel C. 27. peccatores A; *petores* C. 32. talis *deest* C.
34. intra *pro* materie A. 36. obiecto *pro* subdeputato B; sub*to* f' C.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. abhorrent A. 2. quod C. 3. sic pro et B. 4. illud B.
10. 17. episcopi deest A. 17. quod postea surpl. C; ib. extulerant B.
18. episcopis in marg. A. 20. errent omnes MSS. 22. a iudice A.
23. igitur C. 24. blasphemum A; ib. Quod pro qui A. 27. vel negligencia sive ignorancia C. 31. plana B. 37. convinceret A: convicerat B.
36. ut pro et B; ib. primo pro tertio B. 39. scripture sive stature (sic) C

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

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

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

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

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

Item, quantum ad illud apostaticum, patet quod non subest racio, nisi forte talis pseudo velit episcopatus pinquiores symoniace spoliare, sicut episcopatum symoniace in curia perquisivit. Symoniace dico; quia non dubium, 1. si propter fastum et lucrum statum exproprietarium 10 pauperis fratris deseruit et non propter amorem salutis anime subditorum, tunc est manifestus hereticus. Quod convinci poterit, si diligencius post onus suscepti regimini curat animas subditorum, et si servaverit paupertatem et penalitatem fratris solitam, cum maiori humili-15 tate et ceteris virtutibus; cum tamen ista sint compossibilita episcopo; et propter perfectionem dimitti non debeant, sed augeri.

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

3. condemnabit C. 7. volet C. 9. in contratta curia fro in curia B. 11. fratris deest AC. 12. tunc deest A. 13. onus deest B. 18. augi A. 25. sine habitu A. 27, 28. consecutores C. 31. deicere B.

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

materia quam blaterando nescis concipere? Certum quippe ^{He whom thou} est, secundum legem talionis, quod tu es coronatus ^{blindly accusest} hereticus, nisi ostenderis personam quam sic cece accusas ^{in a matter thou} esse hereticam. Cece, dico tibi, quia nude ex revelatione ^{canst not} mendaciorum quibus mendacia accumulasti. Et ista foret ^{understand,} nimis ceca probacio ad convincendum hereticum, po- ^{without proofs,} tissime quia persona illa accusata de heresi protestatur ^{(except lies),} et erit parata continue revocare, si debeat. Et talis ^{protests, and} secundum legem Cristi non est hereticus. ^{will recant, if need be.}

10 Sed vereor quod iste episcopus nescit corrigere in ^{This is the} hac parte. Stat enim difficultas de quidditate sacramenti ^{point; the} altaris; persona autem accusata dicit cum scriptura ^{accused says} quod est panis secundum naturam et est corpus Cristi ^{that the} per miraculum. Pars autem adversa dicit quod est ^{Sacrament, by} secundum naturam abieccius quam aliqua substancia, ^{nature bread,} et miraculum non se extendit, ut faciat ipsum esse ^{is Christ's body} corpus Cristi; sed ut ipsum, privatum subiecto, sit ^{by a miracle;}

K. signum corporis Cristi. In isto autem episcopus nescit ^{his opponents} hereticare aliquem, nisi forte heresi mendaci ficta maculet ^{give it the most}

20 prius mundum. Sed *a periculo in falsis fratribus libera* ^{abject nature,}

^{2 Cor. XI, 26} nos domine! Ipsum enim, ut recitat apostolus ^{and deny that} 2^a Cor. 2, ^{it is more than}

est ultimum; et, ut dicit Augustinus, est maximum. Si ^{the sign of} enim hereticus nititur subvertere legem Cristi, sine res- ^{Christ's Body.}

ponso comburendo mendaciter accusatum de heresi, ^{Who is the} quis non timeret tale meridianum demonium? Sed spes ^{heretic?}

25 est quod corruet cum attemptet sibi impossibile contra ^{Who but he} Cristum. Quis, rogo, episcopus non deponeretur, si per- ^{who would}

missio heretici in sua heresi diocesi sit causa sufficiens ^{burn the} deponendi? Tunc enim deponendus foret episcopus ani-

30 marum, Cristus, cum scienter permittit Iudam et istum ^{accused without} refugam cum multis similibus. Sicut enim errat in ^{allowing him to} scandalisando fratres de heresi, sic errat a lege Cristi ^{answer?}

^{Luc. XIX, 22} in modo condempnandi hereticos; cum Cristus precipit ^{Every bishop}

in suo apostolo hereticum devitare, Thimot. 3^o. Timendum

est quod *de ore proprio iudicabitur servus nequam*, cum

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

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

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

Heretical
prelates ought
to be severely
punished by
the people of
Christ.

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

Sed 3º arguitur principaliter per hoc quod heretici sunt severius castigandi. Si ergo predicti prelati supponi debent esse heretici, debent a populo castigari. Consequens foret nimis turbativum ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod illud consequens debet concedi et practicari. Pro quo notandum quod in lege veteri heretici debuerunt occidi, ut patet levitici 14. Et hinc sacerdotes et pharisei, ¹⁰ imponentes Cristo blasphemiam, dixerunt Joh. 19. *Nos Joan. legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori.* Secundum XIX, 7 legem novam non legi hereticum a cristiano judicialiter occidendum, sed secundum dei miraculum (ut patet de Anania et Zaphira, Act. 5º), et secundum leges civiles. ¹⁵ Cristus autem videtur docere Iue. 9. quod tale iudicium ewangelicum ad mortem non debuit exerceri; sed, impressa misericordia et memoria finalis iudicii, talia debent servari usque ad finale regis Christi iudicium, de quo Mat. 25º. Unde Iuce 9 legitur, quomodo facies Jesu erat cum discipulis suis versus ierusalem et samaritani propterea ipsos abiecerant. Jacobus autem et Johannes diverunt, *Domine, vis, dicamus ut descendat ignis de celo et consumat eos, sicut Elias fecit?* Et conversus increparit eos, dicens: *Nescitis, cuius spiritus estis; filius enim hominis non renit animas perdere sed salvare.* Satrape vero non per ignem de celo, sed per ignem scelestum sepe comburunt fideles, quia eis displicent arguendo. Ac si dicerent "oportet nos propter nostrum civile dominium legem Christi differre et pena alia mixtim civili et mixtim prophethica vindicare; quia, cum sumus dei in terris, iudicamus istum prescitem eternis ignibus comburendum".

Et sic anticeristus extollitur super Christum.

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

Si autem queratur qua pena debet puniri hereticus, L. dicitur quod Christus Mt. 18. prohibet communicacionem Matth. cum illo, quando precipit quod sit tibi sicut ethnicus et XVIII, publicanus. Et idem docet ewangelista, Joh. mandans ¹⁷ 2Joan. quod nec are ei dixeritis; quia dicendo ei are com- I, 10 municat operibus eius ex consensu. Et 3º apostolus pre- Tit. cipit Thymoteo hereticum deritare. Causam autem huius III, 10

1. permittit AC. 2. licere A; delicere C. 4. dicti BC 8. "petitai A. 6. quod deest C. 15. 5 deest B. 10. Cristi deest B. 24. helias C. 28. eis deest B; ib. ac^{do} B. 29. diceret A. 30. desuper pro ditterre A. deferre C. 35. 14 A. 38. 39. communicabitur BC.

²Thess. III. 11 pene convertit generaliter 2 Tess. 3^o. *Si quis, inquit, non obedit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate, et non comisceamini | cum illo, ut confundatur.* Ista autem lex de punizione heretici foret sufficiens, nisi subintroductus fuerit legifer anticristus. Et si queritur quis erit Every member of the Church should be iudex exequens istam legem contra hereticos, dicitur judge, and the quod persona ecclesie secundum quocumque membrum standard to ad hoc sufficiat. Exemplum autem secundum quod judge by, Holy Writ. 10 iudicabitur, est scriptura quam omnes fideles debent cognoscere.

Sed dubitatur de gradu communicacionis et modo Deeds contrary to the life of Christ and his law, ought to suffice for a sentence; and if any were neither in agreement with nor contrary to that, the faithful should suspend their judgment. No indulgence is to be shown to public sinners, and the clergy, if heretic, should be denied subsistence beyond the barest needs of penitential lite.
 iudicandi hereticum. Videtur autem quod opera declinancia a vita et mandatis Cristi sufficiunt ad illud iudicium. Nam opera plus debent credi quam paliatum 15 eciam pape iudicium, quia illi non debet credi, nisi de quanto fideliter convincitur ex opere et scriptura. Si autem sit sententia que non scitur notorie ad scripturam consequens vel repugnans iudici, debet de illa silencium tamquam falsa. Illa autem que concernunt mores, ut 20 peccata publica, debent omnimode suspendi. In clero autem qui debet esse elemosinarius secularis brachii obturari debet per negacionem temporalis suffragii. Cum Joh. ewangelista dicat in eius secunda epistola. *Si quis 25 recipere in domum nec are ei dixeritis; ubi patet quod exigitur doctrina veritatis tam vita quam verbo. Et excluditur ab apostatis domicilium et comunicacio verbalis; et multo magis supererrogacio elemosine preter necessarie.* Videtur enim quod necessitas vite penalisi M. 30 debet dari in ultima necessitate, quantumcunque inimicis ecclesie, quia Roman. 12 dicitur: *Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum; si sitit, potum da illi.* Quod intelligitur de necessitate ultima, modo dicto; quoad illam partem ecclesie que ad hoc sufficit.

35 Sed difficultas perplexa videtur, quomodo laici ministri strare debent cardinalibus et aliis clericis notorio degenerantibus a Cristo in decimis et aliis elemosinis in principio limitatis. Et videtur quod contraveniens excommunicatur, incarceratur et diffamatur tamquam hereticus. Et confirmari potest modus agendi, ex hoc quod A difficult: whether the faithful may pay tithes, etc. to bad priests and prelates, on account of the consequences of refusal:

o. quem B. II. de pro et B. 18. illo omnes MSS.; ib. similitudinem A. 10. ita B. 20. omuino B. 25. dom^m; dominum A. 29. n^oct^o (sic) C. 29. 30. Videtur — quantumcunque deest AB. 31. 32. inimicus tuus deest B.

secular
superiors exact
their dues,
whether their
life is good or
not.

Negatived; by
doing so, they
would incur
excommuni-
cation, and the
cardinals, &c.
have no civil
dues to exact.

potentatus seculi exigit a suo subiecto servicium debitum, quantumcunque irregulariter vixerit, cum inferioris non interest de vita superioris discutere. Hic dicitur quod debent stare regule ewangelii in clericis modo dicto. Et quantum ad excommunicacionem debet populus et specia-⁵ liter superiores constanter resistere, scientes quod propter huiusmodi desidiam incurrent excommunicacionem a domino; et ista est una de maximis ruinis religionis quam per anticeristum diabolus introduxit, ut sepe dictum est in materia de excommunicacione cecante populum.¹⁰ Et quantum ad argumentum factum per locum *a simili*, patet, quod est *simialis* argucia, nisi doceatur quod cardinales et alii clerici super elimosinis secularium et bonis pauperum civiliter dominantur. Aliter enim omnem legem cassaret exaccio. Lex enim iniqua non est lex.¹⁵ Conceditur tamen quod tiranni, exigendo redditus a subditis, peccant mortaliter, sicut faciunt quidquid aliud faciendo. Ideo nimis foret diabolicum quod clerus extorqueret sacrilege spolia a subditis per hunc locum *a simili*. Vulgus enim debet pati iniuriam a seculari potente,²⁰ et ab ippocrita elemosinas suas subtrahere.

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

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

Quod sic talis elemosina pervertitur in rapinam, ve seculari domino qui ex desidia tam permittit invalescere istam rabiem anticeristi! Ex hoc enim imperficit suam regaliam sive dominium, cum principalis sua servitus²⁵ deo sit potenter regere subditos secundum legem Cristi contra refugam. Ipse enim vendicat dominantes, abiecto titulo elemosine, tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus super omnes seculares dominos presidere. Et sic, sicut conquirendo de alio brachio temporalia, baptisat³⁰ ea spiritualia, ut eorum detencio plus a secularibus timeatur; sic cum eis sophisticat in sacramento eucaristicie et qualicunque ministerio sacerdotis.

Causa autem, quare religio ista dissolvitur, quia multiplicatis abbatibus ad vitam et legem ablatis Cristi³⁵ minus attenditur. Et cum iuxta conclusionem Augustini certissimam (*in de vera religione*, ubi narrat de passionibus quas Cristus exemplo nostri pertulit; notat enim quod

1. libco A; subdito B; subiecto C. 4. *de* stare regle A. 5. excom-
municacione C. 8. nimis *pro* ruinis C. 12. symialis C. 14. enim
secundum omnem C. 23. tm = tantum C. 25. reglam C. 26. pa-
tentier B.

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

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

2. ea *deest* AC. 7. 8. *convertit* B. 9. ad *pro* per B. 10. car-

nalis A. 13. ad descensum do *peklia in marg.* C.

CAPITULUM SEXTUM.

The Bishop's vowe is the third torment of the Church: they have enlarged on the temporalia, name of the priesthood, but fuerunt per Cristum astricti unitati simplici nomine sacerdotis, sive presbiteri; sic quod nomen quoad munus dispergitur, sed affecio instar inferni coaretatur. Necesse quidem est ut illud in quo fides et affecio proprietarii spiritus preponderanter insigitur, in reputacione ¹⁰ tanti nominis dilatatur. Ideo necesse est ut fides et affecio curta et astricta circa temporalia propinqua sensui, magnificet illa in reputacione et affectione; quia naturaliter virtus agit forcis in obiectum, cui applicatur distincius. Quo contra, colligata mente, fide et spe cum ¹⁵ celestibus et eternis remotis a sensibus, necesse est ut vere magnificet et preponderet illa cum suis circumstantiis, cum in tali obiecto vero naturaliter delectatur. Et hoc racio quare Augustinus in *de vera religione* determinat quod tota irreligiositas viantis insigitur super ²⁰ fantasia falaci et falsa ymaginacione temporalium, celestibus condicionis opposite pretermittit.

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

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

1. Cap^m 6^m in black ink A; 6 red ink C. 2. Tortor tercius red ink in margin, C. 5. dilati C. 6. unico A. 8. curtatur A. 11. animi BC. 12. curfatur A. 21. figura pro lata A. 22. condicione A; ib. apposite A. 23. necessari A; est deest A. 25. conspirare B. 27. primo BC. 28. supponit C.

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

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

which burden them in the discharge of their functions.

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

This evident truth could be disputed only by an infidel.

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

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

Nec obest, sed consonat caritatis regulis invite auferre iniuste possessa a clericis, licet furiose reclamantibus et excommunicantibus; quia talis exheredacio secularium 30 est mala, ut docet Augustinus 179, in fine; et 23 g. 4 ca^a.

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

Nimium. Ex testimonio Augustini docetur practica. Si, inquam, inimicum suum quisquam periculosis febris freneticum factum currere videret in preceps, non tunc pocius malum pro malo redderet, si sic eum ire permitteret, quam si corrigendum curandumque ligaret? et tamen tunc ei molestissimus et adversissimus videretur, quando ei utilissimus et misericordissimus exitisset;

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

2. omnes A; omnino et C. 3. ad deest A. 4. hac ppº C; ib. exemplandum C. 6. melius deest C; ib. afficio B. 11. sancti spiritus pro facti scilicet AB. 14. delectionem A. 15. peccatorem satisfacere AC; ib. autem pro igitur A. 17. impossibile A. 21. capacis A; capitibus B. 30. X^a sic, 9 ff. B; 179 deest B; ib. 24 B. 31. Nota in marg. A; ib. Augustini deest B. 36. cum omnes MSS; ib. molestius B. 37. quando — exitisset deest B.

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

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

Ex istis cum facto patet quam spissim lex Cristi et C. sic Cristus spernitur, et Anticristi tradicio exaltatur. Sed 15 psal. 20. scribitur: *Disrumpamus vincula eorum* Ad Ps. II, 3

argumentum deficiat in materia vel in forma; quia nunc falsum assumitur, quod mundi principes ordinarunt clerum Cristi taliter dominari, et nunc ex ordinacione elemosine perpetue informaliter concluditur quod licet clericis secularissime consumere elemosinas eis datas. 25 Primum quidem est falsum, cum mundi principes non ordinarunt, sed perturbarunt; non concesserunt | 44^b sed presumpserunt contra legem dei hec fieri; et ex titulo elemosine (quam oportet intelligi) manifeste interfertur cum veris, quod seculares domini impedire 30 debent ne discoli suis elemosinis taliter abutantur. Licet autem eis de suis elemosinis iustificandis intromittere, quia aliter non remanerent elemosine. Sed ad elacionem persone, que foret spiritualior et magis extranea, habent interesse, ut patet ex lege papali et facto; ergo multo 35 magis ad faciendum propriam elemosinam conformiter legi dei. Non enim est anticristus cum lege sua excelerior Jesu Christo, sed cum ipse voluit bona secularium remanere sibi elemosinas in libera potestate eorum, eciam ad subtrahendum, ut innuitur Math. 21, manifestum 40

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

1. ulterius A. 4. non nullorum AC. 8. nempe *pro* enim C.
 12. cogitare B. 16. et proictamus etc. C. 20. quare C. 21. in
 before forma *deest* BC. 21. informit C. 30. v*eis* A; vis B. 33. elec-
 tionem BC. 34. pape *pro* persone C. 39. libertate A.

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

Nec dubium quin sancte mulieres et viri, de quorum elemosinis sustentabatur Jesus Cristus carnaliter, magis ⁵ ex hinc meruerant quam si per impossibile Cristum ac suos apostolos cum eorum seculari dominio occupassent: sic, inquam, dantes clero usum temporalium, deo dante dominium ewangelicum, ac exonerantes eos de imperfeccione terreni dominii secundum legem Cristi, bene-¹⁰ faciunt elemosinando clerum de sorte domini. Quod si iniuriantur illis, onerando eos dominio temporalium, subvertendo blasfeme legem dei, non dubium quin, ex iniuria facta deo et toti ecclesie, necesse est ut clerus sic dampnificatus retribuat secularibus sic dampnifi-¹⁵ cantibus malicie recompensam. Invincibilis quidem lex dei exigit quod irrationabiliter offendens in alium virtute divina ex eo dampnificabitur proporcionaliter ut nocuit suo lesu. Deus enim est in qualibet creatura, retribuens cuilibet quod est iustum.

D. 20 Unde hec est racio quare *Jordanis conversus est Ps. retrorsum*, cum episcopi, qui solebant chatechisare et CXIII, benedicere subiectos, iam infideliter subvertuntur ad ³ seculum et voce ac opere maledicunt; qui olim solebant obsecrare iam execrant, et qui olim solebant ²⁵ gignere filios dei per ewangelium iam parturiunt filios diaboli per dogma contrarium. Ideo necesse est anticristum turbare populum. Ista, inquam, infidelitas, licet fides sibi contraria remaneat ceteris incognita, est causa tocius perturbationis in seculo. Et, quomodo-³⁰ 35 cunque tortores isti sophisticent, dampnificatur populus insensibiliter in spiritualibus, et sensibiliter in temporalibus inequaliter distributis. Necesse quidem est ut episcopis occupantibus bona temporalia, que deus dat toti ecclesie in mensura, residuum ecclesie angariaretur penuria. Nec cessabit diabolus ad hoc inconveniens, sed ⁴⁰ faciet quod tumultuabitur plebs contra nobiles, iuvenes contra senes, et breviter unusquisque contra reliquum, cum duces sint contrarii deo, toti ecclesie ac eciam sibi ipsis. Et sic, nisi deus in brachio seculari adiuverit, sequetur dissipacio populi cristiani, quod demon prin-

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

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

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

This is also the reason of the present troubles.

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

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

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

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

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

Nec decipiatur ceca pietas qua diabolus suggestit quod ista mundana gloria Christo tribuitur; quia, quando⁵ *cum hominibus conversatus est*, talem gloriam in se et Baruch.
III, 38

suis discipulis non expeciit, sed auffugit. Non enim potuit armoniam proporcionis mundanorum dissolvere, quam trinitas posuit in sua domo quoad distribucionem temporalium remanere; sed ita moderate vixit de cle- mosinis secularium, quod conversacio sua, lex sua et educacio suorum discipulorum debuit esse cunctis fidelibus, et specialiter clericis, de sorte sua speculum et exemplum.

Ideo dico cum apostolo seculari brachio corporis Christi, illud Eph. 5. *Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis.* Multi-¹⁵ plicati sunt autem quidam fratres discipuli anticeristi qui palliant sumptuosas basilicas ac alta edificia atque splendencia, tam in fratribus quam monachis; palliant eorum larga et lauta cibaria. Et primum, per locum *a maiori*, cum Salomon construxit templum, ac alia 20 edificia cum suis apparatibus sumptuosis. Ergo, inquiunt, per locum *a maiori* in lege maioris gracie, dum ecclesia est propinquior glorie beatitudinis, maiori gloria debet splendescere. Sed isti *insensati galla*^{E.} the volunt monstruose

onerare Christi ecclesiam cum ceremoniis legis antique, Gal.
dimissis Christi consiliis; et sic, tamquam alter Sergius,
III, 1 seductor Machometi, volunt eligere carni placencia de

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

*inconsta*ns est in omnibus viis suis. Ignorat enim in-^{Jac. I, 8} fidelitate cecatus vim totam arguendi per locum *a maiori*; cum sequitur per locum *a maiori*, ut Christus docuit, quod dimissa ista solemnitate sensibili, pascente | ad 45ⁿ famem sensus extrinseci, intendat fidelis secundum interiorem hominem ornari et pasci virtutibus; cum constat ex fide quod quelibet virtus moralis sit infinitum melior quam omnes divicie vel omnia inanimati corporis ornamenta. Ideo, cum via virtutum sit ad regnum pro-

4. suggestit *deest* A. 5. tota ista C. 16. autem *deest* C. 21. insensato C. 31. a maiori per locum A. 34. saniem A; *tb.* extrinsecos omnes MSS. 37. in anima A. 38. regimen B.

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

pinquier, ac vita exproprietaria cum exclusione artificiorum sit innocencie statui similior, nec non et Cristus dei virtus sit in vita, verbo et opere huiusmodi sensu inclinacionis: abiciamus ritus carnales legis veteris, et in duamur virtutes illis operibus solemnibus factas.

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

Quantum ad secundum, patet quod est *excusacio anticristi in peccatis*; non enim fit aliquid tam male ab aliquo homine quin cedat ad commodum, quia, ad Rom. VIII,²⁸ rom. 8 dicit Cristus in suo apostolo, *Timentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*. Ideo, si licet monachis habere tam ampla fercula, quia tot bona contingit ex illis fieri, nichil omnino foret illicitum, cum occasione cuiuscunque peccati luciferi eveniunt ecclesie maiora bona quam talis corporalis elemosina, si contingat. Oportet igitur attendere ad modum facti, ad auctorisationem domini, et ad occasionem mali datam, quod inde evenit; et tunc invenietur quod excessus modi a gula exigitur, auctorisatione facti a spiritu gule conficitur. Et fructus proveniens est pauperum spoliatio, fundatorum quoad elemosinas suas fraudacio, vescencium ingurgitacio et residuum furancium multiformis dissipacio. Et certum est quod talia cum ruptura religionis sunt fructus peccati.

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

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

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

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

All this is
mere gluttony.

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

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

7

1. 2. artificium *omnes* MSS. 5. corporalibus A; *ib.* solemnitatibus B;
corporalibus solemnibus C. 9. centum *pro* 66 B; *ib.* concubinarum B;
ib. et de A. 10. continua = coitiva A. 12. sequit C. 15. ad *pro* aliiquid A.
16. homine *deest* C. 18. gopan² C. 20. accione A. 24. ad *deest* C.
27. est *deest* C. 30. cum *deest* B. 33. magnitudine A.

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

even think how *unguentum istud renundari plus quam trecentis denariis* many could be fed for the cost of one such feast.

quanto excessus sui cibarii superflius posset vendi et dari pauperibus cibus grossior, utilius et levius preparatus. Sed querentes ex cibo superfluo mundanam gloriam post voluptuosam nauseam, non tam expresse palliant pro egenis; utrique tamen in isto convenient quod preciosum oleum caritatis, quod prope mortem debet effundi super caput ecclesie (hoc est sacerdotes) subtrahitur, et refrigerante caritate multorum in os et carnes melancolicas commutatur.

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

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

Et pseudofrateres apostatantes cum Scarioth palliant partem anticeristi, precipue ut hic: dicunt heresim fidelibus qui dicunt totum clerum debere vivere exproprietarie sicut Cristus instituit, et ut fratres singunt quod in hoc 15 clericos possessionatos exsuperant, et tamen ex duplicitate vulpina dicunt quod quicunque predia cleri abstulerit, maledicitur eo facto. Hic autem sic miscent membra Christi et principis huius mundi, quod dicunt eandem personam simul et semel esse membrum Christi atque 20 diaboli, ut secundum hanc duplarem sortem posset participare dupli participio horum patrum. Apostolus autem abhorret quod quis fiat *membrum Christi et meretricis*, et multo magis Christi et diaboli. Que rogo 2 Cor. VI, 15 communicacio Christi ad Belial, ut participet sic in 25 membris, ut desponsent eandem feminam, et ut Christus sit ipsem diabolus? Christus enim est quodammodo quodlibet membrum suum, et sic de diabolo et membris eius, ut patet de Scarioth: et sic infertur quod Christus sit ipse diabolus. Sed quid magis abhorret pietas 30 cristiana?

Et quantum ad argacias quibus cece concluditur ista vesania, patet fidelibus quomodo impossibile est de membro diaboli fieri membrum Christi, sicut non potest de predestinato prescitus fieri, nec econtra: sed 35 licet predestinatus non potest esse prescitus et econtra, sicut prescitus potest esse in gratia secundum presentem

6. palliant C. 10. multos AC. 19. *hqd* = huiusmodi A. 21. et C.
21. 22. participare C. 23. abhorruit B. 25. convencio A. 29. suis C.
31. sed *pro* sicut A. 36. non *deest* omnes MSS. 36. 37. et — esse
deest A.

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

iusticiam, et stat predestinatum esse in mortale secundum presentem iusticiam, impossibile est tamen primum talem esse membrum Cristi, sicut impossibile est secundum talem esse membrum diaboli, quia impossibile

⁵ est primum talem mereri merito finalis perseverancie; sicut impossibile est secundum talem peccare peccato

G. finalis impenitencie. Tales igitur ignari apostate infrigi-

Matth. dant caritatem corporis Cristi secundum propheciam XXIV, suam Matth. 24: *Refrigescet caritas multorum.* Testatur

¹² enim naturalis experientia, quod positis duobus vasis

^{45^b} in aura | gelida, uno pleno aqua frigida et alio pleno aqua quantumcunque calida, illa aqua cicius congelatur.

Cuius causa est, quia exalaciones gelide intrant spissim per poros fumositatum evaporancium, et spissim con-

¹⁵ gelant ad intra: quod deest aque que non sic bulitur.

Sic mistice prescitus religiosus vane ardet caritate ad tempus in populo, sed cupiditate temporalium gelidorum per yppocrism facit conceptus et affectus gelidos subintrare in populo: et ita cicius caritas talis populi

²⁰ congelatur, quam amor populi pure gentilis quem deus

Matth. preservat pure lumine naturali. Et ista videtur senten- XII, 43 cia Cristi, Matth. 13. ubi ait: *Cum inmundus spiritus*

exierit ab homine etc. Sicud, inquam, sacerdotes, scribe et pharisei erant tempore viacionis Cristi pessimi, sic

²⁵ videtur hodie quod generacio cleri, sparsa terrenis affectibus, expirata puritate religionis Cristi, sit pessima

simpliciter; quia septem apostaticis simulacionibus dant

introitum anticristo, qui sic congelat et inmobilitat

multum populum; quod in eis gravatur affectus ut non

³⁰ currat sermo dei in eis et distillent opera caritatis.

Concedat igitur deus, quod totus populus sit unus

Ps. religionis, exclusis istis exalacionibus gelidis, ut vir unus;

CXXXII, sic quod de illis verificetur istud psalmo 132. *Ecce*

¹ *quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.*

³⁵ *Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam,*

barbam Aaron. Aaron, inquam, figurat summum episcopum, qui supra mensuram habet unguentum gracie

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

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

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

clergy, thence et caritatis; *De cuius plenitudine nos omnes accepimus, to the nobility, ut dicitur Joh. 1º. Ab isto, inquam, capite huius abbatis Jo. I, 16 and thence to the common people.* descendit gratia in clerum Cristi, ut apostolos et eorum discipulos, cum sit barba Aaron superior. Et iterum descendit hoc oleum ad barbam inferiorem, quia ad 5 dominos seculares. Sed 3º descendit ad 3^{am} partem ecclesie, scilicet populares, eciam ad abiectissimum genus vulgarium, cum subditur, quod *descendit in oram vestimenti eius*. Isti autem qui debent esse de barba superiori, impediunt predictum oleum distillare, dum 10 propter longitudinem pilorum, impedientes cibacionem ecclesie, depauperando calorem interioris hominis, non sufficiunt dissolvere oleum congelatum. Ideo non restat H. nisi educere blasphemum extra castra et omnino facere ut ippocrita lapidetur a toto populo; non materiali 15 lapide, sed sentencia verbi dei et subtractione bonorum fortune, in quibus tantum blasfemiat; quia, iuxta Cristi testimonium Mt. 5. *Si sal evanuerit, ad nichil valet* Matth. V, 13 *ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras et conculeetur ab hominibus.* Sal indubie debent esse apostoli et cuncti presbiteri, 20 quia calorem caritatis conceptum pro tempore sue spiritualis generacionis debent constanter in forma primeva servare, ut lapides virtutem; eciam cibos anime condiendi superflua ac putrida prescindendi, et per consequens vermes et impressiones extraneas excludendi. 25 Quod si dissoluti fuerint a forma lapidis et virtute sic condiendi et aruerint, quid valent nisi ut obiective paciantur tamquam blasfemi, quos populus lapidat extra castra?

These excuses being worthless, men should not (cecati a deo eorum) in cuius nomine blasphemant, vel allow a triar to tempt them to give him aid, when the triar is more able to quod nulli cristiani debent opitulari fratribus ad condonare the like for them.

Et nota quoscunque huius secte; et vel ignorant 30 men (cecati a deo eorum) in cuius nomine blasphemant, vel allow a triar to tempt them to give him aid, when the triar is more able to quod nulli cristiani debent opitulari fratribus ad condonare the like for them.

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Sic quod quilibet temptatus a fratre ad perpetrandum hoc facinus, potest pertinenter dicere temptatori illud Math. 16.. ubi scriptum est de Matth. Christo: *rude post me sathanus; non sapis ea que dei sunt.* XVI, 23 Est enim talis apostata plus Christo adversarius in vita 40

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

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

Si vero ultima necessitas simuletur, erit duplex remedium. Primo, vendendo bona residencia que ad hoc, secundum Ambrosium, ut recitat 12 q. 2^a ca^o *Aurum*, 15 *habet ecclesia*, remanent in thesauro. Secundum remedium est quod dissolvatur et subtilietur religio exproprietaria; et sic vivant de laboricio, instar apostoli vel aliunde, ut persone ordinis nostri; tunc enim perficerentur, ut 1. patet ex dictis; et forent minus onerosi ecclesie. Unde 20 videntur peccare graviter qui fovent eos in discolia huiusmodi et retardant ab ordine quem Cristus instituit et profectu ecclesie; sic quod improvida distribucio bonorum fortune ex ceco titulo elemosine facit nimis magnam perturbationem ecclesie: ut patet tam in 25 possessionatis quam in mendicantibus. Ideo ista materia debet lacius explanari. |

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

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

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

6. dicunt A. 8. quam *pro quod before* fratres A. 9. tota B;
ib. in ipsis *deest* A. 9, 10. exhiberent BC. 12. ē *pro crit* C.
 13. primum C; *ib.* vedendo A. 15. *thaūro* AC. 20. graviter *deest* AC.
 22. *pſcm* A; protectum B. 31. oxoniis C. 34, 35. non ut non BC.
 35. dampnent C.

14. Deer. Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XII, q. 2, c. 70.

et ipsum non esse substancialiter ibidem, nisi forte, ut quidam doctores locuntur equivocando in adverbio, vocando *substancialiter* "modo substancie". Sed, ut distinguitur contra *accidentaliter*, certum est quod corpus Christi non est substancialiter in illo, quia non secundum

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

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

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

se, ut dicit Jeron. Ideo longe melius esset hiis satrapis adiscere quid est hoc sacramentum, antequam tractarent quomodo corpus Christi est in illo. Circa primum enim pululant hereses; et, secundum, quoad fidem explicatum, est *in pertinens fidei cristiane*. Unde licet in primo (quod est fidei) pululent tot hereses, tamen dicti satrapae in illo mutescant vecorditer, nec iuxtaponunt fidem suam cum fide ipsius contraria; vel ideo indubie quia nesciunt vel non audent. Peripsimata autem fidei expositae non audent arguendo sed excommunicando corrideret; et tamen, cum tota ista vecordi ignorancia cervicem erigunt cum clamore, cum mendaciis, et aliis diverticulis anticristi, ac si defenderent sanam partem.

Sed quando queritur utrum ille panis consecratus sit corpus Christi necne, cum multi fideles adorant ipsum ut corpus Christi, et illa fides ex testimonio scripture et expositione sanctorum dispergitur: ibidem stabat

Yet it is clearly stated that the bread is Christ's super Joh. omel. 26 vere dicit quod illud sacramentum body, in several est cibus corporalis, eciam quod Cristus dixit panem 25 of the Gospels and Epistles. esse corpus suum. Nam Joh. 6 dicit ipse qui mentiri K. non potest: *Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita. Panem, inquam, fregit et dedit discipulis VI,* 52 suis, quem asseruit esse corpus suum, ut patet in evangelio Math. 26 et Marc. 14, Luce 22 et Paulus 1^a 30 cor. 10. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre istam fidem

2. equivoce B. 7. addiscere C; *ib.* sit C. 8. quidem B. 9. pullulent C; *ib.* explicata B; explicitam C. 13. ipsi C. 14. peripsima B; pipissima ² C. 14, 15. exponite A. 16. ignorant³ C. 18. suam pro sanam A. 20. aut ne A. 23. obnuit B; *ib.* Augustinus *in marg.* B. 25. et pro eciam C. 26. esse deest A. 29. esse deest A. 30. Pauli C. 31. Et c. A; Et deest B; *ib.* cum pro tamen A; *ib.* et tamen falsam C; *ib.* falsarii — *idem deest* B.

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

ecclesie parvipendunt. Talibus ergo conventiculis, qui conspirant tam multipliciter contra legem domini non debet quis fuco elemosine aliquid erogare; licet tamen relevare personas egencium in casu quo signa fidelitatis

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

5 in ipsis apparent; quia, secundum fidem: *Si eciam*

Rom. *esurierit inimicus tuus*, concurrentibus rationis paribus,

XII, 20 *ciba illum*. Scola autem Cristi est consentanea; sed scola sathanæ est semper contraria sibi ipsi, quia finis prime est unitas et fructus secunde discordia.

10 Nostra autem religio appetit quoscunque esse de nostro

Our religion is the imitation of Christ's life:

ordine et, exclusa quacunque novitate extranea, tenere libere vitam Cristi. Religiones autem invente sunt sibi

theirs is full of novelties and rivalries;

ipsis contrarie; et una foveat partem alterius, que est sibi opposita. Ideo oportet quod vir sic *duplex animo sit incon-*

friars; monks hate

15 *stans in omnibus viis suis*; licet enim fratres unius ordinis

mendicants and

odiunt fratres et religionem alterius, eciam possessionati

rice versa; yet

detestantur mendicacionem fratrum, et ipsi e contra

they all join

corum dotacionem ac diviciarum accumulacionem

against us when we wish to

perpetuam; tamen tangente homine communiter eorum

bring back the

XXIII, versicias, *facti sunt amici herodes et pilatus*, contra

beauty of early

12 veritatis dominium, eciam contra proprios ordines

Christianity.

conspirantes; ut fratres confitentur tacite quod ad

But this very

continuandum perfeccionem paupertatis Cristi, ad decorum

union is a fresh

ecclesie sunt ipsi a domino introducti. Et tamen contra

contradiction,

25 tangentes errorem eorum blaterant quod est ad

and thus their

magnam perfeccionem cleri talis dotacio, cum sit tam

testimony is of

necessaria sicut fuit potestas faciendi miracula in

no value.

ecclesia primitiva. Et isti parti consenciant in facto tam

fratres simplices exempti habundantes in proprio, quam

30 integra communitas eorum, que habet inproprie nequius

quam una persona simplex; et sunt tacite contradictorii

Marc. XIV, 59 sibi ipsis. Et per consequens *non est conveniens eorum*

testimonium adiuvandum sese reciproce, cum sint tantum

contrarii sibi ipsis.

35 Et in illo patet prima subversio ecclesie, in quibus

prima pateret conversacio: quod videtur figurari per

interpretacionem quam attribuit Jeron. phariseis. "Phari-

seus", inquit, "interpretatur divisus, vel dividens, seu

the separated,

dividing,

36. illis A. 36. primo C.

1. igitur C. 9. primi C; ib. 2¹ = secundi A. 16. fratres *deest* A;

religionem B; et *deest omnes* MSS. 18. eorum *deest* C. 25. blaterant A;

blaterant C. 26. clericis A; talis *deest* A. 30. habent B; h3 C.

35. illis A. 36. primo C.

</div

violent, or dissipating ones.
 The first monks were separated from the people by their holiness.
 Afterwards, they divided that same people.
 The first were violent against the flesh, and won Heaven.

Now they dissipate the goods of the poor and cast away Christ's law.
 But offending against Christ, they strike the rock upon which they shall be broken.

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

violentus aut dissipans". Primo, inquam, fuerunt religiosi nostri pharisei, i. e. divisi a populo secundum excellenciam differencie sanctitatis vite. Sed posterius perverso ordine in declinacione ad seculum facti sunt dividentes populum Cristi ad deum huius seculi; quia Prov. 6 prophetatur de istis apostatis quod *omni tempore iurgia seminant*. Iterum primo violentando corpus suum pena L. voluntaria, rapuerunt regnum celorum cum baptista, secundum fidem ewangelii Matth. 11. *A tempore Johannis regnum celorum | rim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud.* Matth. XI, 12¹⁰ 46^b Modo autem decernendo effigies, nulli pascuntur delicacius; nec gravantur inepcius, ut per alleviationem corporis sapient regnum dei; sed perversi ad carnem et seculum dissipant legem Cristi; sic quod de cassacione consumpcionis bonorum pauperum et de spoliacione ipsorum ab eis dicere potest devotus ecclesie illud psal. 118. *Tempus faciendi, domine; dissiparerunt legem tuam.* Ad tantum quidem blasphemarunt in Cristum, quod iam est tempus impediendi eos ulterius insanire. Dicunt enim dicti pharisei quod secuntur Cristum in vita similime: et cum ventris ingluvies, terrena cupiditas, et fastus mundane glorie contradicunt, patet quante in facto scandalisant Cristum humanitus et blasfemant ipsum divinitus. Nec dubium quin oportet eos offendentes in hunc lapidem immobilem precipitanter offendere; et illa contrapaccio est pessima scandalisacio. Ideo dicit Cristus Mat. 11. *Beatus qui non fuerit scandalisatus in me.* Nam omnis nominetenus cristianus qui adversatur vie domini scandalisatur in Cristum; et beatus (sed rarus est ille) qui in isto amodo non blasfemat. Matth. XI, 6^{Ps. 126}

Episcopi autem debent esse superintendentes populo; ut, servata religione cristiana, teneant se in limitibus 3^{cis} legis religionis, scilicet castitatis, paupertatis et obedientie, que secundum dicta primo capitulo debent consequi quemlibet cristianum; nec circa aliud debet versari episcopale officium. Sicut igitur *cepit facere et docere*, ita debent episcopi in se servare hec tria precepere et facere ut in subditis observentur. Castitas autem spiritualis est maxime ponderanda, cum contrariatur love of Christ above all;

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

spiritualis fornicacio, que fit quandocunque super amorem Christi inducitur amor temporalium vel hostis ^{3cis} plus amati. Et illam castitatem tenetur omnis catholicus observare. Quantum ad paupertatem, patet ^{of poverty, we all being} eciam quod omnis homo debet esse mendicus dei, ^{beggars of daily bread from} petendo panem cottidianum cottidie: et sic debet ^{God, and temporal lords} recognoscere se esse servum ballivum, dispensatorem domus dei, et accommodarium eius, eciam imperator et quantumcunque magnus dominus temporalis. Istam ^{only bailiffs;}

¹⁰ autem fidem de paupertate cum suis appendicieis debet M. cristianus tenere et docere, sed presul potissime. Quo ad obedienciam, patet quod omnis cristianus tenetur ^{and of obedience to Christ, and to others in so far as that is an aid to the former.} obedire domino nostro Jesu Cristo, cum sit caput tocius ecclesie. Obediencia vero sibi debita stat in imple-

¹⁵ cione illius quod ipse mandat et consultit. Illa autem est summa obediencia, sine qua quecunque humana foret superflua, cum iuxta dicta primo capitulo sit precise de tanto laudabilis de quanto promovet ad obedienciam Jesu nostri. Cum igitur totum episcopale officium stat in observancia et doctrina huius religionis triplicis, nec docetur efficaciter nisi primitus observetur; ^{To teach them these virtues the Bishop must be better than they.} patet quam necessarium est episcopum disponi ad observanciam huius legis. Ad quod requiritur quod instar Cristi et apostolorum sit quoconque sibi subditio-

²⁰ superior. Nam aliter foret ineptus ad docendum suos subditos hanc doctrinam.

Unde videtur quod domini seculares sic dotantes suos presbyteros stulte dampnificant se et ipsos. ^{Hence rulers should not endow, for they render priests unable to teach by example.} Indisponunt enim ipsos ad observandum istam religionem ^{They unjustly detain what is not theirs.} triplicem et populum efficaciter docendum; et sic dampnificant multipliciter semetipsos. Primo in hoc quod exhereditant se a seculari dominio quod presul suus iniuste occupat. Secundo in hoc quod ex cecitate perturbant rem publicam. Deus enim aptavit medic parti ecclesie certam mensuram et numerum; et eis appropriavit certam mensuram secularis dominii. Ideo, cum disrumpunt hunc ordinem, necesse est quod seculares circumpalpitent, perturbando ecclesiam. Et tertio in hoc potissime, quod tantum blasfeme cecatur populus, quod credit inpugnando ordinacionem divinam

6. quotidianum omni die C. 8. accommodacionem A. 9. magnus deest C. 14. complectione C. 19. obediendum A; ib. Cristi pro nostri B; ib. ihu christi domini nostri C. 21. ut pro nec C. 27. docentes B. 30. edocendum C. 31. Et prius B.

And they blind the people, so that, fighting against God, they think to do good.

Yet the steward that
resists his lord's will
displeases him:
and they are no more.

sibi meritorie obedire. Sed ballivus cum bonis domini et contra preceptum suum onerando et ligando, indisponens servum alium ad perficiendum domini officium, per quod reciproce iuvaretur, displicet domino et se ipsum dampnificat ac conservos. Et hec creditur racio quare clerus, sic repugnando secularibus (iusto dei iudicio), ipsos spiritualiter nocendo impedit et e contra. Et ista est generalis perturbacio in illis que debent esse duo brachia matris ecclesie iuvancia se et matrem; ad tantum enim cecavit diabolus obturacione temporalium anticristi discipulos, quod defendant blasphemae nec licere seculari brachio errorem suum in isto corrigere, nec dextrum brachium, quantumcumque infirmum fuerit, adiuvare. Sed tunc indubie utrumque brachium, et per consequens totum corpus illius ecclesie malignancium est irremissibiliter condempnatum.

2. onerans BC. 4. iuvarentur B. 13. brachium *deest* C.

CAPITULUM SEPTIMUM.

A. Sequitur 4^{ta} tortor, scilicet Archidiaconus, cuius nomen contigit esse patri suo episcopo Scarioth correspondens. Cum ergo ille, ex fide scripture, Joh. 12. sit mere 47^a 5 diabolus, patet quod inter omnes ministros talis episcopi talis eius minister sit archidiabolus. In cuius signum, dimisso ministrandi officio, circa bona minima ipse et episcopus contendunt communiter.

Debet enim archidiaconus, instar Stephani, Laurencii, 10 et diaconorum similium, ministrare in missa suo episcopo, predicare in populo legem Cristi, et omnino supplere vicem prelati sui, ut simplex religio cristiana in subditis conservetur. Et idem est iudicium de omnibus subordinatis membris cleri Cristi. Sed in 15 officio dicuntur perversi et consequenter membra hominis peccati; utputa, dimissis istis officiis, contendunt proximona ubi debent inserere verbum dei; in comparando sibi ipsis ornamenta secularia, ubi debent solicitari circa cultum religiosum sui episcopi.

20 Et multe sunt leges humane rationabiles, licet abrogentur hodie vel glosentur, que docent quod archidiaconus non debet esse onerosus ecclesie in personis, in pedagiosis, nec in equis; ut VII^{em} equos non debet excedere, nec sine regis licencia subditos spoliare, ut patet 3^o decreto 25 talium de censibus ca^o *Cum apostolus* Et cap.^o *Innovamus*. Sed cautela diaboli ex negligencia principum contigit oppositum. Ideo non mirum, si hoc vergit ad dissencionem atque destrucionem regnorum: fidelis enim expectat consumacionem istorum, cum iniurie particulares

Arch-deacons
are arch-devils,
their father
being bishop
Judas, a devil.

The Arch-deacon's duty
is to serve his
Bishop's Mass,
preach, and see
to Divine
service; but
many care only
for money and
ornaments.

There are laws
forbidding him
to have a
numerous
retinue, more
than seven
horses,
or to extort
money without
the king's leave.

But they are
obsolete, and
the abuses
become
gradually
greater and
greater.

1. Cap. etc. deest. 2. Initial S in red ink A. 5. illis (sic).
6. archidiaconus AB. 7. mī^a A. 17. parando B; operando C.
27. 9^r A; contingit BC.

25. The decree *Cum Apostolus* is not to be found. *Innovamus* is in Decr. Grat. 1^a Pars, Dist. LX, c. 3.

guttatim fuerint congregate. Sicud enim aque rivales congregantur in fossa ad tantum quod demum fossa disrumpitur; sic est de particularibus peccatis regnorum ab episcopis incorrectis.

One point is the insufficiency of the fines, as a punishment of sin; the Church grows fat, but the evils are greater. When the old severe laws were in force, sins were checked; now that it is allowed to offend God for money, they increase. All seculars who do not oppose these abuses are responsible for them; and they may be likened to traitors;

for to permit such treason against God is to be a traitor to Him.

Instead of enquiring about profit, and particulars of worldly wealth,

Peccatum autem non corrigitur, sed gravatur, dum 5 tortor, prelatus aliis, spoliat sceleratissime sibi subiectos et animat eos ex parvipensione minuti amerciamenti ad frequencius delinquendum. Sic enim dicit diabolus in suis proverbiis quod levis spolacio pingues facit raptore. Dimissa ergo est lex antiqua de suspensione, de deposicione 10 et de temporalium comunicacione cum sacerdote fornacario vel aliter criminoso; et tunc emendabantur crimina sacerdotum et populi. Sed modo, dum per anticeristos inducitur quod dei iniuria symoniace et proditorie sit venalis, peccatum non corrigitur, sed late extenditur et gravatur. 15

Extenditur, inquam, usque ad regem et totum populum, ad minimum ex consensu. Si, inquam, abhominabilis proditor regis terreni contra regaliam regis et eius liberos conspiraciis foveretur et defenderetur in regno, nonne vere diceretur quod foyens atque conscientis sit regis proditor, non solum extra regis protectionem ponendus, sed trahendus atrociter et finaliter occidendum? Multo magis anticeristi, servi diaboli et regis Christi comixti, gignentes et defendantes Christi adversarios contra ipsum. Cum enim regalia deo propria 20 sit incorrigibiliter vindicare iniurias, patet quod nitens tollere vel obfuscare istam vindictam procurat pro diabolo proditorie contra Christum. Seculares itaque, qui tales permittunt vel quomodounque consenciunt sunt in dampnacione consimili, et causa prodicionis regni; 25 quia necesse est ut regnum, sic comixtum divisum anticeristi tyronibus et Christi discipulis, desoleatur. Debent enim prelati in suis visitacionibus prudenter predicare Christum, non segniter scrutari questum; mederi morbos

i. congregare A. 2, 3. de fosso disrumpuntur A. 7. amat A; *ib.* ini-mici AB. 8. dt A; docet B. 10. igitur C. 12. notorie criminoso C. 18. regulam C. 19. labores A. 20. nomine A. 23. et in *omnes* MSS. 30. perdicionis B. 31. commixtum C; *ib.* divisim B. 34. fructificari A.

10. Slight fines for offences committed brought, it would seem, more money, on the same principle on which the Penny Post brings an increase of revenue in the present day. 12. It is well to notice here that Wyclif was, according to Lingard, a priest of absolutely irreproachable life himself. No wonder therefore that he is indignant against the lenity with which ‘sacerdotes fornacarii’ were treated.

anime, non primo notare defectus ornamentorum codicum, domatis vel fenestre. Hoc enim subiacet laicorum officio. Nec debet prelatus notare quomodo (per se vel per tortores subditos) predetur de subiectis plurem peccuniam; sed quomodo et quante contra diabolum partem fortificet cristianam.

Sunt autem duo funes rostrati quos diabolus complicat sub vicario antichristo. Primus enim funis demoniaci terroris, scilicet excommunicatio. Et 2^{ns} est funis facti amoris, scilicet absolutio; cum istis duobus funibus complicatis traxit antichristus cum membris suis pusillos et magnos, cautela diaboli tenebratos, ad magistrum suum Leviathan.

De excommunicatione vero dictum est alibi, quomodo sumitur nunc active, nunc passive communius; et hoc tripliciter; vel a deo, vel ab homine, vel utrinque. Omnis itaque prescitus est perpetuo excommunicatus a deo, quomodounque benedictus fuerit ab homine. Quilibet etiam criminosis excommunicatur a deo secundum presentem iusticiam. Et quandoque contigit hominem excommunicare deo conformiter; utputa, quando ex caritate Num. XXIII, disformiter, sive *maledixerit cui deus benedixerit*, sive 8 maledixerit maledicto a deo perverso animo. Oportet 25 enim quod excommunicator concordet cum deo in causa et modo. In causa, ut excomunicet propter eandem causam propter quam deus prius excommunicat. In modo vero concordat cum deo, cum Deus caritas est, quando excommunicat etiam excommunicatum a deo iuxta

C. 30 regulam caritatis. Si ergo a regula ista deviat, tunc se ipsum excommunicat; ut excommunicans propter vindictam habendam, vel propter peccuniam, vel possessionem proximi rapiendam. In hoc enim deficit a modo, quo prima caritas excommunicat. Excommunicatio autem 47^b 35 passiva | sophisticatur multipliciter: ut dicit quandoque exclusionem a communione fidelium, ne quis participeret eorum meritis: quod deo est proprium et datum homini fideliter promulgare. Quandoque autem dicit penam spiritualem vel subtractionem spiritualis suffragii;

the Bishops ought in their visits to attend to the souls of their flocks.

Two cords by which the Devil and Antichrist drag souls to Hell: that of false terror: excommunication: and that of false love: absolution.

Excommunication, active or passive, may proceed from God, man or both.

Every 'fore-known' is excommunicated for ever, and many elect for a time, by God.

Man may excommunicate rightly, if his sentence agrees in cause and motive with that of God's, and proceeds from charity; if one of these requisites be absent, he only excommunicates himself.

Passive excommunication means either separation from all share in the merits of the faithful, or a spiritual punishment, as being refused the sacraments;

1. ornamentorum *deest* A. 2. jacet B. 4. subditis *pro* subiectis BC.
5. rostrati B. 8. suo B; *ib.* est C. 11. trahit BC. 14. Nota de ex-
communicatione in *marg.* B. 16. utrique AB. 23. diforit^{***} A.
27-29. In — excommunicat *deest* A. 30. igitur C. 32. passionem A.
36. ut *pro* ne *omnes* MSS. 38. enim B.

quomodo Paulus excommunicavit corinthum fornicarium, tradendo ipsum sathanæ; et quomodo multi excluduntur a societate sanctorum et percepcione sacramentorum, and banishment, quibus spiritualiter iuvarentur. Et in isto consistit magna v. g. of saints by tyrants, is also a sort of excommunication.

Et quandoque excludit ab eo societatem in qua tam active quam passive amplius mereretur; et talis excommunicatio est maxime in regibus et mundi potentibus; ut patet de exulacione sanctorum.

By another sort of excommunication, with vociferations, bells and candles, still more blasphemous and hurtful to those who employ it,

they claim to lay a ban even on the land and the elements near the accursed, with the power of Christ who, as God, blasted the fig-tree for a sign.

They say that this power, belonging to the patriarchs and still more to the Apostles, has come down to them as their successors. But all power is Christ's; and he will give no power, save

Sed alia excommunicatio singitur qua prelatus, scribendo 10 et vociferando, cum candelis accensis et campanis sinistre pulsatis et aliis solempnibus adinventis. Et inter omnes adinventiones diaboli citissime blasphematur in hoc fune, cum sicud instrumentum rastratum ledit et lacerat abutentem, sic et rastratur et leditur ipse qui abutitur 15 isto funiculo. Et ista cautela est potissima inter discipulos anticristi contra cristicolas; sicut *Judicum 4^o* *Judic. IV, 3* legitur chananeos pugnasse contra israelitas falcatis curribus. Excecarunt autem populum, hortantes eos credere ut ewangelium quod, eo ipso quo post incantaciones suas sic excommunicaverint quemquam, male- dicitur totum adiacens ad multa miliaria undique. Et in hoc magnificantur supra Cristum; ipse enim maledixit sicui in figuram, licet non demeruit, ut patet Matth. 21; quia est plenus dominus cuilibet creature; ideo iustum est quod quelibet creatura ad nutum sibi subserviat. Anticristus autem pretendit se maledicare elementis propter causam Cristi, quia cristicola non wult parere, in causa diaboli, anticristo. Talis, inquam, maledicitur cum tota creatura adiacente per 7^{em} miliaria 30 circumqueaque. *Matth. XXI, 19*

Et ad hoc singuntur evidencie ex lege veteri, ubi legitur tam benediccio quam maledicicio patriarchis concessa et amplius concessa apostolis: quare ergo non presentibus prelatis, qui in potestate parificantur eciam 35 sancto Petro, cum deus semper meliorando procedit? Sed dicitur huic stulte demencie anticristi, quod ipse D. non habet potestatem nisi a Christo; nec Christus dat cuiquam potestatem, nisi ad sequendum ipsum et

1. excommunicat A. 3. participacione C. 7. meretur AB. 8. est ē A.
9. exclusione B. 11. rostratum A. 15. sicut A; *ib.* in se ipso A.
18. pugnare C. 19. Excecant C. 23. magnificantur A. 26. ut quemlibet A; ut quelibet C. 28. electis AB. 29. cum anticristo B;
cum deest C.

faciendum sibi et legi sue conformiter. Ideo debet in primis Cristum recognoscere et secundum voluntatem suam facere; a quo si deviat, sciat quod potestatem blasfeme vendicat. Ideo faciat patribus antiquis plene similiter; et tunc potest de tanto potestatem consimilem vendicare. Sed simeales argucie anticeristi exceant plurimos, credentes quod Cristus deficeret sue ecclesie, nisi daret istis prelatis tantam huiusmodi potestatem. Ideo, cum deest tam racio quam operacio quibus potestas ista doceretur, mandant subiectis ut fidem hoc credere.

Et sic illuduntur ydiote perfidia potestatis, sicud illuditur de sacramento altaris. Ibidem enim fingunt sine ratione vel auctoritate infinita miracula, ad que non necessitat racio vel auctoritas vel experientia; quia ponunt perverse quod illud sacramentum sit accidentis sine subiecto. Et sicud blasphemant deum tantum male dicere sine causa, sic blasphemant quod deus omnino destruit materialem substanciam panis et vini, remanente sine causa nuda essencia accidentis. Et sicud fingunt quod panis non potest remanere et fieri corpus Christi, sic fingunt quod quis non potest fieri prelatus sub tali nomine, nisi haberit tam fictam diabolicam potestatem.

Utrobique ergo rimandi sunt limites ad quos stat finaliter excommunicatio huiusmodi; scilicet, quid mali ad maximum excommunicato ingeritur. Et cum non quietantur in expulsione corporali a basilica vel conversantium comitiva (quia hoc posset secularis facere), fingunt quod deus eo ipso odit quem excommunicant in subtrahendo graciā, comunicat rebus vicinis potestatem

4. plane A. 9. tanta A. 10. mandat C. 15. vel *deest after* racio C.
17. sic C. 20. sic C. 21, 22. remanere — potest *deest* C. 26. ex-
communicatus AB. 29. adicit A.

24. It is well known that many abuses accompanied the practice of excommunication by bishops, which is, I believe, no longer allowed. In the *Life of Saint Louis*, by Joinville, there is a striking passage that illustrates the abuse and at the same time the independence of mind of the saintly King. A certain Bishop was urging him, for conscience' sake, to oblige all such as were excommunicated to submit and receive absolution. But the King at once pointed out the case of a man who, having a lawsuit against a Bishop, was excommunicated by him, appealed to Rome, and after seven years, gained his suit. "If I had compelled him to submit", said Saint Louis, "I should evidently in this case have acted unjustly".

bodily harm by vindicandi; et ista est maniaca blasfemia. Habet autem their curse, we must note that sacerdos ^{3^{em} potenciam excommunicandi. Primo occi-one power — dendo vel tradendo sathane personam quam deus pre-that of slaying to cipit taliter cruciari; ut patet de Petro et Paulo, Act. 5 Satan — is no more theirs than the raising of nostris hodie, sicut deficit potestas suscitandi mortuos, the dead.}

Another — et sanandi demoniacos. Secundum genus excomunica-tionis est, dum patet notorie infectiva malicia peccatoris the offender, lest he do harm to notorii, interdictetur (pro cavendo periculo), quod comu-niceat cum grege domini. Et licet sacerdotes debeant ex ¹⁰ exercised by the Flock better than by the priest, if he be perverse; lares prudentes: cum illud sacramentum non requirit in excommunicante tantam virtutem vel vim numinis.

and it were well if a bad worldly priest were thus ex-communicated; for he is hurtful in all that he does. Immo, videtur hortandum per modum consilii quod ¹⁵ E. secularis vel fidelis non comunicet cum presbitero vel prelato cesareo, qui vivit symoniace vel seculariter; cum, sive excommunicando, sive sacramenta ministrando, vel orando, vel quidquam aliud faciendo, inficit se et suos. Ideo, nisi deus ordinasset fidelibus suis sacerdotem ²⁰ in eternum dominum Jesum Cristum, olym per istam ^{48^a venenosam duodenam destructa fuisset ecclesia. Tales enim prelati, sive sint pape, cardinales vel episcopi, vel eorum ministri, plus officiunt quam proficiunt; cum directe officiunt, sed non proficiunt, nisi forsitan indirekte. Quidam ²⁵ enim ex gratia dei, cum vident quod isti qui fingunt se Cristi vicarios tantum exorbitant, et quanta pena pro ippocritis qui nec dicunt nec faciunt, sed obligantur ad utrumque, sit divino iudicio preparata, nituntur istos meritorie conculcare et per viam contrariam transmeare. ³⁰}

Another sort of excommunication may take place when it is revealed that such a one does much evil to the Church, being a castaway; ^{3^m genus excommunicandi ex speciali revelacione ostenditur, quando deus revelat fidi vel intoxica-cionem vel reprobacionem quam prescitus infert ecclesie, et ex illo prenoscitat talem esse a fidelibus ut ex-comunicatum fugiendum. Et istud in generali docetur ³⁵ Matth. 18, quod quilibet fidelis fugiat peccantem in eum Matth. post ternam correpcionem *sicut ethnicum et publicanum.* XVIII,}

but great prudence ought to be exercised here, and (unless the contrary is revealed) we Nec videtur michi quod aliquis prefigeret terminum criminis excomunicacionis huiusmodi, nisi sibi fuerit specialiter revelatum; quia notum est quod licet comu-nicare cum sceleratissimo, gracia convertendi; cavendo

^{2.} *3^{plex}* genus excommunicationis *in marg.* B: *ib.* potestatem C. 5. et prima Cor. 5 *deest AB.* ²³ *vel deest C.* ³³ inferret BC. ³⁶ ecclesia *pro* cum A. ^{40, 41.} *ex9mca'e C.*

semper de consensu sextuplici et intendendo promovere ad obedienciam legis Christi. Sic enim fideles servi stant cum sceleratis dominis, sperando quod eorum ministerio convertentur; quia aliter videtur quod scientes dominum norum suorum nequiciam forent dampnabiles ex consensu.

may communicate with the worst, but only for their good.

Quis, inquam, scit si deus convertat quantumcunque sceleratum, ut comunicacio cum eo prosit ecclesie?

Sic enim Paulus blasphemus conversus est ad magnam

Act. IX utilitatem ecclesie, Act. 9^o. Unde videtur quod tempus

10 presigere ad talem conversionem sit deum temptare; cum

Judith VIII,¹⁰ Judit. 8., scribitur: *Quid est verbum, in quo consensit*

Ozias, ut tradat civitatem Assiriis, si infra quinque dies non venerit adiutorium nobis? Et qui estis vos, qui temp

tatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam

15 provocet, sed pocius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat.

Posuistis vos tempus miserationis domini, et in arbitrio

vestro diem constituistis ei.

Cum igitur prescitus ignorat tempus conversionis scelerati ad dominum, patet quam blasphemum foret legem

20 statuere sive defendere quod quicunque fuerit excommunicatus a satrapa, censeatur excommunicatus quoisque a

tali fuerit absolutus. Non enim timuerunt fideles post instrucionem spiritus sancti comunicare cum Paulo;

cum opera sua, sine absoluzione huiusmodi, ostenderant

25 conversionem prius notorie blasphemie et ecclesiam per-

sequentis. Sic enim contingeret secundum hanc legem diabolicalam auffugere quantumcunque sanctum per quem

deus ordinavit edificare ecclesiam, tanquam scelestum apostotam: sicut dicitur cardinales horruisse Robertum

30 lyncolniensem tamquam diabolum. Et sic contingeret romanam curiam dampnatos diabulos canonisare et

adorandos mandare; sed sanctos in celo excommunicare et

dampnatos reputare, quia plus credunt perverso

satraparum iudicio, quam vivis operibus Iesu Christi.

35 Nec mirum; quia eorum absolucio et excommunicacio

We can never be sure that a man is a castaway, and have no right to fix a time for his conversion.

A 'foreknown' cannot know if a sinner will be converted; why then accept the excommunication of one who may be foreknown?

The faithful communicated with Paul before he was absolved:

which, according to the law, they should not have done.

Saints are excommunicated, devils canonized; and this because of venality.

3. d'mis dñis pro dominis A. 6. sit B. 8. Sicut pro sic omnes
MSS. 11. Quod AB. 13-15. temptatis — furorem in marg. A.
15. accendant A. 22. plus A. 31. Rómam AB. 32. adorantes A.
33. repugnare B.

29. Grosseteste, whose independence of character and resistance to certain arrangements made by the Pope, is well known, must have been looked upon with scant favour in Rome. Wyclif however, possibly exaggerates this feeling, when he describes him as being very near excommunication.

A robber can est ita venalis ut asinus; ymmo predones pessimi possunt force them to absolve him, and what they would do for fear of losing, they would do for the hope of opera pretenderent se facere pro edificatione ecclesie; 5 getting money; quia quando basis officii est venalis, omnia ad illam yet a perfect man should be consequencia esse venalia implicatur. Nec finget homo ready to die rather than commit such deceitful and scandalous sacrilege.

ab eis extorquere absolucionem et a pena et a culpa, sicut beneficiorum collaciones, sacramentorum ministraciones, et quantumcunque spiritualia mentorum ministraciones, et quantumcunque spiritualia 10 operae pretenderent se facere pro edificatione ecclesie; 5 getting money; quia quando basis officii est venalis, omnia ad illam yet a perfect man should be consequencia esse venalia implicatur. Nec finget homo ready to die rather than commit such deceitful and scandalous sacrilege.

quod talis absolucionis non est vendibilis, licet pro violencia poterit extorqueri; quia ille qui dat absolucionem huiusmodi, cuius blasphemiam posset pro mille marcis 15 evadere, vellet eandem vendere pro tantumdem pecunie, cum fides flagitat quod pro nulla ammissione temporalium, nec pro pena corporis inferenda, consentiret perfectus tali dacioni absolucionis; cum deus ex hinc blasphematur, absolutus periculose decipitur, et per consequens auctori- 15 sans hoc facinus dampnabiliter scandalisatur.

Such venality is a proof that absolutions are of no value; so excommunication can do no harm.
And their blessings are like that with which they make the sacramental bread of infinitely worse nature than it was.

Talis ergo venalitas beneficiorum et absolucionum et privilegiorum indicat quod non valent, et per consequens excomunicaciones et alie censure fictae non nocent passim, nisi ut pro spolianda peccunia terreat ydiotas. 20 Ymmo, sicut benedicunt panem sacramentalem et faciunt virtute benedictionis sue ipsum infinitum esse peiores naturaliter quam panis non consecratus qui prefuit; sic G. est de benedictionibus, absolucionibus et privilegiis, quibus illudunt hominibus. Dicunt enim quod panis 25 sacramentalis virtute benedictionis sit sacramentum; et ille, cum sit accidens, est pane qui prefuit infinitum imperfectionis in natura. Nec sunt commendandi ex hoc quod faciunt corpus Christi esse in illo, quia natura divina prius essencialiter fuit in illo accidente. Et si 30 corpus Christi sit in tali accidente noviter ad sustentandum ipsum et faciendum miracula, hoc est accione sue benedictionis perverse, sicut deus assistit seruo suo roborando ipsum graciosius, dum sibi irronice benedicunt! In omnibus autem istis per patrem mendacii sophisti- 35 catur ecclesia.

A few rules laid down:
1. Excommunication ought to proceed from a spirit of love;

Sed redeundo ad materiam de excomunicacione, ut caecius caveatur anticristi deceptione, pono aliquas conclusiones, | quarum sentencias sepe asserui. Prima: 48^b

1. est deest A; ib. ita deest omnes MSS. 7. qm^a pro consequencia A.
11. vel licet pro vellet A; ib. evadere B; ib. tantamdem B. 12. flagittat AC.
17. igitur C; ib. et deest C. 21. benedictum A. 24. privilegacionibus C.
30, 31. et si — sit deest B. 34. yronice C. 35. matrem A.
37. reddendo A.

Nemo debet excommunicare aliquem, nisi propter amorem quem habet ad illum; patet ex fide. Nam nemo debet excommunicare aliquem, nisi ex caritate et in caritate,
^{1 Cor.}
^{XVI, 14} iuxta preceptum Cristi in suo apostolo I. Cor. ultimo.

⁵ *Omnia restra in caritate fiant.* Item, nemo debet ex-
 comunicare aliquem nisi sibi subditum et nisi gracia
 medicine. Sed nemo debet talem medicinam apponere,
 nisi gracia caritatis: ergo nemo, debet excommunicare
 alium, nisi gracia caritatis. Unde signum est quod
¹⁰ prelatus specialiter diligit subiectum quem sic excomu-
 nicat; vel aliter illum non excommunicat, sed se ipsum.

Unde quidam solent regraciari suis excommunicantibus,
 quod dignabantur, tam laboriose, tam assidue et tam
 specialiter opponere illis medicinam tam validam. Et

^{Rom.}
^{VIII, 28} cum sciunt ex fide apostoli ad Rom. 8. *Quod timentibus*
deum omnia cooperantur in bonum sperant quod medi-
 cina apposita illis proficiet. Item, si quis debet excomuni-
 catum suum non diligere, potissime foret verum de
 illo qui excommunicat inimicum. Sed iuxta fidem omnis

²⁰ cristianus debet diligere generaliter inimicos, et sic
 omnis excommunicans suum excommunicatum. Nam in-
 gratus foret medicus carnalis, qui non diligenter suum
 pacientem; multo magis de spirituali medico, qui debet
 de cura vel diligencia plus premii reportare. Minor

^{Matth.}
^{V, 43} autem argumenti patet ex diffinizione Cristi Matth. 5^o.

*Audistis quia dictum est antiquis: "diliges amicum tuum
 et odio habebis inimicum tuum:" Ego autem dico robis:
 diligite inimicos vestros:* quod opere complevit, in Scarioth
 et aliis inimicis. Unde, quia medicina excommunicacionis

³⁰ per virtutem pacientie successive proficit, stultum foret
 nimis cito emplastrum excommunicacionis sciungere. Sic
 enim Cristus et sui ad eorum meritum et profectum

^{H.} ecclesie passi sunt excommunicacionem ludeorum. Et
 Urbanus noster cum suis: utinam meritorie excomuni-

³⁵ cacionem patiatur gilbonensis! Causa enim spiritualis
 morbi debet sanari ab intrinseco, si sanetur, ad quod
 excommunicatus accelerare debet, et deficiente morbo
 debet sufferre longanimiter medicinam, dum conservat
 pacientiam et alias virtutes consolidat.

⁴⁰ Secunda conclusio. Nemo debet excommunicare alium,
 principaliter propter peccuniam vel aliud sibi proprium,

to be exercised
 only on those
 that belong to
 the jurisdiction,
 and as spiritual
 medicine; for
 which medicine
 some are wont
 to thank their
 physicians.

Even in
 excommunicating a
 personal enemy,
 we ought to love
 him, as the
 physician does
 his patient.

These are
 Christ's
 precepts and
 examples too.

But if such
 medicine is
 good, we should
 not wish to
 have it soon
 removed, but
 bear it with
 patience,
 as let us hope
 that Pope
 Urban bears the
 excommunications of
 Robert of
 Geneva.

² It is not
 right to ex-
 communicate

8. igitur C. 29. excommunicantis AB. 35. patitur *omnes* MSS.;
^{ib.} gibbonensis B. 38. longanimitatis A. 39. pacivam A.
 40. condicio AB.

chiefly on account of any temporal matter; for if we love all men as God loves them, we shall not prefer this to their spiritual welfare.

All who act against this rule of love are criminal: v. g. slanderers, murderers, etc. God's will ought to be ours.

Besides, God only has the right to take vengeance, and to usurp this right is to blaspheme; for God alone is the chief Lord of all, and the offences done to others are as nothing.

General should be before private good: now the honour of God is the most universal good of all: and all things were created to end alone.

Item, blasphemum est usurpare quod deo est proprium; sed proprium est deo et incomunicabile creature principaliter vindicare suam iniuriam; ergo blasphemum est sic facere. Et cum omnis sic excomunicans ita facit, manifestum est quod omnis sic excomunicans blasfemiat. Minor argumenti patet, ex hoc quod cum deus sit summus dominus omnium, omnis creatura debet plus ponderare dei iniuriam, quam iniuriam hominum. Et confirmacio 30 dei; et cum non habet ex se aliunde honorem, mani-

aut propter iniuriam propriam vindicandam. Et ista est conclusio beati Gregorii 23 q. 4 ca^o. *Inter querelas.* Probatur sic: Omnis excomunicans debet diligere suum excommunicatum caritate perfecta secundum conclusionem proximam. Sed eo ipso quod sic, debet non diligere 5 peccuniam aut aliquid temporale, vel vindictam sue iniurie, plus quam personam quam excomunicat; ergo, conclusio vera. Nichil enim est magis contra legem caritatis quam plus diligere temporalia (que homini inexistunt) quam ipsum hominem; quia, cum deus caritas 10 est, et habet ordinem diligendi contrarium, manifestum est quod diligens secundum ordinem duplicum perversum cum diabolo odit deum; et tales sunt detractores, homines cide, vel quomodolibet criminosi. Primi enim plus diligent 15 famam vel voluptatem propriam quam personam cui 15 detrahunt. Homicide plus diligunt bona que occiso adiacent quam vitam persone occise. Et generaliter omne peccatum consistit in perversione amoris ordinati; quia creatura adversatur divine voluntati. Cum igitur non posset ostendi potencius perversio caritatis diligendi 20 proximum quam sic excomunicando, manifestum est quod excomunicacione tali caritas est extincta.

1. vindicandum C. 4. secundum *deest omnes* MSS. 5. quod *deest* B.
 6. aut *deest* BC. 12. ordinem secundum C; *ib.* duplicum *deest* AC.
 15. quam *pro cui* BC. 16. quo *pro* quia BC. 20. patencis C; *ib.*
 perverso *omnes* MSS. 23. blasphemie C. 28. quod *deest* G; *ib.* cum
deest B. 33. commissum AB; *ib.* proprius creature BC. 37. non
deest omnes MSS.

festum est quod honor dei est undique principalior et generalior quam honor debitus creature. Plus ergo debet excommunicans zelare pro honore dei quam proprio; ymmo in nullo honorem suum attendere, nisi de quanto

- I. 5 honorem dei sonuerit. Item, de lege et natura eleccionis, magis bonum est preferendum et diligencius observandum; sed magis bonum est quicquid deus preponit precepto vel natura: ergo illud est ab homine preferendum. Sed Deus docet tam natura quam precepto quod bonum 10 communius et divinius amplius diligatur: ergo homo debet illi legi intendere. Unde propter rationem istius sententie, omnes excommunicantes dicunt ypocritice quod 49^a bonum intentum | ab eis pro deo principaliter est intentum; cum sciunt quod, sicut veritas sequitur ad sui 15 ipsius destruccionem, sic honor dei sequitur ad sui ipsius extinccionis pretensionem, eo quod presumpitor talis quicunque punitur proporcionaliter ad peccatum, et per consequens in iusta punitione rutilat honor dei. Ideo quicquid vendicant vel excommunicacione puniunt, ideo 20 hoc faciunt principaliter, ut honor dei plus luceat. Sed examinemus, rogo, tales yppocritas, cum (secundum eorum principia) plus peccati plus ponderant. Videamus insuper si habita peccunia vel sue proprietati placencius plus quietat quam illud quod honori dei foret hono- 25 rificencius, quia maioris iniurie extinccius. Et factum clamat oppositum, cum, excommunicato quolibet, quantumcunque atrociter, per accumulacionem peccunie potest faciliter emendari, eciam ipso continuante in priori iniuria. Ideo manifestum est quod affecio per- 30 sonalis, amore dei postposito, est in causa. Et ista blasfemia laborat comunter in excommunicacione qualibet hodierna; quia aliter plus peccantem in legem dei generaliter plus puniret, et per consequens excomuni- carent sepe se ipsos. Nec lucrum suum saperet sua 35 excommunicacio, posito quod sua vita legi dei amplius contrariet. Non enim est excommunicacio tantum sacramentum, quin possunt ipsam ferre in se ipsis; cum nemo excommunicatur vel leditur, nisi hoc fuerit originaliter a se ipso. Ymmo, sese sacerdos excommunicat

And we ought always to prefer the greater good, which is what God commands.

And therefore they all say hypocritically that what they do is done by zeal for God's law; but as truth is proved by its own contradiction, so God's honour is but increased by the attempt to take it away.

But what as a fact pleases them most is to get money or property rather than satisfy God's honour; for if a man offers a large sum, he will be absolved, even though he should continue to sin.

They ought to lay their curses on the chiefest sinners, and so excommunicate themselves first.

As would happen if they

7. quicquid C. 8, 9. ergo — quam *deest* AC. 10. communis A.
11. rationem *deest* A. 12. dictum A; *ib.* yppocrite A. 14. cum *deest* A.
18. ista *pro* iusta C. 22. poderatur C. 23. igitur *pro* insuper C;
ib. sue *deest* B; *ib.* proprietate A. 25. extinccio A. 26. quo *pro* cum A.
32. in lego AB. 34. sepe *deest* A. 35. dei *deest* A. 36. Nemo A;
ib. blank space for tantum B; *deest* C.

excommunicated all blasphemers and all who excommunicated for their own worldly gain.

pro furto vel alio crimine, cuius ipse singulariter est reus; ut excommunicando quoscumque qui blasphemant in deum vel qui preponderanter excommunicant pro suo lucro proprio temporali. Hoc enim foret apud deum legitimum, et excommunicatores forent talis maledictionis capaces.⁵

Et forte a papa usque ad excommunicatorem infimum omnes primo se ipsis inficiunt; cum, ablata causa que lucrum vel fastum eis saperet, cessat excommunicatio illorum; et illa causa posita, maledic和平 diabolica com-

This sort of anathema shows more wickedness than that of the heathen Balaam, who only spoke the words put in his mouth by the Lord; and he will condemn this generation. Balaam surget in iudicio et condemnabit generacionem istam, que blasfeme maledicit cui deus benedicit, et e contra; quia non dubium quin extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, sicut generacio pessime anticristi.²⁰

3. God's law ought not to be forsaken on account of man's curses; on the contrary, such curses bringing a blessing and falling back on those that utter them, we should bear them with patience and even with joy.

It is want of faith that causes men to submit so easily to these false thunderbolts; our faith teaches that nothing can harm him that keeps Christ's law; and to

mittitur. Ideo non dubium quin maledic和平 ista excedit¹⁰ K. in malicia maledictionem gentilium; cum Numeri 24 Num. scribitur de Balaam, gentili ariolo: *Si dederit michi Balach domum suam plenam argenti et auri, non potero preter sermonem domini dei mei ut vel boni quid vel mali proferam ex corde meo; sed quicquid dixerit michi dominus loquar.* Ideo indubie, iuxta ewangelium (Matth. 12). Matth. XIII, 42

Ideo indubie, iuxta ewangelium (Matth. 12). Matth. XIII, 42

3^a conclusio. Nemo debet propter excommunicacionem huiusmodi declinare ab observancia legis dei. Scimus enim quod deus est omnipotens, et anticristus sophista dampnabilis. Ideo, propter suam excommunicacionem, est nobis evidens quod deus e contrario benedicit; et sic²⁵ propter excommunicacionem anticristi exasperantur fideles ad exequendum vigorosius causam dei. Sic enim ob- I. Petr. mutescere facerent imprudencium hominum ignoranciam, II, 15 cum sciunt quod preter hoc quod excommunicantes corporaliter letificat et spiritualiter dampnificat, meritum³⁰ accumulant constanter agenti et humiliiter pacienti. Cum act. 5 scribitur: *Iabant apostoli gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.* Unde signum est quod fides extinguitur et frigescit caritas multorum, dum propter fulmen³⁵ sophisticum diaboli, dimissa causa Cristi, consentitur tam faciliter anticristi. Est enim fides ecclesie quod omnes anticristi sive diaboli non dampnificant fidelem,

9, 10. committatur BC. 10. quin deest AB. 27. sicut omnes MSS.
30. dampnificant BC. 35. refrigerescit B.

29. A few words are probably wanting here; though the sense is clear enough, the grammatical construction is very faulty. Perhaps, after *cum sciunt quod*, the word *excommunicatio* might be supplied; and *accumulant* (l. 31) put into the singular.

Act. V, 41

dum constanter in lege domini perseverat. Est iterum subinit is to be fides ecclesie, quod declinans a lege Cristi vel peccato a backslider and consciens, propter tradiciones vel puniciones infundibiles in scriptura ut sic excommunicatur a deo, et an Antichrist.
 5 fit Cristi proditor et sic infidelissimus anticristus. Ex It follows that quibus fidelis connectit quod nemo debet propter ex- the duty of the communicaciones huiusmodi dimittere, sed constancius faithful is to remain steadfast and go on, like perficere opus Cristi; quia faciendo contrarium diffidit those of the early Church, notwithstanding de Cristo, et plus timens maledictionem diaboli quam the five sorts of 10 dei, annexitur anticristo; quia diabolum cum lege sua intimidation employed: preponderat, et infideliter credit anticristum posse fide-

L. liter adherentem Cristo rapere et nocere. Si, inquam, fideles in primitiva ecclesia rapinam bonorum suorum cum gudio suscepérunt, et si usque ad mortem sustu-
 15 lerunt omnia genera tormentorum pro defensione legis Cristi, quanto magis defenderent hanc legem hodie, non obstante terrore excommunicacionis quintuplici adinvento per regem superbie?

Clericos quidem exterrit tripliciter; ut quosdam 1. against the simplices inhabilitant, et per consequens privant stipendio clergy: degrading some, pro officio ministrandi; alios autem inhabilitant ad reci- disqualifying piendum ecclesiasticam dignitatem. Et 3º beneficiatos others for privant, quia recipiunt ab eis subdolam medicinam. advancement, Quo ad seculares, terrent eos dupliciter; quosdam, and depriving 25 fingendo quod privant eos fidelium comunicacione, those that have sacramentorum percepcione et suffragiorum ecclesie any; participatione. Et alios seculares terrent per bonorum 2. against the fortune perdicionem, per proditoriam incareeracionem, laity; by threats, either of spiritual or et per crucis expugnatorum elevacionem. Et omnia ista temporal penalties. 49^b 30 fiunt se | duccione diaboli, qua infatuat infideles qui But if we are non credunt quod omnes maledictiones diaboli vel faithful, we shall believe that no censure anticeristi non potuerunt nocere fideli, dum credit in Jesum; ymmo quod sibi est proprium maledicere 35 nunquam, nisi quis demerendo declinaverit divinorum observancia preceptorum. Ista fides moveret fideles ad and that, rather than give them credendum non esse danda eis propter excommunicacionem what belongs to the poor because they huiusmodi bona pauperum, sed pocius abstrahenda et neganda eis comunicacio ac favor fidelium, propter curse, we ought signa notoria anticristi, et fidem qua credi debet quod rather to take all away from them.
 40 constanter pugnando pro Christo, destruendo anticristum cum suis legibus, cristicola meretur.

4. et pro ut A. 5. sic pro fit AB. 6. convertit B. 8. proficere A.
 12. vel pro et B; sive C. 27. percepcione B. 29. pro A. 35. obser-
 vanciam A; ib. fideles deest A. 39. quid pro quod omnes MSS.
 41. mereretur C.

And to their arguments in favour of obedience due to them, I answer:

1. That we have faith in the Gospel, and follow the counsels of Christ.
2. That except in so far as they agree with these, we should not obey even an Angel's commands.
3. And that if they come, greedy and worldly, pretending to stand in Christ's place, they are Antichrists, and ought to get nothing.

Christ's followers do good and receive as alms a little food and raiment;

Antichrist's extort by excommunications what is not due to them; they should be resisted in patience.

One law in England is very unjust: that a man, excommunicated during 40 days by a bishop, should be imprisoned and despoiled.

For as a bishop may be

Et quantum ad commenta sua, quibus seducit populum, quod quidquid ipse precepit subiectus debet ut fidem credere et implere; quod non excomunicat propter pecuniam, sed propter mortalem inobedientiam ex eius negacione sequentem; et quod Christus pepigit secum 5 quidquid ille sentenciaverit, quod implebit: Primo, fidem ewangelii habent fideles alii, et observant ut illi Christi consilia. Sciunt secundo, quod nec sibi nec *angelo de celo* obedire debeant, nisi in quantum debet obedire Christo in observancia sui consilii vel precepti. Et sciunt 10 3º, quod si veniunt *in vestimentis orium*, fingentes de Matth. Cristo mendacium, quod sunt spirituales sui vicarii, dum III, 15 conversacio sua sit secularis et confabulacio sua questum sapiens, nullus est detestabilior antichristus; et per consequens non debet dari eis pro excomunicacione sua 15 peccunia vel sibi equivalentis, sed pocius subtrahi; cum, ut sic, non illis, sed Christi pauperibus sunt illa debita. Nam de scola Christi est, titulo elemosine, post opus meritorium edificatorum ecclesie, alimenta et tegumenta parce recipere. Scola vero antichristi extorquet 20 M. per excomunicaciones et alias censuras terrificas discipulis suis indebitum; et contra illos debet totus cristianismus insurgere, negando eis bona pauperum, et suas excomunicaciones equanimiter tollerando. Sic enim facit Christus cum suis discipulis paciendo evidenciores 25 excomunicaciones sophisticae sacerdotum; quia, ut tactum est, censura iniuste illata prodest humiliter paciendi, et sic toti ecclesie, dum non eo minus consequitur illud quod debet, domino mandante. Et omnino debet detegi secularibus istud sophisma diaboli, quo dampnabiliter 30 peccant in excomunicacione huiusmodi ex consensu. Currit enim ut lex in anglia, quod si episcopus signavit quemquam excommunicari per 40 dies continuos, tunc debet incarcерari et punitus multipliciter spoliari. Cum igitur prelati non sunt tantum confirmati quin contingat eos 35

1. coniuncta A; commenta corr. ex coniuncta C. 2. precepit C.
 4. propter *deest* C. 6. Nam *pro primo omnes* MSS. 8. angelis B.
 9. quanto C. 10. precepto A. 16. et per consequens *pro* sed *pocius* A.
 18. de *deest omnes* MSS. 19. edificationem B. 21. per *deest* A.
 28. prosequitur B. 31. excomunicacione huiusmodi *deest* A. 31. cur
pro currit A. 31, 32. enim currit BC. 33. debet *deest* C. 35. sint C.

6. This substitution — *primo* for *nam* — makes sense. If not admitted, we must suppose that at least one sentence, probably beginning with *primo*, is wanting before *nam*.

multociens excommunicare insontes, patet quod auctori-santes implicantur scelere oppressionis iniuste proximi ex consensu. Item, secundum leges ecclesie, debet meritorie susserre excommunicacionem ut medicinalem pro suo pro-fectu. Si igitur debet ex hinc incarcерari post 40 dies, manifeste implicatur quod debet sic incarcерari quia meritorie servit Cristo; et talis indubie est tradicio anticristi. Item, cum Robertus gilbonensis excommunicat papam nostrum cum suis complicibus et econtra, sicud 10 ludei excommunicant Cristum cum suis filiis, et econtra; nec est notum ex fide de primis excommunicatoribus que pars tenet iusticiam; igitur secularis neutram partem debet defendere, sed permittere utrumque contendentes sese confundere; et per idem nusquam excommunicacionem 15 talem, nisi revelatione habita, confirmare, cum peccat graviter contra Cristum consciendo iniuste, vel parti false. Satis multe sunt igitur leges civiles viciose, licet non sint legibus anticristi nequioribus onerate.

Sed unum videtur michi manifestum, quod licet ad 20 reges ab iniuriis excommunicancium appellare. Nam apostolus appellavit Cesarem (act. 23) existentem de pro-pinquiori superstite tam beato Petro papa ecclesie Christi, quam eciam summis sacerdotibus synagoge. Cum igitur illa appellacio, ex fide scripture, fuit magis autentica 25 quam aliqua alia secundam legem cesaream vel papalem, quia ex instinctu spiritus sancti facta, videtur quod licet fidelibus secundum hanc formam potissime appellare. Et certum est quod causa potissima huius appellacionis fuit observancia legis Christi. Causa autem accessoria 30 fuit protelacio vite Pauli; et secundum talem intencionem duplcem consimilem debet fidelis ad regem in ex-comunicacionis iniuria appellare. Item, in nulla causa licet appellare, nisi ad iudicem superiorem, qui in illa causa debet cognoscere et errata corrigere; sed licet 35 in causa excommunicacionis ad regem appellare: ergo ad regem pertinet ista discutere: consequens inconveniens 40 adversariis. Ideo, petendo subsidium | a secularibus pro excommunicacionis confirmatione, confundunt iurisdicções et subiciunt clericos: quod evitant. Finis enim legis et eius complecio est forma ultima perfeccior precedenti.

mistaken, this
is oppression
on the part of
those who
allow it.

And since such
a sentence may
be borne
meritoriously, a
man may be
imprisoned for
doing a good
deed.

Again, when
Pope Urban
and Robert of
Geneva
anathematize
each other, and
we cannot know
which side is in
the right, the
secular powers
should stand by
and not
interfere.

One point is
certain: that we
may appeal to
the King, as
Paul did to
Caesar.

This appeal,
inspired by the
Holy Ghost for
the observance
of Christ's law
and St. Paul's
protection, may
serve as a
model for us.

And the fact
that we may
thus appeal
proves against
our adversaries
the kingly
authority in
such matters.

They
themselves do
so, by appealing
to the secular
arm; if the
State were not

1. iniuste excommunicare insontes BC; ib. patet deest C. 4, 5. per-
petuo pro protectu omnes MSS. 5. per A. 8. Gibbonensis B.
15. cum peccat twice A. 21. cesarem, ut patet BC; ib. existente B.
22. quam pro papa A. 26. de t² pro videtur C; ib. quod quidem licet C.
30. procedacio AC. 35. igitur C.

above the Church, they should not recur to it.
 The King, God's vicar, should have his power; the Pope, Christ's vicar, his patience.

Cum enim omnis appellacio sapit civilitatem, non foret fugiendum ecclesie ad brachium seculare, nisi ipsum, ut sic, foret superius ut ostensum est in materia *de rege*. Rex enim debet esse dei vicarius, et papa Cristi vicarius, secundum Augustinum, in signum quod rex debet procedere secundum divinam potentiam, et papa secundum humanitatis Cristi pacientiam; et sic petitur forum superius, cuius est per ministros causam dei cognoscere.

It were monstrous, if the King were compelled to imprison a man without knowing why.

Thus they must know what they do, or they would judge blindly; and their duty is to give peace to the Church. It follows that they are our superiors,

and should judge the Bishops and condemn them if guilty of spiritual, which is far worse than temporal treason.

Item, diabolus nimis cecaret reges, si vicarius suus anticristus necessitaret eos ad incarcerated servum Cristi, nisi debeat causam cognoscere, si causa sit legitima: quia aliter supponendum esset eos in hoc esse inpeccabiles, et magistrum suum extolli supra Cristum, dum licenciant ad ducendum fideles per aliam viam, quam Cristus principiat. Oportet ergo ex fide quod cognoscant causam pro qua debeant sic punire, quia aliter cece sine noticia veritatis (que Cristus est), deberent ledere matrem suam: quod est manifesta blasfemia; debent ergo secundum legem Cristi cognoscere quid est utile matri sue, dicente Augustino, sup. Joh. omelia 11: "Intendat caritas vestra quid dicam; quia pertinet ad reges seculi cristianos, ut temporibus suis pacatam faciant suam ecclesiam unde spiritualiter nati sunt." Ideo, ut sepe dixi, per secularem potentiam secundum causam civilem debent secundum legem Cristi regere matrem suam, et sunt ut superiores, subditis eciam quibuscumque presbiteris sic adiutis.

Ad illos igitur debent episcopi appellare; et si in hoc inventi fuerint proditores regis et regni, debent accusius quam pro alia prodicione temporalium castigari; quia produnt nedum corpus a temporali regno, sed corpus et animam, quantum in eis est, dampnant evidencius ad infernum. Sed defectus fidei est causa quare paten-
ciam istius periculi non attendunt.

35

4. Vicarius dei et Cristi qui sunt *in marg.* A. 6. precedere AB.
 8. pars *pro* per AB. 8, 9. cognoscere tū dei C. 9. *T* in red ink A.
 15. licenciat C. 16. igitur C. 20. igitur C. 21. sup. Joh. *deest* A.
 23. peccatum C. 27. ut *deest* A; ut sic C. 30. regimini A.
 34, 35. potentiam A.

21. Aug. In Jo. Tract. XI, c. 14 (Migne, t. 35, p. 1483).

CAPITULUM OCTAVUM.

A. Quintus tortor est officialis, sive episcopi, sive archidiaconi, qui precipue preeligitur ad congregandum magistro suo peccuniam. Et sic est communiter de decano

The fifth
'tormenor' is
the official
employed to get
money chiefly
by penance:

5 et aliis officiariis in ista yerarchia diaboli ordinatis. Et quia secundus funis ficti amoris est penitencia, in

qua includitur oris confessio, cordis contricio et operis

satisfaccio: ideo de illa est paululum disserendum.

Arguunt enim naturales communiter, quod hoc non
10 est unum sacramentum. Primo quia, ex defectu unitatis
subjecti, non est aliquid unius generis, cum primum
subjectatur in anima, secundum corporale et sensibile
subjectatur in organo eloquentis, et tertium, diu post
succedens, est indeterminate in potestate presbiteri, de
15 quocumque opere quod voluerit limitare, et communiter
non perficitur in hac vita; quando ergo foret talis
penitencia? vel quomodo foret sensibile sacramentum?

which, it may
be argued is
not a sacrament,
for it wants
unity of parts:
contrition being
in the soul,
confession on
the lips, and
satisfaction,
coming long
after, and
dependent on
the will of the
priest.

Sed dimissa logicis hac controversia, cum officialis,
de quo nobis sermo, dicitur de *officiare*, videndum est
20 de huius communis funis origine. Supponitur ergo quod
penitencia dicatur equivoce, nunc pro displicencia
animi de peccato, nunc pro continuacione penalitatis
propositi non iterandi; 3º vero sumitur aggregative
pro multis: et tunc sumitur famosius pro voce con-
25 sistentis et rite absolvientis cum contricione, penitencia
et satisfaccione confessi; et nunc sumitur tam in sua
quidditate quam in sua proprietate pro una istarum
parciunt, et nunc pro reliqua; et nunc dicitur quod,
deficiente una parte a suo ordine, non est nisi falsa
30 penitencia, ut dicitur de successivis aliis aggregatis;
nec debemus sollicitari de forma verborum consistentis

But the word
'penance' has
many different
meanings,

which are apt
to be confused
together.

There is no true
penance if one
of its parts are
wanting: i. e.
essential parts
and not mere
ceremonies.

1. Cap. VIII in red ink A. 2. 5¹⁹ tortor in red ink C; ib, officinalis A.
4. est *deest* B. 6. *finis* C. 7. *omnis* A. 10. quia *deest* A.
11. principium AB. 12. in corpore C. 13. subjectatur *deest* A.
19. officere C. 20. tuneris AC. 24. faciosius *omnes* MSS. 25. previa C.
27. quid *pro* quam A. 28. *pro deest* B.

vel absolvientis, nec de sollicitudine eorum vel auriculacione formali aut manus impositione. Omnia, inquam, talia relinquo cultoribus signorum, qui quidditates et modos sacramentorum tanquam articulos fidei solempnissant. Sic ergo penitencia potest dici *sacramentum*, per 5
quod in mente fit peccati delecio et pro ipso peccato satisfaccio; et sic distinguitur a Baptismo; quia, licet peccatum originale ac actuale deleat, tamen non implicat de sua ratione formali quod ille baptizatus, quin potius Cristus pro peccato baptismo deleto satisfaciatur. 10

It is a sacrament by which sins are blotted out of the heart and made satisfaction for; thus differing from Baptism, which does not require satisfaction.

Objection: This definition would denote equally well the general confession made at Mass; thus there need be no auricular confession.

Now this is against the Decretal, which says that every faithful must confess once a year to his appointed priest (or any other whom he may allow) and take Holy

Communion at Aliquin et vivens ab ecclesie ingressu arceatur, et moriens cristiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ex ignorancie cecitate velamen excusacionis assumat. Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa 30 confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulat et obtineat a proprio sacerdoti, cum aliter ipse illum non posset absolvere vel ligare."

Here it is clear that auricular confession is obligatory;

We ought thereto to add to the definition confession and all its rites.

Ex isto videtur cunctos cristianos discretos astringi ex decreto ecclesie ad confitendum singulariter annuatim singula peccata sua proprio sacerdoti. Ideo videtur quod oportet supponere addere ad sacramentum privatam auriculacionem et manu sacerdotis capitum taccionem, cum aliis ritibus adinventis.

2. formali aut *omnes* MSS. 4. fidei deest A. 5. Sicut igitur C.
 6. dilecio B. 7. apmo *Ego* Baptismo A; *ib.* qui *pro* quia BC. 8. vel
pro ac B; aut C. 15. igitur C. 17. contra AB. 21. ob *above* ad A;
 ob causam aliquam C. 28. quisque A. 32. ipse deest A. 33. sol-
 vere B; *ib.* istis BC. 34. discretos deest A. 37. penitentie B; privatam
 deest C. 38. et taccionem B.

Quod quia difficile est fundare vel credere, ideo foret fundamentum necessarium in ista materia cognoscere quid descriptive est penitencia, et quid vocalis confessio, que dicitur secundum speciem ad salutem anime requisiuta. Nec est dignus lucrum pro hoc sacramento exigere, qui nescit penitenciam quam requirit a comuni distinguere. Nam verba sanctorum doctorum non convincunt penitenciam quam requirunt. Recitat enim magister ^{4^o} sentenciarum, dist. 14. quomodo beatus Ambrosius dicit ¹⁰ quod penitencia est peccata preterita plangere, et plan-genda iterum non committere. Et beatus Gregorius dicit quod penitere est peccata anteacta deflere et flenda iterum non committere. Patet primo quod utraque istarum descripcionum sanctorum implicat penitenciam non esse ¹⁵ sacramentum; quia planctum insensibilem in mente absconditum. Videtur ^{2^o} quod non est penitencia, dum confitens recidivat. Et per consequens non est in potestate cristiani completere penitenciam fratris sui, cum sit extra potestatem suam facere quod confitens peccatum confessum amplius non committat. Et iterum, manifestum est quod talis penitencia potest perfecte impleri sine confessione generali vel speciali facta proprio sacerdoti. Non enim valet sophisticacio qua dicitur quod nemo ²⁵ iterum committit peccata preterita sed alia, quia nimis est quod committat eadem in specie.

C. Cum igitur tam sancti doctores et tam excellentes capitales ecclesie sic descripsérunt penitenciam (ex qua descripcione sequitur quod fideles non teneantur virtute sacramenti penitencie confiteri peccata sua proprio sacerdoti), videtur quod lex predicta sit corruptela symoniace introducta. Nec repugnat diffinīcio penitencie quam dat magister ibidem, scilicet quod penitencia est virtus vel gracia qua comissa mala cum emendacionis proposito plangimus et odi mus. et plangenda iterum committere ³⁰ nolumus. Sic enim, inquam, iuxta genus penitencia foret unum insensibile et non sacramentum, et per con-

This being inadmissible, we must see what the sacrament really is, for according to the Fathers, this confession is not penance.

Ambrose calls penance "to be sorry for past sins and not to commit them again". Gregory uses like expressions.

Penance, being in the soul, is not an outward sign; it has not existed if the sin is repeated; no one can do penance for another; and confession is unnecessary. To say that a past sin, being past, cannot be repeated, is sophistry.

What is meant is the same sort of sin.

So the above mentioned law is corrupt. To say that penance is a virtue by which we weep for our sins, still leaves it in the number of things invisible, and not a sacrament given by the priest.

1. et pro vel C. 11. committere C. 12. quod deest C. 14. sanc-torum deest C. 22. vel speciali deest C. 24. que pro quia BC.

9. Petr. Lombardus, IV Sentenciarum, c. 14, 1 Migne t. 192, p. 869.
30. *Corruptela*. The exact drift of Wyclif's argument is as follows. He takes the order to confess once a year, and proves that confession is not a sacrament: *therefore* the law is unjust. To understand the connexion, we must remember his general principle: no law is binding, unless grounded upon Scripture.

sequens sacerdos non dat sacramentum penitencie suo confitenti, quia nec dat virtutem nec graciam, nec sanctum propositum voluntatis; sed hoc sepe impletur

And to say that the details of and ceremony connected with confession, are necessary, would be blasphemy.

All that only burdens the Church.

No one can be obliged to do what is not reasonable.

But the Pope cannot provide a discreet, and learned priest for every one. Then how can he command us to confess to one under such severe penalties?

Item, papa non potest obligare fidelem ad aliquid, nisi ad illud quod ipse potest docere vel facere esse rationale et meritorium obligato; sed hoc non potest respectu mandati huius legis: ergo nec fideles taliter obligari. Papa enim non habet potestatem ordinandi cuiilibet fideli laico sacerdotem sciolum et discretum, cui expedit laico sic confiteri, ut patet inferius. Quomodo ergo ordinaret sub tanta pena quod quilibet laicus confiteatur sic peccata sua proprio sacerdoti? Blasfema, inquam, est obligacio ad impossibile, cuius impossibilitas per obligantem efficitur: ut obligare me ad confitendum ydoneo sacerdoti.

And the Sects introduced have rendered it impossible to find such a one: the knowledge of God's law, now neglected, is necessary for that. Let the Pope first give us proper priests, and then oblige us to confess. But the way to chialum appropriate of parish churches, and eager collection of first fruits, &c.

Et introducere scolam per quam est impossibile invenire talem, foret summa blasfemia. Sacerdos autem non fit ad hoc ydoneus, nisi et noticia et observancia legis dei. Et illam scolam papa diminuit, faciens ydoras sitire mundana plus quam beatitudinem animalium. Faciat igitur quemlibet fidelem habere primum sacerdotem ydoneum ad illud officium, et tunc obliget, dum racio et utilitas ad hoc movent. Sed non vadunt ad hoc ydiote promocio, ecclesiarum parolet a doctrina scripture per tradiciones humanas multiplicatas sacerdotum abstraccio. Infinita sunt talia, ut cardinalium et alienigenarum | promocio ac indigenarum aliunde habilium ad officium illud distraccio. Obligans itaque fideles tam contrarie est sathanas in abstracto.

5. requirit omnes MSS. 6. flexo C. 7. de promocio A. 9. signatum et B. 10. fieta A; ib. Omnia enim ista BC. 13. alind in full A. 15. obligare C. 21. sua deest C. 23. obligacionem A. 26. sententia A; summe B. 35. a deest C. 39. humilium A.

D. Item non est racio, quare homo ad minimum semel in anno debet taliter confiteri, quin per idem multociens, in casu quo delinquat multocies. Et sic irrationale sompnium videtur diffinire quod sufficit et requiritur ad salutem cuiuscumque semel in anno taliter confiteri; quocienscumque eget medico tam necessario, debet, propter infinitum maius periculum quam aliquid corporale, ad medelam sanitatis, omnibus aliis omissis, indilata transcurrere. Quis ergo sacerdos inponeret deo terminum miserendi, ut patet Judith 8: *Qui, inquit, estis vos, qui temptatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam provocet, sed pocus qui iram exciteat et furorem accendat. Posuistis vos tempus miserationis Domini, et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei.* Et sequitur: *In hoc peccato peniteamus.* Si igitur fidelis per annum preservat se a mortali, quis cogeret cum de necessitate salutis confiteri, ut ipsem et instituit? Si autem de necessitate salutis magis indigeat, quis diffidit minus deo sufficere? Per hoc enim quod limitatur peccantem semel in anno taliter confiteri, intelligitur quod hoc requiritur et sufficit cuicunque; et utrumque istorum est falsum. Debuit igitur mandasse quod omnis fidelis debet, quocienscumque eguerit, taliter confiteri. Sic quod papa nec potest facere quod quilibet sic egeat quo ad deum, nec excusare quoscumque qui sic faciunt, si plus egent. Supra vires itaque foret blasfemi constituire talem legem.

Nam, ut instant logici, multi habent discretionem ad conterendum, et tamen sunt naturaliter surdi et muti. Multi etiam statim post discretionem sunt subito mortui. Multi etiam vagantes per patrias non habent proprios sacerdotes, et cum huiusmodi legis obligacio non obligat quemcumque cristianum pro semper, quia sic teneretur quilibet pro semper confiteri proprio sacerdoti; et si semper obligat, non pro semper; satis est, ut arguant logici, quod semel in quocumque anno confiteatur proprio sacerdoti; et sic multiplicantur mille logicale instances, quod hec lex fuit false et improvide promulgata. Nam fideli confidente pro anno in comunitate cum reliquo et post statim decedente in gratia, non imputabitur sibi

3. *mlto^{oo}* (= multociens) A. 6. enim BC. 9. igitur C. 15. iterum *pro* igitur C. 20. totaliter C. 21. cuicunque A. 25. quocienscumque A. 29. convertendum AB. 31. quilibet deest A. 35. non *trice* A. 37. multipliciter C. 40. et deest AC.

if v. g. a man should die just a year after his last confession, he would not have confessed the year of his death; a year is always beginning; so we ought to be always confessing:

The Decree does not say whether the confession must be general or particular.

If the first, there can be no suitable penance given.

If the second, we cannot remember all circumstances after the lapse of a month; and the penitent will be damned for not remembering them after a year!

Both priests and prelates are now unable to distinguish what sins and what virtues are;

they are blinded, thinking that sins are not sins, or that they even render God service by persecuting the godly.

Thus they are unable to

quod pro anno mortis non est taliter confessus. Et si loquitur de annis in communitatibus, debet confiteri continue, cum pro quolibet instanti unus annus incipit, et aliis terminatur. Item, quod omnis fidelis debet sic E. confiteri omnia peccata sua videtur mirabile, quia nec 5 in generali, nec in speciali. Nam per generalem confessionem non innotescit absolventi quomodo penitenciam iniungeret, et de remedio provideret; et si dicta lex exigit confessionem specialem, videtur irrationabilis propter multa. Primo, quia quantumcunque memorati ad 10 minus infra mensem perderent circumstancias aggravantes: quomodo igitur datur sibi licencia expectandi per undecim menses? Non enim valet quod habet licenciam a lege ecclesie sic exspectare, et tamen pro mora illa dampnabitur lege dei. Tunc enim forent ille leges con- 15 trarie, et statutum Romani episcopi lex iniqua, cum ipsam implens dampnabitur; oportet igitur ad iustificationem huius legis statuere ut non diuinus expectet confessionem, quam plene recolit de circumstancia aggravante; ergo non taxaretur licencia durandi exclusive 20 per annum.

Similiter tam prelati quam subditi sic abducuntur per scolam aliquam quod ignorant ut plurimum tam crimina quam virtutes. Ex quo videtur quod comunitas cristianorum ratione legis huius necessitatur incidere 25 in mortale. Nam ab infimo laico usque ad Romanum pontificem, nec scitur quando generaliter peccatur mortaliter, nec quomodo mortalia et venialia distinguuntur: cum ex fide scripture patet quod multa sunt peccata et hereses, que prælati cecati non ponderant; ymmo, 30 prosequendo putant se obsequium prestare deo, cum alios ewangelicos persecuntur tamquam hereticos. Papa igitur, statuens quod omnes adulti consiteantur sic discrete omnia peccata, ordinaret vel promoveret quod ipsa peccata cognoscent; ad quod non promovet, sed 35

2. loquens A: loquimur C; *ib.* comunicantibus A; comitantibus C.
 4. determinatur B. 5. omnia *deest* B. 7. absolventem B. 10, 11. memorativus infra C. 12. sibi *deest* A. 14. et *deest* B; *ib.* proniora A.
 18. quod *pro* ut AC. 20. igitur C. 23. aliam AC. 25. huius legis C.
 26. Nota *in marg.* A. 31. obsequia C. 32. persecutur A. 33. sic
deest A. 35. cognoscerent C.

11. Some Catholic catechisms admit the necessity of giving the 'aggravating circumstances': which is, I believe, denied by many theologians; but all say that a sin forgotten is a sin forgiven.

impedit se et suos; et sic statuens implicite ut cognoscant ista, implicat in contradiccionem more diaboli scolam suam. Similiter prelati ligantur precipe vinculis diaboli, et sunt expertes potestatis clavium. Quomodo

confess, for the Pope cannot make them know what is and what is not sin.

5 ergo statueret papa legem, quod subditi a talibus absolvantur? Omnia enim talia statuta tacite includunt 51^b blasphemiam, | quia auctor eorum dicit se posse in contradictionia, supra deum. Quomodo ergo obligaret me ut confitear prelato, qui est plenus discipulus anticristi?

The faithful cannot be forced to confess to Antichrist's disciples.

10 Item, non sciunt aut nolunt in propria persona servare legem predictam, cum vix unquam vere peniteant, dicente decreto sub auctoritate Crisostomi de penitencia dist. I^a "Quis aliquando vidit clericum cito penitenciam agentem? Et si deprehensus humiliaverit se, non ideo 15 dolet quia peccavit, sed confunditur quia perdidit gloriam suam." Notemus ergo omnes prelatos symoniacos in penitencia induratos, et consideremus ex fide quod non prodest, sed obest sic talibus confiteri. Et patet 20 quod lex predicta cum facto autoris reddidit subiectos perplexos. Non enim est vera penitencia, ut patet ex dictis sanctorum, dum confitens recidivat, vel ad minimum

It is of no use, and is even hurtful, to confess to a simoniacal priest.

F. dum confitens non conteritur. Cum ergo hoc sit solius dei concedere, videtur quod ordinans talem legem ut quilibet sic confiteatur, nedum blasphemat, sed extollit super omne quod dicitur deus, negociando de populo: blasphemum itaque est quemquam non deum statuere ut aliquis vere confiteatur. Esset ergo bonum, quod sic presumens de propria blasfemia conteratur et curreret lex Cristi de penitencia, sicut olim.

And unless the penitent never falls again (which God alone can know) this confession is no true penance.

25 30 Item, tam ex parte insufficienie, quam ex parte infundabilis oneris sacerdotis, videtur quod auricularis confessio sit temere introducta. Nam sacerdos nescit discrete aptare penitenciam ad delictum, nec limitare medicinalem penitenciam ad cavendum culpam hominis

The law is therefore blasphemous.

Christ's doctrine of penance should be reverted to.

35 in futurum: sed iuxta decretalem predictam, hoc requiritur ad discretionem sacerdotis; ergo ex defectu sacerdotis ydonei est lex predicta irrationalis. Assumptum videtur ex hoc quod, cum delictum sit comissum in deum, omnis pena quam peccator posset hic sufferre

The priest is besides excessively burdened by this unreasonable law.

5. igitur C. 6. *In marg.*: In nomine domini A. 10. volunt B.
16. igitur C. 22. revertitur AB. 25. quo A; *ib.* deus deest A. 28. sua
pro de B. 31. omnis, corr. *in marg.* oneris C; *ib.* au'icla'rs = auricu-
laris AC. 36. igitur C. 39. sufficere AB.

No penance can be sufficient to punish an offence against God.

foret nimis modica, cum propter contemptum terreni regis inferunt legitime gravem mortem. Nec valet dicere quod misericordia dei supplet et acceptat quamcunque penitenciam quam sacerdos iniunxit. Primo, quia tunc ad hoc non requiritur discrecio sacerdotis, quod est⁵ contra legem predictam; 2º quia, cum deus multis non miseretur ad eorum salutem propter parvitatem attritionis et penitentie, nec subiacet humane noticie taxare proportionem istorum ad voluntatem dei. Nam videtur quod temerarium sit sacerdotem de talibus sibi in-¹⁰ cognitis iudicare. Tercio, quia diversi sacerdotes diversos gradus penitentie pro eodem peccato iniungunt; sicut quondam iniungebatur penitencia de culpa pro minori peccato, ut patet de penitencia. Oportet igitur quod aliquis vel singulus talis confessor erret in penitenciam in*15* iniungendo. Cum enim penitentie sint opposite, implantes contradiccionem, oportet quod aliqua deo displiceat; quia aliter contradictoria placent deo: ut, quod isti peccatori iniungatur tanta penitencia, et non amplior. Sicut ergo iustum est secundum taxacionem divinam,²⁰ quod peccator subeat tantam penam diu antequam sacerdos absolverit; sic eque iustum est, postquam penitenciam iniunxerit, cum deus non mutat voluntatem vel liberacionem iusticie propter opus errabile sacerdotis. Et ex isto videtur quod, sacerdotibus variantibus in²⁵ penitencia eiusdem pro eodem peccato, alter eorum erraret, vel uterque; cum non sit singenda racio quare iustum esset Petrum iniungere Paulo tantam penitenciam et Linum iniungere sibi tam variam, maiorem aut minorem, pro eodem crimen. Oportet igitur quod alter eorum erret³⁰ a iusticia voluntatis divine; nec est racio, quin uterque.

for it is not
just that two
men should be
punished
differently for
the same sin.

To say that
any penance is
sufficient,
because the rest
will be done in
Purgatory, puts
the least and the
most intelligent
priest on the
same level;
besides, on
account of the
penance
wrongly
imposed, the
penitent may

Nec valet secunda fictio, quod sufficit ad deletonem G. peccati per sacramentum penitentie cuiuscunque pene iniuncio, cum homo solvet residuum pene in purgatorio; quia sic sacerdos stultissimus posset eque iuste³⁵ penitenciam iniungere, cum iusticie domini tam varie maius et minus susciperent. Item, ex tali dubio, ex indiscreta iniunctione penitentie confessus tuus dampnabitur et nunquam veniet ad purgatorium; ergo iniuncio fatua. Sicut enim confessor ex prudencia et caritate⁴⁰ potest mereri confessio suo beatitudinem, ita ex stulticia

9. divinam pro dei nam AC. 11. diversos deest C. 14. after
penitencia, a gaf C. 19. pena B. 20. igitur C. 21. penam deest A.
27. sint A. 37. duo B. 39. igitur.

sua et peccato potest causare in eo damnacionem. Ideo temerarium videtur iniungere confessio penitenciam indiscrete. Similiter iuxta loquentes, penitencia in purgatorio erit diuturnior et infinitum gravior quam penitencia hic in via: ex quo sequitur quod stultissimum et periculosissimum est sacerdotem iniungere penitenciam indiscrete. Nam infinitum gravius foret ex errore facere quod confessus duret diucius in purgatorio per unum diem, quam foret ex errore vel dolo tollere totam confessio substanciam. Sed secundum foret manifesta iniquitia; ergo evidens primum. Studiosissime itaque studeret confessor artem penitenciam iniungendi; et cum illa ars nullibi docetur, et specialiter in scriptura, que est lex per se sufficiens ad regimen cuiuslibet cristiani,
<sup>52^a
¹⁵ evidens est | quod preter fidem scripture singitur confessio introducta. Quomodo igitur manet caritas, que
^{1 Cor.}
^{XII, 15} non querit que sua sunt in ipso confessore, cum non curat ex sua stulticia causare confessio suo penam purgatorii quantumcunque longam, sive perpetuam in inferno; et cum curat solicite quod confessus suus solvat sibi decimas? Ymmo alia bona indebita nititur symoniace extorquere. Papa igitur statuens talen legem traderet artem taxandi penitencias ad peccata et iniungeret scolam noscendi hanc artem sacerdotibus, cum nullibi exprimitur in scriptura.
²⁵</sup>

Nec valet dicere quod penitentie sunt modo arbitrarie, et ita a quoconque sacerdote confessore cognite: nam ad arbitrandum illas requiritur summa discrecio. Illam autem artem non curant superiores ecclesie, nec penitenciarii; et variacio iniunctionis penitentie docet confessos quod penitenciarius sepe errat. Et quantum ad studium artis date in *De penitencia* per distincciones, patet quod modice aut nichil student in illis. Ideo parvipensio istius scole reddidit prelatos suspectos quod
³⁰ non credunt istam sentenciam quam docent laicos; quia tunc curarent diligencius salutem propriam. Unde creditur quod non iniungunt penitencias taxatas in canone; quia pauci vel nulli ad eas accederent confitendi. Ydeo, ut allicant propter subiectionem et questum, singunt
³⁵

go to Hell, thus missing Purgatory. And the pains of Purgatory being so much greater than any in this life, it is a greater injustice to expose a penitent to one day there, than to take away all his fortune.

This art of imposing right penances ought to be learnt with great care: but no rules for it are to be found in Scripture.

If the confessor is more particular about tithes than about the state of the man's soul, he is without charity.

The law of confession implies the art of enjoining penances proportionate to sins.

If it be said that penances now depend on the priest's will, this very tact renders a good choice more difficult.

It is certain that very little trouble is taken that way, and that consequently prelates themselves do not believe what they teach the laity.

They do not follow the ancient Canons, because no one would then confess.

9. forte C. 10. manifeste C. 10, 11. iniustum BC. 11. igitur C;
^{ib.} studiosissimi A. 12. confessor deest AC. 14. regnum AB.
 18. in B. 10. in deest B. 21. bona A. 27. confessore B. 31. se
 pro sepe A. 33. modicum BC. 34. reddid BC. 38. accedunt C.
 39. ad A.

And they therefore give out that any penance is enough.

Either the Canons were, or the priests are wrong. If the priests of old were able to apply penances with prudence the same ought now to be done.

The reason the old laws are not followed is not because priests are able to do without them, or wanting in authority or knowledge; but that they are worldly, and prefer imposing fines to any other penance. As for penance as a cure for the soul, it exists no longer; the prelates &c. ought to be hung for the harm they do to souls (as bad physicians, to bodies); and the Church should keep a strict watch over the medicines that they give.

This law is besides suspected of heresy; because it requires the penitent to be alone, which excludes public penance, and the use of an interpreter, and ergo non est racio nec ad necessitatem salutis requisicio

the presence and aid of God.

ut satis est de quacunque penitencia quam ipsi volunt arbitrii; et tamen, vel sequitur quod antique penitencie fuerunt colecte improvide, vel temere sunt dimisso. Nam in multis esset hodie tam necessarium iniungere gravem penitenciam ut tunc erat, et aptare ⁵ peccatis manifestis penitenciam regulariter collectam, ut tunc fecerant. Nec est racio quod taxantes illam penitenciam sciverunt proporcionare illam ad fortitudinem persone, ad longevitatem vite, ad conformitatem voluntatis divine, quin per idem et modo scirent; quia aliter forent ¹⁰ penitenciarii nimis stulti.

Nec valet dicere quod ideo non dant hodie regulas sicut olim, quia sacerdotes sunt hodie discreciores arbitrii, vel deficit eis auctoritas, vel scientia taxandi: et sic de aliis ficticiis. Quin pocius sunt dediti circa ¹⁵ mundum, et negligunt ac nesciunt talia statuere vel discere; quia tunc convinceretur eorum ignorancia, et destrueretur eorum penitencia pecuniaria, qua taxant subditos nunc ad votum. Et quantum ad artem aptandi medicinam de cavendo peccatum in futurum, patet quod ²⁰ ex toto periit. Et tamen, supposita tanta necessitate eius, ut modo singitur, prelati et penitenciarii proditores pessimi suspendendi. Si enim medicus corporalis ex negligencia artis occideret magnatem vel simplicem, ipse foret apud deum et homines dignus morte. Quanto ²⁵ magis, cum quis obligat se habere artem et medicinas salvandi animas, et tamen propter stulticiam suam dampnatur perpetuo! Illam igitur medicinam debet ecclesia examinare assidue, cum nova ingredientia nimis sophisticantur hodie; et sic periculum et temeritas ³⁰ sacerdotis cogent examinare istam materiam et extutere falsitatem putridam coram deo.

Item, videtur legem predictam et novitates adiectas esse suspectas de heresi propter multa. Primo, quia statuit quod omnis fidelis discretus debet confiteri solus ³⁵ omnia peccata sua semel in anno proprio sacerdoti. Stat enim hominem confiteri in penitencia multorum, et per interpretem, multis audientibus atque iuvantibus: interpres, and ergo non est racio nec ad necessitatem salutis requisicio

1. quod C. 3. collecte C. 5. tam gravem B. 6. matris *pro* manfestis *omnes* MSS. 8. proporcionaliter A. 9. longitudinem B.
10. quando *pro* quin C; *ib.* alter A. 15. quando C. 23. suspedendi A.
26. medicinam C. 27. cum C; *ib.* suam *deest* C. 28. dampnatur *omnes* MSS. 29. nova *deest* A. 31—33. examinare — predictam *deest* A. 31. extrudere C. 39. igitur C.

Joh. quod confiteatur sic solus, cum oportet deum inspirando
XVI,32 assistere. Ipse autem excludit solitudinem in Christo

1. ut patet Joh. Et confirmatur eo quod blasphemum est
dicere quod solus confitens facit opus. Si dicatur quod
5 intelligitur quod confitens sit solus vel sola quantum
ad audicionem vel noticiam, patet quod hoc non oportet;
quia, multis noscentibus culpam vel tunc vel ante, non
minus (ceteris paribus) stat remissio aput deum. Quis,
inquam, dubitat quin ignorante utraque persona stat
10 multos latenter audire confessionem que non minus eo
erit valida confessio? nec est talis confessio magis meri-
toria quam illa publica et gloria confessio latronis,
Luce 23. *Nos, inquit, inuste, nam digna factis recipimus: hic vero nichil mali gessit.* Et dicebat ad Jesum: Domine,
15 memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum. Et dixit illi
Jesus: Amen dico tibi, hodie tecum eris in paradyso.
Tam vero autenticam et solemptem confessionem auricularem nemo inveniet in scriptura. Similiter, illa solita-
ria et infundabilis confessio dat occasionem effreni
20 in voluptatibus abscondite volutandi. Nam, occasione
istius legis, frequenter sacerdos intrat cum femina in
cameras vel in alia loca abscondita et serata, et ibi
instinctu diaboli perpetrant multa facinora; ut novit
ecclesia. Ideo videtur melius statuisse quod confiteatur
25 in ecclesia in multorum presencia. Unde sophiste dicunt
52^b Oxonie, quod lex ista solum pro hermofroditis sit valida,
vel aliter ex ipsa sequitur conclusio incongrua, scilicet
quod femina discreta debet confiteri sic solus. Sic enim
dicunt quod hec locutio est falsa vel incongrua, *omnis*
30 *homo est solus.* Nec videtur quod habet auctoritatem
a scriptura, nisi forte dictum sapientis Ecclesiastis 4,
Ve soli.

Similiter hec adinvencio excitat penitenciarios ad depromendum peccata, et ut insontes postmodum pu-

It also implies that the confession is not valid, it overheard; which often happens without either penitent or priest knowing of it.

And no private confession can equal that of the good thief; which was public, not auricular; of which latter no mention is to be found in Scripture.

The privacy of confession, as is well known, also gives occasion to many sins of lust.

Solus cannot apply to a person of the feminine sex.

"Woe to him that is alone!" says Scripture.

2. enim B; *ib.* sollicitudinem A. 5. sic C. 8. minis B. 11. confessio *deest* AC; *ib.* plus *pro* nec est talis confessio magis B; nec est talis privata B; *ib.* after talis, privata C; *ib.* magis *deest* A. 17. et *deest* B. 22. abdita AC. 26. est BC. 28. sola A. 33. vel *fro* hec B. 34. depromerendum A; *ib.* per corr. in post C.

Confessors are thereby urged to tell the sins of their penitents.

25. Such an order exists at present; confessions (at least of women) are never heard unless in church and in a confessional; in some countries this rule extends to all penitents. 28. *Solus.* This is a logical quibble, of which many examples are to be found in *Logica*, now publishing. If both sexes must confess, women must: but in order to be, according to the law, *solus*, she would require to be masculine.

It is in many cases lawful and right to do so; yet a most cruel law condemns to degradation and perpetual prison in a monastery him that reveals the secrets of confession; such a punishment could not be given even by God, much less by Antichrist.

By the clause relating to confession proprio sacerdoti, he is no longer the rector or curate,

but only the priest chosen by Rome.

No priest is allowed to confess another's penitent without the confessor's permission, unless in case of ignorance.

So now, instead of every Christian being free, as in Christ's time, to confess to any priest,

niantur. Nam nendum diabolus est pronus ad inclinandum facere tam irrationabiliter iniunctum, sed foret in casu ad honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie depromere con-

11 decretalium, ubi supra: ubi dicitur quod sacerdos confessionem detegens, non solum a sacerdotali officio deponatur, sed ad agendum perpetuam penitenciam in monasterio detrudatur. Et constituere tales penas pro tali transgressione videtur deo non posse competere;

15 quanto magis non debet competere antichristo, licet ex- tollitur super omne quod dicitur deus!

Quantum ad secundum verbum, quod debet confiteri proprio sacerdoti, videtur suspectum, cum subiungit: "Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulet et obtineat 15 a proprio sacerdote, cum aliter ipse illum non posset solvere vel ligare." Hic patet restriccio ultra rationem que fuit in primitiva ecclesia. Unde, quamvis proprius sacerdos videatur esse curatus vel rector vel parochialis sacerdos, tamen hodie ad tantum variatus est terminus quod ille 20 censemur proprius sacerdos, quemcunque voluerit papa symoniace limitare. Sed Urbanus secundus, de penitencia dist. 2^a sic loquitur: "placuit, ut deinceps nulli sacerdotum liceat quemlibet comissum alteri sacerdoti ad penitenciam suspicere sine eius consensu, cui se prius 25 comisit, nisi per ignoranciam illius cuius penitens prius confessus est." Sic igitur secundum variaciones temporis fiunt varia confessionis comercia, et multiplicantur adinvenciones blasphemie. Cristus enim nescivit legem contrariam isti quod quicunque cristianus teneatur 30 libere confiteri cuicunque sacerdoti quem sciverit vel probabiliter crediderit sanius consulere. Sed post effeminati tantum dominantur eis quod vendunt blasfemeias, quia ducatum earum ad tarthara, sicut si quis venderet bovem aut asinum. Sed non est conveniens 35

2. ^{ro} na² C. 5. 5^o BC. 8. Mo^{3^o} A; monasterium C. 14. autem deest B. 19. after curatus, ut corr. ex vel A. 20. est deest A. 23. 6^{ta} B. 26. pro B. 28. commercio B. 30. istam AC. 34. corum A: ib. tarth'a A; ib. sicut deest B; ib. si deest AC.

Isa. III, 4

5. Decr. Greg. (as in note, p. 112). 17. We may note that, whatever may have been the custom in Wyclif's time, parish priests at present either give public leave to choose any confessor, or are understood to do so by their silence. This clause therefore, like many other canons of discipline, seems practically to have fallen into disuse. 23. Decr. Grat. De Penit. dist. VI, c. 3.

eorum testimonium, cum subiungit, quod volens ex iusta causa confiteri sacerdoti alteri licenciam postulet et obtineat, cum aliter alienus sacerdos non posset eum solvere vel ligare. Ecce misera captivacio laici, quem 5 oportet contra ius poli petere et habere licenciam a sacerdote captivante, quantumcunque stultus et invidus fuerit, ad faciendum voluntatem dei, quia salutarem iusticiam! Talis, inquam, in maiori parte preficitur et ydonei presubtrahuntur. Quomodo ergo oportet petere 10 licenciam a papa, ab episcopo vel curato, quando scitur quod lex Christi licenciat? Non est racio, si non ut ficta obediencia faciat anticristi discipulos superbire.

he is obliged to beg leave, even when he has good reasons for wishing to go to another priest, or the latter has no jurisdiction!

Thus he must beg leave of a man to do what is allowed by Christ's law.

Similiter blasphemum et contrarium legi papali est quod sine sacerdotis proprii licencia alius non poterit 15 datum subditum solvere vel ligare, quia sic episcopus non posset licenciare subditum ad confitendum alii discreto presbitero, nisi malivolus curatus consenciat. Sed, sicut non licet alieno tractare uxorem alterius, eciam licet ipse consenserit, ita videtur de ecclesia cui 20 ydiota symoniace despontatur. Unde dicunt satrape quod sicut papa potest licenciare spiritualem filiam vel uxorem tractari ab extero, invito curato sive marito, similiter deus habilitans et potestatem conferens cuicunque sacerdoti ad audiendum confessiones cuiuscunque alterius, eo ipso 25 illud licenciat. Si igitur papa vel quicunque alius hoc impedit, est manifeste Cristo contrarius. Grave itaque est in tam excellenti officio spiritui sancto resistere.

Sed tertium verbum sacerdotale, in quo ponitur vis tocius sacramenti, est illud: *absolvo te*, cuius fundacionem, 30 sicut penitencie descripcionem, est difficile reperire; et blasphemum est reponere deo negligenciam vel ignoranciam quo ad illud, quin, sicut docuit formam verborum baptismi, sic doceret ecclesiam formam verborum sacramenti penitencie, si vellet illud sacramentum esse tam

Besides, this is contrary to Church discipline; it the 'proper priest' alone can give jurisdiction to another, his Bishop has then no power to do so.

But if God confers the priesthood, He also confers on him the right to hear any confessions.

The words "I absolve thee" are not to be found in Scripture; so either this sacrament is not so necessary as Baptism, or God was negligent.

4. quem *deest* B. 6. *Im*^m*undus* = immundus C. 11. ut *deest* A;
21. vel uxorem *deest* B; *in marg.* erasmus C. 22 curato sive *deest* AB;
sive *deletum* C. 28. *fæle* AC. 29. *absolvente* A; *absolvo te* C.
31 *inponere* deo C.

22. *Similiter* etc. I think some words must be wanting here, as Wyclif makes his adversaries say just what they absolutely deny. If, however, the reader ventures to transpose the order of the first words in the sentence thus: *Unde* sicut *dicunt* satrape quod papa, etc. — the sense is restored without supposing anything to be wanting.

This form was not used by the Apostles: the words are besides wrong, as implying a power of forgiveness which all Christians exercise. And the Confessor, whilst uttering the words, does not know whether they are true. The penitent himself does not know if he is contrite; much more his confessor. He may have forgotten some crime through negligence;

he may be a castaway and no true member of the Church; or a heretic, &c.

It will not do to say that the absolution is conditioned, because then there would be no more certainty of pardon, and anybody could absolve in that way.

necessarium ecclesie, ut modo fingitur. Sed sicut prelati cecantur in materia de quidditate eukaristie, sic cecantur in materia de quidditate penitencie. Forma igitur istorum verborum potest ex hoc impugnari, quod apostoli non sunt usi secundum tales formam, *absolvere*. Et iterum 5 est inductum blasfeme, ex errore sensus catholici, dicere quod presbiter sic absolvit. Sicut enim sacerdos dimitit vel remittit peccata populi, ita debet quilibet cristianus, ut patet Matth. 16 et Matth. 18. Et iterum incertum est penitenciario, si sit verum vel mendacium quod ipse absolvit penitentem. Et cum non debet mentiri pro toto mundo, videtur quod non debet sine revelatione | verbum illud ut sacramentale asserere. Sic enim 53^a ex sibi dubio imponeret deo auctorisationem mendacii. Quod autem ex sibi dubio hoc verbum sit falsum, patet 15 tam ex parte penitentis, quam absolvientis. Ex parte penitentis, cum ignorat si ipsem sit contritus: et evidencius, qui absolvit. Absolvens autem, eciam sicut penitens, ignorat si in penam peccati finalis inpenitencie aliquod crimen diminiserit, vel ex aliqua alia negligencia 20 false penituerit. Ex parte vero absolvientis, ignoratur si sit prescitus vel membrum ecclesie; si sit hereticus ex symonia, quam defendit opere vel consensu; cum quot-quot similibus, ex quibus impediretur vera absolucionem apud deum.

Matth.
XVI, 19;
XVIII, 18

25
Nec valet dicere quod absolucionem sit solum condicionata et quatenus deus acceptaverit; tum quia tolleretur certitudo absolucionis ab ipso confessu, cum scit, quod non sequitur: "Absolvo te, si deus voluerit," ergo, "absolvo te vel do tibi aliquod remedium spirituale;" tum 30 eciam quia sic nendum sacerdos extraneus, sed eciam laicus posset a peccato quocunque absolvere. Unde tam sacerdos quam confitens notaret indispositionem presbiteri absolvientis, docente decreto de penitencia dist. 6^a ex

2, 3. eukaristie — quidditate *deest* C. 5. nisi AB. 9. 6th B; ib. 8 C; ib. Et *deest* B. 15. fit A. 17. si A. 18. eciam *deest* A. 10. penitenciam AB. 27. zfi[†]gts (et si in quatenus) A: si et q̄fus C. 29. igitur C. 34. dicensis docente A.

10. *Verum vel mendacium.* We should note that the formula of absolution contains the restriction: *in quantum possum et tu indiges.* 27, 28. *Certitudo.* What Wyclif supposes absolution should give is absolute certitude of forgiveness; which is a very rare thing indeed. St. Bernard used to apply this passage to himself: *nescit homo utrum amore an odio dignus sit.* 34. Decr. Grat. De Penit. D. VI, c. 1.

testimonio Augustini: "Qui vult confiteri peccata sua, ut inveniat graciā, querat sacerdotem scientem solvere et ligare, ne cum negligens circa se extiterit, negligatur M. a deo." Et sequitur "Quicunque confitetur omnino consiteatur sacerdoti meliori quem potest habere". "Non petat," inquit, "sacerdotes per aliquam culpam ab unitate ecclesie divisos; Judas enim qui penitens ivit ad phariseos, relinquens apostolos, nichil invenit auxilii, nisi augmentum desperationis. Dixerunt enim: *quid ad nos? tu rideris?*" Ita declarat sanctus esse de sacerdotibus absolventibus qui symonia vel aliquo crimine sunt fedati. Et forte a summo pontifice usque ad infimum fratrem, omnes sunt symoniaci voluntate, opere vel consensu; et artem medendi ignorant, et per consequens carent clavium potestate. Et in talibus casibus, secundum doctrinam Augustini (ibidem) debet homo confiteri fidiī laico, dimissis sacerdotibus sic suspectis; quia, si non secuntur Cristum in moribus et pretendunt se esse eius vicarios, habentes potestatem mediandi inter deum et populum, nulli sunt magis extranei a sacerdotali potestate vel vero nomine sacerdotis.

Et patet quod error accidit in ministerio ecclesiasticorum ex defectu ordinatorum, ex defectu ordinariorum et suorum officiariorum, et utrumque. Ex errore ordinariorum, qui ignorantes legem et ordinacionem Christi ab ipsa exorbitant. Unde 25^a, q. Ult. sub auctoritate Leonis pape sic scribitur. "Si qui episcopi talem consecraverint sacerdotem qualem esse non liceat, eciam si aliquo modo dampnum proprii honoris evaserint, ordinacionis ius amplius non habebunt. Nec umquam eidem sacramento intersint, quod, neglecto divino iudicio, inmerito prestituerunt generaliter: veluti dum civitati episcopalē dignitas perpetuo subtrahitur, que suos episcopos interimere consuevit." Ex ista lege papali, 35 preponderanciori multis evangelium observatis, patet primo quod nullus episcopus debet ordinare quemquam presbiterum, nisi habuerit revelationem vel evidentem noticiam, per strictam examinacionem tam in moribus per testificacionem quam in noticia fidei per prudentem

And the qualities of the confessor are also to be remarked: Augustine says that we must not confess to a priest separated from the Church, or tainted by simony.

And it may well be that from the Pope downwards, all priests are in such a case: we ought then to prefer to confess to one of the faithful laity.

Priests may be wrongly ordained through the fault of the Ordinaries and their officials, or the candidates, or of both. By Canon law any Bishop, ordaining to the priesthood one that is not worthy, should no longer ordain.

Therefore no Bishop can ordain, unless the worthiness of the priest is evident to him.

3. tamen C; *ib. se deest* A. 4. qui ergo B; qui igitur C; *ib. animo* A.
7. diversos A. 13. volente A; *ib. consensum* A. 28. sacerdotio B.
30. alterius C. 33. qui A. 37. habeat C. 38. tam *deest* A.

opinionem; quia ordinando inhabiles perdunt ius quemquam ulterius ordinandi.

Priests, if their Bishop have no power to ordain them, are mere laymen; it were therefore better if there were none such, as the sacraments which they dispense are worthless.

The same is true of any Church dignitary ordained by the Pope, if incapable;

and their ordination is an act of perversity.

As spiritual is worse than bodily homicide, any king or community perverting Bishops by endowments deserves to have none.

The like holds good of any archdeacons, deans or officials instituted by the prelates for the sake of lucre: the Church ought to be purified of all such, and also of all rulers who draw the clergy to their own service.

The law obliging all to confess once a year is unjust;

Et patet quod presbiteri ex defectu potestatis episcopi sunt, ut prius, laici; nisi forte deus ex gratia nobis ignota ante evidenciam operis virtuosi suppleat. Nec 5 oportet timere de defectu numeri sacerdotum, quia melius esset habere paucos vel nullos huiusmodi quam quantumcunque multitudinem onerosam, cum non in illis vel sacramentis eorum consistat salus populi. Patet secundo quod, si papa ordinet ineptum episcopum 10 vel quemcunque ecclesie officiarium, incidit in idem periculum; tum quia papa est episcopus, et sui episcopi sacerdotes; tum eciam quia forcior est racio in superiori prelato et subiecto diligencius ordinando. Et patet de papis quod sunt discoli, ordinando pseudo- 15 N cardinales et pseudo-episcopos. Ideo, nisi affuerit potestas episcopi animarum, olim fuisse vinea Christi sicut Sodoma et Gomora. Et patet tertio, quomodo civitates multe, sicut et prelati, merentur carere suis episcopis et subiectis. Maius est enim spiritualiter occidere corpus prelati vel animam, quam corporaliter corpus occidere, cum hoc potest esse meritorium utробique, sed propter occasionem corporalem communitas prelato privabitur; igitur evidencius propter aliquam maiorem. Et per consequens rex vel comunitas, dotando 20 suum episcopum qui exhibet dissipaverit legem Christi, meretur prelato vero destitui, cum deus iustissime illud facit. Et utinam communites usque ad non gradum ex ista lege privarentur prelatis cesareis! Et pari evidencia carerent episcopi et archidiaconi officialibus et decanis, 25 cum aliis ministris, principaliter pro questu temporalium introductis; et purgaretur ecclesie Christi a fecibus, posita in ordinacione Christi primeva. Et idem est iudicium de rege vel domino, episcopum vel curatum dei servicio proditorio distrahente, et in perditionem regni celorum suo servicio mancipante. Et patet irrationabilis legis "Omnis utriusque sexus" iuxta sentenciam rationis secunde.

Ex ipsis colligitur quod homo extolleretur super omne quod dicitur deus, qui pro lege statueret quod deficiens 40

1. oppositionem A. 15. qui A; quot B. 16. non *pro* nisi AB.
17. vera A. 18. quasi B; *ib.* quod AC. 21. corporis A; *ib.* carnaliter BC. 23. occasionem C; *ib.* carnalem C. 31. ministeris AB.
34. domino deest C. 35. distraherentem *omnes* MSS.; *ib.* regis B.

sic confiteri semel in anno, eo ipso taliter puniatur; tum quia ex lege dei non sit fundabile, nec deus requirit talem cohercionem, ut insons (sicut fuit beata virgo) vel alias per annum cavens a crimine taliter sit confessus. Ymmo, sicut obediencia facta deo sufficit ad salutem sine obediencia humanitus adinventa, sic videtur de confessione dum caret fructu fundabili necessario ad salutem, sine obediencia humanitus adinventa; Ymmo, per idem posset statui quod confitens solvat annuatim confessori suo pecuniam aut sibi equivalentis plus vel minus. Sic enim non minus laborat meridiana seduccio. In cuius evidenciam tolle lucrum, oblationem decimatarum, et questum qui ex confessione insurgeret, et confessio non curatur. Ideo videtur quod pater mendacii adinvenit hos modos nephandos ad sacerdotium inviscandum, cum undique melius exhortacione publica subiectis proficerent.

Unde glosari posset lex predicta: quod omnis homo debet confiteri deo continue (qui est sacerdos proprius cuicunque) et de quanto confessio ex maiori caritativa penitencia fuerit sive generalior sive particularior, de tanto est melior. Sed verisimile est quod declinantes in obligaciones ad tradiciones accidentales que fastum et questum sapiunt, fuerunt remoti ab ista sentencia. Ideo videtur melius fidelem exuere duplicitatem et oleum adulacionis, et pure secundum legem Christi levem et mundam fideles instruere. Nec iustificat legem predictam quod in ipsa multa bona et rationabilia sunt comixta; quia sic est in mandatis et tota vita diaboli, cum deus non aliter

ipsum permetteret sic regnare. Lex autem cristiana debet esse solum *lex domini iumaculata convertens animas*, et per consequens recusari debet a cunctis fidelibus propter comolucionem cuiuscunque atomi anticristi.

it is not founded on Holy Writ; and God does not require that an innocent person should confess. Obedience to God suffices; obedience to a human law is superfluous.

And as the effect of the law is to give profits to the clergy, it might as well be enacted that all the faithful should pay so much a year.

The law might be explained thus: all men must continually confess to God, who is then proper Priest; but this was probably not what was originally meant.

So it is better not to exercise duplicity, but follow and teach the pure law of Christ.

There is good mixed with evil in this Church canon, but only Christ's law is immaculate.

8. sive A; sine obia A. 6—8. sic — salutem twice B. 18. gloriari A.
20, 21. penitencia — sive deest A. 21. principalior C. 33. actomi AC.

4. It is a tradition to be found in Catholic mystical works, that the B. V. Mary, after the Church was founded, used to confess and take Holy Communion every day. This practice is also recommended to priests in several religious orders.
23. *Verisimile* is a very mild expression indeed.

CAPITULUM NONUM.

The necessity
of confession
to a priest
examined.

Habita invalididine legis predicte, licet faciat multa A.
bona, superest rimari alia testimonia, quod necesse est
confiteri presbitero. Recitat enim glossa ordinaria super
principio dist. 5^e in de penitenciis 5. opiniones in ista 5
materia.

Some say this
sacrament was
instituted after
Adam's sin;
but no priest
was there.

Prima dicit quod institutum fuit sacramentum peni-
tencie et iniuncta vocalis confessio sacerdoti statim in
paradiso post peccatum, dicente domino ad Adam,
gen. 3^o, *Ubi es?* quasi diceret: "penitens, considera
statum tuum!" Sed illud non moneret, nisi ad peni-
tenciam mentis domino revelandam, cum non fuit tunc
supra Adam sacerdos aliquis preter deum. Secunda via
dicit quod confessio cepit a Caym fraticida, quando,

Others that it
was after the
sin of Cain;
which opinion
implies that the
first confession
was a bad one.
Others make it
begin with
Achan's
confession; this
supposes public
penance.

Others quote
St. James, who
advises only a
general
confession.

The last
opinion derives
it rather from
tradition than
Scripture; in
which case it
would not be
binding.

gen. 4^o, dixit dominus ad eum: *Ubi est Abel frater tuus?* Gen.
Sed tunc sacramentum haberet malam et inanem ori-
ginem; nec innueret nisi confessionem fiendam deo.
3^a dicit quod incepit tempore legis date Josue 7^o, Jos.
quando Josue dixit Achan: *da, inquit, gloriam deo et VII, 19
confitere michi quid feceris.* Sed istud videtur concludere 20
quod penitencia publica sit populo facienda. 4^a via dicit
quod penitencia cepit tempore legis gracie, dicente
Jacobo 5^o. *Confitemini alterutrum peccata restra, et orate pro iuricem ut salvemini.* Sed illud non videtur sonare nisi
in confessionem generalem reciproce fiendam a populo. 25

Ideo, 5^a opinio glossantis est quod melius dicitur
confessionem institutam a quadam universalis ecclesie
traditione, pocius quam ex scripture auctoritate; et illa
est obligatoria ut mandatum. Sed videtur quod deus
non dedit hoc mandatum in lege completissima quod 30

1. Cap. *deest omnes* MSS. 2. *Initial II in red ink* C. 3. bona
deest AB. 11. movet B. 15. deus dixit B. 18. Yozue C. 19. Achor A;
Achar C. 25. in *pro a* A. 27. universalis *deest* AB. 29. obligata A;
ib. ut mandant A. 36. debet A.

5. Deer. Grat. De Penit. D. V, c. 1.

non obligat cristianum. Item, ecclesia eciam triumphans nichil precipit nisi auctoritate sponsi Christi; et per consequens, si tradicio ecclesie sit licita, potissime fieret auctoritate scripture, que est verbum domini; nec videtur ecclesiam universalem istud statuisse, nisi secundum parvam partem vocate ecclesie. Ymmo religiosius viavit ecclesia, antequam introducta fuit ista consuetudo de confessione privata fienda proprio sacerdoti; ymmo, cum ecclesia instituit multa mala que religionem Christi debilitant, videtur nimis levis evidencia, si ecclesia illud instituit, ergo bene. Instituit multas leges de dotacione ecclesie quas fuisset melius non fuisse; | et multas bonas leges instituit de prelatis et clericis, et ille in contemptum domini sunt plurimum suspense.

15 Ideo oportet rimari aliud fundamentum quam consuevit. B. tudinem ecclesie. Item, talis confessio adinventa dat occasionem presbitero symoniace perquirendi pecuniam; quod foret malum periculum. Et consequentia patet, eo quod sophisticari potest ex iniunctione penitentie quod pecunia sit sic lucrativa presbitero, ut patet ex experientia comuni; ymmo sic posset sacerdos, subiciendo sibi totum populum, subvertere legem Christi. Cum ergo caret fundamento dei, ut alia mandata, licet contempnere: videtur quod superfluit ista statuere. Et ad hoc vadunt raciones facte superius. Sequitur enim: non fundatur in scriptura; ergo non est verum vel credendum.

Videtur itaque quod oris confessio sit de lege nature, supposita fide. Nam naturale est omne animal inniti iuvamini, si indigeat; sed maxima indigencia animali rationali peccanti foret liberari a peccato: ergo debet inniti iuvamini, illo supposito. Et cum impossibile sit liberari a peccato, nisi mediante confessione, patet quod omnis criminosis debet de lege nature humiliter confiteri. Assumptum patet ex hoc quod corpora inanimata iuvantur a suis potestatibus, tam agendo quam resistendo; et evidencius de lege nature patet illud de homine. Nam homo persecutus fugit naturaliter ad locum refugii, sicut naturaliter exponit manum pro capite; quia, cum

Even the Church triumphant commands but by Christ's authority; such a tradition could not else be lawful. Only a small part of the whole Church has made this a law; and before it existed, things went better.

Many bad laws have been made by the Church, and many good ones allowed to fall into disuse.

This confession besides gives occasion to much simoniacal extortion.

It ought therefore to be considered as superfluous.

Yet vocal confession belongs to the law of nature, if we admit revelation. The greatest need of man is to be delivered from sin; now this implies vocal confession, as a necessary means thereto.

Every natural want supposes recourse to the means of satisfying it.

1. It'm C; ib. triumphans eciam C. 2. scripture sponsi B. 6. vicit A.
11. enim BC. 14. domini deest BC. 16. diligenter inquire in marg. A:
18 eo deest AC. 19. h'reich o dron g'rc r'rec i'ty'n rc' in marg. probably
abbreviated Bohemian words A. 21. a gap after sacerdos A. 23. ac
pro ut B. 24. idem pro hoc B. 26. igitur C; ib. verum deest BC.
27. probans quod quis naturaliter debet confiteri in marg. B. 31. cum
deest B. 35. partibus AC.

omnis substancia appetit naturaliter esse, necesse est ut appetat media necessaria ipsi esse. Et secunda propositio patet ex fide, cum peccatum, dividens hominem a deo, sit maxime deo odibile; in tantum quod per peccatum fit homo infinitum peior quam bestia vel aliquod malum pene vel aliud pure malum pro malitia pene. Nam iusticia dei infinitum plus per se punit pro crimen, quam punit bestiam vel aliud pure pro malitia pene. Ideo omnis peine est deus auctor, sed non culpe. Et patet quod infinitum plus et optacius ¹⁰ foret hominem liberari a crimen, quam a pena; quia in priori stat perpetua salvacio tam corporis quam anime. Sed secundum non respicit tale nisi per accidens. Et patet quod discrasia et cecitas ex peccato faciunt quod tantum parvipendimus virtutum mundicias et purgacionem a crimen. Et quantum ad terciam propositionem, patet quod nemo mundatur a crimen nisi per deum; nec deus iuvat nolentem aut invitum ad graciam.

God alone frees Ideo necesse est quod iustificando de peccato displiceat, from sin; and et auxilium in mente a deo postulet. Et hoc est penitere: ²⁰ He does not, unless the sinner makes an effort: which Augustini, et Gregorii.

is penance, according to the Fathers. Et hec racio quare peccatores secundum scripturam nedum in mente penitent, sed in vocem prorumpunt, It follows that vocal confession petentes auxilium a deo. Et ex eadem lege patet, licet ²⁵ C. of one to another is necessary, since confiteri fratri suo. Nam naturale [est] secundum fidem as any man ought to help his brother in bodily danger, he ought to do so in spiritual peril too. non ex tanta inclinacione nature, quod peccator debet communionis sanctorum, quod unumquodque membrum ecclesie iuvet aliud quo ad salutem anime consequendam. Ideo, sicut est naturale hominem inniti adiutorio alterius ³⁰ in periculo corporali, sic evidencius est hominem inniti suffragio alterius in periculo anime criminalis. Et sicut natura movet ad antecedens, sic ad consequens; ut videlicet apriori modo infirmus petat fratri sui suffragium, detegendo sibi morbum spiritualem cum eius ³⁵

3. $\widehat{\text{ho}}$ (= hominem) A. 7, 8. vel aliud — pene *deest* AB. 10. quod *deest* B; *ib.* optacius A; optacius B. 15. $\widehat{\text{puipèdig}}$ A. 19. nota quid est penitere *in marg.* B; *ib.* iustificandus B. 24. voce C. 27. $\widehat{\text{Nà male}}$ f, m A; *ib.* est *deest* omnes MSS. 28. unumquidque A; unum quod que C. 31. hominem *deest* C. 32. alterius *deest* C. 34. valet *pro* vedelicet A; *ib.* peccat A.

circumstanciis, ut medicinam et suffragium meriti apcius consequatur.

Unde tempore ante legem siebat communiter confessio soli deo, 2º tempore legis siebat communiter confessio deo et homini; deo omnino, quia impossibile est quod sine illo facta confessio homini valeat. Unde coram populo, coram prelato et coram sacerdotibus siebat publice talis confessio. Coram populo et coram principe

Jos. populi: patet Josue 7º, de Achor, facinus suum pu-

VII, 19 blice Josue et populo confitenti. Et nota quod Josue non fuit sacerdos vel de tribu Levi, ut deduxi alias ex

scriptura; ut patet in decretis. Et patet quod lex dei mandat confiteri publice principi et eius populo coram

Lev. XIII, sacerdotibus: patet Leviticus, 13 et 14º, de leprosis. Et

XIV passim meminit Cristis Luc. 17. *Ite, inquit, et ostendite vos sacerdotibus.*

Luc. XVII, 14. Et illa confessio ac eius iudicium debuerunt fieri publice, sine tali auriculacione; ymmo semel in

anno debuit populus in summo sacerdote publice confiteri et crimina imprecata capiti hirci emissarii in

Lev. XVI desertum ipsum emittere, ut patet Levit. 16

Tit. II, 11 In novo vero testamento, quo *apparuit gracia saluatoris*, fuit diu confessio facta deo et domino Jesu Christo

tanquam capiti, sine hoc quod siebat privatim homini: ut patet de conversione Petri et Pauli, et fidelium in

25 primitiva ecclesia conversorum; ut patet Matth. 26:

Acta 2º, 3º, 4º, 5º et 9º; ubi patet quod dicti apostoli et multa milia post peccata gravissima sine tali con-

fessione privata sunt conversa ad dominum. Unde de-

Act. II, 38 cretum de penitencia, dist. prima: *Magna pietas; Petrus in actibus apostolorum legitur dixisse penitenciam agite et baptisetur unusquisque vestrum;*" quod de interiori peni-

54º tencia, non I exteriori, dictum accipitur. Item Ambrosius super isto Luce 23º, ubi dicitur quod Petrus post nega-

cionem Christi *flerit amare*, "lacrime," inquit, "lavant

35 delictum quod voce pudor est confiteri: lacrimas petri

3. communiter *deest* B. 4. soli — confessio *deest* C. 8. illa pro illo BC. 7. et *deest* A. 9, 10. Yozue C. 11. dixi A; ib. in pro ex C. 12. after decretis, a blank space A; ib. Et pro ut A. 15. ondit (sic) C. 18. in *deest* B; ib. sacerdoti B. 22. Christo *deest* BC. 23. privatum C. 26. 5º *deest* BC. 33. 22º BC.

18. *In summo.* I have preferred this reading, taking it to mean: *in the person of.* 31. Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. I, c. 5.

For this reason, vocal confession was always made to God, but under the Old Law, both to God and man;

as in the case of Achan confessing to Joshua, who was neither priest nor levite; and in cases of leprosy;

and also once a year, when the High Priest chased the scapegoat into the wilderness.

Under the New Law, confessions were first made to God and Jesus Christ, but there was no private confession to men; as appears from Scripture,

and especially from the penitential tears of Peter.

lego, satisfaccionem non lego''. Et idem ascribitur Crisostomo de penitencia, dist. 1. *Larat.*

Afterwards, when the Holy Spirit no longer visibly assisted the Church, it became necessary to consult holy priests in confession; but this was long before the time of the Lateran Council, and was done freely.

There are therefore three sorts of penance: one made to God alone,

with true fruits of repentance

and emendation of life, which is necessary for salvation;

another made to a man, in order to receive a spiritual remedy, which proceeds from the law of nature,

Ex post, inquam, quando defecerunt miracula et spiritus sancti accepio in signo sensibili, necessitata fuit ecclesia ex religione legis nature sacerdotes sanctos consulere confitendo; ut patet tempore Augustini, et diu post. Unde lex predicta, quam dicitur Innocencius tercarius D. constituisse in Lateranensi consilio, fuit per multos centenos annorum post Augustinum. Et ita confessio que debuit esse summe voluntaria, perversa est ex arte principis huius mundi in exaccionem servilem; ut vel sic pateat luciferina potentia in papa, nedum seducendo vel captivando corpora, sed animas subditorum.

Et ita est triplex penitencia sive confessio peccatoris: prima est devote facta deo, quam Cristus precipit, Matth. 3^o. Et Baptista cum eodem themate exorsus est: *penitenciam, inquit, agite; appropinquat enim regnum celorum.* Et Matth. 3^o precipit phariseis *facere dignos fructus penitentie.* Cum enim penitencia sit displicencia de priori vita mala cum sancto proposito convertendi, patet quod sicut fructus arboris, herbe, vel terre est illud carius fruibile quod procedit de fructificante, sic fructus penitentie est virtus fruibilis et operacio virtuosa. Ideo dicunt sancti quod non sufficit displicere de malo preterito; sed cum emendacione vite oportet deo satisfacere pro commisso, et niti per medelas scripture cavere posterius de lapsu. Isti ergo sunt digni fructus penitentie. Et istud oportet omnem peccatorem sub pena dampnacionis servare.

Sed secunda penitencia et confessio fit recte homini ad recipiendum ex parte dei spiritualem medicinam, criminis sanativam. Et de tali penitencia et confessione locuntur sancti doctores et leges ecclesie. Et illam dixi esse de lege nature, licet inclinacio in penam peccati plurimum sit sopita. Omnis enim lex dei est lex nature prime et multe leges dei sunt leges nature secunde. Omnis vero lex iniqua vel racioni contraria est lex diaboli et lex vicii, non nature; quia autem alii restrin-

1, 2. Crisostomus A; *ib.* lavant B. 4. sensibili deest C. 7. Innocencium 3^o omnes MSS. 13. vel *pro* sed A. 22. fruibile A. 34. lex nature *in marg.* B. 37. ergo A. 38. Et *pro* quia autem A; Et quod alii C.

Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. I, cap. 2. But no chapter begins with *larat.*

gunt legem nature per descripciones infundabiles, est labor inutilis. Et ista confessio instituta est per deum ante legem datam Moysi, et roborata est per Cristum Joh. XX, 22 cum Joh. 20 dicat apostolis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum, 5 et quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.* Superflue autem dedisset apostolis istam potentiam, nisi subditi eorum tenerentur rite

E. confitendo peccata sua illis detegere. Ideo beatus Jacobus 5^o c. dicit communiter: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra.* Et notat Hugo, libro 2^o de sacramentis, parte 14^a, causam quare Cristus non dedit aliis preceptum confitendi peccata apostolis, sicut dedit eis potentiam remittendi. "Audi," inquit, "quare voluit Cristus ut a semetipso surgat confessio, ne quasi extorta vel coacta 15 videretur, cum egrorum sit diligenter salutem querere, et deum de sufficientibus medicis providere." Et hinc, ne contra legem nature cogatur populus adire imperitum medicum vel inertem, dicit Jacobus tam sacerdotibus quam secularibus in confuso quod *confiteantur alterutrum 20 peccata sua*, non quilibet cuilibet, sed quilibet alteri ydoneo.

In 3^o autem signo magi pharaonis defecerant, exigentes ut cuicunque voluerint limitare, ut audiat confessiones alterius secundum formam et tempus quod ipsi limitare voluerint, oporteat de necessitate salutis confiteri 25 taliter; ut patet in lege predicta. Et talem legem non reor Cristum posse statuisse. Et illam tertiam confessionem quam nescitur describere vocant quidam coactam; que, quamvis sit nude limitata humanitus, tamen tantam vim ponunt in ipsa, quod solum illa sit 30 sacramentum et nemo possit salvari, nisi ipsam acceperit secundum formam quam papa limitat. Et in ipsa sunt plena indulgencia et innominata carismata: sic tamen quod confessus faciat quidquid sacerdos mandaverit, licet fuerit summus hereticus et maximus ydiota. Sed isti 35 parum notant quomodo Cristus, antequam istam poter-

confirmed by Christ's institution, giving His apostles power to forgive sins; which power would be useless, unless they knew those sins by confession.

Hugo of St.Victor points out why Christ does not speak of confession; because He wished it to come spontaneously, not by force.

But the third sort is the sort referred to by the Lateran Decree;

and though merely human, it is exalted into a necessary instrument of salvation, and a source of endless indulgence and grace; provided only the priest be obeyed, whoever he may be.

4. Nota in marg. A. 11. causam deest B. 10. hugo in marg. B.
17. populus deest C. 18. inhertem C. 20. sua deest C. 22. audient C.
26. statnere BC.

8. It here appears that Wyclif, though most opposed to the canon "Omnis utriusque sexus", would go much farther than the very general advice to confess, given in the Book of Common Prayer. He says *tenerentur*, and admits an obligation in conscience to confess, not once a year, but as often as necessary. His difficulty is to find a priest not *prescitus*, and not actually in mortal sin. Cf. p. 140, l. 20.

Yet Christ before he gave this power to the Apostles, said: Receive the Holy Ghost without that gift, no priest has power.

In such a confession, it may happen that the confessor shall commit mortal sin, and yet the penitent be absolved by God; or that the penitent may not be absolved, for want of contrition;

or that both confessor and penitent may please God by the confession.

As a rule, unless the parish priest is reasonably suspected of grievous sin, a parishioner should confess as often as he needs it.

This is an answer to all allegations of Canon law; and Innocent's decree is to be set aside, partly on account of his secular ambition, which moved God to give two poor orders to His Church. But these turned aside quickly; and now they think nothing of

statem dedit apostolis, dixit eis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum, quasi doceret quod solum viris apostolicis habentibus spiritum sanctum, conferat talem vicariam potestatem.* Quicunque ergo antistes, romanus vel alias, non habuerit spiritum sanctum, sequendo Cristum iuste vivendo, sciat se esse alienum a vicaria potestate huiusmodi, sicut est alienus a numero eorum quibus hoc verbum domini fuit dictum.

Et patet quod peccator quandoque confitetur vocaliter presbitero in hoc peccanti mortaliter, licet ipse nichil indulgencie vel carismatis conferat confitenti, tamen deus cui confitetur contritus, dat graciā et absolucionem a crimine. Et istud contingit communiter ratione criminis penitenciarii. 2º contingit peccatorem sicut confiteri deo et cuicunque sacerdoti bono aut malo, et 15 55º non absolvī propter defectum contritionis, sine qua non absolvitur a deo, et qua posita, a deo absolvitur eo ipso. Et 3º contingit peccatorem absolvī a penitenciario F. utroque promerente ex legitimo officio; et hoc raro hodie contingit, sicut contigit in ecclesia primitiva: cuius magna causa est sacerdotem cupiditas.

Et patet ex ipsis quod parochianus debet confiteri sacerdoti proprio quocienscunque eguerit, dum modo non sit sibi probabiliter suspectus de symonia, de fornicacione vel alio crimine, propter quod debet scire 25 sacerdotis communicacionem magis sibi officere, quam prodesse. Et sic possunt intelligi omnes leges in oppositum allegande. Illa autem monstruosa lex "omnis utriusque sexus," que dicitur per Innocencium 3º edita, quia non fundatur ex fide scripture, eadem facilitate contempnitur qua proditur. Et revera suspecta est lex ratione persone, que quia tamquam anticristus aspiravit ad summum gradum dominii secularis necessitavit ut deus mitteret ad consolacionem ecclesie duos ordines paupertatis. Sed illi, quia non pure fundabantur 35 in lege domini, sed nimis in tradicionibus humanis: ideo, cito relichto itinere Cristi, lapsi sunt late in devium anticristi. Jam enim qui negaverit fidem

4. igitur C. 6. vicario potestatis *omnes* MSS. 9. patet *deest* B.
10. et hict A. 13. contigit A. 14. contigit A. 18. contigit A.
20. contigit A; *ib.* before in contigit B. 31. probatur *omnes* MSS.
32. aspicerat B.

22. If the Lollards followed this rule of Wyclif, they must have counted amongst the most devout of the parish, in the eyes of many a priest.

scripture tamquam summe hereticam censemur catholicus et subtilis. Sed qui negaverit tradiciones pape, licet fidei scripture contrarias, dampnatur et punitur tamquam hereticus; ut ubi Paulus fidem accepit a domino quam 5 tradebat ecclesie, vocat regulariter sacramentum altaris, quo ad naturam suam, panem, ut patet Cor. 10 et 11^o: statuit sibi hec secta ex auctoritate huius capituli, quod quicunque vocaverit sacramentum illud in natura panem, et in figura corpus domini, tamquam hereticus iudicetur. 10 Sed debet vocari ex baptisacione eorum infundibili accidens de genere quantitatis. Et hii glosant fidem scripture, sanctos doctores, et leges ecclesie per suum contrarium. Et sicut ficti secuntur Cristum in paupertate voluntaria; sic fingunt sibi tunicam in hostia, per 15 quam vident eum oculo corporali. Et illa tunica, ut inquiunt, est infinitum invalidior et abiectior quam vestis qua superinduimus. Et ubi Urbanus quintus, tante auctoritatis ut Innocentius III^{us}, dampnavit ut heresim asserentem quod homo videt corpus Christi in 20 hostia oculo corporali, ut noverunt multi modo superstites: hii, contra decretum pape et libros proprios, clamant quod vident sic corpus Christi in hostia; et, cum ipsa sit infinitum subtilior quam tela aranee (quia nullam habet opacitatem materie quam vident eius quantitas 25 vel qualitas), esse ibidem. Et hii infringunt auctoritatem pape, et faciunt quod quidquid dixerit preter fidem scripture sit propter suum dicere plus suspectum.

G. Sed obicitur per hoc quod ad omne opus meritorium viatoris potest ipse cogi, supposita desidia. Sed iuxta 30 dicta meritorium est laico confiteri omnia peccata sua proprio sacerdoti; ergo ad hoc potest cogi. Sed per quem, nisi per papam, qui statuat ad hoc legem? Sic enim coegerit Christus Paulum Act. 9, et precepit ministris tempore legis gracie ut intrarent ad cenam novissimam, 35 ut patet, Luce 14. Et idem confirmatur ex dictis beati Augustini epistola Et concordant multe leges, ut patet 23 q. 6, *Scismatici*; et alibi. Hic oportet videre super quibus cadit coaccio. Et constat iuxta philosophos,

denying God's word, and everything of notwithstanding Papal traditions: As in the case of the Eucharist. Here they condemn as a heretic any one calling it Christ's body in figure; yet they name it an accident, wresting Scripture, the Fathers and ecclesiastical law. They imagine a garment covering Christ in the Host, through which they see Him with the bodily eye (a doctrine condemned by Urban V); and this garment, thinner than a cobweb, is, they say, the indication of Christ's local presence there.

Objections (1).
It is lawful to compel any one to do a good deed, if he be slothful: confession is allowed to be meritorious, and none but the Pope has power thus to compel. This doctrine is founded on Scripture, words of St. Augustine, and many canons.

7. statuunt AB. 17. superinduitur B: super *deest* C. 24. mediate A;
ib. quam *deest* BC; ib. cujus BC. 25. est C. 30. sua *deest* BC.
31. igitur C. 34. ad *deest* B. 36. a blank space after epistola
omnes MSS.

25. I think that *corpus Christi* ought to be understood after *qualitas*. 37. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XXIII, qu. 6, c. 1.

Answer.
Coercion only applies to exterior acts, whereas confession is more an act of the will than faith.
Faith must be free: *a fortiori* confession.

Men should be induced, not forced, to confess.

As regards exterior acts, force may be employed, but this is the duty of temporal lords, not of the Pope.

This law reduces many to despair, and many of the elect are hindered in their way.

The Man of Sin, as he contradicts the Holy Ghost about the Sacrament,

contradicts him also as to the liberty which the faithful should enjoy.

quod solum super operibus corporalibus vel extrinsecis ab actibus voluntatis. Confiteri autem est actus voluntis magis quam credere. Sed de ipso credere dicit Augustinus, super Joh. omilie 26, quod nemo potest credere, nisi volens: ergo multo magis nec meritorie⁵ confiteri. Et quamvis apostolus dicit, Romanorum: *Corde Rom. X., 10 creditur ad iusticiam. ore autem fit confessio ad salutem,* tamen [ir]religiosum foret cogere hominem vocaliter confiteri. Confessio igitur debet induci per sanctam predicacionem, sicut fecerunt apostoli, et non per stultam¹⁰ coaccionem, sicut fecerunt posteri fidei scripture ignari.

Habito itaque super quibus operibus cadit coaccio, quia super operibus extra voluntatem, que sunt inductiva ad vitam meritoriam: videndum est ulterius, qui debent sic cogere. Et constat quod domini temporales, ut patet¹⁵ ex decreto Ysidori 23 q. 5. *Principes.* Quid ergo pape et legi mandanti quod quilibet confiteatur sub gravi pena proprio sacerdoti? Nam multa milia cristianorum credunt quod sine hoc non possunt salvari; et sic, propter sacerdotis maliciam et legis iniquitatem, desperant, non deo penitencia salutifera confitentes; et multi predestinati ex ista lege pestifera sunt tardati. Que igitur racio ad captivandum populum prius liberum ut sic contagiose comunicet cum membro diaboli? Sed sicut homo peccati contrariabatur spiritui sancto in suo²⁰ apostolo, docente quod *panis quem frangimus* | sit sacramentum eukaristie; ipse autem, sub pena dampnacionis heretice, mandat scole sue confiteri oppositum (scilicet quod illud sacramentum non sit panis sed accidens, ut fingunt, de genere quantitatis); sic spiritus sanctus mandat²⁵ in comuni apostolorum consilio, Act. 15, quod religiosi sui observent libertatem et facilitatem in qua ipse eos instituit. Sed antichristus captivat eos per legem contrariam, ut verificet dictum apostoli, Thessal. 2^o, de antichristo prophetatum, quod extollitur super omne quod dicitur³⁰ deus. Condant igitur leges veras implicitas in sacra scriptura, vel melius leges vitales in ipsa explicitas exequantur.

1. operibus twice A. 2. aut A. 8. religiosum *omnes* MSS. 9. Confessor A. 12, 13. cadit — operibus *deest* C. 17. lege B. 23. captiuâ A. 34. 2 Thess. B. 36. Condat C.

8—10. Note these two lines: they contain the chief ground for Wyclif's objection to the canon *omnis utriusque.* 16. Decr. Grat. 2^o Pars, C^a XXIII, qu. 5, c. 20.

H. Sed secundo obicitur per hoc quod Augustinus, Hugo, *Objections*⁽²⁾.
Linconiensis et alii sancti videntur dicere quod oris
confessio sit de necessitate salutis, ut 2º de visitacione
infirmorum: "Non," inquit, "deducat te illa sompniancum
et supersticio, que musitando confirmat quia salvat, inconsulto sacerdote, ad deum peccatorum confessio".

According to
many Doctors,
oral confession
is necessary for
salvation.

Et sequitur: "coram sacerdote confiteri habes ipsius quod iudicium subire debes". Item Hugo de sacramentis, libro 2º parte 14^a. "Hii," inquit, "qui confiteri nolunt peccata
sua, salvari non possunt". Augustinus dicit, "non potest
quis iustificari a peccata, nisi confessus fuerit ante".
Item Beda in epistola Jacobi: "Sine confessione," inquit,
"peccata dimitti nequeunt." Et multa sunt dicta similia,
que inculcat. Item, Linconiensis in tractatu suo de con-
fessione probat multipliciter quod confessio est necessaria
ad salutem. Quamvis enim in lege veteri, quando deus
non fuit homo, non fuit taliter confitendum, tamen in
lege nova, quando verbum est simul deus et homo,
confitendum est simul deo et homini. Et videtur, cum
20 homo peccando offendit in deum et proximum, quod
confiteri debet utrique et satisfacere, iuxta doctrinam

Hugo of
St. Victor says
that without
confession of
sins none can
be saved;
so does
Augustine, and
Bede.

Grosseteste
holds the same
view.
Under the Old
Law, it was
necessary to
confess to God
alone; now that
God is man,
we must
confess to God
and to man.

Matth.
V. 23
Cristi Matth. 5. *Si offers munus tuum ante altare, et
cetera.* Et idem dictum dicunt sancti concorditer plus
quam de eukaristia. Sacramentum itaque tam utile
25 ecclesie est servandum. Hic teneo tamquam fidem quod
cristianus adulterus potest in casu salvari sine confessione
vocali facta proprio sacerdoti. Nam eque misericors et
viam facilitans veniendi ad beatitudinem est deus in
lege nova sicut fuit in lege veteri. Sed in lege veteri
30 fidelis salvari potuit sine tali: ergo et in lege nova.
Nam toto tempore legis nature non fuit hoc observatum;
sed sine sacerdote salvando facta est sepe generalis
confessio. Eciam tempore legis date non legitur iniuncta
vel facta talis confessio. Sed multi in bellis et in sacer-
35 dotum absencia creduntur probabiliter sancte obiisse.

Answer. It is
an article of
faith that a
man can be
saved without
confession.
God is not less
merciful now
than under the
Old Law; but
both before the
Law and under
it men were
saved without
confession
made to a
priest.

1. Obieccio *in marg.* B. 13. *in causa pro dicta A.* 18. *simul
deest B.* 20. *homo deest A; ib. in deest B.* 21. *ac BC.* 23. *dictum
deest BC.* 25. *ecclesie deest C.* 32. *fuit sacerdoti AC; ib. est
deest AC.*

25. This is an article of faith not only for Wyclif but for Catholics too. But they understand it in this way. Any man that has perfect contrition, proceeding from the love of God, is restored to grace without confession; yet he is obliged to confess, *if possible*. On the other hand, attrition, or sorrow for sin proceeding merely from the fear of Hell, absolutely requires confession.

If the Apostles had confessed, the Holy Ghost would surely have let us know of it. Scripture in many places asserts that God pardons the contrite sinner.

And Christ healed sinners without their confessing.

Again, if a man should spend his whole life virtuously without confession, he will be saved on that account.

God can give His grace without using the priest's ministry; if so,

He can also save without it, as in the case of Cornelius.

We do not hear that Peter received absolution.

Lazarus coming forth from the grave bound, is a figure of such spiritual resurrection, performed by God directly.

And when priests are bad, God does not deprive Himself of his power because of that. Ambrose says that unless the priest has the Holy Ghost, and prays

Et idem creditur de apostolis et aliis sanctis de tempore legis Cristi, qui se confessi fuissent, spiritus sanctus non fuisset immemor explanasse. Et confirmatur ex fide scripture. Nam psalm. 31 dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor adversum me iniustiam meam domino; et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.* Et Ezech. 18 dicitur: *Si autem egerit impius penitenciam ab omnibus peccatis suis que operatus est, et custodiret omnia precepta mea, et fecerit iudicium et iusticiam, vita viret et non morietur.* *Omnium iniquitatum eius quas operatus est non recordabor.* Et idem patet de Christo 10 sanante peccatores, licet non sibi vel apostolis sint taliter confessi. Et concordant glosse sanctorum et leges ecclesie: ut patet de penitencia dist. 1^a, *magna pietas.*

Item, stat hominem non confiteri et virtuose agere usque ad mortem, servando iusticiam sine hoc quod 15 confiteatur taliter sacerdoti, sed eo ipso salvabitur: ergo, stat hominem salvari sine confessione huiusmodi. Assumptum patet, quia omnia ista fuerunt per se et immediate per gratiam; sed nimis blasphemum foret dicere quod deus non potest vel nunquam dat gratiam, 20 nisi mediante tali ministerio sacerdotis; ergo eque blasphemum est dicere quod nullus peccator potest salvari sine tali confessione facta sacerdoti. Sic enim deus iustificavit Cornelium Act. 10, antequam fuit visitatus per Petrum. Nec loquitur de absoluzione Petri, sed de 25 eius predicacione. In cuius figuram Luc. 17 dicitur quod 10 leprosi, dum ibant se ostendere sacerdotibus, sunt mundati.

Et, Joh. XI, legitur Lazarum vivificantum et Joh. de sepulcro egressum antequam fuit solitus institis per XI, 44 apostolos: que omnia figurant deum sepe solvere ho-30 minem a peccato, vel sine tali presbitero vel antequam tradiciones inventas dixerit super eum: quia horrenda blasfemia foret dicere quod postquam sacerdotes ydo- latrarunt virtute tradicionis eorum deus preclusit sibi potenciam dimittendi per se peccata sine talibus mediis. 35 Sed quando fuerunt sacerdotes sancti, tale adiutorium non quesivit. Nam secundum Ambrosium in libro 1^o de penitencia, nisi sacerdos habuerit spiritum sanctum

1. suis de tpe A; de before tempore deest BC. 2. si sic B; ib. fuisset C. 3. esset A. 4. 2^o ideo pro nam B. 9. eius deest B. 10. que A. 14. non deest B; ib. contéri C. 17. after confessione, tamen in marg. B. 18. finit C; ib. et deest A. 23. deus deest B. 24. iustificat A. 28. lacarum A. 29. institis A; inscritis C.

13. See p. 131.

et orando confessio meruerit, non absolvit. Unde Cristus preclusit decem leprosis aditum et presenciam sacerdotibus propter eorum maliciam, Lu. 17. Et quod precepit apostolis solvere Lazarum, quid ad illos, tantum a 5 vita apostolica alienos? Non enim est | obediencia deo et ecclesie ut adeat sacerdotem leporum, postquam fuerit plene absolutus.

Item, in baptismo et eukaristia, que sunt sacramenta expressissima in evangelio, contingit deum dare rem 10 sacramenti sine sacramento sensibili: ergo, multo magis in sacramento penitentie minus fundabili. Assumptum patet de baptismo sanguinis et flaminis, que sepe dantur sine baptismo fluminis. Et rem sacramenti eukaristicie sepe accipit quis non sacramentaliter, sine sacramento 15 sensibili: ergo evidencius sepe accipit absolucionem criminis a deo sine absoluzione sensibili sacerdotis. Unde Ambrosius libro secundo de penitencia. "Si," in K. quit, "semel Cristus pro omnibus immolatus est, itaque quocienscunque peccata donantur, corporis eius sacramentum sumitur." Unde, ut ostendi alias, non existente 20 penes nos aliquo sensibili sacramento, contingeret fideles meritorius manducare corpus Christi gloriosum in celo,

Matth. quam iam manducatur sacramentaliter in hostia XII. 39 secreta. Sicut enim *generacio adultera signa querit* in vestibus et ritibus adinventis, per que destruitur cultus et attencio ad signata; sic tota religio modernorum deprimitur in sacramenta sensibilia, cultoribus signorum 25

Coloss. dimittentibus *que sursum sunt querere*, et prorumpentibus III, 1 in istam blasphemiam, quod deus non potest dare rem

30 sacramenti, nisi ipsi adiuverint, ministrando signa que ipsimet sompniarunt. Et ebullivit hec heresis in magis blasphemum mendacium, quod deus pepigit signis eorum assistere regulariter, dando graciā et non dando salutem vel graciā sine illis. Quo contra: sicut legio thebaica

35 gloriose martirisata beatificatur in celo sine confessione huiusmodi, sic usque hodie Greci sancte et devote observant se a peccato sine confessione auriculari, confitendo deo secundum doctrinam Crisostomi super epistolam ad Hebreos; et ponitur in de penitencia dist. 1^a.

40 "Non tibi dico," inquit, "ut te prodas in publicum

meritoriously,
his absolution
is not valid.
Christ ordered
the Apostles to
loose Lazarus;
but these men
are not

Apostles.
Nothing can
oblige a man
who is cleansed
from sin to go
to a leprous
priest.

If the baptism
of blood and of
the Spirit
gives
regeneration;
it the
Eucharistic
grace is often
given without
the sensible
sign: *a fortiori*
the same may
take place for
Penance.

And it we had
no visible sign
of Christ's Body,
it were better
to feed on
Christ, glorious
in Heaven.

All the attention
of men is now
turned towards
external signs,
and the things
signified are
forgotten; in so
far that they
blasphemously
imagine that
God has made a
covenant not to
give any grace
without them.

Many martyrs
have been saved
without
confession, and
the Greek
Church does
not impose it
as an obligation
to all:
Chrysostom
quoted.

2. preclusis A; ib. additum C; ib. pñcia3 A. 4. lacarum A.

6. audeat A. 9. expñr'a (sic) A; expressiva C. 18. que *deest after*
ita C. 22. gloriosum *deest* A. 27. cultorum A. 31. sompniant A:
ib. ebullit A; ebullit B; ebullit C. 33. et non dando *twice* A. 38. 2^m A.

neque apud alios accuses, sed obedire te volo prophete dicenti, *Revela domino riam tuam: ante dominum igitur tua confitere peccata, ante deum iudicem cum oracione delicta tua pronuncia, non lingua, sed conscientie tue*

memoria.^{ps} Quicquid autem dixerit Graciosus vel alii, hoc cedit sub precepto tamquam necessarum ad salutem, et aliud est sepe *de bene esse*. Radix itaque erroris stat in parificatione tradicionis humane, cum lucrum sapiat, mandatis domini; sicut religiosi nostri dicunt quod omne mandatum sui prelati privati prepositi debet servari ut mandata domini, eciam plus quam Cristi consilia. Et in ista ficta obedientia est nimis magnus lapsus religionis cristiane; et per hoc patet responsio ad doctores.

So to reply to the objections in detail, we must note that there are two extremes of error of which we must beware: one, of believing that a man ought in no case to confess; the other that confession must follow certain strict lines.

Augustine's words refer to the former error; and it may be the duty of an ignorant layman to confess to a good priest.

If the layman knows more and the priest less of God's law, the latter should confess to the former; and in the case of equal knowledge on both sides, as in Augustine's time, confession should be made to the priest. The difficulty of finding

Pro quo notandum quod duplex fuit error extremus circa confessionem peccatorum faciendam homini. Primus dixit quod nemo debet in casu aliquo homini confiteri, et contra illud invexerunt doctores predicti. Secundus error maior surrespicit cum sectis signa colendum, dicens quod nisi quis confiteatur secundum formam et tempus quod ipsi instituerunt, eo ipso ex inobedientia incidit in mortale. Et istam blasphemiam niterentur cuncta fideles destruere, tenendo medium virtuosum: scilicet, quod quandoque debet homo gratis confiteri antistiti, et quandoque talem confessionem disflugere.

Quantum ad dictum Augustini, patet quod loquitur contra illos qui dicunt quod non licet confiteri homini; et sic conceditur in casu quod aliquis laycus tenetur de necessitate salutis confiteri proprio sacerdoti; necessitatem ex suppositione intelligo; ut, posito quod erret in fide, et deus aptet sibi unum sacerdotem discretum ut ipsum consultat. Et sic, versis laicis in sapientes ad fidem scripture, et versis sacerdotibus in ignaros legis dei et imprudentes, necesse est in casu sacerdotes laicis confiteri. Ideo, quantum ad dictum Augustini, dicit fidelis quod posita paritate sapientie sacerdotum et ignorancie laicorum cum ceteris paribus (sicut fuit in tempore suo) laici debent sacerdotibus confiteri. Verso autem ordine ad contrarium, non debet fieri talis penitencia generalis. Ideo imprudenter est constituere generaliter talem legem, cum non habeant potestatem

1. dm' C. 5. ergo pro autem B. 9. mundana omnes MSS.
10. prelati deest BC. 11. triplex C. 15. peccatoris AC. 19. deus pro dicens A. 27. concedatur B. 31. ac pro ad AC. 39. imprudentis C.

5. *Graciosus*. Perhaps a mistake for *Gratianus*.

sacerdotes ydoneos plene per ecclesiam ordinare, nec necessitatem laicos generaliter ad istud statuere. Unde sapientis est consulere ab inquis sacerdotibus, [et] quo ad istud consilium prelavare. Ideo dicit Ambrosius. ²⁰

⁵ de penitencia, quod comunicacio cum malis sacerdotibus sepe nocet. "Arbitror," inquit, "quod Judas potuisset tanta domini miseratione non excludi a venia, si penitenciam non apud Judeos sed apud Cristum egisset.

Math. Peccari, inquit, quod tradidi sanguinem iustum. Respon-
XXVII, derunt, quid ad nos? tu rideris?" Et tantum est hodie
⁴ periculum confiteri stultis sacerdotibus sicut tunc fuit confiteri summis sacerdotibus Iudeorum.

Et quantum ad dictum Ilugonis, patet quod intelligit eundem sensum: videlicet, quod subditis egentibus consilio sacerdotis ex ignorantia debent sacerdotes prudentes consulere. Nec movet, ut arguit, quod istud non expresse percipitur in scriptura, quia per idem non debet servari oppositum, cum non exprimitur in scriptura. Et sic loquitur de confessione fienda deo, quod est simpli-
^{56^b} citer necessaria ad salutem. Confessio autem fienda homini [nunc] est ex suppositione necessaria, et nunc nocet. Unde, quia ex utraque parte potest esse defectus, intendendum est fidei scripture, que debet a sacerdotibus predicari, et in partem omissionis istius ewangelisacionis
²⁵ [non] oportet confessionem et alia sacramenta introducere ad gravamen ecclesie. Nam apostoli usi sunt ewangelisacione, non tali confessione; et diu post ipsos sancti heremite qui multis annis sine tali confessione vixerunt in heremo; et sic credo esse hodie multos in orbe.

³⁰ Ulterius quantum ad dicta Lyncoeniensis et quorumcunque doctorum quos oportet curare in ista materia, patet quod militant sub eadem sententia. Nam in crentes in penam peccati sui habere stultos prepositos qui nesciunt ewangelisare, oportet habere aliam maneriem in ordinacione. Et hinc credo quod ad sanandum ecclesiam a morbo quadruplici, scilicet ab ydolatria, a symonia, ab apostasia atque blasfemia, oportet uti cauteriis,

3. et deest omnes MSS. 15. debet A. 18. in scriptura deest C.
21. nunc before e-t deest omnes MSS.; ib. et non C. 22. extraque A:
ib. de fatis pro defectus A. 25. non deest omnes MSS. 27. 28. et —
vixerunt deest A. 28. qui deest B. 29. celo A. 35. quod deest A.

25. I incline to believe that there are several words wanting after ewangelisacionis; if not, non must be supplied before oportet as I have done.

everywhere a man fit for this office shows the foolishness of the law.

It is dangerous to confess to bad priests, as Judas did.

Hugo of St. Victor speaks in the same sense.

He says: It confession is not commanded in Scripture, neither is it commanded to abstain from confession.

This relates to confession made to God; the other is now necessary and now hurtful.

As for what Grosseteste and the other doctors say, they are of the same mind.

As for those who as a punishment for sin have had bad priests set over them, the cure would be to deprive the latter of their benefices.

The general confession at the beginning of Mass is allowed to efface small sins, and great ones too if there is contrition; and without that no solution can avail.

Private confession too is needful, but it must be free. And satisfaction to all who may have been injured must follow; without which there is no pardon.

temporalia que vocantur cleri substancia auferendo. Valet itaque omnis confessio facta in ecclesia ut in misse inicio; quia, ut dicit Hugo ubi supra, delet peccata minora, et indubie peccata maiora, dum adest contricio; et sine illa non potest eciam papa absolvere. Et quantum 5 ad Lynconiensem, conceditur quod confessio eciam privata est necessaria, sed non exacta, vel ydolatra, vel onerosa. Et sic confitendum est post incarnationem deo et homini, ut fuit in lege veteri. Quod si peccator confiteretur privatim cuilibet in quem peccaverit, nimis 10 diu foret antequam celebraret, quia indubie peccavit in deum et in totam universitatem creatam. Ideo racionaliter ordinatur in missarum iniciis, quod homo confiteatur generaliter deo et toti creature rationali, quod non fuit superflue ordinatum; sed oportet quod 15 in particulari satisfaciat cuilibet quem offendit, quia aliter non est sibi vera confessio facta nec deo.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. t <small>p</small> ^m A; <i>ib.</i> vocatur A; <i>ib.</i> v ³ A. | 2. communis C; <i>ib.</i> ut in |
| deest C. | deest C. |
| 3. hug ^r A. | 4. innumera A. |
| 6. 7. privata eciam est C. | 6. est <i>pro</i> eciam A. |
| onerosa BC. | 7. ydolat ^m A. |
| 9. sed B. | 8. on ^{2o} a A; avara <i>pro</i> |
| deest A. | 10. inquam A; <i>ib.</i> peccaverat B. |
| 16. in quem B. | 15. non |
-

A.

CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

Sed 3º obicitur per hoc quod penitencia primo vel 2º modo dicta non est descriptibilis, nec docetur quomodo fieri debet; igitur diminute proceditur.

5 Hic negatur antecedens, cum in principio proximi capituli describitur. Confessio enim est actus confitentis, et sumitur nunc pro confessione extrinseca, nuncque pro confessione intrinseca, et nunc mixtim. Sumitur

It may be objected that there is no possible definition of

penance in the 1st and 2nd sense. We deny this. Confession is the act of him that confesses;

it is either internal, external, or both; either of

something good, or of

something evil;

Math. 25 tur crebrius in scriptura; ut, Matth. XI, dicit Cristus: XI, 25 *Confiteor tibi domine, pater celi et terre, etc.* Et

Lue. XII, 8 luce XII, *quicunque me confessus fuerit coram homi-*

nibus, et filius hominis confitebitur eum coram angelis

Joh. I, dei etc. Et Joh. 1º de baptista legitur, quod *confessus*

20 *est quia non sum ego Cristus;* que confessio utique

and should in any case be true.

veritatis est maxime necessaria; nec valet confessio

peccati, nisi de quanto est confessio veritatis.

Quod autem datur occasio in confessionibus ad-

20 inventis fingere falsitatem, indicat illas confessiones ori-

ginari a patre mendacii. Nec solicitor illas confessiones

exactas describere, cum exactores primo peccant in

grammaticam, dicentes: *Confiteor* (sponte fateor), peccata

mea *coactus*, et indubie peccant consequenter in aliis

25 scienciis et in fide. Optima igitur differencia pro de-

scripcione huius confessionis foret dicere quod sit con-

fessio exacta per regem superbie propter questum. Nam

plane constat fidelibus ex aliis factis curatorum, quod

multi non sollicitantur circa confessionem subditi propter

This is a point in which forced confessions often fail.

There is in any case a grammatical error, since to confess means to speak out freely.

The specific difference between this confession, and all others is that it is exacted by the King of Pride and for lucre.

1. Capitulum XIII. A. 3. de scrupulis AB. 7. que *deest* C.
12. etc. *deest* BC. 15. etc. *pro hominibus — dei A; ib. de deest* C.
16. quia *deest* C; *ib. que deest* BC; *ib. itaque B.* 23. dicentes A;
dicente B. 23. 24. sponte sed fateor mea facta coactus C. 24. facta
pro peccata B. 25. differencia *deest* B; in C. 26. huins drā B: con-
fessionis huinsmodi C. 29. maxime propter B

It is a fact that sanitatem sue anime, sed pocius propter questum. Cuius indicium est, quod confessor sollicite querit de decimis et oblationibus directe vel indirecte; iniungit penas pecuniarias, et omittit quod foret magis necessarium subditis ad salutem. In cuius confirmationem tolle 5 pecuniam a penitenciario et spem lucri, et videbis quod renuet officium huiusmodi confessiones audiendi.

If the money offerings were taken from them, they would no longer hear confessions.

Would that all men knew well that they ought no more to confess

to such idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretics, than to the devil!

Idolatrous, for avarice is idolatry;

simoniacal, and deprived of the power of the keys; heretical, and therefore to be shunned as heathens.

We may not even salute such a one, much less confess to him. It were better to confess to God alone than to such a man.

If the confessor commanding the penitent to give money, even hints that it should go to himself, he should be shunned in future.

If he directs alms to be given without

Et utinam omnes confitentes forent plene informati, tam intellectu quam affectu, quod nullo modo confiteantur solitarie tali presbitero quem sciunt vel probaliliter credunt plus stare pro confessionibus istis, ut fastum et questum habeat, quam ut anime confessi lucri faciat. Nam omnes tales penitenciarii sunt ydolatre, leprosi, symoniaci et manifesti heretici. Nulli tali homo debet scienter vel reputative plus confiteri quam diabolo; ergo conclusio. Nam omnis talis antiquatus in avaricia, Eph. que est ydolorum servitus, est infideli deterior; que ergo V, 5 comunicatio Cristiani ad Belial? Item, talis symoniacus B. caret clavibus ecclesie, et ex comunicacione contaminat ipsum qui deberet habere super hoc conscientiam: ergo, 20 cristianus non debet tali penitenciario confiteri. Item, Matth. XVIII, talis hereticus est fugiendus ut ethnicus, ut docet Cristus Matth. XVIII. Ymmo, quicunque ei ave dixerit communicabit eius operibus ex consensu; ergo, nemo debet illi II, 11 secretum peccati prodere tanquam Cristi vicario. Nam 25 conscientia sua debet dictari sibi oppositum: debet ergo peccator confiteri deo et non solitario homini, si non assit nisi penitencia huiusmodi sacerdotum.

Et ad probandum dictam ydolatriam, utinam omnes confitentes | unite subtrahant questum a suo confessore, 30 57^a ut videant si cum Paulo querat animas non pecuniam confessorum. Quod si iniungat penitenciam pecuniariam, limitando (directe vel indirecte) quod ipse habeat, contritus debet ipsum auffugere; cum nemo debet tali apostate taliter obedire. Quod si iniungatur penitencia 35 per distribucionem pecunie in confuso, siat alii egenis, non sibi particio, quia licet fuerit aliunde indigens, tamen ut sic est indignus elemosinam eciam a deo recipere. Quod si 3^o extorquet pecuniam, iniungendo graves et irrationabiles penitencias, ut pecunia redimantur, auffugiat 40 confessorem et contritus confidenter accipiat sacra-

2. sollicite C. 13. fiant A. 18. Cristi A. 10, 21. igitur talis Cristianus C.

Act. V, 41 mentum. Quod si negatur subditis a prelato, adiecta excomunicacione et censuris aliis, gaudeat de persecucione quod *dignus sit pati tot tribulaciones in nomine veritatis*; et considerando humiliter persecuciones et obprobria que Cristus pro nobis pertulit ex malicia sacerdotum, manducat meritorius, quia spiritualiter iocundius, gloriosum corpus Christi in celo, quam minus promerens comunicans sacramentaliter cum applausu presbiteri. Deus enim non potest in necessariis suos fideles to deserere.

Verumtamen innitendum est vere prudencie, confortando membra ecclesie, ut constanter agant atque celeriter pro destruenda civitate Babylonica et meretrice que in ipsa presidet, cum excluduntur a celesti Apoc. XVI, 2 Jerusalem qui consensu finalis inpenitentie signo bestie sunt signati, ut patet Apok. 20 et 25. Contempnat itaque fidelis prudenter leges bestie, abhominans hoc porisma, quod "si quidquam statuit, licet sit falsum notum huiusmodi, eciam debet sibi parere, faciendo quod iubet, donec decernat oppositum." Sic enim extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, cum exigit tantam obedienciam sicut Cristus, et super hoc potest errare ex libertate arbitrii. Nam iuxta hoc principium anticristi, si bestia erraret perpetuo, fidelis debet perpetuo ipsam consequi 25 in errore et sic auffugere veritatem, que est Cristus, et diabolice sequi illam.

C. Unde tria sunt principia anticristi; primum iam dictum est, quod in voluntate bestie, ac si esset deus, universa sunt posita, licet notorie obviet legi Cristi. Secundum principium hominis peccati, quod generacio 30 spiritualis filiorum dei nedum consequitur generacionem carnalem hereditarie, sed generacionem localem ex electione perfida constituta. Tercium principium ex istis pululans est quod plus ponderatur vocalis confessio quam 35 ipse instituit, quam cordis contricio quam deus instituit et requirit.

Sed redeundo ab istis blasfemiis, videndum est secundum doctrinas sanctorum, quomodo oris confessio debet fieri. Ponit autem lyncolniensis 108^o, quod patenter hec

specifying, they should be given to others, not to him.

Should he impose unreasonable penances, in order to get money, the faithful should leave him and take the Sacrament after due contrition.

And if excommunication ensues, let them rejoice and communicate spiritually.

We must act prudently, firmly, and promptly against Babylon; for all those that bear the mark of the Beast shall be excluded from Heaven.

Especially let us abhor this principle: that whatever may be decreed, whether right or wrong, should be submitted to.

This is the first of three antichristian principles; the second holds that spiritual generation may depend upon election made in a certain place; the third, that the confession of the lips is better than contrition.

How oral confession should be made. Five requisites: hatred of sin,

8. communicatus AB. 9. fideles suo (*sic*) C. 11, 12. confortandi B.
15. assensu B. 16. 20 et *deest* B. 22. Cristus *deest* B. 25. sequi C.
27. Nota 3^a principia anticristi *in marg.* B. 33. p*u*ida constitutam C.
33, 34. est pullulans ex istis, quod C. 37. Nota lyncolniensem *in marg.* B. 38. eorum *pro* oris B. 39. d*cō* 108^o C: *ib.* p*l*ent' A.

sorrow, resolve quinque secuntur penitenciam: peccati odium et dolor, velle
 not to fall again, confession when nunquam ad peccatum redire, (si oportunitas adest) peccati
 possible, and confessio, et satisfaccio. Qui autem odit peccatum, quia
 satisfaction.

Long quotation peccatum, odit omne peccatum. "Unde," inquit, "patet quod
 from Grosseteste. qui vere penitet de uno, penitet de omnibus. Unde qui 5
 Hatred of sin videntur sibi odire aliquod unum peccatum et amore
 means hatred of amplectuntur aliud, non oderunt illud quia peccatum
 all sin; not of one only; est, ac per hoc nec illud oderunt, sed oderunt aliquid
 comitans illud; ut aut infamiam aut dampnum aut
 penam aliquam. Item, qui odit peccatum, quia peccatum, 10
 odit omne peccatum ubicunque; sic ergo wult illud
 occidi et non esse ubicunque est possibile illud occidi
 et non esse: ergo, wult quodlibet peccatum occidi et
 non esse in quolibet viatore; maxime autem illud wult
 occidi in se, ubi sibi plus nocet. Sed si hoc wult non 15
 teperi nec saucia voluntate, agit ut occidatur peccatum
 in quoconque, quibus potest correpcionibus, mali dete-
 stacionibus, boni persuasione, exempli ostensione: peni-
 tens itaque persecutor est peccati et iniusticie; sed qui
 peccatum et iniusticiam persequitur, quomodo non bonus 20
 And this hatred et iustus est penitens? ergo eo quod persecutor est
 must be perpetual; mali et iniusti, iustus et bonus est. Verum igitur peccati
 therefore there odium est odire illud propter se, quia peccatum, quia
 must be a malum, quia summo bono oppositum: cuius veri odii
 resolve never signa sunt odire illud esse in omni homine, in omni 25
 to sin again. tempore. Item, si odit peccatum et wult illud non esse,
 wult (modis quibus potest) agere ut sint ea que peccatum
 And confession evacuant; ac de his est compassio et oracio bonorum. Wult
 is implied in ergo bonis que de hiis docent peccatum manifestari, ut
 hatred of sin, eorum oracione et compassionē speciali possit deleri. Unde 30
 since this helps to destroy it. qui vere penitet, consitebitur, si potest. Item, cum in D.
 As Hell is the penance of the impenitent — infinite but compelled
 peccato criminali (quia de criminalibus hic intendimus) sit
 infiniti boni amissio, ymmo infiniti boni spontanea abieccio,

3. quod A. 5. de omnibus *in marg.* C. 6. amare A. 8. a'd A;
 alind (*clare*) C. 11. igitur C; *ib.* wt A. 12. occidit A. 13. igitur C.
 15. occidere C; *ib.* sibi *deest* BC; *ib.* si si A; *ib.* non *deest* A. 16. non
pro *uec* A. 17. malis C. 23. est *pro* *quia after* peccatum B. 26. wt A.
 28. hac de hisque A; at quem de his est B. 29. quibus *debet* A.
 30. spiritualibus BC; possunt B; possent C.

1. *Quinque* is in all the MSS. and is repeated a few pages further; yet in the quotation from Grosseteste, I can find but four conditions of penance. Probably sorrow for sin, which he seems to include under the head of satisfaction, is counted separately by Wyclif.

nonne hec spontanea abieccio exigit de rigore iusticie, suffering — the sicut in inpenitente involuntarium dolorem infinitum, penitent should sic in penitente voluntarium infinitum? scilicet, ut peni- suffer voluntarily for tenuis vellet sine fine, spontanea voluntate, tantam iacturam ever, until he is told that it is enough.

5 dolore, nisi is, qui sponte abiecit misericordiam, vellet

57^b huius doloris | aliquando miseriam tollere? quomodo erit penitens iustus, nisi velit infiniti boni spontaneam abiectionem semper dolere et punire, donec dicat ei is cui reconciliari cupit: Satis est? quomodo amandi sine modo est dolenda amissio sine modo? Quomodo ergo in voluntate transitoria creata fuit voluntas peccati perpetua, cui in inpenitente iuste debetur et redditur perpetua involuntaria pena: ita in voluntate penitentis est dolor, et satisfaccio penalnis, condicionalis saltem, 15 perpetuus. Sed misericordia iudicis aliquando terminatur; non igitur finiet vere penitens spontaneum dolorem

Apoc. peccati, donec *abstergat deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis* XVII, sanctorum, ut iam *non sit luctus, neque dolor, quia*

24 *priora abierunt*. Satisfaccio autem est ad honorem eius

20 erga quem est peccatum alicuius rei solucio, cuius solvens debitor non esset, si non peccasset. Quid autem est quod ad honorem dei exsolvi possit quod homo peccator deo non debeat? utique nichil. Verumtamen, si homo nunquam peccasset, nullius pene debitor esset.

25 Item, si nullum hominis fuisset peccatum, nulla esset hominis miseria, et ita nulla essent misericordie opera.

Item, si peccatum non esset, nulla esset per corrupcionem defecatio boni, pro qua supplenda necessaria esset oracio.

Igitur, si peccatum hominis non fuisset istarum rerum, 30 homo debitor non fuisset. Unde hec proprie in satis-

faccione deo offeruntur, quorum nullum esset ab homine debitum, si nullum esset hominis peccatum; laus autem et alia forte aliqua, que in patria erunt iocundissima et nullo modo penalia; que eciam, licet homo non

Such is satisfaction; perpetual sorrow at least on the part of the sinner, and until God shall wipe all tears away.

But satisfaction implies the payment of a debt with what is not already due; and as before sin no works of mercy, no orisons, no praises coming (as they now come) with effort and difficulty, were due, these may be considered as satisfaction.

5. dolere B; delere mia C; ib. nisibus B; ib. quem A; ib. unam B.

8. is deest B. 9. est deest A: ib. quoniam AB. 11. clāta A.

12. impietas A; cui in penitente B. 13. perpetua voluntaria C.

15. t'pma^a A. 21. Quis A. 23. p̄tō C. 24. nullus A. 26, 27. misericordie — esset deest B; essent — nulla deest C. 31. est C. 34. nllō^a C.

5. The text is certainly corrupt here, and the numerous variantes are of but little use. Perhaps *dolere* ought to be substituted for *dolore*.

peccasset, essent creatori debita: hec, propter corpus Sap.
quod corrumperit, et agravat animam, et propter legem, IX, 15
que in membris repugnat legi mentis sunt plurimum Rom.
penalia. Unde, in quantum sunt penalia, sunt eciam VII, 23
penitencialia. Item, cum satisfaciens debeat rependere⁵ E.
aliquid quod maius sit omni eo pro quo non debuisset
salvanda deum abiecisse peccando); oportet igitur per
hoc quod aliquid maius solvat quam possit solvere
universa pura creatura, hancque solucionem solus Cristus¹⁰
fecerit: patet ergo quod nullius satisfaccio aliqua est,
nisi in quantum unita est satisfaccio Christi, qui se ipsum Heb.
pro nobis in satisfaccionem obtulit, ut sic in ipso satis- IX, 14
faciente condigne satisfaciamus. Penitenciam autem
comitatur dei miseracio, precum exaudicio, peccati¹⁵
dissimulacio, et ipsa est cordis contriti vivificacio, in
ara cord.s hostie sacrificacio, dei glorificacio et ad
patriam de exitio redicatio."

But sin is a greater harm than the salvation of all creatures is a good; to satisfy therefore, He that is greater than the salvation of all — Christ our saviour — must be offered up with our penance.

Thus Grosseteſte only mentions oral confession as a requisite in case it can be made;

while all the others are absolutely necessary conditions.

And if the right priest cannot be found, the faithful should grieve over this, and believe firmly that our Great High Priest will always give us absolution, if we are contrite.

Not even the Pope could absolve without this condition.

Ex istis dictis huius sancti elicetur quod vocalis confessio facta presbitero non est necessaria nisi ex suppō- 20 sitione ad delectionem peccati. Ideo nominans quinque necessaria ad delectionem peccati sic subtiliat: si detur ydoneitas et facultas, requiritur oris confessio.

Alia autem quatuor requisita exprimit simpliciter absolute; quia, ut dicit, oportet omnino satisfacere deo.²⁵ Et cum sit ignarus ad debite penitendum pro crimen, deus dedit sacerdoti, eius vicario, potestatem consulendi et remittendi peccata ecclesie: quod non potest, nisi ecclesia confessa sibi fuerit.

Quod si caruerit sacerdote ydoneo, qui sciat discrete³⁰ peccata discernere et pene medicinam aptare, debet dolere quod ecclesia meruit habere in penam peccati tales ydiotas yppocritas. Et consequenter debet ut fidem credere quod impossibile est sumimum sacerdotem cordi contrito deficere, qui intimet quomodo contritus debet³⁵ satisfacere nisi ponat obicem.

Et debet tertio credere quod propter absolucionem vel penitenciam, eciam pape, non magis aut minus peccatum remittitur, nisi de quanto se dignificat mediante

1. causam corpus A. 7. debuit C. 9. ad *pro* aliquid A.
12. satisfacciōnē B. 15. coītan² A; comittat² C. 18. reduccio BC.
19. dictis *deest* A. 30. facit C. 32. eciam *pro* ecclesia C. 36. obicere A.
38. papa A.

gracia apud deum; et sepe contingit quod penitenciariis vere absolvit, quando conformat se divine sentencie. Et crebrius fallit mendaciter se et populum, quando discordat a divina sentencia.

5 Unde non lego quod apostoli remiserunt peccatum vel excomunicarunt simpliciter, nisi quando habuerunt ad hoc revelationem; reputative autem et conditionaliter absolvimus, sicud Lyncolniensis dicit quod omnis criminosus est debitor pene perpetue, sicut debet dolere in perpetuo, subintellige, nisi deus gracie remittat.

F. Unde videtur quod non modica foret elemosina detegere istam pomposam blasphemiam satraparum, qua dicunt quod ipsi habent potestatem remittendi peccata ad votum, cum deus pepigit quod regulariter conformabit 15 se arbitrio eorum. Omnis, inquam, talis est antichristus qui extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus. Nec sequitur ex isto desperacio; sed ammota heresi firmior spes in Cristo. Debet enim fidelis credere quod, si contritus (eciam Judas vel Lucifer) Cristo vere peniteat, Cristus

The Apostles are never said to have absolved without a revelation: our absolution must therefore be conditional,

58^a 20 gracie remittat; et sine hoc non valet | remissio humana, nec proficit, nisi de quanto ad istud habitat. Error autem blasphemus est, quo peccator potens confidit in homine dicente sibi, quod pro pecunia vult peccata dimittere et ante tribunal Christi respondere de 25 ipsis in die iudicii. Tales enim hereses dant infidelibus seductis audaciam ad peccandum, et subtrahunt spem ac honorem quem fidelis haberet ad Christum, dispergendo ipsa inter membra diaboli.

Sometimes a priest, for a sum of money, takes upon himself the sins of a great man; this is blasphemy.

Secundo, patet ex dictis doctorum quod peccator 30 debet confiteri domino, et in casu homini, omne peccatum suum cum circumstancia agravante; ut docet Augustinus 2º *de visitacione infirmorum* et in *de vera penitencia* dict. quinta. "Consideret," inquit, "peccator qualitatem criminis in loco et tempore, in perseverancia, 35 in variacione persone, et quali hoc fecerit temptatione, et in ipsius vicii multiplici execuzione. Et iste circumstancie communiter notantur in isto octonario huius versus: *Quis, quid, ubi, quante, cum quot, cur, quomodo,*

Doctrine of Augustine as regards the confession of all aggravating circumstances.

It is necessary to examine:

1. contingit AC. 7. autem *deest* B. 8. *lyncon* C. 10. se remittat A. 17. sanior A; firmior C; *ib.* spes species C. 21. perficit A; *ib.* ad *deest* C. 23. pro pecunia quod A; *ib.* wt A *et sic semper.* 25. infidelibus *deest* A. 29. doctris C. 30. homini *fro* domino A; deo *fro* domino C. 32. vera *deest* C. 32, 33. penitencia, ut docetur in *de vera penitencia* B. 33. peccator *deest* A. 34. et *deest* C. 38. cum quo AC.

1. Who the sinner is; as the condition of the person may render the sin more grievous: quando. Oportet enim considerare gravedinem peccati, cum gravius peccat persona, que ex statu debet esse sanccior; ut peccatum sacerdotis qui debet esse gravior, est dampnabilis quam peccatum simile in abiecciori
2. What sin has officiario. Oportet secundo notare speciem peccati, cum committed: for one mortal sin may be worse than another. homicidium communiter sit furto gravius. Ideo oportet confiteri quis quid fecerit. Et tertio oportet notare locum in quo peccatum committitur; quia peccatur in ecclesia et locis sacris gravius quam in campo; nec hoc solum est verum de furto, homicidio vel fornicacione, sed pocius de peccatis anime, ut superbia, invidia et ira, cum aliis peccatis diaboli ipsa sequentibus. Quarto, oportet notare quantitatem criminis quoad numerum, quociens quis peccavit, vel quoad diuturnitatem, qua in malicia perseveravit. Oportet 5^o notare, cum quot et qualibus complicibus peccabatur; ut in luxuria variacio
3. Where it was committed: if in a sacred place, &c. and this is also true, even for wicked thoughts. 5. With how many persons; 6. For what motive; whether under strong temptation or not. &c.
4. How many times the sin was committed, or how long the intention has lasted. 7. In what manner the deed was done.
8. At what time: if during Lent, or on a festival.

Waiving all questions as to how far these circumstances render a sin more grievous, we may note that the penance enjoined should be of contrary nature to the fault;

Difficultates autem scolasticas de gravedine peccati ex istis proporcionalibus resultantes relinqu scolasticis; addendo quod pena medicinalis secundum crimen debet aptari tamquam sibi contraria, cum secundum principia naturalium *contraria contrarii's sunt curanda*. Ut communiter contra triplex peccatum diaboli, iniungitur oratio cum devota contemplacione; contra peccata mundi in-

1. persone AC. 3. sancciori omnes MSS.: ib. deo gracior C.
10. est verum est A. 19. facinorum C. 21. levi deest AB.
23. puccone omnes MSS. 24, 25. peccandi B. 31. 8^a pro quadragesima A.
33. enim B. 36. sibi deest C. 38. scilicet diaboli A. 39. seculi BC

iungitur corporalis elemosina, et contra peccata carnis ieunium cum aliis macerantibus corpus peccantis. Ymmo sicut ista tria genera criminum sunt connexa, sic pene pro ipsis sunt cum prudencia presbiteri connectende.

5 Sed exsuperat humanam prudenciam taxare precise quanta pena sit debita pro peccato; dicente Augustino in *de natura boni* capitulo 9^o, quod "qualis et quanta pena cuique culpe debeatur divini iudicii est, non humani". Sufficit ergo confessorem intencione pia quadam 10 probabilitate penam iniungere; quia oportet preter ipsam stare divino iudicio, nec tantam penam de comuni cursu contingit viatorem suffere pro crimine quin maior sit debita. Ideo prudencia confessoris stat in hoc quod iniungat penam levem in gracia sufferendam.

15 Unde lapsus blasfemi est dicere quod quantamcumque penam parvam sacerdos iniunxerit, non est amplior sufferenda; ymmo quod illa per se sufficiat ad salutem. Tunc enim penitentes et penitenciam huius[modi] compleentes non forent amplius in purgatorio purgandi. Iterum penitentiarii haberent noticiam adequandi penam pro crimen, sicut deus; et cum varii varie iniungant penitencias improporcionales peccatis (quia pro gravioribus penas leviores, et e contra, et pro peccatis equalibus inequaes), relinquitur vel quod deus iniuste punit ex stulticia confessoris, vel quod confessor ultra deum habet potentiam

H. puniendi. Iterum, si quilibet posset pecunia vel favore presbiteri peccata quecumque redimere, quis timeret divinum iudicium in peccando? Ideo certum est quod nichil foret blasphemus in ore presbiteri quam dicere 30 quod precise penam quam ipse iniunxerit pro quoconque crimen, deus taxat. Tunc enim quicquid ultra completionem huius pene peccator tollerat, ut penam corporis usque ad mortem, non deus bonus iuste infligit, quod est contra perfectionem divinam, que neminem punit,

35 nisi citra condignum, vel misericorditer, et contra peccati gravedinem. Quodlibet enim peccatum, cum sit comissum 58^b in deum, est dignum pena infinitum gravi; | ymmo anichilacione, nisi deus misericorditer respiciat pecca-

against pride
and irreligion,
prayer;
against
worldliness,
almsgiving;
against lust,
fasting.
But it is
impossible to
fix a sufficient
amount of
penance for sin
committed; this
rests with God
not with man.

It is therefore
blasfemy to say
that any
penance,
however small,
given by the
priest, is
sufficient.
If so, there
would be no
expiation for
sin in
Purgatory.
As penances
are unequal,
God would be
unjust, or the
priest more
powerful than
H.

It would be
possible to be
delivered from
all fear of God's
Judgment for
money or
friendship.
Every temporal
trouble sent
by God would
be beyond the
deserts of the
sufferer, and
therefore unjust.

And yet sin
deserves an
infinite penalty.

1. connectande B. 7. $\widehat{\text{nilla}}$ = nulla A; *ib.* 4^o omnes MSS. 12. 9ti^t = contigit A; *ib.* quando AB. 13. gforiB C. 18. hinc B. 19. ex-purgandi B; *ib.* Item C. 20. habent A. 21. et deest B. 24, 25. conforis C. 26. Item C. 32. illius BC. 33. ad deest A. 36. q'd liez C.

7. Aug. *De natura boni*, cap. 9, Ed. Louvain, tom. X, col. 604.

torem. Tales igitur blasfemi penitenciarii forent anti-cristi discipuli.

It follows that this confession and absolution is not absolutely necessary; and that many are not really penitent, since they do not do all in their power to take away sin from the Church.

From the Pope downwards we find false penitents: men fallen from the perfection of the Apostolic state;

worldly and avoiding no occasions of worldliness.

Such men, by their absolutions and by whatever they do, are hurtful to the Church.

The pertinacity with which the Pope defends his possessions is a mark of infidelity.

It is easy to judge of this by works; it his

Ex isto patet quod talis confessio, talis penitencie iniunctio et talis absolucionis non est absolute necessario requisita; sed nunc proficiens et nunc nocens; 3º patet 5 quam facte multi penitent; cum secundum doctorem, ad veram penitenciam requiritur detestacio peccati simpli-citer, sic quod peccans habeat voluntatem efficacem destruendi nedum peccatum proprium, sed quocunque peccatum ecclesie, quantum potest, quia aliter foret 10 culpabilis ex consensu, et negligens salutem propriam non iuvaret corpus ecclesie secundum potentiam sibi datam. Consideremus itaque a papa usque ad infimum subiectum, et patebit ex isto quod falsa penitencia occupatur. Debent enim penitere quod temptatione 15 seculi a perfeccione status apostolici sunt dilapsi: de quo cum paribus, si non displicant, sunt impenitentes dampnandi. Et si de isto eos vere peniteat, debent instar apostolorum *mundum et concupiscenciam eius*^{1 Joan. 1, 19} deserere, cum nemo vere peniteat qui occasionem querit 20 unde peccavit; talis indubie non amat peccatum suum extingwero, sed fovere; et periculum talis heretici nimis nocet ecclesie. Ideo totus cristianismus debet talem prelatum ut anticeristum contempnere, quia eius benedictio, absolucionis dispensatio et quicquid fecerit nocet ecclesie.²⁵

Ideo nota pure infidelitatis est quod papa defendit tam infideliter partem suam. Si enim papa nititur defendere plus dominium suum quam Christi pauperiem; si plus foveat symoniam, quam sanctimoniam; si plus intendit blasphemie confederacioni, quam sancte ewange- 30 lisacioni: quis dubitat quin sit ydolatra blasphemus et pessimus anticeristus? Ista autem potest populus ex 1 operibus patenter iudicare; ut, si plus appetat vel aspirat in se ad temporalem excellenciam quam ad renuncia-

3. pene C. 16. a *deest* A. 17. quocunque A. 18. ipsos C.

19. occupias AC. 20. quia *pro* qui A. 21. quia talis AC. 26. populus omnes MSS.; ib. descendit A; defendat B 32. plus *pro* populus C.

2. In all that precedes it is not quite clear whether Wyclif objects to a certain amount of penance, imposed and accepted, considered as merely making the sacrament *valid*, or considered as completely doing away with all further liabilities. It seems to be the latter; but if so, I doubt whether even in his time any one ventured to say the contrary *explicitly*. It would clearly be the ruin of the doctrine of Indulgences.

cionem apostolicam; si promovet ad curam anime suos complices quoad artem huius cure inhabiles; et si extollit suas tradiciones, quibus ferventer hec scelera erubescens
 1 Tim. V, 8 vel tacens ewangelium est *infideli deterior*; quis non
 5 detestatur et fugit talem refugam, ymmo nititur disperdere sectam suam? Et illam sectam vel privative vel positive est facile fideli cognoscere: ut silencium ewangelizandi, carencia vitam Cristi exemplandi, et usurpacio temporalia fidelium spoliandi. Optandum namque
 10 foret fidelibus anathematizari a talibus, non benedici,
 Malachi II, 2 cum deus de illis dicit: *Maledicam benedictionibus restris.*

Aliqui itaque orando, alii hortando et aliqui conculcando debent tali apostate obviare; quia Matth. 5, dicit
 Matth. V, 13 veritas: *Quod si sal eranuerit ad nichilum valet ultra,*
 15 nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus. Fidelis itaque debet credere ewangelio, postpositis falsis glosis, et cavere omnino ne consensu omissionis sit proditor veritatis.

Notet secundo fidelis, si sit falsa penitencia in epis-
 20 scopis et prelatis, et omnino, si secundum condignos fructus penitentie reddent, sequendo Cristi vestigia. Nam omittendo hunc fructum decipiunt sese et populum, cum iudicent se esse non vere penitentes, sed hereticos induratos; et in isto patencius quod in castigando subiectos
 25 dimittunt leges papales super ewangelio fundatas, et puniunt annuatim pena pecuniaria peccatores: qualis peccati continuacio est dampnatissima symonia. Quid, rogo, dampnacius quam relinquere legem dei atque ecclesie, iniuriam dei pro moneta proditorie vendere,
 30 et salutem subdit pro lucro postponere? specialiter post tantam temporalium habundanciam ex dotacione, post tantam simulatam yppocrisin, quod hoc fit ex caritatis servore, et post tam avarum amplexum pecunie in curato neglecto improvide dispensante? Quis dubitat quin tanta

35 macula erit apud summum iudicem severissime condempnata? Talis autem non vere penitet, nec est mem-
 Eph. V, 5 brum sancte matris ecclesie, cum apostolus dicat Eph. 5.
Omnis ararus, quod est ydolorum servitus, non habet K. hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei. Si autem non habet

1. qui *pro quis omnes* MSS. 5. et *deest A;* *ib.* contigit A. 7. si milititudinem AC. 11. ultra *deest A.* 15. hominibus *deest A.* 17. fit A.
 21. redditum AC. 23. esse *deest C.* 24. in *before* castigando *deest C.*
 28. nisi *pro quam C.* 34. improvidus A. 35. *mā* = materia A.

hereditatem in ecclesia, sed tamquam mercenarius vel lupus sit in illa, quis dubitat quod non sit de illa?

None have the heritage, unless they be sons of God and co-heirs with Christ: and many, great according to the world, are only *in, not of the Church, and thence proceeds the practical idolatry that has produced so many abuses.*

Ambrose quoted.

Speaking of death, he says: It is a good thing: but in order not to fear it, we must live unworldly lives;

that our soul, like an eagle, may soar on high, and escape the snares

of riches and of the passions.

Seeking either gold or silver or possessions, we are ensnared,

quia, iuxta fidem, nemo est sponsa Cristi vel membrum eius, nisi dei filius adoptivus, et iuxta argumentum apostoli, *si sit dei filius, tunc est heres et per consequens* Rom. VIII, 17

habet hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei. Et sic creditur quod multi capitales secundum iudicium mundi sunt in ecclesia, non de illa. Ista igitur est ydolatria practica, qua fedatur ecclesia; et ad illam consequitur ydolatria et heresis multiplex circa sacramentum corpus Cristi; 10 et omnia ista ex eodem fonte processerunt, cum secundum apostolum, Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas.

1 Tim. VI, 10

Sed attenderemus ad dictum beati Ambrosii in *de bono mortis*, dicentis quod "mors est mundi liberacio, virtutum suscitatio et a carcere ad quietem transicio.

15 Primum patet de morte Cristi. Pro secundo dicitur quod nichil plus valet ad domandum carnis desideria quam pensare qualis erit mortua; et tertium patet de morte iustorum, per quam anima liberatur de carcere corporis corrupti contubernio et coniungitur angelorum

20 consorcio. Sed ne timeamus hoc bonum, oportet mundum contempnere et circa spiritualia ac eterna contendere. Unde Cristus, Johannes 14, in proximo moriturus dixit: Surgite, eamus hinc, precipiens ut unusquisque

25 surgat de terris, erigat animam humi iacentem, ad superna excitet aquilam suam; illam aquilam, de qua dictum est: Renovabitur sicut aquile iurentus tua; ad

30 animam hoc dictum est. Anima ergo nostra, sicut aquila, alta petat, supra nubes volet, renovatis splendescat exuviis; celo volatus suos inferat, ubi in laqueos incidere non possit. Avis enim, que descendet ex alto, vel que

35 in altum se extollere non potest, frequenter a laqueis capitur aut visco fallitur, aut quibuscumque irretitur insidiis. Sic quoque et anima nostra caveat ad hec mundana descendere: laqueus est in auro, viscus in argento, nexus in predio, clavus est in amore. Dum aurum petimus, strangulamur; dum argentum querimus

40

11. pcessant A; processerant BC. 13. Si B; ib. episcopi Ambrosii B. 20. corporis deest A. 21. cum oportet A. 21, 22. mundus A. 23. 18 BC. 25. terre A. 26. a'qlla A. 27. ut BC. 30. in deest omnes MSS. 33. irritetur B. 35. viscum C.

13. Ambrosius De Bono Mortis, c. V, ed. Ben., t. I, col. 466. The quotation is very free, and, towards the beginning especially, looks like an abstract of what precedes.

in visco eius heremus; dum premium invadimus alligamur, to the detriment
Quid inane querimus lucrum, preciose anime detimento? which is greater
Exiguus est tibi totus mundus pro unius anime dispendio.
of our soul,
which is greater
than the loss
of the world.

Matth. *Quid enim prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur,*
XVI,26 *anime vero sue detrimentum paciatur? Aut quam dabit*
homo commutacionem pro anima sua? Non auro redimitur,
non argento; ymo auro amittitur. Mulieris decus, dum
temptatur, auffugit. Clavus est libido, clavus tristicia,
clavus iracundia; clavi sunt omnes passiones, que velut
10 nexus quodam animam nostram penetrant et infigunt
corpori visceribusque eius annectunt. Fugiamus ergo ista
mala."

Ex ista obstinacia convincere potest fidelis, si prelatus
vel laicus sit in crimen obstinatus. Domini enim tem-
15 porales noscuntur esse inpenitentes ex consideracione
I. consimili. Si enim vere eis dispiceat defedacio ecclesie,
qua symoniace ministrant temporalia, ut Cristi primeva
religio dissolvatur, ut sancta mater ecclesia ab expedito
cursu post sponsum distrahitur et ut perturbacio regno-
20 rum et reipublice faveatur; quis dubitat quin illud
celeriter corrigent, cum possent faciliter; nec aliter
fructuose vel meritorie peniterent. Nec valet fucus quo
fingitur quod finem istum non intendunt, sed honorem et
profectum ecclesie; cum ista crassa ignorancia implicat eos
25 velle mala predicta que debent cognoscere inde sequi. Aliter
enim oportet concedere quod nullus apostata vult pec-
care. Debent autem temporales domini et reges precipue,
non obstantibus anticristi legibus, de bonis cleri quorum
sunt domini, ewangelice providere: hoc est, facere quod
30 nec episcopi, nec rectores, nec propositi, nec abbates,
habeant unum pedem predii vel redditus perpetui, sed
pure vivant de elemosinis populi cui ministrant in
spiritualibus, et specialiter in ewangelio.

Et si allegentur tradiciones refuge vel iuramenta
35 ydolatria sibi facta, dicant seculares concorditer cum
Ps. II,3 sancto David psalmo 2^o. *Disrumpamus vincula eorum*
et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum. Qui habitat in

This attachment
to things
temporal can be
easily
discovered, in
secular lords
by their
indifference to
the good of the
Church.

To say that
they intend
God's honour
is a vain
subterfuge;

their duty is
not to allow
any of the
clergy to have
a single foot of
ground.

To all
arguments and
oaths alleged,
they should
reply:
*Let us break
their chains and
throw away
their yoke!*

2. detrimentum B. 5. dabis B; dāb C. 6. homo deest BC; ib. tua BC.
7. aurum A. 9. vere pro velut A. 10. nexū C; ib. nostram deest A;
ib. infigunt B. 16. de fedacione AB. 17. q̄e A. 18. expeditur A;
19. distrahitur B. 20. foveatur BC. 25. dicunt AB; ib. inde sequi
deest C. 27. tales C. 28. antecristinis AC; ib. et ins de B. 30. re-
positi AC.

8. Auffugit. St. Ambrose has astringit; I only note this reading
among many on account of its importance.

These *chains* *celis irridebit eos*. Vincula corum sunt tradiciones quibus simplices laqueantur. Cum hiis enim et prediis contexta est tela aranee, in qua bestiole capiuntur, que gaudenter dicerent illud psalmi 133ⁱ: *laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus*. Iugum autem est liga ceci iuramenti et ^{Ps.}
⁷ 5 devacionis blasfeme, qua principes et eorum subditi anticristo et suis complicibus sunt subiecti. Oportet enim fidelem credere quod Cristus cum suis apostolis cepit sibi in conversacione bonum honoris et comodi, vivendo vitam summe pauperem et exproprietariam. Contra 10 quam si anticristus infideliter remurmuret, signent eum tamquam infidelem freneticum vel ex contagione infidelitatis gregis domini infectivum. Excuciant igitur principes a se infidelitatem istam refuge, et regulentur lege scripture, cum lex sit *immaculata*, qua anime fideles 15 ad dominum convertuntur. Stultus inquam et infidelis foret, qui gratis biberet aquam turbidam et venenosam, despектa aqua salutifera atque clara. Fides autem dicit quod melius est sequi Cristum in moribus, cum aliter sit homo membrum diaboli et non clerus. Ideo ve illi 20 qui pervertit ordinem dei propter stultam et insanam pruriginem anticristi!

But the enemy is wroth at the very mention of audit quod ad sui perfeccionem et exoneracionem sua loss of his possessions: Convincitur autem ex hoc quod furet rabidus, dum temporalia subtrahuntur; et non minus furibundus insanit, 25 dum audit perfeccionem suam salutiferam et honorem He prevails on stare in vita penali et paupere instar Cristi. Consult he should do that out of charity, how much more our own Church, which they should love more! quidem et procurat quod principes sui spolient et crucient alienam ecclesiam; quod non potest fingere fieri pro verecundia fidei, nisi propter amorem quem 30 principes habent ad ecclesiam alienam, quam tribulant, ut sic purgent; et tamen fingunt hoc fore in se ipsis (qui magis delinquunt, et quos principes debent magis diligere et curare) crudele sacrilegium, non medelam. Talis autem apostotarum duplicitas turbat mundum; 35 domini ergo temporales pro isto scelere, nisi fructuose peniteant, sunt dampnabiles ex consensu. |

1. et dominus subsanabit eos C. 4. 123 BC. 7. eorum C.
13. infideliter A; ib. dominici B; ib. intactum C. 15. scriptura C;
ib. fidelium BC. 18. clara atque C. 21. insaniam C. 23. ut
rapidus B. 27. stare B; ib. in deest B.

29. *Crucient*. Probably an allusion to the Crusade in Flanders, against the followers of the Antipope, Robert of Geneva.

CAPITULUM UNDECIMUM.

A. 59^b Restat ulterius videre de dubiis concernentibus istam Some questions
materiam. Et primo, si sit expedicius publice penitere. concerning
Et videtur, quod sic, quo ad penitentem. Nam quanto Penance.
5 cum maiori pudore eque contritus penitet, de tanto est I. Whether
sua penitencia meritorior. Sed hoc fit communiter de publica penitencia coram multis: ergo, communiter publice penitencia foret meritorior, et sic expedicior. The greater the
talis penitencia foret meritorior, et sic expedicior. shame endured,
Minor patet per experienciam et rationem. Si enim the more
10 peniteri coram unica persona sit ponderosum, foret meritorious the
cum paribus magis ponderosum penitere publice coram penance;
ipso et multis consorciis; cum penitenti sit evidens quod confession to
solitarius, audiens confessionem suam, sigillabit eam, many is still
nulli reserans nisi deo, non ut puniat, sed remittat; than to one
15 quod consilium non est ita evidens multitudini alone;
detectum. and the penitent
Item, forma penitendi servanda exprimitur in legе cannot be sure
nova vel veteri, cum omnis alia forma sit apocrifa, non that a multitude
a deo observanda; sed in utroque testamento fit mencio will not disclose
20 de penitencia publica, non privata; ergo, illa est pocius his sin.
observanda. Minor patet de Achan Josue 7^o, qui ex Both the old
Matth. mandato Domini debuit seculari principi et populo and the New
XXVI, confiteri. Et tantam evidenciam de confessione solitaria Law make
75 non audivi. Et idem patet de beato Petro, qui *fleendo* of Saint Peter,
1 Tim. *amare fructuose* penituit. Paulus autem 1^o Thymoth. p^o.
I, 13 in scriptis publice confitetur quod fuit blasphemus. Papa and of Pope
eciam Marcellinus, martir gloriosus, post thurificationem Marcellinus:
diabolo confessus est publice peccatum suum fratribus while private
suis et processit ad martirium, ut patet 21 dis. capitulo confession is
based on no such authority.

1. Cap. 11 *in marg.* B: *deest* A. 4. quo *deest* A; *ib.* punitatem A.
10. pudorosum BC. 11. pudorosum BC. 12. ipsa BC. 14. reservans B.
17. Ideo A. 20. non privata *deest* A; *ib.* igitur C. 21. Achor A:
Achan C. 22. Domini *deest* A. 25. Thess. 5 A. 26. confiteri A.
27. Marcellinus *in marg.* B.

Nunc autem. Confessio autem auricularis non ex tanta auctoritate vel utilitate legitur processisse.

It is granted
that it is good
to confess the
same sins
several times to
different
priests, on
account of the
greater
confusion
endured; if so,
the same applies
to public
confession.

And if many
priests can at
the same time,
in any sense,
absolve a dead
man, they can
do so for a
living man too.

And if several
can absolve a
living man, they
can hear his
confession.

Item, ut scola hodie fatetur concorditer, meritum est iterum confiteri eadem peccata eciam dimissa, quo- ciens uni sacerdoti vel pluribus fuerint publicata, et hoc potissime propter verecundam displicenciam de comiso: cum ergo tanta vel maior potest esse pudorosa displicencia pluribus publice confitendo, videtur iuxta primum argumentum quod nedum licitum sed meritum est confiteri crimina coram multis: sic enim 10 absolvunt multi et simul eandem personam iam mortuam.

et per consequens licet eis simul in casu absolvere iam viventem. Sive enim per modum dissolucionis sive per modum rogacionis processerint multi sacerdotes absolvendo mortuum, tanta vel maior racio est sic simul 15 absolvere iam viventem. Ipse enim capacior est fructus talis absolucionis, cum multis videtur quod absolutio iam mortui quo ad delectionem criminis caret fructu.

Insuper videtur quod sicut licet pluribus sacerdotibus simul absolvere iam viventem, sic licet sibi simul illis 20 omnibus confiteri; quia aliter absolutio foret indignior propter confessionem huiusmodi ex maiori fervore caritatis trans fusam: et dicere quod illusione irrationabili fundatur ecclesia, foret episcopos accusare. Sicut ergo licet successive detegere eandem confessionem multis presbiteris (et sic in 25 casu notificare eandem culpam omni homini), sic et simul.

Wyclif, Hic videtur mihi quod pro neutra parte est genera- B.
however, liter regulandum; quia dum confitens de comiso magis decides that no general rule can conteritur et maius remedium apponitur de cavendis be laid down. The only point peccatis futuris vel de possibili comittendis, de tanto 30 to be considered est confessio laudabilior, sive facta fuerit soli deo sive est the advantage of the penitent, deo et militanti ecclesie. abscondite vel aperte. Et si the intensity of contrition, and dicatur quod ista sentencia non consonat legi ecclesie, the best remedy against a dicuntur ex fide quod consonat Christo, quia rationi et relapse, ecclesie triumphanti. Et si dicatur discordare ab ecclesia 35 If this does not militanti, superest declarare, primo, quod illi a quibus agree with ecclesiastical law, it agrees discordat, sunt vera ecclesia; 2º quod illi non in isto with the law of errant, sed in hoc fundacionem capiunt a scriptura; et Christ.

Those who object to it must show that they

1. prodet si confitearis *in marg.* B. 5. replicata B. 6. vere- cundiam A. 7. igitur C; *ib.* podoſa A. 10. crimina *deest* B. 11. absolvunt *deest* B; *ib.* et *deest* B. 14. per modum *deest* A. 16. est *deest* A. 17. tamen AB 22. fervore A; fervore maiori C. 24. Sic igitur C. 27. inquit *pro* mihi C. 36. 2º superest AB: Sed primo superest declarare primo C. 38. ex *pro* a B.

de tanto, sed non amplius, oportet fideles eis obedire. Et sic omnis obediencia reducenda est ad Cristum abbatem ordinis cristiani; et alii blasfemi sunt tamquam refuge respuendi. Et si queratur, que confessio sit in maiori 5 parte probabilior et scripture conformior: dicitur quod confessio generalis, ut patet ex dictis. Unde videtur quod diabolus, ut magis abscondat confessionis nequiciam, introduxit regulariter confessionem absconditam. Conceditur tamen quod quandoque expedit publice, quandoque absconde, quandoque neutraliter, Christi vicariis confiteri; et illam libertatem christiani ordinis, tenendo semper religionem Christi, debet catholicus observare.

Sed pars anticristi tantum adhuc prevalet, quod innititur isti porismati plus quam fidei: *ecclesia romana sic sentenciat*; 15 ergo, *hoc tamquam articulus fidei est tenendum*. Et fallacia ista diaboli magis obnubilat fidem catholicam, cum multis videtur argumentum topicum: *Curia illa ex auctoritate sua illud sentenciat*: ergo, *hoc est perfidia anticristi*. Ideo cum manifestum sit ex fide, quod oportet in quoque credibili 20 supra illos rationem requirere, patet quod oportet quemque dicta illorum tamquam neutra postponere, vel contempnere ut suspecta; habemus enim fidem legis dei in copia, etsi non mendicemus peripsimata anticristi. Leges autem vel raciones opposite faciliter sunt solvende. Vel enim 60^a 25 equivocant de ecclesia romana, vocando illam pure Christi et Petri vicarios, vel anticristive exercent simplices per tradiciones proprias et fulmina, cum minis cesareis machinatis.

Habet autem ecclesia romana usum suum et ecclesia anglicana usum disparem, plus vel eque probabilem; 30 nec sunt contrarii, dum inculpabiliter servaverint substantiam fidei christiane; ut aliqui fideles capiunt eukaristiam specialiter die cene, et alii die Pasche. Primi sunt moti tripliciter: primo, quia Christus cum suis apostolis, quem debemus sequi omnino, illo die sacramentum illud primo instituit et comedit; 2^o, quia propter duos dies sequentes est dies illa remocior a turbacione seculari et crapula die pasce, et 3^o quia prior ecclesia, que prudencius, ita instituit. Scribitur enim in de Consecracione dist. 2^o in cena domini: "A quibusdam recepicio

are of the Church, and follow scripture. Christ alone is to be obeyed. A general confession is most according to Holy Writ; private confession, as a law, is not so; yet sometimes it may be preferable to public confession, and sometimes not.

The side of Antichrist holds that whatever the Church of Rome decides is matter of faith; some think quite the contrary.

Whenever no reason is given for any decision, it should be set aside or not noticed.

The fallacy is that the Roman Pontiff is called Christ's Vicar, and deludes the simple by his menaces.

The Churches of Rome and of England have different customs, not contrary, so long as they do not contradict the Christian faith, v. g. some take Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday, and some on Easter Sunday, for different reasons.

1. sed deest B. 3. tocius ordinis B. 4. queritur B. 11. ut et A.
23. p. ip̄ima B; p. ip̄ia „rasura post a. C. 27. in pro et AC; in B.
29. angelica A. 36. contrarie B; contraria AC. 34. deus A. 38. illam
pro ita A; ita BC. 38, 39. in de g. § 2^a A.

23. *Peripsimata*. Cf. Sermones II, 297, l. 21, 1 Cor. IV, 13.
39. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 17.

eukaristie negligitur, que quoniam in eodem die ab omnibus fidelibus (exceptis his quibus pro gravibus casibus inhibitum est) percipienda sit, ecclesiasticus usus demonstrat, cum eciam penitentes eodem die ad percipienda corporis et sanguinis dominici sacramenta reconcilientur." Hec Sother papa, cuius evidencia vel auctoritas non est minor quam dictum Fabiani ibidem:

A Canon exists *Et si non frequencius*; vel dictum Innocencii 3ⁱⁱ in 5^o in favour of the decretalium: *Omnis utriusque sexus*; quia tunc ad former practice, which has as religiones privatas secundum erimoniarum observancias 10 any subsequent nimium declinarunt. Unde patet quod tradere de isto decree.

regulas generales est presumptive stulticie.

Augustine leaves the faithful free to communicate every day, advising weekly communion. Ideo Augustinus ibidem dicit: "Cottidie eukaristie comunione accipere nec laudo nec vitupero; omnibus tamen diebus dominicis comunicandum hortor." Et 15 infra: "Dixit quispiam non cottidie accipiendam eukaristiam, aliis affirmat cottidie. Faciat unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum." Et ponit exemplum de Zacheo et centurione. Item ostenditur in dicto beati Ambrosii eukaristiam esse spiri- 20 tualiter continue assumendam. "Si quocienscunque effunditur sanguis Cristi in remissionem peccatorum effunditur, debo semper accipere, qui semper peto medicinam; ne itaque simus de numero eorum quos Cristus dicit quod colant culicem et degluciant camelum, non preponderemus 25 dies vel tempora, sed quandocunque racio ducit nos accipere eukaristiam vel facere opus quocunque meritorum, faciamus." Et ita, licet succedens episcopus romanus preceperit sub pena gravi cunctos fideles adultos in die pasche recipere eukaristiam annuatim, verum, 30 inquam, est, quod sic debent facere, nisi racio excuset. Racio autem sufficiens est multis fidelibus quod die cene, quando fuit eis devocius, manducarunt. Et si allegatur obedientia servanda pape: moveat illud claustrales, qui observant ceremonias sui privati ordinis 35 preter necessarie introducti. Nos autem teneamus liber- D. tatem primevam legis Cristi, scilicet ut non simus

Ambrose, inviting the faithful to take spiritual communion continually, says: "Let us not, like the Pharisees, bind ourselves to the observation of days, but follow reason". And though it be commanded to communicate on Easter Sunday, we should not do so if we have a sufficient reason; which may be that our devotion prompted us to take communion on Maundy

1. qm A. 14. non laudo accipere C. 17, 18. secundum quod A. 22. in testimonium et in C; ib. Cristi deest C. 26. conductit B. 37. ut deest C.

8. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 16. 9. See p. 112. 13. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 13. 21. Decr. Grat. De Cons. Dist. II, c. 14.

oppressi iugo iudayco. In neutris vero nobis condescendamus populo cum quo vivimus.

Thursday;
for we follow
Christ's law in
liberty.

Sed gradus persone, evidencia sue conscientie, ac ceterae rationales circumstancie sunt pensande; ut si ipsum moveat devocio et impulsio spiritus comunicari singulariter die cene, quis papa vel cardinalis vel lex quam statuit, prohiberet? Sed esto quod insane decreverint quod sub quantacunque pena inventa quilibet eis obediat, faciendo quod ipsi imperant, ut sic eorum potestas appareat: certum est quod ipsi non habent potestatem hanc legem statuere; sed usurpacione supposita, fidelis debet pro observacione libertatis Christi hoc iugum scribarum secure disrumpere, ut patet Act. 15^o, ex decreto apostolorum. Ideo, exigendo talem obedienciam, debent fundare saltem eius consonanciam legi Christi. Modo autem multa sunt neutra et possunt bene fieri vel omitti; et tamen legem statuere quod hoc fiat regulariter sub gravi pena, excedit humanam potentiam. Immo hoc temptans incurrit blasphemiam; et in isto laborant propter extorquendam luciferinam obedienciam multi prepositi ordinum privatorum. Non negatur tamen quin licet in talibus neutrī unam partem eligere socialiter ex consensu. Sed statuere legem condicionalem eternam vel universalem ante statuentem, excedit humanam potentiam; et extollens statuentem supra deum, confirmat blasphemiam. Quis, inquam, potest statuere, quod si quis religiosus mutat habitum ab albo in nigrum, a cappa in tunicam, sic de aliis ritibus per quos religiosi nostri ut per essenciales differencias distinguuntur? Cum, inquam, talis veritas connexionis sit absolute necessaria et eterna, et sic supra omnem ordinacionem humanam, subiacens soli ordinacioni divine; vel sit simpliciter impossibilis: tunc non potest esse vel al aliquo ordinari. Quicumque in sectis ordinacionem talem defenderit est hereticus plus vel minus. Si autem statuerit quod quicunque sic vel sic fecerit sit taliter puniendus in idem

The Pope has no power to lay down rules in this manner,

and he ought to be disobeyed by way of protestation;

for though what he commands may be neither right nor wrong, yet he exceeds his power by such a law and such penalties,

though it is allowable on neutral points to agree to act together.

To make the law universal and eternal is wrong; as v. g. to make of the habit of the Orders an essential difference between them; what is essential does not belong to human ordinance.

1. introducto C. 1, 2. concendamus C. 4. racionabiles B; ^{ronales} C.
5. quem BC. 8. invenis *omnes* MSS. 13. dirrupere C. 14. exigentes B.
18. fuit A; fiant B. 21. negant C. 22, tamen *deest* AC. 25. excellens B;
ib. statuentem *deest* B. 28. ab albo A; a capo B. 29. d^rur A.
30. que communis AB. 31. tunc *pro* et sic A. 32. si *pro* connexionis;
ib. fit C. 36. statuerit ac fecerit C.

27. *Habitum*. See *De Apostasia*, pp. 3, 4.

Suppose that redit, cum sit eadem sentencia. Ut, posito quod papa Innocent had ordinatus statuerit quod quicumque laicus ^{60^b it was a mortal sin to take communicatus fuerit die parasceves, non in pascha, peccet Communion on mortaliter et sic graviter puniatur, blasphemat indubie, Good Friday, if would have been hereticans fideles et papas qui hoc non servarunt in ⁵ blasphemy on his part. ecclesia primitiva. Sed quid stuleius? cum lex talis universalis foret supra vires hominum, ymmo supra rationem, et per consequens supra deum; et sic foret quelibet talis statuicio venenosa.}

Any act that God allowed us to do or not to do, might thus be forbidden, and man could give commands which God cannot. Et istud confirmatur ex hoc quod ante talem statui- ¹⁰ E. rationem foret quocunque tale opus ex dei ordinancia liberum atque neutrum, sed post statuicionem talem, ut singitur, est opus dampnabile, et eius oppositum ad meritum limitatum: ergo, subiacet statuicioni humane taliter ordinare, quod videtur deo non posse competere; ¹⁵ quomodo ergo liceret illiberare opus dei, quod eterna-

If God were to approve all such commands, we should return to the servitude of the Old Law. liter ordinavit esse sic liberum? Item, si opus tale incipit esse dampnabile, cum talis instituens non de facto extollitur supra deum, oportet deum verum ex statuacione servili gravare tempore gracie legem pene: ²⁰ quod repugnat rationi libertatis et bonitatis divine. Que, rogo, libertas in deo, quod necessitetur propter statuicionem de possibili anticristi punire servum suum severius sine causa? Anticristus autem, legem istam

Should Robert of Geneva make a law, and Urban VI a contrary one. God would be obliged to ratify both, and punish and reward for the same act. stabiens, petit hoc metricum proprium soli deo: *Sic 25
volo, sic iubeo; sicut pro racione voluntas.* Item, possibile est quod sicud in talibus neutris duo statuentes contradictria approbaret. Summum itaque miraculum, ³⁰ sed summe monstruosum, foret simul tempore gravare et facilitare eadem opera. Ut si gibbonensis statuat quod omnis fidelis comunicabitur die parasceves, non in pascha, et Urbanus noster statuat, quod solum in die pentechostes vel alio quocunque, et uterque annexat penam spiri- ³⁵ tualem, patet quod non maior foret necessitas in dicta

1. reddit C; ib. quod C; ib. eadem deest B. 2. tercarius deest BC.
4. tunc pro et sic B. 5. finan't = servaverunt C. 10. II. instituicionem B. 14. after meritum blank space, in B. 15. non posse deo C.
16. verum deest B. 22. que C. 25. proprium soli deest C.
27. sint B. 32. opera dei BC; ib. gibbonensis B. 34. petechosten (sic) A;
petechostes C. 36. quid A.

15. *Non posse competere.* Because it is impossible to suppose God leaving us no action that we are free to make or not to make.
25, 26. Juvenal. Sat. VI, I. 223. *Hoc volo, sic iubeo*, etc.

lege Innocencii IIIⁱⁱ, quam in istarum altera vel utraque.

Ideo non dubium quin leges tales sunt plene blasfemia; Or: a given act
ut sicut dicitur deum non preordinasse penam pro is not
peccato Lini antequam papa vel alias ydiota iniunxerit; punishable by
5 sic dicitur quod pena pro tali opere non est racionalis God, so long as
antiquam papa statuerit taliter faciendum esse not ordained
sub tanta pena, et postea deus consequitur confirmando. so; but so soon
Et eadem est consideracio de sectis privatis, que usibilia as he has, God
statuunt sub anathemate non sic uti. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, inflicts
10 multa observata ut regule privatorum ordinum sapiunt blasphemias are
blasphemiam et heres manifestam. Cum igitur deus to be found.
Act. X, dicit Petro, Act. 10. *Quod deus purificari, tu ne comune*

12 *diveris, qua fronte presumeret refuga per quem nullius*
religionis sumpsit exordium pro lege universali vel con-
15 ditionali statuere quod vesci non libet et tegumentis
non licet uti taliter sub hac pena? Honoremus igitur
solum religionem institutam a domino veritatis.

F. Sed contra istud instatur quod non licet vovere quid- Objections: If
quam facere, nec cristiano statuta edere, nec pape cum this doctrine be
20 aliquo dispensare. Sed primum dicitur negando assumptum. true, i. no
Conceditur tamen quod oportet in omni voto humano vows are right;
subintelligi condicionem, *si deus voluerit*, ut patet alibi. 2. no Christian
Quando autem quis fatue vovet preter vel contra reli- can make laws;
25 penitere. Nec licet concedere novas leges propter talem 3. and the
stulticiam obligandi, quia sic liceret a religione Cristi dispensing
totaliter variare, et totum genus neutrorum, vel quod power.
Cristus dictavit esse licitum ex voto et religione facere i. In every vow
non licere. Absit ergo Cristianum presumere ut statui- there is the
30 cione sua stolida negacio, que vis vel veritas conexionis tacit condition
incipiat, ymo quin liberius potest homo post progressum of God's
in religione Cristi quicquid facere quod prius potuit, approval;
35 non obsit apostasia implicans quod in deterius retro- without which
cedit. Deus autem facit, non quod talis non potest it ought to be
licite facere tale opus, sed quod modo est sibi illicitum broken.
taliter operari. Et sic talis actus non est sibi neuter, No laws should
nec forte aliquis umquam fuit; sed credere quod ex therefore be
nuda ordinacione humana opus sit criminosum quod made to oblige
aliunde foret meritorium, sapit Anticristi blasphemias; such vows to be
40 cum oportet illum in cuius manu sunt vicissitudines kept.
A Christian in
following his
religion is freer
than he was
before, unless
he becomes a
backslider.

The
unlawfulness
of any action
forbidden by
vow consists in
God not
allowing him to
do it *for the*
time.

3. sic C. 14. sufficit *pro* sumpsit C. 20. dispesare A. 27. variari AB.
31. post *pro* potest A. 33. apostola ingleciones quidem A; implicitas
quod B. 34. aut C. 35. non modo AC. 36. Tunc B; ib. ibi A.
38. unica B. 39. anticristus blasphemians A.

But to make a temporum dare crementum virtutum. Et sic statuere vel crime out of a vovere irrationabilia, foret luciferina demeneia; vovere deed, good in itself, is neutra foret illibertans stulticia: sed vovere religiosa, madness; God alone gives increase of virtue.

longe a peccatoribus et dictas leges infames statuere ex hoc quod licet opus tertii modi prudenter vovere.

2. and 3. Laws are allowable, and so are dispensations, provided they follow Scripture.

But laws are now multiplied without foundation in Holy Writ; such should not be obeyed, and in general, as every law diminishes Christian liberty, none should be made without grave reasons.

II. Whether the secret of confession should be always kept.

Et sic dicitur ad secundum et 3^m, quod licet statuta condere et cum ligatis irrationabiliter dispensare, dum 10 tamen lex scripture sit exemplar ad dirigendum talia opera sapienter. Numquam autem sunt ipsa licita, nisi deus prius illa fecerit approbando. Ideo apostoli nichil fecerunt, nisi ex inspiracione divina, ex Cristi consilio, vel sorte a deo propter meritum sortientium regulata. 15 Sed hec racio fuit in primitiva ecclesia, quando emergetebat casus necessitans. Sed modo ceci prepositi audenter multiplicant leges quas nesciunt stabilire. Ideo fideles debent ipsas non admittere vel temere admissas excusare, et de lege ac religione Cristi, dimisis aliis, 20 contentari. In aliis autem levibus debet fidelis modos licitos 2^m comunem dei influenciam observare, et non illibertando dei ecclesiam pro quoconque facto legem statuere. Lex enim dicitur a *ligando*, et non debet statui nisi in arduis, ut consiliis ewangelicis et preceptis; et 25 sic lex ewangelica per se sufficit sine plure. Tradiciones autem et statuta localia, cum phas et nephas plurimum sunt permixta. Ideo perfecti viri ipsa vel negligunt, vel, lege dei attenta sedule, parvipendunt.

Sed 2^o principaliter arguitur de clavibus vel sigillo 30 G. confessionis, quod licet in multis casibus confessionem detegere. Probatur primo rationabilitas eius ex utraque parte legis dei docentis quod debet esse publica et per

4. implicata foret prudencia faciens C. 6. saltare A. 7. opera BC.
 9. primum B. 12. sapientis C. 15. regulatam A. 10. admissionem A.
 23. Christi BC. 26. plica (*sic*) C. 27. plurim AB. 28. non
 pro vel before negligunt A. 31. cont'oni' C. 33. parte deest BC;
 ib. lege BC.

30. *Sigillo*. It is known that Roman Catholic doctrine is very absolute on this point. The priest out of confession may not even *think* of what has been said in confession; so much so that it is unanimously held that a priest, made aware in confession that an assassin intends to waylay him on a journey, may not put off the journey, nor take any precautions which he would not otherwise have taken! This may serve to mark the independent point of view taken by Wyclif on the subject.

consequens multis cognita. Ille ergo qui pluribus revelat confitibile non reserat nisi detegendum; quod licet bene facere, sicut deus pandet in finali iudicio, et Petrus publicavit, Act. 5. de Anania et Zaphira. Non enim videtur ratio istius malicie, nisi quod fideles subtrahant a confessione auriculari intendententes confessioni publice vel confessioni quam facerent fructuose soli deo; quod videtur nedum tollerabile sed legale.

Item lex dei et communis utilitas necessitant peccata confessa private esse a confessore populo detegenda; ergo lex generaliter statuens oppositum est iniqua. Antecedens videtur; posito quod quis confiteatur Petro private de prodicione populi, vel homicidio committendo, et licet promittat Petro, quod non wult facere facinus cuius propositum confitetur, appareat tamen Petro ex signis evidenter, quod prius confitens perverse redierit ad propositum predictum facinus committendi, tunc videtur ratione multiplici, quod talis confessio sit detegenda; primo, quia caritas ad confessum urget crimen suum 20 excludere, quod supposito aliter commodius non posse fieri quam publicandum nephandum propositum. Et idem patet ex parte populi prodendi, cui confessor iuratur, et amitteret a sibi probabile maius bonum celando. Et ex parte Petri videtur quod propter accusatum sibi meritum, paciendo mortem propter honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie prodendo, in casu facinus impedit. Nam non tanta pena est iniuncta, quanta foret quecunque dei offensa.

Item, contigit sacerdotem errasse in audiendo confessionem laici, et de illo errore quotquot presbiteris pro securitate et merito confiteri. Cum ergo ad confessionem huiusmodi requiritur in casu peccati primi laici detecio, videtur quod licet in casu multiplici peccata detegere. Si enim multi istorum sacerdotum fuerint post modum degradati, vel percepti ordines indebitate percepisse, quomodo non posset primum peccatum per presbiterum fore licite populo publicatum? Ut ponitur in casu quo confessor cadat in phrenesim, vel morbum aliun, in oblivionem, vel loquacitatem, in sompno, et sic peccatum confessi publicetur.

The Bible, always mentioning public confession, implies the contrary.

To reveal the secret of confession is but to make known now what will be known at the last Day; and it would have a good effect, injuring the practice of auricular confession. Besides, if a man, having confessed an intended murder or act of treason, and it being clear to his confessor that he again intends to commit such a crime, it is the confessor's duty, for the correction of the penitent, for the good of the intended victim, and for his own good, exposing himself to deadly peril for God's sake, to reveal the fact.

A priest may err in dealing with a penitent, and confess his fault to several priests, and thus be obliged to reveal his penitent's sin: if this is legal, then sins may be revealed. Or take the cases of madness, delirium, forgetfulness, talkativeness, or speaking in one's sleep: then confessions are revealed.

1. pluribus *deest* C. 13. propositi *pro* populi B. 14. *wli* C.
10. redigerit A. 20. *suppo^o* C. 28. *offensio* C. 34. enim *deest* B.
35. p modū C. 36. *suscepisse* B. 37. populo *deest* A. 39. in *before*
oblivionem *deest* B.

And if it be answered that they may be revealed in general terms, inadvertently, or by the express will of God: then what is the good of a law so indefinite?

Si dicatur quod licet generalibus verbis peccata detegere, et ubi oblivio premuniendi est forcior, ac 3º in casu quo deus necessitat ad in casibus positis exprimentium: ad quid, rogo, valet lex tam artis penis astricta, et nulla sui particula explanata? Revera perinde 5 est ac si lex ista non foret posita, cum verbis generalibus, signis preter verba, et taciturnitate vel nutu contingit populum multa satis cognoscere. Vel quis presbiter accusatus de isto nesciret subterfugia reperire? aut quis presbiter, hec detegens, non foret necessitatus ista depro- 10 mere? cum scimus quod omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient.

Under cover of this law, sins may go unpunished, and priests put into difficulties, sinners coming to confess to those very priests whose duty it is to convict them.

Item, secundum cautelam huius legis possent peccata 15 foveri et presbiteri intricari: nec est fundamentum vel fructus ad huius legis edicionem necessitans. Ideo in causa sue originis est suspecta. Quilibet enim subditus prelato posset exigere confessionem ab eo et inter alia dicere sibi crimen de quo prelatus ipsum argueret; et sic clauderetur os eius, ne liceat sibi arguere, licet videat ipse offerre ad periurium vel fidelem falsissime 20 convincendum. Cautela quidem diaboli precluderet ne presbiter testimonium perhibeat necessarie veritati; necessitatus enim confessor iurare alteram partem, iuraret cum diabolo falsitatem, et per consequens contra veritatem ipsam tegeret et foveret. 25

To hide sins is thus a sacrament of the devil:

the penitent should publish his sins to the glory of God. When a man is a public sinner, any priest saying: I am his confessor, implicitly

Magnum itaque sacramentum in absconsione peccati vel sue delectionis, per quod honor dei et utilitas ecclesie lucescerent in effectu! Tale indubie foret sacramentum Tob. patris mendacii. Sed thobie 12: *Sacramentum regis ab-* XII, 7 *scondere bonum est; opera autem dei revelare et 30 confiteri honorificum est.* Cum igitur singulare opus dei sit peccata dimittere, patet antecedens; ymmo confessus daret gloriam deo, veritatem sui facinoris publicando.

Quomodo ergo confessor suus foret sibi in hoc contrarius post vel ante? vel ymmo, fatendo quod quis est con- 35 fessor alterius, cum peccatum suum publicum sit (et supponi debet quod quilibet sit memor sic salutis sue implicitly

2. $\widehat{\text{pmu}}\text{ndi}$ (?) A; premundi B; $\widehat{\text{pmu}}\widehat{\text{ndi}}$ C. 3. caº A. 4. tunc lex B. 5. propositum A. 11. eveniunt AC. 14. intrari *omnes* MSS. 18. tunc B. 22. ecclesie C. 33. gulam A. 37. sic before salutis deest B.

11, 12. This is a well-known sophism alluded to in *Logicae Continuatio*, now publishing. *Omnia que evenient de necessitate, evenient; or: Omnia que evenient, de necessitate evenient.*

omnia perfecte et integre confitendo) fatetur implicite
 61^o se audivisse omnia illa facinora | a confessore. Sive igitur
 confessi sive populus iniuriatus insurgat contra confessores
 huiusmodi, deficeret in hoc, eis mortuis, causa dei.

5 Debent enim secundum doctrinam Cristi, Matth. 18, ter
 Matth. prudenter corripere et 4^a vice deserere. Ideo evidens
 XVIII, est quod fratres, per multos annos remanentes affectuose
 16, 18 confessores hominum qui non resipiscunt sed pocius
 peiorantur, consenciant suo facinori, et proditorie nu-
 triunt contra Cristum. Mille sunt casus in quibus deficit
 hoc legis principium, quia stabilitur super confessione
 abscondita, que est toxicum fundamentum.

Videtur ergo quod confessio secreta, sicud quocunque
 secretum aliud, servata prudencia, sit celandum; nec
 15 video magnam devocationem vel delectacionem in sic
 audiendo confessiones privatas. Sed postquam cessavit
 predicacio publica gignitiva filiorum dei in Cristo, fuit
 ista auricularis confessio instinctu diaboli introducta.
 Ille autem studeat glosare hanc legem et solvere raciones,
 20 qui delectatur in ea, et non videt quod in fide scripture
 esset meritorius laborandum. Meritorium quidem est
 detegere fallacias istas diaboli. Quilibet cristianus debet
 confiteri deo et ecclesie, sicud homines debent confiteri
 alterutri. Ymmo homo debet in casu confiteri private
 25 prudenti presbitero et facere secundum suum consilium;
 ergo debet ut lex statui quod omnis homo habens
 discretionem et scienciam, debet semel in anno con-
 fiteri omnia peccata sua auriculariter proprio sacerdoti,

Petro quidem, et in persona sua ecclesie. Sed specialiter
 30 sacerdoti data est potestas ligandi et solvendi, cum
 Joan. tamen paverit oves Cristi de suo pabulo, ut dicitur Joh.
 XVII, ult., et ligaverit vel solverit conformiter ecclesie trium-

21 phanti; et aliter nichil sibi, et dico ad Petrum vel omnes
 apostolos, cum aliter non sit de numero eorum quibus
 35 Christus locutus est. Probabile quidem videtur, quod
 solum eis concessit Cristus hanc potestatem, qui docent
 fidem Cristi de predestinatis vel reprobis, et sedebunt

Matth. in die iudicii super sedes, iudicantes 12 tribus Israel.

XIX,
 28

admits that his sins, have been made known to him.

A priest should remonstrate three times with his penitent, and at the fourth relapse, abandon him; not (as many Friars do) remain his friend and confessor during years of impenitence.

The secret of confession should be kept, like all others, according to the rules of prudence.

A summary of Wyclif's doctrine on Confession: it should be made to God, to the Church and privately to a proper priest representing the Church.

But if the latter should not feed Christ's flock, the promises made to the Apostles were not made to him; they are probably for those who teach the doctrine of predestination and reprobation.

1. implicite erasim C. 2. confessore C. 4. illis B; ib. mortis AB.
 5. Nota confessores debent suos confessos quarta vice obstinatos deserere
in marg. B. 6. ^oA. 7. p. pro per A: ib. affectuosa A. 14. servatur A.
 19. et *in marg.* A. 23. dicunt A. 24. alterutrum *omnes* MSS.
 27. sufficienciam BC. 28. omnia *deest* B. 30. sacerdotum A. 31. aves A.
 32. ecclesie twice C.

Illi enim erunt perpetuo ligati vel soluti in celis, cum tam angeli quam homines beati videbunt clare equitatem divine sentencie, et gaudebunt de eius perpetuitate. Et sic viri apostolici filios suos in beatitudinem introducent, sive heremite sive simplices sive sacerdotes, eo 5 alcius quo copiosius et perfeccius hic predestinacionis filios genuerunt. Unde tales in Petro ligant et solvunt super terram, quando dant arras ligacionis vel solucionis finalis perpetue. Et claves regni est potestas vel sciencia

sic arrandi adversus quas porte *inferi* (prescitorum peccata 10 vel predestinatorum secundum presentem iniusticiam) Matth. XVII,

non prevalebunt; quia tunc iniquitas diaboli foret forcior 18

The key of
Heaven is their
science in this
matter.

And this 'power
of the keys'
comes direct
from Christ.

It is a heresy to
say that every
sentence of the
Pope on earth
is confirmed in
Heaven.

All apostolic
men have the
power of
binding and
loosing,
but this is not a
subject for
ostentation;

all honour
should be given
to God.

*III. Several
other problems.*
1. Is it enough
to do penance
whilst in a state
of mortal sin?

Et patet quante diabolus seduxit populum, subversione

divine sentencie in hoc dicto. Construit enim Anticristus quod quicquid romanus pontifex sentenciat de pena vel premio, oportet omnino quod in celestibus compleatur. 20

Et ex hac heresi pululant blasphemie infinite. Veritas, inquam, est quod ubique terrarum quis fuerit conversus ad deum, sive precise per deum, sive per quemlibet eius ministrum, correspondenter ad meritum participabit et

premio. Viris autem apostolicis sine accepcione perso- 25 K.

narum concessit deus potestatem subtrahendi et promovendi ad talia, dum tamen conformantur divino iudicio, sicut conformatur triumphans ecclesia. Nec debet quis

pompare de tali potencia, quia eius effectus est sibi absconditus, cum deus ante vel post vel impertinenter 30 absolucioni humane vere absolvit. Ideo, ut dicit angelus, thobie. 12, absconsa magnificencia humana totus honor

Tob. XII, 7 debet patule dari deo. Et ista est sententia Augustini cum aliis sanctis, licet hodie de potestate clavium et

dimissione peccati nimum blasfemetur. 35

3º principaliter queruntur dubia. Primo si sufficit hominem facere penitenciam, dum fuerit in mortali. Et constat quod non, cum existens in mortali, quidquid

4. vere A. 5. 3rd sive *deest* A. 7. gen't AC. 9. perpetuo A.
10. parte A; *ib.* parte *inferri* C; *ib.* peccatorum A. 17. per subversionem BC.
18. autem Cristus A. 22. quis *deest* C; *ib.* *after* fuerit qui C.
23. quod A; quelibet C. 25. apostolis AB. 25, 26. persone B.
26. subrandi B. 29. affectus A. 31. absolucionem humanam B;
post absolucionem vere C. 36. Nota *in marg.* A. 37. *in mortali* A.

fecerit, peccat mortaliter; multum tamen prodest facere bona de genere. Nam in predestinato preparat ad satisfactionem finalem; in prescrito vero parvificat penam, cum maiores alias possideret. Et ad obiectum quo 5 dicitur in fine confessionis primo peccatum remitti, et sic valeret confessio in mortali; patet quod antecedens non probatur, cum psalmo 31^o dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor adversum me iniustiam meam domino; et tu remisisti 10 iniquitatem peccati mei.* Multorum enim peccata sunt 10 remissa, qui non taliter confessi sunt. Ideo, sicut in materia de eukaristia nesciunt satrape quando panis sit corpus Cristi, sic nesciunt instans quo quis absolvitur a peccato; sed ab omni mortali suo reperto pro infusione gracie simul absolvitur. Et contingit quod ab 15 solucio errare faciat. Contingit autem, quod occasiona- liter faciat promerer. Venialia autem peccata remanent in quantumlibet confidente, cum remanserant in Petro et Johanne eciam post missionem spiritus sancti. Ideo musitant magnificantes claves, errantes, quomodo abso- 20 lucio non delet veniale, cum existens in pure veniali teneatur sub pena mortalis secundum formam impositam confiteri, et dicere quod confessio delet aliquod veniale et non quotlibet quod invenitur, est infundabilis ficticia; | 62^a sicut irrationabiliter fingitur quod indulgencia delet 3^{am} 25 vel 4^{am} partem penitencie, quantumcumque varie, secun- dum quod anticristus voluerit limitare.

2^o dubitatur si homo sub obtenu premii tenetur 2. Whether the multociens confiteri eadem peccata, et quando cessaret; continual repetition of the same sins in confession is cum confessio mentis ad deum debet esse continua. 30 Sed non haberem subditum sic opinantem, cum super- flue vexaret se et prepositum, dimitteret opus debitum, et accumularet sibi penitenciam per repetitionem replicatum inutilem; cum nec deleret culpam, nec augeret graciam, sed tolleret fructum operis racionabiliter interim faciendi.

35 Sed 3^o dubitatur si confessus sit ad opcionem positus 3. Whether the L. facere solum penitenciam iniunctam vel aliam quamcunque, penitent is held to accomplish

2. bona *deest* A; *ib.* Ex C; *ib.* preparat BC. 7. 13 B. 8., 9. etc.
pro iniustiam — *mei deest* A 13. de A. 13, 14. visione B.
15, 16. occasio A. 19. musicant C; *ib.* erronie B; erronee C. 23. in-
venit C. 27. 3^o A. 30. *hō* A; habere B; *hrem* = haberem C. 31. sed
pro se A; *ib.* delatum A. 35. 2^o AC; *ib.* poitus A. 36. q,^mq, A.

5. I think the meaning of this somewhat obscure passage is that sins are forgiven only (primo) at the end of confession (by absolu- tion); against which Wyclif brings the words of Ps. XXXI. (l. 7—9).

No: for in that state every act is mortal sin. But good deeds may be done with fruit; in the elect, they prepare for complete satisfaction; in the castaway, they lessen the punishment. Absolution cleanses from all mortal sins.

Venial sins are not effaced, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary.

Negated; it is useless loss of time.

the penance prescribed, or not: logical subtleties by which this question may be debated, and which are insoluble. vel quantum licet variare. Et videtur logicis quod sacerdos iniungit penitenciam, sed nullam iniungit; sicut scit confessum suum dignum pena, sed nulla pena scit ipsum esse dignum. Nam cum pena individuatur a tempore et quotlibet aliis causis suis, nec confitens⁵ nec confessus sciret notare penitenciam iniunctam, et periret clavis sciencie. Et sophista confessus diceret: non teneor facere penitenciam mihi iniunctam, quia nulla est michi iniuncta: nec communis penitencia, iuxta quam foret alia exsurgenda, quia in illa foret tanta¹⁰ perplexitas sicut in quacunque materia. Et ita videtur per sacramentum infundabile perplexitas insolubilis introducta.

4. Whether there is not a certain spiritual kinship between the confessor and his penitent; Wyclif decides that there is, but leaves Antichrist to answer the difficulties that arise on this point.

4º dubitatur si ex tali paternitate et filiacione sit spiritualis affinitas, et quomodo se habet ad alias. Ymmo videtur quod non solum est data sacerdoti licencia¹⁵ coniugandi sed ut modo stat irrationabiliter, gravatur occasio delinquendi. In isto et similibus relinquo anticristo solucionem et fundacionem dictorum, sciens quod inter sacerdotem et suum conversum est quedam spiritualis paternitas; ymmo inter Cristum et suos filios,²⁰ cum Matth. 12º scribitur: *Quicumque fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui in celis est, ipse meus frater, et soror, XII, 50 et mater est;* frater secundum spiritum, soror secundum carnem, et mater secundum naturam compositam. Deus autem reservat sibi [secundum] quandam preemi-²⁵ nenciam nomen patris.

5. Whether a man can be twice guilty of the very same sin.

For a 'foreknown' will be punished for all his sins, and yet he may during his life have repented of them: the same sins must therefore return. Yet it is not strictly the same sin: the matter is

5º obicitur si eadem peccata in numero redeunt. Et videtur quod sic, quia prescitus dampnabitur pro quocumque peccato quod fecerit; cum ergo multa per penitenciam sunt deleta, sequitur conclusio. Si enim homo³⁰ dampnabitur pro illo peccato quod non est, tunc homo dampnabitur pro nichilo, et omne peccatum esset peccatum finalis inpenitentie; eo, quod nullum peccatum accelerari, breviari poterit vel tardari, et falsa esset prophethica Ezech. 3º. Quantum ad istud dicitur quod³⁵ peccatum potest dici idem in numero quoad materiam Ezech. et subiectum, vel quoad tempus, materiam et subiectum. III, 18 Sic autem, stricte loquendo, non reddit idem peccatum

4. cum *deest* A. 6. foret A. 8, 9. mihi — iniuncta *deest* C.
10. exemplanda AC. 14. illas alias C. 16. stat vel gravatur irrationabiliter B; stat irrationabiliter gravatur C; *ib.* gravaretur B. 22, 23. etc.
pro patris — mater est A. 23, 24º A. 23, 24, 25º A. 25º secundum
deest omnes MSS. 29. quidem A. 31. 32. illo — pro *deest* C.
35. 3º *deest*; *a gap* C. 38. reddit C.

in numero, cum individuatur a tempore, vel quo ad terminos suos, vel quo ad successionem motus in quo consistit. Sed primo modo redit idem peccatum, ut loquitur scriptura. Peccatum eciam potest diu remanere et vel in suo fructu ut pena, vel formaliter, et primo modo peccatum idem redit, et remanet perpetuo in dampnato, ut patet de peccato finalis in penitentie. Multa autem locuta de peccatis dependent super logica et metaphysica; et nisi ut obturent Anticristos utile est tractare.

3. primo modo reddit peccatum idem reddit C; *ib.* modo *twice* A.
3—6. ut loquitur — reddit et *deest* A. 8. logica *pro* locuta A; loguta
(sic) C; *ib.* super *deest* A. 9. obtineret anticristus A.

The present chapter deals with rural deans.

Deans in monasteries have more pride; but all are alike by their greed.
They make much money out of the sin of lust, and being themselves most prone to such sins, punish most severely; which is diabolical malice.

Their Superiors prefer to appoint such, because they know better how to wring money out of the people.

And they provoke to sin, in order to increase their riches.

Habito generali sermone de penitencia et confessione, A. restat cavendum ne isti quinque tortores fune excomunicacionem infideliter funesta trica diaboli. Et suppositis dictis de archidiacono et officiali, restat de decano ⁵ rurali, 6^o tortore, aliud perstringendum.

In decano autem monasteriali iacet maior sophisticacio et maior superbia. Comune autem est omnibus istis propter questum subrogari et in superiorum officiis sophisticare censuras. et false tractare subiectos omni ¹⁰ genere criminis anticristi. Specialiter autem spoliant pro peccato luxurie tam clerum quam laicos: et communiter illi qui peccato illo sunt maxime irretiti, maxime iniuste puniunt pro eodem. Illa, inquam, est una condicio diaboli et filiorum qui ex ipso nascuntur, quod in illo ¹⁵ peccato quo est magis culpabilis magis punit; quia diaboli habent maiorem experientiam, ut illis peccatis temptent homines et convincant. Unde satrape, superiores decanis, non querunt illos qui magis mundi a crimen subditos magis purgarent, sed eos in quibus ²⁰ viget plus experimentalis caliditas ad plurem peccuniam a populo rapiendam; quia illam querunt indubie, non purgacionem criminis subditorum. Et patet quod sunt tortores, servi mamone, non ministri Cristi, purgatores nequicie; quia hec querunt pro illo fine solcite labo- ²⁵ rando. Sed illud odiunt, nequiciam, de qua ditantur, multipliciter procurando. Ideo certum est quod sunt vasa diaboli, temptationa populi et proximi, procurati-

1. Cap. 12^m in marg. B; 12 in red ink. 3. tūē A; fune C. 4. trica C.
6. sexto tortore deest A. 9. et deest AB. 10. sophisticari C.
16. est deest A. 17. habuit A. 28. temperamenta A; temperamentum C.

4. The first sentence is incomprehensible. In all the MSS. the word *infideliter* is much abbreviated and may stand for some verb; for which, it is hard to guess.

tores luciferi. In illis enim reconditur venenum, quo populus lubricitate inficitur, ut patet ex cartulis et studio eorum. Ipsi mandant, ut concionatores et monstruosi temptatores sexus feminei, ut patet ex levi amerciamento 5 subdolo et verbo bleso ad continuacionem facinoris alleccio.

Et pars luciferi per eos magis quam per incubos vel succubas roboratur. Sicut enim Cristus humanitatē induit ad querendum perditam ovem centesimam, ut patet Luc. 15^o, sic diabolus anticristus decanos tales 10 induit ad perdendum ovem redemptam cum domino Luc.XV, despontatam. Sic quod tollerabilius esset comunicare 4-6^o 62^b cum meretrice, cum excommunicato | vel ipso diabolo, quam cum tali decano infirmante yppocrisi suam drag-

Luc. mam 10^{am}, que aliter velut aurum vel carbunculus XV, 8 rutilaret. Est enim in subtiliori fortitudine sexus mere-

B. trice calidior; ex maledicione abscondita, sed innata, excommunicato nequior, et ex domesticitate nature cognite infugibilior. Non enim fugatur signacione crucis, sicut diabolus, licet data sibi cruce denarii ad tempus recedat 20 et alias avidius retrocedat. Potestas autem huius belue stat potissime in citacione et excomunicacione; secundum quam primum insons laborator locatim distanter citabitur, quod tollerabilius foret sibi in principio rapinam reddere. Quantum ad excomunicacionem, sic terret sim- 25 pllices quod facit eos reputari infames, cuilibet cristiane comitive odibiles.

Est autem triplex cautela contra istud demonium.

Primo, quod simplex servet se mundum a culpa impo- sita et pacienter premittat illud demonium blaterare.

20 2^a est populi secularis, qui debet talibus raptoribus sacrilegis potenter resistere. Nam regna alia audent ex levi causa vel nulla invadere; sed terram propriam non audent contra hostes domesticos secundum leges pater- nias protegere, quia percussus luciferina vecordia est

35 pessimus sibi ipsi. Facile igitur foret fugare tales apostatas, indictando. 3^o vero cautela foret in proximo curato, ut vicario vel rectore, qui expurget impletos sana exhorte- tatione et fructifera confessione. Cum enim tota decani

They encourage women of bad lives, by inflicting but a slight fine and a mild reprimand on them.

They thus act in the cause of Satan like incarnate fiends, and should be more avoided than harlots, than

the ex-communicated and than the devil; more astute than the first, and more secretly wicked than the second, they will not, by the third, flee at the sight of the Cross.

Their great weapons are citation and excommunication, by which simple folk are

much frightened, thinking that it renders them infamous.

There are three ways of avoiding their clutches.

1. By leading a pure life;
2. By resisting them by every legal means; which can easily be done.

3. By the help of the nearest Curate whose duty

1. in quo B. 3. mediant BC. 4. m'camēto A. 5. ḡiacōm A.
15. ex BC. 17. nequior B. 20. avidius AB. 22. quam deest C.
28. Prima C. 29. illud deest C. 30. que omnes MSS. 31. sacri-
legii A; ib. patenter corr. in marg. A; ib. Non A; ib. audet A. 36. in-
ducendo A; inducendo C.

13. Dragmam for drachmam.

it is to see to vel superioris prelati visitario debet versari circa salutem such matters anime ovis morbide, ac proximus curatus debet diligenter rather than a stranger. cius hoc facere quam remotus; ad eum pertinet, ammoto tortore extrinseco, ad curam illam attendere.

But they say that even should the guilty party be absolved by his Rector, the Dean would still have the right to excommunicate him, or his office would be worth nothing.

But we must suppose that, once absolved, he is no longer guilty before God; every further punishment is therefore inflicted by the devil on an innocent man.

Another tormentor might inflict a third penance; and so on without end, driving him to despair.

Such a claim blasphemously implies that God is incompetent to remit sin until it is atoned by simony.

God is conmissi, supponit ipsum adhuc plenarie non esse expurgatum. Sed dicit implicite quod deus in se derisus et insufficiens exspectat quoque per symoniam suam

reddiderit purgacionis ultimum complementum. Sed quis unquam audivit magis horrendam blasphemiam? Non enim sunt deus, non recognoscens causam superiorem, dicentes: *Sic vollo, sic iubeo* etc? Sed preter scripturam falsam voluntarie rotulis suis rescriptam, oportet quod nichil alegend ex parte dei beneficencie, que in fine sonabit purgacionem a crimine. Sed cum illam perfectam creditur a domino gratis datam, non oportet symoniace emere plus perfectam.

6. arciore A. 11. tripliciter *deest* A; *ib.* primo *deest* B. 13. after patet *a gap omnes* MSS. 17. semel punit A; punit sed deus deus semel B; simil = simul C; *ib.* supponit BC 18. a deo *in rasura pro Ideo* C. 20. satisfaccio *omnes* MSS. 22. ex p9 A; ep 109 C.

27. divisus C. 30. inquam C. 32. d^{ies} *pro* dicentes C. 33. inscriptan C. 34. legent AC; *ib.* beneficenciam *omnes* MSS. 35, 36. perfeccionem AB. 36. creditur A.

Cautela igitur curatorum solicita est a talibus lupis rapacibus defendere oves suas; et si mille litteras excomunicatorias transmiserint, non magis excomunicacionem sophisticam fulminari. Scimus quidem quod excomunicans quem quam iniuste, ut sic, semetipsum excomunicat. Scimus insuper quod pessima foret evidencia propter litteras excomunicatorias quemquam excomunicari debere, nisi assit causa ex parte dei, cui littera talis est impertinens, reddens causam frivolam plus suspectam.

Ideo, collectis quotquot litteris huiusmodi, laboret curatus ad purgacionem suarum ovium et non prorumpat in tales excomunicaciones stolidas propter nudas litteras anticristi. Et idem est iudicium de litteris episcopi et bullis papalibus, cum notum sit ipsos in anathema propter vindicationem sue iniurie cucurrisse; et tunc secundum Gregorium excomunicatio est in ipsos episcopos inferenda. Ideo idem esset onerare ecclesiam, credere quod si quemquam excommunicare precipiunt, tunc excommunicari debet apud deum et ecclesiam militantem, et onerare ipsam ecclesiam quod sint impeccabiles sicut Cristus; et postposita ista blasfemia non forent tot excomunicaciones frivole, ut iam currunt. Fidelis enim non crederet ewangelio, quod est superius bullis papalibus, nisi assit divina inspiracio ad hoc movens. Ideo, nisi deus inspiret, videtur quod nemo excommunicare debeat. Nam sic et non aliter excommunicarunt Cristus et sui apostoli. Non igitur propter perfidiam fictam de constancia prela | torum debet fidelis se et plebem involvere, ubi ex sibi dubio male facit. Nam constat ex decreto Gregorii 23 q. IIII^a ca^o *Inter querelas*, excomunicans propter vindictam proprie iniurie se ipsum excommunicat eo facto; ergo multo magis excomunicans propter hoc D. quod pecunias sibi indebita decimetur. Cum igitur notum sit decanos et plures prelatos excommunicare precipue propter questum, stultus esset qui nude excommunicaret propter eorum literas et mandata; deus enim mandat, verbo scripture cum noticia facti, quod

Parish priests should defend their sheep from these ravenous wolves, in spite of their excommunications, and however many such letters and notices he may receive,

he should, instead of publishing them, strive to bring his flock to a better life; the same must be said of bishops' letters and Papal bulls, when they are known to proceed only from revenge, their authors being thus excommunicated. It would be a heavy burden if we had to believe that God ratifies every excommunication. Even the Gospel should not be believed, if it were not inspired, and without a revelation no one ought to be excommunicated.

Therefore none should be published before his flock by a faithful priest, if he has doubts about their lawfulness. Hardened sinners, as we know by Scripture, are excommuni-

1. est deest A. 4. quod deest AB. 5. quem omnes MSS.
9. forvolam C. 11. non deest A. 13. est deest C; ib. de litteris deest B.
16. Greg^r C. 20. ipsa in marg. A. 21. ista deest C. 27. sic tam C.
33. sibi deest A; ib. detinetur C.

30. This canon is not in the Gregorian Decretals, but in those of Gratian. It is, however, ascribed to Gregory: "Gregorius scribet ad Januarium episcopum dicens". See Deqr. Grat. 2^a Pars. C^a. XXIII. qu. 4. c. 27.

cated by the very fact; yet, contrary to Scripture, we do not shun their society: why then obey a censure which has only money for its object? A man should no be punished again for a sin for which he has already done penance.

ilos quos notorie videmus induratos malicia excomunicat eo facto, et tamen non timemus comunicare cum illis consensu multiplici; et tamen fides scripture, que plus est quam litere predice hoc prohibet, ut patet Math. Matth. 18 et 2^a Joh. Est infidelis ergo qui postponit propter XVIII, talem tyrannidem deum suum.

Sed rimando ulterius arguitur quod non licet dictis ¹⁷ 2 Joan. prepositis sic singulariter propter amerciamentum luxurie capere bona mechii; nam hoc non liceret, nisi sub ratione pene illius peccati. Sed iuxta predicta non licet taliter ¹⁰ bis punire et specialiter capta salutari penitencia ex limitacione proprii sacerdotis. Non enim licet iniungere penam publicam, nisi liceret publice confiteri et spoliatori publice absolvere a peccato, quia aliter liceret quotquot raptoribus absolvere vel rapere successive. ¹⁵

Fines of this sort, if paid gratuitously, are neither alms-deeds nor atonement for sin; if paid for the permission to continue a sinful life, they are a horrible act of blasphemy.

Item, nullum tale amerciamentum debet dari a subdito, si non gratis; sed non debet sic gratis dare questum tali preposito, quia nec titulo elemosine nec titulo redempcionis culpe; cum sic liceret licenciare mechum continuare pro pecunia symoniace in mechia. Quod licet dicatur sepe ²⁰ fieri, tamen manifestum est quod est horrenda blasfemia, quam tota ecclesia impugnaret; sed dei iniuriam ex defectu dilectionis vindicare postponimus, nostram autem pretensam, quia nos magis diligimus, infideliter vindicamus. Et ista est infidelitas per anticristum nimis abscondita. Ideo ²⁵ preponderancia vindicte atestatur preponderacione iniurie.

They are arbitrary, and therefore unlawful, because imposed without any rule but the dean's will; so that he might take all the adulterer's property, if he chose.

Item, cum penitencia pecuniaria sit arbitraria, si sit rationalis, est aliqua rationis regula, secundum quam debuit arbitrari; sed nulla est, sicud nec fundamentum: ergo est irracionalis. Si enim voluntas decani sit regula, ³⁰ tunc secundum variacionem talis voluntatis requiritur quod racio varietur. Ex quo sequitur quod eius voluntas sit dei volicio, cum antecedenter faciat rationem; et sic mutata voluntate sua, ut habeat quotlibet bona mechii (eciam ultra hoc quod possidet) sequitur quod voluntas ³⁵ decani posset quotquot bona voluerit de populo exhaustire.

The only rule he follows is to take as much as he can without danger of being exposed.

Sic enim dicitur Innocencium 3^m nongentas marcas, si non fuisset fraus percepta, annuatim de Anglia exhausisse. Sed irrationabilitas et variacio affectus decani ostendit blasphemiam; moderat enim rapinam ad maximum; sic tamen ⁴⁰ quod fraus et frustracio pecunie non fuerit deprehensa.

5. 2^a Joh. 5 C. est *deest* AC; *ib.* qui *deest* C. 21. est before quod *deest* AB. 4. *vincamus* A. 20. preponderacionem C. 27. sic C. 32. cuius A. 33. talis A; *ib.* tunc *pro* et sic. 40. enim *pro* tamen AC.

E. Item, cum lex dei non auctorisat hoc factum, nec proficit, sed inficit humana tradicio, quo ad illud potissima racio foret, quia pecunie substraccio foret (lubricitatis occasionem subtrahens) medicina. Sed patet quod talis spoliacio sit occasio ad furtum, ad homicidium et ad alia multa mala. Ymmo, supposita veritate huius petiti, 3^a alia sunt vitanda. Primo, unde isti prelato auctoritas ad tales penitencias iniungendum? Videtur enim quod ad illum solum pertinet penitentiam talem iniungere, qui debet absolvere: quod blasphemum est a tali scopante. Iterum, supposito quod talis substraccio fomenti luxurie sit plus salutifera, adhuc circumstancia bonificans est precipue attendenda. Sed quid facit ad meritum petulantis, quod ipse invito dat maiori mecho consimiliter? debet ergo gratis magis indigentibus ut posset sua pravitas extingwi. Item notum est quod perpetua peccancium separacio, aliena occupacio, sive ieiunium et multe penitencie consimiles forent plus medicinales quam huiusmodi subdola rapax.

20 Multa iniungat ergo deus contrito penitenciam voluntariam, quod debemus ex fide supponere, sicut inevidencius supponimus quod confitens sit contritus. Et patet undique penitencia plus salutifera ac magis legitima. Vecors itaque ignorancia est, quod rapina talis permititur; ymmo quod contra talem non currit breve regium, ut raptorem. Ymmo pocius raperent pro gravioribus criminibus magis patentibus, in quibus fraus magis subdola sopiretur.

F. Supposito igitur quod ecclesia fidelium noscat infrenare tales anticeristi prepositos, sic quod despiciendo eorum cautelas terrificas excludat eos simpliciter a rapinis huiusmodi; videndum est quomodo rectores et sui presbyteri se habebunt. Et videtur michi quod primo omnium debemus declinare a malo culpe, ne dum in genere, sicut quilibet cristianus; sed specialiter peccatum tam omissionis quam comissionis circa curam nostrarum ovium prelavare. Aliter enim sumus inhabiles ad subditos nostros secundum spirituale suffragium adiuvandum,

The only argument in favour of a system not authorized by God's law, is that pecuniary fines take away the occasion for lust; but they supply an occasion for other evils. What right has the dean, who does not absolve, to inflict such penalties? It were better for the sinner to give alms to the poor than fines to one worse than himself. And many other penances are better remedies for this sin than fines.

These men should be severely punished as robbers by the king.

1, 2. nec proficiat, sed inficiat B. 2. sed inficit *deest* A. 4. actionem A: *ib.* medi *pro* medicina C. 5. accio A. 11. Item C. 12. ad hanc *pro* adhuc B. 15. maumecho B; mecho C; *ib.* consimili det igitur C. 16. bonitas A; pronitas C; *ib.* Iterum C. 17. propterea AB. 19. toret C. 20. dens *struck out* B. 21. demus A; decanus *in marg.* B. 23. ac *twice* A. 25. non currit *deest* B. 29. igitur *deest* AB. 32. Nota hic de officio curatorum *marg.* B.

The duty of spiritual pastors.
1. To avoid carefully every sin, and especially those against their flock.

If sometimes, for nec rationem nostre stricte custodie deo damus. Licet the greater good of the Church, autem, ad maiorem profectum matris ecclesie, oportet we absent ourselves from our cure, we must yet make sure that it does not suffer from this; and we should give it up entirely rather than neglect it while receiving its income. | cavendum est ne interim, propter absenciam pastoris proprii vel eius vicarii, oves sue depereant; quia pocius desereret earum custodiam et omnino lucrum de oblacionibus et de decimis, cum ipsum recipiendo curatoris titulo et deficiendo ab officio illo obligatorio fatue se dampnaret. Sed oportet 2º omnino quod 10 63º absens a cura sit in bona et sibi licita causa ecclesie

2. But if we leave our flock, it must be for some occupation at least as useful to the Church: which is certainly lawful, for we should love the whole Church more than its part. eque salubriter vel salubrius occupatus. Ideo servientes in officio seculari negotiis, ociantes in scolis, et intencione illicita peregrinantes, vel visitantes romanum pontificem, peccant graviter. Quod autem sit licitum propter maius 15 meritum sic oves suas dimittere, patet ex hoc quod curatus plus obligatur toti matri ecclesie, quam istis privatis ovibus, cum non debet ipsas diligere, nisi in ordine ad matrem totalem quam debet finaliter plus amare: Cum igitur generaliter debet magis intendere 20 superioris servicio plus dilecti, sequitur quod debet in casu, dimisso privato officio, intendere servicio superioris ecclesie.

Christ's parable of the lost sheep explained in this sense.

Christ left the 99, i. e. the angels, in Heaven, in order to seek the human race, as one lost sheep; but He notwithstanding that, cared for the Angels' happiness.

Hoc enim exemplificat Cristus qui, ut dicitur Luc. 15. Hoc enim exemplificat Cristus qui, ut dicitur Luc. 15. parabolavit quomodo, relictis 99 ovibus in deserto, quesivit ovem centesimam; nam plus amavit centum oves qualibet parte sui. Sed ovem centesimam, cum sit Cristus, vel Cristus eius caput, licet secundum partem inferiorem huius corporis sit peccator, Cristus plus diligit cum beatis ceteris quam totam multitudinem 30 angelorum. Est enim melior tam natura quam gratia. Sed nota quod Cristus aliqua ratione reliquit 99 oves, hoc est omnes angelorum ordines, in deserto, quia factus homo ut ovis perdita ipsum reductorem cognoscat facilius, naturam angelicam non assumpsit, nec ipsum 35 celum, sed terram in qua ovis erraverat, primo incoluit; et hoc est illas oves dimittere, licet noscatur illas oves

We cannot do perpetual deifice conservare. Celum autem est pascua as He did, but semper virencia, a tumultu calcantium aliena, et post we must at least imitate Him. confirmacionem a lupis et canibus sunt secura. Licet 40

3. ab pro ob A. 7. costodium A; ib. omne A. 8. de deest C.
26. amant omnes MSS. 28. vel Cristus deest A. 30. beatis deest C.
37. nosatur C.

autem non sufficimus eque (ut iste summus per se bonus Pastor), oves dimittere tam secure; tamen debemus sibi facere placitum huic proporcionale, nec sufficimus ovem sic impositam collo nostro reducere ad ovile, sicut non possumus nos sub obtentu habitudinis humane taliter obligare, sed intelligendum est proporcionaliter modo parabole utrobique. Et patet quod quicumque cum ipsis paribus centum oves habuerit, una perdita, ut dicit ewangelium, ita facit.

Sed obicitur per hoc quod, iuxta dicta de residencia curati, satisfaccio et lex debiti tolleretur; quia, ut dicitur, licet rectori capere proventus huiusmodi parochie satisfaciendo cuicunque ecclesie, cum pro tempore non residencie non singularius prodest illi ecclesie, quam alteri cuicunque: ymmo, unus incognitus caritativior magis prodest. Quomodo igitur est correspondencia acceptionis istorum proventuum ad meritum tam comune?

per idem enim quilibet plus promerens haberet ampliorem G. titulum vendicandi. Hic negatur prima consequentia, cum curatus providus, quantumcumque absens corpore est presens virtute, cum providet de apto vicario, qui si defuerit exigendo proventus talis ecclesie, lupaciter rapit ipsos; nec video quod rector in tali casu racionabiliter peteret pro tunc a tali ecclesia, nisi titulo elemosine, parca vite necessaria, que tunc non haberet apcius aliunde. Sic enim apostolus edificando avaros corinthios cepit sic vite necessaria ab alienis ecclesiis. Nec video quomodo curatus potest secundum legem dei, quantumcumque laboraverit, bona parochie ultra necessitatem iuste exigere. Illa enim est regula apo-

stolica, ut patet 1^a Thym 6^o, quam non licet viris VI, 17 apostolicis supergredi. Item, quidquid debet rector percipere de sua parochia, in quantum talis, ipsum debet esse titulo elemosine; sed repugnat rationi 35 elemosine ipsam per placitum vel excommunicacionem exigere. Et assumptum patet de Cristo et suis apostolis, qui exemplarunt nobis in suo facto sic facere: unde,

Objection: If the curate is thus obliged to reside, he has no longer any right to his income; the Rector may give it to one more useful to the parish.

But the curate, absent in body, may be present in mind, and may appoint a good vicar, who however has no right to the income of the parish, nor the curate himself, beyond his personal needs.

All that the Rector has is alms, which cannot be conferred. If a man withholds alms that are due, he should he left to God's excommunication.

5. nos *deest* A. 6. est *deest* A. 10. Solvitur A. 12. modi *deest* BC. 11. residence A; residē C. 15. 16. ymmo — igitur *deest* A. 16. carencia A. 18. et *pro* per A; *ib.* providens A. 19. vendendi A; *ib.* nature A. 21. potens A; *ib.* virtute *deest* A. 20. dei *dees* B. 31. less. 6^o *pro* ut — 6^o A; *ib.* quam homo non B. 32. apostolicis *deest* C; *ib.* quicunque B. 34. rationem C. 36. Et assumptum *deest* C. 37. extrasunt vel A; exemplarunt nobis in facto suo C.

Luce 9^o, quando Christo iniuriatum fuit, prohibuit ex- Luc. comunicare explicite. Si enim quis iniuriatur michi, deitas XI, 55 excomunicat eum eo facto. Et cum ego debeo secun- dum legem Christi orando pro iniuriante iniuriam ipsam dimittere, repugnat eidem legi quod propterea publice 5 maledicam. Et ista est racio legis Gregorii *Inter querelas*, 23, 9, 4. Item, si proventus ecclesie liberari debent ut debitum, oportet dare equivalens commutatum; nullum pertinencius quam spirituale ministerium parochianis impensum. Et sic rector committeret symoniam. Et revera 10 illi qui magis contendunt in talibus, non sunt digni pro toto ministerio recipere pecuniam; ymmo, ut ministracio money for this, rectoris foret melior, sic in cambio foret proventus he commits simony. carior. Unde quidam religiosi librant valorem sui habitus, in quo extranei moriantur. Leges itaque docentes cu- 15 ratos pro decimis vel elemosinis dandis contendere vel pugnare, sunt a religione legis Christi extraneae.

The Rector's
return for dues
is spiritual
ministry; but if
he exacts
money for this,
he commits
simony.

Christ warns us
against the
Scribes and
Pharisees; because the
clergy which is
good, is the best
part of the
Church, is the ecclesie, worst if bad, as
in the times of
Christ and
Antichrist;

Our scribes are
the secular, our
Pharisees, the
regular or
'religious'
clergy: we,
Christ's
disciples, must
be better than
either.
Their
righteousness
is both
insufficient and
superfluous.

Ideo videtur Cristum dicere, Matth. 5^o, ubi condidit Matth. legem suam, quod *nisi habundaverit iusticia restra plus* V, 20 *quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum;* hoc enim dixit in apostolis cuilibet cristiano. Pro cuius intellectu suppono clerum, qui est 3^a pars ecclesie, dum observat legem secundum suum ordinem, esse partem optimam, et dum apostata esse pessimam; patet hoc racionibus et exemplis. Nam sicut clerus in sacerdotibus legis veteris pro tempore mortis Christi fuit pessimus, sic videtur fore pessimus pro tempore anti-cristi. Secundo, suppono clerum perversum in duo dividit: scilicet, in seculares et tradicionibus humanis apostate innitentes, ut erant scribe in lege veteri, et 30 iuriste in lege gracie, et in phariseos religiosos, ut patet de 3^{bus} sectis tempore Christi et de sectis innumerabilibus H. tempore legis gracie. 3^o videtur Cristum | docere singulos 61^a cristianos secte sue in iusticia excedere istam sectam. Ipsa enim, iustificando tradiciones hominum, legis dei 35 iusticiam parvipendit. Unde Christus non dignatur istam falsam et nude verbalem iusticiam scribarum et phariseorum exprimere, sed satis innuit connexa dei iusticia ipsam contempnere, cum sit insufficiens in regnum in-

2. deus C. 3. eo deo A. 6. legis deest A. 7. 8. ut debitum deest C. 8. communicatum A. 17. sunt deest C. 26. legis A. 27. pro deest B. 20. et deest AC. 30. scribere A. 31. nil iste B; ib. eciam pro et in A. 33. *agre* legis (sic) A; 'gre legis C. 39. sive pro cum B

6. *Gregorii.* See note above, p. 175.

ducere. Et sic dicta iusticia est insufficiens atque superflua. Insufficiens, quia contempnit radicem virtutis et vicii, ut patet in exemplis Cristi; et est superflua, quia modo phariseico nimis appreciatur ritus sensibiles.

5 Quo ad primum patet quod peccati occasio est tollenda, cum post ramos abscisos germinat ex radice. In Luc. cuius signum dicitur Lu. 3^o, quod securis ad radicem III, 9 arboris posita est. Cristus ergo, ut summus medicus, precipit spurcicias anime expurgari, et sic secundum

Insufficient: they only avoid the outward aspects of sin, and do not go to the root.

10 perfectam iusticiam, omissa observacione superflua, semper melius plus curare. Et ista superfluitas figuratur exemplo multiplici, ut in privatis ordinibus introductis in domibus et aliis superfluis et in humanis tradicionibus cum suis fructibus. Plus enim ponderantur scribarum

Superfluous: witness the houses of the different Orders and all their traditions.

15 excomunicacio, corporalis incarcерacio, et stultorum diffamacio, quam insensibilis vindicacio, que omnia ista nociva excedit. Abiciamus ergo superflua huius palliate iusticie, plus appreciantes operibus bonis de genere rectitudinem voluntatis, et plus timentes divinum iudicium, licet insensibile, quam censuras quaslibet satraparum; tunc enim divinam iusticiam adimplemus. Ipsa enim, cum sit omnis virtus, est unicuique reddere virtuose quod debeat esse suum; ut deo humile servicium et honorem, virtuoso caritativum adiutorium et favorem;

Let us cast them away from us, and follow the path of justice, giving to each his own: to God, honour; to the good, our help, and to the bad, reproof.

25 sed vicioso, correpcionis debitum et timorem: quibus servatis, oportet iusticiam beatitudinem vendicare. Sicut enim bonus debet habere adiutorium ex vi communionis sanctorum, sic malus debet habere correpcionem fraternalm, et ultimo timorem ex elongacione ab illo tamquam 30 diabolo, ut docetur Matth. 18. Et divisio istius partis iusticie nimis debilitat ordinem cristianum. Et patet quod iusticia phariseica nimis arta undiquaque deficit; cum debet inimicos diligere, et dilectioni dei ac cuiuslibet creature modum virtuosum superaddere, ac superfluitatem 35 in qua superhabundant precidere.

This Pharisical justice is found wanting in these things.

Quod autem cristianus debet superhabundanter diligere

We must love our enemies, because Christ taught us so; because we thereby avoid

Matth. V, 41 inimicos, patet ratione multiplici. Primo, quia Cristus, Matth. 5^o, sic precipit: eius autem precepio est summa I. obligacio. Item, diligendo inimicos, adquiritur naturaliter

2. veritatis A; virtutis corr. ex veritatis C. 8. igitur C. 9. tunc pro et sic B. 16. benediccio A. 19. rectionem A. 22, 23. Nota quomodo redditur quod debeat esse suum A. 22. secundum philosophos est BC. 23. dictat A. 31. nimis deest B. 33. cuiilibet B. 37. deus B 39. Ita bonum facit diligere inimicum in marg. B.

the bitterness of commodum corporale, cum intrinsecus turbacio spiritus animalis evaditur et extrinsecus inimici insultantis inveteracio evitatur. Primum autem vehementer exprimitur corpus affligere, ut Prov. 17^o. *Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa.* Et quoad 2^{um} ex inveterata invidia videmus plurimos dampnificari et occidi cottidie. Racionabile itaque foret tollere causam tanti mali. Item, quoad bonum spirituale, patet quod reddit remittentem placatum deo. Et hinc Cristus et Stephanus orantes pro hostibus dicuntur propterea exauditi. 2^o reddit talem benivolum deiformem, cum remittendo et beneficiando ponit vindictam in dei arbitrio, et interim benefacit, ut dei minister, diligendo naturam quam deus diligit. Et tertio, cooperante dei gracia, reddit inimicum firmum amicum, vel accumulando meritum magis inimice. Stultus 15 igitur foret qui irrationabiliter appeteret viam diaboli, omissa tam facili et tam bono. Diligi autem debet natura inimici, eciam ipse diabolus, et odiri peccatum et secundum illam rationem ipsum suppositum; quia aliter indubie fovens creaturam ad hostem dei sit proditor 20 dei: sicut preponderans vindicari humanam iniuriam, nedum iniuste solvit primum mandatum decalogi, sed creaturam cuius iusticiam preponderat constituit infideliter deum suum; et in ista blasfema perfidia currit totus mundus.

22
Prov. XVII,

and God will be pleased with us;
we shall be like Him,

and our enemies will become our friends, or give us more occasions of merit.

We must love our enemy's nature, but not his sin, nor the person to whom the sin belongs.

No one should accept a benefit, unless quite purified from all worldly intentions; He must first of all be a man capable of fulfilling his duties. Then he must not accept a curacy out of worldliness, love of pleasure, or a wish to enrich his friends; but in order to suffer, labour and do good;

Nemo igitur acciperet ante huius artis noticiam curam spiritualis regiminis, nec ante purgacionem secularis propositi; sed omnino habeat divinum propositum pastoraliter professendi. Primum patet ex hoc quod proditor dei foret qui suas oves susciperet tam 30 quam eius vicarius, supposita inertia huius officii: talis enim, presumendo scilicet, in facto diceret quod non curat illudendo prodere deum suum. Et quoad 2^m, patet quod oportet curatum purgari a 3^{ci} proposito venoso. Primo, ne accipiatur cura regiminis propter vitam inclitam 35 secularem, 2^o, ne accipiatur ut curatus adaugeat voluptatem, et 3^o, ne inordinate ditet suam cognitionem. Sed sanctum propositum debet esse ut in labore maiori et erumpna secundum pastorale officium plus proficiendo

25

1. comodum C. 4. 17^o deest, blank space B; IA in marg. suppl. C; ib. Tristis animus C. 6. quotidianie C. 9. orantibus A. 16. totalliter A. 18. odii A. 28. dictum AB. 29. possidendi C. 31. inh'cia A; inherita illius C. 34. curari A; ib. triplici C. 35. regi C. 37. dicet A. 39. pastorale A.

ecclesie meritorius placeat deo suo; et si tale propositum disruptum fuerit, omnimode reviviscat.

K. Signum autem perversi curati est patulum, ut si sancte conversando subditos suos in opere non excedat; si mundo deditus, secularibus desideriis insolecat; et si ab ewangelisacione ad plebem obmuteat et exigendo proventus sue parochie secundum leges satraparum exasperat.

46^h Videtur enim omnes illas tradiciones | esse superflua; quia, introducta lege elemosine, clerus non debet contenedere, sed bonum pro malo reddere; non excommunicare, sed maledicentibus et consequentibus benedicere, ut docet Petrus, per quem cristiana religio sumpsit exordium,

i Pet. sicud patet Pe. 3^o. Tunc enim omnes iste tradiciones III, 9 forent nedum superflue, sed diabolice, quia legis domini 15 extinctive. Et videtur quod securius foret curatum vel ewangelisando per patrias, ut fecerunt apostoli, sine privata cura, ubi magis expedit, circuire; vel posito quod ad hoc non sufficiat, secundum formam predictam in sua parochia residere. Periculorum quidem videtur michi 20 modo vel curatum scolis intendere, vel arbitratis necessariis regni negotiis laborare; sed dum racio hoc exigit curam tam privatam prudenter dimittere.

Ulterius videtur quod parochiani, cum non tenentur nisi titulo elemosine decimas curato suo solvere, videndo 25 publice quod a religione rectoris qui apostotat, tenentur elemosinas illas subtrahere. Nam ille elemosine secundum legem Christi debentur pauperibus, cecis, claudis atque debilibus; sed non licet propter ordinacionem hominis, dando elemosinas istas apostatis, legi dei repugnari. Unde in lege

30 veteri, quando levitis dabantur decime, deus providit penitus suis egentibus, et populus fuit prohibitus men- Deut. dicare, ut patet Deut. 15^o. Nudum itaque et exile foret XV, 4 argumentum ex decimacione ceremoniali legis veteris curatum, quomodocunque vixerit, de illis quos tantum

35 dampnificat decimam vendicare. Verumtamen licet Cristus et apostoli non decimas legis veteris exegerunt, tamen videtur michi quod populus nunc et semper decimas debet persolvere; et cum suo curato debet de vite ne-

i. Cor. cessariis providere, ut patet Cor. 9, videtur rationi IX, 4

and this resolution should again be taken, if broken.

A bad curate can be known by his love of things secular, his negligence of the Gospel, and his greediness for money.

There would be no such greed, if only the law of alms were in force.

It would be better if the curate went hither and thither, preaching the Gospel throughout the country, or labouring in his parish.

The parishioners, if they see that their curate is an apostate, are bound to give him no alms.

No argument in favour of tithes can give any claims to a pastor who does harm to his flock.

Yet, since the people ought to provide curates with what is necessary for life, the payment of

3. Nota hic signa perversi curati *in marg.* B; *ib.* prelati C. 4. false C;
ib. excedat AB. 7. parochie C. 9. ut quod clerus BC. 13. per
 1^o pe. B; per *deest* C. 16. prias = patrias. 19. parrochia A.
 21. racio *deest* B. 23. tent² A. 25. qui *deest* AB. 31. punicis A;
 punitis B; pnitis; *in marg.* penitus C. 33. ex decimacione *deest* A.
 35. V'mtm A. 36. exigunt C. 37. Nota de decimis *in marg.* B.

tithes is a duty, as alms-giving is; and the Friars and the needy live upon tithes.

consonum quod rectores de decimis sustententur, sicut sustentabantur Cristus et apostoli de decimis cum egenis ceteris, licet non contendebant de integritate et calculo partis quote Utilius enim fuit illis de una persona vel paucis titulo elemosine, expertis parcis decimis, quantum est necessarium pro officio ewangelisandi, suscipere, quam quotquot decimas imperatas habere cum murmure vendicantis. Unde certum est quod fratres et egeni vivunt de decimis; sed populus ultra decimam ex cautela diaboli spoliatur. ¹⁰

Item, iuxta dicta hec supponenda, quicquid iniustus L. occupat vel vendicat, facit iniuste peccando continue.

Rector igitur, dum deficit a curatoris officio, peccat graviter, occupando vel petendo decimas subditorum. Et, cum gratis solvens sic apostato cooperando conseniat, ¹⁵ videtur quod decimando sibi peccat graviter ex sensu. Forte dicitur quod non solum elemosinarie sed pure titulo iusticie dande sunt decime. Sed quo ad primam partem dicerem tali garulo: legem pone. Nec dubito quin nullam in fide scripture inveniet, nisi forte ²⁰ illud Reg. 2^o, de pueris Ofny et Phynees. Porro filii ^{1.} Reg. Heli, filii Belial, nescientes dominum neque officium sacerdotum ad populum; sed quicumque ymnolasset victimam ^{2.} veniebant pueri sacerdotis, dum coquerentur carnes; et ²⁵ habebant fuscinullam tridentem in manu sua, et mittebant eam in lebetem, et omne quod lerabat fuscinulla, tollebat sacerdos sibi. Et sequitur: "Non enim accipiam a te carnem coctam, sed crudam." Et sequitur: "Nunc ³⁰ enim dabis, alioquin tollam vi." Carnes sunt decime curatorum, que secundum partem sunt carnes ad literam. Carnes vero crudas exigere, est decimas ablacionum dominative requirere; devocio enim elemosine, ex operibus caritatis, ut igne supposito cacabo, debet esse coccio decimarum. Tridens autem fuscinulla est maledicta tradicio diabolica ex tradizione papali, ex tradizione ³⁵ cesarea, et ex adinvencione proprie consuetudinis super stipitem scripture legis veteris recurvata. Cum ista enim dicit tortor puer presbiteri: "Da michi pure ex debito

If the Rector fails in his duty, he sins in exacting tithes, and his parishioners sin in giving them.

If he has a legal right to tithes, by what law are they due?

The only case of such exaction found to be in Scripture is that of the wicked sons of Heli.

Passage quoted, and explained in the sense of compulsory tithes.

And now, as then, these crimes may bring calamities on God's people.

1. enim AB; 4. paratis A; parte B; ib. Ultig A; ib. illis *deest* A.
 5. eccliesie A; cleie C; ib. ep. peiſ C; ib. eleis *pro* decimis C. 6. suscitare A.
 11. hec *deest* B; hic C. 13. accusatoris *omnes* MSS. 15. apostolici A.
 7. sed *trice* A. 21. Oſtin et finees A; Oſyn et finees C. 22. n^e q3 A.
 24. veniebat puer BC. 25. habebat BC; ib. fuscinulum B; fuscinulam C;
 ib. sua *deest* C. 6. libetem A; ib. fustinuncula BC. 27. sibi *deest* B.
 33. cacabo A; cacabo C. 34. fustinuncula B; fiscinula C. 37. legis
 ve ro^ocuata A.

dominandi; *alioquin tollam vi.*" Sed timendum est ne ista exaccio sit presagium occisionis spiritualis populi, sicud fuit statim post illud puerorum facinus de Iudeis.

Stat igitur quod iustus rector simul recipiat decimas
 5 titulo elemosine et titulo divine iusticie; et sic, si non elemosinarie non dande sunt decime. Item, videtur ex lege caritatis quod parochianus debet decimas talis rectoris subtrahere; quia, iuxta dicta omnis homo debet omnem hominem, eciam inimicum, in Christo diligere;
 10 sed ministrare sibi sic decimas foret ipsum criminaliter odire; ergo fidelis subditus hoc non debet. Constat quidem ex fide quam parochianus debet cognoscere, quod de quanto talis rector amplius sic ditatur dampnificat parochianum, et ipse in malicia amplius profundatur.
 15 Sed indubie lex diaboli verecundaretur ista precipere; scilicet, quod homo debet ex bonis suis studiose dampnificare se ipsum et proximum. Talis enim amor seculi
 65^a foret odium eciam diaboli; | nec dubium quin talis rector, ut amplius abutitur bonis ecclesie, plus profundatus in peccato obligaciorem se reddit de criminis ratione. Et hec creditur una causa quare deus quandoque misericorditer abreviat vitam talis.

Quocumque igitur lex sub pena excomunicacionis illud precipit, notorie est iniqua. Et si debeat expectari post 25 probacionem pape iudicium, constat quod stat papam transfigurari interim in anticristum, nec est alicubi verior probacio quam ubi est facinoris oocularis ostensio; hec enim, et non in curia romana falsorum testium M. depositio, probat crimen. Et si dicatur quod tantum 30 vicium non debet supponi in capite; verum est quod non debet esse in capite; supponi tamen et credi debet tanquam contingens a fidelibus destruendum. Similiter, fidelis parochianus debet tales rectorem odire in quantum est proditor dei sui; non igitur fovere eum bonis 35 Cristi pauperum contra ipsum, quia sic diligeret cristianus diabolum plus quam deum. Sed ubi foret maior prodicio? Similiter parochianus tenetur odire tales rectorem, dei iniuriam vindicando. Sed tale odium foret levissimum et securissimum, non comunicando cum eo, ut dicunt

The Rector should accept tithes as alms, or as due to him by God's justice. If he does not it is a duty of charity to deprive him of them;

the more he has, the more harm he will do, and we can in no case be obliged to pay for injuring both ourselves and our neighbour.

Any law compelling to give tithes is unjust. We need not await the Pope's decision; our eyesight is worth more than the witness of the Curia.

Such wickedness should not be in the Head of the Church; if there, it should be destroyed.

To nourish Christ's enemy with the substance of the poor is to love the devil more than God.

2. occisionis A; occoniſſ in marg. occisionis C. 6. mille pro non A; nulle C. 7. legetur A. 15. precipue B. 17. Cristum A. 20. obli- gacionem B. 21. videtur B. 24. si deest C. 25. ppba^{as} A. 26. rūſhguari A. 27. peculorum B. 31. est omnes deest MSS. 35. pauperem A; paupm C; iv. parochianus A.

The best thing leges plurime. Et confirmacio est quod talis pro leviori peccato debet deponi. Ideo prius iustum est quod tales ab eo redditus sint subtracti. Hoc enim foret facilius quam decolacio vel depositio. Et ista sentencia foret *tirriaca* contra iniustas appropriaciones ecclesiarum, contra tiranicas non residencias et culpas notorias personarum, et omnino contra blasfemas institutiones cardinalium et personarum alienigenarum, quorum absencia, cum sit per se sensibilis, debet a parrochiis optime iudicari.

No arguments from tradition can prevail against Christ's law.

Many evils would arise from a new state of things, as they always do; here the principal would be the poverty of the perverse, the reduction in the number of the clergy (which may be left to God to deal with) and the bad administration of Church property.

But Christ never designed curates to live in such pomp as they do now.

Quantum ad instancias, patet quod tradicio antichristi non debet precellere legem Cristi, nec ratio simealis a simili de humano debito et solucione decimarum in lege veteri militat contra Cristum; quia ipse wult contractum esse celestem, non civilem vel carnalem; sed secundum quod est pure apud deum debitum, statui innocencie plus propinquum. Nec movet quod occasione istius possent multa mala contingere; quia sic contigit, occasione incarnationis Cristi et dacionis legis domini. Sed undique fuit occasio male accepta. Malum autem preponderans foret depauperatio discolorum, et defectiva administracio bonorum prepositorum, et paucificatio clericorum. Sed quo ad primum et 3^m, donemus deo istam iniuriam. Sed pro medio notandum quod parvum est illud malum pene quo ad culparum notam, que ex ista culpabili traditione eveniunt. Cristus enim in se gessit typum penalis indigencie sacerdotum, ut patet Matth. 25 et Luce 9^o. Sed nunquam figuravit istam secularis conversacionem et pompaticam curatorum; sed Luce 9. docet quod debet esse spiritus a deo spiratus, et correspondenter ad spiritum suarum ovium instruccius. Spiritus enim de corpore capit nudam sustentacionem sensum: et licet sepe turbetur a corpore, perdat sensum et ab eo culpam contrahat; tamen ipsum corpus semper vivificat, dirigit atque sanat. Sic debent pastores ecclesie reddere bonum pro malo suis ovibus, instar Cristi. Unde de nostris curatis nichil plus timeo, quam quod pretextu cupiditatis mundane, dimisso regimine, spolient oves suas.

1. quod *deest* A; *ib.* pleniori A. 2. tales *deest* BC. 4. *tirriaca* B; *tyriaca* C. 5, 6. *t'raicas* A; *trutucae* C. 6. *r'fide*ss** A. 11. *dei pro* Cristi BC; *ib.* *symealis* C. 14. non *pro* vel B. 15. *ipse pro* est A. 22. *dōemg* = docemus A. 28. *popatica* C. 29. debent A. 32. et before ab *deest* A. 33. *tantum* C; *ib.* super A. 36. pre *deest* B.

Quo ad sacerdotem parrochiale vel simplicem, qui debet esse rectori socius et adiutor, patet quod contigit eum multis modis deficere, ut ex illiteratura et ex defectu occupacionis laudabilis, superbie, mundo et carni intenderet. Ideo laudabile videtur quod tales dent se scripture studio vel informacioni iuvenum, ne extra tempus sacerdotalis ministerii diabolus ipsos inveniat ociosos; debent autem cavere ab omni culpa, et specialiter a pravitate symoniaca, in ingressu quo ad ordinem vel conduccionem; 10 in progressu, quo ad ministerii sui mercacionem, ut patet de denariis confessionis vel alterius sacramenti ministracionis; et caveant 3º de vicio symoniaco ex consensu, ut capiendo questum pro occultando crimen, paciendo predacionem populi ut lucro participet de fratre ordinario vel questore. Rector enim et suus presbiter debent esse una persona in regendis ovibus et a lupis rapacibus defendendis. Ideo debent in regimine virtutum altrinsecus se curare. Quod si facimus diligenciam nostram, possemus faciliter oves nostras defendere a lupinis spoliacionibus, 20 ut officialis, decani, fratris cuiuscunque, pseudoclerici, vel questoris. Malicia autem talis sacerdotis simplicis videtur minor, cum status suus et obligacio prodessendi ecclesie sit predictis inferior.

As for the inferior priest who must help the Rector, want of instruction and occupation often entangles him in pride, and in worldly and fleshly tendencies. Such should study Scripture or educate youth, and carefully avoid all simony in entering on their office, in discharging its duties, and in protecting their flocks from the rapacity of others. But simple priests seem to sin less grievously than the higher ranks of the clergy.

5. \widehat{d}_3 = debent C; *ib. sc deest* A. 6. ve A. 12. concessio B.
13. de *pro* pro C. 17. dicunt A. 19. defendere *in marg.* C. 20. officiales . . . fratres *omnes* MSS.

CAPITULUM TREDECIMUM.

The ninth tormentor is the monk: i. e. the member of an order that has possessions. Such are in the Church like a hectic fever.

They claim Church property as a heritage, and more worldly than laymen, they blasphemously say that their life is like Christ's. As a fact, a population equal to that of England could be maintained on their immense revenues, which if not sent abroad to the loss of the kingdom, lie useless in their monasteries.

Merchants and warriors sometimes cause great loss, but sometimes much gain to the commonwealth;

Sequitur nonus tortor, qui est monachus, canonicus, frater quomodolibet variatus, dum tamen possessionatus. Omnes, inquam, tales ad hoc propositum habeo pro eodem. Isti autem profundius perturbant rempublicam, sicut febris ethica plus consumit de humido radicali. Habent enim ex diuturniori possessione plus inviscata temporalibus aliquam rationem maioris malicie, quam mendici. Isti enim vendicant ut hereditatem bona ecclesie, et plus alienati a bono religionis, minori | prodessencia, et maiori perturbacione reipublice, plus blasfemant. Licet enim vivant secularibus plus seculariter, tamen blasphemant quod vivunt Cristo magis similiter; et sic quo ad deum et homines magis perturbant rempublicam.

Nam, ut loquar sensibiliter de redditibus et mortificatis ecclesiis, posset conservari in Anglia tantus populus quantum est residuum secularium regni nostri; et iudicet expertus, quanta ingluvie tot temporalia abscondite sunt consumpta, et quomodo regnum nostrum ex defectu yconomie tam in hominibus quam terre fructibus sterile- scit. Et ex superhabundante cautela diaboli, sicud pecunia proditoria clericorum symoniace missa ad exteriores prodigalibus, bona regni dirimit; sic thesaurus instagnatus in dictis cenobiis ad utilitatem reipublice non ebilit.

Prima pars patet in considerando reliquum thesaurum regni, qui ad eius dampnum sepe consumitur. Nam mercantes et bellantes, quandoque thesaurum regni exhauriunt sine equivalencia, et sepe superhabundanter inferunt ad bonorum regni notabile incrementum. Sed

1. Cap. *deest*, 13 in marg. B; Cap^m 13 in red ink C. 2. Initial S in red ink. 3. prepositus A. 4. propositum h̄eo C. 8. modo pro aliquam B. 12. scolaribꝫ alii secularibus C. 15. redditibus A. 18, 19. tot — quomodo *deest* C. 23. diminuit BC; ib. sicut pro sic AB. 27. quando B.

regulariter peccunia pro beneficiis cleri transmissa ad curiam infructuose consumitur, nisi forte inducat symoniacum regnicolam venenantem. Nam ut sic plus tollerabiles sunt papa et cardinales qui thesaurum regni cautelose exhauiunt, quia a distanciori et tardiori in toxicant. Et 2^a pars patet ex hoc quod defunctus in seculo reliquit sibi omnia bona fortune que remanent; et sic sepe prudenter in seculo disperguntur. Sed bona religiosi mortui sepe ad eorum putrefaccionem et per consequens ad regni dispendium absconduntur. Patet hoc ex vestimentis, libris, et aliis thesauris in corbano patris sui absconditis, que diabolus consumit putredine, redigens sine usu eorum vel fructu in loca subterranea, ubi residuum thesauri sui absconditur. Et sic ex cautela sua consumuntur superflue maxime sumptuosa.

B. Sed tales thesaurarii discent proverbium captum de herbis, arboribus et arbustis, que sicut capiunt a terra vigorem humoris quam sugunt solis adminicula de eius visceribus in estate, sic reddunt folia cum aliis mortificandis bruinali tempore, ut superficies terre pro futuro germine sui generis apcius sit fumata. Isti autem abeunt perverso ordine nature, ac si vellent creare novum mundum vel antiquum extinguere. Tales autem religiosi, bis mortui, cum morte naturali vitam istam finierunt, non reddunt hec seculo, a quo omnia ista exhauserant, sed principi tenebrarum, cuius robore, non virtute solis iusticie, hec omnia sacrilege exsuxerunt. Et hec pars se extendit ad omnes claustrales vel alios congregatos irregulariter titulo perpetuitatis, eciam ad mendicos.

Istam autem venenosam virulenciam niterentur reges et omnes cristicole secundum posse suum extrudere; nedum quia inevitabiliter et innaturaliter pauperat et perturbat rempublicam, verum quia manifeste vergit ad dei iniuriam. Quis igitur secularis expectaret licenciam sive decretum anticristi in talibus? quin pocius pro causa dei tanquam aliter Moyses fureret, et saltem inanimata instrumenta diaboli conquassaret? Sic enim omnes lapides politi, omnes sculpture aurifabri, et omnes artis humane fabrice pro suo tempore consumantur. Omnia

but monks are a continual loss; the money sent to Rome for the benefits of the clergy is less hurtful, for at least the Roman Pontiff is at a distance.

When a layman dies, his fortune is more or less spread about to good purpose; when a monk dies, all he has remains in the convent and become completely useless.

Let them consider that plants take juices from the earth in summer which they give back as dead leaves to manure it in autumn; but monks reverse the order of nature.

This is also true of mendicant Friars.

Such deadly infection should be put a stop to by Kings and by all Christians, without waiting for leave from Rome.

3. venantem AC. 11. de libris B; ib. corbana C. 15. consumitur A; consumentur C. 16. thezauri A. 19. aliis *deest* B. 20. fortificandum A; mortificandum B. 21. futuro tempore germe A. 31. *veofaz* A: ib. verulenciam C. 35. addicetur A. 39, 40. et — fabrice *in marg.* C.

enim talia, que non sunt voluntas domini, miserabiliter terminantur. Sicut in parte patet nobis anglicis de isto lamentabili conflictu populi, in quo archiepiscopus prior perish: witness et alii multi crudeliter sunt occisi. Nec dubium fidelis, cum omnis pena sit ratione peccati, quod peccatum 5 populi est in causa. Et cum non sit pertinencius clerum predictum puniri 2^m aliquam 5^e causarum punitionis hominis quam propter peccatum sui vel sui generis puniendum, videtur quod predictum genus in penam sui peccati meruit sic puniri. Non enim sunt puniti, ut 10 Cristus, pro peccatis aliorum, non suis, nec nude ratione

The people, it
is true, though
guided by an
instinct of
justice, did not
act quite
legally.

Whatever is
against God's
will must
perish: witness
the lives lost in
the late revolt,
when the
clergy was
certainly
punished for
its own fault.

meriti et glorie argumentande. Ideo non superest, nisi ut cleris in penam peccati sui vel sui generis puniatur. Nec dubium quin tantum malum solum inicium sit dolorum, cum cleris infinitum maius demeruit; nec 15 dubium quin punitores, licet maiores bonos instinctus habuerint, non plene fecerunt ad regulam. Dictum est enim quod domini temporales possunt auferre temporalia ab ecclesia delinquenti: quod foret tollerabilius, quam quod rurales auferant vitam carnalem a capitali pre- 20 posito ecclesie delinquenti. Dictum est, tam ex parte regis quam presbiteri, quod sacerdotes, et omnino curati, non debent familiari et seculari regis servicio mancipari.

It is better that
princes should
take away
temporal
possessions
than that the
peasants
should kill an
Archbishop.

The peasants
saw what was
wrong, but
were cruel in
the punishment
they inflicted.

Wulgares in facto practisant quod curati debent propterea C. decolari. Dictum est quod abbates et religiosi possessionati 25 debent incarcerated bona pauperum ad relevamen communis tatis transfundere: Wulgares dicunt in opere quod prelati religiosi sunt occasiones retencionis huiusmodi avare; prop- tere occidendi sunt. Et hec videtur nimis crudelis punio.

Nec dubium quin moderate et prudenter predonans 30 temporalia posset totum hoc malum faciliter extinxisse. Nam causa huius patencior dicitur ex accio peccunie 66^a ultra vires a populo; si igitur cleris possessionatus, thesaurarius bonorum pauperum, reddidisset regi ipsorum pedagium, quomodo staret ista dissensio, inferens tantum 35 malum? O quam gloriosa foret hec comutacio bonorum pay the tax.

It would have
been easy to
arrest this
evil, if the clergy
had voluntarily
and most nobly
given up their
possessions to
pay the tax.

4. fidei AB. 8. quapropter C. 10. puniti *deest* A. 17. gloriam AC.
18. temporales C. 21. ecclesie *deest* A. 24. Wulgares A (*et sic postea*) C.
27. quod *deest* A. 29. sunt *deest* AC. 31. 1^{pa}^m poff³ A. 32. po-
tencior B. 34. regi *deest* A.

4. *Occisi*. This doubtless alludes to the revolt of the peasants with Wat Tyler at their head. The prelate slain was Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Cauterbury.

comunium, qua, reservato clero usque sufficienciam ad alimentum et tegumentum, satisficeret vulgo per bonum cleri residuum! Revera defendens contrarium indicat se discipulum Scarioth avaricia vendentis dominum. Illis 5 enim est carior superfluitas temporalium quam tot mortes et perturbaciones hominum; et tunc indubie, eciam de illo quod videntur habere, non possident quicquam iuste. Quomodo, queso, diceretur possessore vescibilium, qui quotquot vescibilium habens facultatem 10 liberam, ex parcitate avara fingit se mori famelicum?

Ille autem est multo magis dampnabilis, qui procuratorio nomine occupat monetam ecclesie, ut faciat sibi et egenis amicos de mamona, et tamen propter accidiam facit se ipsum et alias tam corpore quam anima deperire. 15 Talis est indignus fungi sacerdocio vel officio procuratorio, cum nec sibi ipsi nec aliis sit amicus. Et necesse est quod talis prelatus suos ducat subditos in precipitum ruine.

Nec fingat yppocrita quod reddicio patrimonii crucifixi pro populo nimis sero succederet; nec licet cum illo patrimonio pascere principes seculares; quia quo ad primum certum est quod ex cecitate prelati nimis sero successerat. Debet enim prelatus secundum Ezechieli vaticinium esse speculator subditis, et de eis necessariis 20 pro cavendo periculo circumspectus; et quo ad secundum iudicet ecclesia, si congregantur temporalia ista menda- citer pro tante pascendis anticristi discipulis vel in D. tempore oportuno pro protegendis pauperibus, eciam supposito quod super eos principes tyrranisent. Item, 25 notum videtur quod origo huius discordie sit debellacio exterorum; sed focus et concilium huius debellacionis sunt clerici et prelati: ergo tocius malicie consequentis. Si enim non sic debellarent exterios, non sic spoliaretur regnum nostrum peccunia et personis, a quibus deficiens 30 oportet suos intrinsecos spoliare; quia, dum thesaurus bellanti deficiat, necesse est quod spoliet de egenis. Non enim asuescit in bello sic moribus vel laboricio, ut veniens in regnum proprium contineat se ab iniuriis 35 proximi, cum mala consuetudo suscitat sibi prolem.

And whoso thinks otherwise prefers these superfluous riches to the lives of men. They are not even real possessors, for like misers they put their money to no use.

Such prelates lead their subjects to ruin.

Let them not say "it is too late to restore this property to the people, and we must not give it to princes". The Church should be judge of the employment of this property.

The clergy who stirred up the war are responsible for the exactions which led to the late revolt. Moreover the soldiers are trained in habits of marauding.

1. ultra AC; ib. ad deest A. 9. vestiu C. 8. sinit BC. 17. subiectos after talis B; ib. suos twice C; ib. ducat deest AC; ib. discordie et BC. 22. certum twice A; ib. quod deest B. 26. iudicem C. 32. ergo deest A. 35. thesauris B. 36. bellandi A.

Non enim tantum meruerunt predones in peregrinacione huiusmodi, ut forent amplius in moribus confirmati; cum Yes. 33º dicit spiritus: *Ve, qui predaris, nonne et ipse predaberis?*

Isa. XXXIII

Ideo medicina foret cum temporalibus saciare pre-

¹
They should be cured by prudent gifts and exhortations; instead of which, the clergy seeks to make money out of them, and irritate them in many ways, by means of their great influence in Parliament, in order, it is said, to stir up civil war and reduce the power of the nobility which makes against that influence.

dantes; curiositate yconomie, et exhortacione salubri ad fideliter vivendum de propriis. Nunc autem dicitur quod clerus perquirit redditus de talibus, et hoc pro indigencia viliori foro quo sciverit. Et quo ad exhortacionem ewangelicam vel corporum relevamen, patet ¹⁰ quod clerus nedum ut plurimum obmutescit; sed viis et modis bellatores ad malum exasperat; et cum prelati debent rogare, consulere, et hortari *que ad pacem sunt ierusalem*, dicitur quod tamquam auctores bellorum hortantur ad pugnam, cum per ipsos tamquam capitales concilii parliamentum regitur eciam in minoribus negociis, dum ipsa cordi habuerint, ut vendicant, tanquam pars spiritalis principalior concilii regni nostri. Et ita videtur quod cupiunt quod principales domini, per quos voluntas eorum restringitur, sive bene sive male, deprimentur: ²⁰ cum assistencia eorum sit attomus per quem sua effrenis voluntas quodammodo impeditur; sed de futuris periculis et dampno reipublice non curatur. Ideo necesse est hos prelatus luere hic et alibi vel ubicunque.

Item quo ad fratres, videtur quod non sunt expertes ²⁵

The Friars are also responsible for these dissensions, at least by their silence; they should, as confessors of the temporal lords, give them advice, and if not listened to, abandon them.

huius facinoris, cum clamare debent publice predicando, private hortando habendum pacem et concordiam, si fieri potest, cum omni homine: sed vel obmutescunt, vel clamant contrarium. Ideo sunt rei huius criminis concilio vel consensu. Cum enim fratres sunt generaliter confessores ³⁰ et conciliarii dominorum, quomodo aufugeret eos factum dominorum publicum, concernens forum conscientie et utilitatem reipublice? Si sunt disciplinabiles, debent sane consulere. Si autem sunt indisciplinabiles, debent secundum formam ewangeli ipsos relinquere. Sed lau-

But luxury, the interests of the Order and greed for things temporal keep them there, when they could do

ticia extra claustrum, inordinata affecio ad defendendum ordinem suum privatum, et questus symoniaeus temporalium non permittunt: in tantum quod fructus confessionis confunditur, dum ipsa sit venalis hereditaria

3. nomine A; non B. 7. a pro ad A. 10. reilevamen A.

11. volu^ß A; voluptas B. 20. depriment B. 21. quo fro per quem B.

22. voluptas B. 24. luere deest AC. 25. ideo B. 27. ordando A.

30. regulariter BC. 36. castrorum A; castrum C.

et permixta. Venalis: si procuratur assidue ut predictor frater sit custos anime maioris domini vel domine, in dubie symoniace propter lucrum, cum sancctor, edificator et tractabilior sit communiter anima vulgaris simplicis, quam potentis. Quis enim, vel pauperes vel divites, plus profuerunt ecclesie? Ideo causa est patule symoniaca, non divina, cum preponderanter fratres procurant custodire animas mundi potencium; quia intendendo obtutum rare eorum maliciam, labor fratrum appareret sensibiliter in effectu. Sed modo videtur contrarium.

Ymmo, cum periculum huius custodie sit tam arduum, tum propter salutem reipublice, tum etiam propter salvacionem perpetuam tam corporis quam anime confessi, quod excedit curam ordinariam prelatorum. Sed diabolus introduceit hanc subdolam confessionem in fratribus, ut eorum introduccio extraordinaria inducat media per que decipitur Cristi sponsa. Unde suboritur cautela diaboli, qua fratres vendicant; hii, quod sint confessores regum, hii reginarum, hii ducum, hii comitum; et, ut eorum ars confessionalis fiat accepcionis, accumulant multiplex alienum officium: ut artem sanandi, domum prudenter regendi, et quecunque negotia extrinseca maiora vel minora prudencius et facilius promovendi. Sed fructus negotii et peioracio secularis dominii preconisant cautelas diaboli. Necesse quidem est ut subintroducta novitate et multiplicitate sectarum et rituum supra ordinacionem Cristi ecclesia multipliciter perturbetur.

Cuius perturbationis fratres probabiliter sunt in causa: 30 quia spiritualis infirmitas in animabus mundi potencium Jac II, perturbationem talem parturit, ut patet Jac. Et 1-9 racio experimentalis convincit, cum diserasiato principio policie necesse est totam rempublicam perturbari. Cum 35 igitur fratres, qui ad custodiā anime et morum magnorum se obligant, sunt causa privativa casus sui, sic und naute absencia est causa periclitacionis navis, manifestum est iuxta hoc principium: *Quicquid est causa cause, est causa causati*, quod fratres sunt indirecte causa tocis perturbationis in ecclesia. Unde, quando lucrum sonatur,

much more good among the people; for if the nobility had profited by their presence, it would have been more manifestly fruitful.

The responsibility is so great here, that very few are equal to the task; yet they intrigue in every way to get good places, and try to ingratiate themselves by practising the medical art, &c. But these are clever tricks of the devil, as the results show.

As the absence of the mariner puts the ship in danger, and the cause of the cause is the cause of what is caused, the Friars, by their neglect of souls, are indirectly the cause of the present troubles in the Church. When gain is to be had they would rule the Church; but when it

i. predictor A: ut predictor sit frater sit custos C. 8. potentum C.
11. ordinacione A. 15. in deest A. 17. suboblio² A. 21. accumulat A.
14. taleni pro perturbationem A: 6. taleni deest¹ C: ib. after Jac. blank
space omnes MSS. 33. necesse d' est A. 34. fratres deest A.
6. privata omnes MSS. 35. ecclesiæ BC

comes to appeasing dissensions, they are mute. Yet when they take in charge the souls of the great, they have much stricter duties to fulfil towards the Church.

If an earthly treasure cannot be squandered with impunity, should a treasure much more precious be squandered?

An Archbishop cannot be a Chancellor; it is the most secular office in the kingdom. How could he convoke the clergy, taken in the same snare of worldliness as himself, and excommunicated? unless as an arch-devil, calling to his little ones.

Such a prelate is a traitor to the king and the kingdom; being esse regi et regno fidelem prepositum vel ministrum?

a traitor to God, whatever he does is wrong.

Constat contrarium, cum ex fide capitur quod quicun-

que est infidelis vel proditor Cristi aut sue ecclesie, est

this malice longe infidelis et proditor cuicumque;

quia debet fideliter

accumulated, will at length

ruin the State.

fingunt se spiritualiter regere totam ecclesiam, prelatos, populum, et magnates; sed quando raciocinium acutum daretur populo de fructuosa diligencia placandi ecclesiam, obmutescunt. Et tamen certum est quod in quantum accipiunt spiritualem custodiam dominorum, stricte obli- 5 gant se persone ecclesie, que debet ut dignior curare precipue de virtute regitiva dominorum secularium et in subvertentes eos securius vindicari. Si enim thesaurus temporalis prodigaliter consumatur, penalis compotus a persona populi acute requiritur; multo magis strictius ¹⁰ obligatus ex consumpcione thesauri infinitum plus preciosi et necessarii, quantumlibet gravius punietur? Sed princeps huius seculi pulvere temporalium infideliter exccat mundo deditum; nec dubium quin omnia genera religiosorum et curatorum secularium participant hoc reatu. ¹⁵

Quid, rogo, pertinet ad archiepiscopum occupare cancellariam regis, que est secularissimum regni officium? Numquid superstes in tam lata provincia episcopo occupatio spiritualis? Numquid presul debet convocare clerum anathematicum, quia contra legem dei et homi- ²⁰ num et secularissimis regis officiis implicatum, sed sub gravi dei maledicione ad contrarium obligatum? Non videtur aliud, nisi quod archidiabolus congregat minores diabulos, pullos suos, non solum ad ludendum paginam ludicram patris sui, sed tamquam tortorum demonia- ²⁵ corum caterva, spoliens alios simplices (secundum artem magistri sui) bonis gracie et fortune; et quod detestabilius est, in derisionem despiciens pro confirmatione

3⁰ istorum crux Christi blasfeme erigitur. Numquid ³⁰ credimus prelatum tales, deo et sue ecclesie proditorem, ³⁰ que est infidelis vel proditor Cristi aut sue ecclesie, est ³⁵ dei, licet faciat bonum de genere, totum residuum est infectum. Nec dubium quin, si clerus Anglie persolveret deo et ecclesie id quod debet, non foret ecclesia nostra

3. pacandi C. 4. cum C. 8. iudicari A. 10. ac^cute A; ac^cute, ^{ta marg.} acute C; ib. fructus pro strictius AC. 20. anathema C. 21. regis twice A; negotii BC. 23. archidiaconus AC. 24. diabolicos B. 31. vel pro cum A; quod fide C.

16. Simon of Sudbury was, or had lately been Chancellor.

intricata cautelis diaboli, sicud hodie venenatur. Sed necesse est ut antiqua malicia diu colecta inundet subito, faciendo regnum corruere; quia sic ex congregacione aquarum lacuna disrumpitur, ex accumulacione 5 ponderum supportans dissolvitur, et ex corrosione vermium lignum atteritur.

Et ita, si queratur cur non antea, respondet scriptura This ruin may not take place, Gen. Genesis: *Nondum impleta est iniqitas Amoreorum.* Si if the realm XV, 16 enim regnum perficeret septem opera misericordie du- 1. departs from evil: i. e. 10 plicata, olim fuisse in via confirmacionis secundum turns, out the money collectors, excludes foreigners from the government of Churches, or obeys them only in so far as Christ's law allows; 15 peccatis eorum), de quanto docent naturalitate implicita legem Cristi; nec regnum nostrum debet aliquam hostem pestiferum post diabolum plus horrere. Postquam autem declinaverit ab hoc malo 3^{ci}, debet regnum nostrum, et specialiter cleris suus actus spiritualis misericordie 67^a 20 seminare; primo, docendo | non legem Machometi, sed dei, quomodo servi, filii, et specialiter clericis, debent subici dominis, parentibus et omni homini, paciendo iniurias et reddendo deo gracias; domini autem, parentes et prepositi debent, ut servi dei, tractare subditos cum 25 amore; quia ambo debent servire deo et sibi ipsis proficere secundum regulam caritatis, ut docet apostolus G. ad Eph. 6^o. Secundo debent consulere, non ad terrenum Eph. dominium conquirendum, non ad copiam temporalium VI, 2 possidendum, nec ad vivendum secundum carnis petu- 30 lanciam, ut vivunt qui renuunt cenam Cristi, sed ut sint humiles, vocati et electi pro merito ad gustandum Iuc. cum domino cenam magnam, de qual. Iuc. 14. Tercio debent XIV, secundum scolam predictam, sive hortando sive puniendo, 16—24 subditos castigare. Quarto debent consolari secundum spem 35 retribucionis perpetue mestos animo et conftractos. Quinto debent iniuriantibus suis prudenter remittere. Sexto debent inproperantes secundum virtutem pacientie supportare. Et septima debent pro tota ecclesia, eciam pro hostibus, obsecrare. Quibus si adiuncta fuerint septem alia opera 40 misericordie, et in tempore oportuno pasta ecclesia,

and if 2. it practises the seven works of spiritual mercy. teaching all Christians their duties towards one another,

giving good counsel, tending to make men live a Christian life,

reproving and punishing thos set under them, comforting the afflicted, forgiving injuries, bearing insults patiently, and praying for their enemies; also practising the corporal works of mercy.

2. antiqua A. 8. amorem A. 10. aliter AB. 15. eorum deest A. 16. ut C. 19. actus suos; suus deest A. 22. pntib) = presentibus A. 27. ad Eph. 6^o deest BC. 28. non deest C. 33. ortado C.

By this means refecta foret et non famelica; sic quod pro defectu
the Church would have the spiritualis cibarii sese altrinsecus innaturaliter mandu-
carent.

It is the want of this food that causes such desolation in the country; contraries cause contraries; and greed destroys charity, breaks up the bond of union between Christians; thence ensues pitiless cruelty, and houses, sects and provinces fall upon each other.

The punishment lately inflicted on the clergy by the people, though deserved, was excessive:
1. *in degree*; they having no revelation from God to act thus. What belongs to the State can be taken by the State; but life is a gift of God.

To say: "We should not take away temporalities, but remove by death those who abuse them". is an ill-considered position.

To take a man's life is indeed to take away his temporalities; but our faith teaches that he should live on alms.

Defectus igitur huius cibi, et specialiter in clero, est causa quare regnum nostrum a deo desolatur. Nam cum 5 contrariorum contrarie sunt cause, et cristicole debent esse *misericordes*, quoniam ipsi *misericordiam consequentur*, ut dicitur Matth. 5°; oportet contrario sensu quod Matth. crudeles et specialiter famelici desolentur. Nam invida V, 7 proprietatis terrenorum cupiditas extinguit et discontinuat 10 caritatem; et per consequens, iuxta vocem Christi, faciendo *Regnum in se dirisum* parturit desolacionem. Nam for- Matth. titudo regni atque constancia insurgit ex parcium uni-XII, 25 cordi coherence, et omnino ex eorum discontinuacione venit contrarium, et per consequens domus unius 15 magnatis, unius secte et unius provincie cadet supra domum aliam, deficiente caritatis glutino supportante; et sic, ex consumpcione reciproca parcium regni, in pulverem ipsum regnum necessario desolabitur.

Et licet clerici mereantur puniri tali decapicione, 20 et acrius, tamen videtur michi quod populus in hoc excedit quantitate, qualitate et modo. Quantitate, quia blasphemum esset populum assumere super se tantam vindictam, nisi haberet a deo revelationem ad taliter puniendum. Illud igitur accidentale quod regnum sibi 25 tribuit, cum deturpat episcopum et impedit episcopale officium, meritorium fore regno, servato bono nature, subtrahere; tum, quia illud bonum nature est singulariter donum dei, tum etiam, quia ignoratur si utilius esset ecclesie et persone decapitate mori aliter, [ut] 30 debuit post vel ante. Unde in isto contendunt quidam inaniter, dicentes quod ecclesia non debet auffere temporalia a clero delinquenti, sed ipsum clericum a temporalibus, datis aliis qui recte peragant cleri officium. Primo, quia sequitur: *Ecclesia auffert clerum a tempo- 35 ralibus*; igitur *auffert ipsa temporalia ab illo clero*. Et

cum quelibet persona sit omnibus temporalibus mundi natura dignior, et modus loquendi sit scripture sacre acceprior, patet quod sic blaterantes ad nimis pauca respiciunt. Item, intencio fidei est quod clerus privetur 40 H.

8. a contrario B. 12. in se deest C. 28. tamen omnes MSS.
30. esset deest AC; ib. capitante C; ut deest omnes MSS. 10. trasci
in marg. A.

a possessione hereditaria mundana vivendo de elemosinis,
ut Cristus instituit; sed illud exprimit prior logica;
2^a vel paliat vel confundit. Ideo prior implenda est et
2^a tanquam sophistica responda. Nam occidens epi-

5 scopum aufert eum a temporalibus; sed ewangelium dicit

Matt. servos dei *auffere manum* ab indebite occupante, sed non In the Gospel
XXV, dicit occupantem aufferendum a possessione que sibi the slothful
28 accidit. Ideo bene stetit ecclesie, ante quam introducti servant only
sunt fratres, qui contra caput proprium sic locuntur. loses the talent.

10 Debuit igitur regnum auferre temporalia ab episcopo,
cum ex illa habacione venit tota prodicio.

2^o deficit populus in qualitate, sic occidendo epi-
scopum; quia examinaret causam mortis, et responsum
accusat, si fuerit rationi consonum. Sed istam rabiem
15 prophetavit quidam frater Londoniis ignarus vocis proprie-
cum asseruit publice hominem sine responso conburen-
dum tanquam hereticum; et tamen nec audivit eum
nec scivit suam sentenciam, aut cum qua protestacione
vel quo animo sit locutus. Ideo taliter diffinire hominem
20 esse hereticum taliter puniendum excedit luciferinam
insaniam, cum iuxta anticristinam stulticiam, extollitur
super deum. Deus enim non potest dampnare hominem,
nisi precognoverit causam rationabilem quare taliter
sit dampnandus. Sed iste apostola dicit sibi licere hec
25 facere. Unde preco pessimus dirum exitum prophetat,
quia regni turbacionem: utinam non destrucionem!

Nicodemus autem ut fertur, religiosius isto demonio Nicodemus was
Joan. meridiano locutus est, Joh. 7^o. "Numquid, inquit, lex better inspired.
VII, 51 nostra iudicat etc."

30 3^o deficit populus in modo agendi multiplici. Primo, 3. In manner.
quia proditores forinsecos, licet spirituales, plus subdolos Punishment
debuit plus punire. 2^o, quia nullo modo debuit contra out according to
seculares dominos taliter attemptare. Et 3^o, quia expectari the fault;
debet tocius regni exhortacio sive consilium.

35 Sed supposito errore, videndum est quomodo secun-
dum legem debeat emendari; et videtur michi quod error | de quo comunitas gravatur et debet conqueri, Though wrong,
primo omnium debet rectificari, cum vetat iustificationes they had
que postea sequerentur. Est enim error intollerabilis grievances that
40 quod rex vel alius dominus regni super eius populum should be
redressed, so as to put an end to such acts.

1. mundana *in marg.* A. 2. prior *deest* A. 4. 5. episcopum *in*
marg. A. 6. nam *pro* moam B. 7. occupante *pro* occupantem C.A.
20. luciferinam, 21. anticristinam *deest* C. 27. autem *deest* C. 29. iudi-
cat etc *dees* A.

All tyranny and ^{needless} tirraniset. Sicud enim miles debet esse contentus stipendiis suis, ut patet Lu. 3^o, sic reges et subdomini debent tenere se in limitibus suorum reddituum, ne propter causam irrationabilem imponant tenantibus suis tallagia, cum in extorsione tali iacet iniuria clamorosa, ut patet Exod 3^o et Jac. 2^o. Idem enim foret seculares dominos se ipsos destruere et subditos suos taliter spoliare, ut patet de Roboam 3ⁱ Reg. 12. Sed secundus error insensibilis vulgo est quo bona regni sunt ad curiam Romanam, et in inimicos exterios devoluta. Sed 3^{us} error 10 I. quantitate maior est, quo populus per clerum intrinsecum omnis generis spoliatur. Quomodo, inquam, foret rex vel dominus, qui subditos suos non potenter defenseret a raptoribus istis sacrilegis, vel quo iure caperet redditus et tallagia subditorum, qui renuit ipsos defendere ab hostibus inermibus, ita domesticis, a quibus posset tam faciliter ipsos defendere, et ex spoliis, parcendo populo, regnum regere? Omnes autem tradiciones a pseudoclericis adinventas debet destruere, et quietari in sola lege dei cum iure regni, ne admittat superflua, 20 regnum et specialiter legem dei turbancia. Et sic staret regnum purgatum a spiritualibus erroribus, regulatum pure vel principaliter lege dei. Quo habito, oportet omnino diligenter cavere, ne sit dissensio inter dominos seculares, temporales et comunes de populo; et magis 25 inter dominos ad se ipsos; sed maxime, quod non sit turbativa contrarietas inter dominos et wulgares regni nostri, disparium causa contrariorum; quia tunc ad destruccionem regni foret demonium meridianum suscitatum.

This would give us a kingdom in which every thing should be regulated by God's law. Dissensions amongst the nobles, and still more between the nobles and the people, ought to be carefully avoided.

Three Objections.
1. This theory would diminish the royal prerogative. But this prerogative itself depends on the law of God; flattering traditions destroy it. Patience under wrong will

Sed obicitur quod dicta ymaginacio non consonat regalie, nec iuri purganti delicta comissa, nec incuienti timorem, ne alias sic delinquit. Sed quantum ad primum, dicitur quod necesse est regaliam regis et omnes leges humanas regi per legem dei, licet sit suppeditata 35 hodie; vel aliter sunt prophane. Ideo lex dei regaliam regis conservat precipue; et alie tradiciones consumunt adulatorie iura regis. Ideo, sicut regalia Cristi per iuri, in marg. iuri C. 33. delinquent C. 35. sit deest C.

4. collegia A. 5. in *deest* B. 9. wlgc AC; *ib.* regi A. 10. istos *pro* inimicos A; *ib.* Et *pro* sed BC. 15. collegia A. 26. duces *pro* dominos B. 27. wlgares AC. 28. causatorium A; contrariatarum C. 29. regni *deest* A. 31. obieccio in marg. B; non *deest* A. 32. viri B; iuri, in *marg.* iuri C. 33. delinquent C. 35. sit *deest* C.

fide scripture, regalie alie temporales per pacienciam talis iniurie suscient incrementum: et procurans oppositum cece supprimit regnum nostrum.

Quo ad 2^m obiectum, patet quod luciferinus est, qui propter maius commodum non defert deo tantas iniurias vindicare. Ymmo, deus preordinavit, si dignamur capere quomodo regnum foret purgatum secundum legem dei, rectificatum eciam suo beneplacito conformiter, regulatum per ius Christi, evacuatis privilegiis cesareis introductis finaliter. Igitur debet regnum satisfacere dominis secularibus iniuriatis de bonis Christi ditissimi atque suorum pauperum, cum de illis sit rationabilius impleri iusticiam propter multa. Primo, quia deus est in illis sufficiencior ad pacem populi redimendam; 2^o, quia illa sunt bona magis superflua, cum quibus ecclesie symoniae et sacrilege pregravantur. Et 3^o, quia pseudoclerici, ut patet ex dictis, sunt radix tocius turbacionis et comisse iniurie. Gloriosa, inquam, foret talis mutatio, qua parceretur multitudini, et sopita ceca tradizione principum, Christi primeva ordinacio eluceret. Unde in minori cause preconio comendat Augustinus factum beati Aurelii, qui in minori necessitate redditum collata sue ecclesie brachio seculari. Sic enim secundum Augustinum K. "debuit iure poli". Et recitatur 17, q. 4^a. *Quicunque*. Sic igitur felix foret qui pacificaret regnum adeo turbatum tam monstruosa possessione temporalium servata ad hoc in manibus clericorum. Unde probabile videtur quod deus ordinavit totam istam turbacionem et eius quietacionem media ad hunc finem.

30 Quantum ad 3^m obiectum, notum est quod timor filialis, qui amore dignitur, est securior et perseverancior quam servilis. Existente igitur toto cleri patrimonio in manu regis et secularium dominorum, ex illa societate, prudenter parcendo populo, tolleretur occasio sic iterum delinquendi. Nam iuxtaponendo (quod absit), vindictam hominum, vel bellice subito occidendo vel extinguendo convictos paulative secundum leges Anglie, sequeretur omnino inconveniens Anglie destructivum. Nam iuxta

7. *sop²gatu* A. 12. *ipsis* C. 15. *ecclesie magis* C. 16. *pregra-*
vatur omnes MSS; *ib.* *perseculo* A. 18. *glosa* A. 19. *in pro* et A.
 21. *beatus Aug.* B; *beatus deest* C. 28. *ciusque* C. 36. *subiecto*
omnes MSS. 38. *destructum* A; *destructu* C.

24. *Decr. Grat.*, 2^o *Pars.*, C^o XVII, qu. 4, c. I.

hatred and treason in the kingdom; in the first case, the issue will be doubtful; in the second, the punishment will last longer.

primum, cum pars communitatis sit forcior, foret ambiguum in manu dei, que pars aliam superaret; et sequeretur undiquaque regni destruccio, et invidie per-

doubtful; in the petuacio, et omnino post invasionem hostilem forinsecam

fallax prodiccio et undique seductiva regni enervacio;

2^a autem via non differt ab ista, nisi quod pena foret

diuturnior et sic maior. Amoveat igitur deus istam vin-

dicativam superbiam, et inducat istam lenitivam iusticiam

et religionis quam Cristus instituit inductivam. Nec

caderet periculum in prudenti eius practica quo ad 10

deum vel homines, licet sathan et vecordia et yppocrisi

exterreat mundiales.

But so long as the clergy does not amend, the Church will suffer; and both clergy and laity in qua tam clerici quam seculares comunicant. Quis,

are here to blame.

A king who takes a priest from the service of the altars to his own service, is like a steward who would take a servant from watching over his lord's treasury.

Et, ut dicam breviter, antequam corrigatur clerus

per quem pacificaretur ecclesia, non erit in penam 68

illius criminis inturbata, et specialiter propter symoniam, 15

clericorum et seculares in qua tam clerici quam seculares comunicant. Quis,

inquam, fidelis dubitat quin reges aut quicunque domini

seculares distrahentes curatos a dei ministerio et man-

cipantes suo officio seculari, sunt proditores dei et

sancte matris ecclesie, et per consequens merentur quod 20

suum dominium sit dupliciter invasum ab hostibus et

undique perturbatum? Suppono autem ex fide quod

omnis secularis dominus quantumcumque dives aut nobilis

sit mendicus, servus et villicus dei sui: patet Matth. 6

Matth.

et Luce 16. Si igitur ballivus domini temporalis con-

VI, 12

duceret ex thesauro illius domini tamquam servus eius

Luc.

ad illud fidele ministerium obligatus, servum perneces-

XVI,

sarium ad custodiam thesauri precipui domini sui, et

post conductionem alienans servum a ministerio domini

mancipat suo ministerio, consumpto ex tali negligencia 30

principali thesauro atque dominio, nonne foret proditor

domini sui manifestus? Multo evidencius rex terrenus

conducens curatum cum patrimonio Cristi, et post con-

ductionem, alienans ipsum ab animarum regimine,

1-12

4. plus AC. 7. 8. vindictam B. 8. levitivam B: lenitivum C.
11. et before: vecordia deest AC. 18^o 19^o mancipatos AB: mancipant C.
21. dominum deest C. 21. medicus A. 27, 28. per necessitatem A.
30. mūt'io C. 31. nomine A.

9. In answering the foregoing objections, Wyclif, as is often the case with him, gives us to understand his meaning much better than when he stated his point. He then said nothing explicitly about pardoning the rebels; here he evidently points to that. It is probably an oratorical precaution (in this case at least) rendered necessary by the horror of the crimes committed. The rebels, however, had been most savagely treated.

mancipat eum contrario seculari servicio secundum mandatum regis superbie, ratione cuius perditur vel invaditur precipuus thesaurus Cristi et regnum; quod est multitudo animarum fidelium. Talis, inquam, rex foret
5 inexcusabiliter proditor dei sui.

Et multo gravius proditores sunt clerici consentes et procurantes hoc facinus; sed maxime fratres, confessores principum, et qui debent esse speculatores prenunciantes regnis periculum. Ve terre talibus proditoribus occupate! Cum enim ex fide non venit regni tranquillitas vel alicui prosperitas nisi per dominum Iesum Cristum: ipse autem non dat cuiquam nisi ad regulam, ut est dignus. quomodo credimus Cristum bona sua talibus proditoribus impertiri? Revera, si habent
15 hoc, est equivoce, ut amplius confundantur. Et in isto necessitatibus articulo potest ecclesiasticus experiri si clerici plus amat popularem ecclesiam quam suas decimas, si plus sapit religionem Cristi quam voluntatem dominativam seculi, et breviter, sive sint anticeristi discipuli sive
20 Cristi. Nam per suas possessiones temporales potest quietare comunitates et dominos, ac de remedio perpetuo talis periculi providere. Si enim omnia temporalia dominia mortificata ecclesie Anglie essent ad utilitatem regni et exoneracionem populi limitata, tunc forent
25 posita in pios usus rationabilius et de lege Cristi fundabilius, quam sunt modo; nec sciri potest via facilior qua satisficeret pro crimine perpetrato. Ille itaque clerici plus amat mamonam quam iusticiam vel salutem populi, qui isti sentencie contradicunt.

30 Si autem Cristi religio ponderatur, constat quod ipse As or Christ's
Philip, exinanivit se ipsum pro ove centesima perdita requiri. exinanivit se ipsum pro ove centesima perdita requiri.
II, 6 renda, ut patet Lu. 15, 33^{bus} annis vixit in summa
Luc, paupertate et egestate pro dicta ove in via penitencie
XV, 4 instruenda, et demum occisus est morte durissima pro
35 dicta ove ad perpetua pascua reducenda. Et in ista
Act. scola instructus est Petrus, Act. 5^o dicens: Argentum Peter and Paul
III, 6 et aurum non est mihi; quod ceterum habeo, hoc tibi do. followed His example,
Act. In ista scola ludebat Paulus, qui manibus suis quesivit
XX, 33 sibi et sociis vite necessaria, ne gravaret ecclesiam,
40 ut patet act. 20. Ex quibus convincitur, cum Cristus in and we should
Petro precipit sacerdotibus suis pascere secundum istam follow theirs.

1. econ^{um} C. 15. est deest A. 18. voluptatem BC. 23. Anglicane C.
40. cum Cristus twice A. 41. istam deest A.

regulam oves suas, Joh. ultimo, quod apostola sentencie ^{Joan.} isti contrarius est profundius discipulus anticristi. Illi XXI, enim horrerent sequi Cristum et suos apostolos, ^{15, 17} dando animam suam pro summo coniugio, qui renunt dare bona minima a quibus, ut imperficientibus, sunt ⁵ per Cristum prohibiti pro hac sponsa.

4. qui *deest* A. 6. per Cristum *deest* B.

CAPITULUM QUARTUMDECIMUM.

A. Decimus tortor suggens ecclesiam est conventiculum pseudofratrum. Contingit enim de illis, ut aliis, esse aliquos falsos fratres; quia aliter foret tota eorum 5 communitas confirmata, quod Cristus non concessit apostolis, ut patet Scarioth et multis pseudoapostolis. Sicut enim in ordine cristiano salubriori ecclesie pullulat maior fructus, sic in illis perversis surrepsit maius periculum. Dictum est autem, 2^o cap. De apostasia, quo- 10 modo aliter fratres contingit esse apostatas: et sic in illis, sicud dictum est in tractatu, De symonia, contingit de episcopis quod contrahant symoniam in congressu, in progressu et egressu. Sic contingit de fratribus, quo ad apostasiam et duas alias hereses, quibus sunt ex 15 cautela diaboli maculati. In ingressu dupliciter, vel fratrifactor, vel eciam fratrifactus; fratrifactor autem deterius: primo, quia sepe presumptuose consulit et agit contra divinum consilium et utilitatem ecclesie, ac persone: quod omnino est peccatum, ut patet libro 5^o ca^o 3^o. Si enim peccatum sit dare occasionem deteriorandi proximum, pretendendo opera misericordie corporalis, multo magis malo consulendo in antecedentibus ad salutem perpetuam, et maxime incitamentis necessitando ad tante dampnificans. Notum quidem est quod 20 25 multi viverent sanccius extra religionem privatam vel in religione alia, plus eis consona. Ymmo multi propter huiusmodi differenciam sunt dampnati. Quomodo igitur | 68^b non foret magnum peccatum inconsulto domino in-

The tenth tormentor is the bad friar; some such there must be, unless all friars are confirmed in grace.

Apostasy is committed amongst them on entering the order, whilst remaining therein, and on leaving it.

The triar-maker takes a most heavy responsibility upon himself in giving advice which if followed may lead to damnation.

1. Ca^m XIII A; Cap. *deest*; 14 in marg. BC. 2. Initial D in red ink;
ib. suggens A. 3, 4. pseudo fratum — aliquos *deest* A. 4. aliis pro
aliquos C. 8. surrepit magis B. 11. 9tigit A. 12. symoniam *deest* A.
13. otigit A. 16. eciam *deest* C. 20. sit *deest* A. 26. religionis A.
27. Quo C. 28. in *deest* A.

9. See *De Apostasia*, whole of Ch. II. 11. *De Simonia* Ch. VI.

The best of them say they never made any friar but one, and that they regretted it ever after. A triarmaker claims to have entered into God's secret counsels. This advice should be given with the utmost reserve.

Many think that to enter one of these orders savours of sortilegium, for it is all a chance whether it will render one good or vicious; and they trely submit their eternal salvation to such a chance, while the true way to be saved is open to them.

Objections.

1. "According to this theory, it is wrong to exhort to a virtuous life, since perseverance is doubtful, and a fall would then be more severely punished." But the case is not the same; virtue, good in itself, causes evil only by accident.

ducere talem statum? Ideo periciores fratrum dicunt quandoque quod nunquam fecerunt aliquem fratrem, nisi unum, se ipsos scilicet, et dolent continue illud opus. Istud autem est possibile esse verum et prudenter dictum; cum enim talis consiliarius pretendit se habere spiritum consilii dei, videtur quod blasphemat tam frontose et nescie procurando. Unde videtur mihi quod nemo consulerit, nisi haberet ad hoc revelationem vel agitacionem spiritus sancti, quia aliter indubie ageret indiscretæ. Unde quidam in talibus consiliis eis ambiguis locuntur condicionaliter; ponunt *custodiam ori suo*.

Unde videtur multis quod opera fraternitatum huiusmodi, que eciam spissim pullulant inter laicos, inter ^{Ps.} ^{XXXVIII.} alia mala sapiunt sortilegium, cum nemo ambigit quin, ¹ sicut bonum fortuite potest ex illis contingere, sic et ¹⁵ malum; nec est fraternitas huiusmodi per se bona, cum sicut casualiter multis proficit ad virtutem, sic et multis officit ad dampnacionem. Hominem igitur ponere se in tali sorte perpetua est maioris stulticie quam mittere sortem, sicut fecerunt apostoli de eleccione, cum videtur ²⁰ quod tales sortilegi continuo et perpetuo sine fundamento se sorti subiciunt in periculo: quia manifestum videtur quod ingrediens fraternitatem huiusmodi subicit se fortune quo ad beatitudinem vel dampnacionem. Sed quid stulcias ^{B.} aut periculosius, cum via secura sit patula? Detestabilis ²⁵ itaque est argucia anticristi: *Tali sancto conuenit talis conversacio:* ergo, *toti secte debet competere,* cum tempore apostolorum statim destrueretur ista blasfemia, eo quod soli Christo convenit talis primatus, non ita singulariter in specie, sed in genere. ³⁰

Sed contra predicta instatur primo, ex hoc quod nemo consuleret ad virtutes, cum stat virtuosum occasione virtutis dampnari severius; ut patet de Scarioth, de quo Christus dicit Matth. 14. *Bonum erat illi, si natus non fuisset homo ille.* Sicut enim homo occasione peccati ^{XXVI.} fit humilior, sic occasione virtutis a qua ingrate cecidit, ²⁶ fit dampnabilior. Sed supposita distincione de occasione data et occasione accepta, patet quod non est color concludere quod nemo debet consulere ad virtutes, cum sint per se bone moraliter, quibus nemo abuti potest. ⁴⁰

7. nescit AC. 9. sanctis A.

12. operam B. 12, 13. huius A.

17. cauas A. 18. sic pro se B.

23. subiceat B. 28. illa C.

29. itaque BC; ib. singularitatis C.

34. Matth. 14 deest C.

Ideo, quicunque ad illas consulit, ut sic consulit ad bonum, licet occasione male accepta, per se ex malo, et per accidens a bono, malum proveniat.

2º obicitur quod nemo consuleret iuxta istam sententiam ad habitus vel actus qui non sunt per se morales, et per consequens non ad statum, artem, scienciam vel opera ex illis procedencia; quod est inopinabile et derisum ab Augustino et decreto; et consequentia patet ex hoc quod omnia talia contingit esse mala moraliter.
 10 Hic dicitur quod theologus vere dicit quod nichil est proprio consulibile, nisi in ordine ad beatitudinem; aliud autem quod quiescit in temporalibus, est consilium impiorum. Et sic sunt aliqua per se consilibia, ut virtutes et opera virtuosa, et alia per accidens consilibia plus vel minus, ad que homo debet consulere condicionaliter cum timore, ut vivere exproprietarye, discere legem dei et facere talia bona de genere disponencia ad virtutem. Dissuadere vero debemus illa que sunt propriiora periculo.

20 3º instatur per hoc quod non solvit difficultas, cum non docetur si licet consulere homini simpliciter, ut sit frater, et sic de aliis consiliabilibus, quo nec sunt virtutes C. nec opera virtuosa. Hic dicitur quod super virtutes vel earum opera simpliciter debet cadere consilium. Ideo 25 videtur michi quod nemo, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelationem, debet consulere homini esse fratrem; non quia ex hoc potest contingere malum, sicut occasione male accepta potest indirecte malum confingere ex virtute; nec solum ex hoc quod de ingressu in religionem privatam tanquam de neutris vel bonis de genere potest malum contingere propter defectum virtutis ex carencia bonificantis circumstancie: sed ex hoc quod introitus in religionem talem videtur esse malum de genere; non enim debet fidelis ad opera neutra consulere, nisi habererit ad hoc revelationem; ut aliter nemo consulit edificari domos, graduari in facultatibus vel prepollere in seculari dominio; ymmo nec aliter consulit ad opera bona de genere; ergo multo magis nemo aliter consuleret ad opera mala de genere, cuiusmodi videtur

³. in *pro* a A. 4. secundum *pro* iuxta C. 9. 9th A. 11. 9th C. 12. q^oefci^t A. 13, 14. conciliabila C. 20. Sed 3rd B. 22. consiliabilibus C. 23. frater p*ro* super A; *ib.* virtutis AB. 27. 9th A. 28. de *pro* ex C; *ib.* sed nec C. 29. revelationem C. 32. si *pro* sed *omnes* MSS. 33. reliq*u* C. 36. edificare C; *ib.* facultatis C.

A Friar loses
much of a
Christian's
liberty, and is
obliged to do
much that
Christ does not
approve.

esse intrare religionem privatam; quia hoc repugnat multis libertatibus, in quibus Cristus voluit Cristianos vivere, et necessitat ad multa mala, que Cristus docuit fideles auffugere. Diabolus tamen sub colore boni commixti seducit incautos, ut patet ex fructu consilii hominum. Nam nunc consulitur ad bella, ad lites et ad potencias seculares, nec sapit secularibus consilium domini ad virtutes; ad illas tamen debet tantum sapiens absolute consulere, et relinquere regimini proprii spiritus facere neutra vel bona de genere. Nam habitis virtutibus ut homines sint filii dei, credendum est ex fide apostoli quod communiter ex spiritu dei quo ad talia erunt ducti.

None but the
Holy Spirit had
the right to
tell the prophet
to marry a
harlot; we can
only advise to
do what we
are certain to
be good.

Sed hodie blasphematur induendo personam spiritus sancti, qui precepit prophete fornicariam accipere et ex ea filios procreare, ut patet Osee; cum nemo debet nisi in sibi certis consulere. Et hec racio quare spiritus consilii deest ecclesie. Nemo debet sine speciali consilio dei in sibi neutrī consulere, quia in hoc fatue extolleretur super deum. Deus enim non potest consulere vel mandare, nisi quod scit et ordinat prodesse ecclesie. Blasphemus autem talis frontose consulit quod nescit repugnare voluntati divine, utilitati ecclesie et profectui persone consulte: quod est indiscreta temeritas. Et patet per locum *a maiori* quod stultum foret, deficiente instinctu divino, per cautelas mendaces inducere hominem ut sit frater.

2. "Not only
the state of a
Friar is rather
good than
evil, but it is a
state of virtue,
to which all
should be
exhortated".

If so, no Friar
could possibly
be bad, since
no man is bad
in a state of
virtue.

Secundo obicitur per hoc quod esse fratrem nedum D. est bonum de genere, sed bonum virtutis ad quod movet deus: ergo salubre est ad illud bonum anime excitare. Pia igitur fraus foret proximum ad tales cristianis-mum inducere, ubi in ingressu foret plena peccatorum remissio, in progressu foret meriti maioracio, et in egressu foret, preter spirituale suffragium fraternitatis, plena absolucion. Blasphemum igitur foret in istis spiritu sancto resistere. Hic patet quod falsum assumitur. Nam si esse fratrem esset bonum virtutis, cum nemo potest abuti virtute, vel cum illa dampnari, sequitur quod repugnat legi dei quod aliquis frater peccet mortaliter vel dampnatur; consequens blasphemum. Ad cristianam

1. reputat A. 9. absolut'e A; *ib.* regnum C. 10. fateri AB.

11. after apostoli, a blank space AC. 12. fide *pro* spiritu A; *ib.* ^{9nt'} A. 29. igitur C; *ib.* ex'citar = exercitari A. 30. *fraus deest* B. 30, 31. cristianissimum A. 33. preter *deest* A; preter spirituale officium vel *suffragium* C.

itaque religionem debet homo consulere et hortari, cum illa sit infinitum perfeccior quam privata religio, ut hic supponitur ex dictis alibi. Cui religioni cristiane repugnat peccare mortaliter vel dampnari; dicente ewangelista

5 I. Joh. 3. *Omnis qui in deo manet, non peccat.* Et sequitur:

I. Joan. *omnis qui natus est ex deo peccatum non facit, quoniam*

III. *semen ipsius in eo manet, et non potest peccare, quoniam*

6, 7 *ex deo natus est.* Nam repugnat vere cristianum peccare

10 mortaliter, sicud repugnat predestinatum peccare in

spiritum sanctum. Et sic intelligit beatus Johannes

simpliciter in sensu composito. Si autem hoc sit verum

de fratribus, hoc est in quantum sunt cristiani de

generacione seminis verbi dei, et non in quantum sunt

fratres; nec sunt aliter nisi nominetenus et false in

15 religione vel ordine, sed "frater" est commune ad bonos

et ad malos, cum secundum apostolum sit consummatum

periculum in falsis fratribus. Et sic esse fratrem in sua

comunitate, nec est per se bonum virtutis, nec bonum

de genere; sed esse fratrem secundum adinvencionem

20 novam videtur esse superflua et periculosa adieccio.

Multi tamen possunt ex speciali gracia, parvipendendo

tradicionem onerosam retardantem ab ewangelicis con-

siliis, salvi fieri; sed non in quantum fratres, sed in

quantum filii Cristi sic faciunt. Et illud periculum

25 tradicionis adiecte potest prodesse per accidens. Ideo

inspiratus ad hoc debet *temptare spiritus, si ex deo*

sunt, et, veritate inventa, facere ipsum fratrem; hoc

tamen raro evenit, cum pro toto Cristi millenario non

evenit; et per consequens per tantum temporis non fuit

30 bonum de genere, et illa antiqua bona de genere

sufficerent pro viacione ecclesie. Non enim isti religio-

siarche suscitant novum genus boni, licet fecerint

novum bonum individuum. Et istud evidet ex hoc quod

a tempore invencionis huius religionis private invaluit

35 proporcionaliter perturbacio in ecclesia militante. Non

enim est secta ista per se magis bona de genere quam

secta Machometi, vel alia, legem domini introducta.

Nec colorari potest fraus qua fratris facti seducuntur per

mendacia, per munuscula, per applausus sophisticos

40 cum principium religionis Cristi eius doceat strictitudinem

This argument applies only to the pure religion of Christ, in which no man can sin; and if a Friar does not sin, it is because he belongs to that religion, and not as a Friar.

To be a friar is therefore a superfluous and dangerous thing; yet through a special grace of God, many of them can be saved.

If therefore the thought of entering religion comes to us, we must become Friars only after mature examination; which happens but very seldom.

There is no excuse for the devices employed to bring new

4, 5. 1 deest AC; 3 deest A. 10. before sit an erasure AC;
ir. consumatum C. 19. secundum deest C. 28, 29. cum — evenit
deest C. 40. strictitudinem BC.

Friars into the quo ad mundum. Sicut enim magister optimus docuit E. order; Christ spoke with simple and stern truth to those who wished to follow Him: we ought not to beguile any one by flattery or gifts. suos discipulos totum mundum relinquere, et istud frequenter in ewangelio inculcavit, ut patet Matth. 8 Matth. et Lu. 14: Sicut enim dixit scribe quod non habet ubi VIII, non renunciat omnibus que possidet non potest meus esse 20 discipulus. Sic igitur, iuxta doctrinam ewangelicam veritatis, discipuli debent induci, non per adulaciones neque mendacia, cum spiritus et verbum illud effugient, sed per veritatis strictitatem verbi dei. 33

That on entering into religion, a Friar is purified from sin may be true, but any one else giving aims with feelings of equal renunciation of the world would be absolved just as well; and it is likely that the general intention on entering is rather quietly to enjoy the good things of life, than to suffer poverty with Christ; which wrong intention is sinful: so instead of sin being remitted, a fresh sin is committed by entering the order.

Et quantum ad illud de purgacione fratrfacti a criminis, patet quod rite factus frater vel quicumque religiosus ex contricione culpe qua prius mundo erat deditus, a crimen priori absolvitur, sicud absolveretur, cum paribus, faciendo quamcumque elemosinam, et 15 specialiter detestando quamcumque talem religionem privatam, cum non propter eius eleccionem sed propter piam dilectionem domini sit solutus. Unde probabiliter creditur quod comunius, ingrediendo talem religionem sophisticam, quis novo crimen innodatur, quam a prius 20 comiso absolvitur; cum comunius ex temporalium, quibus inhiat incubacione, ex honoris humani affectione, et ex quieta temporalium fruacione, quam ex paupertate penalitatem Cristi eleccione in tales ordines est ingressus. Ideo invencio huius sacramenti dilectionis criminis 25 habet effectum suum comunius in fuga religionis huius, quam in eius amplexu, cum eius sophisticacio yppocritica ex introitu | communiter vigoratur. Et patet quantum ad 69^b plenam remissionem criminis in ingressu, cum semper vel ut plurimum contigit oppositum, quod non movet, 30 sed disuadet ut quis ingrediatur talem ordinem. Nam

4. scribe deest A; ib. nō q. h3 A. 6. meo esse A. 10. virtutis A;
ib. strictitudinem BC; ib. verbum C. 17. effcom AC. 22. mundani B.
24. nota qualiter communiter privata religio ingreditur *in marg.* B.
30. plim A; plu'm C.

11. It is evident that Roman Catholics would never admit that *in principle* it is wrong to advise men to enter into religion; but the practical disadvantages of the course blamed by Wyclif became so apparent that not 200 years after, St. Ignatius Loyola gave as one of the first questions to be asked the candidate: *Whether he had acted upon the advice of any member of the Society?* and if so, though the advice was 'good and meritorious', his admission was to be deferred until some future period. I believe that many modern Congregations have adopted this rule.

Cristus et apostoli non cognoverunt istas versicias, sed hoc in secta phariseica reprobavit, et tamen secta illa fuit antiquitate et personarum sanctitate solempnior,

Act. cum apostolus fuit, ut dicitur Act. 23, phariseus.

XXIII, Et eodem modo dicitur de maioritate meriti in

6 progressu. Nam quicumque habuerit puriorem caritatem, quod comunius evenit in non illaqueatis ritibus, plus meretur. Nec docet Anzhelmus vel alias quod in quantum quis est de tali privato ordine plus accenditur in 10 caritate; et aliter indubie est fratrifaccio impertinens maioritati meriti. Quod si allegatur singularis penitencia, dicitur quod ampliorem habet secta Machometi in pociione aque. Ideo libertas religionis Cristi est quod nec cibis nec potibus nec indumentorum cultibus astrin-

15 gitur. Et quod illi ex maiori caritate dant deo tam fructum quam arborem, sed seculares solum fructum,

F. patet quod est incollarata fallacia. Nam si per *arborem* intelligatur "substancia hominis" vel "essentia voluntatis", et per *fructum*, "opera virtuosa", manifestum est quod 20 quicumque dederit deo fructum talem dat arborem; cum dei sit omnis creata essentia vel natura. Ideo stultus foret qui non ex toto corde obligaret se totum deo. Unde vel Cristus et apostoli eius post missionem spiritus sancti non dederunt deo arborem cum fructu; 25 vel contingit quod seculares dent deo claustralibus perfeccius tam fructum quam arborem. Apostoli enim, qui proficiendo processerunt, noluerunt habere abbatem aliquem preter Cristum, et post illos multi sancti martires obtulerunt se deo perfeccius sine fictione huius 30 infundabilis sacramenti. Ideo videtur multis infundibile sacramentum quod, ex eo ipso quo quis intrat religionem privatam est peccatorum suorum plena remissio.

Et ad tantum cecantur simplices, quod habent habitus quorundam fratrum, quos prope mortem induunt; quia

The same may be said of life spent in the order; perfection depends on love of God, which is quenched by superfluous observances.

As to penance, Mahometans drink only water.

The say that they give to God the tree with the fruit, whilst seculars only give the fruit; which is false, for the will is the tree and good deeds the fruit; both must go together.

1. vñciaß A. 2. pharisea A; *ib.* cum *pro* tamen *omnes* MSS.
4. 20 AC. 5. miti A. 6. quicumque C. 9. intenditur A. 10. frat-

factio AB. 11. secularis A. 11, 15. astn'gñt² C. 21. creatura A.
23. post *deest* AB. 24. vel fructum C. 25. debet C. 30. Non *pro* ideo C.

Some simple people have by them a Friar's habit, believing

34. *Mortem.* This practice is followed by members of the Third-Order, and (at least as now existing) seems rather to express a pious hope than the confident belief that Wyclif justly reproves. There are traditions in most Orders (perhaps in all) that any one dying amongst them will be saved; but the fact that the Church has never lent its authority to such traditions, probably tends to counteract feelings of presumption.

that dying therein, they cannot be damned.
This is blasphemy, as it implies that every Friar is safe.
And as a man with the Holy Sacrament in his mouth may go to Hell, we must conclude that a Friar's habit can do more than Christ's Body!
Also that this habit is worth more than all the treasures of the world; no wonder then that much money is paid for the privilege of wearing it.

3. "The Friars supply the want of parish priests; salvation comes through them, and they thus have a right to alms."
Quite true; but their multitude renders such alms a very heavy burden. They supply the want of parish priests; but if the pure religion of Christ has suffered diminution of fervour,

instructi sunt quod impossibile est in habitu tali mortuum vel superari a diabolo vel dampnari. Per tales autem blasphemias anticristus extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus; quia certum est quod talis habitus plus vel tantum valeret fratri sic habituato, sicut extraneo valeret eius unica induccio. Et sic omnes illi fratres forent super apostolos confirmati; quod est nimis blasphemum. Similiter reliquie talis habitus forent perfecciores quam sacramentum altaris, quod nos credimus corpus Cristi, quia stat hominem dampnari etsi habuerit in hora mortis sacramentum illud in faucibus, ut comunicantur greci. Sed non sic stat cum inducione sui habitus, ut fingunt; sed quid blasphemus? Similiter, iuxta istam blasphemiam, habitus talis foret infinitum valencior quam omnia bona temporalia sphere terre, sicut religio sua est infinitum melior quam religio secularis. Quid mirum igitur, si anticristus per talia iocalia accumulet thesauros absconditos? Sed quid foret detestabilius inter fideles quam tam blasfema ydolatria? Talis autem fingitur absolucio cum sacramentali suffragio confratrum in mortis articulo. Sed cum Cristus, apostoli et martyres caruerunt tali adminiculo, ubi ponemus eos in celo? Ecclesia igitur debet cavere de talibus ceremoniis ydolatratis; quia aliter in brevi extingwerent legem Cristi.

3^o principaliter arguitur per hoc quod fratres in defectu curatorum predican, ministrant sacramentalia et absolvunt; per ipsos igitur quos oportet sustentari de bonis ecclesie; necesse est ut veniat eis salus. In isto videtur multis surripere rapinam fratrum sicut aliorum tortorum ecclesie cuius radix est eorum multitudino onerosa et ministrorum applicacio sumptuosa. Conceditur tamen quod, occasione ignorancie prelatorum et declinacionis sui ad seculum, necesse fuit fratres subintroduci, ut sint peioribus supplementum. Et necesse est ut de illis, sicut de prioribus, fiat declinacio a lege domini. Si enim in pura religione Cristi fiat seduccio, quanto magis in ritibus adinventis! Confirmatur ex hoc quod ordinacio tam pia, legi Cristi tam

3. tollitur A. 9. tef altaris A. 15. corporalio B; *ib.* spere AB.

17. sibi B. 26. ⁹⁹sacra C. 27. vel C. 30. est *deest* AB. 31. instrumentorum AC. 32. igitur AC. 33. sic C. 35. est *deest* AB. 38. X'ta *pro tam before* pia A.

consona, excedit ordinaciones alias seculares laudabiles. theirs has also
Nec est color negare ordinaciones hominum. Et idem suffered the
deducitur ex hoc quod deus wult tales religiones esse,
sed ex eorum onerosa multitudine sequitur inconveniens

5 ecclesie: Cristus enim non habuit nisi 12 apostolos ad Christ had 12
illuminandum universalem ecclesiam; et unus prior Apostles, and a
minus sufficiens habet 100! Ideo necesse est ex mon- single Prior has
struositate talis multitudinis errorem procedere. Nam too Friars
constituit sibi legem religionis (tanquam indignans under his rule
10 Cristum quem refugit) alius legislator, et legem quam
invenit legi Cristi preponderat. Et ubi Cristus ad
regendam totam ecclesiam fuit contentus 12^{em}, Anti-
cristus undique extollitur.

Et certum est quod eius multiplex onerosa multitudo
15 nocet reipublice atque ecclesie. Sicut enim per cecam
dotacionem cleri dominiis extractis a secularibus, qui
soli debent sic regere, multa loca prius habitabilia
sunt deserta, sic per subtraccionem multorum fratrum
a parentibus atque republica undique perturbatur
20 ecclesia. Si igitur in lege veteri furans aut spolians
70^a bovem vel hominem, invito domino, debuit puniri, ut
Ex. patet Exo. 21 et 22^o capitulis, quare non in lege gracie
XXII, sic spolians hominem a republica debet puniri secundum

This is
hurtful to the
commonwealth
and the
Church;
multitudes are
taken from
their parents
and the service
of the State;
which is as
criminal as to
steal an ox or
a slave.

¹ leges seculi? Si dicas quod proselitus convertitur ad
25 dominum secundum legem evangelii; doce quod singitur;
et quo ad aliud, legem pone. Certum quidem est quod
nec docetis istam conversionem ad dominum, nec
docetis ex lege ewangelii hoc esse licitum; nisi forte
Matth. ex dicto Cristi Matth. 23; *Ve robis, qui circuitis mare*
XXIII, *et aridam, ut faciatis unum proselitum!*

"They are
converts
according to the
Gospel"; this
may be said, but
not proved.
Neither
converts, nor
according to
the Gospel.

15 Nec est ratio quare validus mendicus constringi et
puniri debeat secundum leges hominum, quin a pari
frater validus, inordinate mendicans, debeat eciam
frenari, cum secundum apostolum Thess. 2^o et Act. 20,
35 labor corporalis eis conveniat. Confirmatur ex hoc
quod nulla obediencia cristiani est valida, nisi de quanto
sonat in maioritatem obediencie domino Jesu Cristo;
sed nullus fratrifactor seit quod filius extractus a tutela
parentis magis cum fratre Cristo obedient, quam cum
40 patre; igitur videtur illegitima et temptativa presumpcio.

Why should
not an able-
bodied Friar
be punished
like a sturdy
beggar? they
should work
with their
hands.

The obedience
they pay to
their prior
is so much
taken from

4. ing^{nB} A; in'gen^B C. 16. a deest B. 19. undique C.
29. 21 B. 37. sonuerit C. 10. allegittia C.

that which is due to their parents: and only better if Christ is better obeyed in the first case.

The friar-maker often takes an heir from his legal guardians before he is of age, which contradicts the Apostle's teaching, who forbade a converted slave to leave his heathen master; yet this involved much more danger to faith. Some say that all sects but Christ's are thieves and robbers. If any man has the right to punish him that steals cattle or a slave, how much more him that robs him of a son?

No security is given that the young Friar will be a better man than he would have been as a secular priest or a layman. It is by a mere blasphemous fiction that he is supposed to be better; as a Friar's gown is made more of than the robe of Christ.

A legislator says that for a

Item de lege dei *heres sub tutoribus et actoribus* H. est usque ad prefinitum tempus a patre, ut patet Gall. 4^o Gal. Sed illud tempus fratrifactor sepe dirumpit. Ideo IV, 2 videtur, quod sic est contrarius legi dei. Nec valet blasphemia quod adquirit, ut sic, novello ordini servum 5 deo, quia eleccio Cristi hoc non sufficit in Scarioth. Item, religio Cristi fuit racioni sic consona ut servum conversum non extraheret a domino infideli, ut patet Thess. 6^o. Igitur multo magis religio Cristi legi consona 1 Tim. non extraheret filium a parente fideli; nam parens IV, 1 habet maius ius ad filium, et ipse minus distraheretur a religione Cristi quam servus fidelis cum domino infideli. Sed hec novella religio extollitur super Cristum. Ipsa enim 15 designatur plus quam Beghardi tractari in causa civili coram iudice seculari. Sed Cristus et apostolus hoc tulerunt.

Unde quidam dicunt quod omnes secte, quotquot venerunt alie a religione cristiana, sunt fures et latrones, quia non intrant per ostium ut dicitur Jo. 10. Et sic Joan. videtur quod non dicetur racio quare secundum leges X, 1 humanas a servo, iumento vel quoconque usibili puniri 20 debeat, et ad restitucionem astringi, quin per idem sic debet esse de fratribus, qui pueros sub custodia atque proteccione parentum defraudant ab ipsis atque republica; ad satisfaccionem congruam debent cogi.

Nam verius, tenerius et naturalius habet quis filium 25 quam temporalia vel iumentum. Nec assecuratur res publica quod talis, ut sic obligatus, melioratur et plus affidatur ad dominum, quam remanens secundum puram religionem Cristi, factus sacerdos vel colens seculum. Ymmo videtur quod talis apostota in hoc quod sic 30 fratrifacit puerum, sit blasphemus; quia spondet quod divino consilio est proprium, et quod est sibi absconditum. Sed sicut blasfeme fingit filum, lanam vel instrumenta, quibus habitus suus contextitur, converti in reliquias preciosiores quam tunica Cristi inconsutibilis, 35 et sic de tanto mundum perfici; sic fingit de filiis hominum quos furatur. Unde quidam legifer dicit quod

1. illa B. 5. sic obligatum C. 7. sic *deest* A. 9. 1 Thim. 6 C; ib. legi Christi A. 14. begardi BC. 15. sch' A. 16. omnis A. 18. qui B; ib. hostium AC. 19. docetur B; ib. quare *deest* B. 20. invento pro iumento C. 21. nestrungi A. 31. quod pro quia A. 33. filium pro filium omnes MSS. 34. intra A. 35. inconsutibilis BC. 37. quod pro quos AC.

14. Beghardi. See Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus* (Leipzig 1790).

iustum est privatum sic filio astringere unum fratrem illius secte suo usui, quoisque habeat filium suum restitutum. Secta enim talis non debet bona sua in foro contencioso repetere, sed pati iniurias bonorum suorum cum gaudio atque penas iniuste illatas; igitur multo magis non debet post fraudem comissam persequentes suos impetrare.

son thus taken away, a father has the right to force a Friar into his own service until his son is given back to him.

I. Et quantum ad temporales elemosinas quilibet de populo a quo tam fraudulenter subtrahunt non solum temporalia, ymmo proles, timeret dare sectis talibus in quantum huiusmodi elemosinas corporales, cum a sociis furum debet fomentum subtrahi. Et quantum ad excessum consumpcionis sumptuose bonorum pauperum, notandum primo, quod non refert sive persona simplex sive aggregata ut secta consumperit bona ecclesie, nisi quod persona secte est in furto forcior, in fraude circumvencior, et in pertinacia perseverancior. Si, inquam, attendimus ad quantitatem temporalium, que fratres callide suggunt de populo regni nostri, tunc, ut experti calculant, nec dux nec rex suggit tantum annuatim de regno, quam suggit illa monstruosa persona sectarum. Et si modum vel causam spoliacionis attendimus, dominis temporalibus ex lege ewangelii didragma et alia onera redditus temporalis sunt debita. Sed ista stipendia seductoria sunt per mendacia et commenta blasphemie subtiliter introducta. Et dico subtiliter, quia communitas fratrum in Anglia colligit annuatim per minicias multa milia talentorum, cum quibus regnum et eius pauperes plebei potuerunt relevari. Quod ex hoc convincunt experti seculi, quod vix invenies unam villam in Anglia, quin ex collectis fratrum symoniacis post sermonem ex fraternitatis redditibus et ex pri | vatis spoliacionibus communitas fratrum excedit quo ad pecuniam ville dominum vel rectorem. Non enim construunt hec magna edificia, nec preter sumptus publicos

As for alms, none should give any to the abettors of robbers.

The quantity of money they take is excessive, and it matters little whether a single person or a society combine thus to defraud the Church; except that the latter is more powerful.

They take more than any lord, more than the king himself.

To the former we owe taxes; but to these seducers, nothing.

Yet a single community every year collects many thousand talents.

It is calculated that no village gives so much to its lord or parish priest as to the Friars' collections and confraternities &c.

If they build such edifices

2. suum proprium BC. 4. repolere A. 9. temporali A. 11. subtrahere A. 12. processum B. 18. fingunt A. 22. didragma C. 26, 27. p̄ pinciaß p̄ minciaß A. 28. plebi A. 33. dominium AC.

27. *Talentorum* is not a very definite expression, but Wyclif defines it in other places. See English Works of W. III, 400. "Friars spenden commonly and needlessly sixty thousand mark by year And now . . . is the people charged by sixty thousand mark by year . . . Friars . . . waste vainly and needless sixty thousand mark by year of the poor commons of the land." See also Buddensieg, Polem. Works. p. 192; Trialogus, p. 359, and Sermones, II, p. 49. 60,000 marks came to £ 40,000.

and give such
splendid
banquets, the
money
drained out of
the nation
is provided by
alchemy or a
miracle.
And so there
must be a
falling off in
paying taxes to
the king; the
more so,
because Friars,
however rich,
have nothing to
pay.

They are
practically
independent of
the king;
which would
be seen, if he
attempted to
evy taxes upon
them.

They exhaust
the resources
of the kingdom,
not by open
robbery but
worse still, by
a continual
though
imperceptible
taking of small
sums: like a
hectic fever
which works
slowly but is
incurable.
Any Friar
whom this
exposure
displeases
confesses his
own
wickedness:
as Iscariot,
conscious of
his crime, was

preparant sumptuosa et privata convivia, cum aliis expensarum excessibus, vel cum arte alkymica vel cum peccunia Angelorum manibus ministrata; sed subdefalcant de regno per cateractas absconditas. Et sic, cum regnum sit tantum finitum suggibile de thezauro, patet quod 5 necesse est populum regi suo et dominis suis deficere in tributis. et eo celerius quo a communibus suis secularibus eciam egenis presbiteris censem exigit, sicud in casu requiritur: et cum a fratribus, quantumcunque divitibus, nichil capit; et tamen ubi presbiter secularis 10 habet unicum annuale stipendum de regno (forsitan sex marcis), frater habet de eodem regno multa absconde! Et non dubium quin symoniace, ad destrucionem toxicam contrate quam palliant.

Et sicut episcopi quidam blasfeme blaterant quod 15 K. non debent subdi mundi principibus isti practisant abscondite in effectu; non enim sencidunt se subditos regibus nec ulli conviancum, nisi forsitan anticristo. Cuius experimentalis probacio foret, si rex de illis, ut de aliis legiis suis, censem pro necessitate regni sui 20 exigeret. Notaret qua pacienza, quibus capitaneis, et quo seculari vinculo a fratribus regni subsidium levaretur. Taliter autem cecantur regna cautela diaboli scopantis interpolate de regnis minutias insensibiles, per quassubdole enervantur. Nec differt hoc a spoliacione patula, nisi 25 quod est magis dampnabilis; quia yppocritica et peccato diaboli spirituali similior: et sic magis radicitus punitura. Nam febris ethica est periculosior effimera, et tamen per illam naturale humidum insensibiliter, sed insanabiliter, est extinctum. Nam pena talis diutina 30 quodammodo superat repentinam.

Nec alicui bono fratri, sed falso displiceret deteccio istius sentencie, cum non verius posset reatum suum vel opere vel consensu detegere, quam contra versucie huius sanativum scrutinium murmurare. Unde indicium 35 est profundius inveterate malicie, quod fratres plus aliis contra rimas sui sceleris recalcitrando remurmurent. Et hinc Scarioth post reprobacionem pronosticam tradicionis

1. conviva B. 3. subdesulcant A. 5. flete A; finite C. 7. sterilius A; scelerius C. 8. et pro eciam B. 10. cum AB; tum C. 11. palliant trice A. 15. quidem B; ib. blacte'ant A. 17. censem C. 20. legis A. 21. Notare B; Notarctur C; ib. contra pro qua A; ib. pcia B. 23. enim B. 24. interpellate A; ib. immicicias A. 25. dereret A. 28. ethica deest A. 33. huius C. 35. strictivum B. 37. ruinas C. 38. pnosticam A; prenesticam C.

Cristi, dicitur primo omnium apostolorum respondisse. the first to ask
 Matth. *Numquid ego sum, rabi?* Matth. 26., quia peccatum Christ if he
 XXVI, in effectu gravissimum facit peccatorem conscientiam sibi was guilty.

25. ipsi. Ideo necesse est ut omnis creatura se ipsam
 5 iudicet; sed et quod peccatum ebiliat et dicat sui
 ipsius gravedinem. Unde in istis non obligo me ad The gravity of
 monstrandum gravedinem narrati criminis, sed relinquens the crime is
 iudicium eius politicis, scio quod est necessarium here irrelevant;
 demonstrabile, quod fratres potuerunt sic peccare, et its possibility
 10 sentencia de inesse opinabilis ex effectu. Recolerent is certain; its
 autem fratres quomodo ex paupertate sua primeva existence is
 placuerunt domino, et quomodo sunt hodie monstruose inferred from
 ditati in seculo; non solum unica simplex persona in facts.
 15 unum ex eis conventualem invenies quin ex monstruo-
 sitate et comuni peccato tocius persone aggregate aliquo
 Ps. 6 generum consensuum sit fedatus; quia psalm. 14°
 XVII, scribitur: *Cum perverso perverteris.* Quid enim refert
 20 personam simplicem vel globatam irreligiose construere
 basilicas vel habitacula, nisi quod peccatum persone
 aggregate est gravius et reipublice nocivius? Nam tale
 edificium monstruosum est sumptuosus; sicut enim
 sanctitas comitive edificat, sic comitive perversitas viciat
 et retardat; hoc autem in presenciarum fit crebrius.
 25 Quod videtur sanctos apostolos attendere, qui cognos-
 centes Scarioth sub magistro optimo tam sanctam
 comitivam dispergere, post parvam latenciam conflictus,
 L. tanquam nubes et aquille sunt dispersi. Non refertur living together.
 igitur quod multi fratres construunt unum opus culpabile,
 30 nisi quod ipsum sit ex pluri et maiori et ex plus
 defensato crimen reipublice plus nocivo.

Et sic nedum in temporalibus et per consequens in And the results
 populo per tales pseudo[fratres] latenter regnum destruitur, of the wrong
 sed in magnatibus eciam usque ad regem surrepit done fall
 35 hec fraus subdola anticristi. Quomodo, queso, posset not only upon
 plebs dare censum magnatibus vel prolem producere, the people
 quando a tot temporalibus per pseudofratres tam but even on
 subdole spoliatur? Aut quomodo multiplicabuntur legii the king and
 regis in temporalibus vel spiritualibus, quando tot the nobles.
 The people
 cannot pay the
 nobles their
 dues, nor can
 liegemen be
 found:

5. et before quod deest B. 7. monstrandum BC. 10. sua pro
 sentencia omnes MSS. 17. consensuum deest A. 21. gafq A. 23. in-
 fidelitas B. 27. parvam in marg. C. 30. 31. ex — publice deest C.
 31. plu9 A. 32. in after consequens in marg. corr. A. 33. fratres
 deest omnes MSS. 38. spoliatur BC.

the Friars
neither fight
nor labour, nor
teach: they
only weaken
the State.

Multitudes
could be fed
with what
they devour, and
they would
make in
themselves a
large army of
servants of the
king.

The Friars
cause the
barrenness of
the land, and
all intrigues
and treasons
between one
kingdom, and
another.

If one part of
the nation lives
at ease,
burdening the
rest, the nation
must be weak.

Living in
different
countries and
speaking several
languages, they
have interest to
betray; and
some of them
are said to do
so, traitors
both to their
brethren and
to the great
men whose
confessions
they hear.

Their deeds
show that they
are not perfect
followers of
Christ, but the
contrary.

As for
obedience, they
may

pseudofratres a populo subtrahuntur? Nam neque pugnant ut milites, neque laborant redendo censum, ut incole, neque instruunt ad regis obedienciam, ut curati; sed in omnibus istis subdole partes istas debilitant politie. Notet itaque prudens politicus, quantum populum sustentaret rapina que ab istis pseudo[fratribus] consumitur; quantum exercitum constitueret comitiva mendicans valida, que in claustro includitur, et quantam gentem legiam et fidelem regis faceret plebs extraordinaria que illegaliter evagatur.

Ista igitur creditur causa quare sunt | tot loca regnorum sterilia, quare ipsa sunt per populum ita paucum legitimum habitata, et quare sunt tot contenciones et machinaciones proditorie inter regna; cum, ista causa non posita, contingent opposita. Nec dubium quin omnino ista evenire poterunt ex pseudofratrum malicia. Si enim minima pars regni fuerit per fraudulentam yppokrisim ad onus reipublice ociata, quomodo non foret legitimus populus rarus, et loca sterilia? Posset eciam esse quod fratrum copia per regna infecta dispersa mendaciter machinetur mendacia ad placendum utriusque populo, et sic seminent iurgia atque bella. Sic enim audivi unam partem fratrum offere se ad probandum prodicionem in aliam. Nam libere possunt bilingues intrare regna contraria; et possunt, ob favorem contrarie quam incolunt, detegere proditorie sua consilia. Possibile quidem est quod produnt tam corporaliter quam spiritualiter, et fratres proprios et magnates confessione eis iniunctos. Ideo videtur rationaliter tractatus et comunicatio cum hostibus precludendus. Nemo enim soveret familiarem diabolo. M.

Et facta fratrum ostendunt quod non sunt in hoc impeccabiles cum bonis angelis confirmati, nec Cristum, qui est boni consilii angelus, ad pacis consilium et ad paciendum iniurias inclinati; quia Pro verb. 6^o de apostatis his dicitur: *pravo corde machinatur malum et in omni tempore iurgia seminat*. Nam nec VI,

6. fratribus *deest omnes* MSS. 9. regnis BC. 11. inquam BC:
 ib. 10. = tota C. 12. per *deest* A. 13. letimū A; letim̄ C. 14. intra AC.
 15. contingunt B. 10. omnia BC. 23. audiū A. 24. Nec B.
 29. 30. racionabiliter C. 30. 31. precludendo B. 37. et in *deest* A.

35. *Boni consilii Angelus*. This name of Christ is taken from an Antiphon of the Nativity; it is also in the Litany of the Holy Name. See Poole's *De Civili Dominio*, I.

confirmacio nec religio ipsos astringit, quin possent, sicud Scarioth, prodere minus bonum. Et quantum ad rationem obediendi dominis secularibus, patet quod subdole subtrahunt ab eis omne civile servicium; quia 5 quantumcunque creverint in redditibus, eciam ultra seculares dominos, vendicant libertatem a seculari servicio, nec faciunt regi omagium in se vel in suis prelatis. Ideo, licet occidant quotquot de fratribus mixtim de aliis, vendicant quod regis non interest eos 10 punire; dum tamen non reputentur apud ipsos apostate.

Nec habet rex, ut inquiunt, legem aliquam secundum quam sic puniret ordines sic mendicantes. Et sic conceditur quod de quanto fratres in regno Cristi proficiunt sunt laudandi, et de quanto sunt profectui ecclesie 15 contrarii, sunt culpandi; et necesse est ut per fratres mittentes scandala veniat ecclesie Cristi salus. Et cum omnia que erenient de necessitate erenient, patet quod necesse est ipsos exinde puniri.

Et patet ad confirmationem de ordinacione, quod 20 non sit pia, sed deordinacio impia; pius enim contentaretur de Cristi regula. Et sic mensura virtuosa contempnitur, et per consequens in deum patrem, cui mensura est propria, blasphematur; nec dubium quin blasphemant in filium, cum innuant regulam Cristi religionis esse nimium defectivam, cum maiorem numerum regularum et ordinum posuisset. Blasphemant eciam in spiritum sanctum, cum prius et diuicius ecclesiam, et regimini talium ordinum ponderasset. Quantum ad ordinaciones hominum, patet quod omne opus humanum 25 laudabile fuit a deo eternaliter ordinatum. Ideo pius foret concedere ordinacionem deo competere, et quod homo sit ordinacionis divine humilis executor. Ampliando autem sic ordinacionem, ut mundus hodie loquitur, probabile videtur quod religiosarcha ex ceca pietate 30 et temera est seductus, et sic necesse fuit istos errores, in tempore quod deus disposuit, terminasse. Sic enim deus ordinat de omni peccato penam quam approbat, et totum peccatum per accidens proficere mundo et 35 sue ecclesie; et ita, sicut deus wult omne peccatum

become richer than lords, and yet they will never submit to any temporal obligation.
If a Friar is not what they call an apostate, they say that the king has no power to punish him.

So far as they follow or do not follow Christ's law they are to be praised or blamed.

Their rule is not pious, but the contrary, blaspheming the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Good laws made by men are fore-ordained by God from all eternity; but the first founders of these sects have laid down rules out of mistaken piety; which rules must in their application come to an end. Yet these orders may, like every evil, be profitable to the Church by their punishment.

3. obediendum AB. 5. subtrahunt C. 9. et mixtim C; ib. inde ipsos pro eos B. 12. sic before mendicantes deest B. 15. quod B. 20. sed in marg. C. 21—23. mensura — mensura deest AB. 25. nivm (sic) A. 27. cum deest A; ib. et after ecclesiam deest BC. 33. sic deest B. 34. religiosi archa A.

secundum esse suum secundum, prodessens ecclesie,
ita wult errores istarum religionum puniri, et destruenteres
It is temerity ipsas propterea premiari. Et licet in humana ordina-
in man to make any perpetual statuties; more particularly so in these cases.
tione de perpetuitatis heredibus et aliis mundanis statuicionibus sit magna temeritas, maior tamen et⁵
atttingens blasphemiam est in privatorum ordinum statuicionibus, licet yppocrite videantur pretendere sanctitatem.

3. premiare omnes MSS. 5—7. sit — statuicionibus deest C.

CAPITULUM QUINTUMDECIMUM.

A. Et hic obicitur contra dictas instancias.

Videtur enim quod fratres secuntur Cristum summe, et per consequens tamquam maxime necessarii ad vivificantum et dignandum plebem in domino, maxime sicud Cristus et apostoli prosunt ecclesie. Sicud igitur illi ab exactione seculari fuerunt liberi, sic fratres successores eorum quo ad sensum et laborium debent esse. Sic enim honorati sunt sacerdotes in utraque lege, eciam apud paganos; magis igitur apud eos qui diligunt dominum Jesum Cristum. Ipsi igitur tanquam magis obedientie filii plus exaltant romanam curiam. Expediens igitur foret quod totus mundus viancium foret similis secte sue.

15 Hic dicitur primo, quod frater est nomen honoris significans spiritualem dignacionem Christi atque ecclesie, et sic innuit maiorem propinquitatem honoris quam inter fratres carnales; quod effectus debet ostendere, ut animam suam ponat pro proximis. Unde sicut in 20 tempore apostoli divisi sunt fratres ad sensus equivocos, 25 multiplicatis falsis | fratribus, ut dicit apostolus, sic est modo. Ad esse igitur veri fratris, quantum ad propositum nostrum, requiritur primo quod vivat expropriatarie, ut vixerunt apostoli. Sic enim vere nominati sunt fratres Jeronimus et alii religiosi, ut patet in scriptis eorum. Et in hoc mendicantes excedunt religiosos possessionatos, cum in hoc secuntur Cristum similius; cum Luce IX dicit ipse: *Omnis ex robis qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus;* 30 quem gradum renunciacionis optime docuit Cristus in facto cum suis apostolis.

The case for the Friars stated: they follow Christ closely, are thus most useful to the Church, and therefore deserve to be free from taxes and honoured by Christians, especially as they exalt the Roman Curia.

Answer.
'Friar' signifying spiritual brotherhood, is a name of honour, provided it is true.

The first requisite of this true brotherhood is to live in poverty; and herein Friars are preferable to monks.

1. Cap^a 15 in red ink. 2. Et in red ink A; Sed pro et B. 6. S^a A; ib. enim B. 12. magis deest C. 17. honoris deest B. 24. vixerant A. 28. i⁴ BC.

But, as robbers may also be poor, this is not enough.
They must besides keep themselves unspotted from the world: if not; they are not of the brotherhood of Christ.

Hoc autem non sufficit ad esse veri fratris, cum brigandi, pirate, et summi discoli vivunt exproprietarie cum ipso diabolo. Ideo oportet, iuxta beatum Jacobum, Jac. I, quod frater religionis mundo *custodiat se immaculatum*²⁷ ab hoc seculo. Sic enim exponit beatus Jeronimus illud Matth. 19 *Vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis me* "Primum", inquit, "fecit Socrates philosophus". Ideo perfectum adiungitur quasi forma, *et secuti estis me*.²⁹

As a sign of hatred of worldly things, they will not even touch money.

This is well; but what if they love that money? they are then hypocrites.

According to their institution, they should resemble the Apostles; Christ however intended His Bishops to do this.

But they have fallen away, and prefer their sect (though not their persons) to the general good of the Church.

Ista igitur forma requiritur ad fieri veri fratres, et per consequens oportet quod non apostotet, *terens pede* (ut 10 expositum est 2º caº De apostasia): cuius enim pes sic oblique inficitur, quantumcunque egenus fuerit, ab ordine Cristi excidit. Unde nos, calcando terram, quantumcunque mundi fuerimus a mortali, egemus locione pedum cottidie, ut dicitur Jo. 13. Et in signum detestacionis temporalium fratres minores nec ferunt peccunias neque tangunt. Scarioth enim in portentum portavit loculos. Quod si ipsi fratres in hoc sentenciant elongacionem affectus a temporalibus, certum est quod illa est observancia laude digna. Sed si signo tali obligatorio²⁰ B. assit inordinata affeccio circa peccunias per quam paupertas primeva minuitur, quis dubitat quin hoc sit dampnabile, et gravans signum ypocrite? et tunc sunt a Cristi vestigiis maxime elongati. Debent autem fratres ex institucione²⁵ tanquam apostoli sequi Cristum propinquius. Sed ex institucione primeva Cristi hoc competere debet episcopis, et pape specialiter. Sed quia illud blasphemie contrariatum est ex humana stulticia, qua diabolice statutum est quod episcopi seculariter sint potentes, suscitavit deus paulative religiones privatas³⁰ secundum totum in eis laudabile, ut suscent semen Cristo. Sed diabolus nimirum repente decepit has sectas singulariter et specialiter in hoc quod, *querentes que sua*² Cor. sunt, postponunt bonum comune prestancius domini Jesu Cristi. Nec refert sive inordinate afficiantur persone³⁵ simplici sive collecte, nisi quod 2º est nequius.

1. ad esse *deest* C; *ib.* cum C. 5. *beatus deest* AC; *ib.* Jacobus A.
7. Socrates C. 12. obliget A. 13, 14. quantecunque A. 15. con-
time C. 18. vere sumant C. 22. *hoc deest* A. 23. anticeristi C.
24. elogati A. 29. ft' A. 34. ecclesie B. 35. sive *deest* B. 36. *simplicissime* A.

5. Jer. Comment in Matth. XIX (edit. Basle, 1537, t. IX, p. 58).
11. De Apostasia, c. III, p. 31.

Conceditur igitur quod fratres forent ex suppositione plus necessarii, si supplent defectus in episcopis ordinatis a Christo. Sed si sunt in eadem dampnacione profundius, quis est in ecclesia magis superfluus a fidelibus destruendus? Sufficit enim ecclesie, ymmo superfluit, partis secte sue primeve insanias, licet non nequior, sed ad 1 Reg. maius onus ecclesie introducta, ut 1. Reg. 12 dicitur XXII, de David, qui Philisteis finxerat se insanum; quanto 13—15 magis, in facto se iudicans insane membrum diaboli 10 est a cristicolis reprobandus? Unde quidam prenoscitant quod sicut in humano corpore membrum ultimo veniens ex peregrino glutino recedit citissime, sic oportet esse de caducis partibus adiectis ecclesie. Primo enim, ut cor, formata sunt membra ecclesie coniuncta Christo 2^m 15 religionem simplicem cristianam; posterius adiecta sunt membra monstrua paulative, que adherent 2^m tradiciones hominum adinventas. Et illas sectas oportet secundum hoc putridum ordinate dissolvi.

Sed consolacio est fratribus et cunctis fidelibus, 20 quod sicut omne membrum hominis spermaticum resuscitabitur, sic in quacunque secta homo fuerit resurget ad gloriam, si finaliter servaverit religionem simplicem cristianam. Quamvis enim contigit transire de secta in sectam, tamen necesse est omnem predestinatum vivere finaliter secundum religionem simplicem cristianam. Tradiciones autem adiectas oportet dimittere, et proporcionaliter ut predestinatus maiorem caritatem servaverit, sive fuerit sutor sive episcopus, erit maior in regno celorum. Prescitus autem usurpans perfecciorem 30 statum, ex eius maiori abusu gravius dampnabitur. C. Nec dubium quin contigit in quoconque statu maiorem humilitatem servare quam facit ista privata religio; cuius indicium est quod nullus paciendo oprobraia more luciferi magis recalcitrat.

Friars are indeed necessary to the Church, if they are what they ought to be; if merely superfluous, and much more it worse than the bishops, they should be destroyed.

As the member that is last added to the human body is the first to go, so it will be with the Friars.

But as every member that really belongs to that body will rise again, so all good Friars must be comforted by the hope of eternal glory, as they have followed Christ, and set aside vain traditions.

In any state men can be more humble than in theirs; they are excessively averse to humiliation.

5. ecclesie Cristi C. 6. se sue A; ib. primeva A; ib. sit BC.
7. ut patet C; ib. 21 BC. 10. prenoscitat C. 11. ultimum C. 12. glutinio C. 16. menstrua B. 26. eciam B. 27. pdestinat⁹ = per destinatus A. 31. in deest C.

10. The umbilical cord, perhaps; or the teeth and hair. In the third part of *Logica*, now publishing, Wyclif shows much knowledge of anatomy and physiology, as taught in his time. His description of the human eye is striking.

Three defects in their order;
 1. they live together without reason;
 2. their community possesses more property than a secular person. 3. They are overburdened with traditions and observances that accumulate incessantly.
 It were better if they were dissolved.

Patet ergo quod fratres sophisticando a religione Cristi exorbitant. Primo, in hoc quod persona secte sue est superflue et infundabiliter conglobata; 2º in hoc quod illa persona vivit seculariter in proprio sceleracius persona simplice; ut patet de edificiis et aliis temporalibus adiacentibus ultra exemplar comune quod accumulant continue tradiciones, ut anticristus, per quarum preponderanciam ^{72^a} a lege et operibus Christi subtrahitur. Ideo indubie melius foret quod omnes iste secte cessarent et viverent generaliter et simpliciter secundum legem quam Christus instituit; quia per hoc cresceret cristiana religio, tota secta faciente meritore quod Christus precipit, ubi iam opponitur, minuitur et laxatur. Nec hoc inconveniens evadi poterit, stantibus istis sectis.

Let them follow Christ, and no longer complain that their freedom is encroached upon.
 They cannot serve two masters; it is they that have lost their liberty by leaving the service of Christ.

Teneant igitur secte viam Christi, sicud fecerunt cristiani in primitiva ecclesia, et tunc est illis collor expetere pristinam libertatem. Sed more cati petunt repugnanciam, volentes simul servire deo et seculo, quod est contra dissinicionem Christi, Matth. 6º. *Nemo Matth. potest duobus dominis servire.* Cum igitur quelibet talis VI, secta deteriorando progreditur, dicatur ei de ablacione libertatis pristine conquerenti, quod ipsamet stulte et infideliter illibertavit se ipsam, ingrate deserendo sectam Christi et obligando se diabolo atque mundo.

It is quite right that temporal lords should oppress them, with the proviso of better treatment, should they return to their first religious state.

Ideo fidelis temporalis dominus conculcaret huiusmodi ingratos filios; et dicere posset ex caritate quod adhuc, si humiliter redire velint ad religionem primevam, comunicabit cum illis liberius quam seculares comuni- carunt cum digniori ecclesia primitiva. Sed, ut cati diaboli, exigunt contradictoria, ut vulgariter dicitur:

Catus wult piscem, sed non wult tangere flumen;

But they want two contrary things: freedom and temporal advantages.

sic isti volunt quod dentur eis temporalia ultra patres suos primevos, non obstante quod sunt indigni, et collacio dampnificet ambas partes. Et pro parte sua non allegant vitam Christi sive consilium, sed insanem stulticiam dotancium dominorum.

They are so changed from what the order

Ad tantum quidem secte predicte sunt ducatu diaboli lapse ad seculum, quod patriarche eorum possent ⁴⁰

1, 2. Patet — Primo *deest* A. 8. *accumulat* A. 11. *viveretur* BC.
 14. *oporiatur* BC. 23. *oblacione* C. 26. *mundo deest* A. 29. *redire* C; *ib.* *velit* A; *volunt* C. 31. *ecclia* A. 32. *w^t A; *wlt* C.
 38. *duorum dominorum* B.*

Matth. dicere illud Matth. 25^o. *Amen dico vobis, nescio vos.* was at first,
XXV, Sed ad tantum sophisticantur in alienas adulteras, that their
 12 quod patriarche iam superstites possent dicere cum founders would
not know them.
1 Cor. apostolo 1 Corinth. 1^o: *Gracias ago deo, quod neminem* The number of
I, 14 *restrum baptisari preter Crispum et Gayum.* Pauci enim those that keep
to their rule in
(ut Crispus, qui interpretatur *sciens*, et Gayus, qui strictness is
interpretatur *commotus*), custodiunt legem datam in excessively
principio sectarum: ita quod Cristus illis potest dicere small.
D. 5 illud Joh. 7^o. *Nonne Cristus dedit vobis legem et nemo* Christ rightly
Jo. VII, ex *vobis custodit legem?* Ad tantum enim sophisticatur reproaches them
 17 ex secularium fratrum stulticia et propria, quod seculares for not keeping
Gen. possunt dicere Cristo illud Genes. 37^o *Vide si tunica His law.*
XXXVII filii tui sit an non, cum ad tantum quidem variantur
 32 habitus interioris hominis et dissimilatur ritus vivendi
 15 a vita Christi cum suis militibus, quod Cristus vere
cognoscit quod habens nomen filii, relicta figura cor-
poralis habitus, sit a bestia devoratus. Quid ergo si
Cristus veniat in humanitate ad domicilia possessiona-
torum aut fratrum, et inveniat utriusque domus proprias
 26 sumptuosas, utensilia secularia et thesaurum? Numquid
credimus quod recognoscet istos eius filius, qui tantum
blasphemant in eum, quod vivunt sibi simillime? Illa
autem pars est dampnabilior, que pocius procurat vel
consentit in talem blasphemiam. Recoleremus, inquam,
 25 quod niendaciter scandalisare fratrem nostrum foret
peccatum dampnabile; quanto magis blasphemare sophisticice
in dominum Jesum Cristum! In istam igitur blasphemiam
oportet nos et fratres incidere, quamdiu sumus sic
confederati cum mundo, vel consentes tali modo
 30 monstruoso.

Vivamus igitur sive in comuni vel proprio Christo Let us therefore
similiter, et tunc vendicemus, vel verius, cum angustia live poorly,
parce sumamus titulo elemosine huiusmodi subsidium either together
temporale. Cristus enim et apostoli non fuerunt onerosi or apart, and
35 contratis vel gentibus, inpetrando propria habitacula then claim to
ad dampnum reipublice; sed vixerunt ut peregrini in be like Christ
edibus alienis. Nec dampnificarunt patrias in consum- and His
macione victualium excessiva; sed contenti de paucis Apostles, who
37, 38. consumpte A; consumpcione C. did not burden
the country with excessive
gluttony and
sumptuous
houses;

2, secte in C; ib. arenas A. 4, 1^o A. 6, sciens *deest* B.
11, quia B. 15, quoddam A. 16, cognoscat BC; ib. filia A. 18, et C.
19, utrimque C. 20, Utensilia A. 24, Tollimus A. 25, f^āc^ādalir^r A.
32, vēdicio A. 35, ^mūctis = contractis A. 37, non enim B.
37, 38, consumpte A; consumpcione C.

let us imitate et parcis non erant aliquibus onerosi; sed vixerunt,
 the Apostle quando oportuit, de labore proprio. Unde act. 20 Act.
 who worked, dicit apostolus: *Argentum autem et aurum aut vestem* XX,
 with his hands. *nullius concupiri, sicut ipsi scitis; quoniam ad ea que* 33, 34
mihi opus erant, et his qui mecum sunt, ministraverunt 5
manus iste. Numquid credimus fratres et alios validos
 If poverty is sequi Paulum in istis? Imo, paupertate Cristi proscripta,
 abandoned, all men follow omnes secuntur vestigia anticristi.

But whoso Quod si cristianus diligit dominum Jesum Cristum,
 loves Christ non solum spernit anticristum et suos complices, sed 10
 will strive to nititur ewangelice ipsum destruere et suos fautores,
 destroy Anticrist quia aliter est indubie hereticus anticristus; cum Cristus
 especially in his dicit Luc. 11^o *Qui non est tecum, contra me est.* Ut Luc.
 heresy anticristus seminat in signis kalendas sue heresis, XI, 23
 concerning the dum mandat suis credere quod sacramentum altaris 15
 Sacrament. sit accidens | sine subiecto et non de possibili corpus 72^b
 He says it is Cristi. Cristus autem mandat fidelibus suis credere
 an accident: quod dictum sacramentum consecratum a suo presbitero
 bread by nature, it is sacramentally sit naturaliter panis, et sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Et
 His Body. tamen pauci sunt, nisi layci quin declinant a sermone 20
 Yet few believe this, and those that do are persecuted. Jesum et adhereant infideliter anticristo; in tantum
 qui in isto credunt verbis Cristi. Et tamen Joh. 14^o E.
 dicit Cristus: *Si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit;* Jo.
qui non diligit me, sermones meos non servat. Cristus XIV,
 autem dicit expresse de pane quem sacerdos consecrat: 23, 24

And thus, men *hoc est corpus meum*, ut patet *De apostasia* diffuse. Et
 believing the tamen pauci, eciam de satrapis, credunt isti auditui,
 doctrine of sed declinant ad scolam contrariam, credentes anticristo,
 Antichrist. quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, nec 30
 Christ is set down as an arch-heretic, as potest esse corpus Cristi. Et sic extollendo anticristum
 in the days of Caiphas. super omne quod dicitur deus, dicunt implicite quod
 Cristus cum dictis suis fuit falsissimus et summe here-
 ticus; sicud sacerdotes, scindendo vestimenta sua in
 signum sanctitatis, proposuerunt Cristo blasphemiam, ut 35
 patet Matth. 26, sic indubie faciunt hodie sacerdotes
 Baal, qui dicunt se esse sic accidencium sacratores;
 persecuntur enim Cristum in suis fidelibus, et partem
 anticristi mendaciter magnificant, dicentes quod Cristus

5. aurū et vestem (sic) C. 4. sed *fro* sicut C; *ib.* satis B. 7. in
In marg. A. 20. qui A. 25. qui — servat deest A. 26. enim B:
ib. expresse deest C. 31. excellendo A. 37. sic deest C.

non sic intenderat, cum fregit accidens, et non panem. Et sic nituntur hereticare omnes sanctos quos allegavi pro ista sentencia; sed non possunt.

Tres igitur hereses contra trinitatem seminant discipuli anticristi. Dicunt enim primo contra potentiam patris, quod deus non potest facere illum panem, cum non potest esse vel fieri corpus suum. Et sic Berengario sunt in errore profundius, patre suo. Ipse enim, quando fuit in heresi, dixit quod panis post consecrationem est nude sacramentum, et non corpus Christi. Isti autem dicunt quod non est panis, sicud tamen dicit scriptura concorditer, sed accidens sine subiecto et solum sacramentum, ut patet de consecracione d.^{11a}. *Ego Berengarius.* 2^o hereticant contra sapientiam verbi et dei, dum dicunt quod deus destruit totum panem, per cuius similitudinem cognoscerent fideles misterium sacramenti; et frustra ac impossibiliter induit accidens sine subiecto, quod non potest 2^m Augustinum esse aliquod sacramentum. Et sic nituntur tollere dei sapienciam ac potentiam. Et 3^o blasphemant contra spiritum sanctum, dicentes quod illud sacramentum non est a fidelibus adorandum, cum sit res tam detestabilis; sed corpus Christi quod est in eo absconditum, licet illud accidens quod sacerdotes Baal consecrant sit propter corporis Christi assistenciam venerandum; ac si illuderent Christi fidelibus, dicentes: "non colatis secundum pietatem spiritus hoc sacramentum, cum ex nulla habitudine signat vel sit hoc sacramentaliter corpus Christi; sed dimissa fide que fit ex auditu verborum Christi, sompnietis unum alium modum essendi corporis Christi infundabilem, propter quod debetis tantum honorare, quantum creaturam quam volumus, cum ubique sit tota increata trinitas, que est corpore Christi infinitum perfectionis, et maiorem habitudinem habet ad quamlibet creaturam quam sicutum accidens habet ad corpus Christi. Nec aggregatum ex corpore Christi et natura divina est melius quam ipsa est eternaliter per se. Ideo remanet in potestate nostra instruere ut, ydolatrando quantum honoratis hoc sacramentum, venere-

They would like to declare the Saints who are of my opinion heretics.

There are three heresies in this matter: one denying the omnipotence of the Father, saying that He could not make that bread to be Christ's Body;

the second against the wisdom of the Word, implying that the bread is destroyed, and a useless accident remains:

and the third against the Holy Ghost, saying that the sign, venerable indeed, is not to be adored, but only Christ's Body which is hidden there; It is as if they said to the faithful: this Sacrament is not to be adored, not standing for Christ's Body; you must imagine it there with a mode of being such as the Divine Essence has, present in all creatures; and therefore every creature is more worthy of worship than Christ in the Sacrament.

1. 3^a A. 7. esse deest A. 7. 8. Berengariani AC. 11. Berengaris C. 15. verbum AB. 17. infinitum C. 19. deis A. 20. in pro contra B. 21. sacerdos A; ib. ofect^m A. 32. que pro quantum in marg. A. 37. sit pro est after ipsa C.

14. Deir. Grat. 3^a Pars., D. II, c. 42.

And it is in our power to determine what honour must be paid to it. There are many other equally false conclusions; Christ's words are not believed, and blasphemy spreads everywhere. How can God's grace assist them in the consecration of these accidents?

mini sine auctoritate Cristi quamlibet creaturam, fingendo quod virtute divinitatis assistentis cuicunque quod finitur consecrari, sicut fit sua consecratio accidentis". Multa, inquam, sunt infundabiliter eque false facta. Sic igitur, licet solus Cristus audiendus est (ut dicit 5 Cyprianus 8 dis. ea^o;) et si solus, tamen plus attenditur ad dicta Innocencii 3ⁱⁱ vel pape alterius, forte heretici, quam dictis Cristi. Et illud est prenósticum quod nomen domini late cottidie blasphematur. Cum, inquam, omne Jac. I, donum perfectum desursum descendit a patre lumen, 17 quomodo non deficit dictis hereticis consecrationibus accidencium gracia a veritate descendens? Ideo deus permittit yppocritas incidere in tot hereses, cecando populum et se ipsos; ut fidelis non dubitat quin dictus error de quiditate sacramenti sit nimis hereticus; quia 15 in sacramento dignissimo falsificat veritatem.

Many religious heresies: their use in the Church is as accidental as the forms which they imagine to exist in the Sacrament. They wax turions when their defects are pointed out. They call the taithful heretics for believing that the Eucharist is a holy bread; schismatics for dealing with the claims of the Roman Curia, so contrary to Christ; and blasphemers for preferring Christ's order to those instituted by men. But the faithful man who does God's work can bear all this and more.

Ideo indubie sunt cuncti heretici, qui hoc pertinaciter defendunt. Et in isto casu sunt multi religiosi ex personali affeccióne, ex antiquo odio, et ex negligencia scripturarum. Tales, inquam, apostate, ut sunt heretici circa accidens quo induunt corpus Cristi, sic per accidens prosunt ecclesie. Unde propter taccionem defectus ordinum apostantes insaniunt, vocantes fideles hereticos, scismaticos, et blasfemos hereticos, quia dicunt eukaristiam esse panem sanctificatum, ut dicit scriptura 25 cum sanctis doctoribus: sed non delirant cum istis apostatis, vocantes ipsum abiectum accidens quod ignorant.

Scismaticos vocant eos propter hoc quod tangunt defectum romane ecclesie | in qua multi veniunt in nomine Cristi 73^a dicentes, quia ego sum Cristus. Ymmo, viventes Christo quantumcunque contrarie, se ipsos implicant, ut anticeristus, Matth. XXIV, 5 quod Christo domino sunt maiores; et sic multipharie multos seducunt. Blasphemiam autem imponunt fidelibus, qui super suum privatum ordinem extollunt ordinem christianum. Sed fidelis faciens opus domini patitur hec et plura, 35 cum Christus passus est a scribis et phariseis obprobria ampliora. Ipsi enim perversi erant pessimi, cum Christus, qui non potuit acceptare personam. ut patet Matth. 23, Matth. XXIII, 13-39

1. turam in marg. suppl. C; ib. veritatis C. 5. sicut pro sic AB; si C. 9. quotidie C. 11. consecratoribus C. 16. verissimo C; ib. dignitatem vel C. 26. sanctis deest C. 29. ecclesie pro curie BC; ib. quam C. 33. se dicunt C. 37. erant deest A. 38. p̄t pro potuit; ib. acceptari AB.

6. Decr. Grat. 1^o P., D. XIII, c. 9.

invehit acutissime contra illos. Quare igitur non sic foveret fidelis, exemplo Cristi contra religiosos privatos eorum filios?

Unde istos phariseos vocat Cristus falsos prophetas et ypocritas sismaticos Mt. 7^o; quorum noticiam Jesus 5 omnipotens, omnisciens, et sponsam suam summe diligens, ostendit ex natura triplici propter periculum Matth. precavendos: *Attendite, inquit, a falsis prophetis, etc.* VII, Ubi notantur primo discipuli patris mendacii in vita 15, 16 et verbis sibi ipsis contrarii, quia falsi prophete. Veniunt autem ad acciones in vestimentis ovium, quia non colunt, cum Baptista, plangendo heremum, sed *penetrant domos* secundum apostolum. Vestimenta autem sua, in quibus possunt phariseice stare religionem suam et preeminenciam sanctitatis, deferunt ut vexillum mendacii 15 ad populum seducendum, ac si essent supereminenter vestimenta fidelium, ut sic decipient oves Christi; sed more yppocrate sunt *intrinsecus lupi rapaces: lupi*, quia ululatum incognitum emitunt in celum de abscondita potestate et oves strangulant, sed non pascunt; et 20 *rapaces*, quia principaliter intendunt rapere substanciam de personis quas visitant, non ut flores virtutum inferant. Hec autem gerunt in animo. Et 3^o: *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.* Est autem triplex fructus hominis secundum triplicem partem ecclesie, ut pars infima 25 wulgi producit terre nascencia; pars media dominorum secularium pacificat potestative populum: et clerus plantat et rigat in ecclesia semina virtutum. Unde licet iste tres partes ecclesie iuvant se mutuo, et omnes 30 debeat fructus meritorios in caritate producere, tamen inordinata eorum comixtio mutuo se confundit.

Notemus quid fructus inferat ecclesie secta fratrum. Nam nec terram incolunt nec plebem potestative defendunt. Ideo potissimum fructus forer quod semen fidei in populo spargerent et partes ecclesie secundum 35 fidem scripture instruerent. Sed acta probant quomodo a tempore quo fratres subintroierunt ecclesiam, isti fructus viancium pulularunt. Exhinc enim secundum prophetiam Christi crevit fames, quia terre sterilitas bella et commocio, interregna, et, excidente populo ex

They are the sons of those Pharisces whom Christ called false prophets, and gave us a three-fold warning against them.

1. They come, they do not live solitary like Baptist, but penetrate into houses.

2. Clothed as sheep, they are ravening wolves: their habit is a garb of sanctity; but what they want is to devour the substance of the faithful.

3. They are to be known by their fruits. The people produces the fruits of the earth; the nobility, peace by their authority; the clergy, fruits of virtue.

The Sects produce neither of the two first; and ever since they were introduced, their fruits have been fruits of evil.

1. qua A. 2. et eorum A. 4. et — Mt. 7^o deest A; ib. habet A. 6. nota C. 7. precavendis B. 10. activos A. 15. mendaci omnes MSS.
19. aves A; ib. strangula'nt A. 26. ptat  A; ptat  C; ib. populi C.
32. peccantem C. 36. a pro ex B.

cristianismo, *refrigescet caritas multorum* Nec dubium Matth.
quin clerus sit causa huius facinoris. Et supposita pro- XXIV,
phetia Christi et apostoli cum experta fratrum malicia,
videtur quod ipsi sunt huius fructus mali causa precipua.
¹²

All their care Ideo a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Si enim fructus
is to increase sensibilis perpendatur, maior solicitude eorum est ad
their sect, and take away the augendum sectam suam, ad rapiendum bona pauperum
goods of the poor; how can pro suis edificiis et vescibilibus preparandis. Quomodo H.
they give heed to the work of conversion? ideo igitur foret mens sic distracta disposita ad convertendum populum, vel conversum apostolice confirmandum?
10 Apostoli enim, quibus interdicte sunt iste solicitudines, ex magnitudine gracie vix in hoc ministerium suffecerunt.

The landed Ideo possessionati cum tota diligencia sua et prediis
monks have not amplis datis eis primitus non sufficient attingere ad
so much splendour as alimenta et tegumenta totidem tam sumptuosa in 15
they: so they must get their vestimentis et domibus, cum aliis expensis superfluis.
wealth by miracle, by just alms, or by fraud. Ideo non superest, nisi ut vel miraculose vel munda
elemosina vel rapina yppocritica sint quesita. Miraculum
autem circa questum peccunie non legimus Cristum in

Miracles are se vel suis apostolis exemplasse. Et quoad 2^m, patet quod 20
out of the elemosina ex comitiva excessiva, ex superfluis expensis
question; no alms can be et ex viciose ocio elemosinatorum inficitur. Nec dubium
justly given in quin elemosinantes nunquam vere pauperes egenos
this case; so they get them dimitterent, et debita proximo suo et matri ecclesie
fraudulently. subtraherent, nisi per yppocrism horum validorum 25
mendicancium seducti fuerint, cum omnino elemosina
talis inficitur ex parte fratrum, qui nec sic, nec tante
raperent; et tunc ex grossa ignorancia elemosinancium.
Et sic superest 3^m membrum, quod rapina dupliciter
perversa perquirunt hec temporalia, tanquam wulpes. 30

All their fruits Fructus igitur phariseorum istorum foris ostenditur
are those of the in apparenzia signorum que foris sunt. Ideo dico cum
Pharisees — Cristo Matth. 5. *Nisi habundaverit iusticia restra plus* Matth.
mere externals, and they all tend to ruin the Church and seduce the people. *quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum 5, 20*
celorum. Fructus itaque istorum, tam ad intra quam 35
ad extra, est circa maioritatem dissensio, scole Cristi
dissipacio, simplicis populi wulpina seduccio. Ululant
enim confuse et idiotice infundabiliter quod habent 73^b

3. cum peracta A; cum ex parte B; cum ex pta C. 8. preparandis
deest A. 10. onerosum B. 11. introduce A. 12. sufficerunt A.
13. ymmo B. 15. sumptuosam A. 17. miraculosa B; ib. nuda B:
mda C. 18. fuit A. 19. non legimus deest A. 21. excommunicativa A.
24. mat'ci ecclie = matrici ecclesi C. 26, 27. elemosinatis A.
27. se pro sic A. 28. et communiter B. 31. et phariseorum deest A.

potestatem in celo dandi inauditum spirituale suffragium.
 Attendite igitur ab istis wulpibus. Et quantum ad 3^m
 patet, secundum prophetiam apostoli, quod incident
 phariseice in blasphemiam quam imponunt, utputa,
 5 quod sua privata religio sit perfeccior quam communis
 religio cristiana; et sic patronus eorum superat dominum
 Jesum Cristum, sicud vestimenta sua phariseica, in quibus
 consistit sua religio, magnificant ultra tunicam Cristi,
 ymmo ultra hostiam consecratam; et sic de mille blasfemiis
 10 quas inculcant. Si autem introducti sunt ad corrigendum
 errores ecclesie, faciant hunc finem, quod fecerunt sue
 primicie, et dimittant hoc tardatum post emendacionem
 ecclesie. Sic enim nauta post navigationem dimittit
 navem, et homo generaliter deponit instrumenta artifi-
 15 cialia contentus naturalibus, cum venerit ad quietem. Si
 igitur fratres volunt non quod ordo suus destruatur,
 sed quod stante ordine latens enormitas corrigatur,
 quanto magis sic debet esse de ordine christiano.

Fundatores igitur ordinum vel peccarunt graviter
 20 instituendo stulte novos ordines, vel intendebant ritus
 adinventos ad tempus solum prodesse per accidens, et
 servato Cristi ordine illeso ut basi, ritus adiectos esse
 1. parvipensos, ut exigit racio. Et sic, dimittendo omnes
 istos privatos ordines, servatis conversis in purum Cristi
 25 ordinem, totum quod est perfectionis in ordine servare-
 tur. Nam consonancius esset quod ordo privatus cedat
 Cristi ordini conversus in ipsum tanquam perfeccius,
 quam e contra. Nec est blasphemum asserere patronos sepe
 in edificatione sui [ordinis] erravisse vel fuisse dampnatos,
 30 cum non crescit numerus articulorum christiane fidei, ut
 canonizaciones hominum adquiruntur. Verumtamen, ut
 sepe dictum est, pars ecclesie debet reputari salva semper
 preeminencia legis Cristi, nisi quis habuerit ad contrarium
 revelationem vel rationem. Qua quia careo, quiesco in
 35 reputacione probabili talium citra fidem.

Sed dubitatur quomodo contingit iudicare opera que
 sunt fructus moraliter bona esse, cum contingit yppocri-
 critas facere bona de genere, intencionem rectissimam
 et sanctissimam pretendendo. Et pari evidencia qua ali-
 40 quantulum vel aliquociens, contingit et semper prescritum

They believe
 their own
 blasphemies,
 and put their
 founders above
 Christ our
 Lord, and their
 habit above
 Christ's Body.

If, introduced
 to amend the
 Church, they
 have amended
 it, they do not
 need these
 means any
 longer: let them
 throw them
 aside.

Either the
 Founders of
 orders sinned
 grievously in
 adding these
 observances
 to Christ's law,
 or meant them
 to endure only
 for a time.

It is possible
 that they may
 be damned;
 every
 canonization is
 not a new
 article of faith.
 On the other
 hand, having
 no revelation
 to the contrary,
 I believe that a
 part of the
 Church is
 always saved.

How are we to
 judge that an
 action is
 morally good,
 since it can be
 hypocritically
 imitated; and
 if so, what

2. wlpibus C: *ib.* Et patet A. 6. dominum *deest* B. 6, 7. superat
 Jesum Cristum, dominum nostrum C. 12. primitive A. 15. veniret A.
 16. nolunt B. 20. in faciendo A. 28. e *deest* B. 29. ordinis *deest*
 omnes MSS. 33. penitencia A. 34. q esto A. 39. quam B. 40. prestitum C.

becomes of Christ's rule?

Note 1. that there are two sorts of judgments: probable and certain.

2. that a good deed is not necessarily a deed morally good.

3. that every good deed can be judged to proceed certainly from a good natural cause, and probably from a cause morally good, if no sign of evil is connected with it.

One act is insufficient to found a judgment.

We must note the frequency and importance of each act.

We must not judge of one person as of the whole Sect, nor put consent and deed on an equal footing.

But on these principles we see how corrupt the whole clergy has become; especially the Friars who simulate holiness.

They are mere images, whitened sepulchres: the first Christians converted the heathen, but these would be abhorred by them: to

usque ad finem sic facere. Cassa igitur foret similitudo Cristi, Matth. 7^o de fructu arboris. Hic dicitur quod similitudo est consona, tollens fucum phariseicum, quo ex signis impertinentibus iudicatur bonitas pharisei. Pro quo notandum primo, quod aliquod est iudicium topicum sive probabile, et in illo sunt gradus. Aliud autem iudicium est infallibile, sive sensibile sive insensibile. Secundo notandum quod alia est racio operis boni de genere, et alia racio operis boni moraliter. Et 3^o dicitur quod infallibiliter iudicatur omne opus bonum de genere procedere a bono nature; nec procedit a malo culpe, licet deus necessitat personam maxime ad illud bonum de genere suo. Sed iudicium est topicum quod opus est bonum virtutis, si nec ante nec post ebilis signum malum de genere. Ideo, sicud una irundo non facit ver, sic nec quodlibet opus unum de genere indicat virtutem. Sed expecta finem; nota frequenciam, et preponderanciam attende (ut quod fratres crebro colligunt pecuniam de auditorio, est signum dampnabile symonie); nec video quin malus habitus prorumpit quandoque in maculam operacionis sensibilem secundum legem veneni, et non apparente macula non dampnemus.

Sed de notoria macula fratrum multipli clamat mundus. Aliud autem est iudicare de tota secta, et aliud de ista simplici persona, et aliud de opere vel consensu. Unde indubie cognoscitur quod ad totam sectam cleri ex sua conversacione varie fructificante a plantacione primeva, ex cristianismi diminucione et ex paganismi augmentatione, quod clerus claudicat, et specialiter fratres hypocrite, qui tante desideris simulant supereminentiam sanctitatis. Nam cuius spiritus vivificacio causaret K. prosperitatem ecclesie, illius spiritus mortificacio inducit deterioracionem ecclesie. Sed pharisei sunt hodie nude ymagines polite, mortuorum sepulcra, solum respicientes mundiciam que foris est, ut dominus prophetavit. Quomodo, queso, una secta cristianismi stante in suo robore, ut steterunt apostoli, non delectarentur pagani, ut tunc, suscipere legem Cristi? Sed videntes maiorem paganismum esse inter nominetenus catholicos horrent

6. q̄ — gradus deest A. 8. de deest A. 8—10. genere — genere deest C. 10. omne deest A. 12. nunciet C; ib. maximam omnes MSS. 13. nuci C. 14. n̄ C. 18. vel equivalentis after pecuniam C. 37. fecerunt B; ib. delectarent A. 38. suscitare A. 39. qui est A.

nimirum nostros, et specialiter clericos, quam suos.

71^a Oportet enim, quod trahens sit virtuosius quam atractum.

Luc. Villicus igitur, de quo Luce 16., exoneraret tam secu-
XVI, lares oneratos tam fructu frumenti et vini, quam eciam
1-9 clerum oleo devocationis propter clericatum et temporalia
oneratum; tunc enim, quando post mortem deficit tempus
congregandi meritorum fructus in horrea, dicet villicus
fodere pro nunc non valeo, et deficiente ratione dignitatis
meriti mendicare suffragium a viventibus erubesco. Et sic
10 de equa distribucione, et specialiter de prudenti subtractione
mamone iniquitatis, prudenciores seculares domini
in eterna thabernacula sunt recepti.

Ulterius, quantum ad exaltacionem romane curie,
patet quod subdole substernitur per tales apostolas. Sub-
15 sternitur, inquam, per adinvenciones hereticas legi Cristi
contrarias, ad quas sive fratres consulunt, sive fabricant
vel defendunt, agunt destruccionem illius ecclesie, cum
in puritate legis Christi oportet ecclesiam quamecumque
stare. Ideo nulli magis iniuriantur illi ecclesie quam
20 adulantes ypocritice, qui abscondunt ab ea errores in
lege domini et tradiciones anticeristi fovent sibi et paliant.
Illi, inquam, sunt inimici domestici, medici fraudulentii,
et suffocantes proditorii, quod per vocem et aerem que
debent esse instrumenta communicacionis caritative ho-

25 minum, strangulant superiores, non tactu manus, sed oleo
Apoc. adulacionis. Et ideo Christus, cum illos *quos amat arguit*
III, 19 *et castigat*, destinavit sibi prophetas in lege veteri et
ewangelistas in nova, qui duplicitate subducta nunccient
populo suo scelera eorum. In istam igitur apostasiam
30 possibile est fratres incidere qui sint proditores adul-

L. torii curie Romane. 2º contingit ipsos promovere ad
practicam legis inique, utputa impetrando indulgencias,
dispensaciones et alia privilegia blasphemiam sapiencia et
avariciam, que est servitus y dolorum. Practicam autem
35 istam lucrativam novit mundus fratres ex suggestionibus
mendacibus exercere; nec dubium quin illo supposito
fratres illi forent plus capitibus increpandi; quia pro-
ditorie excitantes, mendaciter procurantes et fallaciter
practisantes sunt plus culpandi eis quibus desunt iste
40 condiciones; sicut cinifes nocuerunt egipciis plus quam
rane. 3º vero contingit fratres post professionem fieri papas,

attract, there must be an excess of power in that which attracts.

Comparison of the temporal lord with the steward of the Gospel: both the laity burdened with wheat and wine, and the clergy, laden with the oil of devotion, ought to be disburdened by him.

The Friars exalt the Roman Curia with craft and by flattery.

They are all the more to blame, since they are thereby the ruin of that Church.

They should correct its defects instead of flattering it.

They urge upon it the promulgation of unjust laws, indulgences, dispensations, &c., as is well known.

Many of them become Popes or Cardinals themselves,

6. deficit BC. 7. hore A. 8. fodere A. 9. mendi C.
18. quantumcumque omnes MSS. 23. quia A. 32. leges AB. 38. eciam
pro et B.

sharers in the worldly glory that surrounds it, and ready to excuse it in all things. cardinales et avaricia turpissima illius curie irretitos, ex quorum exemplo cum suis complicibus capitur audacia et excusacio in peccatis. Cum talibus itaque insignis exaltant curiam, sicut diabolus, excitando ad mundi prospera, procurat eis mundi gloriam; non sic Cristus vel sui apostoli cum 5 matri filiorum Zebedei promisit in filiis passionis calicem.

Ulterius, cum idem sit exaltare dictam curiam et eius leges proprias servare, videndum est quomodo fratres se habent ad observanciam harum legum. Pro quo notandum quod earum diversitas est trimembria: ut aliique tangunt 10 conversacionem fratrum et possessionatorum, aliique autem tangunt cleri questum; sed aliique religiose tangunt ritum honestum. Exemplum prime est illud 6^{ti} decretalis. "Exit qui seminat" et illud in clementinis. "Exivi de paradiiso." Exemplum 2ⁱ est illud 5^{ti} decretal. "Omnis utriusque 15 sexus." Et illud 6^o de rescriptis, "Si duobus." Exemplum 3ⁱⁱ est illud de immunitate ecclesie, ea^o "Decet" in 6^o. Quantum ad primam maneriem, fratres manifeste repugnant; quantum ad 2^{am} differenter audiunt; et quantum ad 3^{am} neutraliter obmutescunt. Quo ad primum scribitur 20 6^o decretalium "Exiit, qui seminat", quomodo religio fratrum et specialiter minorum consistit in observancia altissime paupertatis, et ab illa non licet cadere, sicut nulli licet a perfectione incepta diminuendo recedere. Et istud intelligo de cunctis ordinibus. Omnes enim 25 debent ad perfectionem fratrum minorum secundum suam possibilitatem aspirare, licet in ritibus varietur; oppositum tamen docet ocularis experientia.

Et declarat sanctus Ricardus episcopus Ardmacanuſ, in quodam sermone qui sic incipit: "Nemo vos seducat 30 in anibus verbis". Francisci inquit: "regula precipit fratribus ad hoc ydoneis laborare, et ipsos, vacante laboricio, statuit mendicare. Ex quo videtur quod mendicacio nulli

Richard
Fitz-Ralph
points this out.
He says:
1. The rule of
St. Francis
orders his

1. cinere A. 5. mundi gloriam deest A. 13. est deest A.
14. elementis A; ib. exiit omnes MSN. 15. 5^o illud deest B; ib. decretam A.
25. intelligendo A. 31. ardinocap A. 32. vocacio A.

13. Sexti Decr., I. V, tit. 12, c. 3. 14. Decr. Clem., I. V, tit. 11,
c. 1. 16. Decr. Greg., I. II, tit. 28, c. 7. 18. Sexti Decr., I. III,
tit. 23, c. 2. 31. Francisci. Eight points are given here in
which the Franciscans are said to depart from the rule of their
Founder, according to Fitz-Ralph (See *De Apostasia*, p. 36, note)
but I am not quite sure where the quotation ends. It may extend
to the end of the chapter, with remarks from Wyclif interpolated
here and there; we need not even suppose any such remarks to
exist. Fitz-Ralph was a very determined opponent of the Men-
dicant Friars.

pertinet, nisi quando inculpabilis necessitas ad hoc cogit. Quomodo igitur excusantur mendicantes et ociantes validi, qui ultra necessitatem importune se ingerunt ad magis M. egenos sophistice spoliandum?"

74^b 5 2^o regula | Francisci precipit quod verba regule non glosentur; et cum fratres laborant ut verborum sensus omnino tollantur, specialiter de litteris a sede apostolica non petendis: non dubium quin ista regula vel sit irrationabilis quoad hunc ordinem, vel eque alios ordines 10 rationabiliter obligaret. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre cum fratribus dampnant ut hereticam detectionem sensus doctorum qui videntur contradicere. Ut Jeronimus vere dicit quod fidelis non manducat secundum se vere corpus Christi in sacramento altaris. Et Hylarius cum Hugone 15 dicit quod corpus Christi est substancialiter, corporaliter et carnaliter ibidem, et per consequens taliter manducatur. Glossa concordans doctores stat in isto quod corpus Christi potest 2^r intelligi corporaliter esse alicubi: vel modo corporis, vel in quantum corpus. Et isto 2^o modo 20 proprie loquitur Jeronimus. Unde argumentum topicum est quod si quicquam damnatum sit ab ipsis maniacis sibi ipsis contrariis, tunc a probabili est evidencius catholicum.

3^o, regula Francisci precipit quod fratres non predicent in episcopatu alicuius episcopi, cum ab eo illis fuerit 25 contradictum. Et indubie eadem est racio regule, supposita eius racionabilitate, de quolibet alio fratre. Et tamen e contra dicitur quod tam ipsi quam alii per falsas machinaciones nituntur ut predicent invitis episcopis et curatis. Et tamen Franciscus dicit in suo testamento: "Dominus dat michi tantam fidem, ut sacerdotibus qui vivunt secundum formam romane ecclesie, propter eorum ordinem, si faciunt michi persecucionem, volo recurrere ad eos. Et si haberem tantam sapienciam, quantam Salomon habuit, et invenirem pauperculos sa- 30 cerdotes huius seculi qui in parochiis morantur, nolo predicare contra voluntatem eorum, sed ipsos omnes volo honorare ut dominos meos; et nolo in ipsis considerare

followers to beg only when they have no work to do, or can do none: there is no excuse for such begging as theirs.

2. St. Francis forbids that his rule should be glossed; which is either unreasonable, or should be observed in every order. Yet they do everything to elude a literal interpretation of the rule; while they condemn as heretical every explanation brought forward to reconcile the Fathers.

For instance when Jerome, Hilarius and Hugo seem to disagree as to the Sacrament. Whatever they condemn is likely to be the truth.

3. St. Francis forbids them to preach in any diocese without the Bishop's permission. Yet they are said to intrigue in order to preach against the Bishop's or the curate's will.

This is the very reverse of humble St. Francis' spirit, as shown in his testament.

2. excusatur mendicitas A: excusantur mendicitates C. 6. glosset^b A.
 7. libris A: lris C 8. nec dubium AC. 12. contradictione contradicere A. 13. dicit deest A; ib. sc in marg. C; ib. vere deest BC.
 14. Hugonis A. 16. totaliter A. 17. glo^b A; ib. hoc C. 18. 19. vel modo corporis vel modo corporis in quantum corpus BC. 19. vel deest A; ib. inquam A. 21. damnatum deest A: dampnatum C; ib. inanimis B; manicii C. 25. eadem deest A. 30. det A. 32. ullo A.
 34. pauperculos deest C.

According to the canons, the order of ecclesiastical dignity stands thus: Bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, door-keepers, abbots and monks. The regular clergy are below the secular in honour; they have no power in the Church; they may not sit down in the presence of a Priest, who has the right to deliver them to Satan.

That the same person should be a monk and a priest is often to the detriment of the priesthood; yet many, setting aside the duties of monastic life, have done good duty as priests.

peccatum. quia in ipsis filium dei discerno, et domini mei sunt". Idem autem iudicium est de fratribus quibuscunque. Et patet quod ordo cuiuscunq[ue] presbiteri est ordine monachi vel fratris superior. De ordine vero monastico patet (q. 3 dist. 'A subdiacono'); 'pontifici presbiter, presbitero diaconus, diacono subdiaconus, subdiacono acolitus, acolito exorcista, exorciste lector, lectori hostiarius, hostiario abbas, abbati monachus in omni loco representat obsequium, sive in publico sive in gremio ecclesie'. Et patet ex hoc, quod (16 q. 1^a ca^o 'Generaliter') 10 monachi sunt laici. Et idem patet 16 q. 1^a ca^o. 'Alia causa' ubi sic dicitur: Alia causa monachi, alia clerici. Clerici oves pascunt, ego pascor; illi de altari vivunt; michi securis quasi ad radicem arboris infructuose ponitur, si munus ad altare non defero. Michi ante presbiterum 15 sedere non licet. Illi, si peccavero, licet me tradere sathanae in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini. Et N. idem patet de inferioritate monachorum ad clericos in capitulo 'Legi' ex dictis Argustini et capitulo 'Ecclesiam habet'. Quod si contingit eandem personam esse mo- 20 nachum atque presbiterum, sepe monstruosa res est et statum presbiteratus inficiens. Unde eadem q. ca^o. 'Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere: ut in ipso destruccio monasterii teneat qui cottidie in ecclesiastico ministerio cogitur per- 25 manere'. Verumtamen infra, eadem q. 5^a supra, patet quod tam monachus quam clericus potest ut sic habere diversa officia. Ideo multi sunt monachi qui laxaverunt officium monachale et multum profecerunt in sacerdotali officio.

30

5. 9³ B. 6. decanus decano A. 6, 7. "decanus "p̄bit'o diacono sub diaconi, subdiacono acolitus C: ib. subdiacono deest A. 7. acolitus deest B. 6. ut obsequium A. 12. dicitur deest AB. 13. alterum clerici deest C. 14. arboris posita est, instructuose arboris ponitur A. 15. aut pro ante A: at = aut C. 16. cedere AC. 24. Destruccio deest A; Destruccio BC. 26. 5^a deest B; ib. ubi deest AB. 27. su- 28. priori omnes MSS. 27. sancti BC. 28. qui deest BC.

5. Decr. Grat. 1^a P., D. XCIII, c. 5. 10. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^o XVI, qu. 1, c. 40. 11. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^o XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 10. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^o XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 25. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^o XVI, qu. 1, c. 2. The Canon runs thus: *Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere, ut ipse monasterii distinctionem teneat, qui cottidie in ministerio ecclesiastico cogitur permanere.*

4º regula beati Francisci precipit ne fratres recipient per se vel per alios denarios vel peccuniam ullo modo: et vix transit frater, ut dicitur, per villam aut patriam, quin ducat secum unum *Scarioth* pro denariis colligendis. 4. St. Francis forbids them to receive money: yet his followers have a man with them to collect money wherever they go!
5 Idem autem morale in isto ritu debet a cunctis fratribus observari, cum sit manifesta symonia repugnans ewan-
Matth. gelio Matth. X, quod propter predicacionem colligant pe-
X, 9 cuniam vel aliud temporale. Licet autem occasione
predicacionis vite necessaria possent ipsis adici; tamen
10 quod principaliter aut preponderanter predicent ewan-
gelium propter ista, manifeste obviat legi Cristi.
This is evidently an abuse.

5º regula Francisci precipit quod nullus fratum audeat populo predicare, nisi a ministro generali fuerit examinatus et eciam approbatus, et ab eo predicacionis officium sibi concessum. Et fratres, ut non examinentur a ministro, privilegium, ut dicitur, procurarunt. Et, quod peius est, non qui ad edificationem ecclesie utilior, sed 75º qui ad colligendum terrena calidior, aptabitur isti officio: in tantum quod dicitur quemcunque fratrem, non qui plus edificaverit, sed qui pro contratis plus offere voluerit de peccunia secte sue. quantumcunque | bono et sciollo prefertur. In tantum quod emunt et vendunt diabolo vitas simplicium, ac si ovem vel bovem pro pecunia mercarentur. Sic quod de illis verificatur prophetia 2 Pet. apostoli Pe. 2º *In araricia fictis verbis de robis negotiabantur*. Unde quidam vocant tales sophistas et mercatores O. diaboli. Scola quidem sua graduat inferiores hypocritas, ut sophistas, callidiores prelatos, ut bacheloreos et doctores in sua heresi; ut magistros suorum omnium ma- 30 gisterium architectonicum vendicet anticeristus.

6º regula sancti Francisci precipit quod fratres non ingrediantur monasteria monacharum, non claustra, non domos, nec officinas interiores: cum maior sit racio ut talis non maneat solus cum sola, eciam gratia confitendi, 35 quam est generalis racio prohibicionis de cohabitacione clerici et mulieris; que licet prohibetur in lege papali, tamen fratres multipliciter practisant oppositum, cum ex privilegiis impetratis multis dolosis comitivis comunicant. 2 Tim. Sic quod de illis verificatur prophecia apostoli 2º Thymo., III, 6 3º quod *penetrant domos et captiras ducent mulierculas;* cum non solum tractant cum mulieribus in conclavi, quia 6. St. Francis forbids them to enter convents, cloisters or houses: it being more improper for a Friar than for a secular priest to be alone with a woman; which is not allowed, even for the purpose of confession. Yet the Friars do not obey

13. populo *deest* C. 19. quoniamcunque A. 22. preferetur BC
28. et *pro* ut B. 33. officias A; *ib.* quod *pro* ut A. 35. communi *pro*
quam A.

this rule, but enter houses by means of permissions obtained, and take women captive; which ought to be understood in the sense that they tempt weak-minded persons, and get authority over them to lead them astray.

in locis abditis non vocati se ingerunt, sed, ut fertur, mulierculas ducunt per patrias in forma fratrum. Et quod plus credo esse de sensu apostoli, captivant sensus debilium. Constat quidem ex sensu quem Augustinus imponit scripture Gen. de temptatione viri et femine per serpentem, quod conformis est forma temptationis cuiuscunque persone peccantis, cum excitans extrinsecus sit quasi diabolus; sensualitas vero, ut femina; et racio, ut vir. Fratres autem gerentes vicem diaboli temptant infirmos in fide, ut feminas, et freno infidelitatis ducunt captivas per devium.

7. St Francis commands that holy poverty should be obserued in everything; the Friars do just the reverse. For this there is no excuse; instead of preaching poverty by their example, they move men to delight in their worldly splendour. Thus they rob the poor in detail of large sums; which differs from plundering an individual only in so far as it is worse. If they love the Gospel doctrine of sharing with the poor, let them give to those that need:

St. Martin wanted his cloak more than they their possessions.

7^o regula Francisci precipit quod in actibus fratrum semper paupertas sancta reluceat; et fratres laborant ut in eorum ecclesiis, claustris, domibus, ornamentis et libris, magnitudo et decor et diviciarum effectus resplendeat. ¹⁵ Paliacio autem huius facti alibi destruitur. Ideo non restat causa eius, nisi forte quia fratres tenentur ad observanciam religionis Cristi predicare in verbis et opere populo paupertatem; sed visitantes loca fratrum tanquam spectacula moventur multipliciter delectari in mundi gloria et ²⁰ irreligiose ad similia aspirare. Et in tantum vulgares ad edificandum tales libros diaboli spoliantur; et, sicut etici sunt ex cautela diaboli insensibiliter inaniti. Nil enim refert colligere tales minucias de plebe paupere et totum simul de una persona simplici spoliare, nisi quod ²⁵ fraus yppocrisis est undique maior, persona plebis iniuriata est egencior, et fraus subtraccionis iuvaminis ad servandam religionem ecclesie est venenosior. Totum igitur corporale dampnum istius rapine sacrilege redundant sensibilius in pauperes populares. Sed si fratres tantum ³⁰ apprecentur imparticionem ewangelicam elemosine, debent supersedere a talibus sumptuosis et irreligiosis apparatus, distribuendo bona pauperum que fraudulenter spoliaverunt pauperibus, cecis, claudis et debilibus, satisfaciendo pro iniuste ablatis et cavendo de iniuriis perpetrandis. Non ³⁵ enim tantum egent fratres sumptibus istis superfluis, sicud indiguit Martinus, miles gloriosus religiosus, clamide qua in aura gelida sub forma pauperis induit salvatorem.

1. esse deest C. 3. consensu B. 12. Septima C. 13. laborent C. 31. iterum vulgares C. 21. ethnici A; ethnici C. 23. insensibiliter deest A; ib. vel; in marg. nichil C. 27. invaminibus A. 30. secularis ac acafter pauperes C. 37. Martinus deest B; ib. gloriosus deest BC; ib. quam A.

16. *Alibi*. If this is not a quotation, Wyclif alludes to some words in the preceding chapter; also to *De Apostasia*, p. 32.

8^o regula beati Francisci declarata in Clementinis, ca^o 'Exiit de paradiso', a parte continet preceptorie quod fratres minores non utantur nisi vilibus pannis, scilicet, et que iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeat reputari; 5 non misceant se executionibus testamentorum et dispensacionibus bonorum; quod non faciant aut fieri sustineant ecclesias vel alia quecunque edificia que, considerato fratum inhabitancium numero, excessiva in multitudine et magnitudine debeat reputari, sed temperatis et 10 humilibus edificiis sint contenti; nec habere debent appara menta vel preciosa vasa non conveniencia statui paupertatis. Et eadem indubie est causa vel racio de quibusunque fratribus. Sed iudicet mundus si faciunt contrarie isti legi. Et patet quomodo leges papales fratres 15 magnificant et extollunt, ut evangelium et ultra, dum fastum vel questum illis sapiunt; sed leges alias que ad religionem suam astringunt vel sensum scripture sententiant, parvipendunt. Judicet, rogo, ecclesia quomodo observant hanc legem, quam papa precipit: 'Exiit de 20 paradiso.' Nam quantum ad primum preceptum videtur quod fratres non utuntur pannis qui iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeat reputari; cum in Anglia panni albi 75^b nigri et russeti sunt apud regem et dominos plurimum preciati. Et quantum ad valorem, dicitur quod fratres emunt huiusmodi pannos satis caros. Et quantum ad 25 formam amplitudinis indumenti, patet quod non reluet nimis magna religiositas in vestium parcitate. Sed utinam plus appariarentur colorem quam valorem qui religiosis foret amplius ponderandus! Sed quis tunc gereret vicem 30 phariseorum, qui colant culicem et degluecunt camelum Q. ut dicitur Matth. 23. Quantum ad secundum preceptum Matth. pape, quod non intromittant se de distribucionibus bo XXIII, norum mortui testatoris, dicitur quod faciunt et procurant illicitis viis oppositum. Quantum ad 3^m preceptum 24 pape, quod non excedant in edificiis vel ornamentiis limites altissime paupertatis, mundus clamat quod studiose faciunt oppositum. Et sic de lege pape libro 6^o de sepulturis, ca^o, "Animarum periculis"; ubi suo stricto modo pena

1. Octava C. 2. Exiit C. 5. testarum A. 8. excessivam A;
excessum BC. 15. vel pro et before ultra C. 16. illis deest C.
18. et parvipendunt A. 23. russet A. 25. pannos deest B. 26. similitudinis B; ib. non omnes MSS. 38. certo BC.

26. *Amplitudinis*. See Engl. Works of W. p. 306. 33. Sexti Decr. I. III, tit. 12, c. 1. 38. Sexti. Decr. III. tit. 52. c. 1.

8. The Rule incorporated in Canon Law forbids Franciscans to wear a habit of stuff considered costly where they live, to intertere in secular affairs, to build churches of excessive size, or to possess any object of price.

Let the world judge how they keep these rules.

They obey Papal laws only when they are exalted thereby; those which bind them down to their duties are made of no account.

In England stunts of white or russet hue are prized even by the king; yet they wear them, and pay dear enough; their religion does not show itself in scantiness of garment.

The cheapness makes chiefly for poverty, and this, like Pharisees, they neglect.

As for poverty in their churches &c., they take good care to avoid it. It is probable that their churches and churchyards lie

under the
interdict uttered
against Friars
who induce
men to have
their tombs
placed there.

It is therefore
certain that no
one should
choose to be
buried amongst
them.

Every Church
law that favours
their interest
and ambition is
respected by
them, while
the others are
set aside.

interdicti tam ecclesie quam cimiterii, infligitur quibus-
cunque religiosis qui inducunt aliquos ad fovendum,
iurandum, seu fide interposita vel alias promittendum,
ut apud eorum ecclesias eligunt sepulturam vel iam elec-
tam ulterius non immutent. Et tamen probabiliter creditur 5
ab expertis quod fratres multiplicitate inducunt aliorum
parochianos ut apud eorum loco eligant sepulturas; vel
oportet negare decretalem pape, vel quod loca eorum
subiaceant ecclesiastico interdicto. Et per consequens ex
lege papali de sentencia excommunicacionis in 6º, incur- 10
rent irregularitatem et excommunicacionem in ibi ce-
lebrando. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin nemo, nisi
seductus mendaciis, eligeret sepeliri in talibus locis talium
personarum. Sic igitur illas leges hominum, de quanto
lucrum vel fastum sapiunt, supra legem Cristi magnificant 15
in effectu; ut patet de illa lege 5º decretalium "Omnis
utriusque sexus", de quanto inducit eis confitendos, qui
ipsis lucrificant. Et vel procurant decretales aut earum
interpretaciones vel glossa fieri; ut videtur de illa lege
in Clementinis de sepulturis dudum; sic de legibus sa- 20
pientibus fidem de corpore Christi et aliis fidei articulis,
de quanto cedunt ad laudem sui nominis, licet non
fundentur in rationibus vel scriptura. Alia autem decreta
sanctorum, ex quibus instrueretur ad magnam eius edi-
ficationem ecclesia, parvipendunt. 25

10. dicto *pro* lege C: *ib.* excommunicat ut incurrent C; *ib.* before
in a gap A. 21. decorem A. 25. ecclesiam B; eciam C.

CAPITULUM SEXTUMDECIMUM.

A. Quantum ad simulacionem fratrum et quorumcunque Friars, Bishops,
possessionatorem privati ordinis religioni simplici cri- and the Pope
stiane, videtur tam prelatos quam ipsos religiosos debere himself ought
5 laborare ad istam similitudinem adquirendam. Possi- to labour to
bility vero eius patet de pape potestate, tacta 1^o ca^o. restore
Ideo non dubium [quod] quicunque negaverit papam hoc Christ's pure
posse facere, debet consequenter negare leges et ordina- religion: and the latter has
tiones ecclesie ut blasphemias. Si enim papa habet potestatem the power do
10 statuendi et confirmandi istos ordines, habet potestatem it, unless
ex emergenti causa racionabili iterum dissolvendi. Sed Church laws
primum concederet tam papa quam fratres. Ideo secun- are all
dum oportet eos concedere consequenter. Sic enim cass- blasphemies.
avit papa de facto multos ordines; nec est racio quare What he can
15 non istos posset dissolvere. make, that he
can unmake;
and in fact,
popes have
dissolved many
orders: why
not these?

Item, omnis ordinacio ecclesie edificatoria, que non Again, all
est deo propria, subiacet potestati pape; sed talis Church
ordinacio foret ad edificacionem ecclesie, et deus potest ordinances that
communicare illam homini: ergo pape. Non enim est are not God's
20 lex adinventa a fratribus forcior quam ordinacio in qua peculiar right,
Cristus instituit suam ecclesiam; sed illam cassavit papa, depend on the
ut patet de dotacione ecclesie. Unde glosa ordinaria de power of the
decretorum 25 q. 1^a: "Sunt quidam", dicit "quod papa Pope: such
nedum dispensat contra apostolum, sed eciam contra would be this
25 deum"; igitur papa potest evidencius in hoc minus. ordinance.
Since the Pope
abolished
Christ's
primitive
institution, he
can restore it
again.

Item, papa dispensat cottidie cum doctoribus et Again, the Pope
pocioribus de ordine fratrum, ut sint secreti capellani grants
sui, et sic exonerentur ab omni tradizione privata preter dispenses to
habitum corporalem. Cum igitur hoc sit maxime alienum some Friars
30 ab ordine, nec potencia pape terminatur ad maximum not to follow
their observance: he
can therefore
do so for all,

1. Cap. 10 in red ink. 2. Initial Q in red ink; ib. quorūcumque C.
7. quod deest omnes MSS. 11. roth = racionali A; ro^Y. (sic) C.
13. i.e. cessavit AB. 27. secrete B. 29. fit A.

23. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XXV, qu. 1, c. 6.

there being no numerum partis ordinum, non ad totum, videtur quod limit as to their number. He might give dispensations to some, all the others dying suddenly; and the former might take another habit: the order would exist no longer.

There would be no apostasy in this case:

a Papal dispensation would set all things right. That their possessions would return to the Pope at their death is a venal objection, unworthy of religious men.

This being possible, it is clear that the new Order, 1. as more like primitive Christianity,

2. as giving more freedom to each member,

and 3. as being the object of a dispensation, and necessarily for the better, would be preferable to the old ones.

To bring about this change is a duty: 1. on the part of the Pope. His chief function is to edify the Church, and this great edification would be so

cum toto dispensare potest conformiter. Nam possibile foret, papa dispensante cum viginti de uno ordine, totum residuum morte vel alio casu deficere. Ymmo, possibile foret ipsos fratres consimilis libertatis induere, et sic 5 ordinem novum excrescere; plus enim extraneant, salvato nomine eiusdem ordinis, quam facerent fratres taliter procreati. Nec valet dicere quod omnes tales forent apostate; quia fratres religiose communicant cum talibus exemptis in habitacionibus et in mensis. Cum igitur sepe 10 multipliciter occidunt alios, ut dicitur, pro levi apostasia, sequitur ex facto quod non reputant | tales apostatas. 76^a Licet igitur illis cum dispensacione pape obedienciam 15 tam dimittere, nec sapit tantam religionem, quod ipsis mortuis papa habeat omnia bona sua, quin deleta illa symoniaca venalitate ordo fratum factus noviter servet totum residuum libertatis. Non enim habet tantam vim condicio illa symoniaca, quin, illa deleta, posset stare residua religio depravata.

Supposita igitur possibiliitate talis ordinis ex dispensacione pape, et cassata obligacione ad detestacionem illam symoniacam et inducionem habitus corporalis, patet quod talis religio foret perfecior. Primo quia foret similior religioni simplici cristiane. Et illa, ex sepe dictis, est perfecior quacunque religione privata. 2^b, quia talis religiosus foret ad perficiendum mandata Christi et consilia liberior, cum in privatis ordinibus habet multa impedimenta, que ab execucione istorum culpabiliter difficultant. Et 3^c, quia, ut oportet fratres confiteri ut fidem, illa dispensacio pape est licita; sed non foret dispensacio, 30 sed religionis Christi dissipacio, nisi foret ad melius. Ideo oportet ipsos concedere quod melius esset eis pro salute anime sic privilegiari, quam in priori ordine residere.

Istis suppositis, probatur via triplici quod debent redire ad religionem simplicem cristianam. Et primo ex parte pape. Ipse enim debet precipue solicitari circa edificationem ecclesie, conformiter legi Christi, cum hoc sit capitale eius officium, ad quod strictissime obligatur; sed foret ad maiorem edificationem ecclesie quod omnes

ii. proximo de *pro* pro levi apostata A. 14, 15. ipsis mortuis A; episcopis B. 15, qn = quando. 10. depravata AB. 23. quod *deest* AC; ib. perfecior — foret *deest* C. 25. quid C. 26. et consilia *deest* C. 29. quod illa A. 34. quia A.

cristiani militarent secundum unam religionem simplicem cristianam; igitur, cum hoc foret pape tam facile, videtur quod sub pena omissionis dampnabilis hoc debet facere.

Quam, rogo, rationem deo redderet ex tanta accidia?

5 2º videtur ex parte fratrum quod procurarent illud sollicite. Nam, secundum Jeronimum, non mediocriter peccat qui postposito magis bono eligit minus bonum. Sed fratres debent scire quod talis exemplo foret eis utilior; igitur ad hoc debent precipue laborare. Confir-

10 matur ex hoc quod nedum est licitum, sed in casu debitum, relinquere religionem antiquam, et religionem fratrum propter suam perfeccionem intrare. Evidencius 15 igitur debent fratres tradiciones suas imperfectas deserere et quietari in perfeccione simplici christiana. Si enim papa generaliter de possibili sic dispensaret, tunc foret utilius,

ut fatentur: sed prius, antequam papa dispensat, est racio apud deum. Ergo, licet papa non dispensem, remanet eque bonum. Et ista negligencia videtur fratres tenere continue, dum pausant in tali privato proposito. Nec 20 foret declinacio ab illo peccato eis difficilis, cum sciunt quod deus dispensat, eciam papa culpabiliter renitente, ut patet ex dictis. Quomodo igitur excusantur, qui in vacuum graciam dei ita recipient? Deus enim dispensat cum illis, et tamen in stulticia culpabili convolvuntur.

25 Nec movet quod subtiles eorum perseverant in isto proposito; quia diaboli subtiliores, indurati in sua malitia, permanent in sua stulticia, ubi faciliter possent converti ad Cristum habendo misericordiam, gratiam, et gloriam.

C. citissime, si non obstaret sua veterata malicia. Unde 30 omnes declinantes a lege Christi sapiunt ut sic stulticiam diaboli, in cuius inveteracione cadit periculum.

3º videtur quod populus debet cogere fratres stultiam istam dimittere, quia secte tales ipsos multiplicitate dampnificant; quod debent tollere. Dampnificant, inquam, 35 consumendo indebite bona reipublice, ut patet in cibariis, in domibus et in aliis ornamentis. Istud autem foret facile regem et regnum tollere subtrahendo, ut tactum est in fine De apostasia, quodcunque temporale suffragium quod redundaret illis in quantum talis ordinis. Staret enim 40 cum hoc comunicare illis elemosinas in Christo in quantum

easy for him, that his not achieving it would be inexcusable.

2. On the part of the Friars themselves; they ought to know that such a change is for their good.

They admit that if the Pope gave them all a dispensation it would be a good thing; but the motive of that dispensation now exists, and even in spite of the Pope they ought to act upon it.

That no influential members leave their orders, is due to their inveterate malice

3. On the part of the people; because they eat up the property of the common wealth.

It would be easy to put an end to them by cutting off supplies to the Order, which might be continued to

1. accidentia A. 10. ex hoc deest AB. 12. perfeccionem deest C.
11. perfecciō religione BC. 16. quod pro sed A. 19. 17. est
dispensem deest A. 17. igitur C. 21. renittente A. 23. ita deest A.
34. dent C. 36. in before alii deest C. 36. et pro quod B.

them as private individua cristiana, ubique meritorius quam sit modo. persons; and if any of them was more fit than a Church dignitary, he sit, ipso expulso, in eius nomine subrogatus. Sed, quod ought to take his place.

Unde videtur mihi imprecandum quod quicunque frater habilior ad regendum ecclesiam quam dictus incumbens, magis moveret ad istam practicam, secte nimis spisse 5 blasphemant in deum, seminantes mendacia; et per consequens nedum subtrahunt a populo spirituale suffragium,

Besides, they do great harm by sowing lies, and opposing the efforts of those who would bring men back to Christ.

sed venenando rempublicam agravant peccatum. Nam proposito punto ut populus vivat conformiter legi Cristi, fratres in facie apponent obicem, foventes partem anti- 10 cristi, preter privata mala que seminant. Nec dubium quin castigati per prepositos vel prudentem subtractionem temporalium a venenacione ista desisterent, et plebem in qua consistit maior cristiana religio, dimissis exhortacionibus fallacibus | cum ludiciis, adaugerent. Et sic 15 76^b undique dei populus, et per consequens honor dei cum bono reipublice augeretur. Itaque omnis homo staret pro suavi et levi observancia legis dei, cum turpe foret, sumptuosum et difficile, fovere discipulos anticristi.

There would be then, it is objected, no more scholastic degrees in universities, nor science of Scripture, nor good preaching. University degrees have indeed their uses, but are not founded on Holy Writ, and occasion many evils: v. g. election intrigues, simoniacal conspiracies, and spoliation of the people.

Sed 2^o obicitur quod facta confusione ordinum, perirent 20 gradus scolastici et per consequens subtilis exposicio scripture et recta predicacio verbi dei. Sed quo ad istud videtur D. quod de religione Cristi non foret 2^m tradiciones studiorum aliquis doctor scolasticus inter fratres. Immo, licet talis graduacio in universitatibus prosit per accidens, videtur 25 michi quod religiosum foret per totum christianismum leges talis graduacionis tolli, quia non sunt fundabiles in scriptura; sed occasione data, ex graduacione tali inter fratres veniunt multa mala. Ut, ratione eleccionis ad cathedram, currunt ad intra multe consideraciones et operaciones illiciti; et tam ad intra quam ad extra multe conspiraciones symoniace, et multe tradiciones primevi ordinis destructive. Et cum totus iste processus sit sumptuosus, non superest, nisi quod ista spoliatio sumptuum redundant in populum.

Friars of a meaner rank know too well how much they are despised by those of a higher degree: there is no Scripture warrant for this.

Quantum ad primum noverunt fideles fratres, pauperes et abieicti, quantum a suis fratribus superioribus contempnuntur, et quanta servitute irrationabili deprimuntur. Nec dubium quin non sit fundabile in scriptura, in qua est omnis veritas, nisi ut loquar ironice in aliquo istorum 40 trium locorum. Primo in dicto beati Jacobi primo ca^o

3. humilior humilior A; humilior C. 6. mendacia^{III} A. 8. venando AC;
ib. Non A. 12. castiganti omnes MSS; ib. per in marg. suppl. C.
21. alia A. 27. tales B.

de personarum accepione. *Nolite*, inquit, *in personarum accepione habere fidem domini glorie. Cum enim introierit vir in conventum restrum, annulum habens aureum in jac. II, reste candida; introierit autem pauper in sordido habitu: 1—5 et intendatis in eum qui induitus est veste preclara, et dixeritis ei: tu sede hic bene; pauperi autem dicatis: tu st illuc, aut sede sub scabello pedum meorum: Nonne iudicatis apud vosmetipos et facti estis cogitationum iniquarum judices?* Idem autem et evidencius est iudicium de fratre 10 racione graduacionis a suis confratribus honorificandus: quia ita alienum est a lege Christi, quod frater propter talem graduacionem honorem talem suscipiat, sicud foret propter splendenciam ornamenti. Nam nec infert alcioritatem status in quo Christus statuebat ecclesiam, nec 15 preeminenciam virtutis: et solum racione istorum duorum videtur regem celorum vele hominem honorari. Nam sepe contingit fratrem sic graduatum fratre simplici magis deficere tam sciencia quam virtute.

Talis autem honoracio fundatur in scriptura secundum 20 gradus latitudinis, ut rex racione status est excellencius 1. Pet. honorandus. Iuxta illud 2 Petr. 2^o *Regem honorificate,* II, 17 et alii in suis gradibus honoris mundani, ut sunt alciores arbores vel minus alte. Clerus autem debet gradatim in 25 virtutibus, secundum modum alium, venerari: ut ille qui debet reputari sanecior, debet reputative amplius venerari. Sed honor dandus clericis non debet stare in mundi gloria, sed in honore dei secundum excellenciam virtutis vel status quem deus in ipso instituit; et tantum honorat quilibet alium in effectu, quantum iuvat deum 30 et promovet rationem in illo homine, 2^m quam taliter honoratur. Ut ille qui iuvat presbiterum in causa dei ut vivat secundum institutionem Christi conformiter, et causam illam in ipso promovet vel defendit, ipse honorat illum presbiterum. Et faciendo oppositum inhonorat;

St James
blames all
preference
given to a man
on account of
his riches:

but preference given on account of a degree is quite as unchristian. It neither proves a higher degree of ecclesiastical perfection nor of virtue: a Friar without a degree may both know more and be a better man than a graduate. Honour is of two distinct kinds: one is, according to Scripture, to be paid to the king and temporal dignitaries according to their position: the other is spiritual veneration, to be given according as the state of any person implies holiness; and this second kind is shown by helping that person to attain the holiness of his state.

1. 2. *Nolite — accepione deest* B. 2. *domini nostri* B. 3. *annulum* A.
5. *inductus* B. 7. *illuc* BG; *ib.* *nostrorum* A. 13, 14. *alterioritatem* A.
17. *graduatim* AB. 21. 7. *pro* *Iuxta illud C: ib.* *honorate* A. 31. 32. *qui —*
secundum deest B.

20. *Latitudinis.* *Altitudinis* naturally suggests itself as a correction of the MSS. I am, however, not quite sure, notwithstanding ‘alciores’ on l. 22, that it ought to be adopted. Wyclif employs the word *latitudo* regularly in *Logica* to indicate a certain intensity of a quality; and its use here seems quite as technical as in that work. *Gradus latitudinis* is quite a common expression with him there.

Thus, aiding a ut dando sacerdotibus honores mundanos in ditacione priest to live according to Christ's institution, we honour him, and we dishonour him when we exalt or enrich him. Mundane glory is the ruin of Christ's religion: it is that acceptance of persons condemned by St. James, exemplified in worldly bishops, in graduated Friars, and in seculars, when honoured according to their outward show.

A Bishop of the present day would be far above St. Peter; a vicious and stupid Friar, if graduated, would be more honourable than one not graduated and a minstrel, a tool or a prodigal, more than his king.

These are blasphemies; for by ascribing honour to whom honour is not due, we imply that God gives honour likewise.

Consider a graduated Friar: he gets his degree by a Papal bull, or letters of

stercorum temporalium, homo non honoraret sed in-honoraret eos. Ideo, cum Cristiana religio infirmatur E. per declinacionem ad mundum, patet quod ipsam dirrumpit potissime acceptacio personarum; ut, quia 5 mundus afficitur ad terrena et honores naturaliter affectat, inordinatus amor honoris vel temporalium secundum fastum et questum disrumpit religionem Cristi. Et illa est personarum accepcio, quam contempnat beatus Jacobus; et sic generaliter, quando sacerdos 10 comendatur eo amplius quo habet maiorem adiacenciam temporalium, ut patet de prelatis cesareis; vel proporcionaliter ut ritus mundani ipsum magis significant quoad mundum, ut contingit de fratre et alio presbitero pilliato: ymo honorando secularem ut habet magis 15 splendida ornamenta. Nam iuxta primam stulticiam unus de episcopis nostris foret infinitum honoracior sancto Petro, cum ipse dicit Act. 3^o *Argentum et aurum non est michi*, iuxta 2^{am} stulticiam frater ydiota quantumcunque viciosus pilliatus foret quantumcunque hono- 20 racion fratre scienciori et virtuosiori non taliter graduato. Et iuxta 3^{am} stulticiam unus ministrallus stultus vel prodigus foret honoracior rege suo.

Omnes autem istas blasphemias 2^m beatum Jacobum inducit personarum accepicio. Et dico blasphemias, quia 25 iuxta fidem quilibet debet honorare hominem proportionaliter ut deus ipsum honorat. Acceptor igitur 1 personarum, qui in ista honorificencia a deo discrepat, 77 inponit deo implicite stultam veneracionem consimilem, quod est blasfemia. Ideo signanter, propter iudicium 30 proprium a deo discrepans, dicit beatus Jacobus: *Nomine iudicatis apud ros met ipsos et facti estis cogitationum iniquarum iudices?* Omnes enim tales habent proprium iudicium; quod, quia discrepat a prima iusticia, est iniquum.

Pensemus igitur fructum fratris pilliati. Nam eo ipso 35 quo per bullas pape, quo per literas dominorum vel mediaciones dominarum, vel 3^o si symoniace emerit

2, 3, hoc on'arz et A; horaret / inhorar 3, declinacionem C.
 7, affectant A. 10, quia A. 11, ad maiorem B. 13, humani C.
 12, palliato A. 18, 3^o deest, blank space B. 20, pilatus A.
 16, scienciore C; ib, virtuosione C. 21, homo A. 25, blasfema A.
 31, notentur hic fructus fratris pilliati in marg. B. 30, ad pro per
 before bullas. 36, 37, vel — vel deest A: dominorum omnes MSS.

37. The MSS. have *dominorum*. See, to justify the correction, Eng. Works of W. p. 246.

gracias a perversis in universitatibus, sic quod quantumcunque inhabilis doctoretur, vendicat infinitum excellenciorum honorem quam frater suus, licet habilior, ex eorum decreto nunquam ad cathedram graduandus; 5 habebit enim cameram sibi perpetuatam, cappellatum et famulum, splendidiusque et laucus ministerium. Sed a labore predicationis, a sureccione ad matutinas in medio noctis, et a quoconque quod sonat in obedienciam et meritum in fratre simplici, est exemptus. Quod si 10 raro aliquod opus bonum fecerit, hoc sonabit ad sui gloriam; et tum magnificabitur a suis complicibus; quod propter adulacionem mendacem esset utique melius quod F. taceret. Nec mirum de multiplicacione mendacii, quia dicunt quod in obediencia et ritibus sui ordinis stat 15 maius meritum quam in nostro ordine: et tamen dicunt in praxi quod summa perfeccio sui ordinis foret graduatum ad exemptionem a tali perfeccione sollicite labore! Ideo homines non credunt eis in isto, cum vita, cui animus afficitur, contradicit. Religiosum igitur foret quod 20 pillacionem illam falsam in singulis dimitterent; sic enim fecerunt in sui exordio, quando religio in eis plus floruit.

Et sic tolleretur ab eis blasfema elemosinarum particio. Nam regula caritatis exigit quod dividatur singulis, pro ut cuique opus erat, cum aliter foret invida personarum accepcio; hoc autem sonat blasfemia, cum, ut sic, Esth. intenditur impugnare divinum iudicium. Et tamen Hester VI, 9 dicitur: *Sic honorabitur quam rex voluerit honorare;* quod est maxime proprium regi regum. Que igitur est racio quare fratres eiusdem ordinis in sacerdotio, sanctitate 30 et sciencia quo ad necessaria salubri dei ministerio, preponuntur? Non dubium quin pater mendacii docuit istam differentiationem secundum adinvenciones politicas. Et in talibus blasphemis personarum acceptionibus necesse est tales conventiculares cum ceteris nequiciis irretiri. 35 Si igitur omnes dicte secte vel nimis numerosi 2nd hoc 3rd devium, quo pillacio fratri adquiritur, pilliati forent, quam monstruosa foret talis religio, quia gravarent in expensis rempublicam! Nunquam inter fratres foret distribucio, et omnino intra eos foret contencio *quis* XXII, dinum privatorum.

2. fructu (sic) A. 3. humilior A. 6. quia pro que A. 11. cum A:
tantum C. 20. pillacionem C; *ib.* signis AC. 21. invidia A.
25. acceptione A. 20. tam A; cum C. 28. est deest AC. 35. dec A.

Again, Christ forbade His disciples to call each other

Rabbi; and these men, bound to follow Christ so closely, despise His words, waste for their degrees large sums that belong to the poor, and abandon that very perfection to which they are bound.

Their General, contrary to Christ's commands, dominieers over them; spiderlike, he weaves a net through which camels (graduates) pass, and in which gnats are taken.

If a Friar offends, nay, sometimes if he observes God's law, he is imprisoned till he writes down a retraction and becomes the slave of the devil.

These cobwebs catch simple and weak-minded men.

Secundum fundamentum ad tollendum tales graduationem in fratribus est illud Matth. 23^o, ubi Cristus Matth. precipit quod non vocentur rabi vel patres, ut excellencia dei reverencius imprimatur, et ut superba dissensionis occasio excludatur. Quomodo igitur qui tam alte obligatur ad Cristi consilia tam frontose et tam laboriose contempnit vel sophisticat eius verba? Non dubium quin inanis gloria et contemptus domini sint in causa. Nam non solum in incepione sua incurrit periurium, consumendo de spoliacionibus pauperum ultra tria milia turonensium grossorum; sed, ut sic, pillatus inhabilitat se ipsum ad observandum perfeccionem ordinis cui stulte obligatus est, et ut sit herba venenosa in agro domine sancte matris ecclesie multipliciter infectiva.

3^m autem fundamentum contra istam superinductam blasphemiam est dictum Cristi Luce 22^o; *Reges gencium dominantur eorum, et qui potestatem habent super eos benefici rocantur. Vos autem non sic.* Et tamen dicitur quod nimis dominative et nimis potestative capitaneus fratrum imperat suis fratribus; et tanquam aranea pausans in angulo, orditur telas diaboli quibus illaqueat fratres suos, ut quod frater suus dire incareretur pro culice, ymmo quandoque pro observancia legis dei, et graduetur pro inglucione camelii. Et incareratus per mendosum scandalum fratris sui non exhibit carcerem antequam manu propria scripserit mendaciter scandalum false sibi inpositum, accusando se ipsum et excusando diabolum; ac ulterius obligando se quod nunquam ulterius in hoc invehet contra ipsum; et sic detestando causam Cristi devenit simpliciter servus diaboli. Tales dicuntur multe tele ex interioribus diaboli subtilitate pedum membrorum suorum contexti cottidie, cum quibus fratres simplices et debiles tanquam bestiole capiuntur.

5. accio A. 5. 6. obligantur omnes MSS. 6. fructuose AC.
9. periurius A. 11. sic pro sed omnes MSS. 13. domini omnes MSS.
10. 12 B. 16. aren A. 21. celatur A; it. illaqueat C. 32. continue C.
13. bestiole deest C.

10. In *munimenta Academica* (Anstey) we find an Austin Friar paying £ 10 as a composition, instead of feasting the Regent Masters on his inception. P. 564. 30. I cannot thinking help that there is here an allusion to some Friar, whose Wycliffian tendencies were severely put down. This would give more colour to my hypothesis (*De Apostasia*. Introduction) that Wyclif had many partisans among the Friars; the whole of the chapter, read in this light, has particular meaning.

Et ille tradiciones inique sunt ut ewangelium observeate. Confundantur itaque venena talia privatorum ordinum, ut deus debet nobis graciā tenendi bonum graduacionum
77^b quas stulte suscepimus | et cavendi malum culpecomixtum.

5 Et patet quod non ex hinc perirent scola Cristi, sensus scripture vel fructuosa predicacio verbi dei, cum summe floruerant ante ista. Ynimo videtur quod evidencius quam civile dominium privata religio sapit peccatum; et per consequens non supra religionem Cristi foret suum 10 ewangelium, vel vita apostolica per talem adinvencionem culpabilem deturpandum; ipsam enim privatam religionem necessario consequitur personarum accepcio, ad obser- vanciam consiliorum Cristi difficultacio, et tradicionum infundabilium oneracio. Sed 3º principaliter notandum 15 est quod a tempore quo fratres adulterati fuerant verbum dei, pullularunt hereses, sophismata scripture, germina- verunt yppocrises per multiplicata mendacia, et preva- luerunt diffidencie et dissensiones per sectas novellas, antiqua religione sopita.

20 Ut nunc invaluit quedam secta maniaca, cancellans magnam partem ewangelii tanquam falsissimam, et per consequens hereticam et blasphemam. Ista enim secta Ps. CX,
H. 25 faciendo in Oxonia memoriam mirabilium suorum, con- 4 gregata fuit latenter cum fratribus 4^{or}; et tanquam tota universitas penderet in manu eorum, heretici dicuntur
30 heretisasse duas sentencias de Eukaristia; prima, quod post consecrationem in missa remaneat substancia panis materialis in hostia consecrata. Et, ne deficientibus argumentis enuclietur eorum stulticia, excommunicarunt eos, qui tenent, docent, vel intersunt doctrine contrarii.

Sed inter eos deus movit quemdam doctorem secularem catholicum, ut non conseniat, sed contradicat stulticie eorum. Ipse autem dicitur interrogasse eos in primis, si voluerint hereticare sanctorum sentencias de univer- 35 salibus ex parte rei, ex quibus signa capiunt apud logicos nomen suum. At illi hoc pre verecundia negaverunt. At ille: "Ex hoc", inquit, "sequitur quod substancia panis materialis remanet in hostia consecrata. Genus,

There would be no loss if this graduation were put an end to.

1. Preaching and expounding of Scripture existed before it.

2. Since the gospel of these private religions savours more of sin than civil lordship, it is not above that of Christ.

3. Since the institution of Friars, heresies have been multiplied, as in Oxford of late.

Four Friars, together with an assembly of heretics, condemned the doctrine that the substance of bread remained after consecration.

But God moved a Catholic Doctor to ask them whether they intended to condemn the doctrine of universals *ex parte rei*: which they denied. Then he pointed out that in that doctrine the substance of bread and of Christ's body

2. et C. 3. det C; *ib.* graduacionem A. 10. vita *deest* C. 11. de- cerpendum B. 18. et *pro* per B. 20. monacha B. 22. autem BC. 23. facieB in o. . . . memoria A; faciendo in Oxoniis C. 28. immaterialis B. 31. inter eos *deest* C.

20 and seq. The condemnation is given in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 110. 26. I have translated this passage in *De apostasia*. Introduction.

being identical,
the substantial
presence of
Christ's Body
implies the
substance of
bread.

To Scriptural
arguments, and
to the likeli-
hood that
whatever such
madmen
condemned was
true, he added:

According to
logicians, the
substance is
wherever a
body is;
therefore there
must be
material
substance in
the Host.

For in the
consecrated
Host there is
thickness,
which
according to
Aristotle is a
body.

Again, Christ's
Body is a
substance, and
it is 'bread
indeed';
therefore it is
the substance
of bread.

It is therefore
a compound of
matter and
form.

And Christ's
Body, not being
immaterial,

inquam, substancie est ubicunque fuerit aliquod eius individuum. Sed in dicto sacramento est individuum generis substancie; quia, ut ipsi asserunt, ibi est corporaliter corpus Cristi: igitur remanet in ipsa hostia ipsum genus. Et cum ipsum sit substancia (quia quiditas cuiuscunq[ue] materialis substancie), et sic panis; sequitur quod substancia panis materialis remanet in hostia consecrata". Et quia nescierunt tollere hanc evidenciam, ipsos renuit tanquam stultos. Sophismata autem dicitur taliter innexisse: "Per ante", inquit, "non habui argu-
menta, nisi solum modo ex scriptura; modo autem accrebit argumentum topicum quod si dicti maniaci
hereticarint dictam sentenciam; igitur rerum". "Ad
hoc", inquit, "adducuntur evidencie logice isto modo.

Ubiq[ue] est corpus panis materialis, est substancia panis materialis; sed in hostia consecrata est corpus panis materialis: igitur est ibi substancia panis materialis. Maior patet per logicos, qui dicunt quod in omni genere accidentis est dare substanciam rei, et alia que sibi accidentaliter inexistunt. Unde Augustinus, super psalmo 68, dicit quod omnis creatura est substancia. Minor autem probatur sic: In hostia consecrata est profunditas panis materialis qui prefuit, et omnis talis profunditas est corpus, dicente Aristotele in predicamentis ca^o de quantitate, quod unum genus quantitatis est linea, superficies et corpus. 2^o arguitur sic ad idem: In hostia consecrata remanet corpus Cristi, et ipsum est substancia panis materialis; igitur conclusio. Maiorem suppono ex fide et datis ab adversario, et minor patet ex fide scripture; cum corpus Cristi sit panis. ut adver-
sarii propter reverenciam concorditer confitentur. Nec dubium, quin per idem est substancia panis et quod sit panis materialis. Ex hoc videtur quod est panis compo-
situs ex materia et forma. Sic enim vocat evangelium illum panem rite, panem qui de celo descendit, et panem nostrum cottidianum; cum talia comitantur per accidens corpus Cristi. Igitur, cum ipsum corpus sit per se materiale, multo evidencius foret panis materialis. Non

1. igitur A; inquit C. 9. renittit A; sophita C. 20. accidentaliter C.
20. illud B. 34. ex tripla A. 36. committantur B.

9. *Sophismata* is, I think, here used in a good sense, as a 'clever argument'. In *Logica* Wyyclif often says: *Hic dicitur quod sophisma est verum.* 25. Arist. Opera: *κατηγορία*, 6. ed. Berlin, 1831, etc. t. 1, p. 4, l. 23.

enim est ipsum corpus panis immaterialis, cum non sit formaliter res immaterialis". Ideo non valet iste fucus sophisticus quo dicitur panem illum esse materialem, sed non esse panem materialem; sicud dicitur fabrum esse bonum, sed non composite bonum fabrum, quia duo accidencia insunt eidem secundum disparem rationem. Aliqui autem logici dicunt probabiliter quod nemo potest esse faber, nisi sub aliquo gradu fuerit bonus faber. Sed quomodo cunque sit de hoc, certum est ex fide quod sicud corpus Christi est panis, sic est substancia panis materialis. Ut sicud Christus est leo, sic est leo rationalis de tribu Iuda. Et sicud equivocantes concedunt quod corpus Christi non est panis materialis, sic debent concedere quod non est panis.

Sed 3º arguitur de sacramento secundum sui naturam quod sit substancia panis materialis. Nam ipsum per se 15 substans ac cidentibus, habens in se potentiam recipiendi 78ª formas substanciales quam accidentales, quibus per se subiciatur. Cum igitur hoc sit proprium substancie materiali, sequitur quod hoc sacramentum sit materialis 20 substancia, ut dicit ecclesia. Et hinc Augustinus, attribuens sibi proprietates panis materialis, dicit quod est cibus corporalis et convertitur in hominem comedentem. Jeronimus eciam dicit quod est corpus, ut patet *de cons. dis. 2ª caº "Dupliciter" et caº "De homine"*. Adversarii 25 eciam dicentes quod est accidentis confitentur quod est panis, licet equivoce, quia signum panis; ut septem boves et VII spice dicuntur VII anni, Genes. 41. Cum igitur eque sit signum substancie panis materialis, videtur quod debent concedere consequenter quod est substancia panis 30 materialis. Et illud tractatum est diffuse alibi, quomodo accidens non potest esse sine subiecto; quomodo panis sit corpus Christi, et quomodo doctores recentes debent intelligi, quod sacramentum post consecrationem non remanet pure panis; nec aliud exigit racio vel auctoritas 35 scripture. In cuius signum omnes consecratores vel sanctificatores accidentis per se nesciunt glosam istam doctorum suorum infringere: sicud nesciunt ad quidditatem

cannot be other than a material bread.
To say: That Bread is material, but not material bread, is an evasion: it a carpenter is good he is a good carpenter, for everything is good to some extent.

Christ is material bread, in the same way as He is a lion; if not, He is not bread at all.

What can sustain accidents and receive substantial forms is a substance and a body, as Augustine and Jerome call the Sacrament.

Even our adversaries admit that it is bread, as it is the sign of bread; they ought therefore to admit that it is material bread.

But all these questions are dealt with at length elsewhere.

1. est A. 5. est A. 10. Et pro Ut AB. 12. est deest AB.
15. panis ^{ibid} A. 20. 21. tribuens B. 25. est pro eciam A; hac C;
ib. fatentur BC. 26. septem — et deest A. 28. sacramentum sub specie A. 34. alio C. 37. de quiditate A.

24. Declar. Grat. De Cons., D. II., c. 49, and D. V. c. 9.
27. *Alibi*. In *De Apostasia* and many other treatises.

tem sacramenti altaris, quod sentitur sensu extrinseco, evidenter adtingere.

It is strange
that they should
condemn a
doctrine about
which they
know so little.

The Sacrament
is porous; there
may be in its
porous bread
that is not
wheaten, or a
new bread may
be produced
there after
consecration, or
crumbs of non-
consecrated
bread might be
mixed with it:
in all these
cases they
would have
condemned an
evident truth.

The Oxford
condemnation
was therefore a
temptation of
Satan.

Et mirabile est quod contempnarent de una re, quam tantum ignorant, quod in ipsa sit substancia panis materialis ut nemo dampnat prudenter hominem quem⁵ non noscit, cum ignorat si causa dampnacionis sibi infuerit. Quid igitur scit dampnator talis, cum sacramentum sit porosum, si in poris lateat panis non triticeus? vel si post consecrationem sacramentum generet novum panem? vel si, sacramento iacente inter hostias¹⁰ non consecratus, mice panis intraverint poros eius? In quibus casibus fierit verum quod in sacramento altaris post consecrationem est substancia panis materialis. Ideo melius fuisset his satrapis didicisse quid sit hoc K. sacramentum, antequam condempnassent veritatem ex¹⁵ sibi dubio, quod materialis substancia sit in illo. Ideo Jo. cum introierunt pretorium, et *non introierunt in ipsum*, XVIII,²⁸ *ut non contaminarentur*, manifeste sequitur quod introierunt ut contaminarentur per dampnacionem fatuam veritatis. Nec parvipendat quisquam instancias istas, ut²⁰ logicas, quia veritas fidei absconditur sub logica subtilliissima in scriptura. Et legentes sentencias ac ali sepe sine dampnacione in Oxonia obtexerant falsitatem. Nimis igitur sathanas temptavit matrem nostram, quando cecavit paucos scripture falsarios ut sub fuso scientie false simulent²⁵ sed dampnare quod de facto est veritas a fidelibus acceptanda.

The cause of
all this is that
these apostates
do not know
how to
interpret
Scripture,
according to
Augustine's
rules.

He says: When
any expression
is figurative, it
must be
examined until
a good
interpretation
can be
found to it;
but it wants no

Sed oportet quod in fide de sacramento, sicut in aliis, ab apostatis illudatur ecclesia. Cuius illusionis origo est error sensus scripture. Nam ex hinc multi cecati superbia abierunt retro cum infidelibus, Joh. 6^o. Nec Jo. VI, dignantur attendere ad regulas et dicta sanctorum in⁶⁷ ista materia. Sribit enim Augustinus, 3^o de doctrina cristiana ca^o 15, pro regula cognoscendi locucionem figurativam vel tropicam in scripture. "Servabitur", inquit, "in locucionibus figurativis regula huiusmodi, ut tamdiu versetur diligenti consideracione quod legitur, donec ad regnum caritatis interpretacio perducatur. Si hoc autem iam proprie sonat, nulla putetur figurativa locucio. Si preceptiva locucio est aut flagicium vel

7, 8. sacramentum *deest* A. 9, 10. vel — panem *deest* C.

21, 22. *subtilissima* A. 23. *Exon* A; in *Oxon* C. 32. *Augustinus in marg.* A. 33. 5 *pro 15* C.

34. Aug. De doctrina Christiana. I. III, c. 15 (Migne. Pat.; t. XXXIV, col. 74).

facinus vetans, aut utilitatem vel beneficenciam iubens, interpretation if non est figurativa. Si autem facinus aut flagicium videtur it can bear a literal meaning.

iubere aut utilitatem et beneficenciam vetare, figurativa It commands to do any thing good, it is literal: if the contrary,

est". Et ponit exemplum: *Nisi manducaveritis*, inquit, figurative.

Jo. VI, *carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis ritam*

²⁴ *in robis*. Facinus igitur vel flagicium videtur iubere; figura It commands to do any thing good, it is literal: if the contrary,

igitur est, precipiens passioni domini esse comunicandum, figurative.

et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod to do any thing good, it is literal: if the contrary,

pro nobis caro eius crucifixa et vulnerata sit. Nec figurative.

¹⁰ dubium quin ista locatio: *hoc est corpus meum, hic* ^{the flesh of the}

est sanguis meus, demonstratis pane et vino, sit figurativa Sou of Man . . .

consimili ratione. Unde precipiens comeditionem panis as a figure, it is clear that

et pocionem vini consecrati, quod prius precipit, statim This is my Body, is a figure too.

subiungit evangeliū: *hec quocienscumque feceritis in mei*

¹⁵ *memoriam facietis*. Quasi diceret: Non comedetis vel

bibetis corporaliter carnem meam vel sanguinem meum,

sed spiritualiter passionem meam memoriter recolendo.

Et sic intelligitur Augustinus, epistola 14 ad Bonifacium.

I. quando dicit quod sacramentum altaris ^{2m} quemdam

²⁰ modum corpus Christi est. Non enim scivit vel voluit iste

sanctus onerare ecclesiam cum sompniis modo fictis, Sacrament is in a manner

quod corpus Christi sit corporaliter et carnaliter in hostia Christ's Body:

consecrata; sed sicud evangeliū Joh. 6^o dicit *Caro*

mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus, sic

²⁵ sacramentum altaris vere, sed figurative, est corpus Christi

vel sanguis: quia, ut Christus dicit ibidem: *Caro non*

proficit quidquam, cum sensus carnalis et modus carnalis

corporis Christi in sacramento foret inutilis atque super-

fluous; quia tunc indubie homo concederet carnaliter |

^{78^b} ³⁰ corpus Christi; non solum quia esus sacramenti foret

carnalis, sed quia corpus Christi foret carnaliter in eodem:

quod Augustinus dicit fore flagicium.

Unde deficientibus argumentis quidam prorumpunt

in ista ludicia: "Tales", inquiunt, "qui dicunt istam

³⁵ sentenciam et extingunt devocationem ecclesie, dicentes

cum scriptura quod panis et vinum post consecratio-

nen remaneant, tropice celebrant, sed ydemptice damna-

buntur". Quo contradicitur quod isti ydiote arguunt:

Some idiots have said: such as hold these doctrines celebrate

figuratively, but will be damned in reality.

But they consecrate vain

³. *infigurata* AB. ⁶. *flagicium* A. ⁷. *igitur deest* C. ⁹. *wl'ata* A.

¹⁵. *facietis* AB. ¹⁶. *et pro vel* B. ²³. *et* B. ³². *quia* AB. ³⁵. *et*

³⁷. ³⁸. *dampnabunt* A.

¹³. Ad Bonifacium episcopum. c. Q. (Migne t. XXXIII, col. 364.)

¹⁴. *Hec quocienscumque*. These are the words of consecration at Mass, and are not in any Gospel, but adapted from I. Cor. XI, 25.

accidents, and will be praised in vain.

Though the words expressing God's anger or the eating of His Body may be figures, the things are real. "accidencia sine subiecto conficiunt, et hinc nusquam nisi forte in vacuo propter istam stulticiam laudabuntur". Constat inquam, logicis quod deus vere et realiter irascitur, sicud corpus suum vere et effectualiter manducatur, non tropice; licet locucio qua sensus talis ex primitur sit figurativa vel tropica. Ad tantam enim infatuantur cultores signorum quod credunt omnes proprietates que signis convenientiunt suis signatis competere.

Other wild theories: that nothing exists but substance: Ut ad tantum insanit hec secta, quod unus ponit nichil esse, nisi substanciam; sic quod non sit forma substancie materialis vel accidentalis. Alius autem qui

that there is nothing but substance or quality, as he calls it: whence we should have to conclude that the Sacrament, if consecrated on Good Friday, is Friday. magis furet ista demencia, ponit quod nichil est nisi substancia vel qualitas quam ipse nominat. Et sic debet dicere quod sacramentum altaris sentit sensu extrinseco vel est substancia vel qualitas sua, aut ex talibus aggregatum: et per consequens cum non sic substancia, sed tempus est, sacramentum altaris est dies veneris pro hoc anno, quia fuit dies veneris per totum diem parasseves; sicud quelibet substancia vel qualitas, que per illud tempus duravit. Alia autem in- conveniencia ex erroribus istis sequentibus relinqu scolasticis, sciens quod foret studio Oxoniensi utilius et isti secte honorabilius errores istos destruere, quam in ista materia de eukaristia tantum eis incognita laborare. Sed quidam tantum infatuantur mania, quod credunt deum et angelos confirmando complere quidquid, in quo suis mandatis subditis preceperint, firmiter obediare. Sed eras ex eis procul dubio cessabit illa potestas; nec sciunt impresenciarum ipsam efficaciter stabilire. Ideo excomunicacio, dampnacio vel determinacio corum non plus valet quam vox graculi, nisi de quanto fuerit fundabilis in scriptura. Sed blasfeme inponendo Cristo falsitatem in sua dampnacione, irrationalitatem in sua excomunicacione et inferioritatem diabolio in sua determinacione ostendunt se discipulos anticristi. Imponunt enim Cristo deo nostro omnes istas blasphemias, quia in quantum quis in nomine Christi facit iniuriam, inponit sibi auctoritatem.

They are so infatuated that they believe in revelations in support of their follies. Yet they cannot ground their condemnations upon Scripture, and they are worth nothing. They are M.

Quantum ad secundam dampnacionem quod corpus Christi non sit corporali presencia in altari, probabile est quod si corpus Christi vel aliquod sit alicubi, tunc

A second point condemned refers to the corporal presence of Christ.

3, 4, nascitur B 5, nam B; *ib.*, talis quantis sensus A 11, aut A.
12, *fut'et* = *inserit* A. 20, durat A. 28, procul *deest* BC. 31, vox
deest A; *ib.*, *graculi* C. 34, qua B. 39, *terciam* B.

corporali presencia et corporaliter est ibidem, ut dicit decretal Johannis 22ⁱ in Clementinis de reliquiis venerabilibus sanctorum ca^o. *Si dominum.* Nam cum secundum Augustinum presens dicitur quasi presto sensui, et 5 sensus comuniter dicitur de sensu corporis et sensu

Rom. intellectus, iuxta illud Rom. 11^o: *Quis cognorit sensum XI, 34 domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?* manifestum est

It is clear that Christ is present in the body, not to the bodily but to the spiritual sense.

quod res est presens, ubicunque sentita fuerit intellectus, et per consequens ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est 10 presencia corporali. Sed ex hoc non sequitur quod ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est corporaliter, quia, si corpus est alicubi corporaliter, tunc habet ibi unum novum modum essendi qui inest sibi in quantum illud corpus: sicut si corpus sit alicubi presencia, tunc habet 15 unum ibi modum essendi, qui inest sibi in quantum ibi presens. Unde presencia corporis Cristi est sibi accidentalis in sacramento panis. Unde dicitur presencia corporalis, quia est presencia corporis, non quia illud corpus est ibi corporaliter, sed spiritualiter; ut creatura 20 dicitur divina, non quia deus, sed quia sanctificata per deum. Et sicud non sequitur *Petrus facit bonum moraliter*; ergo *facit bene moraliter*: ut, posito quod Petrus infidelis prescitus iuvet Platonem predestinatum ad faciendum unum opus virtuosum respectu Pauli: ita 25 non sequitur: *corpus Cristi est in sacramento presencia corporali*; igitur est ibi corporaliter. Et illi qui habent pro eodem corporaliter et modo corporis, locuntur inproprie et extense. Unde anticristine procedunt, qui super ista inproprietate fundant dampnacionem heresis.

30 Primo, inquam, adiscerent hii blasfemi, qui fingunt hereses in alios per commenta mendacii de eukaristia, quid secundum naturam suam sit sacramentum panis, antequam solicitarentur, quomodo corpus domini sit in illo. Certum, inquam, est quod remanet post benedictionem 35 unum per se sentium quod non est substancialiter corpus Cristi, et illud est sacramentum; sicud patet ex descripcione sacramenti et determinacione ecclesie 30 decretalium de celebracione missarum: "Cum Marthe".

But it does not follow that he is corporally present: this would entail a new mode of existence in every place where the Host was.

There is a corporal presence since, the Body is present; but spiritually, not corporally. It does not follow that to do good is to do well.

The mistake arises from mixing up two distinct things.

These blasphemers, who themselves invent the heresies they condemn, ought first to ask What the Sacrament is, before they ask how Christ is present therein. It is evident that the thing we see, as

^{1.} tunc et presencialiter est B; et principaliter C. ^{2, 3, 28} ^{ven} A; reliquiis et Ven^o sanc^o C. ^{4.} dei pro dictin A. ^{5.} dei A. ^{6.} fuerit deest C. ^{13.} novum deest BC; aut pro qui A. ^{14.} presencia deest A; presentialiter C. ^{16.} corporis deest C. ^{23.} inbet A. ^{25.} esse B. ^{28.} hic pro qui A. ^{31.} eukaria A; qui B. ^{37.} declaratione B.

^{3.} Decr. Clem. III, 16.

such, is not identically Christ and *is* the Sacrament; what is it? I say it is bread by nature and sacramentally Christ's Body.

There being such heresies abroad on the subject, no alms should be given to a Friar or priest holding the wrong doctrine; to give them any thing without due questioning would possibly be to aid a wicked disciple of Antichrist.

et testantur doctores concorditer, quibus adversarii, ut suis auditoribus, innituntur. Illud autem sacramentum dico ego cum doctore meo Augustino esse naturaliter panem, sed sanctificatum et quodammodo (quia sacramentaliter) corpus Cristi.

5

Cum igitur circa illud latet in populo tanta infidelitas seductiva, cristianus non daret elemosinam fratri sive presbitero in hac fide | devio; sed primo quereret de 79^a quiditate istius sacramenti prudenter specificati; et, suspecta secta sua, peteret ante comunicacionem in 10 bonis fortune sub sigillo capitanei sui fidem suam de quiditate huius venerabilis sacramenti; quia aliter ex sibi dubio foveret infidelem deteriorem pagano ypocrita, seducentem populum, plenum discipulum anticeristi. Talis autem heretici obest celebracio, oracio et predicacio, 15 sicut irridenda est sua excommunicacio sive dampnacio. Sic igitur post introduccionem sectarum fructificavit scola fidelium. Dimissis igitur introductis subtilitatibus anticeristi intendat fidelis fructui fidei scripture.

i. adn'fan' C. 10 patenter A.

CAPITULUM SEPTIMUMDECIMUM.

A. UNdecimus tortor ecclesie est hostiarius. Et intelligo per hostiarium quemcunque nomine clericum extra sacros ordines, ut clericum parochiale, clericum officiarum predictorum et quoscunque novicos privati ordinis vel laicos, qui sub nomine clerici indebit vendicant dignitatem. Quamvis enim hostiarius sit superioris status quam abbas vel monachus in quantum talis; ut patet q. 3, dis. 7. "A Subdiacono"; tamen contingit clericos istos multipliciter inferiorari simpliciter monachis in virtute.

Blasfematis autem quicunque clericus qui titulo clericatus capit privilegium dignitatis Christi, et tamen in vita nomini contradicit; quia ut sic mentitur super Christo, quod sit de sorte sua, et per consequens quod Christus auctorisat et viverat talem vitam. Scopant autem populum clerici parochiales, dimissa Christi pauperie, dum sumptuose mundi voluptatibus insolescunt. Cum enim sumptus talium non surgunt ex nichilo, non restat finaliter nisi quod spoliatur a populo. Si enim capiunt inordinate a suo curato sive magistro ex hoc quod seducunt parochianos simplices ad dandum rectori oblationes, decimas vel alia que nimis avide concupiscit, manifestum est quod spoliatio temporalium, quibus clericus taliter abutitur, redundat in parochianos illos simplices. Et idem est iudicium de seduccione populi in baiulacione aque vel panis benedicti, in ministracione panis post receptionem sacramenti et in seduccione citacionis vel alterius fraudis subdole introduce; et sic utrobique pululat personarum accepcio, et perverso clericorum officio, populi laycalis seduccio, et ut breviter

1. Ca^m in red ink A. 2. Initial U in red ink A. 21. prelato C.
26. simpliciter B.

9. Decr. Grat., 1^a Pars. D. XCIII, c. 5.

dicatur narrare complete omnes perturbaciones que fiunt per parochiales clericos difficile est; peccant enim, bona dei in petulancia consumendo, in fraudulencia sui officii populum seducendo, et per consequens domino omnium a quo cuncta bona procederent, in populo proditorie⁵

They must serve God: but if they do so treacherously they will be punished with the people, whose torpor has connived at their misdeeds.

serviendo. Oportet enim quod deo serviant, velint, nolint; si proditorie, punientur cum populo permittente, quia torpor volitionis, que posset corrigere, reputabitur pro consensu. Sed malicia talis clerici sequitur ad maliciam prelati, rectoris, atque presbiteri perversi, cum zelans¹⁰ pro causa dei vel ausfugeret vel corriperet subiectum inutilem.

A priest complained that the door-keeper on Sundays added common water to the holy water he bore, so that the last families in the parish did not get pure holy water.
We may not say that sprinkling with holy water is of no use: nor that any small quantity of a liquid 'sacramental' can sanctify any large one: each part keeps its own place, and the accident 'holiness' does not pass from one to the other: besides, if so, a door-keeper might sanctify all the water in the world by

Unde audivi quendam sacerdotem conqueri de seductione hostiarii, dum diebus dominicis deferendo aquam benedictam inmisceret sepe aquam non benedictam, et sic novissima parochie non habent aspersionem aque tota-liter benedicte, et per consequens in spiritualibus differenter fraudatus parochia. Non enim phas est dicere quod aque talis aspersio nichil valet. Nec valet dicere quod in liquidis sacramentum quantumcunque parvum²⁰ sanctificat quantumlibet copulatum, tum quia non co-extenduntur, sed occupant loca propria, et (secundum nota philosophis) sanctitas aque, cum sit accidens, non migrat de subiecto uno in aliud; tum etiam, quia hostiarius sic proiciendo guttam aque benedicte in mare²⁵ sanctificaret totum mare; ymmo, cum omnes aque mediterranea, paludales, vel fontales communicantur cum mari per catharactas absconditas, hostiarius posset faciliter sanctificare omnes aquas mundi, et cum aqua non debeat iterum consecrari, olim cessarent aquarum consecraciones ministerio sacerdotis. Nec valet dicere quod spiritualiter generatur nova sanctitas, ut contingit de luce, tunc quia per idem sic foret de sanctificandi con-

2. est narrare *omnes* MSS. 8. colligere A. 9. Sic B. 11-16. deferendo aqua benedictam non bñdecōis et sic novissimam immiseret sepe aquam C. 26. aqua deest A. 27. contaminatur A. 30. cessaserunt AC.

22. Wyclif, as is seen in his philosophical treatises, especially in Logica, admitted the doctrine of atoms. Each atom of the holy water remained sanctified, but did not sanctify that which was not. I understand that the common belief is that any amount of ordinary water added, if less than the quantity of holy water to which it is added, becomes holy itself; if more, there is no longer any holy water. This theory is of course exposed to many difficulties.

stantibus, ut pane, palmis, igne, cera, tymiamate, cereo, petra, fructibus et aliis sanctificatis communiter; tum eciam, quia liceret exorciste, hostiario vel layco cuiusque benedicere vel sacrare cuncta huiusmodi, quia deferre ipsa ad loca, in quibus multiplicarent sibi similia in subiecto capaci. In quo casu, sicud deferens candelam ad locum tenebrosum ipsum illuminat, sic videtur quod applicans instrumentum multiplicandis sic consecratis instrumentaliter sic consecraret. Et patet ficticia. Sicut enim hostiarius facit novam aquam, sic consecrat ipsam aquam, ipsa a sui inicio consecrata; quia aliter solus deus consecraret, et non presbiter vel minister.

Relictis igitur obiectionibus contra responsiones fictas, videtur quod sicud in primitiva ecclesia habuerunt potestatem faciendi miracula, sic habuerunt potestatem corpora tam racionabilia quam irrationalia consecrandi. Nam Marc. ultimo scribitur, *XVI. Signa autem eos qui crediderint hec sequentur: In nomine meo demona eicient etc.* Cum igitur in corporibus tam animatis quam inanimatis latent demonia, ut patet de Marc. legione demonum missa in porcos, Marc. 5^o et in aere V, 13 et in aliis corporibus, ubi magis nocent homini, est notorium hos latere; evangelium autem igitur permittens, nedum sacerdotibus, sed generaliter in Cristum credentibus, potestatem et effectum eiciendi demonia, dat fidem quod sic possunt in Cristum credentes, cum potestas domini inextinguibilis perpetuo sit parata.

C. Credo tamen quod sufficerent de clero, sicut fuit tempore apostoli, diaconus et sacerdos. Nam habundans onus ecclesie est infundabile; nisi quia sic placet satrapis, et, ut fingitur, ad honorem et usum ecclesie prodest multum. Ille igitur qui habet potestatem purgandi corpus a demonio, habet eciam potestatem consecrandi, sive per eos deus det novam virtutem, sive amovendo prohibens resuscitet antiquam.

Sed sicut multi, eciam sacerdotes, in fide deficiunt, sic credibile est quod deficiunt in ministrando sacramenta et sacramentalia; non solum quo ad modum virtuosi ministerii, sed in penam peccati sui et populi desunt crebrius quo ad substanciam sacramenti, quia

t. et cera A; ib. cero pro cereo AB. 12. consecraret C. 13. obiectibus A. 18. sequenter A. 21. Marc. deest; blank space B. 27. potestates A. 29. Non C.

affirming this non sunt illi quibus deus concessit huiusmodi potestem without a special revelation, but sine revelacione hoc credere, sic nec debet ut perfidiam suspecting them illud discredere, sed timere. Ad quod capitur evidencia — if we see that they do not follow Christ's law.

We cannot suppose without blasphemy that

God would give such power to such a man. If a king knew beforehand that such a one would be a traitor, would he not be foolish if he trusted his power to him? A priest who sometimes does wrong abuses his power; one who continually does wrong, for he does not, for he has no power. And the best proof that he has none is to be proud of it, to whatever station of the priesthood he may belong.

We must believe our senses for things of the senses; and as for things beyond the senses, we we should judge according to works.

Thus, sometimes the priest blesses the water

5. suppositionem C. 10. modi *deest* A. 11. sit continne B.
 11. nomine A. 17. proditor B. 22. pretensa B. 24. erret C; *ib.* et pars A; ex parte C. 25. si *pro* sive *before* papa AB. 27, 28. huiusmodi potestate *pro* officio — potestatem B. 29. sit *omnes* MSS.
 30. antiqua A. 31, 32. quod operibus *deest* C. 32. hic A. 35. om̄i A; eversi B.

Tunc enim indicat quod deus, sciens omnia preterita et futura, non ponit eum in tali officio, quod scit quod in penam peccati ipsum impossibilitat adimplere. Unde videtur blasfemia quod deus det sacerdoti huiusmodi potestatem. Si enim rex prescribet clare quod quis sit proditor regni sui, et super illam scienciam daret sibi potestatem plenam ad talia gubernacula talis regni, nonne iudicaretur quod rex talis foret improvidus? Sic igitur affirmans talem pseudo-officiarum habere potestem tantam, cum non possit illam habere, nisi adeo implicat blasfeme quod deus, omnium conditor, sit imprudens. Ille igitur, qui ante et post recte supplebit officium et interim ad horam errat in ministerio, abutitur sua potestate. Ille autem, qui perpetuo non facit 20 operibus recte tale officium, non abutitur potestate, nisi forte pretenso vel communi, quia non habet potestatem talem specificam, licet pompaverit se habere. Unde evidencia fortis est, quod prelatus errat expers potestatis huiusmodi; si pompaverit (sive papa, sive cardinalis, sive 25 episcopus arrogans et pompans) si segnis in humili Cristi officio; frustra quo ad scolam Cristi huiusmodi potestatem. Periculorum itaque foret hominem vendicare novitatem potestatis, sicud spissim sit in materia de eukaristia, vel antiquam potestatem sine correspondencia 30 operis asserere se habere. Deus enim ordinavit quod operibus, que hinc ordinavit sensibilia debemus credere, et potestatem, quam ordinavit insensibilem et nobis absconditam ex operibus de levi debemus supponere. Modo autem eversivi scola anticristi, dimisis operibus, contendit circa magnitudinem potestatis. Nec dubium 35 quin innaturalis scole eversio originatur a rege superbie.

Redundo igitur ad propositum, conceditur quod in D. casu sacerdos rite benedic pani, aquae, oleo et si-

5. suppositionem C. 10. modi *deest* A. 11. sit continne B.
 11. nomine A. 17. proditor B. 22. pretensa B. 24. erret C; *ib.* et pars A; ex parte C. 25. si *pro* sive *before* papa AB. 27, 28. huiusmodi potestate *pro* officio — potestatem B. 29. sit *omnes* MSS.
 30. antiqua A. 31, 32. quod operibus *deest* C. 32. hic A. 35. om̄i A; eversi B.

milibus altero dictorum modorum vel utroque, et clericus in casu rite ministrat hec populo; et sepe contingit fieri errorem in utroque. Concedunt enim quod aqua benedicta est infinitum melior non benedicta: ymmo 5 infinitum melior vino quantolibet non sacrauto; et tamen negligencia qua tractant ipsam dat populo fidem quod false illudunt laycis, credentes contrarium. Excessus. inquam, quo aquab enedicta excedit non benedictam, cum aliquantum facit ad eius melioracionem, et in nulla pro- 10 porcione racionabili, non restat nisi quod sit infinitum melior. Et per idem videtur quod predia mortificata et consecrata ecclesie, dum fiunt Cristi patrimonium, infinitum meliorarentur, et sic regnum. Sanctitas autem superaddita, que non est racionaliter numismati com- 15 parabilis, videtur infinitum melior quam disposicio corporalis. Sed videtur quod bona talia et regna sint inde pocius peiorata, quia ordinacioni dei ut sic contraria. Ideo videtur quod anticeristus mendaciter blasphematus in potestate diabolica contra Cristum, quia ordinacioni 20 Christi repugnat, et false vendicat potentiam, quam non fundat in Christo. In cuius signum res | sic sacrate crebrius et vilius emuntur ab anticeristi discipulis quam alia non sacra. Ideo videtur quod scola sua sit contraria sibi ipsi, cum symoniace blasphematus implicite quod deus malus 25 et non dominus facit ista. Talia itaque que lucrum non sapiunt, licet rite sanctificata fuerint, sunt hodie parvipensa. Sed alia, quorum sanctificatio est infunda- bilis, sunt similacione falsa ab yppocritis comedenda.

Clericus igitur baiulus aque benedicta debet reverenter 30 ipsam spargere, et non nimis crebro aquam extraneam comiscere; quandoque tamen deus sanctificat nobis in- cognite. Et cum talis sanctitas sit nobis inutilis, nisi de quanto ordinatur ad sanctitatem mentis, debet moderate postponi, ut ceremonia, quo ad ipsam. Ne- 35 cesse quidem est uti ceremoniis, quamdiu est religio viatorum imperfecta. Sed totum periculum est in pre- ponderancia sua ultra per se finem talis ceremonie magis bonum; ut si sanctitas mentis honoretur eque bene vel melius sine usu talium consecratorum, religiosum foret 40 ipsa dimittere. Sic enim dimittentur in patria, sicut

and the door-keeper distributes it rightly; sometimes not. Holy water is infinitely better than any other, even than non-consecrated wine; yet it is treated with much neglect.

Lands consecrated to the Church should also be infinitely better; but in fact they are worse, as opposed to God's ordinance: Antichrist falsely claims to consecrate them, for the sake of lucre.

The door-keeper should sprinkle the holy water with reverence and not add water to it too frequently. We should not set this 'blessedness' of the water too much in the foreground: it is only for our use. Ceremonies are necessary here below; but there is danger

4. est — benedicta *deest* C. 10. fit A. 13. enim B. 11, 15. *inimici corporalis* AB; *numismati* C. 16. mihi A. 28. *quædāctū* A. 29. autem B. 36. est *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest* B. 37. sentencie AB. 38. habentur AG.

in making too privata religio. Utrobique enim est nimetas ponderancie much of them. We must keep et ritus despeccio contempnenda. Et omnino prima pars, alof from two excesses: ut patet ex religionibus privatis; et adinvenciones humanae studentibus, et nimis onerantibus simplices, cum contempt of these rites and an exaggerated esteem for them: illa appreciantur amplius quam finem eorum. Sed di-⁵ missio aliquorum que lucrum non sapiunt, ut fructuum, carnium et pere cum baculo, et eis similibus, docet quod omnia ista, habitis suis finibus, sunt preternecessaria ad salutem. Omnia tamen ista ex antiquitate et ratione sunt evidenciora quam ritus vel ordines ¹⁰ mendicantium super ewangelium introducti.

These blessings, not indeed necessary to salvation, are yet better than the Friars' observances. As for the mixing of consecrated with unconsecrated oil, it is a still more serious matter, since such consecration, reserved to Bishops only, is made at great expense, and is the object of Canon law:

yet it often happens that the oil of Baptism or Confirmation is so mixed that it is no longer consecrated. In all this we have to consider our spiritual profit, caring little for the rites in themselves.

In comixcione autem olei non consecrati cum consecrato est maior fallacia anticristi. Primo, quia res censetur ex maiori solemnitate sacramenti solum sanctificationi episcopi deputata; ideo eius negligencia est amplius ponderanda. 2º, quia episcopus, cui sine ratione sed ob superbam preeminenciam deputatur hec consecracio, debet 2^m largas expensas sibi deputatas a regnis de fabrice sue ministerio, cum undiquaque iacet maius periculum, solicius provideri. Et 3º, quia leges limitant periodum in novacionem olei consecrati, ut patet de consecr. dist. 1^a "Si quis de alio crismate quam de illo novo quod proprii episcopi largitione acceperit, baptizare aliquem, nisi preoccupante morte, temptaverit, pro temeritatis ausu ipse in se proprie dampnacionis protulisse sentenciam manifestatur. Non sic autem de aqua benedicta". Nec dubium, quin tanta vel maior sit racio, quia contingit oleum non consecratum oleo consecrato adeo comisceri, quod baptisetur vel confirmetur fidelis omnino oleo non consecrato, in quo stabilito sacramento iacet magnum periculum. In omnibus autem istis, eciam usque ad sacramenta, attendendum est ad fructus, si habeantur facilius, fertilius et ecclesie primitive similius sine talibus signis, quam elaboracione eorum; et est secure ab eis in suis fructibus quies-

14. sciencie C. 19. 20. cum — solicins deest C. 23. de deest C;
ib. acceperis A. 27. est A. 30. fidelis deest B; ib. sacrato C. 31. in
quo iacet B; iaceret C. 34. cum B; sive C; ib. ex celebracione A.

12. The *Rituale Romanum* (edit. 1750) says: Curet Parochus ut ea (sc. olea) suo tempore quam primum habeat, et tunc vetera in Ecclesia comburat . . . Veteribus oleis nisi necessitas cogat ultra annum non utatur; ac si deficer videantur, et chrisma aut oleum benedictum haberi non posset, aliud oleum de olivil non benedictum adjiciatur, sed in minori quantitate. 22. Decri. Grat. De Cons., D. IV., c. 122.

cendum, et contempto satrape precepto, in lege domini confidendum.

Sed quo ad secundam maneriem clericorum extra-
ordinariorum, notandum quod sunt nimis multiplices,
5 cum pene tot sunt officia huiusmodi clericorum, quot sunt officia virilia et pacifica in domibus vel officiis regum et secularium dominorum: ut in officiis regum sunt cancellarii, thesaurarii, clerici de secreto et pri-
vato sigillo, clerici de parvo bag: ergo et infinita que non
10 expedit iam narrare. Et cum secularibus dominis sunt clerici de coquina, cum eis similibus. Ymmo oportet vicecomitem et iusticiarum, senescalum vel ballivum, habere clericum servientem. Nec dubium quin tota ista manerieris clericorum magis a ratione clerici degenerat,
15 quam parochialis clericus in quantum talis. Et iterum certum est quod regna que sic monstruose transferunt officia clericorum, utsic, parturiunt dissensiones, derisiones, et multa bella regnis: que vel paulative vel subito oportet prorumpere, quia oportet quod ordinacioni divine contra-
20 riis convincatur. Nec capit excusacionem ista proditoria ministrorum domus dei subversio, cum nedum ordinacioni divine inponitur blasfeme stulticia, sed in domo dei sive ecclesia, matre nostra, emergunt latenter multa facinora; et specialiter, dum clerici infra sacros ordines et curati occu-
25 pantur circa secularia. De aliis autem vocatis clericis extra hunc statum, cum licet eis coniugari ut laicis, non contendeo.

Unde leges ecclesie ex auctoritate scripture dampnant hunc modum, ut 21 qu. 3 ca^o *Modo*, canon sic loquitur:

"Apostolorum statuta sunt que dicunt: *Nemo mil-*

tans deo implicat se negotiis secularibus. Proinde aut

clericis sint sine actoribus domorum, aut actores sine

80^b officio clericorum." Et sequitur: | "Clerici non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire et precibus atque oracionibus vacare debent." Et allegat ut supra, illud 1^a thymo. 2^o:

35 *Nemo militans deo implicat se negotiis secularibus, ut ei*

2 Tim. placeat, cui se probavit. Item 3^o decretalium in fine,

II, 4 quando magis claudicavit religio cristiana, sic scribitur in nomine pape Eugenii: "Sacerdotibus et clericis tuis

1, 2, et - confidendum deest A. 7, 8. ut - sunt deest C. 9. baggo A;
baggo C. 12. et senescalum B. 13. clicum C. 14. a deest C.
18. que twice C. 24, 25. occupant A. 30. curis A; ib. autem A. 32. Nota
quod clerici non debent dominis temporalibus secularibus ministrare at
top of page B. 34. 2 B. 37. quin A.

28. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars., Ca XXI, qu. 34, c. 2 and 4. 38. Decr.
Greg., I. III, tit. 50, cap. 2.

A second point against the inferior clergy is their too great number; they are to be found in the king's court and in all great houses, occupying every function: chancellors, treasurers, clerks of the Privy Seal and Petty Bag &c., even clerk of the kitchen; and every great officer has a clerk to serve him. This is very wrong.

and quite inexcusable,

at least as concerns such 'clerks' as really belong to the clergy. It is forbidden by several canons.

'Let clerks have no domestic offices, or let the officers of the household not be clerks'. "Their business is at the Altar, and with prayer".

"They must be publicly forbidden to

deal with denuncies publice, ne ministri laycorum fiant, nec in money matters; if they do, and rebus eorum procuratores existant. Quod si postmodum are taken in fraud, the Church must propter peccuniarium causam deprehendantur in fraude, not help them". indignum est eis ab ecclesia subveniri, per quos constat;

It is clear from these laws that no good Christian should give a clerk any secular employment.

To act otherwise is blindly to dishonour the Church, our mother.

Ex istis benedictis legibus elaboratis ex fide scripture, patet quod quiunque secularis dominus qui diligit matrem ecclesiam debet ministros eius servare honorifice in illo ministerio quod dominus eis limitavit. Si enim sacerdotes occupat in seculari officio ob spem promocionis symoniace, ut sic vivant secularius et dicitus quo ad mundum, nullus scelestius vel turpius inficit matrem suam. Et sic, ex cecitate qua honorando putat ecclesie in illis benefacere, sumptuose dampnificat se et illos, cum secundum legem dei. Exo. 20, *Qui non honorat matrem carnalem et magis spiritualem, carebit longevitatem et prosperitatem super terram*, quia vite passivo principio contradicit. Diabolus itaque cum bonis temporalibus minimis excecat carnales, faciendo eos credere de umbris quod sint luces contrarie legi Cristi.

Sophisms by which this custom is defended.
1. "It favours the prosperity of the kingdom".

But it is contrary to Scripture.

2. "The laws forbidding it are obsolete." But Christ's law is eternal, and cannot become obsolete. The antiquity of an abuse proves nothing in its favour. 3. "Kings have the right to promote whom they will of

2º notaret fidelis fallaciam argucie anticristi, qua ex antiquitate vendicatur tales cleri oppressiones contemnere regie maiestati. "Bene", inquit, "et prospere stetit cum regno, quando fuit per clerum taliter ministratum." In isto oportet, contra anticristi perfidiam, fidem scripture et leges ecclesie ex illa collatas supponere. Et patet ex ewangelio, quod esse *in domibus regum et vestiri mollibus* propter gubernacionem vel dominacionem secularem familie est contrarium clero Cristi, cum hoc venenum fuderunt Cristus et sui apostoli cum Baptista. Nec valet dicere quod oportet legem istam mutari; quia est lex Cristi eterna, cui non est superior successura. Sed maior videtur nunc necessitas, propter maioritatem periculi, quod diligencius observeatur. Nec excusat antiquitas, cum nequicia diaboli sit longe antiquior, et potestas sua de qua superbit sit potestate regis superior. Ideo oportet videre, super antiquitatem, licenciam in speculo scripturarum. 3º monentur reges quod licet eis hec facere, quia licet eis legios et promotos suos ad tam necessarium officium deputare.

4. fraudem C. 11. occupant A. 13. modum A. 17, 18. longanimitate B. 18. passio B. 20. nimis A. 30. contrarium adest A. 31. nig'am'it C. 37. scribit A.

Sed constat quod repugnat cuicunque domino abuti possesso, sicut repugnat cuicunque subdito subtrahere ordinacionem vel servicium domini capitalis. Deus autem est dominus capitalis cuiuscunque creature. Ideo in omni exactione regis quo ad servicium clericorum debet excepti servicium debitum illi domino capitali. Ymmo, supposito quod talis apostota consentiret vel affectaret sic monstruose secularibus dominis deservire, illi domini detestarentur eos tamquam inutiles et proditores dei et hominum; nec plus acceptarent eorum servicium quam demonum, cum acceptando involverent se infidelitatis periculo aput deum, et inficerent se proditorio servicio per talem clericum. Ideo, idem esset regalias regum illud exigere, et, blasphemando se esse superiores domino, infideli se et regnum. Et patet quod promocio symoniaci parturit talia magis mala; quia in hoc conditur, ut sit proditor deo suo.

their subjects to such necessary offices".
But kings may not abuse their rights to take away from those of the King of Kings. A man willing to be thus promoted would be a traitor to God and man, whose service should be no more accepted than those of devils.

Nec sunt evidencie diaboli digne memoria. Dicit enim quod stat clericum facere utrumque servicium: sed illi clerici non sunt apiores quam erant apostoli. Ipsi enim non sufferunt, sine peccato omissionis, pure servire domino Jesu Cristo. Quomodo igitur serviret sibi inculpabiliter talis derisus homuncio? Nonne dicit apostolus negativam: *nemo militans deo implicat se negotiis secularibus?* Sed ubi est maior implicacio, quam sic assidua et obligatoria et mundana ministracio? Alienacio quidem a Cristi servicio que in omni genere cleri cor- H. ruit, est implicacionis secularis testificacio. Secularis autem non, ut sic, militat deo, sed forte venialiter 30 servit mundo. Laxent itaque clerici sic pomptantes suam magnam operationem in piscacione hominum 2^m recia sancti Petri. Sed ille *relictis omnibus ante hec secutus est dominum Jesum Cristum*, ut patet Lu. 5. Si igitur V, 11 seculare servicium sit regi necessarium, compleatur per

The arguments in favour of this custom are very weak. It is false that both services can be properly performed: the Apostles themselves were not equal to the task. As a fact, Christ's service is abandoned when the clergy has to serve the world.

35 secularem ad illud ydoneum, et disferatur divinum servicium. Si autem curatus servit regibus, serviat pure clericale servicium sive consilium; et resignet, vel per alium preordinet, curatoris officium. Et sic, si anticristus fingit nullum alium sufficere ad occupandum 40 seculare regis officium, degradetur vel fiat laicus, per-

Let them not boast of being fishers of men: Peter left all to follow Christ. Seculars should perform secular duties.

If a curate serves the king, let him do simply clerk's service; and let him give up his curacy, and become a layman.

4. capitalis *deest* B. 11. ut C. 13. regalis A. 14. inferiores B.
15. quomodo C. 19. constat C. 20. essent B. 20. et before mundana
deest B. 27. quod *omnes* MSS. 27, 28. cernit A. 33. cum A.
35. deseratur A. 36. servit *omnes* MSS.

He must, to
keep his
clerical
privilege, refuse
secular work.

It is said that
the king cannot
afford to pay
his servants,
unless by giving
them
benefices.

But it is
precisely the
edowment of
the clergy that
causes all the
difficulty.

It is indeed the
ruin of the
State or the
ruin of the
Church: the
clergy must
either not exist,
or serve the
king rather
than God: both
are
blasphemous
conclusions.
They say that
temporal lords
might spend
less: which is
true, but still
more true of
them.

At any rate,
Christ did not
condemn the
sumptuous
living of
seculars.

A defender of
the rights of
the poor might
say: These
people are most
wretched: and
this is the fault
either of the
clergy or of the
secular powers:
by their avarice
and prodigality.

dendo clericale privilegium. Vel si wult ipsum | servare, 81^a
abneget incompositibile seculare servicium, sicud oportet
iuxta legem predictam. Nam curator domorum vel
ductor secularis negocii aut dimittet, aut confundet
alterum, vel utrumque. 5

Sed obicitur quod ita extraneata sunt terre dominia,
ut regaliis repugnet habere clericos necessarios servi-
tores, nisi de beneficiis quibus dotatur ecclesia, fiat
beneficii recompensa. Sed maledictum illud insane dia-
boli incitamentum, quo inducitur tantum inconveniens 10
utrobique! Nam idem est ac si inferatur ex dotacione
ecclesie venenosa quod ipsa non staret nisi vel destructi
forent principes seculares; vel verificaretur principium
patris mendacii: quod clericus sit non clericus; vel
quod regi seculari debet servire, deo postposito. Sed 15
cum utrumque posteriorum sit notum blasphemum in-
conveniens implicare, necessitati sunt asserentes hoc
antecedens, quod dotacio predicta ecclesie antecedenter
necessitat ad destruccionem secularium dominorum,
quod licet sit eis verum incognitum, tamen tam pos- 20
sessionati quam fratres educati in veneno fugiunt veram
medicinam salutiferam, ut venenum. Palliant enim quod
seculares domini possent vivere vitam pauperiorem, et
sic de bonis dei minus expendere quod licet sit verum,
tamen in ipsis caperet sua *de inesse* verificacionem 25
racioni plus congruam; cum Cristus et apostoli cum
aliis religiosis ipsos de propinquiori sequentibus vixerunt
valde parce et nullis secularibus onerose; seculares autem
tacendo (quod equivalet consensui) permisit Cristus vi-
vere seculariter sumptuose. 30

Ideo procurator pauperum communitatum sic pro I.
illis argueret: "Dicti vulgares ex defectu bonorum tem-
poralium miserabiliter et differenter vexantur inopia;
quod non esset, nisi comunitas predicta proporcionaliter
peccaret, vel clerus aut seculare brachium ipsa avare 35
consumeret; cum deus non potest providendo de illis
bonis deficere. Cum igitur notum sit, quod in istis
duabus filiis sanguisuge sit maius peccatum, tam avare
retinendo hec bona, quam prodigaliter consumendo in
altera istarum parcium vel in utraque, restat correccio 40

4. vel *pro* aut *before* confundet C. 13. fuerint C. 15. fregi A.
20. cum C. 22. Palliatum A. 35. quare B.

25. *Sua.* Probably *propositio* is understood.

huius iniurie. Sed cum notum sit quod huiusmodi defectus stat magis in clero, tota ecclesia debet correccioni intendere. Ex parte autem brachii secularis, patet quod ipsum habet precipuum interesse. Nam omnia illa temporalia dominia que clerus occupat, debent alteri brachio pertinere; et suum est bona sua requiri, tum, quia dedit illis deus potestatem coactivam ad talia requirendum, tum eciam quia talium excommunicatorum ministerium inficit ecclesiam, et specialiter ex consensu. Unde, quia scola diaboli est ordo nimis preposterus severe invadere alia regna, ad que vix habemus scintillam iuris, et in facie nostra permettere antichristum sacrilege consumere bona nostra: non dubium quin diabolus sic cecat et recordat eccl^{esiam}."

Item constat ex fide, quod Christus sic ordinavit clerum suum totum vivere vitam pauperem expropriatarie, et illa ordinacio plurium est eversa, clero occupante dominia que ex dei ordinacione debent adiacere brachio seculari. Igitur reges, qui secundum Augustinum sunt dei vicarii, debent rectificare dei iniuriam. Et hinc dicit Augustinus, ut recitatur 15 q. 4^a ca^o *Quicunque*, quod beatus Aurelius debuit iure poli restituere cuidam layco redditus, quos dedit ecclesie sue. Nec dubium quin eadem est racio de omnibus possessionatis clericis; et sic excommunicative et sacrilege detinent aliena. Quantum ad assumptum, patet quod pusillus grex apostolorum secundum formam quam Christus instituit, debuit esse exemplar et origo tocius posterioris ecclesie christiana; sed Christus eos instituit instar sui in summa pauperie. Ideo superiores de clero debent sic vivere. Unde Christus non aptavit eis officium quod requireret expensas alias seculares, sed licet omnis cristianus debet ex fide usque ad mortem defendere istam sentenciam cum sequentibus, tamen tanta est anticristi perfidia quod post lapsum cesareum quo diabolice sunt dotati, ista fides cum suis sequentibus contempnitur vel gloratur. In tantum quod maior infidelitas regnat inter nos nomine cristianos quam inter sectas paganicas, quas maxime detestamus. Ipsi enim fatentur Christum K. fuisse prophetam eximium, sed non deum. Sed quan-

The clergy being most to blame, the whole Church must remedy this; and chiefly the secular powers, to whom all ecclesiastical possessions belong by right, and who possess the might to coerce the clergy. It is blindness to invade kingdoms to which we have very little right, and to suffer Antichrist thus to devour us at home.

Our faith teaches that the clergy ought to live without possessions;

and kings, vicars of God, should redress this wrong.

The case quoted by Augustine is that of the whole clergy: they ought to make restitution.

Christ's Apostles were the pattern of the clergy:

so the latter should live in poverty, like the former. Every Christian should uphold this belief, even unto death; yet, worse than Mahometans who deny Christ's divinity, but follow many of his laws,

6, 7. relinquere B. 7. tamen A. 8. tamen A. 16. sic *deest* BD.
22. 17 BC. 23. Dei B. 26. excommunicate C; ib. tenet A; ib.
arenam A 36. quod A. 39. nos *deest* C.

we assert his
divinity, but
refuse to obey
him,

following
neither his
example nor his
precepts.

And the Friars,
whose
profession of
poverty should
have made
them the
foremost to
defend this, are
backsliders,
and do all they
can to uphold
the other side.

But notwithstanding the
devil, it is clear
that
ecclesiastical
possessions, in
so far as they
go beyond what
is necessary, is
mere spoliation
of the poor.

They are but
ministers to the
wants of the
poor, who have
a right to be
helped by
them; and as
they fail in
in this duty,
the secular
lords should
do theirs.

For these
possessions
belong to them;
and it is
strange that
they should
grind the poor
when their
own treasury is
in the devil's
hands.

They seize
upon crumbs
and leave the
whole leaf
untouched.

tum ad multas leges suas ipsi credunt ipsas nobis perfeccius et observant. Nos, inquam, voce dicimus Cristum esse deum et hominem, sed vitam suam in facto spernimus, et maiorem partem legis sue tanquam falsam et irrationabilem denegamus; sic quod tollerabilior 5 foret blasfemia negare deitatem Christi et servare eius mandata et consilia, ut pagani. Nos, inquam, duplantes mendacia plus opere blasphemamus; quia nec volumus defendere vitam Christi, nec verba. In tantum quod fratres, quorum professio 10 81^b | atque perfectione foret excellenter defendere Christi pauperiem callidius, tanquam sophiste diabolici retrocedunt. Licet autem constat ex fide scripture et sensu quod per declinationem cleri ad seculum religio Christi et fides subvertitur, tamen tam fratres quam possessionati diligenter laborant quo 15 possent in terrenis seculares diripere, et partem suam per terrores diaboli et blasphemam yppocrism confirmare. Sed pars Christi invito diabolo magis claret quam totum quod clerus occupat preter necessarium ad sui ministerium; et hoc ex titulo elemosine secularium est 20 iniustum, et per consequens iniuste occupant predia temporalia preter necessaria popularibus oppressis in opia.

Item, quecunque temporalia que cleris possiderit, sunt bona pauperum, ut hic suppono. Sed de omnibus 25 bonis pauperum debent esse indifferentes ministri et fideles dantes prout unicuique opus erat; ergo de omnibus bonis cleri debet esse particio; et per consequens, pauperibus de populo magis egentibus, debet illis de 30 ipsis bonis communibus cleri distribui. Cum igitur cleris in hoc deficit, restat quod domini seculares debent distribucionem huiusmodi ordinare. Ipsorum enim sunt elemosine, ipsas debent dominacionis titulo gubernare, et clerum occupantem ista sic sacrilege de alienis, in consulto anticristo, precipue spoliare. Quis igitur spiritus moveret homines seculares sic rapere pauperes et egenos, dum thesaurus suus iacet in manu diaboli? Quem thesaurum debent secundum legem domini ordinare. Idem videtur ac si sathan, religioni Christi adversans, bucellas edentis diriperet, et pastum integrum 40

7, 8. duplice^B A; 15. cum pro iam omnes MSS. 27. cuicunque B;
cuique C; ib. igitur C. 28. cleri deest A. 31. temporales B. 34. sit A.
35, 36. spiritus deest A; sanctus AB. 36. mon'et A. 37. aurarius C.
39. ideo B.

quem facilius capere posset, dimitteret; deus indubie
 L. requireret ab illis rationem credite potestatis. Nec
 dubium quin ista sit causa quare tot dissensiones et
 murmura sunt in regnis; tum, quia in illa mamona
 5 communitas ex particione iniqua communiter magis peccat,
 ideo racio exigit quod in illa comunius puniatur; tum
 eciam quia ab exemplacione cleri circa illam magis
 profunde afficitur. Ideo necesse est quod pugne, lites,
 contenciones et conversancium discordie sint comunius
 10 circa illam. Si enim clerus prepossessionatus regni
 nostri preposuisset hoc anno pedagium regi pro populo,
 quid necesse fuisset populum contra dominos tam in-
 debite surexisse? Nec dubium quin nulla tercia ecclesie
 immunis sit: communitas, quia indebite et impacienter
 15 homines omnis generis punierunt; et domini, quia bona
 pauperum improvide receperunt; et omnino cleris, tum
 quia pauperes de populo corporali subsidio non iuverunt.
 tum eciam, quia nec vulgares regum obedienciam do-
 cuerunt. Si enim episcopi et rectores eciam medietatem
 20 sui superflui ad illud dedissent laicis, tunc cum paribus
 totum illud dispendium precavissent. Et revera, ille cui
 sunt stercora temporalium cariora tanto bono pacis
 provincie proditorie occupat ipsa bona, et ille frater
 qui non wult docere populum quomodo de lege Christi
 25 obediret dominis, ut patet de Christo et suis apostolis.
 Cuius racio videtur, quia non infert lucrum fratribus
 de vulgaribus, quos taliter hortarentur. Ille, inquam,
 frater modicum aut nichil hortaretur dominos tem-
 porales ad misericordiam super wulgus vel ipsum ad
 30 obedienter petendum misericordiam et serviendum do-
 minis, sicut fecit apostolus. Et racione est quod pre-
 diligunt de ambobus contrariis plus bona sua tempora-
 lia quam salvacionem et pacem mutuam, vel alia
 spiritualia bona dei. Et ideo sunt duplices et vecordes
 35 cum istis partibus, cum pars diaboli, que viam dei non
 graditur, sit perplexa.

Remedium igitur theoreticum, si placeret deo ipsum
 per seculares homines roborari, foret ad stabilimentum
 sempiterne concordie et pacis ecclesie, quod defendant

No wonder
that there are
dissensions
for the
community
shares both in
the sin and in
the punishment;
and it is affected
by the ill
example of the
clergy.

If this year
the rich clergy
had paid the tax
for the poor,
they would have
had no need to
revolt.

All classes were
to blame here;
he commons,
for having
acted wrongly;
the nobles for
having
oppressed
them; and the
clergy
especially, for
having withheld
their aid,
and for not
having taught
them to obey
the king.

nor the nobles
to be merciful.

The reason is
that the clergy
preferred to
enjoy their
possessions.

The remedy
would be to
take away all
ecclesiastical
property

1. facillig A. 2. tradite C. 3. sint B. 9. sic A. 10. cleris pre-
 deest B. 11. gadagium A. 15. 16. quia — tum *deest* C. 20. pau-
 peribus AB. 23. occupant *omnes* MSS. 24. wt A. 26. inferret B.
 27. wlgai'b; A; ib. exhortarentur BC. 29. wlgu C; ib. ad *after* ipsum
 deest A. 31. racio C; ib. quod *deest* A. 35. vita AB. 38. noborare B.

and to divide
it properly
amongst the
laity;
then we should
see a complete
regeneration of
the clergy.

ordinacionem Cristi in clero et populo, ut quod totus clerus vivat pure de elemosinis corporalibus temporalium, et illi vivant spiritualiter de elemosinis spiritualibus cleri Cristi. Sic quod omnia bona temporalia mortificata ecclesie inter seculares homines sagaciter 5 sint partita, et omnis turpis occupatio cleri circa hec temporalia ad prodesseum ecclesie 2^m spirituales elemosinas sit retorta. Tunc enim splenderet lux Cristi in regnis, et, toto clero vivente de decimis et oblacionibus et privatis elemosinis, vulgares oppressi forent per 10 mortuorum de clero iam mortua a sua oppressione et miseria relevati; et qualibet parochialia ecclesia habente discretum curatum, continuata forent in tribus membris ecclesie pax et amor.

But now we
see the results
of the contrary
system; the
clergy neglects
preaching due
obedience;
and in that
part of England
where they are
most powerful,
they are
most hated.

Such action on
the part of the
secular powers
is not only a
right but a
duty; and
Antichrist
cannot resist:
if they had the
right to give,
they have the
right to take.
If God's law
could be put
down, why
should it not
be set up again?

And should
any individual
resist this
change,
Parliament can
enforce it.

Nunc vero clerus, monstruose occupans ista dominia, 15 M. nec docet fidem scripture, quomodo infima pars eccliesie | debet dominis secularibus deservire; nec docet 82^a quomodo secundum coactivam potestatem subditi debent dominis in moderamine obedire; sed spoliant subiectos crudelius domino temporali. Unde in signum vastitatis 20 huius doctrine duplicitis illa pars Anglie in qua clerus monstruosius dominatur, ab ista religione magis silvestricat. Nam naturali instinctu tam innaturale et dia-bolicum monstrum in clero totus populus abhorreret.

Nec dubium quin nedum licet sed est debitum do- 25 minis temporalibus taliter ordinare; nam omittendo fovent symoniacos et sacrilegos hostes suos nequissimos, ordinacionem domini infideliter reversantes. Quomodo igitur prevalet anticristus huic parti Cristus contrarius? Si enim phas est dominis temporalibus stulte dotando 30 ecclesiam dissolvere legem Cristi, quomodo non merentur dissolvendo tradiciones infundabiles anticristi? Sed lex dei in ordinacione cleri sui non haberet tantum robur, quin potuit dissipari; quomodo lex contraria ad tantum perpetuatur ex verbis falsis anticristi oppositis, 35 quod nulli licet in perpetuum huic tradicioni fatue contraire? Nam mandatum domini est matrem ecclesiam 2^m ordinacionis sue pulcritudinem honorare; mandatum anticristi est illam pulcritudinem dissipare. Et 3^o si

8. lex AC. 12. revelati A. 33. hūt A; habuit C. 35. ex vīb
antu'x flīß A. 37. contrarie AB; contrariare C. 38. ordinaciones A.

11. *De clero.* The text must be corrupt here.

secundum mendacia et fictam yppocrisim privata persona regni decepta ordinacioni dei ad deturpacionem ecclesie repugnavit, quomodo non liceret toti regno, secundum mandatum dei, in parlimuento publico ad 5 tocius regni subsidium se iuvare? Deus itaque necessitat regnum nostrum publice ordinare, ut, cum tota pos sessione secularis domini occupata per clerum ab eo extracta, ipsius regni necessitas relevetur: sed sub ista condicione opposita, quod status pauperum regni, sub ductis taliagiis et eorum spoliacionibus, congrue 10 conservetur. Ista autem condicio continuari posset facilius quam cleri dotati condicio servatur, ad fideliter servien dum deo, ecclesie et patrono.

Under this condition,
however: that
tallages should
be abolished,
and the poor
no longer
robbed.

Sed procul a regno nostro huius propositi sancti Let us not fear
15 omission, ex terrore falsorum fratrum et clericorum de the censures of
censuris sophisticis anticristi! Deus enim ipsum et ap Antichrist; he
parenciam religionis sue debilitat, et in agressu plus is now
ardui tam nostros quam anticristi domesticos refocillat. weakened by
the power of God.

N. Diabolus autem primo necessitat principes huius seculi But the devil
20 ex pietate ceca gravare sarcina secularis dominii clerum, compels
qui alia via debet sequi Cristum pauperrimum, sic secular princes
quod per yppocrisim plus simulant sanctitatem huius i. to burden
facinoris, quam Cristus sanccevit pauperiem sui ordinis; the clergy with
et sic principes plus quam subtriplum perdiderant sine possessions,
25 spe conquestus super diabolum de paternis heredibus sive regnis. 2^o, habita ista radice discordie, accedit 2. to attack
superbam invidiam dictorum principum, ut plus patri foreign lands in
bus suis seviant in fratres exteros, et in causa patris defence of the
mendacii, dimissa causa levi et utili, necessitetur con father of lies;
30 sumere se et sua. Et 3^o, cum superbia filiorum diaboli and 3. when by
ascendit semper, nec ad hoc suppetunt dictis principi this means their
bus bona propria, cum redditus derimuntur et expense revenue is
gravancius, necessitantur spoliare intollerabiliter tenentes exhausted, to
pauperes; sic quod ipsis vel cede vel inopia interemis, plunder their
necesse sit dictos principes cum regnis suis deficere. poor tenants
Ad hoc enim laborat semper diabolus ut usque ad ext most
inctionem propriam redarguat discipulos scole sue. In intolerably.
omnibus autem istis laborat, cautelam sensui, semper The latter die
simulans sanctitatem et spem ac confidenciam de ter of hunger or
ruin. It is thus that
princes come to
ruin.
It is thus that
the devil
works to
destroy his

2. de deest C. 5. necessitat BC. 10. spociacoib, C. 14. facti A.
15. exterior omnes MSS. 18. r'focillat A. 22. quod yppocrisim plus C.
26. attendit AC. 27. et B 27, 28. prioribus B. 28. fines C.
29. causale B. 31. huc A. 32. diminuuntur A. 38. sensibili AC;
insensibili B.

own followers, renis. Sed in fine precipitat suos [in] inconveniens quod cautiously at first, but with utter ruin in the end. evitant. Causa autem tocius huius malicie est perversa deordinacio clericorum, cum plus aptantur per mundum atque diabolum ut sint discipuli anticristi, quam ut 2^m legem apostolicam militent domino Jesu Christo.⁵

And worst of all, secular princes are moved by their own enemies to persecute the faithful as heretics. Et super hec omnia diabolus ad tantum cecavit dominos seculares quod credunt inimicis suis domesticis infundabiliter contrariantibus huic sentencie et iuvant tacite, ut anticristus cum suis fideles defendantes et moventes istam sentenciam tanquam hereticos perse- 10 quantur.

The king should command all prelates and learned doctors in his kingdom to speak truly what they think in this matter. But it is to be feared that princes will be blind, since no warnings have as yet opened their eyes. O si rex vellet cunctis prelatis sui regni et doctoribus habilibus sub gravi pena iniungere quod dicant in isto 2^m legem domini veritatem, subducta lege cesarea et tradicionibus frivolis anticristi! Sed timetur quod in 15 penam inveterate malicie demon per sua organa sic obtundit affectus et cecat intellectus principum; quo usque tam fides Christi quam regni prosperitas sint prostrata. Nam nec verba nec scripta fidelium nec a deo missum frequens periculum movent vel evigilant 20 anticristum, nisi deo placeat ex speciali gratia suscitare et excitare principes ad defendendum propriam regiam.

Seven heads of a petition. *Septem imprecaciones ad tutelam regni Anglie per eius proceres execuenda.*

1. That England should obey no See, unless such obedience agrees with Christ's law. Quod rex aut regnum nulli sedi vel prelato obediant, | 25 nisi de quanto ex fide scripture sonat in obedienciam 82^a domino Jesu Christo. Patet, quia aliter preponeretur Christo in obediencia anticristus. Omnis enim obediencia, que non fit Christo, fit anticristo, quia Luce 11^o. *Qui non est mecum adversum me est.* Luc. XI, 23

2. That no money should be sent to Rome or to Avignon, unless it is proved to be due by Holy Writ. Quod nec curie Romane, nec Avinonensi nec alicui extere emittatur regni pecunia, nisi doceatur hoc esse debitum ex scriptura. Patet: quia aliter foret rapina lupi rapacis, quem Christus Matth. 7^o dicit esse a fructibus cognoscendum.

3. That no man should enjoy any benefit, unless resident and employed Quod nec cardinalis nec aliis habeat fructum ecclesie vel prebende de Anglia, nisi vel rite resideat, vel occupetur legitime in causa a regni procuratoribus

1. suos deest A; ib. in deest omnes MSS. 2. tocius deest A; ib. huiusmodi malicie C. 7. in istis A. 8. ut C. 9. defendantes deest A.

13. humiliibus A; humiliis C. 23. a^{eg} ipca^{de} B A; Septem imprecaciones ad cautelam regni C; ib. pro A. 25. autem A; ib. obiat A; obediat C. 31. timore pro curie A; ib. nec before avinomensi deest C; ib. animo vice A. 38. procoribus A; proceribus C.

racionaliter approbata. Patet: quia aliter non intraret in a legitimate and approved manner per Cristum, sed aliunde ascenderet ut anticristi discipulus per tradiciones seculi, et tanquam latro predaretur regnum in subiectis pauperibus sine equivalencia recompense; quod rex et regnum tenentur destruere et suos a ferocioribus inimicis defendere.

Quod regni communitas non oneretur talagiis insuetis, 4. That the Commons should not be burdened with tallages, until all the possessions of the clergy be exhausted. antequam totum patrimonium, quo clerus dotatur, deficiat. Patet, quia omnia ista sunt bona pauperum 10 caritative exponenda ad eorum egenciam, vivente clero in perfectione primarie paupertatis.

Quod, quoctunque episcopo vel curato dotato de Anglia in contemptum dei notorie incidente, nedum liceat regi, sed teneatur sua temporalia confiscare. Patet, quia aliter 15 regnum infideliter postponeret Cristum regi, eius contemptum ponderans plus quam Cristi.

Quod rex nullum episcopum vel curatum mancipet suo ministerio seculari. Patet: quia aliter tam rex quam clerus foret proditor Jesu Christi.

20 Quod rex nullum propter moram in excommunicacione incarceraret, antequam 2^m legem dei mora illa sit docta esse illicita. Patet: quia sepe excommunicantur multi inprovide, ubi 2^m legem dei et ecclesie debeant excommunicacionem perpetuo tollerare; et autorisare incarcerationem hominis propter hoc quod facit ut debet, foret opus demonii meridiani.

Contraria autem istorum, licet sint insensibilia non curata, tamen nimis confundunt rempublicam, quia res insensibles parvipense sunt maxime in vigore.

i. Ut patet A. 7. non deest A. 8, 9. deficiatur A.

CAPITULUM OCTAVUMDECIMUM.

The last tormentor is the questor.

This class, living viciously, robbing the people, and preaching falsehoods about indulgences, troubles the commonwealth. Canon law in many places provides against the abuse of their functions,

and against their evil behaviour.

Yet these laws, not being applied, are of no use: it were theretore better to do away with the questorship. It is impossible for the Pope or any Bishop to

Sequitur de ultimo tortore tractandum. Questores A. autem multipliciter perturbant rempublicam, scilicet criminaliter conversando, cum sint mechii communiter et viciosi multifarie communiter. 2º fraudulenter spoliant 5 populum propter causam multiplicem nequius quam raptiores. Et 3º, quod est pessimum, fraudant plebem infideliter, superinducentes perfidias de indulgenciis et iuvaminibus mortuorum.

Et licet papa cum ecclesia percepit eorum fallacias, 10 tamen propter pecuniam ex cautela diaboli symoniace defenduntur. Scribitur enim 5º decretalium de penitentiis et remissionibus, caº *Cum ex eo:* "Questores non debent admitti nisi apostolicas, vel diocesiani episcopi, literas veras exhibeant; et tunc preter illud quod in 15 ipsis literis continebitur, nichil populo proponere permittantur". Et ibi notatur forma indulgenciarum. Et ibidem infra precipitur quod questores debent esse modesti et discreti, nec in tabernis aut in aliis locis dishonestis hospitentur; nec inutiles aut sumptuosas 20 faciant expensas. Et in Clementinis de penitentiis et remissionibus, in caº *Abusionibus*, inculcatur hoc idem. Et superadditur quod episcopi diocesiani diligenter examinant literas apostolicas, ne quid fraudis in eis comittatur.

Quid, inquam, valet, tot contra questores statuere, 25 et eorum execucionem dimittere? Ideo videtur quod sunt simpliciter abrogandi, cum propter eorum promulgaciones non edificatur ecclesia, et per consequens nusquam debent admitti, cum nulli apostolicas vel diocesiani episcopi literas veras exhibeant; et ut logici 30

1. Caº 18 in red ink A. 2. Initial S in red ink A. 5. conq A; consequenter C. 10, 17. pernecessitantur A; prefermittantur C. 25. contra tot C. 30. et deest C.

13. Decr. Greg. lib. V, tit. 38, c. 14. 22. Decr. Clem. V, 9, 2.

obiciunt, non est in potestate eorum precise illud quo in ipsis literis continetur, populo proponere; nec forma morum eis iniuncta est in episcopi potestate. Ideo excedit potestatem pape et cuiuscunque conversantis epis-
5 copi prescindere ab eis, tam intencione quam opere, put a stop to
symoniacam pravitatem et illusionem populi in verbis these abuses;
superfluis et infidelibus. Et sic ad regem et dominos this therefore becomes the duty of the
temporales pertinent tales questores et alios predictos secular powers.
raptore excludere.

10 Probatur sic. Rex, cum sit servus et tenens Christi, Proofs. The king, being Christ's lieutenant, ought as such to govern the people according to his law.
aliquid debet ut sic sibi facere; sed nichil, si non gubernare eius populum 2^m legem suam; ergo illud officium 2^m modum suum debet exerci propter Cristum. Et ad hoc sonant multe leges humane, et

Rom. specialiter dictum apostoli ad Rom. 13, qui dicit quod XIII. 1 propterea habent potestatem a deo. Ut Luce 19, ille Luc. cuius omnia opera sunt ecclesie exemplaria operandi XIX. 38 intravit Jerusalem ut rex, et destruxit symoniaca comeria sacerdotum.

20 Item, proporcionaliter ut homo debet plus diligi, He should love Christ above all, and therefore not bear to see him treated with contempt. If he does, having the power to hinder it, he becomes guilty by consent.
B. debet eius contemptus plus odiri. Sed ex primo man-
83^a dato | decalogi Cristus debet amari super omnia: ergo eius contemptus debet proporcionaliter odiri. Sed cum in omni peccato Cristus primo contempnitur, sequitur

25 quod omne peccatum debet odiri a quolibet, et specia-
liter a regibus propter Cristum. Sed quomodo odit peccatum, in cuius potestate est ipsum destruere et non

30 facit? Consensus quidem est; cum iuxta sanctorum sentencias, qui emendare potest et neglegit, absque dubio

35 delicti participem se constituit. Nec valent anticristi excusaciones in hac parte, cum non debet esse lex, privilegium vel dignitas contra Cristum, cum si Lucifer

incarnatus facheret contra Cristum, non obstante quod sit maioris dignitatis in natura quam satrapa, omnes 40 fideles debent sibi resistere: ymmo si per impossibile angelus de celo impugnaret legem Cristi verbo vel opere, tota ecclesia debet sibi obstare. Potentatus itaque fideles,

qui ex tanta mercede sunt Cristi tenentes et tam stricte sub gravi pena sibi obligati, debent se obicere contra

45 adversarios Cristi, quia aliter indubie infringunt primum

Privileges and dignities are nothing here: if Lucifer, if an angel from Heaven, were to oppose Christ's law, he should be resisted.

But in these latter days men love themselves more than Christ.

1. illud *deest* B; id C. 3. 4. ex re de potestate A. 5. prescidere BC.
10. proditur A; proceditur B. 12. gubernaret B. 13. nomen B.
16. habet A; *ib.* Et *pro* Ut C. „ 17. extraria A. 24. omnia A; *ib.*
prius C. 29. que B. 33. in carto A. 40. ipsum *pro* primum B.

mandatum decalogi, cum illum cuius contemptum plus odiunt, magis diligunt. Sed secundum vaticinium apostoli: *In norissimis diebus sunt homines se ipsos amantes*, cum 2 Tim. ad vindicandum propriam iniuriam currunt precipites, III, 2 sed ad vindicandum iniuriam dei, quem debent supra se 5 ipsos diligere, sunt nimis desides, et sic dei proditores.

This would
besides prove
very useful
from a temporal
point of view

More than
£ 100,000
annually go out
of the
kingdom by
means of these
12 tormentors,
especially the
Roman Curia,
wicked
Bishops, bad
priests, monks
and friars.
If the king, in
addition to his
revenue,
possessed all
that money,
the State would
be prosperous

Thus not only
spiritual but
also temporal
motives should
persuade the
Government to
act prudently,
but firmly.

No fear of
censures should
dant them in
taking Christ's
part.

Item, loquendo ad hominem, videtur quod propria regum utilitas necessitaret ad dei iniuriam vindicandum. Nam 2^m notantes statum regni nostri, plus quam centum milia librarum rapiuntur per dictos tortores 12^{cum} 10 anuatim. Quod cum rex posset faciliter destruere, videtur quod ex stulta desidia gratis wult plus quam medietatem regni sui amittere. Et sic omnes perturbaciones que exinde proveniunt, procurat implice regno contingere: quod est alienum a regis officio. Unde de 15 illis XII tortoribus notant quinque qui sunt precipui filii regis superbie, scilicet: romana curia, episcopi perversi, curati qui non intrant per hostium apostataentes, religiosi possessionati, et 4^{or} secte fratrum. Si, inquam, totus thesaurus regni quem ipsi furtive rapiunt, foret servatus Cristo ad usus utiles regi et regno, tanta summa ut predictetur vel maior, preter thezaurum residuum regni nostri sibi cederet ad augmentum prosperitatis, ubi iam ipsum inficit et perturbat. Et sic C. iuxta passionem marasmi necessitatur rex a suis membris, viris regnocolis, temporalia sibi imprudenter extrahere. Et sic fidelitas debita Cristo, mandati sui observacio, et prosperitatis regni accumulacio moverent regem et eius consilium ad prudenter, constanter, et fortiter exequendum vindictam iniurie dei sui. Illam autem iniuriam debet rex cum suo consilio ex isto convincere. Et ex fide vite Christi et sue legis capiant quomodo cleru suu debet vivere; et quantum ex probacione sui operis ab illo exorbitat, impedimenta huius devii tanquam sua subtrahere; nec excommunicaciones vel alie censure flete diaboli debent ab isto opere fideles principes exterrere. Quid, queso, an peccatum, vel creatura, vel aliquod nominandum impedirent fideles principes, ne contra diabolum teneant partem

2. amant *pro* diligit B. 3. ipsos deest B. 9. sui A. 12. wt A. 16. que A. 17. filii deest A; ib. epi C. 10. a religione A. 24. ibi A. 5. ultra A. 26. veris C. 28. obsecra A. 20. et after constantine deest AB. 31. iniurant A; ib. debent A. 32. quod ex fide vite BC; ib. vitium B. 34. et impedimenta C. 37. ante B. 38. aliquid C.

Cristi? Scripta quidem satraparum, ut bulle vel litera mandati credi non excedunt ewangelium nec mandatum anticeristi excedit auctoritatem vel mandatum domini Jesu Cristi. Ewangelium autem credimus ex integrum esse verum, cum fuit dictatum ex sapientia in-
creata. Sed scripta alia credimus ex instinctu diaboli, cum sint de sribentibus incognitis et plurimum viciata. Quid, queso, scit talis prelatus cesareus tantum a practica elongatus, quod foret utilius et debitum tali ecclesie, 10 ministrum quem ipse mandat suscipere? Ewangelium autem dicit quod operibus debemus credere. Sed sicud nescit de indulgencis vel alis suffragiis, que sompniat et stulte spondet quot vel quante sorciantur effectum; sic nescit si mandatum suum de suscipiendo talem 15 ministrum sit ad utilitatem subditi adinplendum. Ideo, sicut oportet, secundum eorum ficticiam, quod habeant veras literas prelatorum, sic oportet secundum fidem quod habeant veras literas pontificis animarum. Ille autem literae sunt opera debita, que inspirat; nec oportet 20 ante opera illa a populo edificato mercedem repetere, quia ministri Cristi non sunt tam avidi sicud famuli anticeristi. Et sic deordinacio presumpta ab anticeristo, ordinacioni Cristi contraria, inducit perturbaciones et dissensiones in Cristi ecclesiam. Et, ut breviter dicatur, 25 segnies principum secularium et versucie satraparum depauperant fidem, spem et caritatem in vocato cristianismo plus quam in iudaysmo vel saracismo proscribitur.

Nec valet obiecchio qua ydiote arguunt iuxta istud 83^o 30 deficere clerum Cristi; quia si in lege veteri sufficit 12^{cim} tribubus clero tam onerato collacio decimorum, quanto magis in lege Cristi sufficeret regno cuiilibet multitudine cleri viventis in medio virtuoso, inter secularem dominacionem et mendicitatem, vivere in Cristi 35 pauperie ex oblacionibus et decimis, que sunt ob Cristi D. amorem caritativius ministrate? Nec obest 2^a obiecchio, qua dicitur multos sanctos statum istum tam verbo quam opere aprobasse et nitentes ipsum disrumpere, excomunicasse, quia intelligitur de disrupcione illicita.

t. ewangelium credi omnes MSS. 7. distribuentibus A; ib. plurimum A; esse plurimum B; pli^m C 8. cesarini C 10. suscitare A. 13. quod C; ib. forcientur A; sorciantur C. 15. sic C. 17, 18. prelatorum — pontificis deest A. 18. heat C. 20. recipere A. 26. notato A. 20. iuxta deest A. 36. ca'italia A; ib. ministrare C. 38. vicentes A. 39. dirrupcione C.

Christ is the Founder of our law; all private religions are without authority, and, like the Koran, contain good mixed with evil.
Our religion has, it is true, been vitiated: but its substance remains eternally immaculate.

Three positions of mine which are attacked.
1. Concerning the perfection of the Religious state.

Grosseteste quoted.
Christ our model did not abstain from eating meat.
We are now more burdened with ceremonial observances than in the time of the old Law.

Christ's acts were marked by kindness, meekness and modesty.

Sed quicunque disrupt ordinacionem Cristi priorem in ista materia est a deo simpliciter maledictus. Ideo sit Cristus nobis auctor ordinis atque legis, et alii privati sequentes qui multipliciter peccaverunt sunt sine auctoritate Cristi autores primi tradicionum suarum omnium adiectarum. Et sicut lex et ordo sarracenica, ex multis bonis et illicitis sunt permixta. Exemplar autem ordinis nostri cristiani sit *lex domini immaculata*, licet ipsa religio sit ex pluribus tradicionibus adinventis accidentibus plurimum viciata. Substancia autem nostri ordinis manet perpetue incontaminata, personis et modis agendi multipliciter maculatis. Melius igitur fuisse basim religionis constare, et privatos defectus personarum corrigi, quam propter personalia delicta tales ordines introduci.

Redeundo igitur per modum epilogi recitabuntur tres sentencie, quas adversarii videntur impugnare: Prima est de perfectione status et ordinis; in qua materia superbi in sectis novellis magis insanunt. Sed ne videar ex parvitate ingenii mei sentenciam novam effundere, 20 notemus quid dicit Lincolniensis in quadam notula quo ad istam materiam.

“Cum”, inquit, “salvator modestus, exemplar conversationis fidelium, manducans et bibens de sibi appositis docuit discipulos suos carnes comedere, que 25 est prudencia hominum esum huiusmodi prohibere?” “Comedit”, inquit, “inter laicos; cuius oppositum faciunt hypocrite, domi comedentes, sed extra non; cum 2^m apostolum Galathas 2, libertas vere religionis stat in deobligacione Gal. II, ad ritus ceremoniales corporales introductos ex lege veteri, qui hodie supra legem veterem copiosius introducti dant cristianis occasionem ut omittatur fervor volitive potencie vel tepescat.” “Graviter”, inquit, “ferret apostolus nobiscum conversans, iam videns quod magis appreciamur tradiciones hominum, quam puram et necessariam legem Christi. Sed quo ad gestus Christi, patet quod utrobique sapiunt affabilitatem, mansue-

1. dirupperit C. 2. fit A; sic C. 3. autor AC 4. que B.
6. subiectarum B. 7. et illicitis *deest* C. 10. accidentalibus C.
12. autem B. 11. qua AC. 11. 15. introducti B. 16. Reddendo A.
17. impugnar C. 23. modestus exemplar *deest* C. 25. suos *deest* BC;
ib. Lincolniensis de esu carnium *in marg.* B. 26. homi esum homi
(sic) C. 29. 2 *deest* AB. 30. introductas C. 31. que *omnes* MSS.
31. 32. introduce *omnes* MSS. 32. accusacionem A: *ib.* furor A.

tudinem et modestiam. Affabilitas patet ex dulci colloquio cum samaritana Joh. 4. cum cananea, cum Magdalena Lu. 7^o. de Martha et paciente fluxum, de accusata de adulterio Joh. 8, de mulieribus ipsum se-
E. 5 quentibus, de quibus sumptus suscepserat Luc. 9^o. Item
Luc. de peccatoribus, de predestinatis, Nicodemo phariseo,
VIII. 3 Joh. 3^o. Zacheo publicano, Luc. 19, et multis aliis; et
de parvulis quos voluit libere accedere, et complectens
et inponens manus ab illis voluit laudari. Sed comuni-
10 cando cum phariseis et prescritis durissime sed modeste
eos redarguit, ut patet Matth. 23; in exemplum quod
nos, cum illis conversando, non applaudamus peccatis
eorum, facti eorum participes, sed dure eos increpando
ac vicia reprobrando, servata caritate et dilectione
15 nature, debeamus nunc lucide et nunc tenebrose cum
triplici manerie peccatorum de quibus speramus emen-
das gravaminum commiseri: scilicet cum potentibus
aut publicanis ac dominis et ministris mundo, cum
mollibus muliebriter indutis, qui ad peccata carnis
20 generaliter inclinantur, et cum mundialiter superbienti-
bus, iocose lascivientibus, execratis ceca superbia, ut
parvuli." "Omne", inquit, "quod est in mundo est
aliquod horum trium. His, inquam, instar Christi de-
bemus esse affabiles, hortantes fugere vicia et prosequi
25 opera virtuosa." Ex ipsis dictis huius sancti patet quod
debemus comunicare cum ista 3^{ci} manerie hominum,
modis suis, secundum quod credimus ad honorem dei
et profectum ecclesie plus prodesse. "Non", inquit, "de-
bemus noscendo nostram fortitudinem, comunicacionem
30 peccatorum auffugere, cum Christus manducavit cum
peccatoribus, ut peccata deleret, ac cum eis pernoctavit,
Matth. 9; cum familiaribus ut eorum devocationem nutriret,
Jo. 12; et cum phariseis, ut eorum superbiam confutaret,
ut patet Luc. 7^o, ubi phariseum in comparacione magni-
35 tudine corripuit in 3^{bus}, in quibus ipsa prevaluit, scilicet
in non locione pedum, in non affectione ostensa per
osculum, et in non hilaritate signata per oleum."

He rebuked
sinners
severely indeed,
but with
moderation, as
an example to us
in our dealings
with the three
kinds of
sinners: those
in power, those
given to sins of
the flesh, and
those prone to
worldly pride.

We must not
therefore avoid
communication
with them, but
endeavour to
do them good;
Christ ate with
sinners to blot
out their sins,
with his
disciples, to
increase their
devotion, and
with the Pharisees,
to confound
their pride.

1. duplice AC. 2. chananea C; ib. vel pro cum after cananea A.
3. luc VI C. 4. Joh. 8 deest B. 5. sus deest C. 6. de before
peccatoribus deest B; prius de supra lineam suppl. C; ib. de deest B.
9. Cum pro Sed B. 10 dimissive A. 11. arguit C. 15. licite AG.

17. "guami A; ib. videlicet B. 18. ac C; ib. ut pro ac BC. 20. ori-
ginaliter AB. 23. inquit AB. 28. inquam omnes MSS. 31. patet
deest BC. 34, 35. magne A; magdalene C. 35. scilicet deest A.
37. non in AB; ib. in deest C.

It is thus no new thing to have communication with apostates in order to reprove them.

They are at fault on three points: their religion, the Eucharist and Penance, of none of which they know the essence.

A private religion is to the law of Christ as the law of a particular State is to the principles of political law. Both savour of sin.

The rules of such religions are a foolish remedy for men spiritually ailing.

It is possible to be saved in these religions, but with difficulty.

All their rules and traditions can be shown to imply blasphemy: therefore the elect amongst them give them up before the hour of death.

Hec Lincolnensis. Ex ipsis dictis huius sancti patet quod non est novitas inaudita, sed sententia eterna antiqua dierum quod comunicando cum phariseis apostatis debemus accute eorum versicias reprobare. Et cum non habent unde doceant nostram sentenciam esse falsam, debemus constanter in incepta | sententia permanere. 3^a enim sunt in quibus claudicant, quiditatem et passionem sententie ignorantes: scilicet, religionis sue, sacramenti altaris, et sacramenti penitentie quiditates; quibus ignoratis necesse est ipsos sequentia ignorare. Si enim vellent istorum quiditates supponere sive discutere, tunc possent in sequentia evidenter procedere. Sed non audent.

F.

Ego enim voco privatam religionem vel ordinem sectam novellam ex regulis vel tradicionibus hominum non pure ewangelio stabilitam: sic quod religio proportionaliter se habet ad regulam Cristianam, sicut omne civile dominium se habet ad legem politicam. Et ita sicud omne civile dominium sapit peccatum, sic omnis novella religio sapit ad minimum veniale. Nec sciunt cultores istius defendere quin sit medicina fatua pro debilibus adinventa; fatua quidem, cum supra ewangelium dant multas medicinales regulas, que peccatum sapiunt vel errorem; ymmo sicud natura prevalet regule medicine, sic ewangelium prevalet supra omnes tradiciones hominum adinventas. Ideo omnes iste secte novelle inevitabiliter fundantur in multiplici errore, licet (difficilius) possent ex immensitate gracie Cristi in talibus sectis regnum celorum adquirere.

Difficilius dico, quia licet facilitantur in aliquo, tamen sunt magis simpliciter difficultati. Unde regula Cristi ad peccata evitandum est pocior quam aliqua regula adinventa; patet, proponendo in lucem regulam Cristi cum illis tradicionibus adinventis. Et sic, expressa eorum regula cum tradicionibus conglobatis, manifeste patet quod pauci vel nulli evaderent quin saperent expresse blasphemam. Et hinc nolunt dare essenciales differencias vel totum regule sue ambitum, per quas privati ordines militando sic erronee ab aliis distingwantur. Et hinc predestinati eorum, vel in morte vel ante, renunciant istis regulis, religioni cristiane simplici innitendo.

7. claudicant deest B. 16. sed pro sic AB. 17. Cristianam deest AC. 18. omne deest AC. 19. ista A. 25. ultra A: super C. 32. evanđandum BC. 35. pateret C. 36. sapient A.

Forma autem in probacionibus regule novelle patet ex dictis de 3^{ei} lege papali. Primo, quomodo illi quibus provisum est debent preponi ex ca^o *Si duobus*, de rescriptis, in 6^o. Secundo, quomodo singuli cristiani debent 5 semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et soli, peccata sua singula confiteri, ut patet in lege: *Omnis utriusque sexus*. Et 3^o, quomodo excommunicatio offendencium in cardinales et alios debet fieri, ut patet in lege de penis, ca^o *felicis memorie* 6^o. Non enim patroni privatorum 10 istorum ordinum presumerent se dare reccius medicamina contra culpam quam regulat curia romana in talibus.

Ideo, attendendo ad tempus obligacionis, ad varietatem secte obligate et ad penam que in offendentes infligitur, 15 patet quod stulte medicina Christi postponitur. Et cum non mediocriter peccat qui maiori bono postposito

minus eligit, manifeste videtur quod omnes dicte secte inevitabiliter peccant, eligendo tradiciones huiusmodi adinventas. Securius quidem foret inniti medicine quam Cristus instituit contra peccatum mundi, peccatum carnis 20 atque diaboli, quam taliter incarcerated in claustro, vel taliter 2^m privatas observancias regulari, vel taliter 2^m formas tegumentorum generaliter coaptari. Unde patet ad oculum quod regule secundum quas secte tales reficiuntur, cum eadem sit racio in omnibus illis 25 sectis, stulte et improvide, ubi est racionis conformitas,

tam varie seminantur. In cuius signum: in regula Christi non potest notari defectus, sicud nec in observancia regule christiane. In illis autem privatis ordinibus et regulis detectis in luce, crebrius patet error. Et istum 30 errorem tangit Lincolnensis ubi supra; ut patet luce clarior sedule indaganti. Quomodo, queso, procederent a deo tales regule, cum sit supra potestatem hominum illa statuere sic perpetuo? Cur pro toto tempore Christi, et tot centenariis annorum sine observancia fuerant 35 ociose? Aut que racio, quare unus religiosus obligatur ad libram panis in die, ad amenam vini, et non comedere carnes quadrupedum, et non quilibet eque aptus? Unde

It is foolish
nay, criminal
to prefer man's
remedies to
those of Christ.

Better follow
the rules which
He gave against
the world the
flesh and the
devil, than to
be shut up in
a convent.

In Christ's law
and in
Christianity
there are no
defects, whereas
there are many
in private
religions.

And if so, how
could they
proceed from
Divine
inspiration?
Why, should
one man be
compelled to
strict
abstinence, and
not another?

1. quod C. 8. preteri C. 9. in *pro memoria* A. 13. et *deest* A.
15. peccant A. 17. mentaliter B. 19. peccatum before carnis *deest* C.
20. vel *deest* B. 27. sed C. 36. amenam *omnes* MSS.

3. Deec. Clem. II., tit. 5, c. 1. 6. See p. 112, note. 9. Sext. Deec. V, tit. 9, c. 5, *Felicitas recordationis*. 11. *In talibus*. I am at a loss to see what this paragraph has to do with what precedes or what follows. Only the first canon, *Si duobus*, &c. can have any bearing upon the Friars. 36. *Amenam*. i. e. heminam. See Du Cange.

infeccionem istarum tradicionum insinuat varietas dispensandi. Et eadem obieccio est de quolibet in lege privata explicite supra ewangelium.

If it be said
that these
orders are only
a collection of
observances to
aid in following
Christ's law, it
is true that
some
observances are
necessary, but
not *for ever*:
and it is that
perpetuity
which
constitutes a
sect.
The Founders
of the Sects
may have
imposed this as
a law, out of
blind piety;
they may have
intended their
rules to be
observed only
as helps to true
religion, but
then there
would have
been no sects:
all Christians
are obliged to
follow them in
so far.

Perhaps they
retracted their
error, and are,
as we believe,
in Heaven;
perhaps they
were merely
mistaken, and
their followers
were more to
blame than
they.
One thing is
certain: that
they went too far
in restraining
individual
liberty.

Et si dicatur quod illi privati ordines non sunt nisi ritus ewangelium practisandi, quales ritus habuerunt apostoli, et illos contingit meritorie practisare: respondeo concedendo quod necesse est, quam diu hic vivimus, practisare ritus in genere: cum, ut dicit Augustinus, "Sacrilegum foret negare simpliciter omnes ritus". Sed H. notanda est diferencia servandi illos ritus pro loco et tempore, et unam sectam perpetuo obligari ad indissimilem ipsos servandum. Nec sine tali sensu constitueret novam regulam plus quam quicunque ritus apostoli sive sancti. Et sic posset intelligi quod patroni privatorum ordinum habuerunt singulares ritus, quorum observacio videbatur eis expediens; et ceca pietate voluerunt unam sectam ipsos sequentem illos ritus perpetuo ut ewangelium observari; quam stulticiam non expedit excusare. Quod si condicionaliter intenderent quod illos ritus observent, de quanto promovent ad observanciam | legis Christi, 20 84^b patet quod non exinde resultaret secta sive religio novella, cum eque obligantur ad illam veritatem conditionaliter seculares et singuli cristiani. Ideo observancia privatorum ordinum monet quod patroni eorum non taliter intenderent. Nec expedit nobis discutere, sive culpa sit plus in patronis istorum ordinum, quam in personis de secta sua sequentibus; quia indubie, qui credit patronos illos tantum errasse vel amplius, non blasfemat; quia Paulus prius fuit blasphemus, ut ipsem testatur: postmodum se correxit. Et sic supponi debet, 30 ut supra, quod dum sic cece erraverant et iam sunt in celo, ut credimus, revocarunt: potest enim esse, quod in credendo ritus istos prodesse toti secte simpliciter erraverunt; et potest esse quod in sequentibus sue secte fuit culpa gravior. Unum tamen scio, quod 35 venenum in istis privatis ordinibus stat in obligacione illibertante nimis profunda, quo ad illa que possent, illa dimissa, bene fieri. Ut, verbi gratia, licite et meritorie contingit hominem aufugere monetam tangere,

1. inperfeccionem C; ib. insinuat A; ib. varietates B. 2. est *deest* B.
12. observandum B. 14. potest C. 15. observancia C. 16. et ex BC;
ib. tota *pro* ceca C. 17. perpetue C. 25, 26. si in culpa sit pluralitas A. 26. culpa *deest* B. 29. fuit *deest* AC corr. B. 30. postquam B. 36. verum A.

sicut verisimiliter Cristus non tetigit; sed quod religiosus pro nunquam tangat in casu aliquo sub pena apostasie, horribilis foret observancia, blasphemiam sapiens, et per consequens infundabilis in scriptura; et nullo modo licite religionis particula, quia implicat condicionem quam deus non potest perficere. Quod si ista fecerit, tunc sic peccat et tollit libertatem quam deus instituit, sicut Lincolniensis tangit.

Et ita inculpata fuit seducta generalior ecclesia, do-tando contra ordinacionem Christi perpetuo particulares ecclesias. 2º ex eadem cecitate fuit introducta posses-sionatorum religio. Et 3º introducta est non minus culpabiliter mendicancium religio, postquam cassatis prioribus, si deus voluerit, reddibitur generaliter ad religionem simplicem cristianam. Omnes enim iste sa-piunt in isto blasfemiam, quod statuunt tradicionem suam ut optimam pro perpetuo observandam, ac si forent domini temporis perpetui et omnium suarum vicissitudinum variarum, quod soli deo est proprium. Ideo, cum tollunt libertatem quam deus gracie con-cesserat, qua expedit nunc 2º unum ritum, et nunc secundum alium viare, ipsi stulte limitant 2º regulas anticristi, extollendo se super deum nostrum, perpetuo sic viare: ut sicud dotans ecclesiam particularem illi-berat se et genus suum ad dandum et subtrahendum elemosinas corporales, ut expedit, sic in religionibus privatis illibertantur ad nunc dimittendum et nunc assumendum ritus secundum exigenciam racionis. Et per hec patet quam frivola est quarumdam sectarum observancia. Quedam secte abhorrent fratres suos tan-quam graves apostatas, qui crucem monete tangere parvipendunt; sed inventa moneta mediante panno vel chirotheca tangere dicunt licere, sicut perforata vel perfracta cum maleo vel cultello; sed inordinatam affectionem in animo phariseice parvipendunt. Et iustifi-care hanc regulam non subiacet potestati divine.

Et per hoc tollitur instance qua obiciunt hec licere. Hoc, inquiunt, observare per aliquantum tempus, est licitum, et per idem continue; et pari evidencia qua-

v. g. a man may very rightly refrain from touching money; but it is monstrous to forbid a Religious ever to touch money under any circumstances.

Church endowments, the institution of monks and that of Friars proceed from the same false principle; tradition is perfect and must be perpetually observed.

We ought to change according to circumstances, adopting now one way of living and now another; where-as they lay down hard and fast lines,

which often lead to ridiculous puerility: some triars, for instance, cannot touch a coin without apostasy, unless with a rag or a glove, or the coin be punched or broken.

Objection:
What is lawfully done for some time may be lawfully done for ever.

1. sed pro sicut C. 2. tangat monetam BC. 9. tēlpār A. 14. ge-neraliter deest AB. 15. iste deest C. 17. p ppeº A. 22. variare C.

24. variare A. 29. frivolla C. 30. Que BC. 32. parvipendunt A; ib. pano A. 33. cirotheca AB; cyroteca C. 34. fracta pro perfracta AB. 34, 35. inordinata affectione A 37. omnia pro instanca A.

uni persone, et toti secte; et per consequens licet quantumcunque firmiter tali licito perpetuo obligari. Patet ex dictis quod nec Cristus potuit ultra libertatem quam deus instituit ad ritus huiusmodi obligare; ut consilium Christi est quod sui apostoli *nichil ferant in via, neque peram, neque baculum, neque duas tunicas habeant*: quod subintelligendum est, de quanto retardat ab officio predicandi. Sed quod ista simpliciter obser- ventur sub pena damnandi peccati; scilicet, si contra- veniunt, tunc sic peccant: hoc tolleret libertatem eter-
10 nam, et per consequens dominus hoc non potest. Et istud est venenum quo quelibet privata religio est in- fecta. Observent igitur privata consilia, si et quatenus expedient, quamdiu voluerint, sed caveant a nimietate obligacionis et omissione libertatis quam deus instituit. 15

Let Friars keep their observances as long as they choose, and without constraint.

It is allowed in certain cases to marry or to slay; but it does not follow that a Friar should take a vow to do either. And to found an order with rules to be provisionally observed would be of no use, since all Christians would be equally bound by them.

Besides, human presumption would always tend to render them absolute.

And to bind any one in this manner cannot be lawful, since it takes away Christian liberty:

Et patet quod non plus sequitur: *hoc potest bene fieri: igitur, sic obligari ad hoc est licitum.* quam sequitur: *Quilibet frater de secta data potest meritorie uxorari et confratrem suum occidere: igitur, ad hoc obligari 20 2^m rationem vel religionis vel ordinis est licitum.* Religio enim debet fundari simpliciter in [opere] virtuoso. Et simi- liter fundare religionem in talibus consiliis, 'si et quatenus sunt racialiter observanda', foret superfluum, gravans et illibertans ecclesiam, et ex processu in infinitum 25 diminuens ordinem cristianum. Quilibet enim cristiani- anus habens facultatem ad observandum tale consilium sive neutrum, debet ipsum, si et quatenus expedit, ob- servare. Unde privati ordines, de quanto sunt liciti, sunt fundati super consiliis ewangeliis et ritibus neutris, 30 cum moderamine, illa 'de quanto expedit' observandi. Sed quia humana presumpcio nititur perpetuare ista et equiparare religioni Christi vel mandatis domini: ideo ex instinctu regis superbie, quo wult constanter hec obser- vari et plus et diucius quam bonificarent circumstancie, 35 est venenum. Nec videtur quod obligacio ad hos ritus K. est sit licita, cum vel tollit vel diminuit libertatem quam 85^m Cristus ad utilitatem ecclesie ordinavit. Per hoc enim tardantur observari Christi mandata sive consilia, cum

3. nec *deest* AB. 4. *obligari* C. 7. *habeatis* B. 9. *dandi omnes* MSS. 12. *verum* A 21. *rom* I *r̄hoß* A; *ib.* *vel before* re- ligionis *deest* C. 22. *ditundari* A; *ib.* *similiter deest* A; *ib.* *opere deest omnes* MSS. 22, 23. *simpliciter et fundare* C. 33. *domini deest* A. 34. *credantur* B; *ib.* *observare* C.

sint tantum observancie finite, et plus observant illud, quod minus expedit observare. Ideo necesse est observancias plus utiles diminui sive tolli. Et eadem est consideracio de observaciis privatis, quas leges papales 5 constituunt. Cum enim obligantur ad observandum libertatem primevam quam a Christo receperant, et iterum obligantur novelli ad eius oppositum, videtur quod sunt ad contradictoria diabolice obligati, et ita toto facto laboraret quilibet fidelis quod ecclesia ponatur 10 in statu primevi quem Cristus instituit, subductis novellis legibus, eciam papalibus, et novis ordinacionibus introductis. Tunc enim non foret tanta obligacio ad ritus. Sed cum ille sunt consuetudines operandi, sequentes per accidens ad virtutes, sequentibus illis in 15 parvipensione graduum, non fiat illis obligacio talis perpetua, sicut est in dictis privatis ordinibus, sed fiat per se obligacio ad virtutes et opera virtuosa. Et sic 1. Cor. intelligo apostolum 1^a cor. 6^o: *Imitatores mei estote, XI, 1 sicud et ego Cristi.* Noluit enim apostolus quod secta 20 sequeretur eum in modo vivendi obligacione sectali, nisi per se fuerit virtuosus, sicut creditur quadam proprietate esse de quolibet modo vivendi Christi. Unde difficultas est, utrum patriarche novorum ordinum ad illos ordines obligantur. Et tenet quidem quod illi 25 sunt in illis generibus equivoce, et non univoce cum sectis sequentibus, sicud fuit de Moyse quo ad legale sacerdotium et de Christo quo ad ordinem cristianum. Nec est vis quo ad patriarchas istorum ordinum, cum non sint per se ex hoc laudandi.

30 Sed 2^o obicitur contra obligacionem temporalium, in qua materia scribe et pharisei magis insanunt, tum, quia ab ipsis dependet tam voluntas, quam ars lucrative eorum. Et movet ratio duplex: Prima, quia ordinacionem tot et talium sanctorum tam diutinam non licet infringere; 2^o, quia per idem quocunque quod secularis occupat iniuste occupat liceret abstrahere; ex quibus L. nimis perturbaretur utrumque brachium ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod tam necessaria est illa sentencia, quod impossibile est pacificare regna vel clerum complete sol-

which is also true of Papal laws; the faithful should therefore resist them.

When St. Paul counselled the Christians to imitate him, he did not mean his mode of life, Christ alone should be thus imitated.

As for the Founders of the Sects, it is a question whether they properly belong to them: as Founders, they are not to be approved.

II. I am attacked with special fury on the doctrine of temporalities. My position is contrary to what many and great Saints have approved; and it would go to prove that all secular possessions are also unjust and may be taken away.

1. observacione A. 2. observari AB. 7. quod in B. 8. ⁷⁷de
sic AC. 9. eciam pro ecclesia AC. 11. ordinibus BG. 14. ad
deest B. 21. credr' A. 25. exclusive omnes MSS. 27. qui B.
30. obla^{co}3 C. 32. voluptas C. 36. occupat before iniuste deest AB.
38. est deest A.

Yet it is vere sua debita, nisi illa sentencia fuerit per principes necessarily true, and the only practisata. Et quantum ad primum obiectum, credendum est plus Cristo cum suis apostolis, quam infinitis restoring peace to Christendom. sanctis vel dictis quorumcunque, eiam canonisatorum, We should preter believe approbancium dotacionem cleri. Verumtamen illi primo 5 Christ and his Apostles than any number of saints. receperant nudo titulo elemosine tanquam custodes bona pauperum, et vel depauperati ab arte predicandi, vel inclinati ad seculum, anxie laborarunt circa dictorum bonorum custodiam. Sed post ex cautela diaboli surrexis presumpsum cleri dominium eiam ultra dominos seculares. 10

Let my opponents do those works that those Saints did, or prove that they were right in accepting endowments. As for the other argument, civil lordship and possession by almsdeed are two different things.
If the clergy abuses the gifts granted to it, there being but a limited supply of wealth, that abuse must be felt throughout the world; and it is the king's duty to remedy it, according to the parable of the steward, of which my interpretation is right: the burden of temporalities being a true debt we owe to God.

Et sic, quo ad primum dicitur arguenti, vel quod faciat illis sanctis similiter, vel doceat quod non in hoc venialiter peccaverunt. Quo ad 2^m, sepe dictum est diversitatem esse inter occupationem civilem et elemosinariam; et sic differt dicta bona iniusti civilis ab ipso 15 rapere, et bona pauperum que darentur titulo elemosine, caritative exigere vel tenere. Et cum deus dat toto generi humano de temporalibus in mensura, nec amplius propter cleri cupidinem, manifeste patet quod preponderatis temporalibus et clero adeo abutente, necesse 20 est quod in seculo fiat dissensio; et cum regis sit pacificare pauperes, a spoliacione iniusta defendere, et viciantes suam regaliam destruere, patet quod illorum est sentenciam istam practisando defendere; quod docetur Luc. 16^o in parabola salvatoris qua deus laudavit Luc. villicum iniquitatis ex hoc quod deonerando clerum de XVI, 8 redditu 50^a eadrum olei habuit exinde amicos in purgatorio. Nec valet dicere quod sensus istius parabole est fictus contra sentenciam Bede, cum vivax racio docet quod clerus sic dotatus debet esse exinde deo 30 et ecclesie amplius obligatus; quia secundum beatum Gregorium in omelia comuni, dum augentur dona, rationes eiam crescunt donorum. Et insane foret quod clerus iuste possidet ista dominia, nisi deus donaverit. Exinde temporales domini, expectando retribucionem specialem, 35 haberent diligenciores ministros eo amplius obligatos. M.

Thus the clergy possessing more wealth, ought to return more tinue plus spiritualis redditus solvere domino celorum

1. tactis C. 6. custos A. 7. depauperati B; ib. predictati A.
12. iuciat deest B; ib. sanctis deest C. 16. recipere A. 18. temporalibus B. 26. devorando A. 29. fucus A. 31. Et B. 35. spalem A; spiritualem BC. 38. sic A; ib. quod C; ib. hinc B; exhinc C. 39. spual A.

25. See above, p. 231.

Et ex hinc factus indisposicior minus solvit; igitur contine currens in debito iniuriatur domino dampnificans matrem ecclesiam. Minor probatur ex hoc quod Cristus iuxta fidem plus appreciatu*r* apostolorum pauperiem, quam diaconorum solicitudinem; plus profecit Stephanus fidem Cristi predicando, quam mensis ministrando; et generaliter indiscreta fuisse Cristi dispensacio qua ordinavit apostolos, relictis temporalibus, in pauperie spiritualiter ministrare ecclesie, nisi hoc foret utrinque plus utille et, plus cedens deo ad honorem, plus sibi delectabile. Nec moveat quod apostoli ministraverunt populo de multiplicato cibario per Cristi miraculum, ut dicitur Marc. ^{VI. 41} Marc. 6^o et 8 et Matth. 14, et hoc ex Cristi mandato: ubi peccarent graviter, nisi dimissa contemplacione, complerent mandatum domini; quia iuxta istam arguunt, cum apostoli meruerunt disformiter aliter quam Cristus, sequeretur quod eque meritorium atque laudabile opus foret purgare ventrem, vel opus tale facere ad quod natura necessitat, sicut predicare vel quemcunque actum apostolicum aut contemplacionem perficere; cum deus in casu precipit hec fieri et alia dimitti. Et si dicatur, secundum begardorum sentenciam, quod contemplacio stat cum deposicione ponderis nature, sicud cum sompno et esu, cum aliis actibus bestialibus ad quos natura necessitat, quare non cum ministerio mensarum et quacunque provisione bonorum pauperum? Cristus tamen omnisciens decrevit quod propter diminucionem actus apostolici per tales possessiones et ministraciones, apostoli illas relinquerent.

Cum igitur cleru*s* ex potestate ordinis obligatur ad tantum ministerium cum sanctis apostolis propter partatem muneris, et non reddit deo de facto tantum ministerii laudabilis, videtur quod indebitatur sibi culpabiliter ex subtractione tam preciosi redditus. Nec valet singere quod nostra distribucio bonorum fortune equivalet operacioni apostolice, vel quod propter multitudinem cleri iam necesse est illi intendere, quod non oportuit tempore conversacionis apostolice. Cristus enim scivit aptare suam regulam ad totam multitudinem cleri

7. indispensacio A; dissensacio C. 11. utrumque C. 14. et speculacione B. 21. *hec deest AB; ib.* illa C. 34. preciosi C.
36. *poni A.* 38, 39. Cristus — regulam *margine inferiore suppl.* C.

23. *Stat cum.* This may also mean 'is not impeded by'; and the argument is as strong in one sense as the other.

spiritual fruit to God, and is thereby rendered less able to return it. Christ esteemed the poverty of his Apostles more than the service of the deacons.

At the miracle of the loaves, the Apostles, it is true, served the people, but it was by Christ's command. And it does not follow that this act was as meritorious as preaching, unless every act commanded by God through the voice of nature, be equally meritorious. The Begardi said that contemplation and disburdening the body were acts on the same level; it so why not the service of tables too?

Obliged by their state to Apostolic perfection, the clergy, not rendering to God what is due, becomes heavily indebted. And Christ's rule was good

for the whole clergy, as is proved by the times when it flourished; its aim was no doubt to diminish their excessive multi-ude. If Religious men keep their rule, how much rather should we keep Christ's ^{et alia} necessarium, sicut potuit per multos centenarios an-norum, quando secta cleri plus profuit. Ideo creditur quod racio regule Cristi fuit nimis onerosam cleri multi-tudinem refrenare. Si igitur privati ordines observant N. bottas, difformitatem in sculptura et colore vestium, 5 cum voto ad penalitates corporales, quia est medicina contra superbiam, gulam et cetera peccata, quanto magis Cristi regula, que efficacius est peccatis contraria, servaretur!

It is a sin to

It is a sin for
any of the clergy
to pass
sleepless nights
out of care for
the future.

the more.
God will
provide for us
as He does for
all living;
and the same
reason
condemns the
cunning put
forth by the
Mendicants to
get money.
It is apostasy;
yet we say that
we care not,
and leave the
morrow to
care for itself;
but our
affections prove
too well that it
is a lie.

Who would not
be downcast,
if his
possessions
were in any
way interfered
with?

III. I am said heretically to contradict the decision of the

Et hinc creditur quod sive diaconi, sive quicunque 10
clericis pernoctant cum solicitudine cure temporalium, ut
sic peccant, quia contra Cristi consilium (Matth. 6^o),
obligant se perdendo libertatem exucionis a temporalibus
ad superfluam solicitudinem terrenorum. Deus enim
provideret clero suo de temporalibus, sicut providet 15
bestiis et cunctis viventibus de cremento nature. Et
patet quomodo possessio cleri onerat ipsum, quia in-
debitat et indisponit ad retribuendum. Et eadem racio
procedit contra calliditates cuiuscunque ordinis mendic-
antis, cum privata obligacio tantum vel plus obligat, 20
distrahit et retardat, sicud illa que Cristus prohibet
consulendo. Et patet quod quante ab ewangelio Cristi
excidimus, vel addendo vel diminuendo, tante aposto-
tando peccamus; dicimus tamen quod sine nocturna
solicitudine vel cogitatione scimus habere quotlibet 25
temporalia, sicud bona nature in manu domini, et
veniente crastino ad moderatum ministerium expergesieri,
pro crastino solicitari. Sed alia opera nostra convincunt
mendacium, cum cogitacio et affeccio ad habendum
superflue ista bona vel in actu vel in habitu patescunt 30
ex vita nostra. Quis, inquam, non tristaretur in crastino
de istorum bonorum ablacione, de usus eorum contra-
dicione, ymo de possessionis proprietarie negacione?
Sic enim possent omnia dicta in privatis ordinibus sive
papalibus observari, dicendo quod faciunt illud mini- 35
sterium deo quod tradicio humana limitat, vel sibi
equivalens. Sed certum est quod iuxta hoc quelibet
privata observancia quo ad regularitatem consequencie
deficeret, et solicitude adinvencionis regule superflueret.

Sed 3^o obiciunt illi qui ex predictis insaniantur, quod 40
contradico tanquam hereticus determinacioni ecclesie de

3. onerosa AC. 5. botas C. 8. est *deest* B. 11. clerici *deest* A.
19. caliditatem A. 23. vel *before* addendo *deest* C. 33. negative B.
36. secundum *pro deo* B.

sacramentis. Sed hoc faciunt indirecte, ut infirmant priora que odiunt. De sacramento autem eukaristie et penitencie dicunt quod contradico determinacioni ecclesie, ymo blasphemо in Cristum, quod ipse oneraret ecclesiam cum celebracione sacramentorum talium sine causa. Hic dico, ut sepe alias, quod docto quod sit contraria fidei quecunque sentencia quam assero, volo paratissime revocare. Et cum habeam evidencias ex fide quod ista sit sentencia salvatoris, licet michi interim in fide tali quiescere. Et cum vocata ecclesia sit in secretis materiis fidei tam imprudens, difficile videtur fidelibus quod stent sentencie eorum in ista materia, quidquid decreverunt. Ideo videtur securum in expressis in lege dei quiescere, et novitates ac difficultates adiectas dimittere. Nam illa antiqua sufficiunt ad salutem; et novitates adiecte sunt multis ambigue atque superflue. Ideo orant deum superbias blasfemias satraparum destruere.

o. Quantum ad sacramentum, altaris dictum est diffuse alibi, quomodo novelli ordines ydiotice et infundabiliter contradicunt; ut unus, quod sacramentum altaris sit aggregatio accidentium sine subiecta substancia; et alias quod ipsum sit naturaliter et substancialiter corpus Christi, negando quod aliquod est sacramentum sensible in altari. Sed signa que videmus et sanctificamus, sunt solum sacramentalia; et sic utrobique illuditur ecclesia. Nam doctores tam antiqui quam novi de sectis que sic garriunt, decretales, decreta et usus ecclesie contradicunt. Ponunt enim unum album et rotundum, quod ante consecrationem fuit panis, vel in pane, post eius consecrationem remanere, et illud dixerunt regulariter esse sacramentum. Et vulgus vere credit ipsum esse quoddammodo corpus Christi. De illo autem, circa quod est tantus error, est nobis et aliis scolasticis difficultas. Scimus quidem quod corpus Christi, eciam secundum esse naturale quod habet in celo, est sacramentum, et ipsum corpus virtute verborum Christi est dictus panis, et eciam sacramentum; habet eciam modum spirituale essendi ad omnem punctum dicti panis, et, ut sic, est sacramentum, et sic idem corpus sacramentat se ipsum secundum disparem modum essendi, ut sacramentum altaris sacramentat corpus Christi et sanguinem, ut est

Church concerning the Sacrament; but this accusation is made on account of the two former points.

I am ready to recant at once, if shown my error; but at present I rest convinced that my doctrine is that of Christ; and the Church here below can hardly give an irrevocable decision. It is best to use the terms used in God's law, and avoid novelties.

I has already been said how the Sects contradict each other about the Sacrament: some saying it is a lot of accidents without a substance, and others, that it is Christ's natural Body: which is contrary to their own doctors, the Decretal and Church customs.

And the people really believes that this 'white round somewhat' that was bread or belonging thereto, is now Christ's Body. Here lies the difficulty: We know that Christ's natural body is a Sacrament, and that Christ's Body is bread, having a spiritual mode of being.

3. determinacioni *deest* C. 6. Protestacio *in marg.* A 7. asserio A
ii misteriis C. 21. subiecta *deest* C. 28 illud pro album C
31. vulgus C. 38. et eciam BC.

everywhere in the bread, and the separate consecration of the elements is the figure of our Lord's death, But what is the Sacrament in its own nature? I say it is the same bread as it was before the miracle makes it to be Christ's Body not substantially but supernaturally; for Christ's Body is not changed as the bread changes, though some say that it changes symbolically. As for the Sacrament of Penance, I merely deny its absolute, nor its relative necessity; and I think that the decree of Innocent III was not a wise development of Gospel truth. If these works against Simony, apostasy and Blasphemy (which all who love God should hate) contain any errors, I ask God's forgiveness, and submit to whomsoever He may choose to correct me.

in celo, et disparitas confectionum carnis et sanguinis sacramentat mortem corporis Cristi. Ac si diceret: effuso sanguine in separato loco a carne, corpus Cristi est pro nobis est mortuum et exsangue. Difficultas autem, quam solvere non audent sentencie predice, stat in natura. Et sepe dixi quod sit in sui natura panis idem qui prefuit, et in miraculo verborum Cristi, corpus suum; non substancialiter sed supernaturaliter. Nec videtur quod putrescit aut frangitur, licet panis ille, qui est corpus Cristi taliter moveatur, sicud deitas non denominatur accidentibus quibus Cristus formatur, licet ipse sit illa deitas. Et sic, virtute unionis que est circa incarnationem, panis ille multipliciter variatur, et corpus Cristi non taliter; licet quidam dicant quod taliter mutatur in simbolis. Eukaristia autem vocatur corpus Cristi concrescens quam est in suis symbolis.

Quantum ad secundum sacramentum penitencie, dictum est quod expedit et est necessarium, sed non absolute, taliter confiteri. Nec videtur michi quod lex Inno- 20 cencii 3ⁱⁱ, artans ad istam confessionem, fuit prudenter explicata, nec aliqua lex papalis vel alia post ewangelium explicata, nisi in ipso finaliter sit fundata. Et tenta ista sentencia rediret ecclesia ad perfeccionem status pri- 25 mevi, que hodie in multis varietatibus est dispersa.

Istam dixerim secundum donacionem et mocionem dei contra istas 3^s hereses: Symoniam, Apostasiam atque Blasphemiam, quibus deo iniuriatur per sacerdotes di- versos: contra quos qui non invehit neque dolet, non diligit meritorie deum suum. Si autem in ipsis erravero, peto humiliter a deo veniam, et submitto me correccio- nes et informaciones cuiuscunque creature, quam sibi placuerit ad hoc ministerium limitare. Amen.

Explicit hoc opusculum circa penthecostes sub anno domini 1432^o wstrach etc.

35

4. ex sanguine A: et ex angue C; ib. autem deest B. 5. salutare pro salutare omnes MSS; ib. line corr. in marg. secte C. 8. et deest A.
 12. prudencia C. 22. explicita BC. 24. reddi et C. 26. donacionem deest A. 33. After Amen Explicit tractatus de blasphemia, in large letters in black ink B; Explicit tractatus de Blasphemia secundum Johannem Wy. XII in red ink C; limitare. Utyess iye buoh = God comfort thee D.

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